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# CONTENTS

## Studies

VICTOR V. VIZAUER

Animal Names and Nicknames in Medieval Transylvania until the mid- 14<sup>th</sup> Century: Possibilities and Opinions ..... 7

MIHAI FLORIN HASAN

Banditry in the Kingdom of Hungary in the Middle Ages. Case Study: Some Gangs on the “Royal Land”(15<sup>th</sup> Century)..... 23

PAULA VIRAG

The Population of Satu Mare County According to the Josephine Census (II) ..... 32

RĂZVAN MIHAI NEAGU

Between teaching, serving at the Altar and working in Diplomacy. Petru Ionescu (1867-1938), a less well-known Personality from Banat..... 41

EMANUIL INEOAN

Romania`s Involvement in Balkan Policy during the Great War. The Italian Army in the Pindus Mountains..... 48

MIRCEA-GHEORGHE ABRUDAN

„Recollections from Transylvania during those Tempestuous Days”. The Transylvanian Front of World War I reflected in the memories of Transylvanian Saxons ..... 59

OVIDIU MUNTEAN

An Officer from Maramureş: Artur Dan of Apşa. From Dynastic Loyalty to  
Greater Romania ..... 74

LUCIAN TURCU

The Spiritual Implications of the Union of Transylvania with Romania..... 102

VERONICA TURCUŞ

The New Educational Policies in the Romanian People's Republic during the  
Period of Stalinism. A Foreign Diplomat's View ..... 118

CLAUDIA M. BONȚA

Ancient Portraits from Museal Collections ..... 135

MIHAELA CHETRARI, LAURA TROŞAN, VASILE-DANIEL POP

The Restoration and Conservation of Funeral Hatchments Painted on Silk... 146

### **Biographical Medallions**

In Memoriam. Eugenia Glodariu ..... 157

In Memoriam. Nicolae Bocşan ..... 159

CONTRIBUTORS ..... 161

# Studies



VICTOR V. VIZAUER<sup>1</sup>

## ANIMAL NAMES AND NICKNAMES IN MEDIEVAL TRANSYLVANIA UNTIL THE MID-14TH CENTURY: POSSIBILITIES AND OPINIONS

**Abstract.** In this study, we shall analyse the link between the symbolism conveyed by animals and anthroponyms; more precisely, we shall focus on the names of animals that were used to name or to nickname people in voivodal Transylvania and the contiguous counties, to the west and the north (Maramureş, Satu Mare, Bihor, Zarand, Arad, Cenad, Timiş and Caraş), until the mid-14th century. The sources from which we have extracted the names and nicknames analysed here are medieval documents that have been published by Romanian and Hungarian researchers.

To shed some light on the intricacies of animal symbolism, we shall turn to the meanings contained in myths, legends, bestiaries, folklore and fables, using, at the same time, the available information – very scanty, in general – about the bearers of animal names or nicknames, in order to capture, as clearly as possible, the above-mentioned connection between the man's inner and outer traits, his name/ nickname and the characteristics of the animal after which the individual in question was named.

**Keywords.** Transylvania, anthroponomy, nicknames, onomastic, Middle Ages, 12th - 14th centuries, sobriquet.

\*

Since prehistoric times, man has been in a close relationship with the environment in which he has lived. Animals and plants have been a source of inspiration for his everyday life. In time, the art produced by human groups and communities has abounded in decorative elements representing animals and plants, from the parietal paintings in various caves to the floral and animal motifs featured on the pottery of the Neolithic Period, or from the Roman reliefs figuring sacrifices to the Avars' objects and weapons adorned with beastly motifs.

Beginning with Late Antiquity and continuing throughout the medieval period, many Christian saints were presented in relationship with different domestic or wild animals. The Irish monk Columbanus (540-615), the Irish Bishop Moling (the 7th century), the hermit Walfard (the 12th century) and the Russian monk Sergius of Radonezh (the 14th century) loved and tamed animals, sometimes befriending them. The creatures they influenced belonged to different species: bears, wolves, donkeys, fish, flies, cats, and birds. The events illustrating the close link between saints and nature (animals) have survived until contemporary times or new ones have appeared, having as their protagonists hermits of the 19th and 20th centuries.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Enzo Bianchi, Anne-Leatitia Michon, Pietro Chiaranz, *Oameni şi animale. O perspectivă teologică şi etică*, Oradea, Editura Ratio Et Revelatio, 2013, pp. 90-101.



This study is about the connection between the symbolism conveyed by animals and anthroponyms. More precisely, we focus on the names of animals that were used in the 12th-14th centuries to identify or to nickname people in voivodal Transylvania and the contiguous counties, to the west and the north (Maramureș, Satu Mare, Bihor, Zarand, Arad, Cenad, Timiș and Caraș – most of these areas lie today within the borders of Romania).

Ivan Evseev wrote the following about anthroponyms: “In the metatext of any culture, the category of proper names, which, at first glance, seem to be the most conventional linguistic signs, paradoxically turn into signs with a symbolical resonance.”<sup>3</sup> The names of some animals, such as the *lion*, the *wolf*, the *fox* or the *ant*, have acquired symbolic meaning when they were introduced in myths and legends, where they possess a large number of attributes, as myth is seen as the birthplace of most symbols. Even if the same animals became characters in fables, their symbolism is not present there, because the focus is on a single attribute.<sup>4</sup> Throughout this study, we will resort to the symbolism contained in the mythologies and legends of European and Asian populations in order to try to understand the – symbolical – reasons behind the granting of a particular animal name or sobriquet.

Alongside myths, legends, folklore and fables, bestiaries are of real help, as they can shed some light on the intricacies of animal symbolism. Bestiaries became popular in the Middle Ages, the period in which most of them appeared being the 12th-13th centuries. The first known bestiary, entitled *Physiologus*, was drafted in the 4th century, probably in Alexandria,<sup>5</sup> and the first vernacular bestiary dates back to 1121, having been compiled by Philippe de Thaün.<sup>6</sup> Bestiaries featured animals as images of good or evil, Christ or Satan, thus having the role of guidance with respect to the behaviour of humans towards various creatures.<sup>7</sup>

In the 16th century, in his treatise entitled *Livre des animaux et de l'excellence de l'homme*, Ambroise Paré presented the essential qualities of animals: the strength of the ox, the perfidy of the snake, the rage of the bull, the patience of the sheep, the cunning nature of the fox, the cruelty of the tiger, the pride of the toad, the stubbornness of the donkey, the gentleness of the dove, the sobriety of the chameleon, the cautiousness of the ant, the greed of the wolf, the loyalty of the dog, the infidelity of the mule, the prudence of the elephant, the docility of the barbet, the filthiness of the pig, the cleanliness of the squirrel, the scent of the civet, the stench of the goat, the

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<sup>3</sup> Ivan Evseev, *Cuvânt – simbol – mit*, Editura Facla, Timișoara, 1983, p. 26 (Infra: *Evseev 1983*).

<sup>4</sup> *Evseev 1983*, pp. 28, 47.

<sup>5</sup> Daniel Rafiini (University of Roma La Sapienza), *Human-Animal Relationship in Juan Josse Arreola's Bestiario*, p. 1, paper presented at the “Literature's Animals” Postgraduate Conference, Bristol University (18 May 2016), [https://www.academia.edu/25621608/Human-Animal\\_Relationship\\_in\\_Juan\\_Josse\\_Arreola's\\_Bestiario](https://www.academia.edu/25621608/Human-Animal_Relationship_in_Juan_Josse_Arreola's_Bestiario) (05.12.2016) (Infra: *Rafiini 2016*).

<sup>6</sup> Rémy Cordonnier, „L'illustration du Bestiare (XIe-XIIIe siècle). Identité allégorique et allégorie identitaire,” in *L'allégorie dans l'art du Moyen Âge. Formes et fonctions. Héritages, créations, mutations*, Christian Heck (éd.), Brepols Publishers, 2011, pp. 157-170 (p. 163).

<sup>7</sup> *Rafiini 2016*, p. 1.

timidity of the rabbit and the courage of the lion.<sup>8</sup> It was those very essential characteristics, intrinsic ones, above all, that spawned the meanings of their symbols<sup>9</sup> (beings, objects or phenomena).

In his *Fabulous Bestiary*, Jean-Paul Clébert wrote: “Closer to man than plants, animals have stood, since the beginning of time, at the basis of countless metamorphoses, avatars and divine tribulations. [...] Whether through the intercession of effigies, masks, animal taboos, totems or legendary metamorphoses, man has always resorted to animals to express himself, to communicate with others, as well as with himself.”<sup>10</sup> Drawing inspiration from *Le Grand dictionnaire de la Bible*, by Richard Simon, published in Lyon in 1717, the above-mentioned author gave a list of each of the two types of animals people have included in myths and legends or depicted on coats of arms: pure and impure.<sup>11</sup>

Based on the lists drawn up by Jean-Paul Clébert, we have classified the animals used for designating and nicknaming people in Transylvania and the adjoining counties in the 12th-14th centuries. Thus, among the pure creatures there were: the sheep / the lamb (Agnna / Juh), the insect (Bogar / Bugar), the bull / cow / calf (Bicca / Byka, Vacca, Buriw; Clébert does not mention the bull, but the ox, the cow and the calf, that is, the ones with cloven hooves, are considered pure animals), the rooster / the hen (Gallus / Tyuk), the blackbird (Rigou).

Among the impure animals we can include: the bear (Ber / Medve / Ursus), the horse / the foal (Chikou / Cyko), the dog / the bitch (Cute / Suka), the wolf (Forkos / Farkas / Vilka), the pig / the sow (Porcan), the raven (Voryu) and the falcon (Solum / Solyam / Solym).

The crayfish (Raak / Roac) does not appear in the lists drawn up by Clébert.

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After we have seen, generally speaking, the importance of animal creatures in man's spiritual and material existence, we will try to discover the meaning of each

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<sup>8</sup> Jean-Paul Clébert, *Bestiar fabulos. Dicționar de simboluri animaliere*, București, Artemis – Cavallioti, 1995, p. 12 (Infra: Clébert 1995).

<sup>9</sup> Evseev 1983, p. 67.

<sup>10</sup> Clébert 1995, p. 6.

<sup>11</sup> Pure animals: the ox, the cow, the calf, the sheep, the lamb, the she-goat, the he-goat, the stag, the antelope, the wild goat, the buffalo, the deer, the spear-horned antelope (oryx), the giraffe, the grasshopper, the pigeon, passerines, the quail, the lark, the rooster, the capon, the hen, the pheasant, the grouse, the thrush, the ortolan, the partridge, the woodcock, the turtle dove, the bee, the bumble bee, cantharides, the stag beetle, the mosquito, the wasp, the fly, the botfly, the butterfly, the midge, the ant, the spider, the moth, the scorpion, the frog, the whale, and the sperm whale.

Impure animals: the camel, the rabbit, the hare, the weasel, the mouse, the crocodile, the forest gerbil, the chameleon, the green lizard, the lizard, the mole, the horse, the donkey, the dog, the mule, the elephant, the lion, the leopard, the tiger, the lynx, the panther, the bear, the wolf, the hyena, the fox, the wild donkey, the unicorn, the rhinoceros, the boar, the monkey, the porcupine, the frog, the toad, the fly, the scorpion, the eagle, the falcon, the griffin, the kite, the raven, the ostrich, the owl, the parrot, the hawk, the loon, the ibis, the stork, the bittern, the heron, the hoopoe, the bat, the sea eagle, the ixion, the harrier, the magpie, the little owl; cf. Clébert 1995, p. 11.

animal in the life of the one who was named or nicknamed after it.<sup>12</sup> This is not a simple approach, because we lack detailed information about the persons in question. Thus, the conclusions we will reach are not going to be definitive, but rather will provide an impetus for further studying the role of animal names and nicknames (or other types thereof) in the medieval society of Transylvania and elsewhere.

The **sheep** (Agnna / Iuh). Here we have included the onomastic elements Agnna (in Latin: *agnna* = lamb) and Juh (in Hungarian: *juh* = sheep). These referred to a woman and a man. The former name appears in the document as a unique name,<sup>13</sup> whereas the second onomastic element serves as a nickname: Nicolaus dictus Juh (Nicolae yclept Iuh).<sup>14</sup> Agnna was a maid, a serf devoted to the church in Vgra / Ugra (Bihor County), while Nicolae yclept Iuh was a comes, a noble man.

Over time, the lamb has been a symbol of innocence and meekness; the biblical prophets associated it with God incarnate in man, and Christ was later seen as the lamb who sacrificed itself for mankind.<sup>15</sup> In the fable “The Wolf and the Lamb” by Jean de la Fontaine, the latter is presented as the gentle character that intends to avoid the conflict with the cantankerous wolf (aiming to appease his hunger by devouring the lamb), defending its innocence at the same time.<sup>16</sup> The sheep, like the goat, was considered a beneficent, sacral animal – a trait that also stemmed from its economic importance; due to their utility, sheep were “enchanted,” “wondrous,” “fertile,” “clean,” bringers of peace, plenty and fruitfulness.<sup>17</sup>

As regards Agnna, she could very well have been a docile and innocent person, used to showing obedience to her masters, which may have attracted this name. As for Comes Nicolae yclept Iuh, we can assume that it was a character trait (kindness, purity of soul), or an event involving sheep that led to his nickname Iuh (sheep), or his “gift” of ensuring the well-being of his kin or of the leaders in his county or voivodeship.

<sup>12</sup> For the significance of the names / nicknames in the languages in which they are listed in the documents, we have used the following dictionaries: W. Meyer-Lübke, *Romanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg, 1911; Rich Derksen, *Etymological Dictionary of the Slavic Inherited Lexicon*, Brill, Leiden-Boston, 2008; Zaicz Gábor, *Etimológiai szótár. Magyar szavak és toldalékok eredete*, Budapest, Tinta Könyvkiadó, 2006; Szili Péter, Csillag Imre, *Dicționar român-maghiar, maghiar-român*, fifth edition, Constanța, Editura Steaua Nordului, 2012; Gheorghe Guțu, *Dicționar latin-român*, revised edition, București, Editura Humanitas, 2007; Carmen Colceriu, *Dicționar german-român*, București, Editura Corint, 2008.

<sup>13</sup> Johannis Karácsonyi, Samuelis Borovszky, *Regestrum Varadinense. Examini ferri candentis*, Budapest, 1903, no. 389, p. 307 (Infra: *Regestrum Varadinense*); *Documente privind Istoria României*, Veacul XI, XII și XIII, C. Transilvania, Vol. I (1075-1250), București, Editura Academiei Române, 1951, no. 67/389, p. 147 (Infra: *DIR.C.XI-XIII/1*).

<sup>14</sup> *Codex diplomaticus comitum Zichy / A gróf Zichy-család okmánytára*, I, Pest, 1871, no. 142, p. 122 (Infra: *Zichy, I*); I. Karácsonyi, *A hamis, hibás keltii és heltezetlen oklevelek jegyzéke 1400-ig*, Budapest, 1902, no. 279, p. 138 (for the correct dating); *DIR.C.XIV/1*, no. 124, p. 176.

<sup>15</sup> Clébert 1995, pp. 194-196; Mihai Coman, *Bestiar mitologic românesc*, București, Editura Fundației Culturale Române, 1996, p. 21 (Infra: *Coman 1996*).

<sup>16</sup> Jean de la Fontaine, *Fabule*, Mircea Rusenescu (ed.), Trans. Hrista Georgescu, București, Editura Poseidon, 2012, p. 7 (Infra: *La Fontaine*).

<sup>17</sup> Mihai Coman, *Mitologie populară românească*, Vol. I, București, Ed. Minerva, 1986, pp. 26-27 (Infra: *Coman 1986*); *Coman 1996*, pp. 21-29.

The **bear** (Ber / Medve / Ursus). In the documents we have noticed the existence of three men who had this name: Ber,<sup>18</sup> Medue<sup>19</sup> and Ursus.<sup>20</sup> The anthroponym in this case is also of Germanic (*bär* / *bjoern*), Hungarian or Slavic extraction (*medve*) and there is also one of Latin or Romanian origin (*ursus* or *ursu*).<sup>21</sup> The first two men with the name of the bear were mentioned in 1214, in the case law files of the *Registry of Oradea*. The only thing we know about Ber is that he was a German. Medue lived in the village of Gyan in Bihor County (on the territory of Hungary today), he was a man of the citadel and probably of Walloon ethnicity, as Walloon colonists had been brought in the three settlements called Gyan.<sup>22</sup> Ursus was a Romanian knez from Olahfalu, located in Szeklerland, and he was mentioned in the first year of the 14th century. Although the document was reproduced in various editions, it seems that it was a forged one from the first half of the 19th century,<sup>23</sup> which means that we can no longer know for sure whether the name / nickname Ursus existed at the beginning of the 14th century in this area.

In bestiaries the bear occupied a very important place. Folklore also abounded in images of this animal. Christianity knows no less than eight saints bearing the name of the great carnivorous beast, Ursus / Ours. The bear was seen both as a protector or guardian and as a devourer, sometimes being associated with fertility rituals. In folklore it was also considered a healer: in Central and Eastern Europe, bears were given the name Martin. In some regions, the Feast of Saint Martin was celebrated (on 1 February and 11 November), dedicated to the god Mars. At those times, the sick were gathered together in one place, being trampled underfoot by tamed bears. The bear was most likely the wild beast that was closest to man. Myths actually spoke about the bear being descended from a man.<sup>24</sup> And, of course, we must not forget the actual characteristics of this wild animal: force, impetuosity and aggressiveness,<sup>25</sup> its rather antisocial nature,<sup>26</sup> its size, or its hunting and fishing skills. In the fable "The Bear and The Two Friends," two sides of the carnivorous beast are

<sup>18</sup> *Regestrum Varadinense*, no. 69, pp. 178-179; *DIR.C.XI-XIII/1*, no. 67/69, p. 58.

<sup>19</sup> *Regestrum Varadinense*, no. 97, pp. 187-189; *DIR.C.XI-XIII/1*, no. 67/97, p. 65.

<sup>20</sup> Szabó Károly, *Sékely oklevéltár*, vol. I (1211-1519), Kolozsvár, 1872, no. XXII, pp. 29-32 (Infra: *Sékely oklevéltár*, I); Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki, Nicolae Densușianu, *Documente privitoare la Istoria Românilor, 1199-1345*, Volume I, Part 1, București, 1887, no. CCCCXLII, pp. 553-554 (Infra: *Hurmuzaki, Densușianu*, I/1); Antonius Fekete Nagy, Ladislaus Makkai, *Documenta historiam Valachorum in Hungaria illustrantia, usque ad annum 1400 p. Christum*, Études sur l'Europe Centre-Orientale, 29, Budapest, 1941, no. 26, pp. 45-46; Jakó Zsigmond, *Codex diplomaticus Transsylvaniae. Diplomata, epistolae et alia instrumenta litteraria res Transsylvania illustrantia / Erdélyi Okmánytár. Oklevelek, levelek és más írásos emlékek Erdély történetéhez*, II (1301-1339), Magyar Országos Levéltár, Budapest, 2004, no. 6, p. 36 (Infra: *EO*, II).

<sup>21</sup> *Sékely oklevéltár*, I, p. 29, note 2.

<sup>22</sup> *DIR.C.XI-XIII/1*, p. 65, note 2.

<sup>23</sup> *EO*, II, no. 6, p. 36.

<sup>24</sup> *Evseev 1983*, pp. 108-109; *Coman 1986*, pp. 174-183; *Clébert 1995*, pp. 318-319; *Coman 1996*, pp. 142-146.

<sup>25</sup> *Evseev 1983*, p. 107.

<sup>26</sup> Viorica Goicu, *Contribuții la onomastica istorică*, Timișoara, Editura Augusta, 2001, p. 81 (Infra: *Goicu 2001*).

presented: its terrifying nature, due to its ferociousness and sheer strength, and its gullible character.<sup>27</sup>

Retaining these attributes of the bear and taking into account the limited information we have about Ber and Medue, it is not easy to understand the motivation behind those two names. We know that Medue was a man of the citadel, in the sense that he was a person in charge of the defence and maintenance of the fortification, who also performed various jobs in its service.<sup>28</sup> If we look at the situation from this angle, the following characteristics of the bear are relevant: strength, stamina, a hunting instinct.

In the case of Ber, we believe that an important element was the name of his son, Furman.<sup>29</sup> This anthroponym could refer to a fur hunter or a hirsute man, whose abundant hair looked like fur. In the case of the former explanation, the name Ber might have had the same source, namely the occupation of the person who was named thus was hunting, and the name was intended to ensure his success through the characteristics of the wild animal: hunting skills, strength, resilience, and fearlessness. The fact that in Bihor County, for example, there were settlements whose inhabitants owed animal furs to the king - as they did in the village of Saris, where the hunters of the fortress of Bihor resided<sup>30</sup> - suggests that it is very likely that Ber was a hunter and his name expressed this. On the other hand, if he was not a hunter, Ber may have been a man with an imposing build, strong like a bear.

The **insect**: in the case of three individuals we have identified the nickname Bagar / Bogar / Bugar (in Hungarian: *bogár* = bug, insect): Johannes dictus Bagar, Stephanus dictus Bagar (in 1329; it is possible that John and Steven were brothers)<sup>31</sup> and Stephanus dictus Bogar / Bugar (mentioned between the years 1320-1341).<sup>32</sup> All three of them were of noble birth, the first two being liegemen of Toma, Voivode of Transylvania, while the other, Ștefan yclept Bogar / Bugar, was the „king’s man” (a representative of the king).

In fables the best-known types of insects / bugs are: the ant and the grasshopper. In one of the most popular fables, “The Grasshopper and the Ant,” the former is a carefree and irresponsible partier, while the ant is diligent and provident.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>27</sup> La Fontaine, pp. 83-84.

<sup>28</sup> Simonis de Keza, *Chronicon Hungaricum / Cronica Ungurilor*, Appendix, Chap. II, in G. Popa-Lisseanu, *Izvoarele Istoriei Românilor*, vol. IV, București, 1935 (Infra: *Chronicon Hungaricum*); Ștefan Pascu, *Voievodatul Transilvaniei*, vol. I, Cluj, Editura Dacia, 1971, p. 313 (Infra: *Pascu 1971*).

<sup>29</sup> *Regestrum Varadinense*, no. 69, pp. 178-179; *DIR.C.XI-XIII/1*, no. 67/69, p. 58.

<sup>30</sup> Imre Szentpétery, *Regesta regum stirpis Arpadianae critico-diplomatica / Az Árpádházi királyok okleveleinek kritikai jegyzéke*, I Kötet, (1001-1270), I Füzet, Budapest, 1923, no. 202, pp. 61-66 (Infra: *Szentpétery*, I/1); *DIR.C.XI-XIII/1*, no. 41, pp. 23-27, the Latin text on pp. 363-367.

<sup>31</sup> DL 277263; *Documente privind Istoria României*, C. Transilvania, Veacul XIV, Vol. II (1321-1330), București, Editura Academiei R.P.R., 1953, no. 556, pp. 296-297, 401-402 (Infra: *DIR.C.XIV/2*).

<sup>32</sup> DL 76328 (1323-11-23); *Zichy*, I, no. 209, p. 181; no. 210, p. 182; no. 214, p. 186; no. 215, pp. 186-187; no. 217, pp. 187-188; no. 236, pp. 203-205; *DIR.C.XIV/1*, no. 415, p. 353; no. 416, p. 354; no. 440, p. 370; no. 452, p. 373; *DIR.C.XIV/2*, no. 57, p. 22; no. 212, p. 96; *Documente privind istoria României*, C. Transilvania, Veacul: XIV, vol. IV (1341-1350), Editura Academiei Române, 1955, no. 33, pp. 28-31 (Infra: *DIR.C.XIV/4*).

<sup>33</sup> La Fontaine, pp. 4-5.

Unfortunately, regarding the individuals nicknamed Bagar / Bogar in medieval Transylvania, there is no indication of the specific type of insect to which reference was made and we do not have enough information to be sure that the term Bagar / Bogar had the meaning of bug / insect. Therefore, we shall limit ourselves to suggesting the possibility that Bagar / Bogar were animal nicknames.

The **bull / cow / calf** (Bicca / Byka, Buur, Boriw, Vaca). The only person with the nickname Boriw / the Calf we have come across was the noble Nicolae yclept Boriw of Geoagiu (*Nicolaus dictus Boriw de Gyog*),<sup>34</sup> and there was also only one man with the name Vaca.<sup>35</sup> Bicca / Byka (in Hungarian: *bika* = bull) was present as a sobriquet in the case of two people: in the first case, under a simple form (maybe even as a unique name, Bicca),<sup>36</sup> while in the second case, in a compound form (*Blasius dictus bykanyakw* – Blasius yclept Bykanyakw / Bull's Neck).<sup>37</sup> Bicca was a *castrens* mentioned in documents in 1227, and Blasius yclept Bykanyaku may have been a townsman (1341). The last person that had this nickname was Marcell Buur, a noble from the county of Zarand, mentioned in 1347.<sup>38</sup>

Very much is known about the bull or, more precisely, about the aurochs, not only from bestiaries, but especially from mythology and ancient religions. In the Danube Valley, this animal had been worshipped since the Neolithic. The aurochs represented virility, the principle of procreation, as it was the companion of the goddess of fertility. The bull / aurochs was worshipped from India to Western Europe, or from Egypt to the northern parts of our continent. In addition to its attributes concerning fecundity, the bull was also seen as a positive, familiar spirit, which could defend man against demons. The Celts considered the bull a royal beast, representing unvanquished greatness. Hunting the aurochs, much like hunting the stag, was a rite of passage and initiation for the youth.<sup>39</sup> The Celts associated it with ferocity, but also with the abundance of crops.<sup>40</sup> In the fable of Jean de la Fontaine entitled "The Frog and the Bull," the latter was admired for its stoutness.<sup>41</sup> The main attributes that man has admired in this animal, from prehistory to modernity, are physical strength, impetuosity and aggressiveness.<sup>42</sup> To take revenge on the

<sup>34</sup> Franz Zimmermann, Carl Werner, *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, Band I (1191-1342), Hermannstadt, 1892, no. 519, pp. 471-472 (Infra: UB, I); *Documente privind istoria României*, C. Transilvania, Veacul: XIV, vol. III (1331-1340), Editura Academiei Române, 1954, no. 272, pp. 367-368.

<sup>35</sup> *Regestrum Varadinense*, no. 161, pp. 210-211; *DIR.C.XI-XIII/1*, no. 67/161, p. 81.

<sup>36</sup> *DIR.C.XI-XIII/1*, no. 187, p. 230.

<sup>37</sup> DL 3408; Georgius Fejér, *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*, VIII/4, Budae, 1832, no. CCLXVIII, pp. 517-518; *DIR.C.XIV/4*, no. 49, pp. 41-42; Ferenc Sebök, *Anjou-kori oklevéltár (1341)*, XXV, Budapest-Szeged, 2004 (Infra: *Anjou*, XXV), no. 533, p. 250.

<sup>38</sup> Karácsonyi János, „Oklevélkivonatok a Szentmiklósi és Óvári gróf Pongrácz család levéltárából,” in *Történelmi Tár*, 1896, pp. 505-528 (p. 508) (Infra: *Karácsonyi 1896*); *DIR.C.XIV/4*, no. 590, p. 411; *Anjou*, XXXI, no. 1075, pp. 542-543.

<sup>39</sup> *Coman 1986*, pp. 5-14; *Clébert 1995*, p. 318; *Coman 1996*, pp. 29-36.

<sup>40</sup> Patricia Monaghan, *The Encyclopedia of Celtic Mythology and Folklore*, New York, Facts On File, Inc., 2004, pp. 64-65 (Infra: *Celtic Mythology*).

<sup>41</sup> *La Fontaine*, p. 7.

<sup>42</sup> *Evseev 1983*, p. 107.

Babylonian hero Gilgamesh, after he rejected her advances, the goddess Inanna sent the giant Bull of Heaven, but Gilgamesh killed it.<sup>43</sup> With regard to the quality of a royal animal, we should mention the legend of the founding of Moldavia, whose central theme was the tracking down and hunting of an aurochs. Subsequently, in the country's coat of arms, the aurochs was symbolizing the power.

In its turn, the cow played an important religious and mythological role. In addition to the attributes listed for the bull, the cow also had the attribute of fertility, given its plentiful nourishing liquid – milk. The animal is important for Christians, Muslims, Hindus or Buddhists alike. The cow gives life and food, but also enlightenment (in India). The Greeks saw it as the avatar of several deities. The cow had the same role of a primordial animal, the giver of food, among the populations of Northern Europe. In many legends, the heroes stole a cow (or another longhorn: ox, bull), the ritualistic nature of the theft being more important than the economic one; thus, the damaged party was wrested of power, force, and capital.<sup>44</sup>

From the point of view of profane attributes, the calf can be said to represent the principle of mildness and innocence, while the bull / aurochs is a strong animal, difficult to subdue and defeat. Unfortunately, we have no additional information about Nicolae yclept Boriw to suggest that this nickname was assigned to him due to his gentle, quiet nature. Then again, we cannot rule out this possibility.

As regards the two men named and nicknamed Bicca / Bull and Bykanyaku / Bull's Neck, we need to think about those very profane qualities, pertaining to the strength of the animal. We know that Bicca was a *castrens*, in the sense that he was one of the people in charge with the maintenance of royal fortresses, who protected them and fulfilled various other jobs in those fortifications.<sup>45</sup> It is very possible that Bicca was a very powerful man, which made him worthy of this name or sobriquet. The nickname Bykanyaku / Bull's Neck suggests the same motivation for granting it, namely the strength and robustness that characterised the man in question. If Buur – the bearer of this nickname was a certain Marcell, a Romanian perhaps – meant *bour*, aurochs, then it is likely that the intention behind this nickname was the same as in the case of Bicca and Bykanyaku.

In the case of Vaca, we must also take account of another possibility, namely that the onomastic element was a misspelling of the term *vaco*, which meant *free man*, a *man without a master*.<sup>46</sup> If, however, it was about the Latin *vacca* (cow), then it is possible that some of the qualities of that man had determined the ascription of this name or sobriquet, such as, for example, holding a piece of fertile land with the help of which he provided nourishment to his family and ensured their subsistence / survival.

The **horse / foal** (Chikou, Cyko; in Hungarian: *csikó* = foal). We have detected two people with the name Chikou and one called Cyko. We have used the

<sup>43</sup> Gwendolyn Leick, *Dicționar de mitologie a Orientului Apropiat antic*, București, Editura Artemis, 2005, p. 88.

<sup>44</sup> Coman 1986, pp. 1-5; Clébert 1995, pp. 324-326; Coman 1996, pp. 29-36.

<sup>45</sup> *Chronicon Hungaricum*, Appendix, Cap. II, 3; Pascu 1971, p. 313.

<sup>46</sup> G. Guțu, *Dicționar latin-român*, București, Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1983, pp. 1274-1275.

term name and not nickname, because they were not sobriquets, but unique names. The two Chikous were mentioned in the documents in 1213<sup>47</sup> and 1216. Only in the second case was the village from which the individual came also specified: Sari, in Bihor County (Șăuaieu, Bihor County).<sup>48</sup> We believe, however, that in both situations the person might have been the same, in the sense that there was only one individual with the name of Chikou. Cyko was a nobleman, mentioned one century after Chikou, in 1318.<sup>49</sup>

The horse was considered a sacred animal in most ancient religions, its name (*hippo*) being associated with the name of many gods: Poseidon, Demeter, Artemis, etc. The horse was perceived as ambivalent: pure and impure, solar and funeral, Uranian and Chthonian, the harbinger of happiness and the foreteller of death; horses were associated with justiciary forces and conquering ventures. Also, the horse was a clairvoyant, sensing and seeing what his master failed to and, therefore, guiding and helping him. The four-legged beast could also be seen as an enemy of man, much like the cat. In medieval Europe it was believed that the dead metamorphosed themselves into horses. The burial of the animal together with its master or with an object belonging to him, a practice encountered from China to the West of Europe, ensured the master's journey into the underworld. The horse was also associated with heroic youth, with male and female virginity. Finally, the horse was also a symbol of eroticism, highlighted in myths about abductions or rapes.<sup>50</sup>

For the Celts, the horse was extremely important both symbolically / religiously and practically, even the goddess Epona bearing the name of this animal.<sup>51</sup> In La Fontaine's fables, the horse / roan is vindictive, for which it pays with its own freedom. It is also intelligent, realising when someone is preparing to do him any harm.<sup>52</sup> However, the main and best-known attributes of the horse remain: its physical beauty, strength, impetuosity, speed, intelligence, devotion and sharp senses.<sup>53</sup>

As regards the individuals named or nicknamed after the horse, the situation is somewhat more complicated by the fact that each bore the name of the foal and not of the grown-up horse, which had the characteristics stated above. The young horse, the colt, could indicate youth and a playful, restive, wild nature. But persons who were called so were not necessarily young. We know that Cyko was the father of Comes Petru, the latter being deceased at the time of issuance of the document in which they were mentioned.<sup>54</sup> If we exclude youth from the equation, perhaps those

<sup>47</sup> *Regestrum Varadinense*, no. 28, p. 164; *DIR.C.XI-XIII/1*, no. 67/28, p. 48.

<sup>48</sup> *Regestrum Varadinense*, no. 159, pp. 209-210; *DIR.C.XI-XIII/1*, no. 67/159, p. 80.

<sup>49</sup> Varjú Elemér, *Oklevéltár a Tomaj nemzetségbeli Losonczi Bánffy család történetéhez*, Vol. I (1214-1457), Budapest, 1908, no. XLIV, pp. 43-44 (Infra: *Bánffy*, I); *DIR.C.XIV/1*, no. 331, pp. 303-304.

<sup>50</sup> *Coman 1986*, pp. 35-51; *Clébert 1995*, pp. 49-55; *Coman 1996*, pp. 47-56.

<sup>51</sup> *Celtic Mythology*, p. 249.

<sup>52</sup> The fables in question are „The Horse and the Stag” and „The Roan and the Wolf,” cf. *La Fontaine*, pp. 71-72, respectively pp. 74-75.

<sup>53</sup> *Evseev 1983*, pp. 67-68.

<sup>54</sup> *Bánffy*, I, no. XLIV, pp. 43-44; *DIR.C.XIV/1*, no. 331, pp. 303-304.



named Chikou / Cyko had an impetuous, restive nature, like a colt, which led to this name or nickname being granted to them.

The **dog** (Cute; in Hungarian: *kutya* = dog). The dog was “responsible” for three animal names in medieval Transylvania that have come down to us. One of them was Cute, a serf of the fortress of Turda (1268),<sup>55</sup> but we have also included here two other individuals called Suka (1215)<sup>56</sup> and Syka (1292),<sup>57</sup> whose names could refer to the bitch (*szuka* in the Hungarian language; it had the same form in some Slavic languages, more precisely in Polish – *suka*).<sup>58</sup> The occupation of the last two individuals is not apparent from the documents.

Until the Middle Ages, the image of the dog was not too good in Europe. In ancient mythologies, particularly for the Greeks (Cerberus), the Egyptians (Anubis) and the Hindus, the dog was the guardian of the passage to the underworld, but after man’s death, the dog would become his guide and protector, its psychopompous role manifesting thus. Later the animal was pictured as a companion of man, being characterised by loyalty and devotion. The greyhound was most frequently present in heraldry. It was seen as an animal to the liking of God, who prayed for its master, and, of course, as the keeper of the house by excellence.<sup>59</sup>

Even if in some cultures the image of the dog improved at a later time, among the Celts the animal was more positively regarded. It was associated with fertility and abundance, being also perceived as a healer, taking account of the fact that it accompanied Sirona, the goddess of healing for the Celts on the continent. Of course, it was also associated with death and the underworld, but the situations in which the dog accompanied various warrior heroes were more numerous.<sup>60</sup> The fable “The Wolf and the Dog” captures it in the posture of an animal that is deeply attached to its master, to the extent that it has given up its own freedom (sometimes being tethered), true, for a better life than that of the wild beasts of the forest.<sup>61</sup>

As a serf of the fortress, Cute was under the obligation to maintain and defend the whole defensive ensemble in Turda, but also to participate in military exploits when the sovereign demanded him to.<sup>62</sup> We cannot exclude the possibility that because he was a man with military duties, his name / nickname expressed his loyalty to the fortress and / or to its commander. With regard to the two men named Suka and Syka, personal information is lacking almost entirely, so we can only assume the existence of a trait that was also characteristic of the dog.

<sup>55</sup> *Documente privind Istoria României*, C. Transilvania, vol. II (1251-1300), București, Editura Academiei Române, 1952, no. 90, p. 99 (Infra: *DIR.C.XIII/2*).

<sup>56</sup> *Regestrum Varadinense*, no. 130, p. 200; *DIR.C.XI-XIII/1*, no. 67/130, p. 73.

<sup>57</sup> *DIR.C.XIII/2*, no. 423, pp. 383-384.

<sup>58</sup> Anda Mareș, Nicolae Mareș, *Dicționar polon român*, București, Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1980, p. 352.

<sup>59</sup> *Coman 1986*, pp. 59-67; *Clébert 1995*, pp. 76-77; *Coman 1996*, pp. 66-72.

<sup>60</sup> *Celtic Mythology*, p. 132.

<sup>61</sup> *La Fontaine*, pp. 8-9.

<sup>62</sup> B. Halász Éva, „A körösi várjobbágyok a 13-15 században”, în *Középkortörténeti tanulmányok*, 7, Szeged, 2012, pp. 313-323 (p. 314).

The **wolf** (Farkas / Forkos, Vilc).<sup>63</sup> The term wolf was used as a nickname and as a unique name by very many people in the 12th-14th centuries (over 40 individuals, the majority in the first half of the 13th century). Alongside Gall, it was the most commonly used animal-related unique name. I will not go into details here, because I did so on another occasion,<sup>64</sup> but it should be noted that the people named Farkas / Forkos / Farcasius / Forcasius and Wilk / Vilc belonged to any of the following social categories: nobles, clergy, non-noble freemen (royal serfs, peasants, possibly German „guests”) and dependent people (servants, *udvornici*).<sup>65</sup> At European level, *Lupus* occurred frequently as a cognomen in ancient Roman inscriptions. Later on in time, 15 Christian bishops bore this name. Some of the anthroponyms *Lupo* from the Roman / Latin environments were translations of the Germanic name *Wulfo*.<sup>66</sup>

The wolf was present in religion, mythology and bestiaries in various shapes and forms, albeit on two main levels: the negative one, in which the focus was on the carnivorous beast's violence, malice and destructive nature, and the positive one, when the animal's superior skills were emphasised, such as its speed and force, its excellent sight and hearing, its attributes as a guide and initiator, as well as its hunting spirit.<sup>67</sup> In their turn, La Fontaine's numerous fables feature the wolf as the protagonist, in the following main hypostases: independence, freedom, pursuing its own path; violence; hunger, gourmand appetite, rapaciousness, which leads him to be fooled sometimes; unfairness, treacherousness; craftiness; deceitfulness; “a shepherd among the sheep”; ungratefulness.<sup>68</sup>

As I pointed out in the article “Povestea unui nume: antroponimul Farkas (Lupu) în Transilvania veacului al XIII-lea. Posibilități și opinii,” the name / nickname *Lupu* could be used for several reasons. For each of these we have identified a – more or less clear – corresponding example among the individuals on the territory examined here: keeper of knowledge, warrior and initiator, hunter, guide, and / or messenger, foreign „guest” / stranger, deceitful / lying / cunning or unfriendly / grumpy man, wizard, healer, gourmand / famished man.<sup>69</sup>

The **rooster / hen** (Gall – in Latin: *gallus* = rooster; *Tyuk* – in Hungarian: *tyuk* = hen): in the 12th-14th centuries, the name Gall / Gallus was fairly common in Transylvania and the adjoining counties, being encountered in the case of about 40

<sup>63</sup> The equivalent term for the wolf in Old Slavonic was *vlk*, in Bulgarian *vlko*, and in Serbo-Croatian *ruk*, cf. Goicu 2001, p. 118.

<sup>64</sup> Victor V. Vizauer, „Povestea unui nume: antroponimul Farkas (Lupu) în Transilvania veacului al XIII-lea. Posibilități și opinii,” in *Acta Musei Maramorosiensis*, XI, 2015, pp. 24-41 (Infra: Vizauer 2015).

<sup>65</sup> Vizauer 2015, pp. 26-27.

<sup>66</sup> Goicu 2001, p. 83-87; P. Caraman, „L'héritage romain dans l'anthroponymie roumaine,” in *Actele celui de-al XII-lea congres internațional de lingvistică și filologie romanică*, București, Editura Academiei R.S.R., 1970, pp. 1107-1113.

<sup>67</sup> Coman 1986, pp. 158-159; Clébert 1995, pp. 175-180; Coman 1996, pp. 181-187.

<sup>68</sup> La Fontaine, pp. 8-9, 16-17, 25, 47, 52-53, 54-55, 74-75, 122-124.

<sup>69</sup> Vizauer 2015, pp. 30-38.

individuals.<sup>70</sup> It is possible that we should not have taken into account the nickname Tyuk of the noble Thomas, bailiff of the royal court, mentioned in 1347,<sup>71</sup> due to the high probability that its bearer was not originally from Transylvania or the adjoining counties.

The rooster is the one that announces the end of the night and the beginning of the day. It is the symbol of vigilance and resurrection (the immortality of the soul). The rooster is present among Christians, for whom the fact that it crowed three times during the Passion of Christ has a particular significance; among Muslims, who believe that a giant rooster will wake the dead at the Last Judgment; and also among the ancient Scandinavians, who thought that a red rooster would announce the end of the world. In the 13th century, especially in France, the rooster began to be depicted on a metal rod affixed to the crosses of belfries, suggesting the symbol of vigilance and that of the sermon (this bird was an attribute of the preacher, who “awakened” people to faith and the Divine). The rooster was a wise advisor, but also a bold creature, the French calling it *Coq hardi*. In heraldry, it retains the attribute of vigilance, adding to it the one of pride: it is represented with the body positioned sideways, with its head held high.<sup>72</sup> In fables, the cock is shown as being both smart and naive or ignorant.<sup>73</sup>

By contrast, the hen has different connotations from the rooster. In bestiaries it is presented under two forms: the hen that lays golden eggs and the black hen; the former is always white and symbolises fecundity; the black hen is related to witches, who sacrifice it at midnight at a crossroads to summon a demon.<sup>74</sup> This bird shows all the functions of a psychopompous animal, the hen playing an important role in rites of passage.<sup>75</sup> The title of one of La Fontaine’s allegorical stories, “The Hen That Laid the Golden Eggs,” expresses the themes of fecundity, of prosperity, but here it illustrates the master’s lack of patience on his path towards securing the riches whose source is the hen itself.<sup>76</sup> In fact, the hen was a symbol of abundance among several Indo-European peoples.<sup>77</sup>

The anthroponym Gallus was encountered as early as the ancient period. In time, it probably lost the connotations related to the rooster itself or to Gallia. We could mention here Cestius Gallus, prefect of Syria in the seventh decade of the 1st century,<sup>78</sup> the Irish missionary Gallus (?-645/646), the one who laid the foundations

<sup>70</sup> Șerban Turcuș, Adinel Dincă, Mihai Hasan, Victor Vizauer, *Antroponimia în Transilvania medievală (secolele XI-XIV). Evaluarea statistică, evoluție, semnificații*, vol. I, Cluj-Napoca, Editura Mega, 2011, p. 221.

<sup>71</sup> *Bánffy*, I, no. CXXII, pp. 142-143; no. CXXIII, pp. 143-145; no. CXXVIII, pp. 151-153; *DIR.C.XIV/4*, no. 524, pp. 357-358; no. 533, pp. 362-364; no. 569, pp. 390-392; *Anjou*, XXXI, no. 409, pp. 228-229; no. 482, pp. 267-268.

<sup>72</sup> Clébert 1995, pp. 83-85; Coman 1996, pp. 36-41; *Celtic Mythology*, pp. 93.

<sup>73</sup> *La Fontaine*, pp. 22, 36-38.

<sup>74</sup> Clébert 1995, pp. 135-136.

<sup>75</sup> Coman 1996, p. 41.

<sup>76</sup> *La Fontaine*, p. 76.

<sup>77</sup> Coman 1996, p. 43.

<sup>78</sup> *Catholic Encyclopedia*: <http://www.catholic.org/encyclopedia/view.php?id=3872> (18.01.2017).

of the future monastery of Saint Gall<sup>79</sup> or the Polish Martinus Gallus, the author of some chronicles (1190).<sup>80</sup> In the area examined in this study, the first character named thus was Gall, Comes of Alba in Transylvania (about 1177).<sup>81</sup> Later on, the frequency of this name increased, being assigned to people from various social categories, but mainly to nobles and clergy. In the 13th century, a bishop of Transylvania bore the anthroponym Gall.<sup>82</sup>

Gall could designate either a person coming from somewhere in the area of the Gallia (especially in the 13th century), or the rooster in Latin (*gallus*). If at least a part of the symbolical connotations of the rooster were preserved in the anthroponym, then a person named Gallus / Gall could be a vigilant, bold, proud man and / or a good counsellor, especially in the case of the nobles or their familiars. As for clerics, the associations could refer to their gifts of preaching and “awakening” people to the divine and to faith, as shown above.

The **sow** (Porcan; in Latin: *porcarius* = swineherd, or *porca* = 1. sow, 2. the ridge of a land furrow, but also an agrarian unit of measurement in Spain). The only one that bore the name Porcan was a man mentioned in a case from the Registry of Oradea (in 1216), but we know little else about him, apart from the fact that he was accused of complicity in the kidnapping of a young girl.<sup>83</sup>

The role of the sow in bestiaries was different from that of the pig. Thanks to its numerous brood, it was a symbol of fertility, this also suggesting an exuberant sexuality.<sup>84</sup>

A “spinning sow” was carved on the southern side of the south tower of Chartres Cathedral (France), probably representing the ancient Celtic theme of the druid spinning a guiding thread, similar to Ariadne’s thread. The author has reached this conclusion by tracing the meaning of the word sow, *truie* in French, whose origins he believes to lie in the old Celtic term *truth* (wild boar). Through phonetic assimilation, *truth* came to represent the druid (*druide*).<sup>85</sup>

The Celts also associated the pig with the category of warriors. There have been discovered helmets with representations of boars on them, due to the beasts’ ferociousness (in Antiquity the domesticated pig actually lived in a somewhat semi-wild state).<sup>86</sup> Finally, by its way of being, the pig also has less attractive traits: enmity to man (which is why it gets to be sacrificed), squalor, laziness and greed.<sup>87</sup>

<sup>79</sup> *Catholic Encyclopedia*: <http://www.catholic.org/encyclopedia/view.php?id=5104> (18.01.2017).

<sup>80</sup> *Catholic Encyclopedia*: <http://www.catholic.org/encyclopedia/view.php?id=5348> (18.01.2017).

<sup>81</sup> *Szentpétery*, I/1, no. 128, p. 41; *DIR.C.XI-XIII/1*, no. 12, p. 6.

<sup>82</sup> *Hurmuzaki, Densuşianu*, I/1, no. CXCIII, pp. 249-253; Imre Szentpétery, *Regesta regum stirpis Arpadianae critico-diplomatica / Az Árpádházi királyok okleveleinek kritikai jegyzéke*, I Kötet (1001-1270), 3 Füzet, Budapest, 1930, no. 1577, pp. 482-483; *DIR.C.XI-XIII/1*, no. 285, pp. 329-333; *DIR.C.XIII/2*, no. 93, p. 100.

<sup>83</sup> *Regestrum Varadinense*, no. 169, p. 215; *DIR.C.XI-XIII/1*, no. 67/169, p. 84.

<sup>84</sup> *Clébert* 1995, p. 251.

<sup>85</sup> Louis Charpentier, *Les mystères de la cathédrale de Chartres*, Robert Laffont, Paris, 1966, pp. 243-244.

<sup>86</sup> *Celtic Mythology*, pp. 379-380.

<sup>87</sup> *Coman* 1996, pp. 65-66.

All we know about Porcan is that he may have been from Bihor County, or the adjoining counties, whence most of the individuals listed in the cases of the Registry of Oradea originated. There were quite a lot of foreigners in Oradea and the surrounding areas, so Porcan may have been a foreigner, or even a „guest”. If so, maybe Porcan owned a property that brought him plenty and wealth; hence, his nickname / name. Alternatively, Porcan may have had a pugnacious, belligerent temperament, especially since he was summoned in Oradea for his above-mentioned association in the kidnapping of a young girl; or, he may have been just a portly, gourmand man, being likened to the pig on that account.

The **falcon** (Solum / Solyam / Solym; in Hungarian: *sólyom* = falcon). The cleric Benedictus, servant of Bishop Petru of Transylvania, was nicknamed the Falcon (*Benedictus dictus Solum / Solyam / Solym*), being mentioned in documents in 1304 and 1307.<sup>88</sup>

Alongside the eagle, the falcon was considered the most noble of birds. For the Egyptians, the falcon was the bird of Horus, master of heaven, the piercing gaze of the bird being considered one with the gaze of the god. The hieroglyph for the falcon came to signify: loftiness, superiority, victory. In bestiaries, the falcon was the most important hunting bird. The German Emperor Frederick II wrote a personal treatise on falconry, titled *Ars venandi how avibus* (1247). The falcon was also a sign of high social standing, being represented on seals and coats of arms. Its main attribute was vigilance, but it was also associated with victory, as already shown above.<sup>89</sup>

As regards Benedict *dictus Solyam*, the main characteristics of the falcon that could be attributed to him were vigilance and, perhaps, nobility, too. Like in the majority of the cases of people with animal names or nicknames brought into discussion here, the information about Benedict is too scanty to allow us to determine clearly the reason or reasons that led to the granting of his nickname Solyam – the Falcon.

The **crow** (Voryu; in Hungarian: *vorju* = crow). We have detected a single individual with this nickname, the noble Johannes Varyu, a servant of Master Vesceu (Vezsceus), mentioned in a document from the year 1346.<sup>90</sup> It is possible that this individual was not from Transylvania or the contiguous counties, but from Tolna County (Hungary).

The name of this bird was assigned to individuals who had dark skin, either naturally black or dirty. One such person was the young woman Kracka (the Crow), one of the wives of the Viking hero Ragnar Lodbrok, who was so called because in her childhood she was always full of soot and blackness.<sup>91</sup>

<sup>88</sup> UB, I, no. 300, pp. 228-229; no. 306, p. 234; no. 307, pp. 234-235; *DIR.C.XIV/1*, no. 44, pp. 36-37; no. 67, pp. 50-51; no. 68, p. 51.

<sup>89</sup> Clébert 1995, pp. 285-287.

<sup>90</sup> *A nagykálloi Kállay-család levéltára*, I (1224-1350), Budapest, 1943, no. 853, p. 196; *DIR.C.XIV/4*, no. 466, p. 319; *Anjou-kori oklevéltár (1346)*, XXX, ed. Piti Ferenc, Budapest-Szeged, 2014, no. 767, p. 422.

<sup>91</sup> *Mitologia nordică. Mituri și legende*, București, Editura Enciclopedică, 1992, p. 133 (Infra: *Mitologia nordică*).

The symbolism of the raven, a bird related to the crow (oftentimes, no difference was made between the two, as they are both part of the *Corvus* genus) is, first of all, suggestive of longevity, from which wisdom, cyclical regeneration and even immortality are derived.<sup>92</sup> The raven was associated with the gift of foreseeing; being a symbol of the underworld, it could represent both rebirth and death. In folklore there is a well-known belief that a person is going to die in the house above which a raven hovers.<sup>93</sup> The ravens carried by the god Odin (also called “the raven-god”) on his shoulders were called Hugin and Mumin, that is, Thought and Memory; they were sent by the god to spy out in the nine worlds and inform him about all their secrets.<sup>94</sup> Their opposite is the raven presented by Jean de la Fontaine in the fable “The Raven Wishing to Imitate the Eagle,” a self-conceited character, full of itself, “evil and covetous,” greedy and aspiring to great deeds.<sup>95</sup>

Like in the other cases, it is difficult to determine clearly what motivations lay behind the assignation of this name / nickname. Was Johannes Varyu a man with spying inclinations and / or qualities? Did he have the gift of foresight? Or was his skin darker or his hair an intense black? We could not say. In any case, Johannes Varyu may have had any or even several of these attributes.

The **crayfish** (Raak / Roac). If this name truly referred to the crayfish and falls within the scope of our research, then we may consider a serf of the fortress of Solnoc, mentioned in documents in 1292.<sup>96</sup>

The peculiar morphological structure of the crayfish has stimulated the people’s imagination, giving birth to legends and riddles. These are focused on its backwards walk, scissor-like claws and long antennae. One of the legends explains the backward scuttling of the crayfish by the fact that it was the last creature that came in front of the Deity when He gave eyes to every living thing, the crayfish being punished for its delay by having its eyes appended at the end of its tail; since then it has been forced to walk with its tail in front.<sup>97</sup> In other legends, the crayfish was seen both as a “holy” animal, because it stole the iron spikes from the place of the crucifixion, and as a creature of the “devil,” because it was allegedly created out of the devil’s nail.<sup>98</sup>

As regards the fortress serf Raak / Roac, we cannot establish with certainty where his name came from, but we can assume that it was determined by one of the attributes listed above which could be associated with a man, especially with an individual that had military duties: alertness, as if he had eyes at his back, too, much like the crayfish; combativeness, reminiscent of the claws or pincers of the crayfish; a good (“holy”) or evil (“devilish”) man.

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<sup>92</sup> Evseev 1983, p. 111.

<sup>93</sup> *Celtic Mythology*, pp. 391-392.

<sup>94</sup> *Mitologia nordică*, p. 24.

<sup>95</sup> *La Fontaine*, pp. 40-41.

<sup>96</sup> *DIR.C.XIII/2*, no. 423, pp. 383-384.

<sup>97</sup> *Coman 1986*, p. 212.

<sup>98</sup> *Coman 1986*, p. 213.

The **blackbird** (Rigou; in Hungarian: *rigó* = blackbird). A single person had this name / nickname. He was a vineyard-keeper in the village of Mghyer, belonging to the Chapter of Arad (1202-1203).<sup>99</sup> This is also one of the few anthroponyms on our list that can be dated with certainty in the 12th century.

