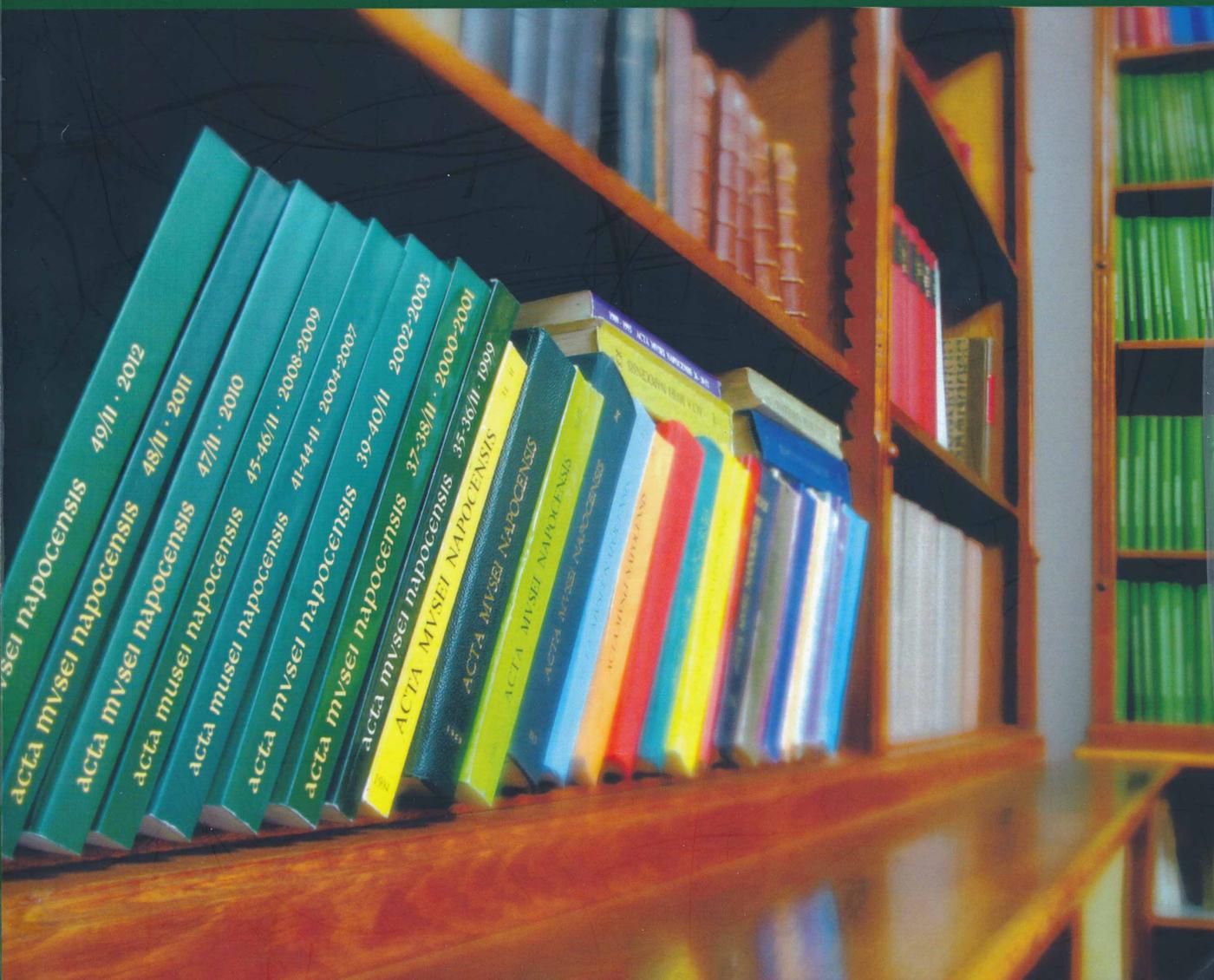




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50th Anniversary

Acta Musei Napocensis at Its Anniversary

It is half a century since the very first volume of *Acta Musei Napocensis* saw the light of print. For a scientific journal, this is an achievement that not too many museums can boast about. Its publication over the course of five decades was, no doubt, the fruit of the labours of the museum directors who have succeeded themselves at the helm of this institution over time, of the editorial team and, especially, of the editorial secretaries of the volumes, as well as of the entire staff of the museum, who have dedicated themselves in exemplary manner to supporting the publication during the most difficult periods in its history.

Acta Musei Napocensis is an icon of the scientific work carried out by the curators and researchers from the National History Museum of Transylvania. Its thematic range is of great variety, covering virtually all the areas of historical research, museography, the auxiliary sciences or political studies. Equally, over the years the journal has managed to pool together everything that scientific research in the field of history has meant in Cluj. It is here that, besides the museum's body of researchers, a wide array of authors have published their studies, including professors from "Babes-Bolyai" University in Cluj, from the History Institute of the Romanian Academy, from the other museums of Cluj, or from archives, libraries and other cultural institutions. *Acta Musei Napocensis* is also an icon of the historiography produced in Cluj, attesting to the professionalism of the devotees of the Muse Clio, a model of scientific cooperation between the local historians, a centre of scientific and cultural emulation, of commitment to discipline they serve.

Throughout the years, the journal has published the work of numerous historians in the country and abroad; the latter, whose numbers increased after 1989, have participated in the contemporary scientific dialogue, in the exchanges between the different scientific schools with which the museum and the historians from Cluj have come into contact.

Thematically, the journal has prevalently approached aspects of Transylvania's history, of the nations that have lived together in this multicultural and pluriconfessional space, from antiquity until contemporaneity. It has equally focused on issues pertaining to the role of Transylvania in the context of national or continental history, on subjects of national and world history.

Acta Musei Napocensis is a fresco of Transylvanian historiography over the past 50 years, a testimony to the scientific potential of a venerable museum institution, whose mark of professionalism is undeniably illustrated by this journal.

Happy anniversary, *Acta Musei Napocensis*!

The 50th Issue of *Acta Musei Napocensis*

The year 2013 marks the well-deserved semicentennial anniversary of the yearbook issued by the National History Museum of Transylvania in Cluj, namely *Acta Musei Napocensis*, highly appreciated in a wide circle of Romanian and foreign historians.

This annual series came into being in the year 1964, at the initiative of Academician Constantin Daicoviciu, the Director of the Cluj museum, who also became head of the editorial board of this important publication. This anniversary is an opportunity for me, as a former member, for many years, and then as secretary of the editorial committee, to recall the words expressing full confidence in the future of the journal which were uttered by this erudite scholar when the first issue of *Acta Musei Napocensis* saw the light of print, in 1964: “We would like this herald of the Museum of History in Cluj to stand as witness to the work and thought of the museum members and of those who are among the collaborators of this institution. Like the Museum itself, and its Yearbook will embrace all the eras of our history [...]. Through its periodical publication, the History Museum in Cluj will establish ever closer relations with institutions and the specialists in the country and abroad, representing, at the same time, a new and eloquent testimony as to the achievements that are made in the field of science and culture...” (C. Daicoviciu, “Foreword” *Acta Musei Napocensis*, I, Cluj, 1964). In this context, I also wish to make known the names of the members who formed the first editorial board of the yearbook, which oversaw the launching of the journal and included leading personalities of the “Alma Mater” university life, of the History Institute and the museum in Cluj: Acad. Constantin Daicoviciu (Director), Acad. Ștefan Pascu, Professors Mihail Macrea, Hadrian Daicoviciu, Bujor Surdu, Kovács József, Ioan I. Russu, Vajda Lajos, Ferenczi István, George A. Protopescu, and Petre Bunta.

Over the course of time, the impressive amount of valuable works pooled by the editorial staff exceeded by far the compulsory number of pages for a yearbook. This led, starting from issues no. 26-30 (1989-1993), to the publication of the yearly journal in two parts, one being devoted to articles on prehistory, ancient history and archaeology, and the other focusing on problems of history, from the Middle Ages until the contemporary period.

However, the pages of the *Acta Musei Napocensis* journal are not limited to the publication of actual studies, strictly specialized on historical subjects, as they also include interesting articles, reports, notes and discussions, excavation reports, problems of museography, restoration-conservation, museum patrimony protection, art history, numismatics and phaleristics, travelogues, annual chronicles charting the archaeological projects or the activity of the various departments of this prestigious scientific and

cultural institution from Cluj, the list of its members' participation in various sessions or thematic workshops, both at home and abroad, the organization of various exhibitions by the museum itself or in collaboration, reviews, book presentations, bibliographical notes, stages abroad, the enrichment of the museum's patrimony collections by listing the items acquired from research, donations and purchases.

In addition to this, the yearbook published in Cluj mirrors the numerous contributions of internal and external collaborators. Year by year, the prestige of this journal has increased, there being a steadily growing demand for its issues from libraries, research institutes and universities both in the country and in Europe or America, its presence being signalled in a series of catalogues published by cultural institutions of global importance.

In conclusion to this "Foreword," we wish sincerely, from the heart, that this valuable publication may enjoy the success that will continue to ensure its foremost position among the most important specialized editorial achievements from the country and from abroad.

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STUDIES

THE BENEFICIAL POLICY OF POPE CLEMENT VI IN THE DIOCESE OF TRANSYLVANIA (1342-1352)

Abstract. The purpose of this study is to present and analyse the involvement of Pope Clement VI in appointments to various ecclesiastical benefices in the Diocese of Transylvania. The key moment of this action, as well as its starting point, was the papal document of 8 October 1325, whereby Pope John XXII reserved the exclusive right to appoint the Bishops of Győr, Oradea, Pécs and Transylvania. As of this moment, which marked the official involvement of the papacy in the dioceses east of Hungary, the French pontiffs supplanted the local churchly institutions in distributing various ecclesiastical benefices. Pope Clement VI pursued the most intense beneficial policy in the Diocese of Transylvania, as he appointed 20 canons here. The canons appointed in Alba Iulia were mostly from the Kingdom of Hungary, although there were also allogeneic elements, Poles and Czechs in particular. One of the canons was Cardinal Guillaume de La Jugié, the nephew of the pope. The ecclesiastical benefices in the Diocese of Transylvania were granted by Clement VI at the intervention of highly influential persons, both temporal and ecclesiastical, who wanted to reward their relatives or collaborators with such income-related positions.

Keywords: Beneficial policy, Clement VI, Transylvania, Canon, chapter

Preliminaries

Between 1309 and 1377, thanks to a series of events which are not the object of the present study, the seat of the papacy was relocated from Rome to Avignon. During this time, only pontiffs of French extraction succeeded at the helm of the Holy See: Clement V (1305-1314), John XXII (1316-1334), Benedict XII (1334-1342), Clement VI (1342-1352), Innocent VI (1352-1362), Urban V (1362-1370) and Gregory XI (1370-1378). The French popes demonstrated outstanding competency in managing and leading the Church, its governance mechanisms being concentrated at the level of the pontiff's person. One of the aspects that characterised the Avignon Papacy was the beneficial policy, in other words, the right of the sovereign pontiff to grant the major and minor ecclesiastical benefices.² The centralization and concentration of ecclesiastical appointments in the hands of the papacy actually began on 27 August 1265, through the *Licet ecclesiarum* decretal issued by Clement IV. This process was continued by John XXII, regarded as the founder of the Avignon regime, who issued two apostolic constitutions, *Ex debito* (15 September 1316) and *Execrabilis* (19 November 1317), whereby he practically secured the monopoly of appointments to most ecclesiastical

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² By an ecclesiastical benefice we mean any churchly position, major or minor, which has an income attached to it.

dignities, secular or regular, major or minor, prohibiting, at the same time, their being held in abusive manner.³ This also had consequences for the Diocese of Transylvania.

The Diocese of Transylvania was the most important Catholic diocese across the territory of the voivodeship and not only, and its basic administrative unit was the archdeaconry (protopresbyterate). The archdeaconries were formed between the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries and largely corresponded with the secular administrative units, the counties. The Bishop of Transylvania controlled not only the territory of the voivodeship, but also other areas, such as Satu Mare, Ugocea or the Szekler area. The first archdeaconries, Cluj and Chezdi, were attested in 1199, followed by Dăbâca and Satu Mare in 1213, Solnoc and Crasna in 1214, Saswar (later Ugocea) in 1230, respectively in 1288, Tileagd in 1235, Hunedoara in 1265, Turda in 1274, Alba, Târnava and Ozd in 1277. Therefore, the Diocese of Transylvania included 13 archdeaconries.

According to documents from the first half of the fourteenth century and especially taking into consideration the papal tithe register from 1332-1337,⁴ the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Transylvania incorporated a part of the Saxon population, not included in the free provostship of Sibiu. The specific form of churchly organization of the Transylvanian Saxons was the chapter (in its collegiate version) or the deanery.⁵ Thus, the Archdeaconry of Dăbâca included the Deanery of Bistrița,⁶ the Archdeaconry of Ozd, the Deanery of Reghin,⁷ the Archdeaconry of Târnava, the Deaneries of Târnava Mare and Târnava Mică,⁸ while the Archdeaconry of Alba comprised the Deaneries of Orăștie,⁹ Sebeș,¹⁰ Șpring, Șeica, Laslea, Saschiz, Rupea¹¹ and Mediaș.¹²

³ Guillaume Mollat, *Les Papes d'Avignon (1305-1378)*, Paris, 1912, pp. 386-399; Bernard Guillemain, *Les Papes d'Avignon 1309-1376*, Paris, 2000, pp. 51-55; Jörg Erdmann, *Quod est in actis non est in mundo. Päpstliche Benefizialpolitik in sacrum imperium des 14. Jahrhunderts*, Tübingen, 2006, pp. 35-42; Jean Favier, *Les Papes d'Avignon*, Paris: Fayard, 2006, pp. 224-259; Jorge Diaz Ibañez, *La provisión pontificia de beneficios eclesiásticos en el reino de Castilla durante el periodo avinonés. Estado de la investigación in Lusitania Sacra*, 22, 2010, pp. 63-84.

⁴ *Documente privind istoria României, seria C, Transilvania, veacul XIV*, vol. III (1331-1340), Bucharest: Ed. Academiei Republicii Populare Române, 1954 (hereinafter DIR C, XIV III).

⁵ For details concerning the ecclesiastical organization of the Saxons, see Paul Philippi, "800 de ani Ecclesia Theutonicorum Ultransilvanorum" in vol. *800 de ani Biserica a Germanilor din Transilvania*, edited by Thomas Nägler, Innsbruck, 2003, pp. 13-34.

⁶ First attested in 1332, in the register of papal tithes.

⁷ See the previous note.

⁸ Both deaneries were mentioned for the first time in 1309, during a lawsuit of the Saxon deans against the chapter of the Church of Transylvania, presided by the representatives of Cardinal Gentile, the apostolic legate to Hungary - *Documente privind istoria României, seria C Transilvania, veacul XIV*, vol. I (1301-1320), Bucharest: Ed. Academiei Republicii Populare Române, 1953, pp. 92-160. (hereinafter DIR C, XIV, I)

⁹ See the previous note.

¹⁰ First mentioned in 1303, when there an agreement was made between the dean and Bishop Peter of Transylvania regarding the collection of tithes, DIR C, XIV, I, p. 22.

¹¹ The deaneries of Șpring, Șeica, Laslea, Saschiz and Coșdu were attested in 1309, DIR C, XIV, I, pp. 92-160.

¹² The Deanery of Mediaș was mentioned in 1283, in connection with an agreement between the priests of this unit and the Bishop of Transylvania, cf. *Documente privind istoria României, seria C Transilvania, veacul XIII*, vol. II (1251-1300), Bucharest: Ed. Academiei Republicii Populare Române, 1952, p. 249.

The Deaneries of the Saxons included in the Diocese of Transylvania generally enjoyed broad autonomy, this situation repeatedly leading to conflicts with the archdeacons or the Bishop of Alba Iulia. The study of papal tithe reckonings discloses the fact that the archdeaconries of Transylvania had an uneven number of parishes, which also reveals the spread of Catholicism in the area, especially in relation to the Romanian population. Thus, while the Archdeaconry of Alba had more than 100 parishes, including the Saxon deaneries, the Archdeaconry of Hunedoara had only 9 parishes. It should be noted that throughout the Middle Ages, Hunedoara was a prevalently Romanian area of habitation. The Benedictine Abbey of Cluj-Mănăştur and all its assets were excluded from the jurisdiction of the Transylvanian diocese.

In the late twelfth century, the territory colonized by the Saxons during the first wave (the area around Sibiu) was organized as a free provostship, under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Esztergom, in his capacity as a papal legate.¹³ In the Burzenland (a territory that hosted the Teutonic Knights between 1211 and 1225), there was set up a separate deanery in 1223, at first under the direct authority of the pope, and subsequently under that of the Archbishop of Esztergom. Maramureş was under canonical obedience to the Bishop of Agria.

From a canonical perspective, the Bishop of Transylvania was the suffragan of the Archbishop of Kalocsa.¹⁴

The issue of the beginnings of the Transylvanian diocese and its evolution up until the fourteenth century has generally been approached in historiography, and resuming it in the context of our approach would serve no end.¹⁵ We shall not dwell any further on this subject.

The beneficial policy of the Popes of Avignon had an impact on the cathedral chapter, in the case of the Transylvanian diocese, during the pontificate of Clement VI. It made its debut quite early, under Pope Clement V, the first pope during the Avignon

¹³ Şerban Tucuş, *Fondarea prepoziturii saşilor ca proiect transilvan al Sfântului Scaun în Anuarul Institutului de Istorie George Bariţiu din Cluj-Napoca*, XLIX, series Historica, 2010 pp. 21-37.

¹⁴ DIR C, XIV, III, p. 253.

¹⁵ See the following works: Ştefan Pascu, *Voievodatul Transilvaniei*, vol. IV, Cluj-Napoca: Ed. Dacia, 1989, pp. 303-307 (hereinafter *Voievodatul Transilvaniei IV*); Gyula Kristó, "The Bishoprics of Saint Stephen, King of Hungary" in Violeta Barbu (editor) *In honorem Paul Cernovodeanu*, Bucharest: Ed. Kriterion, 1998, pp. 55-66; Tudor Sălăgean, "Honorius III, Transylvania and the Papacy's Eastern Policy" in *Transylvanian Review*, volume VII, no. 4, 1998, pp. 78-85; Răzvan Theodorescu, *Un mileniu de artă la Dunărea de Jos 400-1400*, Bucharest: Ed. Gramar, 2002, *passim*; Ioan Aurel Pop, *România şi Maghiarii în secolele IX-XIV*, Cluj-Napoca: Ed. Tribuna, 2003, pp. 191, 196; Adinel Dincă, *Aprecieri preliminare privind alegerea episcopului Transilvaniei în secolele XIII-XIV în Transilvania (sec. XIII-XVII)*. *Studii istorice*, edited by Susana Andea, Ed. Academiei Române, 2005, pp. 162-186; Şerban Turcuş, *Saint Gerad of Cenad. The Destiny of a Venetian around the Year One Thousand*, Cluj-Napoca: Romanian Cultural Institute, 2006, pp. 18-22 (hereinafter *Saint Gerad of Cenad*); Adrian Andrei Rusu, *Alba Iulia între fondarea eparhiei şi capitala principatului Transilvaniei*, Alba Iulia, 2009, pp. 26-36; Jakubinyi György, *Romániai Katolikus, Erdélyi Protestáns és Izraelita Vallási Archontológia*, Kolozsvár: Verbum, 2010, p. 23. On the great Tatar invasion of 1241 and its impact on the Hungarian Dioceses, see Rogerius, "Cântecul de Jale" in *Izvoarele istoriei românilor*, vol. V, ed. Gheorghe Popa Lisseanu, Bucharest, 1935, p. 80 (hereinafter *Cântecul de Jale*), I. de Rachewiltz, *Papal Envoys to the Great Khans*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1971, pp. 76-81, and J. J. Saunders, *The History of the Mongol Conquests*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001, pp. 73-91.

period. The latter sent Cardinal Gentile di San Martino ai Monti as legate *de latere* to Hungary (1240/1250 - 27 October 1312). The cardinal was a member of the Franciscan Order and was an intimate of the house of Anjou. Gentile studied in Paris and became a Professor of Theology. He was made cardinal by Pope Boniface VIII in the consistory of 2 March 1300. Between 1302 and 1305, he held the important office of major apostolic penitentiary. He distinguished himself through a prolific activity as a Maecenas. At his order, the Montefiore Chapel was built in the Church of San Francesco in Assisi, where the painter Simone Martini executed a number of frescoes showing the life of St. Martin of Tours.¹⁶ The main goals of the cardinal's mission in Hungary were the definitive imposition of Charles Robert of Anjou as king and the restoration of ecclesiastical discipline in the Hungarian Church.

In order to bring the entire province of Kalocsa back to canonical discipline, Cardinal Gentile demanded, in a document issued at Spoleto on 30 May 1308, that the archbishop should no longer make appointments to ecclesiastical dignities in Hungary, insisting that only he had this right: "we hereby claim to ourselves the right to grant to worthy persons [...] any dignity, office, canonry, prebend or benefice, conjoined with the pastoral care of [souls] or without this task, which are or will be free, in any church, whether it be cathedral or collegiate, in the country and its realms, except those offices of the chapters of churches where those who are placed at their helms, as they are deemed immediately higher after the bishop or are ordained by the path of election."¹⁷ Next, the cardinal stated that "[We hereby prohibit] also the bestowing of benefices and churches, with or without the task of the pastoral care of [souls], of offices or dignities that are vacant or will become vacant, and the taking of measures that concern the clergymen individually or together, the convents, chapters or colleges, wherever they may be, outside the aforementioned cathedral or collegiate churches in the above said country and realms, leaving aside the collegiate churches and the others, which are entrusted with the pastoral care of souls and whose fruit, income and benefices do not exceed the amount of ten silver marks a year, after the customary estimation."¹⁸ Cardinal Gentile firmly prohibited any hierarch from enjoying the free benefices or appointing someone to them, these functions being reserved to the apostolic legate. Thus, under the cardinal's decision, all the ecclesiastical benefices in the Archdiocese of Kalocsa entered under papal control, through the legate *de latere*. The archbishop no longer had control over them, all appointments falling within the area of competence of the Holy See. This decision affected the Diocese of Transylvania, as a suffragan of Kalocsa. Referring to ecclesiastical matters, on 4 December 1308 Gentile cancelled the appointments to churchly dignities that had been made without special papal dispensation.¹⁹

The starting point of the papal intervention in the Diocese of Transylvania was the document of 8 October 1325, issued by John XXII in Avignon, whereby the French

¹⁶ Marilyn Aronberg Lavin, *The Place of Narrative: Mural Decoration in Italian Churches 431-1600*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1990, p. 57; John Paoletti, Gary Radke, *Art in Renaissance Italy*, London: Laurence King Publishing, 2005, p. 108; Lilian Zirpolo, *The A to Z of Renaissance Art*, Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2008, p. 269.

¹⁷ DIR C, XIV, I, p. 66.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 70.

pontiff reserved for himself the exclusive right to appoint the Bishops of Pécs and Transylvania.²⁰

Clement VI and the Diocese of Transylvania

The first appointment of a canon by a sovereign pontiff in the Cathedral Chapter of Alba occurred on 3 July 1320. At that time, Pope John XXIII appointed Ladislaus, son of Andrew, canon of the Church of Transylvania, in expectation of a prebend. The pope stated that his decision could not be impeded by the rules regarding the number of canons or by the establishments and customs of the Church of Transylvania.²¹ This position makes it clear that the pope ignored the local ecclesiastical realities, specific to the chapter, and sent an order from Avignon, which was to be carried out. Papal authority transcended the capitular statutes. King Charles Robert intervened for the appointment of Ladislaus. Between 1320 and 1332, Pope John XXIII appointed a total number of eight canons to the Chapter of Transylvania. From the time of the next French pope, Benedict XII (1334-1342), we have no evidence of any appointment of a canon in the Transylvanian Church. A possible explanation for this phenomenon is that Benedict XII was an austere spirit, a former Cistercian monk, who was concerned especially with the reform of monastic orders and neglected the centralized beneficial policy conceived by his predecessor.

Clement VI resumed the outlook of John XXIII regarding the beneficial policy, adopting a firm policy towards the Transylvanian chapter, and often intervening in the appointment of canons. Thus, between 1343 and 1352 he appointed or confirmed 20 canons.

Mention should be made of the document issued at Avignon on 27 August 1345, during the period of Clement's pontificate, regarding the appointment of the Provost of Alba, Dominic Széchy. From this document we may learn that Dominic requested the pope to confirm his appointment to the post of provost of the Chapter of Alba Iulia. Dominic was appointed provost by the local bishop (Andrew Széchy, his uncle), "who is known to have the right to grant the provostship, and gave, based on his episcopal power, the said provostship, which had thus remained vacant, to Dominic, who was then not of the lawful age to acquire it, as he was then fourteen years old or under, and even appointed him to that [office], and since then, that Dominic, under this donation and appointment, has held this provostship and owned it and still holds and owns it in peace and quiet, reaping its fruits.²² The new Provost of Alba requested the pope, on reaching the lawful age, "to kindly accept, under [Your] apostolic power, to make up for all that is lacking in this right of donation and [that] appointment and rule that they should have the same lasting power [...], ordering that the bishop's letter on the above should be transferred into an apostolic letter, with all the necessary contents, kindly striking out any lack or disparity he may have caused because of the above.²³ The papal document

²⁰ *Documente privind istoria României, seria C Transilvania, veacul XIV*, vol. II (1321-1330), Bucharest: Ed. Academiei Republicii Populare Române, 1953, p. 163.

²¹ DIR C, XIV, I, p. 367.

²² *Documente privind istoria României, seria C Transilvania, veacul XIV*, vol. IV (1341-1350), Bucharest: Ed. Academiei Republicii Populare Române, 1955, p. 249 (hereinafter DIR C, XIV, IV).

²³ *Ibidem*.

depicts a situation noticeable throughout the fourteenth century in the relations between the Diocese of Transylvania and the papacy: the superiority of the pontiff's decisions over those of the local bishop. Even though the latter made an appointment to a position in the chapter and especially since he had this right, the decision could not be canonical without papal consent. The pope's decision power exceeded that of the bishop, even if, in this case, it was a matter of interest to the local church, namely the appointment of the capitular provost. This is how the French popes came to control decisions relating to ecclesiastical appointments, even in the most remote dioceses. At the end of the confirmation document, the pope stated that: "We hereby appoint him again and for the first time give him the lawful right."²⁴ Thus, from the point of view of the Holy See, Dominic's term as provost of the Cathedral Chapter of Transylvania began on the date of the nomination (papal confirmation).

Returning to the appointments of canons, the first gesture of this kind made by Clement VI occurred on 7 May 1343, when Peter, son of George, a cleric in the Diocese of Zagreb, the chaplain of King Louis I, received a canonry in the Transylvanian chapter, pending the receipt of a prebend and a dignity; furthermore, he could keep the canonries and related prebends, which he held in the Chapter of Zagreb, respectively in the Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Székesfehérvár. The King of Hungary intervened in favour of this person.²⁵

On 26 May 1343, Stephan, Bishop of Cenad, demanded and received from the pope a canonry in the Church of Transylvania and the prebend with the dignity, honour or service, with or without the pastoral care of souls, for Ladislaus, Archdeacon of Békés in the Diocese of Oradea, his chaplain. Ladislaus also had the archdeaconry, canonry, prebend and the chaplain positions of Paul from Ártánd (a village in Hajdú-Bihar County, Hungary) and Şişterea (the commune Cetariu, Bihor County). The episcopal chaplain was willing to give up the Archdeaconry of Békés.²⁶

An unusual request addressed to the pope was made on 4 June 1343. Thus, the congregation of the students from Bologna requested and obtained from Clement VI a canonry in the Transylvanian chapter for Peter yclept of Satu Mare, a cleric in the Diocese of Transylvania, who was a student of canon law in the famous Italian university.²⁷ A benefice was requested either related to the pastoral care of the souls or not. This character was of modest means, his colleagues in Bologna intervening with the pope for him. On 26 December 1343, Peter became the priest of St. Nicholas' Church in Székesfehérvár.²⁸ This document is an example of solidarity in a medieval university, as the students asked the pope to help a colleague with meagre materials means.

An interesting appointment of a canon occurred in 1343, when Clement VI appointed his nephew, Guillaume de La Jugié, Cardinal Deacon of the Church Santa

²⁴ *Ibidem*.

²⁵ DIR C, XIV, IV, p. 129; Bossányi Árpád, *Regesta Supplicationum. A Pápai Kérvénykönyvek Magyar Vonatkozású Okmányai Avignoni Korszak*, I. Kötet, VI. Kelemen Pápa 1342-1352, Stephaneum Nyomda, Budapest, 1916, p. 11.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 143; Bossányi Árpád, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 144; Bossányi Árpád, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-24.

²⁸ Bossányi Árpád, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

Maria in Cosmedin (Rome), Archdeacon of Alba Iulia, a post which also involved a canonry in the Transylvanian Cathedral Chapter.²⁹ It is obvious that the high church dignitary was appointed to this dignity to have his revenue supplemented, but it seems that at first the cardinal did not like his uncle's donation. On 21 October 1343, the pope approved an exchange of churchly positions between the cardinal, who was, among others, a canon in the Transylvanian chapter and Archdeacon of Alba, and Stephen, son of Lawrence from Győr, a canon and a reader in Vác (he was the nephew of Paul, judge of the royal court between 1328 and 1349). Therefore, Stephen became a canon in Alba Iulia.³⁰ On 23 September 1345, Clement VI allowed his nephew to become a canon of Transylvania and Archdeacon of Alba once again, claiming that he had taken some steps to help the cardinal, whose income was not ample enough to meet the costs incurred by the dignity to which he had been elevated.³¹ Consequently, the pope stated: "it is not at the insistence or request of another person, which may have been addressed to us in your favour, but only out of our generosity" that he allowed his nephew to be Archdeacon of Alba; the cardinal had to have an annual income, not in excess of 500 silver marks, but "the said archdeaconry should by no means be counted in the above-mentioned sum."³² On 30 September 1345, Paul, the judge of the Hungarian royal court, who was on a diplomatic mission in Avignon, requested and obtained from the pope a new exchange of dignities between the cardinal and Stephen, son of Lawrence from Győr. Thus, the nephew of the judge received the provostship of the church in Old Buda and a canonry in Oradea, while the papal nephew became a reader and prebendary canon of Bács.³³ On 20 October 1345, Cardinal Guillaume de La Jugié requested and obtained from the pope the annulment of the exchange with Stephen, son of Lawrence from Győr, regarding the Archdeaconry of Alba and the canonry from Bács. Guillaume claimed that when he had made the exchange (according to the document of 21 October 1343), he did not know that his proxies had received for him the Archdeaconry of Sirmium (Diocese of Bács), which he could not occupy because he was not allowed to hold two offices in the same church. Accordingly, the cardinal requested the cancellation of the exchange and permission to keep the Archdeaconry of Alba, a position he had not actually filled because of the opposition manifested by the Bishop of Transylvania. This document makes it clear that Stephen had given up the Archdeaconry of Alba.³⁴ The case of the French cardinal illustrates the fact that churchly positions were at the discretion of the French popes, who had right to distribute and change them at will, especially if they affected a character like Cardinal Guillaume de La Jugié, the nephew of the pope.

On 11 February 1344, the pope granted, at the request of Thomas, Comes of Liptó (now in Slovakia), a canonry to Ladislaus of Geburlin in Mintiul de Satu Mare³⁵

²⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 292, 294.

³⁰ DIR C, XIV, IV, p. 158.

³¹ *Ibidem*, p. 254.

³² *Ibidem*, p. 255.

³³ *Ibidem*, pp. 258-259.

³⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 268.

³⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 171; Bossányi Árpád, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

(now included in the city of Satu Mare). With an attached income, namely the prebend, the positions of canons were envisaged for the relatives of high ecclesiastical dignitaries. On 9 October 1344, Ladislaus, Archbishop of Kalocsa, requested and obtained from the pope a canonry in the Transylvanian church for his nephew, Ladislaus, son of Bako. The latter also had two canonries with the related prebends in the Chapters of Zagreb and Bács, being also a cantor at Bács.³⁶ Cardinal Guillaume de La Jugié did not break his ties with Transylvania, and on 10 January 1345, he obtained from his uncle a canonry for Thomas, son of Peter, Provost of St. Lawrence's Church in Hay,³⁷ who was the cardinal's procurator. Thomas also had one canonry in Bács and one in Oradea.

Luke, son of Ladislaus of Zekeres, obtained from the pope a canonry in Transylvania, on 28 August 1345; the former Bishop of Oradea, Andrew, intervened for him, requesting this grace from the pope, before his death.³⁸ The recipient of this canonry was a character with high-level connections. We base this assertion on the fact that subsequently, on 25 May 1347, Cardinal Bertrand obtained from the pope for Luke, son of Ladislaus of Zekeres, another canonry in the Church of Transylvania, which had been vacated through the resignation of Ladislaus, Archdeacon of Ugocea.³⁹

Another allogeneic character who owned a canonry in Transylvania was John, son of Bertold of Wilkow (the Diocese of Wrocław), the nephew of Nicholas, Chancellor of King Louis of Anjou, who intervened on his behalf with the French pontiff.⁴⁰ John, son of Bertold, had two other canonries in Vác and Bratislava, which he could keep. He was appointed on 11 September 1345.

On 28 September 1345, Elisabeth, Queen of Hungary, requested and obtained from Clement VI a canonry in the Church of Transylvania for Master Ladislaus of Prague, the *teacher of Duke Stephen*, the son of the queen and the brother of King Louis I. The appointee could keep the canonries and prebends he held in Esztergom and Oradea.⁴¹

On 10 November 1345, Clement VI granted Egidiu, son of Valentin, Canon of Oradea and rector of the altar of St. Thomas in the Cathedral of Oradea, a dignity in the Diocese of Transylvania, and on 23 June 1346, he was appointed canon.⁴²

The beneficial policy promoted by the French popes was not to the liking of the local bishops. The latter considered that the popes infringed their area of competence. Conflicts were born from this state of affairs. One such case occurred in the Diocese of Transylvania. On 20 June 1346, Clement VI ordered some clergymen in the Dioceses of Esztergom and Zagreb to carry out the appointment of Peter, a canon of the Church of Transylvania, as Archdeacon of Dăbâca. The papal document also reveals that Bishop Andrew of Transylvania did not agree to the appointment and designated another cleric for the post of Archdeacon of Dăbâca, and he gave the prebend pertaining to this post to someone else. The Transylvanian chapter supported the efforts of the diocesan bishop

³⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 213.

³⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 222; Bossányi Árpád, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

³⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 251; Bossányi Árpád, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

³⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 362.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 251; Bossányi Árpád, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, p. 257; Bossányi Árpád, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

⁴² *Ibidem*, p. 273, 306; Bossányi Árpád, *op. cit.*, pp. 147-148.

for more than a year, and because of its defiant attitude towards the pontiff, the Church of Transylvania was placed under interdict. However, Clement VI stated that the priests had continued to administer the holy sacraments “to the detriment of the said Peter and the vexation of most people.”⁴³ The pope characterized Bishop Andrew: “a blatant disdainer of the commandment issued by the Holy See, who tramples underfoot the churchly punishment and cannot be restrained by this.”⁴⁴ The pope informed the respective clergymen from the Dioceses of Esztergom and Zagreb that they could request the help of the secular power for installing Peter in the Archdeaconry of Dăbâca.⁴⁵ The situation of the conflict between the papal decision and the desire of the Bishop of Transylvania shows the limits of the French pontiffs’ beneficial policy. Starting from the fourteenth century, the Diocese of Transylvania was faced with a completely new situation, in the sense that all the appointments to ecclesiastical dignities had to pass through the filter of the papal curia, according to the beneficial policy. This overturned the old rules for the election and appointment of the clergy, in which the local bishop had an important role. The hierarch thus lost his pre-eminence over the priests, whom he coordinated. Bishop Andree tried to resist this phenomenon, but was received, together with his church, the punishment of interdict, through which Clement VI imposed his will, vision and policy over the Diocese of Transylvania.

In the Chapter of Alba Iulia, a canon position was vacated in 1346 along, when Nicholas was consecrated as Bishop of Pécs. On 2 December 1346, the latter requested and obtained from Clement VI that his canonical position should be awarded to Michael, son of John of Zăuan, a cleric from the Diocese of Wrocław.⁴⁶

As previously stated, an archdeacon was automatically a canon too, but it was possible for the appointment to the post of archdeacon to occur before a canonry was granted. One such case occurred in the Chapter of Transylvania. On 25 May 1347, Cardinal Bertrand obtained, from the pope, for Nicholas, son of Valentine, a cleric from the Diocese of Transylvania, the position of Archdeacon of Ugocea, which had been vacated after Ladislaus waived it into the hands of the Papal Chamberlain Stephen, Bishop of Saint Pons de Thomières (Southern France). Nicholas could keep some income from the quarter of the tithes levied in the villages from the Diocese of Oradea, amounting to 20 florins.⁴⁷ On 24 June 1347, the pope granted Nicholas, son of Valentine, a canonry and a prebend in the chapter of the Church of Transylvania, who could still keep those tithes.⁴⁸

On 9 November 1347, Clement VI granted a new canonry in the Church of Transylvania to Nicholas, son of Conrad, Canon of Esztergom. The benefice from Transylvania had belonged to Nicholas, who had been consecrated Bishop of Nitra.⁴⁹ On 19 June 1348, Stephen, Archbishop of Kalocsa, had requested and obtained from the

⁴³ *Ibidem*, p. 302.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 303.

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 324.

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 361; Bossányi Árpád, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 369.

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 409.

pope the appointment of Luke, son of Alexius, a canon and reader in Zagreb, to a canonry in the Church of Transylvania.⁵⁰ On 22 March 1349, at the request of Cardinal Guillaume de La Jugié, his uncle, the pope appointed Vincent Begonis Castrensis as a canon in the Transylvanian chapter, the brother of his procurator in Hungary and Poland.⁵¹ The last appointment of a canon in the Church of Transylvania made by Clement VI took place on 2 July 1352, when, at the request of the King of Hungary, he granted such a position to Peter, son of Bertold of Brunna (Brno, Bohemia), who was the chancellor of Duke Stephen of Anjou, the brother of the king. Peter had benefices in the Dioceses of Zagreb and Esztergom.⁵²

Clement VI's beneficial policy targeted even the lower ecclesiastical positions, such as those of parish priests. This demonstrates that the French popes' policy extended to the lowest levels of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. On 8 September 1344, the pope ordered the Archbishop of Kalocsa and the Archdeacons of Tilegd and Satu Mare to make sure that Andrew, son of Peter, a parish priest in Dipşa (Bistriţa Năsăud County), would receive the parish church in Orăştie.⁵³ Subsequently, on 9 October 1344, Andrew, son of Peter, obtained a post as a canon at Székesfehérvár. From his appointment document, we find that the parish of Orăştie was occupied by another cleric (Thomas Martini), who had ignored the previous papal command and did not take into account the appointment of Andrew, son of Peter.⁵⁴ From this information, we may infer that the reason for Clement VI's initial demand was the settlement of the new conflict with the local ecclesiastical hierarchy and the enforcement of the papal decision.

The pope made another appointment of a parish priest in the Diocese of Transylvania. On 28 January 1350, Stephen of the Order of Hermits of St. Augustine and Bishop of Nitra (1350-1367) had requested and obtained, from Clement VI, for his brother John, a priest from the Diocese of Pécs, the position of parish priest of Cojocna, as of the moment it became vacant.⁵⁵ We should mention that up until 1350, this parish had been led by Nicholas, referred to as the Abbot, a cleric from the Diocese of Nitra, who was later appointed Bishop of Zagreb (1350-1356).

The popes of Avignon distributed the so-called expectative graces (the right to receive a benefice as soon it became vacant). On 30 September 1345, Clement VI reserved a dignity in the Transylvanian chapter (*dignemini reservare*) to the priest Benedict of Elijah on the Diocese of Veszprém, who had another canonry in the Chapter of Oradea.⁵⁶ It seems that this papal indulgence was not to the liking of that priest, who relinquished it on 11 October 1345 in favour of a dignity in the Chapter of Cenad.⁵⁷

The vastness of the beneficial policy forced the French pontiffs to make some concessions. On 10 September 1346, Clement VI allowed Archbishop Stephen of

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 444; Bossányi Árpád, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

⁵¹ Bossányi Árpád, *op. cit.*, p. 197.

⁵² *Ibidem*, p. 244; *Documenta Romaniae Historica, seria C Transilvania*, vol. X, Bucharest: Ed. Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1977, p. 141.

⁵³ DIR C, XIV, IV, p. 210.

⁵⁴ Bossányi Árpád, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 211; DIR C, XIV, IV, p. 527.

⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 117.

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 121.

Kalocsa to appoint canons in his diocese, but also in the suffragan dioceses, including Transylvania, Oradea and Cenad.⁵⁸ A balance sheet of the beneficial policy promoted by Clement VI in Transylvania would reveal that he appointed 20 canons. To these were added two appointments of parish priests at Oraştie and Cojocna and the granting of an expectative grace.

Final considerations

Clement VI was the one who promoted the most intense beneficial policy in the Diocese of Transylvania, of all the French popes. In relation to the Diocese of Transylvania, the outcome of Clement VI's beneficial policy is impressive. During his pontificate, he appointed 20 canons. This massive involvement attests to the refinement of the beneficial policy of the French popes, a mechanism that functioned with sufficient precision at the border of the Christian world too. The analysis of the papal documents that present Clement VI's beneficial policy in the Diocese of Transylvania generates a series of considerations. Thus, it may be noticed that the pope was the supreme ecclesiastical authority, which appointed or confirmed clerics to specific positions. The candidates to canonry were proposed and supported by a powerful Hungarian local authority (the king, the queen, an archbishop, a bishop, etc.). In order for such a candidate to execute his office canonically, papal endorsement was required. The appointees were familiars, or even relatives of major secular and ecclesiastical figures in Hungary. Thus, Clement VI's beneficial policy could not avoid the practice of nepotism, extremely widespread at the time. As regards the characters who requested an ecclesiastical benefice from the pope for a close acquaintance in the Diocese of Transylvania, they can be divided into two main groups: secular and ecclesiastical. During the pontificate of Clement VI, those who intervened to gratify their close acquaintances with canonries were: the King of Hungary, Louis I of Anjou, Queen Elisabeth, Paul, the judge of the royal court, Thomas, comes of Liptó, Nicholas, Chancellor of the King, and the congregation of students from the University of Bologna. From the category of the ecclesiasts who requested the pope to grant canonries to their close acquaintances, mention should be made of: Stephen, Bishop of Cenad, Ladislaus, Archbishop of Kalocsa, Cardinal Guillaume de La Jugié, Andrew, Bishop of Oradea, Nicholas, Bishop of Pécs, Cardinal Bertrand and Stephen, Archbishop of Kalocsa.

It may be noticed that the most numerous canons were locals, most likely Hungarian (15), but there were also allogeneic elements, especially from Central Europe: two Polish canons (both from the Diocese of Wrocław), two Czechs (both being in the service of Duke Stephen of Anjou, the brother of the King of Hungary) and a Frenchman (Cardinal Guillaume de La Jugié, the nephew of Pope Clement VI). This reveals the fact that the Diocese of Transylvania was profoundly connected to the European Catholic space.

⁵⁸ DIR C, XIV, IV, p. 316.

Annex

The canons appointed by Pope Clement VI to the Chapter of Transylvania

No.	Name of the canon	The person who intervened for him	Appointment year	Other information and observations
1	Dominic Széchy	He was appointed capitular provost by Bishop Andrew Széchy, his uncle	27 August 1345	He held the post of Bishop of Transylvania between 1357 and 1368
2	Peter, son of George	The King of Hungary, Louis I of Anjou	7 May 1343	He was a royal chaplain and had two more canonries in the Chapters of Zagreb and Székesfehérvár
3	Ladislaus, Archdeacon of Bekes	Stephen, Bishop of Cenad	26 May 1343	He was the bishop's chaplain and had another canonry and other positions in the church from Oradea. He had to give up the Archdeaconry of Békés
4	Peter yclept of Satu Mare	The congregation of students from Bologna	4 June 1343	He studied canon law at Bologna, as he had a modest background, and on 26 December 1343, he became the priest of St. Nicholas' Church in Székesfehérvár
5	Guillaume de La Jugié, Cardinal Deacon of Santa Maria in Cosmedin		1343 post 1345	The beneficiary was the nephew of the pope, who appointed him Archdeacon of Alba. The cardinal wanted to exchange this position with Stephen, son of Lawrence, but later the exchange was cancelled by Clement VI at the request of Guillaume
6	Stephen, son of Lawrence from Győr	Paul, judge of the royal court	21 October 1343 - 20 October 1345	The beneficiary was a canon and reader in Vác and the nephew of Paul, judge of the royal court. Later he received the provostship of the church in Old Buda, a canonry in Oradea.
7	Ladislaus of Geburlin from Mintiul de Satu Mare	Thomas, Comes of Liptó	11 February 1344	
8	Ladislaus, son of Bako.	Ladislaus, Archbishop of Kalocsa	9 October 1344	He was the nephew of the archbishop and also had two canonries with the related prebends in the Chapters of Zagreb and Bács, being also a cantor at Bács

9	Thomas, son of Peter, Provost of St. Lawrence's Church in Hay	Cardinal Guillaume de La Jugié	10 January 1345	The beneficiary was the cardinal's procurator and also had a canonry at Bács and Oradea
10	Luke, son of Ladislaus of Zekeres	Andrew, Bishop of Oradea	28 August 1345	Subsequently, on 25 May 1347, Cardinal Bertrand obtained from the pope, for him, another canonry in the Church of Transylvania, vacated through the resignation of Ladislaus, Archdeacon of Ugocea
11	John, son of Bertold of Wilkow (the Diocese of Wrocław)	Nicholas, Chancellor of the King of Hungary	11 September 1345	The beneficiary was the nephew of the royal chancellor and had two other canonries in Vác and Bratislava.
12	Ladislaus of Prague	Elisabeth, Queen of Hungary	28 September 1345	The beneficiary was the <i>teacher of Duke Stephen</i> , the son of the queen, the brother of King Louis I. The appointee could keep the canonries and prebends he held in Esztergom and Oradea.
13	Egidiu, son of Valentine, Canon of Oradea		On 10 November 1345 the pope granted him a dignity, and on 23 June 1346 he was appointed canon.	The beneficiary was the Canon of Oradea and rector of the altar of St. Thomas in the Cathedral of Oradea.
14	Peter		20 June 1346	He was appointed by the pope Archdeacon of Dăbâca, but faced the opposition of Bishop Andrew and the cathedral chapter
15	Michael, son of John of Zăuan, a cleric from the Diocese of Wrocław	Nicholas, Bishop of Pécs	2 December 1346	The beneficiary received the canonry that had belonged to Bishop Nicholas of Pécs
16	Nicholas, son of Valentine, a cleric from the Diocese of Transylvania	Cardinal Bertrand	On 25 May 1347, he obtained the post of Archdeacon of Ugocea and on 24 June 1347, he received a canonry and a prebend.	Nicholas could keep a series of revenues derived from the quarter tithes of some villages in the Diocese of Oradea, amounting to 20 florins.

17	Nicholas, son of Conrad, Canon of Esztergom.		9 November 1347	The benefice granted by the pope had belonged to Nicholas, who had been consecrated as Bishop of Nitra
18	Luke, son of Alexius, a canon and reader in Zagreb	Stephen, Archbishop of Kalocsa	19 June 1348	
19	Vincent Begonis Castrensis	Cardinal Guillaume de La Jugié	22 March 1349	The beneficiary was the brother of the cardinal's procurator in Hungary and Poland
20	Peter, son of Bertold of Brunna (Brno, Bohemia)	Louis I of Anjou	2 July 1352	The appointee was the chancellor of Duke Stephen of Anjou, the brother of the king. Peter had benefices in the Dioceses of Zagreb and Esztergom

Other ecclesiastical benefices distributed by Clement VI in Transylvania

No.	Name of the canon	The person who intervened for him	Appointment year	Other information and observations
1	Andrew, son of Peter		9 October 1344	He was appointed parish priest of Orăștie, having been transferred from Dipșa
2	John, a priest from the Diocese of Pécs	Stephen of the Order of Hermits of St. Augustine and Bishop of Nitra (1350-1367)	28 January 1350	The beneficiary was the brother of the Bishop of Nitra and was appointed as parish priest of Cojocna
3	Benedict, son of Elijah from the Diocese of Veszprém		30 September 1345	For this cleric the pope reserved a dignity in the Chapter of Transylvania, but on 11 October 1345, he relinquished it in favour of a dignity in the Chapter of Cenad

**ANTHROPONYMY AND MODES OF ANTHROPONYM
TRANSMISSION IN THE TRANSYLVANIAN NOBLE FAMILIES
IN THE LATE THIRTEENTH CENTURY AND THROUGHOUT
THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY [II]**

Abstract: This article is the continuation of a previous study, which aimed at highlighting several general European anthroponymic rules that made their presence felt in the medieval Kingdom of Hungary and, in particular, in the Voivodate of Transylvania and its adjacent counties. A random genealogical selection revealed the fact that the anthroponymic rules identified by the Western researchers were at work within the Transylvanian (and, in general, the Hungarian) area not only in the great baronial families, but also at the level of the counties, among the middle and petty nobles, who represented the backbone of nobiliary power within the kingdom.

Keywords: anthroponomy, nobility, genealogy, Transylvania, model/pattern

In a previous study² I tried to capture, in eighteen representative genealogical tables, the modes of anthroponym transmission in the Transylvanian noble families. I consider that at that time I offered only a brief overview of the matter, demonstrating the modes of anthroponym transmission from grandfather to grandson [a], from uncle to nephew [b] or from father to son [c]. The genealogies below are intended as a further argument reinforcing those stated in the previous article. In what follows I will enlarge upon this by adding seven more genealogical tables:

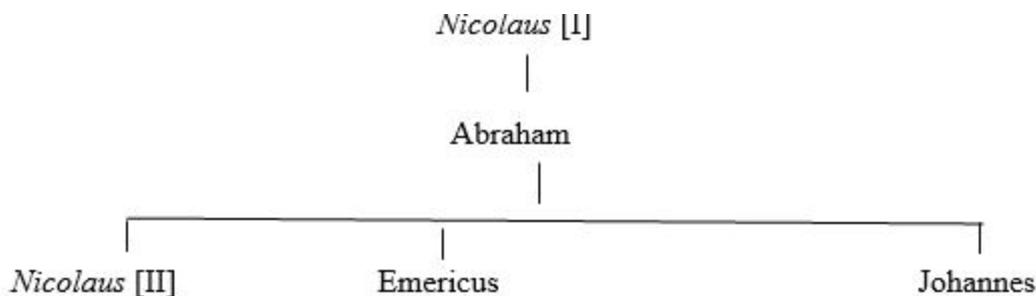
[a] One of the cases is that of *Abraham dictus magnus de Sancto Petro*, who appears in the published documents from the series *Documente privind Istoria României* [*Documents on the History of Romania*] in the period 1334-1344.³ He was the son of *Nicolaus* and the father of *Nicolaus*, *Emericus* and *Johannes*. In this case, we may notice that the rule for granting *Abraham*'s firstborn son the name of the grandfather, *Nicolaus* [I], was observed, whereas the other two sons received two names of Christian resonance: one was given the name of one of the Holy Kings, while the second was bestowed the theophoric and apostolic name of *Johannes*. We can therefore state that besides the number 1 rule of anthroponymic baptism, we may also find the rule of thematic variation, as identified by the researchers Eleanor Krawutschke and George Beech.⁴

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² "Antroponimia și modalități de transmitere a antroponimelor în cadrul familiilor nobiliare transilvănene de la sfârșitul secolului al XIII-lea și din secolul al XIV-lea," in *Acta Musei Napocensis, Historica*, 48/II, Cluj Napoca, 2011, pp. 9-30.

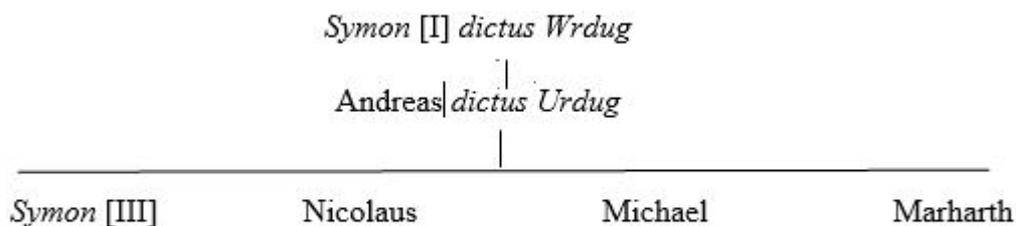
³ The first document in which it is mentioned bears the number 228 in *Documente privind istoria României*, series C, Transylvania, the fourteenth century, volume IV. Bucharest: Editura Academiei, 1955, p. 181 [hereinafter *DIR, C, Trans.*].

⁴ Eleanor Krawutschke, George Beech. "Le choix du nom d'enfant en Poitou (XIe-XIIe s.): l'importance des noms familiaux," in *Genèse Médiévale de l'anthroponymie moderne*, volume III. Tours: Université de Tours, 1996, pp. 145-146.



Genealogical Table 1. The family of *Abraham dictus magnus de Sancto Petro*.

Another case is that of *Andreas dictus Urdug* [Dracul, *The Devil*] *de Karul* [Carei, Satu Mare County], first attested in 1291.⁵ His father was *Symon dictus Wrdug* and his sons were called *Symon*, *Nicolaus*, *Michael* and *Marharth*. Andreas decided that his firstborn son should be named after his father, while his last born bore an onomasticon specific to the Károlyi family.



Genealogical Table 2. The family of *Andreas dictus Urdug de Karul*.

This rule was also applied in the case of Andreas, yclept Urdug, whose grandfather was Andreas, of the Kaplyon branch [1219]. Also, Andreas' older brother, *Petrus*, baptised his last born by the name of *Symon* [II]. He was mentioned in as early as 1306, while *Symon* [III] was mentioned only in 1322.⁶ *Marhard*/*Marharth*, Andreas' last born, had two sons: the last born was called *Andreas* [attested in 1368-1421].⁷ Basically, within four to five successive generations of the same branch, yet not necessarily the same family, the noticeable custom was that of giving one of the sons, either the first or the last born, the name of the paternal grandfather. One last observation we should make here is related to the names pertaining to the Oriental onomastic area used in this *generus*: *Andreas*, *Symon*, *Nicolaus*, *Michael*, which can

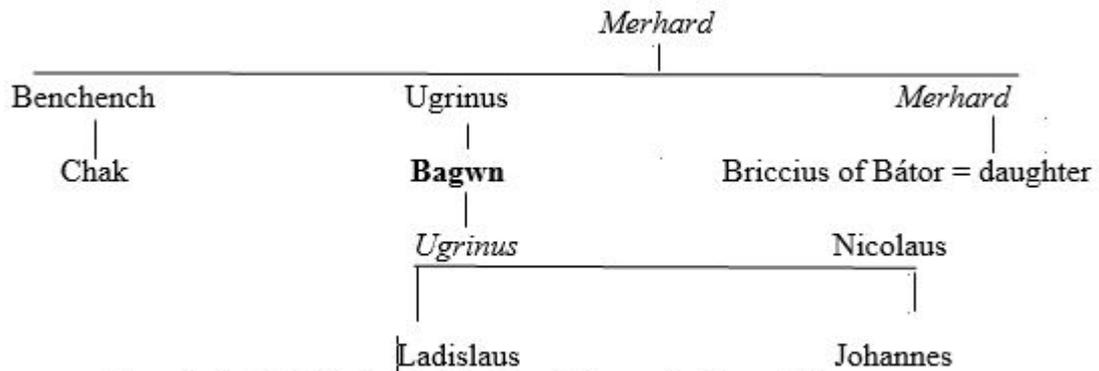
⁵ *DIR, C, Trans.*, the eleventh-thirteenth centuries, volume II, Bucharest: Editura Academiei, 1952, doc. 408. The nobleman Andreas was attested between 1291 and 1351, cf. Șerban Turcuș *et alii. Antroponimia în Transilvania medievală (secolele XI-XIV). Evaluare statistică, evoluție, semnificații*, volume II. Cluj Napoca: Editura Mega, 2011, p. 44.

⁶ Pál Engel. *Magyar középkori adattár. Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301–1457. Középkori magyar genealógia*. Budapest, 2001 [CD-ROM], Kaplyon entry, Károlyi table.

⁷ *Ibidem*.

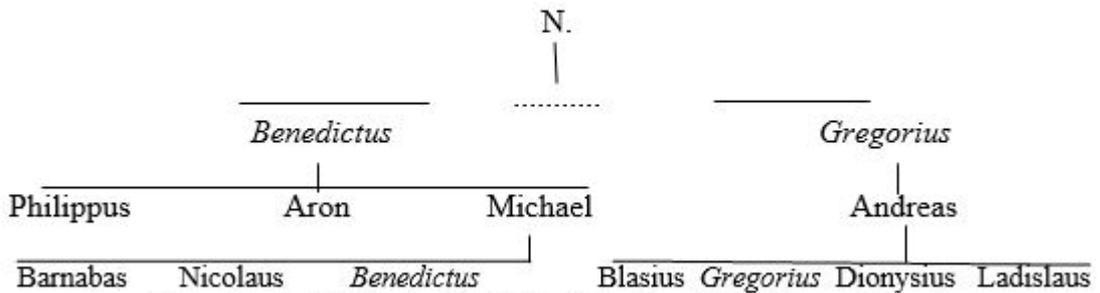
lead us to think of an early confessional orientation of this family - which became extremely well known, especially during the modern period of this Central-Eastern area - towards Oriental-rite Christianity.

Another example is provided by a relative of the Báthorys, *Bagwn*, son of Ugrinus and grandson of Marhart/Merhard, attested on 9 April 1342,⁸ a landowner in Zarand County, bordering on the Voivodate of Transylvania. Under the document preserved in this regard, this *Bagwn* was the father of Nicolaus and Ugrinus, the grandfather Iohannes and Ladislaus, but he was also the son of Ugrinus and the grandson of Merhard. Among the many relatives mentioned on this occasion, Benchench [Vincent] and Merhard, his uncles, were also attested. In this noble family we may also notice the transmission of anthroponyms from grandfather to grandson [Ugrinus - Ugrinus] and transmission of anthroponyms from father to son.



Genealogical Table 3. The family of *Bagwn* in Zarand County.

The last example we shall present is the Makoi family of the Chanad branch, with land estates in the counties of Arad and Zarand, attested on 3 May 1344,⁹ involved in a lawsuit for the partition of estates. The parties to this trial were several cousins and brothers who had a common, unmentioned ancestor.



Genealogical Table 4. The Makoi family of the Chanad branch.

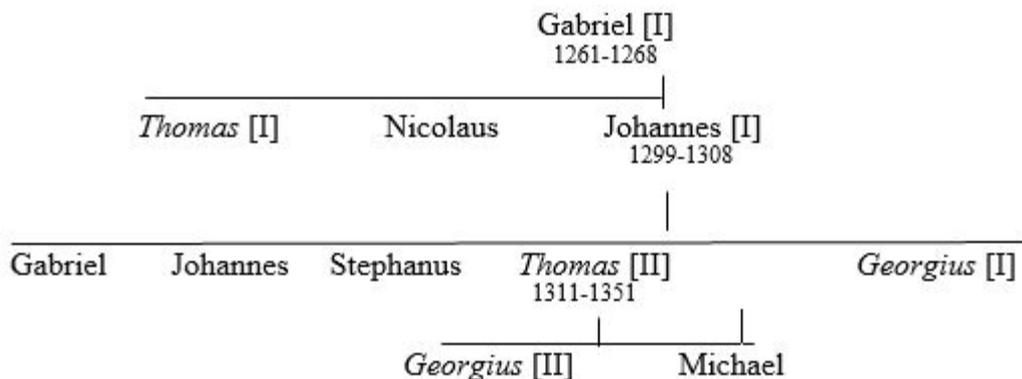
⁸ *DIR, C, Trans.*, the fourteenth century, volume IV, doc. 72, p. 72.

⁹ *Ibidem*, doc. 233, pp. 183-186.

This family also evinced the adoption, between generations II and IV, of the rule for anthroponym transmission from grandfather to grandson: Benedictus - Benedictus and, respectively, Gregorius - Gregorius.

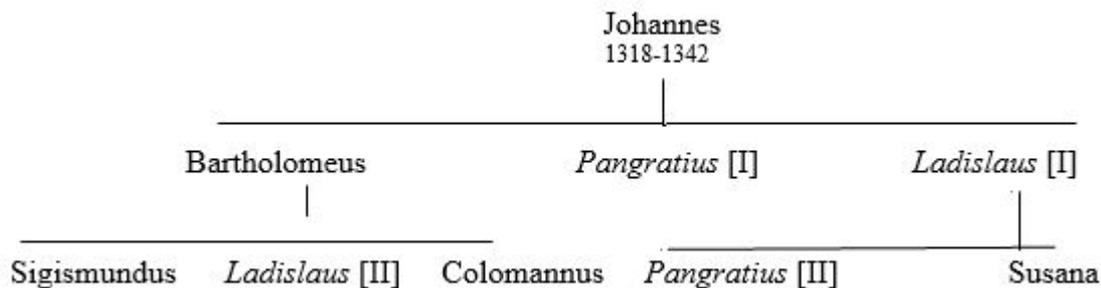
[*b*] For the second type of anthroponymic baptism [uncle - nephew], we have several clear cases, especially from the late thirteenth and the early fourteenth centuries.

Thus, we have selected the cases of families like the Csarnavodais of the Kata branch or the Dengelegis of the same Kata branch.¹⁰



Genealogical Table 5. The Csarnavodai family of the Kata branch [cf. P. Engel].¹¹

In this family fragment we can easily observe rule *a* too [grandfather - grandson], and also rule *c* [father-son], in addition to the nephew - uncle rule we wish to illustrate through Thomas [I] and his nephew Thomas [II] and, respectively, through Georgius [I] and his nephew, Georgius [II].



Genealogical Table 6. The Dengelegi family of the Kata branch [cf. P. Engel].¹²

For the Dengelegi family, anthroponymic formula *b* for the first three generations is evident in the case of Pangratius [I] and Pangratius [II] and, respectively, Ladislaus [I] and Ladislaus [II].

¹⁰ Pál Engel. *Magyar középkori adattár. Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301–1457. Középkori magyar genealógia*. Budapest, 2001 [CD-ROM], Kata entry.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, table 3.

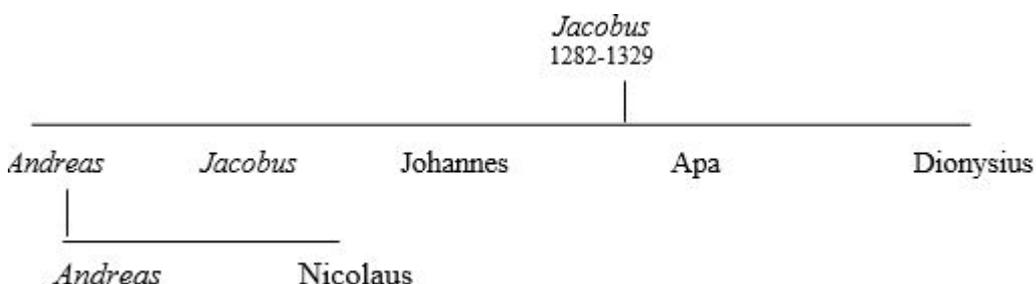
¹² *Ibidem*, table 5.

The rule we have referred to as rule [c] (father-son) was the most frequently encountered in the space under examination here, both for the great noble families and for the families belonging to the middle and small gentry. Documents stored in various family archives or those that have already been published reveal, without the trace of a doubt, this anthroponymic reality: this was the case, for example, of *Iako*, son of *Iako*, mentioned in 1279,¹³ or *Ihon*, son of *Ihon of Erkud*, attested in 1293.¹⁴

We can also mention *Petrus*, the son of Master *Petrus*, grandson of Mykud, brother of Johannes and David¹⁵ or *Stephanus*, son of *Stephanus* of Semyen.¹⁶

Such examples were numerous throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and continued, as a rule, during the fifteenth century.

A general example for the first half of the fourteenth century is given by the Bethlen family of the Becsgegyi branch.



Genealogical Table 7. A genealogical fragment of the Bethlen family from the Becsgergelyi branch [cf. P. Engel].¹⁷

These seven complete genealogical tables clearly round off what I had stated in the previous article and indicate an obvious anthroponymic approach that was found throughout *Christianitas*, starting from the Atlantic corner unto the eastern borders of this political- confessional space subordinated to the Roman Curia.

¹³ *DIR, C, Trans.*, the eleventh-thirteenth centuries, volume II, doc. no. 237.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, doc. no. 444.

¹⁵ *DIR, C, Trans.*, the fourteenth century, volume IV, doc. 76, pp. 77-79.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, doc. 255, p. 206.

¹⁷ Pál Engel, *Magyar középkori adattár. Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301–1457. Középkori magyar genealógia*. Budapest, 2001 [CD-ROM], Becsgegyi entry, table 3.

NEW INFORMATION CONCERNING THE PRESENCE OF STUDENTS FROM CLUJ AT THE UNIVERSITY OF VIENNA PRIOR TO 1550

Abstract: This article examines, in particular, the activity of 34 students from Cluj who obtained various academic degrees (Bachelor's, Master's or PhD) from the faculties of the University of Vienna up until the middle of the sixteenth century. The information is taken from recently published repertories and the original transcripts, available online: *Acta Facultatis Artium Universitatis Vindobonensis* and *Matricula Facultatis Juristarum Studii Viennensis*.

Various aspects are highlighted, such as: the succession of the educational cycles, the duration and the cost of the studies, the subjects of the lectures they attended and the structure of the exams, the rules for obtaining academic degrees and the practice of attending several universities (*peregrinatio academica*).

Six of the individuals from Cluj who studied in Vienna became Doctors of Law or Theology, and nine received the title of *magister artium*. Mention should be made of the remarkable activity of Jacob Vexillifer, who was elected *procurator nationis Hungaricae* on several occasions and served as a board member of the Faculty of Liberal Arts (1500-1525). The graduates who returned home embarked on various careers, becoming clerics, teachers, notaries, secretaries, etc.

The dissemination of the Protestant ideas and the Ottoman occupation of Hungary greatly diminished the interest manifested by the students from Cluj in attending the Catholic University of Vienna.

Keywords: Cluj, Vienna, education, Bachelor's degree, doctoral degree.

The presence of the Transylvanians at the University of Vienna prior to the middle of the sixteenth century became the subject of research after 1870. Saxon,² Hungarian³ and Austrian⁴ historians have published several transcripts and repertories concerning the attendance of this academic centre, where many scholars from Cluj also studied. In recent years, this concern has continued, with significant results.⁵ For students coming exclusively from the intra-Carpathian area and the western territories of Romania, vast repertories have been compiled, showing the phenomenon of academic peregrination during the centuries of the Middle Ages and the modern era.⁶ A detailed

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² Georg Daniel Teutsch, "Siebenbürgen Studirende aus der Hochschule in Wien im 14., 15. und 16. Jahrhundert. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte Siebenbürgens," in *Archiv des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, 16, 1881, pp. 321-354.

³ Fraknoi Vilmos, *Magyarországi tanárok és tanulók a bécsi egyetemen a XIV. és XV. században*, Budapest, 1874.

⁴ Karl Schrauf, *Magyarországi tanulók külföldön*, I: Jena; II: Bécs; III: Krakkó, Budapest, 1890-1893; idem, *Die Matrikel der Ungarischen Nation an der Wiener Universität*, Wien, 1902.

⁵ Kissné Bognár Krisztina, *Magyarországi diákok a bécsi tanintézetekben 1526–1789*, Budapest, 2004; Tüskés Anna, *Magyarországi diákok a bécsi egyetemen 1365–1526*, Budapest, Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem Levéltár, 2008.

⁶ Tonk Sándor, *Erdélyiek egyetemjárása a középkorban*, Bukarest, 1979; Szabó Miklós, Tonk S., *Erdélyiek egyetemjárása a korai újkorban 1521-1700*, Szeged, 1992. The subject is further investigated by

approach to this subject is possible thanks to the initiatives undertaken by the University of Vienna, which has published the transcripts of its faculties⁷ and allowed direct access, by electronic means, to the documents in its own archives.⁸ Very useful are the works referring to the Faculties of Liberal Arts⁹ and Legal Sciences,¹⁰ two institutions that were at the forefront of the preferences exhibited by the scholars from Cluj in the fifteenth century. The information retrieved thus is especially valuable for acquiring knowledge about those who managed to obtain various academic degrees: Bachelor's, Master's or PhD. Also, the initiative of the Hungarian National Archives to post, on its electronic website,¹¹ the images and the registers of documents issued before 1526, both those preserved in its own collection and the documents kept in archives outside Hungary, provides an opportunity for reconstituting the post-graduate career many graduates who originally came from Cluj.

The constant interest of the students from Cluj in higher education may be inferred from the large number of scholars included in the repertories. Compared to the total number of the students identified for the Transylvania-Banat region, the scholars who originated in the city of Cluj amounted to 4.88% (122 out of 2,496)¹² in the period before 1520, and 3.75% (107 out of 2,854)¹³ in the period between 1520 and 1700. The religious Reformation radically changed the options for the universities. Prior to 1520, most of the young men had studied in Vienna and Krakow,¹⁴ but during the Reformation and the autonomous Principality, they turned mainly to the Protestant academic centres, avoiding more prestigious universities that had remained Catholic.¹⁵ The general phenomenon was also reflected accordingly at the level of the city of Cluj.¹⁶

Szabó M., Szögi László, *Erdélyi peregrinusok. Erdélyi diákok európai egyetemeken 1701-1849*, Marosvásárhely, 1998; Szabó M., *Erdélyiek Magyarországi egyetemeken 1848 előtt*, Marosvásárhely, 2005; more recently, Szögi L., *Studentii români din Transilvania la universitățile din Europa în secolele XVI-XX*, Târgu-Mureș, 2011.

⁷ *Die Matrikel der Universität Wien* [1365–1746], I-VII, Wien-Köln-Graz-München, 1956–2011.

⁸ <http://bibliothek.univie.ac.at/archiv/>

⁹ *Acta Facultatis Artium Universitatis Vindobonensis 1385-1416*, ed. Paul Uiblein (*Publikationen des IfÖG VI. Reihe: Quellen zur Geschichte der Universität Wien*, 2. Abteilung), Graz-Wien-Köln, 1968. *Acta Facultatis Artium. Personen-Nennungen im Zusammenhang mit Prüfung, Graduierung und Verteilung der Vorlesungsthemen*, vol. II (1416-1447), III/1 (1447-1471), III/2 (1471-1497), IV (1497-1555) (UAW Cod. Ph. 7, 8, 9), Bearbeitung: Thomas Maisel, Ingrid Matschinegg, Wien, 2007. http://bibliothek.univie.ac.at/archiv/cat_publicationen.html (hereinafter, AFA).

¹⁰ *Die Matrikel der Wiener Rechtswissenschaftlichen Fakultät/ Matricula Facultatis Juristarum Studii Viennensis* (hrsg. Kurt Mühlberger), I (1402–1442), Wien-München, 2011 (hereinafter, J 1).

Archiv der Universität Wien, Archive/ Fakultäten/ Rechtswissenschaftliche (Rechts- und Staatswissenschaftliche) Fakultät/ Geschäftsbücher der Juridischen Fakultät/ *J 2 Matricula Facultatis Juridicae II. (1442–1557)* (hereinafter, J 2).

¹¹ Magyar Országos Levéltár, *Diplomatikai Levéltár* and *Diplomatikai Fényképgyűjtemény*, available on the website <http://mol.arcanum.hu/dldf/opt/a110505htm?v=pdf&a=start> (hereinafter, DL/ DF).

¹² Tonk S., *op. cit.*, p. 42-43, 68 (Cluj occupies the third place, after Sibiu–285 and Brașov–267 students).

¹³ Szabó M., Tonk S., *op. cit.*, p. 286, 381. The fourth place, after Brașov–359, Sibiu–256, Bistrița–127.

¹⁴ Tonk S., *op. cit.*, p. 43. Vienna–1588 matriculated students, Krakow–811.

¹⁵ Szabó M., Tonk S., *op. cit.*, p. 357-374. At Wittenberg–1152 matriculated students, Franeker–279, Leyden–264, Vienna–241 and Krakow – only 93.

¹⁶ Up until the year 1520: Vienna–85, Krakow–21, at both universities–3; between 1520–1700: Vienna–12 (5 before the year 1550), Krakow–3 (all before 1550).

The first definite record of a young man from Cluj who enrolled in a European university, the Viennese one, dates from April 1387.¹⁷ The orientation towards the *Alma Mater Rudolphina*, founded on 12 March 1365, is primarily explained by the absence of universities in the Hungarian Kingdom.¹⁸ The University of Vienna distinguished itself through its professors' high degree of expertise and the connections established both with Italian cities that promoted Humanism and with the German universities.¹⁹ This centre was preferred by the students from Cluj because it provided them with many advantages: the shorter distance from home, more moderate study expenses, or the use of the German language, which made their everyday life much easier.

The entries in the matriculation registers contain the first information about the scholars (*scolares*). The place of origin is spelled in different forms and the native region is sometimes indicated too (*Transilvanus, de Septemcastris*). Onomastics helps identify the scholars in the registers of the faculties and of the Hungarian university "nation" (*natio Hungarie alme universitatis Wiennensis*).²⁰ These latter documents highlight cases where young men from Cluj registered themselves simultaneously, in groups of 2-3-4, together with their conationals from different localities.²¹ Their companionship contributed to increasing their safety during their journey to Vienna and to easing their daily life in the city. Regarding the social condition, all the students from Cluj were free men, coming from the estate of the townspeople. In the registers of the Hungarian "nation," they were listed among the "magistri arcium cuiuscunque status sive conditionis infra baronatum et prelatos minores" or "baccalarii arcium simplices sive sub nobilium statibus non comprehensi," or among those "scolares cuiuscunque facultatis sub nobilium statibus non comprehensi."²² A distinction can be made from a socio-professional perspective. In the transcripts, next to their baptismal name is recorded their own profession or that practised by the family: *Aurifabri* (goldsmith), *Carnificis* (butcher), *Institoris* (merchant), *Lapicida* (stone mason), *Lutifigulus* (potter), *Notarius* (notary), *Pellificis* (furrier) *Vanentrager/ Vexillifer* (ensign), and even *Czechsch* (guild member).

¹⁷ Tonk S., *op. cit.*, no. 240 (Bartholomeus *de Clawsenburg*).

¹⁸ The initiatives of the Hungarian sovereigns resulted in the establishment of several institutions whose existence was ephemeral: the University of Pécs (1367), *Studium generale (Klosterhochschule)* in Buda (1389) and *Academia Istropolitana* in Bratislava (1467), cf. Ábel Jenő, *Egyetemeink a középkorban*, Budapest, 1881.

¹⁹ Alphons Lhotsky, *Die Wiener Artistenfakultät, 1365–1497: Festgabe der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zur 600-Jahrfeier der Universität Wien*, Wien 1965.

