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ARTICLES AND STUDIES

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MEDIEVAL, PRE-MODERN AND MODERN ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENTS DISCOVERED ON AVIATOR BĂDESCU STREET IN CLUJ-NAPOCA

MELINDA MIHÁLY*

Abstract: The current study aims to present the results of the research and archaeological assistance carried out on Aviator Bădescu Street no. 3–5 in Cluj-Napoca, which resulted in the discovery of a series of fragments of medieval, pre-modern and modern architectural monuments, reused in the foundations of a warehouse belonging to the Austro-Hungarian army built in the mid-nineteenth century. Our study presents the history of the plot, the warehouse, as well as the discovered architectural elements, which are currently in the patrimony of the National Museum of Transylvanian History.

Keywords: Jewish cemetery, military warehouse, architectural monument, framing, Gothic, Renaissance, Neoclassical, Tuscan

Rezumat: Studiul de față își propune prezentarea rezultatelor cercetării și ale asistenței arheologice efectuate pe str. Aviator Bădescu nr. 3–5 din Cluj-Napoca, în urma cărora au fost descoperite o serie de fragmente de monumente arhitectonice medievale, premoderne și moderne, refolosite în fundațiile unui depozit al armatei austro-ungare, construit la mijlocul secolului al XIX-lea. Studiul nostru urmărește prezentarea istoricului parcelei, al depozitului, precum și a elementelor arhitectonice descoperite, care în momentul de față se află în patrimoniul Muzeului Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei.

Cuvinte cheie: cimitir evreiesc, depozit militar, element architectonic, ancadrament, gotic, renascentist, neoclasic, toscan.

The present study is the result of investment works carried out on the initiative of the Cluj County Council on the east side of Aviator Bădescu Street in Cluj-Napoca, at no. 3–5. The works led to the construction of a new building for the *Centrul Școlar pentru Educație Incluzivă* [School Centre for Inclusive Education; hereafter CSEI]. Five modern buildings stood on the plot at the start of the works, four of which were demolished. Following the demolition of one of the buildings, the former military flour warehouse, a number of fragments of medieval, pre-modern and modern architectural elements have emerged from the foundations of the building. Our study aims to present the history of the plot, the military warehouse as well as the cataloguing and analysis of the discovered elements, which are currently in the patrimony of the National Museum of Transylvanian History.[1]

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[1] The archaeological research and assistance was coordinated by a team of archaeologists from the National Museum of Transylvanian History: Csók Zsolt (coordinator), Viorica Rusu-Bolindeț, Emilian-Simion Bota, Mariana-Cristina Popescu and Monica Gui, see the archaeological research report: Csók et alii 2022.

The plot in question is located south of the second medieval fortified enclosure of Cluj, in the immediate vicinity of the Central Cemetery (*Házsongárd*). This area was part of the necropolis of the city of Napoca during the Roman Period,[2] which remained an uninhabited area in the Middle Ages, Pre-modern and Modern periods. This area was bounded to the north by Turda Exterior Street (today Avram Iancu Street) and to the west by the Central Cemetery (*Házsongárd*) and was crossed by an access road to the vineyards on the Becaș border. From the 1840s onwards, the first burials of the town's inhabitants without the right to citizenship, i.e. the Jews, appeared in this area between the shepherds' huts, and further north, the burials of the Romanians and the Roma. In 1840, the number of Jewish burials had already reached about 50, thus the Jewish community asked the town administration and the Transylvanian *Gubernium* (government) for the right to surround their cemetery with a stone fence, as some monuments had been vandalized. The town did not allow them to build the fence, because at that time the Jews did not yet have the right to settle in the town. After repeated requests, in 1843 the Jewish community finally received permission from the Imperial Court at Vienna to fence the cemetery.[3]

Aviator Bădescu Street was formed in the first half of the nineteenth century, being in the first phase a dead end leading to the first Jewish cemetery of the city. During the Interwar Period, the first buildings appeared on the territory southeast of the Central Cemetery, thus the inhabitants of this new district asked the city administration to open a street through the Jewish cemetery, in order to ensure quicker access to the historical center. In 1927, the city administration asked the Jewish community to cede a part of the cemetery plot in order to extend it to Calea Turzii, but they did not agree. In 1931, with the consent of the Jewish community, the city began the construction of the street, and the remains of those buried were exhumed and transported to the new Jewish cemetery on Calea Turzii.[4] Over the course of the twentieth century, the street acquired different names, being called Balassa Street in 1941 and from 1945 onwards Balassa Street up to the bend and Kosztolányi Street from the bend to Calea Turzii. From 1964, the first part of the street maintains the name of Balassa Street and the southern part receives the name of Căpitan Aviator Bădescu. Currently, the entire street is called Aviator Bădescu Street.[5]

In the middle of the nineteenth century, but at the latest in 1869, a military food warehouse belonging to the Austro-Hungarian army was built on this plot, on the terrace north of the Jewish cemetery. Although we do not have much information about the circumstances in which the building was constructed, we believe that it was certainly erected by 1869 at the latest, when it is marked on the first cadastral map of the town (Pl. I/1).[6] This building was certainly not the first army warehouse, as on the city maps of the first decades of the nineteenth century, earlier military warehouses can be identified in the northwest corner of the first fortified city enclosure, in the Old Castle.[7] These warehouses probably became too small and a new building had to be erected over a larger area. The

[2] Covaciu 1929; Hica-Câmpean 1977, 221–237; Bodor 1994, 253; Hica 1999, 97–104; Hica 2004, 112–153.

[3] Jakab 1888, 954–955; Gaal 1982, 137–138; Gaal 2016, 91–92.

[4] *Uccát vágnak* 1931, 2; Gaal 2016, 91–92. This cemetery was used until 1892, until the establishment of the new cemetery on Calea Turzii.

[5] Asztalos 2004, 67.

[6] Bodányi 1869.

[7] MNL OL, S 105, No. 38 and No. 122.

new military warehouse was built on an elongated rectangular plan, 52 × 16 meters, on one level, made of brick masonry, built on a solid foundation of limestone blocks. The long façades were articulated with lesenes, the two short façades each having a pronounced triangular pediment. We have no information on the original openings of the building, as these were changed to wide rectangular openings, probably in the 1970s–1980s. Given its function as a food warehouse, we presume that the original building had a series of simple, small openings necessary to ensure a constant low temperature. The building had a gable roof, covered with sheet metal panels, pierced on both sides by a row of dormers (Pl. I/2, Pl. II/1–2, Pl. III/1–2, Pl. IV/1).

Until the end of the First World War, the warehouse was owned by the Austro-Hungarian army. After 1918, the building changed its function several times, later becoming the recruitment center of the Romanian army, then the seat of the School for disabled children no. 1, ultimately functioning as the seat of the CSEI – Cluj until its demolition.

In 2018 the parcel was owned by the Cluj County Council. On the two terraces, occupied in the lower part by the warehouse and in the upper part by the former Jewish cemetery, the new CSEI was projected on a plot of land measuring 1403.50 sq meters. In a first phase, an archaeological monitoring contract was concluded in 2018, which, following the discovery of a Roman sarcophagus, was transformed into a preventive archaeological research contract.[8]

Before archaeological monitoring began, most of the buildings on the plot were demolished by the construction company, but a small annex on the southern side of the plot as well as most of the foundations of the military warehouse remained. The foundations of the building were constructed of irregular limestone blocks, alternating with a series of hewn, carved blocks from earlier buildings, probably demolished in the first half of the nineteenth century. During the preventive investigations, a significant number of reused architectural elements were removed from the masonry and subsequently transported to the repositories of the National Museum of Transylvanian History (Pl. IV/2).[9]

The fragments of architectural monuments certainly come from various secular and cult buildings in the historical center of Cluj, from different periods between the fifteenth and the nineteenth century.

Our study aims to analyze the architectural fragments, to classify them stylistically and chronologically, and to typologize the elements as much as possible, considering their style, material,[10] provenance and function.

The earliest architectural elements are fragments of Gothic window frames. These frames come from different locations, differing in type, profile and material. The simplest

[8] Contract concluded with the National Museum of Transylvanian History (D 1444/2018; D 1549/16.02.2021). During the archaeological research, several remains pertaining to the Roman necropolis were discovered, including a monolithic sarcophagus and a Roman funerary stele from the second–third centuries. On the upper terrace, 91 graves of the Jewish cemetery were unearthed, which were exhumed in April 2021 by a team of specialists from the following institutions: the National Museum of Transylvanian History, the Cluj County Council, the Romanian Rabbinate in Bucharest, the Embassy of Israel in Romania, the Jewish Committee of Cluj and the Zac'H Israel Forensic Police in Tel Aviv. All remains were exhumed and reburied in the new Jewish Cemetery, located at 152–154 Calea Turzii. See: Csók et alii 2022, 4, 6, 42.

[9] Most of the architectural elements were discovered in the northeast corner of the warehouse.

[10] For the determination of the different types of materials, I would like to thank my colleague Luminița Săsăran.

element is the lower right corner of a basement vent, profiled below the opening with a flared surface, intended to direct rainwater away from the surface of the frame. This fragment is a type of simple opening, common in local architecture, carved from yellowish porous limestone (Cat. no. 1; Pl. V/2a–b).[11] The second fragment is the sill of a Gothic window, carved from fine yellowish limestone. The upper part of the sill is chamfered. In the center of the fragment, the beginning of the window's mullion is preserved, with a trapezoidal section. On the upper side of the sill, the outline of the mullion is incised, drawn by two parallel lines, resulting in a wide mullion, a rectangular section with a single trapezoidal end (Cat. no. 2; Pl. V/1). The following fragments are part of the architrave of a Gothic window, profiled with a narrow listel and a semiscotia. One of the fragments was broken into two pieces when it was removed from the masonry, and is now composed of three elements. These constitute a standard type of Gothic window, bipartite, with a fine, narrow profile, quite common in the civil architecture of Gothic Cluj, provided with a rectangular-sectioned inward-facing mullion and an outward-facing scotia.[12] These elements differ from the first ones in terms of their material, as they are carved from a porous volcanic tuff, light grey to white in color (Cat. no. 3; Pl. V/3a–b). The penultimate fragments of Gothic framing are two elements of the same framing, carved from a porous limestone with visible microclasts. The profile of the two fragments is carved on a flared surface, composed of a listel and a semiscotia. The two profiles are wide and oversized compared to the previous fine profiles. The dimensions of the piece and the profiles, as well as the fact that the back side is not provided with a recess for fixing the glass frames, indicate that the two fragments probably come from the frame of a Gothic portal (Cat. no. 4; Pl. VI/1a–c). The last fragment of Gothic frame differs from the above in its material, as it is carved from a dark grey volcanic tuff. Its profile is carved on a flared surface, consisting of a thin band framed by a narrow listel and a semiscotia (Cat. no. 5; pl. VI/2).

Among the Gothic architectural fragments one notes two elements of unidentified or uncertain function, carved from fine yellowish limestone. The first of these is a massive element, triangular in section. Its lower side is polished, being a jointing surface, and its upper side is broken. The three sides of the piece are finely polished, and the third side, which retains several layers of paint, is lightly hammered, which may also be the result of later interventions, following its reuse in the masonry of the foundation. The other two sides have a small flared profile at the bottom, in the corner. On the upper side in the corner, the fragment bears traces of metal fixing. As for the function of this element, it is most probably a fragment from a Gothic phiale (Cat. no. 6; Pl. VI/3a–b). The second fragment with an unidentified function is a small piece. Its front and back sides are flat, finely polished, and the sides are arched with finely polished surfaces. The top of the piece is arched in the shape of a basket handle. The left side is profiled on the underside with a horseshoe profile, the right side is broken. The function of this element is currently unidentified (Cat. no. 7; Pl. VII/2a–b). The closest analogies for this piece are two identical architectural elements

[11] The closest analogies for this type of framing in local architecture are found at the entrance of the Unitarian bishops' residence in Cluj, at 21 Decembrie Boulevard no. 7, and in the basement of the Mauksch-Hintz house in Cluj, at Unirii Square no. 28.

[12] The local analogies of the window type can be found on the ground floor of some Gothic dwelling houses, e.g. on the west side of the house at Unirii Square no. 18 and on the west side of the house at Eroilor Boulevard no. 12.

from the repository of the National Museum of Transylvanian History. They are similar to the above piece in terms of their arched top and sides and flat front side. The front sides of the pieces from the museum, however, have a stepped profiling, similar to a stepped console. Their arched upper and lateral sides are cut with a row of decorations, which is semicircular on the upper side and horseshoe-shaped on the sides (Pl. VI/1a–c).

The most numerous fragments discovered are fragments of Renaissance frames, probably from a dwelling house in Cluj. They are carved from the same type of fine yellowish limestone, provided with almost identical profiling and preserving the same layers of paint, the last layer of which is yellow. The fact that the lintel fragments are decorated with different types of dentils shows us that they come from multiple frames. One of the two lintel fragments is dated to the 1730s, thus coming from one of the last dwelling houses in Cluj built in the Late Renaissance style (Cat. nos. 10–15; Pl. VIII/2–6, IX/1). As for the profile of the frames, they are identical to several Cluj frames from the end of the sixteenth century, meaning that some standard profiles persisted in the city's architecture at least from the last decade of the sixteenth century until the third decade of the eighteenth century.[13]

In the string of Renaissance architectural elements, there are a few fragments of simple, fragmentarily-preserved frames. The simplest example is the fragment of a window frame with a semicircular closure, with an intrados provided with a row of circular holes for the metal gratings of the opening (Cat. no. 9; VIII/1a–b).

One of the more interesting but uncertain pieces is an elongated quadrilateral element with roughly carved long sides. One of the short ends is broken off, while the other presents a decoration of bulging sun rays meeting in the center of the surface. The surfaces delimited by the rays are also slightly bulged. In terms of the function of the piece, it was certainly inlaid along its entire length, with only the decorated side in view, and was probably originally a keystone or just an inlaid decoration. The piece is most probably a keystone, as the radial profiles could be the continuation of the edges of a cross vault, but the length of the piece is unprecedented in local architecture (Cat. no. 8; Pl. VII/3a–b).[14]

In chronological order, the last pieces of the material presented are the bases and capitals of Tuscan columns from a dwelling house built in the Neoclassical style (Cat. nos. 18–20; Pl. X/1a–b, 2a–b, 3), as well as a terracotta console decorated with a volute and vegetal motifs, which was probably originally part of a series of consoles intended to support the cornice of an eclectic building in Cluj in the second half of the nineteenth century (Cat. no. 21; Pl. IX/5a–b).

The material discovered in the foundation of the military warehouse building contains a number of architectural elements typical to the period in which they were made, with the exception of some pieces that are atypical fragments, which raise a number of questions as to their provenance, function or even dating. The significance of the material

[13] The Cluj analogies for this type of late sixteenth-century framing come from the Basta house of Lucas Rodner in the Old Castle, and the one from the beginning of the third decade of the eighteenth century was discovered in the attic of a house at Eroilor Boulevard no. 31, formerly 'Middle' Street. All the analogies listed are today in the repository of the National Museum of Transylvanian History.

[14] The closest analogy of the decoration of the piece is the keystone with the coat of arms of Stephanus Wolphard in the Wolphard-Kakas house in Cluj. The piece is preserved in the lapidary of the National Museum of Transylvanian History.

presented lies in its variety, as our study is intended merely as an attempt to draw attention to the importance of supervising the demolition of modern buildings which, although not listed as historical monuments, may contain a number of elements recovered from earlier buildings in their masonry, which can provide a number of interesting details for the evolution of the architecture of a locality, which in our case covers a period spanning five centuries (fifteenth–nineteenth centuries).

Catalogue

1. Fragment of a Gothic vent sill (Pl. V/2a–b)
The lower right-hand corner of Gothic window frame, provided on the front side, below the former rectangular opening, with a flared surface for directing rainwater. The fragment probably comes from the framing of a basement vent. The rear side retains the simple shaped fixing niche at the top, across the full width of the opening. The left side of the frame is broken, the right side is in rough condition, while the back side is a flat, roughly chiseled surface.
Material: porous limestone
Size: H: 25 cm; W: 52 cm; Th.: 23.5 cm
Dating: fifteenth century

2. Fragment of the sill of a Gothic frame (Pl. V/1)
Fragment of the sill of a Gothic frame. The upper side of the sill is chamfered outwards. The sill retains in the central axis the start of the mullion, with a trapezoidal section. On the upper side of the sill, the outline of the mullion is incised, traced by two parallel lines, resulting in a wide, rectangular mullion with a single trapezoidal end. The back side retains the simple-shaped fixing niche at the top, across the width of the opening. The upper front side is finely polished, the sides are broken, the back is in rough condition with minimal traces of uniforming. The fragment retains several layers (max. 2) of white paint on the carved sides.
Material: fine yellowish limestone
Size: H: 20.5 cm; W: 52 cm; Th.: 17 cm
Dating: fifteenth century

3. Fragments of a Gothic window lintel (Pl. V/3a–b)
Three fragments from the framing of a Gothic window, slightly flared, profiled with a semiscotia and a narrow listel, one of which broke into two pieces when removed from the masonry. On the lower side of the frame one notes the start of a rectangular inward-facing mullion with a pair of semiscotia at the ends of the mullion. The original framing was probably bipartite. The back side of the lintel retains the simple-shaped fixing niche at the top. The niche is bounded in two distinct parts by the window mullion, so certainly the window framing was also provided with two distinct glass frames. The carved surfaces of the lintel are finely polished, the sides and back are in a rough condition.
Material: light grey tuff
Size: H: 32.5 cm; W: 46 cm; Th.: 23 cm; H: 31.5 cm; W: 100 cm; Th.: 23 cm (broken into two pieces when removed from the masonry)
Dating: fifteenth century

4. Fragments from the frame of a Gothic portal (Pl. VI/1a–c)
Two fragments of a Gothic frame with a profiling starting from a chamfered surface, consisting of a listel and a semiscotia. The upper and lower sides of both fragments are flat, roughly carved, unpolished joint surfaces. The back of the fragments is rough, uncarved. One of the fragments retains a single layer of light green to grey paint on the profile.
Material: bioclastic porous limestone
Size: H: 35.5 cm; W: 24 cm; Th.: 21.5 cm; H: 52 cm; W: 28 cm; Th.: 24 cm
Dating: fifteenth century

5. Fragment of a Gothic frame (Pl. VI/2)
Fragment of a Gothic frame with a profile consisting of two listels and a narrow semi-baguette, carved on a chamfered surface. The upper and lower sides of the fragment are broken, while the back is in a rough condition. The fragment retains about four layers of beige paint on the profile.
Material: greenish grey tuff
Size: H: 24 cm; W: 29 cm; L: 35 cm
Dating: fifteenth century

6. Unidentified architectural element (phiale fragment?) (Pl. VI/3a–b)
Massive architectural fragment with a triangular section. Its lower side is polished, being a joining surface, while the upper side is broken. The two sides of the piece are finely polished, while the third side, which retains several layers of white paint, is slightly hammered, which may also be the result of later interventions, following its reuse in the masonry of the foundation. The other two sides have a small flared profile in the bottom corner. On the upper side, in the corner, the fragment bears traces of metal fixing.
Material: fine yellowish limestone
Size: H: 23 cm; W: 35 cm; Th: 26 cm
Dating: fifteenth century (?)

7. Unidentified architectural element (Pl. VII/2a–b)
Unidentified architectural element. Its front and back sides are flat, as they were finely polished, the sides are arched with finely polished surfaces. The upper side of the piece is arched in the shape of a basket arch. The left side is profiled on the underside with a horseshoe profile, the right side is broken. The function of this element is currently unidentified.
Material: fine yellowish limestone
Size: H: 15.5 cm; W: 19.3 cm; Th.: 6.2 cm
Dating: fifteenth–sixteenth centuries (?)

8. Unidentified architectural element (Pl. VII/3a–b)
Unidentified quadrilateral, elongated architectural element. Its long sides are polished, one of the short ends is broken, the other has a decoration in the form of bulging sun rays that meet at a point in the center of the surface. The surfaces bordered by the rays are also slightly bulged.
Material: yellowish limestone
Size: H: 15.2 cm; W: 15 cm; Th.: 33 cm
Dating: sixteenth–seventeenth centuries

9. Fragment of a window frame with a semicircular closure (Pl. VIII/1a–b)
Fragment of a window frame with a semicircular closure.

The fragment retains on the lower side the row of holes for fixing a metal grating. On the front side of the frame, a transverse line traced by pencil can be seen. The area delimited by the traced line and the window opening retains layers of white and beige paint. The front and back sides are provided along the opening with a niche for fixing the window frame. The sides of the piece are polished joint surfaces.
Material: dense yellowish limestone
Size: H: 28 cm; W: 70 cm; Th.: 24 cm
Dating: seventeenth–eighteenth centuries (?)

10. Four fragments from the sill of a Late Renaissance frame (Pl. VIII/6).
Four fragments from the sill of a Renaissance frame, profiled with cyma recta, a narrow listel and a semi-baguette. The left side is finely polished, the right side is broken, the lower and back sides are finely polished. The framing bears traces of dark yellow and white paint, identical to those seen on the fragments of cat. nos. 11–15.
Material: fine yellowish limestone
Size: H: 15.5 cm; W: 27.5 cm; Th.: 25.5 cm; H: 15.5 cm; W: 21 cm; Th.: 25.5 cm; H: 15.5 cm; W: 18.5 cm; Th.: 25.5 cm; H: 15.5 cm; W: 19 cm; Th.: 25.5 cm
Dating: 1730s

11. Fragment from the lintel of a Late Renaissance window frame (Pl. VIII/2)
Fragment from the lintel of a Renaissance window frame, profiled with a narrow listel, semi-baguette, wide listel, cyma reversa and wide listel. The first listel bears traces of a row of unfinished triglyphs. On the surface of the lower listel the year of the creation of the frame is engraved: *173[...]*. The numbers of the year are painted in red. The upper part of the back side retains the simple-shaped fixing niche across the entire width of the opening. The left and right sides are broken, the lower, upper and back sides are flattened with a hammer. On the lower side of the lintel, the line of the joint between the lintel and the jamb is incised. The framing bears traces of dark yellow and white paint.
Material: dense yellowish limestone
Size: H: 22.2 cm; W: 47.2 cm; Th.: 18.7 cm
Dating: 1730s

12. Fragment from the lintel of a Late Renaissance window frame (Pl. VIII/3)
Fragment from the lintel of a Renaissance window frame, profiled with a narrow listel, semi-baguette, wide listel, cyma reversa and a wide listel. The first listel is decorated with a row of partially bush-hammered dentils. On the surface of the second listel, at the right-hand end, a simple Latin cross is engraved, painted red. The upper part of the back side retains the simple-shaped fixing niche across the width of the opening. The left and right sides are broken, and the lower, upper and back sides are hammered flat. The frame bears traces of dark yellow and white paint.
Material: dense yellowish limestone
Size: H: 26.3 cm; W: 46 cm; Th.: 18 cm
Dating: 1730s

13. Fragment from the jamb of a Late Renaissance frame (Pl. VIII/5)
Fragment from the jamb of a Late Renaissance frame profiled with a narrow listel, semi-baguette, wide listel, cyma reversa and a wide listel. The left and right sides are broken, the lower, upper and back sides are hammered flat. The frame bears traces of dark yellow and white paint.
Material: dense yellowish limestone

Size: H: 24.5 cm; W: 28.5 cm; Th.: 18 cm
Dating: 1730s

14. Fragments from the jamb of a Late Renaissance frame (Pl. VIII/4)
Three fragments from the jamb of a Renaissance frame, profiled with a narrow listel, semi-baguette, wide listel, cyma reversa and a wide listel. The elements are fragmentarily preserved, in addition missing part of the profiling. The lower and back sides of the fragments are flattened with a hammer. The frame bears traces of dark yellow and white paint.
Material: dense yellowish limestone
Size: H: 11 cm; W: 25.2 cm; Th.: 17.7 cm; H: 13 cm; W: 22.7 cm; Th.: 17.7 cm; H: 24 cm; W: 36.6 cm; Th.: 17.7 cm.
Dating: 1730s.

15. Fragments from the crowning of a Renaissance frame, 2 pcs. (Pl. IX/1)
Two fragments from the crowning of a Renaissance window frame, profiled with listel, semitorus, listel, cyma and listel. One of the elements is broken at both ends. The other is broken only at the left end, the one on the right is an intact surface, flattened with a hammer. The top and bottom sides are also flattened with the hammer. The fragments retain traces of dark yellow paint.
Material: dense yellowish limestone
Size: H: 13.5 cm; W: 33.2 cm; Th.: 24 cm; H: 13.5 cm; W: 35 cm; Th.: 24 cm
Dating: 1730s

16. Fragment of a Renaissance frame (Pl. IX/3)
Fragment of a Renaissance frame profiled on the front side with a listel, a semitorus and a listel. The fragment is broken at both ends, the back side is flattened with a hammer.
Material: dense yellowish limestone
Size: H: 19 cm; W: 47 cm; Th: 15.7 cm
Dating: sixteenth–seventeenth centuries

17. Fragment of a Renaissance frame (Pl. IX/2)
Fragment of a frame profiled with a cyma (?), a listel and a semiscotia. The fragment is broken at both ends, the back side is in a rough condition.
Material: dense yellowish limestone
Size: H: 26; W: 29.5; Th.: 24.5 cm
Dating: seventeenth–eighteenth centuries (?)

18. Tuscan column base (Pl. X/1a–b)
Tuscan column base, composed of a solid, quadrilateral plinth and the base itself, profiled with a torus, listel and a semiscotia. On one of the corners of the plinth the *SzJ* monogram is ulteriorly incised in cursive letters.
Material: dense bioclastic limestone
Size: H: 31 cm; max d: 47 cm; min d.: 35 cm
Dating: first half of the nineteenth century

19. Tuscan column base (Pl. X/2a–b)
Tuscan column base, consisting of a massive, quadrilateral plinth and the base itself, profiled with a torus, a listel and a semiscotia. The piece is broken into two pieces, with broken lower corners.

Material: dense bioclastic limestone
Size: H: 33 cm; max. d: 42 cm; min. d: 31 cm
Dating: first half of the nineteenth century

20. Tuscan column capital (Pl. X/3)
Tuscan column capital, profiled with a semiscotia, listel, torus, wide listel, narrow listel and echinus and abacus. The capital is fragmentary; the upper corners and the listel are broken.
Material: dense bioclastic limestone
Size: H: 33 cm; max d.: 42 cm; min d.: 31 cm
Dating: first half of the nineteenth century

21. Fragment from a drain gutter (Pl. IX/4)
The right half of a gutter with a hemispherical recess.
Material: fine yellowish limestone.
Size: H: 50 cm; W: 26 cm; Th.: 21 cm
Dating: eighteenth–nineteenth centuries (?)

22. Terracotta console (Pl. IX/5a–b)
Modeled terracotta console decorated on the front with an acanthus leaf and on the sides with the relief of some volutes, combined with the relief of acanthus leaves. The interior is hollow. It retains traces of the fixing on the upper side and traces of yellow and light grey paint.
Material: terracotta
Size: H: 32 cm; W: 25.5 cm; Th: 35.5 cm
Dating: second half of the nineteenth century

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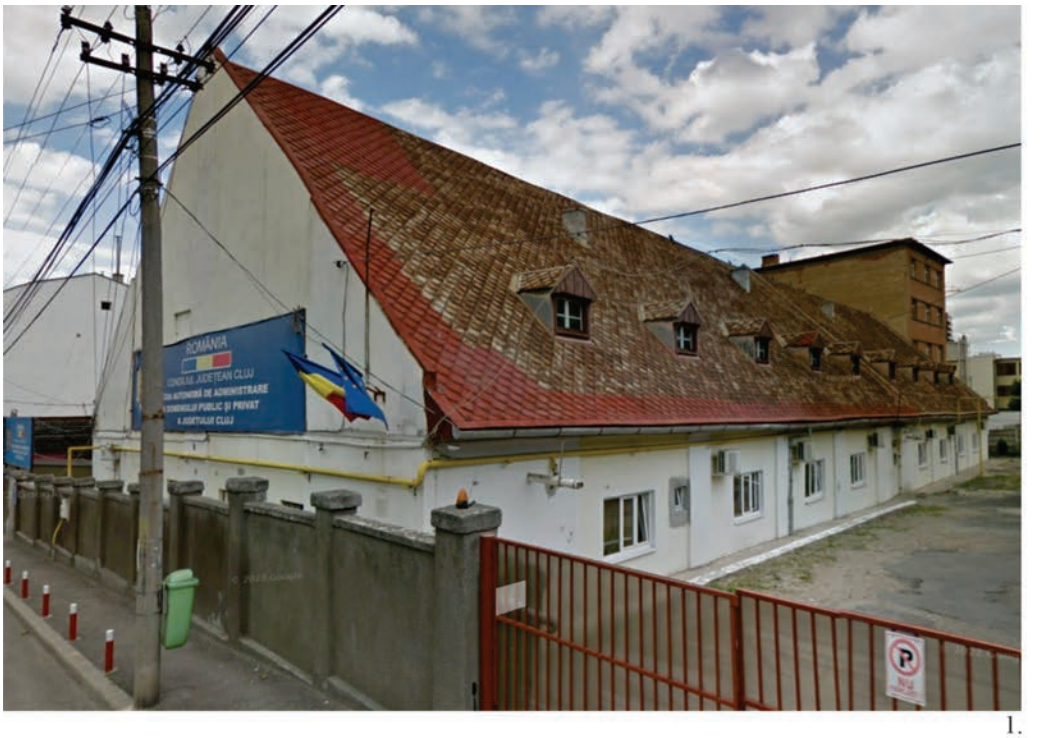
Pl. I. 1. Plot of the military warehouse on the first cadastral map of Cluj made by Sándor Bodányi in 1869 ('Géza Entz' Cultural Foundation, Cluj-Napoca, Collection of the architect Adrian Giurgiu); **2.** Military warehouse on the cadastral map of Cluj from 1896 (OSZK, TK 404/1).



1.