In heraldry, only the female appears, signifying resignation and a state of chagrin.<sup>100</sup> The blackbird is both a messenger-bird (it is among the first birds that herald spring) and a symbol of eroticism.<sup>101</sup> Being a singing bird, this attribute should not be forgotten, since this seems the most plausible motivation for naming or nicknaming someone Rigou / Blackbird.<sup>102</sup>

Finally, we need to point out a very important thing. The majority of these animal names may have had to do with the old popular belief in the cleanliness of these creatures regarding health. Up until the contemporary era, there have survived customs involving the changing of a sick child's name with the name of an animal, in order for the child to take over the cleanliness and regenerative power of that creature and to heal. The advantage of changing the anthroponym was that disease, the Devil, or "evil" could no longer recognise the individual in question.<sup>103</sup>

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Instead of conclusions, we merely wish to draw attention to the importance of the study of anthroponyms, whether they are related to animals or of a different nature (linked to ethnicity, plants, etc.). Understanding the motivations behind granting these names and nicknames may contribute to a deeper knowledge of the society in which they were used.

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<sup>99</sup> *Szentpétery*, I/1, no. 202, p. 61-66; *DIR.C.XI-XIII/1*, no. 41, pp. 23-27.

<sup>100</sup> *Clébert 1995*, p. 196.

<sup>101</sup> *Coman 1996*, p. 128.

<sup>102</sup> As a curiosity: in Maramureş, more precisely in the area of the town of Sighet (and maybe in other regions as well), the elders used to recount that when they were teenagers (in the first 2-3 decades of the 20th century), when harvesting grapes on a noble's estate, they were made to sing or to whistle. The motivation behind this gesture was to determine the pickers to eat as few of the grapes as possible.

Could there possibly have been any connection between the fact that the individual Rigou / Blackbird owned a vineyard and bore the name of a songbird? Perhaps future research will give us a satisfactory answer.

<sup>103</sup> *Coman 1986*, pp. 145, 178-179; *Coman 1996*, pp. 145, 181-182.

**BANDITRY IN THE KINGDOM OF HUNGARY IN THE MIDDLE AGES.  
CASE STUDY: SOME GANGS ON THE “ROYAL LAND” (15TH  
CENTURY)**

**Abstract:** The aim of this article was a simple one: to show that in this medieval “far-east” nothing was different from the rest of the world as we know it. Hungary and Transylvania had its outlaws, even in this period of time, and if they were not so famous as the legendary Robin Hood and his merry men from Sherwood, they were driven by their ferocious traits to harm, plunder or kill for profit and, maybe, why not?, for fame. I wanted to underline another simple fact in this study: beyond historiographical disputes, in which I am not interested at all, a pure historical truth remains: bandits are alike in every region of Europe, whether we speak of Spain, Italy, France or the Western Balkans.

**Keywords:** bandits, banditry, Middle Ages, outlaws, crimes, homicide, Hungary, Transylvania.

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Broadly speaking, we mentioned the few “gangs” of criminals in our PhD Thesis,<sup>2</sup> but since that was part of a greater whole, at that time we did not subject the information in the sources to a more complex analysis. We limited ourselves to presenting the facts in a concise summary and to mentioning the area in which these notorious criminals operated in the 1410s-1460s – the region of Sibiu-Făgăraș.

A chapter pertaining, par excellence, to social history, banditry – which is rather romantically referred to as *outlawry* in Romanian scholarship, in keeping with the development of the mannerist-romantic Romanian literature of the 19th century – was very frequently approached in Marxist-oriented historical writing in the 1940s-80s and not only. Almost a decade ago, we noted that the “followers” of the new history imported from Moscow, but paradoxically promoting a nationalism that was predicated on “class struggle” as the engine of societal evolution, discussed with “martyrial satisfaction” the struggle for “social and national emancipation” of the “Romanian people, beset,” in *perpetuitas*, by the “atavistic oppressor” of a Romanian Transylvania.

We wrote then that: “In this context, Ștefan Pascu published a study in 1947, focused on highlighting the strong character of the class struggle that dominated Transylvania, as a part of the Kingdom of Hungary. Basically, a whole series of documents published subsequently in the DIR series came to illustrate

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<sup>2</sup> *Proscriși și infractori în Transilvania în secolele XIV-XVI*, PhD Thesis, Cluj-Napoca, 2007, currently in press at Argonaut Publishers in Cluj-Napoca.



that conflictual process. This study received a harsh review several decades later, in one of Maria Holban's works."

"In fact, Șt. Pascu's study was the first – ostensibly in-depth – approach to this subject, even though its inconsistency and falsehood were subsequently exposed in plain view."<sup>3</sup> We also stated that: "ultimately, [we want] to have an image that is as close as possible to what the documents reveal (beyond any subjectivism or the obsession of a particular interpretation) of this phenomenon, an image that avoids (for both the Carpathian and the Transylvanian space) the romantic clichés of Romanian fairy tales, legends, ballads or novels, including those of popularization texts about outlaws. A tremendous role in this representational endeavour, with reference to well-documented brigand characters of the modern era, was played by Romanian cinema, in particular the films produced after 1947, which permanently entrenched a classical portrait of the outlaw as a social hero in the collective mind-set, an image that may prove rather difficult to debunk. The first films that tackled this topic in Romanian cinema were those signed by Horia Igiroșianu in the 1920s."<sup>4</sup> What we wrote then still holds true today. Studies approaching this issue are rather few<sup>5</sup> and, many a time, they provide merely oblique interpretations of this topic. Romanian historiography is still reluctant to research the phenomenon of banditry and its most profound underpinnings.

Of course, as readers and even as researchers, we may refuse to observe these facets, because, usually, the evil-good duality of social outlaws, especially in the more distant time periods, compels us to cautious approaches and historical analyses, preventing us from acquiring a full picture of the context that generated banditry in each era. Furthermore, contemporary or medieval and modern socio-economic frustrations have always impelled us to seek the figure of a social vigilante, a *maschiach* of absolute righteousness, from a *golden age* of ideal justice, whether he was called Robin Hood of Sherwood Forest or William Kidd, Jesse James, and Billy the Kid in the Anglo-American space, or Pinteia, Horea, Iancu Jianu, and Bujor in the Romanian space.

In the area north of the Danube, the figure of a charismatic leader could encapsulate the same need for justice, albeit one provided, this time, by a

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<sup>3</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 48-50. In the footnotes we explained extensively all the endeavours of the propaganda of the communist regime to impose a standard image, which could then hardly be "maculated"/ "debunked" at the level of the social imaginary and the collective mentality.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 23-24.

<sup>5</sup> See the more recent study of Adrian Magina, "*Cum manibus armatis*. Facets of violence in the medieval Banat," in *Banatica*, 24/II, 2014, pp. 47-64, "Răufăcători sau...schismatici? Statutul ortodocșilor bănățeni în jurul anului 1400," in *România în Europa medievală. Între Orientul bizantin și occidentul latin. Studii în onoarea profesorului Victor Spinei*, Brăila, 2008, pp. 283-293. More specifically, for Cluj, starting from the 16th century, László Pakó's seminal studies deserve mention: "The Inquisitors in the Judicial Practice of Cluj at the End of the 16th Century," in *Transylvanian Review*. Vol. XXI, Supplement No. 2, 2012, pp. 181-198 and "Biróság elé került boszorkányvádaskodás Kolozsvárt, 1592-1593" [Witchcraft-accusation at the Law-court of Cluj from 1592-1593], in *Korunk*, XVI/5, 2005.

legitimate power-holder: Vlad Țepeș (the Impaler) is invoked nostalgically in the romantic lyrics of M. Eminescu from *Letter III*: “Rise once more, oh, Țepeș! Take and divide these men / As lunatics and rogues...,” just like in Central Europe, in the 18th century, the myth of the “good emperor” as the *maschiach* of the peasantry emerged and developed.

Some poems that rewrite the mythologized folk figure of the bandit or the robber, with all his above-mentioned avatars, failed to immortalize this duality, as can be seen in the poem “Groza” by Vasile Alecsandri:

“On an old board, thrown outside,  
Groza was lying, sleeping his last;  
And no one would dare, in their mourning, weep ![...]   
But softly, by his side, they’d whisper these words:  
Could this one be Groza, of widespread repute,  
The blood-thirsty plunderer?!  
Could this one be Groza, who, like a beast,  
Without a care for his dark sinful error,  
Dealt many a death blow and broke the law?![...]   
And, kissing the dead one, the old man  
Sighed and plodded away with his staff.  
And the crowds were wailing a sorrowful chant:  
May God forgive his sinful seeds!”<sup>6</sup>

The people – divided between wonder and disgust, yet entranced by the narrative of the old orator – found goodness where there seemed to be no such feeling and, under the impulse of the moment, “sorrowfully” (the crowd experienced a change of heart) requested the deity to absolve the fierce bandit from his sins.

Reminiscing about the existence of these anti-heroes, Radu Rosetti also noticed the fact that “from this bunch of thieves only Bujor has remained in the memory of the people, because he was brave and outspoken. He would not do harm to the poor people and even helped them in times of need: only very rarely would he kill anyone. [...] I was also told that she [his wife, *our note*] was allowed to give him a Christian burial, on the very evening of his execution, even though it had been decided that his body should be left exposed, hung from a fork for several days.”<sup>7</sup>

Horia Mazilu considered that Baba Novac, Pinteia Viteazul, Ștefan Bujor, Iancu Jianu, Ion ăl Mare, Gheorghită Gheorghilaș, Tunsul, Grozea were bandits who fit the definition of “outlaws” (brigands – protectors of the poor; a blend between a vigilante hero and a highwayman).<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Vasile Alecsandri, *Opere complete. Poesii. Volume I. Doine-Lăcrămioare.Suvenire-Mărgăritărele*, București, Editura Librăriei Socescu et Comp., 1896, pp. 42-45.

<sup>7</sup> Radu Rosetti, *Părintele Zosim și alte povestiri*, Seria Vintage, București, Editura Humanitas, 2014, pp. 55-56.

<sup>8</sup> Dan Horia Mazilu, *Lege și fărădelege în lumea românească veche*, Iași, Editura Polirom, 2006, pp. 310-311.

A classical study on the problem of banditry is the work of Eric Hobsbawm, which was published in three successive editions and was based, according to the author, on literature, in particular folk literature, which may have been uncertain as a source, but captured the “flavour” of banditry.<sup>9</sup>

Hobsbawm noted that banditry tended to become an epidemic during periods of impoverishment and economic crisis,<sup>10</sup> and the most important pool of banditry was provided by the rural world, where employment opportunities were too few or where not all the labour force could find jobs; in other words, bandits were recruited from the surplus of the rural world.<sup>11</sup>

In the documents of the medieval period, one of the Latin terms used for bandits acting in complex groups was *latrunculi*,<sup>12</sup> applicable, for instance, to the bandits plundering in the Rodna Valley in 1479.

This term was derived from the root *latro* (common noun, masculine) (meaning mercenary, thief, brigand), to which the suffix *-culus* (male) was added to obtain a diminutive form: *petty mercenary* would be a form as close as possible to the meaning of the Latin original. In other words, this was an individual who was skilled in the profession of arms and who sold/rented his skills in more modest conditions than a true mercenary.

Du Cange also insisted on the militarized sense of the term used in medieval texts: “*Excursiores, præcursores exercitus, seu potius milites, qui in insidiis latent*,”<sup>13</sup> i.e., the troops of scouts who marched in front of the troops or the soldiers who preferred to attack by ambushing the enemy and by staying hidden in protected places.

Charlton T. Lewis translated the term thus: “a highwayman, a robber, a lone bandit or brigand,”<sup>14</sup> but his references were made to ancient Latin.

In his excellent study on banditry in the Roman Empire, Thomas Grünewald explained the fact that the term had different functionalities and meanings for the Roman writers, which are obscure to us, modern readers.<sup>15</sup> The fact is that this broad umbrella term could refer to various individuals: “common *latrones*” and “noble *latrones*,” and according to their specialization: bandits,

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<sup>9</sup> E. J. Hobsbawm, *Bandits*, revised edition, New York, Pantheon Books, a division of Random House Inc., 1981, p. 10.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 22.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 31.

<sup>12</sup> *Documente privitoare la Istoria Românilor culese de Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki*, vol. VIII [1376-1650], *Documente culese, adnotate și publicate de Nicolae DENSUSIANU*, București, Editura Socec, 1894, doc. 181, p. 102

<sup>13</sup> Ch. Du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, éd. augm., Niort: L. Favre, 1883-1887, tom 5, col. 038b, entry: *latrunculi*.

<sup>14</sup> Charlton T. Lewis *et alii*, *A Latin Dictionary. Founded on Andrews' edition of Freund's Latin dictionary, revised, enlarged, and in great part rewritten by* Charlton T. Lewis, Ph.D. and Charles Short, LL.D., Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1879, entry: *latrunculus*.

<sup>15</sup> Thomas Grünewald, *Bandits in the Roman Empire. Myth and reality*, trans. By J. Drinkwater, Routledge, London-New York, 2004, p. 2.

rebels, rivals or avengers.<sup>16</sup> In the Hungarian language, the common term that came into use was *rabló*, either via the English *rabblor*, or the German *Räuber*.

In the case of the examples that we will bring into discussion here, the following terms could be used: *malefactores* and *spoliatores* under the command of a *capitaneus* (1417), *malefactores* (1428) and, respectively, *malefactorum* (1453).

The term *malefactor* appeared quite early in the Hungarian diplomatic sources. Among the first documents to make such a reference was a charter of *jus gladii* issued by King Andrew II in 1209.<sup>17</sup> The term *spoliator*, with the meaning of plunderer of another's goods, was used in 1309, in the case of a conflict between two noble families.<sup>18</sup>

#### 1. The gang of Kardos Janos (1417)<sup>19</sup>

Data about the "troop" of this *capitaneus* have come from a single document, dated to 1417 by the editor of the collection. The issuer was the Vicevoivode of Transylvania, Lorandus Lepes, and the letter was addressed to the leadership of the town of Sibiu. In the document issued by the representative of voivodal power, this bandit was referred to as *kardosyanos*, from where we can infer a Christian forename in a Hungarian variant (Ianos/yanos), that is, the Hebrew *Yochanan*, with the Latin variant: *Iohannes* (*Ioan*). The attached sobriquet comes from a Turkism (*kard* = sword), which in Hungarian gave an "occupational" designation, that of "sword wielder" (*sabreur*, swordsman), that is, *kardos*. Thus, we know that this bandit was a local Hungarian, called "the swordsman" because of his obvious sword-bearing skills, a man who had gathered around him several villains, together with whom he robbed mostly the merchants of Sibiu, that is, the *saxones*.

The document is preserved on the original paper, with a seal of green wax applied to it. It was issued on April 26, 1417, in Deva, by the Transylvanian vicevoivode. This *littera* is part of an epistolary series, which ought to have comprised a minimum of two documents. The first document will have been issued by the administration of Sibiu, presenting the problem and implicitly seeking help. Both (the preserved and the vanished) documents should be seen as part of the series of *littera clausa* of the *missiva* type, including a demand/request (which has been lost) and a response to the request (which is stored in the archives of Sibiu).

Lorand Lepes wrote to the townsmen of Sibiu, "honest brothers and honoured friends," that "today" [on April 26] he had received their letter (*hodie habuimus litteras vestras*) in which they informed him about how "criminals" and

<sup>16</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 3.

<sup>17</sup> Georgius Fejér, *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*, Tomi III, Vol. 1, Typis Typogr. Regiae Vniuersitatis Vngaricae, Budae, 1829, pp. 86-87.

<sup>18</sup> Imre Nagy, *Anjoukori okmánytár. Codex diplomaticus Hungaricus Andegavensis*. I (1301–1321), A M. Tud. Akadémia Könyvtárhoz Hivatalt, Budapest, 1878, doc. 167, p. 181.

<sup>19</sup> Gustav Gündisch, *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, vol. 4 (1416-1437), Hermannstadt, 1937, doc. 1807, pp. 34-35.

“looters” had caused them many damages through the robberies they committed (*machinando*). The Saxon population, but also other *nationes* had been pillaged by those who were led by: *capitaneus principalis esset Kardosyanos*.<sup>20</sup> From this description we can draw the conclusion that the gang in question was extremely powerful; it was a motley assortment of individuals, who nonetheless recognized the authority of that swordsman, Ioan.

The vicevoivode remarked the fact that the people of Sibiu had “begged” his help or that of his master, the voivode, which is all the more reason to suspect that this was a gang of bandits organized on military bases, which the local authorities had failed to disband through their own forces.

Lepes excused himself and his ruler for not having answered their desperate requests, because they had both been away in the service of the king. They were still unavailable (*et sumus de presenti*), but they would come to protect the Sibiu townsmen “with all that we have to offer immediately and on the spot.”<sup>21</sup>

“And you should know that today we will write to our familiars” to show up that Friday [on April 30] in Sântimbru, where the vicevoivode and his retinue also intended to arrive on Thursday [April 29], “from where we want to continue on our path through those areas of Sântimbru, without a doubt, so that is why you should send emissaries from among your consuls,”<sup>22</sup> to be present in the county seat on Saturday. Lorand requested these envoys “*pro habendo colloquio*” in Sântimbru, so as to come to their aid, since “we must and want to give you sound advice” regarding the defeat of Ioan’s gang. In the closing sentences, he informed the Sibiu townsmen that he would include their letter (*transumpt*) in his own letter to the voivode. Unfortunately, at least other three letters have been lost: the original letter of the people of Sibiu, the vicevoivode’s *transumpt* and his explanations, and the voivode’s answer.

The original of the Sibiu townsmen will have included the formula of address and the presentation of the facts: “To the noble man....You should know that....followed by a list of the wrongdoings committed by Ioan’s gang....,” and we do know the vicevoivode’s answer and indications to the locals. On the same day a missive was written to the vicevoivodal familiars in the County of Alba and the surroundings, informing them that they would have to reach Sântimbru within two days. Then another *littera clausa* was sent to the ruler, in which a *transumpt* was attached, as well as, perhaps, what was intended to be done, the vicevoivode requesting a formal agreement for his action. The voivode will have answered that he had received the letter of his familiar and was probably going to send a missive to the townsmen of Sibiu to inform them that he had delegated his servant to help them, following their requests for aid. Unfortunately, only a part of this rich epistolary exchange has survived, which is of little help in rearranging the puzzle, other than signalling it to us.

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<sup>20</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>22</sup> Consuls = magistrates.

It is possible that in May 1417, the vicevoivode's troops of familiars, together with the troops of the Sibiu locals put an end to the existence of Ioan's gang. It is difficult to believe that these military professionals would have allowed the gang to continue its brigand. The fact that we have no more news about it from the years that followed entitles us to reach such a conclusion.

## 2. The gang of the "Făgăraș" bandits from 1428.

Information about this "gang" comes from a royal warrant of July 4, 1428, issued from *commisio own domini regis* at Kewy [Kubin], near Semendria, in Serbia. The emperor was on a military campaign against the Ottomans, for on May 27, he was in the military camp near the fortress of Golubac [*Galambocz*, Taubenburg],<sup>23</sup> and from June 28 on, he was at Kubin [Kewy].<sup>24</sup> The document was drawn up on parchment,<sup>25</sup> and the seal was imprinted in red wax. Underneath it is the note of the chancellery: *commisio propria domini regis*. The monarch stated that the nobles of Moha [*Muckendorf*, the present-day Grânari, Brasov County] in the County of Alba had requested his help:<sup>26</sup> Georgius, son of Jacobus of Moha, for himself and for his relatives, including the condivisional ones: Georgius, son of Georgius, Nicolaus, Valentinus and Zyrmus, all of Moha, Iohannes, son of Michael of Dalya, the noble lady Anna, daughter of Batha of Moha, and the wife of Georgius, the claimant. They requested the re-issuance of their documents, because on 27 March 1428 [the Saturday immediately preceding the Sunday of *Ramispalmarum*],<sup>27</sup> "some Romanian *malefactors* from the district of Făgăraș [...] had raided that estate, with its house, setting fire to it and burning it down [...] at night, in silence," four children of Georgius, son of Georgius, being burnt alive in that house, together with all the ownership papers.

Beyond the possible *vendettas* that were specific to the Middle Ages, with acts of vengeance being carried out between the families various socio-professional or ethnic groups, these pyromaniac gestures, committed in the dead of night, could only be conceived of as acts of banditry. The association of those Romanians who were driven by a criminal purpose may have stemmed from the violence that was *customary and specific to the medieval times*, but in that age, much like at present, this was a well thought-out, organized, premeditated wrongdoing, conducted, most likely, out of *revenge*. The fact that the rest of the estate was also set on fire indicates such an act of banditry. The burning alive of the sons of Georgius, during the fire caused by the band of the brigands from Făgăraș, suggests the fact that the family woke up too late and were driven by the immediate impulse to escape from the disaster caused by that unexpected attack, in the middle of the night. The *modus operandi* also indicates the fact that the

<sup>23</sup> Gustav Gündisch, *Urkundenbuch*, 4, doc. 2043, p. 348.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibidem*, doc. 2044, p. 349.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibidem*, doc. 2049, p. 358.

<sup>26</sup> Situated in the north-west of the present-day County of Brașov, along the coordinates: 46°02'25"N 24°58'25"E, within the present-day village of Jibert. The name is related to the presence of mosquitos or flies: "the mosquito village" or "Țânțăreni," in a loose translation.

<sup>27</sup> Palm Sunday.

perpetrators in question had acted like that before, for such a deadly attack required at least some military knowledge, typically associated with deeds of espionage or sabotage, which could not be executed by someone who was not familiar with handling weapons, especially at night. The bandits must have studied the habits of the house and known how to perfectly orient themselves at the scene of the place. The time was early spring, on the eve of a major religious holiday, so they must have taken into account various scenarios and the presence of other people there. They attacked the houses of weapons professionals, at least one of whom was participating in a military campaign. This suggests that those *quidam malefactores Volachi* were not some poor serfs or *hospes* who wanted to take the law into their own hands and do themselves justice because of abuses committed by the nobles. In fact, as we know and have demonstrated in several other studies, if an estate was damaged in a *factum potentie*, then, most often, those directly affected were led in the act of revenge by the noble or his familiars, that is, by other white arms professionals.

We should also note that there were differences between these bandits, acting with a clear purpose, and mere serfs, like those Romanians who got drunk and, under the influence of alcohol, set fire to a forest in the county of Doboka in the 15th century.<sup>28</sup>

### 3. The gang of the priest Coman from Făgăraș (1453).

In 1453, the outline of a petition letter to the voivode, concerning events that had occurred in the area of Făgăraș, highlighted certain disputes and a mild state of local anarchy, especially between the Saxon seats and, it appears, the Romanians. It also mentioned the gang of a priest called Coman, who, for unknown reasons, had threatened to set fire and wreak revenge, as well as to commit murders. That gang may possibly have set fire to some houses in Agnita; that man and his gang had been sending death and arson threats to Blasius, Benedictus and notary Nicolaus in Cincu.<sup>29</sup>

The draft letter states verbatim that the priest Coman “and his associates...have been threatening to set fire and to take revenge, by killing...” In Agnita, if he and his gang were guilty, then theirs was indeed an act of revenge. This petition is a draft, written on paper, an original after which a letter was probably written and sent to the voivode and to H.M. the king. It contained many *gravamine*, which had led to this suite of complaints.

A few lines below it is stated fact Coman surrendered to the king (probably in exchange for royal forgiveness), and that the voivode should know that all the goods in his possession would be returned to him. From here it follows

<sup>28</sup> András Kovács, *The history of the Wass the Csege family*, Edmund Siemers-Stiftung, Hamburg, 2005, pp. 47-48. The forests were located in the Silvaș area, near Légen [Legii, Cluj County] and in Mohaly [Măhal, Cluj County], but they burned to the ground, as shown in the inquests conducted by the noble judges. The serfs belonged to George Lack of Santău and came from the village Mikola [Nicula, Cluj County], Moró [Morău, Cluj County] and Szombatelke [Sâmboleni, Cluj County]. As the document shows, they were “*repleti vino et crapulati, ex preconcepta rancoris malitia*” [full of wine and inebriated...].

<sup>29</sup> *Documenta Romaniae Historica*, seria D, București, Editura Academiei RSR, doc. 321, pp. 437-439.

that the royal dignitary was directly interested in the activities of this bandit, and that the latter surrendered to the king with all his loot in order to avoid being sentenced to the gallows. Coman was questioned, however: based on his testimony, a list of his accomplices and the goods he had stolen and returned was drawn up. Basically, the head of the gang dissociated himself from his former “companions” and agreed to cooperate with law enforcement in exchange for his social reintegration, which we can surmise, for no punishment was mentioned for this offender.

In the long draft of this complaint we can identify also other armed actions, as well as the names of some offenders:

- a. The parish priest in the region *Byrgeschbach* [Bârghiș], the village of *Isopis* [Ighișul Vechi] had four horses stolen, and a servant [*famulus*] of his was killed. The suspected killers were: Barbath [Bărbat] and Cyganwst [Țigănuș].
- b. The parish priest in Brollor [Bruiu] had his horses forcibly taken away by Barbwl Knech [Barbul Cnezu] and his accomplices: Borcza [Borcea; the editors translated his name as Borza], Kalagor [Călugăr] and Aaradwl [Aaradu; the editors preferred *Radul*].
- c. Skwrtwl [Scurtul] robbed several estates and requested some kind of protection tax from the surrounding villages.

We would not want to be perceived as biased, anti-Romanian, and so on. Far from us such thoughts, for history, divested of all sorts of parti pris or -isms, is what is revealed to us, not what we would like to believe that it was. The truth is quite simple, at least in this case: banditry was a quotidian reality in this border region from the south-east of the Kingdom of Hungary, where alongside the more numerous and more indigent Romanians, there were also Hungarians and others (e.g. gypsies) who, as Hobsbawm noted, were, generally speaking, more willing to engage in criminal activities due to the non-employment of all the labour force in specific activities.

Thus, we can state, without fear of exaggerating, that this border territory evinced the same phenomenon that is described in universally valid theories of medieval banditry. Fortunately, this frontier region was no different from other border areas (and not only), in Italy, Spain, France or the Western Balkans.



## THE POPULATION OF SATU MARE COUNTY ACCORDING TO THE JOSEPHINE CENSUS(II)

**Abstract:** In 1874 the system of conducting the population census changed completely. The modifications were made in accordance with the reforms introduced by Joseph II. For the first time in the history of Hungary, the noble population was also included in the census. Thus, the census of 1784-1787 became the first “modern” census of the population. Not only the social categories that were surveyed changed, but the implementation method was entirely altered. The civil authorities collected data about the civilian population in parallel with the military, by settlements and from every household. During the process of information gathering and recording, each household had a record sheet of its own, which contained data about its members: names, ages (only in the case of the males), qualifications (position in the household, socio-professional status, stature and other physical features in the case of men, etc.). At the same time, the individuals administering the census had to classify the persons according to several set categories, on the basis of gender, marital status, some socio-professional categories, indicating their position in the household, but also the permanent departure of some of the members. In the case of women, only their marital status was noted down. The presence of foreigners had to be recorded too. There was a special, but much simpler record sheet for households belonging to the population of Jewish faith.

For the county of Satu Mare, the population census of 1784-1787 counted the distribution of the inhabitants in the four regions of the county, in the urban settlements or in the rural areas. Also, the focus was on the number of men, women and children, on their religion, occupations, etc. The data collected in 1784-1787 showed an increase in the number of population in this region compared to the previous count. This was the consequence of the improving standard of life, the overcoming of natural disasters and military conflicts, but also the result of the colonization organized by the local nobles in the first part of the 18th century.

**Keywords:** population, census, household, increase, count

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This paper is a sequel to the study published in *Satu Mare, Studies and Papers*, XXXI/II, 2015. In that study, we discussed a series of issues such as the distribution of the population according to religion and gender, the distribution of the nobles by villages, of the priests by communities, the distribution of the teachers, the situation of the emigrants and the immigrants, etc. In what follows, we will make an analysis of the evolution of the population in the county of Satu Mare in terms of the territorial-administrative division of the county, more specifically, according to its distribution by *plase* (a territorial division smaller than a county and larger than a commune).

### **The natural environment of the county of Satu Mare**

At the end of the 18th century, the area of Satu Mare County covered 5,852 square kilometres. The county stretched from Curtuișeni, a village situated in the county of Bihor today, to Baia Sprie (located in Maramureș County today), and from

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the Tisza to the Forest Mountains (Munții Codrului). From a territorial-administrative point of view, it was divided into four *plase*: Crasna, Nyír, Szamos and Baia Mare.<sup>2</sup>

The fauna and the vegetation were completely different from what we can encounter today in Satu Mare County. On the territory of the Nyír *plasa*, to the north-west of the localities from the region of Carei, there was a marsh, Ecedea, which influenced economic life in the area. Agriculture had peculiar characteristics here. Dense forests covered a large surface of the county, stretching from its southern border, in the region of Codrul, all the way to the banks of the Tisza. Studying the map of Satu Mare County from that period, we could notice that the three towns were also surrounded by forests.<sup>3</sup>

The lowland area, dominated by the valleys of the rivers Szamos and Tisza, and Ecedea Marsh influenced the development of human settlements, but also that of agriculture. The riches of the subsoil of the region of Baia Mare and the Oaş Mountains determined settlement in these areas of people who made a living from mining and processing of mineral ores. The population density in these regions was very high.



Fig. 1

Nyír was a *plasa* that stretched over a fertile plain area. Ecedea Marsh represented a special form of relief which imprinted certain features of the region, as it had a specific fauna and flora, causing the population to adopt a peculiar life style.

<sup>2</sup> For more details about the geographical setting, see the first part of this study, published in *Satu Mare, Studii și Comunicări*, XXXI/II, Satu Mare, Editura Muzeului Județean Satu Mare, 2015, p. 65.

<sup>3</sup> In writing this study, we have used the map drawn by Zanathy on the occasion of the journey undertaken by Duke Maximilian through Maramureș County, Bihor County and Transylvania. The map is part of the collection of the County Museum of Satu Mare, inv. no. 15.393 Mo.

The main occupations of the inhabitants were agriculture-related (farming, animal husbandry, fishing, hunting). The abundant reed and bulrush in the natural environment of the marsh led to the development of crafts based on processing these plants (the weaving of baskets, chairs, etc.). The objects crafted thus were then sold in other regions of the county or even across its borders. The same thing happened with other agricultural products that were sold to the residents of other areas whose topography and climate was less favourable to land cultivation.

The territorial units of Crasna and Szamos (*plase*) were dominated by the valleys of the Someş and the Tisza rivers. These valleys were favourable to agriculture, too. The hilly areas were good for the cultivation of vines and fruit trees. The population of the forested regions practised the specific activities of this natural habitat: hunting and woodworking.

In the *plasa* of Baia Mare, there were regions that had rich ferrous and non-ferrous ores, which favoured the development of the mining industry. Next to this branch, wood processing also developed. This was a mountainous area so agriculture was less practised here, livestock farming being the main occupation in this area.

In conclusion, it can be said that each *plasa* had a specific natural environment in the county of Satu Mare, putting its stamp on the evolution of the population. The occupation of the inhabitants was strongly influenced by the landforms, the soil and the subsoil resources. There were areas with a higher population density, others with a lower density, depending on the region and the resources necessary for livelihood.

### **Characteristics of the population in the county of Satu Mare at the end of the 18th century**

The census organized in 1784-1784 recorded 3 towns in Satu Mare County. These were Satu Mare (Szamos *plasa*), Baia Mare and Baia Sprie (Baia Mare *plasa*). The number of boroughs was 16: Ecsed, Kis Mada, Carei, Szalka (Nyir *plasa*), Fehérgyarmat, Jánk, Nagy Peleske, Matolcs (Szamos *plasa*), Medieşu Aurit, Varallya, Seini, Szyer (Baia Mare *plasa*), Csenger, Beltiug, Arduş, Arduşat (Crasna *plasa*). The town of Satu Mare was formed around the fortress of the same name. Here was a political centre that provided protection, but also an outlet market for the products necessary to the personnel of the fortress, stimulating economic exchanges.<sup>4</sup> The towns of Baia Mare and Baia Sprie were formed around mining settlements, where specialists in the exploitation of the subsoil were brought. The distribution of boroughs on the territory of the county was equal. In each *plasa* there were 4 boroughs: these were somewhat bigger and richer settlements, which had an intermediate status between a town and a village, with an active, continuously developing economic life.

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<sup>4</sup> Ovid Sachelarie, Nicolae Stoicescu, *Instituțiile feudale din Țările Române. Dicționar*, București, Ed. Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1988, p. 343.

*Nyír Plasa:*

- boroughs: Ecsed, Kis Mada, Carei, Szalka
- towns:

*Szamos Plasa:*

- boroughs: Fehérgyarmat, Jánk, Nagy Peleske, Matolcs
- towns: Satu Mare

*Baia Mare Plasa:*

- boroughs: Medieșu Aurit, Varallya, Seini, Szyer
- towns: Baia Mare, Baia Sprie

*Crasna Plasa:*

- boroughs: Csenger, Beltiug, Ardud, Ardușat
- towns:

Table no. 1 – The localities of Satu Mare County, divided by *plase*<sup>5</sup>

<i>Plasa</i>	<b>Town</b>	<b>Boroughs</b>	<b>Communes</b>	<b>Praedium</b>	<b>Houses</b>	<b>Families</b>
Nyír	0	4	43	7	6,396	8,118
Szamos	1	4	65	0	3,761	4,330
Baia Mare	2	4	71	1	9,307	9,660
Crasna	0	4	66	5	7,237	8,503
<b>Total</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>245</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>26,701</b>	<b>30,611</b>

The largest number of houses and families was recorded in *plasa* Baia Mare: 9,660 families and 9,307 houses. At the opposite pole was *plasa* Szamos, with 4,330 families and 3,761 houses.

Table no. 2 – The population of Satu Mare County, divided by *plase*<sup>6</sup>

<i>Plase</i>	<b>Rightful population</b>	<b>Emigrated Population</b>	<b>Foreigners</b>	<b>Actual population</b>
Nyír	39,084	210	203	39,077
Szamos	21,664	133	80	21,611
Baia Mare	46,327	241	234	46,410
Crasna	43,394	128	179	43,445
<b>Total</b>	<b>150,469</b>	<b>712</b>	<b>786</b>	<b>150,543</b>

From the point of view of the distribution of the number of inhabitants, the Baia Mare *plasa* was situated on the first place, the actual population here amounting to 46,410 inhabitants. In view of the fact that there were two towns on the territory of this *plasa* (Baia Mare and Baia Sprie), as well as four boroughs (Medieșu Aurit, Varallya, Seini, Szyer) important for the economic life of the region, the large number of the population in this territorial-administrative unit of Satu Mare County is not

<sup>5</sup> *Az első Magyarországi népszámlálás (1784-1787)*, Budapest, Olvasótermi példány, 1960, p. 150.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 154.

surprising. First of all, there was an intense activity of extracting and processing the riches of the subsoil, an activity that attracted investments from the Austrian crown and the nobility of the region. Secondly, it attracted people interested in this field, despite the fact that living conditions were rather difficult.

The economic and demographic superiority of the Baia Mare *plasa* can be seen in the following table, relating to the occupation of the population of Satu Mare County. Thus, the data collected at the census of 1784-1787 showed that of the 93 officials who worked in the county, 69 were located in the Baia Mare *plasa*. Here there were also numerous priests (86) and villeins (5,672). At the opposite pole, there was the social category of the nobles: in the Baia Mare *plasa* there were only 1,380, compared to the Szamos *plasa*, where their number amounted to 3,013.

Table no. 3 – The occupations of the population of Satu Mare County, divided by *plase*<sup>7</sup>

<i>Plase</i>	Prie sts	Nobl es	Offici als	Civilia ns	Peasan ts	Villei ns	Othe rs	Discharged soldiers
Nyír	83	2,942	18	244	2,223	4,503	688	20
Szamos	67	3,013	1	40	1,323	1,835	561	7
Baia Mare	86	1,380	69	612	3,251	5,672	1,290	19
Crasna	76	2,480	5	789	2,350	4,997	925	27
<b>Total</b>	<b>312</b>	<b>9,815</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>1,685</b>	<b>9,147</b>	<b>17,007</b>	<b>3,464</b>	<b>73</b>

Located on the valley of the Someş river, in an area proper for land cultivation, but also encompassing hilly regions, favourable to the cultivation of vines and fruit-trees, the Crasna *plasa* occupied, from a demographic point of view, the second place. 43,445 inhabitants lived here. If we study the map of Satu Mare County, we can notice that on the surface of the Crasna *plasa* there was a conglomerate of settlements, most of which were located on the valleys of the Someş, the Homorod and the Crasna rivers, but also along other rivulets that flowed through this region. The most important settlements here were the boroughs Csenger, Beltiug, Ardu, Arduş, all on the estate of Count Károlyi. The inhabitants here worked primarily in agriculture (land farming, viticulture, fruit trees, animal husbandry), crafts and trade. The data provided by the Josephine census showed that here lived 2,480 nobles, 2,350 peasants and 4,997 villeins. 76 priests were active in this area, and there were 5 officials (from these points of view, the Crasna *plasa* occupied the third place, after the *plasa* of Baia Mare and that of Nyír).

The smallest number of residents was recorded in the Szamos *plasa*, where the free royal town of Satu Mare and the boroughs of Fehérgyarmat, Jánk, Nagy Peleske, and Matolcs were located. Located on the valleys of the Someş and the Tisza, this *plasa* had a smaller area than the other three, which could explain the lower number of inhabitants here.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 156.

A big part of the surface of the Nyír *plasa* was covered by Ecedea Marsh, a geographical region that was unfavourable to the development of settlements with a large number of residents. Consequently, the population of this *plasa* was concentrated especially in the plain area, where the land was fertile and where agriculture could be practised more intensely. This explains why the actual population of the Nyír *plasa* amounted to 39,077 inhabitants, the rightful population being 39,084 inhabitants. Neither population growth, nor the markets in the area where they could travel with the means of transport of the time could stimulate the inhabitants of the Nyír *plasa* to increase the production of goods in the last third of the 18th century. The population here oriented themselves towards autarky. This meant that, aside from a minimum number of tools or other objects used in everyday life or in the household, everything else had to be produced by themselves. This fact is also proved by the answers given to the nine main questions of the urbarial questionnaire. Apart from one or two localities, the others did not complain about the lack of arable land. In areas where, because of the relief, there was not enough arable land, the people could work the land within the boundary of the neighbouring village on the landlord's allodium. Several people complained about the lack of pastures or meadows, but in a radius of 3-4 miles, anyone could rent pastures or buy hay. With the exception of some areas with less arable land, in the Nyír *plasa* sowings followed the triennial system. Approximately equal amounts of wheat and rye were cultivated, but people also grew a mixed cereal, between wheat and rye, oats, a little barley and vegetables (peas, lentils). They also cultivated buckwheat, spelt, millet and spring wheat. The latter were sown usually in the years when the remaining water after the melting of the snow withdrew rather late from the cultivated land. As early as 1760 and 1770, the inhabitants of the Nyír *plasa* cultivated maize, in particular in gardens or in areas demarcated for this purpose. Maize was used for food and, in the absence of oak forests, for the farming of pigs. In a few villages there were huge orchards, similar to forests, and thus, most of the serfs' landplots featured plum trees, apple trees or pear trees. They made vinegar from the pears and the wild apples, jam from the fruits of cornel bushes, and syrup from blackberries. A good part of the bare necessities of life were picked in the boundary area.<sup>8</sup>

The social category with the largest number of members in the county of Satu Mare was that of villeins. Probably, this group also included the freemen who had purchased letters of liberation from serfdom, the tax-payers, i.e., those craftsmen who paid their feudal obligations in the form of sums of money, and the villeins proper, divided into those who had a house and those who did not. The fact that these heterogeneous social categories were collapsed under the generic name of villains (*jeleri*) emphasizes the fact that lines of separation between the social categories could not be easily drawn. The elements of these categories overlapped, feudal society being in fact a mosaic of these elements, which were situated on very different positions, from an economic and social point of view.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Takács Péter, *Documente urbariale din plasa Nyír a comitatului Satu Mare*, Nyíregyháza, 2010, p. 53.

<sup>9</sup> Rudolf Wolf, "Populația din comitatul Crasna în lumina unor conșcripții din 1720," in *AMP*, X, Zalău, 1986, p. 246.

The class of the nobility consisted of 9,815 people. But even this category was not distributed in unitary manner across the county. The highest number of nobles was recorded in the Szamos *plasa* and then in the Nyír *plasa*, where the authorities counted 2,942 of nobles. We must emphasize the fact that not even this category was unified from an economic point of view. A special category was represented by the great magnates, earls, barons, etc. The family of Count Károly was the most prominent in Satu Mare County.

Table no. 4 – The population of Satu Mare County, by gender, distributed into *plase*<sup>10</sup>

<i>Plasa</i>	Married men	Unmarried men	Total	Women	Children between 1-12 years of age	Children between 13-17 years of age
Nyír	7,381	12,338	19,719	19,365	4,757	1,472
Szamos	4,002	7,187	11,189	10,475	2,373	654
Baia Mare	8,952	14,827	23,779	22,548	6,397	1,607
Crasna	8,444	13,635	22,079	21,315	6,086	1,532
<b>Total</b>	<b>28,779</b>	<b>47,987</b>	<b>76,766</b>	<b>73,703</b>	<b>19,613</b>	<b>5,265</b>

Considering that the largest population in all the territorial-administrative units of Satu Mare County lived in the Baia Mare *plasa*, it was natural that there also lived the largest number of married men (9,952), unmarried men (14,827) and women (22,548). The situation also held true for the number of children, whether they were aged between 1 and 12 years (6,397), or between 13-17 years (1,607). An interesting thing was the fact that at the level of the entire county of Satu Mare, and in each individual *plasa*, the number of women was not much lower than the total number of men. Knowing the number of the rightful population of the county and then comparing the number of men and women who lived here, we can notice that the ratio was fairly balanced, with 960 women for every 1,000 men.

<sup>10</sup> *Első Magyarországi népszámlálás (1784-1787)...*, p. 158.

Table no. 5 – The population of Satu Mare County, by gender<sup>11</sup>

County	Rightful population	Men	Women	No. of women per 1000 men
Satu Mare	150,469	76,766	73,703	960

The census data allow us to analyse some important features of the structure of marriage, the family and the organization of households in Hungary. Even though the number of married women at older ages was very small, we cannot say that in 18th-century Hungary, marriage at the age of adolescence was dominant. Based on the age of marriage, one can identify several regions of the country. In the western and northern counties, this average age was very common – around 21 years of age. In the centre and east of the country, the age of marriage was in keeping with the national average, this is 20 years of age, while in the third group of counties, consisting especially of those situated at the eastern edge of the Great Plain, the average age of marriage was under 20 years of age, marriages being contracted at very early ages, according to the theories on the Eastern European model of marriage. There were only two insular areas in Hungary where marriages at over 20 years of age were dominant (Árva, the county of Szepes, in the region of the Northern Carpathians, and the counties of Sopron, Moson and Pozsony, located on the border with Austria).<sup>12</sup>

Most marriages were contracted thus before the age of majority, the children being under their parents' economic and social domination. The head of the family was the one who established the matrimonial strategy and he had to give his consent on the chosen partner. Most of the times, the future partner, whether male or female, was chosen from within the community, preferably in order to avoid the sons or the daughters leaving the village, or if they were forced to do so, to avoid their moving to very remote locations. Other criteria in choosing a husband or a wife were related to the social group to which he or she belonged, to the economic interests, but also to the traditions and customs of the community. Very often the newlyweds remained in the household of the parents of one of them. There were also cases when the couple settled in their own household immediately after the wedding.

Some researchers who have studied the theme of family life and childhood in the period of the 18th century have stressed the fact that there emerged a change of attitude towards children, but also towards family life. These two aspects began to be given more importance, more care and affection. However, this view is contradicted by British researchers Foyster and Marten, who state that family life

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<sup>11</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 158.

<sup>12</sup> Faragó Tamás, *Different household formation system in one country at the end of the eighteenth century: variations on John Hajnal's thesis*, MPIDR Working Paper Wp 2011-020, December 2011, p. 161.



could range from emotional and intimate aspects to violence and brutality, just like in any other previous period.<sup>13</sup>

Regardless of the divergent opinions of some researchers, it is certain that both in the 18th century, and in the periods preceding and subsequent to it, the Church exerted control over civil society and particularly over family life. On an obviously inferior position were children, who were supposed to be entirely obedient to their parents, to whom they owed respect and submission. These requirements extended even after the age of majority, or after their departure from the basic cell of the family and their inclusion in another social group. The woman had an inferior position to the man, her status being firmly regulated by the canons of the Church, but also by the traditions of each region. She was supposed to be faithful and obedient to the man, these two aspects being essential in conjugal relationships. The head of the family was the man, who had responsibilities to each member of the family. He was granted increased powers, both by the Church and by the civilian authorities. Thus, he had to assert control over every member of the family, having full authority over his wife and daughters, as well as over the sons until they married, an authority that could be extended in the case of non-compliance with the minimum “rules” of social behaviour, as requested by the community, society, and the unwritten social relations, which were important, however, in regulating everyday life.<sup>14</sup> The first who had to obey this authority was the wife. The husband could punish her in many ways, ranging from slapping her for different mistakes, to killing her in the case of adultery. Control over children was exercised from birth to marriage, and in some cases, especially in the case of daughters, even after that. But this power granted to the head of the family did not come without certain responsibilities. He had to ensure the economic basis of the family and to work for the benefit of the others, to feed his children, to provide them with a dowry and to marry them. If he was a “weak” man and failed to support or control his family, he could be sanctioned both by the civil or the ecclesiastical authorities and by the community of which he was part.

### **List of illustrations:**

Fig. 1. - Satu Mare County in 18th century, Map drawn by Zanathy for Duke Maximilian's journey in Maramureș, Bihor and Transylvania. This map is part of the patrimonial collection of the Satu Mare County Museum, no. 15,393 Mo.

<sup>13</sup> Andrea Fehér, *Family life in eighteenth century Transylvania. Case study: the Halmágyi family*, in *AMN*, an 50, II, Ed. Argonaut, Cluj Napoca, 2013, p. 154.

<sup>14</sup> Constanța Vintilă-Ghițulescu, “‘Să-mi ridic piatra de față din casă’: strategii matrimoniale și conflicte familiale în societatea românească (sec. al XVIII-lea),” in Sorina Paula Bolovan, Ioan Bolovan, Corneliu Pădurean (eds.), *Om și societate. Studii de istoria populației României (sec. XVII-XXI)*, Cluj Napoca, Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2007, p. 96.

**BETWEEN TEACHING, SERVING AT THE ALTAR AND WORKING IN  
DIPLOMACY.  
PETRU IONESCU (1867-1938),  
A LESS WELL-KNOWN PERSONALITY FROM BANAT.**

**Abstract:** Petru Ionescu was an important personality from Banat, who lived and carried out his activity at the end of the 19th century and during the first half of the 20th century. He was born in the village of Iaz in Caraș-Severin County and acquired outstanding intellectual training in the German-speaking academic and cultural milieu, studying at Eisenach, Jena, Geneva and Chernivtsi. On 24 January 1896, Petru Ionescu obtained his PhD in Theology from the university in the capital of Bukovina. Initially, Ionescu worked as a professor at the Theological Institute in Caransebeș. Subsequently, he had three unsuccessful attempts to become an archpriest. Between the two World Wars, he devoted himself to serving the interests of the Romanian state, by becoming a member of the Romanian government and a diplomat.

**Keywords:** Petru Ionescu, Banat, priesthood, government, diplomacy.

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**Preliminaries: Origin, studies and early career.** Petru Ionescu (1867-1938) was an important personality born in Highland Banat, who lived and was active at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. The life of this personality unfolded between teaching, following his priestly vocation and serving his country in diplomacy. He was born at Iaz (Caraș-Severin County) and his father was a priest. Petru Ionescu passed the maturity examination at the Gymnasium in Debrecen (1887). His initial decision was to continue his studies not in theology, but in pedagogy and philosophy in the German-speaking cultural milieu. Thus, in 1888-1889, he attended courses of pedagogy and philosophy at the Universities of Eisenach, Jena and Geneva.<sup>2</sup> In the end, he chose to study theology at the University of Chernivtsi,<sup>3</sup> arriving in the capital of Bukovina in 1889. That same year he became a member of the *Junimea* Romanian Students' Society and was elected first secretary and member in the literary committee for the societary year 1889-1890.<sup>4</sup> In the next

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<sup>2</sup> Szögi László, *Magyarországi Diákok Németországi Egyetemeken és főiskolákon 1789-1919*, Budapest, 2001, p. 359, no. 7005.

<sup>3</sup> Szögi László, *Studenti români din Transilvania la universitățile din Europa în secolele XVI-XX*, Târgu Mureș, Editura Universității "Petru Maior", p. 166, no. 1330 and p. 171, no. 1383 and p. 201, no. 1641; Mészáros Andor, Szögi László, Varga Júlia, *Magyarországi diákok a Habsburg Birodalom kisebb egyetemein és akadémiáin 1789-1919*, Budapest, 2014, p. 468, no. 6913; Szabó Miklós, Simon Zsolt, Szögi László, *Erdélyiek Külföldi Egyetemjárása 1849-1919 Között*, I kötet, Marosvásárhely, Mentor Kiadó, 2014, p. 433, no. 38.

<sup>4</sup> *Foaia Diecezană*, year IV, Caransebeș, 5 November (17 November) 1889, no. 44, p. 8; *Telegraful Român*, no. 119, Sibiu, 2/14 November 1889, year XXXVII, p. 480.

academic year, 1890-1891, the young scholar from Banat was elected president of *Junimea*,<sup>5</sup> on 2 November 1890. From this point of view, he was one of the most remarkable Romanian students at the University of Chernivtsi, recognized as such by the student community of the Romanians in the capital of Bukovina. Obtaining brilliant results, Petru Ionescu was granted a PhD in Theology from the Bukovinean university, on 24 January 1896.<sup>6</sup>

Ionescu combined his teaching career with his clerical duties. Thus, from 1893 to 1906, although he had not completed his studies at Chernivtsi, he worked as a professor at the Theological Institute in Caransebeș (the pedagogical section). He was active in the *Ioan Popasu Reading Society* of the Theology and Pedagogy students in Caransebeș,<sup>7</sup> whose president he was three times (1895-1896; 1903-1904; 1904-1905).<sup>8</sup> From an administrative point of view, he was a member of the Diocesan Synod of Caransebeș and of the National Congress of the Metropolitanate of Transylvania.

Returning to the clerical aspects, we should note that on 6 November 1899, he passed the examination for qualification as a priest before the commission designated by the Diocesan Consistory of Caransebeș.<sup>9</sup> However, he was not immediately ordained to the priesthood. In 1900, he received consecration as a deacon from the Bishop of Caransebeș, Nicolae Popea.<sup>10</sup> Our sources indicate that he remained a deacon at least until 1902, and that in this capacity he conducted a rich activity, on several levels. Thus, in 1901 he was cashier of the Ioan Popasu Relief Fund.<sup>11</sup> In the autumn of 1901, he participated in the general meeting of the Association of Greek-Oriental Romanian Teachers from Caransebeș, held in Făget, and served as a deacon.<sup>12</sup> Ionescu participated in various church events, such as the consecration of the church in Rugi (today in Caraș-Severin County) on 14/27 October 1901.<sup>13</sup> Also as a deacon, Petru Ionescu participated, on 29 June 1902, in the village of Herendești (today in Timiș County), in the centennial jubilee of the church in that village.<sup>14</sup> For

<sup>5</sup> *Foaia Diecezană*, year V, Caransebeș, 4 November (16 November) 1890, no. 44, p. 7; *Telegraful Român*, no. 118, Sibiu, 10/22 November 1890, year XXXVIII, p. 471; Eugenia Glodariu, *Asociațiile culturale ale tineretului studios român din Monarhia Habsburgică 1860-1918*, Cluj-Napoca, 1998, p. 70.

<sup>6</sup> *Biserica și Școala*, year XX, Arad, 14/26 January 1896, no. 2, p. 15; *Telegraful Român*, no. 5, Sibiu, 16/28 January 1896, year XLIV, p. 18; Vasile Baltag, *Die Doktorschool für theologie bei der Universität aus Czernowitz (1877-1918)* in *Codrul Cosminului*, XX, 2014, no. 2, p. 338.

<sup>7</sup> *Foaia Diecezană*, year X, Caransebeș, 23 April (5 May) 1895, no. 17, p. 8.

<sup>8</sup> *Idem*, year X, Caransebeș, 8/20 October 1895, no. 41, p. 6; *Idem*, year XVIII, Caransebeș, 19 October 1903, no. 42, p. 7; *Idem*, year XIX, Caransebeș, 10 October 1904, no. 41, p. 5.

<sup>9</sup> *Biserica și Școala*, year XXIV, Arad, 12/25 March 1900, no. 11, p. 81.

<sup>10</sup> *Idem*, year XXIV, Arad, 5/18 November 1900, no. 45, p. 400.

<sup>11</sup> *Foaia Diecezană*, year XVI, Caransebeș, 21 January 1901, no. 3, p. 6.

<sup>12</sup> *Idem*, year XVI, Caransebeș, 7 October 1901, no. 40, p. 4.

<sup>13</sup> Gabriela Hajdu, *Implicarea Bisericii Ortodoxe Române în susținerea bisericilor și mănăstirilor din comitatul Severin la începutul secolului XX* în *Altarul Banatului*, no. 10-12, October-December 2014, p. 135.