²⁰ At the University of Vienna there were four "nations": Austrian, Rhenish, Hungarian and Saxon, cf. K. Schrauf, *Die Matrikel*, p. VII.

²¹ In the first semester of 1453: 34 matriculated students (Sibiu–2, Brașov and Cluj – one each, 3 other Transylvanians); the first semester of 1456: 34 (Cluj–4, Sibiu–3, 2 other Transylvanians); the first semester of 1461: 44 (Brașov–3, Sibiu–2, Cluj–1); the first semester of 1464: 18 (Cluj–2, Brașov–1); the first semester of 1465: 34 scholars, two of which were from Cluj; the first semester of 1475: 31 (Sibiu–3, Brașov and Cluj – one each); the second semester of 1477: 8 (Cluj and Sibiu–2 each, one from Sighișoara); the second semester of 1488: 7 (Sibiu–3, Brașov–2, Bistrița and Cluj – one each); the first semester of 1549: 28 (one from each of the following: Brașov, Cluj, Feldioara, Sibiu and Sighișoara), cf. *ibidem*, pp. 89, 95-97, 102, 105-108, 123-124, 126-127, 136, 201-202.

²² *Ibidem*, pp. 38-54 (*magistri*), 67-89 (*baccalarii*), 89-210 (*scolares*).

The data preserved suggest that course attendance was influenced by the students' social origin and wealth. For most of them, studies represented a way of social affirmation. Moreover, only the wealthy could aspire to higher education, as to the tuition fees there were added expenses for maintenance and the purchase of manuscripts and printed books.²³ Other amounts were requested for admission into "*natio Hungarica*" as *scolarius*,²⁴ *baccalaureus* and *magister*.²⁵ The studies of law, medicine and theology were much more expensive. From the records of the Faculty of Law it appears that the few students from Cluj who were enrolled there had paid 2-3 Groschen or half a florin on admission, while on their graduation they paid one florin. There was only one law student (Jacob Sczas, 1455) who was recorded as a *pauper*.²⁶

The financial situation was partly responsible for the fact that out of the total of the students enrolled between 1387-1550, only 36% (34 out of 93) completed their studies by obtaining an academic degree. Of the 34 Cluj graduates, most had paid on admission between 2-4 Groschen,²⁷ while a few of the poor scholars were exempt from payment, being granted the *privilegium paupertatis*.²⁸ During examinations, requests were made for fee waivers (Bachelor's - 9, Licentiate degree - 3), which were approved by the dean and the receiver.²⁹ There were also instances where material deprivation was an obstacle for the graduates. In 1401, Nicolaus *de Septemcastris de Clausenburch* was accepted on the promise that he would pay the admission fee (*promisit*), but on 3 May 1405 his being granted the title of *magister artium* was made conditional upon the payment of the overdue fee. The following year, he enrolled at the University of Krakow, giving the same assurance.³⁰

At the basis of university education was the Faculty of Liberal Arts and acquiring the title of *magister artium* opened the way for higher education in law, medicine and theology.³¹ The years of study were divided into two semesters: the

²³ A calculation by tranches of expenses shows that within the two years between enrollment and *baccalaureatus*, the amounts of money required were at least 19 florins, 35 Groschen and 66 denarii, while the sum necessary for the following two years, until the title of master (*magisterium*) was awarded, included at least 45 florins, 49 Groschen and 156 denarii, cf. Tonk S., *op. cit.*, p. 115.

²⁴ K. Schrauf, *Die Matrikel*, pp. 89, 96, 106 (4 den.); 102, 123 (5 den.); 106 (6 den.); 127 (7 den. Wienn.); 107, 136 (8 den.); 108 (1 Groschen); 183 (2 Kreuzers); 202 (nil).

²⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 42, 47-48 (masters: 14-19 denarii); 73, 80, 82 (B.A.s: 8-10 denarii).

²⁶ J 1, pp. 8, 15, 36, 41, 42; J 2, f. 10r, 11v, 13r.

²⁷ Tonk S., *op. cit.*, no. 637, 775, 970, 974 (2 Groschen); 95, 101, 497, 576, 802, 806, 812, 1002, 1015, 1033, 1082, 1115, 1508, 1568, 1789, 2205, 2208, 2246, 2380 (4 Groschen); 2261 (29 denarii); 564 (*dedit*); 2296 (*totum*); Szabó M., Tonk S., *op. cit.*, no. 1017 (2 solidi).

²⁸ Jacobus (1407), another Jacobus (1413), Martinus *Lapicida* (1428), Valentinus *Institoris* (1432), Johannes Sterchen (1440), cf. S. Tonk, *op. cit.*, no. 778, 786, 1411, 2400, 971. On 2 Jan. 1403 "... *deliberavit facultas [artium], quod super conscientias suas dicerent michi [decano], an haberent vel possent habere in brevi, quod tunc darent, si autem non haberent nec sperarent se posse habere et essent pauperes, quod tunc esset cum eis dispensatum.*" cf. AFA, I, p. 216.

²⁹ AFA, II, no. 4873, 5842, 6788 (lic.), 8172, 8775; III/1, no. 11222, 11737, 15224, 15317, 15623 (lic.), 16091; IV, no. 22633 (lic.).

³⁰ S. Tonk, *op. cit.*, no. 1730; AFA, I, p. 248. *Album Studiosorum Universitatis Cracoviensis*, I (1400-1489), Krakow, 1887, pp. 23-24: "Nicolaus Koessel *de Clausemburk baccalarius in Artibus Universitatis Viennensis promisit.*"

³¹ The scheme of the educational cycles, in S. Tonk, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

summer (*Sommersemester*) and the winter semesters (*Wintersemester*), starting in mid-April and, respectively, in October.³² The scholars from Cluj were included in the “*natio Hungarica*”³³ and coordinated by Masters/*Magisters*. For two years, the students (*scolares*) learned the three disciplines of classical *trivium*: grammar, dialectic (logic), and rhetoric, with the prospect of becoming bachelors.³⁴ In general, the courses had dogmatic rigidity, because the object of research was not the world or man, but the conception of ancient and canonical authors about nature and society. The teaching activities included presentations with text commentaries (*lectiones*), questions (*quaestiones*), debate and the highlighting of key issues (*disputationes*), revision exercises (*exercitia, repetitiones*).³⁵ At the end of this cycle, the students took a preliminary test (*responsio*)³⁶ in the fields of grammar and logic to prove their ability to take part in a public *determinatio*. If successful, they were admitted to the *examen determinantium seu baccalariandorum*.³⁷ At that time, *determinatio* had great pedagogical importance as a means of assessing the extent to which the scholars mastered Latin, above all, and then argumentation, eloquence and rhetoric.

The transcripts from the Faculty of Liberal Arts in Vienna recorded the participation of 32 students from Cluj in this exam,³⁸ and there were situations when two fellow-townsmen were assessed simultaneously.³⁹ From the annex of the study it appears that most of them took the examination 2-2.5 years after enrolment (13-13 *scolares*). Jacobus *Septemcastris* was the first and the fastest to obtain the Bachelor's degree (June 1394). In contrast to him, there were young men who received the title 6½, 9 or 11 years after enrolment.⁴⁰ In the sessions, the number of those enrolled and examined was variable, going up to 78 candidates.⁴¹ Each university “nation” designated the examination board, and the latter established the bibliography for the examination. We know of the existence of four scholars from Cluj who became Masters of the Faculty of Liberal Arts and were selected as examiners: Jacobus *Septemcastris*

³² As a rule, the dates for the beginning of the summer (I) and the winter semesters (II) were 14 April and, respectively, 13 October, cf. K. Schrauf, *Die Matrikel*, p. XXI.

³³ By way of exemplification, consider the following: the first semester of 1456: “*sub procuracia Mag. Jacobi Schaffind de Cibino, intitulati sunt scolares infrascripti... Stephanus Egidii Sartoris, Jacobus Zaß, Paulus, Leonardus Geetsch [omnes] de Clauseburga*” (with 30 other fellow students, three of them from Sibiu); the second semester of 1488: “*procurante Mag. Mathia Knofloch ex Corona, tempore [h]ymali, intitulati sunt scolares subscripti, anno 1488... Joannes Cleynmichel ex Coloswar* (with 7 other scholars, three of whom were from Sibiu, two from Braşov and one from Bistriţa), cf. K. Schrauf, *Die Matrikel*, pp. 95-97, 136-137.

³⁴ Ovidiu Drîmba, *Istoria culturii și civilizației*, III, Bucharest, 1990, pp. 149-150, 161. S. Tonk, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

³⁵ O. Drîmba, *op. cit.*, p. 161, 164, 179. S. Tonk, *op. cit.*, pp. 104-105.

³⁶ Du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis*, V, Paris, 1845, p. 731 (art. *responsio*).

³⁷ *Ibidem*, II, 1842, p. 824 (art. *determinatio*).

³⁸ There are no know details for Jacob Zaz/ Sczas (1454–1455) and Joannes *Colosbarinus* (1548–c. 1551), that quickly passed through the cycle of Arts, enrolling in the faculties of law and theology.

³⁹ AFA, II, no. 8160, 8172 (4 July 1442); III/1, no. 14284, 14289 (14 April 1463), 14865, 14888 (14 April 1466); III/2, no. 19128, 19144 (14 April 1480).

⁴⁰ Valentin Institoris (1432–1441), Johannes Weyr (1442–1453), Johannes Kolb (1456–1463).

⁴¹ There were nine series of up to 25 aspirants (those prior to the year 1431 and in 1524), another eight groups of 26-40 candidates (between the years 1441–1467), four groups of 40–50 scholars (between 1466–1490) and another five groups of 71–78 students (in the years 1449, 1453, 1470, 1471, 1502).

(1397–1399), Nicolaus *de Clausenburch* (1415), Nicolaus *de Klawnsburga* (1474, 1477), Jacobus *Vexillifer* (1505–1525). Here it must be stressed that there were no written examinations in the medieval universities,⁴² and the candidates themselves could determine the degree of difficulty of their exam; this ranged from the most comprehensive and difficult (*rigorosum*) to the ordinary, average-level exam (*transibile*). This system favoured the candidates' success, as evidenced by the Viennese transcript records. Thus, for each session, no more than five failures were recorded, usually accounted for by absence from the exams or suspension for disciplinary misconduct. As regards the students from Cluj, only three had such problems. On 4 July 1442, Johannes Han was not admitted to the *examen determinantium*, but six months later (5 January 1443) he participated in a special test, for only two candidates, and was granted the right to sit for the Bachelor's exam.⁴³ The same situation was experienced by Johannes Klein *de Kolnswar*: he was absent from the exam of 12 July 1490, which he took again, as the sole student, only on 13 October 1491.⁴⁴ In the same period, Jacobus Vanentrager *de Kolnschwar*'s sitting for the exam was temporarily postponed, as he was most likely suspended for indiscipline (13 October 1493). His name appeared again in the transcripts only on 12 March 1501 (Iacobus Vexillifer *de Clausenburcha*), defending his Bachelor's degree in the Liberal Arts.⁴⁵

After receiving the Bachelor's degree,⁴⁶ the young people had the alternative to return home, where they could valorise their intellectual training, or continue to study in Vienna or at another university. Many left the university primarily for material reasons. However, as regards the number of graduates, the city of Cluj had a privileged position within the Banat-Transylvania region.⁴⁷

The Bachelors were considered aspirants to the degree of *magister atrium*.⁴⁸ They were also enrolled in the Hungarian academic "nation,"⁴⁹ being coordinated by a

⁴² O. Drimba, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

⁴³ AFA, II, no. 8160, 8281.

⁴⁴ AFA, III/2, no. 20827, 21188.

⁴⁵ AFA, III/2, no. 21500; IV, no. 22633.

⁴⁶ "*Baccalariatus erat primus gradus academicae dignitatis, qui conferebatur juvenibus scholaribus... corona laurea baccifera a magistris donandis*," cf. *Statuta nec non liber promotionum philosophorum ordinis in Universitate studiorum Jagellonica ab anno 1402 ad annum 1849*, ed. Joseph Muczkowski, Cracoviae, 1849, p. 443. This was considered *laurea prima*. "*Laurea secunda designat magisterii honorem*" (*ibidem*, p. 446).

⁴⁷ Up until 1520, Cluj had 44 graduates with bachelor's degrees in Arts (32 from Vienna and 12 from other universities) out of 122 matriculated students (36%). The average is higher than the regional mean, of 10.65 % (266 out of 2496), calculated by S. Tonk (*op. cit.*, p. 103). Thus, the city of Cluj gave 16% of the total number of graduates in the Liberal Arts.

⁴⁸ "*Baccalarius dicitur candidatus magisterii*," cf. *Statuta Univ. Jagellonica*, 1849, p. 443.

⁴⁹ Let us refer to the following examples: the first semester of 1468: "*sub procuracia Michaelis Kuttner de Buda, licenciati in decretis, intitupati sunt baccalarii subscripti, anno Domini etc. LXVIII-o: Jacobus de Klausenburcha, dedit 1 gr.*" (next to an individual from Sibiu); the first semester of 1492: "*Mag. Valentino Krauss Coronensi inclitae Ungaricae nationis procuratorio officio functo per aetatem, se matriculae nationis memmoratae inscribi procuraverunt baccalarii infra notati: Johannes Chlayn ex Klausenburch, [dedit] 8 den.*" (with three fellow students from Braşov and one from Bistriţa); the first semester of 1503: "*sub procuracia Mag. Martini Capinii Cibiniensis baccalarii infrascripti sunt intitupati: Steffanus de Kolozswar, 10 den. [dedit]*" (with 3 other colleagues), cf. K. Schrauf, *Die Matrikel*, pp. 73, 79–80, 82.

Master. In the second university cycle (*quadrivium*), students received training in the branches of natural philosophy and metaphysics.⁵⁰ The candidates wishing to receive permission (*licentia*) to teach in the Faculty of Arts were subjected to a preliminary test (*tentamen, temptamen*),⁵¹ before a committee appointed by the Chancellor of the university. In the months between obtaining the *licentia* and delivering the inaugural lecture (*inceptio*),⁵² the Bachelor had to study moral philosophy and complete his studies of natural philosophy.⁵³ The aspirant to the degree of *magister artium* appeared in the position of initiator and defender (*inceptor*) of the ideas his thesis (*quaestio*) contained. The subject of controversy was discussed in public, under the supervision of a Master of the university. The argumentation and refutation of ideas were made under predetermined proceedings, as practised during previous courses. The reward for these endeavours was the award, in a solemn frame, of the Master's insignia.⁵⁴

The records of the University of Vienna directly record the nine students from Cluj who managed to obtain a Bachelor's degree and were admitted to sit in for that *inceptio*. Two of them received the degree of *licentiatus* relatively quickly (in less than two years), three others in a reasonable amount of time (3-4 years), while four scholars from Cluj succeeded in obtaining this title only after 6-7 years. 12-26 candidates signed up for the sessions, but some did not pass the exams for various reasons: absence and suspension (9 out of 26 candidates in March 1470) or death (1502).⁵⁵ Few of those who were awarded *licentia docendi* chose to teach and continue their academic career. The titles served to certify their intellectual training and launch their careers in other sectors than education.⁵⁶

Six of the scholars from Cluj who obtained the Bachelor's degree became Masters. The first was Jacobus *Septemcastris*, listed as an examiner of the Hungarian "nation" (1398-1400) and a member in the Council of the Faculty of Liberal Arts (16 January 1399).⁵⁷ After 16 January 1400, he chose to leave the university and settled in Cluj, where he became one of the most influential and respected inhabitants.⁵⁸ The documents present his real name (*Jacobus dictus Bulkisser*), to which are added the academic degrees obtained in Vienna.⁵⁹ The next aspirant to the Master's degree was

⁵⁰ S. Tonk, *op. cit.*, pp. 96-98 (the description of the courses on arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and music).

⁵¹ Du Cange, *op. cit.*, VI, 1846, p. 543 (art. *tentatio*). No students from Cluj appear to have signed up for this test.

⁵² *Ibidem*, III, 1844, p. 792 (art. *inceptio*).

⁵³ O. Drîmba, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

⁵⁴ "*Insignia magistralia erant: birretum seu pileus doctoralis, epomis superhumeralis, annulus digito impositus, liber clausus et apertus traditus, amplexus et osculum magistrale.*" cf. *Statuta Univ. Jagellonica*, p. 446.

⁵⁵ AFA, III/1, no. 15870-15895; IV, no. 22625.

⁵⁶ O. Drîmba, *op. cit.*, pp. 163-164.

⁵⁷ AFA, I, pp. 150, 157, 159, 160, 163, 166-168, 179, 180.

⁵⁸ On 2 July 1405 "*Jacobus dictus Polkyscher artium liberalium magister juratus et Nicolaus dictus Mwn cives de Coloswar*" obtained vast privileges for the city from King Sigismund of Luxemburg, cf. *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, ed. Franz Zimmermann, Carl Werner, Georg Müller, III, Hermannstadt, 1902, pp. 347, 350, 354, 356, 358, no. 1531-1534 (hereinafter, UB).

⁵⁹ "*vir scientificus Jacobus dictus Bulkisser artium liberalium magister.*" Attestations between 1407-1423 (UB, III, pp. 432, 447, 474, no. 1585, 1605, 1628; IV, 1937, p. 201, no. 1937).

Nicolaus *de Septemcastris de Clausenburch*: after four years of study, the award of his degree was postponed due to the non-payment of fees (3 May 1405). Nicolaus was not discouraged and enrolled in the University of Krakow, where he quickly achieved his second Bachelor's in Arts (1406).⁶⁰ He returned to Vienna and received the coveted title of Master, practising for several years (1409-1415).

As regards the activity of Masters Stephanus *de Clausenburch* (1433) and Martinus *de Chlossenburg* (1438), only the titles of the lectures that they were to deliver are known: *Secundam/ Tertiam partem (Doctrinalem) Allexandri*.⁶¹ Nicolaus *Pellificis de Klausnburga* and Iacobus *Vexillifer Transilvanus* had a better known academic career. The former's name was recorded four times, on the days of 1 September of the years 1474 to 1477, next to other Masters of the Faculty of Arts who obtained the titles for their courses (*regens*).⁶² Nicolaus delivered lectures on *Parva naturalia* (1474)⁶³, *Proporciones Breves* (1475)⁶⁴, *Obligatoria* (1476)⁶⁵ and *Tertiam partem Allexandri* (1477). He was also elected examiner of the Hungarian "nation" at two exams for the Bachelor's degree.⁶⁶ His fellow-townsmen, Iacobus *Vexillifer*, took his Master's degree in March 1501, being registered with this degree in the registers of the Hungarian "nation."⁶⁷ He had a long academic career, attested up until 1525. The subjects of his lectures included: *Tertiam partem Allexandri*, *Elenchorum*⁶⁸ and *Horas canonicas*.⁶⁹ In the academic community, Iacobus *Vexillifer* occupied honourable positions: *procurator nationis Hungaricae*⁷⁰ (the first semester 1505; the first semester 1512; 9 February - 14 April 1515 (substitute); the first semester 1522), *vice-procurator* (the second semester 1508; the second semester 1515)⁷¹ and *examinator* (nine times between 17 May 1505-16 September 1525).⁷² He enjoyed a similar influential position at the level of the Faculty of Liberal Arts. After an unsuccessful attempt to enter the faculty council (22

⁶⁰ *Album Studiosorum*, I, pp. 23-24; *Statuta Univ. Jagellonica*, p. 5: "promoti sunt hy: Nicolaus de Septem castris, baccalarius Wy(en)nensis, per Facultatem assumptus" (II 1406).

⁶¹ AFA, II, no. 6385, 7057. The treatise on grammar *Doctrinale puerorum*, written by Alexander de Villa Dei (Villedieu-les-Poêles, in Normandy) in around the year 1200, is published in the collection *Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica*, XII, Berlin, 1893.

⁶² AFA, III/2, no. 17521, 17759, 18093, 18458. On "regens: professor qui docet in Academiis," see Du Cange, *op. cit.*, V, p. 667.

⁶³ A generic title that comprises Aristotle's seven works on the human body and intellect.

⁶⁴ A part of *Tractatus de proportionibus*, written by Thomas Bradwardine (c. 1328), printed in Paris in 1495.

⁶⁵ A treatise compiled by Johannes de Hollandria (c. 1369-1375); edited by E. P. Bos, *John of Holland. Four Tracts on Logic (Suppositiones, Fallaciae, Obligationes, Insolubilia)*, Nijmegen, 1985.

⁶⁶ AFA, III/2, no. 17447, 18243 (16 Sept. 1474 and 28 Febr. 1477).

⁶⁷ AFA, IV, no. 22633; "Anno Domini 1500 [intitulati sunt infrascripti magistri] Mag. Iacobus ex Clausenburcha dedit den. 16," cf. K. Schrauf, *Die Matrikel*, p. 47.

⁶⁸ Aristoteles, *Liber Elenchorum*, in *Opera nonnulla*, Venice, 1496.

⁶⁹ AFA, IV, no. 23113, 25461, 25993 (on the dates of 1 September 1502, 1511, 1514).

⁷⁰ The presentation of the function, in K. Schrauf, *Die Matrikel*, XVII-XXIX. During the first mandate (the first semester of 1505) "sub procuracia Mag. Jacobi Vexilliferi de Transsylvanica sunt intitulati infrascripti venerabiles domini (3)... magistri (6)... generosi domini (2)... baccalarii (11)... scolares (29)," cf. *ibidem*, pp. 34, 48, 67, 82-83, 158-159.

⁷¹ *Ibidem*, p. 27: (14 Apr. 1505) "Mag. Iacobus Vexillifer de Transsylvanica in procuratorem inclite Ungarie nacionis electus est." Their list is on pp. 378-379.

⁷² AFA, IV, no. 24070, 24493, 24733, 25546, 25938, 26611, 27046, 27383, 27708.

May 1510), he was admitted on 3 May 1511.⁷³ In the next period, during elections for the faculty board, the Master registered repeated successes, being appointed *assessor* of his “nation” of his (five times between 14 October 1511-13 October 1520).⁷⁴

The interest in higher education is also evidenced by enrolment in the superior Faculties of Law or Theology. Nine scholars from Cluj opted for legal studies, seven of them being graduates of Liberal Arts. The resumption of classes was done over an extensive period of time: after 1-2 years - 4 scholars; over 5, 9 or 11 years - one scholar in each case; and after 18 years - 2 scholars. The students were coordinated by holders of Licentiate and Masters in Canon Law.⁷⁵ The efforts made over the course of 2.5-3 years were rewarded through the award of two Bachelor’s titles⁷⁶ and three doctorates.

The doctoral degree - the highest in the medieval universities - was obtained by three scholars from Cluj, at Padua or Vienna. The first *arcium et decretorum doctor* was recorded on 21 December 1481, in the person of the new parish priest of the city, *Jacobus* (filius) *quondam Petri notarii civitatis*. Most likely, he had carried out his legal studies in the decade prior to the aforementioned record.⁷⁷ Over the years, the former student in Vienna Johannes Cleynmichel *ex Coloswar* could be found in Padua, under the name *Ioannes Clem de Colosuar transilvanus*, at the time when he was awarded the Doctorate in Canon Law (12 April 1509).⁷⁸ In the middle of the same century, Johannes *Colosbarinus* brought to an end the series of the scholars discussed here, and there is information that he may have obtained a PhD in Canon Law and Theology in Vienna.⁷⁹ This last detail is also the only one available on the attendance of another superior faculty - Theology. There is still no confirmed presence of a student from Cluj at the Faculty of Medicine in Vienna, even though preoccupations and titles referring to this field are known for both the townspeople and the inhabitants of the neighbouring settlements.⁸⁰

We may also ascertain that *peregrinatio academica* was rarely practised by the graduates who originated in Cluj because this entailed additional expenses. Overall, this was due to the desire of obtaining academic degrees and the prestige enjoyed by various universities. There are known only three study trips in several university centres: Vienna- Krakow (2) and Vienna- Padua (1).⁸¹

⁷³ AFA, IV, no. 25204, 25418

⁷⁴ AFA, IV, no. 25541, 25933, 26205, 27077, 27260.

⁷⁵ Consider the following examples: (the second semester of 1414) “*in decanum facultatis assumptus est venerabilis vir dominus Michael de Aczmanspach licenciatus in decretis, sub quo intitupati sunt infrascripti: Mag. Nicolaus Koeschel de Clawsemburg [dedit] 2 gr.*”; (the second semester of 1431) “*assumptus est in decanum facultatis magister Paulus de Wienna decretorum doctor, sub quo intitupati et promoti sunt infrascripti: dom. Stephanus Feyr de Clawsemburg [dedit] 3 gr.*” cf. J 1, pp. 15, 42.

⁷⁶ 13 Oct. 1430: “*Promoti... Dom. Jacobus de Chlausenburga pro baccalariatu [dedit] 1 fl.*”; 13 Oct. 1456: “*D. Gregorius plebanus in Claussemburg [dedit] 1 florenus,*” cf. J 1, p. 41; J 2, f. 13r.

⁷⁷ He may have graduated in the first or the second semester of 1473, with no mention in J 2, f. 23 r-v.

⁷⁸ *Acta graduum academicorum gymnasii patavini*, III/1: *ab anno 1501 ad annum 1525*, ed. Elda Martellozzo Forin, Padua, 1969, no. 567.

⁷⁹ Jakó Zsigmond, *A kolozsmonostori konvent jegyzőkönyvei 1289–1556, I (1289–1484)*, Budapest, 1990, p. 85.

⁸⁰ On 13 and 30 April 1540, Ciriacus de Măciçaș (*Chepegew Machkas*) recommended himself as a nobleman and a physician (*nobili Ciriaco medico*), cf. *ibidem*, II (1485–1556), 1990, p. 634, no. 4747, 4749.

⁸¹ S. Tonk, *op. cit.*, no. 1082, 1115, 1730.

The postgraduate career of the graduates can be traced back and retrieved in an acceptable manner. The offices they held and their intellectual concerns confirmed the achievability of the generous intentions manifested by the University of Vienna, in the sense of elevating the social standing of its members through education (... *quia facultas nullius suorum suppositorum honorem vult restringere, sed omnium, quantum in ea est, ampliare*).⁸² Most graduates headed towards a clerical career, which gave them social prestige and material security. Mention should be made here of three jurists who long held the office of parish priest (*plebanus*) of Cluj: Grigore Schleunig/ Slewnig (1453–1481),⁸³ Iacob (1481–1496)⁸⁴ and Ioan Cleynmichel/ Clem/ Kleen (1521–1528).⁸⁵ Another person who acquired prestige was Urban, who became the preacher of the city.⁸⁶ The last in the series of graduates, Johannes *Colosbarinus* (c. 1517-1562), distinguished himself through an outstanding *cursus honorum*: a member of the Dominican Order in Cluj, the last abbot of the Cluj Mănăştur Convent (1554-1556) before its secularisation, Bishop of Cenad *in absentia* (1561-1562). He participated in the Catholic Council of Trent, where he passed away (November 1562).⁸⁷

The graduates' intellectual concerns are confirmed by their didactic, notarial or chancellery activities. Gaspar *de Chlausenburg*, one of the first attested Bachelors, preferred to return home and serve the interests of the city. He coordinated the activity of schools and obtained from King Sigismund reconfirmation of the privileges granted by King Louis I of Anjou to the city in 1377.⁸⁸ His fellow townsman Grigore Schleunig worked in the chancellery of the Cluj-Mănăştur Convent, after obtaining his Bachelor's and before enrolling in the Faculty of Law (1449-1450),⁸⁹ which facilitated his knowledge of the rules of law. It was also then that Johannes Hann began his career as a notary, in the service of Cardinal Dionysius Széchy - Archbishop of Esztergom.⁹⁰

⁸² The Decision of the Faculty of Liberal Arts of 6 May 1397, cf. AFA, I, p. 149.

⁸³ UB, V, 1975, p. 421, no. 2878 (6 Sept. 1453); Jakó Zs., *op. cit.*, I, p. 569, no. 1465 (26 July 1460: *decretorum et artium liberalium baccalaureus*); UB, VII, 1991, p. 169, no. 4238 (12 Mar. 1478: *utriusque iuris baccalaureus*); p. 302, no. 4454 (21 Dec. 1481 - he relinquished this position).

⁸⁴ UB, VII, p. 302, no. 4454 (21 Dec. 1481: *Jacobus quondam Petri notarii ciuitatis praefatae artium et decretorum doctor*); *Monumenta Vaticana historiam regni Hungariae illustrantia*, I/5, Budapest, 1889, pp. 7-8 (21 June 1482: *Iacobus Pecy decretorum doctor plebanus de Koleswar*, entered, by proxy, in the Confraternity of the *Holy Spirit* in Rome); Jakó Zs., *op. cit.*, II, p. 73, no. 2725 (26 May 1491); Barabás Samu, *Erdélyi káptalani tizedlajstromok*, in *Történelmi Tár*, 1911, pp. 420-439 and Tonk S., *op. cit.*, no. 812 (a canon at Alba Iulia between 1496–1515).

⁸⁵ *Történelmi Tár*, 1898, p. 155, no. 394 (29 Mar. 1521); DF 275447 (10 Mar. 1524: *honorabilis Johannes Kleen, decretorum doctor, plebanus Koloswariensis*), Jakó Zs., *op. cit.*, II, pp. 480-481, no. 4173 (12 Jan. 1527); pp. 507-508, no. 4270-4271 (12 Sept. 1529: out of office).

⁸⁶ Jakab Elek, *Oklevéltár Kolozsvár története*, I, Buda, 1870, p. 301, no. CLXXXIV (26 Sept. 1492: *honorabili dominus Urbanus arcium liberalium baccalaureus Alme Uniuersitatis Viennensis cognominatus Keuel pro tunc predicatore ciuitatis nostre*).

⁸⁷ Juhász Kálmán, *Két kolozsmonostori püspökapat a XVI. században*, in *Erdélyi Múzeum*, 38, 1933, no. 10-12, pp. 432-445; Jakó Zs., *op. cit.*, I, p. 95.

⁸⁸ UB, III, p. 382, no. 1548 (6 Dec. 1405: *Caspar scholasticus ac notarius civitatis*); pp. 479-480, no. 1633-1634 (15 July 1409: *magister Caspar rector scholarum et notarius civitatis Coluswar*).

⁸⁹ Jakó Zs., *op. cit.*, I, pp. 101, 150 and plate no. 9.

⁹⁰ DF 237456 (10 Sept. 1451: *Johannis Zaaz de Koloswar secretarius dicti dominis cardinalis*); DF 237501-3 (24 July 1458: *coram circumspeto viro Johanne Zaaz de Koloswar Transsylvanensis*

The attendance of the Viennese university declined rapidly after 1525. Determining, in this respect, were the Ottomans' attempts to conquer Vienna,⁹¹ their steadfast presence in Hungary, and the spread of the Protestant doctrines. The scholars from Transylvania began to go for other confessional options, bypassing a Catholic academic centre exposed to the Islamic threat. Under these conditions, only a small number of scholars from Cluj oriented themselves towards the *Alma Mater Rudolphina*.

Annex

No.	Scholar's name	Date	Academic degree	References
1	Jacobus <i>Septemcastris</i>	II 1392	<i>Scolarius</i>	Tonk, no. 775
		24 June 1394	<i>Baccalaureus artium</i>	AFA, I, p. 105
		2–4 Jan. 1397	<i>Magister artium</i>	AFA, I, p. 144
		13 Apr. 1397	<i>Licentiatus artium</i>	AFA, I, p. 147
		1398 – 16 Jan. 1400	<i>Examinator</i>	AFA, I, pp. 150, 157, 159, 160, 163, 166- 168, 179-180
2	Gaspar de <i>Chlausenburg</i>	II 1399	<i>Scolarius</i>	Tonk, no. 564
		2 Jan. 1402	<i>Baccalaureus artium</i>	AFA, I, p. 202
3	Nicolaus de <i>Septemcastris de Clausenburch</i>	I 1401	<i>Scolarius</i>	Tonk, no. 1730
		10 Mar. 1403	<i>Baccalaureus artium</i>	AFA, I, pp. 218-219
	Nicolaus Koessel de <i>Clausemburk</i>	1406	<i>Scolarius</i> at Univ. of Krakow	ASUC, I, pp. 23-24
	Nicolaus de <i>Septem castris</i>	II 1406	<i>Baccalaureus artium</i> Univ. of Krakow	<i>Statuta Univ. Jagellonica</i> , p. 5
		13 Apr. 1409	<i>Licentiatus artium</i> and <i>magister</i> at Vienna	AFA, I, p. 316
	Mag. Nicolaus Koeschel de <i>Clawsemburg</i>	13 Oct. 1414	<i>Scolarius</i> Fac. of Law	J 1, p. 15
		1415	<i>Examinator</i>	Fraknói, p. 33

dyocesis, apostolica auctoritate notario publico, ... domini Dionisii... cardinalis... archiepiscopi Strigoniensis... cancellario et secretario); DF 237507 (20 Aug. 1458: *Ego Johannes Zaz Laurency Hano de Coloswar clericus Transsilvaniensis diocesis publicus sacra apostolica auctoritate notarius*). On all the four documents from 1458 there appears the notarial monogram with his name, as well as the motto CON[COR]DIA.

⁹¹ The siege of 1529 compromised the summer semester, cf. AFA, IV, p. 212 and J 2, f. 65r.

4	Thomas de Nadischin de Clausemburg	II 1406	<i>Scolarius</i>	Tonk, no. 2296
		2 Jan. 1409	<i>Baccalaureus artium</i>	AFA, I, p. 306
		23 Apr. 1410	<i>Scolarius</i> Fac. of Law	J 1, p. 8
		19 Mar. 1413	<i>Licentiatus artium</i>	AFA, I, p. 393
5	Jacobus de Clausenburg	II 1407	<i>Scolarius</i>	Tonk, no. 778
		13 Oct. 1410	<i>Baccalaureus artium</i>	AFA, I, p. 343
		14 Apr. 1428	<i>Scolarius</i> Fac. of Law	J 1, p. 36
		13 Oct. 1430	<i>Baccalaureus juris</i>	J 1, p. 41
6	Stephanus Angeli de Clusenburg	I 1423	<i>Scolarius</i>	Tonk, no. 2205
		1 Jan. 1426	<i>Baccalaureus artium</i>	AFA, II, no. 4873
	Stephanus Feyr de Clawsemburg	13 Oct. 1431	<i>Scolarius</i> Fac. of Law	J 1, p. 42
		8 Mar. 1433	<i>Licentiatus artium</i>	AFA, II, no. 6277
7	Stephanus Leonhardi de Chluesbar	I 1426	<i>Scolarius</i>	Tonk, no. 2208
		8 Oct. 1428	<i>Baccalaureus artium</i>	AFA, II, no. 5402
8	Martinus Lapidica de Clausenburga/ Chlosenburg	II 1428	<i>Scolarius</i>	Tonk, no. 1411
		2 Jan. 1431	<i>Baccalaureus artium</i>	AFA, II, no. 5842
		22 Febr. 1437	<i>Licentiatus artium</i>	AFA, II, no. 6788
		1 Sept. 1438	<i>Magister artium</i>	AFA, II, no. 7057
9	Valentinus Institoris de Clausemburg	I 1432	<i>Scolarius</i>	Tonk, no. 2400
		13 Oct. 1441	<i>Baccalaureus artium</i>	AFA, II, no. 7952
10	Johannes Sterchen/ Stelhchin de Clausemburg	I 1440	<i>Scolarius</i>	Tonk, no. 971
		4 July 1442	<i>Baccalaureus artium</i>	AFA, II, no. 8172
11	Johannes Han de Clausemburg	I 1440	<i>Scolarius</i>	Tonk, no. 970
		5 Jan. 1443	<i>Baccalaureus artium</i>	AFA, II, no. 8160, 8281

12	Gregorius Schlewnig <i>de Klausenburga</i>	II 1442	<i>Scolarius</i>	Tonk, no. 637
		7 Jan. 1445	<i>Baccalaureus artium</i>	AFA, II, no. 8775
		11 Nov. 1453	<i>Scolarius</i> Fac. of Law	J 2, f. 10r
		13 Oct. 1456	<i>Baccalaureus juris</i>	J 2, f. 13r
13	Erasmus Wenchim/ Wulching <i>de Clausenburga</i>	I 1447	<i>Scolarius</i>	Tonk, no. 497
		2 Aug. 1449	<i>Baccalaureus artium</i>	AFA, III/1, no. 9819
14	Gaspar Pellificis/ Brüstel <i>de Clauseburga</i>	II 1447	<i>Scolarius</i>	Tonk, no. 576
		5 Febr. 1451	<i>Baccalaureus artium</i>	AFA, III/1, no. 10389
15	Johannes Weyr <i>de Clausenburck</i>	II 1442	<i>Scolarius</i>	Tonk, no. 974
		14 Apr. 1453	<i>Baccalaureus artium</i>	AFA, III/1, no. 11222
16	Johannes Notarii <i>de Klausenburg</i>	II 1452	<i>Scolarius</i>	Tonk, no. 1002
		14 Apr. 1455	<i>Baccalaureus artium</i>	AFA, III/1, no. 11737
17	Jacobus Zaz/ Sczas <i>de Klausenburga</i>	I 1454–I 1456	<i>Scolarius</i>	Tonk, no. 802
		14 Apr. 1455	<i>Scolarius</i> Fac. of Law	J 2, f. 11v
18	Jacobus Lutifiguli <i>de Klausenburg</i>	II 1460	<i>Scolarius</i>	Tonk, no. 806
		14 Apr. 1463	<i>Baccalaureus artium</i>	AFA, III/1, no. 14284
19	Johannes Kolb <i>de Clauseburga</i>	II 1456	<i>Scolarius</i>	Tonk, no. 1015
		14 Apr. 1463	<i>Baccalaureus artium</i>	AFA, III/1, no. 14289
20	Johannis Czechsch <i>de Clausenburga</i>	II 1463	<i>Scolarius</i>	Tonk, no. 1033
		14 Apr. 1466	<i>Baccalaureus artium</i>	AFA, III/1, no. 14888
21	Nicolaus Pellificis <i>de Clawsenburga</i>	II 1463	<i>Scolarius</i>	Tonk, no. 1789
		14 Apr. 1466	<i>Baccalaureus artium</i>	AFA, III/1, no. 14865
		16–20 Mar. 1470	<i>Licentiatus artium</i>	AFA, III/1, no. 15891
		I 1471	<i>Magister artium</i>	Schrauf (1902), p. 42
		1 Sept. 1474 – 1 Sept. 1477	<i>Magister artium; examiner Nat. Hung.</i>	AFA, III/2, no. 17447, 17521, 17559, 18093, 18243, 18458

22	Melchior (Auri)Fabri <i>de Clausenburga</i>	II 1464	<i>Scolarius</i>	Tonk, no. 1568
		5 Jan. 1467	<i>Baccalaureus artium</i>	AFA, III/1, no. 15119
23	Mathias <i>de Clausenburga</i>	I 1465	<i>Scolarius</i>	Tonk, no. 1508
		13 Oct. 1467	<i>Baccalaureus artium</i>	AFA, III/1, no. 15317
24	Jacobus Notarii <i>de Clausenburga</i>	I 1465	<i>Scolarius</i>	Tonk, no. 812
		20 June 1467	<i>Baccalaureus artium</i>	AFA, III/1, no. 15224
		27 Febr. 1469	<i>Licentiatus artium</i>	AFA, III/1, no. 15623
		Prior to 21 Dec. 1481	<i>Arcium et decretorum doctor</i>	UB, VII, no. 4454, p. 302
25	Urbanus <i>de Kawsenburga cognominatus Keuel</i>	I 1468	<i>Scolarius</i>	Tonk, no. 2380
		23 Nov. 1470	<i>Baccalaureus artium</i>	AFA, III/1, no. 16091
26	Andreas Pellificis <i>de Coloswar</i>	II 1468	<i>Scolarius</i>	Tonk, no. 95
		17 May 1471	<i>Baccalaureus artium</i>	AFA, III/1, no. 16279
27	Andreas Carnificis <i>de Clausenburga</i>	I 1474	<i>Scolarius</i>	Tonk, no. 101
		11 Nov. 1476	<i>Baccalaureus artium</i>	AFA, III/2, no. 18204
28	Johannes Nicolai <i>de Klausenburga</i>	II 1477	<i>Scolarius</i>	Tonk, no. 1082
		14 Apr. 1480	<i>Baccalaureus artium</i>	AFA, III/2, no. 19128
		16 Oct. 1484	<i>Scolarius at Univ. of Krakow</i>	ASUC, I, p. 265
29	Stephanus Fuerst <i>de Klausenburga</i>	II 1477	<i>Scolarius</i>	Tonk, no. 2246
		14 Apr. 1480	<i>Baccalaureus artium</i>	AFA, III/2, no. 19144
30	Johannes Klemicher/ Cleynmichel <i>ex Coloswar</i>	I 1488	<i>Scolarius</i>	Tonk, no. 1115
		13 Oct. 1491	<i>Baccalaureus artium</i>	AFA, III/2, no. 20827, 21188
	Ioannes Clem <i>de Colosuar Transilvanus</i>	12 Apr. 1509	<i>Doctor Decretorum Univ. of Padua</i>	<i>Acta graduum</i> , III/1, no. 567
31	Jacobus Vanentrager <i>de Kolnschwar</i>	Prior to 13 Oct. 1493	<i>Scolarius</i>	AFA, III/2, no. 21500
	Iacobus Vexillifer	12 Mar. 1501	<i>Licentiatus artium</i>	AFA, IV, no. 22633

	Jacobus ex <i>Clausenbarga</i>	II 1500	<i>Magister artium</i>	Schrauf (1902), p. 47
	Jacobus <i>Transsilvanus/ Septemcastrensis</i>	1 Sept. 1502 – 16 Sept. 1525	<i>Magister artium; examinator Nat. Hung.</i>	AFA, IV, no. 23113, 24070, 24493, 24733, 25461, 25546, 25938, 25993, 26611, 27046, 27383, 27708
32	Stephanus de <i>Coloswar</i>	I 1500	<i>Scolarius</i>	Tonk, no. 2261
		30 Mar. 1502	<i>Baccalaureus artium</i>	AFA, IV, no. 22919
		27 Febr. – 31 Mar. 1504	<i>Licentiatus artium</i>	AFA, IV, no. 23532
		Apr. 1504	<i>Magister artium</i>	Schrauf (1902), p. 48
33	Joannes Brawn/ Praun de <i>Coloswar</i>	4 May 1521	<i>Scolarius</i>	Tonk-Szabó, no. 986
		26 Sept. 1524	<i>Baccalaureus artium</i>	AFA, IV, no. 27600
34	Joannes <i>Colosbarinus Hungarus</i>	II 1548	<i>Scolarius</i>	Tonk-Szabó, no. 1017
		c. 1552	<i>Doctor theologiae et decretorum</i>	Jakó, <i>Kmjk</i> , I, p. 85

THE UNDATED DENARII MINTED BY VLADISLAV II – NEW MONETARY SUBTYPES AND THE ISSUE OF THEIR SEQUENCE

Abstract: This article records the results of the analysis conducted on the undated denarii struck by Vladislav II, between 1500 and 1502, in the mint from Kremnica (Slovakia). Based on direct observations on the denarii in several Transylvanian hoards (Oradea - Bihor County, Hotoan - Satu Mare County etc.), taking into account the previous study of the Hungarian numismatist J. Lakos, I ordered the new subtypes identified, the so-called *hybrid* coins, into three distinct categories. Unlike classical hybridisation, where the dies of a monetary subtype are combined, during the minting process, with the dies of the neighbouring subtypes, in the case of Vladislav II's denarii I noticed that the dies had suffered a series of changes as regards the writing of the coin legend. At stake were not the formulas of abbreviating the legend: M WLADISLAI R VNGARIE / PATRONA VNGARIE, but the combination of the different types of script, which highlights the gradual elimination of Gothic characters and their replacement with the humanist ones. Besides this observation, we have also identified the mechanism of die association: the new subtypes appeared as a result of associating the obverse of the traditional denarii Huszár 806, Huszár 808 and Huszár 807, with versions of the reverse of the Huszár 809 denarius.

Looking at the classical subtypes from the standpoint of the new categories and the standardisation process to which Vladislav II's undated denarii were subjected, it appears that there are more subtypes of undated denarii and versions thereof than those illustrated in Hungarian numismatic catalogues. The positioning of the consecrated and new subtypes according to the idea of standardisation towards imposing a single prototype (the future Huszár 811 denarius) leads us to propose a new typological sequence, in which the Huszár 806 denarius becomes the head of the series, followed by Huszár 808 denarius, which was succeeded by the Huszár 805 and respectively, Huszár 807 subtypes.

Keywords: Hungary, Vladislav II, undated denarii, Kremnica, subtypes.

During 1500-1502, the Chamber of Kremnica/Körmöcbánya issued, for the Hungarian King Vladislav II, a series of undated denarii marked on the reverse with the privy marks of the chamber administrator, Hans Thurzó (K-H or K-h). Due to the standardisation of the representations, as Vladislav II maintained the drawing of Matthias Corvinus' reformed denarius - the quartered shield of Hungary and the Virgin Mary with Jesus in her arms -, the separation of the denarii with almost identical legends and coin representations by subtypes has proved to be difficult.²

¹ Cris County Museum - Oradea (hereinafter **MȚCO**); corinatoma00@yahoo.com.

² Among the elements used by the Hungarian numismatists to separate by subtypes the undated denarii of Vladislav II, there are the small differences pertaining to the manner of rendering the eagle of the Jagiellonians, which surmounts the quartered shield on the obverse, and those related to the manner of representation of the Virgin Mary on the reverse.

The attempt to typologically identify these undated denarii, which have been preserved in several of the Transylvanian hoards,³ according to the classification made by the Hungarian numismatists L. Réthy, J. Lakos or L. Huszár has turned out to be challenging. The difficulty arose due to the numerous versions noticed and to the presence of new monetary subtypes, unreported in the numismatic catalogues.

The real variety existing for each subtype is difficult to determine, as there appear a series of minor differences, quite often, due to the characteristics of the dies or the manner of abbreviating the coin legend. Besides these less suggestive variations, there appear repetitive deviations from the prototype, which impel us to bring the traditional typology of the undated denarii back into discussion. Moreover, establishing the versions of the subtypes consecrated by the numismatic determinators is relevant for identifying and ordering the new subtypes catalogued in numismatic literature as hybrid denarii.

The typology of the undated denarii struck by Vladislav II

Depending on the small differences observed in the rendition of the legend and the coin design, the Hungarian numismatist L. Huszár grouped the undated denarii of Vladislav II, minted at Kremnica between 1500-1502, into five coin subtypes⁴ (Fig. 1). The starting point of L. Huszár's approach was the old classification made by L. Réthy.⁵

Réthy	C274	C272A	C272B	C275	C272C
Huszár	H805	H806	H807	H808	H809

Fig. 1. The correspondence of the subtypes of undated denarii issued at Kremnica (1500-1502)

The description in words or the graphical rendition of the image characteristics of each coin subtype is difficult, but it is necessary for identifying and recording the deviations. What proves to be much easier is ascertaining the script versions of the circular legend M WLADISLAI R VNGARIE / PATRONA VNGARIE, where the variations are given by the letter script or the abbreviations used (PATRONA-PATRON and VNGARIE-VNGARI-VNGAR).

³ Our analysis is based on the lot of denarii stored in the hoards discovered in Oradea - cart. Ioşia (Bihar County), Hotoan (Satu Mare County), Ghighişeni (Bihar County) and, to the extent that the published descriptions and illustrations have allowed us, a part of the denarii from the hoard in Iara (Cluj County). E. Chirilă, I. Némethi, "Tezaurul monetar de la Hotoan, sec. XV-XVI," in *Tezaurul monetar din jud. Satu-Mare (Münzhorte aus Kreis Sathmar)*, Satu Mare, 1968, pp. 61-81, pl. X-XVI; Fr. Pap, Z. Milea, V. Feneşan, "Tezaurul monetar din secolele XV-XVI de la Iara (jud. Cluj)," in *Studii și cercetări de numismatică*, 5, 1971, pp. 188-189; Corina Toma, "Un tezaur monetar din sec. XV-XVII descoperit în localitatea Ghighişeni (com. Rien, jud. Bihar)," in *Cercetări Numismatice*, 15, 2009, pp. 197-256; *Eadem*, "Un tezaur monetar din secolele XV-XVI descoperit la Oradea (cartierul Ioşia)," in *Sargetia*, I, s.n., 2010, p. 224/942.

⁴ L. Huszár, *Münzkatalog Ungarn von 1000 bis heute*, München, 1979, p. 125/805-809.

⁵ L. Réthy, *Corpus Nummorum Hungariae. Magyar Egvetemes Éremtár, II. Kötet Vegyesházi Királyok Kora*, Budapest, 1907, p. 35/272A-D, 274-275, Táb. 4



Fig. 2. Denarius of the C274/H805 subtype (Oradea-Ioşia, MŢCO inv. 16/846)

(1) The denarii of the *C274/H805* subtype, marked with the privy marks K-H or K-h,⁶ render on the obverse a small eagle with short wings displayed and elevated. On the reverse, the Virgin Mary, represented with a nimbus and crown, has a shortened dress hem, which barely crosses the circle framing the coin legend written exclusively with humanist letters: *M WLADISLAI R VNGARIE/PATRON VNGARIE /* (Fig. 2).



Fig. 3. Denarius of the C272A/H806 subtype (Oradea-Ioşia, MŢCO inv. 16/769, 755)

(2) The denarii of the *C272A/H806* subtype feature the eagle with the wings folded on the obverse and the hem of the Virgin's dress on the reverse is rendered in the shape of the letter M (Fig. 3). Regarding the coin inscription, next to the version of Gothic script rendered in the catalogues, *Ω · WLADISLAI · R · VNGARIE · PATRONA - VNGARIE*, there appears a new version, standing out through the specific typeface of the letter A (with a horizontal crossbar above), *Ω · WLADISLAI · R · VNGARI · PATRON - VNGARI*. Even if both privy marks used by Hans Thurzó (K-H or K-h) are signalled in the numismatic catalogues, on the reverse of the denarii we have analysed we have identified only the privy mark written in Gothic script (K h).



Fig. 4. Denarius of the C272B/H807 subtype (Oradea-Ioşia, MŢCO inv. 16/1456)

(3) The coin subtype *C272B/H807* is characterized by the illustration of an eagle similar to that on the obverse of a denarius of the *C274/H805* subtype, the difference consisting

⁶ The presence of both versions of the privy mark on the reverse of the denarii reinforces the conclusion of Fr. Pap, according to which we cannot talk about a chronological differentiation based on the type of script (Gothic or humanist) of the mark, as they were used in parallel for the denarii issued between 1500 and 1502 (Fr. Pap *et alii*, pp. 188-189).

in charging the heraldic bird on a shield (Fig. 4). The obverse described is associated with a twofold reverse version: a. the Virgin Mary represented partially in the coin field bounded by the circular legend (*H807*) and b. the Virgin Mary rendered whole, interrupting the circular legend (*C272B*). The coin legend is written, in different abbreviation formulas, exclusively in humanist script: *M WLADISLAI R VNGARIE / PATRON VNGARIE*. Regarding the privy marks, even though we encounter the humanist script (K-H), it is predominantly written using the Gothic script (K-h).



Fig. 5. Denarius of the *C275/H808* subtype (Oradea-Ioșia, MȚCO inv. 16/815, 848, 1457)

(4) The denarius of the *C275/H808* subtype features two obverse versions. The item illustrated by L. Réthy, *C275*, renders an eagle with the wings displayed and inverted (Fig. 5/1), while the denarius with the number 808 in L. Huszár's catalogue depicts a large eagle with wings displayed and elevated, addorsed to the level of the head (Fig. 5/2). The coin legend is different from the previous subtypes by associating the Gothic and the humanist scripts. The combinations between the Gothic or humanist typefaces of the letters M and A (*Œ, M, T, A*) gave rise to several versions of the legend on the obverse, whose common feature is the particular typeface of the uppercase N, rendered in a mirror (*N*).

The common reverse (*C275/H808*) depicts only the upper half of the body of the Virgin Mary, surrounded by the coin legend *PATRONA • VNGARIE*, impressed with the same typographical error in writing the letter N. The only copy identified is a denarius from the hoard of Oradea-Ioșia (MȚCO, inv. 16/848, Fig. 5/3),⁷ which presents, like in the case of the coin illustrated by E. Unger,⁸ a version of the obverse legend written entirely in humanist script, but featuring the same peculiarity of writing the uppercase N (*M • WLADISLAI • R • VNGARI •*). The privy mark identified for the denarii of this subtype is K-H.

⁷ During the publication of the hoard from Oradea-Ioșia, the denarius with the inv. number 16/848 was hypothetically included among the hybrid coinages (Corina Toma, "Un tezaur..." 2010, p. 224/942).

⁸ E. Unger, *Magyar Éremhatározó. II. füzet (1307-1540)*, Budapest, 1960, pl. XXXVI/646.



Fig. 6. Denarius of the C272C/H809 subtype (Oradea-Ioşia, MŢCO inv. 16/1436)

(5) The last subtype of undated denarius mentioned by L. Huszár, *C272C/H809*, depicts the heraldic eagle in the same manner with the eagle on the obverse of the *C272B/H807* and *C274/H805* denarii (Fig. 6). By contrast, the reverse stands out through the scale of the crown worn by the Virgin Mary and through the manner of draping the dress. The circular legend is written, like those on the *C272B/H807* and *C274/H805* denarii, exclusively in humanist script. The Gothic script appears only in the case of the K-h privy mark, which is competed, at least in the hoard from Oradea-Ioşia, by the K-H mark.

The new subtypes of undated denarii struck by Vladislav II

Defining the characteristics of the coin subtypes presented in the numismatic catalogues is necessary with a view to the identification and ordering of the new subtypes. Among the denarii that we could examine directly,⁹ we have identified a series of so-called *hybrid* coins that are grouped according to the origin of the dies, more specifically of the coin iconography, into two distinct groups:

(1) *Denarii that combine the obverse of C272A/H806 with the reverse of C272C/H809* (the H806-H809 subtype)

The first new subtype associate - with some changes in terms of the writing of the coin legend - the obverse die of the H806 denarius with the reverse die of the H809 denarius. The analysis of the coins in the hoards from Oradea-Ioşia and Hotoan¹⁰ has led to the identification of two dies for the obverse and another two dies for the reverse of this subtype of denarius (Pl. I).

One of the obverse dies is identical to the die version of the H806 denarius, which imprinted the coin legend: $\Omega \cdot \text{WLADISLAVI} \cdot \text{R} \cdot \text{VNGTRI}$ (Obv.1). The other die of the obverse derives from it, the difference consisting in the replacement of the Gothic typeface of the letter N with the humanist one: $\Omega \cdot \text{WLADISLAVI} \cdot \text{R} \cdot \text{VNGTRI}$ (Obv.2).

In the case of the reverse, the differences compared to the die of the H809 denarius are much great. The relationship between reverse of the new subtype and the reverse of the denarius of the H809 subtype is confirmed only by the unmistakable manner of representing the Virgin Mary, while the legend reveals, given the combination between the Gothic and the humanist script, close connections with the obverse of the H806 denarius. From the association of the original iconography with the modified legend there results a new reverse die, with two versions of legend writing,

⁹ The provenance of the coins and their technical data are summarized in Annexes no. 1 and 2.

¹⁰ I must thank my colleague Péter Szócs for making available to me the denarii of Vladislav II from the hoard of Hotoan, preserved in the numismatic collection of the Satu Mare County Museum.

entailed by the Gothic or humanist script of the letter N: **PTTRON – VNGTRI** (Rev.1) and **PTTRON – VNGTRI** (Rev.2).

As a result of the manner of associating the four dies in the process of minting the denarii from the aforementioned hoards, we have identified three sub-groups of the H806-H809 subtype: the obverse die Obv.1 is combined with the reverse die Rev.2, and the obverse die Obv.2 combines, in turn, with both reverse dies, Rev.1 and Rev.2 (Annex 1).

The absence of the version of writing the legend of the H806 denarius with the Gothic letter A (**A**), the replacement of the Gothic typeface of the letter N (**N**) with the humanist uppercase and the manner of combining the dies for the H806-H809 subtype suggest the tendency to gradually relinquish the Gothic script in favour of the humanist script.

(2) *Denarii that combine the obverse of C275/H808 with the reverse of C272C/H809* (the H808-H809 subtype).

The second new subtype, with much more numerous variants, combines the two variants of the die for the obverse of C275/H808 denarii with the reverse die for denarius H809. Depending on the borrowed obverse dies, *C275 (eagle with wings displayed and inverted)* or *H808 (eagle with wings displayed and elevated)*, the H808-H809 subtype is divided into two sub-groups, each with several spelling variations for the circular legend (Annex 2):

- *Sub-group I* associates the obverse iconography of the C275 denarius, the eagle with the wings displayed and inverted, with the reverse iconography of the H809 denarius (Pl. II).

- *Sub-group II* associates the obverse iconography of the H808 denarius, the eagle with the wings displayed and elevated, with the reverse iconography of the H809 denarius (Pl. III).

Despite the impression of apparent, meaningless diversity, the legend versions found for each of the two sub-groups illustrate the transition from one coin subtype to another or, in other words, the sequence of coin subtypes.

The denarii in the first sub-group suggest a direct relationship between the H806 and the H808 denarii,¹¹ as evidenced by the appearance in the coin legend, in its various versions, of the letter *antiqua* A (**A**), specific to the H806 denarius, together with the incorrect form of writing, in a mirror, the letter N (**N**), specific to the H808 denarius. The coin legend changes with the introduction in the process of preparing the dies of a new punch for the humanist uppercase A. The three punches were used concurrently for a while, indicating a direct succession between the H806 and the H808 denarii.¹² The

¹¹ In the typological sequence proposed by L. Réthy, between the C275 and C272A denarii there are interposed the C272B-C, C273 and C274 denarii (Réthy, *Corpus Nummorum...*, p. 35, Tab. 20). L. Huszár reduces the series of the interposed subtypes and places a single coin subtype, H807, between the H806 and the H808 denarii (Huszár, *Münzkatalog Ungarn ...*, p. 125).

¹² For the H808-H809 denarius, we have identified three the obverse dies. The legend of the obverse die no. 1 is identical with the legend of the H806-H809 denarius, sub-group 3. The connecting link between it and the obverse die no. 3, which is actually that of the denarius H808, with the humanist script of the letter A and N in the mirror, is die no. 2 combining the *antiqua* letter A (the mark of the H806 denarius) with the letter N written in a mirror (the mark of the H808 denarius).

relationship between the two coin subtypes, H806 and H808, is suggested by the persistence of the Gothic letter M (**ᛗ**) in writing the word *moneta* from the obverse legend.

The denarii from the second sub-group capture the transition from the H808 denarius to a new subtype of denarius (H809, H807 or H805?), in the legend of which the Gothic lowercase **ᛗ** was replaced with a humanist uppercase (**M**), the *antiqua* shape of the letter A was removed by the humanist script and the humanist uppercase letter N was impressed correctly. Replacing the Gothic lowercase **ᛗ**, substitute of the word *moneta*, was done gradually. Before reaching the final version of the legend of the new subtype of denarius (H809, H807 or H805?), written in humanist letters, the new punch was used in combination with older punches, employed for impressing the denarii of the H806 and H808 subtypes (the *antiqua* letter A and the letter N in a mirror).

The appearance in the two sub-groups of denarii embossed with legend versions of the H806-H809 subtype (sub-groups 1 and 3) not only adds further evidence to the idea of the vicinity between the H806 and H808 subtypes, but also indicates the short duration of minting the denarii of the H808 subtype.¹³ The two sub-groups of the H808-H809 denarius succeeded one another at a short interval, since the workshop Kremnica still used the punches of the predecessor of the H808 denarius, i.e. the Gothic **ᛗ**-of the H806 denarius.

The reverse of the CNH 272C/Huszár 809 denarius

The common denominator of the two new subtypes, H806-H809 and H808-H809, is the reverse of the H809 denarius. Basically, the only constant is the representation of the Virgin Mary, which is combined with different versions of the reverse coin inscription, PATRON(A) VNGARIE, tailored to the style of writing the corresponding legend on the obverse. Forming together with the obverse legend a unitary whole, the versions of the reverse legend in the case of the H809 subtype display the same trend of standardising the circular inscription, by relinquishing the mixed script (in Gothic and *antiqua* script) and replacing it exclusively with the humanist script.

As in the case of the obverse, on the reverse of the H806-H809 denarius, the Gothic script of the letter N, typical of the H806 denarius, is gradually replaced with the humanist script, both combining with the *antiqua* script of the letter A (**ᛞᛦᛦᛦᛦᛦ – ᚠᚱᚱᛦᛦᛦᛦ/ᛞᛦᛦᛦᛦᛦ – ᚠᛦᛦᛦᛦᛦ**).

On the reverse of the H808-H809 denarii, the image of the Virgin Mary, characteristic of the H809 denarius, is associated, in the two sub-groups, with:

1. older versions of the legend of the H806-H809 subtype, sub-groups 1 and 3.
2. novel versions resulting from the association of the *antiqua* and humanist typeface of the letter A with the mirror typeface of the letter N (**ᛞᛦᛦᛦᛦᛦ – ᚠᚱᛦᛦᛦᛦ/PATRON – VNGARI**).

¹³ An overview of the structure by types and issuers of the Transylvanian coin hoards published to date reveals a different situation, as except for the copy from Oradea-Ioşia, the CNH 275/Huszár 808 denarius struck by Vladislav II is not reported in any of the 14 Transylvanian coin hoards considered here: Sălciva (HD), Şieu II (BN), Iara (CJ), Enciu (BN), Hotoan (SM), LuncaTârnavei (AB), Ribiţa (HD), Călnic (AB), Slătiniţa (BN), Ioşia (BH), Gelu (TM), Sângeorgiul de Pădure (MS), Şona (AB), Teaca (BN).

3. the new version of the legend written solely in humanist script, properly impressed (**PATRON–VNGARI**).

Following these gradual changes that occurred in writing the coin legend of the undated denarii, we find that the final form of script, **M • WLADISLAI • R • VNGARI • PATRON–VNGARI**, is found on three subtypes: C274/H805, C272B/H807 and C275/H809. The constant use of the iconography of the H809 denarius on the reverse of the new subtypes focuses attention on the latter denarius.

L. Huszár placed the H809 denarius at the end of a series of undated denarii, after the H807 and H808 denarii, and before the dated denarii of the H811 subtype.¹⁴ Before him, Réthy had placed the H809 (C272C) denarius immediately after the minting of the H807 (C272B) denarius.¹⁵ Following a comparative analysis of the H807 and H809 denarii from the hoards of Oradea and Hotoan, we noticed that they have the same obverse die; the small differences in rendering the heraldic eagle pertain to the characteristics of the dies. By contrast, the reverse of the H807 denarius is completely different, as the Madonna is represented partially and not entirely, as is also the case of the reverse of the H809 denarius.

Thus, it appears that the so-called denarius of the C272/H809 subtype does not have its own obverse, as its reverse punch is combined with the obverse dies of the H806, H808 and H807 denarii, all these three coin subtypes having, in parallel, their own reverse dies. In other words, the so-called *hybrid* denarii of Vladislav II resulted from the association of the obverse dies of the H806, H808, and H807 denarii with versions of the reverse die of the H809 denarius.

Due to the changes occurring in the writing of coin legends, we believe that the sequence of the *hybrid denarii* or, better said, of the new subtypes of undated denarii was as follows: H806-H809, H808-H809 and, respectively, H807-H809. We have placed the H807-H809 denarius, whose legend is written exclusively in humanist script, at the end of a transition process that envisaged, as already stated, the standardisation of coin subtypes, both in terms of representations and the style of script the letters in the coin inscription.

The sequence of the undated denarii issued by Vladislav II

The chronological sequence of the new subtypes resulting from positioning the H808-H809 denarius before the H807-H809 brings into question the traditional typological order of the undated denarii issued by Vladislav II. In the Hungarian numismatic catalogues compiled by L. Réthy or L. Huszár, the denarii with the privy marks of Hans Thurzó issued at Kremnica, between 1500 and 1502, were separated into five coin subtypes, while the new subtypes, with the exception of the H808-H809, classified as the H809 denarius, were not mentioned.

¹⁴ Huszár, *Münzkatalog Ungarn...*, pp. 125-126.

¹⁵ Réthy, *Corpus Nummorum ...*, Tab. 20. J. Lakos adopted a similar position on the sequence of the denarii C272B (H807) and C272C (809), but avoided including the denarius C275/H808 in the series of typological sequences, characterized as a variant of the subtype that renders the dress of Maria in the shape of the letter M (J. Lakos, *II. Ulászló pénzverése*, in *Numizmatikai Közlöny*, 58-59 (1959-1960), p. 26).

The existence of *hybrid coinages*¹⁶ among the undated denarii issued by Vladislav II was reported by the Hungarian numismatist J. Lakos,¹⁷ following his research on a large number of coins from the collection of the Hungarian National Museum. At the time, J. Lakos, talking about the combination between the obverse and the reverse of some neighbouring coins,¹⁸ foresaw the possibility of establishing the sequence of undated denarii with the help of hybrid denarii.

Beyond the general rule of hybridisation, the Hungarian numismatist noted the possibility of changing just the obverse; the same reverse being consecutively struck on several coin subtypes.¹⁹ While noting that after the death of Matthias Corvinus, the Gothic script was slowly replaced with the humanist script, Lakos failed to notice the direct link between this trend and the *hybridisation* phenomenon involving the undated denarii struck at Kremnica, whose causes remained unknown to him.²⁰

From among the *hybridisation* rules mentioned by J. Lakos, the only one we have identified throughout our analysis is that of the constant association between a specific subtype of reverse (H809) with various obverse subtypes (H806, H808, and H807). There was not, however, as already stated, a single reverse die that was randomly combined with different obverse dies, but a complex standardisation process of the coin subtypes, ending with the appearance, in 1503, of the *millésime* denarii issued by Vladislav II.

When the *hybridisation* phenomenon follows a certain rule and cannot be explained solely by the negligence of the craftsmen in using the older and newer monetary dies existing within the same workshop, the possibility of establishing a chronological relation between the undated subtypes of denarii issued at Kremnica increases. According to minor aspects related to writing the legend or the rendition of the coin design, we can separate the undated denarii struck with Thurzó's privy marks into two distinct categories:

(A) Consecrated coin subtypes: H805 (C274), H806 (C272A), H808 (C275), H807 (C272B).

(B) So-called *hybrid* or new subtypes: H806-H809, H808-H809, H807-H809 (the former C272C or H809 subtype).

Identifying and ordering the new subtypes leads us to propose changing the sequence established by L. Huszár for the consecrated subtypes: H805, H806, H807 and H808.

¹⁶ Inadequately called hybrid denarii, they are new subtypes of undated denarii resulted through the combination of die variants, known or unknown, of monetary subtypes consecrated through their inclusion in numismatic catalogues (Réthy, Huszár).

¹⁷ Lakos, *II. Ulászló pénzverése ...*, pp. 23-32.

¹⁸ The combination of the dies, possible due to the simple rules that regulated the minting process, was explained by the fact that, after the reverse die was made, they did not wait for the corresponding die of the obverse to be completed, but used the dies of the previous subtype (Lakos, *II. Ulászló pénzverése ...*, p. 25).

¹⁹ *Ibidem*.

²⁰ *Idem, op. cit.*, pp. 25-26. Analyzing the denarii of the hoard from Iara (Cluj County), Fr. Pap adhered to Lakos' opinion on the use of the Gothic script after the death of Matthias Corvinus, and indicated the presence, among the denarii in the hoard, of Gothic next to humanist characters on the reverse or the obverse of some coins. At the same time, the Romanian numismatist noticed the transient nature of the new subtypes, which he called transitional, but realized that he could not establish a chronological relationship between them (Pap *et alii, Tezaurul monetar ...*, p. 189).

We noted above the presence of the coin legend written entirely in humanist script, **M • WLADISLAI • R • VNGARI • /PATRON–VNGARI**, on three undated subtypes of denarii issued by Hans Thurzó after taking over the mint in Kremnica: H805 (C274), H807 (C272B) and H809 (C275). At the time, we placed the denarius combining the obverse H807 with the reverse H809, known as the denarius of the H809 subtype among the so-called *hybrid* coinages. In the same discussion, we reversed the traditional order of coinages for the consecrated H807 and H808 subtypes, the place of the H807 denarius being fixed between the H808 denarius and the dated denarii of the H811 (C277-278) subtype, struck from 1503 on.

The new position of the H807 denarius, at the end of the series of undated denarii bearing the privy marks of Hans Thurzó and the relatedness between it and the H805 denarius, believed to be the first subtype, raises questions about the place of the H805 coin subtype.

The H805 subtype: the head or the end of the series of undated denarii?

The similarity between the subtypes H805 and H807 is not limited to the use of the humanist script in the coin legend. Given the representation of the eagle, the entire obverse H805 is similar to the point of being identical with the obverse of the H807 denarius. The reverse mode is also aligned with the manner of partial representation of the Virgin Mary, used for minting the H808 and H807 denarii. The only distinguishing feature is the presence of the halo surrounding the crowned head of the Virgin Mary.

The rendition of the Virgin Mary and the infant Jesus with a halo is characteristic of the first denarii issued at Kremnica for Vladislav II (the H803 and H804 subtypes) before the coming of Thurzó, when the head of the chamber had been, ever since the time of Matthias Corvinus, Peter Schaider.²¹ The presence of the haloed Virgin on the first denarii of Vladislav II led the Hungarian numismatists to place the denarius of the H805 subtype in their immediate vicinity, but the differences between the three subtypes are major:

- a. The H803 and H804 subtypes of denarii struck at Kremnica, for Vladislav II, under the control of Peter Schaider, used the older reverse die of Matthias Corvinus' denarius, H722.
- b. On the reverse of Vladislav II's denarius, H805, the draping of the Virgin's dress is totally different from that of its alleged predecessors (H803 and H804), as it is related to the reverse of the H807 denarius. The only difference between the two

²¹ The haloed iconography of the Virgin Mary and the infant Jesus was taken, on the first of Vladislav II's denarii (the H403 subtype), from the denarii of Matthias Corvinus (type H 722/C232). In fact, it was a matter of reusing the reverse die of Matthias' denarius, H722, issued with the mark of Caspar Stek, who worked at Kremnica, under the leadership of Peter Schaider, during the last years of Matthias' reign and the early years of Vladislav II's reign (Huszár, *Münzkatalog Ungarn...*, p. 125; A. Pohl, *Münzzeichen und Meisterzeichen auf ungarischen Münzen des Mittelalters 1300-1540*, Budapest, 1982, p. 83, Tab. 118/223-4, Tab. 121/237). This reverse die with the mark of Caspar Stek, taken from the mint of Matthias, is associated both with the obverse of the H803 denarius, which renders the heraldic lion of Bohemia at the heart of the quartered shield, and the obverse of the next subtype, H804, where the lion is replaced by the Jagiellonian eagle.

reverses, H805 and H807, is the addition of the halo around the head of the Virgin, but not around the head of the infant Jesus, as was the case of the dies used at Kremnica under the leadership of Peter Schaidler.

- c. The humanist typeface, we refer here to the letters M and N, already introduced on the last denarii of King Matthias, was adopted on the first denarii of Vladislav II (H803, H804), where it was associated with the Gothic script of the letter A. The humanist script introduced by Peter Schaidler, ever since the denarii of Matthias, was removed by Thurzó, who resumed, on the H806 denarius, the Gothic script for the three letters. The humanist script on the H805 denarius does not prove the succession of the H803, H804 and H805 subtypes, but was the result of a process of transition, in which Thurzó, after relinquishing the humanist script adopted by Schaidler, returned to it himself, after a journey of almost two years.

Following these observations, we believe that the H805 denarius does not open the series of undated coins issued by Thurzó for Vladislav II; on the contrary, it must be placed alongside the H807 denarius, towards the end of the series of these coinages.

Conclusions

Analysing the undated denarii of Vladislav II, specifically those with the heraldic eagle of the Jagiellonians on the obverse, issued from the mint of Kremnica after Hans Thurzó's appointment as head of the chamber, we have identified two new subtypes of denarii. Both subtypes appeared as a result of the association between the obverse of the traditional H806, H808 and H807 denarii with reverse versions of the H809 denarius. The new categories identified are not, as it used to be thought, the result of a simple association between the obverse and the reverse of neighbouring coins, issued sequentially.

It was generally considered that the eagle design charged on the shield and the manner of representing the Virgin Mary, through the draping of the dress or the crown design, were the decisive elements in distinguishing them by subtypes and in identifying the possible versions or deviations. The graphical representations are relevant to a point, enabling one to distinguish Vladislav II's undated denarii by subtypes and variants. The key to identifying the new subtypes resides in the relationship between these representations and different versions of writing the coin legend.

Examining the numerous versions of the legend, we have come to the conclusion that they are relevant not through the abbreviation formulas, but through the way of combining several types of script. We have found that they follow an unexpectedly simple rule: the gradual replacement of the Gothic script with the humanist script, with a view to standardizing the coin subtypes.

Identifying new subtypes and the mechanism of a complicated so-called *hybridisation* process has led us to resume the discussion on the typological sequence of Vladislav II's undated denarii from the Hungarian numismatic catalogues. An examination of the classical subtypes from the vantage point of the new categories and of the standardisation process to which Vladislav II's undated denarii were subjected reveals that:

1. The H809/C272C denarius is a subtype that associates, in the absence of its own obverse die, the obverse of the H807 denarius with the reverse of the so-called H809 denarius, a reverse that is common to the other two subtypes identified (H806-H809, H808-H809).
2. The H807 denarius was issued after the H808 denarius and not before it. The reversed sequence of the two coin subtypes of monetary is proved by the obvious similarity, in terms of the legend writing and the manner of rendering the coin design, between the H807 denarius and the denarius of the H811 subtype, issued from 1503 on, once the standardisation of coinages was completed and the *millésime* was introduced.
3. The H805 denarius, related to the H807 denarius, does not open the series of undated denarii issued under Thurzó's control, for King Vladislav II. The presence of the halo does not represent a link between this subtype of Thurzó's and the subtypes of his predecessor, Peter Schaidler (H803, H804). On the contrary, it must be placed, alongside the H807 coin, toward the end of the series of undated denarii.

Through the present analysis, we add two new subtypes of undated denarii issued by king Vladislav II (H806-H809, H808-H809) and suggest a change in their traditional sequence: the H806 denarius becomes head of the series, followed by the H808 denarius, which is succeeded by the H805 and, respectively, the H807 subtypes.