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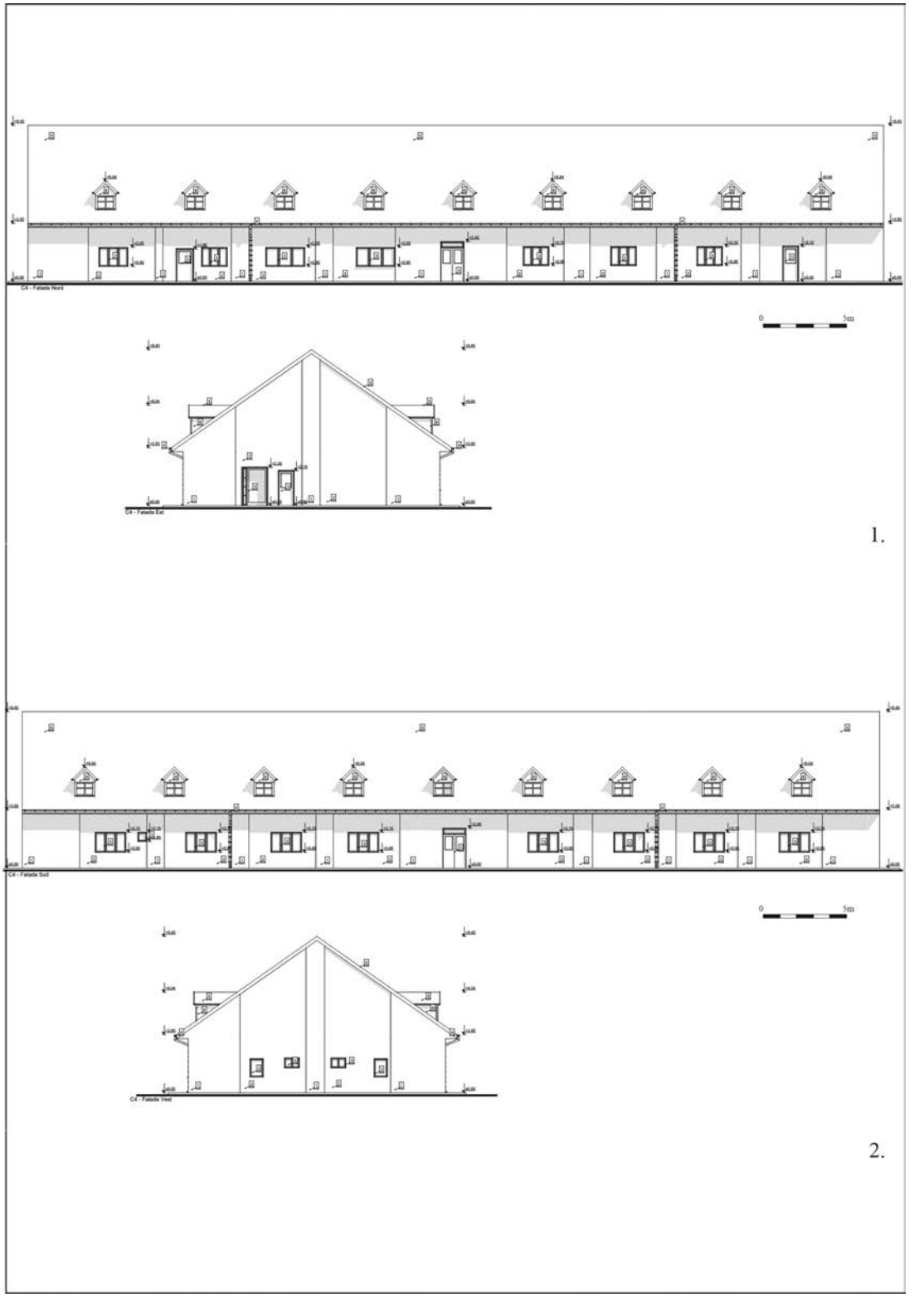
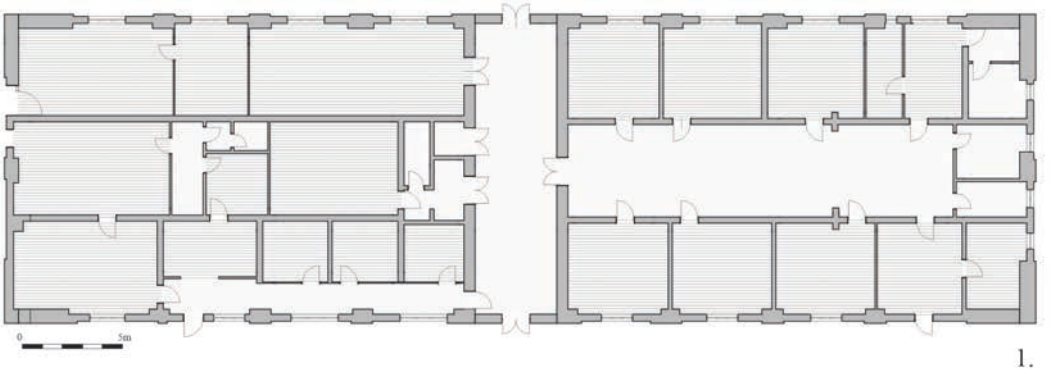
Pl. II. 1. South façade of the warehouse (photo from Google Street view, June 2014); **2.** North façade of the warehouse (photo from Google Street view, Sept. 2011).



Pl. III. 1. North and east façades of the warehouse, relief; **2.** South and west façades of the warehouse, relief (images by LSS Consulting S.R.L.).



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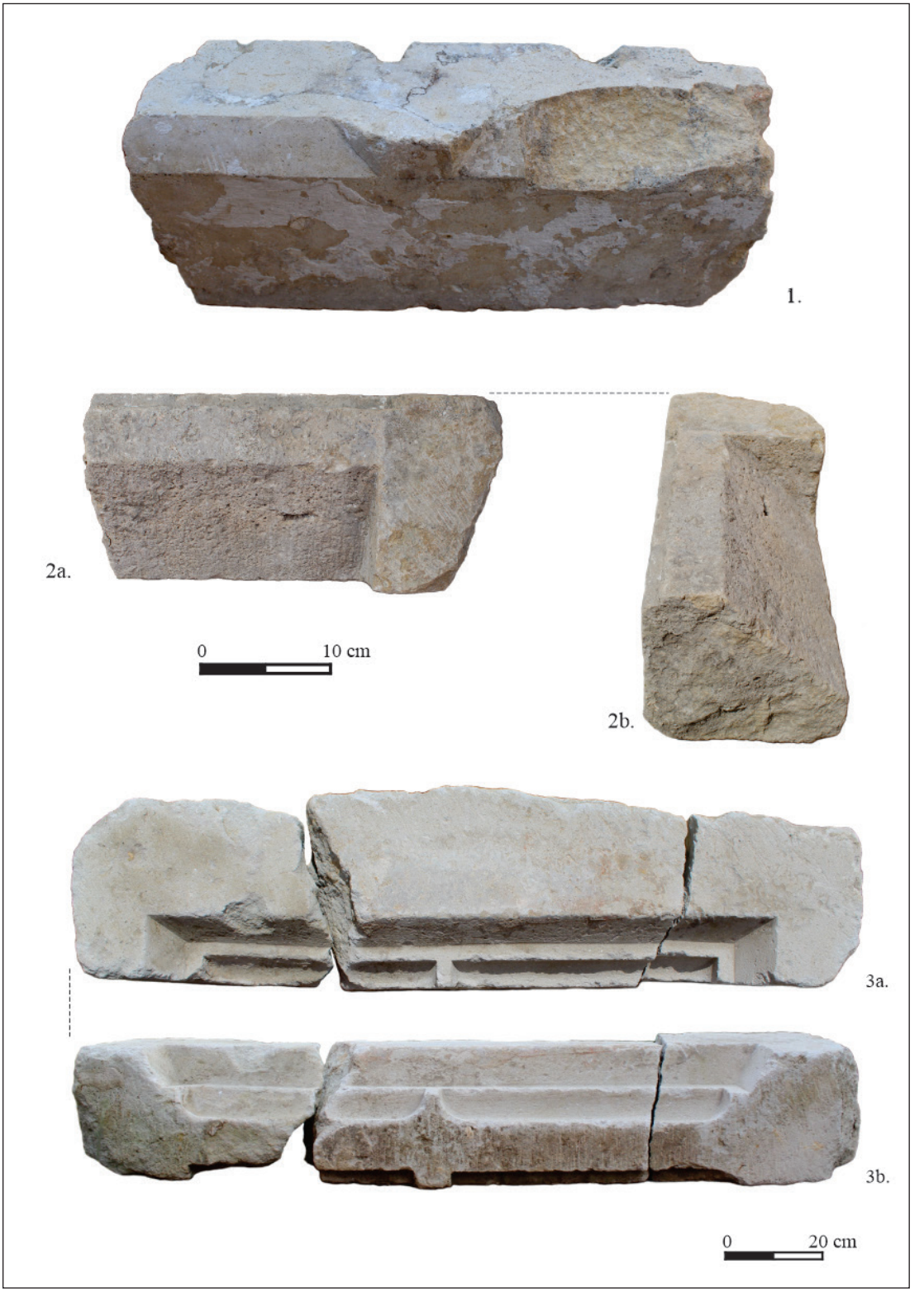
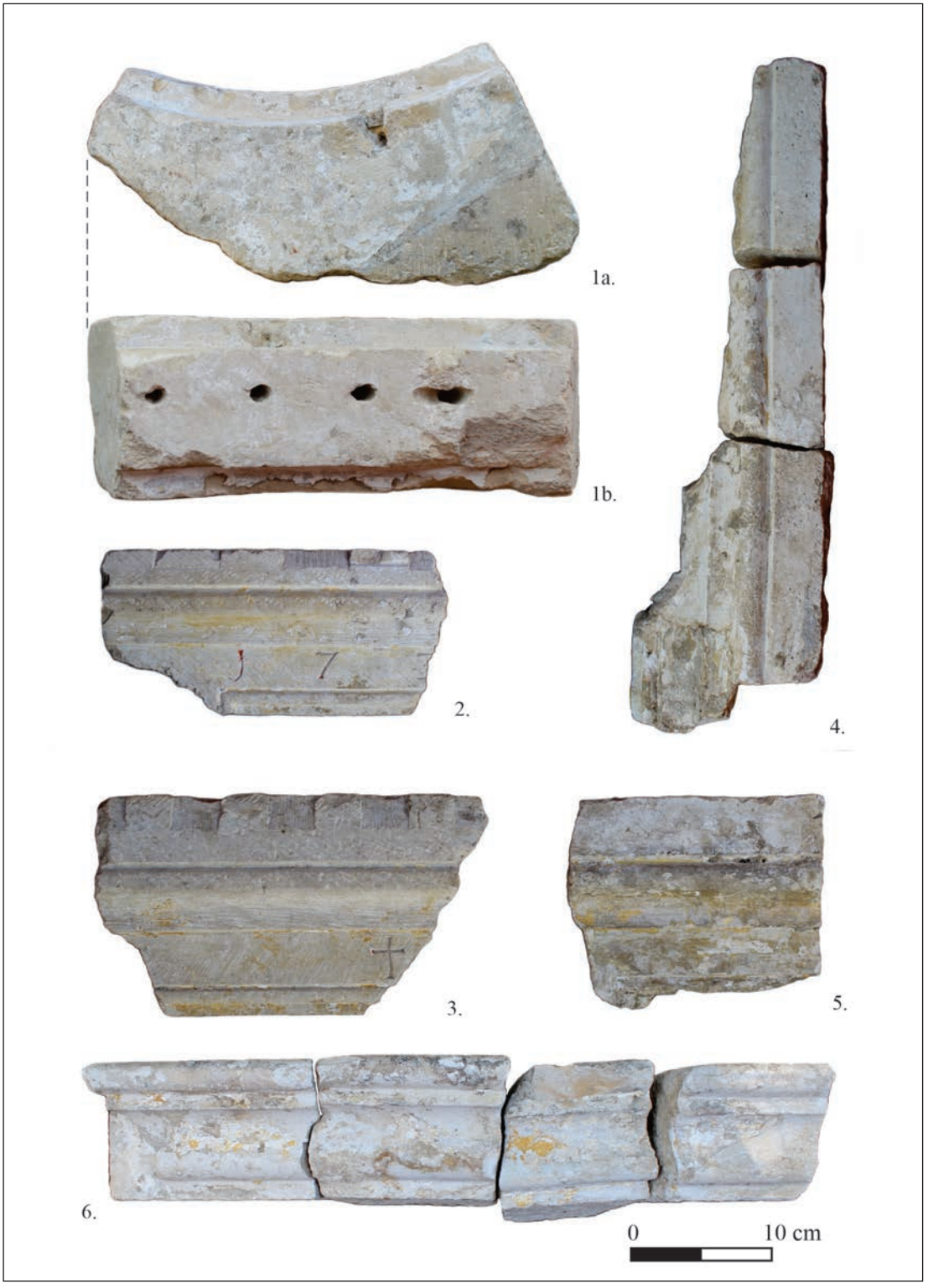
Pl. IV. 1. Plan of the warehouse building, relief (image by LSS Consulting S.R.L.); **2.** Overview of the east wall of the warehouse building (photo by Radu Lupescu).



Pl. V. 1. Fragment of a Gothic window sill; **2a–b.** Fragment of a Gothic vent sill; **3a–b.** Fragments of the lintel of a Gothic window frame, front side and profile (photos by Melinda Mihály).

Pl. VI. 1a–c. Fragments of a Gothic window frame, front sides and profile; **2.** Fragment of a Gothic window frame; **3a–b.** Unidentified architectural element, probably a fragment of a phiale (photos by Melinda Mihály).

Pl. VII. 1a–c. Unidentified architectural element from the collection of the National Museum of Transylvanian History, front and side views; **2a–b.** Unidentified architectural elements, side views; **3a–b.** Unidentified architectural element, front and side views (photos by Melinda Mihály).



Pl. VIII. 1a–b. Fragment of a window frame with a semicircular closure; **2–3.** Fragments of the lintels Late Renaissance window frames; **4–5.** Fragments of the jamb of a Late Renaissance window frame; **6.** Fragment of the sill of a Late Renaissance window frame (photos by Melinda Mihály).

Pl. IX. 1. Fragments of the crowning of a Renaissance frame; **2–3.** Fragments of Renaissance frames; **4.** Fragment of a gutter; **5a-b.** Terracotta console, side and front views (photos by Melinda Mihály).

Pl. X. 1a–b, 2a–b. Tuscan column bases, side and upper views; **3.** Tuscan column capital, side view (photos by Melinda Mihály).

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CLOTHING – A MARK OF NOBLE IDENTITY IN EARLY MODERN TRANSYLVANIA (II)*

MÁRIA LUPESCU MAKÓ**

Abstract: For a long time, it was the garment that gave the person individuality. Once the costume was lost, the identity was lost. Clothing is, therefore, one of the essential markers of social convention, with each part of the population being assigned a specific role and place, easily recognizable by shape and color. The symbolism of clothing articles, with a very different cut and color range, could immediately be interpreted by the contemporaries. Based on the last wills of the Transylvanian nobility, this study proposes to examine the role of clothes as status indicator, or the social role of noble men's clothing in the late sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth century in Transylvania. From a structural point of view, the study continues the topics addressed in the first part, discussing issues concerning the value of white clothing and women's attire in terms of rank and status in society.

Keywords: clothing, last wills and testaments, noblemen, Transylvania, sixteenth–seventeenth centuries

Rezumat: Mult timp veșmântul era cel care oferea individualitate persoanei. Odată pierdut costumul, se pierdea și identitatea. Vestimentația este prin urmare unul din semnele esențiale ale convenției sociale, fiecărei părți din populație atribuindu-se un rol și un loc anume, ușor de recunoscut prin formă și culoare. Sistemul simbolistic al articolelor de îmbrăcăminte, cu o croială și gamă de culori foarte diferită, de îndată putea fi interpretat de contemporani. Pe baza acestor acte de ultimă voință ale nobilimii transilvane, studiul de față își propune să examineze rolul de indicator de statut, ori rolul social al îmbrăcămințiimasculine de la sfârșitul secolului al XVI-lea și din prima jumătate a secolului al XVII-lea. Din punct de vedere structural, prezentul studiu reprezintă continuarea tematicii abordate într-o primă parte, dedicată unor teme și probleme ce vizau valorificarea hainelor albe și al costumului feminin din punctul de vedere al rangului și statutului ocupat în societate.

Cuvinte cheie: îmbrăcăminte, testamente, nobili, Transilvania, secolele XVI–XVII

Introduction

Even today, in an age of egalitarian societies, clothing remains a means of communication which reveals, first and foremost, the social status of its wearer, subject to the constraints of custom. Before the early twentieth century, clothing expressed a sense of belonging to one's own community, but also a sense of separation from other communities. It was manifested horizontally, across ethno-linguistic landscapes, regions and even municipalities, and vertically, according to the division within a given community.

* This study, with considerable modifications, initially appeared – alongside a first part, dedicated to the analysis of the noble women's clothing (Lupescu Makó 2021) – in Lupescu Makó 2015.

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The elites of the estatist society followed the monarch, who was the 'trendsetter'/the model. It was both compulsory and befitting to follow the ruler, and clothing mirrored the wearer's status, pieces of attire revealing instantly who was a nobleman and who was not. Division across lower estates was also obvious: master craftsmen of various trades and their apprentices could be easily distinguished within urban dwellers (burghers), and their status defined the clothing of all the members of their families, women, young girls and children alike. At the bottom end of the hierarchy were the peasants usually dressed up in homemade linen, whose wealth or poverty was equally betrayed by their clothing. The roles could not be reversed, although the upward aspiration was always felt[1] and sometimes even experienced. This process was extremely slow, nonetheless, it was often several decades before a piece of clothing was taken over to a different social status.

In social contact, the parties could clearly read each other's social status and this immediately determined their relationship. There was no need for written rules in this 'reading:' the color and quality of textiles, the shape of the clothing, the presence or absence of certain items provided perfect orientation.[2] The outfit of the different estates was governed by tradition and sometimes by written decrees, which made it possible to identify the members of each social class. In Western Europe these rules were sometimes laid down in legal documents, while in Hungary, especially in Upper Hungary and the Principality of Transylvania, the magistrates of the Saxon towns regulated the dress code and system of the various classes, defining what was appropriate and what was forbidden, and fining the offenders.[3]

In addition to pieces of clothing preserved and their visual representation in paintings, miniatures and engravings, written sources are also important documents for early modern dress. Most important among these are the personal documents that record the end of one's life, i.e. the last wills. The testament itself is a report of a particular moment in a person's life, a testimony to the writer's family relationships, socio-economic position, material culture and, last but not least, a subjective impression of his or her character. They provide an X-ray of the people of the period, their mentality and habits, but they also shed light on the lifestyle of the deceased, how they dressed, what materials their clothes were made of. Based on the last wills of the Transylvanian nobility, this study proposes to examine the role of status indicator, or the social role of men's clothing in the late sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth century. From a structural point of view, the study continues the topics addressed in the first part, discussing issues concerning the value of white clothing and women's attire in terms of rank and status in society.[4]

Fashionable masculinity

While it can be shown that the clothing of women of the nobility was influenced by European trends such as the Italian fashion in separating the sleeves from the shirt or

[1] Hampel-Kallbrunner 1962; Hughes 1992, 136–158; Bulst 1993, 32–46; Zimányi 1994, 7–18; Hunt 1996; DaCosta Kaufmann 1997, 79; Kovesi Killerby 2002.

[2] Bourdieu 1984a; Bourdieu 1984b.

[3] Demkó 1882; Lupescu Makó 2022; Tompos 2022, 178–194.

[4] Lupescu Makó 2021.

the Spanish fashion in wearing cone or bell-shaped skirts,[5] men's clothing did not change significantly in this period, but preserved its oriental connections. The conservative male clothing in the Principality of Transylvania (likewise in the Kingdom of Hungary) also had political connotations. The dolmans and *menték* made of fine, fashionable silks, with stitches, strings of buttons or laces and the fur coats thrown over one shoulder symbolized ethnicity above all, while also showing rank and social status. It was not by chance that the envoys sent to the Porte dressed this way, as it clearly indicated which country they come from. Evidence from students who studied abroad also illustrates the conservative dressing style of Hungarian noblemen. Those who came back to Transylvania after completing their studies wearing western clothes very quickly gave up the new style either of their own will or in order not to be mocked. In 1635, Gábor Haller was taunted because of the strange gown he wore which seemed too feminine and unsuited to men according to people at home. Consequently, it was no surprise that he used the green and red felt he received as a gift from Prince Gábor Bethlen on his return home to make a 'Hungarian' gown,[6] tailored to the local style. Miklós Bethlen also had a similar experience. While his 'foreign' garments followed the western fashion and were a great success even among the noblewomen of Хуст (Huszt, today Ucraine), where he stopped on his way home, the Transylvanian ladies were so outraged by his robe with ribbons that he hurried to get rid of his outfit and put on 'Hungarian clothes.'[7] A similar fate befell one of the most important clothing accessories in the West, namely gloves, especially summer gloves. Worn since the Renaissance in Western Europe, they spread only slowly in Transylvania. Péter Apor wrote that the shy attempt of a few to wear them was stopped because the nobility categorically opposed it, saying that those who wore them were fools.[8] His statement must be read with caution however, since the accessories of noblewomen in this period already included summer gloves, and some inventories also list them, even if not in large numbers, among the belongings of noblemen as well.[9] Furthermore, if nobody had been for or worn gloves in Transylvania, there would not have been a need to limit their price in 1627.[10] György Kornis, who missed the Hungarian shirts while in Heidelberg, knew what gift to offer his mother: silk gloves. Reaching the University of Padua during his academic peregrination, he wrote to Krisztina Bethlen in 1593 that he would order for her a pair of gloves 'of tan color or green, whichever You would like,' just let him know her color preference. György Kornis also remarked that here, in Italy that is, they can tailor any shape she would like, and, another important detail for a student studying abroad and always in a shortage of money: they cost less than in the German lands.[11] Even if during the seventeenth century there were some objections against summer gloves, in the following century these were all gone and gloves became, also under the influence of the court of Vienna, a regular element of clothing.

The tumultuous political events of the first half of the sixteenth century did not pass without a trace, and they affected almost every aspect of life. Let us only think that

[5] For the Spanish influence on Hungarian clothing, see Tompos 2022, 38–52.

[6] *Haller* 1862, IV, 28–29.

[7] Bethlen 1955, I, 286, 319, 320, 334.

[8] Apor 1978, 63–64.

[9] Radvánszky 1879–1896, II, 228, 321, 366.

[10] EOE, VIII, 381.

[11] *Kornis* 1898, 279–280.

because of these events the clothing of members of the Hungarian estatist society became completely different than that of their Western European contemporaries. After the defeat at Mohács, the royal court moved to Vienna, therefore the Hungarian nobility took over the role of the king as a model, their treasury, constructions, courts and patronage was the model to follow for their environment, while in Transylvania the Prince and his court set the example. Types of their garments like *menték*, dolmans and Hungarian trousers were worn by all social classes, but the textile and decoration differed according to the status of their wearers, so lords and servants could easily be distinguished even if no regulations existed. Rulers and the aristocracy had their garments sewn of rich textiles like fine woolen cloth, felt and various kinds of silk fabrics dyed in many colors, damask, several types of velvet, bright satin silk, decorated with precious metal threads. Naturally, the nobility tried to copy them in all of that. The costumes consisting of three main parts, the Hungarian trousers, the dolman, which was a kind of undercoat, and the *mente* worn over the dolman were sewn by tailors. Usually, the entire outfit was made of the same quality and color of textiles, but the parts could also be made separately. This must have been a widespread practice as the trousers, felt or silk dolmans and *menték* were usually inventoried separately in the last wills. Just as the typical Hungarian costume of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries can be reconstructed from the wills, the portraits in the costume albums also show that men's outfits were composed of garments of different colors and patterns. This custom changed in the eighteenth century, when noblemen started wearing costumes made of the same materials. Let us see then what Transylvanian noblemen wore at the beginning of the early modern period.

The indispensable trousers

Although the trousers were an important element of men's outfits, they did not get a great deal of importance in the fashion of the time, as they left too little space for the creativity of the tailor, being mostly covered by the dolman and the *mente*. While not much of it was visible, we know that the buttoning of the trousers in the front was covered, and the slits on the narrow legs were closed by clasps (Fig. 1). The noblemen in both the Kingdom of Hungary and the Principality of Transylvania wore Hungarian trousers, which were special because of the trick, probably formed by practice, that there was no seam line on the inner side of the leg, which made them more comfortable for horse riding.[12] As for the cut, the trousers were long and tight in this period. The legs often ended with a hook beneath the sole that prevented the legs from sliding up (sometimes even covering the foot as a foot sock), or, more rarely, the legs were ankle-long and ended in footcloth.[13] The trousers were held first by belts across the waist, later by suspenders worn across the shoulders and buttoned to the waist. According to a pricing list from 1668, German belt makers from Bratislava (Pozsony, Pressburg, today Slovakia) county were obliged to sell a belt for 5–12 denars, while the members of the Hungarian guild could sell a clasped belt for trousers for 5–15 denars.[14] Suspenders are mentioned in the 1682 inventory of the clothes of Mihály Apafi II, one made of green taffeta, another of taffeta embroidered with

[12] Tompos 2005, 84; Tompos 2022, 24–25.

[13] Cf. Apor 1978, 67.

[14] *A' mesteremberek mívjei ára* 1668, 89–90; Radvánszky 1879–1896, I, 56.

gold thread (*skófium*), and two others of tan color taffeta, one adorned with silver and the other with gold.[15] As most trousers were not made of expensive materials but were heavily used and therefore wore out quickly, they rarely appeared in the last wills of the nobility. Exceptions include Kata Mihálc, widow of Miklós Bethlen, who mentioned in her will of 1603 the pair of garnet trousers left to János Mihálc.[16] János Várfalvi's last will is interesting, as the garments he left to his wife contain almost a full costume of men's clothes. Among other things, Kata Fodor got a dolman, a pair of trousers and a short *mente* of fine English felt fabric (*fayn longist*) with other linings, two fur coats, one of garnet, new, lined with fox's fur from the chest, and the other one of woolen fabric (*saÿa*),[17] also lined. A pair of boots was added to these as well.[18] Apart from the tight Hungarian-cut trousers, sometimes they wore other kinds too, of Turkish shape. Such was probably the baggy-style salavari, listed in the inventory of late János Giczy, Captain of Oradea (Várad) and Governor of Transylvania (1585–1588). The document also listed two other pairs of trousers: a scarlet pair and a common pair made of felt called *sája*, garnet in color.[19]

The price of Hungarian trousers depended on their fabric and age. In 1571, according to the price listings at the Diet of Târgu Mureș (Székelyvásárhely), tailors could charge 20 denars for one pair of garnet felt trousers and 16 denars for a *karasia* or *löremberger*, that is, trousers made of Nuremberg fabric.[20] Gábor Bethlen allowed higher prices in 1627: 50 denars for scarlet or garnet trousers with braids and clasps, 32 denars for *karasia* or *sája* with braids and clasps and 20 denars without, and the lowest price was 16 denars for pairs made of local (*aba* or *brassai*) felt.[21] One must note that these prices were charged only by tailors who did not work from their own materials but fabrics brought by the customer. In 1668, tailors who used their own fabrics could charge as much as 2 florins 10 denars for pairs made of four-stamp felt, 1 florin 80 denars for trousers made of two-stamp fabric, 1 florin 30 denars for those made of Moravian fabric and 1 florin 10 denars for trousers made of *aba* felt.[22]

The popular dolman

In the case of the nobility, the indispensable, obligatory item of clothing, the trousers, are complemented by the equally indispensable outerwear items, the dolman and the *mente*. The male costume contained, just like women's costumes, a longer and a shorter shirt[23] and above them a dolman and a *mente*. The dolman fit the body perfectly, was cut in the waist and its varieties were given by the length and shapes of the sleeves. The

[15] *Apafi* 1874, 432.

[16] MNL OL, P 1961, Bethlen család levéltára [Bethlen Family Archive]; Tüdős S. 2008, 46.

[17] According to Endrei, the *sája* is a felt of variable quality, unstable, therefore of mediocre quality, known in the Austrian, Czech and Polish areas from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries (Endrei 1989, 234). In the historical dictionary of Transylvanian Hungarian vocabulary, the same material is catalogued as high-quality wool fabric (Szabó T. et alii 1975–2014, XI, 614).

[18] MNL OL, F 15, Protoc. B, vol. 15; Tüdős S. 2008, 44.

[19] KmFjkv, no. 730.

[20] EOE, II, 382.

[21] EOE, VIII, 388.

[22] Radvánszky 1879–1896, I, 57.

[23] The presentation of underwear or undergarments, which also includes shirts, took place in the first part of the study (Lupescu Makó 2021, 32–34). See also Tompos 2022, 25.

wrist-long sleeves ending in a curved or trapeze-like bottom – as Péter Apor so eloquently calls it: dog's ears – was usually tailored in T-shape to the body part of the dolman. In the seventeenth century this curved ending usually covered the wearer's hand, but it could also be folded back, showing off the usually contrasting colored lining.[24] Image number three of the costume album entitled *The True and Exact Dresses and Fashions of all the Nations in Transylvania* clearly shows the Hungarian Courtier wearing a long sleeved dolman made of yellow silk fabric, closed with a string of buttons in the front, with the trapeze-shaped bottom of his dolman sleeve folded back to show the red lining on his left hand as it rests on his sword (Fig. 2). Truncated or short-sleeved dolmans appeared in the mid-seventeenth century. A special kind of these was the so-called *fosztán* or *foszlány dolmány* ('a shredded dolman') which had a sleeve slit up 'the Croatian way' to show off the sleeve of the shirt beneath[25] (Fig. 3, cf. Fig. 10). The later Prince István Bocskai in his last will from 1595 writes about a yellow silk *atlas fosztán,* a tan color damask *fosztán* and a red damask *fosztán dolmány*.[26] This dolman gradually disappeared in the Kingdom of Hungary around the mid-seventeenth century, but it was still in use in Transylvania: according to the price listing for 1627, a tailor could charge four florins for making a *fosztán* dolman.[27] In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century the main feature of dolmans was their cut similar to the eastern kaftan. This did not change considerably during the seventeenth century, but its shape gradually became tighter, influenced by the western fashion of close-fitting garments.[28] Short dolmans covered the hips, while dolmans covered the thighs, reaching down almost to the knees (Fig. 9). Shorter and longer versions of dolmans are known from different periods. In the seventeenth century, the long dolman was usually mid-thigh long,[29] but earlier versions reached down almost to the ankles. Long dolmans were used only on special occasions. Besides these, there were short dolmans as well, which covered the hips and the chest (cf. Figs. 4 and 2). In 1603, Balázs Kamuti had a long scarlet dolman lined with taffeta and a short red damask dolman.[30] Although inventories of the time distinguished between long and short dolmans, in most last wills the type of the dolman is not specified. The overlapping trapezoidal front parts of the dolmans, which later became a prominent characteristic, was already visible in the early stages. From the late sixteenth century, the two front parts of the dolman were not cut in the same way: the right side was cut in a slant line from the waistline down, while the left side was cut in a straight line. This cut can be

[24] Höllrigl 1941, 360–361; V. Ember 1966, 215; Papp 2011, 61.