<sup>14</sup> *Foaia Diecezană*, year XVII, Caransebeș, 14 July 1902, no. 28, p. 5.

his pastoral, pedagogical and literary merits, in 1902, Petru Ionescu was awarded the red girdle by the Bishop of Caransebeș, Nicolae Popea.<sup>15</sup>

**The disappointments of his clerical career.** The ecclesiastical career of Petru Ionescu recorded 3 unsuccessful attempts to become a protopresbyter/archpriest. Thus, on 30 December 1899, in the protopresbyterial synod of Belinț (today in Timiș County), elections were held for the appointment of a new archpriest, and Petru Ionescu submitted his candidacy. He obtained the majority of the votes, 51, compared to his opponent, Gherasim Sârb, who won just 13 votes. The two were presented to the Diocesan Consistory of Caransebeș, which had the final say. The consistory preferred Gherasim Sârb, the decisive argument in his favour being the fact that he was already ordained as a priest, unlike Ionescu, but also the fact that he came highly recommended, according to the newspaper *Biserica și Școala*, by the Bishop of Caransebeș, Nicolae Popea.<sup>16</sup> In 1901, he ran again for the post of Archpriest of Vrșac, his opponents being Petru Barbu (a graduate of theology from Chernivtsi) and David Terfăloagă. The results of the ballot at the protopresbyterial synod of Vrșac meant that Petru Ionescu was the winner (45 votes), while his competitors had obtained much fewer votes (Petru Barbu 8 votes and David Terfăloagă 7 votes). However, the decision of the Diocesan Consistory of Caransebeș was, once again, not favourable to him, because the high ecclesiastical body appointed David Terfăloagă, a parish priest from Reșița, as Archpriest of Vrșac.<sup>17</sup> In 1904, Petru Ionescu tried once again to become Archpriest of Vrșac, but suffered a further setback, being defeated in the elections by his opponent, Traian Oprea. In the protopresbyterial synod held on 20 September / 3 October 1904, Ionescu accumulated 20 votes, and Oprea 28.<sup>18</sup>

**The reorientation towards a secular career.** After unsuccessful attempts to become an archpriest, Petru Ionescu distanced himself from the clerical world, focusing on a secular career and obtaining remarkable results. At first, he was involved in political life, more precisely, in the election campaign of 1906, when he participated in an assembly held in Sacu for supporting the candidate of the Romanian National Party for the Hungarian Parliament, Ștefan Petroviciu, who was running for the electoral circle Zorlențu Mare.<sup>19</sup>

In 1907, Petru Ionescu was appointed to a position in the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Instruction in Budapest, and before long, he went up in the hierarchy, becoming ministerial secretary, with effect as of 1 January

<sup>15</sup> *Idem*, year XVII, Caransebeș, 16 June 1902, no. 24, p. 5; *Telegraful Român*, no. 68, Sibiu, 20 June (3 July) 1902, year L, p. 274.

<sup>16</sup> *Foaia Diecezană*, year XVII, Caransebeș, 14 July 1902, no. 28, p. 5.

<sup>17</sup> *Telegraful Român*, no. 134, Sibiu, 1/14 December 1901, year XLIX, p. 545; Vasile Petrica, *Institutul Teologic Diecezan Ortodox Român din Caransebeș (1865-1927). Contribuții istorice*, Caransebeș, Editura Episcopiei Caransebeșului, 2005, pp. 154-155.

<sup>18</sup> *Telegraful Român*, no. 104, Sibiu, 28 September (11 October) 1904, year LII, p. 418.

<sup>19</sup> Ioan Tomole, *Românii din Banat în luptele național-electorale de la începutul secolului al XX-lea*, Baia Mare, Editura Gutinul, 2000, p. 85.

1909.<sup>20</sup> In the Hungarian executive, Petru Ionescu distinguished himself through an outstanding activity, and in 1913 he was advanced by Emperor Franz Joseph to the position of departmental councillor in the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Instruction in Budapest.<sup>21</sup>

In clerical terms, on 11 April 1911 Ionescu was consecrated as a priest by the Bishop of Caransebeș, Miron Cristea.<sup>22</sup>

Although he acquired access to a significant governmental position, Ionescu remained close to his town of Caransebeș, as well as to the education system. Thus, in the spring of 1909 he donated 5 Kroner to the Society of Music Chanting in Caransebeș.<sup>23</sup> As ministerial secretary in 1914, together with consistorial assessor Matei Voileanu, Petru Ionescu chaired the maturity exam at the Romanian Orthodox Gymnasium in Brașov, one of the most important mid-tier Romanian educational institutions in Transylvania.<sup>24</sup> He found himself in an identical situation in 1915.<sup>25</sup> In the same quality, but together with consistorial assessor George Proca, Ionescu chaired (as the representative of the Hungarian government) the pedagogical qualification examination at the Andreian Seminar in Sibiu, held on 12-20 June 1914.<sup>26</sup> He chaired that examination once again, in 1915 (16-19 June).<sup>27</sup>

During World War I, Ionescu kept his post in the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Instruction in Budapest and, at the same time, he enjoyed a high prestige within the Romanian community. Thus, in 1916 he was elected deputy in the National Church Congress held in Sibiu, representing the circle of Oravița.<sup>28</sup> At the end of May that same year, he represented the institution at the pedagogical qualification examination from the Andreian Seminar in Sibiu, with consistorial assessor George Proca, the envoy of the Archdiocesan Consistory.<sup>29</sup>

Ionescu was present in Oradea (16/29 October 1916), where the ordination and installation of Bishop Vasile Mangra took place.<sup>30</sup> In 1917, Ionescu was decorated by the Austro-Hungarian Emperor Carol I with the Order of the Iron Crown, class III.<sup>31</sup> In the same year, Petru Ionescu was mentioned as leader of the editorial committee of the publication *Revista Preoților*, which began to be republished in Timișoara, on 1 November 1917.<sup>32</sup> In the year of the Great Union, on

<sup>20</sup> *Telegraful Român*, no. 18, Sibiu, 17 February (2 March) 1907, year LV, p. 75; *Idem*, no. 122, Sibiu, 8/21 November 1907, year LV, p. 499; *Idem*, no. 140-141, Sibiu, 23 December 1908 (5 January 1909), year LVI, p. 581.

<sup>21</sup> *Idem*, year LXI, Sibiu, 16/29 July 1913, no. 74, p. 303.

<sup>22</sup> *Idem*, year LIX, Sibiu, 14/27 April 1911, no. 40, p. 179.

<sup>23</sup> *Foaia Diecezană*, year XXIV, Caransebeș, 12 April 1909, no. 15, p. 6.

<sup>24</sup> *Idem*, year XXIX, Caransebeș, 4 May (17 May) 1914, no. 18, p. 6; *Telegraful Român*, year LXII, Sibiu, 14/27 June 1914, no. 61, p. 251.

<sup>25</sup> *Telegraful Român*, year LXIII, Sibiu, 30 April (13 April) 1915, no. 46, p. 185.

<sup>26</sup> *Idem*, year LXII, Sibiu, 24 June (7 July) 1914, no. 65, p. 267.

<sup>27</sup> *Idem*, year LXIII, Sibiu, 11/24 June 1915, no. 61, p. 245.

<sup>28</sup> *Idem*, year LXIV, Sibiu, 29 March (11 April) 1916, no. 34, p. 135.

<sup>29</sup> *Idem*, year LXIV, Sibiu, 14/27 May 1916, no. 50, p. 203.

<sup>30</sup> *Biserica și Școala*, year XL, Arad, 6/19 November 1916, no. 44-45, p. 319.

<sup>31</sup> *Telegraful Român*, year LXV, Sibiu, 29 April (12 May) 1917, no. 31, p. 125.

<sup>32</sup> *Idem*, year LXV, Sibiu, 28 October (10 November) 1917, no. 89, p. 357.

19 June, Petru Ionescu represented again the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Instruction from Budapest at the maturity examination held at the Gymnasium in Braşov.<sup>33</sup> Unfortunately, in the current stage of research, we do not know the role he played or whether Petru Ionescu had any role in the events that led to the accomplishment of the Great Union.

**Petru Ionescu's activity during the interwar period.** After 1918, Petru Ionescu carried out his activity in Greater Romania, being an employee of the Romanian government. In 1920, he was mentioned as a subdirector of the education system for foreign religious denominations.<sup>34</sup> In 1923, King Ferdinand I presented him with the Medal "Reward for Labour in Support of the Church," class I – a clear sign that Ionescu had placed his work in the service of the Romanian State and the Orthodox Church.<sup>35</sup>

That year, Petru Ionescu joined the diplomacy services and was appointed technical advisor to the Romanian legation in Belgrade (1923-1937), being entrusted with the mission of continuing the talks with the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, regarding the signing of the Romanian-Yugoslav School Convention.<sup>36</sup> In November 1923, the Romanian-Yugoslav talks started in Timișoara. The Romanian side was represented by Petru Ionescu, Cornel Corneanu and Petru Gârboviceanu, while the Serbian side was represented by Jovan Radonić (university professor) and Kosta Hadži (a lawyer from Novi Sad).<sup>37</sup> The talks did not lead to the signing of the convention. A new round of negotiations between the two sides took place in Timișoara on 24 February 1927.<sup>38</sup>

Ionescu represented the Romanian Government on various occasions. Thus, he was the delegate of the Minister of Religious Denominations, Alexandru Lapedatu, at the funeral of the Bishop of Arad, Ioan Ignatie Papp (25 January 1925).<sup>39</sup>

Petru Ionescu had a genuine ecumenical vision. In early 1925, he was elected to the Romanian National Committee of the *Universal Alliance for the Brotherhood of Peoples through the Church*, along with two other former students from Chernivtsi, the priest Gheorghe Ciuhandu and the archimandrite Andrei Magieru.<sup>40</sup>

The peak of Petru Ionescu's career coincided with the 1930s. On 10 March 1933, together with Moise Ienciu, Silviu Dragomir, Cornel Corneanu (all of them graduates of theology in Chernivtsi) and others, Petru Ionescu signed, in Belgrade,

<sup>33</sup> *Idem*, year LXVI, Sibiu, 14/27 June 1918, no. 63, p. 251.

<sup>34</sup> *Foaia Diecezană*, year XXXV, Caransebeș, 16 August (29 August) 1920, no. 34, p. 5.

<sup>35</sup> *Idem*, year XXXVIII, Caransebeș, 26 February (11 March) 1923, no. 9, p. 8.

<sup>36</sup> Gligor Popi, *Românii din Banatul iugoslav între cele două războaie (1918-1941)*, Timișoara, Editura de Vest, 1996, pp. 137-138.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 137.

<sup>38</sup> *Foaia Diecezană*, year XLII, Caransebeș, 13 February 1927, no. 7, p. 7.

<sup>39</sup> *Biserica și Școala*, year XLIX, Arad, 1 February 1925, no. 5, p. 2; *Telegraful Român*, year LXXIII, Sibiu, 28 January 1925, no. 8, p. 3.

<sup>40</sup> *Foaia Diecezană*, year XL, Caransebeș, 8 February 1925, no. 6, p. 5; *Telegraful Român*, year LXXIII, Sibiu, 18 February 1925, no. 13, p. 2.

the Romanian-Yugoslav School Convention,<sup>41</sup> which aimed to regulate the educational situation of the Romanians from Yugoslav Banat and of the Serbs from Romania. After the signing of this document, Ionescu remained in Belgrade with the mission of implementing this bilateral agreement. In 1935, Ionescu noted in a document that the provisions of the convention were not applied to the letter in Yugoslav Banat. Thus, Ionescu said that although Romanian teachers had been assigned to various primary schools, these were not recognized as independent Romanian schools and that the directors were Serbs.<sup>42</sup> Very soon, because of the poor application of the Convention in the Serbian Banat, Petru Ionescu entered into a strong conflict with the deputy representing the Romanians in the Parliament in Belgrade, Alexandru Butoarcă, who was also chairman of the Romanian Central Committee in Yugoslavia. Ionescu was accused of involvement in the internal politics of the Romanians in the Serbian Banat, of insult, backbiting and discord.<sup>43</sup> The Romanian MP made great efforts for removing Ionescu from the Romanian delegation to Belgrade. On the other hand, in 1936, Petru Ionescu obtained a notable success: the opening, next to the preparandia (teacher-training school) and the high school in Vršac, of a section in Romanian. Moreover, as a result of his endeavours, a boarding school for boys was set up.<sup>44</sup> Ionescu became a person of interest to the Serbian authorities, in the context in which the reports sent by the prime-praetors from Petrovgrad, Pančevo, Alibunar, Kovin Vršac and Bela Crkva in 1936 indicated an intensification of the national activity of the Romanians in the Serbian Banat. According to the Serbian officials, this action was coordinated by Petru Ionescu.<sup>45</sup> Being attacked both by the Romanian intellectuals in the Serbian Banat and by the local authorities, Petru Ionescu was removed from the position of technical advisor to the Romanian legation in Belgrade in 1937.<sup>46</sup> In the period in which he worked at the Romanian embassy, Petru Ionescu handled the payment to the Romanian students in Yugoslav Banat of the scholarships they had been granted by the government in Bucharest.<sup>47</sup> In our opinion, the activity of Petru Ionescu at the Romanian legation in Belgrade was outstanding and he always served the interests of the Romanians in Yugoslavia. He fell victim to the conflict for power and influence in the community of the Romanians from the Serbian Banat.

Petru Ionescu also carried out cultural projects. From very early on, much like many of the theology graduates from Chernivtsi, he was a member of the ASTRA Association. Thus, on 9-11 September 1900, he participated in the General Assembly from Băile Herculane, where he served as a member of the commission for the study of the draft regulation for the establishment of the scientific and literary sections.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Gligor Popi, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 153.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 121, 123, 155.

<sup>44</sup> *Foaia Diecezană*, year LI, Caransebeș, 23 August 1936, no. 34, pp. 2-3.

<sup>45</sup> Gligor Popi, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 164.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 170.

<sup>48</sup> *Telegraful Român*, no. 101, Sibiu, 9/22 September 1900, year XLVIII, p. 416; Liviu Groza, *Caransebeșul și Marea Unire*, Lugoj, Editura Dacia Europa Nova, 2003, p. 33.

Like other personalities of that time, Petru Ionescu also had a career in banking. Even before World War I, he was attested as a member in the management of the *Sebeșana Deposit House* from Caransebeș (1905).<sup>49</sup> It is possible that his involvement with this institution dated from before the above-mentioned year. He kept his position in that banking institution during the interwar period, when he was a member of the board of directors.<sup>50</sup>

After the end of his diplomatic mission in Belgrade, Petru Ionescu returned to Romania. Towards the end of his life he suffered from diabetes, a sickness that caused his demise, in Bucharest, on 17 February 1938. According to his last will and testament, he was brought to and buried in Lugoj (20 February 1938).<sup>51</sup> He had been married to Letitia Tempea, daughter of the priest-teacher Iosif Tempea from Lugoj.<sup>52</sup>

**Final considerations.** Petru Ionescu was one of the important personalities of Banat on the cusp between the 19th and the 20th centuries. He had a thorough academic training, acquired in the German-speaking cultural environment (Eisenach, Jena, Geneva, and Chernivtsi). Although initially he wanted an ecclesiastical career, his attempts to become an archpriest failed, which is why he reoriented himself towards a secular career. At first, he was a clerk in the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Instruction in Budapest. During the interwar period, he became a member of the Romanian Government, as well as an illustrious diplomat.

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<sup>49</sup> *Foaia Diecezană*, year XX, Caransebeș, 20 February 1905, no. 8, p. 6.

<sup>50</sup> *Idem*, year XXXVII, Caransebeș, 6 March (19 March) 1922, no. 10, p. 9.

<sup>51</sup> *Idem*, year LIII, Caransebeș, 27 February 1938, no. 9, p. 8; *Telegraful Român*, year LXXXVI, Sibiu, 27 February 1938, no. 9, p. 4.

<sup>52</sup> *Foaia Diecezană*, year X, Caransebeș, 29 October (10 November) 1895, no. 44, p. 7.



## ROMANIA'S INVOLVEMENT IN BALKAN POLICY DURING THE GREAT WAR. THE ITALIAN ARMY IN THE PINDUS MOUNTAINS

**ABSTRACT:**In the mid-nineteenth century, the young Romanian state becomes more and more interested in the existing Aromanian communities within the Ottoman Empire which they considered part of its Romanian spirit. Through church and school, the authorities in Bucharest were trying to preserve the ethno-cultural identity of these Romanian of the south of the Danube, subject to an assimilation process specific to modern times. Nationalism promoted by political power in an expansionist purpose, led to disputes between the Bulgarian, Greek, Serbian or Romanian people, transforming the Balkans into a field of ethnic conflicts. In the context of the Great War, these divergent nationalist formulas, increased by the Italian military intervention in the area, will develop into an internal struggle during the summer of 1917. Many villages from the Pindus Mountains will try to proclaimate a sort of territorial autonomy, an attempt which will be soon crushed by the Greek royal army. Interested in protecting Aromanian communities from the area, the Romanian Kingdom has tried to stabilize the situation using a soft diplomacy in the region.

**Keywords:** Balkans, Romanian foreign policy, Aromanians, Epirus, Italian army, Pindus Mountains.

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In the mid-19th century, the young Romanian State became ever more interested in the communities of Aromanians from the Ottoman Empire, considered to be part of the pool of Romanianness in the Balkans. Through the church and the school institutions, the authorities in Bucharest attempted to preserve the ethnocultural identity of these “Romanians from the south of the Danube,” who were subject to a process of assimilation, characteristic of modern times. At the beginning of the 20th century, the nationalism promoted by the political power holders, the expansionist projects, the influence of the Great Powers, which were interested in the area, transformed the Balkans into a field of ethnic conflicts.

Romania, the only state that did not have a common border with the Ottoman Empire, proposed a policy of intervention in the region, which was aimed at the protection and the cultural and spiritual preservation of the Aromanian communities, known at the time as Macedo-Romanians. During the reign of Carol I the interest of the Romanian Kingdom in the Balkan Romanity witnessed its peak. There are historical interpretations arguing that the attention the Romanian authorities granted the Aromanian populations had been strategically directed and encouraged by Austria-Hungary, which was keen to redirect the Romanian foreign policy and public opinion away from the increasingly uncomfortable Transylvanian “irredenta” and towards the much farther and utopian horizon, in the view of some, of Balkan

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Romanianism.<sup>2</sup> Others explained Romania's intervention through the territorial advantages it would have benefited from thanks to its involvement (Silistra), while yet others noted that the young kingdom north of Danube wanted to dominate the Balkans by capitalising on the Aromanian issue.<sup>3</sup> Even if this assumption is justified as regards a section of the political elite in Bucharest, there prevailed a disinterested perspective at this political level which sought to ensure, at the height of a romantic age, the cultural-national renaissance of the "brothers south of the Danube." The Romanian cultural effort in the Balkans was eventually initiated by a number of personalities of Aromanian origin, who had immigrated to the space north of the Danube and who had managed, in the course of time, to hold key positions both in the state apparatus (Anastasiu Panu, Alexandru Diamandi, Eugeniu Carada, Tache Ionescu, Gheorghe Manu) and in the cultural and economic life (Ioan Kalinderu, Ioan Caragiani, Dimitrie Cozacovici, Menelau Ghermani, Pericle Papahagi). When, in 1880, the Macedo-Romanian Cultural Society was set up as the ultimate representative authority for the Aromanian aspirations before the Romanian State and the national and European public opinion, the national movement south of the Danube began to coagulate and to issue, in ever more articulate manner, its desiderata of a particularly cultural-religious nature, weakening, in effect, the philhellene position of many Aromanians in Romania and in the Balkans. On this occasion, two divergent discourses – Romanian and Greek – were born within the same Macedo-Romanian community, regarding the issue of the South-Danubian Vlachs. It was the first time the Balkan Aromanian entity had found an alternative to the Hellenising process that had already been underway for centuries. The Romanian State did nothing more than provide a number of tools and means of opposition that, in the beginning, would cause a backlash among the rural Aromanian population, less affected by Hellenisation, which had caused major changes in their mindset and in the perception of their own Romance identity throughout history, profoundly changing the texture of their Greek national conscience, which had already developed sufficiently deep roots. However, there still existed an ethnic consciousness of the otherness of the Greek element, which was nonetheless blurred given its extraordinary ability to assimilate the Aromanian elite, a process that was beginning to climb down to the foundations of the social pyramid. Just when the Hellenising assimilationist process, fuelled along the confessional channel and reinforced by modern educational means, was about to level, once and for all, the ethnic composition of Northern Greece, Romania intervened with its "disturbing" action in the territory. After the proclamation of the kingdom, the Romanian cultural action south of the Danube increased in intensity year by year, through the opening of new schools in the localities inhabited by Aromanians. There were also recorded a series of diplomatic attempts for the recognition of an autonomous episcopate in the Ottoman area. Romania, which had joined the Triple Alliance after 1883, focused its

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<sup>2</sup> Teodor Pavel, *Mișcarea românilor pentru unitate națională și diplomația Puterilor Centrale*, Facla, Timișoara, 1982, p. 210.

<sup>3</sup> Nicolae Ciachir, *Istoria popoarelor din Sud-Estul Europei în Epoca Modernă (1789-1923)*, Cetatea de Scaun, Târgoviște, 2011, p. 226.

diplomatic efforts mainly towards preserving and protecting “the Macedonian Romanians,” managing, in 1905, to obtain their official recognition as a nation (millet) within the Ottoman State. The irade regulating the new state of affairs was the result of the intense diplomatic pressures the Bucharest officials placed on the Great Powers, especially on Russia and Germany.<sup>4</sup>

Nonetheless, the question of accepting an autonomous Aromanian bishopric in the Ottoman area remained unsolved, a request that clashed against the unyielding opposition of the Ecumenical Patriarchate from Constantinople.

The establishment of the three Romanian consulates in Thessaloniki, Bitolia and Ioannina, on the territories inhabited by Aromanians, with the purpose of organizing the school and church networks, was yet another illustration of the Romanian political interest in question. Amid this involvement of Romania in the Balkans, there appeared a series of conflicts with the Greek State, which went as far as to the severance of diplomatic relations between 1905 and 1911, as well as with the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople, which, on many occasions, had proven an efficient instrument of the Athenian diplomacy in the area. The campaign of the paramilitaries (the so called „antarts”) backed by Athens against the Aromanian leaders in Macedonia inflamed the Bucharest diplomacy so much that after the issuance of the 1905 irade, there was a new rupture of diplomatic relations in the Balkans, causing a war with the Ottoman Empire and imposing major strains on the situation from Macedonia and Epirus, the latter representing yet another region that it claimed in full, without a numerical representation of the Greek element there.<sup>5</sup>

National Revival in the Balkans also meant involving a part of the Orthodox clergy in political and ideological projects of the circles of influence that will later form the ground of new entities in the state. Nationalism promoted by political power in an expansionist purpose, led to disputes between the Bulgarian, Greek, Serbian or Romanian Orthodox people, transforming the church into a field of ethnic conflicts<sup>6</sup>.

Immediately after the deployment of the Ottoman Empire, the Greek state was to recover territories in which culture and education were invested and put into operation the mirage of Hellenization. The non-Greeks (Orthodox populations speaking vernacular languages other than Greek, but using Greek in economical activities) became favorite targets of these campaigns<sup>7</sup>.

In his diplomatic reports to the Greek minister of external affairs, Ion Dragoumis, diplomat and strategist of the Greek propaganda campaign, suggests that the first concern of Athens’ foreign politics in the claimed regions (which belonged to the Ottoman Empire before 1913) had to be the Hellenization of speakers of other languages than the Greek, through the dissemination of the Greek language and by

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<sup>4</sup> Teodor Pavel, *Românii și rivalitatea germano-rusă*, Presa Universitară Clujeană, Cluj Napoca, 2000, passim.

<sup>5</sup> Peyfuss Max Demeter, *Chestiunea Aromână*, Editura Enciclopedică, București, 1994, passim.

<sup>6</sup> A rigorous demonstration of the reaction of the Orthodox Church in the Balkans as opposed to the wave of nationalisms of the 19th century is offered by Cotan Claudiu, *Ortodoxia și mișcările de emancipare națională din sud-estul Europei în secolul al XIX-lea*, Editura Bizantină, București, 2009.

<sup>7</sup> Trifon Nicolas, *Aromânii, pretutindeni, nicăieri*, Cartier, Chișinău, 2012, p. 245.

transmitting within them a Greek conscience. This task was given to traditional agents of the Greek propaganda: teachers, school inspectors, priests, armed groups / paramilitary troops, trustworthy people initiated in the secret organization Άμυνα (the Defense), chosen from influential and respected figures in different settlements; all these factors were going to be placed under the general command and leadership of the Greek consulates in the region.<sup>8</sup> Statistical data regarding ethnicity, which were unfavorable for Athens, were going to be “cleverly” falsified, as there was nothing forcing the Greek to be truthful with foreigners, especially regarding matters of national importance. Quite the opposite, the Greek official considered that Europe's democratic sensibilities had to be manipulated, by presenting to the Western public opinion falsified ethnical maps and statistics, over-estimations of the Greek speaking population, etc.<sup>9</sup> In Dragoumiss's mind, the religious affiliation of the Macedonian population, more precisely the Greek-Orthodox faith of speakers of Slavic, Vlahian (n. n. Aromanian) or Albanian, continued to be the supreme proof and the main cultural indicative showing their Greek status / Hellenism.<sup>10</sup>

Early twentieth century brought about an enhancement of anti-Aromanian feeling among some priests and bishops belonging to the Ecumenical Patriarchate. If the mid-nineteenth century introduction of Romanian language in worship found understanding from the hierarchy (the case Ghenadios Metropolitan of Grebeni who thanked the Ministry of Education in Bucharest for their efforts to ‘cultural advancement’ of an Aromanian majority in his area<sup>11</sup> as the Romanian state's intervention in the area became more consistent, the reaction of the ecclesiastical authorities would also change too, under political pressure<sup>12</sup>. In 1893 steps are being taken to establish an Aromanian episcopacy. In this respect, several petitions were submitted by the Aromanian to the Ecumenical Patriarchate demanding the introduction of Romanian language in church ceremonial, matter successively denied by upper and lower clergy throughout Macedonia<sup>13</sup>. Although in January 20<sup>th</sup>, 1914, The Holy Synod of the Romanian Orthodox Church under the leadership of Metropolitan Primate Konon Arămbescu decides setting up the *Episcopate of the Upper Danube and Macedonia* with the attribution of supervising and leading the churches and schools of all Romanians Orthodox all over the Danube<sup>14</sup>, idea that will never be put into practice, due to the outbreak of war. The violent death of Archimandrite

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<sup>8</sup> Michalis Kaliakatsos, *Ion Dragoumis and “Machiavelli”: Armed struggle, Propaganda, and Hellenization in Macedonia and Thrace (1903–1908)* in *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, Volume 31, Tom 1, Mai 2013, p. 64.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 67.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 63.

<sup>11</sup> Papacostea Victor, Regleanu M., *Documentele redeșteptării macedoromâne*, Predania, București, 2012, p. 46-50.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibidem*, 119.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibidem*, 214-216.

<sup>14</sup> The Archives of Romanian Foreign Ministry (A. R. F. M.), Fund 71 B, vol. 29, 16.

Haralambos Balamace<sup>15</sup>, the person concerned to fill a Romanian bishop's chair in the Balkans will indefinitely postpone finding a consensual solution to this dispute within the Orthodox Church. Appropriate time is missed in the interwar period when there were also made some attempts, but in the new international context they could not be carried out successfully.

During the Balkan Wars, Romania tried to avoid - even though the international situation would have allowed otherwise - the score of an annexationist actor, preferring to leave the fate of the Aromanian communities to the provisions of some treaties signed with Greece. One of the solutions envisaged by Bucharest even during the London Conference was the incorporation of the land massively populated by Aromanians, the Pindus mountains, between the borders of the newly formed Albanian State, the Romanian-Albanian cooperation having been well-rooted.<sup>16</sup> The Peace Treaty from Bucharest signed in August 1913 divides the Aromanian communities between the Ottoman Empire's successor states, which would determine negative implications both economic and especially cultural-identity ones.

Greek historian Dimitris Michalopoulos considers that official Romanian-Greek documents signed after the Balkan wars referred to school and ecclesiastic rights of Aromanian communities: "they have been overlooked by the Greek party almost immediately after signing them."<sup>17</sup> The above statement confirms, in diplomatic language, a state of facts, meaning a violation from the Greek side of the Treaty in Bucharest.

The outburst of World War I finds the Aromanian communities in a permanent search of an ally, in close geographical proximity, who could provide guarantees of security and respect of their rights as a minority. The Albanian state, seen as a protecting option for Aromanians facing the Hellenization pressure, proved its inability to resist, from an administrative-political point of view. The reign of Prince Wilhelm of Wied ends up in bankruptcy and the Albanian state, as imagined through the decisions of the London Conference<sup>18</sup> and the provisions of the Florence Protocol<sup>19</sup>, fell prey to external interests.

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<sup>15</sup> Haralambos Balamaci is assassinated by March 1914, by a band of Greek antarts, immediately arrested for crime, but which later evade and reside in Greece, for the rest of their lives, never having served the penalties in question.

<sup>16</sup> Nicolae Șerban Tanașoca, *Idealism și realism în „Chestiune Aromânească”*. Un episod diplomatic din viața lui George Murnu în lumina corespondenței sale inedite (1913) in Anca Tanașoca and Nicolae Șerban Tanașoca, *Unitate romanică și diversitate balcanică. Contribuții la istoria romanității balcanice*, Fundația Pro, București, 2004, p. 233-254.

<sup>17</sup> Dimitris Michalopoulos, *Aromanians and Tsakonians: similarities and differences* in *The Politics of Culture, Perspectives of stateless nationalities ethnic groups*, Ewa Nowicka (coord.), Varșovia, Warsaw University Press, 2012, p. 67.

<sup>18</sup> Richard C. Hall, *The Balkan Wars 1912-1913. Prelude to the First World War*, Routledge, 2000, p. 72-74

<sup>19</sup> Edith Pierpont Stickney, *Southern Albania or Northern Epirus in European International Affairs, 1912-1913*, Stanford University Press, 1926, p. 40.

One month after Prince of Wied's departure in September 1914<sup>20</sup>, Essad Paşa<sup>21</sup> returns to Durazzo, forming a so-called government of Central Albania, with the support of Serbia, providing financial support, but also the necessary military equipment<sup>22</sup>. Before Essad's return to Durazzo, Greece was the first to officially violate Albania's independence at the beginning of October 1914, occupying North Epir with its army, controlled up to that time by zoographians<sup>23</sup>; almost at the same time, Italy occupies the island of Saseno, and in December, Valona and the surrounding regions<sup>24</sup>. On October 31<sup>st</sup>, the Greek army enters Korcea, thus ending the existence of the so-called Autonomous Epir, which had been functioning from March 2<sup>nd</sup> to October 31<sup>st</sup> 1914, a period of time of exactly 244 days<sup>25</sup>. Even though, officially, Venizelos declared that the Greek Kingdom only temporarily occupied Vorio (Northern) Epir, for security reasons, the new Greek government officially declares in 1915 that they are totally incorporating that region, and even parliamentary elections are held, and Northern Epir sent MPs in the Greek Chamber<sup>26</sup>. At the beginning of 1915, Serbia and Montenegro invade the Northern and Center part of Albania, even though Antanta protests against the actions of the governments in Nish and Cetinje, that they shouldn't waste their resources and use them in the war against the Central Powers<sup>27</sup>.

At the end of 1915 and beginning of 1916, the German-Austrian-Bulgarian military offensive determines the retreat of Serbia and Montenegro from Albania. The defeated Serbians retreat towards the Adriatic Sea, and with them, Essad Paşa retreats to Rome. Austria-Hungary occupies the North and Center part of Albania<sup>28</sup>. During the summer of 1916, Italian expeditionary forces continue their march to the South, and gradually chase away the troops of king Constantin from the South of Albania, process which ended in December 1916<sup>29</sup>. The South-Eastern part of Albania, the Korcea region, also fell under the control of Greece, and was occupied by the French starting with December 10<sup>th</sup> 1916. It was then proclaimed Republic of Koritsa under a

<sup>20</sup> Basil Kondis, *The Northern Epirus question during the First World War* in *Balkan Studies*, Volume 30, Number Two, Salonik, 1989, p. 333.

<sup>21</sup> Important figure, close to the interests of Serbia and Greece, alike, to control and weaken the new Albanian state for their own interest, both territorially and politically, according to the facts and situations described by Dusan Batakovic, *Serbian Government and Essad Pasha Toptani in Serbs and the Albanians in the 20th century*, Academic Conferences, vol. LXI, The Department of historical sciences no. 20, Editor Andrej Mitrovic, Belgrad, 1991, p. 58-78.

<sup>22</sup> Constantine Chekrezi, *Albania Past and Present*, The MacMillan Company, New York, 1919, p. 156.

<sup>23</sup> Partisans of the selfproclaimed Republic of North Epir, led by Gheorghios Zoografos, priorly and later minister of external affairs in Greece.

<sup>24</sup> Stefanaq Pollo şi Arben Puto, *The History of Albania from its origin to the present day*, Routledge, London, 1981, p. 164.

<sup>25</sup> B. Papadakis, *Histoire diplomatique de la question Nord – Epirote (1912-1957)*, Imprimerie J. Alevropoulos, 1958, p.45.

<sup>26</sup> Louis Sigalos, *The Greek Claims on Northern Epirus*, Argonaut Inc., Chicago, 1963, p. 39.

<sup>27</sup> Constantine Chekrezi, *Albania Past and Present...* p. 158.

<sup>28</sup> N. Petsalis Diomidis, *Greece at the Paris Peace Conference(1919)*, Institut for Balkan Studies, Salonic, 1978, p. 42.

<sup>29</sup> Constantine Chekrezi, *Albania Past and Present...*, p. 159.

French protectorate<sup>30</sup>. Through these simultaneous advancements of French-Italian troops, they managed to close the channels of communication between Austrian-German troops in Albania and the Austrian-German friendly troops in Greece. These channels were the means through which great amounts of money got to Greece, which was used to buy a good part of the Greek media, in order to sustain the propaganda regarding the filo German political option<sup>31</sup>.

The advancements of the Italian army in the Southern part of Albania and its foreseen advancement in the Pind region determined the plenipotentiary Romanian minister in Athens, Nicolae Filodor, on March 13<sup>th</sup> 1917, to make a request to the Romanian minister of external affairs to intervene with the Italian government. The Romanian diplomacy was interested in obtaining, from the Italian ally, protection and support for the Aromanian population in the Pind region, which was at that time suffering major food supply problems. Minister Filodor confesses to have already intervened with the Italian minister in Athens regarding the above-mentioned issue<sup>32</sup>.

The Romanian consul from Ianina, Dimitrie Mincu, was preoccupied with the fate of Aromanian communities in the area affected by the Antanta blockade over the Greek coastline, which had been going on for more than six months. On May 5<sup>th</sup> 1917, he was reporting to his superiors in Iasi that all around Epir, there is a total lack of basic food supplies, such as wheat, the extremely high prices have led to starvation, which is starting to become general. His decisive interventions during previous months with the Italian consul in Ianina, Domenico Nuvolari, showed concrete results. A series of concessions were made for the Aromanian settlements in Epir, by the Italian administration in the region. They were saved from starvation<sup>33</sup> by facilitating the supply of grains from Konița, Arghirocastro and Santi Quaranta, at very low prices. Consul Mincu also tried to sensibilibize certain Italian officials by bringing out the importance of the Aromanian element in the Pindu region and requesting a military advancement which would comprise of several Aromanian settlements in Epir. Ther spectrum of forming an extremely compact cantoon inhabited by Aromanians under Italian protection, where education in schools would only be conducted in the mother tongue of the local population, as in the case of the model adopted by Albania in regions already under Italian administration, raised the interest of Aromanians for such desideratum<sup>34</sup>. When he was analysing the situation in the field, D. Mincu, Romania's consul at Ianina, during World War I, considered that "Aromanians prefer to live together with the Albanians, may them be Christians of Muslims, and do not wish to be integrated in the Greek state, which has never had any other goal than to de-nationalize them. Truly, the Greek neglect in their own country a lot of villages and communes, making sacrifices in order to create schools and Greek churches for the Romanian and Albanian villages and towns in Macedonia, Epir and Albania. They do this not out of love for Romanians, to educate

<sup>30</sup> Basil Kondis, *The Northern Epirus question during the First World War in Balkan Studies...*, p. 348.

<sup>31</sup> A. R. F. M., FUND 71/1914, E.2, vol. 81, 15.

<sup>32</sup> A. R. F. M., FUND 71/1914, E2, II, vol. 25, 273.

<sup>33</sup> A. R. F. M., FUND 71/1914, E.2, vol. 81, 23-24.

<sup>34</sup> A. R. F. M., FUND 71/1914, E.2, vol. 19, 33.

them, but only to Hellenize them, making them feel, think, aspire, work and speak Greek and in a Greek way. Only behaving like this does Greece think it can pretend to be on Europe's side with more success, and obtain the annexation of Epir to the Greek state"<sup>35</sup>.

The Romanian consul from Ianina, Dimitrie Mincu, was preoccupied with the fate of Aromanian communities in the area affected by the Antanta blockade over the Greek coastline, which had been going on for more than six months. On May 5<sup>th</sup> 1917, he was reporting to his superiors in Iasi that all around Epir, there is a total lack of basic food supplies, such as wheat, the extremely high prices have led to starvation, which is starting to become general. His decisive interventions during previous months with the Italian consul in Ianina, Domenico Nuvolari, showed concrete results. A series of concessions were made for the Aromanian settlements in Epir, by the Italian administration in the region. They were saved from starvation<sup>36</sup> by facilitating the supply of grains from Konița, Arghirocastro and Santi Quaranta, at very low prices. Consul Mincu also tried to sensibelize certain Italian officials by bringing out the importance of the Aromanian element in the Pindu region and requesting a military advancement which would comprise of several Aromanian settlements in Epir. Ther spectrum of forming an extremely compact cantoon inhabited by Aromanians under Italian protection, where education in schools would only be conducted in the mother tongue of the local population, as in the case of the model adopted by Albania in regions already under Italian administration, raised the interest of Aromanians for such desideratum.<sup>37</sup>

During the First World War in the context of the internal fighting in Greece between the Venizelists and Royalists, as well as due to strategic reasons, the Italian army, already found on Albanian ground<sup>38</sup> for some time, decides to occupy Chameria (the coastal region), as well as Zagori-Pindus, upon the order issued on May 30, 1917 by the Chief of Staff of the Italian Army, General Cadorna.<sup>39</sup> In the first few days of June, the Italians occupy the city of Ioannina by surprise, afterwards sending light cavalry to occupy their area of influence Mezzova-Amer-Turia-Kyprios, at the old Greek-Turkish border from 1912.<sup>40</sup> In July, the Italian troops clear the Pindus area, being welcomed with quite a lot of sympathy by the Aromanians. In Băiasa or Perivole, for instance, special welcoming preparations were made with the schools' pupils. The headmaster of the Romanian school from Turia, N.Nibi, noted:

<sup>35</sup> A. R. F. M., FUND 71/1914, E.2, vol. 81, 34.

<sup>36</sup> A. R. F. M., FUND 71/1914, E.2, vol. 81, 23-24.

<sup>37</sup> A. R. F. M., FUND 71/1914, E.2, vol.19, 33.

<sup>38</sup> For the Mediterranean state, the Albanian hinterland represented what it considered an easy prey, quite accesible in geographical terms, and the occupation of the Albanian shore would have led Italy to become the queen of the Adriatic Sea.

<sup>39</sup> *I Documenti Diplomatici Italiani*, Ministero Degli Affari Esteri, Quinta Serie: 1914-1918, Volume IX, Libreria dello stat, Roma, 1983, p. 107.

<sup>40</sup> Stoica Lascu, „Evenimentele din lunile iulie-august 1917 în regiunea Munților Pind-încercare de creare a unei statalități a aromânilor. Documente inedite și mărturii. Studiu istoriografic și arhivistic”, în *Revista Română de Studii Eurasiatice*, Anul III, Nr. 1-2/2007, p. 112.



'Since the Italians came, we've tasted some freedom for ourselves'.<sup>41</sup> On this occasion, the leaders of several villages convene a national congress at Samarina on July 27. Samarina was an Aromanian centre, renowned for the resistance movement of Christian origin organised against the Ottoman occupation. A timely opportunity was found here to declare the autonomy of the areas inhabited by Aromanians under the protection of the armies considered friendly, the Italian ones. Shortly after, telegrams are sent to the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of Romania, Italy, USA, Italy, England, France, announcing the new *status quo*. In continuation we present the telegram sent to the Romanian Prime Minister, Ionel Brătianu: 'In this supreme hour, the population of Pindus and Zagori, filled with the joy of having been freed from tyranny through the glorious action of the Italian army, gathers as a single voice to request from the civilised world their rights of freedom, language and their own institutions. [...] By the power of the victorious army of our mother, Italy, the chains that held us under the yoke of the foreigner were broken. The Roman eagle rised again in our mountains, gathering the scattered sons under its fatherly wings.[...] In this supreme hour, we wish you from the bottom of our hearts the defeat of the enemies, the victory of the common cause, the realisation of the national ideal, the greatness and prosperity of the country, and for ourselves we wish that your strong voice rises, so that the allied forces, through firm commitments, can guarantee us the freedom and prosperity of our future among the new Latin nations against the unjust threats of our enemies that want to bring us again in bondage so that they can erase the Romanian name from these mountains'.<sup>42</sup>

Beginning with August, given the situation on the Northern Italian front, as well as the negotiations with the new Greek power of Venizelos who put pressure on the Italian headquarters to be handed over the administration of the areas from the Pindus mountains, the Italian troops fall back. In the resulted power vacuum, the local Aromanian personalities declare the independence of Pindus and proclaim Italy's protectorate over the area on August 29, 1917. At the same time, a decision-making committee of 7 persons - Dr. Demetru Diamandi, Ianaculi Dabura, Mihali Teguiani, Tache Nibi, Zicu Araia, Alcibiade Diamandi and Sterie Caragiani- is created, resembling a quasi-government. This temporary committee sends the following words to the General Commissioner of Ioannina, Francesco Fazzi- 'Against the new Greek occupation threatening us, initiated at Abela through misuse of power and retaliation, the Romanian population of Pindus, rebelling as one man, and before impressive meetings, declared its independence under Italy's protectorate'.<sup>43</sup> The fears of the Samarina committee had been anticipated as early as July 7, 1917, when, after the first days of Italian occupation, Consul Nuvolari sends a telegram from Ioannina to Rome, in which he shows the enthusiastic welcoming of the Italians by the Aromanians and the fact that they would suffer from retaliation from the Greeks if the

<sup>41</sup> A. R. F. M., FUND ATENA, vol. 224, 45.

<sup>42</sup> *Românii de la Sud de Dunăre-Documente*, Coord. Gheorghe Zbucnea, Stelian Brezeanu, Arhivele Naționale ale României, București, 1997, p. 261.

<sup>43</sup> A. R. F. M., FUND ATENA, vol. 224, 42.

area were to be given to the latter, requesting further reassurance.<sup>44</sup> In the same period, the Italian government asks Romania to send persons of Aromanian origin to the occupied area in the support of the anti-Greek propaganda, but the Romanian officials refuse to do so, probably also due to the hard situation on the front.<sup>45</sup> The attitude is adopted with consistency by the Romanian Consul in Ioannina, D. Mincu, no longer solidary with the actions of the Romanians in Pindus, telling Alcibiade Diamandi, one of the leaders, that 'their step was mistaken, inappropriate, as it wasn't approved by anyone and cannot be supported by any party'.<sup>46</sup>

After the retreat of the Italian troops from Southern Epir, the situation of Aromanians involved in the political manifestations in Pind became extremely critical.<sup>47</sup> The Romanian consul in Ianina obtains, with the help of Italian diplomats, formal guarantees from the Greek government that retaliation will not be taken on Aromanians<sup>48</sup>, as Greek authorities would be controlled by Italian diplomatic emissaries which will be sent in the main Aromanian settlements in Pind. Prime-minister Venizelos himself declared that nobody would be harmed<sup>49</sup>. On September 7<sup>th</sup> 1917, venizelian troops entered Samarina. Very soon, Greek authorities took retaliation, disregarding the general truce that had been promised. Given the persecutions, Aromanian refugees could no longer return to their home towns.<sup>50</sup>

However, the situation did not improve, the Aromanian elites being forced to seek refuge in Albania, some of them at the same time as the Italian army which was falling back or at a later date. Alcibiade Diamandi, together with other notable Aromanians from Pind, decide to stay in Arghirocastro (Albania). After a short while, they decide to form an Albanian-Aromanian delegation which could plead, on an international level, the cause of greater autonomy for the regions inhabited by the descendants of the Oriental Roman civilization around the Pind mountains<sup>51</sup>.

The involvement of Italy in the area in 1917 was planned simultaneously with the support that Romania was supposed to give in Northern Greece, which did not occur given that the government of Iasi was paralysed from any action on international level. The failure of the Samarina Republic can be explained through an extremely inappropriate context for supporting this quasi-State in an area where Greece was very interested to maintain its authority, and the naming of Venizelos' pro-Entente government in the same period weakened even more the potential support from the Italian ally. In any case, this project would not be abandoned and in somewhat similar conditions we would see another attempt to form a Stat-like entity in the Pindus area during the Second World War, whose artisan would be Alcibiade Diamandi, leading member of the Samarina committee from 1917. Even

<sup>44</sup> *I Documenti Diplomatici Italiani...* p. 362-363.

<sup>45</sup> T.J. Winniffrith, *The Vlachs-The History of a Balkan People*, Gerald Duckworth & Company Limited, London, 1987, p.145.

<sup>46</sup> A. R. F. M., FUND ATENA, vol. 224, 43.

<sup>47</sup> A. R. F. M., FUND 71/1914, E2, II, vol. 25, 459.

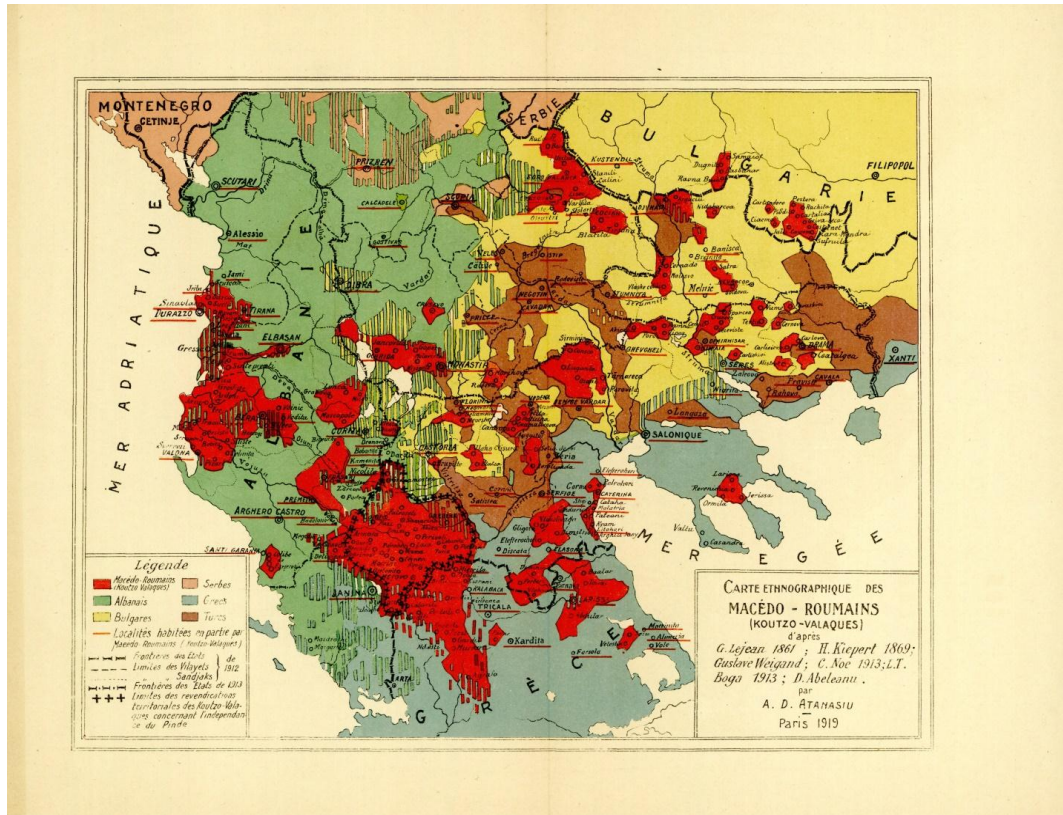
<sup>48</sup> A. R. F. M., FUND, ATENA, vol. 15, 146-147.

<sup>49</sup> A. R. F. M., FUND, ATENA, vol. 224, 33.

<sup>50</sup> A. R. F. M., FUND, 71/1914, E2, II, vol. 25, 464-465.

<sup>51</sup> A. R. F. M., FUND ATENA, vol. 235, 328.

if history does not deal with predictabilities, we can imagine that an Italian involvement in the Balkan area would have meant - as it happened in the case of the Istro-Romanians - a breath of fresh air for the Aromanian communities, putting an end to the centuries-long assimilation process.



MIRCEA-GHEORGHE ABRUDAN<sup>1</sup>

**“RECOLLECTIONS FROM TRANSYLVANIA DURING THOSE  
TEMPESTUOUS DAYS.”  
THE TRANSYLVANIAN FRONT OF WORLD WAR I AS REFLECTED IN  
THE MEMOIRS OF TRANSYLVANIAN SAXONS**

**Abstract:** Romania's entry into World War I opened up a new front to the north and to the east of the Carpathian Mountains, where the Romanian Army was conducting military operations with the purpose of occupying Transylvania. Romania's declaration of war caused panic among Transylvania's Saxon and Hungarian populations, triggering the evacuation of these ethnic communities from the areas into which the Romanian troops were about to advance. This study illustrates the ways in which different Saxon civilians and military in Transylvania experienced those moments of armed confrontations and the “Romanian occupation.” The analysed texts provide details about the daily life of the population behind the front, about the exodus and the refuge of some civilians towards the interior of Hungary, and about the Romanian and German military manoeuvres in Transylvania.

**Keywords:** the Great War, Romanian Army, Transylvanian Saxons, diaries, memoirs

**Preliminaries**

With Romania's entry into World War I<sup>2</sup> and the crossing of the Carpathians by the First and the Second Romanian Armies during the night of 14/27 – 15/28 of August, 1916, the great eastern front of the conflagration was extended from Galicia to the Danube, new battlefields being opened in the intra-Carpathian area, which had been shielded, up to that point, from military operations and from clashes between armed enemy forces.<sup>3</sup> The advancement of the Romanian armies in Transylvania was stopped after three weeks, in mid-September 1916, due to the military disaster of

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<sup>2</sup> The scholarship about the Great War is impressive. It includes collections of diplomatic and military sources, memoirs, interpretations, historiographic reconstructions, historical syntheses, as well as literary and film productions. For a historiographic overview, see Petra Ernst, Sabine A. Haring, Werner Suppanz (ed.), *Aggression und Katharsis. Der Erste Weltkrieg im Diskurs der Moderne*, Wien, Passagen Verlag, 2004; Jay Winter, Antoine Prost, *The Great War in History. Debates and Controversies, 1914 to the Present*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2005. For a presentation of the events, see Jay Winter (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the First World War, Volume I. Global War*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2014; Jay Winter (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the First World War, Volume II. The State*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2014; Jay Winter (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the First World War, Volume III. Civil Society*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2014; Gerhard Hirschfeld, Gerd Krumeich and Irina Renz (eds.), *Enzyklopädie Erster Weltkrieg. Erneut aktualisierte und erweiterte Studienausgabe*, Paderborn, Ferdinand Schöningh, 2014.

<sup>3</sup> On the great eastern front of the war, which covered the territory from the Baltic Sea, in the north, to the Aegean Sea, in the south, see Vejas Gabriel Liulevicius, *War Land on the Eastern Front. Culture, National Identity and German Occupation in World War I*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2000; Norman Stone, *The Eastern Front, 1914–1917*, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1975.

Turtucaia. They had moved cautiously on Transylvanian territory, across distances of 10 to 100 km, and had managed to conquer Toplița, Brașov, Făgăraș and Avrig. However, they had failed to take over Sibiu because of some blunders committed by the Romanian Army's commander.<sup>4</sup> However more than a third of the areas inhabited by the Saxons had been occupied. The Romanians' entry into Transylvania had caused panic among the Saxon and the Hungarian populations. Even if the elite of the Saxons reacted more calmly than the Hungarians, they encouraged the evacuation of their co-nationals from the pathway of the Romanian armies, causing an exodus towards inner Transylvania and Hungary, and inspiring fear in those who were stubborn enough to stay put, who did not wish to abandon their homes and possessions.

On the basis of published and unpublished sources, identified in the Saxon publications of the time and in the Brukenthal Collections of the National Archives, the Sibiu County Branch, I will illustrate, in this study, the manner in which different opinion leaders of the Saxon communities or simple Saxon peasants and soldiers perceived the period of the "Romanian occupation" and that of armed confrontation between the two military camps – Romanian vs. German-Austro-Hungarian – in Transylvania. The texts analysed here provide precious details related to the daily life of the population behind the front lines, the exodus of some civilians from the advancing front, their refuge towards the interior of Hungary, the Romanian and German military manoeuvres in the areas of Sibiu and Făgăraș, as well as the personal experiences of the authors and their families in the whirl of the events.

### **The Transylvanian Saxons and World War I**

The Transylvanian Saxons<sup>5</sup> were a German minority in Austria-Hungary, which amounted to 230,697 souls on the 31<sup>st</sup> of December, 1910, according to their own statistics.<sup>6</sup> They welcomed the war with euphoria, their feeling of loyalty and duty to the sovereign in Vienna being doubled by their awareness of their national roots and their strong confidence in the invincibility of the German Empire, which they considered to be their true "country of origin" (Mutterland) and the foremost among the European states in terms of culture, science, progress and military technique. The mobilization was accompanied by strong sentimental overtones, being supported by the elites, who were hoping for a quick victory of the Central Powers. This can explain the prompt answer to the call to arms that had been launched by Emperor Franz Joseph. The number of enrolled soldiers was considerably enhanced

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<sup>4</sup>On the Kingdom of Romania's participation in the war, see the excellent work of the American historian Glenn E. Torrey, *The Romanian Battlefront in World War I*, Lawrence, Kansas University Press, 2011; on the Transylvanian front from an Austro-Hungarian perspective, see *Österreich-Ungarns letzter Krieg, 1914-1918*, Hrsg. Österreichisches Bundesministerium für Heerwesen; Kriegsarchiv Wien, Band V, Wien, 1934, pp. 223-358.