Annex 1

The H806-H809 subtype

Sub-group 1:

Vladislav II (1490-1514)

Obv.: obverse of the Réthy denarius 1907 272A, Huszár 1979 806

Rev.: new legend+coin drawing Réthy 1907 272C, Huszár 1979 809

Körmöcbánya, Hans Thurzó (on the reverse the mark **KH**)

Obv.: **Ω · WL̄DISL̄TI · R · VR̄ḠTRI ·**

Rev.: **PT̄TRON – VNḠTRI**

Ag; 2; 0.33; 15.1x15.4; Oradea-Ioşia, MȚCO, inv. 16/802

Obv.: **Ω · WL̄DISL̄TI · R · VR̄ḠTR**

Rev.: **PT̄TRON – VNḠTRI**

Ag; 6; 0.42; 15.7x15.5; Oradea-Ioşia, MȚCO, inv. 16/804 (Pl. I/1)

Sub-group 2:

Obv.: obverse of the Réthy denarius 1907 272A, Huszár 1979 806

Rev.: legend of the denarius CNH II 272A/Huszár 806 + coin drawing CNH II 272C/Huszár 809

Körmöcbánya, Hans Thurzó (on the reverse the mark **K h**)

Obv.: **Ω · WL̄DISL̄TI · R · VNḠTR**

Rev.: **PT̄TROR – VR̄ḠTRIG**

Ag; 11; 0.53; 15.6x15.9; Oradea-Ioşia, MȚCO, inv. 16/759

Ag; 12; 0.32; 14.9x15.4; Oradea-Ioşia, MȚCO, inv. 16/854 (Pl. I/2)

Sub-group 3:

Obv.: legend version of the denarius CNH II 272A/Huszár 806

Rev.: new legend version + coin drawing Réthy 1907 272C, Huszár 1979 809

Körmöcbánya, Hans Thurzó (on the reverse the mark **K h**)

Obv.: **Ω · WLADISLAI · R · VNGTRI**

Rev.: **PTTRON – VNGTRI**

Hotoan, Satu Mare Museum, f. i., exhibition (Pl. I/4)

Obv.: **Ω · WLADISLAI · R · VNGTR**

Rev.: **PTTRON – VNGTRI**

Ag; 10; 0.47; 16.2x15; Oradea-Ioşia, MŢCO, inv. 16/766 (Pl. I/3)

Annex 2

The H808-H 809 subtype

Sub-group 1:

Obv.: Réthy 1907 275 (eagle with wings displayed and inverted)

Rev.: Huszár 1979 809

Körmöcbánya, Hans Thurzó (on the reverse the mark **K H**)

Obverse die no. 1 + reverse die no. 1 (= legend of the denarius H806-H809/sub-group 3)

Obv.: **Ω · WLADISLAI · R · VNGTRI**

Rev.: **PTTRON – VNGTRI**

Ag; 5; 0.51; 15.6x16.1; Oradea-Ioşia, MŢCO inv. 16/812

Obv.: **Ω · WLADISLAI · R · VNGT**

Rev.: **PTTRON – VNGTRI**

Ag; 2; 0.49; 15.8x16; Oradea-Ioşia, MŢCO inv. 16/803 (Pl. II/1)

Obv.: **Ω · WLADISLAI · R · VNGT**

Rev.: **PTTRON – VNGTRIG**

Ag; 0; 0.42; 16.6x15.7; Oradea-Ioşia, MŢCO inv. 16/762

Obv.: **Ω · WLADISLAI · R · VNGT**

Rev.: **PTTRON – VNGTRI**

Ag; 12; 0.51; 16.2x15.4; Oradea-Ioşia, MŢCO inv. 16/801

Obverse die no. 2 + reverse die no. 2

Obv.: **Ω · WLADISLAI · R · VNGTRI**

Rev.: **PTTROH – VNGTRI**

Ag; 5; 0.52; 15.7x15.2; Oradea-Ioşia, MŢCO inv. 16/813 (Pl. II/2)

Obverse die no. 2 + reverse die no. 3

Obv.: **Ω · WLADISLAI · R · VNGTRI**

Rev.: **PATROH – VNGARIE** (the letter A with the median crossbar rendered as a broken line **Λ**)

Ag; 11; 0.57; 15.8x16.1; Oradea-Ioşia, MŢCO inv. 16/815 (Pl. II/3)

Hotoan, Satu Mare Museum, f. i., exhibition

Obverse die no. 3+reverse die no. 2

Obv.: **Ω · WLADISLAI · R · VNGAR** (the letter A with the median crossbar rendered as a broken line **Λ**)

Rev.: **PTTROH – VNGTRI**

Ag; 6; 0.41; 15.3x16.3; Oradea-Ioşia, MŢCO inv. 16/814 (Pl. II/4)

Obverse die no. 3 + reverse die no. 3 (= legend of the denarius H808)

Obv.: **Ω · WLADISLAI · R · VNGARI**

Rev.: **PATROH – VNGARI**

Ag; 12; 0.45; 16x15.2; Oradea-Ioşia, MŢCO inv. 16/810

Obv.: **Ω • WLADISLAI • R • VIGARI**

Rev.: **PATROI-VIGARIE**

Ag; 6; 0.47; 16x15.4; Oradea-Ioşia, MŢCO inv. 16/816

Ag; 11; 0.41; 16x16.1; Oradea-Ioşia, MŢCO inv. 16/817

Hotoan, Satu Mare Museum, f. i., exhibition

Obv.: **Ω • WLADISLAI • R • VIGAR**

Rev.: **PATROI-VIGARIE**

Ag; 7; 0.56; 15.5x15.8; Oradea-Ioşia, MŢCO inv. 16/799

Ag; 9; 0.43; 16.4x16.3; Oradea-Ioşia, MŢCO inv. 16/800

AR, 6; 0.47; 15.1x15.2; Ghighişeni, MŢCO inv. 8/13 (Pl. II/5)

Obv.: **Ω • WLADISLAI • R • VIGAR**

Rev.: **PATROI-A-VIGARI**

Hotoan, Satu Mare Museum, f. i., exhibition (Pl. II/6)

Sub-group 2A:

Vladislav II (1490-1514)

Obv.: Huszár 1979 808 (eagle with the wings displayed and elevated)

Rev.: Huszár 1979 809

Körmöcbánya, Hans Thurzó (on the reverse the mark **KH**)

Obverse die no. 1 + reverse die no. 2 (= legend of the denarius H806-H809/sub-group 1)

Obv.: **Ω • WLADISLAI • R • VIGARI**

Rev.: **PATROI-VIGARIE**

Ag; 5; 0.52; 15.9x15.4; Oradea-Ioşia, MŢCO inv. 16/805 (Pl. III/1)

Obv.: **Ω • WLADISLAI • R • VIGARI**

Rev.: **PATROI-VIGARIE**

Hotoan, Satu Mare Museum, f. i., exhibition

Obverse die no. 3+ reverse die no. 3 (= legend of the denarius H808)

Obv.: **Ω • WLADISLAI • R • VIGARIE** (=legend of the denarius H808)

Rev.: **PATROI-VIGARIE**

Ag; 12; 0.42; 15.8x16.1; Oradea-Ioşia, MŢCO inv. 16/807 (**WLADISLA**)

Ag; 6; 0.53; 14.8x14.3; Oradea-Ioşia, MŢCO inv. 16/808 (Pl. III/2)

Obv.: **Ω • WLADISLAI • R • VIGARIE**

Rev.: **PATROI-VIGARI**

Ag; 6; 0.57; 15.2x14.7; Oradea-Ioşia, MŢCO inv. 16/818

Obv.: **Ω • WLADISLAI • R • VIGARI**

Rev.: **PATROI-VIGARIE**

Ag; 12; 0.60; 15.7x15.2; double striking; Oradea-Ioşia, MŢCO inv. 16/811

Ag; 12; 0.57; 15.9x15.6; double striking; Oradea-Ioşia, MŢCO inv. 16/819

Obv.: **Ω • WLADISLAI • R • VIGAR**

Rev.: **PATROI-A-VIGARIE**

Hotoan, Satu Mare Museum, f. i., exhibition

Obv.: **Ω • WLADISLAI • R • VIGARI**

Rev.: **PATROI-VIGARI**

Ag; 10; 0.57; 16x15.2; Oradea-Ioşia, MŢCO inv. 16/809

Obv.: **Ω • WLADISLAI • R • VIGAR**

Rev.: **PATROI-A-VIGARI**

Ag; 12; 0.46; 15.2x15.3; Oradea-Ioşia, MŢCO inv. 16/806

Obv.: **Ω • WLADISLAI • R • VIGAR**

Rev.: **PATROI-VIGARI**

Ag; 3; 0.54; 15x15.4; Oradea-Ioşia, MŢCO inv. 16/765

Ag; 8; 0.46; 16.4x15.7; Oradea-Ioşia, MŢCO inv. 16/767

Obv.: illegible legend

Rev.: **PATROI-VIGARIE**

Ag; 5; 0.41; 14.8x14.8; double striking; Oradea-Ioşia, MŢCO inv. 16/865

Obverse die no. 4 + reverse die no. 2

Obv.: **✠ M ✠ WLADISLAI ✠ R ✠ VIGTRII ✠**

Rev.: **ΠΑΤΡΟΙ — VIGTRII ✠**

Ag; 12; 0.45; 16.1x16.4; Oradea-Ioşia, MŢCO inv. 16/831

Ag; 4; 0.48; 16.1x15.8; Oradea-Ioşia, MŢCO inv. 16/832 (Pl. III/3)

Obverse die no. 5 + reverse die no. 3

Obv.: **M • WLADISLAI • R • VIGARI •**

Rev.: **PATROI-VIGARIE**

Ag; 1; 0.53; 15.5x15.3; Oradea-Ioşia, MŢCO inv. 16/827 (Pl. III/4)

Sub-group 2B:

Obv.: Huszár 1979 808, eagle with the wings displayed and elevated

Rev.: Huszár 1979 809

Körmöcbánya, Hans Thurzó (on the reverse the mark **K h**)

Obverse die no. 3+ reverse die no. 3

Obv.: **Ω • WLADISLAI • R • VIGARIE**

Rev.: **PATROI-VIGARI**

Iara, Pap *et alii* 1971 no. 962, Turda Museum or MNIT Cluj-Napoca

Obverse die no. 6+ reverse die no. 4 (=legend of the denarii 805, 807, 809)

Obv.: **M • WLADISLAI • R • VNGARIE •**

Rev.: **PATRO—VNGARIE**

Ag; 1; 0.59; 15.3x15.5; double striking; Oradea-Ioşia, MŢCO inv. 16/825

Obv.: **M • WLADISLAI • R • VNGARI •**

Rev.: **PATRON—VNGARIE •**

Ag; 5; 0.52; 15.2x14.9; Oradea-Ioşia, MŢCO inv. 16/820

Ag; 7; 0.48; 15.5x15.6; Oradea-Ioşia, MŢCO inv. 16/1484 (Pl. III/5)

Ag; 5; 0.50; 15.3x15.7; Oradea-Ioşia, MŢCO inv. 16/1491

Ag; 1; 0.61; 15.9x15.6; Ghighişeni, MŢCO inv. 8/14

Iara, Pap *et alii* 1971 no. 966, Turda Museum or MNIT Cluj-Napoca

Hotoan photo 0121-0122

Obv.: **M • WLADISLAI • R • VNGAR •**

Rev.: **PATRON—VNGARIE •**

Ag; 9; 0.57; 15.2x14.9; Oradea-Ioşia, MŢCO inv. 16/821

Hotoan photo 0109-0110

Obv.: **M • WLADISLAI • R • VNGAR •**

Rev.: **PATRON—VNGARI**

Ag; 8; 0.51; 15x15.7; Oradea-Ioşia, MŢCO inv. 16/822

Ag; 9; 0.58; 15.1x15.5; Oradea-Ioşia, MŢCO inv. 16/823

Ag; 1; 0.36; 15.8x15.4; Oradea-Ioşia, MŢCO inv. 16/1444

Ag; 1 2; 0.57; 14.8x15.2; Oradea-Ioşia, MŢCO inv. 16/1451

Hotoan, Satu Mare Museum, f. i., exhibition (5 pieces) (Pl. III/6)

Obv.: **M • WLADISLAI • R • VNGARI •**

Rev.: **PATRON—VNGARI**

Ag; 3; 0.41; 15.5x15.2; Oradea-Ioşia, MŢCO inv. 16/838

Ag; 8; 0.49; 15x15.7; Oradea-Ioşia, MŢCO inv. 16/842

Hotoan, Satu Mare Museum, f. i., exhibition

Obv.: **M • WLADISLAI • R • VNGAR •**

Rev.: **PATRO-VNGARI**

Ag; 4; 0.49; 15.2x14.8; Oradea-Ioşia, MŢCO inv. 16/824

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Plate II. 1-6. *H808-H809 subtype/sub-group 1*(Oradea-Ioşia, MŢCO inv. 16/803, 16/813, 16/815, 16/814; Ghighişeni, MŢCO inv. 8/13; Hotoan, Muz. Satu-Mare).

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Plate I.



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Plate II.



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Plate III.



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Plate IV.

Fig. 2
Iosia 16/846



Fig. 4
Iosia 16/1456



Fig. 6
Iosia 16/1436



Fig. I.



Fig. 3



Fig. 5

Fig II.

ASPECTS CONCERNING THE INTERIORS OF THE “VOIVODAL PALACE” FROM TURDA

Abstract: The Voivodal Palace of Turda is the most valuable monument of civil medieval architecture in the town and the only palace with surviving parts that date from the late 15th century and the beginning of the next.

Interest in conducting research on the palace is mainly due to the chronological positioning of this monument at the boundary between two distinct periods of the Middle Ages: the Gothic (the end of the period) and the Renaissance. This paper brings additional information to the studies already written about the “Voivodal Palace” of Turda, providing interesting data about the interiors of this building starting from the second half of the 17th century. All the records made during these centuries clearly demonstrate that this building, which served, for a long time, as the Salt Storehouse, had a special significance for both the community of the Turda area and the Principality of Transylvania.

Keywords: Turda, “Voivodal Palace”, Salt Storehouse, Orbán Balász, history museum

Turda, one of the important towns in central Transylvania, appeared in documents from the second half of the 11th century on, becoming the seat of the county of the same name two centuries later. From the 13th century on, Turda featured more and more frequently in the medieval documents. Mentioned particularly in connection with the exploitation of the salt mines, in the year 1297 it was referred to as *civitas*.² The historical evolution of the town has been the subject of several studies based, on one hand, on archaeological research conducted over the recent years, and on the other hand, on written sources, documents, ground plans and period *vedute*.

The economic development of Turda, the demands for comfort expressed by the town’s nobility and, not least, demographic growth led to an expansion of the town in the Middle Ages. The welfare and economic development of Turda during the classical medieval period (the 15th and the 16th centuries) also entailed an increase in the cultural level of various segments of the population. During the period 1438-1539 alone, 42 young men left Turda to study in various European universities. Certainly, many of them belonged to the town’s affluent layer.³

The economic base of the town continued to be mining (salt exploitation), agriculture and trade. The most important salt customs in Transylvania was located in Turda, its headquarters standing right in the town’s medieval core. Trade in agricultural products, salt, and livestock became predominant, especially in Turda Veche, several annual fairs being organized during this period; this proves the importance of Turda

¹ Museum curator, the History Museum of Turda, e-mail: grozatoratiudorin@yahoo.com.

² *Documente privind Istoria României* (hereinafter DIR), Veacul XIII, C, Transilvania, vol. II (1251-1300), București, 1954, p. 435.

³ Răzvan Mihai Neagu, “Studenți din Turda la marile universități europene în evul mediu și epoca premodernă,” in *Apulum*, XLIX, 2012, p. 161.

compared to other towns in the area. Economic development certainly imposed a “regime of building”. Even though many of the edifices erected during that period are no longer in existence today, it was then that the planning of the town was largely outlined. Among the buildings of local historical importance that have been preserved until today, mention must be made of the “Voivodal Palace”, which today houses the collections of the History Museum of Turda.

Few buildings in the medieval centre of Turda were structured on several levels as in the case of the “Voivodal Palace”; in general, civil constructions from this period were modest. The (old) housing fund consisted mostly of houses built of wood, thatched sunken huts, which certainly contributed to enhancing the appearance of the larger public buildings, made of stone, which were found in the town’s central square.

Shortly after the completion of the construction works on the Catholic Church (the beginning of the 16th century), the large town square closed its northern side. The urban streetscape still preserves the medieval structure with a main street with a central thickening for the square, its space being intended primarily for economic activities. It was here that fairs were held periodically throughout the year, selling both domestic products and goods brought by foreign merchants. The square gradually acquired administrative, political and social functions by hosting the major events in the town’s life, including diets, as well as various shows and even public executions. The town core was gradually surrounded by stone buildings, which today no longer exist. Medieval buildings in the town centre have been replaced with others since the 19th century, some of them surviving to this day.

The historical and architectural value of the oldest civil medieval building in the area preserved until today has attracted the attention of both the foreign travellers who passed through Transylvania and of the researchers, historians and, not least, of the tourists visiting the town.

The period of the Middle Ages in Turda was littered with events that profoundly marked the town’s political, economic, religious and demographic development. There were numerous armed conflicts, followed by epidemics and plagues that decimated the population of the town, profoundly impacting its urbanistic development.⁴

The creation of Salt Storehouse took place in parallel with the development of salt-mining towns, as was the case of Turda. The most important Transylvanian Salt Storehouses were those of Turda, Ocna Dej, Sic, Cojocna and Ocna Sibiului. The Storehouses, which were subordinated directly to the royal court, organized the exploitation and valorization of salt. Throughout time, the five aforementioned Salt Storehouses were most often under a single administration, headed by the *comes* of the Storehouse in Turda. The function of this high official was often very important, as this *comes* was sometimes a member of the royal council.⁵ Salt mining was a royal right, the profit from this activity representing an important source of income for the crown of Hungary; Salt Storehouses were the institutions that supervised salt mining and they were run by *comites* and *vice-comites*.

⁴ Eugen Gergely, *Turda istorie și contemporaneitate*, Cluj-Napoca, 2005, p. 76.

⁵ *DIR*, Veacul XIII, C, Transilvania, vol. II, p. 46; *Monumenta Ecclesiae Strigoniensis*, vol. I, p. 478.

Over time, the building that is the subject of this study had numerous destinations, including that of Customhouse of the Salt Mines of Turda. In conjunction with archaeological research and on-site observations during the restoration works (1997-2011), documentary information has allowed us to reconstruct an image what the interiors of this building looked like in the past. The most valuable information remains that provided by the scribes Diósi Gáspár and Pávai János, who, at the order of Acațiu Barczai, Prince of Transylvania (1658-1660), inventoried the movable and immovable property of the Salt Customhouse of Turda, with all its outbuildings, in 1660.

In the early 20th century, when large-scale works of refurbishment took place, the building was structured on two levels, having also a single-storey part.

The interiors of the building. The ground floor consisted of a hallway, three rooms located in the two-storey wing of the building and two rooms located in the single-storey area. Another room on the northern side, located in the extension of the other two from the single-storey wing of the building, decommissioned in the last century, has recently been rebuilt. The perimeter of the foundation of the old walls has been highlighted, marked out and preserved.⁶

The hallway and the festive staircase. The large and spacious hallway allows access to different parts of the building. We do not know the material originally used to achieve its floors and those in the rooms situated on the ground floor. The treading levels found in archaeological research have revealed several types of flooring used over time: clay, stone, brick and wood.

At the beginning of last century, the floor made of wood was in a poor state of preservation, due largely to water seepage through the shingle roof structure, but also due to the excessive moisture accumulated inside the building. In 1913, the wood flooring was replaced with slabs of stone, which, in turn, were later replaced with ceramic tiles imitating brick.⁷

The staircase (in 1997), supported on brick masonry, consisting of three segments (the western, northern and eastern walls), allowed access to the first floor of the building, being constructed of concrete at the beginning of last century. The stairs were made of stone and the beautifully carved railing was made of oak. The stairs led to a wooden gallery supported by two pillars of the same material, carved with solar motifs that have been preserved. The gallery was extended during the latest restoration works.⁸ The reason for this change must be linked to the need for increasing the exhibition space and providing a sightseeing circuit, as well as to the new location of the staircase, rebuilt on another site in 2008.

From the first landing of the old staircase, at the mezzanine, one could go out into a gazebo (according to information from the 19th century), which, during the renovations of 1913, was replaced with an enclosed extension, provided with four windows and door. The second landing of the staircase led (on the northern side) to an entrance fitted with a beautifully ornate metal door, which allowed access to the small

⁶ The architectural blueprint of the monument was executed by S.C. POLARH S.R.L. in Bucharest.

⁷ The stone slabs in the hallway, which are now gone, had the size of 0.46 m x 0.40 m.

⁸ The wooden gallery upstairs was actually the smaller lobby on the first floor of the building.

attic of the building (the single-storey wing - Figure 1). Both the staircase and the entrances to the extension and, respectively, to the attic have been decommissioned.

From the hallway, one could reach the basement (1913). The stairway (made of concrete, today decommissioned) was placed under the ramp of the festive staircase. On the single landing of this stairway, there was the restroom and the exit to the backyard of the building⁹.

We do not know what material was used in the construction of the first stairs of the building, but we can assume that they were originally built of wood.

At the end of the 19th century, when the historian Orbán Balász visited the building, the wooden staircase was in a poor state of preservation¹⁰. Balász was the only historian who supported the idea that the staircase, whose railing was adorned with sculptures, was built of stone. He based his hypothesis on the traces of the stone consoles supporting it, which were visible at the end of the 19th century¹¹.

The rooms of the building branch out from the hallway, to the south, west and north. On the eastern wall, there is the entrance to the building, with a Gothic platband made of stone. This, together with the door, is described in a document issued in 1677¹².

The solid oak door from the entrance had hinges reinforced with metal brackets (full width) and it could be locked with a deadbolt. Perhaps as a safety measure, the door handles were removable, and there was also a casement for them¹³.

The entrance to the first room is made through a platband similar to that from the entrance. To the right of the entrance, one may notice the “manhole” of the central chimney from the old hot air heating system.

From the second half of the 17th century, information on the layout and destination of the building interiors multiplied. Some of the descriptions found in the documents consulted no longer reflect today’s reality. Some descriptions relating to the layout of the chambers and other details have been confirmed by archaeological research.

In 1660, the wooden ceiling of the hallway was in an advanced state of decay¹⁴. Two decades later, the situation appears to have slightly changed, following the renovation interventions, a ceiling being added to the hallway in the upper part¹⁵. Some sources inform us about the existence of brick arches, prior to the wooden ceilings, the traces of the brackets that supported them being visible up until the end of the 19th century¹⁶.

⁹ Both the lower and the upper part of the extension, where the restroom and, respectively, the chamber of the supervisory staff were located, have been decommissioned. The boiler has its location here today.

¹⁰ Orbán Balász, *Torda város és környéke*, Budapest, 1889, p. 347.

¹¹ *Ibidem*.

¹² *Kolozsmonostori Konvent Levéltára. A tordai sókamaraház 1677-es leltári listája*, Magyar Országos Levéltár, Budapest, *Urbaria Folia* 786-890 (hereinafter MOL, *Urbaria Folia*).

¹³ *Ibidem*.

¹⁴ *Az erdély káptalan országos levéltára: A tordai sókamaraház 1660-as leltári listája*, Magyar Országos Levéltár, Budapest, *Lymbus* XVI/1, (hereinafter MOL, *Lymbus*, XVI/1). The inventory conducted by the scribes in the prince’s chancery found several objects stored in the hall: a bench, a box for candles, and a piece of iron for the chimney door.

¹⁵ MOL, *Urbaria Folia*, pp. 786-890.

¹⁶ Orbán Balász, *op.cit.*, p. 347.

According to the information available, from the hallway one could reach the garden. When the plaster in the hallway was removed (1997), the remains of a vault were discovered in the elevation of the western wall, which certainly represented an exit to the garden of the building. The many renovation and restoration interventions seriously affected the building interiors, leading later to walling in this exit.

At the end of the 19th century, the hallway provided access to the chambers on the southern, western and northern sides, each with a Gothic stone platband, carved and ornamented. Today, only the one on the south wall of the hall is preserved¹⁷. The doors to the rooms were blocked with boards, the space behind them being used as a storage space for barrels of alcoholic beverages (plum brandy was marketed in another building, facing town’s Big Square¹⁸).

The chambers situated on the ground floor from the two-storey wing of the building. The first room, the one in which the *cămăraş* lived (the *comes* of the Salt Customhouse), had an oak door fitted with a cornice, metal hinges, wrought iron reinforcements and a latch¹⁹. In the second half of the 17th century, the room did not have a ceiling, as the old medieval structure of vaults made of bricks had been maintained²⁰. The appearance of this room underwent significant changes during the renovations of 1818, when a ceiling was built here, as well as in the other rooms of the building.

The room in which the *cămăraş* lived had window glazing fitted in wooden frames, its stone platband having two metal rods inserted vertically and one horizontally²¹. The room was heated by a terracotta stove, made of green glazed tiles, decorated at the top²², and the brick arches of the room were supported by “props” made of wood. The room, presented as an evidence room (*sămădaş*) in a document, was probably used as employee housing²³. It was probably here that, in the mid-16th century, the reckoning deacon (the accountant) lived, who was paid 18 florins annually, and the payment allotter, remunerated with 12 florins annually²⁴.

Next to it, there was another vaulted chamber used as storage space²⁵. The two rooms, initially conjoined into one, were separated by a stone wall, introduced in one of the previous renovations. The date when this change occurred is not known, and the material used in making the flooring of these rooms is also not known. What is known

¹⁷ *Ibidem*.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 136. After the year 1848, when the salt customs house in Turda was moved, the building was rented to merchants.

¹⁹ MOL, *Urbaria Folia*, pp. 786-890.

²⁰ *Ibidem*.

²¹ *Ibidem*.

²² *Ibidem*. The inventory of this chamber included: an old long table, a bench-type chair, a peasant hanger, a bed, a small white cupboard, and a cabinet used for storing crockery.

²³ MOL, *Lymbus XVI / 1*. The inventory of this chamber, presented by the document, is about the same, but the descriptions are much more succinct: a stove in good condition, two empty barrels for vinegar, a shelf for glasses, a table, a bed, a cupboard, a seat with backrest, two benches, a peg, a glass window, two basins for plates and a griddle.

²⁴ *Călători străini despre Țările Române*, Bucureşti, 1970, vol. II, p. 21 (hereinafter *Călători...*).

²⁵ MOL, *Urbaria Folia*, pp. 786-890. In this room were deposited: a bench, food for horses (oats), 250 small bread loaves, a box for vegetables, a trough with handles, 3 new hoes, 2 old hoes, 3 seals harnesses, 3 pieces of flax linen, 3 metal parts made in Hungary, 20 *oci* (unit of measurement) of lentils in a pot, half a pound of peas and a pound and 3 *oci* of barley.

for sure is that at a certain time, the floor was made of brick, probably in both rooms. In the first room, no traces showing this have been preserved, as the flooring suffered changes during the interventions from the early 20th century, when the new hot air heating system of the building was introduced.

The second room had a treading level that has been fully preserved. It consisted of brick paving, which, considering its wear, represented a treading level for a longer time. The non-homogeneous pavement placed on a bed of sand had a variable thickness, due to the two types of brick used to make it²⁶.

From this room, one could reach the latrine²⁷. Archaeological research undertaken in this area of the building has located this latrine.

From Balász's romantic descriptions, we may also find other details referring to these chambers. The first one served as a guard room, while the second was destined to warming food, as the kitchen was an outbuilding located in the courtyard²⁸.

Today these rooms no longer exist. The damaged vaults were replaced with wooden ceilings in the 19th century, which is also when the wall separating the rooms was removed. The last intervention on the ceilings, superficial and of poor quality, was made in the years 1963-1964, when out of the desire to consolidate the monument, the "authors" poured reinforced concrete, with plate, beams and belts, into this section of the building increasing the difficulty of subsequent restorations. During the latest restoration, the beams were masked with wood elements, the restoration being made in tune with the existing woodwork in the building.

In the western wing adjoined during another phase of construction, there are two rooms that have the same size. The rooms communicate with each other through a door with stone platband. This type of rectangular shaped framing, with profiles turned towards the door gap at the base, is found in most of the building's rooms, the vast majority of which were restored in the early 20th century.

The rooms were divided width-wise at some point. The walls that had an arch opening were most likely annexed during the renovations of 1818. Built of stone and brick, they were dismantled in 1998. When one of the walls was removed, there were found two fragments of limestone platband, one of them being engraved. The text, which contained a person's name, should be attributed to the master mason's insignia, which were common in the medieval period (Figure 2).

Orbán Balász confirms the existence of these "double rooms," noting that there were held the meetings of the Hungarian nobility²⁹. The assumption of the Hungarian historian regarding the existence of a door, walled in today, which opened from one of the rooms onto the church, has not been confirmed.

The first information about these two rooms comes from a document dated 2 April 1660³⁰. The first room had a "padded" oak door, was provided with a cornice, and

²⁶ The first had the size: 32 x 15.5 x 7 cm and had the stamp of the workshop of origin impressed on one side ("W"). The second type of brick, probably older, had the size: 29 x 14.5 x 4.5 cm. Prior to this pavement, there was another treading layer, consisting of a clay mix that was 5 cm thick.

²⁷ MOL, *Urbaria Folia*, pp. 786-890.

²⁸ Orbán Balász, *op. cit.*, p. 347.

²⁹ *Ibidem*.

³⁰ MOL, *Lymbus XVI / 1*. The inventory of this chamber included: a table, two boards, a box with 1386 candles, a thread for leather bellows and a door.

had fittings installed³¹. Heating was ensured by a glazed tile terracotta stove. It is also here that the presence of a second (common) stove appears to have existed, constructed from the same type of tiles, which could be fuelled from the adjacent room.

The room was separated by a wall of fir plank, which had a white door fitted with wrought iron hinges and flaps. It could be locked with a sliding latched board. Inside this partition, on one of the walls there was a window that was blocked, at the time, with boards³².

The other chamber, also partitioned with boards, was used as storage space. The existing partitions (silos) were used for storing wheat, oats and vegetables³³. The room had the window blocked with boards and beamed ceiling was not planked. From this room one could reach the latrine. The latrine had a small wooden door with two hinges, wrought iron reinforcements and a latch³⁴. The rooms communicated through a padded wooden door, provided with a cornice³⁵.

The heating system. The many changes and transformations suffered over time have also affected the heating system. Thus, in over 400 years since the “foundation,” there have occurred location changes for both the smoke chimneys and the heating stoves.

On a European level, we have little data on the existence of tiled stoves prior to the 11th century. Terracotta stoves began to spread widely in the 13th and 14th centuries, when it there appeared the first representations on tiles. In the Middle Ages there were centers specialized in this field, especially in the German area.

In Transylvania, the closed heating system was introduced by the Saxon colonists. The existence of terracotta tiled stoves at the “Voivodal Palace” is confirmed both by the documents and by archaeological research. What we do not know is their location and placement.

Parament researches have identified the sites of old smoke chimneys (a few of them) and, implicitly, the location of the stoves used for heating the building. Up until 1997, the building had two smoke chimneys, one being centrally located in the two-storey wing and a secondary one, located in the one-storey wing.

The smoke chimneys identified by us were built through the walls of the building and they were not functional at the time of their discovery. One of them, found on the eastern side, preserved with a length of 2.70 m, had a cross-section of 25 x 25 cm and was plastered (Figure 3). The traces of another dismantled chimney, partially built of bricks, could be seen on the northern side of the one-storey wing. Its cross-section was 20 x 20 cm. Another smoke chimney was found upstairs, on the northern side of the extension to the west.

The first floor. Information about the rooms on the first floor of the building is incomplete and confusing. The most numerous, but not necessarily accurate data were

³¹ MOL, *Urbaria Folia*, pp. 786-890. The door had two hinges with wrought iron reinforcements and a latch handle. In the room were deposited: a box for the door handles, wooden utensils for making nails, a hammer, two damaged windows that had animal guts (intestines) mounted instead of glass and two brackets for nailing tools.

³² *Ibidem*. In this room there was a peasant’s bed, while on one wall there was a wooden frame.

³³ MOL, *Urbaria Folia*, pp. 786-890.

³⁴ This was the latrine previously described.

³⁵ The document describes minutely the hardware of each door.

offered by Orbán Balász, who, in an era characterized by romanticism, brought his subjective contribution to presenting the building premises and their destination. The very rich imagination of the Hungarian historian regarding political events in the history of Transylvania that occurred inside the “Voivodal Palace” have remained unconfirmed.

The hallway upstairs. In 1997, public access to the History Museum of Turda was ceased because work for the restoration and preservation of the building had begun. At that time, the staircase made of three segments, designed at the beginning of the 20th century, led to a small rectangular hall on the first floor. On three sides of the hallway were placed openings provided with stone platbands. Two of these were entries to the rooms on the first floor of the building, while the last one allowed access to the balcony of the building.

Medieval and modern documents and the reports from the late 19th century speak about the existence of an opening located on the northern wall of the hallway that led to the former attic of the one-storey wing, which has a garret today³⁶: This entrance was walled in during one of the rehabilitation interventions that have occurred over time.

Another entrance fitted with an ornate metal door was located at the intersection of the eastern and northern walls of the hallway. The entrance opened at the beginning of last century was on the second landing of the old staircase and allowed access to the attic of the one-storey wing of the building. A stone inscription written in medieval Latin and recently deciphered is mounted on the eastern wall of the hallway (Figure 4).

MANEĀ[AN]T • [F]IÓ[D]ES • SPES • CHARITAS • TRIA • HEC[HAEC]

The inscription is original and definitely belongs to this building. Such inscriptions often appeared in medieval public buildings in many parts of Europe. Its text presents a biblical psalm from “St. Paul’s First Letter to the Corinthians,” chapter 13³⁷.

Southern wall of the (present-day) hallway upstairs has been restored during one of the renovation interventions. When the plaster was removed (1998), it was observed that it had been rebuilt on a different site, partially blocking a gap in one of the walls of the building (now in the form of a niche), which was probably an older entrance or passageway to one of the building’s interior spaces.

It is unlikely that we can accurately reconstruct the original appearance and purpose of the rooms on the first floor of the building. This is due to the numerous renovations and restorations throughout the ages, which have simplified the image building to a great extent, and to the lack of documentary information on this issue.

The significance of the rooms also changed whenever major renovations took place or when the destination of the building was modified. We believe, generally speaking, that the current form of this building was given by the renovations of 1818. Then, the initial appearance of the building was deeply modified by interventions conducted both outside and especially inside. One final “blow” was given by the restorations of the early 20th century, which, although scientifically executed, made it even more difficult to reconstruct the original appearance of the building given the

³⁶ MOL, *Urbaria Folia*, pp. 786-890. These entries are found even today. Only one of them, the one located on the north side, allows access today to a room that is the product of renovations conducted in the years 1997-2008 and that was the attic of the one-level building.

³⁷ In translation, the psalm goes: “And now these three remain: faith, hope and love.”

modifications it brought about. Many elements that might have been useful for a reconstruction of the “Voivodal Palace” area and its outbuildings were lost when the building in Republic Square no. 15 was erected.

The subsequent renovations brought other changes, further hindering the operation of reconstructing the image of the old building interiors.

The balcony of the building. The Hungarian historian Orbán Balász said: “on the eastern gable of the building one may notice a pointed portal carved very harmoniously out of stone, above which there is a wooden balcony in an advanced state of decay. Before it, there was another, older one, built of stone, which was removed during the renovations of 1886-1887”³⁸.

With the radical changes of the 19th century, the spiral staircase that rested on one of the pillars of the balcony was destroyed, the latter protecting it from the weather, because protruded outside the building. The bases of the columns that supported the old balcony were seen by the Hungarian historian during his visit. Their traces were found before the main entrance during renovations carried out between 1911 and 1913 and have been confirmed by archaeological research.

The balcony was rebuilt at the beginning of last century, resting on five consoles in gradual withdrawal, carved in stone, after the blueprints made by the architect Lux Kálmán. When it was rebuilt, the pillars were removed, given the short distance between them and the Post Office building, an edifice erected in 1900-1902³⁹.

The rooms on the first floor of the building. Improperly called “palaces” by one of the documents, the upstairs rooms, five in number, were partially inhabited. The document informs us about the advanced state of degradation (decay), at that time, of two rooms which are said to have been “deserted”⁴⁰.

The first room. The first of the rooms found upstairs today (Exhibit Hall 4) is located in the old wing (the former tower with a rectangular ground plan).

In the second half of the 18th century, this room, as described in the document, does not appear to be reflected in the current appearance of the building. The document mentions six windows, five of them made of fir wood and one made of stone⁴¹.

An alternative that could be considered would be an error committed by the scribes who inventoried the Salt Customhouse at that time. Upstairs, namely in the hallway and the room located south of this, described in the document issued in 1677 as the living room, there are indeed six windows today. It is possible that the chancery scribes considered the total number of windows, including those that were in the hall on first floor⁴². Perhaps the only window fitted with stone platband was that from which a fragment is preserved today on the eastern side in the old body of the building. The other windows with platbands must have been replaced at a later date, after the document was issued.

³⁸ Orbán Balász, *op.cit.*, p. 347.

³⁹ “A Közművelődési ház létesítéséről”, in „Emlékkönyv”, Torda, 1913, pp.16-23.

⁴⁰ MOL, *Urbaria Folia*, pp. 786-890.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*.

⁴² *Ibidem*.

Access from the hallway into the room (living room) was made through an opening that had a wooden frame mounted. The “living room” was partially floored with planks of fir, and in the porch area (the hall upstairs - our note), the beams were apparent. This area was under construction at the time. Here were three pieces of furniture (cupboards) for storing crockery, arranged along one of the walls of the room⁴³.

The second room. In the second room (palace), one could enter through a “half” door (probably with two leaves), with a stone platband and threshold⁴⁴. The flooring of the room was also made of fir boards. We do not have details regarding the room windows⁴⁵. From this room, one could get to the latrine. The rudimentary latrine had only a fir wood platband mounted, having no door or seat. Given its positioning, according to research conducted here, it overlapped the latrine found during archaeological research.

The third room. About this room, we know only have that it had a door made of unsanded fir plank and that the two windows of the room had stone frames⁴⁶. One of them had a wooden platband and frame (no glass), on which were mounted two iron hinges and a latch⁴⁷.

The uninhabited rooms upstairs. On the northern wall of the hallway there was an entrance that allowed access to two rooms without ceilings, deserted at that time (1677). It has not been possible to locate these rooms in the current layout of the building.

Conclusions. The description given in the document issued in 1677 justifies, to some extent, the existing spaces upstairs. The hallway and the three inhabited rooms described above are positioned in the same layout. The latrine mentioned in the document no longer exists, as it was decommissioned in one of the subsequent renovations.

As regards the uninhabited spaces, the so-called “deserted palaces”, we do not know where they were located or if there ever existed. According to the information we have at present, their location may have been in the one-storey wing of the building. Reports on this area, issued after this document, speak about the existence of a balcony. Other sources mention the existence of a two-storey wing, where the general administrator and other notables lived, his residence being related to the “Voivodal Palace”⁴⁸. None of this information can be verified or confirmed in the present state of research.

The ground plan of the building from 1997 outlines the situation of the spaces on the first floor and their functionality. According to it, the floor was composed of: the hallway (now modified) and two rooms (Hall 4 and the Big Hall - the latter being compartmented width-wise - Hall 5 and Hall 6).

Interesting things emerged when the plaster was removed. Thus, in the first room, on the eastern wall, there were found two artistically wrought medieval fragments of stone. The first, which is rather dulled, represents a human figure. Floral motifs are

⁴³ *Ibidem*. Here were stored a long board and a short one.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*. The door was fitted with two hinges, had wrought iron flaps and a latch.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*. The door was equipped with the relevant hardware: hinges, brackets, a latch and a lock with a key.

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁸ Orbán Balász, *op. cit.*, p. 346.

represented in the second (Figure 5). On the southern wall of the same room, on one of the carved blocks, there have been discovered the insignia of master masons (Figure 6). Compared with carpenters or bricklayers, stonemasons have left the highest amount of evidence preserved to this day.

On the western wall of the room, we could notice, at that time, the traces of an older entrance that was walled in later. In conjunction with the parament study, the documentary information makes us believe that this entrance led to the latrine mentioned in the document and described by us. It was also along this wall that the old hot air circulation channel was discovered. The channel is not functional, having been walled in during one of the restoration interventions.

The interior aspect of the other rooms (the Big Hall) was given by Kálmán Lux's renovations (1911-1913), when all the woodwork was replaced.

During the renovations of the late 20th century, the idea of resting the ceilings on pillars was abandoned and the initial partitioning was returned to. Thus, a dividing wall was mounted in the middle of the room along the east-west direction, creating two exhibition spaces. We do not know the date when the old wall was dismantled. The fact is that it did not exist in the late 19th century, when Orbán Balázs visited the building. He mentioned only the existence of a large room with an area of 6/5 fathoms (about as large as the Big Hall on the first floor, before it was partitioned)⁴⁹.

Solid and imposing, the “Voivodal Palace” in Turda, the most important monument of medieval urban architecture in the locality that has been preserved until today, has many secrets to share. Future researches will certainly prove this.

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Fig.1. Metal door at the entrance to the attic of the building.

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Fig. 3. Smoke chimney found on the eastern side, in elevation.

Fig. 4. Medieval inscription - the hallway upstairs.

Fig. 5. Decorated platband.

Fig. 6. Signs of master masons.

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*. 1 fathom = 1,896 m; the name of the Big Hall was given when the spaces of the exhibition rooms in the History Museum were created.



Fig.1



Fig.2



Fig.3



Fig.4

Fig.5



Fig.6

FAMILY LIFE IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY TRANSYLVANIA. CASE STUDY: THE HALMÁGYI FAMILY

Abstract: This article presents the history of a pre-modern family from the eighteenth century, from the ranks of the bourgeois intellectuals, as revealed by the narrative of the testament drawn up by István Halmágyi Sr. in 1743. Due to the large number of remarriages in this family, and the relatively high number of common children and stepchildren, this spiritual work proves to be an excellent source for analysing the range of mentalities and sensibilities towards the family during the pre-modern era.

Keywords: social history, family history, the eighteenth century, Transylvania, ego-documents

This article presents the history of a pre-modern family from the eighteenth century, from the ranks of the bourgeois intellectuals, more precisely the life of two generations, as revealed by the narrative of the testament drawn up by István Halmágyi Sr. *The Life and Testament of János Halmágyi and István Halmágyi Sr.* was drawn up by the latter in 1743 and presents, as the title suggests, first the adventures of the two, and then the inheritance they left. Due to the large number of remarriages in this family, the relatively high number of common children and stepchildren, this spiritual work proves to be an excellent source for analysing the range of mentalities and sensibilities towards the family during the pre-modern era. This document, which is by no means succinct, fully reflects the attitudes of the Halmágyi family towards marriage, children and biological vs. step-parents, providing a nuanced picture of coexistence of the eighteenth century.

Theoretical background

Researchers on the history of the family and of childhood have identified the eighteenth century as a turning point as regards the meaning of family life and the attitudes towards children and childhood. It used to be assumed that marriage was happier than ever, and that most children enjoyed increased attention and amounts of affection that had rarely been encountered before. According to the British researchers Foyster and Marten, this exaggeration has led to entirely wrong conclusions. In their view, the relationships between parents and children, husband and wife were different, and the relationships within one and the same family could range from emotional and intimate to violent and brutal, just like in any other previous era.² Our studies on this topic fully reflect the conclusions of the aforementioned researchers, so in approaching the subject herein, we will rely on the research model proposed by them. More specifically, we want to analyse

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² Elisabeth Foyster, James Marten, "Introduction," in *Idem, A Cultural History of Childhood and Family in the Age of Enlightenment*. Oxford: Ed. Berg, 2010, p. 1.

the phenomena of private life in their particularity. According to Steven Ozment, if we can accept the idea that history is the continuation and rethinking of human actions, a metamorphosis of the inheritance left by different generations, then the history of the family and of feelings should also be studied in this context.³ The author considers that we must clarify once and for all that generalisations about the institution of the family are irrelevant. The problem lies in the very nature of the family, for it is not the standard product of a universally valid social base, but an organism of human interactions. The family is not a reflection of politics, a microcosm of culture or an authentic image of the state. It will have to be thought of primarily in terms of individuals and not of communities, and will be more interested in the evolution of its members than of the community around it.⁴

In what follows we shall omit generalisations, attempting nonetheless to contextualise the content of the testament by correlating the information presented in the pages of this personal document with other narrative sources of the time.

János Pap

The testament begins by recounting the adventures that János Pap from Hălmeag, the testator's father, went through.

János Pap was orphaned at an early age, and his education was taken over by an aunt who not only raised him to be honest and fed him, but also enrolled him in the Protestant school from Făgăraş. From here, he went to Košice, to the college run by the Jesuit Order, whence he successfully escaped when he realised that the price of education was too steep (in the sense that the Jesuits wanted to convert him and, even more, to ordain him). János Pap completed his studies at the Protestant College in Sárospatak, taking into account the warning of the aunt who had educated him in the Protestant spirit: "remember, especially in our unfortunate days, when souls are hunted everywhere, that your parents and your kin were not Papists, but true Calvinists, and this you must never forget."⁵

After completing his studies and after the anti-Habsburg struggle led by Imre Thököli was defeated, János Pap reached Şimleu Silvaniei, becoming the secretary of Captain Ferenc Bialis. Once settled there and earning an income with which he could support a family, he married Mária Miskolczi (1678). When he got married, János was about 30 years old, as the exact date of his birth is not known.

Given the dynamics of marriages in this century, János Pap was at an age considered advanced for getting married. While the aristocracy seemed to reserve the right to bachelorhood, the bourgeoisie and, especially, the members of the guilds, were limited in this right, in the sense that the city compelled its inhabitants to marriage.⁶

³ Steven Ozment, *Ancestors. The Loving Family in Old Europe*. Harvard: Harvard University Press, 2001, p. 2.

⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 7-8.

⁵ "Halmágyi János és István élete és végrendelete (1743)" in István Halmágyi *Naplói 1752-53, 1762-69 és iratai 1669-1785*, ed. Lajos Szádeczky in *Monumenta Hungariae Historiae*. Scriptores, vol. XXXVIII, Budapest: Ed. Akadémiai, 1906, p. 432.

⁶ Zita Deáky, "Jó kis fiúk és leánykák". *A kisgyermekkor történeti néprajza Magyarországon*. Budapest: Ed. Századvég, 2011, p. 73. For instance, master Eperjesi from the guild of the blacksmiths from Cluj was about to lose his status within the guild because of his reluctance towards marriage: "István Eperjesi alias

Pap's situation was different, even though he lived in a city, was an official in the service of a captain, without obligations to the guild or to the townspeople. However, even in his case there were serious pressures for marriage. János Pap manifested some sensitivity towards an older merchant woman. The two were fond of each other and spent much time together, which sparked rumours among the people of Şimleu. Moreover, during one of the Sunday sermons, the Protestant minister paraphrased the relation between the two by reference to the relationship between the red dragon (János Pap usually wore a red cloak) and the green snake (Mrs. Szarka, in turn, preferred green garments) in not too favourable a light. The irony of fate is that after János Pap (although free to love whomever he wanted as long as he was under the jurisdiction of Bialis) realised the absurdity of the situation and entered the matrimonial market, that Protestant minister, Gáspár Miskolci was not afraid of giving the *dragon* his own daughter. Beyond the fun story, this anecdote reflects in fact the pressure exerted on bachelors by the bourgeois society. Katalin Péter's studies, based on the analysis of legislative sources, prove that in the case of the bourgeoisie there were certain psychological barriers related to marriage. While children born to the nobility were described, until their marriage, as the daughters or sons of such and such nobleman (no matter what age they were), in the legal documents the bourgeoisie, the serfs or the peasantry were defined by their marital status. Thus, girls were called *hajadon* (unmarried) from the age of 13-14, while boys were *nőtlen* (without a woman) after the age of 18 years, which meant that after this age it was appropriate for people to already be married.⁷

The wife János Pap chose was definitely younger, especially since Maria was still fertile after 14 years of marriage. The advantageous marriage of two people of the same faith and belonging to similar social strata fell within the trend of the period,⁸ and it is not at all surprising that the testament did not linger on the sentiment of love, which was not at all the first and most important component of a successful marriage.⁹ We do not wish to deny the existence of this feeling or its importance in setting up a family; we merely want to draw attention to the fact that in previous eras, compatibility entailed several nuances and love in the couple has several connotations.¹⁰

The passage that evokes the image of János Pap reflects the existence of a harmonious couple, the narrative stating that the testator's father had lived in peace with Mária Miskolczi, having a total of seven children (four of whom died at a young age): *Éva* - 1679, *János* - 1680, they died the next three years; *Sára* - 1684, *István* - 1686 (the testator); *Sándor* was born in 1688, he died of a fracture, then *Krisztina* was born in

Kovács has listed the poignant reasons for not having got married yet, stating that he does not want [marriage] even now, while he leads his life as a bachelor, all the married craftsmen will be ahead of him, if he marries, he shall regain his present rank and status." Romanian National Archives Cluj County Branch, Cluj-Napoca (hereinafter SJAN Cluj), Court Protocols (hereinafter POC), II/32:81, on microfilm no. 202/year 1738.

⁷ Katalin Péter, *Házasság a régi Magyarországon (16-17. század)*. Budapest: L'Harmattan, 2008, p. 42.

⁸ Mary Abbott, "Life Cycle" in Foyster, Marten, *A Cultural History of Childhood*, p. 118.

⁹ Foyster, Marten, "Introduction," p. 10.

¹⁰ Péter, "Házasság a XVII. századi Magyarországon" in Tamás Faragó ed., *Bölcsőtől a koporsóig*. Budapest: Ed. Ú.M.K., 2005, p. 90.

1690, and she died two or three years later, and in 1692 the last child was born, after the father's death (May 7, 1692), and they named him *János*. After the death of her husband in 1693, after about one year of mourning, *Mária* remarried the teacher *András Mester Bagaméri*. From the second marriage, which lasted only three years, two daughters were born, *Mária* and *Borbála*.

As it is clear from the information presented, *Mária Miskolczi* gave birth to a total of 9 children, 5 of which reached maturity. We have no information on her age at the time of marriage, but the age difference between the spouses was very probably quite high. The marriage was considered a success, as *János* was the secretary of the captain and *Mária* was the daughter of the Protestant minister. The new couple lived in the fortress, under the protection of the above-mentioned *Ferenc Bialis*. The husband died after 14 years of marriage, leaving two minor children (6 and 8 years) and an infant in the care of his wife. Regarding the dynamics of birth, the first child was born just one year after the marriage was concluded, in 1679, followed by the second child in the next year (1680). They died before they got to know their siblings. After 1684, the births took place every two years, until the birth of the last common child, in 1692.

After the disappearance of the first nucleus, the young widow could not do without a companion, all the more so as *Bialis* had suggested that she should give up solitude. After the mourning period ended, *Mária* married a promising young man, a teacher at the school in *Şimleu* who, moreover, succeeded to the post of secretary previously occupied by *János*. The little fortune left by her first husband was wasted by the alcoholic teacher, so the five children were left within nothing but the assets inherited from their mother.

Meanwhile, the testator's older sister, *Sára* got married sometime between 1694 and 1695, so at the age of 10 years, an anomaly considering the Transylvanian jurisdiction, according to which girls were considered mature only at the age of 12: "because up until seven years of age, their spirit still lies in the shadow of ignorance and they can hardly distinguish between right and wrong, so before they reach the age of seven years they cannot get engaged. The law considers that they become mature at the age of 12."¹¹ The Catholic Church did not bring many amendments to the existing legislation, so the minimum ages accepted were of 12 years for girls and 14 for boys. The situation was different for the Protestants. The synods from the century under study devoted several debates to this topic. Thus, according to the Reformed Church, a boy was only considered fit for marriage at the age of 18 and girls at 13-14 years.¹²

It is highly likely that *Mária* had insisted on *Sára* getting married at this age, because only thus could she ensure the peace of the children born of the first marriage. Under the Transylvanian law, the new couple, more exactly the husband, *István Enyedi* was empowered to take the orphaned children from their step-father.¹³ The explanation

¹¹ Farkas Cserei, *A magyar és székely asszonyok törvénye*. A manuscript found in the "Lucian Blaga" Central University Library, Cluj-Napoca, the Special Collections Department, Mss. 500, 64 v.

¹² Dániel Bárth, *Esküvő, keresztelő, avatás. Egyház és népi kultúra a kora újkori Magyarországon*. Budapest: MTA-ELTE, 2005, pp. 54-56.

¹³ *Sára's* husband, *István Enyedi* was raised by an aunt at *Şimleu*, his father, *János Krakкаи*, living in *Aiud* together with his second wife.

for this unusual act should be sought in the legislation, for there were restrictions on the widow's right to bring up her children after remarriage.¹⁴ For the period studied, the most striking (and perhaps the most publicised) case was that of the Protestant noble woman Kata Bethlen, who had her children taken away from her after the death of her first husband, Count Haller, a Catholic, on confessional grounds.¹⁵ Under the law, if the father of the deceased man was still alive, or if there were other paternal relatives (*agnatus*), they had more rights over the children than their mother or her relatives (*cognatus*). Only women who had illegitimate children had full rights over their own children.¹⁶ In the present situation, however, there were no relatives to formulate objections regarding the future of the children, so János Pap was raised by an aunt because there was no paternal relative to claim the education and upbringing of the children or the administration of the goods. It is important to note that Enyedi, in turn, was much older than his wife, Sara, because he had the right to become a guardian only after the age of 24, i.e. when he reached full maturity before the law.

It is not the purpose of this presentation to analyse the two historiographical currents regarding the subject of childhood and parental attachment in pre-modern and modern eras. However, for the uninitiated reader, the survival rate in this family was not exactly reassuring. The situation was anything but more favourable in Western Europe. In eighteenth-century England, only 3 out of 5 children crossed the threshold age of 10 years, which was considerably better than in France, where half the children died before the age of 10.¹⁷ The surveys we have conducted on this topic starting from the personal narratives of the Transylvanian noble elite suggest inconstancy rather.¹⁸ There were noble families with an extremely high rate of infant mortality, such as the family Wass of Țaga (where none of László Wass' 12 children survived), there is also evidence from modest families, such as the one of the priest Hermányi, where the children were cared for and protected in a special way.

A possible explanation for the high rate of infant mortality is found at the level of the collective mentality. Specifically, the analysis of Transylvanian memoirs proves that in most cases, people treated their children themselves, from their own pharmacy, then with the help of relatives, and only eventually did they resort to the services of physicians, or healers, or midwives.¹⁹ The treatise of the Hungarian physician István Hatvani offered the first table on infant mortality and vehemently criticised the

¹⁴ According to the *Tripartitum*, orphaned children remained in their mother's care while the widow still had the name of her deceased spouse, i.e. until she got remarried. *Werbőczy István Hármaskönyve (1517)* in *Corpus Iuris Hungarici*. Budapest, Franklin-Társulat, 1897. P I. Tit. 114. After remarriage, women lost custody of their children, who passed under the tutelage of their paternal relatives. The orphans were taken by the relatives in the female line only if they had no paternal relatives. *Ibidem*. P I. Tit. 116.

¹⁵ Andrea Fehér, "The Lord My God Has Given My Wife a Child. Childbirth in 18th-Century Transylvania" in *Transylvanian Review*. vol. XXI, Supplement No. 2, 2012, p. 222.

¹⁶ Marry Wiesner, "Political, Economic, and Legal Structures" in ed. James B. Collins, Karen I. Taylor, *Early Modern Europe*. Blackwell, 2006, p. 231.

¹⁷ Foyster, Marten, *Introduction*, p. 7.

¹⁸ Fehér, "Bolile copilăriei. Mentalități și atitudini în Transilvania secolului al XVIII-lea" in *Caiete de Antropologie Istorică*, vol. 9, no. 2 (2010). pp. 7-23.

¹⁹ Linda Pollock, "A gyermekekkel kapcsolatos attitűdök" in eds. Zsuzsa Vajda, Béla Pukánszky, *A gyermekkor története. Szöveggyűjtemény*. Budapest: Ed. Eötvös, 1998. p. 201.

Hungarians' lack of sanitary education, suggesting that they were actually completely unaccustomed to seeking medical advice for healing puerile diseases.²⁰ The analysis of the case referring to the family of the nobleman from Țaga reveals that there were families that would send for the doctor only for children aged three years and above, as in the case examined here: all of János Pap's children died before the age of 4 years, which could suggest that the family did not seek medical help in case of illness. Therefore, it was no coincidence that some children died because of some fractures, which even the physicians did not know much about (as proved by the death in the family of Baron Wesselényi, caused by a sprain²¹), while others out of negligence. Negligence, however, was punishable, the trial protocols of the city of Cluj proving that the deaths of children caused by the negligence and carelessness of adults could have severe consequences, and revealing the awareness, at the level of the collective mind, of the role adults played in protecting and caring for children.²² But as stated before, generalisations on the delicate subject of the pre-modern family and childhood are irrelevant and by no means constructive.

Another interesting aspect revealed by the sources is cohabitation with other blood relatives, as both János Pap and István Enyedi were raised by aunts. Amongst the nobility, there were situations where children were reared by grandparents, by relatives who had no children, but although they were abandoned by their parents for long periods, children were usually with their own families most of the time, of course only until the age at which they started their education or entered the services of nobles. While János Pap grew up with his aunt as an orphan, István Enyedi grew up with his dead mother's sister, until his biological father founded another family. By custom, of course, Enyedi's place would have been with his father, but for reasons not stated by him, he lived his life hundreds of km away from his biological family.

István Halmágyi Sr.

The second part of the testament describes the testator's life and the inheritance he left his children who were still alive. The narrative bears the characteristic of memoirs and presents the history of the undersigned from the moment he left home. It suggests that immediately after his mother's marriage to Bagaméri, the author was sent away, according to the indications given by the late János Pap, to study. István Halmágyi attended the College in Cluj, and did not visit his mother during this period, as the description reveals: "they never sent for me, not once, so it's no wonder I didn't remember my mother's face, not to mention my father's, so their image became

²⁰ István Hatvani, *Bevezetés a szilárdabb filozófia alapelveibe* cited by Deáky, *Jó kis fiúk és leánykák*, p. 323.

²¹ Fehér, *Bolile copilăriei*, p. 21.

²² The analysis of trial protocols from the city of Cluj reveals that the most drastic measures related to cases of infanticide (see the description in SJAN Cluj. POC. II/29:22 and II/32:23-24), which were usually settled by death sentences. The healers were also not safe: if children were cured by methods that were unknown to the doctors and could be associated with magic, the physical punishment of the healer and the prohibition of returning to the city were customary sentences (SJAN. Cluj, POC. II/41: 60); this is also how cases of death caused by negligence were actually solved (SJAN. Cluj, POC. II/34: 7). Clearly, one of the most interesting cases is that of a husband who took his wife to court for not behaving honestly towards her children (SJAN. Cluj, POC. II/42:145).

obliterated, as if I had never seen them.”²³ He was not even present at his mother’s funeral. As we mentioned before, after the death of their mother, the minors came under the protection of the married sister, specifically under the tutelage of István Enyedi. He turned out to be as expected, especially since financed his brother-in-laws’ studies. The testator was sent to Aiud, where he was helped not only by his brother-in-law’s stepmother, but also by the brothers and sisters of his mother, Mária Miskolczi. After discontinuing his studies in Aiud (due to the liberation struggle), he returned to Şimleu, where, in 1711, he entered the service of István Wesselényi.

István Halmágyi was 23 years old when he returned to his hometown and had been Wesselényi’s secretary for four years when he gave up the job because of his incurable disease, which he had identified as scurvy (severe arthritis). After many treatments and different receipts, he went to Debrecen, where he was cared for by a famous doctor, thanks to whom he recovered, returning to Şimleu in 1718. He had turned 30 and was still a bachelor. According to his account, one of the reasons he had postponed marriage derived from his scepticism towards married life: “I have seen many failed marriages; I could not get out of my mind the vain lives of these couples, because of which I was afraid of commitments.”²⁴

Finally he made this step: in March 1719 (when he was 31) he married the widow of Sándor Bölöni, Zsófia Détései, because “I dared to take a liking to her and become associated with her all the more so as I had known her both as regards her temperament and as a skilful housewife, living with her under a roof in the house of István Tordai.”²⁵ The woman had had two husbands before Halmágyi: the first, Bölöni, had died, while the second, Sámuel Lévai, had got divorced.

From this marriage there were born: 1719 - *István*,²⁶ 1722 - *Ferencz*, 1725 - *Mihály*, 1727 - *Mária*, 1729 - *Sámuel*, 1731 - *János*. Of these, only two died and four survived. Zsófia Détései already had two sons and a daughter from her first husband: Sándor, László and Zsuzsanna, so the family raised 8 children altogether.

From the travelogue of István Halmágyi Jr. we learn more about his two half-brothers, whom he did not distinguish from his blood brothers, mentioning them fondly every time and calling them *my brothers*. István Halmágyi Sr., manifested also special affection for Bölöni’s two sons: “I have treated them as on my own children, I sent them to college and I gave them expensive meals, paying for their clothes, books and tutors.” As for Zsuzsanna Bölöni, she was sent to Wesselényi’s court, specifically in the service of Lady Kata Bánffy: “as there did not exist, in my time, a more suitable house in Transylvania to prepare a girl for marriage.”²⁷

István Halmágyi Sr. had a promising career, and after completing the services of secretary, he became assessor of Crasna County, was appointed as a delegate to the Diet in Bratislava, then also carried out the duties of a notary and vice-comes. In 1730 he went to Vienna to present the requests of the Protestants from Şimleu (1731), during this while

²³ *Halmágyi János és István élete és végrendelete (1743)*, p. 436.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 453.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 443.

²⁶ *Autrul jurnalului political-administrativ: István Halmágyi, Naplói 1752-53, 1762-69 és iratai 1669-1785.*

²⁷ *Halmágyi János és István élete és végrendelete (1743)*, p. 454.

both his wife and his daughter passed away: “I arrived home grieving, finding my daughter buried, my wife in the coffin, the children desperate, the cellar and the granary emptied. In such misfortune I prepared for the burial with the five children, István, Ferencz, Mihály, Sámuel, János (who was still in the nurse’s arms). I deserved everyone’s pity. [...] In the following years, I spent my time, distressed as I was, weeping.”²⁸

A year and a half after the death of his first wife, on 3 February 1733, the testator married another widow (Kata Pap Vid, the widow of János Török): “all the more so as I needed a wife, my children needed a mother and the house a good housewife.” With this marriage the domain increased (as did the number of children, because Kata also had two children, Zsigmond and Krisztina Török), and the couple was forced to keep two households, one in Şimleu and one in Acâş. In the years that followed, the new family lived in Şimleu together with the smaller children, their sons, István and Zsigmond Török being sent to the college in Cluj.

Thus István Halmágyi Sr. married twice, in both cases going for widows. In the case of Halmágyi, as shown by the will, what prevailed in choosing the ideal wife were her temperament, their compatibility and her household skills. This does not mean that there was no special affection between the spouses, but in choosing a life partner, civil servants, the members of modest social structures, deemed that domestic skills were as important as emotional compatibility. Despite the supposed masculine economic superiority, men needed a consort who would support their economic or household activities, so the importance of a good wife rested on her practical qualities and skills.²⁹ As evinced from the studies of Margit Sárdi, the economic factor was by no means negligible.³⁰

From the descriptions provided by the testator, there appears another important aspect of the dynamics of Transylvanian households, namely the fact that several families lived together under one roof. The author had met his first wife, living with her, while she was married to another man. Especially in towns, households incorporated several families, not just the nuclear one, and kinship often derived from such cohabitation. The testament is clear evidence that in this region too, marriages were not concluded only among young people, even though studies in the field have revealed that widowers remarried more frequently than widows;³¹ hence, almost every woman had the chance to marry at least one time even in a society where the number of men was lower than the number of women.³² This was also the situation in modern Transylvania, as the sources studied show that, in most cases, widowers chose the path of remarriage.³³

²⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 447.

²⁹ Joanne Bailey, “Family relationships”, in Foyster, Marten, *A Cultural History of Childhood*, p. 20.

³⁰ Margit Sárdi, “Lánykérés, házasság, szerelem” in ed. Géza Szabó Szentmártoni, *Ámor, álom és mámor. A szerelem a régi magyar irodalomban és a szerelem ezredéves hazai kultúrtörténete*. Budapest: Ed. Universitas, 2002. p. 51.

³¹ *Eadem*, 64.

³² John Hajnal, “Az európai házassági szokások térbeli és időbeli összehasonlításban” in *Bölcsőtől a koporsóig*, p. 87.

³³ According to the calculations of Katalin Péter, in most cases the matrimonial customs of the elites denoted a large number of marriages, usually three. The sources we have reviewed for Transylvania typically indicate two marriages and more rarely three.

This case is highly suggestive, the author of the testament opting for two widows, even though according to Bethlen's memoirs, this was to be avoided "lest the devil and the body should make me want a virgin, thus falling into sin even worse than if I were unmarried."³⁴ The studies that we have conducted on this topic have revealed the preference of aristocratic men for choosing young girls, regardless of the age difference, which sometimes was half a century.³⁵ Widows were certainly preferable, especially if they were wealthy, but in most cases noblemen chose virgins. The analysis of trial protocols demonstrates an increased interest, especially among older men, to have intimate relations with young girls,³⁶ so the topos mentioned above by Count Bethlen seems to have been valid in several cases. However, for the testator, these desires and temptations of the flesh were of secondary import, far behind the household qualities and skills.

From the will we may also learn the fact that the second marriage was prolific, as the couple had two daughters, whose names and years of birth are not mentioned. The author therefore raised and educated a total of 12 children, five of which were his wives' children. These women, in turn, brought other children into the family and the relationships with the "inherited" relatives varied from case to case. While in the case of Mária Miskolci the second husband was a cause for alarm, in the case of István Halmágyi's marriages, cohabitation between children and stepparents did not seem to present difficulties, as shown in the testament: "You should know, my dears! that this second wife has been good to you from the beginning, has loved, educated and helped you as if you were her own children."³⁷ This can be verified in the political-administrative diary of one of Halmágyi's sons. The 12 children and the stepmothers apparently lived together in harmony. However, the large number of children and the material investments necessitated by their education dried up the family wealth. There followed difficult years in which the family had to change their domicile and give up one of the households. Meanwhile some of the children established their own families with separate households, some of the boys were sent to college, and the girls to nobiliary households. Although the sons of the first wife had no obligations to Halmágyi, the man who had raised them, they often visited him, or hosted their stepfather, manifesting, in this regard, special affection for the one who had invested in their growth and their education.

From the memoirs of Halmágyi, it appears that the will was not drafted because there were several domains to be divided, but rather to explain to posterity, namely his children, the reason for the impoverishment of the family. Thus, instead of an administrative testament, István Halmágyi Sr. left a spiritual legacy, justifying all the deeds he had committed both professionally and personally: "how I got well off, how

³⁴ Nicolae Bethlen, *Descrierea vieții sale de către el însuși*. Cluj Napoca: Casa cărții de Știință, 2004. p. 119.

³⁵ As it was also the case of Mihály Cserei, who was 53 when he concluded his second marriage, while the girl he chose, Zsuzsanna, was only 17.

³⁶ As was the case of András Szatmári, who was constantly watched by his wife because he "will not rest until he takes the diadem off the head of a virgin" (SJAN. Cluj. POC. II/35:16-17), just like the old man György Kovács, who, despite his age, was "doing things that are not worthy of a man of his age and status" (SJAN. Cluj. POC. II/35:71).

³⁷ *Halmágyi János és István élete és végrendelete (1743)*, p. 457.

my house filled with children; the good Lord has blessed me in my marriages, so there was no year in which the cradle (and sometimes two) was placed [aside], moreover, my wives did not have enough milk, and this lack always had to be supplanted by wet nurses.”³⁸ The text suggests that as regards newborn children, breastfeeding and weaning represented some of the most frequently invoked aspects of private life. The large number of references to this aspect of life proves that the feeding newborns was considered to be an act of the utmost importance, and the fact that the testament repeatedly emphasised the material sacrifices entailed by hiring a nurse suggests a kind of economic strain. This pressure was also felt among aristocratic families, where children were not usually breastfed by the mothers. It is just that the aristocracy, in ideal cases,³⁹ afforded to raise objections and requirements as regards the nurse’s skills. They requested information concerning these women’s biological endowments, namely the number of children they had given birth to, whether they were healthy, if they had had an abortion, etc. The wet nurses had to be healthy and clean, kept on a diet to ensure the highest quality of milk. Many believed that they to be loving, for their milk would mark the infants’ temperament,⁴⁰ so it was desirable that the women who breastfed should have pleasant physical and moral traits. Many authors preferred wet nurses who had given birth to boys, others favoured women who highly resembled the biological mother of the child, so as not to create a gap between the child and the mother.⁴¹ The wealthy bourgeois, especially if they lived in a small town, did not have many options and paid wet nurses regardless of the quality of the services they provided. Thus, the money and the goods offered to the wet nurses were an issue that equally touched the existing social structures in Transylvania. In contrast with the Western sources, we have no knowledge of cases where children were sent away for breastfeeding, as the wet nurses were usually received into the family home, as it happened in the Halmágyi family.

As shown in the above quotations, during the first years of the child, material concerns essentially boiled down to the costs entailed by hiring a nurse, and then to the physicians. Of the 12 children Halmágyi raised, only seven were his, and it is assumed that only two of these died, which was very rare even for noble families, which allegedly spent more money to care for their children. Thus, either thanks to favourable circumstances, or to the appropriate care of children, they reached maturity. In fact, the first death among the children was evoked with much dramatism. The death of Maria, the only daughter (from the first marriage) of the author, was characterised by epithets like “my much beloved daughter,” “that God gave me besides the five boys,” “the delight of my eyes,” denoting a special attachment to this child. Seldom do we find direct references to the fact that our ancestors would have preferred a specific gender or

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 455.

³⁹ There were also isolated cases when due to the tense political situation, even nobility, otherwise willing to pay for the services of a wet nurse, did not find respectable women for breastfeeding the babies. We got most of the information from Wesselényi’s diary, who hired 20 wet nurses over the course of five years. Fehér, “The Lord My God Has Given My Wife a Child.” pp. 229-230.

⁴⁰ Count László Székely was breastfed by 14 nurses, which is why he was called “the one with 14 characters.” *Autobiografia lui László Székely*. Manuscript found in the Széchényi National Library, Budapest, Manuscript Collections, Quart. Hung. 4312, pp. 851-852.

⁴¹ Shulamith Shahar, *Gyermekek a középkorban*. Budapest: Osiris, 2000. p. 105.

another, in most sources the enthusiasm being equally high if it was a girl or a boy.⁴² Still, usually, especially in the noble families, the joy was more euphoric if the newborn was a boy. The explanation is quite simple, as a son could ensure the continuity of the family, the ancestors lived through him, and only he could possess the family wealth.⁴³ If an aristocratic family died out without male offspring, that family had to suffer both economically and socially, but especially symbolically.⁴⁴ The situation is similar for the bourgeoisie and religious elite. In the family of the minister Hermányi, for example, the whole family was concerned especially with the boy's health, as he was the only male child. This did not, of course, exclude attachment to the other children, to the girls, but in the period in question, the importance of a boy was always greater. Of course, it was possible for the reverse situation to be the case. Apparently, the death of Halmágyi's first daughter (which was soon followed by the death of his first wife) caused a peculiar sadness because she was the author's only daughter. It is especially interesting that the testament does not mention the names of the two daughters born of the second marriage, which may suggest that attachment to children was different, and that emotional ties were not created with the same ease between all the children and their parents.

When the children reached puberty, the family resources were drained, this time by the money needed for studies. The Halmágyi family, as suggested by this presentation, prized learning, as evidenced by the careers of both János Pap and Halmágyi Sr., but especially by that of the young gubernatorial *concupist*, István Halmágyi Jr. Although the author of the testament managed to educate his stepchildren and his two children, István and Ferenc, he could no longer provide equally good education for Mihály and János (the latter remaining only a grammarist - the first tier of education). Hence, the exhortation formulated for his stepsons: "I hope that my sons, Sándor and László Bölöni, whom I raised and educated, then married, will take the trouble to educate the little one, so that he will not end up as a digger."⁴⁵ The British researchers' studies also prove the concern among the bourgeoisie and the elite to provide as much intellectual support to their children as possible. The parenting mode of the Enlightenment assumed a total man, who, besides the affection manifested towards his children, also provided the material support for their evolution, either professionally, in the case of boys, or sentimentally, in the case of girls. Of course, it was assumed that this sentimental and material investment would be returned later, when the parents reached old age, through "comfort, consolation and happiness,"⁴⁶ but the will indicates, Halmágyi Sr. had doubts about the ability of the 12 children to take care of him: "It is known everywhere that it is easier for two parents to raise ten children, than for ten children to take care of a mother, or a father or their poor families."⁴⁷

⁴² Péter, "A gyermekek első tíz esztendeje" in ed. Eadem, *Gyermek a koraiújkori Magyarországon*. Budapest: Ed. MTA, 1996. p. 26.

⁴³ Abbott, "Life Cycle" in Foyster, Marten, *A Cultural History of Childhood*, p. 114.

⁴⁴ Deáky, "Jó kis fiúk és leánykák", p. 77.

⁴⁵ *Halmágyi János és István élete és végrendelete (1743)*, p. 456.

⁴⁶ Bailey, "Family relationships," p. 27.

⁴⁷ *Halmágyi János és István élete és végrendelete (1743)*, p. 456.

Instead of conclusions

This article has proposed a brief overview of customs related to marital life, reflecting the attitudes of a bourgeois family towards marriage, the family, and the household. Researchers who operate with retrospective narrative sources will, however, find it very difficult to make generalisations based on single sources, or to outline an authentic picture of what we call the marital life of the pre-modern era. As evinced by the studies of researchers in the West, family-related experiences diversified according to social class, economic status, or the position in the town structures, and inside the family, they also varied according to criteria of age, marital status or family size and living standard.⁴⁸ But even so, we hope that this foray, which started from the analysis of a simple testament, has provided a dynamic and, why not, interpretable picture of Transylvanian private life.

⁴⁸ Wiesner, "Political, Economic, and Legal Structures," p. 237.

ASPECTS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS OF 1848-1849 IN SATU MARE COUNTY

Abstract: The revolutionary actions that took place in Satu Mare County in 1848 rallied the participation of the representatives of all ethnic groups: Romanians, Hungarians and Swabians. Their goals were related, in particular, to the peasant unrest of the period: emancipation from serfdom, the abolition of taxes, and the review of the urbarial regulations that had left the peasants with very little land. What is interesting about Satu Mare is that the events here did not fit the pattern of the 1848 revolutionary movement in Transylvania. The Romanian population here, concentrated only in certain regions, was solely influenced by the ideas propagated in the areas adjacent to the boundaries of Sătmar. Only in these localities did the uprising movements have a broader, national character. The Hungarian population became aware, in the spring of 1848, of the revolutionary principles and acted according to them. The revolt movements organized on large estates, particularly on the Károlyi domain, comprised not only the Hungarian population, but also the Swabians and the Romanians; these movements had been engendered by the discontent that the new agrarian law, passed by the Diet in Bratislava, had caused. It should be noted that on this estate, the Romanian population lived among the Hungarian and the Swabian communities, being strongly influenced by them. That is why the events from the spring of 1848, in which the Romanians from the Károlyi estate were involved, had a strong social character. This was reinforced by the lack of Romanian elites that might have assumed the role of leaders, supporting and coordinating the Romanians.

Keywords: county, national guard, uprising, authorities.