[25] According to Apor, this type of dolman was worn by young nobles (Apor 1978, 67): 'az ifiú urak pedig karban kivágott, olyan foszlán horvát módra kivágva, abból kifüggött vagy skófiummal vagy aranyfonallal varrott ingeknek az ujja;' the text translates as: 'and the young nobles have their [dolmans'] sleeves cut out in the arms in the Croatian way, and the sleeves of their shirts sewn with *skófium* or gold thread hang out from it.' Also, cf. Radvánszky 1879–1896, I, 57; V. Ember 1966, 213; Papp 2011, 61.

[26] The will of the future prince was drawn up on 5 October, 1596 in Wallachia, near the village *Lukar*, probably Rucăr, and can be placed in the context of the military campaign initiated by the current prince of Transylvania, Zsigmond Báthory, through which he gave help to Voivode Mihai Viteazu against Sinan Pasha. Bocskai's will was published by Radvánszky 1879–1896, III, 168–184, here 176, 179.

[27] EOE, VIII, 388.

[28] V. Ember 1966, 209; Tompos 1991, 72–73, 86.

[29] Höllrigl 1941, 360; Papp 2011, 60.

[30] The register of movables of Balázs Kamuti and his brother, drawn up in Cluj on 5 February 1603, was published by Radvánszky 1879–1896, II, 101–104, here 101.

seen also on the representations of costume albums, the image of the young nobleman for example shows the slant cut skirt part of the blue-green dolman which folds backwards a little to display the complementary colored yellow lining of the coat[31] (Fig. 3, cf. Fig. 5). This skirt-like broader part, sewn at the side seam under the waistline was sewn in folds which sometimes also included a pocket. The image also enforces the evidence of written sources that the dolmans were sometimes lined, usually with a lining that contrasted the color of the dolman. István Csáki's list of goods, inventoried in Cluj (Kolozsvár), included a dolman of green velvet, lined with yellow taffeta and a scarlet dolman lined with green taffeta, noting about the latter that István Csáki had already taken it.[32] János Giczy's list of personal goods inventoried after his death listed a red damask dolman lined with blackberry-colored (*szederjes*) taffeta.[33] The images also show the changes in the cut of the collars. Before the 1570s, the dolmans had a high standing collar, which covered not just the neck, but the back of the head as well. It was narrower in the front, displaying part of the shirt collar beneath. The opposite of the high standing collar was the narrow fold-down collar and the narrow standing collar[34] (Figs. 2, 4, 5, 6).

Whatever kind of dolman we are talking about, they were all tightly closed, down to the waist, with a string of buttons, or sometimes with clasps or hooks. Two kinds of buttons were used: made by goldsmiths out of silver or gold plates, or made by button makers out of silver, gold or silk threads. The silver thread buttons which decorated István Csáki's red double velvet dolman were probably of the latter type.[35] Buttons came in a variety of shapes, from the twisted or poppy-head shaped ones to the tiny, shark-skin dotted ones, called shark buttons, and those containing precious stones.[36] Where appropriate, a distinction was made between the buttons running along the front of the dolman and those on the sleeves (Figs. 4, 5). According to a mid-seventeenth century inventory, a summer dolman made of a crimson-colored cloth of gold with floral motifs, with a 'king's color' (crimson) lining was described as a 'narrow chequered *vitézkötés* (a kind of buttoning with decorative braids) of gold thread,' with 12 pairs of gold thread buttons with fringes and the same number on the sleeves.[37] Buttons did not only vary in shape, but also in number. Although Péter Apor mentioned that dolmans had never been so densely buttoned like in the time he wrote his work (circa 1736), as in the old days there had never been more than 12 buttons on a dolman,[38] other early modern written sources contradict this. In fact, the number of buttons was rather dependent on the taste and wealth of the owner. We can find thus dolmans with 8, 9, even 16 (like István Haller's dolman[39]), 18 or 27 pairs of buttons.[40] Whatever the type or shape, buttons were an asset and it is not surprising that the wills

[31] Galavics, R. Várkonyi 1990, fig. 5: *Fiatal főnemes* [A Young Lord], cf. fig. 2: *Magyar nemes* [A Hungarian Nobleman]; Tompos 1991, 85–88.

[32] KmFjkv, no. 701.

[33] KmFjkv, no. 730.

[34] V. Ember 1967, 161; Tompos 1991, 84–85.

[35] KmFjkv, no. 701.

[36] Radvánszky 1879–1896, I, 60.

[37] Deák 1879, 142–153, here 145.

[38] Apor 1978, 67.

[39] 'Haller István'/Nemzeti Portrétár.

[40] Radvánszky 1879–1896, I, 61.

often mentioned whether a piece of inherited garment was with or without buttons. So, when Péter Borzási wrote his testament in 1573 while seriously ill, he left his garnet dolman to his faithful servant, but the buttons were supposed to be taken off.[41]

The dolmans, densely buttoned in the front down to the waist, were held together at the waist and above the hips by a cord decorated with net or braid rings.[42] The cord measured between three and three and a half meters in length and consisted of fifty to fifty-two red, green, etc., silk cords, which, when wound round the waist, formed a quite dense, heavy braid. The red-colored braid around the waist of György Bánffy's dolman reflects how the belt was in fact a bundle of braids (Fig. 5).[43] Balázs Kamuti also had a Turkish belt made of braids.[44] Finer belts were made of silk thread. This was probably the type Apor was thinking of when he mentioned that beautiful silk belts were generally worn.[45] István Bethlen, the later prince, must have been fond of wearing his ash-colored belt to cover his dolman, as he himself emphasized that it was worn out when he bequeathed it to István Károlyi in 1616.[46] The belts were as varied in color as the clothes. The light green dolman of the Hungarian count in the manuscript costume codex from the age of the Apafis is tied with a red belt with gilded margins, while the Hungarian gentleman wears a dark green dolman with a dark purple belt, which harmonizes with his lighter purple *mente.* The wide belt seems to be closed with a clasp or ring (Figs. 2, 4, 5, 6).

The diverse *mente*

The dolman was covered by various types and shapes of overcoats, most common of which was the *mente.* It was usually cut longer and looser than the dolman, although several shapes were in fashion in one period. The *menték* worn throughout the year were differentiated by the lining: winter mantles were lined with fur, and summer mantles with textiles. In case of fur-lined *menték,* they usually noted the kind of fur used and whether it was the finer, softer fur on the stomach of the animal, or the rougher upper part on the back[47] (Fig. 4). Although Apor wrote that the winter *menték* of noblemen were lined with fox's fur, early modern last wills show a much greater variety: lining of pine marten, beech marten, or lynx fur were also common. For instance, in his will from 1595 Bocskai left to István Bagdi several man's garments, among which a garnet green *mente* lined with beech marten's fur, and another also green one lined with lynx's fur.[48] A less valuable kind of lining was sheep skin, so it is no wonder that the sheep skin lined *mente* in Péter Borzási's testament was left

[41] MNL OL, F 3, Centuria Z, 91–92; Tüdős S. 2006, 97.

[42] The belts were presented in more detail in the first part of the study; see Lupescu Makó 2021, 39–40. On the different ways how the braid belts were produced, see Tompos 2009, 111–124.

[43] These pieces came from the tomb of the Governor of Transylvania, György Bánffy (Papp 2011, 62–63, 68). For other examples of dolmans, including of children, found in the collection of the National Museum of Transylvanian History, coming from archaeological excavations, see Papp 2011, 63–72.

[44] Radvánszky 1879–1896, II, 102.

[45] Apor 1978, 67; Tompos 2009, 120.

[46] Radvánszky 1879–1896, III, 294.

[47] János Melith of Briber in his will of 21 September 1573 leaves to his servant Mihály Horvát, among other things, the green *mente* lined with the hide of the animal's back and the green tusker lined with the belly of the animal (Tüdős S. 2006, 100).

[48] Radvánszky 1879–1896, III, 180.

to the servant Petrecske.[49] Sometimes the lining material was not mentioned, like in the case of the lined *mente* inherited by the faithful servant Andorkó, or the blackberry-colored dolman of Zsuzsanna Kendi's beloved husband.[50] Most summer *menték* were sewn from the same fabric as the winter ones, their lighter weight and suppleness were the result of the lighter lining, different kinds of fabrics instead of animal fur. The 1589 inventory of the late János Giczy's possessions listed, among others, a scarlet *mente* lined with purple taffeta, a short-sleeved scarlet *mente* lined with pine marten fur, and a short-sleeved garnet *mente* lined with beech marten fur.[51] In these examples even the length of the sleeves can be seen as a characteristic of the two seasonal variants, short sleeves indicating a summer *mente*, even if it was lined with fur. However, it was not necessary to indicate the lining for the type of *mente.* In June 1637, when Zsófia Telegdi wrote her will, she only mentioned that she bequeathed to her sister-in-law's son from her first marriage, Zsigmond Mikola, a *summer mente* made of felt, and a velvet *mente* that had belonged to her late husband, to choose whichever he liked best.[52] Summer *menték* probably also included unlined *menték*. The inventory of the possessions of late János Giczy from 1589 contained two unlined *menték* (*félszer*), one garnet in color, which was worn out, and the other scarlet.[53] Balázs Kamuti and his brother's inventory of goods from 5 February 1603 listed an unlined red scarlet *mente.*[54]

Shapes of the *mente* vary mainly with respect to cut and length. Péter Apor claims that before his time long *menték* were worn, down to the Achilles tendon. In time, however, they got shorter, and in his time, they ended above the knee. Short *menték* longer in the back and reaching down to mid-thigh in the front could be worn even over a long dolman. They were made with a side slit to ease the carrying of the sword. Later, the longer back side was used for short *menték* as well. In the seventeenth century, both 'normal,' mid-thigh-long, and short (*kurta*) *menték* were worn. While no indication is given as to the length of the former, there is always mention of 'short' (*rövid*, *kurta*) in case of the latter. In his will, István Bethlen left to László Rédei a blackberry-colored floral velvet short *mente* lined with green satin.[55] Other types of *menték* mentioned in the written sources were the *boér*, reaching down to the heels, the *csauz* and the *szikszai*. Radvánszky considered that the *boér* type was the long, often ankle-length *mente*, agreeing with Apor, who also added that 'while the lords and high-ranking people [wore it made] of good quality felt fabric lined with fox skin,' 'noblemen [wore it made] of red *muszuly* [a lower quality fabric] lined with sheep skin.'[56] It is worth noting in Apor's description, in addition to the fine distinction of the various strata of the nobility, that he uses the term *boér mente*. In all probability, the name is connected to an oriental, Turkish influence of this item of clothing, probably with the peculiarity that this influence might have been mediated by the Romanian principalities.[57]

[49] MNL OL, F 3, Centuria Z, 91–92; Tüdős S. 2006, 97.
[50] MNL OL, F 15, Protoc. B, vol. 15; Tüdős S. 2008, 39.
[51] KmFjkv, no. 730.
[52] Radvánszky 1879–1896, III, 272–276; Tüdős S. 2008, 116.
[53] KmFjkv, no. 730.
[54] Radvánszky 1879–1896, II, 103.
[55] Radvánszky 1879–1896, III, 277–304, here 289.
[56] Radvánszky 1879–1896, I, 66–67; Apor 1978, 66.
[57] Vintilă et alii 2021, 355.

It was known not only in Transylvania, but according to the inventory of Szittnya from the mid-seventeenth century, in the Kingdom of Hungary as well.[58] Because of its fur lining, it is considered a winter garment, the equivalent of the later fur coat.[59] It is possible that the *mente* made *oláh módra* ('the Vlah way') of cloth of gold that appears in János Giczy's inventory is in fact a fur *mente*, although in this case there was no mention of a fur lining.[60] The *csauz mente* term hints to a Turkish origin. It was probably a lighter *mente* than the *boér mente*, but similar in length, made of lighter fabric, and it was worn not thrown over the shoulder, but properly put on.[61] The inventory of the late Kelemen Béldi from 1628 listed two *csauz mente*: one was a blue scarlet old *csauz mente* lined with fox fur, decorated with six buttons made of blue silk, and the other was a red scarlet *csauz mente*, lined with beech marten, 'lined on the inside with white sheep skin, and 12 buttons of red silk on it.'[62] Although a record from Cluj dated 1650 mentions it as *csausz avagy kocsis mente* (*csauz* or 'coachman's *mente*'),[63] it was not necessarily worn just by coachmen, as Gábor Bethlen himself had three such *menték*: one of cherry color velvet lined with lynx fur, another with 'pelican-color' (yellowish green) satin with gold embroidered lining, and the third of plain cherry-colored cloth of gold.[64] A distinct, yet undefined shape was the *szikszai mente*. Some think that it already existed at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but it became widespread only in the beginning of the 1620s, especially in Upper Hungary. It was a *mente* with a heart-shaped chest part, fashionable for some decades, until the mid-seventeenth century.[65] Such a *szikszai mente*, lined with beech marten fur, is listed among the belongings of Balázs Kamuti in the beginning of the seventeenth century.[66] Just like the dolman, *menték* also came in collared and collarless versions. The large, folded fur collar which covered the entire shoulder was a classy display. One such *mente* was Kata Mátyus's legacy to her stepson in December 1604: woven with gold thread, with a collar and long sleeves, lined with pine marten fur. György Király inherited other items of man's wear from his stepmother, like a woven dolman (with metal thread, usually silver or gold) and made according to the Turkish fashion, a simple golden *mente*, a short sleeved black velvet *mente* lined with pine marten fur and a yellow satin *mente*.[67] Péter Apor mentioned that even towards the end of the seventeenth century the collared *mente* was considered the truly classy one: 'the festive *menték* of the lords and highest estates were long, with a long and wide collar which reached down almost to the middle of their back and well down on their arms and chest. Some of them had the outer side of the collar covered with pine marten's, lynx's or fox's fur or some other precious skin. The two sleeves hung down to the ground, ended in dog's ears, they were lined only to where the slit for the hands was cut and, in the bottom, the dog's ears.' It was festive also because it was not worn every day: 'when

[58] The inventory lists a long, pigeon-colored *boér mente* made of felt, and lined with fox fur (Deák 1879, 146).
[59] Nemes, Nagy 1900, *Mente. Suba. Subicza*.
[60] KmFjkv, no. 730.
[61] Nemes, Nagy 1900, *Mente. Suba. Subicza*.
[62] Radvánszky 1879–1896, I, 66.
[63] Radvánszky 1879–1896, II, 303.
[64] *Bethlen* 1878, 66, 68.
[65] Nemes, Nagy 1900, *Magyar viselet a XVII. század első harmadában*.
[66] Radvánszky 1879–1896, II, 103.
[67] MNL OL, Lib. Reg. Sig. Rak. 1607–1608, 156–185b.

they seldom put it on, the felt on the sleeve got wrinkled and they wore it wrinkled on their arms.'[68] The collared, blackberry-colored, pine marten fur-lined scarlet *mente* decorated with 12 old braided buttons (*vitézkötés*) mentioned in Kelemen Béldi's inventory must have also been a special item.[69] The opposite of this, the collarless *mente*, was mentioned among the clothes of János Melith of Briber, who left to his valet János, among other items, a collarless red *mente*, while his servant Jancsi received a piece of red cloth called *karazsia* and a purple collarless *mente*.[70] The fact that the collarless *menték* were left to people from lower social classes (servants) also proves that these were casual, everyday items.

The real diversity of the *mente* resides in the shapes of the sleeves: besides the long-sleeve variant mentioned above, there are varieties with a 'pipe-sleeve,'[71] a sleeve that reaches down to the bottom of the coat, and with short or 'truncated' sleeves. The sleeve of the short-sleeved *mente* probably reached to the elbow, and even if there is some uncertainty about the length, there is none about its origin: a purple *mente* lined with fox skin decorated with 15 silver buttons variegated with gold thread listed in the 1650 record from Cluj is described as 'short sleeved or Turkish *mente*.'[72] With or without lining, short sleeved *menték* were listed both in István Csáki's and Balázs Kamuti's inventories of belongings. Csáki's movable goods, kept in Cluj, included items of clothing as well, such as: a short sleeved *mente*, a garnet *mente* also with short sleeves, a *mente* with short sleeves of purple velvet lined with lynx's skin from the chest, a short sleeved *mente* of black velvet, and another black velvet *mente* with short sleeves.[73] In the inventory of the Kamuti brothers there is a lined garnet *mente* with short sleeves and another one of scarlet, also with short sleeves, that is said to have had a lining but not anymore.[74] The short-sleeved *mente* was by far Prince Gábor Bethlen's favorite. The Renaissance Prince's wardrobe included no less than 50 summer and winter *menték*, and 34 of them, more than two thirds, had short sleeves[75] (Fig. 7). The first decades of the seventeenth century saw the advent of the so-called slit *menték*: the sleeves were slit to the elbow or to the shoulders, displaying the lining from a different fabric, and usually closed with buttons. Such a piece, a *mente* slit at the shoulders and lined with damask, together with a dolman which belonged to his brother János Wass, appeared in the 1638 will of György Wass III.[76] In time, slit sleeves were transformed into short sleeves or wrist-long, tight sleeves.[77] Such may have been the *mente* bequeathed in István Bethlen's will to Miklós Balásházi, described as new, lined with

[68] Apor 1978, 65.

[69] Radvánszky 1879–1896, I, 66.

[70] MNL OL, E. 148, fasc. 923, no. 41; Tüdős S. 2006, 100.

[71] The so-called *Nicolaus Olahus mente* survives in the Esterházy Collection, no. 64.40.1, of the Museum of Applied Arts in Budapest. 'The cut adopts the pattern of Turkish kaftans. At the hips it is widened by inserts. The long sleeves [pipe-sleeves] reaching down to the bottom of the garment are only for decoration the arms were stuck through the openings at the shoulders. There is a broad turned-down collar' as well. See 'Child's (Miklós Oláh) mente'/Museum of Applied Arts.

[72] Radvánszky 1879–1896, II, 303.

[73] KmFjkv, no. 701.

[74] Radvánszky 1879–1896, II, 101–102.

[75] *Bethlen* 1878, 42–68. The wardrobe of the prince was the object of several researches, it is worth noting Tompos 2014, 107–124.

[76] MNL OL, F 3, Centuria Z; Tüdős S. 2008, 122.

[77] Höllrigl 1941, 359–365; V. Ember 1966, 215–217.

fox's neck, blackberry-colored and with sleeves reaching down to the 'ankle of the hand' (namely, the wrist).[78] In the mid-sixteenth century *menték* started to be worn also in the *panyókára vetve* style, thrown over one or both shoulders. If it was worn this way, then the long sleeves hung like fine draperies, or the wearer put his arms through the slits on the shoulders and displayed the contrasting-colored sleeves of the dolman underneath (Figs. 2, 4, 9, 11). There were varieties with wrist-long sleeves and also sleeveless ones with epaulettes at the shoulders.[79] The only decoration of the *mente* was the wide buttoning band, woven from colored silk and metallic thread, densely lined underneath each other, but also found in groups of two or three, which seventeenth century inventories call *gombszár* ('button shanks'), and the attached hen's egg-sized buttons are called *szárgomb* ('shank buttons').[80] The blue garnet collared *mente* lined with kaftan mentioned in the Cluj inventory was decorated with 12 *szárgomb,* and István Csáki's taffeta-lined short sleeved *mente* had an unspecified number of *szárgomb*. Apor wrote about these buttons: 'these *menték* had one, two or three fingers wide weave, called a side roast, then at the end all with a proportionate *vitézkötés* [braided buttoning], made of gold thread, others of silver, some with mixed thread, and yet others of pure silk, sewed densely onto the *mente*.'[81] A quite special piece must have been the short *mente* slit in the shoulder, of red velvet lined with pine marten fur, with 17 gilded buttons with rubies that István Bethlen left in his last will to Ferenc Rédei.[82] The average value of the *menték* is very hard to assess because it depended on several factors: the quality of the fabric, the quality and quantity of the decorative elements, but also the size of the garment and the workmanship. While in Zsigmond Suselity's 1587 inventory of possessions a short-sleeved garnet *mente* was evaluated by the tailors at 7 florins, and another one, worn out and lined, was also evaluated at 7 florins,[83] István Pálfi's cherry red scarlet *mente* lined with cloth of gold was evaluated by Gábor Bethlen's men at 300 florins.[84] Their value is also proved by the fact that they were pawned and borrowed. This was the case of a green *mente* described as a beautiful piece, which the princely councilor Menyhárt Bogáti wanted to leave to Istók Lázár in 1606, but first the item had to be recovered from a relative.[85] Another proof of the high value of these garments is that they could be sold if needed, and the money used for charitable purposes or to pay off debts. Péter Kendi also resorted to this in his will, when he ordered that all those clothes of his which did not come to his mind at the time of formulating his last will and which were at his host in Vilnius kept in two wardrobes, should be sold, and the price used to pay his servants.[86] The most valuable garments, even if not named, usually went to the closest family members (husband, wife, children and siblings). In 1610, Mihály Bánffy III decided, among other things, that his wife, Fruzsina Károlyi, should choose two *menték*

[78] Radvánszky 1879–1896, III, 277–304, here 297.

[79] Höllrigl 1941, 359–365; V. Ember 1966, 218–220.

[80] 'Haller István'/Nemzeti Portrétár.

[81] Apor 1978, 65. For the technique of the buttoned bands and for the various buttons, see E. Nagy 1993, 115–126, especially 118–120.

[82] Radvánszky 1879–1896, III, 277–304, here 288.

[83] KmFjkv, no. 625.

[84] Radvánszky 1879–1896, II, 234. Cf. Radvánszky 1879–1896, I, 68.

[85] MNL OL, E 145, fasc. 6, fol. 46–47; Petrichevich Horváth 1943, 281–283; Tüdős S. 2008, 51.

[86] MNL OL, F 3, Centuria Z; Tüdős S. 2006, 123.

and a dolman most to her liking. The rest should be divided between his brothers, Ferenc and Péter Bánffy. Mihály Bánffy carefully considered the sad possibility that his children may not reach adulthood, in which case the clothes would also go to his wife.[87] Boldizsár Bornemisza did the same thing, leaving his own clothes to his son Zsigmond, while dividing the women's clothes and white clothes among his three children, Zsigmond and his sisters.[88] While the more valuable items of clothing stayed in the family, less valuable ones were often left to the servants. Common servants therefore wore what they received from their masters or what their masters decided they should wear, and rarely had the right to choose. Clothes were often the 'payment' for a job done. The 'work agreements' of the time prove that the payment had several elements: clothes, money, food, etc. Among them, clothing was an important part of the payment. In 1587, the established wages of a servant also included a *mente*, a dolman, and several pairs of trousers sewn from a lower quality felt, called kersey (*karasia*/*karazsia*).[89] The exact number of pairs was not specified, but the plural means that trousers were considered a garment which wore out much sooner than the rest of the items, therefore it was justified to give several pairs. In his book *The Dress of the People*, John Styles talks about an 'involuntary' consumption of clothes, pointing out that commoners wore whatever was offered to them.[90] To this 'involuntary' consumption several gifts and alms were added in connection to funerary practices. As we have seen, the testators gave some of their worn clothes to close relatives, protégés, servants or simply to unnamed poor people. For example, in his will István Bocskai left to his servant Garázda a red *szikszai mente* lined with beech marten fur, another one, also a garnet *szikszai*, lined, with a collar, garnet trousers, and all his other worn, that is, worn out, clothes (*viselo ruha*).[91]

Expressive taste: prices, fabrics, colors, status

Data on the price of the manufacture of these garments are very rare. When the high count of Zarand (Zaránd) County, Miklós Patócsi II, made his will in March 1565, in Hungarian, he indicated, among other things, that he was indebted to Márton Szőcs. Thus, he left Márton Szőcs a dolman worth 1 florin and 25 denars and bought two hides, worth 32 denars, for a *mente*, the cost of making the *mente* also being 32 denars. Márton Szőcs also received two patterned coats,[92] of unspecified type, worth 40 denars.[93]

Dolmans and *menték* were the central items of male clothing, like dresses were for women. Their importance is also proved by the fact that, since there were too many of them in a nobleman's wardrobe, not all of them were listed separately in the wills. However, their resemblance to dresses does not stop here. Dolmans and mantles were manufactured from high quality fabrics, with gold or silver thread, embroideries and braids. Satin, damask,

[87] MNL OL, Testamentaria, fasc. 1; Tüdős S. 2008, 63.

[88] Tüdős S. 2008, 56.

[89] KmFjkv, no. 614.

[90] After Vintilă et alii 2021, 144.

[91] Radvánszky 1879–1896, III, 181.

[92] In the testament they are called *sahos ruha*, *sahos* meaning both checkered and striped, i.e. striped pattern coat (Szabó T. et alii 1975–2014, XI, 612–613).

[93] MNL OL, F. 3, Centuria Z, 80–81; Tüdős S. 2006, 78.

velvet,[94] garnet and scarlet cloths, the latter one the most expensive type of felt, were the preferred fabrics. In 1618, András Csehi, courtier of Gábor Bethlen, left to his brother Farkas Deli two scarlet *menték* lined with beech marten fur, a red and a green one. He also mentioned two other scarlet *menték*, one green and one red again, both with gold thread and both lined. He was going to be buried in the red one, while the green one, together with a panther's skin, was to be inherited by Farkas Deli. The blackberry-colored (bluish) *mente* with apple blossoms and embroidered with silver thread, lined, was left to his nephew, Péter Cecei.[95] The green-red combination appeared also in the 1620 last will of András Dóczi, chief captain of Sătmar (Szatmár), who left to Pál Dóczi a red scarlet *mente* lined with a marine green fabric with gold thread and a red scarlet dolman.[96] The dolmans and *menték* listed in the last will of Anna Mária Barkóczi, left to her stepchildren, stand out both because of their quantity and even more because of their quality, variety and colors. Red, green, blackberry (bluish), black, yellow, ash-colored (grey) – these were the dominant colors of the dolmans and *menték* made of fine fabrics of the age (velvet, damask, scarlet). Two red damask dolmans, an ash-colored dolman, a blackberry-colored velvet dolman, a white scarlet dolman, a 'king's color' (*kiraly szin*, that is, crimson, bright red) damask dolman, worn out, a moire green taffeta dolman and a black damask dolman with flowers were meant to be distributed by the executors of the will, together with a similarly large quantity of *menték*. There was a red velvet *mente* with sleeves slit to the elbow, lined with beech marten fur, and a London *mente* (*Fajlandis*)[97] lined with fox fur, a small black velvet *mente* decorated with floral motifs, lined, with fringes, a *mente* lined with *isodorjos* kaftan, and a black velvet *mente* slit at the shoulder. Three other *menték*, special through their cut, sewing or accessories, were mentioned separately. The green velvet *mente*, lined and with gold buttons, was bequeathed to János Haller,[98] Anna Mária Barkóczi's stepson. The cherry-red velvet *mente* slit to the elbow was left to István Barkóczi, the testator's brother, while the light green velvet *mente* slit to the elbow and lined with lynx fur was inherited by her nephew, Gyurica Barkóczi.[99]

Elements of the basic male attire did not only stand out because of the variety of fabrics used and their rich colors (Figs. 4, 6), but also because of the attributes attached to the individual items. These are also important data because they provide additional information as to their size, condition or even functions. A purple *kis mentécske* (a small *mente*) decorated with marten's fur appears in Zsuzsanna Kendi's will, left to Menyhárt Bogáti's little boy.[100] In this case it is not merely the reference to the age of the addressee, but also the use of the diminutive for *mente* which emphasizes that it is a small, child-sized

[94] I think that the statement of Péter Apor, from the second half of the seventeenth century, according to which the wearing of the velvet dolman was reserved exclusively for princes, should be viewed with skepticism. Indeed, it was preferred by the princes, and both Gábor Bethlen and Mihály Apafi had several velvet dolmans, but, starting from the sixteenth century, it also made its way among the nobles (it is also present in the noblemen's wardrobes). See Apor 1978, 66–67.

[95] MNL OL, F 3, Centuria Z; Tüdős S. 2008, 76.

[96] Radvánszky 1879–1896, III, 233; Tüdős S. 2008, 78.

[97] English felt (Endrei 1989, 127).

[98] 'Haller János I.'/Nemzeti Portrétár.

[99] MNL OL, P 21, Barkóczy lvt. [Barkóczy Family Archive], fasc. 6, no. 859; Tüdős S. 2008, 211.