<sup>5</sup> For an up-to-date history of the Transylvanian Saxons, see Ernst Wagner, *Istoria sașilor ardeleni*, trans. by Maria Ianus, București, Editura Meronia, 2000; Michael Kroner, *Geschichte der Siebenbürger Sachsen, Band I-II.*, Nürnberg, Verlag Haus der Heimat, 2007-2008.

<sup>6</sup> Friedrich Teutsch, *Die Siebenbürger Sachsen in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, Leipzig, Verlag von K. F. Roehler, 1916, p. 350.

by the number of volunteers. There were also donations in money, agricultural products and goods for the war loans.<sup>7</sup> The protraction of military operations, Romania's entry into war and the opening of the Transylvanian Front exerted great psychological impact on these communities, creating a state of insecurity and panic, which triggered the phenomenon of the refuge. There was a massive evacuation of the elites and the masses towards areas that were under lesser threat from the front line.<sup>8</sup> The victory of the Entente, the Anglo-French alliance which had been joined by Italy in 1915, by Romania in 1916 and by the USA in 1917, the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy<sup>9</sup> and the fierce desire of preserving their own identity within the new political framework, which they hoped it would be as favourable as possible, led, in January 1919, to the adoption of the well-known Proclamation of Mediaș, which declared the Saxons' unilateral adhesion to Transylvania's union with Romania.<sup>10</sup>

The pieces of information regarding the Transylvanian Saxons' participation in the war effort of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and the impact of the conflagration on the small German-speaking communities in Transylvania have a general character, the only relevant accounts being offered by Friedrich Teutsch, Bishop of the Saxons, in a few pages of his works about the history of the Transylvanian Saxons and the history of the Evangelical Church A.C. in Transylvania. Teutsch briefly presented the human sacrifices, the requisitions, the social, economic and humanitarian contributions made by the Saxon nation as the war had progressed. He believed that the unexpectedly long duration of the war had been extremely burdensome, the 37,533 soldiers who had been sent to the front representing 16% of the total Saxon population. By the end of the war, a tremendous number of casualties had been registered: of the total of 37,533 men who had enrolled, 10,343 had received military decorations for the courage they had shown on the battlefields, 3,532 had lost their lives in the theatres of war, 1,318 were reported missing, 4,779 were injured, 1,449 returned home invalided, 4,840 were taken prisoner. 1,865 Saxon women became widows of war and 4,346 children were orphaned. According to Bishop Fr. Teutsch, the Transylvanian Saxons' material contribution to the war effort of the Austro-Hungarian state amounted to 3 million Kronen, to which were added the damages incurred during the armed clashes that

<sup>7</sup> Mircea-Gheorghe Abrudan, “Atitudinea conducerii Bisericii Evanghelice din Transilvania față de izbucnirea Primului Război Mondial,” in Rodica Groza (ed.), *Sebeș, timp regăsit. Lucrările Conferinței “100 de ani de la declanșarea Primului Război Mondial. Contribuția sebeșenilor la război și Marea Unire” (5 decembrie 2014)*, Sebeș, Editura Emma Books, 2014, pp. 65-82.

<sup>8</sup> Emil Sigerus (ed.), *Aus der Rumänenzeit. Ein Gedenkbuch an sturmbelegte Tage. Zugunsten der siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Kriegswitwen und -weisen*, Hermannstadt, Druck und Verlag von Joseph Drotleff, 1917.

<sup>9</sup> On the dual monarchy's participation in the war and on its dissolution in the autumn of 1918, see the impressive work of Viennese Professor Manfred Rauchensteiner, *Der Erste Weltkrieg und das Ende der Habsburger-Monarchie 1914-1918*, Wien-Köln-Weimar, Böhlau Verlag, 2013.

<sup>10</sup> On the Saxons' adhesion to Transylvania's Union with Romania and the conference they held in Mediaș, see Vasile Ciobanu, *Contribuții la cunoașterea istoriei sașilor transilvăneni 1918-1944*, Sibiu, Editura Hora, 2001, pp. 29-67; Idem, *Germanii din România în anii 1918-1919*, Sibiu, Editura Honterus, 2013.

took place in Transylvania in the months of August - September 1916, when the battles had caused the evacuation of 30,000-40,000 Saxons from the affected areas.<sup>11</sup> In the city of Braşov and its surroundings alone, the number of those who left the area amounted to 20,000: the vast majority of these were Germans, but also Hungarians. On the 27<sup>th</sup> and 28<sup>th</sup> of August, 1916, no fewer than 29 trains of refugees left the train station of Braşov, heading for the interior of Transylvania.<sup>12</sup>

Like other nations that had been dragged by the leaders of the big European states into the attrition warfare of the trenches, many representatives of the Saxon elite (generals), of the middle-classes (priests, teachers, lawyers, civil servants), who had enlisted on the front but had returned to their homes, or of the peasantry, the petty merchants, the craftsmen and in-keepers, who had taken refuge elsewhere or remained in their native communities, which were now under Romanian “occupation,” wrote down their memories of those events. They produced journals, biographical notes, correspondence, oral histories and memoirs related to their experiences at the time of the conflict. Some of them published their notes during the war or in its aftermath, generating a rich and varied literature<sup>13</sup> which revealed their own thoughts about the ordeals they had directly experienced during those terrible years of armed confrontation, violence, all manner of privations, refuge, epidemics, confessing about the horrors and terrors they had been exposed to – willingly or not – in those difficult moments when their lives hung in the balance, in the immediate presence of death.<sup>14</sup>

### **“Recollections from Transylvania during those tempestuous days”**

The first part of this study’s title and the heading of this chapter paraphrase the titles of the majority of the memoirist texts, brochures and volumes signed by the Transylvanian Saxons and published mostly in Sibiu in 1917. These works relate or recount the events that occurred in the southern and south-eastern areas of

<sup>11</sup> Friedrich Teutsch, *Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche, Band II. 1700-1917*, Hermannstadt, W. Krafft Verlag, 1922, pp. 587-615; Idem, *Die Siebenbürger Sachsen in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, 2. vermehrte Auflage, Hermannstadt, W. Krafft Verlag, 1924, pp. 280-287.

<sup>12</sup> Harald Roth, “Die Rolle der siebenbürgischen Städte im Ersten Weltkrieg,” in Harald Heppner (Hrsg), *Umbruch mit Schlachtenlärm. Siebenbürgen und der Erste Weltkrieg*, Köln-Weimar-Wien, Böhlau Verlag, 2017, p. 151.

<sup>13</sup> For an overview of the memoirs about the Great War written by Transylvanian Saxons, see Mircea-Gheorghe Abrudan, “World War I in the Memories of the Transylvanian Saxons,” in *Transylvanian Review*, Vol. XXV, No. 4, Winter 2016, pp. 48-64; Idem, “Die Memorialistik des Großen Krieges. Eine neue und glaubhafte Quelle der Geschichtsschreibung? Studienfall: Der Erste Weltkrieg widerspiegelt in den rumänischen und siebenbürgisch-sächsischen schriftlichen Erinnerungen aus dem Banat und Siebenbürgen,” in *ASTRA Salvensis*, year II, no. 4, 2014, pp. 72-80; Idem, “Primul Război Mondial reflectat în istoriografia şi memorialistica saşilor ardeleni,” in Ioan Bolovan, Gheorghe Cojocaru, Oana Mihaela Tămaş (eds.), *Primul Război Mondial: Perspectivă istorică şi istoriografică/World War I. A Historical and Historiographical Perspective. Lucrările Conferinţei Internaţionale Primul Război Mondial – perspectivă istorică şi istoriografică, 3-5 iunie 2014, Cluj-Napoca*, Cluj-Napoca, Academia Română, Centrul de Studii Transilvane/Presă Universitară Clujeană, 2015, pp. 75-84.

<sup>14</sup> For a thematic approach to this issue, see Toader Nicoară, “Omul şi moartea în Marele Război. Atitudini şi comportamente,” in *Apostrof*, year XXVIII, no. 2 (321), 2017, pp. 15-19.

Transylvania in the months of August, September and October 1916. One work that stands out among all the others, in terms of its editorial scope, its massive dissemination and popularization among the German-speaking population of Transylvania was edited by the Sibiu-based historian and publicist Emil Sigerus,<sup>15</sup> under the title *From the Time of the Romanians. A Book of Remembrance about Those Tempestuous Days*.<sup>16</sup> Curiously, even though this interesting volume was disseminated only among the Saxons at that time (in 1917 alone, 3 successive editions were published, but they had sold out by early 1918),<sup>17</sup> it is little cited and known about in the scholarship. In fact, after the “Union of Transylvania” with Romania, or the “annexation” (Anschluss) of this province to the Romanian Kingdom, as the Saxons referred to it, Sigerus’s book suffered a veritable *damnatio memoriae*, as Professor Frank M. Schuster has recently pointed out in a comprehensive, pioneering study on the experiences of the Saxons from Cisnădie during the refuge and the Romanian occupation.<sup>18</sup>

The volume edited by Sigerus is a testimony about the way in which 13 influential opinion leaders of the Saxon communities (Lutheran Bishop Friedrich Deutsch, Evangelical ministers, teachers, jurists, writers and the two wives of Evangelical pastors) perceived the period of the “Romanian occupation” or that of armed confrontation between the Romanian and the German-Austro-Hungarian forces in Transylvania. In the first sentence of the foreword, signed by the editor on the 24<sup>th</sup> of November, 1917, Sigerus pointed out that “this book is a volume of memory, of recollections about a terrible period!” Further, Sigerus evoked the terrors, the sorrows, the dangers and the dramatic atmosphere to which the “Saxon people” had been exposed during the months of August and September 1916, when, after two years of war, “its destructive whirlwind burst into our country from the east.” Even though more than a year had passed since those events, the editor emphasized that those experiences “are deeply ingrained in our minds” and readers could now have the opportunity to acquire insights into the ordeals and the destinies of their co-nationals from those bygone days of fear and dread, as well as into those

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<sup>15</sup> Emil Sigerus (1854-1947) was an ethnographer, collector, historian and publicist, born in Sibiu, in the family of Senator Karl Sigerus. He followed the profession of bookseller for a while, and then he dedicated himself to the collection of folklore and folk traditions. In 1885 he founded the “Carpathian Museum” in Sibiu, based on his own collection of about 500 objects, in particular pitchers, plates, pewter pots and textiles. He was also one of the founding members of the “Transylvanian Carpathian Association.” For a while, he was editor of the Sibiu daily *Siebenbürgisch-Deutsches Tageblatt*. For more biographical details, see Brigitte Stephani (ed.), *Emil Sigerus. Volkskundliche und kunstgeschichtliche Schriften*, București, Editura Kriterion, 1977.

<sup>16</sup> Emil Sigerus (ed.), *Aus der Rumänenzeit. Ein Gedenkbuch an sturmbelegte Tage. Zugunsten der siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Kriegswitwen und -weisen*, Hermannstadt, Druck und Verlag von Joseph Drotleff, 1917.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Hermann Hienz, *Bücherkunde zur Volks- und Heimatforschung der Siebenbürger Sachsen. Zweite, erweiterte Auflage der “Quellen zur Volks- und Heimatkunde der Siebenbürger Sachsen”* [Buchreihe der südostdeutschen historischen Kommission, Band 5], München, Verlag R. Oldenbourg, 1960, p. 60.

<sup>18</sup> Frank M. Schuster, “Zwischen Idylle, Abenteuer, Solidarität, Sorge und Furcht. Heltauer Flucht- und Besatzungserfahrungen 1916,” in Harald Heppner (Hrsg.), *Umbruch mit Schlachtenlärm*, p. 247.



“deeds of charity which our Saxon people, so terribly afflicted, benefited from and which should not be consigned to oblivion.” In the end, Emil Sigerus mentioned the fact that the proceeds of this volume would be divided amongst the war widows and orphans of the Saxon nation, admitting also that the shortage of paper and printing materials had forced him to select only a few of the texts he had received for publication. He ultimately expressed his hope that better times might foster the publication of further revised editions.<sup>19</sup> Along with the editor’s foreword, two “patriotic” poems – one of “sorrow” and another of “longing” – signed by Josef Lehrer, five texts recalled the “Romanian period” in Braşov, Râşnov, Codlea, Cisnădie and Cincu Mare; six others presented the general state of turmoil, the Saxons’ exodus and their refuge from the advancing front, as well as the atmosphere in which they returned home; while two others, signed by journalist Viktor Zyske and by Bishop Friedrich Teutsch, described the situation of the Saxon refugees in Budapest and, respectively, of the “national Church during the days of the Romanians’ invasion.”

Beyond the military events, the tragedy or the horrors encountered in any theatre of war, beyond the pain, fears, anxieties and privations suffered by those who had been forced to take the path of refuge, beyond these experiences that would be justly condemned by any rational human being, the overall stance of the articles and their ideological undertones were firmly anti-Romanian. Conclusive statements such as “The ghost of Greater Romania has been forever dispelled,”<sup>20</sup> or “Let the dream of dazzling Romanian brilliance forever remain nothing more than a dream”<sup>21</sup> brought out to the surface old Romanian-Saxon antagonisms and fierce polemics that had been waged between the Saxon and the Romanian historians of those times,<sup>22</sup> especially regarding the status of those two nations on the territory of the former “Royal Land,”<sup>23</sup> but revealing, at the same time, the fact that the authors of these

<sup>19</sup> Emil Sigerus, “Zur Einleitung,” in Emil Sigerus (ed.), *Aus der Rumänenzeit*, pp. III-VI.

<sup>20</sup> Wilhelm Morres, “Kronstadt und Großrumänien,” in Emil Sigerus (ed.), *Aus der Rumänenzeit*, p. 122.

<sup>21</sup> G. Lander, “Die Rumänenzeit in Rosenau,” in Emil Sigerus (ed.), *Aus der Rumänenzeit*, p. 142.

<sup>22</sup> For details on this historiographical polemic, see Sorin Şipoş, *Silviu Dragomir – istoric*, third revised edition, foreword by Ioan-Aurel Pop, Deva, Editura Episcopiei Devei şi Hunedoarei, 2015, pp. 256-261.

<sup>23</sup> This expression designates the territorial entity set up under the *Diploma Andreanum* (1224). It included the geographical area of Transylvania bounded to the north by the Mureş River, to the south by the Olt River, to the east by the village of Drăuşeni and to the west by the town of Orăştie. It was on this territory that the German colonists who came to Transylvania in the 12th-13th centuries were settled. The Royal Land was subsequently organized according to some specific structures: 7+2 seats and 2 districts, according to a model imported by the colonists from their native areas and adapted to the space of Transylvania. This territory included large or small settlements inhabited by Romanians, Saxons and Szeklers and enjoyed a wide autonomy, but the right of citizenship belonged solely to the Saxons, i.e. the followers of the Evangelical confession. This area was placed under the legal administration of the Saxon University, with the headquarters in Sibiu, which was to function as a seat of political and administrative authority, headed by the Saxon *comes*, until 1876, when the government in Budapest decided to dismantle this entity and to administratively restructure entire Transylvania into counties, after the traditional Hungarian model. Walter Myß (ed.), *Lexikon der Siebenbürger Sachsen*, Thaur bei Innsbruck, Wort und Welt Verlag, 1993, p. 424.

articles had assumed the slogans and clichés commonly spread by the propaganda of the Central Powers<sup>24</sup> against the states and nations warring on the other side of the barricade.<sup>25</sup>

Some of the texts contained in this volume, such as the one signed by Wilhelm Morres about “Braşov and Greater Romania,” made explicit reference to the way in which the Romanians perceived the exodus of the Saxons and the Hungarians, as well as to the robberies and thefts some Romanians perpetrated in the abandoned houses of the refugees. Speaking about the area of Braşov, Morres wrote: “the local Romanians witnessed this desolate wave of migration in utter silence and whatever they could save, they saved for themselves. Those, however, who had lost their houses situated at the edge of the village would have immediately occupied the most affluent households that had been deserted by the Saxons. [...] A revealing case for the Romanians happened in Râşnov (Rosenau in German), where the deserted Saxon parsonage was immediately taken over by the Romanian priest in the village.”<sup>26</sup> Referring, further, to what had happened in Braşov and to the way in which the Romanians of Braşov seized the possessions the Saxons had left behind, Morres generalized by writing that “with or without the help of the Romanian Army” the local Romanians had “carried out several robberies of the abandoned houses.”<sup>27</sup> This anti-Romanian tone of the articles included in the volume that Sigerus edited in 1917 expresses the Saxons’ negative-derogatory attitude towards the Romanians, in general, and towards those from the Kingdom of Romania, in particular. It also explains, to a large extent, not only why this collection was not re-edited, but also why it practically disappeared from the book market and why it is so difficult to be found in the public libraries of contemporary Romania. The copy I have studied is kept in the library of the Institute for Culture and History of the Germans in South-Eastern Europe from Ludwig-Maximilian University in Munich.

Of course, other sources from that time showed that in reality things did not happen in the way Wilhelm Morres described them, for he clearly perceived and described those events from a one-sided angle, imparting therefore solely a negative view upon the Romanians. In fact, the perspective must be nuanced by collating and comparing the testimonies of Saxons, Romanians, Hungarians or people of other ethnicities who wrote about the area of Transylvania that had been occupied by the Romanian Army or about villages located in the proximity of the front. For instance,

<sup>24</sup> For details about their war propaganda, see Ulrike Oppelt, *Film und Propaganda im Ersten Weltkrieg. Propaganda als Medienrealität im Aktualitäten- und Dokumentarfilm*, Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag, 2002; Eberhard Demm, *Ostpolitik und Propaganda im Ersten Weltkrieg*, Frankfurt am Main-Wien, Peter Lang, 2002; Klaus-Jürgen Bremm, *Propaganda im Ersten Weltkrieg*, Darmstadt, Theiss Verlag, 2013; Elisabeth Buxbaum, *Des Kaisers Literaten. Kriegspropaganda zwischen 1914 und 1918*, Wien, Eduard Steinbauer Verlag, 2014.

<sup>25</sup> On the instruments and the dissemination of this manipulation, see Tudor Valentin Neamţu, “Propagandă şi cenzură în Transilvania ‘Marelui Război’”, in Anamaria Macavei, Roxana Dorina Pop (eds.), *Scieri pe alete. Lucrările Conferinţei Naţionale O filă de istorie: om, societate, cultură în secolele XVII-XXI*, Cluj-Napoca, Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2012, pp. 353-368.

<sup>26</sup> Wilhelm Morres, *Kronstadt und Großrumänien*, in Emil Sigerus (ed.), *Aus der Rumänenzeit*, p. 85.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 88.

the Saxon ministers from Vurpăr (Burgberg) and Șura Mare (Großscheuern) noted in the chronicles of their parishes from the second half of 1916 that the “hyenas of the battlefields” included not only Romanian military and civilians, but also Hungarian, Saxon and German military and civilians, and that the “Romanian troops, which marched as the enemy into the territory, behaved very humanely.” The minister in Șura Mare bitterly noted that “we should not omit or overlook the fact that even among the Saxons, there were good-natured, well-off people who encroached on the wealth and the properties of the clergy.” The conclusion of the parish priest from Vurpăr captured very suggestively the changes affecting human conduct during the Great War: “morality clearly disappears” in times of war.<sup>28</sup>

Under the title *The Sibiu Chronicle of the War*, Emil Sigerus published, in January 1917, his daily journal entries, complete with the reflections of other people who had stayed in the city during the period in which the Transylvanian theatre of war had moved very close to Sibiu: 28 August– 28 October 1916. The chronicle describes life in the city of Sibiu and the experiences of its citizens prior to and during “the Great Battle of Sibiu” which, in spite of its name, bypassed the city itself, as the military operations unfolded in the hinterland, particularly in the villages of Șelimbăr and Cîsnădie. The Olt Corps of the First Romanian Army, under the command of Colonel Traian Moșoiu, hesitated to occupy the city “due to a grotesque chain of mistakes, misunderstandings, and indecision at every level of the Romanian command structure,” as American historian Glenn E. Torrey concluded,<sup>29</sup> even though the military personnel, the civil servants and nearly two-thirds of the population had been evacuated from Sibiu. While it does not use an anti-Romanian tone, *The Sibiu Chronicle of the War* is focused exclusively on the pulse of Saxon or German life in the city. The perspective is exclusively that of a Transylvanian Saxon, references to his Romanian co-nationals, brethren of the “enemies” or “invaders” being altogether absent. This chronicle evinces the same pro- and pan-German feeling encountered in the case of the great majority of Saxon memoirist texts. Emil Sigerus expressed his relentless hope, and then his appreciation and joy that salvation had come from the victorious German troops, which were now raiding across “savage Wallachia.” Sibiu had been relieved by the commander of the Ninth German Army, General Erich von Falkenhayn,<sup>30</sup> to whom Sigerus had actually dedicated this

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<sup>28</sup> Ulrich A. Wien, “Die Evangelische Landeskirche A.B. in den Siebenbürgischen Landesteilen Ungarns während des Ersten Weltkriegs,” in Harald Heppner (Hrsg.), *Umbruch mit Schlachtenlärm*, pp. 188-189.

<sup>29</sup> Glenn E. Torrey, *România în Primul Război Mondial*, translated from English by Dan Criste, Meteor Publishing, București, 2014, p. 73.

<sup>30</sup> On the German military campaign he led in 1916-1917 against the Romanians, see Erich v. Falkenhayn, *Der Feldzug der 9. Armee gegen die Rumänen und Russen 1916-17. Zweiter Teil: Die Kämpfe und Siege in Rumänien*, Berlin, Verlag von E.G. Mittler & Sohn, 1921; Adolf Köster, *Die Sturmschar Falkenhayns. Kriegsberichte aus Siebenbürgen und Rumänien*, München, Albert Langen, 1917.

volume. The general's photograph was effectively reproduced on the book's front page.<sup>31</sup>

Two other prominent Saxons wrote about the Battle of Sibiu in 1917: the head priest of the Evangelical parish church in Sibiu, Dr. Adolf Schullerus, known especially for his theological, ethnographic and philological writings, and Captain W. Petricek. Schullerus, who remained in the city, in spite of the evacuation orders, and who depicted in a narrative and, at times, homiletic manner the image or the likeness of the “Dead City” and its “salvation.” The subtitle of his work is: “Images from the days of the Battle of Sibiu,” which, as Schullerus stated, had taken place on the days of 26-30 September 1916.<sup>32</sup> Schullerus interpreted the fact that the city had not been bombed, being saved from the enemy troops, as the work of divine providence and as “a miracle of the Lord,” accomplished through “human power and might,” a miracle in which God had revealed Himself. Trained in the spirit of the Holy Scriptures, the Evangelical minister Adolf Schullerus did not chastise or stigmatise the Romanians and the neighbouring kingdom, for which he used solely a neutral, so to say, appellative: “the enemy.”

Unlike Sigerus and Schullerus, whose works illustrated the perspective of the inhabitants of Sibiu on the battle that had taken place in the hinterland of their city, Captain W. Petricek provided details related to the planning and conduct of military operations. He reproduced orders, telegraphic dispatches and plans for the movement of the Austro-Hungarian troops, as well as an annex on the graves of the heroes who had fallen in the Battle of Sibiu. His work does not have the beauty and historical-theological nuances of the preceding texts, but it uses the technical language typical of a military who was concerned, or even obsessed with conveying to his contemporaries accurate information about the military operations and the movements of troops in the theatres of war.<sup>33</sup>

Ten years after the events of August-September 1916, Albert Dörr – the then Mayor of Sibiu, subsequently Prefect of Sibiu County – published a volume of war memoirs and journal notes entitled *Sibiu between Two Fronts*. The book describes the administration and daily life of the city in the period 27 August – 31 October 1916. Dörr specified in his foreword that the purpose of his volume was to recount “the purely human events of the situation in which the inhabitants of the city found themselves every day, avoiding any political and military comments.” In spite of his claim of objectivity, the mayor of yore, who was now Prefect of Sibiu, mentioned his strong belief that “the annexation of Transylvania to Romania” was an act of “historical justice,” even though both he and his entire Saxon people regretted, from the bottom of their hearts, that up until 1926 “this country, blessed by God, had not

<sup>31</sup> Emil Sigerus, *Hermannstädter Kriegschronik. Nach Tagebuchaufzeichnungen*, Druck und Verlag von W. Krafft, Hermannstadt, 1917.

<sup>32</sup> Adolf Schullerus, *Die tote Stadt. Erlössung. Bilder aus den Tagen der Schlacht von Hermannstadt*, Druck und Verlag von W. Krafft, Hermannstadt, 1917.

<sup>33</sup> Hauptmann W. Petricek, *Um Hermannstadt. Ein Zeitbild aus der rumänischen Invasion. Den Hermannstädter Freunden zugeeignet*, Buchschuck von Fritz Lederer. Mit vier Beilagen, Druck und Verlag von Jos. Drotleff, Hermannstadt, 1917.

managed to be turned into what it could become and what we hope it will be for all its inhabitants: a paradise.” Indeed, Albert Dörr did neither condemn, nor judge the Romanians’ military deed, but limited himself to rendering the events through which the inhabitants of the city had passed at the time of the two fronts, insisting on the measures imposed by the authorities for maintaining order *intramuros* and reproducing, in his text, several official documents issued by the Austro-Hungarian civil and military authorities, a series of epistolary and oral dialogues between him and various Saxon politicians, military officials and civilians that were interested in the life of the city during the military confrontations or who visited the city afterwards. This memoirist text is important because it reveals a few lesser-known aspects of the everyday life of those who remained in the city after the evacuation of the authorities and of two-thirds of the civilian population (more than half of them were Germans, a quarter Romanians, including the Romanian institutions, the Orthodox Metropolitanate and the Theological-Pedagogical Institute, and other nationalities), capturing the fact that in the absence of the police and army forces, the locals of Sibiu formed a civil guard at his initiative. This guard took over the tasks of maintaining public order. It was composed of 113 Saxons, 63 Romanians and 7 Hungarians, who took upon themselves to prevent robberies and to manage the critical and tense situation. Written ten years after the events, when the outcome of the Great War was well known, Albert Dörr’s memoir is devoid of the anti-Romanian passion and biases that could be detected in the texts of Schullerus and Sigerus. It shows a very balanced perspective and a desire to avoid offending the sentiments of the Romanian authorities.<sup>34</sup>

The category of memoirs about the Romanian invasion and military occupation and, respectively, about the Transylvanian Front also includes other, shorter texts. In what follows, I will focus on four of these. Two of them were published and the other two, unpublished, are preserved in the Brukenthal Collection of the National Archives in Sibiu. Printed in the pages of *Calendarul prietenului popular transilvănean* [The Calendar of the Transylvanian Popular Friend], in the 1918 issue, the first text was written by the Sibiu-based historian and journalist Georg Adolf Schuller (1862-1939), under the title “Two Paintings from the First Romanian Days.”<sup>35</sup> It recalls the events that occurred in South-Eastern Transylvania, especially in the areas inhabited by the Saxons, during the second half of August 1916. The second was written by Carl Reich from Cârța, a village on the bank of the Olt River, where lie the ruins of a famous Cistercian monastery from the 13<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>36</sup> Reich kept a chronicle of his native village during the years 1905-1930. One of the chapters is entitled “How the war came to us, too.” It describes the tumult of the rural life of

<sup>34</sup> Albert Dörr, *Hermannstadt zwischen zwei Fronten. Kriegserinnerungen nach Tagebuchaufzeichnungen*, Druck von Josef Boschner, Hermannstadt, 1926.

<sup>35</sup> G. A. Schuller, *Zwei Bilder aus den ersten Rumänentagen*, in *Kalender des Siebenbürger Volksfreundes für das gemeine Jahr 1918*, 49. Jahrgang, Hermannstadt, Verlag und Druck von Jos. Drotleff, pp. 135-147.

<sup>36</sup> On this monastic hearth, see Michael Thalgott, *Die Zisterzienser von Kerz. Zusammenhänge, [Veröffentlichungen des Südostdeutschen Kulturwerks. Reihe B: Wissenschaftliche Arbeiten, Band 50]* München, Verlag Südostdeutsches Kulturwerk, 1990.

the Saxons and the Romanians there during the months of August-October 1916.<sup>37</sup> The other two (unpublished) texts are signed by Major Adolf Reiner, who completed his memoirs about “The Defence and Evacuation of Sibiu in September 1916” on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of May, 1917,<sup>38</sup> and by the civilian Ferdinand J. Roth, who recalled the atmosphere in Făgăraş, five years after the events, under the title: “My Memories from the Time of the Romanians, from the 27<sup>th</sup> of August until the 7<sup>th</sup> of October, 1916.”<sup>39</sup> The tone of these memoirs is balanced. They focus on the suffering of the refugees, on their sense of up-rootedness, on the anxieties and terrors of those who would not be evacuated, as well as on the behaviour of the soldiers and officers of the Romanian Army, who did not commit abominable abuses, despite what some Saxons had thought or had been warned they would have to suffer if they did not go into refuge in deeper Hungary. The texts provide precious details about the daily life of the population behind the front lines, the exodus of some civilians from the theatres of war, the Romanian and German military manoeuvres in the areas of Sibiu and Făgăraş, as well as the personal experiences of the authors and their families in the maelstrom of events.

Another text that should hold our attention, due to the richness and uniqueness of the information it contains with reference to the events that took place in the urban and rural milieus of Braşov and the Land of Bârsa, in the tumultuous context of the war and of the Transylvanian Front, is the autobiographical work of Ernst Karl Schnell, the Mayor of Braşov, entitled *From My Life. Memories of Times Old and New*, published in the city at the foot of Tâmpa Mount, in May 1934.<sup>40</sup> Schnell talks about the heated atmosphere in Braşov on the Sunday of the 27<sup>th</sup> of August, 1916, caused by the news of Romania’s declaration of war. He highlights a unique detail among all the other Saxon memoirs about the war, namely that he was rather confused by this news because he had received assurances from the authorities of the Austro-Hungarian state that Romania would not enter the war against the dual monarchy. He stated the following: “I want to mention here that we, the sub-prefect and the mayor, have received orders from above to reassure the population and to refute, in every way possible, the notion of a declaration of war from Romania. They were, however, many cautious gentlemen who did not believe what we told them, but the news they received from Bucharest. As we learned later, the mobilization had been decreed in Romania a few days before.”<sup>41</sup> Mayor Schnell also noted the poor military defence of the city. The few Austro-Hungarian troops in the area were unable to cope with the onslaught of the Romanian Army, which, unaware of the situation, advanced “with great caution and restraint.” The mayor expressed his opinion that if

<sup>37</sup> Carl Reich, *Wie der Krieg auch zu uns kam. Tagebuch 1916 + Kerzer Chronik, Schriften, Briefe*. Herausgegeben von Friedrich Schuster, Sibiu/Hermannstadt, Honterus Verlag, 2011.

<sup>38</sup> Adolf Reiner, “Verteidigung und Evakuierung von Nagyszeben (Hermannstadt) im September 1916,” in *Serviciul Judeţean Sibiu al Arhivelor Naţionale, Colecţia Brukenthal*, Inv. 106, L. 1-8, doc. 123.

<sup>39</sup> Ferdinand J. Roth, “Meine Rückerrinnerung aus der Rumänenzeit vom 27. August bis 7. October 1916,” in *SJSAN, Colecţia Brukenthal*, Inv. 106, L. 1-8, doc. 132.

<sup>40</sup> Ernst Karl Schnell, *Aus meinem Leben. Erinnerungen aus alter und neuer Zeit*, Kronstadt, Verlag der Markusdruckerei, 1934.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 146-147.

the Romanians had not proceeded in this way, they would have been able to conquer the city of Braşov the very next day after the declaration of war and would have captured all the city and county authorities, both civilian and military, along with all their secret documents and their assets.<sup>42</sup> Schnell listed the orders received from the Ministry of the Interior in Budapest related to the emergency evacuation of the male Hungarians and Saxons aged between 17 and 55 years from Braşov. He was one of these men, so after he left Friedrich Fabricius in charge of the city, he immediately left Sibiu, together with his family, on the afternoon of the 28<sup>th</sup> of August. Writing retrospectively, Schnell noted that his decision to leave Braşov had been wise because “my Romanian friends later told me that as the leading authority in the city, I would certainly have been arrested and interned somewhere in the old kingdom.”<sup>43</sup> According to his assessments, more than 20,000 people had left Braşov at that time. The refugees, who were embarked into 29 trains, represented “nearly 80% of the non-Romanian population of Braşov.” Those who were “seriously ill and the elderly” stayed put. They had received the task of taking care of the properties and belongings of all the others. “Before long, they were all frantically waving the Romanian tricolour flag, which they had all made in a hurry.” The mayor also provided precious information about the period of the Romanian occupation in the city. Schnell emphasized that both when the Romanian troops were in town and in the intermezzo between their withdrawal and the return of the Austro-Hungarian authorities, the city “suffered minor damage,” the “empty houses and abandoned homes” leaving the impression of *res dereclita*, not only in the face of the enemy, but also, “unfortunately, of the friend.”<sup>44</sup> After a journey of two days and two nights, Schnell arrived in Budapest, his family stopping at Bekes-Csaba, where he remained and worked “more than ever in my life,” for five weeks, until October 9, when he took the train back “home.” The trip to Braşov lasted nine days, during which time he met especially the various commanders of the German Army, his dinner with General Falkenhayn being described at large. Unlike the other Saxon memoirs published in 1917, the recollections of Karl Ernst Schnell, printed almost two decades after the hostilities, in the political framework of Greater Romania, contained no offensive or negative references to the period of the Romanian invasion, but confirmed the plans of the Hungarian government, endorsed by a few Saxon political leaders, to change the ethnic and religious configuration of Transylvania at the end of the war, admitting that during the war “Kronstädter Allgemeine Sparkasse,”<sup>45</sup> the Saxon bank from Braşov, had been drawn into a comprehensive program for the purchase of land along

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<sup>42</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 147.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 150.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 153.

<sup>45</sup> For details about the history of this institution, see Măriuca Radu, “Kronstädter Allgemeine Sparkasse” *prima bancă din Braşov şi din Transilvania*, în *Țara Bârsei*, new series, no. 3, Braşov, 2004, pp. 89-94. The electronic version of this study is available at: <http://tara-barsei.ro/wp-content/uploads/2008/11/radu2004.pdf>, accessed on 18 September 2015.

the Olt River valley and in the Land of Făgăraș, where German Lutherans (Russlanddeutsche), brought from the south of Russia, were to be settled afterwards.<sup>46</sup>

Another journal, still unpublished, from the time of the war<sup>47</sup> is the one that was kept by a young Saxon petty officer, who later asserted himself and became known in Transylvanian culture as the historian, writer and man of culture Otto Folberth.<sup>48</sup> Out on the front in Galicia, one day after Romania's entry into the war, on the 28<sup>th</sup> of August, 1916, Folberth wrote down the following: “It seems that Romania has declared war on us. From now on, all I want is to defend my motherland!” On the same subject, the lieutenant reproduced, the next day, an excerpt from a letter sent by his father on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of August, 1916, in other words, 4 days before the declaration of war of the Kingdom of Romania: “in Brașov and Sibiu, the German youth are building solid ramps for the posting of heavy artillery. There is nothing special to be seen here, other than the many military trains travelling towards Brașov.” Folberth's conclusion was: “my motherland, my motherland is at war! How could this not shatter and stimulate me?!” On the last day of the same month of August, he noted resignedly: “Brașov has been evacuated by our people. Thus has been torn the first flower from our Saxon bouquet! But I can't really believe this.”<sup>49</sup> His journal entries from the days of September 1916 are particularly rich in information related to the evolution of the front in Transylvania and the situation of Folberth's family, who left the city on the 31<sup>st</sup> of August, heading to Turda, then (some of them) to Debrecen, and (others) to Chichinda Mare in Banat, from where they sent him a long letter on the 4<sup>th</sup> of September, which was reproduced in full in the journal and through which the lieutenant was informed about the exodus of the Saxon and Hungarian population from the path of the Romanian troops and about the evacuation ordered by the Hungarian authorities in all the counties south of the Mureș River. The letter described the atmosphere of “enormous panic among the population.” People were leaving, in helter-skelter manner, to seek refuge, accompanied by children and elderly people, by cattle and domestic animals. The author's marginal comments are full of emotions and powerful anxieties due to the

<sup>46</sup> Măriuca Radu, “Kronstädter Allgemeine Sparkasse”, p. 91, note 8. Ernst Karl Schnell, *Aus meinem Leben*, pp. 144-146, 174-192. For details about these plans, see Gábor Egry, “Debates on Colonization Plans among the Transylvanian Saxon during the First World War”, in Sorina Paula Bolovan, Ioan Bolovan, Rudolf Gräf, Corneliu Pădurean (eds.), *Mișcări de populație și aspecte demografice în România în prima jumătate a secolului XX. Lucrările Conferinței internaționale “Mișcări de populație în Transilvania în timpul celor două războaie mondiale”*, Cluj-Napoca, 24-27 mai 2006, Cluj-Napoca, Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2007, pp. 57-69.

<sup>47</sup> Folberth's journal was typed during 1999 and 2000 by one of his sons, Paul J. Folberth, and it can be accessed in electronic format on the website of the Transylvanian Institute in Gundelsheim: <http://siebenbuergen-institut.de/special-menu/span-stylecolor000000-text-decorationunderline-transylvanicaspan/die-tagebuecher-von-otto-folberth/>, accessed on 28 January 2016.

<sup>48</sup> For details about Folberth and his war journal, see Mircea-Gheorghe Abrudan, “My participation in the First World War”. The Manuscript Diary of the Transylvanian Saxon, Otto Folberth, in Ioan Bolovan, Rudolf Gräf, Harald Heppner, Oana Mihaela Tămaș (eds.), *World War I. The Other Face of the War*, Cluj-Napoca, Romanian Academy, Centre for Transylvanian Studies/ Cluj University Press, 2016, pp. 133-142.

<sup>49</sup> *Otto Folberths Tagebücher, Band 03, Drittes Kriegstagebuch*, April bis Oktober 1916, pp. 22-23.



events that were underway in his “motherland.” On the 12<sup>th</sup> of September, Folberth wondered rhetorically: “will the whole world fall apart?” The tension was to subside towards the end of the month, amid encouraging news received from home, especially from his grandfather, who had not taken refuge and who, thus, could inform him, in a letter sent on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of September, that “your house is completely occupied by German officers, and in the kitchen people are cooking frantically. The German officers and troops consist, as a rule, of gentlemen, and as friends and brethren of the same nation, their presence is most welcome.”<sup>50</sup> The fear near the front, the terrors of the exodus, the hardships of the evacuation process and the feelings of alienation triggered by the Transylvanian Saxons’ departure from their native places, the exaltation manifested towards the “fraternal” German troops and the repulsion towards the Romanian “invasion” were experiences that were recorded, in one way or another, by all the Saxon memoirists from the time of the Great War. So were the moments when the advancement of the Romanian troops was blocked, when they withdrew and, respectively, when they were “chased” away “across the Carpathians” and when the south-east of Transylvania was “liberated” by the armies of the Central Powers.<sup>51</sup> In the case of Folberth, the exaltation he felt when the Romanians were forced to withdraw took the form of a spiritual co-participation in “our victory” and of empathy towards his nation, his happiness being expressed through verbs such as “we have overcome” or “we have prevailed.” In addition to this, on the 8<sup>th</sup> of October 1916, he wrote down the following apothecotic conclusion: “I rejoiced hearing on the phone that my motherland is free again, and that Braşov has been occupied by our people.”<sup>52</sup> Located hundreds of miles away, Folberth empathized with his family and his people. His vision, as a Saxon soldier on the battlefield, was surely emblematic of all the Saxon combatants fighting in the trenches of Galicia and Italy.

Finally, let us focus on a series of memoirist fragments from the ranks of the peasantry and the craftsmen. For reasons of space, I will briefly refer to the memoirs of Maria Miess from Veseud, who, at the age of 85, reminisced about the events that had triggered the refuge, which happened when she was 23 years old, in the following words: “It was the autumn of 1916, in the middle of World War I. The harvest had been gathered. (...) The news about the refuge came not unexpectedly, but it surely took us by surprise. The servant of the village chancery, Gesch, gathered us one morning and informed the commune that at 10 o’clock one person from each house should come to the chancery. (...) We were told that the Saxons must prepare for refuge. Every household would have to make a cart available. In that cart they would have to take food, clothes, valuables and other important things. The Romanian Army had been marching, and fighting was possible. Through this retreat they wanted to bring us to safety, moving along the Târnava.” The Saxon woman remembered,

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<sup>50</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 25-28.

<sup>51</sup> Emil Sigerus (ed.), *Aus der Rumänenzeit*, passim; Mircea-Gheorghe Abrudan, *World War I in the Memories of the Transylvanian Saxons*, passim; Idem, *Primul Război Mondial reflectat în istoriografia şi memorialistica saşilor*, passim.

<sup>52</sup> *Otto Folberths Tagebücher, Band 03, Drittes Kriegstagebuch*, April bis Oktober 1916, p. 31.

further, that the peasants of Veseud were persuaded with great difficulty to leave the village because they were afraid of looting, “since Romanians and gypsies of Veseud will stay in the village.” But in the end, the Saxon community decided they needed to leave, just three old families being left behind. Maria Miess recounted the frenzy that had seized the village when the decision of the commune reached the people: the peasants sacrificed their chickens and pigs, made bread, gathered the laundry, prepared food, repaired their barrels and their carts, “buried their food supplies,” and then they formed a large herd of cattle. The exodus was presented in the following terms: “A day after the departure of the herds, the people in the village left. The households were deserted, one by one, one cart following another, first those that were horse-drawn, then the ones drawn by oxen and cows, all assembled in one long line. The bells were ringing from the church tower. The old mayor’s wife kissed even the stones in front of the gate goodbye.” We can notice, therefore, the strong psychosomatic impact experienced by the villagers at the time of their forced departure from their native land. The refuge of the Saxons from Veseud did not last long. They were accommodated for a few days in Bârghiș, from where they were to return to their homes after the attack of the Romanian Army was rejected by the “German and Austrian” troops they had met along their way. The fact that the front passed through Veseud did not leave deep traces. Maria Miess remembered that “only the households of the neighbours across the street had been robbed.” “Pigs and fowls” had vanished. From some houses “the wine and the grain had been taken away, and clothes and laundry had been stolen here and there.” In a way, the material losses were compensated, somehow, by the bales of fabric left behind by the Romanian Army, which were distributed to the people in the village.<sup>53</sup> The life of the Saxon inhabitants of Veseud was, thus, jolted out of the humdrum of daily routine at the end of the summer of 1916, but it resumed its natural pace after a few days, continuing its peaceful existence afterwards.

The Transylvanian Front of World War I led to the exodus of the Saxon population from the path of the Romanian Army. This large-scale refuge meant that many Saxons and Hungarians fled towards the centre of Transylvania, Banat and interior Hungary. Their experiences were recorded in diaries, memoirs and correspondences which reveal the hardships endured by the people behind the front lines, during military operations. The Romanian Army was perceived in different ways by the Saxons, who blamed the invading enemy for various abuses committed either directly or indirectly, by tolerating the looting that took place in the occupied territories. On the other hand, several representatives of the Saxon clergy described the events with greater detachment, showing that the moral decay afflicting the people behind the front was encountered among all the nationalities in Transylvania.

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<sup>53</sup> Irmgard Sedler, Werner Sedler, “Zied (Veseud) – Ein Dorf im Ersten Weltkrieg 1914-1918. Fakten und Erinnerungen,” in Harald Heppner (Hrsg.), *Umbruch mit Schlachtenlärm*, pp. 239-241.

**AN OFFICER FROM MARAMUREȘ: ARTUR DAN OF APSA.  
FROM DYNASTIC LOYALTY TO GREATER ROMANIA**

**Abstract:** Born in an old family from Maramureș, Artur Dan of Apșa left a few notes regarding his ancestry, education and training in military schools across Austria-Hungary. His maternal grandfather, Alexiu Anderco, was a priest and archpriest in Borșa. Later on in time, his father, Basiliu Dan, held the same office. His uncle, Ioan Artemiu Anderco, studied medicine in Paris, Rome, and Turin, and was the author of an interesting *Journal*, published by Nicolae Iorga in 1934. He was a dedicated career officer and was decorated several times in the Great War, when he fought in the Austro-Hungarian Army, initially on the Balkan front against the Serbs and, then, in Galicia. Here he was taken prisoner by the Russians (1915), being interned in a camp in Siberia, from where he managed to escape in April 1918. After returning from captivity, he was reinstated in the Austro-Hungarian Army, advanced to the rank of major and transferred to the Italian front. Having witnessed the collapse of the Monarchy and its army, he returned to Maramureș in the autumn of 1918, placing himself in the service of national ideals. From this point of view, he became the classic example of an officer who was fully committed to the accomplishment of the Great Union of 1918. Together with his uncle, Alexandru-Cuza Anderco, he participated, in Sighet, in the establishment of the Romanian National Council in Maramureș and attended its meetings. After the Great Union, he enlisted in the Romanian Army and fought in the battles of 1919 against the Hungarian communists, being decorated and promoted to the rank of colonel by King Ferdinand.

**Keywords:** World War I, literary memoirs, Romanian officer, Maramureș, the Great Union of 1918

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Born in an old family from Maramureș, which had been ennobled during the Middle Ages,<sup>2</sup> Artur Dan was a brilliant career military officer, having received his training in military schools across the Empire. His journal entries about his ancestry and his family (Annex I), together with a series of personal items, documents, school records, diplomas, patents, medals and decorations, have been donated to the museum by his relatives on his wife's side and have been inventoried, forming a valuable museum collection.<sup>3</sup>

Based on these biographical testimonials, we have reconstructed the genealogical tree of his family (**Fig. 1**). Concerning his ancestry on the maternal line,

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<sup>1</sup> Museum curator, PhD, National Museum of Transylvanian History, Cluj-Napoca, email: ovidiu2505@yahoo.com.

<sup>2</sup> Alexandru Filipașcu, *Enciclopedia familiilor nobile maramureșene de origine română*, second edition, edited by Ion and Livia Piso, Cluj-Napoca, Editura Eikon, 2015, pp. 200-202. The family Dan of Apșa de Mijloc (today Serednie Vodiane - Ukraine) was mentioned as early as 1406.

<sup>3</sup> We must express our gratitude here to Mrs. Carmen Borda and Mrs. Corina Șerban for the generous donation they have made to our museum. The objects they donated were exhibited for the first time in a temporary exhibition, entitled *Remembering the Great War 1914-2014*. The exhibition opened to the public at the museum, on 27 June 2014, and was loaned then to the history museums in Baia-Mare, Zalău, Dej and București.

we noticed that his grandfather was Alexiu Anderco, a Greek-Catholic priest and, then, archpriest in Borșa.<sup>4</sup> Alexiu Anderco was born on 5 October 1821, at Botiz, in the family of Simeon Anderco and Maria Ombödi. His brother was Ioan Anderco-Homorodanul, a Greek-Catholic canon. Through his grandmother, Ana Mihályi of Apșa, he was directly related to this noble family, which gave the illustrious scholar and historian Ioan Mihályi and the Greek-Catholic Metropolitan Victor Mihályi.<sup>5</sup>

An encyclopaedic mind, his grandfather wrote a few popularization studies, such as: *Who invented letters*, *On beekeeping*, *On the Past History of the Village*. A fragment of the monograph dedicated to Borșa appeared in the magazine *Familia*, edited by Iosif Vulcan, in 1870. During his ministry, a Romanian stone church, a rectory and two schools were built in Borșa.<sup>6</sup> His mother, Isabela Anderco, was born in this distinguished family in 1847. She had four sisters and as many brothers. Like his mother, three of his aunts (Iulia, Emilia and Anița) were priest's wives. His most renowned uncles were Ioan Artemiu Anderco and Alexandru-Cuza Anderco. The latter was baptized by his father with this name in honour of ruler who accomplished the unification of the Romanian Principalities in 1859. Officer Artur Dan had a close connection to his uncle, Alexandru-Cuza Anderco, especially in the context of the events that took place in Sighet in the autumn of 1918 and led to the establishment of the Romanian National Council in Maramureș.

On the other hand, his other uncle, Ioan Artemiu Anderco, distinguished himself in the cultural field. Born in 1853, he studied medicine in Paris, Rome, and Turin, and was the author of an interesting *Journal*, first published in 1934, by historian Nicolae Iorga, and reissued in 2001.<sup>7</sup> In the period of his studies in Rome, he had a rich correspondence with his family, especially with his sister Isabella,<sup>8</sup> who had got married in the meantime to the priest Basiliu Dan. Unfortunately, his uncle died at the age of 24 in 1877. Artur Dan was born two years after his uncle's death and it is very likely that he was baptized with the name Artur (Artemiu) in memory of his uncle who had died in his prime.<sup>9</sup>

In regard to his paternal ancestry, it is worth noting that his grandparents were Gheorge Dan of Apșa, a lawyer and prime praetor in Vișeu de Sus, and Maria Mărcuș, daughter of the Ruthenian priest in Bedeu (a village in present-day Ukraine). His father, Basiliu Dan, was born in this family in 1838. He was a chaplain in Ieud, a Greek-Catholic priest in Bocicoel, in 1865-1885, and then in Borșa, until the end of his life.

<sup>4</sup> Filipașcu, *Enciclopedia...*, pp. 77-79.

<sup>5</sup> See *Memoriile unui ierarh uitat: Victor Mihály de Apșa (1841-1918)*, edited and notes by Nicolae Bocșan and Ion Cârja, Cluj-Napoca, Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2009, 360 p.

<sup>6</sup> Viorel Câmpean, *Oameni și locuri din Sătmăr*, Satu Mare, Editura Citadela, 2008, pp. 213-216.

<sup>7</sup> Ioan Artemie Anderco, *Jurnal (1876)*, edited and foreword by Liviu Papuc, Iași, Editura Alfa, 2001.

<sup>8</sup> Elie Dăianu, *Ioan A. Anderco. Un scriitor maramureșan*, Cluj, Tipografia "Carmen" Petru P. Barițiu, 1907, p. 37.

<sup>9</sup> That is what also happened in the case of another member of the Anderco family, Ioan Arthur Artemiu Anderco, born in Odoreu in 1882. After being appointed as a priest in Ieud, he discovered, in the attic of the church here, the famous manuscript known as the *Codex of Ieud*. See V. Câmpean, *op. cit.*, pp. 122-124.

Seven children were born in the family of the priest Basiliu Dan and Isabela Anderco. Artur was the last but one of them. After the fashion of the time, being supported by their family, each of them chose a career and completed his intellectual training in the schools of Austria-Hungary. Artur chose a military career. His elder brother, Alexa, got a B.Sc. in Forestry at Schemnitz, in Slovakia, and worked as a forestry engineer at Hust. Another brother, Vasile, studied law at the University of Budapest, worked as a lawyer at Sibiu and Târgu Mureș, took refuge in Romania in 1915 and, after the Great Union, was appointed President of the Court of Sibiu.

The youngest son, Ivan, attended the Faculty of Medicine in Vienna from 1900 to 1906 and became a military doctor, in 1914, with the rank of major in the Imperial-Royal Army. During the years of World War I, he was commander of the Military Hospital in Knittelfeld. In the autumn of 1918, with the dissolution of the Monarchy and the Imperial-Royal Army, Ivan Dan returned to Maramureș and, in the context of the reorganization of public services and the establishment of the new Romanian authorities in Maramureș, he was appointed as a doctor at Vișeu.<sup>10</sup> There he practised for the rest of his life, becoming one of the most famous doctors in Maramureș and soothing, for many decades, the sufferings of his patients. In his honour, the Clinic of Vișeu bears his name today.

Artur Dan was thus the sixth child born in the family of the priest Basiliu Dan and his wife, Isabela Anderco. He saw the light of day on 8 January 1879. Like his brothers, he completed his high school studies at Iglo (Nowa Wies Spiska – Slovakia) and was admitted to the Military School of Cadets in Budapest in 1893. In 1897, upon graduating from this school, he obtained the rank of ensign and was assigned to the 37th Infantry Regiment, “Erzherzog Joseph”, being then moved with his troop into different military garrisons - Timișoara, Oradea, Mostar, Vienna and Zagreb, where he was located in July 1914, when the war broke out. Thanks to his qualities and his skills as a good organizer, he was decorated several times (**Fig. 2-5**), and then advanced to the rank of captain, on 1 July 1912 (**Fig. 6, a**), being appointed deputy commander of the regiment in the meantime.

After the outbreak of World War I, his regiment was moved out of the garrison in Zagreb and dispatched to the southern front, against the Serbs, where he remained throughout the autumn and winter of 1914. This episode is described in his notes, where he mentions the offensive of August 1914 for the conquest of the city of Valjevo and the battles against the Serbian Army on the river Drina.

In this period, in the southern area of the eastern front, in Galicia and Bukovina, the Austro-Hungarian troops were defeated and forced to a hasty retreat, especially after the conquest of the city of Lemberg, in September 1914. The victories of the German Generals P. von Hindenburg and E. Ludendorff in Prussia and the arrival of German reinforcements to the front in Galicia temporarily stopped the advancement of the Russians and, therefore, the front stabilized, in the winter of 1914, along the Carpathians and in the Tarnov-Gorlice area. Similar reinforcements for the troops who were fighting in Galicia were brought from the front in the

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<sup>10</sup> Alexandru Filipașcu, *Istoria Maramureșului*, Baia-Mare, Editura Gutinul, 1997, p. 208.

Balkans. In the new military-strategic context, at the beginning of 1915, Captain Artur Dan's 37th Infantry Regiment was moved onto the Russian front, in the "Ușok" sector, and took part in the battles from the Carpathians, reaching south of Lemberg. His skills as a commander on the two battlefronts on which he fought, his bravery and deeds of arms were rewarded with numerous military awards and patents (**Fig. 7-14**).

After five months of participating in the military operations in Galicia, his destiny took an unexpected turn. During the battles for the conquest of the village Lipovice, located south of Lemberg, Captain Artur Dan was taken prisoner by the Russians. This was, actually, reported by the Romanian press of that time. Thus, *Gazeta Transilvaniei* published under the title "The Hero of Lipovice,"<sup>11</sup> a letter of condolences that the commander of the regiment sent to his brother, Vasile Dan, a lawyer in Sibiu. In this letter, Colonel A. Baszel informed him that Captain Artur Dan had very likely "found a heroic death on the battlefield, for the Emperor and King and for his beloved homeland." However, in the end, the colonel gave some hope to the family, writing that there was a small chance that he had been taken prisoner by the Russians in the battle from the highlands west of Lipovice, but that he had no information about his fate (Annex II).