The revolutionary movements that swept across Europe in 1848 did not spare the regions of Satu Mare County, not only the Hungarian population, but also the Romanians and the Swabians becoming actively involved in them, according to their own ideals and interests. Throughout time, the 1848 events in Satu Mare have been approached from two perspectives, Hungarian and Romanian, each using certain sources only partially. Specifically, Hungarian historiography focuses on one category of sources, those providing information about the Hungarian national movement, while Romanian historiography delves into another series of documents, on the revolutionary actions of the Romanian population. Each of them touches upon the other aspects merely tangentially, depending solely on the entwinement of those events. For these reasons, we have considered it necessary to review the events that occurred in the region of Sătmar, addressing both perspectives and reconstructing the timeline of those actions.

We must emphasize that, in the county of Satu Mare, just like in entire Transylvania, the actions of the Romanian population from 1848-1849 had a distinctly social character. This was due to several factors; we shall list only those that we consider most important, namely the discontent aroused by the agrarian law passed by the Diet of Bratislava on 18 March 1848 and the absence of an elite that might have derived from among the Romanian population, an elite willing to align itself with the peasantry in order to find solutions to the social and national issues.

¹ Museum curator, PhD., the County Museum of Satu Mare, email: pcvirag@gmail.com.

In the beginning, the revolutionary spirit animated the inhabitants from the urban area of Satu Mare. On 24 March, an extraordinary public assembly was held in Baia Mare, where the 12 points of the Hungarian revolutionary program adopted in Pest were accepted, and the decision to organize the local guards was reached. On 8 April, another assembly was convened to determine the composition of the guards' command. It appears that errors marred the votes counted for the election of the command, and thus its composition was detrimental to the miners and favorable to the townspeople. A conflict arose between the two parties, and the townspeople escaped only by fleeing. This was the only episode of the upheaval in the region, but the permanent distrust caused by the incident from the elections determined, throughout the duration of the actions from the years 1848-1849, the persistence of strained relations between the miners and the authorities, which were dominated by foreign elements, subordinated not to the town, but directly to the Royal Chamber.²

On 24 March, in Carei, by way of celebrating the Hungarian national holiday, there was held a demonstration, accompanied by music and an artistic performance.

At the county assembly held on 29 March 1848, Gabányi Sándor, Vice-Comes of Satu Mare County, officially made known the revolutionary events in Budapest and the new laws adopted by the Hungarian Parliament about the abolition of the serfs' obligations. It was decided that a representative body of the comital assembly should travel from village to village, throughout the county, and notify the inhabitants of the provisions of the Diet in Bratislava, on the one hand attempting thus to avoid the emergence of any misunderstandings, and on the other hand, aiming to becalm the spirits that had been showing signs of agitation. On this occasion, the decision was reached to establish the local guards, meant to protect the peace and welfare of the county. The sum of 20,000 forints was voted for providing the guards with weapons, but the amount was too small to ensure the necessary armament.

On 12 August 1848, the order was received that the noble families should donate all the weapons they owned, being allowed to keep only one hunting rifle a family, which could be used for defense. It was decided that a conscription should be drawn up, so as to have a clear record of those holding hunting rifles, and the Károlyi and Vécsey families were requested to donate the cannons they had kept since Rákóczi's revolution. Until the county guards were supplied with firearms, they were equipped with bats and straightened scythes.³

The role of the local national guards was to protect the people's life and property, as well as to maintain peace and internal order. The law allowed them to act outside the localities from which their members had been recruited or outside the county, but their main role was to keep the order in the recruitment area. After the rebellion of the Serbs and the successful use of the local guards for suppressing it, their efficiency and importance became fully apparent. For this reason, and also because there was no well-maintained national army, on 13 August 1848, Prime Minister Batthyány

² Balogh Béla, "Társadalmi és nemzetiségi mozgalmak Szatmár és Máramaros megyékben valamint Kővár vidékén 1848-ban," in Takács Péter (ed.), *Forradalom és szabadságharc a Felső-Tisza vidékén*, Nyíregyháza: Periférián Alapítvány, 1998, p. 13.

³ Borovszky Samu, *Szatmár vármegye*, Budapest: Országos Monográfia Társaság, 1910, p. 519.

issued a new decree whereby he ordered the county authorities to form, in addition to the local guards, mobile guards that could also act outside the county.⁴ Their members had to be selected, on a voluntary basis, from among the young people who were willing to participate, whenever needed, for as long as needed, in all the actions of the guard. They received the same pay as the members of the military, which meant raising the living standards for the families of the poor men who joined the guard. Another provision of this decree referred to the endowment of these guards. The resolution stipulated the obligation to ensure the most efficient type of weapons that were made available to the members of the mobile guards. In the county of Satu Mare, the implementation of the provisions of this decree encountered numerous difficulties during the initial phase, due to the fact that the young intellectuals and newly freed serfs did not want to enlist. However by the beginning of September, the organization of a mobile guard comprising 300 people had successfully taken place, its captain being Rajnagl Richárd.⁵

Regarding the local national guards, it should be noted that their organization in the Sătmár region had begun before the issuance of the order that regulated this action. Sixteen commissions coordinated by the district judge were sent to the localities in Satu Mare to take down the names of the people who could join the local guard. Every person who had a house or land worth 200 forints, at least half a *sesie* [land plot] or a fortune worth 100 forints. From among these people, those who were forced to join the local guard included every man aged between 20 and 50 years. The rules on the organization of these military units attempted to avoid the conscription of the poor, for fear of riots. There was the suspicion that if the latter received weapons, they would turn fully armed against the nobles. Thus, the commissions had to draw up lists of the names, age, occupation and wealth on the basis of which the men were entitled to join the guard. The study of these lists reveals that the provisions concerning wealth were not always respected, and that peasants who lacked the necessary wealth were also recruited. Besides these, there were also petty nobles, intellectuals (mainly priests), traders and artisans, including a few Jews.⁶ The fact that the local guards from Satu Mare County accepted the inclusion of Jews is an interesting aspect because from the very beginning of the organization of the guards, the Jewish population had represented a problem: they did not have full rights in society, being merely tolerated. Only in June 1849 was there a law signed that elevated the Jewish religion among the accepted religions.⁷ However, many Jews were accepted among the local guards, the ones in Satu Mare representing eloquent examples; this prompted the organization of anti-Semitic actions in Budapest. After their annihilation, the Hungarian government decided that Jews should no longer be accepted as members of these guards.

⁴ Hermann Róbert, *A nemzetőrség és a honvédség 1848-1949*, Budapest: Hermann Róbert, 1998, p. 16.

⁵ Bene János, "Nemzetőrség szervezése Szatmár vármegyében 1948-ban," in Farkas József-Zoltán Ujváry (ed.), *Történelem, régészet, néprajz: Tanulmányok Farkas József tiszteletére*, Debrecen: Ethnika Alapítvány, 1991, p. 79.

⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 75.

⁷ Hermann Róbert, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

The major towns in Satu Mare County organized their own local national guards. Thus, the local national guard from Carei included 775 members, only some of them having weapons. In Baia Mare, 700 people were members of the local national guard. There were 870 different firearms available to them, at the town warehouse, at the office of the mines and with private owners. In the town of Satu Mare, the establishment of the local national guard was successful. The town council voted a large sum for the supply of rifles and cannons they had ordered from Belgium. For this reason, there was a rivalry between the county and the town authorities. When the ordered rifles were on their way to Satu Mare, passing by the town of Carei, the county guard attacked the convoy and looted the weapons, which came thus to be used by it and not by the Satu Mare town guard. The conflict between the two parties ended according to the proverb "Two dogs strive for a bone and a third runs away with it," because the mobile national guard, which also suffered from the lack of firearms, came to requisition and use the rifles ordered by the town of Satu Mare.

The documents from the period 1848-1849 indicate rebellions of the population of Satu Mare in about 22 villages. The first who rebelled were those from Moftinu Mic, on 5 April 1848, when they entered by force the estates they considered theirs. From here, the revolt spread also in Sătmărel, Resighea, Ciumești, Sanislău, Valea Vinului, Ardușat, Lipău, Cig, and in other villages south of the Someș River.

The protest movements and the forced occupation of the allodial estates and forests extended around Carei, too, sweeping across the Károlyi domain and rallying the participation of the Romanian, Hungarian and Saxon peasants there. At Craidorolț, armed Swabians attacked the Hungarians and the Romanians. On 28 and 29 April, in Ciumești and Sanislău, Count Károlyi's allodial land was occupied by peasants who pulled out even the bushes that marked the boundaries of the estate, causing a damage of 10,000 florins.⁸ In Homorod, the residents dared graze their animals in the allodial forest without the nobleman's permission.

The authorities' response was prompt. Wishing to suppress the upheaval, they requested their superiors' approval for this. On 25 April, the Minister of Interior authorized the county authorities to use force to quell the protests. However, the populace continued to manifest its dissatisfaction, leading the representatives of Satu Mare County to address the palatine on 3 May 1848, requesting permission to introduce the martial law. On 5 May, the organization of statarial tribunals was approved also for instigators, firebrands, rabble-rousers, etc. As expected, repression followed against the rebellious villages. On 14 May, troops were sent into Sanislău, where 35 people were arrested. In Resighea, 14 people were arrested and sentenced to a month in prison. In Ciumești, 11 persons were arrested, while at Valea Vinului and Lipău, 3 people were sentenced to prison. An inquiry commission traveled to Moftinu Mic, where 75 people were arrested, 13 of which were subsequently released.⁹ Thus, in mid-May 1848, 327 peasants were imprisoned at Carei. Due to the large number of prisoners, the prison management faced a great lack of personnel, requiring that the number of guards be

⁸ Viorel Ciubotă, *Lupta românilor sătmăreni pentru Unire (1918-1919)*, Satu Mare: Ed. Muzeului Sătmărean, 2004, p. 27.

⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 28.

supplemented by another 8 people. Despite the arrests and the repression of public unrest, the inhabitants of Homorod continued to manifest openly their revolt for over a month after the authorities had annihilated the actions in the other villages.¹⁰

The most relevant information about the atmosphere and riots from Sătmar in early 1848, as well as about the atmosphere in the prison from Carei comes from the letters sent to *Gazeta de Transilvania* by Moise Sora Novac, “one of the most national Romanians we have in Hungary.” From the letters he addressed to George Barițiu, dated 21 and 26 May 1848, we may find details about the actions organized by the Romanian population in Hurezu Mare Racova, about the accusations brought against it, about the proceedings of the trial conducted against these people and the period of detention. Thus, in the letter dated 21 May 1848, Moise Sora Novac recounted that on 7 May, the villagers in Hurezu wanted to celebrate the day of “common liberty.” In church, the priest (Moise Sora Novac) consecrated “the Hungarian colours” and then they headed for the neighboring village (Racova), carrying with them the consecrated flag and four banners. Along the way, they sang psalms and other religious songs. Arriving at the church in Racova, they attended service, and Moise Sora Novac delivered a sermon in keeping with “this most special celebration.” When the activities in the church came to an end, the locals and invited the inhabitants of Hurezu to a feast. Carried away by the atmosphere of the ensuing party, one of the villagers started firing a gun in the direction of the house where the parish priests from Racova and Hurezu were dining. The fear of a possible house fire caused great panic and pandemonium. Once the people calmed down and the banquet ended, Moise Sora Novac and his parishioners left for Hurezu, in a procession again. Frightened and intrigued by the events (the meeting in Racova, the processions with flags, banners and religious songs), the Swabians informed Count Károlyi György about what had happened in Hurezu and Racova. Following these reports, Moise Sora Novac was sent to prison in Carei, where he was forbidden to speak with the other prisoners or receive outside visitors. Although he was imprisoned on a Wednesday, it was only on the next Sunday that he learned from the “*hodnog* [sub-lieutenant] of the city” that he had been accused of public agitation and disturbance (“agitator, disturber of the peace”).¹¹ The letter dated 26 May 1848 reports that after the start of the trial, it was proved that most of the accusations brought against Moise Sora Novac were unfounded, which is why he was released. One of the accusations referred to the prayer books that Moise Sora Novac had had printed in Latin spelling and then sent to Moldova and Walachia to make the Latin spelling known also in the cultural environments of these regions. The officials accused him of having conspired through these books too in order to foment the Romanians’ rebellion against the Hungarian authorities. During his imprisonment, there were 327 prisoners in Carei, to the astonishment of the author of the letter, who stated that “there have never been so many ever since Sătmar County was founded, for even at their most numerous, there were only 240.”¹²

¹⁰ Balogh Béla, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

¹¹ Viorel Ciubotă, Bujor Dulgău, Doru Radosav, *Lupta românilor din județul Satu Mare pentru făurirea statului național unitar român. Documente 1848-1918*, Bucharest: The General Directorate of State Archives of the Socialist Republic of Romania, 1989, p. 69.

¹² *Ibidem*, p. 71.

Another important aspect to be mentioned here regards the participation of a group of Romanians from Satu Mare in the Assembly of Blaj on 3/15 - 5/17 May 1848. It included Ioan Pop, Archpriest of Sărăuad District in Solnocu de Mijloc County (the present-day Satu Mare County) and Demetriu Coroianu from Craidorolț.¹³

After May, until mid-November, the atmosphere in the county of Satu Mare became somewhat calmer. This was also due to the consolidation of the repression forces targeting the actions of rebellion against the authorities. There were, however, numerous cases of no-show before the recruitment commission, especially after August 1848, when the Diet decided to form a regular army, consisting of 200,000 soldiers.

The presence at Năsăud of Colonel Karl Urban, appointed by the emperor in October 1848 as commander of the Army of Northern Transylvania, caused an impressive reaction among the Romanian population of Satu Mare. The newspaper *Korunk* published an article written by Egedy Ákos, "The Antecedents of the Civil War. Urban, the One Who Enforced Vienna's Policy," in which the author referred to the situation above and stated that the imperial representative who had come from Vienna to Năsăud on September 8 was the one who had stirred the spirits of Northern Transylvania, according to Vienna's plan.¹⁴

The opposition that started in Năsăud on 13 September expanded in Solnocul Interior, Dăbâca and then Chioar. The imperial power was represented by two-headed eagle, the insignia of the rioters. In Chioar there started to spread ideas that placed the Hungarian authorities in opposition with the emperor and the Romanians. On 26 September, this agitation turned into a riot. Taking advantage of this situation, on 27 September 1848, Urban summoned the people to an assembly by tolling the bells. The farmers who responded to the call decided to march against the Hungarian army. The riot of the Romanian population prompted the Hungarian officials to take refuge in Baia Mare, Satu Mare and Carei.¹⁵

The movements from Chioar affected the villages inhabited by the Romanians in Satu Mare County. The localities that were involved were those near the Someș and south-west of Baia Mare. True tragedy occurred in Cetățele, Medieș, Românești, and Mocira, which brought about gory retributions.

In September, those who paid homage to the imperial flag in Năsăud included the delegates of the villages Lucăcești (27 September), Hurezu Mare (29 September) and Medieșu Aurit (3 October).¹⁶ On 4 October 1848, Colonel Urban signed a patent for the Romanian delegates from Medieșu Aurit and Românești, confirming that "the people, as envoys of the locality Medieșu Aurit, presented themselves immediately with power of attorney and, by free will, they firmly declared that it was their desire to reinforce their faith and obedience to his Highness, Emperor Ferdinand I, under oath, and that if necessary, they would voluntarily send the youth capable of bearing arms into the army of the imperial and royal Dual Monarchy, under order no. 4450 of 16,

¹³ Bujor Dulgău, "Considerații privind manifestările pășoptiste din zona Sătmarului," in *Satu Mare-Studii și Comunicări*, XV-XVI, 1998-1999, Satu Mare, Ed. Muzeului Sătmărean, p. 325.

¹⁴ Balogh Béla, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 26.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 325.

according to the oath they swore before the imperial and royal flag, which will be confirmed. And, therefore, the military authority rightly claims that the county or other offices, which are also involved in enrolling the recruits, should retain them in the country for peace-keeping.”¹⁷

As stated in the above lines, the uprising of the residents from Medieșu Aurit at the beginning of October was closely connected with Colonel Urban's personality and his presence in Năsăud. Thus, the cattle traders in the above-mentioned locality from Satu Mare brought information from Lăpuș about the Romanians' movement in Chioar and about the existence of an emperor's man in Năsăud. Word got spread that if one resorted to Colonel Urban, one could get a letter granting exemption from recruitment tolls and taxes. They began an active propaganda among the population in Odoreu and Iojib against the payment of taxes and the submission of soldiers. Also, they drafted a letter to Emperor Ferdinand I, whom they offered armed support. Colonel Urban answered this letter in German. Since they were not familiar with this language, the villagers from Medieșu Aurit resorted to the Roman Catholic priest in Iojib. The latter, however, denounced them to the Hungarian authorities. Thus, on 8 October, two companies of soldiers from the national guard came to Medieș to quell the “appalling crime” of the uprising. Armed with whatever they could find in the home, the villagers were ready to face the guards sent to restore peace in the region, but on their arrival they retired quietly. The statarial tribunal inquiry was held in Medieșu Aurit from 16 to 26 October. It led to the imprisonment of 60 peasants, whose property was seized. Ștefan Zima and Dumitru Zab were sentenced to death by hanging. After the surrender from Șiria, in August 1849, the prisoners were freed.¹⁸

The events from November inflamed the spirits again in the county of Satu Mare. Disgruntled by the presence of the imperial troops near Sătmar, the Hungarian authorities instructed Major Katona Miklós to gather the troops in the area, including the national guard in the county, and lead them to Dej.¹⁹ There took place the military confrontation with the Austrian army, which included Romanian border guards. On 23 November, Urban defeated the poorly organized Hungarian troops and advanced up to Șomcuta Mare. The closeness of the imperial army to the border of Satu Mare County sparked panic among a section of the population in Satu Mare. However, Urban decided to halt the advance and stay in Transylvania. In December 1848, he was surrounded by the Hungarian army near Cluj. He managed to break the front line near Apahida and withdrew to the plain area. The danger of Sătmar being occupied by the imperial army was gone.

It was also in November 1848 that 600 Croat prisoners were brought in Satu Mare, which created numerous disputes concerning their imprisonment. They represented the reason why, in February 1848, at the request of Csányi László, the commissioner of the Hungarian revolutionary government, that the authorities of Satu Mare should send soldiers, they refused to do so, arguing that at least two companies were needed for guarding the Croats and, therefore, they could not do without the military support existing

¹⁷ Viorel Ciubotă, Bujor Dulgău, Doru Radosav, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

¹⁸ Alexandru Doboși, *Din istoria Sătmarului*, Satu Mare: Ed. Prefectura Județului Satu Mare, 1937, p. 37.

¹⁹ Borovszky Samu, *op cit.*, p. 519.

in the city. Towards the end of the revolutionary actions, the Croat prisoners were released. They received payment for a week and were escorted to Moftin.²⁰

As a conclusion regarding the 1848 revolutionary actions in Satu Mare, it should be noted that they involved the representatives of all the ethnic groups: Romanians, Hungarians and Swabians. Their goals were related, in particular, to the peasant unrest during that period: emancipation from serfdom, the abolition of taxes, the review of the urban regulations that had left the peasants with very little land. What is interesting about Satu Mare is that the events here did not fit the pattern of the 1848 revolutionary movement in Transylvania. The Romanian population here, concentrated only in certain regions, was solely influenced by the ideas propagated in the areas adjacent to the boundaries of Sătmăr. Only in these localities did the uprising movements have a broader, national character. The Hungarian population became aware, in the spring of 1848, of the revolutionary principles and acted according to them. The revolt movements organized on large estates, particularly on the Károlyi domain, comprised not only the Hungarian population, but also the Swabians and the Romanians; these movements had been engendered by the discontent that the new agrarian law, passed by the Diet in Bratislava, had caused. It should be noted that on this estate, the Romanian population lived among the Hungarian and the Swabian communities, being strongly influenced by them. That is why the events from the spring of 1848, in which the Romanians from the Károlyi estate were involved, had a strong social character. This was reinforced by the lack of Romanian elites that might have assumed the role of leaders, supporting and coordinating the Romanians.

²⁰ Alexandru Doboși, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

**PHOTOGRAPHY AND HISTORY.
THE PHOTOGRAPHIC CAMERA COLLECTION OF THE
NATIONAL MUSEUM OF TRANSYLVANIAN HISTORY
(THE NINETEENTH CENTURY - THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY)**

Abstract: The discovery of photography involved two fundamental conditions: the achievement of an optical device of the “camera obscura” type, which would allow the formation of clear images, and the discovery of a manner that would enable their stable fixation on a support, with the help of specific chemical procedures. The two conditions were met as a result of the efforts undertaken by the Frenchmen Nicéphore Niépce and Louis Jacques M. J. M. Daguerre; the end result was the emergence of the daguerreotype in 1839. The following section highlights the progress made in this area in the second half of the nineteenth century, which was primarily aimed at decreasing the exposure time by increasing the sensitivity of the photosensitive materials used, as well as the luminousness of the lenses used in the dark-room. The technical development of cameras has been primarily related to the improvement of the photosensitive substrate and to the ever more complex optical systems designed in order to obtain photographic images. Thus, the paper highlights the main types of lenses with which photographic cameras were equipped, ranging from simple biconvex lenses to exceptional photographic lenses, with which, through optical and mathematical calculations, astigmatism aberration was corrected and which are still used nowadays (the Tessar). Given the fact that the museum holds, in its patrimony, a studio photographic camera from the end of the nineteenth century and over 1.500 glass photographic plate negatives, the paper also presents the main stages followed in obtaining a photo through such a device one century ago. Through photographing and developing, a photographer would obtain, at first, a glass plate negative and then, he would use a wooden frame in which he would overlay the glass plate negative and the photo paper, which he exposed to light for a well-determined time interval. The positive copy (the actual photograph) was attained in the laboratory through a series of specific developing, fixing, washing and drying operations.

Keywords: Nicéphore Niépce, daguerreotype, photographic camera, glass plate cliché, studio shooting

The birth of reproduced images

In principle, the discovery of photography involved two fundamental conditions. On the one hand, this involved the achievement of an optical device of the “camera obscura” type, which would allow the formation of a clear image, and on the other, the invention of ways to enable the stable fixation of this image on a support, with the help of various chemical procedures. Regarding the first condition, it should be noted that in 1504, Leonardo da Vinci described a camera obscura with a small orifice drilled in a thin metal plate. This allowed the image of the objects to become visible, by way of transparency, on a very thin sheet of white paper placed close to the orifice. After more than half a century, Giambattista della Porta (1535-1615) and Cardinal Daniele Barbaro (1514-1570) described and practically built such a camera, considered to be the ancestor of classic photographic cameras.

¹ Museographer, PhD, National Museum of Transylvanian History, Cluj-Napoca, email: ovidiu2505@yahoo.com.

Light is an essential element in producing a photograph; etymologically, photography means “writing with light” and it was thus referred to for the first time by the astronomer John Herschell (1839).² The silver salts’ properties of changing their colour under the impact of light were already known, and throughout the eighteenth century, various methods employing these substances were indeed used by the scientists; however, they obtained merely ephemeral images because the method of fixing them was not well established.

The real discoverer of photography was the Frenchman Nicéphore Niépce, who resorted to the camera obscura to achieve stable images in time, using a photosensitive material. Instead of the translucent screen of the camera, he placed a photosensitive layer made of a hydrocarbon, called Bitumen of Judea, which hardened under the impact of light. This was applied on a silvered copper plate and, after exposing it to light for about 8 hours, followed by washing it with oil and lavender essence, he managed to create the first photo in the world (1826). Nicéphore Niépce continuously perfected this process, especially after 1829, when he became associated with the artist and decorator Louis Jacques M. J. G. Daguerre, the inventor of the diorama.³

The official date for the invention of photography is considered, however, to have been the year 1839, when the daguerreotype⁴ - basically Daguerre’s improvement of Niépce’s invention (who had died in 1833) - was presented at the Paris Academy of Sciences. The procedure patented and made public by the physicist François Arago came next: a silvered copper plate was subjected to the action of iodine vapours in the dark. Silver iodide, which is very sensitive to light, was thereby formed. The plate was impressed in the darkroom for a few minutes. Then it was subjected to the action of the mercury vapours that developed the plate. Fixation was achieved with sodium chloride.⁵ The end result was a unique photographic image (somewhat similar to an image seen in a mirror) because this procedure did not allow its transfer onto another photosensitive medium, as would be the case with negatives later.

The invention of the negative

In parallel with these results, in England, William Fox Talbot developed the so-called “calotype” process (1838), which involved using a negative on a paper support with silver iodide, which, after being impressed in the darkroom, developed and fixed, could be reproduced in positive format on albumen-coated light-sensitive paper, through exposure to light and various complicated chemical processes.⁶ While in the beginning

² ***, *Larousse: Dictionar Inventatori și invenții*, Bucharest, Ed. Tehnică, 2001, p. 414.

³ *Ibidem*, p. 315.

⁴ On 19 August 1839, the manner of obtaining a daguerreotype was publicly presented after the Chamber of Deputies had passed a law in June, under which the French state was to ensure a life annuity of 6.000 francs to Daguerre and, respectively, of 4.000 francs to the descendants of Nicéphore Niépce, in exchange for this invention. Georges Potonniée, *Histoire de la découverte de la photographie*, Paris, Publication photographiques Paul Montel, 1925, pp. 180-184.

⁵ Paul Agarici, Gheorghe Băluță, “Redescoperirea imaginii,” in *Almanah Tehnium*, 1988, p. 183.

⁶ Fox Talbot was the first man to illustrate a book with the aid of photography in 1844. Georges Potonniée, *op. cit.*, pp. 201-205.

this process was used less than the daguerreotype, over time it proved its feasibility because by starting from a single negative, several photographs could be obtained and the process was less expensive due to the fact that paper was cheaper and easier to use compared with the silvered copper plates needed to produce a daguerreotype.

From this point on, the production of an image entailed the combination of two fundamental processes: the negative process, whose result was the transformation of the latent image obtained through photographing, in the darkroom, an apparently negative image (cliché-verre), and the positive process, whereby a positive copy of the photographed subject was obtained after an existing negative cliché. The positive image (the actual picture) could be obtained through copying on light-sensitive paper, the so-called contact copy, which was had the same dimensions as the existing negative or was enlarged through projection, arriving at superior dimensions compared to those of the negative. As we shall see below, in the period, copying from a glass plate negative onto photographic paper was accomplished by using a special device of the copy frame type; only when the size of the negative formats was decreased did there appear the need for enhancing devices, which used the oil lamp, the oxyhydric flame and, then, the incandescent light bulb as a light source.

The second half of the nineteenth century registered great progress in the field of photography, which primarily entailed reducing the exposure time by increasing the sensitivity of photosensitive materials and the brightness of the objectives used in the camera obscura. In this regard, in 1847, Claude Abel Niépce de Saint-Victor, the nephew of the inventor of photography, introduced the glass plate support for photographic emulsions and created, through a series of chemical processes, the albumen-coated glass plate negative.⁷

The next stage in increasing the sensitivity of glass negatives was the use of collodion (cellulose dissolved in a mixture of ether and alcohol) as a substrate for the silver salts to be applied on a glass plate. In the wet process, pictures had to be taken immediately after the application of the photosensitive emulsion on the plate and their development was to take place within a few minutes, while in the process using dry collodion (1861), the emulsion could be stored for up to one month, but its sensitivity was several times lower.

The qualitative climax of glass negatives was reached in 1871, when Richard Maddox perfected the dry plate process, which used a stable emulsion of silver bromide and gelatin as a photosensitive layer. A few years later, Charles Bennett discovered a new preparation method by which the emulsion became ten times more sensitive, reducing the exposure time to 1/25 sec. and making it possible for photos to be taken without a tripod. After 1879, the process quickly spread as glass plates were manufactured and marketed in standard formats, allowing the development of photographic techniques.⁸ Thus, glass was the first material used as support for negative

⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 251. His two works that laid the grounds for the new procedure were: Claude Abel Niépce de Saint-Victor, *Recherches photographique. Photographie sur verre. Hélio-chromie. Gravure héliographique*, Paris, Alexis Gaudin et Frères, 1855, and, respectively, *Traité pratique de gravure héliographique sur acier et sur verre*, Paris, Librairie de Victor Mason, 1856.

⁸ André Gunthert, *La conquête de l'instantané. Archéologie de l'imaginaire photographique en France (1841-1895)*, Thèse de doctorat, Paris, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, 1999, pp. 230-231.

photosensitive materials and had the advantage that it maintained the photosensitive emulsion perfectly flat regardless of the format size. However, this support also had a number of drawbacks: it was heavy, brittle, it occupied a large space and was uncomfortable to use, especially when it came to transporting it. Therefore, in the last two decades of the nineteenth century, research focused on the discovery of another support for emulsions. In these years, the progress of chemistry led to the discovery of the supple celluloid support, which was manufactured in 1889. In the same year, Thomas Alva Edison invented the 35-mm wide film, which would later become the standard format both in film making and in photography.

The one who revolutionised the technique of photography, however, was George Eastman, the founder of Kodak Company, who invented the flexible negative (roll film) on paper and then on celluloid support (1888). The system he established for shipping the device to the company for developing, reloading with film and sending it back to the recipient, along with the developed photos, soon made photographs accessible to all, given also the appearance of cheaper cameras, their easy use and simplified procedures for developing and fixing images.

In Europe, photography achieved great public success in the inter-war period, with the appearance of the Leica photo camera (1925), which used a 35 mm negative film with a cliché of 24x36 mm. This format has, to this day, been the standard used in photographic practice, both by amateurs and by professionals. The use of the negative-positive process for reproducing photographed images has underlain classical photography for over a century and a half, but is about to be completely replaced, given the advent of today's digital photography.

Photographic cameras

Any classical photo camera, from the simplest to the most sophisticated, was basically a camera obscura equipped with a photosensitive medium (emulsion photographic plates, sheet films, negative films, etc.), which was meant to produce a latent image of the photographed object. An important element in the classification of devices at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth was the picture format. Thus, depending on the standard size of the negative used, cameras could have a large, medium or small format.⁹ In general, studio cameras (Figure no. 1) allowed, by their very design, the use of several photographic plate formats (6x9, 9x12, 12x15, 13x18, 18x24 cm), while medium or small portable devices used only one standard negative type.

Light was guided onto the surface of the substrate with a lens (or group of lenses) that formed the objective and the amount of light entering the device was controlled by variations in the diameter of the hole (aperture) or the shutter mechanism, which controlled the exposure time. In the first cameras, the shutter was simply a cap covering the lens, and the photographer would take it out during shooting, while empirically calculating the exposure time according to the aperture and the sensitivity of the negative used.

⁹ ***, *Dictionnaire mondial de la photographie des origines à nos jours*, Paris, Larousee/VUEF, 2001, p. 35.

The selection of the image to be captured was done through the viewfinder, which could have its own lenses (indirect targeting) or could be optically adapted to the objective (direct targeting). A special feature that was characteristic of period devices with bellows¹⁰ was represented by the formation of the image on the frosted glass behind it; the clarity of the image was regulated with the help of the rack or by moving the objective lens. For greater ease in perfecting the image, the photographers of the time would cover their heads with a dark cloth or pouch, which obstructed light and allowed them to obtain a clear picture on the frosted glass, identical to that which was to be recorded on the photographic plate.

While the technical evolution of photo cameras was primarily related to improvements of the photosensitive support, it is no less true that the optical systems designed to obtain photographic images also evolved over time, starting from the simple biconvex lens. In the mid-eighteenth century, the English optician John Dollond created the achromatic lens for the camera obscura, the first objective where spherical and chromatic aberrations were corrected. In 1812, William Wollaston improved the lenses used in the camera by resorting to a meniscus lens.

The great importance of the optical system in producing good pictures was realised by the French optician Charles Chevalier, who considered that the objective was the “soul of the device.” He collaborated both with Nicéphore Niépce and with Daguerre, producing the achromatic objective with two lenses for the latter. In 1840, Chevalier built and marketed *Le Photographe*, a complete device consisting of both the camera obscura and the necessary accessories for developing ten daguerreotypes prepared for exposure. The entire system weighed 14 kg and was sold at a high price, being regarded as a type of portable device at the time.¹¹ In the same year, the first major achievement in the field of optical systems with which camerae obscurae were equipped was the objective built by the Hungarian optician Joseph Petzwal, later manufactured by the German Voightländer, as the first well-calculated objective that was not built by empirical methods. Of a hemispherical type, its objective was composed of four lenses and had a luminousness that was twenty times higher than the previously used lenses, but was marred by astigmatism aberration. Notwithstanding all this, brightness was a very important factor because it greatly reduced the shooting time: for this reason, the Petzwal objective was, for a long time, preferred for shooting portraits.

Just as frequently used at the time was the flat lens, also known as the rectilinear lens, built by John Dallmeyer in 1866, after laborious mathematical calculations, based on the theories of optical aberrations set forth by the German mathematician Philipp Ludwig von Seidel.

¹⁰ The first camera that utilised bellows to facilitate the adjustment of images was used by Nicéphore Niépce between 1822 and 1825. See *Larousse: Dicționar Inventatori și invenții*, p. 415.

¹¹ Georges Potonniée, *op. cit.*, p. 223. Chevalier extensively popularised the new process, being among the first to sell these camerae obscurae, which were highly appreciated at that time, in batches. In addition to his devices, other camerae obscurae that appeared during this period were those produced by the Giroux and Susse Frères companies and they sold very well, especially in France. Charles Chevalier, *Nouvelles instructions sur l'usage du daguerréotype. Description d'un nouveau photographe et d'un appareil très simple destiné à la reproduction des épreuves au moyen de la galvanoplastie*, Paris, Chez l'Auteur, 1841, *passim*.

Otto Schott's discovery of optical glass that possessed enhanced properties, such as light flint or high-density crown glass (1886), opened the way for producing new objectives, with which astigmatism aberration could be corrected; this is why they were called anastigmatic lenses. Some of these objectives were symmetrical: the Protar lens, calculated by Dr. Paul Rudolph and built by Carl Zeiss in 1890, then the Dagor lens (an abbreviation for Doppel-Anstigmat GOeRz), calculated by Emil von Hoegh and built by the Goerz Company in 1892 and the Planar lens, patented in 1896.

In parallel, asymmetrical anastigmatic objectives were developed. A remarkable achievement in this regard was the Cooke triplet (1893), calculated by Dennis Taylor, followed by the Heliar lenses (1900), calculated by Carl Harting for the German company Voightländer, and, last but not least, the Tessar, calculated by Paul Rudolph and patented by the Zeiss Company in 1902 - one of the most famous objectives that have remained in use until today. Basically, most of the later objectives with normal focal distances had their origin in the hemispherical planar (the most luminous) or in the triplet. They were used to equip the dozens of small and medium size camera models that appeared in the first decades of the twentieth century, of which we shall mention a few: Kodak, H. Ernemann, Leica Series I-III, ICA, Canon, Agfa, Contax, Minox, Pentax, Voightländer, Exakta, Gomoz (Lomo), etc. In 1889, Thomas Alva Edison invented the 35 mm wide film with sprocket holes, which would later become the standard format (24x36 mm) both in films and in photographs, especially after the appearance of the famous Leica I camera, designed by Oskar Barnack and sold from 1925 on.

Across the ocean, an important milestone in the evolution of photo cameras was the year 1888, when George Eastman launched the first Kodak Brownie camera. It used a flexible negative, initially supplied in paper and then in celluloid reels, which allowed the images to be stored in the device and to be subsequently developed by the same company. Gradually, the cumbersome plate cameras began to be more and more successfully replaced by new small and medium format models, which used roll film as the photosensitive medium. These were primarily cheaper and easier to use - essential qualities that greatly simplified photographic techniques, making photography accessible to all.

Stereophotography

In the mid-nineteenth century, stereoscopy was discovered: it added the third dimension to photography - depth. The prospect of simultaneously recording two adjoining images with two camerae obscurae considerably enhanced interest in images in relief. The possibility of seeing drawn objects in relief had been demonstrated by the physicist Charles Wheatstone in 1838, by creating a two-mirror stereoscope; two years later, the device with two lenses appeared - a version that is still produced today.

In principle, in order to obtain a stereoscopic cliché it was necessary that the photo camera should have two objectives. When the camera had only one lens, the photographer used an optical device called a stereoscopic adapter with mirrors. This was mounted in front of the unique objective of the camera and projected onto the cliché-verre two images of the photographed subject situated at a distance of 6.5-7 cm. The distance between the pairs of stereoscopic images corresponded to the pupil distance of the human eyes and the

relief effect was achieved with the help of a stereoscope (the most popular being the one built by Oliver Wendell Holmes in 1881), an instrument that enabled the left image to be perceived by the left eye and the right image by the right eye.

In 1891, Louis Ducon du Hauron presented a new way of obtaining relief images by using anaglyph images.¹² In their case, the left and right images were coloured, one in red and one in cyan blue, being then superimposed on the same positive. To achieve the relief effect, they were looked at through a pair of special glasses with a red filter (for the left eye), which obstructed the cyan coloured image, and, respectively, with a cyan filter (for the right eye), which blocked the image coloured in red.

The main steps towards obtaining a photograph in a photo studio one century ago

Assuming that the studio was equipped with a professional camera identical to that found in the museum collection (Figure no. 1), obtaining a photo entailed going through several main stages, as follows: the photographer decided, in advance, with the client, the setting, type and format of the photo, then arranged the lights, the stereoscopic adapter (in case the intention was to obtain a stereophotograph), opened the shutter and set the image clarity with the help of the rack, which activated the bellows, or by moving the objective lenses. After the so-called clarity plan was achieved, the inverted image of the photographed subject was initially formed on the frosted glass at the back of the device (Figure no. 2).

Next, the photographer closed the shutter and fixed at the back of the camera the closed box containing the glass photographic negative (Figure no. 3), then lifted the device that protected the photosensitive medium and opened the shutter, determining the exposure time of the photographic plate. In that period, the exposure time could consist of several seconds or even minutes in a weaker light, being determined by the shooting conditions, the type and quality of the photosensitive material used, and last but not least by the quality of the photo camera. During this interval, the customer had to stand still, which is why the photo studio had suitable furniture that made this possible.

After the shooting proper, the photographer closed the negative box, which contained a latent image of the subject now and prepared developing and retouching the glass plate negative. These operations were done under special light conditions, in the laboratory, where, after a series of chemical processes using special reagents, the negative was developed and the result was the so-called glass cliché-verre (Figure no. 4).

In order to obtain a positive copy, the negative thus obtained was placed in contact with the albumen-coated photosensitive paper in a special device of the copy frame type (Figure no. 5). The frame was then exposed to light for a time that was precisely determined after carrying out a few initial tests. The glass plate negative was removed and the exposed photographic paper was further processed through a series of developing, fixing, washing and drying operations,¹³ the end result being the actual

¹² *Larousse: Dicționar Inventatori și invenții*, p. 415.

¹³ Valentin Țepordei, *Laboratorul fotoamatorului. Materiale fotosensibile alb-negru și prelucrarea lor*, Bucharest, Ed. Tehnică, 1969, pp. 110-117.

picture, which had the same size as the glass plate negative used - in this case, two 6.5x9.5 cm images (Figure no. 6).

Next, the photo was pasted onto a cardboard support, on which the photo studio's address was printed, for advertising purposes, and was delivered to the customer. In the case of stereoscopic images, the stereoscope was necessary for viewing these (Figure no. 7). The pair of images was placed into its metal slot, sharpness was adjusted by moving the wooden rod and the viewer would look simultaneously through the two lenses in order for the relief effect to be achieved.

The museum's collection of modern history has 1.538 glass cliché-verres of various formats that were in use in the last three decades of the nineteenth century. Using various types of photosensitive emulsions as a support, they were donated, at the start of the twentieth century, by the photographer Ferenc Veress, a trail blazer in the field of photography in Transylvania. More than a decade after the daguerreotype had been patented in France, he had the merit of opening, in Cluj, the first photographic cabinet in Transylvania (1852), afterwards remaining in touch with all the photographic techniques that appeared in the second half of the nineteenth century.¹⁴

Focusing on subjects like the personalities of Cluj, but also on buildings, structures or landscapes, the negatives of the Cluj-based photographer represent exceptional period documents both from an artistic point of view and as inspiration sources for historians, architects, engineers, landscape architects, etc. From among the characters that remained still before the lenses of Veress' device, we should mention aristocrats from the noble Hungarian families (Banffy, Josika, Kemeny, Teleki, Wesselenyi, etc.), but also teachers, doctors, lawyers and other notables of the city, or sheer unknown characters, men, women or children.¹⁵

In time, the emulsion layer of these negatives has undergone various types of degradation, and in order to save the images, most of them have been photographed and processed, positive copies being then achieved with the help of digital technology. Currently, some of the processed negatives and some cameras from the museum's collection can be seen at: <http://www.mnit.ro/fotografii-de-epoca>.

The images and technical specifications of the photographic cameras from the end of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth century, which are included in the museum's collection, can be found below. Several photo accessories are also presented, assisting us in better understanding the manner of obtaining photographs more than one century ago.

¹⁴ On the techniques he was familiar with and applied in practice, see Melinda Mitu, "Fotocerică în colecțiile de artă decorativă ale Muzeului Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei," in *Acta Musei Napocensis, Historica*, 45-46, 2008-2009, p. 210.

¹⁵ We have created a series of photographs on the subject of family and children after the cliché-verres made by Veress and have included them in the catalogue *Copiii și copilăria în fotografia secolului al XIX-lea*, Bucharest, Ed. Total Publishing, 2004, pp. 26-27.

List of illustrations**Figure no. 1. Professional camera for a photographic studio**

- RA Goldmann brand - Vienna
- photosensitive support - photographic plate, maximum format 30x30 cm
- Hermagis Paris lens; Inv. No. C 831
- dating - 1890
- Inv. No. M 7643

Figure no. 2. The ground glass frame of the camera

- it is here that, with the help of the lens, the upside down image of the photographed subject is formed

Figure no. 3. Glass plate negative storage box

- format: 9x12 cm

Figure no. 4. Cliché-verre - a mother and her daughter

- glass plate negative – two images 6.5x9.5 cm
- photosensitive support - silver bromide suspended in gelatin
- dating - 1886
- Inv. No. M 11110

Figure no. 5. Copy frame

- format: 9x14 cm

Figure no. 6. Photographs after glass plate negative

- in that period, the photographer obtained them by placing the cliché-verre in contact with the albumen-coated photo paper (emulsion to emulsion), by exposure to light, followed by developing, washing, fixing and drying procedures
- the method we used was the digital processing of the cliché-verre from 1886

Figure no. 7. Stereoscope

- Oliver Wendell Holmes model
- dating - 1890
- Inv. No. M 8805

Figure no. 8. Photographic camera with bellows

- H. Ernemann brand - Dresden
- Heag model with a telescopic tripod
- Hugo Meyer-Goerlitz anastigmatic lens, f.135 mm
- negative type - 9x12 cm photographic plate
- dating - 1915
- Inv. No. M 11986, a

Figure no. 9. Photographic camera with bellows

- ICA brand
- Ideal 325 model
- Carl Zeiss Jena lens, Protarlinse VII, f.29 cm
- Compur shutter
- negative type: 10x15 cm photographic plate/filmpack
- dating - 1925
- Inv. No. M 12180, a

Figure no. 10. Photographic camera with bellows

- GOMZ brand - Leningrad
- Fotokor No. 1 model
- Voomp, Anastigmat, Ortogoz lens, f.135 mm
- Gomz shutter
- negative type: 9x12 cm photographic plate
- dating - 1934
- Inv. No. C 10187



Fig.1



Fig.2



Fig.3



Fig.4



Fig.5



Fig.6

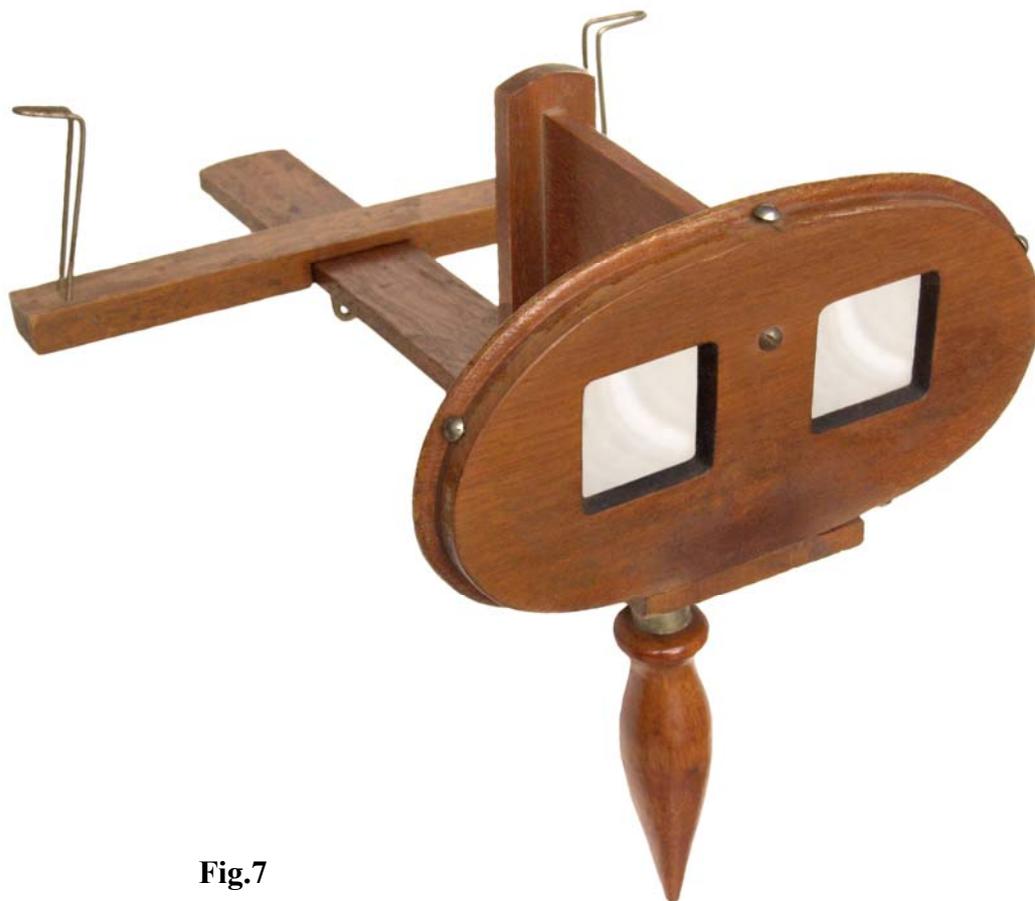


Fig.7



Fig.8

Fig.9



Fig.10



CHARACTERISTICS OF COLLECTIONISM IN WALLACHIA

Abstract: The paper presents the characteristics of private art collectionism in Wallachia during the second half of the nineteenth century and the first quarter of the twentieth century. Most collectors were intellectuals who came from wealthy families, being educated in Western European countries and becoming accustomed, during their studies, to the custom of visiting museums, art galleries and attending auctions, so much so that on their return home, they began to compile their own collections. They collected mostly ancient and contemporary European art, as well as Romanian art, in the late nineteenth century. Art collections coexisted with those of archaeological vestiges, numismatics, and decorative art, and the reasons for their formation included the desire to educate the public (hence, the possibility of viewing the works during the life of their owners), to support and protect modern Romanian art, and the desire to create an environment similar to that in Western Europe.

Keywords: Collectionism, collectors, collections, paintings, Wallachia, the second half of the nineteenth century - the first quarter of the twentieth century.

The second half of the nineteenth century brought about political, social and economic changes throughout Europe. The desire for emancipation, the national idea and the emphasis on national identity entailed geopolitical and mentality changes, which would steer the evolution of historical events during this period. The new mentality, embraced and brought over into the Romanian Principalities by the intellectuals who had studied in Western Europe, was reflected in all the aspects of society, at the ideological, economic, political, and social levels,² as well as in culture: in the visual arts, the theatre, music and even in the method of collecting artefacts.

This article aims to answer a series of questions regarding collectionism³ and private art collections in Wallachia during the second half of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth century: who collected art; how it was collected; what kind of art was collected; why it was collected; these are questions to which we shall find an answer in the lines below.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, Wallachia and Moldova became increasingly open to Western Europe, especially to France, in terms of both political orientation and ideological approach and lifestyle. The local rulers instituted here attempted to translate the aspirations of the 1848 Revolution into practice, and these were actually accomplished with Union of the Principalities in 1859 and Alexandru Ioan

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² Lucian Nastaşă, *Itinerarii spre lumea savantă. Tineri din spațiul românesc la studii în străinătate 1864 – 1944*, Cluj-Napoca, Ed. Limes, 2006, p. 89.

³ A term understood in the manner of Krzysztof Pomian as a “set of natural or artificial objects, kept temporarily or permanently out of the economic circuit, afforded special protection in enclosed places adapted specifically for that purpose and put on display.” Krzysztof Pomian, *Collezionisti, amatori e curiosi (Parigi – Venezia XVI – XVIII secolo)*, Milano: Ed. Il Saggiatore, 2007, p. 18.

Cuza's policy of reforms during the period 1859-1866. In this context, more and more young Romanians studied at the major European universities and received scholarships from the state.⁴ In parallel with their opening to modernity and their assimilation of European ideologies, the young Romanians learning abroad took advantage of their stay abroad to complete their general culture through visits to museums, art galleries, and exhibitions.⁵ In addition to attending courses, students were interested in architecture, museums, theatres, concert halls, art galleries, historical monuments, the attendance at such institutions being a complementary manner of acceding to modernity and an essential component of their training.⁶ Most often coming from wealthy families, they had the financial ability and were interested in acquiring works of art; once they returned home, or during their very stay abroad for studies, they began to group these art works in collections.⁷ This explains why the majority of the collectors from Bucharest during the period under discussion came from among intellectuals trained in the major European universities. Most of the times, they were lawyers (Iancu Kalinderu, Anastase Simu), physicians (Ion Cantacuzino, Nicolae Kalinderu), writers (Alexandru Vlahuță, Cezar Bolliac, Al. Bogdan-Pitești) or diplomats (Eugeniu Carada, Constantin Esarcu, Mihail Kogălniceanu).⁸ To a lesser extent, there were also merchants or traders and, rarely, individuals without university studies. For example, Apostol Apostolide, a waiter at the *Continental* restaurant, had neither the education, nor the financial means to purchase valuable artefacts. However, coming into contact with well-known painters: Theodor Pallady, Nicolae Tonitza, Alexandru Ciucurencu, etc., and collectors, he was encouraged in his passion for art and music by them, so in time, he came to own an audio collection and a contemporary Romanian art collection that earned the praised of artists, collectors and the public at large, who could easily visit the collection displayed in the owner's house.⁹

Situated at the antipodes, Prince Carol I of Hohenzollern Sigmaringen, who became King of Romania in 1881, held a valuable collection created in the second half of the nineteenth century. Today his collection has become the nucleus of the European Art Gallery housed by the National Art Museum of Romania (MNAR),¹⁰ being, in the period in which it was created, a model especially for the politicians of the era, who were driven by the ambition to have their own collections.

Having arrived in the country in 1866, Prince Carol I wanted to impose the protocol etiquette of the royal houses in Europe, which required certain pomp in the

⁴ Lucian Nastasă, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 87.

⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 87

⁷ The descriptions of the personalities of various collectors who donated their collections to the state, today exhibited in the Museum of Art Collections, Bucharest, often mention the purchases of paintings, drawings, or archaeological vestiges from the scholarship money of the collectors, who were students at the time. For more information, see *The Museum of Art Collections. Collection Guide*, the National Art Museum of Romania, Bucharest, 2003.

⁸ Vasile Petrovici, *Dicționarul colecționarilor de artă din România*, Bucharest, Ed. Coresi, 2011, *passim*.

⁹ Petre Oprea, "Colecția 'Apostol'," in *Revista Muzeelor*, no. 6, 1971, p. 520.

¹⁰ Moreover, MNAR is today housed in the former Royal Palace in Bucharest, and even though very little of the architectural structure from the reign of King Carol is preserved, the European art works are housed in the old part of the Palace, the Kretzulescu wing, where the living space of the royal residence used to be.

decorations of his residential premises. A member of the Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen family - originating from the Black Forest Mountains - Carol endeavoured to render the taste and the ambience in which he had grown up in his two residences from Bucharest and Sinaia. Thus began the establishment of a collection of paintings through the systematic acquisition of paintings, when the collection of Dr. Felix Bamberg, a well-known German collector, was auctioned in the years 1879, 1886 and 1889. Although primarily interested in architecture, two letters from the MNAR archive indicate the king's dedication in compiling his collection of paintings; the letters contain his own opinions about certain paintings and his personal suggestions as to what works, by what artists, should be purchased.¹¹

After the death of King Carol I, the collection was left by testament to the Romanian Crown and was largely kept in the patrimony of MNAR and at Peleş Castle in Sinaia; it represents the most important collection of old European painting (the fourteenth-eighteenth centuries) in Romania. Among the artists whose works were included in the patrimony of this collection, there are some of the most outstanding representatives of European painting and works of the highest quality, made by Domenico Veneziano, Lucas Cranach the Elder, Bronzino, Tintoretto, El Greco, Jacopo Bassano, etc.¹²

The mimetic ambition to be the owners of an art collection led some of the politicians of the era to follow the model of King Carol I. They were mainly oriented towards contemporary Romanian art, thus supporting the Romanian artists. For example, since the painter most dear to collectors was Nicolae Grigorescu in the late nineteenth century, the collector Eugeniu Carada (1836-1910) built his collection almost exclusively with the paintings of this artist.¹³ The Governor of the National Bank of Romania, and a great admirer of the painter, Carada was renowned for his passion for this painter's art, ever since the latter's first exhibitions. He never missed the artist's vernissages, to which he came from the very beginning so as to have priority in purchasing one or two works. Towards the end of his life he had more than 50 paintings by Grigorescu, as well as works by young artists, who he had supported,¹⁴ such as Ioan Andreescu, Alpar, Eugen Voinescu, Ștefan Popescu - or whom he valued - C. I. Stăncescu, G. D. Mirea and others. Two years after the collector's death, in November 1912, his collection was auctioned and the works landed in art museums around the country: the Art Museums from Craiova and Cluj, and the collection of I. N. Dona. Unfortunately, most of the works are impossible to locate today; as it often happened, the Romanian state did not buy the collection, nor did it acquire the most important works, so this unitary and representative collection of Grigorescu's works was dispersed, in only two days, to collectors that have, to this day, not been identified.¹⁵

¹¹ For more information, see the article of Anatolie Teodosiu – “Cataloage, manuscrise, semnate de dr F. Bamberg, descoperite în arhiva Galeriei universale a Muzeului de artă al R. S. România,” in *Revista muzeelor*, 3/1971.

¹² Léo Bachelin – *Tableaux anciens de la Galerie Charles Ier Roi de Roumanie*, Paris, 1898, passim.

¹³ Petre Oprea, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

¹⁴ *Idem*, p. 37.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 38.

Another collector who had the ambition to create a large collection of art that would be made available to the public¹⁶ was the politician Vasile G. Morțun. Passionate about art ever since his studies in France and Belgium, he began to build a collection of Romanian art in the late nineteenth century, the first news about it appearing in the press in 1892, when he acquired a work by Ștefan Popescu. In time his collection was enriched with valuable artists who created in a vast temporal and stylistic range: from G. Rosenthal, Theodor Aman and Gheorghe Tattarescu to Nicolae Grigorescu, Ioan Andreescu, Ștefan Luchian, Kimon Loghi, Cecilia Cușescu-Stork, etc. His desire, similar to that of Anastase Simu's, to build a house that would include a space for exhibiting the collection made available to the public did not materialise; the works were hastily sent to Russia, without a prior inventory, at the beginning of World War I, together with the Romanian treasury, and remained there.

The most commonly encountered manner of composing a collection was that of direct or indirect acquisition by the collector, at auctions or directly from the artist's studio, from antiques fairs, with the help of connoisseurs, or just taking into account their own taste and passions. Less common was compiling a collection with the gifts received from certain artists, a custom that was common, at the time, in the relationship between artists and art critics.¹⁷ William Ritter, a Swiss journalist, met Nicolae Grigorescu in 1887, when he was a teacher in the house of the politician Nicolae Blaremburg. During the next period, the two became friends and, to facilitate his documentation on his work, with a view to the publication of much-awaited articles about his work in the foreign press, the artist gave the Swiss works from various stages of his creation. In this way, Ritter became in time the owner of a significant collection of paintings by the artist.¹⁸ Thus, this collection was built not as a result of the owner's passion and selection but thanks to the painter's generosity. William Ritter eventually came to own a total of thirteen paintings by Nicolae Grigorescu. In 1927 the collection was sold to the National Bank of Romania, and in 1949 the works entered the MNAR heritage. It is to this habit of Grigorescu's that the existence of the writer Alexandru Vlahuță's collection is largely due, as the latter was bestowed with a series of valuable paintings as "only Grigorescu knew how to make."¹⁹ Unlike the previously described collection, Vlahuță's collection remained in the country and was accessible to the public, as the collector always lent works for various exhibitions but also constantly received visitors, known or unknown, in his home, where the works were exhibited. Comprising almost exclusively works by Grigorescu, they were of very good quality and had been offered to him by the painter on several occasions, as a sign of their close friendship. In addition to the over 70 works by Nicolae Grigorescu, the collection also included paintings by other Romanian artists like George Petrașcu, Ștefan Luchian, Ștefan Popescu, Artur Verona, Jean Al. Steriadi, etc. Unfortunately, in 1912 the poet decided to sell the collection, keeping only part of the paintings for himself, the ones

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 35.

¹⁷ Oprea, *op. cit.*, p.52

¹⁸ *Idem*.

¹⁹ Alexandru Vlahuță, *Pictorul N.I. Grigorescu. Vieța și opera lui*, Bucharest: Ed. Socec, 1910, p. 206.

dearest to him; the fate of most of the other works is not known, only a small part being found in the state's patrimony.²⁰

Another collection, contemporary with that of Vlahuță, yet distinct from the point of view of the collection's design, of the artefacts included in it and the general interest in art was the collection of Alexandru Bogdan-Pitești (1870-1922), the Maecenas collector, whose tumultuous life and extensive collection become ever more famous in the late nineteenth century. The son of a landowner from Olt, he lingered,²¹ in his youth, in the European capitals, became familiar with the literary and artistic circles from Paris, and when he returned to Bucharest, he compiled one of the most representative collections of Romanian and European, ancient and contemporary art in Romania.

On his return from France, in 1894, the collector gathered, at first eclectically, then with an ever more confident taste, the works of contemporary artists, purchasing also some of the works of foreign artists (André Derain, Alphonse Mucha, Jules Pascin, etc.) especially from among those who would later exhibit in Bucharest, in the 1898 exhibition of the Ileana Society. In 1910 his home opened its gates to writers and artists, including novices, who were received in an interior space decorated with works of art, rugs, folk art objects and libraries full of books.²² His collection included, in addition to contemporary art, icons and old objects of worship, items of folk art (rugs, woven fabrics, costumes, ceramics) chosen for their aesthetic value, contemporary Romanian painting; his unwavering taste had discovered, ever since their debut, the best artists of the period 1896-1920: Nicolae Tonitza, Ștefan Dimitrescu, Ștefan Luchian, Tudor Arghezi, etc.²³ Moreover, after 1908 his friend painters were invited to his mansion from the Vlaici commune in the summer, where he established a veritable colony of artists. The collector made available to them everything they needed to create and eventually acquired most of the works accomplished here.²⁴ Thus, Alexandru Bogdan-Pitești came into the possession of valuable works made by Camil Ressu, Nicolae Dărăscu or Max Hermann Maxy, etc. The same collector was interested in French contemporary art and the folk art produced in the Romanian territory. The complexity of this collection was unique, as Al. Bogdan-Pitești was among the few collectors here with so large and varied a collection. Another feature of his collection was his penchant for contemporary art in comparison with collectors like Anastase Simu or Iancu Kalinderu, who collected and exhibited largely academic art on educational topics in the museums that were opened while they were still alive.

²⁰ Oprea, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

²¹ Although he had gone abroad to study, he seems not to have graduated from any faculty, even though he successively studied medicine, at the University of Montpellier, then law and philosophy in Paris: he did not complete his studies in any of these areas. According to Theodor Enescu, who dedicated to him an ample article in *Scrieri despre artă*, vol. 2, Bucharest: Meridiane, 2003, Alexandru Bogdan-Pitești had two predominant passions: collecting art and partying.

²² Theodor Enescu, "Primul muzeu de artă românească modernă: colecția Alexandru Bogdan – Pitești," in *Scrieri despre artă*, vol 2, Bucharest: Meridiane, 2003, p. 56.

²³ *Ibidem*, p. 57.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 60.

Unfortunately, after his death, the Ministry of Arts did not participate in the auction of 1924, so the state owns none of these works, the artefacts entering the possession of other collectors, such as K. A. Zambaccian, Iosif Dona, Lazăr Munteanu, Grünberg-Ruleta, etc.

From the point of view of the art objects they collect, their owners may be interested in a particular artist, a certain period/trend/technique, by as yet undiscovered artists or representative works.²⁵ Eugeniu Carada and Alexandru Vlahuță collected almost exclusively works by Nicolae Grigorescu; Alexandru Bogdan-Pitești, as a patron with an exquisite and expert taste, owned some of the most representative works by Ștefan Luchian, an artist whom he supported throughout his career.

Foreign European art was the favourite of many collectors. It was symptomatic of the collectors from this period to pay less interest to autochthonous art,²⁶ even though they did not say no to the purchase of quality works or, especially, of some copy after a famous work, made by Romanian artists during their studies. This explains the precarious situation of the Romanian artists from the second half of the nineteenth century who, albeit admired and recognised for their talent, rarely had their works purchased, except for some of the famous painters like Theodor Aman or Gheorghe Tattarescu. This situation changed towards the end of the century and in the next, through the organisation of the Official Salons, where the State was invited to purchase as many works as possible.

One of the collections formed during this period is that of the politician Mihail Kogălniceanu, who, especially after 1870, dedicated himself almost entirely to the acquisition of artefacts, which led Carol I to write he “seemed to have thrown himself entirely into the arms of the fine arts.”²⁷ He was particularly interested in European painting, but collected, with the same passion, sculpture and decorative art. For purchases from abroad, he resorted either to intermediaries who had to buy works from the official salons or he bought works directly from artists’ studios.

The Kogălniceanu collection, exhibited, during his life, in one of the wings of his home on Kisseleff Ave., so as to be accessible to the public, was unfortunately sold abroad by auction in 1887 and, after Kogălniceanu’s death, in 1896 and 1897. The sales led to the dispersal of the entire collection, all the works entering private funds, while the Romanian state did not purchase any of them, as it unfortunately happened too many times.²⁸ However, from the catalogue of the 1887 auction that took place in Cologne, we may identify some of the artists present in the collection: Albrecht Altdorfer, Giovanni Bellini, Lucas Cranach, Tiziano Vecellio, Jacopo Amigoni, Francois Boucher, Frans Hals, Jacob Jordaens, Nicolas Poussin, Rembrandt, Pieter Paul Rubens and many other illustrious names.²⁹

²⁵ See <http://alegearta.ro/bazele-unei-colecții>, accessed 25.11.2013.

²⁶ Petre Oprea, *op.cit.*, p.13.

²⁷ *Apud* Petre Oprea, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

²⁸ Although the Romanian state was invited to participate in the major auctions of the great art collections and was even offered a preferential price sometimes, it rarely happened that the Ministry of Culture answered these invitations without prevaricating or imposing conditions on these acquisitions. For this reason, very many valuable collections landed either abroad or in private collections.

²⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 16.

While this collection and that of the royal family included old European art, other collections comprised works by contemporary European artists. Living in Paris since the age of 10 with his uncle, the collector George Bellio, Alexandru Ștefan Bellu (1850-1921) was surrounded by works of art ever since his childhood and acquired a taste for beauty from his uncle. On his return to the country in 1880, after graduating, he became a collector of antiques, coins and Tanagra statues; he was also interested in contemporary painting, the pride collection being represented by a few paintings of the French Impressionists Claude Monet and Camille Pissarro.³⁰ Other examples were the collections of Krikor Zambaccian and Iosif N. Dona, comprising works by foreign artists: Auguste Renoir, Pablo Picasso, Paul Cezanne, etc. (the Zambaccian collection), Camille Pissarro (the Dona collection).

Although this article refers to private art collections, we must make reference to the existence of a considerable number of numismatic and antique collections, of old maps and even some collections of copies. The aforementioned artefacts were often part of collections that included art works, such as, for instance, the collections of coins belonging to Alexandru Bellu and Mihail Kogălniceanu, as the collectors' interest covered several domains.

Also, we cannot ignore - for a better contextualisation - the museums that began to appear in this period, even though art museums were not the first to be established. In 1834, at the initiative of Mihalache Ghica, the Interior Minister at the time, there was created - within the St. Sava National School - the National Museum of Natural History and Antiques. Initially composed of donations from collectors (the Nicolae Mavros collection of antiques, the Carol Ferreati collection of ores, the Cezar Bolliac collection, etc.),³¹ the museum had a mixed and eclectic character in terms of the exhibits and their quality. It originally comprised collections of archaeology, minerals, zoology, and in 1850 a gallery of paintings by the young - at that time - artists Theodor Aman, Gheorghe Tattarescu and Constantin Lecca was founded within it. This was the starting point of the future Art Gallery, established in 1864, at the same time as the School of Fine Arts.³² In time, to the Art Gallery was added the exhibition from the Romanian Athenaeum, which presented the Esarcu collection (as of 1894), and private museums, of which the most important ones have already been mentioned: the Anastase Simu Museum in 1910, the Iancu Kalinderu Museum in 1914, and the Toma Stelian Museum in 1925.

Last but not least, in terms of the objects collected, noteworthy were the decorative art objects present in numerous collections, even though few consisted exclusively of this kind of artefacts. The interest in the decorative art of Europe, the Middle East and the Far East was captured in various newspapers of the time: "real Chinese tables, not imitations" were on sale at the C. A. Rosetti bookstore in 1850, next to English goods;³³ at the exhibition organised by the *Friends of the Fine Arts Society* in

³⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 83.

³¹ Ioana Cristache-Panait and Panait Ion Panait, "Începuturile muzeografiei la București," in *Revista Muzeelor*, 1/1966, p. 37.

³² *Idem*, p. 38.

³³ Apud Petre Oprea, *op. cit.*, p. 166.

1873, which was intended as a panorama of the country's artistic wealth,³⁴ there were presented crockery and furniture from China and Japan, some belonging to the royal collection of Carol I. Moreover, as George Stroe mentioned:

“(...) Later, our knowledge of Japan increased. At the summer festivals, we began to see multicolour lanterns, made of foil, spreading light “a giorno,” while the ladies of high society sold us fans and umbrellas, also multicolour and also made of foil, from Japan. Here and there a collector, driven by taste, decorated his house with vases of flowers and Japanese prints...”³⁵

The motivations underlying collectionism are as numerous as they are fascinating. In general, objects are collected so as to remove them from life and time, to defy thus the passage of time (which explains the desire of some artist collectors to integrate their final resting place in their own museum, as was the case of the Italian sculptor Antonio Canova³⁶); people also collect out of the desire to revive the past by collecting pieces thereof, reconstructing the puzzle of a past under study; each object is a way to reminisce.³⁷

Bernard Aikema³⁸ lists the following reasons: reputation, investment, religion, pleasure and curiosity. They are considered universal characteristics by Aikema, but Peter Burke believes that only the need to distinguish oneself is true reason conducive to collectionism, the need for “self-fashioning,” for promoting oneself, a reason to which is added the political dimension of collectionism: in the modern era, he says, collecting is a political act for a prince.³⁹ We should add to these motivations the one identified by Kenneth Hudson in his study presented at the Council of Europe, the Session on School and Extra-School Education, Strasbourg, 1992: *Musées: trésors ou utiles?*, according to which collectors began to collect historical and archaeological material, works of art and rare items for their own pleasure and information.⁴⁰

Equally important is the educational purpose of some collections. In Wallachia, as desired by the owner, Dr. Constantin Esarcu's collection was on permanent display at the Athenaeum to “contribute to the people's aesthetic education.”⁴¹ An outstanding personality of the political-cultural life in the nineteenth-century Bucharest, Dr. Esarcu (1836-1898) was the founder of several influential cultural societies of the period, including the *Friends of the Fine Arts Society* and the *Romanian Athenaeum Society*, which targeted the “instruction and national education the people.”⁴² Coming from an

³⁴ Idem, p. 166.

³⁵ George Stroe, “Revanșa doamnei Butterfly,” in *Revista Fundațiilor Regale*, no. 4/1934, p. 213.

³⁶ Cf. Alessandra Mottola Molino, *Il Libro dei Musei*, Torino: Umberto Allemandi & co., 1992.

³⁷ Krzysztof Pomian, *Collezionisti, amatori e curiosi (Parigi – Venezia XVI – XVIII secolo)*, Milano: Il Saggiatore, 2007, p. 18.

³⁸ Bernard Aikema, “Collezionismi a Venezia e nel Veneto. Risultati e prospettivi di ricerca,” in *Il collezionismo a Venezia e nel Veneto ai tempi della Serenissima*.

³⁹ Peter Burke, “Qualche riflessione sull'antropologia storica del collezionismo,” in *Il collezionismo a Venezia e nel Veneto ai tempi della Serenissima*.

⁴⁰ Iulia Mesea, “Premise ale dezvoltării vieții artistice la Sibiu în secolul al XIX-lea,” in *Sub zodia Vătășianu. Studii de Istoria Artei*, Cluj-Napoca: Ed. Neremiae, 2002, p. 159.

⁴¹ Petre Oprea, “Constantin Esarcu colecționar,” in *Revista Muzeelor*, 3/1970, p. 213.

⁴² Petre Oprea, *Colecționari de artă bucureșteni*, Bucharest, 2007, p. 20.

old boyar family, Esarcu inherited a small collection of foreign paintings that continuously enriched with numerous artefacts, starting from the period of his medical studies in Paris and, then, as a diplomat in Athens and Rome, acquiring both European and foreign paintings and sculptures, as well as decorative art, ceramics, copies after paintings and casts after famous sculptures.⁴³ Thanks to this collection, a few masterpieces of European art that entered the patrimony of the museum in 1948 can be seen today at MNAR: Jacopo Tintoretto - *The Annunciation*, David Teniers the Younger - *Flemish Interior*, Ludolf Backhuysen - *Marine*, etc.⁴⁴

With a similar fate, the Anastase Simu collection was exhibited to the public in a building/museum specifically created to accommodate it. Bestowed to the Romanian nation in 1927, the collection is valuable because it has works of art that are representative of European, especially French academic art, to which are added the most important works of the Romanian fine arts.⁴⁵ According to Petre Oprea, the collector's desire was "to shine on the firmament of the country, where cultural life was lagging, propelling it through a Maecenas' munificence"; after failing to get the attention of the official circles and the scientists as the member of cultural and scientific societies (the *Romanian Numismatic Society*, the *Romanian Geographical Society*, etc.), he decided to found a museum on his own. The works included in the collection were acquired, in a first phase, during his studies and leisure voyages, while after 1900, he began to programmatically make massive acquisitions of paintings and sculptures, from the official French Salons, from the studios of artists, art galleries or auctions: 24 in 1900, 13 in 1902, 10 in 1903 and so on; at the inauguration of the museum in 1910, the collection comprised a patrimony of 624 works, sculpture being very well represented. Among the names included in the collection, noteworthy are the Romanian artists Ioan Andreescu, Nicolae Grigorescu, Ștefan Luchian, Dimitrie Paciurea and the foreign artists A. L. Barye, C. M. Clodion, Pierre Gourdault, Laroche, Antoine Bourdelle, Eugene Delacroix, Theodore Rousseau, Paul Signac, etc.

In fact, the collectors' willingness to contribute to educating the public is highlighted by the display of collections, during the life of the owners, in specially designed buildings or even in their homes. We should mention here the Iancu Kalinderu collection, the Kogălniceanu collection and even the Toma Stelian Museum.⁴⁶ At the same time, we consider it important to note that many private art collections have this public nature, as they are created by private individuals for the benefit of the public.

⁴³ During the period under discussion, the purchase of copies did not have the pejorative meaning that it has today. Fashionable in the second half of the nineteenth century, copies were invested with artistic qualities and were considered almost as important as the original. In addition, given their educational purpose, they were often made by young artists by way of practice, while copies of classical sculptures were also used as models for them. For more on this, see the article of Al. Gh. Sonoc, Dorina Țiplic, Minodora Ban, "Unele observații cu privire la colecția de lucrări în ghips a Muzeului Național Brukenthal din Sibiu," in *Brukenthal. Acta Musei*, V.4/2010, p. 915.

⁴⁴ Maria Matache, *Maestrii picturii europene, secolele XV – XVIII. Muzeul Național de Artă al României*, Milano: Electa, 1998, *passim*.

⁴⁵ Petre Oprea, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

⁴⁶ The works for the construction of the Toma Stelian Museum building started while the politician was alive but did not end by the time of his death in 1925.

George Oprescu said about Bucharest in the early twentieth century that “proportionally with the number of inhabitants, I do not believe there is an important capital with a higher of public art collections...”⁴⁷ Although the collection of Baron Samuel von Brukenthal was created at Sibiu in the late eighteenth century, we cannot overlook its value as a model and its educational valences as an exhibition, especially as regards its gallery of paintings. “Conceived so as to enter into the cultural-scientific circuit, the collections of books, paintings, engravings, coins, ores and so on, have, from the outset, a cultural-educational vocation.”⁴⁸ Since 1790, the press had publicised the opportunity given to any interested person to visit the art gallery located on the second floor of the Palace - the Baron’s residence in Sibiu; at the inauguration of the museum in 1817, after the transformation of the Palace into a public institution by bequest, its visitation “should represent a happy occasion for people of genuine moral and spiritual value to know and respect each other.”⁴⁹

Another answer to the question “Why did people collect?” is that the intention was to protect and support the Romanian artists. Again, the collection of Al. Bogdan-Pitești is an example in this respect. I mentioned earlier that on his estate in the village of Vlaici painters could find everything they needed to create and express themselves. Moreover, in his house from Bucharest, young artists: writers, poets, musicians, painters, sculptors, were always welcome and encouraged, if the collector believed that the young men had talent. The most well-known example is that of the painter Ștefan Luchian, in whose genius Bogdan-Pitești believed and whom he supported through the purchase of works, in a period when the artist was quasi-unknown. Similarly, he encouraged the poet Tudor Arghezi and the painters Nicolae Tonitza and Ștefan Dimitrescu, so much so that his collection became a real museum of modern Romanian art,⁵⁰ at a time when the Anastase Simu Museum was erected in Bucharest - especially dedicated to academic art - and the Art Gallery of the was poor and modest.⁵¹ The latter, despite his passion for classicist art, advocated the cause of young artists before the officials on many occasions and supported them by buying their works. For instance, he acquired the work *At Maize Share* by Ștefan Luchian in 1906, when the officials refused to buy it and he also bought Constantin Brâncuși’s *Sleep*, in a period in which the works of the sculptor were criticised.⁵² Other collectors who programmatically protected young artists were E. Carada, Ioan D. Nicolau - the main supporter of Ștefan Luchian - etc.