[100] MNL OL, F 15, Protoc. B, vol. 15; Tüdős S. 2008, 39.

garment. The blackberry-colored *mente* that István Bethlen left to Miklós Balásházi is special not just because of the fine fox skin used for lining, but also because it was new.[101] Péter Borzási also left to his servants a set of new outfits.[102] The opposite of these are the clothes referred to as *viselő*, that is, used, worn out. The 1589 inventory of the goods owned by the late János Giczy included, among other things, a used garnet dolman.[103] Used clothes were also left to Bocskai's servant, Garázda.[104] To point out the low quality, ordinary state of the clothes, the term *hitvány* ('wretched') was usually used. János Giczy had two wretched damask dolmans, one red, the other carnation-colored (pinkish). A third dolman, also made of damask, stood out not only because of its *igen hitvány* ('really wretched') state, but also because it was *diribolt*, torn, tattered. We may not be very wrong to assume that these must have been János Giczy's favorite clothes, as it can hardly be an accident that his quite rich inventory of clothes contains three damask dolmans, all in a bad state. In contrast, Menyhárt Bogáti's green *mente* must have been much more delightful for the eye, as he simply called it beautiful in his will.[105] A special *mente* in István Bethlen's possession was the green English *úti mente* ('travel' *mente*) lined with beech marten fur, which he left to his servant János Horváth.[106]

Outerwear overview

The men's clothing attire, consisting of three main parts (trousers, dolman, *mente*), was complemented by additional outerwear items. Robes, gowns, cloaks and fur coats were worn over other clothes. These items were commonly used by women and men alike. They were adjusted according to the wearer's tastes. The robe (*köntös*) was such an item. In 1574, the wife of György Melith of Briber left a purple silk dress with floral motifs, sleeveless, and a small robe of silk fabric lined with beech marten fur to whoever God would choose for Pál Melith.[107] Like dresses, robes were also distinguished by the fabric used for making them, their color, and whether they were lined with fur. The addition of the latter turned them into winter garments. The dark green scarlet Persian robe that Anna Mária Barkóczi left to her stepson, János Haller, was special because of its pattern or cut and the color of the fabric.[108] Rarely, similarly to immovable property, clothes had to be shared according to the detailed will of the testator. In 1645, when István Herczeg mentioned in his will the robe 'that he ordered for money' and that he used to wear, he pointed out that it was not a piece of property that he shared with his wife. However, if the robe would be in an adequate state upon his death, it should be given to his sons; if he would order a new robe right after he wrote his will, of the money they get together with her second wife, Krisztina Bethlen, half should be given to his wife's sons, and half to his own sons.[109] It can be seen that

[101] Radvánszky 1879–1896, III, 277–304, here 297.
[102] MNL OL, F 3, Centuria Z, 91–92; Tüdős S. 2006, 97.
[103] KmFjkv, no. 730.
[104] Radvánszky 1879–1896, III, 181.
[105] MNL OL, E 145, fasc. 6, fol. 46–47; Petrichevich Horváth 1943, 281–283; Tüdős S. 2008, 51.
[106] Radvánszky 1879–1896, III, 277–304, here 293.
[107] SJC AN, JFF, no. 167; Tüdős S. 2006, 102.
[108] MNL OL, P 21, Barkóczy lvt., fasc. 6, no. 859; Tüdős S. 2008, 211.
[109] MNL OL, P 1912, Herczegh család végrendeletei [Testaments of Herczegh Family] 1645–1660; Tüdős S. 2008, 152.

István Herczeg left nothing to fate and minutely detailed who and how should inherit the robes. István Csáki's inventory of possessions also included several such overcoats. All four robes contained fur, in one way or another: two were lined, one with beech marten, the other with pine marten fur, and the other two were decorated with fur, in one case it was specifically mentioned that it was not lined. They were sewn from damask, cloth of gold, and velvet, and the colors were the most widespread ones, red and black. It is also striking that three of them were labeled 'small,' which could equally refer to the length of the robes, their smaller size or even their more modest design.[110] When Mihály Bánffy III drew up his will in 1610, he even thought of his future heirs when dividing his clothes, deciding that his children (including his unborn child) should receive the robes (*köntösei*).[111] Péter Vallon of Héjjasfalva was particularly generous to his wife when he drew up his will in 1637. The captain of the infantry at the court of György Rákóczi I decided that his entire movable estate should go to Margit, who was to give her two grandchildren only what she wanted, except for the robes (*köntösei*), which the testator put aside exclusively for his grandchildren.[112]

Cloaks and gowns were also worn on top of other clothes. With a simple cut, these could be easily adapted to the heirs' stature. Consequently, it was no surprise that Krisztina Bethlen ordered that in case she died sooner than she could marry her other daughter, Margit, she should inherit her black velvet cloak (*palást*) with the request that it should be altered 'to fit her.' Of her two other cloaks, one made from floral taffeta and lined was left to her niece, and another, a summer one, made from *teczen*, to Kató.[113] A light cloak called *hacuka* was only worn by women. The heiresses were not necessarily all family members. In 1574, Anna Sálfi, wife of György Melith of Briber, left a light, red damask cloak to Anna Makrai,[114] and in 1582 Margit Bank left two dresses, a light red damask cloak (*hacuka*) and two bonnets (*főkötő*) to Margit Jobbágy.[115] Although the *palást*, used as outerwear, with a cut that was tighter at the top and looser at the bottom, was mostly worn by women,[116] there are examples when it was worn by men as well. István Pálfi was allowed to wear his black floral velvet cloak, lined also with black double taffeta, until he was forced to give it to Gábor Bethlen as ransom for his release.[117] István Csáki had two cloaks (*palást*), only one of which was a woman's cloak, a black one called *hernác*, made from *hernác* fabric and used like a *kacagány* thrown over one shoulder; the other was a cloak (*palást*) with two hooks made from green mohair.[118] Capes (*köpönyeg*) of Italian origin appeared in Transylvania in the second half of the sixteenth century, as attested by the last will of János Melith of Briber, dated 21 September 1573, in which he left to his servant Mihály Horvát a cape (*köpönyeg*) of brick color.[119] Capes also feature in the inventories of the belongings of the late János

[110] KmFjkv, no. 701.
[111] MNL OL, F 23, Testamentaria, fasc. 1; Tüdős S. 2008, 63.
[112] MNL OL, F 2, Protoc., vol. 6; Tüdős S. 2008, 120.
[113] MNL OL, P 1912, Herczegh család végrendeletei 1645–1660; Tüdős S. 2008, 198.
[114] SJC AN, JFF, no. 167; Tüdős S. 2006, 103, 107.
[115] MNL OL, Lib. Reg. Sig. Bat. 1582–1585, 203–205.
[116] Radvánszky 1879–1896, I, 70.
[117] Radvánszky 1879–1896, I, 70. Cf. Radvánszky 1879–1896, II, 233–236, here 234.
[118] KmFjkv, no. 701.
[119] MNL OL, E 148, fasc. 923, no. 41; Tüdős S. 2006, 100.

Giczy and István Csáki. The former owned a cape made of garnet, while the latter had one made from scarlet fabric, decorated with eight silver buttons.[120] Buttons as decorative elements were changed on outerwear items. Evidence for this is Bocskai's last will, in which he left to his stepson, György Varkocs, a red scarlet fur coat lined with lynx fur, the buttons of which had to be taken off a cape (*köpönyeg*) since they were 'fit for a fur coat.'[121] When Márton Tőrös of Tuzson wrote his will in Cluj in 1583 and listed possessions kept in chests at various people in Cluj, he mentioned a garnet cape with wolf skin.[122] The fact that it had become widespread is proved also by the price listings of 1627, which regulated the price for manufacturing scarlet and garnet capes at 1 florin 80 denars, mid-quality *karasia* or *brassói posztó* (felt made in Braşov) capes at 1 florin, and the lowest quality *aba posztó* cape with no lining at 40 denars.[123] István Bethlen had his cape tailored from red scarlet and lined with damask, and then left it in his will to István Pápai.[124]

The most representative part of the outfit was a kind of coat worn over any other kind of outerwear: the *suba* ('coat') known since the Middle Ages, and mentioned in numerous testaments even in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As to its shape, the *suba* was usually a sleeveless overcoat, covering the whole body, widening towards the bottom, which, as shown in the pattern books that have survived, could be tailored from a half circle.[125] The front part was usually closed with metal hooks or two pairs of shank buttons (*szárgomb*), but we also know of decorative strings of buttons running from the neck down to the waist in a dense line. While the *suba* was no longer used in the western part of the country by the second half of the sixteenth century, being replaced by the *mente*, both its summer version and the earlier, fur-lined winter version, in the eastern part of the country, in Transylvania, due to a slower pace of changing fashions, we can still see many of the lined coats made of colorful textiles even a century later. It is telling that its popularity extended beyond the nobility, but even Prince Gábor Bethlen liked to wear it.[126] In addition, the coats (*suba*) of all types of overcoats deserve our special attention also because they were worn by both men and women.[127] In addition to dresses typical for women and *menték* typical for men, the coats (*suba*) used by both sexes were the items of clothing most often mentioned in the last wills. Long or short, lined or not, furry or not, with or without collar, with buckles or buttons, made of colorful fabrics, coats (*suba*) made it into the last wills of the nobility already since the Middle Ages.[128] As a result, these clothes made of heavy fabrics, like cloaks (*suba*) and robes (*köntös*), hooded or not, of various shapes, colors and

[120] KmFjkv, no. 730, 701.

[121] Radvánszky 1879–1896, III, 176.

[122] KmFjkv, no. 392.

[123] EOE, VIII, 388.

[124] Radvánszky 1879–1896, III, 294.

[125] Domonkos 1997, 30, fig. 36.

[126] Radvánszky 1879–1896, I, 250, 305, 346, 370, 372.

[127] The specific geographical area is important, because if the coat (*suba*) was fashionable in the Middle Ages throughout the Kingdom of Hungary, both among the nobility and in the urban environment of the patriciate, at the end of the sixteenth century in the western part of the kingdom the members of the aristocracy gave it up, but the coat made its way among members of the bourgeoisie and women. In Transylvania, however, the *suba* remained fashionable. It seems that this type of coat remained the most representative piece of clothing of the prince himself (Tompos 2014, 115).

[128] Lupescu Makó 2003, 323–324; Szende 2004, 149–150.

decorations, also betrayed to a certain extent the social and material status of their wearers. Common nobility used less expensive furs and lower quality fabrics than the aristocracy. The fur coats left by Anna Sálfi in 1574 were special not just because of the fabrics used by also because of the addressees. A red satin floral coat (*suba*) was left to István Melith, so that he would gift to to his fiancé. Similarly, Anna Sálfi left a blackberry-colored taffeta coat (*suba*) lined with beech marten fur and decorated with red floral satin to György Utyekevith, another relative of her husband, to give as a present to whoever God would choose for him.[129]

Although as a rule coats (*suba*) were commonly used by men and women, it seems that there was a gender distinction in the case of the shorter *suba*, which was shorter than the *mente* but still reached below the waistline: the ones used by men were called *subica, subicka* (approximately 'coaty') and the ones used by women were called *kis suba* ('small coat'). It seems that in Apor's time (first half of the eighteenth century) small coats (*kis suba*) were only used by young girls. In his will from 1573 János Melith of Briber left the green *subica* (*subicka*) lined with fine animal fur from the chest (*mál*) to his servant János Horváth,[130] while the small fur coats of Anna Pilényi were inherited by her two granddaughters.[131] In the case of Zsófia Kendi, the small coat was left to a female relative. Menyhárt Bogáti's wife left to her mother, Margit Kornis, the small cherry-colored velvet coat (*suba*) that she had received from her husband.[132] The coat mentioned in Erzsébet Borsvai's testament had the same color and cut: a small cherry-colored velvet coat (*suba*) with golden fur and no lining, recorded alongside a small blackberry-colored velvet coat (*suba*) with golden fur, but also no lining.[133] It looks like these garments were also inherited from one generation to the next, like belts and wedding dresses. Compared to these kinds of short coats, the 'real' *suba* was longer and most items that were listed in the last wills were lined with fur. The preferred types of fur were by far those of beech marten and pine marten. Other types of fur were those of fox, lynx, Siberian grey squirrel, or weasel. For example, of Katalin Lévai's seven coats (*suba*), two were special, both made of a fabric woven with gold thread, lined, the more precious one with weasel fur, left to her brother, and the other one, lined with pine marten fur, to a relative of hers, János Kendi.[134] The coats (*suba*) that János Várfalvi left to the women in his family were all lined with fur: three to his wife, one made of garnet, lined with fine fox fur, the other made of a fabric called *sája*, also furry, and a small coat (*suba*) of black velvet lined with beech marten fur. To Erzsók, he left a small damask coat (*suba*) lined with beech marten fur.[135] Several lined fur coats were listed also in the last will of Kata Mátyus. To her husband she left a small silver satin coat (*suba*) lined with beech marten fur and having green fur on the outside. To her stepson she left several coats (*suba*): two *long coats for women,* one from purple satin lined with Siberian grey squirrel fur (*pegymet*), the other green one also lined with beech marten fur, another one of black

[129] SJC AN, JFF, no. 167; Petrichevich Horváth 1943, 159–160; Tüdős S. 2006, 102, 103.
[130] MNL OL, E 148, fasc. 923, no. 41; Tüdős S. 2006, 100.
[131] Radvánszky 1879–1896, III, 229–232; Tüdős S. 2008, 71.
[132] MNL OL, E 149, Acta Transylvanica, fasc. 2; Tüdős S. 2006, 177.
[133] Deák 1878, 949–955; Tüdős S. 2008, 172.
[134] *Kendy* 1876, 747–750; Tüdős S. 2006, 63–64.
[135] MNL OL, F 15, Protoc. B, vol. 15; Tüdős S. 2008, 44.

velvet with fringes, lined also with velvet.[136] The inventory of the possessions of István Csáki explicitly refers to a certain coat (*suba*) as typically feminine: the white coat with floral motifs, made of damask, the back lined with beech marten fur, the front with pine marten fur, is specifically for women (*asszonyembernek való*).[137] For Anna Mária Barkóczi, widow of István Haller, some garments had sentimental value as well, as she inherited them from her late husband, and was about to leave them to her stepsons. These items were: a coat *(suba)* with collar, lined with pine marten fur, and red scarlet coat with collar of pine marten fur, lined with beech marten fur,[138] a dark green coat with lynx fur collar and an old blackberry-colored coat with collar, lined with lynx fur, which she had received from Kékedi and which she then left to his brother, László Barkóczi.[139] While most coats (*suba*) were made from fabrics and the furs were used for lining, in some rare cases the coats were made of animal skin. In 1583, Márton Tőrös of Tuzson mentioned in his will his fur coat made of pure wolf skin, which was in Cluj, in the hands of furrier Antal Segesvári.[140] Although coats (*suba*) lined and/or decorated with fur appear in much higher numbers in the testaments, sometimes simple coats, with no lining or no fur were mentioned as well. In such cases they were distinguished by the fabric they were made of and by their color. Katalin Lévai, second wife of Transylvanian Voivode Ferenc Kendi, left to her beloved husband a purple double velvet coat (*suba*) and to the wife of Mihály Inacsi another of her coats, made of yellow taffeta.[141] A green coat (*suba*) was left to János Fancikai through the last will of György Melith of Briber.[142] The changes in fashion also had an impact on the cut of coats, first of all in the sleeves and collars. Short sleeved fur coats appeared, like the one mentioned in the 1589 inventory of the possessions of the late János Giczy, described as new, made of garnet with pine marten fur lining and with short sleeves.[143] The emphasis on collars in the case of the coats included in István Bethlen's will is obvious, but they also stand out because of the fabric, the more expensive fur used for the lining, and last but not least, because of the buttons used. The coat (*suba*) left to László Rhédei was described as collared, made of 'king's color' (crimson) velvet and lined with pine marten fur, while István Kuun's was a blackberry-colored coat made of velvet with floral motifs, lined with lynx fur and decorated with two pairs of beaded buttons.[144] As with other items of clothing, the attributes used for the coats could also indicate their condition or type. Of János Giczy's five *subák*, one was new and one worn out (*hitvány*).[145] Among Zsigmond Suselity's fur coats there were no less than three used, worn out.[146] Unfortunately, we have no evidence as

[136] MNL OL, Lib. Reg. Sig. Rak. 1607–1608, 156–185b; *Mátyus* 1903, 424, 425.

[137] KmFjkv, no. 701.

[138] Furs were used in two ways: either the entire garment was lined with fur, or selectively, only certain parts. The more expensive furs (ermine, sable and pine marten) were usually used only for the collar and outer edges, while the interior was lined with less valuable fur (beech marten, fox and wolf).

[139] MNL OL, P 21, Barkóczy lvt., fasc. 6, no. 859; Tüdős S. 2008, 211.

[140] MNL OL, Lib. Reg. Sig. Bat. 1582–1585, 49b–51b; Fejér, Rácz, Szász 2005, no. 185, 248. Cf. KmFjkv, no. 392.

[141] *Kendy* 1876, 747–750; Tüdős S. 2006, 63–64.

[142] Petrichevich Horváth 1943, 136–137; Tüdős S. 2006, 94.

[143] KmFjkv, no. 730.

[144] Radvánszky 1879–1896, III, 277–304.

[145] KmFjkv, no. 730.

[146] KmFjkv, no. 625.

to the looks or particularities of the Turkish coat compared to the regular ones, made from Italian purple felt, left by György Melith of Briber to György Utyekevith,[147] just as we know nothing of the 'sleeping coat' (*háló suba*) apart from its use, listed in the last will of István Bethlen.[148] Indirectly, we can also find out the value of a coat (*suba*) from the will of Anna Pilényi, widow of Gáspár Kun. She mentioned in her last will the priest's son called Gáspár, saying that he could choose between a coat made of fox's back fur or 25 florins which he would get from her son, László Barkóczi.[149] A clearer value of the coats (*suba*) comes from the inventory of the possessions of Zsigmond Suselity from 1587, in which the price of used coats ranged between 2 and 24 florins, and the price of those in a better condition varied between 40 and 72 florins.[150]

The name **overcoat** in men's clothing from Transylvania in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was used as a collective name for the upper robes of the coat and cloak type. It was a type of coat made of various colored felt and velvet fabrics, decorated with silk, satin or damask, lined with fur or unlined, with a large collar covering almost the whole back. It had a long sleeve, often down to the bottom. As they had more of a decorative role, the sleeves had a narrow cut ('flute sleeve'). The wearers didn't put their arms through the sleeves, but either wore the coat on their shoulders, with the hanging sleeves, or put their arms through the slits on the shoulders, leaving the sleeves to hang freely. The overcoat was used on top of the dolman or *mente*. Prince Zsigmond Rákóczi was supposedly painted in his overcoat, lined with the most exquisite and expensive ermine fur, worn over his long green dolman with large flowers (Fig. 8). His large collar falls over his back, the bottom of his overcoat falling in long folds to the ground around him. To keep it from falling off the shoulders, it is fastened in front under the chin with a hook or clasp. An indirect reference to this is the provision of the articles of the goldsmiths' guild of Cluj from 1561, according to which a goldsmith lad could not make more than one dress's worth of buttons or one overcoat's worth of hooks for his own private use in the goldsmith master's own shop.[151] The front part was decorated with shank buttons (*szárgomb*) and a wide silk fabric trim. One item of the men's garments listed in Bocskai's will of 1595 is a red scarlet overcoat, decorated with two gold buttons.[152] This type of garment was commonly worn by men, as evidenced by the receivers of the donations of overcoats in the wills, all of whom were male. For example, György Melith of Briber left to Pál Melith his new garnet overcoat.[153] It is typical that female testators also left all overcoats to men, as did Margit Balassa, wife of Gábor Kendi I, who left to her children's guardian, Sándor Kendi, two overcoats of black velvet and damask, while all the other overcoats, except the two she ordered for her husband, she left her to son Zsiga, with special mention of the one made of blackberry damask.[154] As with other garments, overcoats also differed in fabric and decoration according to the social status of the wearer. Last wills and inventories of

[147] Petrichevich Horváth 1943, 136–137; Tüdős S. 2006, 94.
[148] Radvánszky 1879–1896, III, 277–304, here 293.
[149] Radvánszky 1879–1896, III, 229–232; Tüdős S. 2008, 72.
[150] KmFjkv, no. 625.
[151] Nagy 1984, 246.
[152] Radvánszky 1879–1896, III, 179.
[153] Petrichevich Horváth 1943, 136–137; Tüdős S. 2006, 94.
[154] MNL OL, F 3, Centuria Z, 113–114; Tüdős S. 2006, 89.

the nobility repeatedly mention overcoats made of expensive fabrics and lined with fur. Such an item must have been the overcoat sewn from fabric made of camel's fur (*csemelet*), tailored after the Russian fashion (*muszka módra csinált*), and listed in the inventory of the belongings of the late János Giczy.[155] István Csáki's inventoried overcoats were equally valuable, as they were made of high-quality fabrics: scarlet, purple double velvet (*duplabársony*) and expensive furs. It is interesting to note the mixed technique in the use of furs: while the collar and the front, the parts of the garments most exposed to the eye, were made of the more expensive pine marten fur, the lining was beech marten fur, which was somewhat less expensive.[156] The overcoats of Márton Tőrös of Tuzson also stand out because of the fabrics used: in addition to a garnet overcoat, there were also two made of animal skins, one of wolf skin and the other of fox skin.[157] Overcoats were used not only by the nobility but also by townspeople (burghers) and common people as well, but their overcoats were made from lower quality fabrics and in simpler designs (Figs. 10–11).

Versatile headwear and accessories

The outfit could not be complete without head coverings and various accessories.[158] Like the rest of the body, the head had to be protected from the heat of summer, the cold winds of spring and autumn, or the cold of winter with a suitable head cover. Various forms of these existed, but – since they wore out quickly, similarly to trousers and footwear, and their value was also lower than that of other items of clothing – they appear in relatively small numbers in testaments. Obviously, the nature of last wills as a certain type of document also contributed to this, since they were not inventories which listed all movable property regardless of value, but only included the possessions to be passed on above a certain value. As with other items of gender specific clothing, headwear can also be seen as quite gender specific, although we are aware of types worn by both sexes. In the case of women, the head covering betrayed, at first sight, the person's marital status, as unmarried young women wore a kind of a wreath (*párta*) and married women wore a bonnet (*főkötő*). According to János Várfalvi's will from the early seventeenth century, his wife was to receive two bonnets with pearls, with the option of choosing the ones she particularly liked. But the golden bonnet was left to his eldest granddaughter, Erzsébet.[159] Bonnets also appeared in Kata Szécsi's will. To her daughter Borbála, she left a bonnet with pearls and a gold hair pin, a gold diadem (*korona*) with hair pins, a gold wreath (*párta*) with hair pin, adorned with very large pearls, to which she added 200(!) gold hair pins and a gem that she wore on her cap (*süveg*). Borbála was meant to receive two pendants (*függő*) with rubies and diamonds, one with many beautiful diamonds that Kata wore on her cap, and the other with rubies and diamonds.[160] Such a 'Czech cap' (or a hat worn by women; there was also the male version made of felt or sheepskin, also called *süveg*) with pearls and two proper

[155] KmFjkv, no. 730.

[156] KmFjkv, no. 701.

[157] KmFjkv, no. 392.

[158] The clothing was complemented by footwear, but a detailed discussion would have stretched the frames of this paper.

[159] MNL OL, F 15, Protoc. B, vol. 15; Tüdős S. 2008, 44.

[160] MNL OL, Végrendeletek [Testaments] 1571–1830, fasc. 9, no. 23; Tüdős S. 2008, 134.

diadems also appears in Erzsébet Bornemisza's last will from 1642.[161] The 'Czech cap' (*cseh süveg*) made of velvet and adorned with gems and a pearl *párta* was therefore worn by women. The customs account from Cluj suggests that, despite their small numbers, this kind of headwear was also popular with noblewomen in the 1630s.[162] Although Apor gives a detailed account of the cap fashion typical especially for the seventeenth century, of summer and winter attire, mentions colors and decorations, he does not mention that women wore caps (*süveg*). Contemporary sources however prove that women used caps, or at least some types of caps, like the aforementioned Czech cap (*cseh süveg*), the winter variant of which was made of black or red velvet, lined with pine marten and inside with Siberian grey squirrel's fur, and the summer variant of green, red or other colored taffeta, satin or silk.[163]

In addition to these head coverings, we can also mention veils made of fine textiles. Depending on the size, they could be used in different ways. Most often, they were used to cover the face, but the long ones could also be used as a veil, either fastened to the ladies' hair with clips and extending down the back, or still fastened to the hair, but brought over the shoulders and fastened to the chest with a rosette. These functions of the veil are also clear from the will of Margit Balassa, who left her two daughters two veils (*fátyol*), gilded, and with a clip, one of which, being too large, was to be divided into two.[164]

While women preferred bonnets and caps over other types of headgear, among men the most common was perhaps the variable-height, flat-topped and peaked-topped hat called *süveg*[165] (Fig. 4). It was worn in the early modern period regardless of age, social class and season, with or without fur[166] (cf. Figs. 9 and 10). Apor, who lived during the early days of the French-style fashion and was nostalgic about the clothes of the previous century, wrote that 'the highest of people' (that is, mostly the princes and their courtiers) wore hats (*süveg*) adorned with pendants (*medály*)[167] and egret feathers (Fig. 2). The common nobility (*közönséges főemberek*) applied a bouquet made of fine beads on the pine marten hats in chilly weather, but also during the summer. Youngsters – Apor means young noblemen – applied bouquets of flowers to their black hats in the summer. He also offers a detailed description of the hats of old and young noblemen. The hats had hatpins (*süvegforgó*), with sea-eagle or falcon feathers. Many men wore crane feathers bleached with wood oil on their hats. Servants of the nobility – writes Apor – used eagle feathers on their hats.[168] The

[161] The Czech hat or bonnet (*süveg*) was usually made of black velvet and decorated with beads or pearls. It was a seasonal outer covering worn in winter (MNL OL, F 23, 1642; Radvánszky 1879–1896, I, 108; Tüdős S. 2008, 141).

[162] Pap 2011, 351.

[163] Szendrei 1905, 18; Apor 1978, 62–63.

[164] MNL OL, F 3, Centuria Z, 113–114; Tüdős S. 2006, 89.

[165] This is also supported by the examination of the articles of the thirtieth list of Cluj. In the period between 1599 and 1637, the hat (*süveg*) ranks third out of more than 90 types of imported goods in the thirtieth office (Pap 2011, 345).

[166] Although the *süveg* has been known since the early Middle Ages, it is more likely that this Central European garment became widespread from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries onwards.

[167] The pendant called *medály* is a hat (*süveg*) decoration made of precious metal, decorated with enamel and precious stones. Its purpose is to hold feathers fitted to the hat (Apor 1978, 60; Cf. Dévényiné Kelemen 1961, 241, 248–249).

[168] Apor 1978, 60.

Nemes–Nagy tables present the use of the brimmed and pinned hat (*kalapos és tollforgós süveg*) already for the early seventeenth century.[169] According to the authors mentioned above, the cap (*süveg*) did not change much until the end of the seventeenth century, while the Turkish and Tartar-style Polish influence had an impact on this accessory especially in the first half of this century. After that, in the second half of the century, the German and French style began to prevail, becoming more and more extensively used in the eighteenth century (which Apor also disliked).[170] As far as the use of furs is concerned, we can say that the furs used for lining and furring of hats are in fact the same as those that were fashionable for *menték*. Apor described that all aristocrats wore hats with pine marten fur – especially for representation purposes – which had one, two, three or four pine marten tails around, depending on the financial status of the wearer.[171]

The fabric of hats was also significant, as they were made of velvet, scarlet, or some other kind of felt. For instance, István Bethlen had a crimson velvet hat (*süveg*) lined with pine marten fur,[172] while parts of István Csáki's pine marten fur hat were made of cloth of gold[173] (Figs. 1, 3). According to Apor, there were also variations in the material of the hat (*süveg*) by social rank, with silk being the most common material for the aristocracy and black lambswool for the nobility.[174] Since summer hats were not trimmed with fur, they had to be decorated differently: silver and gold lace or gold thread embroidery were the decorations used.

Hats were called *kozák süveg* (from Cossacks) and *pozsonyi süveg* (from the town of Pozsony, today Bratislava), which only meant a certain shape. The velvet *kozák süveg* with pine marten, beech marten or fox fur was low-shaped and warm, since, as Apor writes, noblemen and lords in Transylvania wore it until the weather got nice and warm.[175] Men in Transylvania fancied hats made of black silk and nice black sheepskin as well. Another famous kind of hat in the seventeenth century was the *pozsonyi süveg*, which Apor described as the hat worn by young men.[176] Its spread and popularity is well illustrated by the fact that of the no less than 32 types of hats (*süveg*) imported to Cluj, the *pozsonyi* hat was the most popular. The shako-shaped hat (the upper wing stood away from the hat), attached by a cord with a button, had a slit and a brim at the bottom.[177] Gábor Bethlen's price regulation of 1627 included the *pozsonyi* hat as well, as one of the felt wares: the price of the best is set at 2 florins, the inferior double at 1 florins 25 denars, and the price of the common one, which was usually brought in a barrel, at 45 denars. The half-double hat was much cheaper, just 32 denars, and the common hat (probably the headwear of commoners) 20 denars a piece.[178] It must have been the popularity of the *pozsonyi süveg* that accounted for the many

[169] Nemes, Nagy 1900, plates XXII and XXIII.

[170] Nemes, Nagy 1900, 150–151. Cf. Apor 1978, 60.

[171] Apor 1978, 60–61.

[172] Radvánszky 1879–1896, III, 289.

[173] KmFJkv, no. 701.

[174] Apor 1978, 60–63.

[175] Apor 1978, 62–63. The somewhat confusing description allows for several interpretations. While Radvánszky considers it a male head-gear, Pap prefers a female one (Radvánszky 1879–1896, I, 72; cf. Pap 2011, 349, note 30).

[176] Apor 1978, 62–63; cf. Radvánszky 1879–1896, I, 72.

[177] Nemes, Nagy 1900, 157, 166; Apor 1978, 62–63.