On the basis of this unclear official letter, which nonetheless stated that he had disappeared, the family thought for a long time that the officer Artur Dan had been killed on the battlefield, but in reality he had been taken prisoner. His later journal entries revealed that he had been captured when trying to save a wounded soldier. The Russians took him to Kiev, then to Krasnoyarsk and, eventually, they put him in a concentration camp in Siberia, where he remained a prisoner for 3 years. During this time, his brother, the jurist Vasile Dan, like many other Romanians from Transylvania, crossed the border clandestinely and took refuge in Romania. This had negative consequences for his family because the Hungarian authorities imposed upon his wife, who had been left alone in Sibiu, to take forced domicile in Bratislava, without the possibility of returning home.

At the beginning of 1918, the peace treaty of Brest-Litovsk coincided practically with the end of large-scale military operations on the eastern front. After this treaty, there was a genuine exodus of prisoners of war from Russia to their native villages and towns in Austria-Hungary. Under these favourable circumstances, on 30 March 1918, Captain Artur Dan managed to escape from the Russian camp. Together with two officers, he travelled a part of the return journey by train and then he crossed the line of the German outposts between Smolensk and Minsk on 11 April 1918.

Still devoted to the new Emperor Charles IV, he returned to command his regiment, which was stationed in Belgrade. Here, after his imprisonment was justified by a military commission, he received the pay due for the three years of detention in the prison camp from Siberia and was advanced to the rank of major (July 1918). Moreover, as a reward for his services, he was decorated with the Order of the Iron Crown, with insignia of war (**Fig. 15-17**).

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<sup>11</sup> *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, no. 113, 10 June 1915.

He spent part of his vacation at his sister, Măriuca's place, at Bocicoel in Maramureș, and at his brother, Ivan's house, who was a doctor and commander of the military hospital in the town of Knittelfeld, located in the Austrian province of Styria. However, with a brother who had sought refuge across the border, his situation was not very good. However, through interventions he managed to bring his sister-in-law, Elena Dan, from Bratislava to Sibiu and to remove the house arrest the Hungarian authorities had imposed upon her after her husband had fled to Romania.

After his furlough came to an end, he presented himself to the High Command of the Austro-Hungarian Army (AOK), which had its headquarters at Baden, near Vienna, and requested to be sent to the Italian front. His request was approved and, after a training period of three weeks, in August 1918, he was appointed commander of the first battalion of the 34th Infantry Regiment "Wilhelm I Deutscher Kaiser und König von Preußen." From Vienna, he headed to the front lines, through Bolzano, and reached the Caldonazzo, where his unit was being reorganized.

After recovery, the battalion led by Major Artur Dan was sent to the Italian frontlines and fought in the battles waged in the area that surrounded Asiago, which had been totally destroyed by the bombings of May 1916. Here he was a witness to the general anarchy, followed by the dismantling of the Imperial-Royal Army in the last months of the war. He recalled in his memoirs the insubordination of the soldiers, who no longer respected the orders of their superiors. He even reported an illustrative episode that he had witnessed. Thus, he described the fact that the soldiers of the 25th Infantry Regiment "Edler von Pokorny" had refused to march in the first lines of the front and insulted the general staff officers who had demanded compliance with military regulations.

As an irony of fate, his subunit was withdrawn from Italy before long and sent again to the front in the Balkans, precisely where the Romanian officer had received the baptism of fire four years earlier, during the first months of the Great War. This retreat was imperative because the great offensive of the Entente, which had begun in September 1918, was to lead eventually to the collapse of the southern front, the surrender of Bulgaria and the advance of the French, who had reached the south of Croatia.<sup>12</sup>

In retreat from the Italian front, Major Artur Dan was embarked on a military train bound for the Balkan Front. However, the anarchy, the numerous desertions and the refusal of his troop to follow his orders<sup>13</sup> determined him to head for Slovakia, the final destination being Košice, where the regiment was garrisoned. About 60-80 soldiers still accompanied him and, under difficult conditions, he passed through Bratislava, where he turned down the request of the military command here to fight

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<sup>12</sup> István Deák, *Mai presus de naționalism. O istorie politică și socială a corpului de ofițeri habsburgici (1848-1918)*, Cluj-Napoca, Academia Română, Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 2009, pp. 242-244.

<sup>13</sup> In his notes, the author believed that the morale of the troop was as low as possible due to the anti-war propaganda made in the Hungarian newspapers that were regularly distributed on the Italian front. The slogan of the soldiers here was: "We shall defend our homeland against the French who are drawing near the Drava!"

with the Czechoslovak detachments that were laying siege to the city. Eventually, he reached the headquarters of the regiment in the town of Košice.

Given the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Army and the massive defections, Artur Dan refused to return to the front from the furlough he had been granted and went home to Maramureș. His epic ordeal during the four years of the war came to an end here, after he had fought on three fronts – on the Balkan one, against the Serbs, on the eastern one, against the Russians, and on the Italian front, after his return from captivity. In the autumn of 1918, he arrived in his native village of Bocicoel, where he was reunited with his brother Ivan, who had also returned home in the meantime.

The road of the two Romanian officers from Maramureș from dynastic to national loyalty was also the road taken by tens of thousands of soldiers and officers from the former Austro-Hungarian Army. Once they had reached their native towns and villages, they placed themselves unconditionally at the disposal of the new Romanian authorities, participating in the establishment of the national guards and the removal of the old administration and preparing, thus, the exceptional historical moment of the Great Union, which took place in Alba Iulia on 1 December 1918. Of the former officers, some became generals, outstanding personalities in the military history of our country. Such was the case of Colonel Dănilă Papp or that of General Ioan Boeriu, renowned characters in the Imperial-Royal Army which subsequently actively participated in the formation of the army of Transylvania. Boeriu was to ensure Artur Dan's readmission into the body of officers of the royal Romanian Army, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel.

Still in Sighet, before enlisting in the Romanian Army, the officer Artur Dan brought his contribution to the establishment of the Romanian National Council in Maramureș, led by Vasile Chindriș. In his journal entries, he mentioned having participated in its meetings, together with his uncle, Alexandru Cuza-Anderco. The Romanian National Committee of Maramureș was established on 22 November 1918 and included 34 intellectuals. Dr. Vasile Chindriș was elected chairman of this committee and its secretary was Professor Ioan Bîlțiu Dăncuș, while Lieutenant Florentin Bîlțiu Dăncuș was head of the National Guards. The Romanians' Assembly from Sighet elected the delegates who were to represent them at the Great Assembly of Alba Iulia. On 29 November 1918, the delegates of Maramureș left in their carts to Baia Mare and, from there, by train to Alba Iulia.<sup>14</sup>

After this episode, Artur Dan placed himself in the service of the Romanian Army. Together with two officers and with jurist Dr. Ilie Lazăr (delegate of the Ocna Șugatag raion to the Great Assembly that was held in Alba Iulia)<sup>15</sup> went by carriage to Baia Mare and, then, by train to Sibiu. Here he presented himself before General Ioan Boeriu, head of Sections VI-VII of the Romanian Army. On 25 January 1919, he was assigned to the new Transylvanian Regiment no. 82, which had its garrison in Tg. Mureș.

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<sup>14</sup> Alexandru Filipașcu, *Istoria Maramureșului*, pp. 206-207.

<sup>15</sup> Andrea Dobeș, *Ilie Lazăr. Consecvența unui ideal politic*, second edition, București, Editura Fundația Academia Civică, 2015, pp. 16-18.



After the decree stipulating the general mobilization of the Romanian Army (12 April 1919), following the attacks of communist Hungary led by Bela Kun, the officer Artur Dan was again sent to the front at the head of the second battalion of the 82nd Regiment. He participated in the battles against the army which supported the communist regime installed in Hungary but was forced to withdraw together with the unit he was leading, after he was heavily attacked by a military train in the surroundings of Miskolc (**Fig. 18**). After this event and until the end of the operations of the Romanian Army against Hungary, he remained in Tg. Mures and was subsequently appointed to various command positions in military units in the towns of Aiud, Odorhei and Turda.

In August 1919, he was advanced to the rank of lieutenant-colonel by order of the Ruling Council no. 169/1919. Four years later, King Ferdinand granted him the rank of colonel by Royal Decree no. 1657/7.04 1923 (**Fig. 23**). Throughout this period, he was conferred a series of military decorations, including the Star of Romania Order in the rank of Officer (**Fig. 19-22, 24, 25**). Towards the end of his military career, he was appointed commander of the 81st Regiment Dej (1929)<sup>16</sup> and then head of the Recruitment Centre in Cluj, from where he retired in 1935, with the rank of general in the reserve. (**Fig. 26, a-27**).

### List of illustrations:

Figure no. 1 - Genealogical tree of the Dan family

Figure no. 2 - Jubilee medal celebrating 50 years of Emperor Francis Joseph's reign - 1898

Figure no. 3 - Brevet granting the Order of the Red Eagle - 1911

Figure no. 4 - Order of the Red Eagle, class IV

Figure no. 5 - Brevet granting the Military Merit Medal with a red ribbon - 1912

Figure no. 6, a - Brevet for advancement to the rank of captain and a photograph from 1912

Figure no. 7 - Military Merit Medal with a red ribbon

Figure no. 8 - Military Merit Cross, class III

Figure no. 9 - Military Merit Medal with insignia of war

Figure no. 10 - Medal *Vitam et Sagvinem*

Figure no. 11 - Brevet granting the Military Merit Medal - 1914

Figure no. 12 - Brevet granting the Military Merit Cross, class III - 1915

Figure no. 13 - Military Merit Medal (*Signus Laudis*)

Figure no. 14 - Military Merit Cross, class III, with insignia of war

Figure no. 15 - Telegram informing him that he was granted the Order of the Iron Crown - 1918

Figure no. 16 - Order of the Iron Crown, with insignia of war

Figure no. 17 - Cigarette case belonging to Officer Artur Dan

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<sup>16</sup> His personality was vividly evoked during the temporary exhibition *Commemorating the Great War (1914-1918) and Personalities from Dej*, opened to the public on 22 September 2016, at the Museum of the Municipality of Dej – The Dej Military Circle.

Figure no. 18 - Military map used in the campaign against the Bolshevik regime in Hungary - 1919

Figure no. 19 - Brevet granting the Commemorative Cross of the War - 1924

Figure no. 20 - Commemorative Cross of the War with strap - 1919

Figure no. 21 - Victory Medal of the "Great War for Civilization" (1916-1921)

Figure no. 22 - Brevet granting the Victory Medal – 1925

Figure no. 23 - Brevet for advancement to the rank of colonel, signed by King Ferdinand - 1924

Figure no. 24 - Brevet granting the Order of the Star of Romania, in rank of Officer - 1925

Figure no. 25 - Order of the Star of Romania, in rank of Officer

Figure no. 26, a - Pocket watch given as a sign of gratitude by the officers of the 81st Regiment Dej - 1932

Figure no. 27 - Photo of Colonel Artur Dan from 1934

## ANNEX I

Artur Dan, *Family data. Dan Family*, MS, Cluj, 1945.

**Father:** Baziliu Dan of Apșa, born in 1838, to parents Gheorghe Dan of Apșa and Maria Marcuș of Bedeu.

**Mother:** Izabela Anderco of Homorod, daughter of the archpriest of Borșa, Maramureș, Alexa Anderco; she was born in 1847; they were married in 1862; she died in Borșa on 22 January 1895.

His father graduated from schools in Sighet and Ungvár,<sup>17</sup> in Hungary. He was consecrated as a priest and was appointed systemized chaplain in Ieud, in Maramureș, while in 1865 he was assigned as a priest in Bocicoel, Maramureș. He died in March 1912 and was buried in Borșa, where he served as a priest from 1885 to 1912.

### Children:

**Alexa:** born in 1864. High school in Sighet, a year of Theology (1893?) at Gherla. The Academy of Forestry in Selmečbánya.<sup>18</sup> An engineer and forest surveyor in Hust.<sup>19</sup> He died at Hust in 1916.

**Măriuca:** born in Bocicoel in 1868. Unmarried. She passed away on 10 May 1945. She was buried at Borșa.

**Vasile:** born in 1870. He graduated 8 high school classes in Iglo,<sup>20</sup> in Czechoslovakia, with a baccalaureate. Legal studies at the University of Budapest. High school and baccalaureate in Iglo from 1882 to 1889. Legal studies in Budapest 1889-1895. Candidate attorney in Budapest and Sibiu. PhD in Law on 23 December 1899. Attorney licence at the Court of Appeal in Târgu Mureș, 6-8 February 1901.

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<sup>17</sup> The present-day village of Ujhorod in Ukraine.

<sup>18</sup> The present-day town of Banská Štiavnica (Schemnitz) in Slovakia.

<sup>19</sup> The present-day town of Khust in Ukraine.

<sup>20</sup> The present-day town of Spišská Nová Ves in Slovakia.

Lawyer in Sibiu in 1901-1915. Refugee in Romania 1915-1918. Appointed advisor to the Court in Sibiu. On 17 May 1921, Head Chairman at the Court of Sibiu. He died on 10 December 1940.

**Anca:** born in 1872. Died on 30 November 1899 (aged 17). Buried at Borșa.

**Gheorghe:** born in 1876. High school at the Iglo and Leutschau,<sup>21</sup> in Slovakia. Baccalaureate at Iglo, with honours. In September 1893, he enrolled at the Polytechnic Institute of Zürich, in Switzerland. Coming down with TB, he left the city in the spring of 1894 and returned home in Borșa. He enrolled at the Academy of Law in Sighet. His disease got worse – he died in Borșa on 1 December 1898.

**Artur:** born on 8 January 1879. Four high school classes at Iglo, in Slovakia. In September 1893, I was admitted to the School of Cadets in Budapest. From the second year until the end of school, I had a double distinction, “Doppelte Auszeichnung.”

In 1897 I was moved to Timișoara. On 18 August 1897, I was appointed ensign. On 1 September, I presented myself to the regiment in Oradea.<sup>22</sup> I was assigned to the company 9/37 for the front service. In 1898, I was promoted to second lieutenant, and in 1903 to lieutenant, being adjutant of Battalion III/37.

In December 1908 I was moved with the battalion to Mostar, in Herzegovina. In the spring of 1910, we joined the regiment in Vienna. On 1 November 1912, I was promoted to the rank of captain and was appointed adjutant of the regiment. On 1 April 1914, the regiment moved from Vienna to Zagreb, in Croatia.

In August World War I broke out. In the last days of July 1914, the regiment left down the river Drina,<sup>23</sup> in the Lesnika - Lojnita sector. On 8 August, the operations started - we advanced to Valjevo and fought with the Serbs between the Drina and Valjevo.

As the Russians also declared war to us, numerous units on the Balkan Front were moved to the Northern Front. At the beginning of 1915, we were also moved from the Balkan Front to the Russian Front, in the “Uzsok” sector. We took part in all the battles in the Carpathian Mountains until we got south of Lemberg.<sup>24</sup> On Sunday, 16 May 1915, at the Battle of Lipoviec (south of Lemberg), wanting to save a wounded soldier, I fell prisoner to the Russians. I was transported to Kiev - Ufa - Katov Ivanoski - Zavod-Krasnojarsk - Sibiria. I managed to escape, on 30 March 1918, from camp of prisoners, following the itinerary by train: Krasnojarsk-Tscheljabinsk-Ufa-Samara-Pensa-Tula-Kaluga-Orsa. Between Smolensk and Minsk, I crossed the line of the German outposts on the night of 11 April 1918. At 1 o'clock in the morning of 12 April, the three of us presented ourselves: Lt. Col. Nattcrez, Lt. Res. Csillag and the undersigned to the German command post. On the way to my

<sup>21</sup> The present-day town of Levoča, in Eastern Slovakia.

<sup>22</sup> This was the 37th Infantry Regiment “Erzherzog Joseph,” which had a pool of recruitment in Bihar and the western areas, while its garrison was that of the Third Battalion, in Oradea.

<sup>23</sup> A river in North-Western Serbia, on the border with Bosnia-Herzegovina, which was the theatre of violent confrontations between the Austro-Hungarian and the Serbian Armies at the beginning of the war.

<sup>24</sup> The present-day Lviv, a city in western Ukraine.

regiment in Belgrade, I passed through Bocicoel. I saw my sister Măriuca and the widow Elen Serafina Lang.<sup>25</sup> On 28 April 1918, I presented myself to the 37th Regiment in Belgrade.

After my justification as a prisoner of war, I was promoted to the rank of major.

I received a leave of 8 weeks. I spent the better part at my sister Măriuca's, in Bocicoel and at my brother Ivan's - who was doctor-major and commander of the Feldspital in Knittelfeld - Styria. I went to Zagreb twice. I looked up my acquaintances Mara Milonovici Krazinskaia and Paula Plencici, a good friend of mine.

I went to Vienna two times. I intervened with the Armee Oberdo in Baden bei Wien<sup>26</sup> through my acquaintances to be sent to the Italian Front. The second time I brought over Nelly, Loți's wife,<sup>27</sup> in Pozsony,<sup>28</sup> where she had forced domicile. She was staying with the family of Colonel Senner, whose wife was Letiția, Nelly's sister. In Bocicoel I stayed with Măriuca until my furlough ended. I accompanied Nelly, who was on her way to Sibiu, all the way to Püspökladány.<sup>29</sup>

I continued on my way to Belgrade, and got all that was necessary for the front - order of service. At Bozen<sup>30</sup> I was told the address: the 34th Regiment Caldonazzo<sup>31</sup> - in recovery. The commander of the regiment was Colonel Marzso von Verlety. Invited to dinner with the 27th Division, I presented myself to the commander of the Division, General Sallagar. After training for 3 weeks with Sturm Bat. 27, I took over command of Battalion I/34.

In August 1918 we were pushed further towards Asiago<sup>32</sup> - I with the battalion in the Dorole Lager - where the nights were occasions for the English Artillery's shootings. I was asked for daily reports about the state of mind of the troops. It was detestable. Hungarian newspapers making anti-war propaganda were regularly distributed on the front and any intervention to the contrary was useless. The slogan was: *Megvédjük hazánkat a Franciák ellen akik a Drávához közelednek!*<sup>33</sup>

During those critical days, the 25th Losonc Regiment<sup>34</sup> was going to change places with a regiment on the front. The 25th Regiment refused to advance on the front; the soldiers booed Divizionár, who personally intervened.

We got order to withdraw from the front; Kaiserjager 4 Rgt.<sup>35</sup> replaced us.

<sup>25</sup> The wife of his brother Alexa, who died in Hust in 1916.

<sup>26</sup> Armeeoberkommando (AOK), the High Command of the Austro-Hungarian Army, which had its headquarters at Baden, near Vienna.

<sup>27</sup> This was his sister-in-law, who had forced domicile in Bratislava because her husband, Vasile Dan - a lawyer in Sibiu, had taken refuge in Romania in 1915.

<sup>28</sup> Bratislava (Pressburg - in German; Pozsony - in Hungarian).

<sup>29</sup> A town in Western Hungary.

<sup>30</sup> Today Bolzano, a town in Northern Italy and the capital of the autonomous province of the same name (South Tyrol).

<sup>31</sup> The 34th Infantry Regiment "Wilhelm I Deutscher Kaiser und König von Preußen," which had its garrison in Košice (Kassa - in Hungarian).

<sup>32</sup> A village in the Italian province of Vicenza, located on the front line, which was totally destroyed by bombing during the Austro-Hungarian offensive from 1916.

<sup>33</sup> "We shall defend our homeland against the French who are drawing near the Drava!"

<sup>34</sup> The 25th Infantry Regiment "Edler von Pokorný," which had its garrison in Losonc (today Lučenec - Slovakia).

I led the first Battalion I/34 in several stages from Dorok-Trient-Bozen-Brixen-Brenner to Hall (near Innsbruck) in Tyrol - where we were embarked with the destination the Balkan Front, where the French had reached the southern border of Croatia. Passing through Pressburg, the Hungarian commander asked us to march against the Czechoslovak detachments that were advancing from the north towards the city. The troop refused to comply with the request of the Hungarian commander. We continued on our way, according to the initial order. We reached the region of Kassa. The troops were leaving the train as they saw fit and I ended up with 60-80 men at Kassa.

I, the undersigned, got 14 days of leave, from which I never returned. The next morning, with my personal orderly, I headed for Bocicoel - Maramureș, where, after a few days, brother Ivan arrived and occupied the post of district physician in Dragomirești, from where he moved to a similar position in Vișeu de Sus.

The National Romanian Council in Sighet was formed. Its president was Dr. Chindriș.<sup>36</sup> I took part with uncle Cuza<sup>37</sup> in 2-3 sessions.

After a short while, the 14th Regiment from Moldova entered Maramureș. It assumed responsibility for public order maintenance.

With Major Löhr, with Milea from the 85th Regiment and with Dr. Ilie Lazăr,<sup>38</sup> I set off by carriage from Sighet - via Gutin - Căvnic to Baia Mare and by train to Cluj-Sibiu.

I showed up for admission into the Romanian Army at the head of Sections VI-VII Sibiu, General Boer.<sup>39</sup> I was assigned to the newly formed 82nd Transylvanian Regiment in Târgu Mureș. Lieutenant colonel Pompei Bârsan, who was rather sickly, was appointed commander of the regiment. Major Gamber was commander of Battalion I, the undersigned - of Battalion II, and Major Heinrich - of Battalion III. We started to organize ourselves and set everything in order. We were inspected by the Colonel Florian - the barracks and housing. General Hanzu<sup>40</sup> inspected our training and organization. Mr. Hanzu was appointed commander of the 16th Division.

<sup>35</sup> The 4th Tyrolean Rifle Regiment, with the garrison at Riva del Garda (Italy).

<sup>36</sup> The Romanian National Committee was set up on 22 November 1918. Its chairman was Dr. Vasile Chindriș. Professor I. Bîlțiu Dăncuș was its secretary and Lieutenant Florentin Bîlțiu Dăncuș was the head of the National Guard.

<sup>37</sup> Coriolan-Cuza Anderco (1869-1949) was the brother of his mother, Izabela Anderco.

<sup>38</sup> Ilie Lazăr (1895-1976), a Romanian jurist and politician, who participated in the Assembly held in Alba Iulia on 1 December 1918 as a delegate of the Ocna Șugatag raion and then as leading member of the National Peasants' Party.

<sup>39</sup> Ioan Boeriu, a Romanian general in the Austro-Hungarian Army in 1915. He joined the national movement in the autumn of 1918 and participated in the military organization of Transylvania after the Great Union.

<sup>40</sup> Alexandru Hanzu (1871-1949), a colonel in the Austro-Hungarian Army (in 1917). He had an important role in the organization of the Romanian national guards in the autumn of 1918; subsequently he was appointed brigadier general and led the 16th Division during the offensive of the Romanian Army against the Hungarian communists, an action that led to the occupation of Budapest in August 1919.

On 12 April 1919, the order was given for general mobilization. We left for the Tisa in the region of Hajdú-Dorog-Nyregyháza. After several skirmishes with the Hungarian communists, we were attacked by an armoured train in the vicinity of Miskolcz. There was a stampede and all our troops fled. I was personally attacked by Brig. Col. Dragu. I went to the quarters in Târgu Mureș, where I stayed until the regiment returned, in the autumn of 1919. Colonel Dragu slandered me and I had a hard time trying to rehabilitate myself. After my justification and rehabilitation, I remained assistant chief of command for the 82nd Regiment. I often replaced in command Colonel Benedict Antonescu, who was replacing the Chief of Staff of the Division in Oradea.

On 20 May 1920, I married Miss Geta Miculescu. In 1922 I was assigned to the 7th Battalion Pioneers in Aiud and in 1923 to the Reserve Regiment in Odorhei. At the end of 1923, I was appointed commander of the 97th Reserve Regiment in Turda. In 1924, the Reserve Regiment was disbanded and I came to provide tactical support to the 82nd Infantry Regiment and, as of 1929, to the commander of the 81st Regiment in Dej. In 1932 I was appointed commander of the recruitment Circle in Cluj. In 1935 I reached the age limit - 56 years old, and I became a pensioner in Cluj.

Meanwhile, both children went to University, both attending the Faculty of Medicine. With my pension, I couldn't cope with expenses. I was forced to look for an occupation in Cluj, Bucharest, Predeal.

In 1940, in September, the Hungarians occupied Northern Transylvania and we fled to Sibiu. In September 1944, Cluj became a Romanian city again, we moved to Ghiță<sup>41</sup> and Țuți's - as tenants in their house.

## **ANNEX II**

### **Captain Artur Dan of Apșa. The hero of Lipovice**

Sibiu, 30 May 1915

We have recorded a further painful sacrifice. The brave captain and regiment adjutant *Artur Dan of Apșa* - as suggested in the official communications - appears to have fallen during a harsh attack on the numerically superior enemy on the heights west of Lipovice, on the day of 16 May this year. Although the commander of the 37th Regiment, to which the brave Romanian captain belonged, did not exclude that the possibility seriously wounded captain went into Russian captivity, he nonetheless notes with great pain that his heroic adjutant was hit and killed by an enemy bullet, which makes us assume that he died from the wounds received.

Deeply saddened by this sad news, and expressing our profound condolences to the grieving family, we shall attach here the letter addressed to us by lawyer Dr. Vasile Dan, brother to the late captain, as well as the official letters, which reveal the outstanding military qualities of the heroic Romanian captain:

*Much esteemed Editor!*

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<sup>41</sup> Ghiță Trif (1883-1963), brother-in-law.

*I am herewith attaching a copy of the official document I received yesterday from the commander of the 37th Infantry Regiment, by which I was informed that my brother, Artur, captain and adjutant of the regiment, was killed on 16 May this year on the field of honour in Galicia; I am also sending you a copy of the mail I received then from a sergeant of "Stab," in which it he lamented, in sincere words, the loss of his "unforgettable chief."*

*If you, much esteemed editor, find out that these letters, in addition to the pain deep they caused in a Romanian family, are of a more general interest, with pleasure I can put them and their original at your disposal for the sake of publication.*

*In any case, it's worth noting that while here at home, in these days, so difficult for our nation, envy would deny us even the right to sacrifice, it is on the battle field that such documents of gratitude for the military virtues of the Romanian regiment are written - (the 37th regiment is recruited from the Land of Bihor) - and for the bravery of the Romanian officer from Maramureş, "after he fought from the very first day and without any furlough and was decorated twice during the war," his superiors respecting him as "a hero in the truest sense of the word" - and his subordinates call him "the right hand and father of the regiment," though he is barely 35 years old.*

*Bravery and kindness of heart are, dear editor, the virtues of the Romanian soldier and we should take comfort in the counsel of history, which is proof that through such virtues the worthiest peoples have reached immortality.*

*May the deeds and sacrifices of our heroes bring honour and happiness to our nation!*

\*

\* \*

The commander of the 37th Infantry Regiment, Colonel A. Baszel addressed the following urgent official letter to lawyer Dr. Dan (here in Romanian translation):

*With a heavy heart and filled with emotion I shall have you know, on my behalf and on that of the body of the officers from the 37th infantry regiment, the deeply painful news that your brother, Captain Artur Dan of Apşa, probably met a heroic death for the emperor and king and for his beloved homeland on the day of 16 May this year, in the battle from the heights west of Lipowice.*

*Given this heavy blow of fate that has aggrieved you, your esteemed family, me, and the whole officer corps through the loss endured, please receive the assurance that our beloved comrade, honoured and appreciated by all his underlings, loved by his colleagues and much respected by his superiors, fell like a hero, in the truest sense of the word, on the field of honour.*

*There was something uplifting to see that this distinguished and brave officer, forgetting all dangers, braving death and attacking with me, with parts of our regiment, the enemies that were eight times more numerous, until a deadly enemy bullet fell him to the ground, in a space where - to our grief - no one could come to our aid. It does not seem, however, entirely out of the question that Artur was heavily*

wounded and ended up in Russian captivity, about which we cannot actually communicate any details for sure.

*In taking upon me the painful duty of making this known, I am here signing this message, assuring you that we have lost a very good friend in Artur.*

*Your much aggrieved,*

*A. Baszel m.p.*

*Regiment Commander.*

Campaign mail 111 - 21 May 1915

Extract from *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, no. 113, 10 June 1915

## ANEXA I

Artur Dan, *Date familiale. Familia Dan*, ms., Cluj, 1945.

**Tata:** Baziliu Dan de Apșa, născut în 1838 din părinții Gheorghe Dan de Apșa și Maria Marcuș de Bedeu.

**Mama:** Izabela Anderco de Homorod, fiica protopopului din Borșa - Maramureș Alexa Anderco, născută în 1847; căsătorită în anul 1862; decedată la 22 ianuarie 1895 în Borșa.

Tata a absolvit școlile în Sighet și Ungvár<sup>1</sup> în Ungaria. A fost sfințit preot și a fost numit capelan sistemizat la Ieud în Maramureș iar în anul 1865 preot în Bocicoel – Maramureș. Decedat în martie 1912 și înmormântat în Borșa, unde a servit ca preot de la 1885 la 1912.

### Copiii:

**Alexa:** născut în 1864. Liceul la Sighet, un an la Teologie (1893?) la Gherla. Academia de sivicultură la Selmechánya<sup>2</sup>. Inginer și inspector forestier în Hust<sup>3</sup>. Decedat în 1916 la Hust.

**Măriuca:** născută în Bocicoel în 1868. Necăsătorită. Decedată la 10 mai 1945. Înmormântată la Borșa.

**Vasile:** născut în anul 1870. A absolvit 8 clase liceale la Iglo<sup>4</sup> în Cehoslovacia cu bacalaureat. Studii juridice la Universitatea din Budapesta. Liceul și bacalaureatul în Iglo între anii 1882-1889. Studii juridice în Budapesta 1889-1895. Candidat de avocat în Budapesta și în Sibiu. Diploma de doctor în drept în 23 decembrie 1899. Censura de avocat la Curtea de Apel Tg Mureș la 6-8 februarie 1901. Avocat la Sibiu 1901-1915. Refugiat în România 1915-1918. Numit consilier la Tribunalul de la Sibiu. La 17 mai 1921 prim-președinte la Tribunalul Sibiu. Decedat 10 decembrie 1940.

**Anca:** născută în anul 1872. Decedată la 30 noiembrie 1899 (17 de ani). Înmormântată la Borșa.

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<sup>1</sup> Azi localitatea Ujhorod în Ucraina.

<sup>2</sup> Azi localitatea Banská Štiavnica (Schemnitz ) în Slovacia.

<sup>3</sup> Azi localitatea Khust în Ucraina.

<sup>4</sup> Azi orașul Spišská Nová Ves în Slovacia.



**Gheorghe:** născut în anul 1876. Liceu la Iglo și Leutschau<sup>5</sup> din Slovacia. Bacalaureatul la Iglo cu mențiune. S-a înscris în septembrie 1893 la Institutul Politehnic din Zürich din Elveția. Îmbolnăvindu-se de TBC, părăsește orașul în primăvara anului 1894 și se întoarce acasă la Borșa. S-a înscris la Acad. de drept în Sighet. Boala se agravează - decedat la 1 decembrie 1898 în Borșa.

**Artur:** născut la 8 ianuarie 1879. 4 clase liceale la Iglo în Slovacia. În septembrie 1893 am fost admis la Școala de cadeți din Budapesta. De la al doilea an și până la terminarea școlii am avut distincție dublă "Doppelte Auszeichnung".

În anul 1897 am fost mutat la Timișoara. În 18 august 1897 am fost numit stegar. M-am prezentat la 1 septembrie la regiment în Oradea<sup>6</sup>. Am fost repartizat la compania 9/37 pentru serviciul de front. În anul 1898 am fost avansat sublocotenent iar în 1903 locotenent fiind adjutant la batalionul III/37.

În decembrie 1908 am fost mutat cu batalionul la Mostar în Herzegovina. În primăvara anului 1910 ne-am unit cu regimentul la Viena. La 1 noiembrie 1912 am fost înaintat la gradul de căpitan și am fost numit adjutantul regimentului. La 1 aprilie 1914 regimentul s-a mutat de la Viena la Zagreb în Croația.

În august izbucnește Primul Război Mondial. În ultimele zile din luna iulie 1914 regimentul pleacă pe Drina<sup>7</sup> în sectorul Lesnika - Lojnita. În 8 august încep acțiunile - înaintăm până la Valjevo și ne hărțuim cu sârbii între Drina și Vajlevo.

Declarându-ne război și rușii, numeroase unități de pe Frontul Balcanic au fost mutate pe Frontul Nordic. La începutul anului 1915, suntem și noi mutați de pe Frontul Balcanic pe Frontul Rusesc în sectorul „Uzsok”. Am luat parte la toate luptele din Carpați până am ajuns la sud de Lemberg<sup>8</sup>. Duminică, 16 mai 1915, în lupta de la Lipoviec (la sud de Lemberg), vroind să salvez un soldat rănit am căzut prizonier la ruși. Am fost transportat la Kiev - Ufa - Katov Ivanoski - Zavod-Krasnojarsk - Sibiria. Am reușit să scap în 30 martie 1918 din tabăra de prizonieri urmând itinerariul cu trenul: Krasnojarsk-Tscheljabinsk-Ufa- Samara-Pensa-Tula-Kaluga-Orsa. Între Smolensk și Minsk am trecut linia avanposturilor germane în noaptea de 11 aprilie 1918. La ora 1 în dimineața de 12 aprilie ne-am prezentat 3 inși: lt. col Nattcrez, locot. rez. Csillag și subsemnatul la postul de comandă german. În drum spre regimentul meu din Belgrad am trecut prin Bocicoel. Am văzut-o pe sora Măriuca și pe văduva Elen Serafina Lang<sup>9</sup>. În 28 aprilie 1918 m-am prezentat la Belgrad la cadrele Regimentului 37.

După justificarea mea ca prizonier de război am fost avansat la gradul de maior.

Am beneficiat de un concediu de 8 săptămâni. Am petrecut cea mai mare parte la sora Măriuca în Bocicoel și la fratele Ivan - care ca medic-maior era

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<sup>5</sup> Azi Levoča, oraș în estul Slovaciei.

<sup>6</sup> Este vorba de Regimentul de infanterie nr. 37 „Erzherzog Joseph” care își avea baza de recrutare în Bihor și părțile vestice iar garnizoana batalionului III la Oradea.

<sup>7</sup> Râu în nord-vestul Serbiei, la granița cu Bosnia-Herzegovina, care a fost teatrul unor violente confruntări între armatele austro-ungare și cele sârbe la începutul războiului.

<sup>8</sup> Azi Liov, oraș situat în vestul Ucrainei.

<sup>9</sup> Soția fratelui său Alexa, decedat în Hust în anul 1916.

comandantul Feldspitalului din Knittelfeld - Stiria. Am fost de 2 ori la Zagreb. Am cercetat cunoștințele mele Mara Milonovici Krazinskaia și pe Paula Plencici o bună cunoscută de-a mea.

De 2 ori am plecat la Viena. Am intervenit prin cunoștințele mele la Armee Oberdo in Baden bei Wien<sup>10</sup> spre a fi trimis pe Frontul Italian. A doua oară am adus-o pe Nelly, soția lui Loți<sup>11</sup>, din Pozsony<sup>12</sup> unde avea domiciliu forțat. Ea stătea la familia colonelului Senner, a cărei soție era Letiția, sora lui Nelly. La Bocicoel am stat cu Măriuca până la terminarea concediului meu. Am însoțit-o pe Nelly care se afla în drum spre Sibiu până la Püspökladány<sup>13</sup>.

Eu mi-am continuat drumul spre Belgrad, mi-am câștigat cele necesare pentru front - ordonanță de serviciu. La Bozen<sup>14</sup> mi s-a comunicat adresa: Regimentul 34 Caldonazzo<sup>15</sup> - în refacere. Comandantul regimentului era colonelul Marzso von Verlety. Invitat la masă la Divizia 27, m-am prezentat comandantului Diviziei, generalul Sallagar. După o practică de 3 săptămâni la Sturm Bat. 27, mi-am luat comanda batalionului I/34 în primire.

În august 1918 am fost împinși mai înainte spre Asiago<sup>16</sup> - eu cu batalionul în Lagerul Dorole - unde nopțile erau ocazii pentru tragerile Art. Engleze. Zilnic mi se cereau raportări despre starea sufletească a trupei. Era detestabilă. Ziarele de propagandă antirăzboinică ungurești au fost regulat distribuite pe front iar orice intervenție contrară era de prisos. Lozinca era: *Megvédjük hazánkat a Franciák ellen akik a Drávához közelednek*!<sup>17</sup>.

În aceste zile critice, Regimentul 25 Losonc<sup>18</sup> urma să schimbe un regiment de pe front. Regimentul 25 a refuzat înaintarea pe front; pe Divizionár care a intervenit personal l-a huiduit.

Nouă ne-a venit porunca de a ne retrage de pe front; Kaiserjager 4 Rgt.<sup>19</sup> ne-au înlocuit.

Am condus Batalionul I/34 în mai multe etape de la Dorole-Trient-Bozen-Brixen- Brenner-la Hall (lângă Innsbruck) în Tirol - unde am fost îmbarcați cu destinația pe Frontul Balcanic, unde francezii au atins frontiera de sud a Croației. Trecând prin Pressburg, comandantul maghiar ne-a solicitat să pornim contra detașamentelor cehoslovace care înaintau de la nord spre oraș. Trupa a refuzat dorința

<sup>10</sup> Armeeoberkommando (AOK), Înaltul Comandament al Armatei austro-ungare care își avea sediul la Baden, lângă Viena.

<sup>11</sup> Este vorba de cumnata sa care avea domiciliu forțat la Bratislava deoarece soțul său, Vasile Dan - avocat la Sibiu, s-a refugiat în România în anul 1915.

<sup>12</sup> Bratislava (Pressburg - lb. germană; Pozsony - lb. magh.).

<sup>13</sup> Oraș în vestul Ungariei.

<sup>14</sup> Azi Bolzano, oraș în nordul Italiei și capitala provinciei autonome cu același nume (Tirolul de Sud).

<sup>15</sup> Regimentul de infanterie nr. 34 „Wilhelm I Deutscher Kaiser und König von Preußen” care își avea garnizoana la Košice (Kassa - lb. magh.).

<sup>16</sup> Localitate în provincia italiană Vicenza aflată pe linia frontului și distrusă în întregime de bombardamente în cursul ofensivei austro-ungare din mai 1916.

<sup>17</sup> „Ne apărăm patria împotriva francezilor care se apropie de Drava !”.

<sup>18</sup> Regimentul de infanterie nr. 25 „Edler von Pokorný” care își avea garnizoana în Losonc (azi Lučenec - Slovacia).

<sup>19</sup> Regimentul nr. 4 de vânători tirolezi cu garnizoana la Riva del Garda (Italia).

comandantului maghiar. Am continuat drumul conform ordinului inițial. Am ajuns în regiunea Kassa. Trupa părăsea trenul cum le convenea și am ajuns cu 60-80 oameni la Kassa.

Subsemnatul am primit 14 zile de concediu din care nu m-am mai întors. A doua zi dimineața cu ordonanța mea personală am plecat la Bocicoel - Maramureș, unde, după câteva zile, a sosit și fratele Ivan care și-a ocupat postul de medic de circumscripție în Dragomirești, de unde s-a mutat în aceeași calitate la Vișeu de Sus.

S-a format Sfatul Național Român în Sighet având președinte pe Dr. Chindriș<sup>20</sup>. Am luat parte cu unchiul Cuza<sup>21</sup> la 2-3 ședințe.

După scurt timp a intrat în Maramureș Regimentul 14 din Moldova care și-a asumat răspunderea pentru ordinea publică.

Cu maiorul Löhr, cu Milea din Regimentul 85 și cu Dr. Ilie Lazăr<sup>22</sup> am pornit cu trăsura de la Sighet - prin Gutin - Căvnic la Baia Mare iar cu trenul la Cluj-Sibiu.

M-am prezentat pentru primirea în Armata Română la șeful secției VI-VII Sibiu, general Boer<sup>23</sup>. Am fost repartizat la noul format Regiment Ardelean nr. 82 în Târgu Mureș. Comandant al regimentului a fost numit lt. col. Pompei Bârsan ce era cam bolnăvicios. Comandantul Batalionului I era maiorul Gamber, al Batalionului II subsemnatul, iar la al III-lea maiorul Heinrich. Am început să ne organizăm și să facem rânduială. Am fost inspectați de col. Florian - cazarma și adăpostirea. Generalul Hanzu<sup>24</sup> ne-a inspectat instrucția și organizarea. Dl. Hanzu a fost numit comandantul Diviziei a XVI-a.

La 12 aprilie 1919 s-a ordonat mobilizare generală. Am plecat spre Tisa în regiunea Hajdú-Dorog-Nyregyháza. După mai multe hărțuiri cu comuniștii unguri, am fost atacați de un tren blindat în apropiere de Miskolcz. S-a produs o învâlmășeală și toată trupa noastră a fugit. Personal am fost atacat de Col. Brig. Dragu. Am plecat la cader în Târgu Mureș, unde am stat până când s-a înapoiat regimentul, în toamna anului 1919. Colonelul Dragu m-a ponegriț și am avut o situație grea de a mă reabilita. După justificarea și reabilitarea mea, am rămas ajutor șef de comanda Regimentului 82. Am înlocuit des la comandă pe colonelul Benedict Antonescu care înlocuia pe șeful de stat major al Diviziei din Oradea.

În 20 mai 1920 m-am însurat cu D-șoara Geta Miculescu. În anul 1922 am fost la Batalionul 7 Pionieri Aiud iar în 1923 la Regimentul de rezervă din Odorhei. La sfârșitul anului 1923 am fost numit comandantul Regimentului 97 de rezervă în

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<sup>20</sup> Comitetul Național Român a fost înființat la 22 nov. 1918 având ca președinte pe Dr. Vasile Chindriș, prof. I. Bilițiu Dăncuș - secretar și Lt. Florentin Bilițiu Dăncuș - șeful Gărzilor naționale.

<sup>21</sup> Coriolan-Cuza Anderco (1869-1949) era fratele mamei sale, Izabela Anderco.

<sup>22</sup> Ilie Lazăr (1895-1976), jurist, om politic român, participant la Adunarea de la Alba Iulia din 1 decembrie 1918 în calitate de delegat al plasei Ocna Șugatag și apoi fruntaș al Partidului Național Țărănesc.

<sup>23</sup> Ioan Boeriu, general român în armata austro-ungară din anul 1915. S-a atașat mișcării naționale în toamna anului 1918 și a participat la organizarea militară a Transilvaniei după Marea Unire.

<sup>24</sup> Alexandru Hanzu (1871-1949), colonel în armata austro-ungară (din 1917). A avut un rol important în organizarea gărzilor naționale românești în toamna anului 1918; ulterior a fost numit general de brigadă și a condus Divizia a XVI-a în timpul ofensivei armatei române împotriva comuniștilor unguri, acțiune ce a dus la ocuparea Budapestei în august 1919.

Turda. În anul 1924, Regimentul de rezervă s-a desființat și am ajuns ajutor tactic la Regimentul 82 Infanterie iar în 1929 comandantul Regimentului 81 Dej. În 1932 am fost numit comandantului Cercului de recrutare din Cluj. În 1935 am atins limita de vârstă - 56 de ani, și am devenit pensionar la Cluj.

Între timp, amândoi copiii au ajuns la Universitate, amândoi la Facultatea de medicină. Cu pensia nu am putut face față cheltuielilor. Am fost nevoit să-mi caut și o ocupațiune în Cluj, București, Predeal.

În 1940, în septembrie, ungurii au ocupat Ardealul de Nord iar noi am fugit la Sibiu. În septembrie 1944, Clujul devenind din nou oraș românesc, ne-am mutat cu Ghiță<sup>25</sup> și Tuți - ca și chiriași în casa lor.

## ANEXA II

### Căpitanul Artur Dan de Apșa. Eroul de la Lipovice

Sibiu, 30 mai 1915

Avem de înregistrat o noua jertfă dureroasă. Viteazul căpitan și adjutant de regiment *Artur Dan de Apșa* - după cum rezultă din comunicările oficiale - ar fi căzut într-un atac îndârjit asupra dușmanului superior numericește pe înălțimile spre vest de Lipovice, în ziua de 16 mai a.c. Deși comandantul Regimentului 37 din care făcea parte viteazul căpitan român, lasă să se întrevadă posibilitatea ca greu rănitul căpitan a ajuns în captivitate rusească, totuși constată cu multă durere că eroicul său adjutant a fost lovit mortal de un glonț dușman, ceea ce face să se presupună că a încetat din viață în urma rănilor primite.

Adânc îndurerați de această tristă veste și exprimând familiei îndurerate profundele noastre condoleanțe, lăsăm să urmeze aici scrisoarea pe care ne-o adresează d-l avocat Dr. Vasile Dan, fratele regretatului căpitan, precum și scrisorile oficiale care scot la iveală înaltele calități militare a eroicului căpitan român:

*Mult stimat D-le redactor !*

*Îmi permit a vă trimite aici alăturat copia actului oficios, pe care l-am primit ieri de la comandantul Regimentului de infanterie nr. 37, prin care sunt avizat că fratele meu, Artur, căpitan și adjutant de regiment ar fi căzut în 16 mai a.c. pe câmpul de onoare din Galiția; de asemenea vă trimit în copie și corespondența primită tot atunci de la un sergent de „Stab”, în care acesta prin cuvinte sincere deplânge pierderea „neuitatului său șef”.*

*Dacă d-voastră, mult stimat d-le redactor, veți afla că scrisorile acestea, pe lângă durerea adâncă ce au cauzat-o într-o familie română, ar avea și un interes mai general, cu plăcere vi le pot pune la dispoziție spre publicare și originalul acestora.*

*La tot cazul, e de remarcat că până ce aici acasă în zilele acestea atât de grele pentru neamul nostru, invidia ne-ar denega chiar și dreptul de jertfire, tot atunci pe câmpul de luptă se dau astfel de documente de recunoștință față de virtuțile militare ale regimentului român - (regimentul 37 se recrutează din țara Bihorului) -*

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<sup>25</sup> Ghiță Trif (1883-1963), cumnatul său.

*și față de vitejia ofițerului român din Maramureș, pe care „după ce s-a luptat din prima zi și fără nici un concediu și a fost decorat în decursul războiului de două ori” , superiorii săi îl stimează ca „pe un erou în adevăratul sens al cuvântului” - iar subalternii îl numesc „mâna dreapta și tatăl regimentului”, deși abia a ajuns la etatea de 35 de ani.*

*Vitejia și bunătatea de inimă sunt, d-le redactor, virtuțile soldatului român și să avem mângâiere în poveștile istoriei, care ne este dovadă că prin virtuțile acestea au ajuns popoarele cele vrednice la nemurire.*

*Să fie faptele și jertfele eroilor noștri spre onoarea și fericirea neamului nostru!*

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\* \*

Comandantul Regimentului 37 infanterie, d-l colonel A. Baszel a adresat d-lui avocat Dr. Dan următoarea scrisoare oficială recomandată (în traducere românească):

*Cu inima îndurerată și adânc emoționată Vă comunic, în numele meu și al corpului ofițerilor din regimentul de infanterie 37, vestea profund dureroasă că fratele D-tale, d-l căpitan Artur Dan de Apșa și-a aflat probabil moartea eroică pentru împărat și rege și pentru iubita sa patrie în ziua de 16 mai a.c. în luptele de pe înălțimile spre vest de Lipowice.*

*În această grea lovitură a sorții care v-a atins atât de greu pe D-voastră și pe stimata Dvs familie, pe mine, pe întreg corpul ofițeresc prin pierderea îndurată, Vă rog să primiți asigurarea că iubitul nostru camarad, cinstit și apreciat de toți supușii săi, iubit de colegii săi și mult respectat de superiorii săi, a căzut pe câmpul de onoare ca un erou în adevăratul sens al cuvântului.*

*Era ceva înălțător de inimi să vezi pe acest distins și viteaz ofițer, uitând de toate pericolele, înfruntând moartea și atacând alături de mine cu părți din regimentul nostru pe dușmanul de opt ori superior, până când un glonț dușman mortal l-a culcat la pământ într-un spațiu unde - spre durerea noastră - nimeni nu i-a putut veni în ajutor. Nu pare însă exclus ca Artur să fi fost greu rănit și să fi ajuns în captivitate rusească, despre care fapt însă nu Vă putem comunica amănunte sigure.*

*Luând asupra mea greaua datorie de a vă face acestea cunoscute, semnez, asigurându-vă că în Artur am pierdut un prieten foarte bun.*

*Al d-Tale îndurerat,*

*A. Baszel m.p.*

*Comandant de regiment.*

*Poșta de campanie 111 - 21 mai 1915*

Extras din *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, nr. 113, 10 iunie 1915

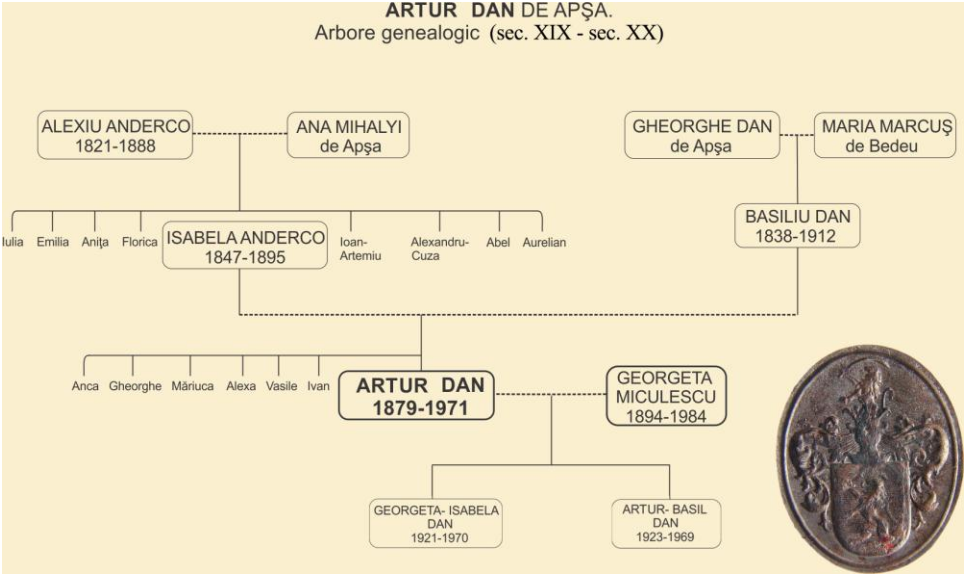


Fig. 1



Fig. 2

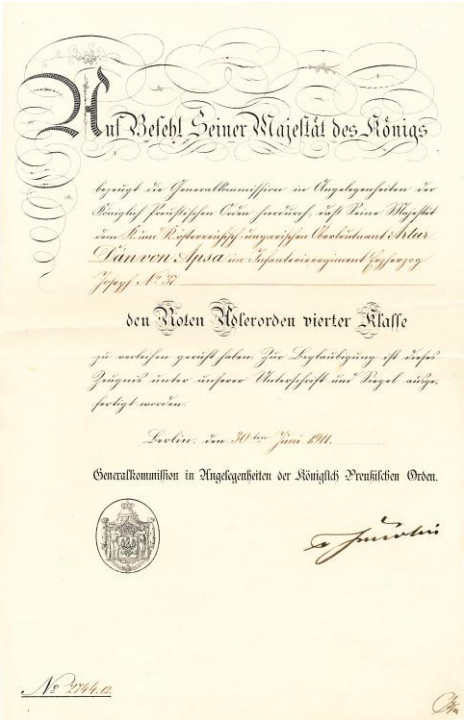


Fig. 3



Fig. 4



Fig. 5



Fig. 6

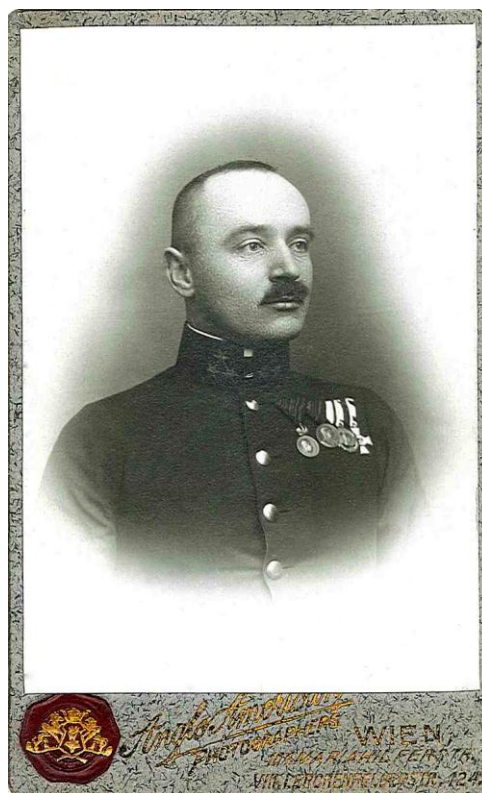


Fig. 6 a





**Fig. 7**



**Fig. 8**



**Fig. 9**



**Fig. 10**





Fig. 11

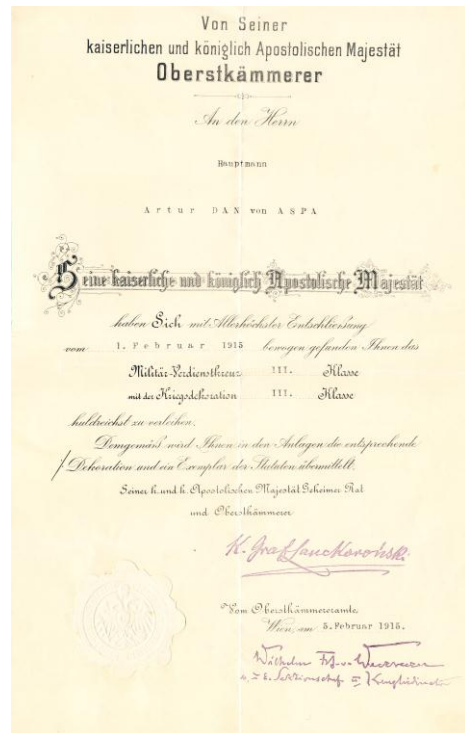


Fig. 12



Fig. 13



Fig. 14

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Fig. 15



Fig. 16



Fig. 17





Fig. 18

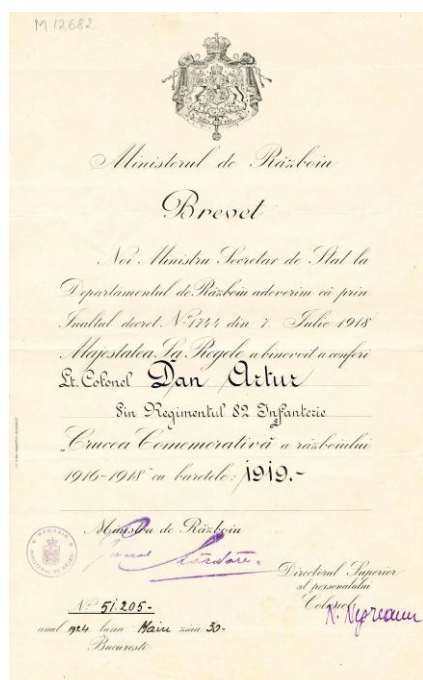


Fig. 19



Fig. 20



Fig. 21



Fig. 22



Fig. 23

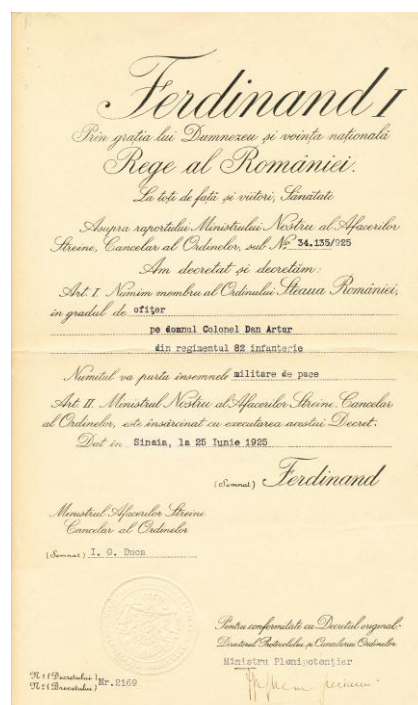


Fig. 24

**Fig. 25****Fig. 26**





**Fig. 26 a**



**Fig. 27**

## THE SPIRITUAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE UNION OF TRANSYLVANIA WITH ROMANIA

**Abstract:** This study analyses the religious consequences of the Union of Transylvania with the Kingdom of Romania, which took place on 1 December 1918. Emphasis is laid on the situation of the main denominations in Hungary and their relations with political power up until the breakup of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, after World War I. Light is shed on the political responses of the religious leaders of the Transylvanian confessional communities to the decision regarding the Union of Transylvania with Romania. Attention is given to their horizon of expectations concerning the legislation issued by the new Romanian state, as well as to the Romanians' desire to maintain the rights they previously held. Moreover, the study also analyses the ever more strained relations, after 1918, between the two Romanian confessions (Orthodox and Greek-Catholic), pointing out the changes that were brought about by the main enactments adopted in the third decade of the 20th century, which modified their status and governed their activity.