Another reason underlying the formation of an art collection was the need to decorate one’s home in line with the European trends of the time. Although he was not particularly fond of the fine arts, Prince Carol I, who had a military background, began to form his own gallery of old art so as to decorate his palace in grandiose manner.⁵³ The works of art were housed both in the Royal Palace in Bucharest and in Peleş Castle

⁴⁷ George Oprescu, “Muzeul Toma Stelian,” in *Boabe de grâu*, 1931, p. 387.

⁴⁸ Iulia Mesea, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 160.

⁵⁰ Theodor Enescu, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

⁵¹ Petre Oprea, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

⁵² *Ibidem*, p. 61.

⁵³ *Ibidem*, p. 10.

from Sinaia, built by the royal family. Having an additional educational purpose, the works displayed at Peleş could be viewed by art lovers and young artists, who could use them in their studies.⁵⁴

Moreover, Nicolae Moret of Blaremburg, the nephew of Alexander Ghica, built a house “exclusively for his pleasure and for satisfying his fantasy as an artist”; his house was furnished with “art objects and paintings, almost all special orders for its embellishment.”⁵⁵ Also, Apostol Apostolide’s collection of paintings was originally formed to create a pleasant atmosphere during the musical auditions.⁵⁶ When speaking about the reasons underlying the forming of a collection, we should not neglect the collectors’ sheer pleasure of surrounding themselves with beautiful things. Dr. Nicolae Kalinderu, the collector, for instance, acquired work for his own pleasure, enjoying his purchases in secret; only rarely did his close friends have the opportunity to see some canvases in his collection.⁵⁷

The phenomenon of collectionism is fascinating and was adhered to by many Romanian intellectuals in the late nineteenth century. The characteristics of collectionism, with its peculiarities - the inevitable passion for local contemporary art - are consistent with those of European collectionism during that same period, as further evidence of the assimilation of European cultural values.

⁵⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 31.

⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 28.

⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 154.

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 27.

THE IMAGE OF THE JEWS FROM MARAMUREȘ DURING THE INTERWAR PERIOD. AN ORAL HISTORY STUDY

Abstract: The appearance of the Jews is a special characteristic that is most easily perceived, most obvious and least difficult to describe. It marks the passageway into a world that has its own rules, with roots that go back thousands of years and adaptations to the special conditions of the places and times in which the Jews have lived. Described according to two main coordinates, namely their physical characteristics (the colour of their eyes, hair and skin, or their build) and their costumes (their beard and hair styles, headdress, and garments), the appearance of the Jewish men, women and children differed during the interwar period from that of the Christian majority, including Romanians, Hungarians, Ukrainians, or Scepusian Saxons. Based on the collective memory, the bibliography and the archives or electronic sources, we have outlined this thin outer layer in the vast domain concerning the image of the Jews from Maramureș.

In this study we have attempted to shed light on a few quandaries and to render, as accurately as possible, aspects of lived history, of a bygone world in which the Jews played a significant role and were visible especially because their outstanding appearance.

Keywords: Jews, Maramureș, the interwar period, oral history, imagology.

This oral history research - which aimed to outline the image of the Jews from Maramureș in the collective memory and was carried out between 2005 and 2012, when it was completed as a PhD Thesis coordinated by Prof. Dr. Doru Radosav from the Faculty of History and Philosophy, Babeș-Bolyai University - is based on the testimonies of 71 people, both Jews and Christians (Romanians, Hungarians, Ukrainians), who were born between 1919 and 1970. The reference space is the present-day county of Maramureș, a territory that is much more familiar today both for the witnesses and for the researcher, given that its administrative organisation underwent two changes during the interwar years - in 1926 and 1938 - and several others during the communist period - in 1950, 1952 and 1968; this led to the reconfiguration of the area that geographically included the interwar Maramureș County and parts of Satu Mare, Sălaj and Someș Counties.

The research also captured, among other important issues, the manner in which the Jews who once lived in Maramureș were perceived in terms of their appearance and the elements that distinguished them from the Christians, from the very first sight.

In this article we have tried to provide an overview of this subject, focusing only on the interwar period as a temporal segment, because it is in stark contrast with the appearance of today's Jews from Maramureș, our contemporaries, who are hardly distinguishable in their outward appearance from the Christian majority. Their clothing,

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features, and their way of being are much like the Christians'. However, what has remained imprinted in the collective memory is the appearance of the Jews from the interwar period, with inherent variations due to the material situation, which implicitly also entailed their social position, the urban or rural milieus in which they lived, the size of the community from which they came and the degree of the group's religiosity: ultra-Orthodox, Neolog (sometimes different groups dwelt within one and the same community, which were usually gathered together around a rabbi but among which disputes could sometimes break out - the case of Sighet). The question is whether the different appearance of the Jews was the result of genetically transmitted physical characteristics or it was a matter of a particular outward aspect being shaped by compliance with certain commandments, traditions, or religious customs. We have therefore decided to analyse separately these two important components of the overall appearance of the Jews in the interwar period, starting from the general - scientific researches, stereotypes - to the particular - real examples of lived experiences.

1. Physical features

By way of introduction to this subject, which appears to be uncomplicated and accessible, we should mention that there is an entire history of research conducted on the so-called "racial" characteristics of the Jews in Europe or the world. These features were used by the anti-Semites to justify the Holocaust both before and after its perpetration. However, Jewish researchers have also carried out studies attempting to identify the common traits of the Jews in order to demonstrate "their racial purity."

Thanks to a detailed review published in the journal *Science*² in 1885, I became aware of an article published in *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain* in 1884, entitled "Racial Characteristics of Jews" and written by Joseph Jacobs,³ nearly 60 years before the Holocaust. (Through a technique that was famous at the time, a well-known photographer made a composite portrait by overlaying several photographs of Jewish teenagers, who were not related by kinship and came from several different countries; the resulting portrait, Jacobs believes, is "the nearest representation of the lad Samuel, or the youthful David. He also identifies the features of the captive Jews of Lachish in the Assyrian bas relief (B. C. 701)."⁴ The observations and measurements made on these teen students, from the middle social layers, reveals that "they have fewer blue and grey-eyed individuals, and more brown and dark-eyed, than their Teutonic neighbours. So also their hair and skin are darker. [...] The common notion as to length of nose is supported by measurements, while that of the thickness of the lips is not."⁵

² *Science*, vol. 6, no. 140, (9 Oct. 1885), 322-324, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1760776>, accessed 28 October 2012.

³ Joseph Jacobs 1854-1916, a Jewish historian, folklorist and literary critic, born in Australia, who in 1900 became editor of the *Jewish Encyclopedia* (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Joseph_Jacobs, accessed October 2012).

⁴ Review, *Racial Characteristics of Jews*, in *Science*, vol. 6, no. 140, (9 Oct. 1885), 323, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1760776>, accessed 28 October 2012.

⁵ *Ibidem*.

Such studies undertaken by Jewish scholars in the late nineteenth century were also mentioned by Daniel Vyleta, citing articles from the Zionist newspaper *Die Welt* (5, 12 and 19 July 1901) in which Jews were characterised as small in stature, with short limbs and thick lips, with black hair and dark eyes, brachycephalous (bevelled) skulls, excessive facial and body hair, broad foreheads, large noses and small chests. Jews were described as a race of workers with a weak constitution, intelligent yet not creative.⁶

Studies of this kind also appeared in Romania, evincing the general tendency to divide the world's population from an anthropological point of view; a Jewish man, by the name of Henric Sanielevici, wrote in 1920: "The typical Jew - just like the Armenian - appears to be of stocky build, with broad shoulders, a short neck and a round head, very carnivorous and very impulsive and precipitated in speech. The tenacity of the Jew, which so much has been written about, derives also from the great development of the will centres; for persecutions to bolster his tenacity, it was necessary for the Jew to have the tenacity to withstand such persecutions in the first place."⁷

At the end of the twentieth century, Josy Eisenberg, a French rabbi, claimed that these features were invented with the advent of anti-Semitism: "The Jews are no different from their neighbours either by name or by specific physical features or clothing. Obviously, 'the Jewish type,' with a hooked nose and a demoniacal gaze, which has appeared in caricatures since the twelfth century, is a projection and does not correspond to reality, as it was accurately rendered by the Christian artists of the early Middle Ages."⁸

What I have attempted to find out in this research is if the Jews of Maramureş differed in any respect from the others, if an awareness of the differences between the Jews and the Christians has remained imprinted in the collective memory and if these aspects are related to the respondents' personal experience, memories, or were influenced by the knowledge they subsequently acquired.

Frequently, the responses contain descriptions of the Jews' outward appearance pertaining to religious characteristics, and only at the interviewers' insistence are details of physiognomy given: "Somethin' like they was speckl'd, they 'ad somethin' on their faces, some of 'em was reddish, with elongated faces" (Timiş Ion, Rozavlea).

The stereotypes related to the image of the Jews are almost entirely ignored, as the respondents focus on another "problem" that Romanian peasants related to the Jews: the latter's avoidance of work in the fields, which was reflected in their appearance. "Jus' 'bout all 'em Jews, 'cause I was little back then, 'em was all white 'n' red. 'Cause 'em woudn't get out in the sun. Their 'ole lives was spent in the shade" (Mârza Toader, Rozavlea).

Danci Ion, 85, a former guard at the town hall in Săcel, recalls: "But there was beautiful Jewish girls. My oh my!" AP: "But what did they look like? Blondes,

⁶ M. Kreuzer, 'Über anthropologische, physiologische und pathologische Eigenheiten der Juden', apud Daniel Vyleta, "Jewish Crimes and Misdemeanours: In Search of Jewish Criminality (Germany and Austria, 1890-1914)," in *European History Quarterly*, no. 35/2, 2005, p. 304.

⁷ Henric Sanielevici, *Probleme sociale și psihologice*, Bucharest: Soccec & Co, 1920, p. 116, www.dacoromanica.com, accessed October 2012.

⁸ Josy Eisenberg, *O istorie a evreilor*, Bucharest: Ed. Humanitas, 2006, p. 186.

redheads, brunettes?” DI: “All races, but most of ‘em were spongy. I don’t know how to tell ya... with ‘em spots.” The language used makes us believe that this respondent used no sources other than his own observation.

Jewish girls caught the eye because of their beautiful, curly hair or unexpected associations thereof: “They were dark-haired and blue-eyed, very rich, curly [hair], very beautiful. There were also redheads, but generally they were brunettes, the ones I met.” (Dăncuș Mihai, Sighetu-Marmației)

The descriptions are appreciative and the references to these genetic traits have no racist overtones: “The neighbour had extraordinarily luscious hair, a wonderful auburn, but very curly, like black women’s hair. I had a classmate, also Jewish, Berta Isacovits. They had very beautiful hair; I don’t not know what they did and what their genetic baggage was, but they had extraordinarily beautiful hair” (Sarkady Elisabeta, Sighetu Marmației).

The beauty of this hair during the teen years makes all the more significant the Jewish women’s relinquishment of this special ornament after marriage.⁹

Some Jews who were redheads stood out: “Cause his pap’s call’d Iancu’s Red. He was red. His hair, his beard, ‘twas red, all of ‘im” (Mârza Ioana, Rozavlea). The natural conclusion is that like Christians, Jews looked like their parents and, because of this, their features could be different: “Well now, every chip off its own old block. One was like this, another one like that” (Mârza Ioana, Rozavlea); never did the respondents make any remark concerning membership to a different race.

The Jews interviewed in this research often claimed that they could easily pass for Romanians, both their appearance and their names contributing to their inclusion in another group: “Apșan was a very Romanian name. I could speak Romanian very well and they sometimes didn’t realise I wasn’t Romanian and I liked to take them in about it” (Dora Apșan Sorell, Sighet).

Given the memory of racial purification that Hitler relied upon in initiating and committing the Holocaust, physical descriptions sometimes emphatically refuted that theory, outlining the irony of fate (given that many of the people described were killed in extermination camps): “My father was a handsome man, and my mother was beautiful too, both looked like Arians, both had blue eyes. I had very beautiful parents” (Margareta Mezei, Sighetu Marmației).

The testimonies collected do not confirm the existence of a stereotype entrenched in the mentality of Christians today; this is attested by references to the huge stature of the Jews. “That ol’ man, that Lazăr, was as big as a mountain. Well, it depends, there wasn’t a rule. They could be smaller and thinner, or they could be stouter. Especially those who were poor, who lived scantily, ‘cause they had many kids, they couldn’t make ends meet to keep them up and were more wretched” (Tureanu Ion, Copalnic Mănăștur). Mihai Dăncuș remembers the Jews: “They were very stout in terms of anthropological structure. They looked great.” About his Jewish classmates, with whom he squabbled during the breaks, Tureanu Cornel says: “Them was weak and

⁹ A topic more extensively approached in “Ipostaze ale femeii evreice în Maramureșul interbelic,” in *Anuarul de Istorie Orală*, XIII/2013, forthcoming.

feeble. Skinny, they were, like that, but we, on the other hand, were many and mightier.”

While the people interviewed, both Jews and Christians, had a general attitude that was quite restrained about highlighting the differences pertaining to the Jews’ physical traits, many more details were given about what really stood out in their appearance, more precisely their clothing and headdress, the way they let their beard or side-locks grow, all of these aspects being described more fully below.

2. Outward appearance

The typical appearance of a Jewish man during the interwar period was sober: almost all his garment items were black or dark, including the trousers, the vest and/or jacket, depending on the season, a long, light or warm overcoat, all black, the only spot of colour being the white shirt. “Long black clothes. Their shoes could barely be seen on ‘count of the clothes they wore’” (Tureanu Ion, Copalnic Mănăstur). Most of the times they wore curly side-locks under a black hat, whose shape and the fabric it was made of varied according to the individual’s social and religious status. Women and children were dressed in city clothes, but in richer colours: “For the rest of the time, women wore more colourful, polka dot dresses, but men wouldn’t wear colours. Men tended to go for black and white and nothing else, they wore no colours” (Timiș Ioan, Rozavlea).

After the war, the economic plight of ordinary peasants throughout Transylvania, but especially in Maramureș, an area that was almost isolated from the rest of the country, determined them to focus on their household products, for both food and clothing purposes. Hemp, wool and animal hides were used by the peasants to manufacture all their everyday and holiday garments. The differences were much more blatant in the rural areas, as the Jews preferred to buy their clothes or have them tailored after the fashion and with the fabrics used in making clothes for the city dwellers. “The peasants wore folk costumes specific to Maramureș, while the Jews had urban garments but also characteristic outfits” (Dăncuș Mihai). The clothes worn by the Jews were therefore called “gentlemanly,” “intellectual” and, by extension, also “Jewish”: “By contrast, they ‘ad gentlemanly clothes, bu’ the peasants back then call’ed ‘em Jewish” (Dunca Dumitru, Șieu). What is interesting is the chromatic difference between the Romanians’ clothes, made of hemp and white and gray wool, and the Jews’ sober, black, purchased clothes: “The Zhids wore trousers, a jacket, they had Jewish caps. Our folk would wear only hand-woven clothing, slacks, trousers made of wool, all ashen. The Zhids wore only black” (Măț Măricuța, Moisei). The peasants claim that *opanți*, a symbol of backwardness, were avoided and totally despised: “We, Romanians, all wore *opanți*, but they, no matter how wretched they may have been, they’d rather walk barefoot but not wear *opanți*... ‘Twas as if they were loathsome, ‘cause they’re call’d ‘boșcoroș’ in Hungarian, much like ‘optincosule’ (*opanți* wearer) in Romanian” (Tureanu Cornel, Copalnic Mănăstur).

Some of the interviewees stated that city clothes, which were probably quite expensive at the time, were dirty, unkempt: “Overall, during the Sabbath days, they were cleaner, better dressed, but they didn’t pay much for clothing. You should know they were dirty like that, usually” (Dunca Dumitru, Șieu).

This tendency of the Jews not to attach great importance to their garments is also underlined by Ioan J. Popescu: “Their consumption of everything is very low. Throughout their entire lifetime, they had only one pair of trousers, so much so that one could no longer tell what the trousers had been made of, since there were so many patches.”

Wearing the kippah or a wig was a specific custom of all the Jews, but, as the interviewees specified, in time these features remained the attribute of zealots, especially in the urban settlements: “Every day they dressed like anyone else. But on Saturdays they wore different attire. More beautiful, cleaner. But you could count on your fingers how many had side-locks” (Anonymous).

Living in Sighet, “My father had a small beard, he never had *paisli*, at home he always wore a shiny black kippah, while in the street he wore a hat” (Dora Apşan Sorell).

Apparently this kippah “was only instituted in Talmudic times (approximately the second century CE). The first mention of it is in *Tractate Shabbat*, which discusses respect and fear of God. [...] The head covering is also a sign of humility for men, acknowledging what’s ‘above’ us.”¹⁰

In the villages, not only the rabbi or ultra-religious persons, but all the Jews wore side-locks, as modernisation, emancipation made a late appearance: “How could I not tell them apart in the street? They were Jews, had twisted side-locks and all that. We, the peasants, said to them: ‘Listen here, you have side-locks like the Zhids!’ We call ‘em *chiţi*, others call ‘em side-locks” (Gonda Gheorghe from Săcel).

We have made a brief introduction to the symbolism of these characteristic elements pertaining to the religious Jews, based on the literature and the information available on the internet.

The names given to these strands of hair vary in the descriptions given by the peasants from Maramureş (“paisli,” side-locks, “twisted side-locks,” “chiţi”), which coincide with those in the description of the ethnographer Dimitrie Dan, made in 1899, quoted by A. Oişteanu: “The brown hair on the head is cropped short or even shaved with the razor. Sometimes the hair has a fair coloration, or even a red one. Close to the ears, the hair on the head is not cropped, but long plaits are allowed to grow, which are always crimped and are called *peoth*, side or margin or ‘side-locks.’ These locks are of the prescribed length when their ends can reach each other under the beard. The beard and moustaches are never shaven nor cropped, but are worn in their natural length.”¹¹

In the scientific literature, they can be found under the name “paysis,” “payos” or “pe’ot,” “side-locks” in English or “papillotte” in French.

In the Jewish Encyclopedia, their explanation is as follows: “PE’OT (plural of ‘pe’ah’ = ‘segment,’ ‘side,’ ‘border’): Side-locks worn by Jewish men, especially those of Poland and Russia. Strictly conforming themselves to the Biblical precept in Lev. xix.

¹⁰ <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/Judaism/Kippah.html>, accessed October 2012.

¹¹ Dimitrie Dan, *Evreii din Bucovina, Studiu istoric, cultural, etnografic și folcloric*, Cernăuți: Ed. Autorului, 1899, *apud* A. Oişteanu, *Imaginea evreului în cultura română*, Bucharest: Ed. Humanitas, 2001, p. 52. English translation in A. Oişteanu, *Inventing the Jew. Antisemitic Stereotypes in Romanian and Other Central-East European Cultures*. Trans. Mirela Adascalitei. Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 2009, p. 46.

27, they allowed the hair to grow on both sides of the head and to hang down in curls or ringlets. The cutting of the side-locks was considered a heathen custom; therefore this law, as interpreted by some authorities, forbids the removal of the side-locks with a razor or the clipping of them with scissors [...]. According to Maimonides, [...] one is allowed to cut off hair of the side-locks with scissors. For many centuries most of the Eastern European Jews observed this Biblical law; but in 1845 Czar Nicholas I of Russia decreed that his Jewish subjects should no longer wear either the Polish-Jewish costume or side-locks. Forcible means were used to enforce this ukase; nevertheless the side-locks are still extensively worn by Jews of Eastern Europe, as also of the Orient. Today some of the Ḥasidim also obey the Biblical law.”¹² Aside from explanations within the reach of all, there are also deeper meanings:

“Payot are considered to have mystical importance too, forming a symbolic separation between the front part of the brain (which is said to govern abstract thought) from the back part (which is said to govern and control the body). This is very much part of the Jewish tradition of keeping separate the holy and everyday life.”¹³

The Jews of the city consider themselves, almost without exception, religious but a little emancipated, which is apparently a general rule in the communities from the Maramureș area. “They weren’t zealots, Dad wore a small beard, that’s all, I even have a picture of my dad, what he looked like then” (Golda Solomon, Sighetu Marmatei). “My parents were Orthodox not Hasidic, that is they moderately complied fully with the prescriptions of the Torah and all the Jewish laws” (Markovits Paul, Baia Mare). However, emancipation was often due to advancement in social life and overcoming anonymity. “You can’t say that a high-class doctor, a lawyer of great renown or an engineer who is a factory manager could be ultra-religious” (Markovits Paul, Baia Mare).

Especially in the urban communities, alongside emancipation¹⁴ there was a phenomenon of the loss of the numinous, which Jean Baechler defines as the “movement whereby the sphere of the sacred is slowly eroded by that of the profane, to the point that it vanishes almost completely.”¹⁵ Both the wearing of specific costumes and other traditions are gradually ignored: “In Lăpuș only two Jewish families did not keep a kosher household, two lawyers: Dr. Samo Biro and Dr. Harnic. They were not religious at all, never went to the synagogue and did not eat kosher food” (Bernat Sauber, Târgu Lăpuș).

This is the same concept that Max Weber called *Entzauberung*, “desacralisation (disenchantment of the world).”¹⁶ This process of assimilation, which took place during a period of tolerance, of normalcy as regards the minority policies, dissolved differences:

¹² http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/12014-pe-ot_ accessed October 2012.

¹³ http://wiki.answers.com/Q/What_is_the_history_of_Jewish_payis, accessed October 2012.

¹⁴ A topic developed in Aura Comănescu (Pintea), “Between Tradition and Emancipation – Jewish Communities in Marmureș during the Interwar Period” in *Transylvanian Review*, vol. XX, Supplement no. 2:2, 2011. Edited by Oana Mihaela Tămaș, Cluj-Napoca Ed. Romanian Academy, Center for Transylvanian Studies.

¹⁵ Jean Baechler, the chapter entitled “Religia” in Raymond Boudon, *Tratat de Sociologie*, Bucharest: Ed. Humanitas, p. 539.

¹⁶ Max Weber, *Etica protestantă și spiritul capitalismului*, Bucharest: Ed. Humanitas, 1993.

“The very beneficence of the surrounding environment tends to diminish the Jews’ attachment to specific Jewish practices, languages, traditions and values, exception being made, sometimes, in the case of the latter, in the sense that values are reinterpreted in such a manner that they are effaced, emptied of meaning, reduced to a vague trace of Jewish specificity.”¹⁷

These factors increasingly led to the loss of the distinctive traditional features of Jewish appearance, to the extent that these images from the past are beginning to fade in the memory of the witnesses. Here is an interesting moment captured by the journalist Ioan J. Popescu in Sighet in 2011, which would appear to illustrate the fact that the subconscious of the Christians from this town, where the Jews used to represent the majority, still harbours misunderstood memories, a residual memory that has led the former to accept and not be at all surprised by the invasion of several hundred characters coming, as it were, straight from the past:

“Last year in February there came 255 rabbis, including Chief Rabbi Ruv Aaron Teitelbaum. What was interesting, and I myself watched this, as did my fellow journalists, was how the population accepted this invasion, these rabbis who seemed to have come out of the screen. The vast majority of the population had seen them only on TV and in movies. They did not react. It was somewhat natural that the people of Sighet should not have turned their heads. Here and there a kid would turn its head. And then, when Aron Teitelbaum returned to the Community, he said that he had also been surprised by this. He said it was the first time and it was the only area he had visited for the relics where the population welcomed them back as if they had never left” (Ioan J. Popescu, Sighetu Marmăției).

Since it is in Sighet that there are plans to build, in the near future, the first synagogue in Europe since the Holocaust, the presence of the religious Jews will soon become not only a matter of habit, but also an opportunity for older people to remember more easily sequences from the past concerning the appearance and the life of the Jews in Maramureș.

This segment of the image of the Jews from Maramureș, the easiest to observe and describe, represented - for many of those who lived in and witnesses the period from the beginning of the previous century (when the Jewish population was significant in the area) - both a source of curiosity and a situation of normalcy to be found in their immediate vicinity. Although the most obvious visual impact was that made by garments, the memories of the interviewees also preserve anatomical details (skin, eye, hair colour), often accompanied by comments revealing surprise: “See, now that you’ve asked me, I remember” (Mârza Ioana, Rozavlea). Even these details have underlayers of meaning that complete the image of the Jews from a psychological and behavioural perspective (a pale complexion is interpreted as the result of laziness.)

For today’s generation, the shreds of memory sometimes elicited by insistence and using special techniques borrowed from sociology and psychology, from elderly people with age-specific issues, are genuine documents that will be preserved in the archives (both our personal archive and the archive of the Oral History Institute of Cluj-

¹⁷ Bernard Wasserstein, *Dispariția disporei, Evreii din Europa începând cu 1945*, Iași: Ed. Polirom, 2000, p. 214.

Napoca) and can be reused when needed. The interwar history of Maramureș would be incomplete and false if the Jewish presence and activity in this area were not mentioned and illustrated with lived stories; as long as their collection is still possible, it is both necessary and desirable today, when dry historical data no longer attract young people towards knowing their past.

**BISHOP DR. H. C. AUGUSTIN PACHA
AND THE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC DIOCESE OF TIMIȘOARA (1923-1948)
(PART I)**

Abstract: The theological seminary from the Diocese of Cenad made its presence felt starting from the second half of the eighteenth century, after the liberation of the diocesan territory (the Banat and the Arad area) from Ottoman occupation and the revitalisation of religious life amongst the Roman Catholics in this corner of Europe. With the school administered by the Cathedral Chapter of Cenad as its precursor, the modern Theological Seminary in Timișoara was opened, in 1806, after numerous efforts, by Bishop Ladislaus Köszeghy. Originally housed in the former residence of the Jesuit monks, near St. George's Church, this academic institute was endowed with a modern edifice in the summer of 1914, benefiting from increasingly competitive teachers and education methods.

Keywords: theological academy, seminary, diocese, Pacha, bishop

Introduction.² The situation of the Theological Seminary³ in 1948

An institution with particular relevance in the life of a diocese, whether Roman Catholic or of any other denomination, is the *seminary* or *theological academy*, an academic institution whose primary purpose is to educate the local, indigenous clergy. The Roman Catholic Diocese of Timișoara benefited from such an institution, at university level, until the fateful year 1948. To illustrate its standing and situation in the aforementioned year, we shall render here the data collected from the 1948 Diocesan Schematism, which has, for a long time, been the last one edited in the Banatian diocese.

In 1948, the rector of the seminary was the Reverend Professor Dr. Adalbert Boros,⁴ the holder of two doctorates obtained in Rome in the late 1930s; Professor

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² This study is divided into two parts: an overview of the establishment and evolution of this theological institute of university rank from the medieval period until the end of World War I (the material published in the present issue of AMN), and an overview of the evolution of the Roman Catholic Theological Academy from Timișoara, under the pastorate of Bishop Augustin Pacha, from 1923 until 1950, when the seminary was effectively dismantled, having become clandestine in 1948 (a material to be published later).

³ The institute was currently titled, at that time, as: the "Roman Catholic Theological Academy." The name of seminary was used in parallel with that of academy.

⁴ *Adalbert Boros* (1908-2003). He was born on 20 September 1908, at Pădureni, Arad County (Chișineu Criș today). He attended the Piarist High School in Timișoara, receiving the Baccalaureate diploma in 1926. He began the study of theology at the Theological Academy in Timișoara, from where he was sent to Rome (1926-1934). Here he graduated in Philosophy and Theology from the Pontifical Gregorian University, as an alumnus of the "Germanicum et Hungaricum de Urbe" College and was ordained as a priest in the Eternal City on 30 October 1932. Here he obtained two doctorates, in Theology and Philosophy. He later taught at the Roman Catholic Theological Academy in Timișoara, as Professor of Philosophy and Dogmatics. Dr. Adalbert Boros was the last rector of the Roman Catholic Theological

Boros was also a Professor of Theology, a member of the Diocesan Tribunal (Consistory), a prosinodal examiner for the priests who had to take certain exams during their first years in service, a member of the examination board for religion teachers and a diocesan censor. Adalbert Boros was also the official spiritual (confessor) of the seminary. The next position, that of the prefect of studies, was occupied by Rev. Dr. Josef Schwarz,⁵ a Doctor of Theology, a professor, a member of the examination board for religion teachers and a diocesan censor. The faculty and the distribution by study

Academy in Timișoara, having been appointed to this position in late 1947 by Bishop Dr. h. c. Augustin Pacha, after the death of the late rector Dr. Josef Korner. On 14 January 1948, he received from Pope Pius XII the title of papal chamberlain, and on 5 May 1949 he was appointed by the same Roman pontiff as senior canon in the Cathedral Chapter of Timișoara. In November 1948 he was secretly appointed as titular Bishop of Ressiania and auxiliary Bishop of Timișoara, being clandestinely consecrated on 12 December of the same year in the chapel of the Apostolic Nunciature in Bucharest, by the regent of the Apostolic Nunciature, Archbishop Gerald Patrick O'Hara. He kept the secret of his consecration, but having been suspected by the communists that he had received this honour, he was arrested on 10 March 1951, and was sentenced in the same show-trial with his diocesan Bishop Augustin Pacha. He received one of the harshest sentences passed against the members of the "Pacha Lot": "forced labour and civic demotion for life." He served his unjust sentence until 4 August 1964, when he was released following a pardon from the Penitentiary in Gherla. After his release, the first path he embarked on took him directly from the prison gate to the shrine from Maria Radna, as a sign of gratitude for the protection the Blessed Virgin had given him during the years of detention. After being released from prison, he worked as a chaplain in Timișoara III Parish - Elisabetin, never being officially accepted as a bishop by the Romanian state, even after 1989. His Holiness Pope John Paul II appointed him titular Archbishop of Ressiania on 14 March 1990. Also starting from 1990, Archbishop Boros became provost of the reactivated Cathedral Chapter, continuing his activity, which he had also carried out during the woeful era of communism, as an official of the Diocesan Tribunal. Although invited by the Holy See to take part in the works of the Second Vatican Council on 31 August 1965, the communist authorities did not allow him to go to Rome. During the years after 1989, he strove to get a new appeal to the sentence pronounced in his trial of September 1951 and his rehabilitation, being successful in both endeavours on 19 March 1997. He died on 6 June 2003, at the age of 95, after 70 years of priesthood, 55 years of episcopate and 13 years of archiepiscopate. See: Claudiu Călin, "Procesul episcopului Augustin Pacha și al membrilor Aulei Episcopale Romano-Catolice de Timișoara – portrete și destine din arhivele episcopiei timișorene," in Cosmin Budeancă, Florentin Olteanu (eds.), *Destine Individuale și Colective în Comunism*, Iași: Polirom, 2013, pp. 121-122.

⁵ *Josef Schwarz* (1915-1967). He was born at Șagul (Arad County). He attended the Banatia Roman Catholic German High School in Timișoara, obtaining his Baccalaureate in 1934. He attended theological studies in Innsbruck, Austria, in the Canisianum Jesuit College. He was ordained as a priest in Sion-Sitten, Switzerland, on 9 June 1940, where he completed his academic training in 1941, when he obtained his PhD in Theology. In 1942 he was appointed chaplain in Reșița, and from 31 October 1946 he worked as a Professor and Prefect of Studies at the Theological Academy in Timișoara. In 1947 he was appointed confessor of the Timișoara penitentiary. On 5 April 1951 he was appointed as notary of the Diocesan Tribunal by Vicar General Josef Plesz (with the mention that the latter acted in the canonical situation of *sede impedita*). He taught at the diocesan seminary in the years 1948-1950 too, being later appointed chaplain in Timișoara III Elisabetin, Timișoara II Fabric, and Timișoara V Mehala. On 18 September 1954, Bishop Pacha, released from jail, officially appointed him notary of the Diocesan Tribunal, the substitute ordinary Konrad Kernweisz appointing him in 1964 as honorary assessor of this diocesan body, with the privilege of wearing the red belt. In 1962 he was appointed parish priest at Cărani (Timiș County), where he died on 25 November 1967, at the age of 52. See: *Schematismus Cleri Dioecesis Timișoaraensis pro Anno Domini 1948*, Timișoara, Typis Typographiae "Victoria", 1948, p. 123; *Archivum Dioecesanum Timisoarense [ADT]*, Fond Personalialia, Package "Sch 3", Personalialia "Josef Schwarz (1915-1967)", a file containing documents referring to the person of the priest Schwarz for the period 1934-1962, unnumbered.

subjects was as follows: Rev. Dr. Ferdinand Cziza,⁶ who had been appointed as Professor of Canon Law and Moral Theology, was a Doctor of Theology, prosinodal examiner, a member of the examination board for religion teachers and a diocesan censor. For teaching Bible Study, the tenured professor was the already mentioned Rev. Dr. Josef Schwarz. Dogmatic Theology and Philosophy were the prevalent fields of study and the subjects assigned to Rev. Dr. Adalbert Boros, the rector of the seminary. Rev. Dr. Anton Schultzer taught Church History and Pastoral Theology, and he was a Doctor of Theology, a member of the Diocesan Tribunal, a prosinodal examiner, a member of the examination board for religion teachers and a diocesan censor. *Cantus Liturgicus* or Liturgical Chant was taught by Rev. Emeric Vormittag, the succentor of the Cathedral Chapter and a chaplain in the Timișoara I Cetate parish.⁷

⁶ *Ferdinand Cziza* (1915-1993). He was born in Lendava (Hung. Alsólendva), today in Slovenia, but grew up at Oravița (Caraș-Severin County). He attended the Banatia Roman Catholic German High School, Timișoara, where he obtained his Baccalaureate in 1933. He began his theological studies at Innsbruck, in the same year, at the Faculty of Theology of the university in this city. From 1936, he continued them in Rome, at the Pontifical Gregorian University, as a student of the Germanicum-Hungaricum College. He took a degree in Philosophy “cum laude” in the same year and one in Theology “magna cum laude” in 1940. It was also at the Gregoriana that he received his doctorate on 16 July 1941, with the theme “The Eucharistic Worship in the Byzantine-Romanian Rite.” On 1 September 1941, he was appointed as a chaplain in Timișoara II Fabric and on 1 September 1943 he was transferred to the Theological Academy as confessor of the seminary and professor. In July 1944, he was confessor of the nuns from the Notre Dame de Sion Congregation, who had been evacuated from Iași to Oravița because of the war. In 1946 he became the manciple of the academy, *advocatus pauperum* at the Ecclesiastical Tribunal and diocesan censor. In 1947 he received the appointment of prosinodal examiner and member of the examination board for the teachers of religion. Between 1948 and 1950 he activated as a professor of the diocesan seminary, and from 1951-1956 he was sent to Alba Iulia, as a professor at the theological seminary there. Already in April 1951 he was appointed as promoter of justice and defender of the marriage bond (*defensor vinculi*) at the Ecclesiastical Tribunal by the vicar general and the substitute ordinary Josef Plesz. Subsequently, also in 1951, he was appointed provicar and vicar general by the substitute ordinary Iván Frigyér (who succeeded at the helm of the diocese after Josef Plesz was arrested). It was imperative that the vicar general authority for Timișoara should be exercised in Alba Iulia because according to the communist legislation, this diocese had to assume authority over the “former” Diocese of Timișoara, but also because Frigyér had declared on 1 December 1951 that he intended to entrust Cziza with the office of ordinary, as he had remained a parish priest in Timișoara VI Fratelia (even though Frigyér had continued to sign documents as *ordinarius substitutus*). In this sense, the presence of Cziza in Alba Iulia ensured his contribution as a professor at the seminary there, as well as the assistance he could provide to the holder of the jurisdiction in Alba Iulia as a connoisseur of the realities in the Diocese of Timișoara. On 11 July 1954, he was appointed vicar general by Bishop Augustin Pacha, who had recently been released from prison. This appointment was clearly made out of the bishop desire and for practical reasons, as Cziza had long been recognised by the state as the “archpriest-secretary.” He remained a vicar general during the period of the ordinaries Konrad Kernweisz (1954-1981), Ferdinand Hauptmann (1981-1983) and Sebastian Kräuter (1983-1990), who were recognised as “archpriests.” In 1963, he was awarded the “Star of the Romanian People’s Republic.” On 14 November 1972, he was appointed domestic prelate of the Holy Father, the Pope. In August 1990, he submitted his resignation and requested retirement and excardination from the Diocese of Timișoara, emigrating to Germany. Here he served as a retired priest at Auchsesheim between 1991 and 1993. He died on 6 June 1993 in Augsburg and was buried in Auchsesheim. See: *Schematismus 1948*, p. 105; Anton Peter Petri, *Biographisches Lexikon des Banater Deutschtums*, Th. Breit Druck+Verlag GmbH, Marquartstein, 1992, column 286; *ADT, Fond Personalia Vicarii Generales*, Dosar Personalială “Ferdinand Tivadar Cziza (1915-1993)”, a file comprising documents regarding the person of Vicar Cziza for the period 1930-1993, unnumbered.

⁷ *Schematismus 1948*, pp. 15, 18-19.

In 1948, the relatively young Professor Ferdinand Cziza was the manciple of the Theological Academy, in the sense that he was responsible for the administrative aspects of the edifice, for ensuring the conditions of accommodation, food and study. The “deputies” for discipline the seminary were the canons Josef Waltner and Josef Nischbach, while for the administrative part, in connection with the manciple, were the parish priests Geza Carol Rech, from the parish Timișoara II Fabric, and Georg Wetzl, from the parish Timișoara IV Iosefin.⁸ This organization scheme of the Theological Academy was the last before the abusive dismantlement of this institution of denominational education at university level. The details and the steps taken by the communist authorities for closing down the institute and confiscating the entire edifice belonging to the academy will be described in the present study. First, however, is certainly imperative that we should take a look into the over two-century long past of the Theological Academy in Timișoara, with particular emphasis on its operation during the pastorate of Bishop Dr. h. c. Augustin Pacha.

Precursors of the Theological Academy in Timișoara. Between the school of the Cathedral Chapter of Cenad, founded by sf. Gerhard of Sagredo in 1030, and the nineteenth-century Theological Seminary

With the establishment of the old Diocese of Cenad in 1030 by the Holy King St. Stephen of Hungary and the Holy Gerhard of Sagredo, the first Bishop of *Urbs Morisena*, the Cathedral Chapter of St. George was also founded. The ones who were appointed to the dignity of canons, members of the chapter, were none other than the Benedictine monks, who had arrived along with Bishop Gerhard in his new episcopal city. They were: *Stephanus, Anselmus, Conradus, Albertus, Ulricus, Walterus, Crato, Tazlo, Philippus, Henricus, Leonardus* and *Concius*.⁹ They came from the Benedictine monasteries of Pécs, Zalavár, Bakonybél and Pannonhalma. These canons, with a background of erudite Benedictine monks, formed the first teaching staff of the capitular school, the precursor of the modern theological seminary, founded by Saint Gerhard besides his cathedral and his chapter. From one of the versions of the *Great Legend (Legends Major)* of St. Gerard, we learn about the foundation of this medieval school, which initially had only one professor (*magister*) and later two. Mentioned as having filled this position are the canons Walterus and Henricus,¹⁰ who taught subjects like reading, writing (the Latin language), and music or chanting, the school playing a prominent role in the formation of the diocesan clergy. Even the titles of the canons rendered their role within the chapter and the capitular school: the *canon-reader* (sometimes called *canonicus scholasticus*) was, after the head of the chapter, that is the

⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 19, 24-25

⁹ *Schematismus Cleri Dioecesis Csanádiensis pro Anno Jubilari MDCCCC*, Typis Typographiae Dioecesis Csanádiensis, Temesvárini, 1900, p. 65; Martin Roos, *Erbe und Auftrag, Die alte Diözese Csanád. Zwischen Grundlegung und Aufteilung 1030 bis 1923*, vol. I, part 1: *Von den Anfängen bis zum Ende der Türkenzeit 1030-1718*, edited by the successor dioceses: Szeged-Csanád, Zrenjanin and Timișoara, 2009, pp. 32-33.

¹⁰ Kováts Sándor, *A csanádi papnevelde története. A mai papnevelde megnyitásának első centenáriuma alkalmából 1806-1906*, Csanádegyházmegyei könyvnyomda, Temesvár, 1908, pp. 1-4.

provost, the next in importance, with the clearly defined role of leading the capitular school. He was to supervise the proper learning of reading and writing, as well as of reading and, respectively, chanting the sacred texts in the cathedral. He could have a subaltern, called the *subreader*. The next canon both as regards his title in the chapter and his role within the capitular school was the *canon-cantor*. As the name suggests, he taught sacred chant and music, being at the same time responsible for the good order of the liturgical ritual in the cathedral. Judging by the features of his work, he can be said to have been a precursor of the Professor of Liturgical Studies and Sacred Music from the modern seminaries. If necessary, a subaltern could be appointed for the canon-cantor, called a *succentor*. The first class of this school, as the sources of the time attest, had no less than 30 students.¹¹ It is certain that this first documentarily attested school of the territory of present-day Romania operated until around the time when Cenad and implicitly the Banat were occupied by Ottoman armies in 1552. After this year, the religious life of the Roman Catholics recorded an almost complete disaster on the canonical territory of the Diocese of Cenad. Only in 1716, when the Banat and Timișoara were liberated from Ottoman occupation, could one speak of a gradual and, at first, relatively slow recovery of the Catholic ecclesiastical structures in this geographical area. A theological seminary was reopened only after almost nine decades since the expulsion of the Ottomans, on 17 November 1806.¹²

After 1716, during the first years after the Diocese of Cenad was reactivated, the education of the future priests was ensured in the theological seminaries from Trnava (Germ. Tyrnau), Vienna, Nitra (Germ. Neutra), Buda (Germ. Ofen), Zagreb (Germ. Agram) and Bratislava (Germ. Preßburg). There were, indeed, more or less realistic and well-articulated plans for the establishment of a modern theological seminary in Timișoara, but they could be translated into reality only by Bishop Ladislaus Kőszeghy of Remete¹³ in 1806. To financially support the education of students in the afore-

¹¹ Faragó János, *A csanádi kisebb papnevelde története. Szent Gellértől napjainkig (1030-1925)*, Tipografia "Der Landbote", Timișoara (Temesvár), 1925, pp. 17-18.

¹² *Schematismus 1900*, p. 279.

¹³ *Ladislaus Kőszeghy of Remete (1745-1828)*, Bishop of Cenad residing in Timișoara between 1800 and 1828. A Jesuit from 1765, originating from Szeged, he studied at Buda and taught in many of the order's schools in Hungary. Consecrated as a priest in Graz in 1776, he studied before ordination in this city, obtaining the title of Doctor of Theology. From 1776, he belonged, as a diocesan priest, to the Diocese of Pécs, where he taught, also from 1776, at the gymnasium here. When Emericus Christovich was appointed as Bishop of Cenad in 1777, he took Kőszeghy with him to Timișoara, as secretary, and the latter climbed up the hierarchy, becoming vicar general and provost of the Chapter. In 1798, because of Bishop Christovich's old age and poor health, Kőszeghy was appointed auxiliary Bishop of Cenad and after Christovich's death, he was elected vicar capitular by the chapter. For reasons that remain unknown today, he was appointed auxiliary Bishop of Oradea in 1799, but episcopal consecration did not take place. He did not leave Timișoara, being appointed as Bishop of Cenad on 15 August 1800, after having ensured the leadership of the diocese during the *sedis vacantia*, for two years. He was one of the most active bishops of the nineteenth century in the Diocese of Banat. He founded the theological seminary, consecrated the cathedral, visited the parishes, founded new parishes, established a fund for elderly and sick priests, edited, with the approval of the Holy See, a diocesan calendar and convened a Diocesan Synod in 1821. He died on 4 January 1828 and was buried in the crypt of the Dome (the Roman Catholic Cathedral) in Timișoara. See: *Schematismus 1900*, pp. 50-51, Martin Roos, *Erbe und Auftrag, Die alte Diözese Csanád. Zwischen Grundlegung und Aufteilung 1030 bis 1923*, vol. I., part 2b: *Vom Barock bis zur Revolution 1718-1850*, the

mentioned theological seminaries throughout the Austrian Empire, there were foundations like that of the Bishop of Cenad, Stephanus Dolny (1699-1707), amounting to 3,800 florins, for financing the studies of a seminarian in the St. Stephen seminary from Trnovo, and that of Laurentius Marczibányi and his wife, Judith, born Kvassovsky,¹⁴ founded on 1 October 1766, amounting to 2,528 florins and 30 Kreuzers, for funding the studies of a student in the seminary from Nitra. The studies of another five seminarians could be supported in the archiepiscopal seminary from Vienna through the subsidies paid by the District of Timișoara, within the Chamber Administration of the Banat of Temeswar (two seminarians with a stipend of 400 florins a year, starting from 23 July 1759) and the Montanist Administration, from the so-called *fundatione montanistica* (three seminarians, starting from 13 June 1760, from a capital of 16,837 florins and 24 Kreuzers). In the Josephine period, from 1780 on, the Banatian theology students were gathered in the Central Seminary from Buda, while afterwards, from 1784 on, they were redistributed in the seminaries from Zagreb, Pest, Bratislava and Trnovo.¹⁵

It was, however, the crucial merit of Ladislaus Köszeghy, an erudite priest of the then already suppressed order of the Jesuits, to have already submitted to the Locumtenential Council, on 1 May 1799, in the period when he was only vicar capitular of the vacant see of Cenad, a request for increasing the number of potential student places assigned to the Banatian Diocese from 12 to 24, especially since it included no less 200 parishes that year. In this sense, of increasing the number of student places, what was requested as an optimal and necessary solution was the establishment of a diocesan seminary in Timișoara. The royal answer arrived only after two years later, on 27 May 1801. It stipulated that the sum of 800 florins from the taxes levied in the town of Szeged should be assigned to the Fund of the Seminary from the Diocese of Cenad, which implicitly raised the number of financially supported students to 16. The aforementioned answer stated that the amount needed to gather 8 more students, whose funding had been requested by the bishop, should be gathered from various other funds, eventually becoming possible to school 24 seminarians. Under these circumstances, the bishop had only to seek the premises of a theological institute, which he would adapt to its new purpose and found the institute. For this, Köszeghy chose the old residence of the suppressed Jesuits¹⁶ from Timișoara and their church, located across the street from his episcopal palace. Due to the dissolution of the *Society of Jesus* (the Jesuit Order) in 1773, the building had become the property of the City Hall of Timișoara, while the Jesuit church, dedicated to St. George, had remained the parish church of the parish in the central, urban district, Cetate. However, the City Hall had accepted the presence of

part for the period 1800-1850, edited by the three successor dioceses: Szeged-Csanád, Zrenjanin and Timișoara, 2012 pp. 11-53.

¹⁴ A noble family of Hungarian origin, owners of the estates from Turnu (Arad County) and Čoka (Hung. Csóka, today in Serbia, the Serbian Banat), who exercised their right of patronage over these two parishes at the end of the eighteenth century. See: Martin Roos, *Erbe und Auftrag*, I, 2b, pp. 17, 618.

¹⁵ *Schematismus 1900*, pp. 277-278.

¹⁶ Martin Roos, *Erbe und Auftrag, Die alte Diözese Csanád. Zwischen Grundlegung und Aufteilung 1030 bis 1923*, vol. I., part 2a: *Vom Barock bis zur Revolution 1718-1850*, the part for the period 1718-1800, edited by the three successor dioceses: Szeged-Csanád, Zrenjanin and Timișoara, 2010 pp. 282-283.

the parish priest, along with that of the normal Catholic school in this house.¹⁷ The *Free Royal City of Timișoara* had only a short time at its disposal to accept the proposal made by Bishop Kőszeghy: the Cetate (central) parish was to move into the former church and monastery of the Franciscans observant of the *Sanctissimi Salvatoris*, St. Catherine, while the normal Catholic school from the same Cetate neighbourhood was to be relocated into the former edifice monastery belonging to the Bosnian observant Franciscans (where, in fact, ever since 1788, the Piarist monks with their school had been transferred from Sântana¹⁸). However, under a decision of the Royal Locumtenential Council, favourable to the bishop's plan, the city administration was forced to start official talks with the diocesan authorities. These were launched on 26 March 1806 and were marked by challenges, disputes, which were often public, conducted in the open. Under its decision of 30 September 1806, the Royal Locumtenential Council allocated from the fund of the dismantled Jesuit Order, the sum of 40,000 florins for renovating and adapting the former residence of the Jesuits, settling the situation thus. In the same year, on 17 November, Bishop Kőszeghy took over the building in the context of a solemn celebration. His speech, written in Latin for that occasion, was printed and distributed in the city.

The first rector of the seminary was the very brother of the bishop, the senior canon Josef Kőszeghy, and the canon custodian Andreas Radványi was appointed as the prodirector responsible for theological training. The bishop himself functioned as the director. The seminary initially included 44 places, and their number was later raised to 48.¹⁹ In the first academic year 1806/1807, 31 students learned here, two other remaining to study in Pest, at the Central Seminary. The statutes of the seminary, which was placed under the protection of the *Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, had been drawn up and approved by 21 August 1805, the curriculum being based on the *Ratio Educationis*, in force at that time, in the version of 2 August 1803. Emphasis in terms of priestly formation was placed on an intense spiritual life, on spiritual exercises and retreats, on spiritual readings and on daily participation in the Holy Eucharist. In summer the day started at 4:30, but in winter at 5:00 in the morning, ending at 9:00 p.m. Study, classes, prayer and recreation were relatively evenly proportioned. The language of instruction was Latin. The study period was four years, being divided into two courses, for each of which two professors were responsible. The seminarians wore a dark blue cassock with a white, simple, tall collar, this colour being specific to the theological students from the Banat for a long time. The entire program was permeated by a strong Ignatian spirit, a clear influence of the former Jesuit Kőszeghy, which, in the early years of the post-Josephine period, was not self-understood. The most important decision-making factor in the seminary was the rector, followed by the prodirector. Both were appointed from among the clergy, more precisely from among the members of the cathedral chapter, as they were originally cathedral canons.²⁰

¹⁷ Martin Roos, *Erbe und Auftrag*, I, 2b, p. 47.

¹⁸ *Schematismus 1900*, p. 108.

¹⁹ Koloman Juhász, Adam Schicht, *Das Bistum Timișoara-Temesvar. Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, Tipografia "Sonntagsblatt", Timișoara, 1934, p. 107.

²⁰ Martin Roos, *Erbe und Auftrag*, I, 2b, pp. 47, 50-51.

The old building in which the seminary was opened had thus served as the residence of the Jesuits. It was built between 1730 and 1733, and consisted of a ground floor and a first floor. The façade of the church was rebuilt, respectively Baroquised between 1754 and 1769 (1771), from the time of the Jesuits, that is, by the master mason Franz Anton Platel.²¹ In 1806, with a view to opening the seminary, Bishop Köszegehy renovated a building with a ground floor and a first floor, adding another wing to it. Later, in 1841, with the foundation, by Bishop Josef Lonovics of Krivina,²² of the first institution of higher education, with lay students, *Lyceum Temesvariense*, consisting of the sections of Philosophy (established in 1841/1842) and Law (established in 1845/1846), the building underwent renovations and modifications, made under the direction of the Timișoara-based architect Anton Schmidt (1786-1863).²³ In this era another floor was added, the ground floor being rented to shops, the rent being used to maintain the building, the first floor being destined for the theological seminary, and the second floor to the high school in Timișoara. It should be mentioned that because of its proximity to the Transylvanian Garrison, the old building of the seminary was severely damaged during the fights against the revolutionaries. What is more critical is that after the defeat of the 1848 revolution, the *Lycaeam* did not resume its activity, its premises being occupied, to the dismay of the seminary management, by a secondary school with three grades. This situation was settled only in 1908, at the completion of the new school complex of the Piarist monks of Timișoara.²⁴ In the

²¹ *Ibidem*, I, 2a, pp. 84-85.

²² *Josef Lonovics of Krivina* (1793-1867) was born in Miskolc and studied Philosophy and Theology at Eger and Pest. In 1817 he was ordained at Eger and in the same year he became a Doctor of Theology. A secretary and an episcopal notary between 1817 and 1825, a parish priest between 1825 and 1829, he became a canon of the Cathedral Chapter of Eger from 1829 to 1834. He was a correspondent member and later Director of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences; in 1830 he taught Moral Theology and Pastoral Theology at Eger. Between 1834 and 1848, he occupied the episcopal see of Cenad. A member of the Royal Academy of Oradea, he founded *Lyceum Temesvariense*, at Timișoara, with the sections of Philosophy (1841) and Law (1846), which were conceived, together with the already existing Theological Academy, as the nucleus of a first university. In 1843 he was ennobled, receiving the title of Krivina, after the Banatian locality of Crivina. In 1845 he received the Cross of the Order of St. Stephen and the great cross of the Order of St. Leopold. He became an intimate imperial advisor, also in 1845, when he was made an honorary citizen of Timișoara. In 1841 he was commissioned by the Catholic bishops of Hungary to go to Rome and negotiate the regulation of mixed marriages with the Roman Pontiff. At his request, the lists of the papal tithes collected in the Banat in the years 1333-1334 were copied in Rome at that time. He was directly and decisively involved in establishing the First House of Savings in Timișoara, and he also restored the Retired Priests' Fund. He visited the entire diocese (1835-1838) and wrote detailed reports of his visits and the state of facts in each parish. He was Assessor of the Tabula Septemviralis. In April 1848, he was appointed by Emperor Ferdinand V as Archbishop of Eger. Lonovics adopted, however, a pro-revolutionary attitude, which incurred his banishment, first in Bratislava, then in Buda, and then in the Benedictine abbey from Melk, Austria, where he remained until 1854. He is the author of *Archaeologia Ecclesiae Catholicae*, Vienna, 1857. He lived for a while at Vienna, within the Nunciature. In 1859 he was appointed as Archbishop of Kalocsa, but only effectively received this office in 1866. He could not fill the archiepiscopal see because of his ill health. He died in Pest on 13 March 1867, being buried at Kalocsa, in the crypt of the cathedral there. See: *Schematismus 1900*, pp. 51-52; Anton Peter Petri, *Lexikon*, columns 1158-1159; Martin Roos, *Erbe und Auftrag*, I, 2b, pp. 122-137.

²³ Anton Peter Petri, *Lexikon*, column 1709.

²⁴ Stevan Bugarski, *Lyceum Temesvariense*, Timișoara: Tipografia Tempus, 2008, pp. 53-57.

school year 1874/1875, in the close vicinity of the seminary, but linked to it by its mission, there was opened the St. Emeric Small Seminary (*Emericanum*), organised as an episcopal boarding school for the gymnasial education of the youth. The opening was made in memory of the visit Emperor Franz Josef I had made in Timișoara, on 6 May 1872, the boarding school being opened²⁵ with the help of Bishop Alexander Bonnaz.²⁶ The building was located behind the church of the seminary and in its proximity, across the street from the Transylvanian Garrison. The alumni of the boarding school included a series of outstanding student theologians and future priests of the diocese.

The Theological Academy in the twentieth century. Bishop Iulius Glattfelder of Mór and the new edifice of the diocesan seminary

The deplorable condition, the dampness and, therefore, the lack of hygiene in the old building of the Seminary, as well as the town planning made by the urbanists of Timișoara in the early twentieth century, created the premises for erecting a new building for this old educational institution. In this regard, Bishop Iulius Glattfelder of Mór²⁷ began negotiations, on behalf of his diocese, with the administration of the city of

²⁵ *Schematismus 1900*, pp. 281-282.

²⁶ *Alexander Bonnaz* (1812-1889), born at Challex, France, remained fatherless at a very early age. His mother came to the Banat, with her baby, to her paternal uncle, Anton Bonnaz, a parish priest in Tomnatec. Alexander Bonnaz spent his childhood at Tomnatec and attended secondary school in Arad, Timișoara and Szeged, in 1831. He graduated from philosophical studies at Szeged, and Theology in Vienna, being ordained as a priest in 1837. He served as a chaplain at Caransebeș and in 1839/1840 he took over the post of Professor of Moral Theology and Pastoral Theology at the Theological Academy in Timișoara. In 1838 he also entered the central diocesan administration. Between 1840 and 1853, he became a parish priest at Tomnatec. In 1851 he was appointed as a member of the Episcopal Consistory and in 1853 he became a canon of the Cathedral Chapter. He held the position of school inspector for Serbian Vojvodina and the Banat of Temeswar; between 1855 and 1860, he served as a custodian for the research and maintenance of the architectural monuments in this province. In 1860 he was appointed Bishop of Cenad, and as such he took part in the proceedings of the First Vatican Council (the 1869/70 stage). Here he got seriously ill, and never recovered. He decisively supported Catholic education, the development of the School Sisters of Notre Dame, education for the deaf and dumb, and did a lot of charity acts for orphanages and schools. During his pastorate, there were erected churches in the most remote communities, often with his direct financial support or that of the diocese, as well as monumental buildings such as the churches in Vârșeț, Cenad, Timișoara-Cetate, Sântana or Becicherecul Mare. He died in Timișoara on 9 August 1889, being buried in the crypt of the Dome. See: *Schematismus 1900*, p. 53; Anton Peter Petri, *Lexikon*, columns 183-185; Stevan Bugarski, *op.cit.*, p. 538.

²⁷ *Glattfelder Mor Julius* (1874-1943) was born in Budapest, where he attended secondary school and graduated with a Baccalaureate in 1892. Between 1892 and 1895, he studied Theology, in Budapest, and was ordained as a priest on 15 October 1896. In 1896-1899, he taught at the Real School in district VI and the "Elisabetha" School for Girls in the Hungarian capital. In 1897 he obtained his PhD in Theology. In 1899 he became prefect of studies and Director of the Central Seminary in Budapest, where he taught as professor extraordinary. He was editor of the publication *Örökimadás*. In 1902 he organised and became the first Director of the "St. Emeric" College in the same city, Budapest. 1904 brought his appointment as papal chaplain; Glattfelder distinguished himself through editing publications on Catholic higher education in the capital and in the country. In 1909-1911 he taught Rhetoric and Homiletics at the Faculty of Theology from the University of Budapest. On 8 March 1911, he became Bishop of Cenad, being enthroned in office at the Dome from Timișoara on 28 May 1911. He built the new seminary; on 15 August 1920, he decided the establishment of a *Preparandia* [pedagogical institute] for Catholic German teachers in Timișoara. He

Timișoara. The conclusions were: the old building of the seminary and the church would be demolished, and a three-storey building would be erected on this site, which would supplement, from the revenue it would bring, the financial amounts necessary for the maintenance of the student theologians. This building was to be constructed on both sides of Josef Lonovics (today Augustin Pacha) Street, leaving room for a church to replace the old one, demolished. The estimated costs of double building, for rent, together with the church on Lonovics Street, were to rise to the amount of one million crowns, while those for building the new seminary were to reach the amount of five hundred thousand crowns. The land for the erection of the new seminary building, measuring 1,900 cadastral yokes, was to be allotted with two other land plots (all three arranged roughly in the shape of the letter “T,” with a total area of 2,196 cadastral yokes), in the area obtained by demolishing the Vauban-type fortifications in Timișoara only a few years before. These new locations were situated on the right side of the road linking the Cetate district to Fabric, where the new ring of the city centre was to be formed.²⁸ The intentions were to erect a new seminary, a new episcopal palace and a building for the Catholic associations across the diocese.

With the approval of the Chapter Cathedral from 11 June 1913 and the loans from the Foundational Treasury of the Diocese and the Religionary Fund, Bishop Glattfelder started construction works for the building on Lonovics Street, destined for renting purposes. Unfortunately, it was only half built, the other projected half (the plans of which were made by Ernst Förk and Gyula Petrovác) and the church remaining on paper, due to the outbreak of World War I.²⁹

For building the new premises of the Theological Seminary, a Construction Commission was founded, which included: Bishop Dr. Iulius Glattfelder, Canon Augustin Pacha, Prefect Dr. Martin Aurel, a specialist in sacred art, Heinrich Fieber, Mayor of Timișoara, Dr. Karol Telbisz and Emil Szilárd, the civil engineer of the city. The building plans were made by Professor Ernst Förk, an architect from Budapest, the choice being made by the above-mentioned Construction Commission, on 25 September 1913. Subsequently, the architect Förk, together with Gyula Petrovác, a professor at the Higher School of Civil Engineering in Budapest, led work on the new building; the contractor was Leopold Löffler, from Timișoara.

criticised the government on the issue of the Land Reform, which brought him and the diocese major disservice. He retreated to Szeged in March 1923, leaving Augustin Pacha as Apostolic Administrator in Timișoara. He served here for two decades, building a new cathedral, an episcopal palace, a new theological seminary and a *preparandia* for teachers. Since 1927, he was a member of the Higher Chamber of Parliament, an honorary member of the Society of St. Stephen and President of the Society of Fine Arts. He was appointed Archbishop of Kalocsa in 1943, but due to his health condition, he could not take office. He died on 30 August 1943 and was buried in the crypt of the cathedral in Szeged that he had erected. See: Anton Peter Petri, *Lexikon*, columns 553-554; Franz Kräuter, *Erinnerungen an Bischof Pacha. Ein Stück Banater Heimatgeschichte*, ADZ Verlag, Bukarest, 1995, pp. 50-73.

²⁸ ADT, *Fond* Priesterseminar, Package: “Varia Erga Constructiones Seminarii novi (1913-1915)”, the unsigned article “Ein gutes Geschäft – ein schlechtes Geschäft,” excerpt from *Temesvárer Volksblatt*, Year XII, No. 148, Timișoara, Monday 30 June 1913, p. 1.

²⁹ ADT, *Fond* Immobilienverwaltung, the Collection of Documents relating to the house on 2 Augustin Pacha St., the ground plans of the building dated 8 July 1914, signed by the architects, the contractor and the construction committee members, unnumbered.

The cornerstone was laid on 5 November 1913 (the actual works began, however, on Wednesday, 8 October 1913, with 12 masons, who began to lay the foundation walls³⁰), in a solemn ceremony, in the presence of Bishop Iulius Glattfelder, the auxiliary Bishop József Németh, the Cathedral Chapter, the professors of theology, the members of the Piarist Order, all the seminarians, the local officials and a large audience. Bishop Glattfelder's speech on this occasion was inspiring, as he made reference to St. Gerhard's spirit as an educator and missionary, the one who founded the first school for the training of the clergy in the old Diocese of Cenad. On this occasion, a document was embedded in the cornerstone, which bore the signature of all the prominent participants in the ceremony and the builders, the deed containing the list of student theologians of the diocese at that time.³¹

In June 1914, the Theological Academy bid farewell to its old building. On 11 June, the rector, Dr. Johannes Kramp, celebrated a Requiem for the souls of the departed founders, benefactors, professors and students, and the next day a Te Deum was celebrated, as thanksgiving for all the benefactions that had been brought throughout the existence and service of this building. On the date of 13, on the feast of the Body of Christ (*Corpus Domini*), the bishop celebrated Holy Mass for the last time in the old St. George's Church of the seminary, moving the Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist from the church into the inner chapel of the seminary. On 21 June, with the end of the school year, there was a formal closure ceremony, all the graduates of the seminary being commemorated on this occasion. In the evening, the church bells rang for the last time, and the next day began the demolition of the church and the building began.³²

Although under threat from the world war, which began on 26 July, work on the new building managed to be completed, and the edifice was handed over to the beneficiary on 8 September 1914.³³ On 4 October, the students of the Emericanum and, on 7 October, the student theologians moved into the seminary. The sanctification of the seminary, which remained, like the previous one, under the protection of the Immaculate Conception, took place on 5 October 1914, on the day of St. Emeric. The building, a remarkable achievement for Timișoara's architecture at that time, was one of the most modern and best equipped theological institutions in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. It included a basement, a ground floor, two storeys and an attic. The frontispiece featured the motto: "Pro Aris et Litteris" (In the service of the altars and of science). The building offered bright and spacious rooms, ranging from the stairway hall to the offices, housing for teachers, boarding, study rooms, chapels, the festive hall, the library, the infirmary, the kitchen, the pantry, the dining room, recreation rooms and housing for the staff. The most interesting and beautiful spaces were big chapel of the seminary and the festive hall. They were decorated with stained glass, paintings and furniture fashioned after the Viennese and Budapest Jugendstil. The chapel was

³⁰ ADT, Fond: Priesterseminar, Package: "Varia Erga Constructiones Seminarii novi (1913-1915)", The Construction Log of Engineer Gyula Petrovác, p. 4.

³¹ Faragó János, *op. cit.*, pp. 159-165.

³² Koloman Juhász, Adam Schicht, *op. cit.*, pp. 125-127.

³³ *Schematismus Cleri Dioecesis Csanádiensis pro Anno Domini MCMXVI*, Temesvári: Typis Typographiae Dioecesis Csanádiensis, 1916, p. 124.

decorated with special paintings, holding, among other things, eight stained-glass windows made in Budapest by the Roth Workshops and an organ built in the workshops of the Wegenstein family at Timișoara.³⁴

One of the last steps Glattfelder took, related to the activity of the Theological Seminary, was that of switching from Latin as the language of instruction to Hungarian. The History of the Church and Sociology were thus taught in this language, the remaining disciplines being learned in Latin. The situation was largely due to the increasing number of seminarians whose mother tongue was German, in parallel with a decrease in the number of the Hungarian students.³⁵

With the withdrawal of Bishop Glattfelder to Szeged in March 1923, the fate of the old Diocese of Cenad was sealed. The bishop remained with a stunted authority, limited to the part of the historical Banat and the old diocese that had remained in Hungary. In fact, in Timișoara the Apostolic Administration of Timișoara was founded, while in Zrenjanin, in the part of the Banat which had been attributed to the Kingdom of the Serbs, the Croats and the Slovenes, the Apostolic Administration of the Banat was established. The Theological Academy remained in Timișoara, and in 1930 Iulius Glattfelder founded a new seminary at Szeged. All this while, the seminarians from the territory administered by Glattfelder since March 1923 had studied in Budapest, Esztergom, and Vienna or in other seminaries. Interesting examples in this regard were seminarians like Kapossy Gyula (b. Kiskúnfőlegyháza) or Marycz Sándor (b. Mako), who in 1920, after having studied abroad, requested their enrolment in the Hungarian part of the Diocese of Cenad, their documents passing through Timișoara in the first phase nonetheless.³⁶ The new institute in Szeged could boast a new building and professors, most of them Jesuits, as well as 33 students from the very first year.³⁷

In Zrenjanin, however, the circumstances prevented the opening of a theological institute, and the apostolic administrator Ioannes Raphael Rodić, Archbishop of Belgrade-Smederevo, sent the candidates to the priestly vocation especially to the seminary from the Diocese of Djakovo,³⁸ also in Yugoslavia, but also in foreign seminaries, from cities such as: Rome, Strasbourg, Bamberg, Frankfurt/Main, Passau, Vienna, Fulda, Zagreb, Mainz and Freiburg. Two boarding schools for the candidates to the gymnasium, or the so-called little seminary (*Seminarium Minus*), operated at Becicherecul Mare - an Archiepiscopal Boarding School - and Vârșeț - the Boarding School of St. Alois Gonzaga.

³⁴ Koloman Juhász, Adam Schicht, *op. cit.*, pp. 128-131.

³⁵ Franz Kräuter, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

³⁶ ADT, Fond: Priesterseminar, Package: Acta Varia: 1917-1950, File: Repatriations 1918-1922, unnumbered.

³⁷ Viktor Zsódi, "A szegedi egyházmegyeközi papnevelő intézet története 1930-1955 között" in *Magyar Egyháztörténeti vázlatok (Essays in Church History in Hungary)*, No. 3-4/ 2007, pp. 71-73.

³⁸ *Schematismus Cleri Administraturae Apostolicae Banatus in Jugoslavia, Anno Domini 1935*, Petrograd: Typis Typographiae Schneller et Fratrum Göschl, pp. 5, 34.

THE RURAL LIBRARIES FROM ARAD DURING THE INTERWAR PERIOD

Abstract: One of the most dynamic fields in the process of spreading literacy in the rural world during the interwar period was the establishment of libraries. Primarily, they were meant to help individuals stay in touch with the practice of reading after graduating from elementary schools or classes for adults. The setting up of new libraries and the enrichment of the existing ones was a dynamic phenomenon in the villages from Arad County. There was indeed a tradition of reading societies here, some operating with the choirs, and there were also popular *casinas* (cultural and political societies) with preoccupations in the field; however, the books were few, and they were unattractive for the members of the rural communities; this led to libraries becoming part of a cultural reconstruction plan which yielded genuine results. In 1933, there functioned 52 popular libraries and 245 school libraries, with a book fund of 80,000 volumes. There were also established libraries pertaining to the parishes and the parish offices, the works included there addressing pastoral and catechetical matters and providing arguments in support of the Orthodox faith. The establishment of libraries, which evinced a special attention granted to technical organisation and to adapting the content to the audience's expectations, was continued by the Romanian Cultural Foundation "Concordia." In 1938, the 15 libraries founded in villages throughout the county housed 5,455 books, a large part thereof having been donated to the Astra circles. The cultural activity that developed around them included conferences and public lectures, literary soirees, and farmers' schools. On the whole, beyond all difficulties, the establishment and development of rural libraries meant capturing the fluctuating interest of the public, a significant contribution to the spreading of literacy, as well as a way of raising the standard of living in the rural communities.

Keywords: interwar, rural, libraries, book, Arad.

The interwar years were coeval with consistent concerns for the enlightenment of the rural population, which represented the majority in terms of its share in the overall population and faced numerous problems. The actions undertaken towards the dissemination of culture were supported by cultural societies and associations, popular universities, libraries, farmers' schools, teachers' cultural circles, conferences, reading societies and choirs, with the involvement of the school and the church. The state encouraged such actions as the main stakes were helping elementary school graduates stay in touch with the practice of reading, as well as accomplishing the civic education of those who had become voters and landowners as a result of various reforms.

Amid the concerns for the dissemination of culture in the villages from Arad, the need to set up libraries that would give access to the widest categories of readers and to develop the existing libraries occupied an important place.

In several localities, there prevailed the tradition of the reading societies; during the years of the struggle for national rights and the preservation of cultural identity, these societies carried out their activity beside choirs, some of them organising libraries. In turn, the popular *casinas*, established after World War I, addressed the issue of the

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creation of libraries, an intention that materialised partly. Thus, for instance, the *Casina of Ineu* had set out its goal of “making political newspapers and literary and scientific journals available.”² *The Associations of the Romanian Women from Gurahonț and Radna, the Social Circle in Șiria, the Romanian Youth Society of Nădlac* and the *Casina* and *the Reading House of Șiclău* set up libraries.³ *The Casina of the Intellectuals from Hălmagiu* also owned a library.⁴ In 1923, *The Romanian Circle of Ineu* founded a library which had 472 volumes, while the *Craftsmen’s Club* in the same locality had 210 books.⁵ Libraries owned by mayors’ offices also existed at Berechiu, Gurba, and Chereluș.⁶

However, during the early years of the interwar period, the conditions of the rural libraries in Arad were precarious, both in terms of their endowment and their functional capacity. On his visit to several villages, Prefect Ion Georgescu encountered a difficult situation, which was marred by the realities of the past: poorly endowed, disorganised libraries, with obsolete collections comprising, for the most part, books in Hungarian. These findings led him to initiate steps for the establishment of rural libraries with books in Romanian. As part of this effort, he strove to obtain several thousand volumes, with the support of publishers in Bucharest: these were “instructive and literary books,” acquired with a view to setting up, initially, twenty libraries. At the same time, the sum of 100,000 lei was allocated for the purchase of books, the selection of the volumes being entrusted to a committee that included writers, journalists, and teachers.⁷

These concerns were integrated into a larger plan for cultural reconstruction that started to take effect: by the end of 1924, the foundations of 45 communal libraries had been laid down.⁸ Popular libraries were established in the localities Curtici, Chișineu-Criș, Sfânta Ana, Otlaca, Păuliș, Radna, Sebiș, Gurahonț, Șiria, Spineni, Nădlac, Semlac, Șeitin, Socodor, Șiclău, Nădab, Comlăuș, Ineu, and Pecica.⁹ A popular library began to operate in Radna in 1930.¹⁰

A remarkable development was registered by *school libraries*, whose number reached 245 in 1933.¹¹ In the first phase, the process was conducted in parallel with the construction of schools, which meant that by the end of 1925, 22 library rooms had been furnished.¹² In 1928, libraries were set up in the schools from Mocioni, Moroda, Seleuș, Covăsânt, Șilindia, Șofronea, Bonțești, Măgulicea, Vârfurile, while 225 copies were sent

² The National Archives of Romania. Arad County Branch (hereinafter A.N.R.S.J.A). *Fond Tribunalul Arad*, file 44/1919-1935, f. 71.

³ *Ibidem*, f. 114, 187, 107, 71.

⁴ Dan Demșea (ed.), *Momente din istoria lecturii publice în municipiul și județul Arad*, Arad: Editura Nigredo, 2006, p. 60.

⁵ A.N.R.S.J.A, *Fond Prefectura Județului Arad* (hereinafter P.J.A.), file 276/1938, f. 46.

⁶ *Ibidem*.

⁷ “Opera de progres în județul Arad,” in *Tribuna nouă* (Arad), I, no. 2 din 2 January 1924, p. 3.

⁸ “Începutul unei noi opere culturale în cuprinsul județului,” in *Tribuna nouă*, I, no. 141 of 10 December 1924, p. 2.

⁹ A.N.R.S.J.A, *Fond P.J.A.*, file 276/1938, f. 214.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, f. 25.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, *Fond P.J.A.*, *acte administrative*, file 259/1933, f. 127.

¹² “Dl. ministru Angelescu vizitează școlile din județ,” in *Tribuna nouă*, II, no. 227 of 20 October 1925, p. 2.

to Ignești.¹³ Their establishment, which meant the fulfilment of older desiderata, brought real support to the educational process, its beneficiaries being both elementary school students and those who attended classes for adults. Their functioning was beset with great difficulties, and interest in them was minor. Thus, by the year 1938, the school library in Mocioni, equipped with 418 volumes, had been frequented by only 10 readers.¹⁴

The development of this important component of the enculturation process was also a matter of concern for policy makers at the highest level. In April 1932, the *Law for the Organisation of Communal Libraries and Museums* was passed; it stipulated that the municipalities and urban communes should establish a central library, while the urban communes that were not county seats and the rural communes were required to set up libraries in the community cultural centres.¹⁵ Subsequently, since this provision was not enforced, Minister Constantin Angelescu demanded that the Ministry of Interior should approve the allotment of budgets to the communes on condition that the latter allocated the necessary sums for the acquisition of books for these libraries.¹⁶

The legislative framework did not prove to be very helpful; however, local actions continued their course, so that by 1933, 52 popular libraries and 245 school libraries operated in the county, their collections amounting to 80,000 books.¹⁷ Having a diverse content, they largely fulfilled their purpose. As Octavian Lupaș - one of the most important cultural promoters in Arad - contended, there existed libraries (in some cases, still at an incipient stage) in almost every village, but the reading offer often barely corresponded to the expectations and level of understanding of the rural residents.¹⁸ In addition, there were settlements in the county that did not have a library, as was the case of half of the communes included in the Ineu *plasa* (administrative unit).¹⁹

Libraries were organised in some of the cultural centres Curtici (359 volumes), Sânnicolau Mic (160), Șofronea (500), Vărădia (400), Lupești (730) Buteni (183), Sebiș (200), Șiria (437).²⁰

Concerns for the endowment of libraries were consistently expressed by the Arad Branch of the Astra Society. Especially the collection entitled *Biblioteca populară* (*The People's Library*), whose booklets included poems, folk narratives, practical advice, topics of history, religion and medicine, enjoyed widespread distribution in the Astra branch libraries, as did *Calendarul Astra* (*The Astra Almanac*). Thus, the Ineu Branch distributed 10 series of *Biblioteca populară* to the communes Apateu, Bocsig, Cermei, Seleuș and Ineu. The library of the "Sava Brancovici" Gymnasium in Ineu was endowed, and books were given as prizes to secondary and elementary school students,

¹³ A.N.R.S.J.A, *Fond P.J.A., acte administrative*, file 259/1933, f. 217.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, *Fond P.J.A.*, file 276/1938, f. 26.