[178] EOE, VIII, 441; Domonkos 1962, 145–146.

sub-types of this headgear, for example the *pozsonyi* hat with a frill (*fodor pozsonyi süveg*), which was probably a mixture of a frill hat and a deeper slit *pozsonyi süveg*.[179] János Giczy's inventory mentions, for example, not less than four frill *pozsonyi* hats.[180]

Although wearing a fur or furless hat in summer could be quite burdensome, people still had to make sure that at least the eyes were protected from the burning sun. The hat (*süveg*), probably because of its practicality, was not initially considered a complete replacement for the *kalap*, so an intermediate form was sought and found, the brimmed hat (*kalapos süveg*),[181] the ancestor of the hat (*kalap*). Unlike the hat, the brim of a brimmed hat made of black lambswool or black silk (with a dome or cylindrical top) was split at the sides, the brim standing out in the front or all around[182] (Fig. 11). This gave the head better protection from the sun and rain.[183] Radvánszky also emphasizes the role of the brim as a shade-keeper.[184] The brimmed hat (*kalapos süveg*) was also worn by women.[185] Bleached crane feathers were (at first) pinned to both the *kalapos süveg* and the hat (*kalap*),[186] and less well-off people pinned feathers from other birds. These may have been similar to the two identical, new brimmed hats with feathers that Balázs Kamuti kept among his clothes in 1603.[187] The brimmed hats (*kalapos süveg*), which were worn mainly in the first half of the seventeenth century, ranked at a distinguished eighth place among the hats for which customs duty was paid in Cluj.[188] This fact clearly shows the unabated interest of Transylvanian customers in buying this article, in owning and wearing the brimmed hat, which was as useful in winter as it was in the summer. It is interesting to note that this was the only type of *süveg* that arrived in Cluj in 'small consignments' (*aprólékban*) or 'all types of small consignments' (*mindenféle aprólékban*) (i.e. consignments containing several types of goods in small quantities). It seems that the *kalapos süveg* was easier to pack than other types of *süveg*, so it fit better in small consignments.[189] According to the price list of 1627, the aristocrats favored the beautiful grey brimmed hat, which was sold by the manufacturers for 2 florins, while the common black brimmed hat was sold for 1 florin 32 denars.[190]

The even more practical hat (*kalap*), with a brim in the front or all around, was worn only in the summer by 'lords and aristocrats' (*urak és főrendek*), in keeping with the hat fashion of the time.[191] Its practical importance is well emphasized by Miklós Bethlen, when he was advised by his wife: 'Do not go my dear in a *süveg*, for it is very hot, but in a hat.'[192]

[179] Pap 2011, 348.
[180] KmFjkv, no. 730.
[181] Nemes, Nagy 1900, 178.
[182] Nemes, Nagy 1900, 157, 165. This trait mainly characterized the hat, formed from the brimmed hat (*kalapos süveg*).
[183] Szendrei 1905, 49.
[184] Radvánszky 1879–1896, I, 73.
[185] Nemes, Nagy 1900, 178.
[186] See bleaching of gray crane feathers in Apor 1978, 61.
[187] Radvánszky 1879–1896, II, 104.
[188] Pap 2011, 347.
[189] Pap 2011, 350.
[190] EOE, VIII, 414.
[191] Apor 1978, 63.
[192] Bethlen 1955, II, 5.

At the side, or as Apor describes it, at the front of the hat they pinned upright black ostrich feathers, tied in a bunch. Their colors varied: in the fifteenth century, they were blue, red, green or pink and shaped like a cone sugar.[193] However, the shape often changed. One type was the *bretra*, which probably meant the Spanish hat.[194] In István Csáki's inventory of possessions, no less than 9 bretras are listed, five of them of black and three of red velvet, and one which is not mentioned by color, but instead by its peasant character. Two black bretras were also lined with the same color taffeta. As with the *süveg*, the bretras also had jewelry that held feathers. One of the bretras mentioned by Csáki had gold pins, another also had gold pins with sapphires and rubies, a third had tiny chains with gold stubs (*csök*) ('knot?'), and the other five were decorated with pearl roses.[195]

Other clothing accessories that appear in testaments are the handkerchiefs (*keszkenő*). In 1586, Dorottya Bánffy bequeathed to the daughter of András Székely four handkerchiefs.[196] Those could either be carried in the pocket or held in the hand. The painted portraits and catafalque paintings of the nobility capture, with great elegance, the handkerchiefs (*keszkenő*) in their hands. They were made of the finest hemp or linen canvas, embroidered with colored silk, gold and silver thread. Handkerchiefs embroidered with pure silk or gold and silver threads had a remarkable success in the seventeenth century. If the silk thread used for embroidery was colored, then bright reds and greens were a must.[197] Handkerchiefs were produced in a variety of sizes and could be worn by both men and women. It is touching how György Kornis, the already mentioned young Transylvanian nobleman studying at the university of Padua, tries to prove to his mother why he does not leave his small handkerchiefs to the laundresses and instead washes them himself, as 'it is no shame, because that wise and cleverly peregrinating Ulysses, whose clever wanderings were written in an entire book, was a smith, a cook, a baker, a groom and a washer.' He asked his sister Anna to send him small handkerchiefs in exchange for the gloves he had sent her because they were probably a frequently used item.[198]

Conclusions

Already in the Middle Ages, there were differences in clothing between different parts of Europe, and this trend continued even stronger in the early modern period. Attires and garments became typical of a region or a larger area, and thus it was relatively easy to identify people's origin in other parts of Europe as well. At the same time, the costumes of the different regions also influenced each other, and in different eras, the costumes of one region or another became the dominant fashion elements. In contrast to the Middle Ages, the Reformation in Europe led to a loss of religious unity and the emergence of denominational churches, which often had different approaches to dress and fashion. Up until the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Italy played a dominant role in fashion, but during the sixteenth century Spain took the lead, undoubtedly linked to

[193] Radvánszky 1879–1896, I, 73.
[194] Radvánszky 1879–1896, I, 73.
[195] KmFjkv, no. 701.
[196] MNL OL, F 3, Centuria Z, 521–522; Tüdős S. 2006, 136.
[197] Radvánszky 1879–1896, I, 108.
[198] *Kornis* 1898, 280.

the Iberian country's status as a major power. People tried to imitate, as much as they could, the ruler's manner of clothing, so unlike in the Middle Ages, where a fashion wave was amplified by the courts of princes and nobles, in most of the states of early modern Europe the royal court, and within it the king himself, became the fashion trendsetter. The personal tastes and attitudes of rulers repeatedly reshaped the way they dressed, so that fashion in the early modern period changed much more rapidly than it had done before. In the Hungarian regions, men's clothing was dominated by oriental elements. In the early modern period, the greatest cultural difference between Hungary and the western parts of Europe was clothing. In both men's and women's attire, France played the dominant role in the seventeenth century, and by the middle of the century French fashion had clearly dominated the dressing habits of much of Europe.[199] In the eastern half of Europe (Hungary, Transylvania, Poland), however, the French fashion did not find many followers. Westerners visiting Hungary, for example, were astonished by the clothes worn here, while abroad they gazed in awe at the clothes worn by Hungarians. When Miklós Bethlen visited Venice in 1665, 'an army of onlookers gathered around him because of the Hungarian robe.' However, we should note the different attitudes of the two sexes towards fashion trends. While women were much more Western-oriented, men were less open to Western fashion, but they too could not resist some minimal external influences (wearing summer gloves, for example).

As far as colors are concerned, there was a particular preference for red, especially purple (*veres*). Red had played a special role in Europe since ancient times,[200] and the popularity of green, dark grey (blackberry-colored) and blue had steadily increased. Perhaps a slight increase in the frequency of black shows some Western influence, mainly due to the Spanish court which, from the sixteenth century, dictated the fashion in Europe. From the fourteenth century onwards in parts of Europe black was considered a fashionable color.[201] However, while in the early modern period we can observe a general preference for black in the rest of Europe, because the predominant political position of Spain favored the adoption of its fashion in other countries, in Transylvania we can hardly detect the excessive wearing of this color.[202] Colors had symbolic meanings, reminiscent of the medieval tradition:[203] for instance, they indicated age. Single colored outfits were rarely worn in the seventeenth century. The highest quality dyes which gave the fabrics nice and durable colors were used mainly for dying luxury textiles since they were rare and expensive.[204] Italy and Constantinople stood out for the colorful fabrics used, and the economic relations of the Principality of Transylvania with these trade

[199] Tompos 2022, 52–65.

[200] For the importance of the red and purple color see: Butler Greenfield 2006; Lupescu Makó 2019, 53–75; Tompos 2022, 113–121.

[201] Haarmann 2005, 130. We cannot fully agree with Giulia Calvi's point of view related to the color preferences of Hungarians (Calvi 2011, 43–44). Indeed, we can confirm an increased appetite for colored garments, in which the dominance of red cannot be disputed. But black is also gaining momentum, dolmans, *menték*, skirts, anterias being made of black textiles (Tompos 2022, 122–128).

[202] By comparison, black was not appreciated at all in the Romanian principalities (Vintilă-Ghițulescu 2013, 41).

[203] Tompos 2022, 110–113.

[204] Piponnier, Perrine 1997, 16–17; Pastoureau 2001, 63–64.

centers played an important role in the fact that the Transylvanian elites dressed in colorful clothes.[205]

Most of the fabrics used to make clothing arrived in the Principality of Transylvania via foreign trade. In the sixteenth century, silk fabrics began to compete with woolen fabrics; silk fabrics were used in a wide variety of colors, designs and types, from thin, starched taffeta to scarlet, brocade and silk velvet. The most sumptuous garments (but also the most uncomfortable, because of the weight of the fabric with beads, pearls and precious stones applied to it) were made of brocade and scarlet woven through with highly prized gold (or silver) metallic threads. For lining winter clothing, they used fur from pine marten, beech marten, fox, lynx, ermine, or more rarely wolf and squirrel. The most frequently mentioned is beech marten. It competed in beauty with the fur of the pine marten, but was much cheaper. Consequently, we rarely find a last will or a letter of dowry that does not mention some garment lined with beech marten fur. Elegant clothing of both men and women was most often embroidered, usually with floral motifs. Embroidery, which in the Middle Ages was reserved mostly for liturgical vestments, now adorned hoods, shirts, handkerchiefs, caps and even shoes made of fabric.

There is a certain chronological discrepancy between Transylvanian clothing and the rest of Europe, with some Western European fashion trends coming to Transylvania a few years or even decades later. Miklós Bethlen, during his studies in the West, noticed that his clothes were out of fashion, both in Paris and London.[206]

Loaded with cultural, economic and social implications, garments also serve the individual as a biological reference. Clothes are one of the most personal objects in the last wills, so it is no coincidence that they are inherited by the closest relatives, usually first-degree relatives (children, siblings, spouses). However, let us not forget that the high price of some of the aforementioned garments (dresses, dolmans, *menték*, coats), due to the high-quality fabrics and the precious stones that adorned them, also entitled their closest descendants to inherit them.

Compared to the Middle Ages, the early modern period saw a considerable decrease in the number of garments that underwent transformation. In the past, mainly secular garments were transformed into chasubles, which were widespread and widely used pieces of clothing specific to the Catholic cult. Although there were reports of clothing transformation (interestingly, kaftans are the garments involved[207]), they now occurred in the secular world.[208]

[205] Schneider 1985, 30–85; Pakucs-Willcocks 2017.

[206] Bethlen 1955, I, 286, 319, 320, 334.

[207] A possible explanation for the transformation of kaftans (especially into dresses and lining material) may be the association of this garment with the political power represented by the Ottoman Empire. Its symbolic value combined with its ethnic, Turkish significance prevented Hungarian princes and aristocrats from wearing this piece of clothing, although kaftans are often among the gifts received from the High Gate. More interesting are the examples where kaftans were transformed into priestly garments, disregarding their 'pagan' origin. The same attitude is not manifested towards the different types of shoes, belts or Turkish hats, that is, namely towards certain accessories, which are among the favorites of the nobles (Tompos 2014, 113).

[208] In his will from 1595, Bocskai decided that some clothes that had belonged to Voivode Aron – the atlas and damask dolmans, the beautiful gilded kaftans – should go to some of his nieces with the request that they be transformed and made into women's clothes (Radvánszky 1879–1896, III, 178).

Clothes do not make the man, says the proverb. If we accept today the popular wisdom that a person's integrity is given by their internal, spiritual values, in the past, especially in the Middle Ages and Early Modernity, it was the outfit that made the individual. Once the costume was lost, the identity was lost too. Clothing was, thus, one of the essential signs of social convention, its shape and color indicating the role and place of each segment of the population. For many generations, a merchant was recognized by his attire, a priest by the color of his cassock, the nobleman by the cut and color of his clothes. Sometimes, however, the garment was also created as a work of art. It did not only indicate one's social class. It was always more than the sum of its fabric and adornments, its symbolic meaning extended to one's behavior too, which it determined and emphasized: it defined the contrast between the sexes, marked some rites of passage and contributed to the development of one's personality.

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Fig. 1. *Ein Ungerischer Junger Graff* – A Hungarian young count (Oborni et alii 2009, Fig. II).

Fig. 2. A Hungarian Courtier (Galavics, R. Várkonyi 1990, Fig. 3).

Fig. 3. A Young Lord (Galavics, R. Várkonyi 1990, Fig. 5).

Fig. 4. A Hungarian Nobleman (Galavics, R. Várkonyi 1990, Fig. 2).

Fig. 5. The burgundy velvet dolman and braid belt of Transylvanian governor György Bánffy (1661–1708) (Colecția MNIT, nos. F 18555, F 18556; image from the MNIT archive).

Fig. 6. *Ein vornehmer Ungerischer Edelman* – A distinguished Hungarian nobleman (Oborni et alii 2009, Fig. VI).

Fig. 7. Gábor Bethlen's embroidered *mente* (before 1620) (Kovács 1996, 67).

Fig. 8. *Sigismundus Rakoczi* – Prince Zsigmond Rákóczi (1607–1608) (Oborni et alii 2009, Fig. LXXII).

Fig. 9. A Saxonian Alderman from Hermannstadt (Galavics, R. Várkonyi 1990, Fig. 13).

Fig. 10. An ordinary Saxon Citizen (Galavics, R. Várkonyi 1990, Fig. 25).

Fig. 11. An officer in the Town-house (Galavics, R. Várkonyi 1990, Fig. 41).

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THE BETHLEN-HALLER CASTLE OF CETATEA DE BALTĂ. A RENAISSANCE FORTIFIED NOBLE RESIDENCE IN TRANSYLVANIA[*]

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Abstract: Our study aims to reconstruct the history and the appearance of the noble residence of Cetatea de Baltă from the sixteenth-century mansion to the Jidvei company residence. The research is based on unpublished or scarcely exploited sources, such as the historical inventories of the estate. A manor house preceded the present castle, that in the sixteenth century belonged to the Patócsi and Kendi families, and later to noblemen from the princes' entourage: Pongrác Sennyei, Menyhárt Bogáthi, János Petki, István Bethlen of Iktár. The latter commissioned the construction of the present castle from 1622 onwards, taking advantage of skilled craftsmen 'borrowed' from the princely court of his brother. In 1758, the estate was bought by members of the Bethlen of Beclean family. Miklós Bethlen conducted the Baroque-style refurbishment of the castle: the construction of a new entrance hall and stairway, a gatehouse and a chapel on two levels in the rear part of the castle. The building has a compact, symmetrical Renaissance layout, without an inner courtyard, fitted with four round towers on the corners. Our sources reveal fresh details of the castle's functions and interior decoration. The building stands out among the Transylvanian Renaissance residences for its exceptional height of five levels, recalling medieval donjons. The cellars and the ground floor served as storerooms, dungeon and chambers for some of the estate officials. The owners' chambers were on the first and second floors, as well as the state rooms. The last floor served defensive purposes. The typology of the fortified castles with compact layout derives from Italian Renaissance treatises taken up and adapted north of the Alps, where the defensive elements, although not very effective, still dominated the appearance of the residences of this type. The closest analogies, that preceded the construction of Cetatea de Baltă, are Țopa, the 'lower castle' of Sânmiclăuș in Transylvania, and Dolná Mičiná and Kéked in the north of the former Hungarian Kingdom.

Keywords: Transylvania, Renaissance castle, Baroque decoration, fortified noble residence, court chapel

Rezumat: Studiul de față își propune reconstituirea istoricului și a înfățișării reședinței nobiliare din Cetatea de Baltă, de la conacul de secol XVI până la reședința companiei Jidvei. Demersul nostru se bazează pe izvoare inedite ori puțin valorificate până acum, precum conscripțiile de secol XVII și XVIII ale imobilului. Un conac nobiliar a precedat castelul actual. În secolul al XVI-lea acesta aparținea familiilor Patócsi și Kendi, iar ulterior unor familiari ai principilor: Pongrác Sennyei, Menyhárt Bogáthi, János Petki, István Bethlen de Iktár. Ultimul a dispus construcția castelului actual începând cu 1622 profitând de meșteri „împrumutați" de la curtea princiară a fratelui său. În 1758, domeniul fiscal a fost cumpărat de către familia Bethlen de Beclean. Miklós Bethlen a coordonat reamenajarea în stil baroc a castelului: construcția casei

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scărilor cu rampă dublă precedată de o terasă barocă, a clădirii porții, a capelei dispuse pe două niveluri în tractul nord-estic. Castelul prezintă un plan renascentist compact, simetric, fără curte interioară, dotată cu câte un turn circular pe colțuri și încăperi dispuse pe dublu tract. Sursele analizate relevă detalii inedite privind funcțiile, amenajarea interioară, sistemele de circulație ale castelului. Clădirea se evidențiază în rândul castelelor transilvănene prin înălțimea excepțională, cinci niveluri, amintind de proporțiile donjoanelor medievale. Beciurile și parterul serveau drept depozite, temniță, camerele unor oficiali ai domeniului. Apartamentele proprietarilor domeniali și sălile reprezentative erau la etajul I și II, ultimul fiind un nivel de apărare cu depozitul de muniții în turnul răsăritean. Tipologia castelelor cu plan compact și turnuri de colț derivă din tratatele renașterii italiene preluate și adaptate la nord de Alpi, unde elementele defensive, puțin eficiente ce-i drept, dominau încă vizual aspectul reședințelor acestui tip. Analogiile cele mai apropiate, care au precedat construcția castelului analizat sunt Țopa, „castelul inferior" din Sânmiclăuș în Transilvania, respectiv Dolná Mičiná și Kéked în nordul fostului Regat al Ungariei.

Cuvinte cheie: Transilvania, castel renascentist, decorații baroce, reședință nobiliară fortificată, capelă

The landmark of Cetatea de Baltă,[1] a village situated on the left bank of the Târnava Mică River, is the picturesque Bethlen-Haller Castle built upon a hilltop above the settlement. It is among the best-preserved castles still in use in the Târnava region, but one of the least researched.

Although the building has been 'restored' a few times in the last century – in the 1960s, 1980s and in the last decade – no professional documentation of its architectural and artistic values is at hand. Its history has thus been pieced together from fragmentary data. András Kovács has analyzed the castle in the series of the Renaissance residences with compact ground plan and corner towers.[2] Margit B. Nagy and Klára Papp are important references, mainly concerning the eighteenth-century additions and reconstruction of the castle.[3] Zoltán Bicsok and Zsolt Orbán contributed to the research by outlining the history of the estate,[4] whilst Letiția Cosnean Nistor tried to point out the connections between the castle and the Renaissance architectural theory.[5]

My analysis below is based on archival sources that were unknown to these authors or used only tangentially. The most significant among these are the various written records of the castle: four seventeenth-century inventories[6] and four eighteenth-century estimates.[7] The aim of the present paper is to highlight the topography of the original Renaissance ensemble, with the original functions and decoration of the rooms within the building, as well as to identify the most important details of its eighteenth-century reconstruction.

[1] Küküllővár/ Kokelburg in the former Târnava County, currently in Alba County.

[2] Kovács 1993, 16–17; Kovács 2003, 130.

[3] B. Nagy 1969, 29–30; B. Nagy 1970; B. Nagy 1977; Papp 2006; Papp 2011.

[4] Bicsok, Orbán 2011, 179–182.

[5] Cosnean Nistor 2015.

[6] Inventory 1691; Inventory 1693; Inventory 1694; MNL OL, Inventory 1697. I researched the inventories from 1691, 1693 and 1694 in the Cluj department of the Library of the Romanian Academy, where the photo copies of the original documents are preserved. The latter are in the State Archives of the National Archives of Hungary (Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár, Országos Levéltára, Erdélyi Fiskális Levéltár, Budapest).

[7] MNL OL, Estimate 1759; SJC AN, Estimate 1759; SJC AN, Estimate 1794; MNL OL, Estimate 1796.

At the same time, I will trace the lineage of the owners back to those of the manor house that preceded the castle, filling the gaps in the literature in this field. Finally, I will attempt to identify the most important features of this castle type with compact ground plan and corner towers.

The estate and its owners

The settlement below the castle was once an *oppidum*. Its name, Cetatea de Baltă/ Küküllővár ('swamp castle'/'Târnava castle' in translation from Romanian/ Hungarian), does not refer however to the building in question, but to a medieval royal castle, which once stood in the swamp area in the vicinity of where the railway station was once located.[8] Another important medieval monument of the settlement, still in existence today, is the recently restored Reformed church that had been an important memorial place for the patrons of the estate.

The actual noble residence was most probably preceded by a manor house, first mentioned in the sixteenth century sources.[9] In the second half of the century, the estate of Cetatea de Baltă belonged to the Kendi and Patócsi families. In 1580, István Báthory Jr. of Şimleu (the nephew of the Transylvanian prince with the same name), celebrated his wedding with Zsuzsanna Bebek (daughter of Zsófia Patócsi and the late György Bebek) in Cetatea de Baltă.[10] Three years later, the same István Báthory had a stone sarcophagus carved in Cluj for his deceased mother-in-law. This funerary monument of Zsófia Patócsi stood in the church until 1910 and is now a treasured piece of the collection of the National History Museum of Romania in Bucharest.[11] The body of the deceased was not laid to rest in this sarcophagus, but in the tomb under the church sanctuary, where historians discovered it in 1897, together with two other female coffins.

The furthermost coffin, next to the wall, was that of Zsófia Patócsi. The coffin in the middle probably belonged either to her daughter named Judit Bebek, wife of Ferenc Kendi, or to Katalin Patócsi, wife of Sándor Kendi.[12] In 1598, Zsófia Kendi (daughter of Ferenc Kendi and Judit Bebek, wife of Menyhárt Bogáthi, died circa 1600–1605) made her last will at her residence in Cetatea de Baltă.[13] A few years later, she was buried in the church under the sanctuary, beside her mother(?) and grandmother. The most obvious evidence that the Kendi and Patócsi families owned Cetatea de Baltă is, therefore, the burial of three female

[8] The medieval castle was demolished in 1557 (B. Nagy 1969, 30; Bicsok, Orbán 2011, 180).

[9] According to Bicsok and Orbán, the manor house on the site of the castle was built between 1565 and 1580 by the Csáky family of Cheresig and Adrian. In the absence of a reference, I cannot verify this information.

[10] Horn, Kreutzer, Szabó 2005, 148–150 (doc. 88).

[11] The sarcophagus was transferred from the church to the Transylvanian Museum Society, from there to the collection of the National Museum of Transylvanian History in Cluj, and later to the National History Museum of Romania in Bucharest. Jolán Balogh has analyzed the sarcophagus, a rare example of funerary monument in Transylvania, adorned with the relief figure of the deceased. She linked the piece to the stonemasons' guild in Cluj (Balogh 1985, 221, 319–320).

[12] The findings on the site were analyzed by Lajos Szádeczky and Magdolna Bunta (Szádeczky 1897; Bunta 1977). Concerning the identification of the middle coffin the authors have different opinions (Klára Patócsi, wife of Ferenc Kendi or Judit Patócsi), both doubtful from my point of view.

[13] Her last will was published in: Tüdős S. 2006, 176–178 (doc. 44). Zsófia Kendi's ancestors have been misidentified by the editor of the volume (Tüdős S. 2006, 185).

members of the Patócsi family in the sanctuary of the church at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

István Báthory Jr. owned the Cetatea de Baltă estate until the 1590s through his wife and mother-in-law, who were members of the Bebek family. Before 1592, his cousin, Prince Zsigmond Báthory, deprived him of half of the estate and donated it to Pongrác Sennyei (d. 1613), deputy/*comes* of the Târnava County.[14] The son of the latter, István Sennyei (1592–1635), was born in Cetatea de Baltă.[15] During the Bocskai uprising, the estates of the deputy were seized and the family fled to Hungary, where István Sennyei made a distinguished ecclesiastical and diplomatic career, serving as Bishop of Vác, Veszprém and then Győr, and as Royal Chancellor.

In 1602, we learn about a burnt down manor house in Cetatea de Baltă that was donated by Zsigmond Báthory to the above-mentioned Menyhárt Bogáthi. The charter also states that Bogáthi had already owned the property partly through his wife (Zsófia Kendi) and partly through a princely donation.[16] Apart from the above, no further data is available on how exactly the Sennyei and the Kendi family exchanged or shared the Cetatea de Baltă estate and residence.

After Menyhárt Bogáthi had died without heirs in 1607, the prince donated his manor house in Cetatea de Baltă to Chancellor János Petki (d. 1612) in gratitude for having supported him to the princely throne.[17] Katalin Kornis, widow of János Petki, ceded it to her brother-in-law, Chancellor Simon Péchi, who soon exchanged the estate with István Bethlen of Iktár (1582–1648).[18]

István Bethlen (younger brother of Prince Gábor Bethlen, deputy of Hunedoara and Maramureș Counties) planned major reconstructions in Cetatea de Baltă, for which he asked the help of the judge in Bistrița (1622): '(…) should the Lord postpone my death, I would build a small manor house here in Cetatea de Baltă for my children, where every wanderer would not be able to just turn up.'[19] He asked for about fifty men and six carts that would carry the stone and wood needed for lime-burning from Cricău to Cetatea de Baltă for two weeks or so. Given the rather long distances involved his request is surprising even under today's transport and road conditions (Cricău is 61 km away from Cetatea de Baltă), especially if we consider that István Bethlen probably expected free labor, that he promised to return to the people of Bistrița when appropriate. The planned 'manor house' is undoubtedly the four-towered castle that still stands today, and that was completed most likely by the end of the decade (Fig. 1).

[14] Lázár 1889, 75; the author dates the donation in 1596, but this date seems unlikely considering that Pongrác Sennyei's son, István, was born in the manor house in 1592.

[15] 'Natus in Transylvania et arce parentum propria Küküllővar vulgo nominata' (Tusor 2017, 287–288). The term *arce* suggests a fortified residence, which cannot be the medieval castle, as it had been destroyed earlier.

[16] Fejér, Rácz, Szász 2005, 478 (doc. 1827).

[17] To reconstruct the lineage of the owners I used the archival records collected by József Kemény in his manuscript entitled *Transsilvania Possessionaria*, folio 81v.

[18] *Transsilvania Possessionaria*, folio 81v.

[19] The original section cited in Kovács 2003, 130: '(...) ha [az Úristen] ő felsége életemet halasztaná, gyermekimre nézve akarnék itt Kükeölleőuárat egy oly udvarházacskát építeni, kiben minden lézegő(!) és nyargaló mingyárt ne üthetné be orrát' (SJC AN, POB Coresp., 1622/93).

No details of the building process are available. However, it is known fact that at the same time as István Bethlen built his residence, he decorated the Reformed church with a coffered ceiling that did not survive to the modern day.[20] Specialists have assumed that the master in charge with the decoration of the church ceiling, as well as of the upper floor ceiling of the castle, was the prince's painter, János Egerházi Mezőbándi.[21] However, one could also think of the group of 'German' carpenters who had arrived from Upper Hungary in 1624 together with a painter.[22] After completing some work in Oradea, they worked on the estate of Governor István Bethlen. The estate, not named by the source, could easily have been Cetatea de Baltă. In 1629, the name of another painter, János Képíró from Braşov, is mentioned, who was appointed by István Bethlen to work in Cetatea de Baltă, but his exact assignment is not known.[23]

Available data therefore enables one to make only cautious assumptions, but it is obvious that István Bethlen sometimes 'borrowed' the princely craftsmen employed at the princely court of his brother. This may also apply to the architect of the castle at Cetatea de Baltă, who was probably a princely architect. His identification is quite uncertain; however, in 1626, Governor István Bethlen requested that György, the prince's German mason, was sent to him.[24] István Bethlen might have needed him for the constructions in Cetatea de Baltă, though the letter does not mention this detail. I suspect that he had moved from the Holy Roman Empire to Transylvania. He might be the same person as the master mason named *Georg Maurer/Fundator*, or *Sánta György Kőműves* ('Mason George, the Lame') who continued to work in the Principality of Transylvania even after Gábor Bethlen's death, under the rule of György Rákóczy I, until circa 1642. He served the prince on the building sites of Oradea, Săcueni, Dej, Gilău, Sárospatak and Cluj.[25]

Following the death of Governor István Bethlen, the castle remained in the custodianship of his daughter, Druzsiána Bethlen and her husband, Ferenc Rhédey. In 1670 a princely donation passed Cetatea de Baltă to Ágnes Bánffy, their daughter in law. She later pledged it with her second husband, György Kapi.[26] After her death (1680?), the estate was taken over by the princely treasury, and later passed onto the orphans of István Tököli, who fled to Transylvania from Hungary.[27] In 1685, the son, Imre Tököli, was the subject of a major lawsuit, which resulted in the confiscation of his Transylvanian estates, including one quarter of Cetatea de Baltă castle that had been left to him. Later the prince donated it to his own son, Mihály Apafi Jr.[28] The 1693 inventory of the castle records the

[20] Lángi, Mihály 2004, 56; Emődi 2018, 165.

[21] Kelemen 1977, fn. 55.

[22] Kovács 2006, 167.

[23] SJC AN, POC Socoteli, 18a/IV. 88, 285.

[24] The original letter of the prince in this matter (28 April 1628) was lost, its copy is in the personal collection of András Kovács.

[25] Détshy 1971, 357–359; Balogh 1982, 366–367. Besides the records cited by Balogh and Détshy see also SJC AN, POC Socoteli, 19/XIII. 90–91, 283, 362, 458, 469, 513–514, 571; 20/III. 91, 245; 21b/II. 182; 21b/III. 109, 120, 171; 22/II. 37, 128–129, 153, 175.

[26] *Transsilvania Possessionaria*, folio 84v; Papp 2006, 302; Papp 2011, fn. 707.

[27] Angyal 1888, ch. II, part III; Papp 2011, fn. 707. An eighteenth-century document suggests that Ágnes Bánffy herself left the estate to Imre Tököli in her last will (Papp 2006, 299–300).

[28] *Transsilvania Possessionaria*, folio 82r; Szilágyi 1895, 585.

whole estate as belonging to Mihály Apafi II, meaning that the prince had previously come to an agreement with Imre Tököli's sisters concerning their shares of the castle.[29]

In 1687, the castle was the site of the negotiations between the Imperial Field Marshal, Duke Charles of Lorraine, and Mihály Teleki in preparation for the Treaty of Blaj. It must have been at this time that Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli, a Bolognese military engineer in the service of the imperial army, visited the castle and later drew a map of it, the earliest surviving manuscript map of the ensemble. Its inscription, *Kukelvar Spetante al Banfy*, refers probably to György Bánffy (1661–1708), the future governor who may have had a claim to the castle (Fig. 2).

With the death of Mihály Apafi II, the Apafi estates passed to his widow, Kata Bethlen,[30] and later to the treasury.