**Keywords:** ethnic-confessional minorities, rights, Greater Romania, the Orthodox Church, the ethnicity-confession relation.

\*

It is well known today that one of the components of the rich dowry with which Transylvania announced its entry into the Romanian state resided in the ethnic, linguistic and cultural mosaic across its territory.<sup>2</sup> The management of the situation of the ethnic minority groups raised serious problems for the Romanian public administration after December 1, 1918, due to the fact that they approached differently the decision of the union taken by the Romanians at that time. After a natural period of uncertainty, the Transylvanian Saxon community adopted an unambiguous political behaviour, recognizing and adhering to the Union of Transylvania with Romania,<sup>3</sup> and expressing its confidence, through this gesture, that the principles set out in Alba Iulia would be applied in a non-discriminatory manner. The Hungarian community did not manifest the same attitude. For its members, it

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<sup>2</sup> Paul E. Michelson, "Romanian Unity 1859, 1918, 1989: Beginnings, Opportunities..., and Illusions," in Kurt W. Treptow (ed.), *Tradition and Modernity in Romanian Culture and Civilization 1600-2000*, Iaşi-Oxford-Portland, The Center for Romanian Studies, 2001, p. 53; Elemér Illyés, *National Minorities in Romania. Change in Transylvania*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1982, pp. 33-39; Ioan Scurtu (ed.), *Istoria românilor, vol. VIII. România întregită (1918-1940)*, Bucureşti, Editura Enciclopedică, 2003, pp. 31-35.

<sup>3</sup> Béla Köpeczi (sous la direction de), *Histoire de la Transylvanie*, Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1992, p. 638; Illyés., *National Minorities in Romania*, p. 73. The text of the declaration adopted by the general assembly from Mediaş, in Ioan Scurtu, Liviu Boar (eds.), *Minoritățile naționale din România 1918-1925. Documente*, Bucureşti, f.e., 1995, pp. 126-128.

appeared downright impossible to admit that the millennial kingdom of St. Stephen had collapsed in such a short time.<sup>4</sup> The prospect of becoming a *gens minor* inside a state run by Romanians, whom they perceived through the lens of myriad cultural and ethnic stereotypes, led many ethnic Hungarians either to leave the territories that were now subject to “Romanian imperialism,” or to engage in passive resistance, from within the new state, whose geographical legitimacy they utterly refused to acknowledge.<sup>5</sup>

In close connection with ethnic diversity, multi-confessionalism represented another distinctive feature of the Transylvanian province, given the great variety of the internal religious landscape.<sup>6</sup> Amid the continuing state of uncertainty relating to the international status of the provinces detached from Hungary, the Romanian administration approached cordially the problem of denominational plurality.<sup>7</sup> Among the first measures taken was the invitation extended to the church, school and cultural authorities across the province to cease any kind of relations with the government in Budapest.<sup>8</sup> This was a difficult thing to achieve, not only in the Transylvanian area, where the ecclesiastical geography was strongly connected to a well-entrenched framework of symbolic representation, but also on the wider scale of Central-Eastern Europe, where religious homogeneity was, most of the times, just an exception.<sup>9</sup> In the case of the province of Transylvania, the most important denominations, with the exception of the two Romanian Churches, were: Roman Catholics (approx. 860,000 believers), the Reformed (approx. 650,000 believers), Saxon Lutherans (approx. 260,000 believers), Unitarians (approx. 70,000 believers), Hungarian Lutherans (approx. 30,000 believers), and the Jewish community, which consisted of approximately 300,000 members.<sup>10</sup> Together, they amounted to approx. 2,200,000 members of other denominational groups than those of the Transylvanian

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<sup>4</sup> Zoltán Szász, “Revolutions and national movements after the collapse of the Monarchy (1918-1919),” in Zoltán Szász (ed.), *History of Transylvania. Volume III. From 1830 to 1919*, New York, Columbia University Press, 2002, p. 779.

<sup>5</sup> Apostol Stan, *Iuliu Maniu. Naționalism și democrație. Biografia unui mare român*, București, Editura Saeculum I.O., 1997, p. 81; Carlile A. Macartney, *Hungary and Her Successors. The Treaty of Trianon and Its Consequences, 1919-1937*, London-New York-Toronto, Oxford University Press, 1937, pp. 279-280.

<sup>6</sup> Titus Podea, *Transylvania*, Bucarest, f.e., 1936, p. 131; Nicolae Gudea, “Reflecții privind relația Stat-Biserică – o abordare teologică greco-catolică,” in *Theological Doctrines on the Ideal Church-State Relation*, Cluj-Napoca, Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2000, pp. 50-51.

<sup>7</sup> Gheorghe Iancu, *Contribuția Consiliului Dirigent la consolidarea statului național unitar român (1918-1920)*, Cluj-Napoca, Editura Dacia, 1985, pp. 260-261.

<sup>8</sup> *Gazeta Oficială. Publicată de Consiliul Dirigent al Transilvaniei, Banatului și Ținuturilor românești din Ungaria*, no. 5/1919, p. 17.

<sup>9</sup> Ivan T. Berend, György Ránki, *East Central Europe in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1977, p. 107; Antonietta Moretti, “Transylvania: terra di tre culture,” in Adriano Caprioli, Luciano Vaccaro (a cura di), *Storia religiosa dell’Ungheria*, Gazzada, Fondazione Ambrosiana Paolo VI, 1992, p. 315.

<sup>10</sup> I have taken over this information from Z. Străjanu, “Culte minoritare în Transilvania,” in *Transilvania, Banatul, Crișana, Maramureșul 1918-1928*, vol. II, București, Cultura Națională, 1929, p. 835.



Romanians, representing almost 40% of the total population in the province.<sup>11</sup> The presence of these groups in an area that had been redefined geographically and politically raised the issue of their adjustment to the new territorial and power coordinates.<sup>12</sup> The first reactions, which were all too natural, were those of reluctance or even the refusal to acknowledge the new regional or central authorities, an attitude that was manifested at the symbolic level through the refusal to take the oath of allegiance to the sovereigns of Romania and to comply with the laws governing the new country.<sup>13</sup>

The drawing of the new state borders also led, however, to the need for an adjustment of the confessional perimeter to the new political boundaries. The biggest transformations affected the ecclesiastical structures on the western and north-western border of the young Romanian state. The territory of the three Catholic dioceses of Latin rite was severed through the drawing of the new borders: the believers in the Diocese of Satu Mare became the citizens of three neighbouring countries: Romania, Hungary and Czechoslovakia; the greatest area of authority of the Diocese of Oradea continued to lie on the territory of Hungary, while the largest part of the Diocese of Cenad belonged, from a geographical point of view, to Romania, an apostolic administration being set up in Timisoara in 1923.<sup>14</sup> Basically, the only Catholic diocese of the Latin rite that had remained intact from the point of view of its jurisdictional territory was that of Transylvania.<sup>15</sup>

But confessional diversity was not a feature that was the exclusive preserve of the minority ethnic groups. Even inside the Romanian ethnic bloc, the political unity accomplished in 1918 became vulnerable because of the presence of a second Church, the Greek-Catholic one. An inseparable part of the same Transylvanian heritage, the Greek-Catholic Church risked being associated now, unwittingly, with an unwanted stigma that was reminiscent of the religious schism which had emerged inside the same nation more than two centuries before.<sup>16</sup> At the same time, it symbolized the perpetuation of a tradition that had been reinforced over time, a tradition of loyalty to the reigning Austrian House, but also of solid cultural and intellectual connections with the Catholic West.<sup>17</sup> Thus, after World War I, this ecclesial community was faced with the prospect of cohabitation in a majority Orthodox confessional environment, strongly connected to the eastern traditions and values, of Byzantine tradition.

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<sup>11</sup> *Ibidem*. Similar data are provided by Illyés, *National Minorities in Romania*, pp. 213-216.

<sup>12</sup> Maria Ghitta, "Între ideologie și mentalitate: problema minorităților din Transilvania în primul deceniu interbelic," in *Identitate și alteritate. Studii de imagologie*, vol. II, Cluj-Napoca, Presa Universitară Clujeană, 1998, pp. 333-335.

<sup>13</sup> Străjanu, "Culte minoritare în Transilvania," p. 836.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 842; Mózes Nóda, *Biserica romano-catolică din Transilvania în perioada interbelică*, Cluj-Napoca, Editura Studium, 2008, pp. 19-22.

<sup>15</sup> Nóda, *Biserica romano-catolică din Transilvania*, p. 23.

<sup>16</sup> Irina Livezeanu, *Cultură și naționalism în România Mare 1918-1930*, trans. from English by Vlad Russo, București, Humanitas, 1998, p. 167.

<sup>17</sup> Liviu Maior, *In the Empire: Habsburgs and Romanians. From Dynastic Loyalty to National Identity*, Cluj-Napoca, Romanian Academy, Center for Transylvanian Studies, 2008, pp. 223-240.

In fact, the problems entailed by the diversification of the religious spectrum inside the new Romanian state represented a topic for reflection also in the political world of the Old Kingdom. Even before knowing for sure that their country would win the war, Take Ionescu and Nicolae Filipescu, who had been irreconcilable political opponents until not long before, had been considering, ever since the onset of hostilities, “the fatal consequences of the transformation of Smaller Romania into Greater Romania, including [the Romanians] across the Carpathians.”<sup>18</sup> There were six major issues the two political leaders identified as requiring immediate, yet cautious resolution. Among these, the last but one place was occupied by “the matter of the Church.” Resuming these ideas in the plenary of the Assembly of Deputies, during the time of exile in Iași, the leader of the Conservative-Democratic Party proposed a rethinking of the foundations of the power relations between the state and the Orthodox Church: “today we have only one religion, we have citizens of only one religion in the state, Eastern Orthodox, and we have a church organization which is – how should I put it? – an established, official church. Over there (in Transylvania – our note), there is also an Eastern Orthodox Church, but it is experienced in freedom. We will have to unify them. And then, what? Will we take our statist system over there? Or will we adopt the system of freedom [from across the mountains]? Of course, we will thus have a free Church in a free state, as Cavour said. And let us not fear the power of the Church. In the land of universal suffrage there should also be other strong bodies, besides the state, because the balance of all these forces will give birth to true freedom, the vibrant life of new Romania.”<sup>19</sup> In addition, that talented orator did not hesitate to give an overview – true, somewhat complicated – of the confessional structure of future Romania: “in new Romania, there will be around 1½ million Greek Catholics, about half a million Roman Catholics, a few hundred thousand Protestants, all of them citizens of the Romanian state. The Romanian state will not afford to be a confessional state, but will be, like all modern states, a state in which we will have, as I said, free Churches in a free state.”<sup>20</sup>

As a matter of fact, ensuring the religious rights and freedoms in the successor states of the great empires was one of the major concerns in the debates that were held at the Paris Peace Conference. The desperate messages submitted by the representatives of the religious confessions in Transylvania aroused concern among those who were to confirm the dismantling of the old religious universe, through the reshaping of the national borders. The commitments taken by the Romanian government were not sufficient to ensure the good intentions of the new state towards the ethnic-confessional minority groups across Romania’s territory, despite the fact that the principles the Romanians were willing to build the new state upon were among the most promising: suffice it to think about the resolution with constitutional effect adopted in Alba Iulia, which explicitly guaranteed the “equal entitlement and full autonomous confessional freedom for all the denominations in the State.”

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<sup>18</sup> The episode in question is also commented by Nicolae Brînzeu, *Culte în România*, Lugoj, Editura “Sionul Românesc,” 1925, pp. 4-5.

<sup>19</sup> *Monitorul Oficial. Part III. Desbaterile Adunării Deputaților*, no. 58/1917, p. 622.

<sup>20</sup> *Monitorul Oficial. Part III. Desbaterile Adunării Deputaților*, no. 58/1917, p. 623.

The forthcoming change was to prove fundamental also for the two Romanian denominations in Transylvania. With a comparable institutional architecture (at the time of the Union of Transylvania with Romania, the Greek-Catholic Church had a metropolitan see with the three suffragan dioceses, while the Orthodox Church also had the rank of a Metropolitanate and of two subordinate bishoprics, of Caransebeș and Arad, within the latter operating a second consistory, in Oradea – an ecclesiastical body that was on the same par with the diocesan body) and with a relatively balanced number of believers, the Greek-Catholic and the Orthodox Churches had managed to secure their independence in relation to the other ecclesiastical institutions, this status being recognized also by the laws by which the country was governed. The Greek-Catholic Church had been removed from under the authority of the primacy of Hungary in the mid-19th century. This should be correlated with the efforts made by the Holy See at that time to strengthen and fortify, from a confessional point of view, the territories from the eastern border of the Habsburg Empire, after the dramatic moments that had taken place inside its borders in the middle of that century, when the revolutionary fury had shaken the framework of the Monarchy's institutional establishment.<sup>21</sup> The Orthodox Church had received the consent to be elevated to the rank of a Metropolitanate, at a time of profound internal reorganizations, which had led to its hierarchical separation from the Serbian Orthodox Church and the adoption of a status that, besides standardizing its organization, ensured its cohesiveness and contributed to the massive secularization of its decision-making bodies.<sup>22</sup> The place that each of the two Romanian denominations had acquired in the corpus of Hungarian legislation was similar. Law article XXXIX of 1868 recognized the independence of the Romanian Greek-Catholic Church; moreover, law article IX of the same year acknowledged the independence status of the Romanian Greek-Oriental Church in Hungary and Transylvania and its right to autonomous organization. In addition to this, at the proposal of Ioan Pușcariu, the Parliament in Budapest adopted paragraph 6 of the same law by which the Orthodox Church was recognized as a national Church.<sup>23</sup>

Through the Union of Transylvania with Romania, the clerical and secular elite of the two Churches hoped not only that each ecclesial institution would maintain the rights and freedoms gained during their operation within the frameworks of the Austro-Hungarian Empire (with all its avatars of governance), but also for a speedy improvement of the overall situation of these churches, which would now operate inside the Romanian state and upon which political and national pressures would no longer be exerted. Given the radical metamorphoses that had transposed the

<sup>21</sup> Edward Elton Young Hales, *Pio IX: studio critico sulla politica e sulla religione d'Europa nel secolo XIX*, traduzione italiana a cura di Francesco Bianchi, Torino, Società Editrice Internazionale, 1958, pp. 111-130.

<sup>22</sup> Johann Schneider, *Ecleziologia organică a mitropolitului Andrei Șaguna și fundamentele ei biblice, canonice și moderne*, translated by diac. Ioan I. Ică jr., Sibiu, Editura Deisis, 2008, pp. 98-102.

<sup>23</sup> Sándor Biró, *The Nationalities Problem in Transylvania 1867-1940. A Social History of the Romanian Minority under Hungarian Rule, 1867-1918, and of the Hungarian Minority under Romanian Rule, 1918-1940*, translated from the Hungarian original by Mario D. Fenyo, New York, Columbia University Press, 1992, p. 130.

two Romanian confessions – together with the whole multi-ethnic and pluri-denominational society in Transylvania – within a framework that was fundamentally different from a political and statal point of view, there appeared a concern to regulate the relations with the new authorities which had assumed the governance of the province and whose legitimacy was unequivocally recognized by the high prelates of the two Romanian Churches. Less than three weeks after the entry into service of the Ruling Council, the head of the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Instruction announced the intention of this institution to establish a regulatory framework that would create “a solid ground for the future development of religious and cultural establishments.”<sup>24</sup> Consequently, he extended an invitation to the senior member of the Greek-Catholic episcopate (at that time the metropolitan see of Blaj was vacant) to draft, by 1 March 1919, a “well-documented memorandum in which you will present most accurately the views and wishes you have with regard to the consistency of relations between the Metropolitanate led by Your Holiness and the new Romanian state, as well as to the affairs of the denominational schools under the patronage of Your Holiness.” The document complied in reply was the result of discussions among the most important leaders of the Romanian Greek-Catholic Church at that time, during a conference that lasted no less than four days, in which they debated the most pressing issues of the Church. In the requested memorandum, they emphasized the fact that the two entities (Church and State) were to exist in a relation of independence from each other. However, this idea was understood in a fundamentally different way from the model of total separation, practised in the European West.<sup>25</sup> Assuming a goal of the “transcendental spiritual” type, the Church did not lose sight of the “welfare and fleeting happiness of its members,” and by promoting the principles of Christian order, freedom, brotherly love, etc., the Church brought the state “the most beautiful service.” Addressing basically the same subjects in their twofold capacity as members of the Church and citizens of the state, each institution could benefit the other. The Church endeavoured to show “due honour” to the state and to promote its interests “with all the strength of its moral,” while the state was bound “to respond to it by honouring, shielding and materially supporting it.”<sup>26</sup> As can be easily seen, in defining the relations between state and Church, the Greek-Catholic religious leaders laid emphasis on the social function of the latter: through the dissemination of moral precepts, the Church aimed to perfect its members on a spiritual level, which was also a goal the state pursued through its laws, albeit on a material, immanent level. This was reason enough to assert that the rapport between the two tiers of power was to be one of coordination and collaboration.

The representative of the Holy See in Vienna showed an interest in the evolution of the events in the former Dual Monarchy. During the first days of January

<sup>24</sup> Arhivele Naționale, Serviciul Județean Alba, Fond *Mitropolia greco-catolică română de Alba Iulia–Făgăraș, Blaj. Registratura generală. Documente înregistrate*, files no. 497/1919, f. 2r.

<sup>25</sup> *Biserica și Statul. Memoriu prezentat Consiliului Dirigent român din partea Episcopatului provinciei bisericești greco-catolice române de Alba Iulia și Făgăraș*, Blaj, Tipografia Seminarului greco-catolic, 1919, p. 3.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibidem*.

1919, he informed the secretary of state, Pietro Gasparri, about the principles set out by the Romanians on December 1, 1918.<sup>27</sup> Despite the non-discriminatory nature of the decisions reached at that time, the diplomatic envoy of the sovereign pontiff did not lose sight of the fact that the Catholics were to have the status of a religious minority within the framework of the widened Romanian state. Not only the number, but especially the attitude that the Romanian state had manifested towards the Catholic subjects in its territory before the war aroused concern among the high church officials. The Catholic denomination was virtually ignored in the corpus of Romanian legislation. Coupled with this, the attitudes of suspicion towards the insular communities of Catholic believers and clergy conveyed a strong feeling that the Catholic Church was considered a foreign body in Romania or, even worse, that it could be labelled as an enemy of this state.<sup>28</sup> Only on 18 March 1918, during the preliminaries of the peace treaty with the German Empire and the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, was it explicitly shown that the Catholic Church would have its legal person status recognized by the Romanian state.<sup>29</sup> But above all, the serious concerns among the pontifical circles regarding the future of the Catholic Church in Greater Romania were based on the tutelary attitude the state displayed towards the Orthodox Church, which it endeavoured to capitalize upon as its own property and to place it at its sole discretion.<sup>30</sup> This idea was emphasized by Alexandru Nicolescu in his correspondence with the pontifical officials, in his capacity of procurator of the Romanian Greek-Catholic Church to the Holy See.<sup>31</sup> In one of his reports, the legate for the province of Alba Iulia and Făgăraș used the term “enfeoffment” to describe the relationship between the Romanian state and the Orthodox Church across its territory.<sup>32</sup> Like the rest of the Orthodox Churches that had become “slaves to the civil power,” abandoning their independence for which the Holy Fathers had fought to the point of martyrdom, the Orthodox Church of old Romania had long been pressured by the “tyrannical yoke” of governments, political parties and influential people, as Nicolescu stated. To support his claims, the authorized representative of the Greek-Catholic Church thoroughly analysed the provisions of the legislation still in operation in the old Kingdom at that time, whereby the Orthodox Church was

<sup>27</sup> Ion Dumitriu-Snagov, *România și Vaticanul. Relații diplomatice 1918*, București, f.e., f.a., p. 18.

<sup>28</sup> Raymund Netzhammer, *Episcop în România. Într-o epocă a conflictelor naționale și religioase*, vol. I, ed. Nikolaus Netzhammer in collaboration with Krista Zach, București, Editura Academiei Române, 2005, *passim*; Ion Dumitriu-Snagov, *România în diplomația Vaticanului*, București, Editura Europa Nova, 1999, pp. 40-41.

<sup>29</sup> Netzhammer, *Episcop în România*, vol. I, pp. 765-796; vol. II, pp. 1493-1500; Hans-Christian Maner, *Multikonfessionalität und neue Staatlichkeit. Orthodoxe, griechisch-katholische und römisch-katholische Kirche in Siebenbürgen und Altrumanien zwischen der Weltkriegen (1918-1940)*, Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag, 2007, p. 51.

<sup>30</sup> Olivier Gillet, “Orthodoxie, nation et ethnicité en Roumanie au XXe siècle: un problème ecclésiologique et politique,” in Maria Crăciun, Ovidiu Ghitta (ed.), *Ethnicity and Religion in Central and Eastern Europe*, Cluj-Napoca, Cluj University Press, 1995, p. 349.

<sup>31</sup> Sergiu Soica, *Biserica greco-catolică din Banat în perioada anilor 1920-1948*, Timișoara, Editura Eurostampa, 2011, p. 41.

<sup>32</sup> Arhivele Naționale, Serviciul Județean Alba, Fond *Mitropolia greco-catolică română de Alba Iulia-Făgăraș, Blaj. Arhiva generală. Acte inventariate*, file no. 4147/1934, vol. I, f. 1r-8r.

subject to the whims of the temporal power holders – a degrading situation that should draw an alarm signal for the Greek-Catholic Church. Finally, the confession and especially the religious education of the sovereigns of Romania and their offspring was another thorny issue, which had imperilled Romania's relations with the Holy See at the beginning of the 20th century. Imposed as a *raison d'état* when the dynasty of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen was brought to the Romanian throne, the constitutional provision which stipulated that “the descendants of His Highness will be raised in the Orthodox religion of the East” was likely to produce tensions and even fractures in the relationship between the Catholic ruling family and the Holy See.<sup>33</sup> The fact that King Carol I lacked direct heirs meant that the constitutional article in question produced effects only upon the descendants of Ferdinand I. This was the main reason why, as of 1900, the future sovereign of Romania was denied the administration of the Eucharistic sacrament.<sup>34</sup> In fact, the situation was not unique in the area. The reigning house of Saxa-Coburg Gotha in Bulgaria was in a similar position. The fact that Ferdinand entrusted the religious education of the Crown prince Boris to the Orthodox Church led to the rebel monarch being denied the absolution of sins and communion until that serious error had been corrected. In the Romanian case, the separation between the sovereign and the Catholic Church lasted for more than two decades, conciliation being the result of severe negotiations between the two parties.<sup>35</sup>

After the Union of Transylvania with Romania, other, less fortunate events strained the relations of the Romanian state with the Catholic Church. Of all, the most offensive towards national pride appears to have been the refusal of the Roman-Catholic higher clergy in Transylvania to submit the oath of allegiance to the sovereign of the Kingdom of Romania. Seen as an act of disobedience and rebellion towards the new centre of political power, this episode was put an end to in the spring of 1921, when the minority bishops took the requested oath (despite their continuing dissatisfaction with the dwindling of their agrarian property and, hence, of the revenue it generated, with the agrarian reform law, with the policies adopted in the

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<sup>33</sup> For King Carol I's relations with the Catholic Church, see Ana Victoria Sima, “La religione della Casa Reale di Romania e le sue implicazioni politiche a ridosso della Prima Guerra Mondiale,” in Ion Cârja (a cura di), *Imperi e nazioni nell'Europa centro-orientale alla vigilia della Prima Guerra Mondiale. Atti del Convegno internazionale, Cluj-Napoca, 21 febbraio 2014*, introduzione di Andrea Ciampani, Roma – Cluj-Napoca, Argonaut, 2016, pp. 189-201.

<sup>34</sup> Netzhhammer, *Episcop în România*, vol. I, p. 19, 83; Francesco Dante, “Sui rapporti tra Santa Sede e Romania tra Ottocento e Novecento,” in Ion Cârja (a cura di), *I Romeni e la Santa Sede. Miscellanea di studi di storia ecclesiastica*, Bucarest–Roma, Casa Editrice Scriptorium, 2004, p. 129.

<sup>35</sup> Netzhhammer, *Episcop în România*, vol. I, p. 826; vol. II, pp. 909, 919-920; Alexandru Marghiloman, *Note politice, vol. IV: 1918-1919*, București, Editura Institutului de arte grafice “Eminescu,” 1927, p. 210; Adela Herban, *România-Vatican 1920-1940. Relații diplomatice*, Deva, Editura “Călăuza,” 2002, p. 64; Marius Theodorian-Carada, *Acțiunea Sfântului Scaun în România. De acum și de întotdeauna*, București, Editura Autorului, 1936, p. 13. For details, see Lucian Turcu, “Com'è avvenuta la riconciliazione del re Ferdinando I di Romania con la Chiesa cattolica? (la fase postbellica),” in Ioan-Aurel Pop, Ovidiu Ghitta, Ioan Bolovan, Ana Victoria Sima (a cura di), *Dal cuore dell'Europa. Omaggio al profesor Cesare Alzati per il compimento dei 70 anni*, Cluj-Napoca, Accademia Romana, Centro di Studi Transilvani, Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2015, pp. 363-376.

field of education, or with the plans for the diminution or even the dissolution of some dioceses), pledging to respect the laws that governed the country.<sup>36</sup> During that ceremony, the two bishops who took the oath (Majláth Gusztáv Károly and Glattfelder Gyula) handed over to the sovereign of the country several petitions through which they demanded that the state should recognize the rights that the Catholic Church in Transylvania had benefited from within the framework of the Hungarian state: an autonomous organization, financial assistance from the state, the intact preservation of the denominational education system, the exemption from expropriation of the estates owned by the Church and by the Catholic Status.<sup>37</sup> The implications of the gesture of the Roman Catholic bishops in Transylvania are significant from several points of view: first, it opened the way for an official relationship between the Transylvanian branch of the Roman Catholic Church and the Romanian state. The latter proceeded immediately to the payment of the amounts representing salary supplementations, retroactively, as of 1 July 1920.<sup>38</sup> Then, what should not be overlooked is the change that took place at the level of the political behaviour of the Hungarian community, influenced by the decision of its leaders to abandon the attitude of passive resistance against the Romanian authorities, an attitude that had been adopted immediately after the December 1, 1918, and to replace it with an active presence on the Romanian political scene, through the founding of the Hungarian Party in Romania, at the end of 1922. This political organization began a long battle for obtaining the right to self-government in the regions where Hungarians represented the majority of the population.<sup>39</sup> The gesture of the Catholic episcopate of Latin rite must be put in connection with the clarification of the international situation of the provinces that had been detached from the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, as this contributed to a clearer diplomatic policy adopted by the Holy See towards this space<sup>40</sup> and toward the new Romanian state. This enabled the contacts between Romania and the Holy See to become official and for the first exchange of diplomatic envoys to be made between the two sides. Demetriu Pennescu received then the assignment from the Averescu government to represent the interests of Romania to the Holy See, while Francesco Marmaggi, titular Archbishop of Adrianople, was empowered by the pope to open the series of apostolic nuncios accredited with the royal government of Romania.<sup>41</sup> The ambitious plans of the first diplomatic representative of the sovereign pontiff in Romania, to win over the Orthodox Romanians to the Catholic Church, required the tempering of the grievances expressed by the Catholic communities inside the country against the Romanian political decisions. To that end, the Holy See showed

<sup>36</sup> *Cultura Creștină*, IX, no. 7-9/1920, p. 217; *Unirea*, XXXI, no. 16/1921, p. 3; Străjanu, "Culte minoritare în Transilvania," p. 840; Nóda, *Biserica romano-catolică din Transilvania*, p. 32.

<sup>37</sup> Nóda, *Biserica romano-catolică din Transilvania*, p. 32.

<sup>38</sup> Străjanu, "Culte minoritare în Transilvania," p. 840.

<sup>39</sup> Nóda, *Biserica romano-catolică din Transilvania*, p. 37; Ion Scurtu, Gheorghe Buzatu, *Istoria românilor în secolul XX (1918-1948)*, București, Paideia, 1999, pp. 36-37.

<sup>40</sup> Martin Conway, *Catholic Politics in Europe 1918-1945*, London and New York, Routledge, 1997, pp. 2-4.

<sup>41</sup> *Cultura Creștină*, IX, no. 4-6/1920, p. 170; Dante, *Sui rapporti tra Santa Sede e Romania*, p. 129.

its willingness to comply with requests made by the Romanian authorities, including those of transferring some individuals from the top of the ecclesiastical hierarchy who had become undesirable, such as the Bishop of Cenad, Glattfelder Gyula, or the Archbishop of Bucharest, Raymund Netzhammer.<sup>42</sup> In any case, this generous idea of religious union had gathered strong roots among the Romanians, immediately after the end of the war.<sup>43</sup> For some of its apostles, it became an imperative placed in the service of strengthening the internal cohesion of the nation, given the fulfilment of the national ideal.<sup>44</sup> For most, however, it was a good opportunity to shed light, sometimes with sufficient aggression, on various confessional partisanships. To address this drawback, which affected the image of the Romanians' perfect cohesion, several variants were taken into account, some of them being far from applicable. But beyond their content, these plans managed to highlight the image that their authors projected both onto the denomination they belonged to and onto other denominations.<sup>45</sup> The Orthodoxist hypothesis relied on the idea of a common destiny of the Romanian state and the Orthodox Church in its bosom. In view of this overlap, bordering on confusion, the sign of equality between "Romanian" and "Orthodox" seemed only natural.<sup>46</sup> This osmosis between nation and confession encouraged the notion that Orthodoxy was the source of the Romanians' spiritual unity.<sup>47</sup> Under these conditions of doctrinarian intransigence, it was evident that other variables of the state-Church equation were difficult to admit. The Greek-Catholic Church, for instance, was acknowledged for its undeniable merits in the cultural and social history of the Transylvanian Romanians, but with the fulfilment of the ideal of national unity,

<sup>42</sup> Nicolae Brînzeu, *Memoriile unui preot bătrân*, edited, foreword and notes by Pia Brânzeu, Timișoara, Editura Marineasa, 2008, pp. 338-339; Atila Varga, "Primul război mondial și consecințele Marii Uniri din 1918 asupra relațiilor dintre Biserica romano-catolică din Banat și guvernul de la București (1918-1923)," in Gheorghe Măndrescu, Giordano Altarozzi (eds. / a cura di), *Războiul și societatea în secolul XX. Lucrările sesiunii italo-române Cluj-Napoca – Arcalia, 6-8 mai 2005 / Guerra e società nel XX secolo. Atti del convegno italo-romeno Cluj-Napoca – Arcalia, 6-8 maggio 2005*, Cluj-Napoca–Roma, Editura Accent, 2007, p. 161.

<sup>43</sup> See, for instance, the ideas of Onisifor Ghibu, *În jurul catolicismului și a unirii Bisericilor*, Arad, Editura Librăriei diecezane, 1925, pp. 3-54; *Idem*, *O imperioasă problemă națională: unitatea religioasă a românilor*, Beiuș, Tiparul Tipografiei "Ateneul," 1931, pp. 3-64.

<sup>44</sup> Charles Upson Clark, *United Roumania*, Dodd, Mead and Company, New York, 1932, pp. 102-103; George Enache, "Religie și modernitate în Vechiul Regat. Dezbateri privind rolul social, politic și național al Bisericii ortodoxe române în a doua jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea și începutul veacului al XX-lea," in Ioan Bolovan, Sorina Paula Bolovan (eds.), *Schimbare și devenire în istoria României*, Cluj-Napoca, Academia Română, Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 2008, p. 392; *Biserica noastră și cultele minoritare. Marea discuție parlamentară în jurul Legii Cultelor*, cu o introducere de N. Russu Ardeleanu, București, f.e., 1928, p. 4.

<sup>45</sup> Cesare Alzati, Laura Evola, *Il dibattito confessionale nella Grande Romania e i suoi echi nella pubblicistica prima e dopo l'89. Alcune considerazioni*, in Luciano Vaccaro (a cura di), *Storia religiosa dello spazio romeno*, II volume, Milano, Collana promossa dalla Fondazione Ambrosiana Paolo VI, Centro Ambrosiano, 2016, pp. 646-650.

<sup>46</sup> See Dumitru Stăniloae, *Ortodoxie și românism*, Sibiu, Tipografia Arhidiecezană, 1939, *passim*.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 349; James P. Niessen, "Naționalismul românesc: o ideologie a integrării și a mobilizării," in Peter F. Sugar (ed.), *Naționalismul est-european în secolul al XX-lea*, translated by Radu Parascchivescu, București, Curtea Veche, 2002, p. 236; Dumitru Stăniloae, *Reflecții despre spiritualitatea poporului român*, București, Editura Elion, 2004, *passim*.



it was considered that its mission had come to an end.<sup>48</sup> Although it was regarded as one of the most effective channels whereby Romanians could draw closer to West European civilization, the Greek-Catholic Church was criticized for its hierarchical and dogmatic obedience to Rome, which was considered responsible for tainting national sovereignty and “breaking the law” and the eastern traditions of faith. In addition, the Greek-Catholic Church belonged to the universal family ecclesial and this gave it a note of cosmopolitanism, which was not altogether favourable to the sentiment of national pride. These assessments after a rigid nationalist grid were coupled with other imputations, of a subjective nature. In the first place, Greek-Catholicism was perceived in Romania as a “specific Transylvanian brand.”<sup>49</sup> Although the presence of Greek-Catholics in the extra-Carpathian space was not a recent phenomenon, those communities, which were scattered geographically, enhanced the idea of the denominational divisionism present among the Transylvanian Romanians. Secondly, it should not be overlooked that a significant percentage of the Transylvanian political leaders belonged to this incriminated denomination. After a failed attempt, in the early 1920s, at political collaboration between the Romanian National Party and the National Liberal Party, the public discourse condemning the regionalist aspirations noticeable inside a Transylvanian political group started to include references to the Greek-Catholic Church, which, by its very presence, allegedly sustained those centrifugal trends.<sup>50</sup> Finally, the overt or covert involvement of some priests, of the press or even of organizations inside the Catholic Church in the election campaigns or in support of the candidates of the Romanian National Party gave the impression of a Church that was politically engaged, exceeding by far the scope of its primordial mission. On the other hand, at the level of the elite of the Greek-Catholic Church, a broad horizon of expectations had been created concerning the benefits of cohabitation with the “blood brothers.” The reality was, however, to refute, little by little, those ambitious ideals.<sup>51</sup> The foremost among them and certainly the most pretentious was that of attracting all the Romanians to Greek-Catholicism.<sup>52</sup> Such a path was appealing not only because of the Romanians’ Latin roots, but also considering the capital of prestige that the Catholic Church held (in terms of its organization, the instruments through which it

<sup>48</sup> Gudea, *Reflecții privind relația Stat-Biserică*, p. 54.

<sup>49</sup> Gúdor K. Botond, “Biserica Greco-Catolică între 1918-1948. Considerații generale,” in Călin-Daniel Pațulea, Anton Rus, Andreea Mârza (eds.), *Coordonatele preoției greco-catolice. Istorie și actualitate*, Blaj, Editura “Buna Vestire,” 2002, p. 273.

<sup>50</sup> *Biserica noastră și cultele minoritare*, pp. 8-9.

<sup>51</sup> As a member of the delegation mandated by the Ruling Council to present in Bucharest the resolution of the Assembly of Alba Iulia, Iuliu Hossu stated in front of the political figures south of the Carpathians, at the festive dinner given in honor of the guests from Transylvania, that Bucharest was “the Jerusalem of our political and spiritual aspirations”: *Credința noastră este viața noastră. Memoriile cardinalului dr. Iuliu Hossu*, ed. Pr. Silviu Augustin Prunduș OSBM, Cluj-Napoca, Casa de Editură “Viața Creștină,” 2003, p. 109. For the meanings of this statement, see Ioan-Marius Bucur, *Din istoria Bisericii greco-catolice române (1918-1953)*, Cluj-Napoca, Editura Accent, 2003, pp. 30-31.

<sup>52</sup> Biró, *The Nationalities Problem in Transylvania 1867-1940*, p. 464; Mózes Nóda, “The Historical, Political and Ecclesiastical Background of the 1927 Concordat between the Vatican and Romania,” in *Journal for the Study of Religions and Ideologies*, vol. 9, no. 27 (Winter 2010), p. 289.

propagated the teaching of faith or its social involvement), even among the Orthodox world.<sup>53</sup> But this admiration was, no doubt, subjective, if we take into account the fact that there was no official, institutional dialogue between the Orthodox Church of Romania and the top representatives of the Roman Catholic Church, in which the aforementioned theme was debated.

If the ideal of a communion of faith with the Catholic Church was difficult to achieve among all the Romanians, the right to self-organization and autonomous operation was obsessively clamoured by the religious leaders of minority groups and not only.<sup>54</sup> Making a common front to face the measures taken or envisaged by the Romanian authorities, the representatives of the Catholic (the Transylvanian branch of Latin rite), Reformed and Unitarian denominations laid the foundations for an interfaith bloc, which intended to engage in a targeted and efficient cooperation through the adoption of a unitary conduct towards the ecclesiastical, educational or cultural measures that were taken by the Romanian authorities and affected them directly.<sup>55</sup> Even inside the Greek-Catholic Church, plans of this kind were ardently devised at that time, opening a broad horizon for projections concerning the desirable role and place of Greek-Catholicism within the post-war framework of the Romanian state.<sup>56</sup>

The third decade of the 20th century represented not only a period in which the new ethnic-confessional groups adjusted to the new political, cultural and societal ambience in which they were included after 1918, but also a time when the most important legislative acts regulating their activity were issued. Becoming a milestone for the political milieu and for the Romanian society in general, the Constitution of 1923 was the first notable attempt at anchoring the Orthodox and the Greek-Catholic Churches in the Romanian legislation after 1918. The feeling that both Churches had come out victorious from that test did not last long. The Orthodox Church did not hesitate to exploit to the maximum the benefits that its close links with the state and its identification with the Romanian nation could bring, while the Greek-Catholic Church sought to accelerate as much as possible its institutional development and to preserve its identity heritage, in spite of the fact that its competitive relationship with the dominant Church placed it in a position of obvious disadvantage.

If Article 22 of the Constitution outlined the general framework for the functioning of the religious denominations in Romania, insisting on a unitary organization of the Orthodox Church, the last paragraph of the same article announced that the “relations between the various cults and the state will be established by law.”<sup>57</sup> The need to develop a special legislation which would regulate

<sup>53</sup> George Enache, *Ortodoxie și putere în România contemporană. Studii și eseuri*, București, Nemira, 2005, p. 459.

<sup>54</sup> Valentin Buda Niga, “Integrarea cultelor religioase în România Mare (1918-1928),” in *Istorie și conștiință. Profesorului Ion Agrigoroaiei la a 65-a aniversare*, Iași, Editura Universității “Alexandru-Ioan Cuza,” f.a., pp. 226-227.

<sup>55</sup> Străjanu, “Culte minoritare în Transilvania,” p. 838.

<sup>56</sup> *Cultura Creștină*, VIII, no. 1-2/1919, p. 3.

<sup>57</sup> *Constituțiunea, promulgată cu decretul regal no. 1360 din 28 martie 1923. Publicată în Monitorul Oficial no. 282 din 29 martie 1923*, București, Imprimeria Statului, 1926, p. 7.

in detail the relations between the different denominations and the state had been strongly supported by the religious leaders of all faiths since the beginning of their operation within the Kingdom of Romania. The right to autonomous organization, sheltered from any interference of the state, was, as seen above, one of the major demands after 1918. For the Romanian state, the situation was unique, too, since before the war, Orthodoxy had been the only denomination that had enjoyed recognition and protection, while the other denominations had been granted freedom of operation in so far as they complied with the legislation ensuring the safety of the state and the public morals.<sup>58</sup>

Up until World War I, the Catholic communities in the old Kingdom were under the political protection of Vienna's diplomatic representatives in Bucharest.<sup>59</sup> The first attempt at regulating the relations between the Catholic denomination and the Romanian authorities was made by the central committee in Focșani, mandated to work for the legislative unification of the of the two Romanian Principalities, which had been united through the double election of Alexandru Ioan Cuza, and to develop common laws for the new state.<sup>60</sup> Article 19 of the draft Constitution drawn up on that occasion mentioned the fact that "another law will regulate the position of the Catholic Church and the other recognized Christian denominations in the united Principalities, the nationalization of the clergy of these religions and their independence from any foreign protection."<sup>61</sup> The constitution adopted seven years later contained only general references to the religious denominations in the state, with the exception of Orthodoxy, which was defined as the "dominant religion of the Romanian state," ensuring its hierarchical independence from any ecclesiastical authority outside the borders of the state, its synodic organization and a special law for the election of its bishops. By the end of the war, the Romanian civil legislation referring to the Catholic denomination had recorded a single important moment: the above-mentioned project of the peace treaty with the Central Powers, which contained a provision by which the Romanian state undertook to recognize the legal person status of the Catholic Church, with all the consequences stemming from this fact.<sup>62</sup>

In the Kingdom of Saint Stephen, the Catholic Church was one of the officially recognized confessions of the Hungarian state and, in spite of the proclamation of confessional equality under law article XX of 1848, it continued to be one of the denominations that the state took special care of, particularly since it

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<sup>58</sup> Ioan G. Savin, *Problema cultelor în România*, București, Tipografia ziarului "Universul," 1937, p. 3.

<sup>59</sup> Vezi Petre Gârboviceanu, *Biserica ortodoxă și cultele străine din Regatul român*, București, Institutul de arte grafice "Carol Göbl," 1904, *passim*; Maner, *Multikonfessionalität und neue Staatlichkeit*, pp. 48-49.

<sup>60</sup> Artur Gorovei, *Primul proiect de Constituție întocmit de Comisiunea centrală din 1859*, Folticeni, Tipografia Josef Bendit, 1914, p. 13.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibidem*; Gillet, *Orthodoxie, nation et ethnicité en Roumanie au XXe siècle*, p. 350; Ion Mateiu, *Dreptul bisericesc de stat în România întregită. Regimul general al cultelor*, București, Tipografia cărților bisericești, 1926, p. 24.

<sup>62</sup> Netzhhammer, *Episcop în România*, vol. I., pp. 765-796; vol. II, pp. 1493-1500.

was the faith professed by the Imperial Court.<sup>63</sup> The lack of a Constitution in Hungary meant that the confessional field was regulated by means of law articles. Besides the already mentioned article XX of 1848, adopted under the pressure of the revolutionary events of that year, the provisions relating to the religious confessions also contained the following articles: XLVIII of 1868, relating to the procedures for separation/divorce in the case of confessionally mixed families; LIII of 1868, relating to the religion of the children resulting from interfaith marriages; XXXI and XXXIII of 1894, relating to the compulsory civil registration of marriages; XLII of 1895, which granted official recognition to the Mosaic faith and allowed Hungarian citizens to declare themselves as non-religious; XIII, 1909, regarding the commitment of the state to ensuring a minimum income for each category of servant of the Church.<sup>64</sup> The special position of the Catholic Church in the Danubian Monarchy and the interest which even the highest authorities of the state showed - most visibly from the absolutist period onwards - in the actions carried out by the Church, regarding the training and recruitment of the ecclesiastical staff or of its potential for social disciplining, led to the recognition of the right of supreme patronage (*ius supremi patronatus*) of the Emperor in Vienna, a prerogative that Maria Theresa's court historian, Adam Kollár, had introduced in the ideology of Habsburg imperial power.<sup>65</sup> As pointed out already, at the time of the Union of Transylvania with Romania, the two Romanian Churches in this province were in a relatively similar legal situation, despite the fact that in terms of the number of believers, the Orthodox Church had a slight advantage. To this was added the fact that the majority of the population in the old Romanian Kingdom were Orthodox. All in all, about 70% of the citizens in Greater Romania belonged to the Orthodox confession.<sup>66</sup>

The regulation of the relations between the Romanian state and the different denominations operating on its territory acquired, after 1918, a well-defined political and religious logic. The central tenet of this legislative behaviour consisted in prioritizing the interests of the Orthodox Church, by conferring it the highest hierarchical rank used in the Christian East and by developing a unitary regulatory framework for the organization and functioning of this church.<sup>67</sup> The first objective can be understood both as the fulfilment of an expected goal and in connection with the political events that occurred at that time and that affected the other two symbolical centres of eastern Orthodoxy: Moscow and Constantinople. In the former

<sup>63</sup> László Leslie, *Church and State in Hungary 1919-1945*, Budapest, Metem, 2004, p. 16.

<sup>64</sup> For a detailed presentation of the civil legislation in Hungary referring to the Catholic Church, see *ibidem*, pp. 16-69.

<sup>65</sup> Jean Béranger, *Istoria Imperiului Habsburgilor 1273-1918*, translated by Nicolae Baltă, București, Editura Teora, 2000, p. 477; László Katus, "Il cattolicesimo nei secoli XVIII e XIX: giuseppinismo, liberalismo e rinnovamento cattolico," in Adriano Caprioli, Luciano Vaccaro (a cura di), *Storia religiosa dell'Ungheria*, Gazzada, Fondazione Ambrosiana Paolo VI, 1992, p. 235.

<sup>66</sup> Illyés, *National Minorities in Romania*, p. 34; Sabin Manuilă, *Recensământul general al populației României din 29 decembrie 1930. Volumul II: neam, limbă maternă, religie*, București, Tipărit la Monitorul Oficial, Imprimeria Națională, 1938, p. XXIV.

<sup>67</sup> Alexandru Lapedatu, *Amintiri*, forword, edited, notes and commentaries by Ioan Opriș, Cluj-Napoca, Editura Albastră, 1998, p. 204.

case, as the opponents of the intolerant Bolshevik regime were liquidated, the new political leaders ushered in a systematic anti-religious and anti-ecclesiastical vision, aiming to discredit the Russian Church and transform it into a hegemonic tool at their disposal.<sup>68</sup> Allegations of support to the pro-Tsarist White Armies and of incitement to anti-Bolshevik propaganda; the insertion, among the higher clergy, of individuals who were obedient of the new regime, in parallel with the arrests and deportations of inconvenient servants of the altar; the confiscation of church properties and the destruction of places of worship – all of these showed, without a shadow of a doubt, the fact that the Russian Orthodox Church was the victim of a terrible crisis, which strongly affected not only its internal life, but also the mission that it had assumed in the Orthodox world in general, ever since the founding of the patriarchate, in the 16th century.<sup>69</sup> In the latter case, even though the Treaty of Lausanne asserted the international status of the ecumenical patriarchate, Turkey having been required to ensure the respect and full protection of the person occupying that high dignity in the church, the government of the Young Turks continued to manifest their dissatisfaction with the presence on its national territory of a person considered to be foreign to the interests of the state, a situation that generated a lot of disputes in that period, resulting in threats and expulsions and creating a situation of instability for the patriarchal see of Constantinople.<sup>70</sup> In this turbid international context, also marked by a certain competitive relationship with the other branches of Orthodoxy in the area (especially with the Serbian one),<sup>71</sup> the project for the establishment of the Romanian patriarchate gained strong roots in the Romanian society in the early 1920s, being embraced by the Romanian political elite as a top priority.<sup>72</sup> The adoption, shortly thereafter, albeit after long negotiations, of the law and the statute governing the organization of the Orthodox Church unified, on the basis of the principles contained in the Organic Statute, the four different regimes whereby Romanian Orthodoxy had functioned in the provinces included in Greater Romania.<sup>73</sup>

Of all the legislative acts issued in the post-war years, the one that caused the deepest rifts, by far, in the Romanian society was the Concordat.<sup>74</sup> While before the war the Romanian political class had not included such an agreement on the list of its

<sup>68</sup> Albert M. Ammann, *Storia della Chiesa russa e dei paesi limitrofi. Con tre carte geografiche*, Torino, Unione tipografica editrice torinese, 1948, pp. 523-547.

<sup>69</sup> Adriano Roccucci, "Impero e ortodossia nel mondo russo," in Adriano Roccucci (a cura di), *Chiese e culture nell'Est europeo. Prospettive di dialogo*, Milano, Edizioni Paoline, 2007, pp. 414-417.

<sup>70</sup> Roberto Morozzo della Rocca, *Le Chiese ortodosse. Una storia contemporanea*, Roma, Edizioni Studium, 1997, p. 35. For the Romanian reactions to this situation, see Antomie Plămădeală, *Contribuții istorice privind perioada 1918-1939. Elie Miron Cristea. Documente, însemnări și corespondențe*, Sibiu, f.e., 1987, pp. 366-368; *Unirea*, XXXV, no. 6/1925, pp. 1-2.

<sup>71</sup> Morozzo della Rocca, *Le Chiese ortodosse*, pp. 88-89.

<sup>72</sup> Maner, *Multikonfessionalität und neue Staatlichkeit*, pp. 198-199.

<sup>73</sup> For an extensive approach, see *Ibidem*, pp. 199-204; Mircea Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii ortodoxe române, vol. 3 (secolele XIX și XX)*, București, Editura Institutului Biblic și de Misiune al Bisericii ortodoxe române, 1994, pp. 410-413.

<sup>74</sup> For a brief presentation of the debates surrounding the Concordat, from the standpoint of the Romanians' national identity, see Alzati, Evola, *Il dibattito confessionale nella Grande Romania*, pp. 650-652.

priorities,<sup>75</sup> after that moment it became obvious that such a treaty between the two parties could not be delayed for too long. The signs of change were visible. Firstly, there were demographic signs, as the number of Romanian citizens of Catholic confession neared 3,000,000, their vast majority representing a part of the “dowry” that the provinces which had declared their union with the Romanian Kingdom had transferred into the new state.<sup>76</sup> Secondly, the institutional network of the Catholic Church had experienced a significant diversification, generated by the same widening of the frontiers of the Romanian state, which now accommodated on its territory no less than 10 Catholic dioceses (6 of Latin rite and 4 of Greek rite), not to mention the extensions of various hierarchical authorities into certain areas and communities belonging to new Romania now. The union of Bukovina with Romania attached to the latter’s structure a territory that up until that time had been under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Austria, while the Union of Transylvania and Banat transposed into Romania an institutional network that had been a constituent part of the ecclesiastical system of the Catholic Church in Hungary.<sup>77</sup> However, the need to give coherence to the institutional architecture of the Catholic Church in Romania was just one of the reasons that demanded the conclusion of a Concordat between Romania and the Holy See. There was an obvious need to establish the coordinates of the relations between the ecclesial institutions and the state authority, the legal basis for the functioning of the Church, heritage-related issues, the regulation of the problems affecting the denominational schools, or the demarcation limits of civil control on the ecclesiastical activity, etc.

At the end of this brief overview of the denominational consequences of the Union of Transylvania with Romania, we can note that in the new confessional context, which was much more diversified after 1918, a twofold adaptation had become necessary: firstly, the Romanian state had to adjust to the pluri-confessional realities inside its territory, closely related not only the old religious horizon in which they had operated for decades or centuries, but also the traditions and the laws that had regulated their activity during that period; secondly, the religious denominations had to accommodate themselves to the new political, cultural and religious context of the Romanian state, in which not only was Orthodoxy numerically superior to any other denomination, but it was used to being the beneficiary of a distinct, privileged treatment on the part of the state.