¹⁵ "Legea pentru organizarea bibliotecilor și muzeelor comunale," in *Monitorul Oficial*, no. 90 of 14 April 1932.

¹⁶ Octavian Lupaș, *Bibliotecile populare "Concordia" din județul Arad*, Arad, "Concordia", Institut de Arte Grafice și Editură S.A, 1938, p. 7.

¹⁷ A.N.R.S.J.A, *Fond P.J.A., acte administrative*, file 259/1933, f. 127.

¹⁸ Octavian Lupaș, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

¹⁹ A.N.R.S.J.A, *Fond P.J.A.*, file 276/1938, f. 46.

²⁰ Ioan Nichin, *Monografia administrativă a județului Arad. Realizările administrației românești dela Unire până în anul 1938*, Arad, 1939, p. 317.

as well as to apprentices.²¹ In the Şiria Branch, the organisation of conferences went hand in hand with the establishment of popular libraries. This happened at Galşa (the library, established in 1933, comprised 111 volumes), Seleuş (December 1934, 81 volumes), Măderat (51 volumes), Agriş and Pâncota. At the same time, the aforementioned branch contributed to the endowment of the libraries from the Covăsânţ Cultural Centre (with 85 volumes) and the Elementary School from Şiria (with 18 volumes).²²

A unique situation in the rural world of Arad County was that of the library from Covăsânţ, regarded as the main component of the “*Podgoria*” Cultural Centre. It was organised into three sections: intellectual, popular and educational, their administration being entrusted to an intellectual, a peasant and, respectively, a student. The library inventory was considerable: 880 volumes, to which were added subscriptions to eight magazines and newspapers. Over 50 members of the centre had subscriptions to the review *Albina*. The library was a living cultural entity, with over 160 annual readers, making its presence felt in the community. It organised *Book Day*, offering prizes in books. Through the efforts and initiative of the teacher Dumitru Dijmărescu, the director of the centre, in addition to library, a book store and a book binding service also began to function.²³

In turn, the library from Şeitin, founded by the Orthodox church choir in 1906, had 308 volumes in 1918. It was to become richer during the interwar years; remarkable, in this sense, was the donation that was made by the poet Constantin Argintaru, the director of the review *Hyperion* in Cluj, consisting of books and a two-year subscription to the review *Viaţa Românească*.²⁴

Mention should also be made of other situations in which rural libraries received book donations. The “*Crişana*” National Cultural Society from Cluj donated 154 volumes from “the literature of the Romanian people” to the people’s library in Vărădia.²⁵ The parish and the school libraries in Baia, with 320 and, respectively, 171 volumes, came into being on account of the donation made, in 1924, by the county prefect, Ion Georgescu.²⁶ Fr. Ioan Tomuţia and Achim Lupuţiu, the cashier of “Victoria” Bank, donated their own libraries to the church and school from Lupeşti, which amounted to 235 volumes, while the number of readers was a mere 68.²⁷ Book donations were also made by cultural societies or individuals to several school libraries. It was the case of the school library from Hălmaşiu, which was supported by “*The Future*” Society for Assistance and Culture in the village,²⁸ from Şepreuş, which was set

²¹ “Raportul general prezentat de comitetul central al ‘Asociaţiei pentru literatura română şi cultura poporului român,’ ‘Astra’ asupra lucrărilor sale şi a situaţiei acestei instituţii în anul de gestiune 1924-25,” in *Transilvania* (Sibiu), 56, no. 9-10, September-October 1925, p. 386.

²² “Activitatea despărţămintelor,” in *Transilvania*, 67, no. 4, July-August 1936, p. 381.

²³ “Căminele Culturale şi rolul învăţătorilor în culturalizarea satelor. Bilanţul unui Cămin Cultural în Podgoria Aradului, pe anul 1935,” in *Ştirea* (Arad), VI, no. 55 of 26 February 1936, p. 2.

²⁴ Ştefan Costea, Dumitru D. Costea, *Şeitin. O aşezare românească milenară de pe Mureşul Inferior*, Arad: Editura Mirador, 1998, p. 192.

²⁵ “Corespondenţe din judeţ. Vărădia,” in *Tribuna nouă*, II, no. 99 of 23 April 1925, p. 3.

²⁶ A.N.R.S.J.A, *Fond P.J.A.*, file 276/1938, f. 27.

²⁷ *Ibidem*.

²⁸ <http://www.darnick.com/halmaşiu/societate.html>.

up thanks to a donation of 500 crowns made by the officer Nicolae Soare from Tîrgu-Jiu in 1919²⁹ and from Apateu (which received hundreds of books from collections, donations and money gathered at school celebrations).³⁰ In its turn, the school library from Radna benefited from an amount of 7,731 lei, which represented the proceeds from a concert held by the Orthodox church choir in the village and the appointment of a teacher.³¹

The minority population in the county also organised libraries, particularly through the efforts of cultural and confessional associations. Their stated goal was to “broaden the general knowledge through subscriptions to newspapers,” as well as through the creation and enrichment of libraries. This was the aim of the *Slovak Communal Association* in Nădlac, which operated between 1921 and 1950, and the *Slovak Cultural Society* in Nădlac, which was founded in 1924.³²

The German community in Arad was active in this respect. Thus, in Aradul Nou, there were libraries managed by the *Roman Catholic Youth Association* and the cultural association created by the Roman Catholic priest Johann Baptist Mayer. Founding another cultural society, Fr. Mayer donated his library of 6,000 volumes to it. The *Cultural Society in Engelsbrun* (Fântânele), which was active from 1925 to 1950, had a hired librarian, in the person of Iosif Burger. Towards the end of the first interwar decade, the library of the *German Roman Catholic Youth Association* in Șagul began its activity, as did those of the *German-Swabian Cultural Union* in Șiria and, respectively, of the *Roman Catholic Youth's Union* in Zădărlac, all of which had hired librarians.³³

An important role in the context of the overall efforts made for spreading literacy and strengthening the faith was that played by the establishment of new *parish libraries* and the endowment of the existing ones in every ecclesial commune. This was necessary with a view to “spreading the divine word ever more intensely in our Church” and supporting the priests in countering the action of sectarian propaganda.³⁴ The state of these libraries was modest, so much so that, almost a decade after the Union, one could notice their small number and meagre content: synodal and congress proceedings, official regulations, books devoid of theological value.³⁵ Religious literature was poorly represented in the few existing libraries, the highest percentage being that of national history books, which could be explained considering that in the period up to 1 December 1918, the church had been engaged in the struggle for defending the national consciousness.

As such, given the new conditions, consistent efforts were made to develop the parish libraries. Each parish office manager was required to provide an amount for book purchases in the annual budget. For better orientation in the acquisition of important works that were suitable for the endowment of parish libraries, the bibliophile priests

²⁹ “Pentru copiii lipsiți din Șepreuș. Darul unui căpitan român,” in *Românul* (Arad), VIII, no. 176 of 7 December 1919, p. 2.

³⁰ “Cerc învățătoresc. Biblioteca școlară,” in *Tribuna nouă*, II, no. 275 of 18 December 1925, p. 2.

³¹ “Corespondențe din județ,” in *Tribuna nouă*, II, no. 27 of 7 February 1925, p. 2.

³² Dan Demșea (coord.), *op. cit.*, p.61.

³³ *Ibidem*.

³⁴ “Cărți primejdioase,” in *Biserica și școala* (Arad), LI, no. 25 of 19 June 1927, p. 2.

³⁵ “Biblioteci parohiale,” in *Biserica și școala*, L, no. 10 of 7 March 1926, p. 3.

were urged to write reviews for the latest publications and send them to the episcopal see.³⁶

Following these concerns, there functioned libraries of the parish offices and of the parishes, the latter being open to the faithful. As proof of the interest in this domain, the libraries of the parish offices had 2,436 volumes, while no less than 4,272 volumes were available to the faithful in the parishes.³⁷ For example, in Cladova there were a library of the Orthodox Parish, featuring 143 books, and a school library with 97 volumes.³⁸ At the same time, the parish library in Nădab had 150 volumes.³⁹ During the first interwar decade, the situation of the libraries belonging to the parish offices and, respectively, to the parishes in the deanery from Chişineu-Criş was the following: Vărşand (65 volumes), Şimand (50), Pilu (30), Mişca (130), Chişineu-Criş (125), Sinteia Mare (25), while at Grăniceri there was no library.⁴⁰ Attendance was generally modest, as these libraries remained insufficiently endowed with literature for children and the youth.⁴¹ What also contributed to this was the fact that these libraries did not have a special place where they could facilitate access to the public, but were arranged in the rectory, sometimes under makeshift circumstances.

In 1931, the Eparchial Council approved a regulation governing the activity of archpresbyterial and parish libraries, containing, among others, a model for compiling the inventory of the library and the alphabetical index. According to the resolution of the Eparchial Council, parish libraries had to focus mainly on religious books, with a pronounced Orthodox character. It was recommended that books of general culture, however close to the Orthodox religious themes, could only come second in terms of the acquisitions made for these libraries. At the same time, as far as possible, the books had to be adapted to the age and level of understanding of the public, starting from the imperative that they should have an instructive, cautionary content and that they should develop the public taste for reading and for the beautiful. Given their importance and the preference expressed by the readers, these libraries had to include titles like *Lives of the Saints*, the *Akathist*, the *Psalter*, the *Horologion*, *Homilies*, and the *Small Octoechos*.⁴²

In an attempt to provide a solid support to religious-moral propaganda, to stimulate access to books and to popularise the teachings of the Gospel, Bishop Grigorie Comşa established the collection entitled *Biblioteca preotului ortodox* (*The Orthodox Priests' Library*) and he also developed the series *Biblioteca creştinului ortodox* (*The Orthodox Christians' Library*). In addition to addressing pastoral and catechetical problems, the aforementioned collections offered arguments in support of defending the

³⁶ "Instrucţiuni pentru punerea în aplicare a Regulamentului bibliotecilor protopopeşti şi parohiale din Eparhia Aradului," in *Biserica şi şcoala*, LIV, no. 4 of 26 January 1930, p. 9.

³⁷ *Episcopia Aradului în vremuri de răscruce istorică 1918-1948. Colecţie de documente*. Introductory studies by Vasile Popeangă, Vasile Pop, Arad: Editura Episcopiei Ortodoxe Române Arad, 2006, p. 412.

³⁸ A.N.R.S.J.A., *Fond Fundaţia Culturală Regală "Principele Carol"* (hereinafter *F.C.R.P.C.*), file 1/1938-1939, f.41.

³⁹ *Ibidem*, *Fond P.J.A.*, file 237 /1933, f. 65.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, *Fond Protopopiatul Ortodox-Român Chişineu-Criş*, file 31/1930, f. 116, 117, 119, 120, 122, 123, 125.

⁴¹ *Episcopia Aradului în vremuri de răscruce istorică 1918-1948...*, p. 412.

⁴² "Instrucţiuni pentru punerea în aplicare a Regulamentului bibliotecilor..."

Orthodox faith. The first collection was launched in 1929, aiming to assist in the training and activity of the priests. By 1935, six items had appeared, signed by Grigorie Comșa, Policarp Morușca and Orest Tarangul.⁴³ Aiming to approach topical problems pertaining to religious life, catechisation and missionarism, *Biblioteca preotului ortodox* occasioned the appearance of works such as *Pastorația individuală și colectivă (Individual and Collective Pastoral Care)*, *Misiunile religioase pentru popor (Religious Missions for the People)*, *Manual de catehizație (Catechisation Manual)* and others.⁴⁴

Supported from the “Bishop Grigore” Religious Propaganda Fund, the collection *Biblioteca creștinului ortodox* addressed a diverse range of topics (dogmatic, liturgical or issues of concern for the society of the time, such as cohabitation, divorce, alcoholism), and enjoyed the contribution of great personalities such as: Gala Galaction, Gheorghe Ciuhandu, Nicolae Popovici, Iustin Suciu, Policarp Morușca, Ilarion Felea. It was distributed free of charge to the parishes. By 1935, this collection had seen the publication of 123 issues, 52 of which had been written by Bishop Grigorie Comșa.⁴⁵ From among the pamphlets that were addressed to the clergy and the faithful alike, covering, in an accessible manner, both religious themes and propaganda for moral living, we shall mention the following: *Credința și botezul (Faith and Baptism)*, *Pruncii trebuiesc botezați, dar numai odată (Infants Must Be Baptised, albeit Only Once)* by Grigorie Gh. Comșa, *Un neam și un suflet (One Nation and One Soul)*, *Calea vieții și calea morții (The Path of Life and the Path of Death)* by Gheorghe Ciuhandu, *Despre păcatul beției (On the Sin of Drunkenness)* by N. Iorgovan, *Despre căsătorie (On Marriage)* by F. Codreanu, *Cinstiți, ascultați și iubiți biserica noastră strămoșească (Honour, Obey and Love Our Ancestral Church)* by Ștefan Cioroianu, *Legea ortodoxă în trecutul nostru (The Orthodox Law in Our History)* by Nicolae Popovici and others.⁴⁶ Some of these works were read by the priests in church, for example, *Concubinajul, divorțurile și scăderea populației (Cohabitation, Divorce and Population Decline)*, drawing the readers’ attention to what, at the time, were considered to be threats against the family as the cornerstone of Christian life. In turn, the collection *Biblioteca preotului ortodox* ensured the publication, by 1931, of 92 issues, with a circulation of almost one million copies (20,000 copies being published that very year).⁴⁷

The Greek-Catholic believers were also committed to the establishment of libraries. The Library of St. Mary’s Association had 208 volumes, read by about 100 people annually.⁴⁸ There were also libraries of the Greek-Catholic parishes and of AGRU at Bocsig, Șimand and Sinteia Mare.

Smaller scale undertakings, remaining generally at an early stage in the organisation of libraries, were made by the “Prince Carol” Royal Cultural Foundation. Concerns of this kind were sporadic and modest at the cultural centres from Tisa and

⁴³ Fr. Dr. Pavel Vesa, *Episcopii Aradului 1706-2006*, Arad: Editura Gutenberg Univers, 2007, p. 281.

⁴⁴ “Biblioteca Preotului Ortodox,” in *Biserica și școala*, LIV, no. 4 of 26 January 1930, p. 9.

⁴⁵ Fr. Dr. Pavel Vesa, *op. cit.*, p. 282.

⁴⁶ “Biblioteca creștinului ortodox,” in *Biserica și școala*, L, no. 30 of 25 July 1926, p. 7.

⁴⁷ “Viața spirituală pe granița de Vest. De vorbă cu P.S.S Episcopul Grigorie al Aradului despre activitatea din 1931 a eparhiei,” in *Biserica și școala*, year LV, no. 5 of 31 January 1931, p. 1.

⁴⁸ A.N.R.S.J.A., *Fond P.J.A.*, file 237 /1933, f. 96.

Gura Văii. The library from the “Gheorghe Lazăr” Cultural Centre in Cladova was disorganised, almost non-functional, having only seven books and a few magazines.⁴⁹ In 1938, the foundation offered a library to the Cultural Centre of Petriș, its value amounting to 45,000 lei.⁵⁰

The action of setting up libraries in the rural environment was to register, starting in 1932, systematic and consistent efforts, given the establishment of the “*Concordia*” Romanian Cultural Foundation, following the takeover of the assets and liabilities of the old printing institute of the same name. The purpose of the foundation was to promote culture among the “masses of people” in Arad through the establishment of libraries throughout the county, beginning in the most remote localities.⁵¹ The new libraries were designed to contribute to “the cultural elevation of the Romanian population in Arad County, through the dissemination of educational knowledge, in the national and Christian spirit.”⁵² Thus, an older ideal expressed by Vasile Goldiș could be implemented, in line with his notion that a library could be really useful only when “before all else, it contains books that are appropriate to the level of culture and the standard of living of those for which it is intended...”⁵³

Concerned to provide the urban dwellers with the opportunity to read “good and useful books,” the “Concordia” Society set up 15 popular libraries up until 1938, with a total of 5,455 books, in places like: Hălmagiu, Gurahonț, Săvârșin, Șofronea, Petriș, Tisa, Aradul Nou, Pleșcuța, Zimbru, Miniș, Gura Văii, Bonțești, Târnova, Vărădia de Mureș and Arad-Grădiște.⁵⁴ Of these libraries, which were equipped with the necessary furniture, enabling a rigorous management of the books, 10 were transferred to the Astra circles in those localities, 2 were entrusted to the cultural centres of the “Prince Carol” Foundation, and 3 were made available to other cultural societies.⁵⁵

Whether they were housed by school clubs, community centres and houses or the headquarters of certain societies, libraries benefited from the readers’ interest, as shown by the figures representing the volumes borrowed within a period of about one year and a half: 1,129 volumes (Hălmagiu), 952 (Săvârșin), 822 (Gurahonț), 536 (Tisa).⁵⁶ At the same time, the library from Vărădia de Mureș, hosted by the cultural centre, had 400 volumes and registered 200 readers within one year.⁵⁷ In terms of content, religious books had a share of 25%, agricultural topics accounted for 12%, literature - 33%, and works that provided useful knowledge - 30%. The preferences expressed by the readers - amongst whom the highest percentages were those of the peasants and the students - were oriented mainly to works of literature and to works providing useful knowledge.

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, Fond F.C.R.P.C., file 1/1938-1939, f. 40.

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, Fond P.J.A., file 276/1938, f. 27.

⁵¹ *Ibidem*, Fond personal Ioan Suci, file 2/1907, f. 137.

⁵² Octavian Lupaș, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

⁵³ Apud Dan Demșa (coord.), *op. cit.*, p. 27.

⁵⁴ Octavian Lupaș, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 30.

⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 32-36.

⁵⁷ A.N.R.S.J.A, Fond P.J.A., file 276/1938, f. 27.

Besides their actual purpose, the “Concordia” libraries had to develop cultural activity nuclei, offering various means to attract the public to reading books and seeking to convey more encompassing effects on the education thereof. The objectives that were set at the beginning of the action and were carried out accordingly included the organisation of cultural soirees, with readings from the library books, listening to the radio, the setting up of farmers’ schools, or the creation of a “book-selling office” next to the library, which allowed the readers to purchase books and newspapers. Of the 15 libraries, 9 were offered to the Astra circles on their very establishment, just like the libraries from Gurahonț and Săvârșin were founded simultaneously with the launching of the local farmers’ schools.⁵⁸ Also, thanks to collaboration with Astra and, often, with the Normal School in Arad, the inauguration of the “Concordia” libraries was made, in most cases, as part of cultural programs that rallied the participation of almost the entire village. One such moment (a cultural soiree, a cultural program of the Normal School students, with the participation of well-known personalities such as Caius Lepa, Ion Lipovan, Traian Mager) was held at Brusturi on 26 June 1938. On this occasion, a popular library was donated to the local Astra circle, established at that time. On the same day and under similar circumstances, popular libraries were inaugurated at Măgulicea and Aciuva.⁵⁹

The total cost of book acquisitions was 95,106 lei. To the funds provided by the society were added financial contributions from the National Bank of Romania (20,000 lei) and from the Arad Branch of *Banca Ardeleană* (2000 lei). Moreover, Astra donated 287 volumes, while the National Bank of Romania and the Ministry of Agriculture and Domains offered 242 and, respectively, 11 volumes.⁶⁰

Despite the difficulties encountered and the shortcomings pertaining to the organisation of the rural libraries in Arad, they and especially the libraries of “Concordia” Society represented one of the fundamental factors of enculturation. Along with schools, the church, cultural houses and centres, the women’s associations and other cultural societies, libraries exerted beneficial effects for the education of the individual and for the progress of society.

⁵⁸ Octavian Lupaș, *op. cit.*, pp. 35-36.

⁵⁹ “Note,” in *Innoirea* (Arad), I, no. 20 of 1 July 1938, p. 8.

⁶⁰ Octavian Lupaș, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-22.

BETWEEN LIVED HISTORY AND NARRATED HISTORY: REPRESENTATIONS OF SPACE, SOCIAL RELATIONS AND MANIFESTATIONS OF LOVE IN TIMES OF WAR

Abstract: This article valorises testimonies about World War II, focusing on identifying the outlooks of two distinct types of informants: married vs. unmarried soldiers. Resorting to mirror or individual testimonies, depending on the subject under consideration, this study approaches: the soldiers' relation to their area of origin during the war, the evolution of inter-human and love relationships in the context of war, and the marital choices that are available to unmarried soldiers after their return from the front. The preference for oral history sources and the interdisciplinary perspective from which the researcher's analysis is conducted represent the specific coordinates of this study, which is projected at the interface between lived history and narrated history.

Keywords: World War II, at-homeness, battlefield, God, marriage.

Directions of research, conceptual benchmarks

This study joins previous attempts to render the experience of war, emphasising aspects pertaining to World War II and valorising the testimonies of two informants, G.N. and G.I., coming from two villages located in the commune of Șinca-Veche from Brașov County: Perșani and, respectively, Șercăița. At the time of his departure to war, the informant G.N. was unmarried and left his widowed mother and his one year and a half younger sister at home, while G.I., who was already married, went to war leaving his wife and new-born daughter at home. The study aims to highlight the particular manner in which the unmarried and, respectively, the married soldier approached war. These mirror testimonies retrieve details concerning the manner in which the two types of soldiers related affectively and effectively to the world back home - their vision of their space of origin - and the manner in which human and family relationships were maintained during wartime. In addition to these, love in time of war - from the point of view of the unmarried soldier - and the consequences of war on the young man's marital options represent perspectives rendering the way in which the war reconfigures social space and human relations.

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History, as an official or pragmatic entity, is joined by oral history, which makes use of the possibilities of memory and testimony. Oral history pays attention to "the individual historical experience caused by History with a capital H,"² valorising lived history and shared (narrated) history. Lived history is the actual experience of an

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² Doru Radosav, "Editorial," in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Orală*, Cluj-Napoca: Ed. Presa Universitară Clujeană, vol. 5, no. 1, 2004, p. 5.

individual, an existential path superimposed upon history, a voyage through history that may be accompanied or not by an actual awareness of its great founding events. Narrated history is the discourse an individual adopts towards certain historical events, relying, in its construction, on the resources of lived history, which are regarded as discursive points of reference.

If memory is a process that involves imprinting, maintaining and refreshing information, then the role it plays is both that of a storage space and of a channel that mediates the exchange between lived history and the concrete practice of testimony. Testimony, in turn, may influence memory, for repeatedly talking about a lived experience can reinforce certain manifestations of memory and obliterate others.

Oral sources represent, however, “a subjective production of documents (through interviews, provoked dialogue, questionnaires, etc.),” serving not only as a pretext for a series of interpretations that the interviewed subject engages in, but also “underlying the discursive innovation that the historian sets forth in deconstructing by-gone reality.”³ It should be noted that individuals who are placed in a position where they recount their own past tend to produce a self-discourse that tallies with their current role in the community and is in line with their present-day values and interests. Participants in World War II take on, above all, the position of grandparents and great-grandparents and their entire discourse undergoes considerable mutations for the sake of preserving a self-image that may be set as an example for the younger generations. As Smaranda Vultur also contends, “we are dealing here with more general mechanisms of memory, which is always selective and undergoes reconstruction based on the ‘social frameworks’ of the present.”⁴ Oral history, however, does not belong only to the interviewee, but also to the interviewer - the oral historian who observes, throughout the interview, adopting the position of an anthropologist⁵ and enhancing each testimony with his own interpretation.

It is this subjectivity of the sources that is specific to oral history, which stands apart in that it is concerned less with the event itself than with the meaning or the sense of that event⁶ - the echo it leaves among those who experienced it.

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Those left at home: the perspective upon the space of origin

If a battlefield also lends itself to metaphorical meanings, as a metaphor-concept that encompasses both its own significance of a “territory on which military action is waged in time of war”⁷ and the figurative sense of a context that determines and

³ Idem, “Istoria orală și etnotextul: afinități subiective,” in *Anuarul de Istorie Orală*, Cluj-Napoca: Ed. Presa Universitară Clujeană, XII, 2010, pp. 5-6.

⁴ Smaranda Vultur (coord.), “Postfață. Memorie și identitate,” in *op. cit.*, p. 334 *apud* Maurice Halbwachs, *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire*, Paris: PUF, 1950.

⁵ Luisa Passerini (a cura di), *Storia orale: vita quotidiana e cultura materiale delle classi subalterne*, Torino: Rosenberg & Sellier, 1978, p. XVII.

⁶ Alessandro Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories. Form and Meaning in Oral History*, Albany State University of New York Press, 1991, p. 50.

⁷ Academia Română, Institutul de Lingvistică „Iorgu Iordan”, *Dicționarul Explicativ al Limbii Române*, second edition, Bucharest: Ed. Univers Enciclopedic, 1998, p. 400.

augments the soldiers' life struggles and inner conflicts, then we can similarly build the semantic sphere of the word "at-homeness." To a soldier's mind, at-homeness becomes an idealised space, constructed in antithesis with the concrete space of the battlefield, a place that is almost immaterial, transferred onto the mental level, a product of the soldiers' memories and aspirations of returning to the familial space. At-homeness acts as a motivator when it overlaps with those left back home - the family - those in relation to whom the struggle for survival acquires meaning. As Caracostea intimates regarding the soldiers' determination during the Battle of Mărășești, in World War I, "the spiritual grounds of resistance and offence" rest on "the feelings of ownership and family as the prime support"⁸ - in other words, feelings derived from the soldiers' representation of the space back home. While the battlefield dehumanises, home is the space in which humanity made sense. In relation to home, man is crowned with a story, with a past, the individual acquires a shape and a personality - that is, an individuality;⁹ by contrast, the war intensifies the "collective spirit," the uniform representing "an important means not only of recognition, but also of internal standardisation"¹⁰ - an attempt to create a common mentality around the battlefield. On the frontline, a soldier's status is assigned from a numerical perspective, as he is part of a military unit's total manpower, or from a technical standpoint, it is a space where his strength and ability to execute tasks are valorised; *at home*, however, he is valued for his human side and the role he plays in the family.

Another nuance that is necessary at this stage of the analysis is that, as viewed by a war participant, the World is divided into two main zones: the area of the battlefield and that of the outside world. There is, however, another, primordial distinction with which traditional man operates: that between the world of the living and the world of the dead, a classifying tendency that is particularly noticeable on the front, where one is "subject to death at any moment."¹¹ This need to divide the realities with which humans operate is specific to traditional cultures, in which man is less attached to the idea of homogeneity, as for him "the primary representation of reality requires an awareness that there exist an inside and an outside, the latter both opposing and representing an extension of the former."¹²

Ernest Bernea proposes the following representation of space: space seen as a place (the concrete, surrounding space) and space regarded as a horizon (an expression that can have both a geographical and a symbolical meaning) or as the world (the space

⁸ Dumitru Caracostea, *Aspectul psihologic al rasboiului*, Bucharest: Ed. Cartea Românească, 1922, p. 110.

⁹ See Ștefania Cristescu-Golopenția, *Gospodăria în credințele și riturile magice ale femeilor din Drăguș (Făgăraș)*, third edition, Bucharest: Ed. Paideia, 2002, pp. 44-45: "we consider that an analysis of the structure of the family group as an expression of the spiritual function (component) of the household cannot be devoid of interest. In this group of restricted social life, each member has not only his or her own ancient work purpose, but also his or her own deep and, perhaps, just as ancient spiritual life purpose."

¹⁰ Dumitru Caracostea, *op. cit.*, pp. 226-227.

¹¹ Informant: G.N., Perșani village, the commune of Șinca-Veche, Brașov County. See Iulia Stanciu, "Al Doilea Război Mondial - între memoria afectivă și cercetarea etnologică," in Alina Branda, Ion Cuceu, Cosmina Timoce (ed.), *Teme actuale în cercetarea etnologică și antropologică*, Cluj-Napoca: Ed. Fundației pentru Studii Europene, 2011, p. 81.

¹² Adrian Crupa, *Identitate și alteritate în cultura tradițională. Realitatea tradițională*, Iași: Ed. Tehnopress, 2011, p. 185.

in its largest acceptance).¹³ Based on this interpretation, we may infer that going to war is likely to overturn a soldier's horizon; moreover, the battlefield becomes the concrete space of reference, the place, while what used to be the place takes on the shape of the world.

At the same time, a soldier tends to correlate spatial reality with an inner reality, which he experiences within himself. Thus, while the battlefield is a determined (by conflict), artificially created, forcibly constructed reality, the world outside the front is personal reality in a state of stagnation, a reality he abandoned when he departed from the village and subsequently transferred into his mind. For every soldier, the outer reality of the front is different, it is constructed differently. It starts from the exact layout of the house (household) from the space of origin, but is built under the aegis of the imagination, as long as the soldier, who is now away, no longer has concrete references about the situation back home. It is essential to understand the unbreakable bond that the soldier maintains with the space of origin, which is equally a representation of the image that the individual has created about himself. Beyond the material coordinates of the household, it also retains "a clearly spiritual aspect, whose support is the family group as an expression of human life and spiritual activity."¹⁴ The emotional connection with the home space is very strong for a soldier who goes to war, especially since the distance leads him to retrieve only the positive valences of the place of origin, rendering it as a compensatory space in relation to the brutalising space of the battlefield. However, there are also moments where the two levels intersect, and the real poses a threat to what the imaginary might wish to preserve unaltered:

"We were in Hungary and, at night, these guys ripp'd off the Hungarian women, 'cause they were asleep, poor, wretched things, and one of 'em notic'd the bacon and nabb'd the bacon. Now, what was the deal? Who was in this? The group commander and two, three others, if ya know what I mean? For, to tell ya the truth, I wouldn't have done this for what's in the world, ya know? And they grabb'd the bacon from a Hungarian house, ya know, we used to make bacon like they made it, 'cause if we were ahead of the Wallachians and the Oltenians, 'twas because of the Hungarians or the Austro-Hungarians, 'cause they were more advanc'd than we were. And as I came out from a narrow alley, that was in Hungary, I ran across one of us, a Romanian, and he says: "Jes', run G., 'cause they're catchin' up with you!" There were two women, 'twas, for example, either a daughter- and a mother-in-law, or a daughter and her mother, or... well, ya could see there was a gap of one generation, ya know? And I felt so bad 'bout it that... Why? Why will you point a gun to a woman who's never seen a weapon before?! And I say to him: 'Listen, here, if this girl was ya sister and this woman was ya mother, what would ya do? Seein' someone goin' after them with a rifle, would ya stomach that, huh? Well, aren't ya asham'd of ya'self? They may have no bite left for tomorrow! And where could they find grub to give ya some too! Ya, for better or worse, have three meals a day!,' 'cause ya should know that we had good food. He lower'd his eyes and left."¹⁵

¹³ Ernest Bernea, *Spațiu, timp și cauzalitate la poporul român*, second revised edition, Bucharest: Ed. Humanitas, 2005, pp. 101-103.

¹⁴ Ștefania Cristescu-Golopenția, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

¹⁵ Informant: G.N., Perșani village, the commune of Șinca-Veche, Brașov County.

The image of women against whom acts of violence are perpetrated is revealing for our informant, forcing him to acknowledge the vulnerability of the women in his family, who were left home alone. The unmarried soldier's imaginary tends to recuperate the stances of his mother and sister, while the married informant tends to be sensitised by the presence of young children:

“We us'd to barge into houses to see if we could find somethin', we would go into houses like this... And where we could see women with children, we would ask for food. Those who had gave us some, those who didn't, wouldn't... If the wench had nothin' and started to cry, sayin' 'I got nothin'' and 'kids' in Russian, we would leave and let her be... I really didn't fancy just takin' stuff, ya know! If she gave me some, I took it, said thanks, but wouldn't grab it by force, no sirree...”¹⁶

These possible representations of women in wartime lead the soldiers to become aware of the social threats endangering the women they left home alone. It's a game of imaginary substitution, which increases their sensitiveness, but we are also dealing with certain norms, expressions of popular wisdom, which are deeply entrenched in our traditional collective mentality. Expressions like “one good turn deserves another,” “no good deed goes unpunished” or “he who steals will get his deserts” are products of folk wisdom, which has an important role in regulating behaviour. These moral norms may have influenced the behaviour of the interviewed soldiers.

Based on a religious perspective, the traditional vocabulary also retains proverbs such as “God cometh with leaden feet, but striketh with iron hands,”¹⁷ “Whom God will destroy, He first makes mad,”¹⁸ “God stays long, but strikes at last,”¹⁹ “God's mill grinds slow but sure,”²⁰ all of these being complementary to the idea that everyone will get what they deserve. These latter expressions may be seen as vulgarised interpretations of rudimentary religious knowledge and reinforce the assumption that the Christian undertones of Romanian traditional culture are derived from dogmatic Christianity, in the sense of following the spirit rather than the letter of the Law.²¹ The reinterpretation of the Christian teaching, with the aim of developing rules that may also function as social, secular guidelines and regulate the conduct of traditional man can go sometimes so far as to overthrow religious paradigms, leading to even more explicit expressions than the above, such as: “If you do wrong, be afraid of God”²² or “God's debt remains outstanding to no one.”²³ This image of a punishing God is a misrepresentation of the Christian teaching, set amid the tendencies of the peasants' mentality to change, refine or distort traditional religious motifs according to the laws of collective psychology,

¹⁶ Informant: G.I., Șercăița village, the commune of Șinca-Veche, Brașov County.

¹⁷ I.A. Candrea, *Dicționar de proverbe și zicători*, second edition, Târgoviște: Ed. Bibliotheca, 2002, p. 72, item 1182.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 25, item 1002.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 24, item 989.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 52, item 2578.

²¹ Adrian Crupa, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

²² I.A. Candrea, *op. cit.*, p. 71, item 3686.

²³ I.A. Candrea, *op. cit.*, p. 72, item 3704.

integrating these data within their mental horizon and quotidian life,²⁴ according to their possibilities of comprehension.

From the perspective of the situations described above by the two informants, we incline to believe that the emotional impact produced by correlating the images of the foreign women with those of their own mothers, wives or daughters left back home has sensitised the actants, causing their self-censorship. What is created thus is, in Ștefania Cristescu-Golopenția's terms, "adherence to superstition"²⁵: in an attempt to avoid a similar fate befalling the women back home, the soldiers repress their own impulses. This is verified by the fact that even the proverbs that seem to be tributary to a religious sentiment ("If you do wrong, be afraid of God" or "God's debt remains outstanding to no one") are essentially forecasts concerning a potential fatality, which demands that individuals should remain compliant with this entire system of superstitious beliefs.

An easily foreseeable dilemma crops up here: could attachment to a divine force and the regulation of behaviour in keeping with the norms of religious morality also be meanings that are subsequently added to certain actions? In the act of evoking, the informant re-lives his own self from the perspective of the man he is at present and of his current outlook on life, and it is not always the case that his perspective from the past was sifted through a religious conscience.²⁶ Still, there are many authors who have deemed that man has a privileged relationship with God in time of war. For instance, as regards the psychological aspects entailed by World War I, Dumitru Caracostea showed that the disquietude of one who was in the immediate proximity of death would instinctively lead the one who was overwhelmed with fear toward God.²⁷ Caracostea nuanced his interpretation, launching the idea that the war and its convulsions actualised certain spiritual needs that could emerge as critical determinants of the religious experience.²⁸

Ernest Bernea also proposed the following grid for understanding popular religiosity: since religion had a dominant function in the life of Romanian villages, it had the role of organising village life, social unity and, above all, spiritual order, in all its forms and meanings.²⁹ According to the Romanian peasants, the portrait of God was structured around the idea that "God is always the meaning of that which is

²⁴ Toader Nicoară, "Repere ale unei istorii a sentimentului religios," in Sorin Mitu, Florin Gogâltan, *Viață privată, mentalități colective și imaginar social în Transilvania*, Cluj-Napoca: Ed. Presa Universitară Clujeană, 1996, p. 171.

²⁵ Ștefania Cristescu-Golopenția, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

²⁶ See Florentina Scârnci, Ștefan Ungureanu, *op. cit.*, p. 24: "Different from exterior, conventional, uniform and static time, our interviewees have their own time, an inner, subjective time, measurable in emotions, experiences, without a concrete duration. (...) Memory plays a leading role in determining this time. It is a psychological, qualitative, colourful time, placed under the sign of a human consciousness, which can really be stopped with the power of the mind. Time appears thus as a result of the interviewees' spiritual development. It is also a circular time, in which all things have their own time (even if the subjects state this *a posteriori*, as a possible justification for the manner in which the events occurred), thus giving time a regulatory sense too."

²⁷ Dumitru Caracostea, *op. cit.*, p. 243.

²⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 244.

²⁹ Ernest Bernea, *Civilizația română sătească*, Bucharest: Ed. Vreamea, 2006, p. 65.

unchangeable and that which is changeable, it is the cause of all things.”³⁰ We may assume that the Romanian soldiers who went to war were likely to take with them this manner of relating to God from their place of origin, and that during wartime this outlook could be intensified, magnified or enhanced.

This is the opinion upheld by the historian Doru Radosav, in his book entitled *Sentimentul religios la români* [*Religious Sentiment among the Romanians*], according to whom: “the death event causes a ‘deeply religious reflex,’ which ultimately fuels Christian sensibility”³¹.

Whereas the soldiers mentally reconstruct the outside world based on their memories and amid confrontations with situations of the type described above, those left back home are considerably deprived of imagination sources, the limited possibilities of maintaining a correspondence with their sons or husbands who left for war thwarting almost any attempt to get in touch with their world:

“We were conscripted on 1 March, they took us to Făgăraș, but we only stayed there a month, after that they shipp’d us to the Mountain Huntsmen and took us there, in Moldova, between Suceava and Rădăuți. I was with a guy from ‘round here, P. T. I., that one, he died, he was two years older than me, yes, he was very scrawny and they’d only just then conscripted him... ‘cause I was at, I was with the antitank guns and he was on the same cannon as I was, and the platoon commander remov’d him from position ‘cause he had an appendectomy and then he came back to the country and I was left alone. He died here, at Hoghiz. They knew nothin’ ‘bout me, if I was still alive, for three years or so. I wrote a letter from captivity, I wrote two, but I know one got home. A letter could take 5-6 months to get there. ‘Cause I wrote a letter just before we were set free from the camp, there, with... not a month before, and I sent it and then I came home in the fall and the letter came, it came only in the spring. But I’d been at home since the fall.”³²

This perspective upon the symbolic space of at-homeness, which becomes, once again, a concrete space, and upon this letter that traverses, somewhat anachronistically, reality sheds light upon the manner in which the war marks, even retroactively, the families of those who left for the front.

Even military cadences or jody calls, products of the village world, attest to the meagre knowledge that those who are left back home have about the situation on the front. In the descriptions embedded in these songs, the focus tends to be on the space of origin, in a time of war; references to war highlight the impact this has on village life, in general, and on the young people who were forced to leave, in particular. These songs express pain and allude to the death of those who departed, being accompanied to the “station, a place that had become synonymous with the point of crossing over to the

³⁰ Ernest Bernea, *Timpul la țaranul român: contribuție la problemele timpului în religie și magie*, Bucharest: Ed. “Bucovina” I.E. Torouțiu, 1940, p. 23.

³¹ Doru Radosav, *Sentimentul religios la români. O perspectivă istorică (sec. XVII-XX)*, Cluj-Napoca: Ed. Dacia, 1997, p. 155 *apud* J. Toussaert, *Le sentiment religieux en Flandre à la Fin du Moyen Âge*, Paris, 1963, p. 205.

³² Informant: G.I., Șercăița village, the commune of Șinca-Veche, Brașov County.

other world.”³³ But these songs accompany, to an equal extent, the women’s rite of passage into the other world, into the other social space that is recreated immediately after the men leave for war. On the other hand, there is a question of a transfer of the men from one world into another, from the world of the living into the world of possible dead, confirmed by the traditional sensitivity through the performance of these military chants, grafted upon the scheme of funeral laments: “And I have today, and I have tomorrow, / And I’ll leave you, village, no matter the sorrow. / And the enemies rejoice will, thorough / and the enemies rejoice will, thorough. / Only I will grieve the knowledge / That I have to leave my village. / Come, my lassie, to the station / See the train take us in some direction. / Carry us from station to station, / Away from our country, into action. / Wail for me, mother, with longing / For I’ve been your worthy offspring. / And took the bull by the horn / and ploughed all your field with corn. / And when all the field I’d ploughed, / The Germans took me anyhow. / And do turn, lassie, into clouds of stars / Above my barracks, seen from quite afar / And do talk to the colonel / Lest he should beat the boy infernal. / Lest he should put the boy on guard, / For he’s so youngish and sleeps quite hard.”³⁴

In funeral rituals, dirges are a form of communication between the living and the dead, just like jody calls are a form of communication between those who stay at home and those who go to war - an expression of pain. It is interesting that through the theme they propose, these ritual markings work simultaneously as disjunctive and conjunctive elements, emphasising, on the one hand, the rift that emerges between the two worlds, but creating, on the other hand, a link between them.

Ultimately, like funeral dirges, jody calls represent a ritualistic obligation, as Gail Kligman contends, communication between the living and the dead becoming possible through these “mediated forms,” which include wailing, almsgiving, dreaming. These interactions mark the hierarchical relations between the living and the dead, in which the former have to fulfil certain obligations towards the departed.³⁵ In the traditional space, as Gail Kligman has shown, it is deemed that “not mourning the dead is a sin,” every person buried without being mourned amounting to a gesture of “a defiance towards God.”³⁶

Another similarity with the wailing of funeral rituals may be detected at the level of the thematic elements: the mother’s weeping or wailing (“Wail for me, mother, with

³³ Eugenia Bârlea, *Perspectiva lumii rurale asupra primului război mondial*, Cluj-Napoca: Ed. Argonaut, Cluj-Napoca, 2004, p. 173.

³⁴ Informant: T.I., Șinca-Nouă village, the commune of Șinca-Nouă, Brașov County. We may find different versions of this soldiers’ chant in the collection coordinated by the Directorate for Social Services and Military Traditions, the Folklore Archive Institute of the Romanian Academy, the Department of Military History and the Military Circle of Cluj-Napoca, *Cântecul de cătănie. Repertoriu și marginalii la primele două ediții ale Festivalului Național al Cântecului Popular de Cătănie (1994-1995)*, Cluj-Napoca: Ed. Dacia, 1997, p. 49; See, for instance: “Wail for me, mother, with longing / For I have been your worthy offspring / Handsome, mother, you did make me / But no avail would come or glee / Though you were fond, mother, of me / For I was sworn to fight under the Germans, see” (Băița, Bihor).

³⁵ Gail Kligman, *Nunta mortului. Ritual, poetică și cultură populară în Transilvania*, second edition, Iași: Ed. Polirom, 2005, p. 110.

³⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 110. See Teodor T. Burada, *Datinile poporului român la înmormântări*, Bucharest: Ed. Saeculum I.O., 2006, p. 131.

longing”), accompanying the dead on the last road (“Come, my lassie, to the station / See the train take us in some direction”), cosmic space - as the space of connection, both between the living and the dead, and between those situated at great distances from one another but united by the celestial horizon - (“And do turn, lassie, into clouds of stars / Above my barracks, seen from quite afar”), the meditation on life, articulated by the virtue of worthiness (“For I’ve been your worthy offspring”), etc.

If we related to the scheme proposed by Philippe Ariés, we might say that the traditional society feels the need to tame wild - brutalising, fearful, unjust - death, which it correlates with the concept of war and which men are faced with from the moment they leave the village, composing, therefore, jody chants as a sort of funeral dirge *avant la lettre*, designed to appease both the suffering of those left behind and the fears of those who go away. A jody chant is, thus, a text with a twofold referentiality, which involves a traditional solemnity, specific to the peasantry who take care to mark every great passage, every voyage to another space through such a versified talisman (this is also the case of wedding chants or funeral lyrics).

If, typically, the “terror of death is overcome by the ensemble of gestures and beliefs focusing on the eternity of the soul and the afterlife, which is reiterated by the priest and the wailers on the occasion of every death,”³⁷ a possible death on the front, away from the possibilities of those left back home to intervene, can only be tamed in advance, making use of the imaginative resources of the space of origin, the sole space that the people back home can master and represent to themselves. What should also not be overlooked is the fact that for the one who has left for war, the possibility of performing a jody chant - with specific reference to the place of origin - is an extremely beneficent gesture of release and liberation. Jody chants are thus reinforced and replenished every time they are performed by soldiers going to war, which keeps them connected to the world of home and strengthens their imaginative resources.

In contrast to the moment of departure to war, the episode of returning from the front, seen as a route at the end of which the symbolic space re-acquires concrete meaning, is an episode dedicated entirely to those left behind. The soldier dedicates himself to concrete reality again, an effort that involves an exercise of social, family reintegration, of psychological and emotional recovery. The return back home comprises at least four distinct phases: the triggering element - news of the end of the war, the return journey to the homeland (the place of origin), re-entry into the community of origin (the reception that the returning soldier gets from the villagers, whom he encounters on the village border - reconfirmation received from the community) and family reintegration (most of the time, this coincides with an emotional moment, like getting reunited with a loved one). In the narrative of the next informant, all four stages are identifiable:³⁸

1) “He came, t’was in the evenin’, the camp commander, who was Romanian, was a very smart man.... And he’d chat with us in the evenin’, like this: ‘Listen, he says, I’d tell you something, but I’m not going to, ‘cause you won’t keep ya mouths shut!’.

³⁷ Bârlea, Eugenia, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

³⁸ We have chosen to present this testimony excerpt by excerpt in order to highlight more clearly the four specified stages.

‘Sir, we... do tell, for we won’t let anyone know!’ He says: “Ya oughtta know that we’ll soon be going home!’ We were dumbfounded... And so it happened that in the morning the order came: Everyone in the shower, we took a shower, they chang’d all our gear and the other mornin’ they took us out and the Russians came with the table and roll-called us: such-and-such, gave us a certificate... And there was 2,000 of us, took a while until they call’d all our names, linin’ us there, givin’ us food for a day and some money too, some money... And then they made us walk in a line and took us to the train station, took us to the train station...”

²⁾ “And there also came [people] from Sevastopole and they brought us into the country, down to Focșani. It was a large camp and that’s where they took us. They kept us there overnight, ‘cause they said they’d keep us in quarantine, but they didn’t. In the mornin’ the Romanian officers came and took us out into the yard and to the station and from there everyone made a run for wherever. I came to Ploiești and from Ploiești here, towards Brașov, just that I was on my own, there was no other from around here. And there was 2,000 of us who came and I was the only one. I arrived in Brașov at dusk and spent the night there ‘cause my train was only leavin’ in the mornin’. In Brașov I went to the cafeteria there, to that cook, I asked for a portion of food ‘cause I had the money, I gave it to her... And she saw me dress’d like that, I was wearin’ a German overcoat, with like clothes. ‘Where ya comin’ from?’ I say ‘See, I was a prisoner in Russia.’ Then she let me have another servin’ of food.”

³⁾ “And then in the mornin’ I took the train, came up to Pierșani, when I got off at Pierșani, there were about five men who’d come from Bucharest. I then I came to Șinca - at Șinca, there, at the end of Șinca, there was a tavern, and there was one who was my neighbour here! ‘Com’ on,’ he says, ‘let’s have a brandy!’ So, I went with him, if he took me! There were another four of ‘em, but they wouldn’t stay. I stayed there with that guy, had a brandy and then headed home. I know that here, at the village end, it was autumn time, 23 November, there were several people with cattle over there and we chatted for a while.”

⁴⁾ “I came home, in the village, and when I got home, my wife was comin’ from the valley. She’d been at my mom’s, doing the laundry. And when she saw me, there was S., my daughter, and M., I’s girl, they were friends. I went there, talk’d to them: ‘Which one is she?’ I couldn’t tell which one it was, ‘cause when I left she was little... ‘This is she!’ In the end, I recognis’d her! I stay’d there a bit and I came home. She was seven... I was 26 then, I’d got married when I was 19...”

While the married soldier may experience this reunion at a very deep emotional level, for the unmarried soldier, returning home is not necessarily laden with so much significance:

“Yea, well, she wasn’t expectin’ me. But there was great joy. Ya can imagine compared to the poor ones who’d died. Death was around the corner at all times.”³⁹

While the previous informant described his return to the village from an intrinsic perspective, presenting the sensations of one who had to rediscover, step by step, the world of home, this latter informant describes, in particular, the others’ reactions to his

³⁹ Informant: G.N., Perșani village, the commune of Șinca-Veche, Brașov County. See Iulia Stanciu, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

return - the world of home rediscovers him, but here the changes imposed by the war have become the norm, and it is a world that is in equal measure sceptical and dismayed. The two elements neutralise each other: “she wasn’t expectin’ me,” but “there was great joy,” describing the precarious spiritual condition and the low enthusiasm of the mother and the sister he’d left back home: they prefer somehow no longer to fuel their expectations about G.’s return and consider his absence as a natural given. Still, on the other hand, we indirectly understand that the difficulty of keeping the household, the daily concerns and the many roles assumed, including that of the dead husband and of the son who went to war, do not allow G.’s mother to express her suffering destructively, but lead her to channel it into work:

“Well, now, we had plenty of work back home. Poor mother, God forgive her, what a good mother I had! I mean, good... others might have said she was bad! Do you get it? But she was a hard-workin’ woman, worthy, worthy...”

From the same cycle of the others’ reactions to a soldier’s return home, we understand that interacting with the people in the village is somewhat conditioned by the relationships that existed before his leaving for war. After coming back home, the same attitudes tend to be resumed, for his departure may not be sufficient reason for cancelling out certain differences:

“These are things that, that some look happy to see ya, and there are others who are sorry to see you. And they say ‘why didn’t he stay there, damn him?!’ Yea, really. Such is the world. Such is the world.”

We noticed above that although the concrete manifestations at the level of the battlefield appeared hard to be grasped by those at home, the war - as a general context - is perceptible. War produces radical changes in the existence of the families of those departed, in terms of their roles and the pace of their work:⁴⁰ women assume many of the household duties normally reserved to men, as well as their social responsibilities. War dismantles a given reality and reorganises the social space, and women, who are traditionally projected as symbols of the interior and internalised space of the house, have to go out into the exterior space, that of the farm stead or the field - which, traditionally, belong to men.⁴¹ At the same time, war determines them to reconsider their relationship with those who are away, their longing and suffering being replaced by an

⁴⁰ Eugenia Birlea, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

⁴¹ See Ștefania Cristescu-Golopenția, *op. cit.*, p. 45: “In today’s social life of a village-based family group there is a certain division of labour which should be regarded, perhaps more so than anything else, as the true foundation underlying this division of spiritual purposes. In the economic life of the household, it is the woman who has the most difficult role, of course. Although she works in the field next to and almost equally hard as the man, her work does not end here. It is primarily she who has to do the other labour, inside the house: preparing the food, washing, sewing, weaving, tending to the poultry and the animals in the yard, etc. Almost the entire household is in her hands. The work that is indeed specific to a woman is that inside the household, that which is called domestic activity. This makes the woman more closely related to the whole household, as an organic unity, and to its central hub, the home, than the man, whose key concern is for the field, a reality that is somewhat exterior to the home, even though it is an essential element for the material life unit of the household. This particular way of differently centring life, with the man more likely to stay in the field - hence, outside - and the woman more likely to remain at home - hence, inside - as the result of an elementary division of labour, has also directed their spiritual life in distinct manner.”

almost ostentatiously displayed immunity, as a response to the need of these women, who were left alone, to support themselves.

Social relationships - love affairs: before and after the war

Immediately after returning home, the young men are usually faced with the problem of resuming their social roles. It is natural that the priority of the unmarried soldier should be re-assuming the role of an eligible young man. Closely related to the issue of marriage is the problem of the group of friends with whom he identifies on account of their similar expectations. The unmarried soldier's circle of friends undergoes changes during the war, and on his return, he is forced to rethink his social strategies. He may be confronted with the changes that the world back home has suffered (the disappearance of the former bonds of friendship and, sometimes, of former marital options) and have difficulty reintegrating himself in the specific traditional world, where solutions to problems may also be sought in the sphere of magic - unlike on the front, where such solutions were always practical, concrete. Thus, a soldier returning to the village may adopt an objective perspective upon things and become a keen observer of village life:

"I had two friends in the village. One was two years older than me and the other one year my senior. I was the youngest of them. I was also of a shorter build than 'em, yea, shorter and... And now, one of 'em, poor guy, died on the front... And... one of 'em stayed here, got married, he was married. And now, well, I would go out on the street in the village at dusk and I was all alone, I had no one and I made friends with that S. He's three years younger than me and I made friends with him. He was 'bout to go in the army and he would by all means get married and have his wife stay at home with his parents till he serv'd in the army. The parents wouldn't agree. They weren't against his marryin' A., but they were against it 'cause they knew they wouldn't be able to live with her until he came back. Well, there was a fair in Șercaia, it was in the autumn, like now, 'cause it's just two weeks since the Șercaia fair. There was a fair in Șercaia and his father went with some oxen, or I don't know what, he went to the fair and the mother went too. So, he and I, we got into a car and drove there. His mother and father went on foot, with the cattle. And he says to me: 'Hey, let's go see the Saxon woman! Let's go see the Saxon woman... let's see what the Saxon woman has to say!' Okay, we're goin' to the Saxon woman! No, when his turn came... "My boy, go and do your military service! And forget about getting' married! For look, you may get married now, and when you come from the army, you'll have to divorce her, take another one, and have kids with her! With the second one.' I asked the questions that had to be asked, he was not able to... he was shatter'd! I asked her that... if she would stay..., I mean if he didn't marry her now and married her after comin' back from the army, what did she think about it. That 'This is it!', she says, 'They can live together! But he shouldn't marry her before the army.' Now, do ya get it? And we went to the fair with his mother and father. He said so to me, he says, 'G., ya mustn't tell anyone anythin', but I'm gonna marry her even if I were to spend only two weeks with her.' 'Gee, why should I say anythin'? What's in it for me if I tell about this stuff?' Well... 'Ya shouldn't have to worry about me... 'cause I won't, I'm not doin' anythin' silly like that.' That's what I've always been in my life, I didn't like it, I didn't like foul things: lyin', stealin'... not those! I lov'd

bein' a fair man! And God has help'd me in this! No, what the Saxon woman said, that came true! Oh, he serv'd in the military and when he came back... can't help it, ya know, some people are wicked, ya see? There was one who, well, he put on airs that his father own'd a pub and what not, and he put on airs and boasted, well, in the village, he talk'd to the people in the village, ya know, sayin' that he did this, he did that, he..."⁴²

An objective, impartial observer of village life ("Gee, why should I say anythin'? What's in it for me if I tell about this stuff?"), "Ya shouldn't have to worry about me... 'cause I won't, I'm not doin' anythin' silly like that," "can't help it, ya know, some people are wicked, ya see?"), the soldier adopts a behaviour that is based on the same principles he referred to when he evoked his situation during the war: "That's what I've always been in my life, I didn't like it, I didn't like foul things: lyin', stealin'... not those! I lov'd bein' a fair man! And God has help'd me in this!" This self-characterisation resumes leit-motifs used in describing his status on the battlefield:

"In war it's exactly like durin' conscription. So if you're zappy, you're doin' honourably; I told the sub-lieutenant I'd done the job and he said, 'Well done, Nicălu! Good for you!'; Lord, thank you, Lord, thank you, 'cause God helped me, yes, but I also did my best to do well. I did my very best... from all points of view."⁴³

The testimony preceding the last is enlightening for the manner in which traditional society functioned, allowing magical rites and religious beliefs to coexist in a close, complementary relationship. Hence, the assumption of a double role, which our informant is aware of: on the one hand, he is the agent of superstitious practices and stays attune to ominous signs and, on the other, he is a man who seeks and appreciates God's help in his life.

Noting the religious manifestations of the villagers from Drăguș, Ștefania Cristescu-Golopenția points out the same tendency of people to merge the religious and the magical and emphasises that they experience religion "as a custom and not as a rigid and abstract dogma."⁴⁴

Ernest Bernea also provides references to the mysticity that is inherent in the Romanian peasants' general mentality, which he describes as "cohesive and organic" but defined by its "mystical character," since, indeed, the magical and religious activity "reigns supreme in the innermost recesses of the Romanian peasant's soul, colouring, therefore, all his other activities."⁴⁵ Bernea also contends that "religion and magic appear and function together in the village life because they have the same nature: a mystical nature."⁴⁶

"That's what I've always been in my life, I didn't like it, I didn't like foul things: lyin', stealin'... not those! I lov'd bein' a fair man! And God has help'd me in this!" - this is a reiterative statement of a personal moral, as long as this informant, as we shall see, negotiates even the choice of his wife in the same terms, emphasising the

⁴² Informant: G.N., Perșani village, the commune of Șinca-Veche, Brașov County.

⁴³ Informant: G.N., Perșani village, the commune of Șinca-Veche, Brașov County. See Iulia Stanciu, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-71.

⁴⁴ Ștefania Cristescu-Golopenția, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

⁴⁵ Ernest Bernea, *Timpul...*, p. 13.

⁴⁶ Ernest Bernea, *Civilizația...*, p. 66.

importance of humaneness, determination and character - a set of positive qualities. At the same time, reiterating these values at various stages of the interview can function as a summary statement of the informant's existential journey. There is this typical recipe, of a man who is attached to the traditional environment, structured on a series of desirable qualities, as Ștefania Cristescu-Golopenția also notices in her study dedicated to the villagers from Drăguș; according to this recipe, "diligence, skill and knowledge are required for success in life," these aspects being derived from traditional moral or wisdom. On the other hand, traditional wisdom retains the sense that "man does not depend solely on himself, but on the unseen forces of nature, which must be won in his favour through the very ancient customs the ancestors also complied with"; these invisible powers add an "extra quality to diligence, skill and human knowledge"⁴⁷ - an aspect that highlights traditional man's propensity towards the magical universe. Yet there is a perpetual syncretism between the magical and the religious elements, a syncretism created by the peasant himself and leading him towards "adherence to superstition,"⁴⁸ as we have previously shown.

The episode in which the two young eligible men go to the Saxon woman - who could cast lots with beans - in order to receive confirmation or refutation of the marital directions they wanted to embark on is also part of an attempt to "adhere to superstition." The two prove to trust the Saxon woman's possibilities of foretelling the future, but their subsequent behaviour differs. While S. rebels against fate, disobeying his parents and disregarding the augury received from the fortune-teller, our informant corroborates the information received from the Saxon woman and his mother's opinion, passing them through the filter of his own conscience, which renders his personal moral, derived from folk wisdom and personal experience, as the ultimate and most important decision factor:

"I was talkin' to M., the wife, and there was also a wife who'd been married and liv'd with her husband for only three months. But the people didn't blame her for this. They blam'd him. And she comes to me, and says: 'Look, it shows up here, here's a girl and a wife!' Listen to that, and a wife! How could she have known T. of I.? But I say to her: 'But as it's shown there, with whom could set up better house? The girl or the wife? Ya see? I say to her. And she says: 'With either, 'cause they both look like decent girls.' Now, let me tell you honestly that my mother insisted much on... That T. of I. had a lot of land... She had a whole lot of land and well, she tended, tended to more wealth, ya know? I, well, she told me that and I told my mother, ya know: 'Mom, here's the deal: as long as I am alive, I can make a fortune, but a fortune can't make a man!' If I want to... and eventually, I did!"

It is actually possible that the experience of war outlined, in the mind of the soldier, this deep understanding of his mission in the world, of his existential purpose. We may detect, thus, a reorganisation of the value system of the young man, freshly returned from the front, and, even more, the development of a much stronger sense of self: he knows now not just his aspirations but also his limits ("I can make a fortune").

⁴⁷ Ștefania Cristescu-Golopenția, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 60.

Equally interesting is the perspective that this informant provides as regards the circumstantial possibilities of the unmarried soldier to indulge in certain love affairs during wartime. From his point of view, love during war is, rather, an exercise in repression, as the young men demonstrate a programmatic rejection of stories they cannot ensure continuity:

“When I got out of the army in Budapest, we got off for I don’t know how long and I found her... I don’t know if she was Hungarian, but she spoke perfect Romanian. She kept insistin’ that I go with her. (...) And well, I didn’t want to go. I kept thinkin’ about it, it was like a comfort to me: “Ya know, I walk’d among bullets and cartridges for two years and God gave me health, there’s no point in getting involv’d with anyone, ‘cause I don’t know who she is.’ I thank’d her and said I didn’t have time, ‘cause the train was about to leave. And I turn’d her down.”⁴⁹

The same informant remembers another date, another possible love story, cut short by the same principles:

“I was on the front line and what did we do? The five of us set off with some cans, some rectangular pots, and we went to get some milk. Of course, we tried to do this about the unit, lest we should do something stupid. And there was a girl with some sheep, so beautiful, God bless her. She came with us and these guys went: ‘Hey, this one will stick to ya, ya’ll have to take her to Romania!’ (...) We talk’d by signs mostly. And like I said before, I never thought about things like that, gettin’ involved with anyone.”

These testimonies illustrate the difficulties inherent in the amorous choices these young men had to make and the dysfunctionality war had brought about in the sphere of their matrimonial options. Besides the examples presented above, indebted to morality, there will have been many other, clearly immoral situations. However, our attention should be focused on the elements that, even in such cases, determined self-control and self-censorship. God, one’s mother and sister remain the three primordial representations the soldier’s consciousness clings to, but there are also cultural or linguistic barriers that crop up in the context of love and/or marital options, which, at that time, were insuperable. On the other hand, these relations arising during times of war, in spaces that are foreign to the soldiers, are impossible to be continued on the level of reality, as long as the soldiers’ state of mind is extremely vulnerable and their psychological well-being is profoundly affected. Preferring to return home to the detriment of romance is, ultimately, the sign of maturing and developing a sense of responsibility to the world back home.

Conclusions

Our undertaking was intended as an exercise of bringing together several testimonials that would function as a bridge between the past and the present, in order to observe and valorise both the manner in which the traditional mind-set worked in the context of World War II and the perspective from which people describe and perceive themselves at present, as a result of the experiences that have defined them.

⁴⁹ Informant: G.N., Perșani village, the commune of Șinca-Veche, Brașov County. See Iulia Stanciu, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

Those presented above reveal a propensity towards making use of the vast possibilities of oral history in shaping a concurrently historical, cultural and identitarian discourse.

This study, which privileges oral sources, with interpretations veering towards the field of anthropology, proposes, therefore, an interdisciplinary perspective on a reality that straddles the boundary between pragmatic history and lived histories. Starting from the considerations of Luisa Passerini, according to whom oral history has the merit of confirming that there is no historical production outside the action of concrete individuals,⁵⁰ the present study outlines a framework for the manifestation of personal, internalised perspectives, which, at the same time, create history.

⁵⁰ Luisa Passerini, *Storia e soggettività: le fonti orali, la memoria*, Firenze, La Nuova Italia, 1988, p. 58.

THE SITUATION OF THE CATHOLIC DENOMINATION IN THE ROMAN CATHOLIC ARCHDIOCESE OF BUCHAREST (1948-1964)

Abstract: This study describes the situation of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Bucharest between 1948 and 1964. During this period, which can be described as one of extreme persecution for the Catholic Church in Romania, the Catholic clergy had to suffer as a result of their disobedience to the communist regime. Throughout this while, the members of this clerical elite were convicted and sentenced to many years in prison, after the state authorities rejected the Draft Statute for the Latin Rite the Catholic Church and suspended Bishop Alexandru Theodor Cisar. To compensate for the shortcomings of such an approach, the Communist government attempted to overlay an institution with an ephemeral vocation on the institutions of the Church. The “Catholic Action Committee” failed dismally and the “democratic priests” who attempted to create this parallel church were excommunicated. In this climate, the Holy See appointed and consecrated bishops without the recognition of the Romanian state, and continued to exist even after some of its institutions were suppressed. All these issues will be examined in the present study in detail, and the conditions under which the Church of Rome stayed in existence will be explained accordingly.

Keywords: Archdiocese, Archbishop, Cisar, Canon, jurisdiction

This study describes the situation of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Bucharest between 1948 and 1964. During this period, which can be described as one of extreme persecution for the Catholic Church in Romania, the Catholic clergy had to suffer as a result of their disobedience to the communist regime. Throughout this while, the members of this clerical elite were convicted and sentenced to many years in prison, after the state authorities rejected the Draft Statute for the Latin Rite the Catholic Church and suspended Bishop Alexandru Theodor Cisar. To compensate for the shortcomings of such an approach, the Communist government attempted to overlay an institution with an ephemeral vocation on the institutions of the Church. The “Catholic Action Committee” failed dismally and the “democratic priests” who attempted to create this parallel church were excommunicated. In this climate, the Holy See appointed and consecrated bishops without the recognition of the Romanian state, and continued to exist even after some of its institutions were suppressed. All these issues will be examined in the present study in detail, and the conditions under which the Church of Rome stayed in existence will be explained accordingly.

General historical background

Contemporary researchers have written about the Roman Catholic denomination during the “Iron Curtain” period using empirical methods and without being familiar with the

¹ The Ministry of Economy, the Directorate for SME Project Implementation, e-mail: mariusu1981@yahoo.com.

ecclesiastical language. In general, the situation is significantly different from that presented by secular historians, who do not present the historical context and who do not highlight the temporary nature of the appointments of the Roman Catholic clergy, an option dictated by the impulse of force. These confusions, especially those of a canonical nature, have led to an unwarrantable interpretation of the documents underlying the writing of ecclesiastical history, with reference to the Church of Rome. By taking into consideration only the documents issued by the totalitarian Communist state and ignoring the acts enacted by the Holy See, ecclesiastical history is obscured by the opinions of characters that belonged to the regime, with a questionable education, who describe the Catholic Church in surreal terms. In mentioning the communist era, the “Final Report of the Presidential Commission for the Analysis of the Communist Dictatorship in Romania,” submitted in 2006, devotes only one page to the Roman Catholic Church in Romania, and only a few lines to the situation of the Catholic Church in the Old Kingdom, attesting to the “collaborationist” character of the two clerics, Stanislav Traian Jovanelli² and Francisc Augustin,³ who did not even have canonical jurisdiction for the Archdiocese of Bucharest.⁴ Moreover, these two Catholic priests, who occupied a peripheral position in the Catholic hierarchy, were constantly invited to collaborate with the Communist regime and were imprisoned for various reasons. The former, on charges that he had allegedly mismanaged the vineyards from Topoloveni, belonging to the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Bucharest, “and that he has behaved like a true bourgeois exploiter,”⁵ in April, and the latter, on the grounds that he had supported a, “imperialist power,” the Vatican, carrying out an activity of “espionage” in favour thereof, in opposition with the interests of the “popular democratic” state. At the time when the two were arrested, on the territory of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Bucharest there was a strong opposition manifested by the Roman Catholic priests. The many attempts to intimidate the latter were doomed to failure. In an attempt to assess the situation of the Catholic denomination, a top secret document of the Central Committee of P.M.R., dated 7 April 1949, stated the following: “Unlike the Orthodox denomination, where bishoprics are rather administrative institutions, Catholic dioceses are true centres of spiritual resistance, especially given the large number of canons, honorary deans and Monsignors revolving around them. And

² Dănuț Doboș, “Din istoria Arhidiecezei Romano-Catolice București,” in *Pro Memoria*, no. 10-11/2011-2012, p. 290. Citing documents from the archives of the archdiocese, the researcher Dănuț Doboș mentions the following: “On 21 December 1949, can. Stanislav Traian Jovanelli was arrested by the Communist authorities and remanded to the Court of Muscel County, which, on 9 January 1950, sentenced him to one year and two months in prison, for violating Articles 3 and 6 of the Decision of the Ministry of Agriculture no. 547/1949 and of Ordinance no. 90/1949 issued by the Muscel County Committee, in conjunction with Article 2, letter a) of Decree no. 183/1949.”

³ As regards Francisc Augustin, he had a conviction in File No. 4563/953 - 4632/53 issued by the Bucharest Military Tribunal for “complicity in the crime of high treason p.p. under 191, comb. with Art. 190 C.P., comb. with Art. 6 of Decree 199 in that he facilitated at the same time the espionage activity of the above through their activity.”

⁴ ****Raportul Final al Comisiei Prezidențiale pentru Analiza Dictaturii Comuniste din România* [Final Report of the Presidential Commission for the Analysis of the Communist Dictatorship in Romania], Bucharest, 2006, p. 465.

⁵ Dănuț Doboș, *op. cit.*, p. 290.

the believers are involved in a series of religious associations, called congregations, such as the “Third Franciscan Order,” the “Congregation of Mary,” the “Altar,” the “Rosary” and so on; through these, they are instilled with religious fanaticism and are imposed the anti-democratic line of this church.”⁶

Alongside these descriptions, deliberate exaggerations were also used in order to distort the image of the Catholic Church in the Old Kingdom. For instance, the same aforementioned document mentioned the following: “the tactical line adopted by the Catholics in R.P.R. is that of apparent obedience in public,” but manifesting “a fierce resistance against the authorities’ actions, of challenges with a view to a new war (...) thus, Archbishop Alexandru Cisar receives his visitors with two fingers raised, meaning ‘another 2 months until the use of the atomic bomb’.”⁷ Throughout this while, “in Wallachia, emphasis is laid on the Bulgarians from Popești-Leordeni and Cioplea, as evidence that this belief is spreading among the Slavs too.”⁸ These were actually two communities of Catholic Pavlikeni Bulgarians, converted over 500 years before, in the surroundings of Nicopolis and moved from Bulgaria into the Romanian Countries, at around the time of the Russo-Turkish War (1806-1812), by the Italian Catholic missionaries, who had canonically administered the area north of the Danube too.⁹

Several levels can be distinguished in the analysis of the age under study, the first of which is represented by the concerns of the policy makers in Bucharest as regards the Catholic Church, while the second targets the opposition of the church, which wanted the Code of Canon Law enacted in 1917 to be respected, as the only legal instrument in force, at that time, aside from the Concordat, which regulated both the juridical relations within the Roman Catholic Church and its organisation. On 19 July 1948, without taking into account its rigors, the state unilaterally denounced the Concordat of 1929, between the Romanian state and the Church of Rome.¹⁰ On 3 October 1948, the Department of Religious Affairs demanded the senior Catholic hierarchy in Romania to submit a draft statute of organisation and operation “placed in accordance with the laws of the country.”¹¹ The only residential Catholic bishops who were still in office at that time, Márton Áron and Anton Durcovici, submitted a draft statute on 3 November 1948, which was rejected by the representatives of the Department of Religious Affairs on the grounds that it “does not respect the laws of the country or the principles of the popular Constitution.”¹²

We must emphasise that, at that time, Márton Áron and Anton Durcovici were the only titular bishops Latin bishops who held a position in the Catholic hierarchy at

⁶ The National Archives of Romania, the Central Historical Archives Service [hereinafter, ANRSAIC] fund: CC of PCR, the Administrative-Political Department, file 33/1949, f. 3-4.

⁷ *Ibidem*, f. 6.

⁸ *Idem*.

⁹ For an overview of the Pavlikeni population in Bulgaria and Wallachia, see, for example: Eusebius Fermendžiu, *Acta Bulgariae Ecclesiastica ab anno 1565 usque ad. a. 1799*, Academia Scientiarum ed Artium Slavorum Meridionalium, Zagrabie, 1887, Volumen Decimus Octavum, III.

¹⁰ Cornel Damian, “Concordatul între Sfântul Scaun și România. Aspecte istorico-juridice,” in *Pro Memoria*, no. 1/2002, p. 89.

¹¹ ANRSAIC, fund: Ministry of Religious Affairs. Studies Department, file 31/1956, f. 91.

¹² *Idem*.

the time, after the forced retirement of Augustin Pacha¹³ and the withdrawal of Alex. Th. Cisar,¹⁴ both measures being dictated by the Great National Assembly. The attitude of the Catholic episcopate, which did not accept allegiance to the regime, was natural, given that the Communist authorities had unilaterally denounced the Concordat with the Holy See, had dismantled the denominational schools and the religious orders, had expelled the diplomatic corps members of the Nunciature in Bucharest and had reduced to two the number of Catholic dioceses in Romania.¹⁵ After the arrest of Bishops Márton Áron and Anton Durcovici, their vicars general submitted a new draft statute on 6 September 1949, which did not differ from that drawn up by the Latin Rite Catholic bishops.¹⁶ Meanwhile, a part of the priests had been forced to join the “Catholic Action Committee” and the “democratic priests” had organised the conferences from Tg. Mureș (27 April 1950), Bucharest (24 May 1950) and Gheorghieni-Ciuc (5 September 1950), with the avowed aim of taking a stand against the senior Catholic hierarchy that had “disregarded the will of the clergy and the faithful.”¹⁷ On this occasion, they recorded a dismal failure, as these meetings did not reach the purpose for which they had been intended. To compensate for the shortcomings of these actions, the so-called “Calls to Peace” were launched, in order to eschew the Catholic priests unaffiliated to the “Catholic Action Committee.”

Thus, many priests were forced to sign these peace calls. Masking this initiative, what was attempted through the government representatives in the territory was the juxtaposition of an institution with an ephemeral vocation to a manifestation of faith, already present in the collective memory of the priests who had been through the two world wars.¹⁸ These manifestations did not bring anything new in the ecclesiastical landscape. The same clerical institution had consistently expressed its concern about the existence of armed conflicts, during the two world wars, and invited the priests and the laity to self-introspection. The papal encyclicals on this issue are suggestive; issued throughout the interwar period, they were replete with statements and calls about and for peace. Like the “Catholic Action Committee,” chaired by priests who had been excommunicated by the Holy See, the peace meetings found an echo only briefly

¹³ Claudiu Călin, “Dr. H.C. Augustin Pacha (1870-1954). Succinct excurs biografic al primului episcop de Timișoara,” in *Banatica*, no. 19 (2009), Reșița, p. 252.

¹⁴ Dănuț Doboș, “Preoți catolici în captivitatea comunistă. Arhiepiscopul Alexandru Theodor Cisar,” in *Pro Memoria*, no. 8/2009, p. 173.

¹⁵ Decree no. 177/1948 *for the general regime of religious denominations* (published in the Official Gazette no. 204 of 3 September 1948), mentioned the following provisions in Art. 22: “The religious denominations with diocesan organisations can have a number of dioceses proportional with the total number of believers. For the establishment and operation of eparchies (dioceses, superintendents), 750,000 faithful will be counted on average in every eparchy. The delineation of the eparchies and the distribution of believers into eparchies will be made by the statutory bodies of the respective denomination and will be confirmed by a decree of the Presidium of the Great National Assembly at the proposal of the Minister of Religious Affairs.”