In 1758, through a clever financial operation, Gábor Bethlen of Beclean (1712–1768), court chancellor in Vienna, bought the Transylvanian fiscal estates put up for sale by the treasury.[31] In the case of Cetatea de Baltă an important part of the cost was paid for by his sister-in-law, Kata Csáky. Thus, it was in the same year that he ceded the estate to his brother, Miklós Bethlen of Beclean (1720–1781), later treasurer of Transylvania, husband of the above-mentioned Kata Csáky.[32] The period during which the Bethlen family of Beclean owned the castle is of outstanding importance in the construction history of the residence. An evaluation of the castle commissioned in 1794 by Rozália Bethlen, daughter and heir of the above, reveals the important renovations and extensions carried out to the castle by her parents, as well as the design and build of an exotic garden, famous throughout Transylvania.

The castle and estate remained in the possession of the Bethlen of Beclean family until 1885. However, due to Miklós Bethlen having no son to inherit him, the estate was inherited by the descendants of his brother, Gábor.[33] After the death of his great-grandson Kamilló (1827–1883), it came into the possession of the latter's son, Márk Bethlen (1852–1917), who lost it to the Haller family. According to some tales Márk Bethlen had lost the estate in a card game together with the Tirimia and Iernut estates.[34] Another version of the story is that the Hallers inherited it.[35]

During the spring of 1927, a murder perturbed the life of the castle dwellers: count Jenő Haller (1878–1927) was shot by his own driver in his chamber. The tragedy of the family continued with the nationalization of 1949. For decades afterwards, the Jidvei winery used the building. In 1990, the Hallers regained ownership of the castle, but the family eventually decided to sell it on. This is how Liviu Necşulescu, an entrepreneur from Constanţa and owner of the Jidvei winery, came to own the building, that he subsequently

[29] Inventory 1693.

[30] Jakab 1883, 672–673, 674.

[31] The secondary literature mentions different dates in this context: either 1758 or 1764. Maria Theresa's donation to Gábor Bethlen issued in 1764 only validated the latter's ownership. See Nemes 1881, 599; Lukinich 1927, 506–508; Papp 2011, 161.

[32] SJC AN, Estimate 1794, folio 182r; Papp 2011, 161.

[33] In 1797, the estate of Cetatea de Baltă passed on to József Bethlen (Papp 2011, 193, 213).

[34] Lukinich 1927, 513; Kovács 1994, 17.

[35] See Bicsok, Orbán 2011, 181–182. According to Béla Haller, the descendant of the Haller family, his grandfather Jenő Haller (1878–1927) inherited the castle from his godfather (Margittai, Major 2016, 8).

passed on to his son Claudiu, the current owner.[36] Due to the well-known logo of the Jidvei products, the image of the castle became a brand of extravagant lifestyle. Over the last decade, renovation works have been carried out in the building making it a luxurious venue for affluent, wine-loving people.

The Renaissance castle

The inventories of the estate reflect its layout and topography in the principality-era, towards the end of the seventeenth century.[37] The inventories date back to the time of Mihály Apafi II, thus being roughly contemporary with the map of the castle attributed to Marsigli (Fig. 2). The castle, with its main façade facing southwest, was built from brick on a compact ground plan, without an inner courtyard. It has a rectangular central core of 20 × 23 meters with a round tower of around ten-meters diameter on each corner. Behind the western tower there is a smaller polygonal tower housing the main staircase of the Renaissance castle (Fig. 3). The building is unusually tall, having five stories: basement, ground floor, two main floors and a projecting parapet fitted with machicolations and loopholes.

A rounded cordon runs around the façade between the first and second floors. The walls were originally crowned by a crenelated parapet. Behind it there was a twin gable roof with a central lap.[38] The gable ends of the roof were originally decorated with four glazed ceramic balls.[39] In the seventeenth century a double palisade enclosed the building. Its shape was irregular, adapted to the terrain, flanked in places by circular towers. A pedestrian gate opened on the south and a gate for carts on its northern side, towards the Târnava River. Inside the defensive ring, the courtyard of the castle was divided by a thorn-lined rampart, as shown on Marsigli's map. Outbuildings, stables and guardsmen-houses were once located in the courtyard. The castle was enclosed within a dry moat with a brick-lined counterscarp. A drawbridge led across the moat to the castle-gate, which opened in the central axis of the south-western façade. Inside the eighteenth-century entrance hall, on its inner wall, the semi-circular stone frame of the original castle gate was preserved together with the remains of a pulley that once belonged to the chain system that lifted the drawbridge (Fig. 4). This was the only entrance to the building, except for a small door that led to the moat on the opposite side. A new gate was opened recently towards the garden.

The original layout of the castle consisted of two rows of three interconnecting spaces on each level. The great halls of the central axis were framed by the smaller chambers belonging to the landlord and his family. These were then connected to the circular chambers from within the corner towers.

The basement, spreading over the entire ground-floor space of the building, had two larger cellars and four smaller ones under the corner towers.

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[36] Bicsok, Orbán 2011, 182; Margittai, Major 2016, 8.

[37] The topographical reconstruction is the result of a comparative analysis of the inventories. In the following, I will not refer to the relevant section of each document.

[38] B. Nagy 1970, 63–64; the author's assumption that the crenelated parapet was dismantled by Miklós Bethlen (thus, after 1757) is doubtful, since none of the inventories of the late seventeenth century mention this detail.

[39] Inventory 1694, 53.

The servants' quarters, the bailiff's, the keeper's and the *rationista*'s chambers as well as the food pantries were located on the ground floor of the castle, along the great hall once decorated with a painted wooden ceiling. The dungeon was located beside/below(?) the spiral staircase and there was a separate prisoners' chamber in the western tower. The chambers on this level, as well as the basement, were initially covered with wooden ceilings. The landlord and his family lived on the first and second floors, where the state apartments were also located. As a special feature of the layout of the building one must note the separate staircases that led to the different parts of the main floors. The spiral staircase within the polygonal tower led to the landlords' apartments in the first part, while another staircase led to the ladies' apartments from the rear part. The spiral staircase is still in use today, its Renaissance stone-framed entrance on the ground floor is decorated with acanthus leaves and rosettes in the upper corners (Fig. 5). According to the inventories, the rear staircase must have been in the northern part of the building. Another staircase has been removed recently and only a fragment of its wooden parapet marks its former existence in the eastern rectangular chamber of the ground floor. However, there is no information concerning its age or shape. The staircases led to hallways on the upper floors, from where the visitor could cross the great halls to reach the landlord's or the landlady's chambers. The most impressive chamber of the castle was the *great dining hall*, located in the central axis of the second floor. It was fitted with three windows opening onto the main façade as well as a chandelier decorated with brass knobs and a double-headed eagle. English tapestries hung on the walls and a tile stove with crenelated cornice heated the room. During banquets, musicians played in a balcony fitted with wooden parapets above one of the room's entrances. From the great dining-hall the higher-ranking guests were probably invited into the audience hall (the southern chamber of the second floor), from where only the most intimate and privileged guests could enter the lord's chamber in the southern tower.[40]

The chambers on the first floor, except the vaulted western bastion, were covered with painted wooden ceilings just like the staircases. The rectangular chamber in the southern corner once had a coffered ceiling with hanging carved ornaments (*kopják*). Apart from the two great halls in the middle axis of the second floor, this level of the castle had been vaulted from the very beginning to support the weight of the defensive level above. Hence the barrel vaults with cloister heads preserved on this level date back to the seventeenth century. Renaissance corbels fluted with triglyphs support these vaultings (Fig. 6).

According to the 1694 estimate, the northern tower chamber had a cloister vaulting with a rosette in the middle and the vaulting of the landlady's chamber was decorated with a coat of arms and rosettes. These details presumably refer to stucco ornaments.[41] The same sources suggest that some of the door panels were painted in vivid colors. Two Renaissance door frames carved in stone were preserved on the second floor (one of them decorated with denticules and another one with triglyphs, Fig. 7). However, according to the estimate, there were more similar door frames, even some with pediments. Stylistic analogies suggest that István Bethlen most probably commissioned these carved frames

[40] Inventory 1694, passim.
[41] Inventory 1694, passim.

from stonemasons in Cluj. There is a modern pastiche stone frame in the ground floor lobby, that copies the same style.

The chambers of the second floor were heated with tile stoves, that were built on carved stone feet and crowned by crenelated cornices. Vaulted latrines adjoining the northern, eastern and southern tower chambers on the first and second floor increased the comfort of the castle dwellers. The loopholes of the roof level were fitted for guns of reduced caliber, most probably arquebuses. The deposit for munitions was on the top of the eastern tower,[42] named the Völci bastion, suggesting that it was facing the village of Velț (Völc).[43]

The Baroque renovation of the castle

The inventories of the Apafi-era record the castle in a quite battered state, with broken doors, windows, ceilings and leaking roofs. Some minor repairs may have been carried out in the 1710s, but it was only after 1757 that Miklós Bethlen of Beclean and his wife Kata Csáky undertook the general renovation of the ensemble.

As part of the renovation, the wooden ceilings of the basement and those of the upper levels were all replaced with vaults (Fig. 8). The internal layout of the floors was slightly modified with new partitions; windows were enlarged on the first and second floors and completely new flooring was laid on the second floor. The present-day parquet flooring of the castle mirrors the diamond-shape pattern of the above-mentioned Baroque flooring, from which only minor fragments have been preserved.

An estimate of the building dating from 1794 valued the stucco decoration of the great hall on the second floor, that of the chambers facing the garden and that of the billiard chamber to a considerable sum. The painter's work on the same floor was valued to be worth even more. These decorations have all disappeared by the modern day and only fragmentary written evidence mentions them. In 1779, Miklós Bethlen warned his wife not to disturb the painter's work in the castle.[44] The count was probably referring to Mátyás Veress, a painter from Cluj, considered the most talented of his time. Earlier in 1775 he was paid for painting '7 sculpted(?) figures' and other works in Cetatea de Baltă. There is no trace of the decoration today, but he might have painted stucco reliefs, fashionable at the time. The painter, who lived in Cluj, was acquainted with the family, having previously decorated the audience hall of János Haller (c. 1740–1793, Kata Csáky's nephew) in his castle in Coplean, as well as Kata Csáky's castle in Almașu.[45] Besides the paintings and stuccos, a large mirror with a gilt stucco frame, estimated at the impressive sum of 400 florins,[46] added to the sumptuous decoration of one of the state rooms.

Written evidence shows that in the eighteenth-century state rooms were located on the second floor of the castle. The 'small dining chamber of the countess' (Kata Csáky)

[42] Letiția Cosnean Nistor supposed it was on the top of the western tower. The inventory from 1694 refuted her supposition (Cosnean Nistor 2015, 123).

[43] Velc, Velț, Welz in Sibiu County. The towers and bastions were often named after the settlement towards which they were pointing.

[44] Papp 2011, 306; Papp 2006, 180.

[45] Biró 1960, 122; B. Nagy 1970, 251–252, 328–329; Pál 2015, 144–146.

[46] SJC AN, Estimate 1794, folio 186r.

had also been decorated with paintings in the last decades of the eighteenth century,[47] her private room as well as the counts' room were on the first floor.

The main façade of the castle was completely transformed as well during the ownership of Miklós Bethlen: the former drawbridge was replaced by a fixed covered bridge. On the top of the bridge a terrace-like structure was created, its parapet decorated with Baroque sculptures (Fig. 9). On its main façade an inscription was placed in 1773 listing the titles of count Miklós Bethlen and his achievements as patron of the restoration works. A laurel wreath encircles the text in Latin, with a fragmentary cornucopia underneath (Fig. 10). The carving lies in the entrance hall of the castle in a quite damaged state. Its inscription is as follows:

AN // NO
17 // ARCEM // 73
HANC
RESTAURARI INNOVARI
ET ADORNARI FECIT
EXCEL(lentissimus) AC ILLUS(trissimus) D(ominus) COMES
NICOLAUS de BETHLEN
SAC(rae) CAES(areae) REG(iae) MAI(estatis) CAMERARIUS
STATUS ET GUBERN(ii) ACT(ualis) INT(imus)
CONSILIARIUS
ET PER MAGNUM TRAN(silva)
NIAE PRINCIPATUM
THESAURARIUS
REGIUS
1773[!]

Attached to the main façade of the castle, a new entrance hall with symmetrical flights of stairs was built, which still stands today (besides this, the Renaissance spiral staircase remained in use as well). The second floor of the Baroque staircase was decorated with a loggia. Only historical photos and eighteenth-century sources show that the loggia was originally fitted with half-round arcades. The niches of the façade were once adorned with sculptures. Their fate is unknown to us, however the extremely high value they had been estimated at[48] suggests their superior quality.

The Bethlen of Beclean brothers, Miklós and Gábor, who held important offices in the Viennese court, both converted to Catholicism, while the population of the *oppidum* remained Protestant. The Apafi-era inventories do not mention a chapel in the castle, so the Protestant owners of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries probably attended the Reformed church in the town. The construction of a Catholic chapel in Cetatea de Baltă was first considered during the possession of the treasury. By 1759, when the castle was estimated for Miklós Bethlen, a small chapel was already in use in the south tower room

[47] SJC AN, Estimate 1794, folio 185r.

[48] The stonework of the entrance hall including the materials, sculptures and staircases was estimated at 882 Rhenish florins. See SJC AN, Estimate 1794, folio 183v.

on the second floor.[49] The chaplain, who celebrated mass, lived below, on the first floor.[50] In the following decades, during the general renovation of the castle, Miklós Bethlen commissioned the construction of a larger chapel. The secondary literature tends to associate this structure with the chapel on the castle hill, below the residence.[51] Given the historicist style of the latter, it must date from the second half of the nineteenth century, rather than the eighteenth, which is what makes the above identification very doubtful. Instead, the 1794 estimate suggests that the count abandoned the small tower chapel on the second floor and replaced it with a larger vaulted chapel, spanning apparently on two levels (ground floor and first floor), in the rear part of his castle. The chapel was furnished with twelve chairs, an altar raised on a few stairs, and a pulpit. An oratory adjoined the construction at the level of the first floor.[52]

Concerning the localization of the Baroque chapel, it probably was in the rear part of the building where the larger rectangular room covered with Prussian vaults is currently located. These vaults, that are obviously post eighteenth century, dating from around the end of the nineteenth century, suggest that the chapel was in use probably until then.

Miklós Bethlen had the moat of the castle as well as the palisade encircling the castle renovated. He commissioned a new gatehouse as well, that was built at the southern entrance to the courtyard and featured a tall, tin-clad, onion-domed tower. The gate tower, which collapsed in 1972, was once fitted with a clock and three bells.[53] The pediment of the inner façade of its gate passage was adorned with the coat of arms of Miklós Bethlen and Kata Csáky and a rectangular commemorative plaque from 1769.[54] The carvings are still preserved in the lobby of the castle (Fig. 11–12). The inscription lists the titles of the Count and his achievements during the constructions:

AREAM HANC CUM SUPER A EDI[FICIIS EREXIT] ADO[RNAVIT]
STABILIVIT COMES NICOLAUS DE BETHLEN
S(u)AE CAE(sare)AE RE(gi)AE ET APO(stoli)CAE MA(ies)T(a)TIS CAMERARIUS
STATUS ET EXCE[LSI] IN TRAN(silva)NIA REGII GUBERNII
CONSILIARIUS U[TRO]BIQVE ACTUALIS INTIMUS NECN[ON]
PER MAGNUM TRAN(silva)NIAE PRINCIPATUM SUPREMUS
PROVINCIALIS COMMISSARIUS ANNO D(omi)NI MDCCLXIX

Ignatz Schlaff supervised the construction of the castle in the eighteenth century. He was a builder of foreign origin who later settled in Alba Iulia. He received his first commission in Transylvania from the same Miklós Bethlen who hired him to vault the

[49] MNL OL, Estimate 1759, folio 314r.

[50] SJC AN, Estimate 1759. Letitia Cosnean Nistor assumed that the chapel was in the eastern tower chamber on the second floor (Cosnean Nistor 2015, 130–131).

[51] E.g. Papp 2011, 161.

[52] SJC AN, Estimate 1794, folio 183v–185r.

[53] Bicsok, Orbán 2011, 181; SJC AN, Estimate 1794, folio 182v; Miklós Bethlen commissioned the bells in 1763. See Papp 2006, 71.

[54] Lukinich 1927, fig. 383 – the note of the illustration suggesting that the gatehouse, on which the sculptures were placed was originally built as a church, is most probably wrong.

'great hall' in Cetatea de Baltă. Ignatz Schlaff remained in Miklós Bethlen's service until the latter's death.[55]

In the second half of the eighteenth century, a fashionable French garden was created around the castle, with a labyrinth, a Chinese tower, hermitage, orangery, and numerous Mediterranean species (orange and lemon trees, pineapples, aloes, fig bushes), that were looked after by 'German' and Hungarian gardeners.[56]

Italian, French or Central European residence type?

Cetatea de Baltă belongs to the type of fortified Renaissance residences (manor houses/castles) featuring a compact ground plan with residential towers on the corners and no inner courtyard. Among the Transylvanian examples of the kind, the castle of Ţopa preceded its construction by a few years. The latter was built circa 1617 by Farkas Bethlen of Beclean (1560–1618) and has polygonal corner-towers. Due to its round corner-towers, the closest Transylvanian analogy of Cetatea de Baltă must have been the smaller castle in Sânmiclăuş (also referred to as the 'lower castle') built presumably by Chancellor Farkas Bethlen (1639–1679), the chronicler (Fig. 13). The building has completely disappeared since and is only known from a mid-nineteenth century view, that shows both castles in the village.[57] Miklós Bethlen (1642–1716), author of his well-known memoires, was the commissioner and also the architect of the 'upper castle' in Sânmiclăuş, built from around 1668. His residence features a building core of three rows of three rooms each and has four angular corner-towers. Cetatea de Baltă may have had a layout similar to that of the small castle in Bahnea, built by Chancellor János Bethlen (1613–1678) in 1675 and demolished between the two world wars. Finally, the Pekry-Radák castle in Ozd was extended with round corner towers only during its reconstruction in the early eighteenth century, copying most probably the fashion of this castle-type in the Târnava region.[58]

Due to its proportions, reminiscent of medieval donjons, the five-story structure of Cetatea de Baltă is unique among the listed examples. Jolán Balogh considered the compact castles of higher proportions to be a typical Transylvanian variant of the type.[59] Actually, in Northern Hungary, where this residence type was widespread from the last decades of the sixteenth century, there are some examples of elongated proportions.[60] Except for its loggia, the castle of Dolná Mičiná was probably built at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[61] The multi-level residence featuring four round corner towers is perhaps the closest analogy to the residence in Cetatea de Baltă (Fig. 14). Around 1610,

[55] After the death of Miklós Bethlen, he remained in the service of the family. He also contributed to the construction of the Teleki Library (Teleki Téka) towards the end of the century. Margit B. Nagy assumed that he could have conducted the reconstruction of the small castle in Bahnea around 1800 (B. Nagy 1977, 47, 147; Orbán 2008–2010, 203).

[56] SJC AN, Estimate 1794, folio 187r–189r; MNL OL, Estimate 1796, folio 326r–327v. The analysis of the garden with its later, nineteenth-century transformations will be the subject of a future study.

[57] Lukinich published the lithograph of Károly Szathmári Pap (Lukinich 1927, fig. 196). I owe thanks to Zsolt Kovács for bringing this illustration to my attention.

[58] Kovács 2003, 142–143; Cosnean Nistor 2015, 128–131; Kovács 2018, 565.

[59] Balogh 1975, 94, 98.

[60] I will resume to the examples that preceded in time Cetatea de Baltă.

[61] Dolná Mičiná (Alsómicsinye, SK): Kelényi 2009, 191.

György Kékedi built a castle in Kéked with two round corner towers on the main façade.[62] It had a double series of rooms and three levels. Presumably a twin gable roof with a central lap covered the building, being thus closely related to Cetatea de Baltă. The castle of Monok built in the last third of the sixteenth century also features a symmetrical layout except for the fact that it has a single round tower on one of the corners.[63] Contemporary to Monok castle, and in certain aspects related to Cetatea de Baltă, is the small noble residence of Golop, that had been built according to a Z-shaped plan, with rectangular towers attached to the two opposite corners of its central block.[64] The Telegdi-Rákóczi manor house in Beregszentmiklós, built by 1596,[65] featuring two corner towers, is a further example of this fortified residence type.

Due to its symmetrical layout with two rows of interconnecting rooms (three rooms in each row), its fashionable twin gable roof and its moderate defensive power, that was rather aimed at repelling raiding attacks than proper sieges, Cetatea de Baltă fits well into the general picture of this noble residence type outlined in the Hungarian literature.[66] However, whilst in Northern Hungary it seems that it was mainly the middle nobility who built residences on a compact ground-plan, as opposed to the inner court residences of the high nobility,[67] the commissioners of the Transylvanian examples are nobles of high rank. They were among the richest landowners of the Principality, that held important state offices, such as Governor István Bethlen of Iktár or Chancellors Farkas Bethlen, János Bethlen and Miklós Bethlen of Beclean.

As further analogies one must note the fortified manors (*kasztel*) built in Poland starting from the second half of the sixteenth century (e.g. the fortified manor house of Szymbark),[68] that are assumed to be of Hungarian origin.[69]

According to József Biró, the type of castle described before marks the impact of the French style in Transylvanian. This style was already dominant in seventeenth-century Europe.[70] However, neither Cetatea de Baltă, nor any of the above listed residences can be linked to specific French architectural prototypes, nor to the activity of French architects in Transylvania. They were most probably inspired by the illustrations of Renaissance architectural treatises instead, just like their French analogies. They are rather distant echoes of the villa designs of Serlio, Peruzzi, Vignola, Scamozzi and Palladio somewhat reinterpreted by the architects north of the Alps. The layout of Cetatea de Baltă castle shows certain similarities with the round corner-towered castle plans of Jacques Androuet du Cerceau, published around 1550.[71] As Letiția Cosnean Nistor pointed out, the layout of the castle from Sânmiclăuș, with its rooms arranged according to a square grid, divided

[62] The northern, older part of the castle in Kéked (Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén County, HU). See Feld 2009, 542–543.

[63] Feld 2009, 544–545.

[64] Feld 2009, 541–542.

[65] Chynadiiovo (Beregszentmiklós, UKR): Emődi 2005, 38–42.

[66] Feld 2000, 115–120; Kelényi 2009, 190.

[67] Feld 2000, 116; Kelényi 2009, 190–192; Feld, Velladics, 2016, 104.

[68] 'Szymbark'/RenEU.

[69] Arciszewska 2019, 671.

[70] Biró 1944, 26.

[71] Cosnean Nistor 2015, 126–127.

in nine sections, was linked to the architectural theory promoted by Nicolaus Goldmann (1611–1665), a private lecturer of architecture in Leyden.[72] His residential plans however are lacking corner towers.

Beyond the formal resemblance, Cetatea de Baltă reflects a different perception on the elite residence, than that of the Italian, French or Dutch. The latter sought a more airy, unscreened mass effect through spacious staircases or façade loggias. Their more elegant façades featured pilasters, openings of various shapes, balustrades and richer sculptural ornaments, thus approaching the style of urban palaces. The corner towers were often preserved, but without any defensive function. On the contrary, in the case of our Transylvanian examples, the defensive features were still obvious, the façades were rather compact, the openings quite small and often irregularly arranged. The desire for comfort reflected more in the interior layout.

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[72] Cosnean Nistor 2014, 143.

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Fig. 1. The castle from south (photo by László Pakó).

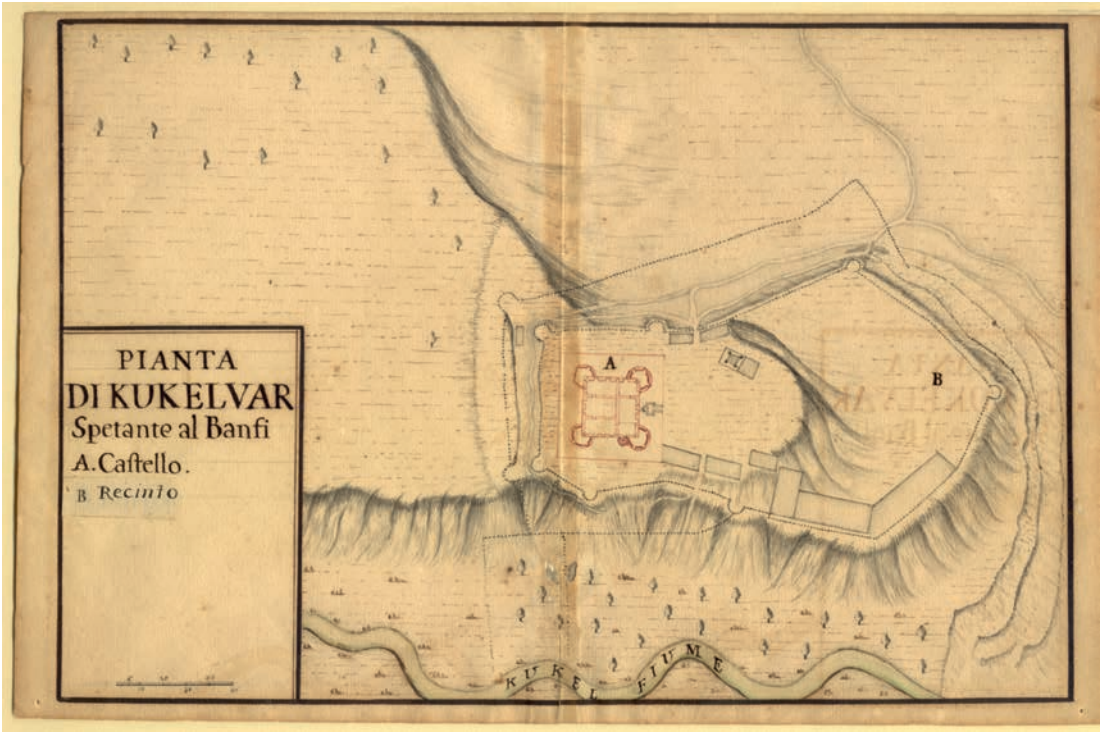

Fig. 2. The castle and its surroundings in 1687, Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli (?) (MNM, T. 8922).

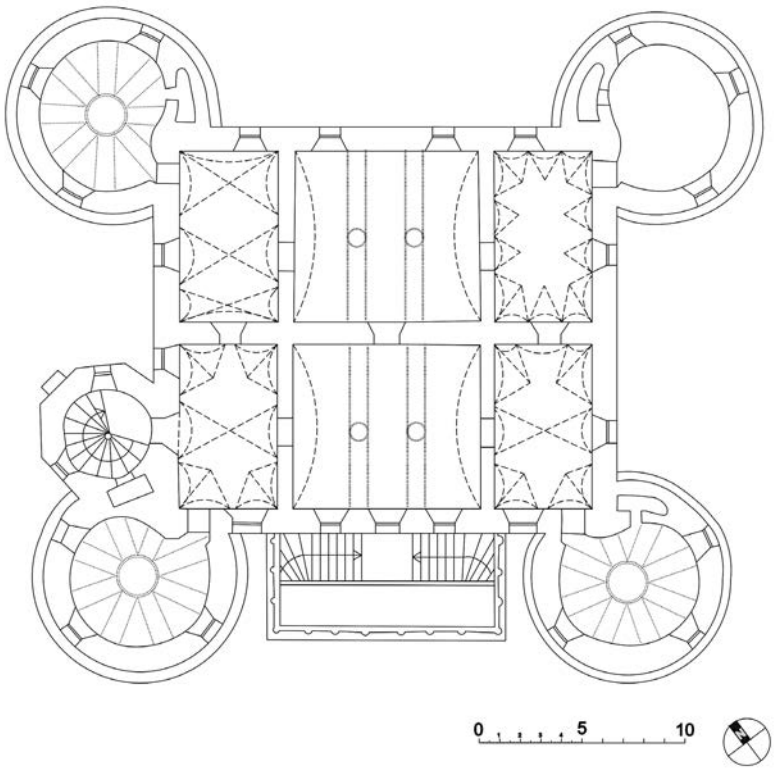

Fig. 3. Second floor plan (plan by Letiția Cosnean Nistor).

Fig. 4. The Renaissance stone door frame of the original castle gate (photo by László Pakó).

Fig. 5. The Renaissance stone door frame of the spiral staircase (photo by László Pakó).

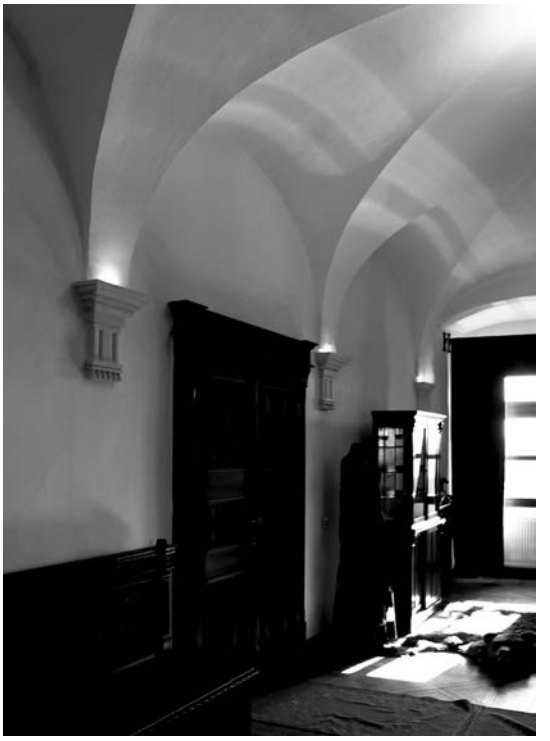

Fig. 6. Renaissance vaulting with corbels on the second floor (photo by László Pakó).

Fig. 7. Renaissance stone door frame on the second floor (photo by László Pakó).

Fig. 8. Baroque vaulting on the ground floor (photo by László Pakó).