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<sup>75</sup> Ofelia Miloş, *Relațiile statului român cu Sfântul Scaun în a doua jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea*, București, Editura Expert, 2010, pp. 133-159.

<sup>76</sup> Upson Clark, *United Roumania*, p. 439.

<sup>77</sup> Amedeo Giannini, *I Concordati postbelici*, vol. II, Milano, Società editrice “Vita e pensiero,” 1936, p. 13.

**THE NEW EDUCATIONAL POLICIES IN THE ROMANIAN PEOPLE'S  
REPUBLIC DURING THE PERIOD OF STALINISM.  
A FOREIGN DIPLOMAT'S VIEW**

**Abstract:** This study, based on two diplomatic briefings from the late 1940s, aims to highlight the perception of a foreign diplomat with regard to the sudden changes that took place in Romanian society during the early years of Romanian communism. Since all the sectors of public activity were affected by the communist regime, education and science also had to suffer because of it. The Romanian Academy was disbanded and university professors were purged and sentenced to prison. The Italian diplomat deplored the fate of education in Romania, which was a mere shadow of education during the inter-war period. Intense training and qualification courses were organized for people who were utterly unequipped intellectually for academic study and research. They were subjected to constant and rigorous ideological control and then placed in positions of professors and instructors of the younger generations in the communist spirit. The seriousness of this process affected not only humanist education, but also on the technical one, which can explain why over the following decades, Romania experienced a technological gap.

**Keywords:** Romania, Italian diplomacy, school and education, communism, Stalinism

The regime established in Romania after the abdication of King Michael I on December 30, 1947, as a result of the new coordinates that defined the system of international relations after World War II, propelled the country definitively into an orbit that revolved around the Soviet Union, with all the repercussions that brutal Stalinism was to have for the political environment in Romania, as well as for the cultural and scientific life here. 1948 marked thus, for the Romanian state, as well as for all the countries that had been occupied by the Soviets during the military operations of 1944-45, a crucial moment in the establishment of the Stalinist regime. As is well known, some states such as Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary and Bulgaria were gradually imposed a regime of “popular democracy.” In 1948 the Soviets were concerned to speed up “the revolutionary process” that was to start “building the socialist society” in the countries from their sphere of influence. That year marked the consolidation of the regime in Albania, which aligned itself to the Soviet position and condemned the Yugoslav defection. It was not by chance that Romania, which in 1947 was the last monarchy that had survived in the Eastern Bloc, was subjected, after the abdication of the king and the establishment of the Romanian People's Republic, to a “revolutionary process” of implementing the Soviet model in all spheres of public life. The new republican constitution of 13 April 1948 automatically outlawed any association of a “fascist or anti-democratic nature” and

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sanctioned the notion that in the public life of Romania, only “those who work” were entitled to the freedoms of expression and association. The fact that the working class was privileged in the new society had *in primis* the role of strengthening the regime, which aimed to place, in key management positions, individuals who were open to the new ideologies and to remove the old staff – who were reluctant to embrace Marxism-Leninism and who, by virtue of their cultural matrix of origin, were adverse to the principles of societal governance imported from Moscow. Their place was to be taken by the new people, trained in the spirit of Stalinist precepts. To that end, the new ideological moulding of society, both during the period immediately succeeding the establishment of the people’s democracy, and over the next decades, was to rely substantially on education, which was to suffer the most acute consequences of deliberate indoctrination. From the very beginning, the regime was strongly interested in the formation of new acolytes, even though, for a while, it had to make use of the existing specialists, some of whom, albeit not too many (since this was the interwar elite that the new government was committed to annihilating), were favourable to the new changes.

Thus, in 1948, besides a series of measures designed to implement, mainly at an economic level, the people’s democracy and to definitively subordinate Romania to the regime in Moscow (after some measures in favour of the Soviets – for instance, on 4 February 1948, the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Romanian People’s Republic was signed, providing for a common front against both Germany and any other powers that might be associated with it, and against the powers from the “camp of imperialism,” and on 23 May the same year, the last territory, Snake Island, was ceded in favour of the Soviets –, Romania took the first steps towards the collectivization of agriculture, the most important private businesses in the country were nationalized on 11 June 1948,<sup>2</sup> and at a cultural and religious level, on 17 July of that year the Concordat with the Holy see was denounced, subsequently, during the same year, the Romanian Greek-Catholic Church being dismantled, after the Stalinist model, and the forced union of the Greek-Catholics with the Romanian Orthodox Church was proclaimed), measures were taken for the reorganization of the secondary and higher education system, in the context of the need for a speedy training of personnel intended to support the new regime of popular democracy.

Thus, in preparation for the new academic year 1948-49, the Presidium of the Great National Assembly [M.A.N.] issued, on 2 August 1948, Decree no. 175/1948 for education reform, published in *The Official Gazette* [*Monitorul oficial*] of 3 August 1948.<sup>3</sup> The provisions of this decree sanctioned the new political and

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<sup>2</sup> Law no. 119 of 11 June 1948 for the nationalization of industrial, banking, insurance, mining and transport businesses, *The Official Gazette*, no. 133 bis, 11 June 1948.

<sup>3</sup> *The Official Gazette*, CXVI, no. 177 of 3 August 1948, pp. 6321-6324. See also Dănuț Doboș, “Reforma învățământului. Decretul 175/1948,” *Arhivele totalitarismului*, București, III, no. 3, 1995, pp. 200-209; Dinu C. Giurescu, *Învățământul în România între anii 1948 și 1989*. Dissertation delivered during the ceremony for granting the title of Doctor Honoris Causa of the University of Craiova, 22 November 2001, 27 p. [www.ucv.ro/pdf/international/informatii\\_generale/doctor\\_honoris/68.pdf](http://www.ucv.ro/pdf/international/informatii_generale/doctor_honoris/68.pdf).



ideological orientation of the government, and clearly pointed out the need for the training of new personnel with secondary and higher education qualifications on whom the regime could rely.<sup>4</sup> The measure for the reorganization of education, at the

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<sup>4</sup> Article I of the decree stated that public education was to be organized exclusively by the state, on “democratic, popular, realistic and scientific bases,” a secular education by definition; article II showed clearly that public education aimed to “train specialists with secondary and higher education, on a scientific basis, so that they could correspond to the needs of consolidating popular democracy and building the socialist society;” article XXXI of Chapter V, *Final and Transitional Provisions*, stipulated the existence of new structures of education which should serve the objective of a speedy training of professionals (“For the urgent needs of the economic and social life of the country, schools with a shorter duration than that provided for in this law can be set up, under circumstances that will be laid down by special laws”), and through a series of articles (XXXV-XXXVII), a strong blow was dealt to private and denominational education, since the decision was that “all denominational or private schools, of any kind” should become state schools, their teaching staff being employed in the public education system, “according to the degrees they possess and in accordance with the provisions of the laws in force at the date of the promulgation of this law”; moreover, any attempt to set back the process of transforming private and denominational schools into state schools was to be punished with 5-10 years of hard labor and the confiscation of the entire wealth (under Decree no. 176, published in *The Official Gazette* of 3 August 1948, pp. 6324-6325, there were passed into state property all movables and immovable that had belonged to the churches, congregations, communities or individuals and had been used for the functioning and maintenance of private, secular or confessional educational institutions). Also, article XXXIII went against the principles of university autonomy, stating that “the current faculties and schools of higher education will be restructured,” the law providing the grounds for the dismantling of “unnecessary departments,” for the rationalization of some departments, as needed, and for the establishment of new departments. As regards university autonomy, it should be noted that a number of provisions from 1946-47 cancelled it permanently (see, above all, Decree. 658 of 24 August 1946). In fact, by Law no. 866 of 30 October 1946, the Ministry of National Education amended the law on the organization of higher education, appointments to and revocations from university managerial positions being made, until 31 March 1947, by the ministry. Regarding the policy of interference in the traditional organization of the university system, we should also mention Law no. 55 of 2 March 1948, which amended the law governing higher education through a single article that empowered the minister of education to decide the application, from the beginning, of whatever employment procedures he saw fit for the vacant professorships. Also, on 6 November 1948, the Decree of M.A.N. no. 312/1948 was issued for the regulation of some transitional rules regarding the operation of institutes of higher education, on the basis of the Decision of the Council of Ministers no. 1483/1948 (see *The Official Gazette* of 9 November 1948). The decree stipulated that the Ministry of Public Education was authorized, for the academic year 1948-49, to appoint, in the institutions of higher education, substitute professors and auxiliary personnel, choosing “people with specialist scientific reputation from outside the teaching staff in the higher education system,” to “delegate into the functions of rector and dean from the same institution also the members of the teaching staff” appointed as provided above and to include all the faculties in the established structure, with the necessary teaching staff, “employing, if necessary, the existing teaching staff from one faculty to another.” The provisions regarding the universities and institutions of higher education in the country offered the legal framework, on the one hand, for the changing the curricula in accordance with the Soviet model – in fact, the entire organizational structure of the education presented in the law reproduced, to the point of reproducing the names of the institutions, in translation, the educational structure at work in the U.S.S.R., taking over the paradigm of the cultural revolution, which was aimed at the complete eradication of illiteracy. The new system was mainly focused on the education of all the children of school age and was less concerned with the issue of the duration of studies. Free and compulsory primary education of 7 years was reduced to only 4 years, with the possibility of optionally attending grades 5-7. Secondary and high-school education of 8 years was demoted to a middle school education

beginning of August 1948, was preceded by a series of other decrees and directives intended to “reshape” Romanian science and culture after the example of Moscow. It should not be forgotten that on 9 February 1948, *The Official Gazette* published Lists 49 and 50 of banned publications, which the Commission for the Guidance of Cultural Events at the Ministry of Intelligence had decided to withdraw from circulation.<sup>5</sup> Decree no. 76 of 9 June 1948<sup>6</sup> abolished the Romanian Academy – the nation’s supreme forum of scientific decision, recognition, and legitimation – the aim being that of its reorganization in the form of a state institution, the Academy of the Romanian People’s Republic. The decree stipulated that the purpose of the new state institution – which was directly subordinated to the Council of Ministers and was financed from the state budget, would lose its autonomy and be stripped of all the movable and immovable properties received as donations or testamentary bequests<sup>7</sup> – was the promotion of science and culture in all areas “in order to raise the material and cultural level of the people” (in other words, this institution was envisaged as the highest expression of science and culture in a regime of popular democracy), as well

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with a duration of 4 years (see the preliminaries for this reorganization in Law no. 216 of 28 March 1946, for the establishment of unique secondary schools, applied with effect from 1 September the previous year, which laid down courses of three years and abolished the secondary schools of 4 years annexed to high schools). On the other hand, the intention was to purge the teaching staff who no longer corresponded to the principles of the regime and who were considered harmful from the perspective of the influence they could have on pupils and students. We should mention, moreover, that by Order no. 416741 of 31 December 1946, the Ministry of National Education established County Committees for ascertaining the effective fulfilment of their duties by the members of the teaching staff from secondary schools in all the categories that depended on this ministry. Also, it should be noted that at the beginning of the academic year 1949-1950 alone, no less than 181 professors were removed from the structures of higher education, in accordance with a report of the Ministry of Education from 1950s. Adina Berciu-Drăghicescu, Ovidiu Bozgan, *O istorie a Universității din București (1864-2004)*, Ed. Universității din București, 2004, p. 279; Loredana Tănăsie, “Anul 1948 și învățământul românesc,” *Memorial 1989. Buletin Științific și de Informare al Asociației Memorialul Revoluției 16-22 December 1989*, Timișoara, Centrul Național de Documentare, Cercetare și Informare despre Revoluția din December 1989, 2014, no. 2 (14), pp. 108-119.

<sup>5</sup> *The Official Gazette*, part I, no. 32, 9 February 1948, p. 1056.

<sup>6</sup> Published in *The Official Gazette*, part I, CXVI, no. 132 bis of 9 June 1948, p. 5017.

<sup>7</sup> The number of sections of the Academy of R.P.R. was, however, increased from three to six, receiving in its suborder a number of research institutes that had been, until then, dependent on the universities of the country. It also benefited from two subsidiaries, in Iasi and Cluj, for a more effective control of scientific activity. See the Statute of the Organization and Functioning of the Academy R.P.R., approved on 12 August 1948 and published in *The Official Gazette* of 13 August 1948, together with Decrees no. 1454 and 1455 of the Presidium of the M.A.N. from 12 August, which altered the leadership and the composition of the Academy, a situation that went against the customs of this institution, since the choice of the leadership and the composition of the highest scientific body of the country was the competence of the General Assembly of the Academy. Decree no. 1454 appointed 27 active full members, 15 honorary members, 11 honorary foreign members, while Decree no. 1455 appointed the leadership of the Academy of R.P.R. Under the Decision of the Council of Ministers published in *The Official Gazette* on 2 November 1948, all movable and immovable goods, given or testate over time, were passed into the heritage of the relevant ministries, “with the exception of goods which directly serve the goals of the Academy.” For an overview of this issue, see Dan Berindei, *Istoria Academiei Române (1866-2016)*, second revised edition, București, Ed. Academiei Române, 2016, pp. 312-322.

as the promotion of men of science and culture “of ethical and democratic merit” (Article 2), with the mention that “individuals who, through their work, had placed themselves in the service of fascism and reactionarism, harming, thus, the interests of the country and of the people, could not be members of the Academy of the Romanian People’s Republic” (Article 3). After the transformation of the Romanian Academy into an institution of the regime, the members of the Academy of R.P.R. no longer included 113 former members of the old Romanian Academy (26 full members, 58 correspondent members and 29 honorary members), representing over a third of the previous academic body. 31 of the former members were sentenced to prison, where 9 of them lost their lives.<sup>8</sup> Accordingly, on 15 July 1948, by the decree of M.A.N., in the context of the reorganization of research institutions, there were abolished: the Institutes of National History in Cluj and Iași, the Institute for the Study of World History, the Institute of Byzantine Studies, the Institute of Balkan Studies and Research (with their prestigious reviews, *Revista istorică*, *Revista istorică română*, *Balkanica*, *Revue Historique du Sud-Est Européen*). Instead, the foundations were laid for the History Institute of the R.P.R. (with four departments – national history, world history, the history of the Slavic and Balkan peoples, Byzantinology – and two subsidiaries, in Cluj and Iași), its publication being the review *Studies*.<sup>9</sup> In accordance with a decree issued on 28 January 1949 by the M.A.N., the members of the new institute enjoyed a series of economic facilities and salary raises.

At the level of the educational system, the content of the materials that were taught in school was reorganized. The goal was the formation of a new man, with a Marxist-Leninist type of thinking, who would willingly support the regime. To that end, the textbooks that might contain information contrary to the new ideology had to be eliminated, including those written by authors considered enemies of the ideocratic regime. By Order of the Ministry of National Education no. 61363 of 1945, the textbooks of the authors excluded by the Review Commission were removed from schools, even though they had been approved by the leadership of the ministry. The education law of August 1948 provided that school textbooks would be “unique,” and the school curriculum “will develop substantially the fundamental disciplines: language, literature, national history and geography, mathematics, natural sciences, and physical education,” with the specification that the Russian language would be a compulsory subject in the fourth elementary grade.<sup>10</sup> In fact, for training the necessary staff, Law no. 327 of 1947 established the Institute of Romanian-Soviet Studies, which organized superior courses of Russian that lasted three years, offering specialized degrees in the Russian language that were the equivalent of university degrees.<sup>11</sup> The consequence of the education law of August 1948 was the

<sup>8</sup> Păun Ion Otiman, 1948 – *Anul imensei jertfe a Academiei Române*, “Akademos,” no. 4 (13), December 2013, p. 118.

<sup>9</sup> L. Tănăsie, *op. cit.*, p. 116; Decree no. 148 for the organisation of the History Institute of the R.P.R. in *The Official Gazette*, part I, CXVI, no. 161 of 15 July 1948.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 110; D. C. Giurescu, *op. cit.*, pp. 8, 10.

<sup>11</sup> Through a ministerial decision of 7 June 1948, the Ministry of Education stipulated that the training of the teachers of Russian language and culture should be provided by the above-mentioned institute.

replacement of some materials with Stalinist propaganda and the ban on the teaching of religion. The Russian language and Marxism-Leninism became compulsory subjects. Moreover, the grammar, history and philosophy textbooks were rewritten in accordance with the rules of Marxist-Leninist thought.<sup>12</sup> Most often these were translated from Russian.<sup>13</sup>

The politicization of the Romanian education system meant that already in 1946 party education began to be implemented and developed. The newly established institutions included the “Ștefan Gheorghiu” Party School, the Central Party School in the Hungarian Language, the “A. A. Zhdanov” Central School for Lecturers, 13 evening schools of Marxism-Leninism, 17 party schools with six-month courses, 42 party schools with 3 month-courses and numerous circles for the study of the Communist Party and the biography of Stalin, as part of the evening party classes organized in various towns and villages.

Among the complementary measures that prepared the ground for the new education law and completed the deliberate orientation of the education system towards a well-defined ideological goal was Decree no. 159, published in *The Official Gazette* of 2 August 1948, which abolished all foreign schools on the territory of R.P.R., supplemented by provisions allowing the students of the aforementioned educational institutions to enrol in state schools. The teachers who were Romanian citizens working in those schools had the option to be employed in state education.<sup>14</sup> In addition, a ministerial decision of 19 June 1948 stipulated the termination, as of 1 October 1948, in other words, at the beginning of the new academic year, of “all employment contracts of the teaching and research staff in higher and secondary education” (Article 1). The due remuneration was to be paid to them up until 30 September 1948, despite the fact that the above-mentioned teaching staff ceased to be employed in the education system at the end of the 1947-48 academic year. The ministerial decision provided that the ministry would create, with effect from 1 October 1948, “new employment contracts for the teaching and scientific needs of education.”<sup>15</sup> The provision was obviously intended to remove undesirable teachers

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See Decision no. 150350 of the Ministry of Education in *The Official Gazette*, CXVI, part I, no. 135, 14 June 1948; D. C. Giurescu, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

<sup>12</sup> L. Tănăsie, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

<sup>13</sup> For example, in a debate of the Political Bureau of the Romanian Worker's Party from February 7, 1949, the then minister of Education, Gheorghe Vasilichi showed that for the pedagogical schools “a very good textbook has just been released in the Soviet Union, a textbook that we will translate and use,” while for the secondary schools, Gheorghe Stoica appreciated that “we have largely succeeded in removing unnecessary subject matters and replacing them with the subject corresponding to these new times,” in particular, dialectical materialism and political economy, all this signifying “a great step forward.” D. C. Giurescu, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

<sup>14</sup> *The Official Gazette*, CXVI, no. 176, 2 August 1948, p. 6301; Idem, no. 168, 23 July 1948, p. 6044; L. Tănăsie, *op. cit.*, pp. 114-115. It should be noted that the measure was adopted in line with a policy targeted at the surveillance and control of foreigners in Romania (under Law no. 411, published in *The Official Gazette* no. 128 of 5 June 1946, the Ministry of the Interior was empowered to organize and carry out the census of aliens in Romania).

<sup>15</sup> Decision no. 162067 published in *The Official Gazette*, CXVI, no. 142, 23 June 1948, p. 5289; D. C. Giurescu, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

permanently from education and it seems that their number was large enough to cause, at the beginning of 1949, the discontent of the Minister of Public Education, Gheorghe Vasilichi (who found, on 7 February 1949, that “too many old professors remained unemployed on grounds that were not serious enough”), especially since the new teachers were not sufficiently well trained (other, “less capable individuals” – the then Minister of Education showed – “were made professors without any merit”).<sup>16</sup>

The 1949-50 academic year saw further purges in the Ministry of National Education.<sup>17</sup> These started in the fall of 1944 through the removal of professors considered collaborators of the Antonescu regime,<sup>18</sup> and continued with a second wave in the autumn of 1947 (when, on 4 October, 229 full and associate professorships, with over 500 teaching positions in the higher education system, were suppressed, under the false grounds of budgetary economy and *ex officio* retirement, under the circumstances in which university autonomy had been dismantled by

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<sup>16</sup> D. C. Giurescu, *op. cit.*, p. 9; L. Tănăsie, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

<sup>17</sup> Numerous decisions of purging the staff of the Ministry of National Education were taken on the basis of Law no. 217 of 30 March 1945 on the purification of public administration.

<sup>18</sup> At the end of World War II, the problem of sanctioning war crimes emerged in international legal practice. Whereas in the summer of 1945 the four victorious powers divided their tasks in this area, the Soviet Union was entrusted, obviously, with the task of punishing the crimes committed by the Nazi authorities in Eastern Europe. Article 14 of the Armistice Convention signed by Romania on September 12, 1944 provided for the obligation of the Romanian government and the Romanian High Command to cooperate with the Allied High Command to the arrest persons accused of war crimes and send them to trial. In the autumn of 1944 and in early 1945 a series of laws that were issued in Romania were designed to adapt domestic legislation to the new international legal practice and to carry out the commitment made under the Armistice Convention. Analysed in detail, these laws operated with approximate categories and questionable procedures, allowing the interference of political factors, arrests and unjust convictions. In parallel, in the press of the time, a veritable campaign was triggered for removing, from public life, the men of culture who were considered to be collaborators the Antonescu regime, criminals, untrustworthy citizens, morally and professionally, who would prove harmful for the new society. This media campaign was delivered by several opportunistic intellectuals, who were trying either to keep up with the new political developments in order not to be made to suffer, or to lay the foundations for a future political career. Through suggestively entitled editorials (e.g., “Figures of traitors” – *România Liberă*), newspapers such as *Scântea*, *România Liberă*, *Victoria*, run by N. D. Cocea, or *Tribuna Poporului*, under the leadership of G. Călinescu, published “compromising” articles about a series of intellectuals, insistently demanding that they should be their removed from public life. The purpose was that of denigrating the personalities in question in the eyes of the public, and of justifying the unfair measures that were to be taken. Thus, on December 12, 1944, an article published in *Scântea*, entitled “Purgings at the Ministry of Education,” informed that it had been decided, following the resolution of the Purging Commission of the University of Bucharest, to oust 9 associate professors and professors from the education system. By decree no. 152 of 24 November 1945, issued by the Ministry of National Education, signed by Minister Ștefan Voitec and countersigned by King Mihai I, invoking the findings of December 2, 1944 of the Commission for the review of the members of the teaching staff of the University of Bucharest, established by laws no. 486 and 594 of 1944, 11 associate professors and professors were removed from their positions, with the mention that they would cease to be part of the university teaching staff on the date of publication of the decree. D. C. Giurescu, *Guvernarea Nicolae Rădescu*, București, Ed. All, 1996, pp. 82-90; *Epurația la Ministerul Educației*, “*Scântea*,” a. I, no. 82, 12 December 1944, p. 3; *The Official Gazette*, part I, no. 20, 26 January 1945, p. 494.

Decree no. 658 of 24 August 1946),<sup>19</sup> being supplemented by the ministerial decision of 19 June 1948. The purging policy went hand in hand with the policy of creating, through forced measures that altered the quality of education, teaching staff that would be loyal to the regime. One of the first decisions was that reached by the Ministry of National Education on 14 November 1944. It stipulated the revision of the unlawful acts and of the persecution ones issued after disciplinary trials, in particular against the “democratic” teachers, with a view to repairing the injustices committed with regard to the employment and advancement of certain individuals in the education system.

The depreciation of the Romanian education system and the process of acute politicization and ideologization are approached in the two documents presented in the annex to this study. The documents are preserved in Rome, at Archivio Storico Diplomatico del Ministero degli Affari Esteri. They reflect the perception of a foreign diplomat, the Minister of Italy in Bucharest at that time, Michele Scammacca.<sup>20</sup> On 1 November 1949, Baron Scammacca sent the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs a “telespresso” regarding the situation of the teaching staff in Romania after the beginning of the new academic year. Referring in the opening to the policy of “eliminating the elements deemed to be utterly opposed or dangerous to the regime” (doc. 1 of the annex) and to the employment of new teaching staff in the vacancies from the 1948-49 academic year, the Italian diplomat drew an alarm signal concerning the policy of coercion and indoctrination of the Romanian teaching staff who were still employed at the end of the 1948-49 academic year, and who were obliged to attend summer orientation courses for professors, under the imminent threat of losing their jobs. These one-month courses, organized in the most important cities of the country, were received by the teaching staff from Romania, as Minister Scammacca showed, “with obvious dissatisfaction, both because of the coercive, disciplinary regime in which the courses were organized, and because of the subjects they had to learn, as if they were elementary grade students, neither the cultural background, nor the didactic training of each of them being taken into account.” In fact, the low scientific standing offered by those courses was stressed repeatedly by Baron Scammacca, who stated that all the communist authorities were interested in at

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<sup>19</sup> Maria Someșan, Mircea Iosifescu, “Modificarea structurii universității în anii consolidării sistemului comunist,” *Analele Sighet. Anul 1948 – instituționalizarea comunismului*, București, Fundația Academia Civică, 1998, pp. 445-480; D. C. Giurescu, *Învățământul în România între anii 1948 și 1989*, p. 14. In fact, the Ministry of National Education published 4700 primary school vacancies in *The Official Gazette* no. 50 of 1 March 1947. This was the result not only of the deliberate policy of literacy dissemination among all children of school age, but also of the frequent dismissals of teachers.

<sup>20</sup> Baron Michele Scammacca del Murgo e di Agnone, Minister of Italy to Bucharest (17 December 1947 – 14 March 1951), was, in 1953, the head of the diplomatic corps of the Italian Republic. During World War II, in 1942, he was the liaison between Italian Foreign Affairs and the High Command of the Italian Forces in Rome. He also served as ambassador to Brussels (1954-58). Istituto per gli Studi di Politica Internazionale, *Inventario dell'archivio storico 1934-1970*, a cura di Maria M. Benzoni, Anna Ostinelli, Silvia M. Pizzetti, dir. scient. Brunello Vigezzi, Roma, Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, Direzione Generale per gli Archivi, Union Printing SpA, 2007, p. 539 (Strumenti, CLXXVII); Jonathan Steinberg, *All or Nothing. The Axis and the Holocaust, 1941-43*, Taylor & Francis e-Library, 2005.

that time was implementing the notions of Marxism-Leninism among the professors. The courses were delivered, in almost all cases – the Italian diplomat showed – by lecturers with a meagre intellectual and professional capacity, “who were nonetheless deemed to be specialists in the doctrines of Marxism, which of course formed the basis of the teachings they imparted.” Further, Italy’s Minister to Bucharest recounted to the Foreign Ministry in Rome certain details regarding the organization of those summer courses, highlighting the tiresome schedule to which the members of the teaching staff were subjected. The professors and the teachers had to be present, for 30 days in a row, from 7 o’clock in the morning until 8 in the evening in the building where classes were held, with one break at noon, when they were forced to have lunch on the premises where the courses were delivered. Scammacca described the indoctrination to which they were exposed (endless lessons and conferences on historical and dialectical materialism, readings of and commentaries on the editorials printed in the official newspaper *Scântea*, meetings dedicated to illustrating the communist texts and quizzing the teachers on what they had learned, the questions being asked, as a rule, from among the topics approached in the lessons on a daily basis). In addition, Scammacca indicated to the Italian Foreign Ministry details regarding the police state regime in which the aforementioned courses were held in the summer of 1949, the severity and rigidity of the authorities that organized them, and their effects on the Romanian education system. Thus, the foreign diplomat showed, what negatively affected the atmosphere in which the lessons were conducted and made it oppressive “was the permanent presence, felt and experienced by everyone, of certain individuals who, having mingled with the professors, recorded their reactions and comments and reported on them.”<sup>21</sup> In addition, the organizers evinced an obvious lack of flexibility as regards the participants’ schedule and their leisure time during the summer. Two absences were enough to expel someone from the course, which was tantamount to that person’s dismissal from his workplace. The severity of the organizers was also felt during the exams the participants had to take at the end of the cycle of lessons. These were rigorous written and oral examinations, and those who failed to pass them were automatically included on the lists of personnel to be purged.

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<sup>21</sup> By 1949 the regime of police control over public activity had become a reality that was difficult to circumvent in Romania. Throughout 1948, a series of legislative measures had been taken for the strengthening of the repressive system, with the purpose of consolidating the new regime. For example, under Law no. 53 of 2 March 1948, stipulating the establishment of safety measures in the border area, the Ministry of the Interior decided the removal of persons considered to be “hostile” from the frontier territory. On 13 May 1948, the same ministry issued operation order no. 5 for the arrest of the legionaries, an order that was put into practice during the night of 14-15 May. On August 28, 1948, under Decree no. 221 (*The Official Gazette* no. 200, 30 August 1948) the General Directorate of State Security was founded and organized. Its volume of expenditure was regulated in the section “higher interests of state.” Later, under Decree no. 436 of 3 December 1949, the Financial Guard was moved from the Ministry of Finance to that of the Interior. For “the renewal of the personnel” at the Ministry of the Interior, Decree no. 361 of 6 December 1948 decided the creation of special schools for administrative training, with a duration of 4-8 months, the above mentioned personnel policy being promoted at all levels of the administration.

While the end of the courses – the envoy of Italy to Bucharest showed – “was received with a breath of relief by all the professors,” the consequences were rather harsh for the body of teaching staff in Romania. On the basis of the results obtained, the teaching and the political authorities proceeded, in the autumn of 1949, to numerous dismissals of the highly qualified teaching staff of schools. That led to the problem of understaffing, which the authorities of the regime decided to solve by filling the vacancies with “entirely new elements, recruited through exceptional measures and on the basis of a prevalently political assessment.” Consequently, Michele Scammacca stated, “in the last few days, a ministerial decision has been put into practice for the first time [in Romania]. According to this, not only people with a degree, but also those who have passed their university exams can be appointed in state education without being subject to any contest, and even high school graduates that have worked for two years as substitute teachers can be employed as full-time teachers, on the basis of an easy qualification exam.” This practice, sanctioned by a ministerial decision that conflicted with the principles of a qualitatively validated education system, favouring, instead, the quantitative and ideological aspects, left the appointments of teachers at the discretion of the communist authorities, without taking into account the degree obtained upon graduation from a higher education institution. In elementary education, the process was faster, because already under Law no. 148 of 9 March 1946, even teachers who did not meet the conditions for becoming full-time schoolmasters (those with a provisional title and those with full qualifications who had taught for a mere three years) were given full tenure.

The phenomenon had become generalized as early as 1949 in the Romanian education system. For example, under the Journal of the Council of Ministers no. 169, published in *The Official Gazette* no. 47 of 26 February 1948, a people's school of law had been established next to the tribunal. The duration of the courses was three months, the purpose being obviously that of urgently training new clerks who would support the regime, even though their level of specialization left a lot to be desired, primarily because of the minimal time allotted to it. Those schools had not been opened by chance, because under Law no. 64 of 11 March 1948, the Ministry of Justice had been empowered to transform, by 30 March 1948, the structure of court officials, without needing the approval of any committee, without any well-founded motivation and without the measures being of a disciplinary nature. In this context, there were numerous layoffs and the regime urgently needed numerous cohorts of loyal officials who could be appointed to the vacated posts. In addition, Decree no. 297/1948 established schools of law with a duration of one year in the university centres of Bucharest, Iași and Cluj.

These forced specializations, which had as a result “the introduction of poorly trained teaching staff, both from a cultural and from a professional point of view,” were seen in the foreign diplomatic milieu from the R.P.R. as the cause of the accelerated downfall of the Romanian higher education system, which “had already declined markedly in recent years,” Baron Scammacca claimed, “both because of the new curricula and due to the exclusion from the schools of many of the best teachers, whose only guilt was that they belonged to the class of the bourgeoisie; in their stead,



there are brought and are preferred, in any case, the sons of workers and peasants, solely on the grounds of their origin, with no regard for their greater or lesser propensity for studying.”

In another briefing submitted by Minister Scammacca, on 6 December 1949, to the Italian Foreign Ministry, the authorities in Rome were made aware of the latest developments of technical education in Romania, a branch of the education system that was privileged by the new regime of popular democracy and that underwent a process of accelerating the pace of specialization, by virtue of the same personnel policy promoted by the government (doc. 2 in the annex). Baron Scammacca referred first to the provisions of Decree no. 175/1948 for education reform, which allowed the most industrious workers in the factories, who had completed a two-year secondary education training course, to enrol in Universities in order to obtain a higher education degree.<sup>22</sup> Beyond the biased provisions of the education law of August 1948, the Italian minister in Bucharest informed Rome that, probably out of a desire to further accelerate the pace of training technical and management proletarian personnel – while the members of the bourgeois class were swiftly barred from any lucrative activity – the Polytechnics in Bucharest, Iași and Timisoara and the Faculties of Mechanical Engineering from Cluj and Brașov began to organize, in the summer of 1949, starting on 16 August, accelerated courses with a duration of 45 days for workers who aspired to become admitted in the aforementioned institutes of higher education. At the end of those courses, which were concluded with an exam, hundreds of young workers, who had no more than an elementary school graduation

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<sup>22</sup> It should be noted that the above-mentioned decree sanctioned the “modulation” of the education system according to the needs of the new society and not necessarily based on a qualitative standard (Article XVIII provided that “Institutes of higher education are meant to create, in the first place, senior specialists intended for the production: engineers, agronomists [...] and teachers for the secondary education system,” articles XII and XIV provided for the organization of technical schools with a duration of four years, in order to “train the technical personnel with secondary education necessary for the production,” and of vocational schools annexed to factories, for the “training of skilled personnel,” pointing out that a new law would regulate their organization and functioning, while Article XXXI provided for the establishment of schools with a shorter duration than that provided by this law, under conditions that were to be set by special laws, so as to cater “for the urgent economic and social needs of the country,” and Article XXVI, decided the creation of special schools of 2 years, “in some centres, for the working people” ). Article XXVI relating to special schools for the working class further stipulated that “these schools aim to give students a training that is the equivalent of secondary education,” establishing that “those who pass the entrance exam can become students of these schools,” so there were no other requirements regarding their prior qualifications. Also, the students of these schools were to be removed from the production process, and their expenses were to be covered, throughout the duration of their academic studies, by the relevant ministries and enterprises. After graduating from these schools, the former students were entitled to take the entrance examination for higher education. Consequently, high school graduation and the baccalaureate were no longer mandatory requirements for enrolling in a university. Moreover, under Decision no. 263335 of 16 October 1948, there were set up, for the working people, special two-year schools, equivalent to middle schools, to give them the possibility of pursuing higher studies. We can say very little, from a historical perspective, about the number of such schools that were in operation, about the workers who followed those courses, and the teachers who taught them, about the subjects included in the curricula and their level, or about the amount of wages paid to working people who specialized themselves in these special schools.

certificate, were able to access, that autumn, based solely on the above-mentioned exam for graduating the 45-day course, different branches of the higher education system and complete their training. In addition, for those “exceptional” students, the Italian diplomat showed, the duration of the Polytechnic courses – which, under the education law of 1948, Article XVII, was a minimum of 4 years, while the courses in the institutes of higher education could last no less than 3 years (Article XVIII) – was reduced to two years. After that, graduates received the title of “exploitation engineer” and, with that qualification and function, they went directly into production. Like in the case of the summer technical courses, Baron Scammacca insisted, “these would-be engineers were to receive, throughout the duration of their university studies, salary and clothing from those factories, and in addition to that they were to have free accommodation and meals provided by the faculties” (doc. 2 in the annex). “It is easy to understand,” Scammacca specified on a critical tone in the “*telespresso*” sent on 6 December 1949 to the Italian Foreign Ministry, “which is the cultural level and training of such elements: suffice it to say that in the first year of Polytechnic, they are taught the four [arithmetic] operations and that the mathematics professors have been forced to adopt the textbook that a few years ago was used in the first classes of secondary school.”

The Italian diplomat was, of course, making reference, in this briefing, to Decree no. 381 of 24 September 1949, under which special classes had been set up for the training of technical exploitation engineers, with a duration of two years for workers with a practice of at least five years. What were still quite unclear were issues pertaining the total number of students and the number of professors who taught them, the emoluments they earned, as well as the total amount of the salaries the trainees received during their studies, paid by the factories that funded their specialization, or the expenses arising from the operation of canteens and dormitories, due to the policy of the regime of popular democracy to form loyal acolytes. It should be noted that by Decree no. 388 of 11 October 1949, the title of engineer was awarded to some categories of technicians. It is not clear on what legal basis that title was awarded and there is little data about the total number of people who received the title of engineer thus.

With hindsight, we should remember that the policy of training professionals who would serve the regime, with questionable qualifications but undisputed loyalty, continued in the early 1950s, throughout the period of the Stalinization process in Romania. Decree no. 185 of 19 July 1951 set up special courses for the training of engineers and technicians from among skilled workers who were under 30 years old and had been active in the production field for at least three years. These were courses with a duration of 4-5 years for engineers and two years for technicians. The salaries of those who attended them continued to be paid, in order to support them materially and out of the desire to stimulate their participation in those courses. In 1953, under Decree no. 343, special schools were transformed into Workers' Faculties, with courses lasting two years. What was dramatic about these schools was that some of the students who attended them had graduated only elementary school. On the other hand, the students were also compensated salary-wise, and it should be noted that

some of them were nominated politically, the recommendations coming from the central and local bodies of the Romanian Worker's Party and the Union of Working Youth, the Ministry of State Security, the Ministry of the Armed Forces, the Council of Ministers or the Ministry of Education.

Also in the "telespresso" of 6 December 1949, Minister Scammacca provided the authorities in Rome with a series of details on the implementation of the decision of 16 October 1948, for the establishment of special two-year schools for those who were active in the field of work. These schools, which offered secondary-level education, allowed the access of their graduates to higher education (universities and institutes of higher education), "under the same conditions and with the same rights," the Italian diplomat showed, "as young people who have completed the regular seven-year secondary school education." Baron Scammacca emphasized the unpleasant fact that those courses were, paradoxically, "exclusivist," being designed "exclusively to the workers nominated by the party organizations and the trade unions, on the basis of their attitudes and their ideological background, and aimed to quickly form a new ruling class, which would, in all areas of intellectual activity and production, take the place of those elements of the bourgeoisie that the regime was still forced to use, due to the lack of personnel, in colleges and in factories, in offices and in the existing professions." Also, the Italian Minister in Bucharest informed the Foreign Ministry in Rome on the preferential treatment given to the "new recruits of national culture" in Romania: bed and board, as well as free textbooks, while the factories where they were employed were supposed to provide them, throughout the duration of their studies, with the salary they had received before being admitted to that specialization. The briefing sent from the Italian Legation in the capital of Romania to the Foreign Ministry in Rome made special reference to the course curriculum, stating that it "meets the essential requirements of high school subject matters, albeit presented in the light of Marxist-Leninist doctrines."

Speaking about the opening of the courses at these special schools for two years, launched in the autumn of 1949 through ceremonies that conferred them a peculiar degree of solemnity, Minister Scammacca specified that "the Minister of Public Education spoke at the inauguration in Bucharest. After he illustrated the ideological and practical goals of the new school, he invited the teachers and the students to take the example, in their work, of everything that has been done and continues to be done in Russia for the training of a true leading socialist class."

ANNEX<sup>23</sup>

1

Telespresso N. 1826/867

Indirizzo.....MINISTERO DEGLI AFFARI  
ESTERI.....

ROMA

Bucarest, 1° novembre

1949

OGGETTO: Corpo didattico in Romania.

(Riferimento):

Dopo la eliminazione degli elementi ritenuti irriducibilmente contrari al regime o pericolosi, e dopo le assunzioni di nuovo personale fatte nel corso dell'anno, durante l'estate si sono svolti nelle principali città della Romania appositi corsi di orientamento per il corpo didattico, ai quali sono stati obbligati a prendere parte tutti gli insegnanti in servizio, pena altrimenti la perdita del posto.

Tali corsi hanno avuto la durata di un mese, e sono stati tenuti da docenti quasi sempre di scarso valore intellettuale e professionale, ma considerati particolarmente preparati nelle dottrine marxiste, che hanno naturalmente costituito la base degli insegnamenti impartiti.

Il corpo didattico romeno ha subito l'imposizione di tale obbligo con chiaro malcontento, sia per il regime poliziesco e di costrizione nel quale i corsi stessi si sono svolti, sia per gli argomenti dei quali si è preteso l'apprendimento, come se si trattasse di alunni delle classi elementari, non tenendosi conto nè della cultura, nè della preparazione didattica di ciascuno.

Dalla mattina alle 7 sino alle 20 della sera, salva una breve interruzione per il pasto di mezzogiorno, da consumarsi obbligatoriamente nella sede dei corsi, professori e maestri sono stati infatti sottoposti per 30 giorni consecutivi al fuoco tambureggiante di lezioni e conferenze sul materialismo storico e dialettico, di lettura e commenti degli editoriali del giornale ufficiale "SCANTEIA," di riunioni dedicate all'illustrazione dei testi comunisti e di interrogazioni sulla materia e sugli argomenti trattati nelle lezioni di ogni singola giornata.

Un'estrema severità ha regolato lo svolgimento di questi corsi: due assenze erano sufficienti per l'eliminazione dal corso, il che significava l'allontanamento dal servizio; ma ciò che ha pesato maggiormente sull'atmosfera di quelle giornate è stata la permanente presenza, sentita e constatata da ognuno, di elementi che, frammischiati agli ascoltatori, avevano l'incarico di raccogliere e riferire le reazioni e i commenti.

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<sup>23</sup> The documents are preserved at Ministero degli Affari Esteri, Roma, Archivio Storico Diplomatico, Fond Affari Politici, 1946-1950, Romania, busta no. 9 (1949).

Al termine delle lezioni si sono tenuti veri e propri esami, scritti ed orali, e coloro che non li hanno superati sono stati passati nelle liste del personale da epurare.

Mentre la fine del corso è stata accolta dalla totalità degli insegnanti con un respiro di sollievo, sembra che i risultati constatati dalle autorità didattiche e politiche non siano stati molto soddisfacenti e ne sarebbe prova il fatto che numerose nuove eliminazioni sono state effettuate in questi giorni tra il personale docente delle scuole, e che si provvede a ricostituire i quadri dell'insegnamento con elementi del tutto nuovi, reclutati con misure d'eccezione e in base a una valutazione prevalentemente politica.

È stata infatti in questi giorni attuata per la prima volta una decisione ministeriale secondo la quale non solo i licenziati e coloro che hanno superato gli esami universitari possono essere nominati nell'insegnamento di stato senza alcun esame di concorso ma, in base a un facile esame di qualificazione, possono essere assunti in qualità di professori anche i licenziati del liceo, i quali dopo aver funzionato due anni come supplenti saranno nominati professori definitivi.

È superfluo far rilevare come queste immissioni di personale didattico non preparato, nè culturalmente nè professionalmente, contribuiranno a far maggiormente scadere il livello dell'insegnamento romeno, livello che si è già abbassato notevolmente in questi ultimi anni, sia a causa dei nuovi programmi didattici come per la esclusione dalle scuole di molti tra gli elementi migliori, colpevoli di appartenere alla classe borghese, al posto dei quali sono stati portati e vengono in ogni modo favoriti i figli degli operai e dei contadini solo perchè tali, indipendentemente dalle loro maggiori o minori attitudini allo studio.

IL MINISTRO  
(Scammacca)

2

LEGAZIONE D'ITALIA  
BUCAREST

(due copie in più)

TELESPRESSO N. 2011/956  
MINISTERO DEGLI AFFARI ESTERI

ROMA  
Bucarest, 6 dicembre 1949

La scuola in Romania. Preparazione "accelerata" di tecnici.

La legge dello scorso anno per la riforma dell'insegnamento superiore, prevede per gli operai messi in evidenza nelle fabbriche e che avessero seguito uno speciale corso d'istruzione media di due anni, la possibilità di iscriversi alle Università per conseguirvi una laurea.

Probabilmente per la necessità di affrettare la formazione di tecnici e dirigenti proletari, – mentre si procede con ritmo sempre più rapido all'allontanamento da ogni attività lavorativa della classe borghese – durante la scorsa estate, e precisamente il 16 agosto, sono stati aperti presso gli Istituti Politecnici di Bucarest, Iassy e Timisoara e presso la Facoltà di Meccanica di Cluj e Brasov dei corsi accelerati per operai aspiranti all'ammissione nei suindicati Istituti superiori.

Tali corsi hanno avuto la durata di 45 giorni, dopo di che si è tenuto un esame, in base al quale molte centinaia di giovani operai, forniti del solo titolo di licenza elementare, sono entrati quest'autunno in varie branche dell'insegnamento superiore.

Ma non basta: per tali eccezionali studenti la durata dei corsi del Politecnico che è, secondo la legge, di 4 anni, è stata ridotta a due, dopo i quali essi riceveranno il titolo di ingegneri "di sfruttamento," ed entreranno con tale titolo e con tali funzioni nella produzione.

Come già durante i corsi dell'estate, i suddetti futuri ingegneri riceveranno per tutta la durata degli studi universitari il salario e il vestiario dalle rispettive fabbriche nonchè avranno vitto ed alloggio gratuito dalle Facoltà.

È facile comprendere quale sia il livello culturale e la preparazione di tali elementi: basti dire che nel primo anno del Politecnico vengono insegnati ad essi le quattro operazioni, e i professori di matematica sono stati obbligati ad adottare il libro di testo che alcuni anni fa era usato nelle prime due classi del ginnasio.

In conformità inoltre a quanto prevede la legge 1948 per la riforma dell'insegnamento medio, hanno recentemente cominciato a funzionare in varie città romene speciali scuole secondarie ad indirizzo tecnico della durata di soli due anni, dopo i quali si può accedere alle Università ed agli Istituti d'Insegnamento Superiore nelle stesse condizioni e con gli stessi diritti dei giovani che hanno seguito il regolare corso settennale di studi liceali.

Tali scuole sono aperte esclusivamente agli operai designati dalle organizzazioni di partito e sindacali per le loro attitudini e per la loro preparazione ideologica, ed hanno lo scopo di formare rapidamente una nuova classe dirigente, che in tutti i campi dell'attività intellettuale e produttiva prenda il posto di quegli elementi della borghesia che il regime, per deficienza di quadri, è oggi ancora obbligato ad utilizzare nelle facoltà come nelle fabbriche e negli uffici come nelle professioni sopravvivenenti.

Il governo ha deciso di accordare particolari condizioni di vita e di trattamento a queste nuove reclute della cultura nazionale: esse avranno, infatti, l'alloggio, il vitto e i libri gratuitamente, mentre le aziende di provenienza dovranno continuare a corrispondere ad esse, per tutta la durata degli studi, il salario che percepivano.

I programmi comprendono gli elementi essenziali delle materie liceali, tutti però presentati alla luce delle dottrine marxisto-leniniste.

I corsi di queste Scuole sono stati aperti nel mese scorso con cerimonie alle quali è stato dato particolare risalto di solennità: a Bucarest è intervenuto all'inaugurazione il Ministro dell'Insegnamento Pubblico, che, dopo aver illustrato gli scopi ideologici e pratici della nuova scuola, ha invitato professori e alunni a prendere esempio nel loro lavoro da quanto è stato fatto e si continua a fare in Russia per la formazione di una vera classe dirigente socialista.

IL MINISTRO  
(Scammacca)

## ANCIENT PORTRAITS FROM MUSEAL COLLECTIONS

**Abstract:** The patrimony of the National History Museum of Transylvania in Cluj-Napoca includes a series of portraits depicting illustrious figures of Greco-Roman Antiquity, inspired by artworks signed by Raphael and Rubens: *Raccolta delle teste dei filosofi, dei poeti, colle nove Muse ed Apollo e di altri uomini illustri dipinti da Raffaello nella Scuola d'Atene e nel Parnaso in Vaticano* and, respectively, *Ex marmore antiquo - Twelve Famous Greek and Roman Men*.

**Keywords:** engraving, patrimony, portrait, ancient, Greco-Roman Antiquity.

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In the collections of engravings from the National History Museum of Transylvania in Cluj-Napoca, there is an outstanding series of portraits depicting illustrious figures of Greco-Roman Antiquity, inspired by works signed by Raphael and Rubens. After centuries of silence on those ancient oeuvres, the Renaissance brought (back) into public attention works of art, writings, cultural and moral values, and exceptional achievements of the ancient period, not only by reconsidering their intrinsic value, but by upholding those classical models as worthy of emulation. The climate of the Renaissance was conducive to the promotion of the values evinced by the culture and art of classical Greco-Roman Antiquity. Thus, ancient works became the source of inspiration for Renaissance artists, who frantically imitated, promoted and adapted them to their contemporary world. Ancient influences permeated all artistic and cultural fields, Antiquity being reinterpreted in the most ingenious of ways. This renewed interest in Antiquity gave rise to a multitude of cultural orientations and the rediscovery of Greek classics had a substantial impact on Renaissance thinking. In this context, Raphael painted *The School of Athens* and *Parnassus*. Obviously, this artistic trend faded away in time, the Renaissance being gradually replaced by new aesthetic currents of the Baroque and the Rococo, but at the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century, neoclassicism brought back into attention the ancient period and the Renaissance, and Raphael became one of the favourite artists in the 19th century. Engraving, one of the most important artistic branches in the 19th century, fully reflected this renewed interest in ancient civilization, in the period of the Renaissance and in Raphael. Various series of engravings enhanced interest in these artistic fields, contributing to their popularity.

The patrimony of the museum in Cluj includes two series, consisting of nine engravings, from the 19th century. The sources of these engravings are paintings by

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Raphael and, respectively, by Rubens, *Raccolta delle teste dei filosofi, dei poeti, colle nove Muse ed Apollo e di altri uomini illustri dipinti da Raffaello nella Scuola d'Atene e nel Parnaso in Vaticano* and, respectively, *Ex marmore antiquo - Twelve Famous Greek and Roman Men*. While in the collection drawn by Rubens, the images accurately reproduce a series of antique busts, in the series inspired by Raphael the engravings resume only the heads of the figures in his paintings, namely *The School of Athens* and *Parnassus*. The differences between the two series can be explained by the different inspiration source, painting vs. sculpture, and the specific means of expression of each artist. Sculpture translates into engraving primarily a sense of volume, of a three-dimensional relief, as well as a certain roughness of the shapes, suggestive of the stone in which the busts were carved, but in painting it is expressiveness, lyricism, fluidity and mellow contours that prevail. The source of the engravings explains the visibly different appearance of the heads: those in the drawings of Rubens from the series that reproduces the collection of antique busts were created after the classical, severe ancient canon, reminiscent of the original inspiration of those ancient Roman portraits, those *imago mortis*, mortuary masks impregnated with sobriety, dignity and prestance. They are realistic portraits that fall strictly within these limits, following predetermined rules, without any deviations from the rules. On the other hand, the heads inspired by the paintings of Raphael emerge delicately from the white sheet: their contours are fluid, the drawing outlines are smooth, undulous, and the overall impression evokes a lyrical, sentimental tone.

The first engravings are part of a series of drawings entitled *Raccolta delle teste dei filosofi, dei poeti, colle nove Muse ed Apollo e di altri uomini illustri dipinti da Raffaello nella Scuola d'Atene e nel Parnaso in Vaticano*, a series that reproduces the effigies in *Parnassus* and *The School of Athens* – artworks signed by Raphael,<sup>2</sup> engraved after the drawings of Luigi Agricola<sup>3</sup> by various artists, such as Giuseppe Bortignoni<sup>4</sup> and Antonio Regona<sup>5</sup>. The copper etchings were published in Rome in around 1810 by the editor Agapito Franzetti.<sup>6</sup> The full series reproduces the portraits of famous characters, among which we find muses, poets, writers, philosophers and some of the most prominent men of Greco-Roman Antiquity. The main sources of inspiration of this series are two of the masterpieces of the Renaissance, *The School of Athens* or *Philosophy*, and *Parnassus* or *Poetry*. *The School of Athens* or *Philosophy* is generally perceived as an allegory of human

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<sup>2</sup> Raffaello Sanzio, 1483-1520.

<sup>3</sup> Luigi Agricola, Luigi Bauer or Luigi Pauer (c. 1750-1821), a painter, engraver and draughtsman active in Rome, see Georg Kaspar Nagler, *Allgemeines Künstler-lexikon*, vol. 1, p. 138, Ed. W. Engelmann, 1872; <http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/luigi-agricola/29.04.2015>.

<sup>4</sup> Giuseppe Bortignoni (1778-1860), a painter and engraver who was active in Rome, see Joseph Heller, Andreas Andresen, Joseph Edward Wessely, *Handbuch für Kupferstichsammler*, vol. 1, p. 162, Ed. T.O. Weigel, 1870; *19th Century European Paintings, Drawings and Sculpture*, Ed. Sotheby's, 1992, p. 130.

<sup>5</sup> Antonio Regona (1760-1853), an engraver from Bassano.

<sup>6</sup> Agapito Franzetti, an Italian publisher who was active in Rome at the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century, see Vittoria Gosen, *Incidere per i Remondini*, Ed. Tassotti, Bassano Del Grappa, 1999, pp. 108-111.

knowledge, with Plato and Aristotle as the central figures, surrounded by a host of philosophers from the past or the present, in an exceptional architectural setting, illustrating the historical continuity of Platonic thinking.<sup>7</sup> Considered a masterpiece of the genre, Raphael's work depicts an idealized *Schools of Athens*. It is an imaginary recreation of the effervescent artistic atmosphere of ancient Athens, populated with the most prominent ancient figures, among whom are inserted some Renaissance luminaries. Artistic license goes beyond time barriers and places the great creators of Antiquity and those of the Renaissance side by side, in a space in which Apollo among the Muses and various ancient and modern poets "illustrates the concord, the harmony between the classical world and Christian spirituality." Called an ideal academy, a vision of knowledge, this image brought together the portraits of the most important characters in literature, philosophy and science, a fact reinforced by Giorgio Vasari, who suggested in his writings that all the great Greek philosophers and ancient scholars could be found in this image. The appearance of this series of engravings was due to the great popularity of Raphael's paintings at that time. The 19th century marked a climax in the public's appreciation of his art. Raphael became the ideal of all Academies, as well as a source of inspiration for many important artists, such as Poussin, Annibale Caracci, and Ingres. The epitome of Renaissance art, Raphael's works enjoyed great popularity especially during the neoclassical period, from the mid-18th century until early 19th century, this period coinciding with a revival of interest in classical Greco-Roman Antiquity, as well as in the classicism of the Renaissance. This widespread interest in Raphael, reflected in engravings, continued throughout the 19th century, when his works were reproduced on a massive scale.