¹⁶ ANRSAIC, fund: Ministry of Religious Affairs. Studies Department, file 31/1956, f. 91.

¹⁷ *Idem*.

¹⁸ See, for instance, the Encyclicals of Pope Pius XI: “*Acerba Animi*” (1932), “*Ad Salutem Humani*” (1930), “*Caritate Christi Compulsi*” (1932), “*Dilectissima Nobis*” (1933) etc. Through these encyclicals, the Sovereign Pontiff expressed his concern about the situation in the aftermath of the war, calling the Catholic priests and the believers of various denominations to self-communion for peace.

among the Catholic clergy. As Ovidiu Bozgan was to write, “Catholicism was one of the most formidable opponents of the Communist regimes in Eastern Europe and, logically, it was the victim of relentless repressive policies.”¹⁹

The particular situation of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Bucharest (19 July 1948-7 January)

The anti-Catholic policy began, as mentioned above, on 19 July 1948, through the unilateral cancellation of the Concordat between the Holy See and Romania (1929) by the Petru Groza Government. Immediately after the termination of the concordat convention with the Vatican, the subservient press triggered a furious campaign against the Catholic Church, coordinated by Ana Pauker, Gh. Gheorghiu-Dej and I. Chişinevski, the latter being appointed by Moscow to deal with the fate of religious denominations.²⁰ Shortly thereafter, on 3 August 1948, under Decree 176, and on 4 August 1948, under Decree 177, the denominational education system was disbanded and the statute governing the denominations in R.P.R. was reorganised.²¹ As a result of these measures, school education became the responsibility of the state; the religious orders were suppressed or tailored down their activity, while others left the country. The number of Catholic dioceses in Romania was also reduced, and Archbishop-Metropolitan Alexandru Theodor Cisar was “placed in retreat” on 18 September 1948, under Decree no. 1596 issued by the Presidium of the “Great National Assembly.”²² Without the possibility of exercising canonical jurisdiction, the Bishop of Bucharest handed his resignation to the apostolic Regent Gerald Patrick O’Hara, who, on 17 January 1948, notified Anton Durcovici, Bishop of Iaşi, that Pope Pius XII had accepted the resignation of Bishop Al. Th. Cisar and had appointed Anton Durcovici apostolic administrator of the Archdiocese of Bucharest.²³

The Archdiocese of Bucharest and the Diocese of Iaşi had been merged and were operating under the titlature of the Archdiocese of Bucharest-Iaşi, under the same Decree 177/1948. Thus, the canonical problems in the two existing dioceses (of Bucharest and of Alba Iulia) had to be subjected to the consultations of the two prelates, who still exercised their canonical jurisdiction.²⁴ By the express will of the Pope Pius XII, all the decisions that concerned the Latin Rite Catholics in Romania had to be taken after consulting Bishops Márton Áron and Anton Durcovici.²⁵ Having exercised their

¹⁹ Ovidiu Bozgan, *Cronica unui eşec previzibil. România și Sfântul Scaun în epoca pontificatului lui Paul al VI-lea (1963-1978)*, Bucharest: Ed. Cartea Veche, 2004, p. 36.

²⁰ Dănuț Dobos, “Aspecte ale represiunii comuniste împotriva Bisericii Romano-Catolice (1945-1964),” in *Pro Memoria*, no. 4/2005, p. 199.

²¹ *Ibidem*, p. 38.

²² ****Martiri pentru Hristos, din România, în perioada regimului comunist*, Bucharest: Editura Institutului Biblic și de Misiune al Bisericii Ortodoxe Române, 2007, p. 141.

²³ *Idem*.

²⁴ It should be noted that in jurisdictional terms, the Catholic dioceses had been disbanded only before the civil authorities of the Romanian state, as the Holy See did not recognise this suppression and appointed Substitute Ordinaries for the Catholic Dioceses of Oradea, Timișoara and Satu Mare, with canonical jurisdiction over these dioceses, which, in practice, continued to function.

²⁵ ****Martiri pentru Hristos, din România, în perioada regimului comunist*, Bucharest, 2007, p. 142.

powers under the Code of Roman Canon Law and having manifested themselves openly against the Communist regime, in June 1949 both Catholic bishops were arrested by the Securitate. On 29 June the same year, Apostolic Nuncio Alexandru O'Hara informed Alexandru Theodor Cisar that after the imprisonment of Bishop Anton Durcovici, the episcopal see of Bucharest had become vacant, and the Holy See had appointed Alexandru Theodor Cisar as apostolic administrator *ad nutum sedis* of the Archdiocese of Bucharest, without the authorities' consent.²⁶ Less than a year later, in May 1950, under a directive issued by the Communist government, supported by Stanciu Stoian, Minister of Religious Affairs, Alexandru Theodor Cisar had his domicile fixed in the Franciscan monastery from Orăștie. The Catholic bishop protested against the action of the Great National Assembly to have him removed from office, arguing that in the Latin Rite of the Catholic Church, there was no such practice of removing a priest from his position before he reached the canonical age, except with the approval of the Holy See. Under these circumstances, unprecedented for the Latin Church, given that the representatives of the Department of Religious Affairs had informed the Catholic bishop of the existence of an "expulsion order," the latter convened the Apostolic Regent, Gerald Patrick O'Hara, to the office of the Archdiocese to submit his mandate, the office he had received and the canonical jurisdiction, together with all the related responsibilities.²⁷ In light of this situation, the Apostolic Regent was forced to seek a replacement. Making use of the special faculties acquired from Pope Pius XII, and in accordance with the provisions of the Code of Roman Canon Law and the particular law of the Catholic Church, His Holy Eminence O'Hara convened the vicar of St. Joseph's Cathedral in Bucharest, Iosif Schubert, to the Apostolic Nunciature in Bucharest. On 30 June 1950, the latter was consecrated in clandestinity, in the chapel of St. Joseph's Cathedral, as auxiliary Bishop of Bucharest, with the canonical title of Ceramussa. According to the decree issued by the Bishop of Rome on 29 June 1948, entitled "De Nominatione Substitutozum,"²⁸ which provide that for the prevented episcopal sees (without the possibility of having a titular bishop appointed²⁹), successors should be appointed to the helm of the Catholic dioceses. In this climate, on 12 February 1951, Bishop Iosif Schubert appointed the Catholic parish priest of Predeal, Heronimus Menges, as his first successor at the head of the diocese, should he be deprived of freedom.³⁰ On 16 February 1951, a second priest was appointed as successor of Bishop Schubert at the helm of the Archdiocese, namely Fr. Mathias Pojar, who served as vicar at Saint Joseph's Cathedral.³¹ The following priests were also appointed at the head of

²⁶ Dănuț Doboș, *op. cit.*, p. 202.

²⁷ *Idem.*

²⁸ The decree "De nominatione substitutorum," of 29 June 1948, in Latin, was published in Mircea Birtz and Manfred Kierein, *Fărăme din prescura prigoanei (1948-1990)*, Cluj: Ed. Napoca Star, 2008, pp. 282-291.

²⁹ According to this decree, those assigned to lead a diocese, in clandestinity, are referred to as *Ordinarius Substitutus*.

³⁰ Dănuț Doboș, "Din istoria Arhidiecezei Romano-Catolice București," in *Pro Memoria*, no. 10-11/2011-2012, p. 286.

³¹ Dănuț Doboș, *op. cit.*, p. 286; Mircea Birtz and Manfred Kierein, *op. cit.*, p. 23. The work of the authors Mircea Birtz and Manfred Kierein mentions yet another list of jurisdictional succession than the one

the diocese: Iosif Gunciu, Haider Xaveriu and Francisc Augustin, as successors if the canonically appointed predecessors were to be arrested.³² On 17 February 1951, the clandestine Bishop Iosif Schubert was incarcerated. In this context, the management of the diocese was incumbent upon Heronimus Menges, as *Ordinarius Substitutus*.³³ On 22 February 1951, Stanislau Traian Jovanelli was released after a detention of nearly two years, but without knowing about the situation existing at that time. It appears that the Communist authorities had forced matters as regards canonical jurisdiction when, on 4 April 1951, bringing together all the canons in Ploiești, they made available all the means of electing Jovanelli as vicar capitular. The latter was excommunicated by the Holy See, when, in a press release on the radio, the official mouthpiece of the Church from the Vatican announced that this appointment was not “appropriate” and that it violated the provisions of the decree “De Nominatione Substituorum.”³⁴ Moreover, the Holy See had been notified of Bishop Schubert’s decision to appoint Heronimus Menges as his successor, if he were to be imprisoned. Under these conditions, the provisions of the decree issued by the Holy See could not be enforced, as there was canonical succession to the leadership of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Bucharest. It should be noted that the appointment of Menges had been confirmed by the announcement made on the “Vatican Radio,” whereby the election in Ploiești choice had been dictated by the communists, so as to proceed with the investment of a vicar-capitular. It may be assumed that, on the election and consecration of Bishop Iosif Schubert as auxiliary Bishop of Bucharest, he sent Patrick O’Hara a list of his two successors, to be presented to the Holy See. Given the situation in Romania and the decree aforementioned, the probability that the Apostolic Nuncio had requested this list is very high, for one cannot explain otherwise the promptness with which the news of Jovanelli’s excommunication was announced, as one who had accepted an office and violated the provisions of canon law. During all this while, the Communist government had supported, in Bucharest, in a meeting of the Catholic Action Committee from 24 May 1950, the working group led by Andrei Agotha, involving: Kulcsar Mihail, Török Ladislau, Köpéczy Ioan, Mikés Ioan, Kadar Josub and Kastal Ioan.³⁵ A notification submitted to the Department of Religious Affairs by the so-called “democratic priests” expressed “the ardent desire of the servants of the Catholic Church in R.P.R. and its believers to see some problems solved, fully confident about the benevolence and the wisdom of the Country’s government.”³⁶ On this occasion, they also expressed the desire to overturn the decision to suspend the salary payments and the return of the nationalised assets. It should be noted that in a notification issued by the vicar general

presented by Dănuț Dobos. This included: Mons. E[d]mund Barciowski, Bishop Iosif Schubert, and Canon Árpád Horvát.

³² Ovidiu Bozgan, *op. cit.*, p. 376. The last of those designated for canonical succession had his appointment withdrawn, while he was in prison, by Mons. Schubert, as Fr. Iosif Gunciu confessed when he was released from prison.

³³ Eduard Ferent, “Apărarea identității noastre creștine, prilej de maturizare umană și spirituală,” in *Dialog teologic*, 25 (2010), p. 19.

³⁴ Dănuț Doboș, *op. cit.*, p. 291.

³⁵ ANRSAIC, fund: Ministry of Religious Affairs. Studies Department, file 17/1950, f. 5.

³⁶ *Idem*.

on 29 March 1949, Edmund Barciovschi, Archbishop of Bucharest requested the clerical staff to waiver the stipends owed by the state to the Catholic priests until the matter of the status of the Catholic Church in Romania was resolved.³⁷ Many Catholic priests relinquished the official salary. In response, the Department of Religious Affairs issued decision no. 12301 of 10 May 1949, communicating a long list of priests who would no longer be eligible for remuneration, as of 1 February 1949. This was inserted in the *Universul* newspaper of 29 May 1949 and included the two Roman Catholic bishops in Romania, with responsibilities in the exercise of canonical jurisdiction, Márton Áron and Anton Durcovici.³⁸ Moreover, this was not the only delayed reaction of the policy makers, who did not know the matter in detail, or canon law.

The matter of jurisdiction in the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Bucharest, which arouses great interest today, too, has also been recounted in the relatively recent historical studies of Ovidiu Bozgan and William Totok, the latter taking over, without prior documentation, the information obtained by Ovidiu Bozgan from the former archive of the Department of Religious Affairs, faultily processed and without knowing the historical truth.³⁹ In fact, the entire departmental archive contains conflicting, poorly documented and inaccurate information. Moreover, when the latter took over the raw information, he did not even mention that Stanislau Traian Jovanelli had never held canonical jurisdiction, which pertained to Monsignor Hieronimus Menges.⁴⁰ The latter could not, given the position he held within the Church, perform his duties. Any other manifestation, in public, of canonical jurisdiction would have incurred retaliations. On 18 November 1952, the priests Hieronimus Menges, Iosif Gungiu, Xaveriu Haider, Vladimir Ghika and Francisc Augustin were apprehended by the Securitate, which had apparently learned about the list of priests who could hold canonical jurisdiction over the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Bucharest.⁴¹ Thus, the holder of canonical jurisdiction could only be Julius Dwucet (from 18 November 1952 until 1 July 1953),

³⁷ *Ibidem*, f. 3. The document, in Latin, is included in the file submitted by the “democratic priests” to the Department of Religious Affairs and underlay the decision to suspend the priests’ salaries prior to relinquishing the amounts owed by the state. The appointment of Edmund Barciovschi as vicar general was no longer valid when Anton Durcovici was arrested. Emanuel Cosmovici considers that the latter had stepped down so as to avoid being imprisoned. (Emanuel Cosmovici, *Mărturia Pr. Hieronymus Menges despre Monseniorul Vladimir Ghika la Uranus și la Jilava (1952-1954)*, see note 8, p. 8. The information is reproduced by Emanuel Cosmovici, on the site: <http://remusmirceabirtz.files.wordpress.com/2013/01/cosmovici-menges-ghika.pdf>, accessed on 23 September 2013).

³⁸ *Universul*, LXV, no. 124 of 29 May 1949, p. 3.

³⁹ In his book, *Episcopul, Hitler și Securitatea*, William Totok, citing the studies of Ovidiu Bozgan, *România versus Vatican. Persecuția Bisericii Catolice din România comunistă în lumina documentelor diplomatice franceze*, Bucharest: Sylvi, 2000, and *Cronica unui eșec previzibil. România și Sfântul Scaun în epoca pontificatului lui Paul al VI-lea (1963-1978)*, Bucharest: Ed. Curtea Veche, 2004, mentions the following: “in this context Bozgan also refers to Francisc [Franz] Augustin and Stanislau Traian Jovanelli, who led the Catholic Archdiocese of Bucharest after the clandestine Bishop Iosif Schubert was illegally imprisoned and then kept in house arrest in a rural village, managing to leave Romania permanently in the late 1960s. A prisoner between 1951 and 1955, Augustin took over, as vicar, in 1961, after the death of Jovanelli (excommunicated in 1952) - the leadership of the Archdiocese of Bucharest.”

⁴⁰ For more details, see, for instance: William Totok, *Episcopul, Hitler și Securitatea, Procesul stalinist împotriva “spionilor Vaticanului” din România*, Iași: Ed. Polirom, 2008, pp. 12-13.

⁴¹ Ovidiu Bozgan, *op. cit.*, p. 376.

the senior of the cathedral's canons, until the re-establishment of canonical succession. Ovidiu Bozgan mentions an "inquiry" of Canon Dwucet, from January 1953, when, according to the documents from the Department of Religious Affairs, he seems not to have reached any conclusion about canonical jurisdiction.⁴² On 1 August 1953, Archbishop-Metropolitan Alexandru Theodor Cisar returned from forced domicile, which had been set at Orăștie, to give the Sacrament of Confirmation in Saint Joseph's Cathedral, Bărăția in Bucharest, Cioplea and Popești Leordeni (the latter two being suburban communes), and administered Unction to 1,000 souls.⁴³ On this occasion, he consecrated the holy oils for all the canonical dioceses, consecrated 33 priests and celebrated a Pontifical Liturgy at the Episcopal Cathedral of Alba Iulia. It should be noted that at that time, Bishop Cisar was the only Catholic bishop in service throughout the country. Moreover, he was restored to the position of holder of canonical jurisdiction over the Archdiocese of Bucharest. Even though he had been kept under surveillance all this time and a file of informative surveillance had been drafted in his case, the ban against his leaving the Franciscan monastery from Orăștie was eventually lifted, and the decree of September 1948 was repealed, "Monsignor Alexandru Theodor Cisar having all his rights [and faculties, our note] to the Archdiocese of Bucharest-Iași recognised, with effect from 1 July 1953."⁴⁴

The canonical situation of the Metropolitan See of Bucharest (7 January 1954-4 August 1964)

After returning home from forced domicile, Archbishop-Metropolitan Alexandru Theodor Cisar led the destinies of the Catholic communities from the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Bucharest until 7 January 1954, when he died under suspicious circumstances, unsolved to this day. At the time of his demise, which occurred at the bishop's residence in Bucharest, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej admitted to the fact that Archbishop Cisar was murdered in January 1954. Thus, in a meeting of the Political Bureau of the C. C. of P.M.R., on 25 May 1954, attended by the political and the Securitate leaders of the time, Gh. Gheorghiu-Dej stated: "He died (Cisar, our note). The causes of death may be different. My opinion is that it was not by chance that he died suddenly, after the festival. We won't inquire now who killed him."⁴⁵

After Archbishop Cisar's disappearance in unclear circumstances, allegedly by poisoning,⁴⁶ the Metropolitan See became vacant, and the status quo (*sede vacante*) ceased only on 4 August 1964, when Bishop Schubert returned from detention.⁴⁷ Discussions continued after Cisar's passing away, and even nowadays, researchers of recent history have raised the question of jurisdiction in the case of the Catholic

⁴² *Idem.*

⁴³ Dănuț Doboș, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

⁴⁴ *Idem.*

⁴⁵ ****Martiri pentru Hristos, din România, în perioada regimului comunist*, Bucharest, 2007, p. 145.

⁴⁶ Mircea Birtz and Manfred Kierein, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

⁴⁷ For a possible succession of the substitute ordinaries, see, for example: Mircea Remus Birtz, *Cronologia ordinarilor diecezani greco-catolici (uniți) 1948-1989. Încercare de reconstituire*, Cluj: Ed. Napoca-Star, 2007, pp. 61-62.

denomination of Muntenia. Intensely debated, including by Ovidiu Bozgan, William Totok and other historians and researchers, this problem does not seem to have an answer. The lack of historical sources and the nationalisation of the archive pertaining to the Archdiocese of Bucharest, in 1974, which led to the disappearance of many ecclesiastical documents, cannot supplant the interpretations provided by the people of the Communist regime in its documents.⁴⁸ We must not forget that we do not have documents attesting the revalidation of Stanislau Jovanelli, that the documents invoked are pure suppositions, in the context in which he could only have been absolved by the Holy See, which did take such action, and not by a substitute ordinary, as suggested by the studies that are offered to the public. Also, the cathedral chapter, led by Julius Dwucet, consisted of priests whose age was too advanced to allow them to exert canonical jurisdiction. Moreover, Julius Dwucet died in February 1956, after long and hard suffering. Of the three remaining canons, Árpád Horvát and Gustav Müller did not have a decision of excommunication, while Stanislau Jovanelli was not absolved from excommunication.⁴⁹ But neither of the two priests who had not been excommunicated held a canonical appointment. From 15 to 17 July 1952, on the “Radio Vatican,” which broadcast shows in Latin on the situation of the Catholic Church in Romania, it was mentioned that the measures were maintained for the “vicar capitular” Traian Stanislau Jovanelli and the “parish priest of Saint Joseph’s Cathedral,” Andrei „Horn” Despina, the ones who had accepted offices that were not recognised by the Church hierarchs and that had been obtained with the help of the communist authorities, which did not recognise the particular provisions of the Catholic Church.⁵⁰ In the Archdiocese of Bucharest, the situation became very confused. On 8 July 1958, Cardinal Dominico Tardini, Secretary of State of the Holy See, requested Márton Áron to document the issue of jurisdiction for the Archdiocese of Bucharest. Unexpectedly, the Bishop of Alba Iulia got into contact with the representatives of the Church in Bucharest and concluded that there was no one in this archdiocese who held canonical jurisdiction.⁵¹ Ovidiu Bozgan is wrong to call Francisc Augustin, the one released from prison in 1955, a Substitute Ordinary. From the evidence obtained after 1964 from Fr. Iosif Gunciu, it may be ascertained that during his detention, Francisc Augustin had been deprived of canonical succession by Iosif Schubert himself, who had appointed him in a long line of canonical successors. Referring to the problem of Francisc Augustin, Márton Áron

⁴⁸ Based on a report of 7 February 1974, for compliance with the provisions of Decree 472/1971, Art. 23 and Art. 52 and circular no. 4994/1973 of the Religious Affairs Department, action was taken by the State Archives to abusively dispossess a significant part of the documents of historical and administrative import from the archives of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Bucharest. Some of these described the legal situation of the Archdiocese of Bucharest, including the appointment of Iosif Gunciu.

⁴⁹ Ovidiu Bozgan, *op. cit.*, p. 375.

⁵⁰ The Catholic clerics Traian Stanislau Jovanelli and Andrei “Horn” Despina had accepted positions in the Church without the permission of the superiors recognised by the Holy See, the former, without his knowledge, the position of vicar-capitular, while the latter, that of rector of St. Joseph’s Cathedral. Filling these positions amounted, at that time, to collaboration with the regime, which the Church disavowed. By special provisions of the Church we understand all the documents it prepared and submitted, given the state of emergency that the Catholic Church in Romania was facing, other than the Code of Canon Law applicable at that time.

⁵¹ Ovidiu Bozgan, *op. cit.*, p. 377.

himself suggested that he should address the Holy See for settling the existing situation.⁵² Although the Romanian government repeatedly made arrangements for the recognition of Francisc Augustin as Bishop of Bucharest, the Holy See never validated him. Not even through Bishop Schubert's release from prison did Francisc Augustin regain jurisdictional powers, and Monsignor Schubert oftentimes avoided meeting him. Perhaps the suspicion that he may have accepted to collaborate, since he was the first of the prisoners in his group to be released, has strengthened the conviction of Iosif Schubert, the auxiliary Bishop of Bucharest, that Francisc Augustin did not deserve to lead the Catholics in Muntenia spiritually. In fact, Fr. Iosif Gunciu became the holder of canonical jurisdiction for the Archdiocese of Bucharest⁵³ when, as Iosif Schubert left the country in 1969, the latter ceded to him the powers with which he had been invested by Pope Pius XII. Iosif Gunciu served as *Ordinarius Substitutus*⁵⁴ until he reached the canonical age of 75 years, under the new Code of Roman Canon Law from 1983, which entered into force on the first Sunday of the year 1983.⁵⁵ That very same month, Iosif Gunciu reached the canonical age, and the confirmation for the new administrator and the episcopal consecration of the new Bishop of Bucharest, Ioan Robu, came in December 1984.

Conclusions

The present study has addressed the critical situation of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Bucharest and the circumstances in which the Catholic denomination carried on its existence in Muntenia in the period between 1948 and 1964, with examples of a canonical nature and using carefully selected documents and studies in light of the Magisterium of the Church.⁵⁶ The documents issued by the authorities and

⁵² *Idem.*

⁵³ The author holds a copy of the dimissorial letter (in Latin, *litterae dimissoriae*, a letter of recommendation given by a bishop, attesting that the subject has all the necessary faculties required by canon law to perform a function, our note), whereby Bishop Iosif Schubert I appointed the priest Iosif Gunciu as substitute ordinary, and which states the following: "by virtue of my proxy received from the Most Blessed Father Pope Pius XII whereby the Apostolic Nuncio to Bucharest His Exc. Patrick Gerald O'Hara was appointed Apostolic Administrator of the R.-Catholic Archdiocese of Bucharest and my appointment has not been revoked, I hereby empower H.H. Rev. Dr. Iosif Gunciu as a substitute with canonical jurisdiction for the R.Cat. Archdiocese of Bucharest under C[odex].J[uris].C[anonici]. and the instructions received. I therefore issue this letter. †Joseph Schubert, Bucharest, 24.I.1969."

⁵⁴ Emanuel Cosmovici, *op. cit.*, p. 33. Emanuel Cosmovici confirms the moment when Iosif Gunciu received the necessary faculties from Bishop Iosif Schubert to lead the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Bucharest, stating the following: "The day after the departure of Bishop Schubert from the country, on 24.I.1969, Fr. Gunciu received a letter from the bishop, through the latter's brother. In the letter, Monsignor Schubert gave him jurisdiction over the Archdiocese of Bucharest. Father Gunciu presented himself before Monsignor Augustin and showed him the letter. Monsignor Augustin told him to wait, because he would receive an answer, which did not happen until his death, which took place fourteen years later."

⁵⁵ Cf. *Codul de Drept Canonic Roman*, Iași: Ed. Sapienția, 2004, p. 24.

⁵⁶ In the Catholic Church, the Magisterium (Latin, *Magisterium*) is the authority of the teaching of the Church. According to the Catechism of the Catholic Church: "The task of interpreting the Word of God authentically has been entrusted solely to the Magisterium of the Church, that is, to the Pope and to the bishops in communion with him" (the Catechism of the Catholic Church, 1997, Section 1, Article 2). The Magisterium of the Church has two types of functions: the sacred and infallible magisterium (the pope's

kept in the C.N.S.A.S. archive have been avoided for reasons that pertain rather to their precarious interpretation of historical facts by people with minimal education, presenting biased opinions on the Catholic Church. In exploring the events under study, the already established situations have been approached using related sources, interpretations of prominent historians and contributions that are based on the disclosure of a truth obscured by the silence that has enveloped, in time, this matter related to the Church of Rome. Without claiming to undertake a comprehensive analysis, the author has used the documentation of the Church and assessed it from a personal standpoint. These references to the historical documents and their succession cannot go unnoticed, primarily because of the magnitude of the events, and secondly because of the response provided by the Church to the attitude of the officials. While the Communist state resorted to measures of arrests, imprisonment, forced domicile or the duplication of ecclesial institutions with others, of an ephemeral vocation, the Church understood that only by militating could it survive. Today, over sixty years later, we may examine the ecclesiastical documentation and history in a detached manner. Of course, in asserting historical events what prevail are the subjective outlooks of those involved in the discovery of a particular history, but only by expressing ourselves in this way can we avoid in the future the same mistakes that led to the fateful events of 1948. The period between 1948 and 1964 can be described as one of extreme persecution against the Catholic Church, which has survived despite adverse conditions.

extraordinary declarations, stated “*ex cathedra*,” or in the Ecumenical Councils, through Synods, canons and decrees, our note), and the universal magisterium (the decrees of the popes and of the universal councils, our note).

A CASE OF ROMANIAN ESPIONAGE IN ITALY DURING THE 1950S: THE INQUIRY AGAINST DUMITRU DOBRE

Abstract: This study addresses a new subject related to the Romanian foreign espionage in Italy during the first years of the communist regime. Under discussion is the case of Dumitru Dobre, a chauffeur with the Romanian Legation in Rome, who was charged with espionage by the Italian authorities in 1951. The affair described in the study cannot be understood outside reference to the suit filed on charges of espionage in Romania “against the Vatican’s plotters,” which unjustly indicted Eraldo Pintori, the administrator of the Italian Cultural Institute in Romania, as a “spy” of the Italian State in Romania. All these accusations of Romanian or Italian espionage targeted the building of the Accademia di Romania in Rome, which the Italians wanted to confiscate, while the Romanians had turned it into the premises of the legation. The study presents the entire documentation preserved in the diplomatic Archive of the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, from Dobre’s arrest until his expulsion from Italy.

Keywords: espionage, Romania, Italy, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, legation

One of the pages of contemporary history that are still left in obscurity due to the limited accessibility of the sources concerns the affairs of Romanian espionage abroad immediately after the establishment of the communist regime in Romania. One of the illustrative cases for the first espionage affairs outside Romania is that of Dumitru Dobre, a chauffeur with the Romanian Legation in Italy, a case that was correlated with the developments surrounding the building of the Accademia di Romania in Rome and of the litigation masquerade referred to as the “lawsuit against the Vatican’s spies,” which took place in Bucharest in 1951. The case of the Accademia di Romania, which has been recently retrieved historiographically through the efforts of Mrs. Veronica Turcuș,² was an object of contention in the Romanian-Italian diplomatic relations, as the Italian authorities wanted to confiscate it, while the Romanian diplomacy had turned it into the premises of its legation.

The Dumitru Dobre case features as the first episode of espionage inserted among the pages of the diplomatic correspondence³ housed by the Archivio Storico-

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² Veronica Turcuș, Mihai Bărbulescu, Iulian Damian, *Accademia di Romania in Roma 1922-2012*, Accademia di Romania, Roma, 2013, pp. 116-123.

³ As regards the diplomatic correspondence on Dumitru Dobre’s case, we should note that according to the inventory rules of the Historical-Diplomatic Archive of the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the names of *pacco* or *busta* represent the entire set of correspondence for that year/those years, without there being an inventory based on *regeste* and without the pages being numbered *recto/verso*. Thus, the only reference points for an inventory call number are the document’s issuance date, or its registration date (if it came from the legations or the embassies to the central archive), and the package (*pacco*) or the envelope (*busta*), corresponding to the year in which the document was issued-received. For reasons that pertain to the archiving of Dumitru Dobre’s case under the Eraldo Pintori entry, the documents concerning the progress of the inquiry against Dobre are not kept under the year 1951 but under 1954, with the generic call number Archivio Storico-Diplomatico del Ministero Italiano degli Affari Esteri, Affari Politici 1950-

Diplomatico from Italy's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and it is blatantly connected to the case of Eraldo Pintori, an official of the Italian Cultural Institute in Bucharest, arrested in the Vatican's lot.⁴

In line with the Old Testament principle of "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth," the Italian authorities arrested Dumitru Dobre probably and primarily as a measure of retaliation for the arrest of Eraldo Pintori. However, in Pintori's case, things were somehow more complicated also for the simple reason that the Italian was the administrator of a building that did not function as an embassy, but as a cultural institute and was married to an Italian naturalised in Romania. This was at the antipode of Dobre's situation, as he lived in the building of the Accademia di Romania, under a regime of permanent surveillance and his conscience was besieged by the tense climate in which he activated. Pintori also had a history of a fairly long mission to Romania - true, prior to the proclamation of the Romanian People's Republic on 30 December 1947 - and this transformed him, unawares, into a moving target for the repressive organs of the new Bolshevik-type public power. The level of current documentation on the case of Eraldo Pintori is included only in the recent book about the Accademia di Romania (the Italian diplomatic documents) and in several articles by Mihai Pelin (based on excerpts from the archives of the Securitate, those to which access was permitted before they were screened and handed over to the CNSAS). Although the suspect institutional trajectory of the chauffeur Dobre had perhaps been sensed or even ascertained, what is certain, according to the documents annexed herewith, is that the measure of arresting him on charges of espionage was applied only when the Romanian authorities had made it clear that releasing Eraldo Pintori was not on their immediate agenda. We should point out that Pintori's arrest was not singular, as the entire Western diplomatic world had been vexed by various arrests (we know that a low-ranking French diplomat had also been arrested), by violent acts of aggression (the premises of certain diplomatic residences had been trespassed through an infringement of code of inviolability that diplomatic residences fell under) or by the installation of tracking and interception devices.

The reaction of the Italian diplomacy to one of its officials being arrested abroad - who was on the point of leaving anyway, since the Italian Cultural Institute had closed down, on account of the Romanian party's denunciation of the 1943 Cultural Agreement - was rapid and urgent, of course, under the reasonable terms required by an action of this kind. This entailed informing the decision makers and reaching a mature conclusion in this regard. The decision, which we cannot visualise in its genuineness based solely on the documents available to us, looks more like a retorsion measure than an arrest *in flagrante* on charges of espionage. The order for the arrest of Dumitru Dobre was issued on the 21st of May 1951, more precisely on the morning, thereof as shown in the following secret communiqué issued by Zoppi,⁵ the Secretary General of the Italian

1957, Romania 1954, Pacco 1247, Pacco 1248. Since the documents in question are rather negligently disseminated in the two "packages," I decided to avoid overloading the critical apparatus by processing the Dobre case chronologically and accompanying the documents with the dates when they were issued.

⁴ Veronica Turcuș et alii, *op.cit.* pp. 121-122.

⁵ Vittorio Zoppi (1898-1967) was the Secretary General of Italy's Ministry of Foreign Affairs between the years 1948 and 1954.

Foreign Affairs Ministry: “*It is hereby communicated, as verified by the speaker and in keeping with your language and information norms, that on the morning of the 21st of May, the authorities in charge detained, for actions against the political order, the chauffeur of this Embassy of Romania, DOBRE DIMITRI, the inquiry into his activity being still pending.*

Romania’s charge d’affaires will be informed tomorrow morning, 23 May, but the reasons for the detention will not be revealed to him.”

The despatch, made at the highest executive level in the ministry, informed the Italian mission in Bucharest about the fact that the Romanian authorities could at most have surmised, but were unaware of. The motivation for the arrest belonged to that category of interests that Soviet and pro-Soviet spies pursued in Italy: the overthrow of the political order. The Romanian authorities were answered thus in kind, as the reason of Dobre’s apprehension would not be communicated to them, just like Bucharest had not seen fit to motivate Pintori’s arrest in any way. This was also part of the psychological game stimulated by the intelligence services and played by the diplomatic powers in the hope to acquire information and obtain agreements to cease the arrest measure. This was a mere illusion, however, that the Italians had built, hoping that the Romanian authorities would react honourably.

The Romanian authorities responded immediately after being informed, and requested an emergency audience with the Protocol Department of the Italian Foreign Affairs Ministry. Here they came across a character that was well aware of the Romanian case, in particular Baron Michele Scammacca, who had until recently been the Minister of Italy in Bucharest. In a confidential briefing from the 23rd of May the same year, addressed to the minister, he recounted the discussions that had taken place between him and Romania’s *ad interim* charge d’affaires. The latter had taken note of Dumitru Dobre’s arrest and requested details. Proceeding with diplomatic rigor and full respect for the autonomy of the institutions in a liberal democracy, undoubtedly in a rather uptight manner, Scammacca informed the Romanian diplomat that his duty was to notify him only that the incarceration procedure had been applied to the embassy’s chauffeur, not knowing what had actually happened because the power to arrest and detain Dobre belonged to the specialised bodies dealing with matters of the Italian state’s security and not to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The head of the Romanian mission attempted to invoke the pseudo-diplomatic position of Dobre, claiming that the latter had been on a mission and that his arrest had been an abuse. The reply of the Italian director was that under no circumstances was such a standpoint acceptable, as Dobre had absolutely no diplomatic qualifications and that he was under no protection from the vantage point of international practices, the Italian authorities being fully entitled to detain him if they had evidence against him.

The Romanian party raised the issue of Dobre’s detention and claimed to have doubts about the quality of the services provided to him in custody, insisting that they would like to intervene and alleviate the conditions of the chauffeur’s detention through packages sent to him by the embassy. Scammacca hinted that those incarcerated would have access to packages only when the authorities agreed to this. On hearing the Romanian diplomat’s tirade that the assurances regarding the arrest conditions could not be trusted and that the Romanian party granted a very humane treatment to its Italian

prisoners, Scammacca, who was aware of the situation *in situ*, cut him short, indicating that the subject was not part of this specific conversation.

The insistence of the Romanian side on seeing and counselling Dobre as quickly as possible had a precise purpose: beyond the typical consolation naturally granted in such a moment, they had to find out, from the source, the circumstances of his arrest, whether there was any chance that the “mission” might have been saved or compromised and, of course, to give him instructions as to the tactics he was to adopt during interrogations and the pitfalls to be avoided. One matter that is not clear in the documentation is how the interrogations were made. It is certain that Dobre did not speak Italian. In fact, Scammacca and his Romanian interlocutor used French in their discussions.

We do not have access to all the documentation of the case in order to follow the police and intelligence procedures activated for Dobre. Perhaps the archives of the Italian secret services decided to submit to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs only the information that could be used to inform the Romanian side. That was the case only at the level of ministerial bureaucracy, because things were very clear at the top levels of the ministry and the Italian Cabinet, which aimed to have Pintori released at any price. Alcide de Gasperi, the Italian Prime Minister, must also have formally consented to this procedure. And yet, respecting the legal formalities, as the documentation suggests, a standard procedure was launched; its envisaged first immediate effect was the expulsion of Dobre Dumitru and, possibly thereafter, his incrimination before an Italian court. That would have been the case had the relationships been normal, but this is more than we can ascertain about the Romanian-Italian relations. Once the mechanism of Dobre’s expulsion had been activated, the necessary measures had to be taken to inform the Romanian embassy and transport the defendant to the border. The entire situation surely bears a resemblance to the expulsion of a *persona non grata*, but in this case, this was to occur immediately after arrest.

As mentioned above, some of the highest ranking Italian officials oversaw the Dobre case, in relation to the Pintori case, probably at the heeding of one of the founding fathers of Europe, the Prime Minister of Italy. More specifically, these were the Minister of Foreign Affairs Carlo Sforza⁶ and the Minister of the Interior Mario Scelba.⁷ They had a semi-official, secret correspondence occasioned by the arrest of Dumitru Dobre. We do not have access to the entire circumscribed correspondence, but only to a few copies, the most significant piece of which we shall present below:

Rome 9th of July 1951
Secret no. 4/5339/68

Dear Scelba,

I must return to the issue of the Romanian citizen Dobre Dimitri, the object of a previous correspondence, the last item of which is my letter no. 4/4942/65 of 23 June, whereby I informed you that our action had begun to yield the desired results.

⁶ Carlo Sforza (1872-1952) was Italy’s Minister of Foreign Affairs between the years 1920-1921 and 1947-1951.

⁷ Mario Scelba (1901-1991) was the Italian Minister of the Interior in the period 2nd of February 1947 – 7th of July 1953 and Prime Minister of Italy between 10th of February 1954 and 6th of July 1955.

Meanwhile, on the 29th of June I received a notification from Bucharest that has strengthened our hopes: Mrs. Toma, the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs has let the Italian Minister in Bucharest know that she expects to be able to issue “a definitive standpoint on the matter in about a week’s time” with reference to the case of Pintori.

I wanted to bring this fact to your attention because this leads me to believe, now more than ever before, that we should not “let go of” Dobre Dimitri, whose detention should be maintained for several more days. That is, until the promise contained in Mrs. Toma’s reply is carried out.

Reminding you of the considerations presented in the letter referred to above, I must express my confidence, in this letter too, that you will agree with my point of view; I do thank you in advance, however, should you wish to give me a reassuring answer on this matter.

Please accept, dear Scelba, the expression of my full consideration.
Carlo Sforza

To His Excellency the Honourable Mario Scelba, Minister of the Interior, Rome

Basically, as witnessed in this letter, there was a concerted activity undertaken by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of the Interior in Italy for the release of Eraldo Pintori. This makes it quite difficult to determine the guilt or the non-guilt of the chauffeur Dumitru Dobre, but either way, it is clear that the arrest of the Romanian also served as a means of retorsion for the imprisonment of the Italian Legation official in Bucharest. The letter above, which mirrors the relationship between two ministers, enables us to see that there was a tacit agreement on the transgression of the rules about holding a person in custody without any charges being brought against him. The documentation does not reveal whether Dobre was assigned a public defender, whether he refused him or not, but there is a possibility that there was an infringement of the *habeas corpus*, of course, solely as a means of retorsion and only for a while. In any case, this document suggests a situation straddling the extremely volatile divide between what is just on a personal level and what is just for reasons of state: a complicated and negative situation for a Western democracy, which had nonetheless been triggered by the Romanian measures. Sforza had requested Scelba to extend Dobre’s detention by any means, in the hope that the Romanian authorities would unblock the Pintori case, as promised by Ana Toma,⁸ Ana Pauker’s right hand and the Deputy Foreign Minister of Romania. The paradox was that Anna Toma’s husband, the famous Securitate General

⁸ Ana Toma (*née* Grossman or Grossmann, 9th of October 1912 - January 1991) was a Communist Party activist in Romania. In 1932 she became a member of the Romanian Communist Party (PCR). In May 1961, she was awarded the medal for the “40th anniversary of the Romanian Communist Party.” She was a teacher, a member of the underground PCR, and she served as secretary of the Central Committee for “Patriotic Defence,” which dealt with the defence and assistance of the communist political prisoners. She was married to Sorin Toma and after her divorce, she became the wife of Gheorghe Pintilie-Pantiuşa. For a while, she was deputy to the Minister of Foreign Affairs Ana Pauker and, then, to the Minister of Trade. In his book *Will to Freedom: a Perilous Journey Through Fascism and Communism*, Syracuse University Press, 2000, p. 187, Egon Balas describes Ana Toma thus: “Anuța was a bright, extremely shrewd, energetic woman, hungry for power, whimsical, vindictive - a real bitch, and powerful.”

Gheorghe Pintilie, nicknamed Pantiuşa, was one of the people entrusted by the Security with the incarceration of the “enemies of the people,” a category into which Eraldo Pintori had been included.

The thing is that Dobre’s detention period was extended and the Italian authorities began to comply with the liberal constitutional regime at a snail’s pace. Since the legislation in force provided that for a foreign national who was a member, albeit not a diplomatic one, of an accredited mission in Italy, expulsion was the measure that had to be adopted immediately, followed only thereafter by indictment for the offence committed (and the documents do not make any reference to this, except for matters of a general or circumstantial nature). The Italian authorities drafted the decree for Dobre’s expulsion. Of course, it was hoped, with anxiety even, that the procedure undertaken by the Romanian side would be similar and that Eraldo Pintori would be granted the same treatment. An expulsion and, later on, a trial in which he could be defended by the legal representative of the Italian mission in Bucharest was the most that the authorities in Rome could hope for.

On the 6th of June 1951, the General Directorate for Public Security of the Italian Ministry of the Interior informed the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that the procedure for the expulsion of Dumitru Dobre, who was in prison, had been started, but this was only the beginning of a process that the government in Rome intended to defer until they received some tangible proof of Romania’s goodwill.

The Romanian mission in Rome did not lag behind and, probably already being aware that the Italians’ hopes were futile, raised the diplomatic stakes. Thus, in a *note verbale* dated on July 3rd 1951, the Embassy of Romania to the Quirinale argued that “as regards the case of Mr. Dobre Dumitru, chauffeur of the Embassy, who has been in custody for over six weeks, having been detained without any cause by the *Questura* in Rome, vehemently protests against the shameful instigation whereby it is attempted to prosecute him for facts to which he is completely foreign. The Embassy is well aware that Mr. Dobre’s behaviour is completely worthy of the position he held and that his conduct was irreproachable throughout his stay in the Italian Republic.” No reference made by the Romanian diplomats accredited in Italy was affected by the Pintori case. They had probably been instructed to consider strictly the aspects pertaining to the mission and by no means to address any related issues, which were to be settled at the highest level or through much more specialised intelligence structures. What was ridiculous in the utmost degree, but was diplomatically explicable and acceptable was the self-referentiality of the Romanian embassy, which was “well aware that Mr. Dobre’s behaviour is completely worthy,” as if it did not take into account the fact that the Italians, probably benefitting from the American ‘know-how’, knew the legal and professional situation of the diplomats and the persons with professional occupations harboured by the embassies and were informed about their relationship with the national intelligence services, as well as with the KGB. Of course, the textual hermeneutics of the *note verbale* reveals the entire linguistic artistry deployed here, which operated especially by making reference to the “shameful instigation” made against Romania, obliterating the fact that the instigation had started in Bucharest and that Dobre’s arrest

was just the symmetrical reaction often adopted in international relations, as an effect of habits entrenched back in history.

However, since Italy - which had recently regained its democracy after two decades of fascism - knew and saw fit to comply with the requirements of the constitutional regime, it accelerated the expulsion procedure of the chauffeur Dumitru Dobre after receiving this *note verbale*, despite the fact that the promises made by the communist authorities were not followed through in Bucharest. Thus, on the 12th of July 1951, the Minister of the Interior Scelba published a decree which contained the expulsion decision “*Considering the fact that the named Romanian citizen, DOBRE Dumitru, son of Ioan and Elisabeta Store, born in Bucharest on 14 January 1903, has committed acts against the public order; Under Article 150, Sections 2 and 5 of ST (sole text) of the PS (public safety) Law, approved by the RD (royal decree) of 18 January 1931, No. 773⁹: in agreement with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, with the consent of the Chairman of the Council: DECREES that the above-named Romanian citizen DOBRE DUMITRU shall be expelled from the state’s territory. The Quaestor of Rome shall be responsible for the enforcement of this decree.*” Of course, the language is cryptic and standardised. To understand the grounds that cannot be inferred from this institutional communication, we need to resort to the aforementioned royal decree: Article 148 therein reads as follows: “*Salvo quanto è stabilito nelle leggi militari, il Prefetto può vietare agli stranieri il soggiorno in comuni o in località che comunque interessano la difesa militare dello Stato. Tale divieto è comunicato agli stranieri per mezzo della autorità locale di pubblica sicurezza o col mezzo di pubblici avvisi. Gli stranieri, che trasgrediscono al divieto, possono essere allontanati per mezzo della forza pubblica.*” The following article provides the exceptions, but Dobre could not benefit from them because he did not belong to the categories listed here: “*149. Le disposizioni di questo capo non si applicano ai componenti del sacro collegio e del corpo diplomatico e consolare.*” The article referred to in the decree is number 150. This, however, cannot be interpreted without the previous articles, as its text suggests. Actually, what does the article say? It stipulates that: “*Salvo quanto è stabilito dal codice penale, gli stranieri condannati per delitto possono essere espulsi dal regno e accompagnati alla frontiera. Il Ministro dell’interno, per motivi di ordine pubblico, può disporre la espulsione e l’accompagnamento alla frontiera dello straniero di passaggio o residente nel territorio dello Stato. Le predette disposizioni non si applicano agli italiani non regnicoli. Possono altresì essere espulsi gli stranieri denunciati per contravvenzione alle disposizioni del capo precedente. L’espulsione per motivo di ordine pubblico, prevista dal primo capoverso di questo articolo, è pronunciata con decreto del Ministro dell’interno, di concerto con il Ministro degli affari esteri e con l’assenso del Capo del Governo.*” Let us also add Article 151, as it will be the ground on which the litigation intention will be activated subsequent to Dobre’s expulsion. That article establishes that: “*Lo straniero espulso a norma dell’articolo precedente non può rientrare nel territorio dello Stato, senza una speciale autorizzazione del Ministro dell’interno. Nel caso di trasgressione è punito con l’arresto da due mesi a sei. Scontata la pena, lo straniero è nuovamente espulso.*”

⁹ The royal decree is still valid, but the article Scelba used was repealed on 28 February 1990.

Thus, as shown by the contents of the royal decree, the motivation behind the procedures of expelling Dumitru Dobre was of a military nature. Of course, since the charge pending for Dobre, a foreign citizen, was that of military espionage - the execution of his preventive arrest was within the competence of the Italian Interior Ministry - the reasons for his apprehension and imprisonment must be kept in the archives of the Italian military secret service, which are and may always remain inaccessible to us. In fact, the Italian authors on espionage matters claim that at that time the two services that were in conflict were the GRU -the Military Intelligence Service of the USSR - and Servizio Informazioni Difesa italiano of Italian military espionage. We can, however, ascertain that the accusation brought against the Romanian chauffeur was plausible but, at the same time, it could easily have been contrived. It was plausible because in the immediate vicinity of the embassy (which was located in the headquarters of the Accademia di Romania), there were and still are two well-fenced military objectives, hidden away from the public eye, one being located 750 meters east of the Accademia di Romania, incorporating a part of the Villa Borghese, while the other is on the banks of the Tiber, in the Flaminio district, about 1 km northwest of the Accademia di Romania. If we add to this that from of all the Soviet satellite embassies, Romania had, logistically, a privileged topographical position at the heart of the Parioli residential area, the posh embassy district, just 1 km away from the private residence of the U.S. Ambassador to Italy - Villa Taverna, we can get a picture as to how plausible, as well as how easily a dependent of an embassy from the socialist bloc could be incriminated as a spy. In any case, the charge based on the royal decree invoked above would have been that of military espionage and by no means of political espionage or the overthrow of the democratic state order. As obvious from the text of the decree and the appropriate legislation, the affair necessarily had to be brought to the awareness of the Italian Prime Minister, as mentioned before, so Alcide de Gasperi was informed in detail on the Romanian-Italian dispute.

The decree of expulsion having been issued and published, on plausible grounds of military espionage, the next natural step was to inform the Romanian party of the Italian authorities' intention, which was not immediate but deferred, in expectation of a possibly similar response from Bucharest. Accordingly, on July 19th 1951, the first secretary of the embassy, Anca Magheru was officially informed of the decree of expulsion, but even though this does not transpire from the minutes of the audience granted to Minister Scammacca, it was probably suggested to her that the time necessary to implement the decree would be slightly dilated. It was a very interesting audience, as Italian was used in conversation while issues beyond the strictly diplomatic sphere were discussed in French. Anca Magheru was the only person in the embassy who spoke fluent Italian. The details of the conversation marked the first successful attempt of the Romanian authorities to get in touch with Dobre after more than two months of detention. This moment had probably been awaited to assess how much of the information known to the Romanian chauffeur were in the possession of the Italian authorities, how to estimate what could be saved of the secrets or confidential matters Dobre knew about and, possibly, how to reorganise the diplomatic and administrative network in the event that the chauffeur had disclosed any information.

Things dragged on and only three weeks later did a new communiqué issued by the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs suggest that on the 10th of August or shortly before, there had been a meeting with the head of Romanian mission, Comnacu at the ministry, and that the latter had been made aware of Dobre's situation over the past weeks of his detention. We have for the first time, however, documented evidence that Dobre was not held in Rome, but in another location, outside Rome, secret or not, we do not know. The agreement established with Comnacu provided, in the aftermath of the expulsion decree, that: *"the Romanian chauffeur, Dobre Dumitru, shall be brought back to Rome under escort in the shortest time possible, in civilian clothes and without handcuffs, and shall be dropped by the entrance to the Romanian Embassy in Rome; simple, cautionary measures of surveillance shall be adopted in his respect; once it receives from the government in Bucharest the necessary assurance concerning its employee Eraldo Pintori, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has decided to let Dobre Dumitru leave, within a reasonable period, as persona non grata, by way of execution of the expulsion decree. The Romanian Embassy shall be informed about this in writing."*

Elegant attempts were made to save the appearances. In order to avoid setting a negative example and to remain within an area of formal hostility, reaffirming thus the secrecy of Dobre's case, he was brought and left at the entrance of the Accademia di Romania (an area that is visually exposed to the cultural missions around, such as Great Britain, Belgium, the Netherlands, etc.). Of course, after having been placed in the custody of the Romanian Embassy in Rome, Dobre continued to be surveyed from outside the objective, lest he should leave the premises and engage in practices that would not comply with his status as a person undergoing expulsion. Again, this internal memorandum reveals the binomial that was activated at the onset of the espionage affair: Pintori-Dobre. The Italians continued to patiently await some information or an action from Bucharest, which kept being deferred.

The Romanian Embassy urgently responded and requested exit visas for the couple Maria and Dumitru Dobre, after announcing that it acknowledged Dobre's being remanded into its custody.

At the level of the Italian legal system, however, things followed their natural course and there is a very interesting document preserved in the MFA archives in Rome. Issued by the General Directorate of Political Affairs and dated Rome, 26th of August 1951, it is addressed to Luigi Bianchi d'Espinosa, Councillor of the Court of Cassation and of the Minister of Justice. This note kindly requested the Minister of Justice in Rome *"to present to the presidents of the competent courts the possibility that the lawsuits that are to be held in Milan and Rome against the Romanian citizens Iacob Măgura, a former Commercial Attaché of the Romanian Embassy in Bern, and Dumitri Dobre, a former chauffeur of the Romanian Embassy, will take place behind closed doors."* We find now indirectly that in the Italian justice system, there was not just one pending case of (military) espionage, against Dumitru Dobre (tried in a civilian court because he was the citizen of another state), but another case, involving a member of the Romanian diplomatic apparatus accredited in Bern, Iacob Măgura (Leibovici, probably,

about whom there is an investigation report in the CC of the RCP archives).¹⁰ We have no information about this case except for a few references in the archive of the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, always in connection with the Dobre case. It must have been a case of economic espionage. Măgura took advantage of his status as a commercial attaché in Bern, and targeting the Italian canton in Switzerland and its connections with Lombardy, he attempted to gather sensitive information of an economic nature from Northern Italy. The request of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for a trial behind closed doors is interesting. The memorandum also provides the reason behind this request, otherwise easy to infer: “*This Ministry has recently contacted the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs with a view to releasing three Italian prisoners detained in Romania on political grounds and has obtained assurances that its request would be examined from a positive perspective. For its part, the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, while not intending to establish a connection with the issue of the release of our co-nationals, has manifested its desire to avoid any form of publicity on the trials mentioned above. And it is on this very matter concerning the release of our co-nationals in Romania that this Minister has confidence in the support of His Excellency, the Minister of Justice, so as to make sure that the trials we have referred to will be as discreet as possible, behind closed doors.*”

This document shows in detail the situation of the tense Romanian-Italian diplomatic rapport. The Italian party extensively and effectively endeavoured to establish the connection between the Dobre (possibly also Măgura) case and the case of Pintori (and other Italians) so as to reach a parity agreement, refusing to recognise the charges brought against Pintori (actually, the explanations of the Romanian side were often cryptic or partial, impossible to refute with the specific arguments of international law and by reference to the situation of incarcerated nationals). But it was obvious, as shown by the document, that the imprisonment of the Italians in Romania was political and was not a matter of criminal law. On the other hand, Italian diplomacy, of course, with the consent of the chief of cabinet, was willing to respond to the requests addressed by the Romanian side. The latter wanted to avoid, at any cost, any negative publicity against Romania and the Soviet camp that might have naturally been created around an ordinary trial. While Romania organised, after the model of the Stalinist trials, courts about which the entire nation was informed, with public prosecutors turned into genuine inquisitors of popular justice, Italy attempted to save whatever could be saved and play the card of Romanian political Pharisaism in order to appease the Romanian side. Of course, with hindsight, this situation was on the threshold between democracy and the limits of democracy, but we should see it in the much wider context of the reasons of state that led the authorities in the peninsular “boot” to do their utmost to bring Pintori home.

The Italian diplomacy did not yield so easily, and in a *note verbale* dated in August 1951, it reiterated to the Romanian party what the stage of negotiations was as regards the Dobre-Pintori binomial: “*During the recent negotiations held in the same time with the arrest in Bucharest of the Italian Embassy employee, Mr. Eraldo Pintori,*

¹⁰ Abbreviation for the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party. <http://www.arhivelenationale.ro/images/custom/image/Radu/inventare%20grigo/unite%20cancelarie%20a nex e.pdf>

and with the arrest in Rome of the chauffeur of the Romanian Embassy, Mr. Dobre Dimitri, it was agreed that the Italian authorities would not undertake legal proceedings against the named Dobre Dimitri, but limit themselves to ordering his expulsion, and, as regards the Romanian authorities, they would use a similar treatment in relation to Mr Pintori. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs offered assurances in this regard to the Italian Embassy in Bucharest, and the charge d'affaires of the People's Republic of Romania in Rome confirmed this commitment in a meeting he had with the General Director of Political Affairs, on the date of 22 August this year. Under these arrangements, on August 10th this year, the chauffeur Dobre Dimitri was released and was given a convenient deadline for leaving the Italian territory."

As is apparent from the Italian *note verbale*, there were two plans on which the action unfolded. On the one hand, the Romanian authorities publicly and institutionally denied that there could be a coherent, logical connection of inter-dependence between the Dobre and Pintori cases. All these diplomatic communications issued by Bucharest vs. Rome denied any relationship in this binomial. On the other hand, the secret or confidential Italian communications suggest that the higher authorities in the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs accepted the interdependence of the two cases, with the observation that nothing of the kind transpired from documents subsequent to these discussions. Now the question is: was this a diplomatic game of *sine die* postponement the Romanians played, counting on the fact that Western democracy would not risk singing its reputation and would release Dobre, or was it a matter of positive intentions harboured by the second echelon, which were not approved by Ana Pauker and the repressive apparatus? We inclined to believe that the first version is the authentic one, since the second one it is not supported by evidence. However, it appears that the Italian authorities were willing to resort to the extreme measure of dropping charges against Dobre if the Romanian party ordered Pintori's release. It was an important action, of course, but one that failed to flatter Bucharest.

The expected progress did not occur, as might have been expected, so the Italian diplomacy, in agreement with the Ministry of the Interior in Rome, proceeded to enforce the decree of expulsion. This is suggested by an inter-ministerial communication issued by the General Directorate of Political Affairs in the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and addressed to the General Directorate of Public Security in the Ministry of Internal Affairs in Rome. The communication specifies the following: "*As regards the previous correspondence and the last Note no. 443/69014 of August 30th last year, the General Directorate is informed that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs notified in writing, on the 11th of August last year, the Romanian Embassy that the Italian authorities, without wishing the chauffeur DOBRE Dimitri to remain in Italy, issued a decree of expulsion against him; that, consequently, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs requests that the Romanian Embassy should order the departure of DOBRE Dimitri and his family as soon as possible and no later than the 20th of August 1951, and has asked for guarantees (in this respect). As a result of this communication, the Embassy of Romania, by the note verbale dated 14th of August 1951, requested an exit visa for passport service no. 719 of the above-named Dobre Dimitri, for that of his wife and their daughter Maria. In another note, of the same date, 14th of August 1951, the*

Embassy of Romania confirmed to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that Dobre Dimitri and his family had left Italy, as requested, by 20th of August 1951. The ministry is interested in knowing whether the departure of Dobre Dimitri and his family actually took place and request the Directorate to undertake the necessary investigations with the Border Authorities. It is assumed that Dobre Dimitri and his family passed through Brennero or through Tarvisio on their way back to Romania.”

The Italian foreign affairs authorities practically realised that the connection between the Pintori and the Dobre cases, amid the complications registered by the entire Romanian-Italian situation, much as it was desired by the authorities in Rome, was only part of a complex set of problematic cases concerning Romania's relations with the Western countries, with the Holy See, with the Catholic properties in Romania, Romania's economic bonds in Italy, etc.¹¹ Therefore, in order to adjust its policy of negotiation with the Romanian party in line with the new realities, they had to release Dobre's situation from that deadlock and deliver him to Romania. Obviously, being aware of the situation of confusion the Romanian diplomatic authority had maintained, they requested, in writing, assurances that Dobre had been repatriated.

The previous agreements, reflected in the aforementioned diplomatic communications issued by the Italian party fallen into abeyance, were reset and, as suggested by a much later diplomatic communication, the terms of the negotiations had changed. The Italian authorities did not stop the proceedings in the Dobre and Măgura cases and, although they did not accelerate them, they let them take their natural course. The advantage of the Romanian party was that the Italian justice system was known for its slowness and, procedurally, these trials did not justify urgent solutions, given the absence of the defendants from court. This time, we have the formal charge brought against Măgura, who was involved in the illegal export of strategic materials. Summarising the communication dated August 20th 1955,¹² we are informed that during the negotiations for the definitive release of Eraldo Pintori, the Romanian government wished the actions against Iacob Măgura, the former Commercial Attaché of the Romanian Embassy in Bern, and against Dimitri Dobre, the former chauffeur of the Romanian Embassy in Rome, to be suspended, as these actions had been pending at courts in Milan and in Rome. The Italian regulations did not allow interventions of this type, once the procedure had been started. However, since the potential sentence and conviction could not be practically enforced, since the two accused were in Romania, the opinion of the Italian party was that the government in Bucharest, which had adopted another political contour (Ana Pauker had been relieved of assignments, Stalin had died) was particularly concerned that these actions should not be made public. In the new negotiations, the Italian side attempted again to correlate, as before, the cases of the Italians imprisoned in Romania with the Dobre and Măgura problems. However, according to General Director of Political Affairs in the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Romanian government did not intend to make a connection between the request addressed to the Italian Government and the matter of the release of the Italian

¹¹ Veronica Turcuș et alii, *op.cit.* p. 122.

¹² Ministero Italiano degli Affari Esteri, Archivio Storico-Diplomatico, Affari Politici 1950-1957, Romania 1955, busta 1284.

citizens, foremost among whom was Pintori, asserting, however, that such a request would no doubt be re-examined from a favourable perspective.

Under these circumstances, the General Director for Political Affairs suggested, in the communication he addressed to the head of the Italian mission in Bucharest, that “*it would be superfluous, though, if I informed Your Excellency that the one who answers our request might rush or delay the release of our co-nationals. Since it seems impossible that at least in the case currently underway at the Court of Milan a satisfactory response will come from us, allow me to suggest that the competent authorities should do everything in their power so that the proceedings in question will take place behind closed doors, particularly in light of their nature. This we could immediately communicate to this Government, and based on its reactions, we will evaluate its actual intentions on the matter that is of interest to us.*”

This diplomatic correspondence also stated that economic relations between Romania and Italy had been resumed, but there were still some “obstacles” Romania had placed in the way of Italian exports. It was believed, however, that once the Accademia di Romania chapter had been closed and Pintori had been released, “we will manage to clean up the field from the debris of the past, and the relations between the two countries will also improve in the commercial sector.”

We do not know what the outcome of the trial was, we do not know if it was quashed or not. It is certain, however that once the Eraldo Pintori case had been settled, the Italian party decided not to insist on this matter any further and to dedicate itself to a new, more constructive phase in the bilateral relations. There is, indeed, a pro-memoria from 1957,¹³ referring to the Dobre and Măgura cases, but it seems to have been compiled under *beneficium inventarii*.

¹³ Ministero Italiano degli Affari Esteri, Archivio Storico-Diplomatico, Affari Politici 1950-1957, Romania 1957, busta 1375.

LETTERS FROM THE “ETERNAL CITY” HADRIAN DAICOVICIU - CONSTANTIN DAICOVICIU

Abstract: This study presents the correspondence between the archaeologist and university Professor Dr. Hadrian Daicoviciu (1932-1984), during a scholarship in Rome (1963), and his father, Acad. Constantin Daicoviciu (1898-1973), Rector of Babeș-Bolyai University.

Constantin Daicoviciu, an eminent scientist, professor, and brilliant orator, distinguished himself in the professional circles from the country and abroad through a vast activity as an archaeologist, epigraphist, philologist and historian of antiquity. From 1924 on, he led the excavations in the capital of Roman Dacia, Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa, and the campaign of archaeological excavations from the Dacian fortresses in the Orăștie Mountains (Piatra Roșie, Grădiștea de Munte, Blidaru, Costești, Rudele, Fețele Albe). With a valuable scientific work, reflected in the research he conducted in the major archaeological resorts of antiquity, and in fundamental works that explore the ancient period of Romanian history, with outstanding teaching abilities, Constantin Daicoviciu was a veritable leader of the school of archaeology in Transylvania and his virtues were greatly appreciated by the highest national and international scientific milieus. C. Daicoviciu participated in numerous international congresses, conferences and reunions: the congresses of Greek and Latin epigraphy from Rome, Vienna, Munich, etc.; the “Eirene” international congresses of classical philology; the international congresses of the historians from Moscow, Warsaw, Budapest and Lausanne.

The high esteem in which the scientific work of Academician C. Daicoviciu was held resulted in the granting of scientific titles and his being co-opted in international historical committees and institutes: a correspondent member, then a full member of the Archaeological Institute in Berlin (1938, 1967); a member of the Society for Southeast European Studies in Munich (1966); a member of the International Association of Classical Archaeology in Rome (1960); a full member of the Austrian Archaeological Institute (1973); a member of the Society of Latin Studies in Paris; a correspondent member of the Austrian Academy of Sciences (1962); a member of the International Committee of Historians (1968).

He became a full member of the Romanian Academy in 1955, Vice-President of the Academy, Chairman of the Department of Historical Sciences and a member of prestigious institutions abroad, as well as a laureate of the Herder Prize (1968).

The research undertaken by Professor Dr. Hadrian Daicoviciu targeted the history of pre-Roman Dacia, in particular, the period of the Dacian state and the history of Roman Dacia. The results of his research were appreciated at home and abroad, as attested by the large number of the eminent archaeologist’s participations in national and international scientific events: the International Congress of Prehistorical and Protohistorical Sciences in Prague, 1966; the Congress of Southeast European Studies in Athens, 1970; the International Congress of Prehistorical and Protohistorical Sciences in Belgrade, 1971; the International Congress of Thracology in Sofia, 1972; the International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy in Munich, 1972; the Congress of Southeast European Studies in Bucharest, 1974; the International Congress of Thracology, Bucharest, 1976; the International Congress of Historical Sciences, Bucharest, 1980. He was a member of the Society for Classical Studies (Bucharest, 1973) and an honorary member of the Romanian Numismatic Society (Bucharest, 1976).

For outstanding scientific merit, he received numerous awards and distinctions, most notably the “Vasile Pârvan” award of the Romanian Academy for the work *Dacii* [*The Dacians*] in 1965.

In the letters addressed to his father and mentor Constantin Daicoviciu, Hadrian Daicoviciu approached solely scientific, strictly documentary matters, throughout his sojourn in Italy, avoiding any

¹ Museum curator, The National History Museum of Transylvania, email: dana_comsa2003@yahoo.com .

comments that might seem “political,” even if they pertained to the cultural or quotidian atmosphere. This was obviously the result of their awareness that their correspondence was supervised: they did not want to leave any room for interpretation outside the strictly professional one, focused on classical archaeology, situated thousands of years away from the time of the account.

Keywords: scientific correspondence, Roman archaeology, the Archaeological School of Cluj, the university Professors Constantin and Hadrian Daicoviciu

The Historical School of Cluj has been illustrated by famous professors who have left an indelible mark on the spirituality of the city and the country. Constantin and Hadrian Daicoviciu² represent the best-known names of classical archaeology from the Napocensis University, as they guided dozens of generations of historians. The personality of these exceptional professors and directors of the National History Museum of Transylvania has entered into undeserved obscurity, which is nonetheless explainable by the ineluctable passage of time.

Constantin and Hadrian Daicoviciu placed their unmistakable stamp on the professional and intellectual trajectory of their disciples in the vast field of history. The archaeological sites Sarmizegetusa Regia and Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa were the “laboratories” in which the best known names of Transylvanian archaeology were trained and perfected their knowledge, and the history museum in Cluj was the halidom of science and culture with which they identified and which, under their leadership, was a trailblazing pioneer in the field of museology.

The archaeologist Hadrian Daicoviciu, who grew up, with his father, the academician Constantin Daicoviciu, amidst the ruins of the Dacian fortresses in the Orăștie Mountains and of the most important city in the space of Eastern Latinity, dedicated himself to the idea of investigating the two “columns” of the Romanian people: Sarmizegetusa Regia and Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa. “Hadrian Daicoviciu was, above all, the son of the great historian Constantin Daicoviciu because, indeed, he was not his heir only by the law of nature, but by the infinitely more severe law of culture. A difficult legacy, for his father was a great man in every respect, and it was difficult for anyone to measure up to him. But Hadrian Daicoviciu was truly and in the highest sense the heir of his sharp and learned father, for he carried on the work of his lifetime, inspiring this legacy with his own high spirit, with his own creative force, going deeper, decanting more subtly, in a word, innovating - as one rightly ought to surpass one’s great predecessors - with deep respect and unflinching intrepidity...”³

Most of the contributions of the researcher Hadrian Daicoviciu focused on the history of pre-Roman Dacia, in particular the period of the Dacian state and the history of Roman Dacia. Sources of all categories - archaeological, numismatic, epigraphic, literary - in conjunction with exhaustive documentation on the historiography pertaining to the issues he researched facilitated his production of reference works in the specialised literature. His contributions and new interpretations regarding the character

² Daniela Comșa, *Constantin și Hadrian Daicoviciu. Memoria imaginilor*, catalogue, Cluj-Napoca: Editura Mega, 2010, p. 58.

³ The “Daicoviciu” Fund, Camil Mureșan, *In memoriam Hadrian Daicoviciu*, inv. no. C₂ 8162, The National History Museum of Transylvania, Cluj-Napoca.

of the Dacian state, ranging from its particularities to the chronology of the Dacian kings and the overall definition of the Dacian civilisation, were crowned by the imposing synthesis dedicated to the history of Dacia from Burebista to the Roman Conquest.

The eminent researcher Hadrian Daicoviciu addressed the vast and complex issue in his studies on the Roman era: the institutions and organisation of Dacia, urbanism, cultural and religious life, the continuity of the Dacians under Roman rule, Romanisation and its essence.

The National History Museum of Transylvania has a valuable historical and documentary fund - the "Daicoviciu" Fund - which includes documents and personal objects, correspondence, manuscripts, invitations to congresses and scientific reunions, diplomas and awards, as well as an impressive collection of photographs, which illustrate all stages in the life of these scholars, from the years of studentship until the last months of their lives.⁴

This study presents the letters by Professor Dr. Hadrian Daicoviciu⁵ to his father and mentor, Acad. Constantin Daicoviciu, while he was on a scholarship in Italy, in May-July 1963. The issues discussed in the letters are mainly professional, reference being made to meetings with renowned Italian professors and archaeologists, true authorities on Roman antiquity, who carried an extensive scientific correspondence with Prof. C. Daicoviciu and then with H. Daicoviciu.

The exchanges of publications and books, meant to make Romanian archaeological research known, the latest research results of the Italian specialists, and the specialised Italian libraries and institutions were the major concerns of the young researcher Hadrian Daicoviciu.

Hadrian Daicoviciu recounted to Constantin Daicoviciu about his encounters and efforts (unofficial, "as a young researcher, without representing anyone's standpoint") for reopening the Romanian Academy in Rome.⁶ An important stage in his travels was his research of Trajan's Column, the resulting publication being *Columna lui Traian*, Bucharest: Meridiane, 1966, 36p.; second edition 1968 (in collaboration with Constantin Daicoviciu).

It may be noticed that Hadrian Daicoviciu endeavoured to address only scientific, strictly documentary issues in his letters, throughout his sojourn in Italy, avoiding any comments that might have seemed "political," even those pertaining to the cultural and quotidian atmosphere. This was obviously the result of their awareness that their correspondence was supervised: they did not want to leave any room for interpretation outside the strictly professional one, focused on classical archaeology, situated thousands of years away from the time of the account.

⁴ The "Daicoviciu" Fund, inv. no. C₂ 1- C₂ 8417.

⁵ Idem, inv. no. C₂ 3713 - C₂ 3717.

⁶ The Romanian School in Rome began its activity on 1 November 1922, granting, in the period 1922-1947, scholarships in the fields of archeology, history, philology and the fine arts, to the best graduates from the Romanian universities (Bucharest, Cluj, Iași, Cernăuți). C. Daicoviciu was a scholar of the Romanian School in Rome, in the years 1925-1927, in the specializations of ancient history, archeology, epigraphy and classical philology. In 1947, the Romanian authorities decided to close the institution, until 1969, when it reopened its gates, with the status of the Romanian Library in Rome. In 1990, after the fall of communism, the institution changed its status again, becoming once more the Romanian Academy in Rome.

Rome, 31 May 1963

Dear Father,

I am hereby taking advantage of Mr. Petrovici's kindness to write you a few lines about what reckon is more important. So here I go:

1. I have talked to Pallottino⁷ about the possibility of opening our Academy here. After speaking to Professor Devota, recently returned from Romania, Pallotino is determined to strive for the reopening of our Academy and looks optimistic. Talking, we arrived at three possibilities of solving this matter, namely:

a) Opening, without reciprocity, the Academy in Rome, which should be strictly scientific and which should deal, if possible, with those branches of science that are the least "political";

b) Opening our Academy in Rome and a similar Italian institution (therefore strictly scientific, in Bucharest);

c) If the Italian government lacks the funds for opening an Academy in Bucharest, our Academy in Rome should open immediately, while Italy's right to establish a similar institution in Bucharest, whenever it seemed appropriate, would be ensured.

I am writing this with the thought that it may be of use to you. If Mr. Lascu comes to Rome, he should know the matter in all its details. Naturally, I emphasised in my discussion with Pallottino that I spoke as a private individual, as a young researcher, without representing the views of anyone else, and I didn't even tell him that I would inform you of the matters discussed; the conclusion was that of his own initiative and out of friendship for our country, he would take all the steps he deemed necessary with the Italian government.

2. Prof. Antonio Giuliano⁸ cannot come to Sinaia this year. So if you have not yet sent him the invitation, do not send it. He would, however, very much like to come next year.

3. Please do not forget about the archaeological material for the Museum of the Faculty of Letters here. Do you think it could be sent by mail? If not, we should wait for the arrival of the delegation to Bologna.

4. I have noticed that the Library of Archaeology and Ancient History of the Faculty here does not include any Romanian books (except for some new periodicals: *Dacia* etc.). Would it be possible to send, in some way, the *Yearbook of the Institute of Classical Studies*, *The Treatise on Romanian History* (vol. I), *The CD Homage Volume*? I'm sure I could get other publications in return for these. You can send these books to

⁷ Massimo Pallottino (1909-1995) – a university professor, an archaeologist specializing in Etruscan civilisation. He created in Rome "C N R per l Archeologia Etrusco: Italica." He carried a vast scientific correspondence with Hadrian Daicoviciu (the Daicoviciu Fund, inv. no. C2 7862) and, on the latter's death, he sent an evocation with the title *From Rome with Nostalgia and Love* (the Daicoviciu Fund, inv. no. C2 8175).

⁸ Antonio Giuliano – a professor of archaeology and the history of Greek and Roman art at the University of Rome.

me or, officially, to the Institute of Archaeology and Art History, Fac. of Letters, the University of Rome.

That's about all. I am working and I feel good. Mr. Petrovici'll tell you what we've done and what we've seen together.

Vale! Auguri!
Hadrian

P. S. 1. Will you please not forget the issue of Biți's mother and our departure to Austria?

2. I received your telegram and I was glad that everything was all right at home.

Rome, 7 - VI – 1963

Dear Father,

I'm sending you another issue of *Capolavori*. I haven't been able to get a hold of the old issues, but I will eventually. Also, I'm sending you the little book about EUR, together with a small booklet about the Archaeological Museum of the University here.

The two bigger books are for Biți. Please give them to her.

Another matter: I've met a professor (not of archaeology!) who is interested in the collection "The monuments of our homeland" and would like to have it. In exchange, he will buy me books that are of interest to me. I will give him "Ulpia Traiana" and "Sarmizegetusa". Could you get me "Apulum", "Tomis" "Histria" and whatever has been published in this collection? They can be in Romanian, in fact Leonardi (that's his name) wants them to be in Romanian, which he knows to some extent and would not like to forget it. If possible, send them to me, to my address here. I will give them to him. Also tell me if there is any book that you might be particularly interested in, in exchange for them.

I'm fine, working, work is good. I hope all is well with you. Take care of Cucuț!

Kisses to all of you!
Vale!
Hadrian

Rome, 24 – VI - 1963

Dear Father,

I have received all the three letters from you. I didn't have time to answer the first two, which I received at once, because I was away. I went on a splendid trip

(although a bit tiresome) to Padua, Este, Venice, Aquileia and Ancona. I saw many interesting and useful things. I think I managed to solve, in Aquileia, the problem of the monuments shaped like an arched pyramid trunk. I talked there to Gioramini Brusin,⁹ who sends you the warmest greetings.

I was glad to receive good news from home. Last evening I received all the books you let me know you had sent, and today I received “Callatis” too.

I have not had time yet to do everything you asked me in the first letter. Where I’ve been, I haven’t found Bloch’s book, but I’ll look for it here in Rome. I sent Mr. Naum a postcard from Venice. To Surianu too. I will not forget the others either.