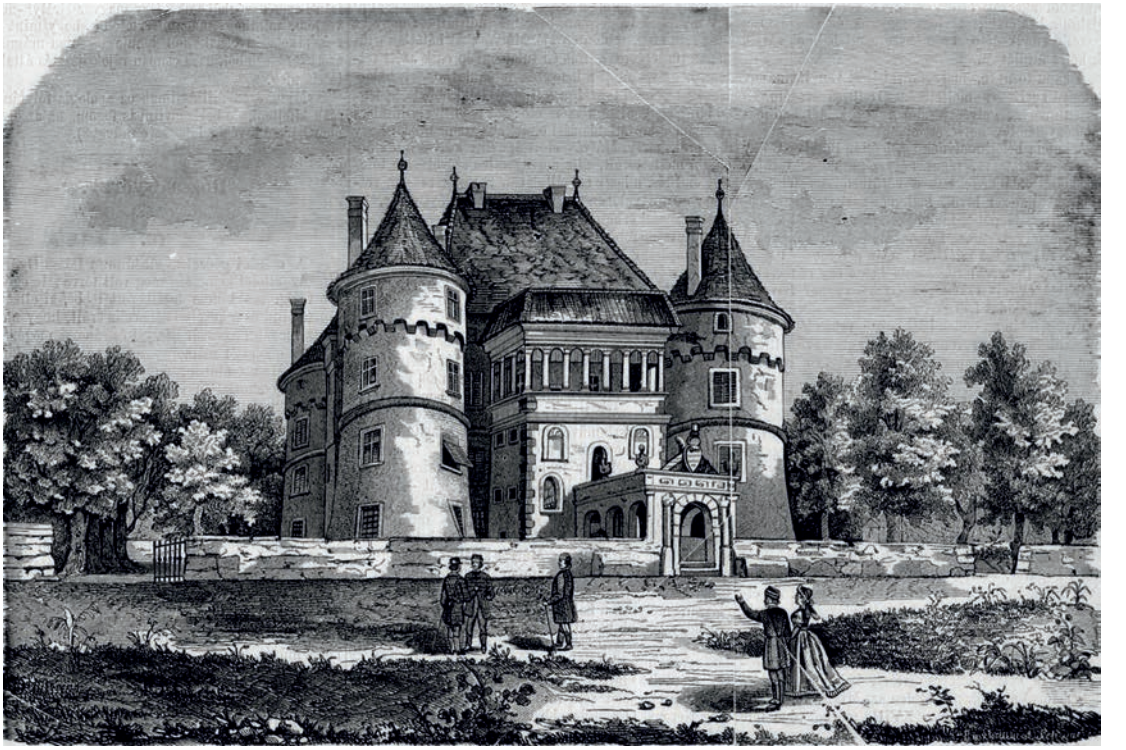

Fig. 9. The main façade of the castle in 1866 (img. by Gerhard Alajos, in P. Szathmáry 1866).

Fig. 10. The memorial tablet of Miklós Bethlen from 1773 (photo by László Pakó).

Fig. 11. The Baroque castle gate, 1935 (photo by Hanna Mikes, MNS, F. 303).

Fig. 12. The coat of arms of Miklós Bethlen and Katalin Csáky from 1769 (photo by László Pakó).

Fig. 13. The noble residences in Sânmiclăuș, 1843, lithograph by Károly Szathmári Pap (ELKH BTK Művészettörténeti Intézet, N 30108).

Fig. 14. The castle in Dolná Mičiná, 1951 (photo taken from 'Dolná Mičiná'/Hrady a Zámky).

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URBAN PLANNING AND URBAN LOTS IN CLUJ DURING THE MODERN PERIOD. A HISTORICAL-ARCHAEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE ON THE EMMANUEL DE MARTONNE, HERMANN OBERTH AND GAÁL GÁBOR STREETS

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Abstract: Over the past two decades, the accelerated development of historical urban centers in Transylvania has determined an increase in archaeological rescue interventions. The phenomenon was also documented in Cluj-Napoca. However, the legislative framework and the attitude of local decision-makers remain deficient in protecting and capitalizing on the built historical heritage and archaeological remains in the urban area. The lack of complex research programs focusing on Transylvanian urban environments has also enabled widespread ignorance regarding the archaeological remains of the modern period. The development of the entire field of study of urban historical archaeology has thus been inhibited. This field of archaeology provides the theoretical framework and methodological background for the research carried out in the second part of 2021 on three of the secondary streets of the historical center of Cluj: Gaál Gábor St., Hermann Oberth St. and Emmanuel de Martonne St.

The contextualization of the discoveries in the three streets adjacent to the famous *Platea Luporum intra muros* (*Farkas utca*, Mihail Kogălniceanu St.) has facilitated the analysis of urban planning efforts throughout the modern age, as well as their antecedents and origins. The research has highlighted different situations for each of the streets in question, regarding their period of origin, possible mutations, and connections with the associated urban lots. Emmanuel de Martonne St. is a late modern creation, planned and executed in two stages during the second half of the nineteenth century. Unlike it, Hermann Oberth St. is considerably earlier in date, possibly medieval, with a well-defined and documented trajectory since the seventeenth century. Furthermore, Gaál Gábor St. was originally an obscure footpath that originated in the first half of the eighteenth century. It now has a partially altered trajectory due to urban systematization works dated to the beginning of the twentieth century. Their simultaneous research has allowed us to follow a long process of reconfiguration and multiplication of the street network in this micro-area of historical Cluj.

Keywords: urban historical archaeology, historical cartography, town streets, urban lots, built heritage

Rezumat: Ritmul accelerat de dezvoltare al centrelor urbane cu vechime istorică din Transilvania a determinat, în ultimele două decenii, o frecvență tot mai mare a intervențiilor arheologice preventive, fenomen documentat și în Cluj-Napoca. Cadrul legislativ și atitudinea factorilor decizionali rămân însă deficitare cu privire la protejarea și punerea în valoare a patrimoniului istoric construit și a vestigiilor arheologice din zona urbană. Lipsa unor programe de cercetare complexă a mediilor urbane transilvănene a determinat și ignorarea pe scară largă a

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descoperirilor databile în perioada modernă și a inhibat dezvoltarea unui întreg domeniu de studiu: arheologia istorică urbană. Acest domeniu furnizează contextul teoretic și baza metodologică pentru cercetările realizate în a doua parte a anului 2021 pe trei dintre străzile secundare ale centrului istoric clujean: Gaál Gábor, Hermann Oberth și Emmanuel de Martonne.

Contextualizarea descoperirilor din cele trei străzi adiacente faimoasei *Platea Luporum intra muros* (*Farkas utca*, Str. Mihail Kogălniceanu) a înlesnit analiza unor eforturi de planificare urbană eșalonate pe tot parcursul epocii moderne, a antecedentelor și originilor acestora. Cercetarea a evidențiat situații diferite pentru fiecare dintre străzile în cauză în ceea ce privește perioada de origine, eventualele mutații și relația căilor de comunicație cu lotizările urbane asociate. Strada Emmanuel de Martonne s-a dovedit a fi o creație modernă târzie, planificată și executată în două etape pe parcursul celei de-a doua jumătăți a secolului al XIX-lea. Pe de altă parte, Hermann Oberth are o datare considerabil mai timpurie, posibil medievală, cu o traiectorie bine definită și documentată încă din secolul al XVII-lea. Strada Gaál Gábor a fost inițial o potecă obscură care își are originea în prima jumătate a secolului al XVIII-lea și are în prezent o traiectorie parțial alterată la începutul veacului trecut, ca urmare a unor intervenții de sistematizare urbană. Cercetarea lor concomitentă a permis urmărirea unui proces îndelungat de reconfigurare și îmbogățire a tramei stradale din această micro-zonă a Clujului istoric.

Cuvinte cheie: arheologie istorică urbană, cartografie istorică, străzi, parcele urbane, patrimoniu construit

Three Streets, One Goal

Urban development and beautification projects of historical townscapes have probably been on every local administration's agenda for the past twenty years. The city of Cluj-Napoca and its historical center are no exception. As a result, new rehabilitation projects and investments in modern urban infrastructure receive more funding every passing year. A direct consequence of this phenomenon has been the increase of the number of archaeological interventions (both pre-development and development-led) in the city's historical area. Archaeological watching briefs (or monitoring schemes), evaluation (mainly, trial excavation), or rescue excavation became compulsory for project development and implementation[1] as the present-day city rests on top of several old settlements ranging from Prehistory to ancient, medieval, early modern and modern times.

Due to their scope and magnitude, such enterprises often affect large surfaces of the public domain and the street infrastructure projects are amidst the most extensive ones. Despite the sizeable archaeological areas they provide access to, the streets and public space rehabilitation works conjure the most obstacles for salvage excavations in Cluj-Napoca. These works have both time and financial constraints (to say the least) that trump the legal and deontological aspects of professional archaeology. Hence, contracting the most basic archaeological monitoring services is almost always the norm and more complex archaeological excavations are sidetracked. Even more so if the directly affected archaeological remains have sallow depths, relative to the topsoil, and belong to the more recent periods, i.e., the post-medieval ones. Extensive excavations envisaging large surfaces and greater depths during infrastructure works in Cluj-Napoca are not endorsed by the

[1] The legal framework and procedures were set by: OG 43/2000, ch. I, art. 2, para. 1/e), 2, 5, 7/a–g), 11 and ch. II, art. 5; Angelescu 2005a, 53–59; Angelescu 2005b, 15, 17–24.

local government and, subsequently, by the political actors, but were never consistently lobbied by the archaeologists, either.

The ongoing urban improvement works on the Mihail Kogălniceanu, Universității, Iuliu Maniu and seven adjoining streets generally abide by the aforementioned 'customary' rules. Since July 2021, the National Museum of Transylvanian History has been in charge of archaeological monitoring in this area. In this case, the contracting details have also enabled the archaeological team to conduct targeted trial excavations (almost exclusively oriented towards hotspots of late medieval and post-medieval origin) and rescue excavations in 'delicate' locations as the construction and rehabilitation works progress. Excavation and monitoring work on three of the streets included in this urban renovation program was completed by January 2022: Emmanuel de Martonne, Hermann Oberth (the segment between Mihail Kogălniceanu and Ion I. C. Brătianu Sts.) and Gaál Gábor. The shallow-depth mechanical removal of the contemporary street surface and of the overburden has revealed building components and historical-archaeological features dated to the post-medieval and late modern periods. The presence of these elements entailed additional archaeological fieldwork and complementary research on other types of sources in order to establish their more precise chronology and function.

The Emmanuel de Martonne, Hermann Oberth and Gaál Gábor streets are roughly oriented according to north-south axes, ranging from west to east. They all form junctions with Ion I. C. Brătianu St. to the north and Mihail Kogălniceanu St. to the south (Fig. 1). From a historical perspective, the investigated area is located in the southeastern corner of the late medieval and early modern fortified urban precinct, in the present-day old city center. A general look at the urban layout of Cluj, as rendered in cartographic documents, clearly shows that, over time, the names of the old streets have changed, their topography was sometimes altered and new streets were planned and executed all across the historical center. Its southeastern area was no exception. However, despite all the available archival data, this paper emerges as a direct consequence of the aforementioned archaeological investigations. Moreover, it generates a historical- and urban-archaeological perspective on a research topic and time frame generally connected in Transylvania to fields such as history, ethnography, historical cartography, or architecture, rather than archaeology.[2] Finally, it also favors a more detailed inquiry about the lost heritage of the modern town of Cluj.

Archaeological professionals, local government, planners and developers: urban historical archaeology in Cluj-Napoca?

The historic centers of still active urban sites are certainly some of the most complex archaeological puzzles in terms of stratigraphy, ground plan reconstruction and general accessibility for excavation, as they are difficult to approach because of the very restrictive space.[3] The complexity and particular conditions for research provided by such sites has naturally determined the emergence of a unique investigation field: *urban archaeology*,

[2] A general content analysis of the 'flagship' publication from Romania on town and urban history (*Historia Urbana*) is sufficient to conclude that the archaeological scientific input is missing for modern-period Transylvania.

[3] O'Keeffe, Yamin 2006, 87–88.

defined as the archaeological research conducted in an urban center that follows its entire development across time and has an integrating approach towards the finds.[4] It was perceived over time both as 'archaeology in cities' or as 'archaeology of cities,'[5] the latter winning over the support of practitioners and theoreticians dealing with historical archaeology because it views cities 'as both environment and the subject of study.'[6] Urban archaeology gradually became an organic part of contemporary urbanism and evolved into one of the most challenging kinds of archaeology. The high volume of data yielded by the knotty stratigraphy of urban sites had a defining role in the development of more accurate recording methods, e.g., 'the Harris Matrix'[7] and the individual recording sheets for stratigraphic units ('context sheets').[8] It was by following a natural course of professional improvement that the widely appreciated and employed 'single context recording method' was devised during the 1970s by the Department of Urban Archaeology of the Museum of London[9] (presently the Museum of London Archaeology practice – MoLA).

We should also stress the high impact of planning-led interventions on these particular sites because, unfortunately, development-driven archaeology 'depends on non-archaeological criteria for site selection.'[10] Hence, the systematic research of what would typically be the archaeological targets of an urban center is a task that ranges from difficult to impossible in most cases because of the present-day land use. In many countries, a well-managed local project of urban archaeology entails an intense and well-regulated collaboration between local government, town and regional planners, developers and archaeological professionals.[11] On a European level, the fundamental principles and guidelines for (urban) heritage protection were established over the past three decades by consecutive documents. The *Valetta Convention* (1992)[12] was followed by a joint *Rapport sur la situation de l'archéologie urbaine en Europe* (1999)[13] which led to the preparation of the *European code of good practice: 'Archaeology and the Urban Project'* (2000).[14]

Despite all this international effort to reach a consensus, provide guidance and set best practice examples, Romanian society is still struggling to educate itself relative to matters concerning heritage study, its protection[15] and its capitalization. The lack of lobbying from the archaeological professionals in connection to extensive urban excavations, given the vastness of the development work conducted on the public and private domain, is not a situation unique to Cluj-Napoca. We should emphasize the lack of a specific urban

[4] Staski 2002, 612; Darvill 2003, 448; Pupeză 2010, 702.

[5] Diaconescu 2012, 185–187.

[6] Staski 2002, 612.

[7] Harris 1989[2].

[8] Westman 1994[3].

[9] Pavel 2010, 254.

[10] Belford 2021, 18.

[11] On the mechanisms and best practice examples in the US and the Commonwealth, see Baugher, Appler, Moss 2017.

[12] Valetta Convention 1992, preamble.

[13] Rapport 1999.

[14] European code 2000.

[15] OG 43/2000; Legea 422/2001.

archaeological-oriented legal framework on a national level.[16] Urban archaeology is not even a research strategy in present-day Romania[17] and no accurate research methods and principles have been set. Romanian archaeologists (e.g., Zeno Karl Pinter[18]) did conclude that urban archaeological research has been an ever-growing field for the past three decades and has generated some of the most extensive digs of the last quarter of a century.[19] However, it was abandoned entirely to salvage archaeology and the economic and political constraints factored in by the municipalities. The local government and private investors have rarely had constructive reactions to uncovered ruins. These rarely become part of a well-devised plan for public archaeology.[20] Following this rather pessimistic note, we can say that urban archaeology has the potential to provide adequate input and context for public archaeology and its community outreach purpose. It can potentially remove the archaeological research from labs, museum storage facilities, confined exhibition spaces and remote sites and publicly share it more directly with an active and heritage-conscious community. It connects the past and present of the urban space through the ramification of the urbanization process it is entangled with.

Looking back, it becomes clear that, from the point of view of archaeological heritage research and protection, not enough has changed since the end of the 1990s when a group of Romanian archaeologists submitted an assessment on the situation of urban archaeology in our country as part of the aforementioned *Rapport* of the European Council.[21] The 2009 *Raportul Comisiei Prezidențiale pentru Patrimoniul Construit, Situri Istorice și Naturale* [The report of the Presidential Commission on built heritage, historical and natural sites] painted a grim picture of the general situation of heritage protection in Romania that is still valid today.[22] Several situations from urban sites were brought forth as bad practice examples of deliberate or unintended destruction and the leading causes for this were identified: disregard on the part of central and local authorities, unawareness or ill-intention of private developers, lack of professional training in dealing with monument buildings/sites in the case of architects and archaeologists,[23] and, sadly, neglect on the part of archaeological professionals.[24]

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[16] It has been argued that, from a legal point of view (OG 43/2000), salvage archaeology (extensively practiced in the urban environment) is but a flawed law chapter. It was further concluded that, because of the phrasing, legal provisions can be eluded and manipulated to justify the damaging of the archaeological heritage and, most often, salvage archaeology is put in the service of economic investments (Raportul 2009, 51–53).

[17] A critical discussion relative to Cluj-Napoca in: Raportul 2009, 55–56.

[18] Relative to urban medieval archaeology: Pinter 2009, 39. See also Urduzia 2016.

[19] See, for example: Alba Iulia (Rusu 1994, 340–351; Marcu-Istrate 2008; Moga et alii 2008; Rusu-Bolindeț et alii 2011; Marcu Istrate 2014; Gudea, Inel, Oargă 2015; Szabó 2016; Burnichioiu 2017), Brașov (Marcu Istrate 2016), Cluj-Napoca (Voișian, Bota, Ciongradi 2000; Rusu-Bolindeț 2007, 82–86, 89–96; Pupeză 2008–2009 (2011); Diaconescu et alii 2012; Cociș 2019, 18–28, pl. 3–74), Sibiu (Pinter 2005, 198–201; Istrate et alii 2007; Marcu-Istrate 2007) etc.

[20] For a definition, see Merriman 2004, 3–5.

[21] Damian et alii 1999, 181, 182.

[22] Similar conclusions were expressed in a document containing the preliminary theses to the Cultural Heritage Code (Tezele prealabile 2016).

[23] For the most recent and novel discussion on building archaeology and its weak presence in Romania, see Burnichioiu 2021.

[24] Raportul 2009, 51–53.

The retrieval of archaeological finds and urban planning have been interconnected in the case of Cluj starting from the second half of the nineteenth century. After that, the town experienced a fast-paced urban development that resulted in the construction of more imposing buildings and, often, in urban reconfiguration. Construction works often generated extensive excavations in central areas of the city and these particularly late interventions produced even more archaeological debris. However, apart from offering new finds and continuously enriching local museum collections, the early excavations were hardly documented and never concerned with the post-medieval evolution of the urban space. As rescue archaeology inside the urban perimeter only recently became a topic of interest, most of the available publications are technical reports, general abstracts, or conclusions on what was observed in the field. By analyzing the specific aims and published results of the excavations conducted since the 1990s, it becomes clear that researchers were primarily concerned with the older, acknowledged 'archaeologies,' namely those of the medieval and Roman eras.[25] Even though many archaeological digs and incidental discoveries were made in the central area of the city, they never envisaged a systematic approach regarding the later developments of the urban center. Such finds were not even remotely perceived as topics for archaeology.

Even on a regional level, many of the excavations dealing with early and late modern urban finds were usually determined by research objectives aimed at older sites,[26] monument-buildings with medieval origins (mostly restoration projects),[27] or began incidentally as part of general monitoring schemes or salvage digs.[28] Even though almost every urban dig yields finds from the modern age, these remain mostly unpublished or, worse, undocumented and completely ignored. A few genuinely inspiring projects were carried out in Transylvania during the last decade and a half in connection to sites from the modern period,[29] but nothing can be pinpointed for the urban areas. Hence, we should clarify how the present research highlights a specific type of archaeology that is somewhat 'elusive' and a rare occurrence across this region, namely, *urban historical archaeology*. In Western Europe, the phrasing covers both *post-medieval* (early modern period) and *industrial archaeology* (late modern period – the first half of the twentieth century)[30]

[25] Even the well-established archaeology of the prehistoric periods is left wanting in the city's central areas mainly because these remnants are located at the very bottom of the stratigraphic sequence. The lack of available space for fieldwork and the more significant financial and logistic efforts required for excavation make their research a problematic task. Still, they received far more attention from the scientific milieu than the material traces of the recent past (see Crișan et alii 1992, 126–139; recently, for the Neolithic site: Daróczi 2015, 1–2).

[26] Rusu, Rusu-Bolindeț 2007; Pupeză 2008–2009 (2011); Ota, Bounegru, Anghel 2011; Ciulavu 2016 (most of the dig campaigns in the mint's area); Ota, Florescu, Pâclișan 2018.

[27] Beşliu 2006[2]; Beşliu Munteanu 2010; Boér, Furu 2018; Marcu-Istrate 2018; Marcu et alii 2021.

[28] Urduzia, Pinter 2008; Ciulavu, Timofan 2016.

[29] The most relevant example we can bring forth and a model of best practice in the historical archaeology investigation from Romania is the research project of the Pricske (RO: Prișca) quarantine, located in the Giurgeu Mtn. See, for instance: Demjén 2020; Demjén, Gogâltan 2021.

[30] An insightful and reconciling discussion on the terminology and the theoretical load used to single out and delineate the archaeology of the recent past (here 'historical'), by Hicks, Beaudry 2006a, 1–9. Some of the numerous contributions pointing out its evolution, purpose, changes in narrative and eclectic components, in Symonds 2004; Hall, Silliman 2006; Hicks, Beaudry 2006b; Orser Jr. 2010; recently, Orser, Jr. et alii 2020, etc.

conducted in a complex urban 'historic core.'[31] A historical-archaeological inquiry on a city's buried and still-standing heritage can illustrate the process of constant change that is an integrating part of urban life and the city's most direct and unmediated connection to the recent past.

Historical and archaeological context of the current study

The late medieval and modern data related to the present research is relevant for the background context and origins of the three bystreets. At least two habitation cores from the late Árpád period were identified underneath the historical city center of Cluj-Napoca. The analysis of the written and archaeological sources concluded that one area was inhabited by the Saxon settlers and evolved as the early fortified core, referred to as *civitas Cluswar*, later known as the *vetus castrum*. The second one was the initial property of the Transylvanian bishop (*villa Cluswar*) that evolved as the *extra muros* settlement in the fourteenth century. The available evidence locates these sites underneath the Museum Sq., respectively, the Memorandum St. and the Unirii Sq.[32] Traces of thirteenth-century habitation were also documented in the southeastern corner of the city center, in the cloister area of the former Franciscan Friary (now the Calvinist Church) in Mihail Kogălniceanu St.,[33] but one cannot confirm nor deny their connection to either of the recorded settlements. By the middle of the fifteenth century, all three areas were enclosed by the late medieval defense system, a direct consequence of the fortification agreement issued by King Sigismund in 1405.[34] By 1453, nine streets were well-defined, and the fortified area was divided into five quarters (*Vetus*, *Media*, *Longa*, *Rapular* and *Luporum*, with a central *teatrum fori* area around the Saint Michael parish church).[35] According to the 1453 town accounts six streets[36] already had extensions in the *extra muros* space that resulted in the famous early modern suburbs of Cluj (the so-called *Hóstátok*).[37] The fifteenth-century precinct walls enclosed a 45 ha surface and alternated with 17 (later 19) towers. All these elements were imprinted in the urban topography of Cluj until the middle of the nineteenth century and some even longer.

Within this historical and topographic setting, the three streets in focus are located between the medieval *Platea Luporum intra muros* or *Farkas utca* (now Mihail Kogălniceanu St.) and *Platea Regis* or *Király utca* (now Ion I. C. Brătianu St.). They were divided between the *Media* and *Luporum* quarters. The urban built heritage in the area is rather eclectic relative to its dating and function, especially when it comes to the Mihail Kogălniceanu St. that has attracted quite the scientific attention as one of the best-preserved historical townscapes of Cluj. Its buildings range from the late fifteenth century until the nineteenth – beginning of the twentieth centuries. Hence, this area drew the attention of academia to very different extents and from multiple perspectives. Among the main scientific focuses were the sites that held significant importance for the Reformed Calvinists, the Franciscans/Jesuits and the academic traditions of Cluj. Between the sixteenth and the nineteenth centuries, no

[31] As defined by O'Keeffe, Yamin 2006, 87–88.

[32] For the latest reexamination of the urban beginnings of Cluj, see Lupescu 2018.

[33] Marcu et alii 2008, 131.

[34] For details on the fifteenth-century fortification process, see Lupescu 2021.

[35] Kiss 2009, 51; Kovács 2018, 210, fig. 9.

[36] Gaal 1995, map II; Kovács 2018, 183.

[37] On the origins and evolution of these suburbs and their historical terminology, see Benkő 2004, 13–18.

less than seven education establishments (nos. 23, 14–16, 4, 2, 1), two monastic ones (nos. 16–20 and, presumably, nos. 25–27), together with other vast properties of the church were located along the *Farkas utca*. No less important was the central cultural hub in the entertainment world – the early nineteenth-century theater building (no. 3, demolished in the 1930s), and the aristocratic residence of the Teleki family built between 1790 and 1795 (no. 7). The *Convictus Nobilium* building (nos. 7–9 Universității St.) is representative of the housing infrastructure of the educational institutions along with the more modest houses of the Calvinist teachers currently located on Mihail Kogălniceanu St., between nos. 11 and 19.[38] On Ion I. C. Brătianu St., the residential architecture is preponderant but has less imposing building components. Its oldest elements belong to the Goldsmith's House (no. 27, early eighteenth century) and several other private buildings (located mainly on the southern front). The dominant constructions are the Toldalagi-Korda palace (no. 14, built 1801–1807) along with the former Jesuit Church (5 Universității St., built 1718–1724) and the academic buildings (their current form dating from 1893–1903) at the western end of the street.

Despite their present appearance, the late medieval *Farkas* and *Király* streets were most likely made up of consecutive narrow urban lots, roughly 10 meters wide, with modest houses.[39] At first, this was a peripheral area. Still, by 1453 it was already enclosed within the walls of the urban fortification, as one can conclude from the listing of the *intra muros* and *extra muros* households/owners in *platea Luporum*. Both streets existed by the mid-fifteenth century; *Farkas utca* was first mentioned in 1436 (as *Farkaswcha*)[40] and *Király utca* was first recorded in the 1453 town accounts register.[41] Several of the mentioned buildings are relevant for understanding the origins and evolution of the de Martonne, Oberth and Gaál secondary streets because their topography is closely connected to various preexisting proprieties accessed from *Farkas utca* and *Király utca* during the late medieval and modern periods. This is also why all the constructions currently flanking the analyzed segments of the three adjacent streets are aligned to the Kogălniceanu and Brătianu Sts.

As for the archaeological background of the study, the conclusions are barren for the most part because the bulk of the dig results were never published. We conducted an overview of the state of research in an area enclosed by Eroilor Blvd., Universității St., Avram Iancu St. and Ștefan cel Mare Sq. (Tab. 1, Fig. 1). The available data demonstrates that for most of the archaeological interventions only technical reports are available in the archives of the organizing institutions and the Direcția Județeană pentru Cultură Cluj [Cluj County Cultural Heritage Service]. General information was often made public through site records of the national archaeological database, entries of the Cluj County archaeological repertory, or brief mentions in the annual archaeological chronicle.[42] Consistent with the general trend of urban archaeology, the number of interventions has also increased in this area since the 2000s. Out of the 34 known archaeological interventions, 17 were conducted during the last two decades (Fig. 1). But the source materials for our research are incomplete

[38] For a general presentation of the street and its main attractions, see Gaal 2007, 121–151; Vincze 2013[2]. Each building with its main data in Asztalos 2009.

[39] Kovács 2018, 185–186.

[40] Asztalos 2009, 82.

[41] Kovács 2018, 195–197.

[42] See source material for Tab. 1.

and do not accurately reflect the situation in the field. The few existing journal articles and book chapters mostly deal with Roman finds.[43] Nevertheless, recent research campaigns have also focused on the late medieval and modern-period developments (i.e., Tab. 1, IDs 7, 10, 11, 16, 19, 20, 20a–b, 21b–c, 22b, 24, 25a–b). However, except for the old writings of János Herepei on finds from 26 Ion I. C. Brătianu (i.e., Tab. 1, ID 12a)[44] and the publication of the most spectacular grave finds from the crypt of the Calvinist Church (i.e., Tab. 1, ID 21a),[45] no post-medieval discoveries were published. Hence, our data interpretation will mostly reference the non-archaeological premises regarding this area as they are richer, complementing and aiding the understanding of the newly excavated features.

Description of the dig and of the main finds

On all three streets, 0.3 to 0.6 meters of the overburden were mechanically removed in preparation to the construction of the new walking surface and the insertion of modern amenities (water pipes, drainage, etc.). Historical features appeared on all streets after the removal of the upper layers. To better present the finds, we will first describe the archaeological situation in every case and note the essential technical features. This data will then be analyzed and correlated with scholarly literature, as well as with archival and cartographic information in order to allow us to interpret and integrate the excavation results into a coherent narrative about these components of the old urban landscape.

Emmanuel de Martonne St.

The mechanical excavation first revealed the robbing trench of a linear structure east of the university building (1 Mihail Kogălniceanu St.), running parallel to it from one street end to the other, roughly along a north northwest–south southeast axis (Figs. 2, 5). This feature, along with three traces of adjoined walls deriving from it towards the west, determined the targeted excavation of two trial trenches, T1M and T2M (Figs. 2–4).[46] Both excavation units were perpendicular to the linear structure. T1M was positioned in front of the university building's current side entrance and stairs, 28 meters north of its southeastern corner. T2M was located roughly 5 meters to the south of T1M. These revealed the existence of a structure, 0.75 meters wide, of mixed building material (W1), and of presumed outbuildings that were adjoined to it (W2–4). The lack of any engineered walking level, their negligent building technique and the presence of nineteenth-century debris and rubble on most of the street surface ruled out the possibility that these were part of the main constructions of the eighteenth-century academic institution. The general stratigraphic sequence of the late modern period was documented in T2M (Fig. 3). Following the robbing trench, the leveling layer from the late nineteenth century, the construction level of W1 and its contemporary walking surface were identified. The

[43] E.g. Covaciu 1926–1927 (1929); Hica-Cîmpeanu 1977; Beu-Dachin, Pupeză 2010; Cociș 2019, 18–28, pl. 3–74.

[44] Herepei 1927, 216–223.

[45] E.g. Bunta 1981; Szőke 1995 (1996); Vincze 2014, 422–424.

[46] All the excavation units (T = trench) were numbered, starting anew for each street, because of the simultaneous work conducted in these three different sectors of the rehabilitation project. We will use an additional letter to differentiate between streets: M (Emmanuel de Martonne), K (Mihail Kogălniceanu), O (Hermann Oberth), G (Gaál Gábor). Also, masonry structures were labeled (W=wall) and numbered in the same manner as the trenches for clearer referencing.

historical walking surface east of W1 is roughly 0.8 meters lower than the current one. Unfortunately, a twentieth-century utility trench deprived us of the chance to establish a precise stratigraphic sequencing between W1 and the three perpendicular walls. The only conclusions were that W2 to 4 had lower-depth foundations than W1 and were thinner. Still, the building material was generally the same, reusing fragmentary brick material and quarried stone bound together with mortar.