The engravings from the series *Raccolta delle teste dei filosofi, dei poeti, colle nove Muse ed Apollo e di altri uomini illustri dipinti da Raffaello nella Scuola d'Atene e nel Parnaso in Vaticano* resumed the portraits in the original work, the drawings depicting, in varied postures, *Epiteto Filosofo, Epicuro Filosofo, Socrate Filosofo Greco, Zenone Filosofo, Platone Filosofo, Aristotele Filosofo, Pittagora, P. Ovidio Nasone, Publio Virgilio Marone, Raffaele Dal Cole, M. Valerio Marziale, Pindaro Poeta Greco, Polimnia, Dante Alighieri, Giovanni Boccaccio, Gianfrancesco Penni, Marcantonio Raimondi, Melpomene*, etc. The patrimony of the museum in Cluj includes three of these: *Pittagora, Platone Filosofo, Aristotele Filosofo*, depicting key characters of *The School of Athens* by Raphael.

1. **Pythagoras**, engraving by Giuseppe Bortignoni after a drawing by Luigi Agricola, detail from *The School of Athens* by Raphael (**Fig. 1**).<sup>8</sup> Under the effigy, the inscription: *Raff. dipinse, Luigi Agricola delin., Gius. Bortignoni inc./ PITTAGORA/ Creduto nativo di Samo. Fiori circa 500. anni avanti/ l'Era Cristiana; fu il primo ad assumere il titolo/ di Filosofo; e visse intorno a 90. anni.* Pythagoras (569/570 – c. 475/495 BC) is one of the characters situated in the foreground of the original work,

<sup>7</sup> "Raphael." *Encyclopædia Britannica. Encyclopædia Britannica Online*. Encyclopædia Britannica Inc., 2015. Web. 06.05.2015<<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/491442/Raphael>>.

<sup>8</sup> MNIT Collections, inv. no. F 8500. Dimensions 25.5 x 38 cm.

on the left, in the centre of a group that conveys the harmony of Mathematics, balanced by the presence of another group, gathered around Euclid and situated on the opposite side, in the foreground on the right, describing the perfection of Geometry. Pythagoras is captured in profile view, while he is writing thoughtfully, deeply engrossed in his work. The realism of his features, his vibrant gaze, his strong, clenched jaw or the thoroughness with which his face wrinkles are depicted contribute to a note of seriousness, slightly offset by the vague decorativism displayed in the description of the hair and the beard. His garments firmly define the line of his neck, which quickly fades away, vanishing discreetly into the white background.

2. **Plato**, engraving by Antonio Regona after a drawing by Luigi Agricola, detail from *The School of Athens* by Raphael (**Fig. 2**).<sup>9</sup> Under the effigy, the inscription: *Raff. dipinse, Luigi Agricola delin., Ant. Regona inc./ PLATONE FILOSOFO/ Di patria Ateniese detto per la sua eccellenza il DIVINO./ Fu capo della Setta degli Accademici. Nacque 423./anni avanti l'Era volgare, e morì di anni 81.* In the original painting, Plato (427-347 BC), one of the two central characters of the painting, is identified by the copy of his work *Timaeus* that he holds in his hand, but his physiognomy is actually a portrait of Leonardo da Vinci. We recognize the traits of Leonardo from his later (self-)portraits, with his long tresses and bushy beard. The straight nose, the focused gaze, the prominent cheekbones and the fleshy mouth outline a sketchy portrait, framed simply by the scarf knotted around the neck.

3. **Aristotle**, engraving by Giuseppe Bortignoni after a drawing by Luigi Agricola, detail from *The School of Athens* by Raphael (**Fig. 3**).<sup>10</sup> Under the effigy, the inscription: *Raff. dipinse, Luigi Agricola delin., Gius. Bortignoni inc./ ARISTOTELE FILOSOFO/ Nato in Stagira l'anno 348. prima dell' Era/ Christiana, morto in Calcide nell' Isola d' Eubéa di anni 73.* Aristotle (384-322 BC), the other central character of the painting, is identified in the original work after a writing of his, a copy of the *Ethics* that he holds in his hands. His physiognomy seems, however, to belong either to Giuliano da Sangallo or to Antonio da Sangallo the Younger. With a swarthy complexion, a bushy beard and cropped curled hair, a straight nose and a strong line neck, he gazes with interest at Plato, his conversation partner in the painting.

The second series of engravings is part of the cycle of twelve prints entitled *Twelve Famous Greek and Roman Men*, which appeared at Antwerp in 1638, after the drawings of Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640),<sup>11</sup> featuring unidentified antique busts, possibly from the antique collection of Rubens. The prints represent the portraits of *HIPPOCRATES HERACLIDÆ F. COVS.*, *DEMOSTHENES DEMOSTHENIS F. ATHENIENSIS ORATOR.*, *DEMOCRITVS GELASINVS ABDERITES*, *SOCRATES SOPHRONISCI FILIVS. ATHENIESIS*, *SOPHOCLES SOPHILI. F. ATHENIENSIS.*, *PLATO ARISTONIS F. ATHENIENSIS*, *LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA.*, *M. TVLLIVS CICERO.*, *P. CORNELIVS SCIPIO AFRICANVS.*

<sup>9</sup> MNIT Collections, inv. no. F 8501. Dimensions 25.5 x 38 cm.

<sup>10</sup> MNIT Collections, inv. no. F 8502. Dimensions 25.5 x 38 cm.

<sup>11</sup> Peter Paul Rubens, 1577-1640.

*IMP. NERO CÆSAR AVGVSTVS., C. CÆSAR DICT. PERPETVO, M. BRVTVS IMP.* The engravers who signed the prints are Paulus Pontius,<sup>12</sup> Lucas Vorsterman I,<sup>13</sup> Hans Witdoeck,<sup>14</sup> Boëtius Adamsz Bolswert.<sup>15</sup> The series is dated 1638 but was probably in the works for a long time, given that one of the engravers, Boëtius Adamsz Bolswert died in 1633. Six of the preparatory drawings executed by Rubens have been preserved, to this day, in various collections (Morgan Library New York, Fondation Custodia Paris, the Collections of the Metropolitan Museum in New York, etc.). These engravings were considered as highly influential in spreading the concept of classical antique busts in the north of Europe, throughout the 17th and the 18th centuries.<sup>16</sup>

In the patrimony of the museum in Cluj there are six of the twelve prints of the series, *PLATO ARISTONIS F. ATHENIENSIS, LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA., M. BRVTVS IMP., SOCRATES SOPHRONISCI FILIVS. ATHENIESIS, SOPHOCLES SOPHILI. F. ATHENIENSIS., IMP. NERO CÆSAR AVGVSTVS.* All the engravings mention their sources, *Ex marmore antiquo*, the authors, the year and the privilege granted *Cum priuilegiis Regis Christianissimi./ Principum Belgarum et Ord. Batauiæ.*

<sup>12</sup> Paulus Pontius, Paul de Pont, 1596/1603-1658, a Flemish engraver born at Antwerp, a disciple of Lucas Vorsterman, a close collaborator of Peter Paul Rubens. He replaced Lucas Vorsterman in the post of chief engraver in Rubens's studio. He was the author of a series of reproductions after the works of Peter Paul Rubens and Van Dyck, see George Stanley, *Bryan's Dictionary of painters and engravers, biographical and critical*, London, 1849, pp. 589-590; <http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/gallery/vandyck/biographies/pauluspontius.html>. 27/07/2015.

<sup>13</sup> Lucas Vorsterman, 1595-1675, a Flemish engraver, born in Antwerp. He first studied painting under the guidance of Peter Paul Rubens, but on the advice of the latter, he dedicated himself fully to engraving, a field in which he had a remarkable activity, being considered as one of the most talented engravers of his age. He worked closely with Rubens, signing a series of reproductions after his works and after the works of Van Dyck, see G. Stanley, *Op.cit.*, pp. 884-885; <http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/gallery/vandyck/biographies/lucasvorsterman.html>. 27/07/2015.

<sup>14</sup> Hans (Jan) Witdoeck, Witdoek, Witdouck, c. 1600/1604/1615-1642, a Flemish engraver born at Antwerp, see G. Stanley, *Op.cit.*, pp. 916-917; Alfred Michiels, *Histoire de la peinture Flamande*, vol. 8, Paris, Librairie Internationale, 1869, p. 382.

<sup>15</sup> Boëtius Adamsz Bolswert, c. 1580-c. 1633, a Flemish engraver, a native of Bolsward, Friesland, who was active in Haarlem, Amsterdam, Antwerp, and Brussels. He was a disciple of Abraham Bloemaert, see [http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=1456554&partId=1&searchText=Bolswert+coup+de+lance&page=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1456554&partId=1&searchText=Bolswert+coup+de+lance&page=1). 27/07/2015.

<sup>16</sup> George Szabo, *Seventeenth Century Dutch and Flemish Drawings from the Robert Lehman Collection*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1979, p.75; W. Stechow, *Rubens and the Classical Traditions*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1968, pp. 29-30; M. Rooses, *L'oeuvre de P. P. Rubens; histoire et description de ses tableaux et dessins* V, Antwerp, 1886-1892, no. 1218; M. van Meulen, *Petrus Paulus Antiquarius, Collector and Copyist of Antique Gems*, 1975, pp. 17, 83; Royal Museum of Fine Arts, *P. P. Rubens, Paintings - Oilsketches - Drawings*, exhibition catalogue, Antwerp, 1977, no. 158; Fogg Art Museum, Pierpont Morgan Library, *Drawings and Oil Sketches by Rubens from American Collections*, exhibition catalogue, Cambridge and New York, 1956, no. 13; <http://bathartandarchitecture.blogspot.ro/2015/04/paul-rubens-twelve-famous-greek-and.html>/8.05.2015.

1. **Plato**, engraving by Lucas Vorstermann, after a drawing by Pieter Paul Rubens (**Fig.4**).<sup>17</sup> Under the effigy, the inscription: *PLATO ARISTONIS F. ATHENIENSIS/ Ex marmore antique*. On the sides: *P.P. Rubens delin./ L. Vorstermann sculp* and, respectively, *Cum priuilegiis Regis Christianissimi./ Principum Belgarum et Ord. Batauiæ*. It appears, however, that the name of Plato is used erroneously. In reality, the statue depicts Epicurus. A drawing signed by Rubens is preserved at the Morgan Library, New York, and another preparatory drawing by Vorsterman is located at the Fondation Custodia, Paris.<sup>18</sup> The image shows a three-quarter bust depicting a realistic portrait of a man whose age is betrayed by the wrinkles on his forehead, at the corner of his eyes and at the base of his nose, a man whose determination can be inferred from the attitude conveyed by the sculptor, through the aquiline profile, the resolute gaze, the clenched mouth, and the strained veins on his temples. The decorative rendition of the hair and the beard, with compact curls, slightly undercuts the seriousness of the portrait.

2. **Lucius Annaeus Seneca**, engraving by Lucas Vorstermann, after a drawing by Pieter Paul Rubens, dated 1638 (**Fig. 5**).<sup>19</sup> Under the effigy, the inscription: *LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA./ Ex marmore antiquo*. On the sides: *P.P. Rubens delin./ L. Vorstermans sculp. Ao. 1638* and, respectively, *Cum priuilegiis Regis Christianissimi./ Principum Belgarum et Ord. Batauiæ*.<sup>20</sup> A mellow portrait that depicts a gentle face, sketched through fine, undulating lines. The bright eyes, the face that is past his prime, the wrinkled neck, the cropped beard, and the strands of hair falling in disarray on the forehead almost touching the bushy eyebrows compose a lyrical image, a poetic portrait.

3. **Marcus Iunius Brutus**, engraving by Lucas Vorstermann, after a drawing by Pieter Paul Rubens, dated 1638 (**Fig. 6**).<sup>21</sup> Under the effigy, the inscription: *M. BRVTVS IMP./ Ex marmore antiquo*. On the sides: *P.P. Rubens delin./ L. Vorstermans sculpsit Ao. 1638* and, respectively, *Cum priuilegiis Regis Christianissimi./ Principum Belgarum et Ord. Batauiæ*. The face of a young man, with an oversized forehead, disproportionately high in relation to the rest of the head, with the line of the eyes sunken too deep, with clean-shaven cheeks and short hair, which, together with the tight lips and the blank gaze, outline a portrait that leaves a rather bizarre impression on the viewer.

4. **Socrates**, engraving by Paulus Pontius, after a drawing by Pieter Paul Rubens, dated 1638 (**Fig. 7**).<sup>22</sup> Under the effigy, the inscription: *“SOCRATES SOPHRONISCI FILIVS. ATHENIESIS./ Ex marmore antiquo*. On the sides: *P.P. Rubens delin./ P. Pontius sculpsit Ao. 1638* and, respectively, *Cum priuilegiis Regis Christianissimi. /*

<sup>17</sup> MNIT Collections, inv. no. F 8503. Dimensions 29 x 19 cm.

<sup>18</sup> Morgan Library, New York, inv. no. III, 161, respectively, Fondation Custodia, Paris, inv. no. 5949. See F. Stampfle, *Netherlandish Drawings of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries and Flemish Drawings of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries in the Pierpont Morgan Library*, New York-Princeton, 1991, pp. 156-157, cat. no. 324.

<sup>19</sup> MNIT Collections, inv. no. F 8504. Dimensions 29 x 19 cm.

<sup>20</sup> M. Vickers, “Rubens’ Bust of ‘Seneca’?,” in *The Burlington Magazine* 119, 1977, pp. 643-644.

<sup>21</sup> MNIT Collections, inv. no. F 8505. Dimensions 29 x 19 cm.

<sup>22</sup> MNIT Collections, inv. no. F 8506. Dimensions 29 x 19 cm.

*Principum Belgarum et Ord. Batauiæ*. A classical philosopher figure, with a long beard and the forehead exposed because of the frontal baldness, with unruly hair in disarray and piercing eyes, the whole figure exuding an enigmatic, cryptic expression. He has sometimes been identified as Thucydides.

**5. Sophocles Sophili. F. Atheniensis**, engraving by Paulus Pontius, after a drawing by Pieter Paul Rubens, dated 1638 (**Fig. 8**).<sup>23</sup> Under the effigy, the inscription: *SOPHOCLES SOPHILI F. ATHENIESIS./ Ex marmore antiquo*. On the sides: *P.P. Rubens delin./ P. Pontius sculpsit Ao. 1638* and, respectively, *Cum priuilegiis Regis Christianissimi. / Principum Belgarum et Ord. Batauiæ*. With the hair arranged neatly under the *taenie*, the curly beard and the neatly trimmed moustache, Sophocles has a quizzical expression, accentuated by the wrinkles on his forehead, his sideways gaze and his raised eyebrows.

**6. Imp. Nero Caesar Augustus**, engraving by Paul Pontius, after a drawing by Pieter Paul Rubens, dated 1638 (**Fig. 9**).<sup>24</sup> Under the effigy, the inscription: *IMP. NERO CÆSAR AVGVSTVS./ Ex marmore antiquo*. On the sides: *P.P. Rubens delineavit/ P. Pontius sculpsit Ao. 1638* and, respectively, *Cum priuilegiis Regis Christianissimi./ Principum Belgarum et Ord. Batauiæ*. The handsome face of a young man with a relentless gaze and the conviction of his personal superiority displayed openly by his pursed mouth and his vaguely contemptuous smile. The short beard, the curly hair, the determined chin, the straight nose with flaring nostrils and the piercing gaze reinforce the impression of arrogance. A drawing signed by Rubens is preserved at the Fogg Art Museum in Cambridge, Massachusetts, U. S., and a retouched print by Rubens is kept at the Cabinet des Estampes, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.<sup>25</sup>

Both series can be considered illustrations of the ideal of human grandeur, of the conceptions that loomed large against the spiritual horizons of the Renaissance, as part of the artistic trend that promoted the return of art to classicism. Greco-Roman Antiquity fascinated the Renaissance. The rediscovery of classical civilization and the revival of the ideas of Antiquity promoted the anthropocentric vision, according to which man was the focus of scientific and artistic exploration. Up until the Renaissance, art had been used for the exaltation of faith, but in this period art was placed in the service of humanity, as a celebration of man. The ideal of *Homo universalis renascentista* comprised all the possible human qualities, starting from the desire for affirmation and renown. To illustrate this concept, artists searched for famous models from classical antiquity: philosophers, men of letters, rulers, or military leaders. In this context, the portraits of such characters were in high demand, which explains the paintings of Raphael, such as *The School of Athens*, but also later reminiscences, such as the collection of antique busts by Rubens. On the other hand, engraving had an important mission, aimed at the popularization of major art, but also

<sup>23</sup> MNIT Collections, inv. no. F 8507. Dimensions 29 x 19 cm.

<sup>24</sup> MNIT Collections, inv. no. F 8508. Dimensions 29 x 19 cm.

<sup>25</sup> Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge Massachusetts, inv. no. 1932.360; Cabinet des Estampes, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, inv. no. C 10.517, see <http://bathartandarchitecture.blogspot.ro/2015/04/paul-rubens-twelve-famous-greek-and.html/8.05.2015>.

at its study. It facilitated access to the great works of art for those who did not have the necessary financial means to purchase them or when the location of these artworks precluded their direct observation. Copying ancient artworks played an important role in the absorption of the classical models, a basic practice in the artistic education of that time. We know that Rubens studied after the works of other artists, zealously drawing the masterpieces of Greco-Roman art, his vast number of drawings after ancient works representing a genuine inventory of the famous ancient works that could be found in Rome in the first decade of the 17th century. P. P. Rubens's other major pole of interest was the body of works belonging to the masters of the Italian Renaissance, especially Raphael, but also Leonardo, Michelangelo, and Giulio Romano, whom Rubens studied and copied in Rome, thus completing his study of the ancient classics.<sup>26</sup> These drawings, along with the entire set of his drawings, were preserved very carefully by Rubens throughout his life and were included in his will, which stipulated that they could only be sold if none of his heirs manifested any artistic propensities.<sup>27</sup> As for the series of heads drawn after the work of Raphael, it should be noted that this artist was highly appreciated in the 19th century, Raphael enjoying the reputation of the greatest painter of all time. His work was considered an important milestone in the history of art. While completed at different times, the two series have in common not only the subject but also the motivation, both exalting peak historical moments and spiritual ideals human brilliantly encapsulated by the illustrious characters they portray.

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<sup>26</sup> Anne-Marie Logan, Michiel C. Plomp, *Peter Paul Rubens The Drawings*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 2004, 2005, pp. 3-7.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibidem*.



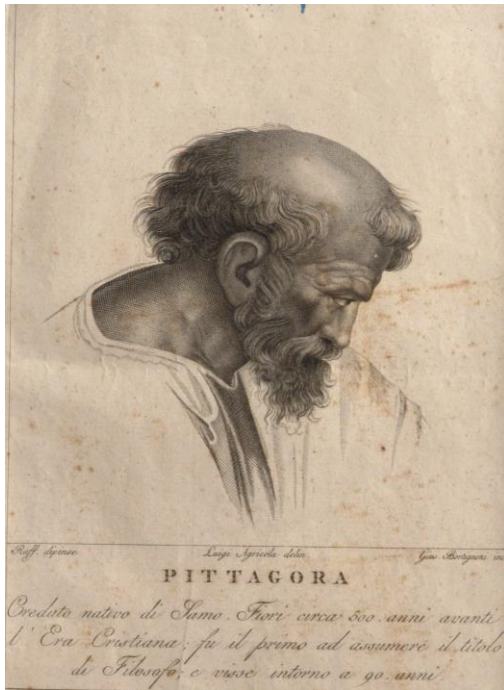


Fig. 1

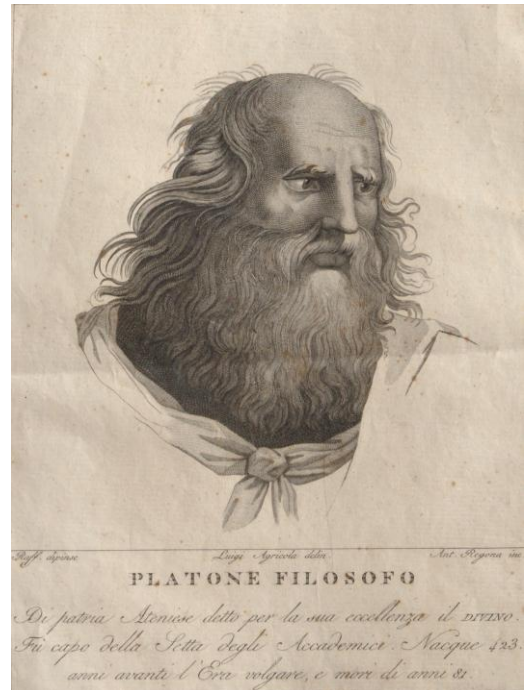


Fig. 2

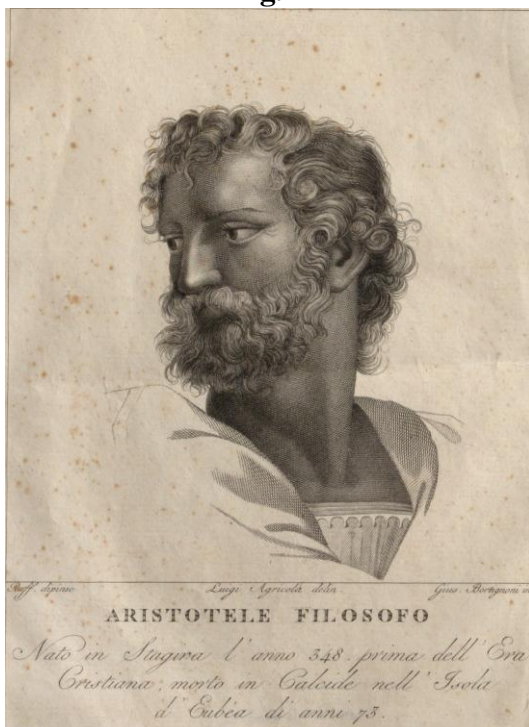


Fig. 3

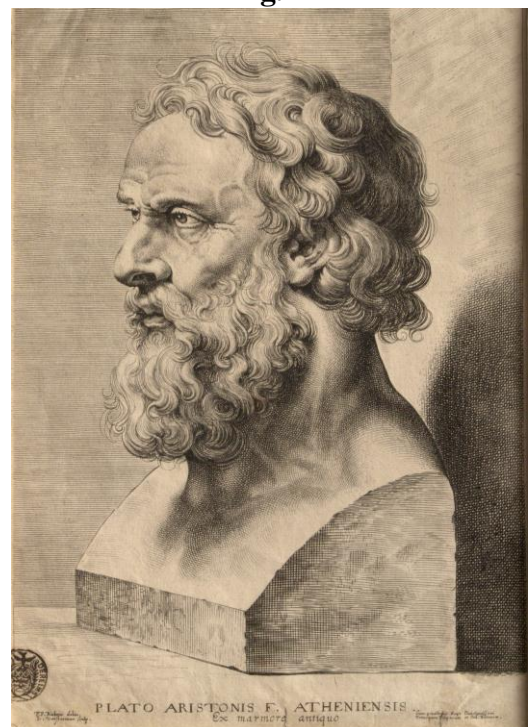


Fig. 4



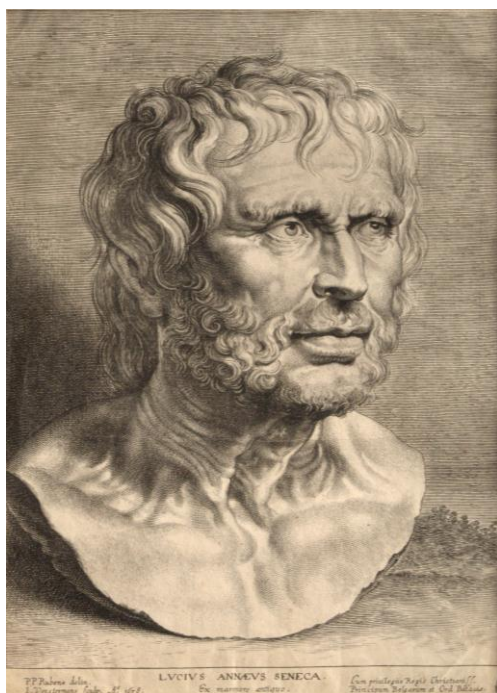


Fig. 5

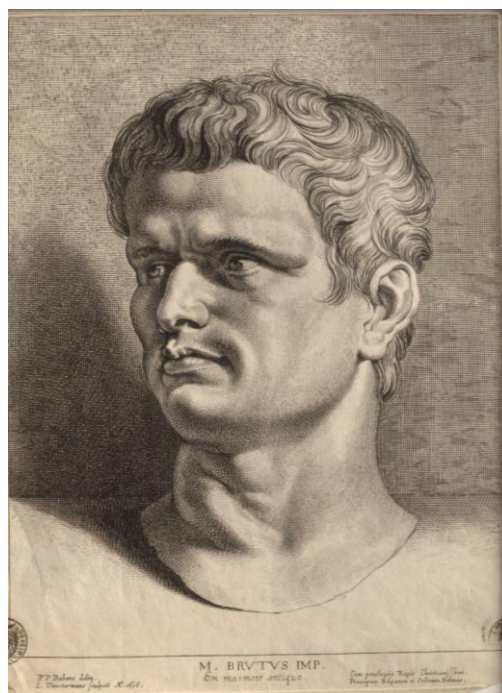


Fig. 6

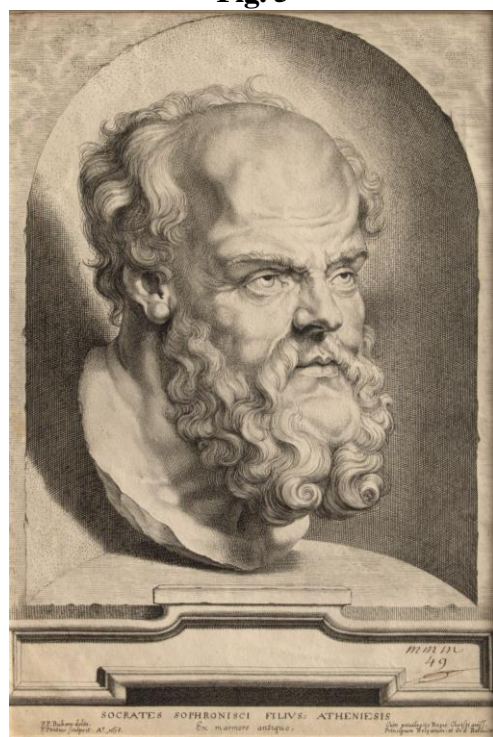


Fig. 7

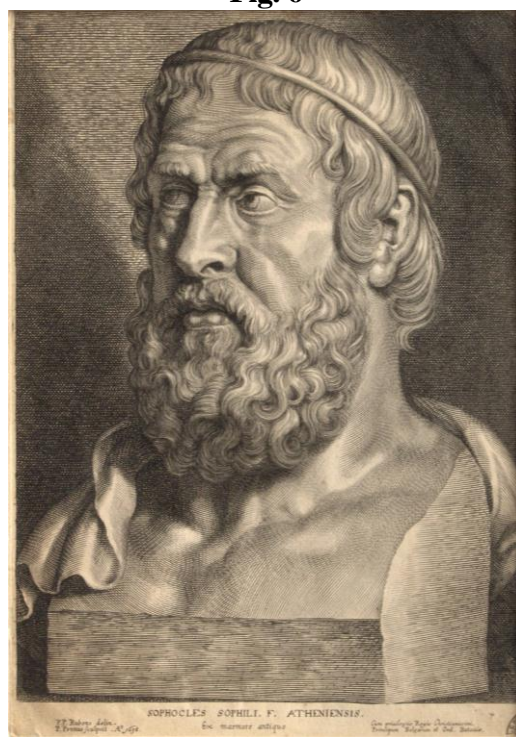


Fig. 8



**Fig. 9**

MIHAELA CHETRARI<sup>1</sup>  
LAURA TROȘAN<sup>2</sup>  
VASILE-DANIEL POP<sup>3</sup>

## THE RESTORATION AND CONSERVATION OF FUNERAL HATCHMENTS PAINTED ON SILK

**Abstract:** The Project of Rehabilitating the Central Reformed Church in Cluj-Napoca, conducted in 2014-2015, included the conservation and restoration of the largest collection of funeral hatchments in the country, a collection discovered in that church. The state of conservation of the pieces, their different ages and the specific properties of each component material demanded the use of several methods of intervention upon those pieces.<sup>4</sup>

The majority of the hatchments painted on silk are pasted on cardboard and a few are on canvas stretched on chassis. Some of them raised serious issues regarding the degree of intervention, as they needed to be transferred on crepeline. Expert restorer Laura Troșan was in charge of their restoration.

**Keywords:** hatchments, restoration, Middle Ages, conservation, heritage

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### Introduction

The funeral hatchments from the Reformed Church on Kogălniceanu St. in Cluj-Napoca are vestiges that are reminiscent of funerary customs going back to the 16th century and that are no longer practised nowadays. On these hatchments, especially on the older ones, there are inscribed the most important biographical data of the persons concerned. They represented a source of family pride and memory.

“At the level of social or family history, coats-of-arms speak about origins and identity, about the founders of a family, about glorious ancestors, who proved their worthiness on the battle field and who acquired a privileged social status for themselves and their followers. Coats-of-arms speak about marriages, kinships, the administration of estates, or the ownership of certain objects... Coats-of-arms speak about ranks, social hierarchies, concessions of titles and estates, about patronages and protections, about fidelity and devotion. They evoke a whole world that was built on such values.”<sup>5</sup>

Raised by Franciscan monks in the period 1486-1516, the Central Reformed Church has suffered several interventions over time.

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<sup>4</sup> Aurel Moldoveanu, *Conservarea preventivă a bunurilor culturale*, Târgoviște, Ed. Cetatea de scaun, 2010-2011, pp. 88-92; Ioana Lidia Ilea, *Metode de conservare și restaurare a pieselor textile*, Cluj-Napoca, Casa Cărții de Știință, 2006.

<sup>5</sup> Sorin Iftimi, *Vechile blazoane vorbesc, Obiecte armorate din colecții ieșene*, Iași, Ed. Palatul Culturii, 2014, p. 10.

On 22 April 1804, after the rehabilitation of the church after the fire of 1798, the church council decided that the hatchments should be cleaned, fitted inside identical black frames and then placed on the walls again.

At the turn of the 20th century, extensive restorations were made, coordinated by the National Committee of Monuments in Hungary. Negotiations began in 1904 and the restoration project was completed in 1909. The restoration works began on September 29, 1910 and ended in 1913.

On this occasion, there were found several funeral monuments carved in stone from the 15th-18th centuries. They were transferred to the Transylvanian Museum and then became part of the collection of the National Museum of Transylvanian History.<sup>6</sup>

Restoration works at this church were also conducted in 1930, when the northern gable was reinforced and the chronological table was completed after the model of the one from 1913, and in 1959-1961(1958-1963).

Of the 120 hatchments and obituaries, 11 date from the second half of the 17th century, 4 from the first half of the 18th century, 30 from the second half of the 18th century, 31 from the first half of the 19th century, 21 from the second half of the 19th century and over 15 from the first half of the 20th century.<sup>7</sup>

These armorial hatchments were ordered ahead of time and served to identify the deceased. They served as notices of death and were distributed to those who attended the funeral. They had a very important role during the various moments of burial ceremonies in Transylvania. Several copies were made for a single funeral ceremony, using a number of techniques (metal embossing, textiles, painting).

The burial ceremony was assessed on the basis of the quality and quantity of these funeral hatchments, which depended on the noble rank of the deceased. The ones painted on silk were given to important people and priests, while those made of paper were distributed to the other participants. Hatchments were hung on the bier, placed in the coffin, displayed in front of the casket during the funeral procession, or sent as invitations to the ceremony. A copy was to be displayed in the church where the funeral would take place.<sup>8</sup>

At funerals of lesser rank, around 100-150 hatchments were required. Their number increased for the deceased of higher rank. Thus, to take the example of the funeral of Princess Bornemisza Anna, 550 hatchments of different qualities were prepared there.

Speaking about the preparations for the funeral of his father-in-law, Banffi Gyorgy, Wesselenyi Istvan mentioned that, after the governor's death on November 15, 1708, he was placed in the coffin on the 20th, the wake took place on the 29th, and arrangements were made for the funeral to be carried out in March.

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<sup>6</sup> Géza Entz and András Kovács, *A Kolozsvári Farkas utcai templom cimerei (Stemele bisericii din str. Farkas de la Cluj)*, Budapest, 1995, pp. 27-28.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 39.

<sup>8</sup> Alicu D, Ciupea I, Cojocneanu M, Glodariu E, Hica I, Iambor P, Lazarovici G, *Cluj-Napoca, de la începuturi până azi*, Cluj-Napoca, Cusium, 1995, p. 13.

Negotiations were made for the big hatchments painted on silk, costing four forints, and for the small ones, costing three forints, the golden flag, the silver escutcheon, and many hatchments made of paper.<sup>9</sup>

The funeral customs practised in Transylvania in those times are very clearly described by Apor Peter in his work *Metamorphosis Transilvaniae* from 1746.

At the house that was in mourning, people set up a shed dressed in black cloth on the inside, on the outside and around the door, hatchments of paper being hung from place to place. Inside the shed, the bier was high, allowing the persons participating in the funeral to see the deceased person.

The bier was dressed entirely in black cloth, which hung down to the ground. 12 armorial hatchments painted on silk were nailed onto the coffin. In the tomb and in the coffin there were placed personal items of the deceased, which were representative for him (sword, dagger, mace, etc.), engraved tablets with a crest, or a mortuary escutcheon, for the identification of the deceased.

Depending on the rank of the deceased and the relationship between the grieving family and the princely family, the following distinctive elements could appear during the funeral ceremony: a knight dressed in armour, a golden flag with a crest, a silver escutcheon, etc.<sup>10</sup>

The oldest armorial hatchments found in this church are the metal reliefs discovered in 1911 in the graves of the children of Prince Michael Apafi I (1664, 1666), and the newest date from the early 20th century, when they were no longer used as accessories at funerals, but merely as objects of personal or family prestige in the church.<sup>11</sup>

Of the over 120 hatchments and obituaries, several dozen were painted on silk, two of them being presented in this article.

### **Hatchment on silk – LUDOVICI of BETHLEN (1715 – 1779)**

**Dimensions:** 75.5 x 64 cm, frame thickness 6.3 cm

**Description:** The shield is oval, decorated on the edges with a white ribbon that twists around the frame. In the blue field, there is a white snake with black scales, which undulates five times. The snake, face turned right, has its head surmounted by an open crown, made of gold, and it holds a golden cross-bearing orb in its mouth.

The shield, supported by two angels with an hourglass, is framed by blue-and-gold lambrequins on the dexter side and red-and-silver lambrequins on the sinister side. Above there is a crown with nine spikes, adorned with precious stones.

Underneath the shield is a marbled plinth, with the Latin inscription: INSIGNIA GENTILITIA ILUST AC MAGNIFICI DOMINI, D. COM. LUDOVICI DE BETHLEN. STRENUI IN JUVENTUTE PER XIV ANN. MILITIS. AETAT. LXIV NATI A. AE. CH. MDCCXV DE NATI A. MDCCLXXIX

<sup>9</sup> Géza Entz and András Kovács, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibidem*, pp.41-42.

<sup>11</sup> *BISERICA REFORMATĂ DE PE STRADA KOGĂLNICEANU, CLUJ-NAPOCA* - Weisz Attila, Enciclopedia Virtuală, <http://referinte.transindex.ro/enciclopedie/monument>.



In translation: Family hatchment of the illustrious and magnificent lord, Count Ludovici of Bethlen. An energetic fighter in his youth, for 14 years. Aged 64. Born in 1715, deceased in 1779.

**Conservation state:** The hatchment, which was restored at a previous time, was reinforced by being glued to cardboard. In the upper part, the silk is missing in a proportion of 25%, evincing numerous displacements and fabric overlaps. (**Fig. 1**) The silk is fragile, with heavy deposits of dust and dirt, folds and separations from the cardboard (**Fig. 2**). The red and blue areas were repainted. (**Fig. 3**) The frame has become fragile.

**Treatment:** Given that deposits of mould were detected in the majority of the funeral hatchments, on the obverse of the cardboards on which they were consolidated, the decision was reached to undertake the preventive disinfection of all the hatchments. This hatchment was disinfected with a 2% Thymol alcohol solution, followed by the mechanical removal of the dust by brushing it with a soft-haired brush.

For the removal of the dirt deposits, the hatchment was subjected to a wet cleaning operation: small surfaces thereof were dabbed with a 1:1 hydro-alcoholic solution and the excess moisture was immediately removed by dabbing with filter paper. The areas where the silk had detached from the cardboard were reinforced by gluing with an aqueous solution of carboxymethyl cellulose.

The operation was carried out on small surfaces, by pressing the hatchment between melinex sheets and marble tiles. Where it was possible, the folds were straightened. Next came the stage of chromatic integration, carried out by the restorer of the painting. The frame was consolidated with Perxil, completed with Baliste, subjected to chromatic integration and varnished.

#### **Hatchment on silk-Ádám Székely (1721-1789)**

He was the son of Ádám Székely Sr. and Katalin Rhédey. A former royal chamberlain, he patronized the Reformed Church in Transylvania. He was the last representative of the Székely of Borosjenő family.

**Dimensions:** 64.5 x 49, frame thickness - 3 cm

**Description:** Modern French shield, in whose blue field, on a green terrace, there is a golden lion, face to the right, holding in its raised right paw a silver sword, coming out of a circlet with five spikes, adorned with pearls and precious stones. The shield is charged with an open helmet, with bars, from which lambrequins shoot off, blue-and-gold on the dexter side and red-and-silver on the sinister side. Above is repeated the figure of the lion on the shield.

Underneath the coat-of-arms there is a console with the Latin inscription: "INSIGNIA GENTIL. ILLUSTR. DOMINI COMITIS ADAMI SZÉKELY DE B. JENŐ ET SAMOLYKESZI. S. C. R. A. M. CAMERARII AULICI. QUI VTAE ET ILLUSTR PRO SAPIÆ SUÆ, TERRIS EREPTUS, FINEM IMPOSUIT. ANNO SALUTIS MDCCCLXXXIX. DIE XXXI MAY. AETATIS LXVIII."

In translation: Lineage crest of the Illustrious Lord Comes Ádám Székely of Borosjenő and Samolykeszi, chamberlain of the court of His Holy, Imperial, Royal Apostolic Majesty, who, at the end of his life on this earth, has remained in the

memory of his family for his worthiness and brilliance. In the year of Redemption, 1789, the day of May 31. Aged 68.<sup>12</sup>

**Conservation state:** Painted on thin silk, the hatchment is preserved in a proportion of about 60%, mostly to the right side. It was reinforced by being glued onto cardboard, during a previous restoration.

The elements that decorate the hatchment have been repainted, with the exception of the gold, the silver and the pedestal with the inscription. After it was consolidated, there appeared displacements and fabric overlaps. (**Fig. 6**)

The hatchment shows moisture halos, dirt deposits, stains and areas that have detached from the cardboard. (**Fig. 7**) On the reverse of the hatchment, the cardboard shows mould stains. The frame has become fragile. (**Fig. 8**)

**Treatment:** The hatchment was disinfected with a 2% Thymol alcohol solution, followed by the mechanical removal of the dust by brushing it with a soft-haired brush.

Because the silk was very thin and fragile, the hatchment underwent a wet cleaning operation by slightly dabbing it, on small surfaces, with a 1:1 hydro-alcoholic solution and the excess moisture was immediately removed by dabbing with filter paper. The areas where the silk had detached from the cardboard were reinforced by gluing with an aqueous solution of carboxymethyl cellulose, on small surfaces. The operation was carried out by pressing the hatchment between melinex sheets and marble tiles. Where it was possible, the folds were straightened.

The chromatic integration was carried out by the restorer of the painting. The frame was consolidated with a Rexil anti-woodworm solution, consolidated with Perxil, subjected to chromatic integration and varnished.

A similar hatchment has been preserved in the Reformed parish of Doboșeni. It probably got there through a member of the Daniel family who attended the funeral.<sup>13</sup> (**Fig. 11**)

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<sup>12</sup> Szekeres Attila István, "Ținutul Pădurilor – ținut al stemelor," in *Monumentul*, Year XIV, Iași, 2013. [ISSN 1844-9042], p. 82.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 80.

### **List of illustrations**

- Fig. 1 Funeral hatchment - LUDOVICI OF BETHLEN  
Fig. 2 Funeral hatchment - LUDOVICI OF BETHLEN, detail  
Fig. 3 Funeral hatchment - LUDOVICI OF BETHLEN, detail  
Fig. 4 Funeral hatchment - LUDOVICI OF BETHLEN, before restoration  
Fig. 5 Funeral hatchment - LUDOVICI OF BETHLEN, after restoration  
Fig. 6 Funeral hatchment - ÁDÁM SZÉKELY, detail  
Fig. 7 Funeral hatchment - ÁDÁM SZÉKELY, detail  
Fig. 8 Funeral hatchment - ÁDÁM SZÉKELY, verso  
Fig. 9 Funeral hatchment - ÁDÁM SZÉKELY, before restoration  
Fig. 10 Funeral hatchment - ÁDÁM SZÉKELY, after restoration  
Fig. 11 Funeral hatchment - ÁDÁM SZÉKELY, the Reformed parish of Doboséni



**Fig. 1**



**Fig. 2**





Fig. 3



Fig. 4



Fig. 5



**Fig. 6**



**Fig. 7**



**Fig. 8**



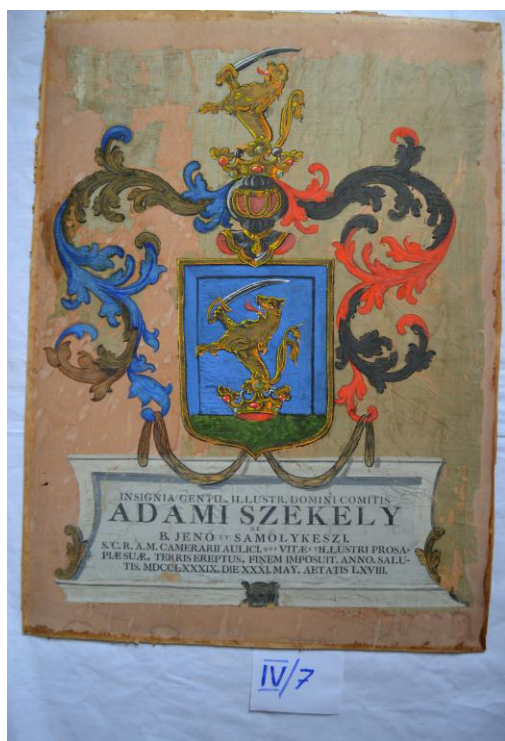


Fig. 9

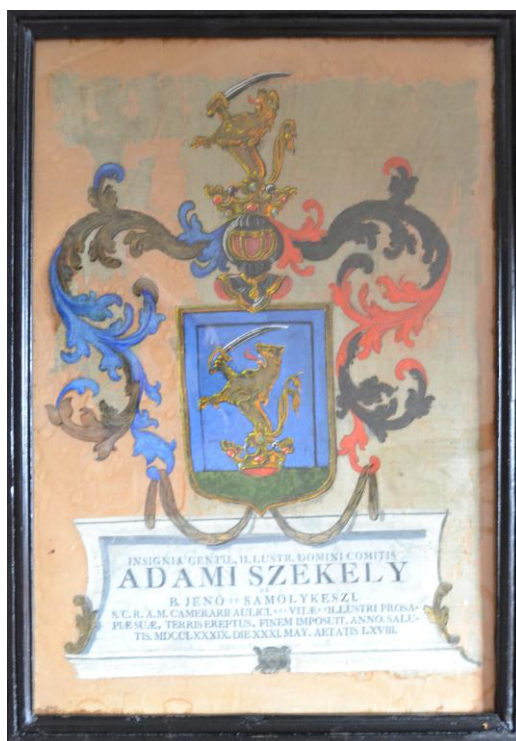
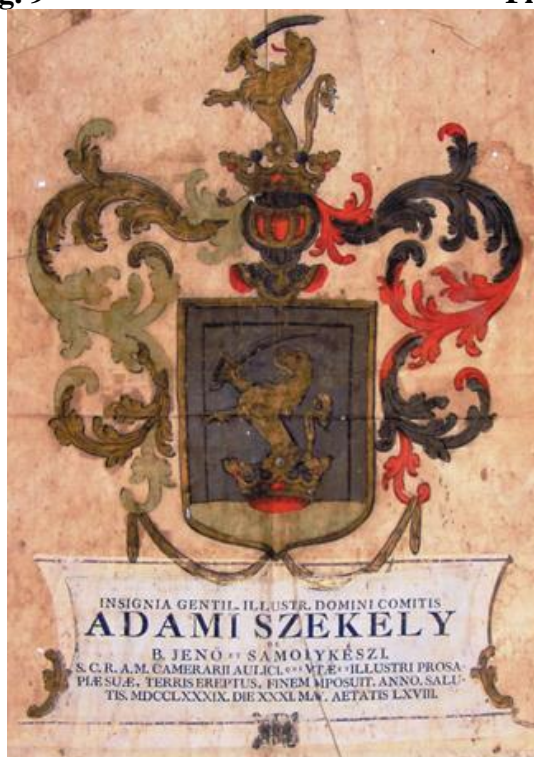


Fig. 10



14

Fig. 11

<sup>14</sup> Ibidem, p. 80.

# **Biographical Medallions**



**IN MEMORIAM.  
EUGENIA GLODARIU**



**Eugenia Glodariu**  
1940-2016

În 11 decembrie 2016 s-a stins din viață în București, la vârsta de 76 de ani, colega noastră Dr. Eugenia Glodariu. S-a născut la 23 august 1940 în Sibiu și a absolvit Facultatea de Istorie și Filosofie a Universității Babeș-Bolyai din Cluj-Napoca în 1962. Anul următor a fost angajată la Muzeul de Istorie din Cluj, făcând astfel parte din prima generație de muzeografi care și-au adus aportul decisiv la reînființarea muzeului și la reorganizarea colecțiilor și a expozițiilor permanente ale acestuia.

A avut un parcurs profesional de excepție, de la muzeograf principal și șef de secție până la director adjunct al Muzeului Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei între anii 1986-1990. În cele aproape patru decenii de activitate neîntreruptă în instituție s-a preocupat de valorificarea expozițională și științifică a patrimoniului, a contribuit la realizarea expoziției permanente a muzeului precum și la organizarea numeroaselor expoziții temporare având ca finalitate punerea în circuitul expozițional a patrimoniului de istorie premodernă, modernă și contemporană a Transilvaniei.

Activitatea sa de cercetare științifică s-a axat cu precădere pe mișcarea culturală și național-politică a românilor ardeleni din a doua jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea și până la Marea Unire din 1918. Acest câmp de investigație istorică i-a oferit numeroase satisfacții intelectuale concretizate în peste 60 de studii și articole publicate în volume și reviste de specialitate din care amintim aici câteva:

- *Din activitatea societății Iulia a studenților români la Cluj*, în *Acta Musei Napocensis (AMN)*, V, 1968

- *Prima societate de lectură din Cluj*, în *Apulum*, VII/2, 1969
- *Biblioteci populare le Astrei*, în *AMN*, VI-VII, 1969-1970
- *Din activitatea editorială a Astrei: Biblioteca populară a Asociațiunii*, în *AMN*, VIII, 1971
- *Societăți culturale românești din monarhia austro-ungară și Academia Română*, în *AMN*, XI, 1974
- *Aspecte ale activității studențimii românești din monarhia austro-ungară pentru realizarea unității naționale*, în *Ziridava*, VI, 1976 (în colab. cu N. Cordoș)
- *Contribuția societății Petru Maior la mișcarea cultural-națională a românilor din Austro-Ungaria*, în *AMN*, XIV, 1977
- *Die Studenten und Schuler aus der Österreichisch-Ungarische Monarchie und der Unabhängigkeitskrieg Rumänien*, în: *Forschungen zur Volks und Landeskunde*, Sibiu, 1978
- *Participarea tineretului universitar român din Austro-Ungaria la mișcarea memorandistă*, în *AMN*, XVII, 1980
- *Elena Pop Hossu-Longin și mișcarea feministă din Transilvania*, în *AMN*, XIX, 1982
- *Considerații privind implicarea Astrei în mișcarea național-politică a românilor din Transilvania*, în *AMN*, nr. 32-33, 1985-1986
- *Programul de acțiune al tineretului universitar în vederea procesului memorandist*, în *Tribuna*, 17-20, 1994
- *Le Congres de Constanta - moment de solidarité de la jeunesse universitaire avec le mouvement memorandiste*, în *Transylvanian Review*, III, 4/1994
- *Casina română din Cluj*, în *AMN*, nr. 32, II, 1996
- *Secția de Istorie modernă a Muzeului Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei*, Cluj-Napoca, 1998, 32 p.
- *Mihai Eminescu și societățile culturale ale tineretului studios din Monarhia habsburgică*, în *AMN*, nr. 37-38, II, 2000-2001

Încununarea acestei îndelungate și rodnice activități de cercetare istorică a fost făcută printr-o strălucită teză de doctorat dedicată studenților români ardeleni din Monarhia habsburgică care a fost susținută la Universitatea Babeș-Bolyai. Ea a fost publicată la Cluj-Napoca, în anul 1998, cu titlul *Asociațiile culturale ale tineretului studios român din Monarhia habsburgică (1860-1918)*, 416 p. + 4 anexe, fiind o cercetare de referință în literatura de specialitate.

Pentru întreaga sa activitate științifică și muzeografică, în anul 2004 a fost decorată de Președinția României cu ordinul Meritul Cultural în grad de Cavaler.

Hărnicia, profesionalismul și modestia au caracterizat întreaga sa activitate desfășurată în cadrul muzeului de istorie clujean, devenind în același timp un exemplu pentru cei care au avut privilegiul de a-i fi colegi.

**SIT TIBI TERRA LEVIS !**

**IN MEMORIAM.  
NICOLAE BOCȘAN**



Născut la data de 24 septembrie 1947, în localitatea Bocșa din Banatul Montan, județul Caraș-Severin, profesorul Nicolae Bocșan a urmat studiile primare, gimnaziale și liceale în cadrul „Școalelor” bănățene, formarea universitară desfășurându-se în sălile de curs a Facultății de Istorie și Filosofie, Secția Istorie, din cadrul Universității Babeș-Bolyai din Cluj, între 1965-1970. În perioada 1970-1977 și-a desfășurat activitatea profesională la Biblioteca Centrală Universitară Lucian Blaga, ca bibliotecar, contribuind prin munca sa de cercetare la redactarea unui bogat instrumentar bibliografic precum *Bibliografia Istorică a României*, vol. IV-VI, București, Ed. Academiei, 1975-1985, *Țara Oașului. Contribuții bibliografice*, Cluj-Napoca, 1983 ( în colab.) sau *Enciclopedia istorografiei românești*, București, Ed. Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1977 (în colab.).

Începând din anul 1978 numele său este strâns legat de Universitatea Babeș-Bolyai, acolo unde a parcurs toate gradele universitare, de la asistent în 1978 și până la profesor titular în Catedra de Istorie Modernă, în 1994. În 1985 devine doctor în istorie contribuind magistral la îmbogățirea istoriografiei românești, cu teza: „*Românii din Banat în epoca Luminilor*”. Pentru ampla lucrare monografică *Contribuții la istoria iluminismului românesc*, Timișoara, Ed. Facla, 1986, primește din partea Academiei Române, premiul „Nicolae Bălcescu,” iar pentru *Franța și Banatul 1789-1815*, Reșița, Ed. Banatica, 1994 (coautor), premiul „Gh. Bariț”, pe anul 1994.



Activitatea sa științifică este presărată cu numeroase lucrări, de la volume de autor sau serii de documente și până la studii secvențiale, principalele sale teme de cercetare fiind ideologiile și programele politice naționale din spațiul românesc, istoria instituțională ecleziastică și istoria relațiilor internaționale având ca punct de inițiere Transilvania, Banatul și-n general provinciile românești.

Carierea profesorului Bocșan a inclus o importantă componentă administrativă, aceasta fiind simbiotic legată de Universitatea Babeș-Bolyai. Astfel între 1991 și 2012 a fost rând pe rând prodecan și decan al Facultății de Istorie și Filosofie, iar mai apoi prorector (în trei mandate) și rector al Universității. În toată această perioadă, prestigioasa instituție de învățământ universitar a cunoscut o rapidă evoluție atât la nivel organizatoric, dar și la nivel patrimonial, curricular, ca număr de studenți și specialități.

Conducător de doctorat din 1990, profesorul Bocșan a îndrumat generații de tineri studioși, contribuind decisiv atât la desvârșirea formării lor intelectuale, cât și la integrarea acestora în rândul tagmei istoricilor, cu un bogat bagaj bibliografic, riguros sistematizat și un instrumentar al cercetării științifice judicios construit.

Domnul profesor Bocșan a fost apropiat atât sufletește dar și ca istoric de *Acta Musei Napocensis*, Domnia sa făcând parte din Consiliul Științific al revistei noastre, nu de puține ori viziunea și experiența sa științifică fiind decisive în deciziile noastre redacționale.

Din nefericire pentru noi toți, în data de 19 iunie 2016, Profesorul a făcut pasul spre tărâmul nemuririi, al vieții eterne, de unde, cu siguranță, ne privește și ne veghează.

A fost un ziditor de Școală și un făuritor de Oameni. A deschis drumuri, a îmbogățit suflete, a construit caractere și a creat cercetători stăpâni pe mijloacele lor profesionale.

Profesorul Bocșan trăiește prin fiecare dintre cei cărora le-a călăuzit pașii, iar numele său e gravat spre veșnicie în Panteonul marilor istorici și-n scrierile istoriografice românești.

**SEMPER FIDELIS!**

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