Soon I will send you a series of books, which I can’t possibly carry with me on a plane. About this, I must tell you that I have booked a ticket for 31 July. I’ll arrive, then, at around 9 p.m. in Bucharest (it’s the same plane you took when you left here). I will write to Aurelian to meet me at the airport, but you’d better also tell Condurachi’s (in case Aurelian is away doing excavations). In fact, it’s not the waiting at the airport that is important; what is important is that someone will be at home in Bucharest (Aurelian or Florica or Puica and Emil). Whoever will be will have to pay for the taxi from the airport to the city and wait for me with a wagon-lits ticket for the evening of 1 August on the 10 pm train (approximately) which arrives in Cluj in the morning at 7⁵⁵. Can this whole thing be arranged? If yes, then it means that on 2 August in the morning, I’ll be at home. It wouldn’t be a bad idea if Turcu waited for me.

One last request: could you send me an extract or, or if you don’t have one, a typed copy of your article “On Christianity in Dacia,” published in *Studii*, I, 1948? Do this only if the matter of this article is different from your study which appeared, I think, in *Mélanges Marouzeau*. If it’s the same thing, don’t send it to me, just write that there is no difference.

Dear Father, that’s about all. Tomorrow we have a meeting at the faculty to distribute participation in the excavations from Pyrgi. Depending on this, I will then set, with Pallatino, the date of my trip to Naples - Pompeii - Herculaneum - Capri - Paestum - Beneventum.

Many kisses and greetings to you and the other family members. A special supplement to the little one!

Vale!

Hadrian

Rome, 4 – VII – 1963

Dear Father,

I’m writing briefly to you (but it’s still going to be a long letter!) about what I’ve been doing lately.

⁹ Gioramini Brusin – a professor, an Italian archaeologist.

1. I've sent postcards to everyone about whom you wrote to me: Acad. Bălan, Edgar Müller, Dr. Şurianu, Professor Ruffini, Mrs. Sena.¹⁰

2. But I haven't managed to find that laboratory with teaching materials. I think I will find it eventually.

3. I have not seen Degrassi. I have not looked for him because I was told that he might be sick. I will nonetheless contact him by all means before my departure.

4. I phoned Lugli¹¹ and thanked him, in your name, for the book. He told me that before I left he wanted to see me and that he would invite me to his place in the countryside one day.

5. I've been to Fasti again. I saw, of course, Forni,¹² who had not come with us then because his daughter was sick. I went to Ostia with Mrs. Squarciapino.¹³

6. I've been a few times to Alessandrini and I'll go again before I leave. Now he's on a cure at Abano Terme, near Padua.

7. I've seen Pallotino, too, but I could not really talk to him because he's terribly busy. He's leaving for Yugoslavia in a few days. To be able to discuss at leisure, he has invited me for a day or two, to Perugia on 24 July, at University for foreigners, where he delivers courses on Etruscology. Naturally, I will go.

8. To Bianchi Bandinelli¹⁴ I've given, for the Library of the Archaeology Inst., the homage volume and "Ulpia Traiana." He wants to establish a more regular exchange of publications, and has proposed *Miscellanea* of his Institute to us. I replied that I would write to him from Cluj.

9. I gave Volume I of *The History of Romania* to the Library of the German Institute of Archaeology, which had vol. II, but didn't have the first. I also gave them *Sarmizegetusa* (in French) and *Ulpia Traiana*. They thanked me warmly and gave me, in exchange, some of the books that I sent you today and about which I will talk below.

10. I have contacted Mrs. Foà for the problem of the photos of Trajan's Column. The situation looks, for now, bad. The publishing houses no longer have the clichés used for the old editions (Cichorius, Froehner). New photographs are difficult to take because our casts are inaccessible, as you know, and the casts of the Vatican Museum (made by the same casts as ours) are, for now at least, inaccessible because of the extension works from the Vatican Museum; there is, it is true, at the Museo della Civiltà Romana (EUR), a plaster copy of these casts, but: a) the copies are not in very good condition; b) they are placed in a dimly lit corridor and in rows stacked at such close range from each other that shooting becomes extremely difficult. The only hope that I have left now is that the L. U. C. E. Institute, which took the photos of the scenes from

¹⁰ M. Ruffini, a university professor, a specialist in the history of culture and the Romanian-Italian cultural relations; Gemma Sena – a specialist in the history of ancient art, Milan.

¹¹ A. Degrassi, epigraphist, Director of the Italian School of Archaeology, Professor at the University of Padua; G. Lugli, Professor of ancient topography at the University of Rome. He founded *Italiae Forma* - archaeological maps.

¹² G. Forni, a professor and Rector of the University of Bologna, an epigraphist and historian of the Roman army.

¹³ M. F. Squarciapino, an archaeologist, the editor of *Fasti archaeologici*.

¹⁴ Bianchi Bandinelli, a professor of archaeology and Greek and Roman art history at the Universities of Florence and Rome.

the Column in 1942, during the anti-aircraft protection works, photographing indeed the entire Column (in the album of P. Romanelli, which we also have, only the most artistically eloquent photos are published) has kept these photographs in the archive. If even this hope will dispel, we will see here what is to be done. In any case, I will keep in touch with Mrs. Foà.

11. I sent you four packages of books this morning. The first contains the volumes *Tuscany I*, *Tuscany II* and *Lombardy I* (beautifully illustrated publications, of the Italian Touring Club).

The second comprises: *Lombardy II*, G. Anibaldi, *Le antiche civiltà della Maveche*, G. Brusin, *Di un tipo di stela sepolcrale carateristico di Verona*, B. M. Scarfi, *Due pittori apuli della seconda metà del IV secolo A. C.* and *Una testa scopadea di Athena al Museo archeologico di Venezia* (all these are extracts) and *La vie en moyen-âge* and *Charlemagne* (the collection *Que sais-je ?*). The third package contains publications of the Touring Club (Rome I, Rome II and Sicily), and the fourth contains the following books or booklets: R. Bloch, *Gli Etruschi*, V. Childe, *Il frammenti del passato*, P. Romanelli, *Il Palatino*, M. Pallotino, *La Necropoli di Cerveteri*, G. Fogolari, *Il Museo Nazionale Attestino in Este*, G. A. (Nibaldi), *Il Muses Nazionale delle Marche in Ancona*, *Spoletto* (tourist ad), A. Camus, *La peste* (literature for Biți,¹⁵ and the following volumes in the collection *Que sait-il?: Le calendrier*, *La numismatique antique*, *L'épigraphie latine* and *La science des Chaldéens*.

Please put all these books away until my arrival. The exceptions are *La peste*, *La vie en momoyen-age* and *Charlemagne*, which you can give to Biți right away.

12. Tomorrow morning I'm going to Naples, armed with letters of recommendation from Pallotino. The trip will last a week (including Naples, Herculaneum, Pompeii, Capri, Paestum and Beneventum)

Warm kisses,
Hadrian

Rome. 13 – VII – 1963

Dear Father,

I'm back from Naples. Everything was wonderful and I think it has been very useful to me.

I will try to discuss with Forni the problem of the prefect of Dacia Inferior this afternoon, if I find him at Fasti. It would be the last chance because on Monday, 15 - VII -, I'm going to Pyrgi, where I will stay for a week, and Forni is going on vacation on 18. If I cannot talk to him, I will try with Degrassi after my return from Pyrgi.

Today I sent you the following books and extracts or brochures (distributed in two packages):

¹⁵ Beatrice Daicoviciu, with a PhD in World Medieval History, a professor at Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, the first wife of Hadrian Daicoviciu.

- *Campania* (publication – Italian Touring Club)
- S. M. Puglisi, *Preliminary Report of the Reserches at Hezar*
- J. de Vries, *La religion des Celtes*
- A. de Franciscis – O. Parlangeli, *Gli Italici del Bronzo nei documenti epigrafici*
- E. Pozzi, *Exedra funeraria pompeiana fuori Porta di Nola*
- G. Luigi, *Foro Romano. Palatino*
- A. Maiuri, *Pompei*
- “““ , *Capi*
- ,””” , *Ercolano*
- P. C. Sestieri, *Paestum*
- G. Mazzini, *I doveri del’ uomo*
- C. Carbonara, *Platonismo e cristianesimo nella concezione mazziniana della storia*
- Issues 2, 3, 6-11 of the publications of the so-called Centro Napolitano di Studi Mazziniani.

I have received all this stuff with Mazzini as a gift. Maybe it is of some interest for the specialists in modern history. As with the other books sent, please put them aside until my arrival.

Tomorrow I’m going to lunch to Alessandrini’s, who has returned from the baths.

I think this is the last letter I’m sending to you. I’ll probably get home before you receive another letter.

Warm kisses,
Hadrian

P. S. Important! Hadn’t you better write to Swoboda¹⁶ and ask him: where should I be on 15 August? Will someone be waiting for us at the station, at the airport, etc.? In a word, ask him to tell us all the administrative and technical details of our visit.

¹⁶ Erich S. Swoboda, Director of the Carnuntum Museum near Vienna.

BETWEEN HISTORIOGRAPHY AND POLITICS. THE RECEPTION OF AVRAM IANCU AFTER 1989

Abstract: 1989, the year when the communist regime collapsed in Romania, saw the anniversary of 165 years since the birth and, respectively, the commemoration of 117 years since the demise of Avram Iancu, Prefect of the Auraria Gemina Legion and a central figure in the 1848 Revolution from Transylvania. At the watershed moment marked by the Romanian Revolution of 1989, the reception of this personality in the Romanian historiography and consciousness was based, therefore, on utterly respectable grounds, which entailed, for the scientific research establishment, at least, the disappearance of the ideological conditionings imposed by the former regime. Since then, the historiographic research directions that were consolidated for decades have continued among the Romanian historians, in particular those from Cluj, who have attempted to reconstitute the sources of the 1848 Revolution and to conduct analytical and interpretive approaches on the most diverse aspects pertaining to the two years, 1848 and 1849, including the causes and the immediate or lasting consequences of the revolutionary events. While the revolution as a whole has essentially remained in the sphere of scholarly concerns, featuring in the research programs of the history faculties and specialised institutes, its personalities have been, over the past two decades, the subject of jubiliary and commemorative actions with a far broader impact and social reverberation. Avram Iancu is one of the representative personalities of the 1848 Transylvanian Revolution that have been most vividly evoked in extra-scientific manifestations over the past two decades, benefiting from both natural gestures of reverence and homage and from political instrumentalisation. The suggestive charisma of Iancu's personality and his value as a symbol in the national struggle of the Transylvanian Romanians in the 19th century has been a somewhat convenient theme, accessible to nationalist political discourse, among others, in Romania over the past two decades. Capturing the attention of professional historians and other milieus of contemporary Romanian society, the so-called Prince of the Mountains has remained, across the centuries, an irresistible, enigmatic and baffling point of attraction, especially as regards the less clarified aspects of his behaviour and conduct during the period of the 1848 Revolution.

Keywords: Avram Iancu, revolution, 1848-1849, historiography, instrumentalisation

1989, the year when the communist regime collapsed in Romania, saw the anniversary of 165 years since the birth and, respectively, the commemoration of 117 years since the demise of Avram Iancu, Prefect of the Auraria Gemina Legion and a central figure in the 1848 Revolution from Transylvania. At the watershed moment marked by the Romanian Revolution of 1989,² the reception of this personality in the Romanian historiography and consciousness was based, therefore, on utterly respectable grounds, which entailed, for the scientific research establishment, at least, the disappearance of the ideological conditionings imposed by the former regime.³ Since then, the

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² On this theme, see Ioachim Lazăr, Nicolae Marcel Morar, *Avram Iancu în memoria posterității*, Deva, Ed. Emia, 2008.

³ Regarding the impact of ideology on Romanian historical writing during the communist period, see: Vlad Georgescu, *Politică și istorie. Căzul comuniștilor români 1944-1977*, Bucharest, Ed. Humanitas, 1991; Florin Müller, *Politica și istoriografie în România 1948-1964*, Cluj-Napoca, Ed. Nereamia Napocae, 2003;

historiographic research directions that were consolidated for decades have continued among the Romanian historians, in particular those from Cluj, who have attempted to reconstitute the sources of the 1848 Revolution and to conduct analytical and interpretive approaches on the most diverse aspects pertaining to the two years, 1848 and 1849, including the causes and the immediate or lasting consequences of the revolutionary events. While the revolution as a whole has essentially remained in the sphere of scholarly concerns, featuring in the research programs of the history faculties and specialised institutes, its personalities have been, over the past two decades, the subject of jubiliary and commemorative actions with a far broader impact and social reverberation. Avram Iancu is one of the representative personalities of the 1848 Transylvanian Revolution that have been most vividly evoked in extra-scientific manifestations over the past two decades, benefiting from both natural gestures of reverence and homage and from political instrumentalisation. The suggestive charisma of Iancu's personality and his value as a symbol in the national struggle of the Transylvanian Romanians in the 19th century has been a somewhat convenient theme, accessible to nationalist political discourse, among others, in Romania over the past two decades. Capturing the attention of professional historians and other milieus of contemporary Romanian society, the so-called Prince of the Mountains has remained, across the centuries, an irresistible, enigmatic and baffling point of attraction, especially as regards the less clarified aspects of his behaviour and conduct during the period of the 1848 Revolution.

Historiography represents a reception area for Iancu's figure in which the quantitative accumulations of information and the studies focusing on his role in the events from the years 1848-1849 have revealed new aspects and dimensions of this personality, continuing, in broad lines, the directions and trends evinced by the Romanian historiography devoted to the phenomenon of the 1848 Revolution, which were established in the interwar period or between 1948 and 1989. The Romanian historiography of this period (1948-1989) has the undeniable merit of having conducted large-scale studies focusing exclusively on Iancu's personality and role in the context of the revolutionary events and of the petitionary movement addressed to Vienna during the revolution and over the next period. The publication of the monumental monograph authored by Silviu Dragomir in 1968 was meant to revive the interest of the Romanian historiography in Avram Iancu,⁴ and was followed by a series of scholarly studies and popularisation works, such as the book written by Horia Ursu and published two years earlier in the collection "Outstanding Men" of Tineretului Publishing House;⁵ in 1968 there came out another popularisation work, signed by Marin Mihalache,⁶ while the 1970 work of Leonida Loghin and Constantin Ucrain, dedicated to the military aspects of the 1848 Revolution, reconstructed the role Iancu played in the context of these

Gabriel Moisa, *Istoria Transilvaniei în istoriografia românească: 1965-1989*, Cluj-Napoca, Ed. Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2003.

⁴ Silviu Dragomir, *Avram Iancu*, second edition, Bucharest, Ed. Științifică, 1968.

⁵ Horia Ursu, *Avram Iancu*, Bucharest, Ed. Tineretului, 1966.

⁶ Marin Mihalache, *Avram Iancu*, Bucharest, Ed. Militară, 1968.

events.⁷ Two years later, coinciding with the centenary of Iancu's death, the correspondence of Alexander Papiu Ilarian was published; edited by the historians Iosif Pervain and Ioan Chindriș, this book may clarify some biographical aspects of the character under discussion here.⁸ Besides hundreds of studies and articles, this commemorative moment was accompanied by the publication of several monographs and works of documentary restitution: *Avram Iancu - viața și faptele unui erou și martir* [*Avram Iancu - The Life and Deeds of a Hero and Martyr*], signed by the Academy Member Ștefan Pascu,⁹ *Avram Iancu - scrisori* [*Avram Iancu - Letters*], written by Liviu Maior,¹⁰ and *Avram Iancu în memorialistică* [*Avram Iancu in Memoirs*], by Pompiliu Teodor.¹¹ Among the more substantial studies and articles published on this occasion, we should mention a few, such as Liviu Botezan's study about Iancu's activity in the spring of 1848,¹² Iacob Mârza's overview of the studies Iancu carried out in Zlatna between 1837 and 1841, as a student at the local royal gymnasium¹³ and Simion Retegan's examination of the importance of several unpublished petitions that Avram Iancu submitted in 1852.¹⁴ This bibliographical reconsideration of Avram Iancu, occasioned by the centenary of his death, came after a period of prohibition that was partly coeval with the so-called obsessive decade, the 1950s, in which a number of restrictions were imposed on the historiography of the problem. The revival of historiographical studies dedicated to Avram Iancu in 1972, which marked the centenary of his death, continued two years later with a bibliographical repertory in the book entitled *Avram Iancu, documente și bibliografie* [*Avram Iancu, Documents and References*], signed by Ioan Ranca și Valeriu Nițu, which still serves as a working instrument of undeniable topicality for historians in the year 2013.¹⁵

In the context of re-launched approaches to the personality of Avram Iancu and, implicitly, to the importance of the 1848 Revolution in the modern history of the Romanian nation, research dedicated to these topics diversified during the following period. Thus, studies focusing on the phenomenon of the 1848 Revolution in Transylvania benefited from a coherent, solid, and systematic research program, deployed by the team of specialists on the "Revolution of 1848," from the History Institute in Cluj-Napoca, which, in the same atmosphere of restitution mentioned above, inaugurated the series of documents entitled *Revoluția de la 1848 în Țările Române*.

⁷ Leonida Loghin, Constantin Ucrain, *Aspecte militare ale revoluției din 1848 în Transilvania*, Bucharest, Ed. Militară, 1970.

⁸ Iosif Pervain, Ioan Chindriș, *Corespondența lui Alexandru Papiu Ilarian (scrisori, documente, memorii, note)*, Cluj, Ed. Dacia, 1972.

⁹ Ștefan Pascu, *Avram Iancu-viața și faptele unui erou și martir*, Bucharest, Ed. Meridiane, 1972.

¹⁰ Liviu Maior, *Avram Iancu. Scrisori*, Cluj, Ed. Dacia, 1972.

¹¹ Pompiliu Teodor, *Avram Iancu în memorialistică*, Cluj, Ed. Dacia, 1972.

¹² Samu Benkő, Liviu Botezan, Ákos Egyed, "Avram Iancu, exponent al dreptului poporului la înarmare în primăvara anului 1848," in *Apulum*, 1978, 16, pp. 345-354.

¹³ Iacob Mârza, "Avram Iancu, elev la 'Regium Gymnasium Zalatnense' (1837-1841)," in *Revista de pedagogie*, XXI, 9-10, pp.109-115.

¹⁴ Simion Retegan, "Cinci petiții inedite din 1852 ale lui Avram Iancu," in *Sargeția*, IX, 1972, pp. 247-258; see also Idem, "Răzvrătirea moșilor din 1852. Rolul lui Avram Iancu," in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie Cluj*, XV, 1972, pp. 239-262.

¹⁵ Ion Ranca, Valeriu Nițu, *Avram Iancu-documente și bibliografie*, Bucharest, Ed. Științifică, 1974.

Seria C. Transilvania [*The Revolution of 1848 in the Romanian Lands. Series C. Transylvania*]: the first volume appeared in 1977, and the series has now reached its ninth volume, which was printed two years ago, in 2011.¹⁶ Similar to other research institutes in Central Europe, the History Institute of Cluj included the 1848 Revolution, with its elites and masses, among the priorities of research into the period of the 19th century. Moreover, in the decade before the 1989 Revolution there started the publication of memoirs relating to the 1848 Revolution in Transylvania and the Banat, coordinated by the historians Nicolae Bocșan and Valeriu Leu, the first volume being published by Dacia Press in Cluj, in 1988, and being followed, a decade later, by a second, even more substantial volume on this theme, authored by the aforementioned historians.¹⁷ The image of Iancu in folklore and the collective mentality rounds off the area of scholarly concerns dedicated to him, with works such as those published by Romulus Felea¹⁸ or Florian Dudaș,¹⁹ an important work under the latter's signature appeared at Facla Press in Timișoara, in 1986, emphasising the significance of Avram Iancu's figure in the tradition of the Romanian people.

In this article we do not aim to provide a comprehensive historiographical overview of the 1848 Revolution or the figure of Avram Iancu, but merely intend to point out the major landmarks of historical writings on these subjects up until 1989, for the good reason that the specific research concerns from before the 1989 Revolution have continued to be addressed in the historiography of the two decades following the December 1989 Revolution. This represents, in our view, the first major feature of the reception of Iancu's figure at the level of post-1989 historiographical concerns: the continuation of the solid research directions that were begun in the previous decades, specialising on the retrieval of unpublished documentary, narrative and epistolary sources, which may provide information about the 1848 Revolution and its personalities. We shall note, in this context, the expansion - among the historiographers from Cluj - of studies devoted to a distinct category of sources on the Revolution, in particular, memoirs, which, as we noted before, had already begun to be published systematically. In addition to the two volumes of memoirs relating to the 1848 Revolution in Transylvania, edited by Nicolae Bocșan and Valeriu Leu, new documents of this type have entered the scientific circuit, including, for instance, the original manuscript published by N. Bocșan and V. Leu in the volume entitled *Revoluția de la 1848 în Munții Apuseni* [*The 1848 Revolution in the Apuseni Mountains*],²⁰ the

¹⁶ So far nine volumes of this work, *Revoluția de la 1848 în Țările Române. Seria C. Transilvania*, have seen the light of print at Ed. Academiei Române, Bucharest, vol. I-1977, vol. IX, 2011.

¹⁷ *Memorialistica revoluției de la 1848 în Transilvania*, introductory study, notes, glossary, edited by Nicolae Bocșan and Valeriu Leu, Cluj-Napoca, Ed. Dacia, 1988; Nicolae Bocșan, Valeriu Leu, *Revoluția de la 1848 din Transilvania în memorialistică*, Cluj-Napoca, Ed. Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2000.

¹⁸ Romulus Felea, *Avram Iancu în tradiția orală a moșilor (la 120 de ani de la moartea eroului)*, Cluj-Napoca, Academia Română, 1992, re-edited under the title *Avram Iancu în folclorul moșilor*, edited by Ioan Felea and Virgiliu Florea, Cluj-Napoca, [our emphasis] 1999.

¹⁹ Florian Dudaș, *Avram Iancu în tradiția poporului român*, Timișoara, Ed. Facla, 1989, re-edited in 1998 at Editura de Vest in Timișoara, under the title: *Avram Iancu în tradiția românilor*.

²⁰ Nicolae Bocșan, Rudolf Gräf, *Revoluția de la 1848 în Munții Apuseni. Memorialistică*, Cluj-Napoca, Ed. Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2003.

memories of the siege of Timișoara during the revolution, written by General von Rukavina and edited by Rudolf Gräf,²¹ or the part dedicated to the 1848 Revolution from Transylvania in Sava Popovici Săvoiu's memories of great scale, reported and published by Valeriu Leu and Nicolae Bocșan.²² In addition to these, there are various approaches to the 1848 Movement in Transylvania, numerous studies of smaller or larger scale published in the yearly reviews of the Academy Institutes and the History Museums, or in other specialised publications from the country and abroad, signed by prestigious scholars of our contemporary historiography, such as Gelu Neamțu, Ioan Chindriș, Nicolae Bocșan, Teodor Pavel, Ela Cosma, Ioan Bolovan, and many others.²³

In the post-1989 historiography, this category of professional approaches to the figure of Iancu and the events that consecrated him also includes commemorative and anniversary pieces. The year 1998, celebrating 150 years since the revolution, was rich in scientific initiatives dedicated to this subject. We may mention here, along with many other events, the international session held in Cluj-Napoca, which produced an important and well-known volume entitled *Revoluția de la 1848 în Europa centrală. Perspectivă istorică și istoriografică* [*The Revolution of 1848 in Central Europe. Historical and Historiographical Perspectives*].²⁴ Other institutions in the country also seized this anniversary moment to organise scientific events, which led to the publication of volumes of studies, such as the one that came out under the aegis of the Museum of Deva.²⁵ Another anniversary manifestation dedicated to Avram Iancu occurred in 2008, when the Museum of Alba Iulia organised a symposium in homage to this personality, marking the celebration of 184 years since the birth of the hero and 136 years since his demise.

Another area in which we may notice that scientific interest in Iancu's figure materialised after 1989 refers to the re-editing of reference works, such as re-publication, in 1998 and 2012, of Silviu Dragomir's 1868 monograph²⁶ or the partial reprint, in Ioan Ranca's 1996 book, of period texts referring to Avram Iancu,²⁷ which he

²¹ Rudolf Gräf, *Timișoara sub asediu: jurnalul feldmareșalului George v. Rukavina (aprilie-august 1849)*, Cluj-Napoca, Ed. Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2008.

²² See N. Bocșan, V. Leu, *Revoluția de la 1848 din Transilvania în memorialistică*, pp. 173-268.

²³ From among the contributions of this type, we shall selectively mention a few, by way of exemplification: Ela Cosma, "Liberalism versus conservatorism la sași la 1848-1849. Cu o privire introductivă asupra liberalismului german și austriac," in Camil Mureșanu (ed.), *Transilvania între medieval și modern*, Cluj-Napoca, Centrul de Studii Transilvane/Fundația Culturală Română, 1996, pp. 62-82; Ioan Chindriș, *Ideologia revoluționară a lui Alexandru Papiu Ilarian*, Bucharest, Ed. România Press, 2002; Gelu Neamțu, Ioan Bolovan, *The Revolution of 1848-1849 in Transylvania. Contributions to the History of Mentalities and of the Social Imaginary*, Cluj-Napoca, Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 2004; Teodor Pavel, "Laic și ecleziastic în revoluțiile de la 1848 din Europa Centrală," in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie*, Cluj-Napoca, 42, 2003, pp. 259-268; Gelu Neamțu, *Avram Iancu-mit, realitate, simbol*, Cluj-Napoca, Ed. Argonaut, 2012.

²⁴ Camil Mureșanu, Nicolae Bocșan, Ioan Bolovan (coord.), *Revoluția de la 1848 în Europa centrală. Perspectivă istorică și istoriografică*, Cluj-Napoca, Ed. Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2000.

²⁵ *Avram Iancu 1824-1872. Volum dedicat împlinirii a 125 de ani de la moartea eroului*, in the series *Restituiri*, V, Deva, 1997.

²⁶ Second editions released by the Cluj-based publishers Dacia (1998) and Eikon (2012).

²⁷ Ioan Ranca, *Avram Iancu pe baricadele Apusenilor. Relatări contemporane ale unor apropiați și adversari*, Târgu Mureș, Ed. Pax historica, 1996.

had originally published in the volume cited above, *Avram Iancu - documente și bibliografie* [*Avram Iancu - Documents and References*], which Ranca had signed in collaboration with Valeriu Nițu in 1974.

After 1989, the preoccupations of Romanian historiographers with the 1848 Transylvanian Revolution have also featured an innovative trend, manifested at the level of the approach perspective, methodology, and discourse. Foremost, in this respect, is Gelu Neamțu's study on the competitive presence of national symbols in the Transylvanian landscape during the revolutionary years.²⁸ Professor Nicolae Bocșan has reconstituted the meanings of the concepts of revolution and revolutionary for the Romanians and the Hungarians, with references to the revolutionary mentality of the 1848 Movement in Transylvania.²⁹ The same line of concerns gave birth to several valuable studies devoted to the relationship between the sacred and the profane in the collective mentality of the Romanians in 1848, such as those written by Liviu Maior, Simona Nicoară, or Ioan Bolovan.³⁰ Last but not least, we would like to mention the research undertaken from the perspective of collective mentalities and political mythology, such as the ones on dynastic patriotism and the myth of the good emperor in relation to the figure of Iancu in the Romanian collective mentality from the period of the revolution.³¹

Over the past two decades, in the area of scientific research, interest in the figure of Avram Iancu has therefore gone hand in hand with the general approach to the 1848 phenomenon in Transylvania and in Central Europe. There have been quantitative accumulations; a relatively considerable amount of sources have been published, and so have numerous analytical and interpretive studies and articles, of diverse amplitude and unequal value, whose quantitative ascertainment is made possible by the latest volumes published as the Historical Bibliography of Romania.³² It is equally true that the

²⁸ Gelu Neamțu, "Simboluri naționale în timpul Revoluției de la 1848 din Transilvania," in *David Prodan – Puterea modelului*, Cluj-Napoca, 1995, pp. 173-189.

²⁹ See, in this sense, the introduction to the volume N. Bocșan, V. Leu, *Revoluția de la 1848 din Transilvania în memorialistică*, pp. 7-94.

³⁰ Liviu Maior, *1848-1849. Români și unguri în revoluție*, Bucharest, Ed. Enciclopedică, 1998; Simona Nicoară, *Mitologiile revoluției pașoptiste românești. Istorie și imaginar*, Cluj-Napoca, Ed. Presa Universitară Clujeană, 1999; Ioan Bolovan, "Contribuții la cunoașterea imaginii sociale în revoluția de la 1848 din Transilvania," in Nicolae Bocșan, Sorin Mitu, Toader Nicoară (eds.), *Identitate și alteritate. Studii de imagologie*, II, Cluj-Napoca, Ed. Presa Universitară Clujeană, 1998, pp. 184-207.

³¹ Mirela Andrei, "Aspecte privind mitul 'bunului împărat' în sensibilitatea colectivă românească din Ardeal la 1848," in Nicolae Bocșan, Valeriu Leu (eds.), *Identitate și alteritate. Studii de imagologie*, I, Reșița, Ed. Banatica, 1996, pp. 89-95; Ion Cârja, "Avram Iancu și 'bunul împărat' în sensibilitatea colectivă românească la 1848," in *Buletinul cercurilor științifice studențești*, II, Alba Iulia, 1996, pp. 203-210; Idem, "Les Roumains de Transylvanie et l'Empire des Habsbourg dans la période 1848 – 1851 - entre réalité et imaginaire," in Ionuț Costea, Valentin Orga (eds.), *Studii de istoria Transilvaniei*, IV, Cluj-Napoca, Ed. Accent, 2000, pp. 231-244; Doru Radosav, *Arătarea împăratului. Intrările imperiale în Transilvania și Banat (sec. XVIII-XIX). Discurs și reprezentare*, Cluj-Napoca, Ed. Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2002.

³² The latest five volumes of the Historical Bibliography of Romania have inventoried the scientific yield of Romanian historiography after 1989; the order of their appearance is as follows: vol. VIII: 1989-1994, Bucharest, Ed. Academiei Române, 1996; vol. IX: 1994-1999, Bucharest, Ed. Academiei Române, 2000; vol. X: 1999-2004; Bucharest, Ed. Academiei Române, 2005; vol. XI: 2004-2006, Bucharest, Ed.

Romanian and, in particular, the Transylvanian historiography of the past two decades has failed to produce a new monograph dedicated to Avram Iancu's personality and that the one written by Silviu Dragomir in 1968, with its further editions that saw the light of print before and after 1989, remains an irreplaceable historiographical reference on this topic.

During these two decades, the extra-scientific reception of Iancu's figure has been less uniform and not very easily decipherable in clear terms. Several aspects can, however, be highlighted. Thus, given the efforts to re-legitimise the Romanian national symbols and personalities after 1989, Iancu's image figure has seen an incontestable rise, which has been noticeable at the level of commemorative activities and institutional onomastics. We are referring here to a number of educational institutions at secondary, high school and even university level that have opted for bearing his name. At the same time, a certain civic cult around Iancu's figure has expanded in Romania during this period, evidently by multiplying the number of statues that represent him at Câmpeni, Abrud, Brad, Alba Iulia and Cluj-Napoca, rather uneven in terms of their aesthetic value; in addition to this, mention should be made of the unfinished project undertaken by the former Prime Minister Victor Ciorbea of having a statue of Avram Iancu erected in Bucharest.

We could also talk about yet another level of the perception and valorisation of Avram Iancu's image after 1989, that of his instrumentalisation and politicisation in various strands of political discourse, often for very polemical reasons. In the political discourse of nationalist expression, Iancu's figure is vehemently invoked as a founding figure of Romanian national identity and values, opposed to otherness, which is seen as hostile and competitive. Over the past two decades, well-known political parties and power holders in Romania have used the suggestive force of Iancu's personality to ground their nationalist discourse in and make it more convincing and incisive. This instrumentalisation of Iancu's image through his association with and use as a flagship for various themes of the nationalist discourse of the last twenty years, which are reminiscent of the national-communism of the previous period, have simply debunked and, to some extent, discredited the figure of Avram Iancu in the public consciousness, especially in the urban milieus, as it has happened with other Romanian national symbols too (such as the tricolour flag), whose excessive use has led their erosion, temporarily at least, in the collective perception. Invoking the personality of the 1848 prefect from the Apuseni Mountains in such contexts has not been in his favour, because it has affected the possibility of his accurate and pertinent reception, impairing a broader understanding of this figure, who coalesced not only the essence of the Romanian nationalism exhibited in the 1848 Revolution, but also many influences from the European culture and mentality of the time, as well as the influences of liberalism and the political romanticism of the time.

For the Transylvanian Romanians above all, Avram Iancu is the symbol with the most obvious adherence at the level of collective sensibility and the personality with the

highest degree of representativeness for the Romanian national identity. It is not by chance that he has been targeted and victimised by approaches designed to denigrate him and to diminish his prestige, coming from the Hungarian radical nationalist discourse of the recent years (see the Csibi Barna episode). This ultimately demonstrates the force and power of suggestion inherent in national symbols in the context of the identitarian disputes of (post)modern society.

RESTAURATION

THE RESTORATION OF A CERAMIC POT FROM THE ROMAN PERIOD

Abstract: This paper succinctly presents the ways in which a series of potsherds found during archaeological excavations at Micăsasa were processed and how, through restoration works, an artefact dating back to the Roman period was reconstituted, enriching the patrimony of the National Museum of Transylvanian History in Cluj- Napoca.

Keywords: restoration, ceramic, artefact, Roman period.

The large-scale archaeological campaigns conducted at Micăsasa, Sibiu County in 1998 led to the discovery, among others, of a rich ceramic hoard of Roman provenance, for the processing of which archaeologist Dr. Cristian Aurel Roman addressed himself to the Zonal Restoration Laboratory of the National Museum of Transylvanian History in Cluj-Napoca. Sorting the ceramic material led to the identification of 19 shards pertaining to the same restorable vessel (Fig. 1), a cup/bowl with two handles made of good quality clay paste, ochre in colour, with incised reddish stripes.

The restoration work started through a preliminary cleaning operation, consisting in the repeated immersion of the potsherds in water so that debris and impurities could be washed of. The careful rinsing of the shards was followed by their wet mechanical cleaning with a soft brush. The fragments were left to dry for a few days, on filter paper, at room temperature. The consolidation of the potsherds was absolutely necessary and, for this purpose, the fragments were impregnated with a 1/5 diluted nitro-lacquer solution.

We separated the potsherds based on the decoration and on the thickness and the texture of the clay paste and we started reconstituting the pot by gluing together the ceramic fragments with a transparent, plasticizer-free adhesive, of the white glue type. The pot decoration considerably eased the restoration operations, which lasted several days. To reinforce the glued joints, we resorted to using a small box filled with fine sand as excellent support for placing the assembled potsherds. Because of the missing ceramic shards, the resulting pot represented about 50% of the total (Fig. 2a, 2b, 2c).

The restoration of the pot required that the incomplete profile of the vessel be made based on analogies presented by specialists. The next stage of the restoration resided in reconstituting the pot with the help of a negative model, namely a clay mould of the missing parts, secured by light pressure inside the vessel, over which a mass of coloured plaster was poured from the outside to remake the pot. After the plaster set, the clay mould was easily removed thanks to the application, prior to the casting, of silicone

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oil, with soft brush movements on the stamped ceramic areas. The finishing of the pot occurred in several stages: the removal of excess casting with the help of a surgical scalpel, modelling the plaster with an “S”-type scraper, sanding the pot with sandpaper of different grits and with fine-wire mesh. The rhythmic nature of the decoration enabled its easy reproduction by simple chisel incisions. The colour palette was carefully reproduced by using water-based acrylics, combined to achieve the desired shade and applied to the surface of the pot with fine brush movements. For the final conservation, the pot was impregnated with a 1/5 diluted nitro-lacquer solution.

The result of the restoration work is a globular ceramic pot, slightly bulging in the area of maximum diameter, a cup/bowl with a low, flat base and two side handles made on a wide circular band, attached to the rim and the body; the barely flaring lip rises above the narrow edge, slightly pulled inward. The junction area between the rim and the body of the pot is marked by a groove flanked by two incised borders. The restored pot has entered the patrimony of the museum in Cluj; the dimensions of the pot after restoration are: rim D = 12.2 cm, H = 9.8 cm (Fig. 3).



Fig.1



Fig.2.a



Fig.2.b

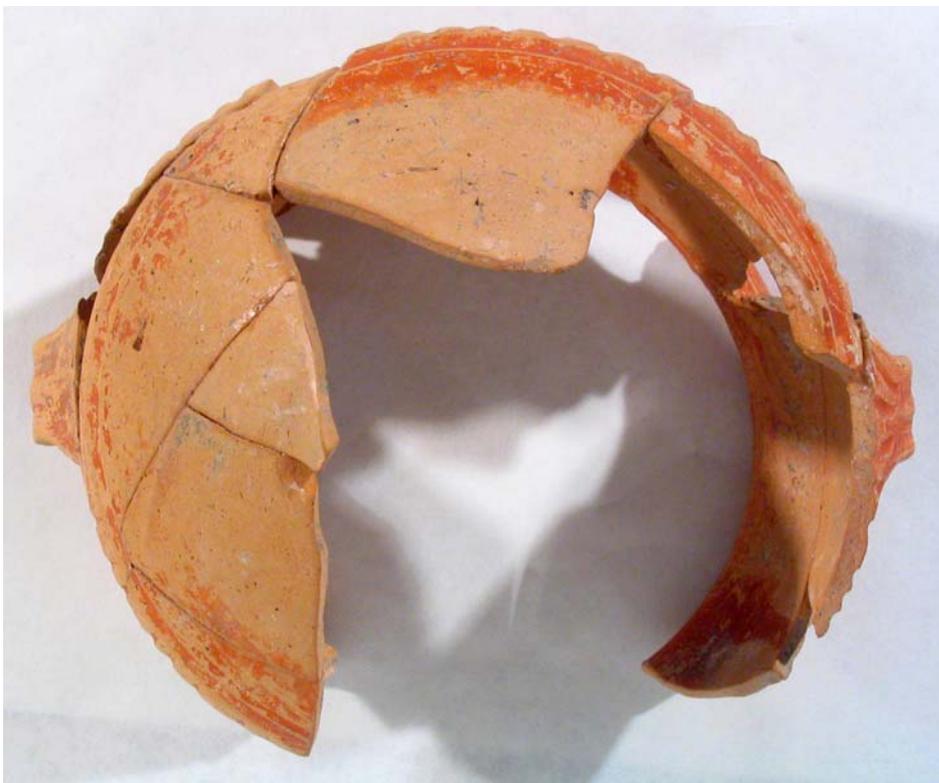


Fig.2.c



Fig.3

THE RESTORATION OF A TWENTIETH-CENTURY *BOOK OF PRAYERS*

Abstract: The object of this paper (Fig. 1a,b) is a book printed in the twentieth century, entitled *Book of Prayers*. The book, authored by Kaw Hajaszer, was printed in 1925, in the N. Herszenhorn print shop from Lublin. The text is printed in Hebrew characters, in black print ink. The textblock consists of 159 pages. The text mirror is 18 x 11.5 cm. The text appears in one column, the number of rows varying between 45 and 47. When the book was brought into the lab for restoration, it was established that climatic factors (those that trigger biological and chemical attacks) had been the main cause of the damage the book had suffered. On examination, the binding elements were found to be in a relatively good state of preservation, except for the sewing thread in the textblock. Based on the analysis of all these elements, the diagnosis was as follows: the volume had been damaged under the impact of physical-mechanical, physical-chemical and biological agents, and we therefore proposed its restoration without taking the book apart.

Keywords: book, restoration, consolidation, book disbinding, remedial book repair.

A book represents a testimony of the history of mankind; it is a complex document of human creative genius, which puts us in contact with our fellow human beings across time and space. It plays an important role, providing contemporary and future generations with access to our cultural, natural, artistic and scientific heritage, helping them to know better and to appreciate its richness.

Made of paper or parchment, organic materials that age with time, books and old documents are affected both by the vicissitudes of their own tumultuous history and by poor storage conditions, as well as, sometimes, by inadequate research. The constant concern of those working with books is for the scientific valorisation of information contained therein and for ensuring their preservation and permanence.

The conservation and the restoration of heritage objects are closely related activities. Conservation is aimed at maintaining an object in a state that is as close as possible to its original condition or the one created through restoration, while restoration aims to return the object to a state that is as close as possible to the original one, by repairing any possible damage.

The restoration of old books and manuscripts means not only an opportunity for specialists to restore an object to its original state of health, but also their ability to ascertain, from among the various work methods, the one that would best restore that item's significance of yesteryear. This should happen without affecting the integrity of the piece, so as to keep unadulterated the message of its passage through time and history. This restoration principle is known as *Primum non nocere*.

Although conservationists must start from a predetermined diagnosis, knowing the causes, the effects and the specific book degrading agents, they should not assume that the final goal of their activity is the removal of damages that have become

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perceptible, but the preventive recognition of latent damage, which calls for eliminating the causes and agents of damage that can be activated by a particular circumstance or another.² Thus, therapeutic care interacts with preventive care. Hence, the implicit principle of minimum intervention, which is, in fact, the essence of modern restoration. The vast majority of old books are in an advanced state of decay. This is caused by improper storage conditions, handling procedures and microclimatic factors which, in turn, favour the onset of biological and chemical attacks.³

The object of this paper (Fig. 1a,b) is a printed text from the twentieth century, entitled *Book of Prayers*. The book, authored by Kaw Hajaszer, was printed in 1925, in the N. Herszenhorn print shop from Lublin. The text is printed in Hebrew characters, in black print ink. The textblock consists of 159 pages. The text mirror is 18 x 11.5 cm. The text appears in one column, the number of rows varying between 45 and 47. When the book was brought into the lab for being restored, it was established that climatic factors (those that trigger biological and chemical attacks) had been the main cause of the damage the book had suffered. On examination, the binding elements were found to be in a relatively good state of preservation, except for the sewing thread from the textblock. Based on the analysis of all these elements, the diagnosis was as follows: the volume had been damaged under the impact of physical-mechanical, physical-chemical and biological agents, and we therefore proposed its restoration without taking the book apart.

When the book was brought into the lab for being restored, it was found that climatic factors (those that trigger biological and chemical attacks) had been the main cause of the degradation the book had suffered. On examination, the binding elements were found to be in a relatively good state of preservation, except for the sewing thread in the textblock.

Morphological description of the textblock:

The textblock paper is mechanically made.

The surface layers consist of black printing ink. Ink solubility at dripping, dabbing and friction is negative.

Textblock size: 21.8 cm long and 14.4 cm wide.

The spine is straight; there is no head band; there are no single or double flyleaves.

DAMAGES: Due to the impact of physical-mechanical, physical-chemical and biological agents, the book has suffered the following damages:

Physical-mechanical damages: the loss of the single and double flyleaves; the complete loss of the covers; folded, twisted or torn pages due to improper handling; the loss of support material for printed information from the title page and the last two pages; soiling to textblock as a result of improper handling; the damaged sewing thread.

Physical-chemical degradation: dampstains created by the migration of water along with the impurities present in the space where the book was stored; stain patches

² Regulations governing the conservation of goods that belong to the cultural patrimony, Government Resolution 1546-18.12.2003, in *Monitorul oficial* [*Official Gazette*] 58-23.01.2004.

³ Simonetta Villanti, "Factori microclimatici și conservarea fondurilor de bibliotecă," in *Probleme de patologie a cărții. Culegere de material documentar*, vol. 31, Bucharest, 1995, pp. 5-8.

present in various parts of the textblock, especially on the fore-edge; wax deposits and stains; paper-aging in some areas and its weakened resistance due to the impact of light and acidity; a slightly higher acidity of the textblock paper in areas of microbiological attack.

Biodegradation: stains caused by xylophagous insects (*Anobidae*), circular and elongated holes produced in the area of the covers; stains caused by fungi, spore and dirt deposits.

Given the impossibility of conducting specific laboratory analyses and collecting samples for isolating pure cultures, so as to determine a possible active biological attack, we opted to preventively disinfect the book.

The treatments performed in view of preparing the book for restoration

The preventive disinfection of the book was carried out with thymol 4% dissolved in absolute ethanol in an oven, at a temperature of 40°C, for 72 hours.

The analysis of all the elements led to the following diagnosis: the book has been damaged under the impact of physical-mechanical, physical-chemical and biological agents.

After establishing the final diagnosis,⁴ we proposed that the book should be restored without taking it apart. The simplest procedures, known as *rafistolage*,⁵ refer to book mending that consists of surface dirt and dust removal, page smoothing, repair of the tear areas, and other remedial work.

Proposed treatment:

- Cleaning the dust off the book with a soft hair brush, so as to remove the deposits of spores, dust and dirt.
- Unfolding the pages by mechanical means, using a soft brush and a bone folder;
- Removing wax deposits with a scalpel by performing “X”-shaped incisions;
- Solubilising wax stains with xylene;
- Dry mechanical cleaning, using Arabic gum powder and an eraser;
- Mending tears and cracks with Japanese tissue.

I will present some disadvantages of the classical treatment and the considerations that led me to opt for a treatment that does not involve the disbinding of the book. The moment a conservator is preparing a book for a restoration intervention by removing the old binding is unique.

A re-sewing of the book will entail resizing the spine, hence changing the size of the entire book; it will also mean piercing the signatures with sewing thread again in the notch area. It is assumed that throughout the entire future life of the book this moment should not be repeated if the conservation of and future research on this book are to be complied with. The treatment we applied was the same as that proposed in the restoration of this book, it was more economical and required less time, but what is more important is that we kept all the original elements of the binding, respecting the fundamental ethical principle of restoration.

⁴ Alexandru Știrban, “Restaurarea pe volum nedesfăcut a unei Evanghelii tipărită la Deal,” 1644 in *Apulum XXXV*, Alba Iulia, 1998, pp. 623-624.

⁵ Florea Oprea, *Manual de restaurare a cărții vechi și a documentelor grafice*, Bucharest, Ed. MNLR, 2009, pp. 308-321.

As the book has been successfully restored (Figure 2a,b), in accordance with the regulations governing restoration of goods that belong to the national cultural patrimony, I will present several recommendations concerning its storage and preservation conditions:⁶

- the book should be placed in a stable and salubrious location in terms of the microclimate (a temperature of T-1-18°C and a relative humidity between 50-65%, without high or sudden variations)

- the windows should be fitted with protective curtains ensuring protection not only against dust particles but also against natural light. Complete darkness is also not recommended because it favours the growth of paper fungi; therefore natural light should be reduced as far as possible and replaced with 40- to 60-Watt light bulbs

- the book should be placed in an enclosure (cabinet), and if open exposure is chosen, it should be protected against deposits of impurities, dust, in particular

- to avoid changes in humidity, the temperature needs to be maintained relatively constant. If relative humidity increases, ventilation should be made during dry, sunny weather. When the air in the rooms is drier, water evaporation trays should be used

- the regular ventilation of the rooms and showcases

- the horizontal placement of the book

- its exhibition for a maximum of 3 months a year

- checking it periodically (twice a year) for treatment follow-up in time.

Annexes:

Figure 1a,b before restoration

Figure 2a,b after restoration

⁶ Adriana Bulbuc, "Conservarea unor manuscrise armenesti din secolele XVIII-XIX", in *Acta Musei Napocensis*, 41-44-II, Cluj-Napoca, 2004-2007, pp. 381-384.



Fig.1.a

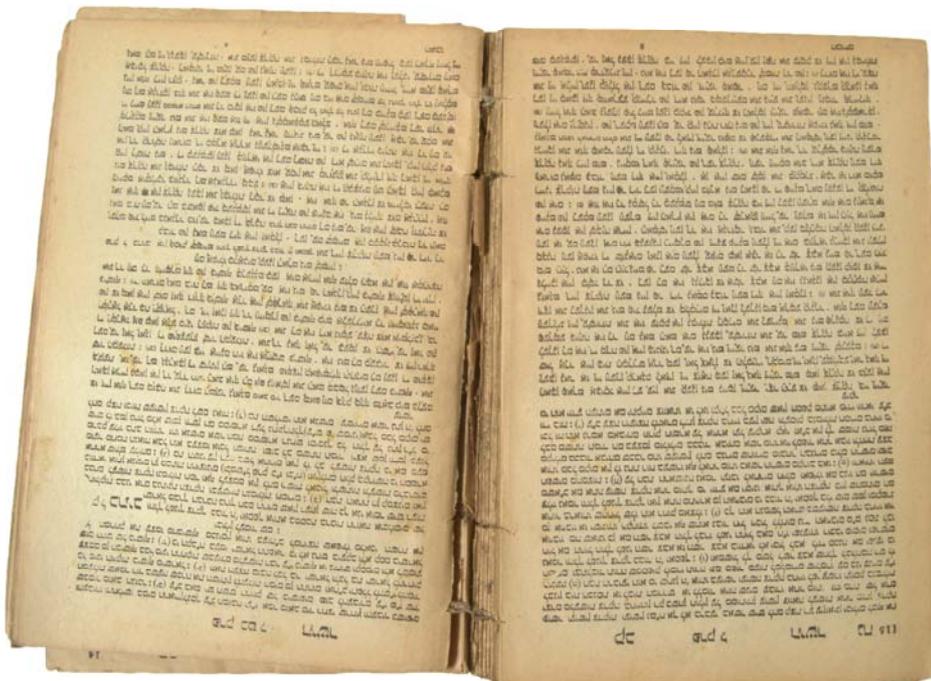


Fig.1.b



Fig.2.a



Fig.2.b

THE RESTORATION OF AN URN FROM THE BRONZE AGE, THE WIETENBERG CULTURE

Abstract: Following the archaeological excavation campaign undertaken at the archaeological complex Polus - Florești, Cluj County, in the summer of 2007, there were exhumed funerary urns, tombs, ceramics and objects made of metal and bone, commonly used in funeral/burial rituals. An urn from the Bronze Age, the Wietenberg Culture, was brought to the Zonal Restoration Laboratory of the National History Museum of Transylvania in Cluj-Napoca, in the shape of a clod of earth protected by a plastic sheet to preserve its microclimate and slow down the degradation of the ceramic material. The operation of restoring an archaeological object involves a sequence of steps that must be followed chronologically, in the order of their importance and in keeping with the phases of the conservation-restoration process to which the objects in the patrimony are subjected. The urn with a height of 34 cm and a width of 42 cm has been restored and consolidated by the implantation of copper wedges in the side walls of the potsherd, reinforcing thus and supporting the object. Without this method of implementing the wedges, it would not have been possible to restore the object under optimum conditions.

Keywords: restoration, conservation, consolidation, ceramics

The archaeological excavation campaign carried out, in the summer of 2007, at the archaeological complex Polus - Florești, Cluj County, led to the unearthing of items made of metal, bone and ceramics - objects that were integral to funeral rites.

An urn from the Bronze Age, the Wietenberg Culture, was brought to the Zonal Restoration Laboratory of the National History Museum of Transylvania in Cluj-Napoca, in the shape of a clod of earth (Fig. 1), in which ceramic shards were embedded. In order not to change the microclimate parameters suddenly and drastically, the object was protected with a polyethylene film.

The friability of the fragments did not allow for cleaning or immersing them in a distilled-water bath.

After removing the coarse soil layer with a scalpel and a brush with soft bristles, the visual analysis found that the item suffered from multiple mechanical degradations (cracks, flaking), so the first stage was, by necessity, that of drying it under controlled conditions, accomplished by placing the ceramic fragments on paper filter, protected by a sheet of polyethylene, to facilitate controlled drying and slow down the degradation processes of the potsherds.

The final drying of the ceramic shards at room temperature was somewhat slower and took longer, as the fragments could not be subjected to artificial drying.

The consolidation of the fragments was performed in two stages: first with a solution of nitro-lacquer and acetone of a more fluid consistency so as to penetrate more easily the pores of the material, and then with a more consistent solution of nitro-lacquer and acetone so as to strengthen and confer mechanical resistance to the next stage in the

¹ Ceramic restorer at the National Museum of Transylvanian History, tomescu_t@yahoo.com.

assembly of each fragment, according to the original shape, by using the plasticizer-free polyvinyl acetate adhesive, which, by drying, becomes transparent, thus helping reconstruct the original shape of the vessel.

After completing the assembly of all the fragments, we realised that the fragments necessary for reconstituting the upper part of the object, that is, the lip, were missing; on account of this reason, and since there were no similitudes, it was decided that the lip should not undergo reconstruction.

Due to vessel size: height 34 cm, middle width 42 cm, the base diameter of the vessel 15 cm, the diameter of the upper part 36 cm and because of the precarious state of preservation and the poor quality of the clay, it was necessary to implant copper wedges (Fig. 2) in the side walls of the potsherd, which made it possible to reinforce and support the object.

Without this method of implementing the wedges, it would not have been possible to restore the object under optimum conditions.

We also used this method in order to extend the life of the object, by conferring it physical and mechanical resistance and returning thus the object (Fig. 3) to the patrimony of the museum, where it will survive for a long period of time.

List of illustrations:

Fig. 1 Before the restoration

Fig. 2 During the restoration

Fig. 3 After the restoration



Fig.1



Fig.2



Fig.3

REVIEWS

Book Reviews

MIODRAG MILIN (EDITOR), *SÂRBII DIN ROMÂNIA ÎN SECOLUL XX [THE SERBS FROM ROMANIA IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY]*, CLUJ-NAPOCA, ARGONAUT, 2012, ISBN 978-973-109-337-6, 328 p.

The volume edited by Miodrag Milin¹ represents a collection of studies based on a series of unpublished archival documents, which capture a series of lesser known aspects from the recent past of the Serbian minority in Romania. The minority issue is addressed from the vantage point of the consequences of three “watershed moments” for the destiny of the Serbs on the present-day territory of Romania: the first was coeval with the reconfigurations entailed by World War I, the second marked the installation of communism, while the third is related to post-communism and, specifically, the beginning of the transition and the path to democracy in Romania. In light of this fragmentation, first is analysed the disruption of the traditional, multi-ethnic and multi-confessional Banatian behavioural model in the interwar period and, respectively, during communism. As both “moments” brought about significant changes onto the community, the authors of the articles have attempted, based on the archival evidence gathered, on social history (“School and Society among the Banatian Serbs”) and individual memory (“A Bleak Romanian-Serbian War Story”), to identify the main causes of this regression, namely the national and nationalist state (inter-war) policies and, respectively, the characteristics of the (post-war) communisation process. It is to this latter phenomenon and its implications for the community under study that most of the pages of this volume are dedicated, the research starting from the problem of the reactivation of the unionist aspirations amongst the Serbs in Romania. Post-war uncertainty, augmented by the presence of the Red Army, is considered by the authors as one of the main reasons why after the liberation of Belgrade, the Serbs’ previous disappointments turned into a collective hope, a possible solution they saw being the annexation of the Banat to Tito’s Yugoslavia. However, as shown by archival documents, carefully selected from the Yugoslav and Romanian funds, the international situation (the USSR/Tito, Romania/USSR political compromise) and the relatively rapid formation of a pro-communist Romanian government (the Groza Cabinet), led to this illusion, sometimes fuelled by the Soviets, quickly turning against the local community: the most visible expression of (Romanian) “retaliations” included deportations to the Bărăgan Plain (“The Serbs’ Bărăgan”). Encouraged (also) by the Tito-Stalin conflict, the Stalinist repression conducted against the Serbs in Romania was therefore caused by a twofold set of factors: domestic, Romanian and international, “anti-Titoist.” This is evidenced in the volume by seven conclusive case studies, which capture the individual destinies of several political prisoners: “Laza Adamov,” “Bojidar Stanoievici,” “Stevan Leopojev,” “Miladin Silin,” “Zoraida Draghinov,” “Ljubinka Neţin Ifrim.” Presentations are given of three activists from the “opposite camp” (p. 181), consisting of those involved in the implementation of the minority policies adopted by the Romanian Communist Party. Their activity is also outlined by reference to documents and interviews (in Serbian): 1) Mirco Jivcovic, “The Activist Intellectual, between Illusions and Disillusionments; 2)

¹ Miodrag Milin is a member of the Serbian Academy of Education, Belgrade (2007) and has a PhD in Historical Sciences from Babeş-Bolyai University in Cluj-Napoca; he is a researcher with the Romanian Academy and also a Professor at Aurel Vlaicu University in Arad. Besides Milin, the following researchers have contributed to the present volume: Alexandra Bogdanovici (Bucharest), Vladimir Cvetkovici (Belgrade), Cvetko Mihajlov (Romania), Andrei Milin (Timișoara), Coran Mrakic (Timișoara), Simona Neuman (Timișoara).

Alexandru Curici, “The ‘Party Soldier’: Obtuse and Then a Little Decrepit”; and 3) Milan Petrovici, “The Yugoslav Emigrant in Romania (by Chance).”

Obviously, in the case of the Serbs, too, the societal transformations initiated by the communist regime did not have an exclusively repressive political character. One of the predilect ways of transforming the community and, implicitly, the individual, regardless of nationality, was through culture, more specifically, through a compromise called *proletarian culture*, which concealed, in fact, the ideological agenda and aggressive propaganda of the party. Its manifestation in the Serbian community in Romania is exemplified by a case study of the newspaper *Îndrumătorul cultural*: this proved to be a means of repression, articulated in the national language, which was particularly aggressive against the Serbian identity. This state-sanctioned approach was seconded by the attack against the Serbian Orthodox Church: the collection of studies describes at large the manner in which the Security exercised control and supervision over this institution (“The Church under a Magnifying Glass”). The stage following the last “watershed moment,” the period of post-communism, concludes the volume, enumerating, by way of chronological sequences, the main institutions, personalities and events related to the Serbian community in Romania, starting from 20 December 1989 (“Veljko Unipan and the Romanian Democratic Front in Timișoara”) and ending on 28 April 2009 (“The 1990 Leader Confesses: ‘A Little Ceaușescu Lies Hidden in Everyone’”).

This historiographical undertaking, with an obvious restitutive character, as duly noted in the introduction, is part of a larger and, as yet, unfinished project carried out by the main contributors to the volume, which investigates the problem of the Serbian political prisoners in Romania. What deserves mention is that in this intermediate phase of the project, the collection of studies presented here makes known to the general public, through a series of tables and lists (pp. 221-258), the fact that there were nearly 1,000 Serb prisoners from an ethnic minority that barely exceeded 30,000. This and other aspects highlighted by the authors indicate an undeniable reality and a premise that still needs to be explored: according to this, the Serbs were among the groups that were most affected by the repressive side of Romanian communism and the twentieth century, except for the last decade, represented a “time of great trials and tribulations” for this community.

GRIGORE MOLDOVAN

GUZUN VADIM (EDITOR), *RUSIA ÎNFOMETATĂ. ACȚIUNEA UMANITARĂ EUROPEANĂ ÎN DOCUMENTELE DIN ARHIVELE ROMÂNEȘTI 1919-1923* [STARVING RUSSIA. EUROPEAN HUMANITARIAN ACTION IN THE ROMANIAN ARCHIVAL DOCUMENTS 1919-1923], TÂRGU-LĂPUȘ, GALAXIA GUTENBERG, 2012, ISBN 978-973-141-450-8, 663 p.

The twentieth century “cultivated” the largest number of “killing fields.” This highly controversial and often disputed term for a century of extremes (Eric Hobsbawm), popularised by Sydney Schanberg’s documentary book² describing Cambodia’s tragic experience under the Khmer Rouge regime, also captures the theme of the volume of documents edited by Vadim Guzun and his collaborators. Thus, in *Starving Russia*, the coordinator of the “Oriental Affairs”

² Sydney Schanberg, *Beyond the Killing Fields, War Writings*, Washington, Potomac books, 2010.

series is no longer interested in the “great Soviet famine”³ or in the “*piatiletka* and collective farms,”⁴ focusing, this time, on the humanitarian drama that occurred at the turn of the century, (also) known in historiography as the *Povolzhye/Povoljje*. This tragic moment that took the lives of about five million people, as part of the successive crises that afflicted Russian society beginning with the World War, the (Bolshevik) Revolution, and continuing with the civil and the Russo-Polish wars, was a time that was successfully yet cynically exploited, from a political, economic and social perspective, by the Bolshevik minority, in the context of its interest in consolidating the revolution. To capture this characteristic of the period coeval with the “matrix of Sovietism,” Martin Malia, one of the most competent analysts of this phenomenon, resorted to an older concept in Russia’s own history, namely “*smuta*”: specific to the end of the Kievan period in the Muscovite Tsarate, prior to the establishment of the Romanov dynasty, this concept described a “spell of adversity.” At that time, Russia experienced a period of famine that killed one-third of its population; the monarchy (the Rurik dynasty) collapsed and the country’s traditional social structure (consisting of boyars, the gentry and the peasantry) was replaced by an anarchic and allogeneic population. A similar political and social implosion but with different results occurred in the case of the “*smuta*” from 1918-1921, which was no longer followed by a restoration of the pre-existing order, but by the triumph of an entirely new type of order, namely an ideocratic partocracy.⁵ The conditions under which this regime was “born” and the Bolsheviks’ role in this process represent the main subject of the collection edited by Vadim Guzun, the thematic approach resting on an impressive set of 284 documents (preceded by an extensive introductory study), which have been selected by the editor and his collaborators from the Archive of Romania’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Expressing primarily the local (Romanian) perspective on this period and the above-mentioned tragedy, this undertaking represents - as stated in the introductory study - the first attempt to introduce important sources into the scientific circuit, without which the picture of the Bolshevik regime and its effects in the Romanian space would be deprived of essential elements (p. 61). Having an implicitly “recuperating character” (p. 61) and being published for “practical reasons” (p. 1), *Starving Russia* intends to outline, based on the subjective selection of archival data, an overview of previously unknown aspects of this phenomenon, by highlighting the circumstances surrounding the famine and simultaneously foregrounding the efforts made by the European states (and the relevant humanitarian organisations) to help the suffering population. All these are pursued in tandem with attention to the socio-economic crisis of the new Soviet state and to related topics, such as the Ukrainian and the Romanian matters, or the Romanian-Soviet relations.

Given their interest, the documents facilitate an understanding of this theme on at least three levels. The first is the *internal*, Soviet level, pertaining to the causes of the famine, more specifically, the subjective and objective factors triggering the first Russian famine of the twentieth century; another is the *external* level, encompassing the attitudes adopted by the international (European) community and entailing the publication of the diplomatic discussions and correspondences on record; and, last but not least, the documents provide a *regional* perspective on the situation, seen through the lenses of the Romanian state’s immediate interest. All these have the concern for this humanitarian drama as a focal point, in the background. Ultimately, we can say that together with the other documents published in the first two volumes

³ Vadim Guzun, *Marea foamete sovietică, 1926-1936*, Baia Mare, Editura Universității de Nord, 2011.

⁴ Vadim Guzun, *Foametea, piatiletka și ferma colectivă. Documente diplomatice românești, 1926-1936*, Baia Mare, Editura Universității de Nord, 2011.

⁵ See Martin Malia, “A Regime is Born,” in Sheila Fitzpatrick, (ed.), *Stalinism, New Directions*, London and New York, Routledge, 2000.

of the series, this undertaking represents an indispensable instrument for all those interested in arriving at a deeper level of understanding what *Sovietisation*, as a whole, meant. Regarding this concept as a process or a project, applied and tested for the first time in Russia, by a radical and revolutionary elite on its own population, and then extended to the Russian hinterland and, eventually, in the post-war period, to the Soviet Bloc countries, the documents published here capture the initial phase of the phenomenon, the experiments and the political opportunism of the Bolsheviks. As suggested by these documents, the mutual assignation of blame and the dichotomy between the victims, the population, on the one hand, and the executioners, the Bolshevik leaders, on the other, reveals the political overcharge of this tragedy, while also explaining the later characteristics of the regime. These are all arguments in favour of attentively exploring the documents included in this useful and necessary instrument for understanding the Soviet regime.

GRIGORE MOLDOVAN

SIGUNÐUR GYLFI MAGNÚSSON, ISTVÁN M. SZIJÁRTÓ, *WHAT IS MICROHISTORY? THEORY AND PRACTICE*. LONDON – NEW YORK, ROUTLEDGE, 2013. ISBN 9 780415 692090. 181 P.

This volume provides the first systematic and accessible overview of the origins, evolution and methodology of microhistory. The two sections of the book, which are, indeed, situated between theory and practice, suggest a different, yet complementary perspective on the subject under examination. The first section, which bears the signature of István M. Szijártó (Department of Social and Economic History, Eötvös Lóránd University, Hungary), has a pronounced historiographical character, while the second part, written by Sigunður Gylfi Magnússon (Centre for Microhistorical Research, Reykjavik Academy) is a personalised exploration of the actual practice of microhistory. Both authors have produced numerous studies, articles and books devoted to this subject, so this book incorporates the experience they have accumulated in the study and practice of microhistory.

The first chapter begins by presenting probably the most famous works of microhistory in Italy, written by Giovanni Levi and Carlo Ginzburg. Szijártó's analysis suggests that Italian microhistory has set out to provide an alternative to analyses based on quantitative methodology (promoted by the Annales School and currently facing an impasse), by inserting, in historical discourse, characters and experiences that are as real as possible (see the protagonists of the narratives *Inheriting Power* and *The Cheese and the Worms*) in order to create a personalised image of the past. Besides the aforementioned representatives, the chapter also outlines the research directions of S. Cerutti, C. Klapisch-Zuber and M. Gribaudi, lesser known authors who have extended microscopic analysis onto social groups, phenomena and situations. This chapter reveals that the goal of Italian microhistory is to provide answers to the great historical questions by engaging in a detailed analysis of particular individuals, phenomena or communities. At the same time, it brings to the fore the reluctance of the Italian School to embrace postmodernism and other historiographical trends that are prone to exaggerate the relativist approach to the historical past.

The second chapter acquaints us with the achievements of the French and the German historiographies. The first step is to introduce us to the famous work entitled *The Vanishing Children of Paris* by A. Farge and J. Revel; then, based on this presentation, the chapter outlines the main features of French microhistory. The historiographical scope is broadened by

references to the works of G. Duby (*The Legend of Bouvines*), A. Corbin (*The Village of Cannibals*), and then by the detailed presentation of the two famous works written by E. Le Roy Ladurie (*Carnival and Montailou*). After a systematic enumeration of specialised literature, information is provided about the various theoretical works (edited by Revel and B. Lepetit) that address the impact of microhistory on French historiography. The chapter continues by presenting the German trends that are related to microhistory, such as Alltagsgeschichte or historical anthropology. The differences between the approaches of the three trends are revealed by highlighting the ideas of A. Ludtke, B. Gregory, H. Medick and J. Schlumbohm. The actual analysis of the German microhistorical works (A. Imhof, W. Behringer, W. Reinhard and O. Ulbricht) suggests that just like in the Italian case, the German School considers that microhistory has a broad significance, insofar as the story of an individual is granted meaning and significance in a wider context.

Chapter three examines a series of works situated on the margins of microhistory. The critique formulated against M. Shahlins (*Captain James Cook*), Darnton (*Great Cat Massacre*) and Geertz (*Balinese Cockfight*) by their Italian and French colleagues suggests the vast discrepancy between the continental and the Anglo-Saxon perception of microhistory, as well as the difference between anthropological and microhistorical approaches to the past. In this context, the debate focuses on the incidental analysis practised by G. Stewart and Z. Davis, and also by other authors whose works break through the mould of conventional microhistory, as are, for instance, L. Ulrich, the Browns, A. Taylor, R. Kagan or J. Brown. According to Szijártó, the microanalysis practised by the Anglo-Saxon historians differs from the more classical approaches in that these authors are not interested in the questions of history. The situation is further complicated in the case of American historiography, where, as a rule (see G. Bruckner, S. Ozment or Hsia), narratives are devoid of a general perspective. This chapter does, however, present a few works of social history based on microanalysis, such as A. Macfarlane's famous book on Ralf Josselin and D. Sabean's monographs. Also in this context reference is made to P. Boyer and S. Nissenbaum, J. Contreras and J. Demos. The last subchapter lists several authors whose works are reminiscent of the Italian definition given to the concept of microhistory (G. Ruggiero, T. Astarita).

The last part edited by Szijártó focuses on methodological questions and enumerates the decisive factors for achieving a successful work of microhistory, such as experience and the time dedicated to the analysis of a particular phenomenon. In this context, mention is made of L. Für, the author of the most successful Hungarian experiment of this kind, and Gy. Benda. This is where the gap between Szijártó's and Magnússon's conceptions of microhistory emerges: while the latter believes in the particularisation of history, placing microhistory on the side of social history, the former advocates acquiring in-depth knowledge of the past, for only thus will microanalyses be able to answer the big historical questions. The last subchapters of the first part discuss the relationship between grand history and the responsibility of historical actors in the light of Russian microhistory (O. Koshelev, Y. Anisimov, O. Figes, A. Zamoyski), and then through the lenses of the fictionalisation of history (J.P. Demos, S. Schama, R. Bisha) and the globalisation of microhistory.

The first four chapters of the book have, therefore, a historiographical character, charting a geographical overview of the origin, evolution and perception of microhistory, as well as its relation to historical anthropology, social history or even postmodernism. We would like to draw attention to the controlled nature of the narrative, in the sense that Szijártó's historiographical investigation is not marked by preconceptions and prejudices (as we shall see in the second part, signed by the Icelandic author), but it does leave room for a subjective interpretation, based on the accurate analysis of an extremely varied bibliographical material. The originality of his part

resides in the fact that it brings under debate sources that are independent from microhistory, such as the works of the literary historian Auerbach, the Frankfurt Critical School or Kracauer's film theories. The first part of the volume actually reveals Szijártó's optimism and enthusiasm as regards the capacity of microhistory to rally the achievements of social and cultural history and to give a complex and, perhaps, the most nuanced picture of the past. In his conception, microhistory enables a direct experience of history, by bringing historical actors and personal experiences closer to the present, with a view to accomplishing a higher purpose, namely accessing the structures of great social history by way of examining singular experiences.

And this is where the great rift between the two parts of the book lies. The part written by Magnússon has an overwhelmingly personal character, as its author is a real player in the field of universal microhistory and refuses to comply with the generalising trends of history. While for Szijártó microhistory is, for now, *solely* the subject of historiographical analysis, for Magnússon microhistory is reality itself, the only narrative/historiographical structure capable of rendering his experiences concerning the past.

Part two launches the major theoretical questions in the first, introductory chapter, whose main subject refers to attitudes towards life and death as they emerge from the numerous personal narrative sources (compiled over a span of 22 years) by a peasant called Halldór Jónsson. The notes from Halldór's diaries and correspondence concerning these rites of passage are placed in the sanitary context of modern Iceland (the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth), suggesting that the high rate of mortality (caused by factors pertaining to hygiene, geographical circumstances, attitudes towards breastfeeding, or epidemics) resulted in the emergence, amongst the Icelanders, of an emotional defence mechanism (for the modern reader, characterised by indifference rather). Apart from the extremely compelling and evocative narrative, *The Doctor's Tale*, however, does not place enough emphasis on the gender gap between diaries and correspondence, which entails that the private or public nature of the daily entries has also not been emphasised enough.

The second chapter focuses on perhaps the most publicised/fictionalised historical narrative (in literature, film and music), namely that of Martin Guerre. Magnússon chose this work precisely because the story of Arnaud, Bertrande and Martin has received a number of interpretations over the years, both from artists and from historians. The chapter outlines the characteristics of microhistory by presenting the dispute between R. Finlay and Davis. Magnússon goes even further, by discussing the pitfalls of the grand narratives and the relationship between microhistory and postmodernism, based on the dialogue between Ginzburg and Gundersen, concluding that microhistory accepts many postmodern ideas, but cannot disavow either the truth or the context. In this sense, Magnússon advocates the singularisation of history (like B. Rosenwein has done insofar as the history of emotions is concerned) and endorses the acceptance of the limits which constrain historians over the course of their scientific investigations. Thus, for Magnússon the future of research in the areas of cultural and social history and in microhistory resides in the particularisation of history.

The next chapter begins with the description of a personal scientific experiment. This is where we may find one of the protagonists of the first chapter, namely Niels Jónsson, seen through the lenses of discoveries of the author's independent, which nonetheless partially refuted the conclusions about Niels' personal life he had formulated a few years before. This later finding reinforced the Icelandic author's belief that, contrary to the perception of the Italian and French Schools of microhistory, which are still marked by an obsession with great history, the only manner of acquiring insight into the subject under study is through singularisation. This concept involves a detailed investigation of the studied phenomenon and nothing but, bringing into discourse only those sources that are directly related to it, the purpose being that of shedding

light on potential contradictions, tensions and uncertainties. Still, even so, the image obtained can always be modified, nuanced or completely changed by unexpected sources.

The last chapter is undoubtedly the most challenging part of this volume. There is a succinct presentation of the reasons why I-documents should prevalently be used in historical research, and the relationship between biography and microhistory is emphasised. Despite the fact that this part deals with the relationship between the biographical self and personal narratives, we find no reference to the methodology of biographical source analysis (apart from a brief mention of G. Genette). Magnússon's text focuses on the biographical self by analysing his own emotional experience. The outcome of this experiment is a research model that reveals the main pitfalls of personal narratives, underscoring the importance of awareness as regards the selection process to which individual memories are subjected. The Icelandic researcher draws attention to the interpretability of historical/social/emotional events and to the gap between the lived experience and the one written down on a page. Although we are reluctant to accept without reservation the individuals' ability to analyse their own I-documents, Magnússon's findings are of real interest to those involved in the analysis of personal sources. Notwithstanding all this, it is unfortunate that mnemo-historical approaches are altogether absent here, in the sense that Magnússon's undertaking is an ambitious, but isolated project, because it neglects all the achievements and contributions of researchers in the field of biographical study.

The postscript of the book summarises the Magnússonian conception of microhistory. The chapter discusses methodological issues, such as the importance and significance of normal exceptions, of narrativity, of sources, of the individual (where, at long last, we find a few paragraphs from J. Kalela's works on the different forms of memory), as well as a possible approach to microhistory in the pedagogical system. The chapter and, respectively, the book end with a very interesting foray into the historical and biographical work of perhaps the most vocal critic of microhistory, Hobsbawm, presenting, based on the latter's works, the limitations of his scientific and biographical writing.

For researchers working on personal narrative sources, Magnússon's views on historical writing and its singularisation or particularisation are rather easy to accept. In the world of I-documents, generalisations are not possible. There are certainly similarities pertaining to genre, construction and rhetoric, but personal experience is unique and, apparently, independent of structures and great history. Those who have used personal narrative sources tend to relativise and are reluctant to accept the grand historical truths, because their sources primarily reflect personal attitudes (irrespective of whether they are actually the result of social or cultural circumstances). Hence, we believe that the author's vision of microhistory should be interpreted and understood starting from the nature of his sources.

The book is therefore addressed to all those who do not know yet, or not enough, the consecrated works in this field and who are keen to expand their knowledge. Szijártó and Magnússon's work is just a start, the authors do not provide definitive answers, and sometimes their conclusions are not the ones we might expect, but this volume certainly offers a wide range of interpretations, rendering it as an intellectually challenging undertaking.

ANDREA FEHÉR

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