The drainage works uncovered other historical elements on the eastern flank of the Emmanuel de Martonne St. These consisted of partly dismantled walls or older building foundations that were reused by the structure of the Academic College built in the 1930s. Several walls that were reused as foundation for its western façade and a portico foundation (W7) on its southern side (Fig. 24) belonged to the old stone theater of the early 1800s. But two older structures stand out in particular: a poorly preserved wall fragment uncovered at the eastern corner of Emmanuel de Martonne and Ion I. C. Brătianu Sts. (W5) and the portion of an older building excavated in T1K at the southern corner of the Academic College (Figs. 2, 6, 7). The 0.8 m-wide W5 (Fig. 2) was strongly affected by later interventions that had also destroyed the historical stratigraphy around it. However, one could note that it was oriented east–west. It was roughly in line with the southern front of the Ion I. C. Brătianu St. and suggests that a demolished structure might have closed a former urban lot now occupied by the street surface at the northern end of Emmanuel de Martonne. The same can be inferred for W6, a wall (fence?) fragment identified in the middle of the street, at its southern end.

The finds in T1K (Figs. 6, 7) require a more detailed description because they display some interesting built elements. The trench's positioning and dimensions (approx. 9 sq meters) were determined mainly by hollowing out the interior of a theater annex from its second construction phase, added to shelter the heating system of the entire building (Fig. 24). It turned out that some older masonry (W9) was reused for the foundation of the structure dated to the second half of the nineteenth century (W8). In short, an older foundation and, probably, a former doorway were documented beneath the ruins of the theater. The elements belong to a modest construction (townhouse?) probably dated to the eighteenth or early nineteenth century (Fig. 23). The depth of the dig reached about 1.7 meters from the current walking level and the excavation stopped due to technical limitations of the current project. The masonry of the theater annex consisted of quarried stoned combined with brick material in the elevation part. It superposed the 0.65 meters-high elevation of the older building made from quarried stone and mortar. The 1.1–1.2 meters-wide door opening was never blocked with masonry, just filled with earth and clay. The older elevation was resting atop a considerably wider foundation, beneath the southern wall of the structure. This might indicate it also served as a step for descending into the old building or its courtyard (because of possible differences in the walking level). The archaeological finds retrieved from the debris and demolition layers inside the annex and former building could be generally dated in the late modern period.

Hermann Oberth St. (between Mihail Kogălniceanu and Ion I. C. Brătianu Sts.)[47]

At first, the situation here was somewhat similar to the one on Emmanuel de Martonne St. because the removal of the overburden immediately yielded a linear structure

[47] There is still ongoing fieldwork in its north segment, reaching Eroilor Bvd.

(W1) with the appearance of a fence that enclosed a now-empty area of the street, more precisely, its northwest corner (Fig. 8). It was uncovered over 29 meters and consisted of stone and fragmentary brick material bound with mortar (Fig. 11). A brick pavement and a waste pit with fragmentary construction material (G1) were found west of W1 and close to the walking surface (Fig. 8). Nineteenth and twentieth-century artifacts dated both features. Excavation unit T1O was dug to retrieve data on the foundation of W1 and the historical walking levels (Fig. 9, 10). Our dig showed that only one row of the approximately 0.5 meters-wide elevation was preserved and the foundation was 0.8 meters deep. It partly rested on top of yet another older wall (W2).

W2 was uncovered west from W1 and was made of quarried stone and mortar. Unfortunately, the team could not research the entire structure it was part of, but some observations can be made. Judging by its depth, it probably was the wall of a cellar from a building located at the corner of this bystreet and present-day Ion I. C. Brătianu St. The wall segment slightly tilted towards the west, suggesting the beginning of a vault or a structural problem. The excavation of T1O stopped upon reaching a consistent mortar layer 2.50 meters below the current street level and without retrieving the entire height of W2. Its excavated height was only 1.58 meters and its partial width was approximately 0.45 meters. The mortar platform was most likely a walking surface. The interior of the presumed cellar unfolded west from W2 and had been filled up with demolition material from a tiled roof and the stone wall. Artifacts dated between the seventeenth and the nineteenth century were retrieved from within the demolition fill. According to the recorded stratigraphic sequence (Fig. 9), accumulation and leveling layers from the nineteenth century stood on top of the demolition. The presence of an eighteenth-century accumulation layer beneath the demolition one at the bottom of the cellar indicates a decay period that preceded the total destruction of the building on this town lot.

Gaál Gábor St.

The most exciting finds of the rescue excavation from 2021 were those from the third secondary street (Figs. 12, 15). Several archaeological features identified beneath the current street level enabled us to research the changes of the early and late modern periods. Two excavation units (Fig. 12) were established in order to investigate the stratigraphic sequence of a water drain, a stone well (that was first visible as a mere pit) (T1G) and a stone and mortar wall that appeared in the middle of the street (T1G and T2G).

The first uncovered archaeological element was a cobbled water drain (Fig. 12, 15). It dates to the end of the modern period (end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries) based on the artifacts from the deposition layer found on top. The drain was in the southern half of the street and ran next to the eastern sidewalk. The feature is slightly deeper on its median axis and has a north northwest–south southeast orientation. During its research, we noticed that the feature was not part of a road surface but was a household amenity that collected water originating somewhere on higher ground near the Calvinist Church and guided it northwards. The feature was recorded over a length of 16.8 meters, while in width it varied between 0.9 and 1 meter. Neither end was preserved, but we should mention that the drain had a ramification at its northern extremity that turned towards the west. The second segment (1.95 meters long) was probably built later because it superposed the first one.

A second linear feature was the masonry structure of a demolished fence (W1, 0.55–0.60 meters wide) documented on approximately 66 meters. It displayed two alignments. A northern segment of 33 meters had the same orientation as that of Gaál Gábor St. and ran parallel to the sidewalk, but the second one (25 meters long) turned 25–30 degrees to the southwest and was interrupted by the building of the new Calvinist parsonage (Fig. 12, 15). A small segment (only 3.33 meters were preserved) of the second fence alignment resurfaced by the north façade of this building on Mihail Kogăniceanu St. South of the new parsonage, this alignment was approximately 8 meters long and the fence turned east towards the old parsonage, as indicated by its documented robbing trench (Fig. 12, 18). The linear structure turned out to be the foundation of a property fence, decommissioned only at the beginning of the twentieth century when the present-day 'Apáczai Csere János' High School was built. It indicates an earlier alignment of the street and the previous western limit of the urban plot on which the old parish house (23 Mihail Kogălniceanu St.) is still located. Its foundation had varying depths, probably depending on the underlying layers and structures. Hence, in T2G, we identified a 0.85 meters-deep foundation, piercing through layers with seventeenth- and eighteenth-century material, but in T1G it was shallower because of a stone structure that had disrupted it.

The late nineteenth-century fence partly superposed the most spectacular archaeological complex so far: an early modern stone well (Fig. 13, 14). It had a large opening, measuring 2.5 meters in diameter at the interior of the stone lining. It was approximately 5 meters deep, measured from the seventeenth-century surface level where its implantation pit was dug. The stone lining was destabilized and irregular in shape in the northeast part and the ground plan was somewhat elongated in that direction. The preserved elevation of its stone structure was hardly noticeable, as the feature was dismantled or collapsed because of structural reasons. After the well was decommissioned and filled up, it still provided an active drainage solution for the surface waters collected by the cobbled drain. The cobbled drain stood on top of a leveling layer that covered the dismantled well lining, meaning the latter was already below the walking level at the end of the nineteenth century. Curiously, the surface leveling was superposed by later fills in the middle part of the well, which were first mistaken for the filling of an ordinary waste pit. This stratigraphic succession can mean that additional fills were piled up during a lengthy settlement process, or its upper part was emptied once more (after the area leveling) for surface drainage purposes and the later fills are part of a secondary pit.

As stated, the well filled up in two phases and was connected to the functioning of the former parish house. The lower fill was rich in finds dated between the sixteenth century and the first half of the eighteenth century, including organic material (textile, leather, wood, grains, pips and eggshells). It contained a wide range of glass finds: windowpane fragments, straight cylindrical cups, mugs and multiple types of bottles and vials (including some with painted, molded and plastic decoration). The stove tiles belong to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and have some excellent analogies even on the same street. There were also numerous ceramic vessels, ranging from tableware (ewers, including a Haban one from the year 1700 probably produced in Vinţu de Jos, jugs, cups and plates) to cooking ware (trays, pots, pots with handles and three-legged pans). According to the

material from the lower fill, the well was abandoned around or after the middle of the eighteenth century.[48] The upper layers were dated by late nineteenth-century material.

Old lots and new streets: urban planning in historical perspective

Emmanuel de Martonne St.

Regarding street planning, the newest addition to the area's urban topography is the Emmanuel de Martonne St., formerly *Színház utca* ('Theater St.'). It was already in use by 1869,[49] while a map from 1831 shows no trace of this street.[50] The completion of the old town hall in 1845 and the opening of a passageway between *Közép utca* (now Eroilor Blvd.) and *Király utca*, located directly to the north of *Színház utca*, probably impacted its planning and execution.[51] The street is also closely connected to the early nineteenth-century building site of the old theater, which lend it its name (Fig. 24). Three urban lots were bought and merged in 1803 and 1804 for the construction of the theater (between 1811 and 1821).[52] These can be identified with Mihail Kogălniceanu no. 3 and Ion. I. C. Brătianu no. 1.

The bystreet emerged several decades later, east of this newly formed urban lot, on a patch of land connected to the former Jesuit, later Piarist,[53] building complex. Here, the Jesuit Order planned and executed their new college buildings at the western end of *Farkas utca*, formerly occupied by stone houses and deserted lots.[54] At the corner of present-day Mihail Kogălniceanu and Universității Sts., their construction efforts yielded a church (1718–1724), a monks' wing in the west (completed by 1734) and another one in the north and east (built approximately between 1752 and 1765).[55] Less impressive changes to the Jesuit built heritage occurred while the architectural ensemble accommodated the Transylvanian *Gubernium* (from 1790 until 1848).[56] The old academic buildings were demolished in the end of the nineteenth century to make way for the new university.

For our topographic analysis and dating, the relevant elements are not the main buildings but the small amenities and outbuildings from the eastern end of the college lot. To better understand the evolution of the nineteenth-century urban lots around Emmanuel de Martonne St., we bring forth two important cartographic documents: the cadastral survey map of Cluj[57] and a situation plan of the college.[58] The first document was recently credited to mapping engineer Géza Breiner and dated around the year 1896, based on the configuration of the new university building it renders in the east.[59] This source recorded the extent of the lot and probably a fence. It includes no trace of the houses formerly recorded by photographic images and drawings west of the old theater as they

[48] The archaeological finds from inside the well are currently part of a research and restoration process. More detailed conclusions and dating will be provided in future publications.

[49] Asztalos 2004, 471; see also MNL OL, S 84, No. 83.

[50] MNL OL, S 105, No. 43.

[51] Vincze 2013[2], 43.

[52] Jakab 1888 (III), 781–782.

[53] Following the suppression of the Jesuit Order in 1773.

[54] According to the 1703 conscription; see Jakab 1888 (III), 73.

[55] For additional data, see: Biró 1945, 8–9.

[56] Vincze 2013[2], 30.

[57] OSZK, TK 404.

[58] MNL OL, S 105, No. 2.

[59] Bartos-Elekes 2015, 4, footnote 5.

were probably demolished by the end of the nineteenth century (Figs. 22, 23). However, the 1803 situation plan of the college is highly relevant because it shows an inventory of the built features on this particular town plot (Fig. 19). The explanatory text of the plan points to three, possibly four, constructions with economical use (*GHI alte Wirthschafts Gebaude* – 'old economic/farm buildings,' *S Schopfen* – 'shed') along with a garden surrounded by a masonry fence (*L Garten* – 'garden'). All of them were located east of the old college buildings. Additionally, in the southeast corner of the lot, a toilet was drawn.

The two cartographic documents were georeferenced and compared to the present-day cadastral map and the archaeological discoveries (Fig. 16). The extent of the area affected by the current rehabilitation project was rendered, along with the excavation areas and significant discoveries. The early and late nineteenth-century plots were highlighted in green and red and the buildings recorded around 1896 were marked. This enabled us to interpret most of the masonry fragments that we excavated in 2021.

The first conclusion is that the secondary street was planned in the space formerly occupied by the college garden. Furthermore, the wall parallel to the university edifice (W1) was the property fence and eastern limit of a smaller university lot from the second half of the nineteenth century, still present during the first three to four decades of the street's existence. This is consistent with the situation observed in Ferenc Veress's photograph (Fig. 24), which recorded an old building and a fence on the southwest corner of an initially narrower street. Along with W1, the construction of the poorly-made outbuildings (W2 to W4) was archaeologically dated during the nineteenth century. Their absence from the plan from 1803 backs up the stratigraphic evidence and a comparison between the historical plans shows that this area was part of the former college garden. However, the house and fence recorded in the photograph of Ferenc Veress, were located roughly where the 'Școala Ardeleană' statuary group now stands. The cartographic comparison with the situation from 1803 also places the old college annexes in the same area (especially building *H*).[60] Everything was demolished by the end of the nineteenth century, hence the robbing trenches. Consequently, the former *Színház utca* only got its present width and aspect when the area was cleared out of old constructions to make way for the new imposing university building.

The image published in 1853 (Fig. 23) and the cartographic comparison (Fig. 16) confirm that the old north street front of *Farkas utca* was in line with the main facade of the old theater. At that time, the southern end of the future street was still occupied by two houses built in line along the southern fence of the Jesuit Academic College. The comparative cartography also suggests that W5 and W6 are ruins of the old college stone fence, already present in 1803. On the south the fence was probably reused as the façade of the ruined building still found next to the theater in 1853. Still, it is difficult to say whether, the entrance excavated in TK1 (W9, Fig. 6, 7) belonged to the same construction or to

[60] In the fall of 2022, the latest archaeological interventions conducted on Mihail Kogălniceanu St. documented the ground plan of the two stone annex buildings (separated by a paved surface – a carriageway or shed?) marked on the situation plan from 1803: buildings *I*–*G*, *H*, and the wooden structure in-between. Hence, the excavation confirmed that building *H* is the house from the Veress photograph taken in 1869. The detailed results of this research will not be included in the present paper, as the post-excavation processing is ongoing.

one of the small tumbledown houses incorporated by the theater plot in the nineteenth century.[61] However, we can certainly say the walls of a later annex of the theater building (W8) rested on top of it.

Hermann Oberth St.

The written sources only present late recordings of this street and call it *Minoriták sikátora*, *Minorita utca*, or *Teleki ut[ca]*. It was primarily considered an alley connecting *Farkas utca* to *Király utca* and *Közép utca.* Hence, the appellation *Minoriták sikátora* ('Alley of the Minorites').[62] The earliest records refer to the segment located north of Ion I. C. Brătianu St. that got its name from the church of the Friars Minor built towards the end of the eighteenth century. The part investigated in 2021 is the southern one, called *Teleki utca* after the palace of the Teleki family, located on its southwestern corner.

A record from 1801 notes a nameless alley: 'on the north side of the inner *Farkas utca*, on the one side an alley leading towards *Király utca*, on the other side [...] in the vicinity of the plot belonging to the Reformed church.'[63] Attila Szabó T. identified it as *Teleki utca*/*Minoriták sikátora.*[64] In 1807, it was referred to as the alley leading from *Közép utca* to *Király utca*.[65] In 1846, the theater regulations redacted by Gusztáv Groisz stipulated that 'once theater performances have started, the theatergoers […] going by carriage should reach the theater through *Torda* St. and the empty carriages should be sent home from *Farkas* St. through *Minorita* St.'[66] It was a carriageway at that time despite its reduced width and one can also get an idea of what it looked like from a photograph by Ferenc Veress, dated around the year 1869.[67]

However, according to the late seventeenth-century town plan by Giovanni Morando Visconti,[68] this street was already present by 1699 (Fig. 20). Several maps and town plans from the second half of the nineteenth century recorded the investigated street segment as *Teleki ut[cza]*.[69] On the 1699 plan, this street is aligned with a former street located in the area of today's Kovács Dezső St., the present-day Bolyai János St. and the one located approximately where Dávid Ferenc St. currently stands. Their configuration indicates an alternative communication route between the north and south quarters of the modern town. This positioning of narrow streets, aligned north to south, on the early modern town plans allows the hypothesis that they might have had late medieval origins.[70]

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[61] Herepei 1991, 28.

[62] Asztalos 2004, 328–329, 483.

[63] 'Belső Farkas Uttza Északi Során egy felől Király uttzára által járo Sikátor, más felől […] a' Református Ekklésia fundussa szomszédságaiban' (Szabó T. 1946, 65).

[64] Similarly to the 1712 record of Gaál Gábor St. (see, in the following, note 76), this description is vague and requires further archival research.

[65] Szabó T. 1946, 83 ('a' Belső Közép uttzáról Belső Királly Uttzára járo Keskeny szoros Sikátor a' T. T. Pater *Minoriták Sikátora*').

[66] Bálint 1987, 190 ('Kocsival menők tordauttza felöl hajtassanak a' színházhoz, az üres kocsikat pedig farkasuttzából a' minoritauttzába térőleg küldjék haza').

[67] FSZEK, BibFSZ01427227.

[68] BJM BT-B, no. 15989.

[69] See, for example, MNL OL, S 84, No. 83 (1869); OSZK, TK 404 (1896).

[70] The same can be hypothesized based on the persistence until the late nineteenth century (some even to this day!) of narrow lots aligned to the street fronts in its northern half (north from Ion I. C. Brătianu St.).

Unfortunately, our fieldwork from 2021 did not provide sufficient data for the identification of the origins and the oldest walking surfaces of Hermann Oberth St.[71] Its built heritage is also irrelevant from this point of view. The buildings are generally dated to the end of the eighteenth century (the Teleki Palace, 1790–1795) or during the following one (the Toldalagi-Korda Palace, 1803–1809; the Reformed School for Girls, today the 'Emil Racoviță' Highschool, mid-nineteenth century).

Our main findings are located in the northwest corner of the street, where it intersects Ion I. C. Brătianu St. To confirm the archaeological dating of the structures, we resorted to comparative cartography, as in the case of Emmanuel de Martonne St. As we developed the comparative plan, the street surface affected by the project, the archaeological finds, the 1896 town plots and the historic buildings were all factored in (Fig. 17).

The archaeological investigation focused on dating what proved to be the foundation of a nineteenth-century property fence (W1), which superposed an older wall that, we presume, belonged to an early modern cellar (W2) filled up by a massive demolition layer.[72] The late modern situation and archaeological dating are backed up by the cadastral map from 1869 that points at a partially demolished wall (most likely a fence!) in the northwestern corner of the Hermann Oberth St. Moreover, the Géza Breiner's 1896 map shows that this small plot was still empty and communicated with the southern one, on which the Teleki Palace stands. After the demolition of the cellar construction, it appears that the plot was left empty and only a fence was built around it. In the early twentieth century, the vacant lot was a garden or an orchard belonging to the Toldalagi-Korda Palace. According to Lajos Kelemen, it was bought so that no new building would take up space in the narrow street and spoil the view from the palace.[73]

Gaál Gábor St.

Removing the overburden in this street (formerly known as *Főiskola* and *Sámi utca*) enabled us to research archaeological features connected to the early modern topography of the lot on which the former Calvinist parsonage stands. The discoveries are directly connected to the emergence and mutations of the street and of old urban lots in this area.

The sequence of the built elements and plots north of the Calvinist Church and churchyard was recorded in the seventeenth-century judicial protocols of the town of Cluj. An entry from 22 June 1664 determines the exact location of the parsonage (*Beleol Farkas utzában az Ortodoxa Eclesia házát*), which was flanked by the belfry (*a harangláb*) on the west and by an old empty space (*a régi puszta hely*) on the east.[74] No street or footpath was mentioned. This situation is consistent with the one illustrated by the 1699 town plan (Fig. 20).[75]

[71] The continuation of the archaeological research on its northern half (also envisioned by the ongoing project) has the potential to provide more relevant data relative to its origin.

[72] We should imagine a modest one-story townhouse, similar to the Korda house documented on the neighboring lot before the palace's construction (Szabó T. 1946, 69–70). Moreover, most houses in the area had similar features until the eighteenth century. Thorough research in the available archival fonds and a multidisciplinary study on this topic could reveal far more details about this historic townscape, with its urban lots, built features, amenities and inhabitants.

[73] Kelemen 1927, 5.

[74] Transcribed from *Kolozsvár, városi törvénykezési jegyzőkönyv 1665*, 283 by János Herepei (1993, 36).

[75] BJM BT-B, no. 15989.

The earliest possible mention of what we now call Gaál Gábor St. is dated 1712, when the last will and testament of Sándor Szalacsi locates his house in *Felső Király utca* east of the Viczei house and west of the footpath that leads to the church in *Farkas utca*.[76] The church reference is the main element that makes one think of the present-day Gaál Gábor St.[77] Attila Szabó T. noted that the inner *Király utca* was divided into an 'upper' segment (*felső*) and a 'lower' segment (*alsó*) at least from the seventeenth century onwards.[78] In his latest published work, the historian concluded that the upper *Király utca* was the street segment located to the east, between present-day Hermann Oberth St. and the town's precinct wall.[79] Consequently, the last will and testament most likely recorded a footpath that later became Gaál Gábor St.

The 1750 town plan[80] is the first source to record this passageway as a narrow street, most likely a footpath, with an irregular trajectory (Fig. 21). This was either due to constructions and household amenities obstructing its path, especially on its eastern flank, or to irregularities and misalignments of the urban lots. The passageway remained a mere footpath for an extended period[81] and had two distinct segments with different orientations and widths. Very similar features appear on the 1831 town plan. The cadastral map devised by Sándor Bodányi (Chief Mapping Commissioner) recorded the street's first name in 1869 (*Főiskola utca*, 'College Street').[82] Furthermore, it shows some changes in the width and trajectory of the street.

Once more, a comparative plan (Fig. 18) illustrates and contextualizes the old cadastral data and the archaeological finds. The currently built heritage is generally newer and less relevant for reconstructing the situation plan from when the footpath appeared. The only building already present at that time is the old parsonage on Mihail Kogălniceanu no. 23. The oldest part of the parsonage was built around 1651 but reached its current form through at least two additional extensions during the subsequent two centuries.[83] The buildings from Mihail Kogălniceanu no. 21 (the new Calvinist parsonage) and Ion I. C. Brătianu no. 26 ('Apáczai Csere János' High School) were built during the interwar period. The lots they currently occupy were empty around 1896 when the cadastral map credited to Géza Breiner was created. According to György Gaal, the parsonage used to have a spacious garden on the east side of the street that almost reached *Király utca*. A townhouse existed to the north, but the church acquired it.[84] For the first half of the seventeenth century, János Herepei located in the same area the residence and workshop of

[76] Szabó 1876, 109 ('felső Király utczában Szerencsi Mihály háza féle, napnyugot felől vicinussa Viczei uram, nap kelet felől az Farkas utczai templomba menő sikátor').

[77] Herepei 2004a, 97.

[78] Szabó T. 1946, 47.

[79] Szabó T. 2009, 464.

[80] Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Kriegsarchiv, Vienna, *Plan von den Stadt Clausenburg, und anbey auf einen gegen die Stadt felsigten Berg ligenden Schloss oder Fort*, original scale of 120 *klafter*, cca. 1750 (published in Băldescu 2012, 283).

[81] János Herepei confirms this by writing down the recollections of his father (Calvinist pastor Gergely Herepei, 1844–1920). According to the pastor, in his childhood and young adult life, the footpath barely measured 2.5 meters in width (Herepei 2004a, 97).

[82] MNL OL, S 84, No. 83.

[83] For a detailed analysis, also see Weisz 2018.

[84] Gaal 2005, 12.

Pál Gergely, the potter.[85] According to Pastor Gergely Herepei, the first systematization and widening of this bystreet took place in the 1870s.[86] It was probably around the same time that the excavated stone fence was built. The Breiner map recorded the fence and a street width that varies between seven and eight meters. More radical work was done in the beginning of the following century, during the 1920s.[87] At that time, the southwest corner of Gaál Gábor St., also known as the 'belfry garden' (*a haranglábkert*, today Mihail Kogălniceanu no. 21), was reconfigured as the new parsonage was built on top of the southern end of the narrow street. Consequently, the south half of the street was aligned almost entirely with the north one and the southwest corner of the old parish house lot was integrated into the widened street.[88]

The data on the church properties of the modern period allowed us to hypothesize that the Gaál Gábor St. itself could have been part of a much larger plot that belonged to the Calvinist Church. Even though the belfry garden and the parsonage lot were well-individualized in the middle of the seventeenth century, it is safe to assume that the opening of the footpath only split an original, more prominent urban lot. The origins of church properties in this area can be traced back to the Late Middle Ages. An extensive tract of land belonged to the Catholic Church and its history is intricate, to say the least. In 1486, the Observant Franciscans received a vast terrain on which a church, a friary and a Poor Clare nunnery were built. In 1556, these were abandoned due to the Reformation and, in 1579, were donated by Prince Stephen Báthory (1571–1586, King of Poland from 1576) to the Jesuit Order to build a college and, later, a seminary.[89] The extent of the plot can be observed in the situation plan from 1584 made by the Jesuit architect Fra Massimo Milanesi[90] (Fig. 22). After 1622, Prince Gabriel Bethlen (1613–1629) donated the former possessions of the Jesuits to the Calvinist Protestants. The limits of the old friary's plot were identified by the Calvinists through a hearing of witnesses in the summer of 1648, when they wanted to build the Reformed academic college and the parsonage.[91]

We can assume that the Calvin Church acquired most of what the Catholics once owned in this area. The Milanesi situation plan shows that the plot of the seminary extended, through a thin strip of land, from *Farkas utca* to *Király utca* (both marked as *via publica*). That small extension was one of the narrow urban plots of the Late Middle Ages. The plan proves without a doubt that the church property was communicating with *Király utca* in the end of the sixteenth century because a gate was indicated at the north end of the lot. Whether the Calvinist Church later received this small lot and the footpath was opened on it in the first half of the eighteenth century remains open for debate, but the possibility needs to be considered.[92]

[85] Herepei 1994, 43–47. Due to his ill nature, the potter made the records several times, was fined and, eventually, executed by the town authorities. Coincidentally, his signature lies on one of the tiles found in two refuse pits (supposedly with waste material) unearthed in the 1920s in this location (Tab. 1, no. 12a). His signed products have excellent analogies among the stove tiles collected during the 2021 excavation.

[86] Herepei 2004a, 97.

[87] Herepei 2004a, 97–98.

[88] The writings of János Herepei confirm these works (Herepei 1991, 26, 29–30).

[89] Kovács 2009; Weisz 2016.

[90] Architect, building site manager and physician of the Jesuit Mission in Cluj.

[91] Herepei 2004b, 456.

[92] Further archaeological and archival research could determine the more precise location of certain

The early alignment of the street was confirmed by the archaeological research that uncovered to the east the nineteenth-century fence and other household amenities of the old parsonage (Fig. 18). It seems that some eighteenth-century structures caused the footpath to follow a crooked trajectory from the beginning. It initially ran between the belfry that burned down in 1798[93] and the old, seventeenth-century parsonage. The new footpath connected *Király utca* (of the *Media/Közép* urban quarter) directly to the church and the reformed college in the southwest. This orientation also determined its old name (*Főiskola utca*) and its early function. The old alignment also explains the modern household amenities identified beneath the new street surface.

Judging by the fence trajectory, we can conclude that the early modern well that it slightly overlapped was initially inside the parsonage's courtyard and was a preexisting structure that caused the south segment to switch direction to the southwest. The archaeological dating of the stone well during the seventeenth century and the first half of the subsequent one is also backed up by an entry in the parsonage account books. On 4 December 1669, a bucket was bought for the Bishop's well ('vöttünk egy Vedret Püspök Uram kuttyara').[94] Most likely, the same well is referred to by a passage from the bell curator's register from 1697–1704. It mentions that, because the well's bucket was broken, the curator made a new one out of oak wood and bought iron fittings.[95] Pastor Gergely Herepei recollected the existence of an old well towards the back of the courtyard that was still visible in the middle of the nineteenth century. The information is consistent with the nineteenth-century filling in its upper part. Moreover, our interpretation of the stone well serving as drainage for the overflowing water directed through the cobbled drain is confirmed by János Herepei. He described the new pump well of the parsonage, further to the north, at the end of a stone-lined (*macskafejes kő*) drainage ditch that spilled into the decommissioned well.[96]

Brief conclusions

The three secondary streets were not part of a single coherent urban project and had different origins. However, their evolution is tightly connected to old medieval and early modern lots that ranged along the *Király* and *Farkas* streets. The latest historical archaeological data and the available scholarly, archival and cartographic information revealed a completely different situation for each street regarding their origin, mutation, proprietorship matters and urban planning. Gaál Gábor St. and Emmanuel de Martonne St. appeared on older private lots, but for Hermann Oberth St., there is no such evidence. However, the town lots that flank all three streets were always aligned to the *Király* and *Farkas* streets, thus, suggesting the early emergence of these main arteries relative to the secondary communication channels.

features rendered on the plan. These could be then correlated to the measurements indicated on the situation plan to reconstruct a more accurate extent of the lots, relative to the present-day urban fabric.

[93] Herepei 1993, 41; Herepei 2004a, 98.

[94] Herepei 2004c, 350–351. The Calvinist Bishop was Péter Kovásznai (1616/17?–1673), who held the office between 1668 and 1673 and took residence in the parsonage.

[95] Herepei 2004c, 351 ('csinaltattam […] tölgy fabul uiiat, továbbá vettem egw Sing vasat a veder megvasaztatasara').

[96] Herepei 2004c, 351. See also the photographic image in Sas 2015, 16.

The most recent one is Emmanuel de Martonne St., a late modern town street, planned and executed in two phases after the middle of the nineteenth century. Hermann Oberth St. is an older (possibly medieval) alley, which retains a trajectory recorded at the end of the seventeenth century. It might be a segment of an older street alignment that supposedly cut across *insulae* between three of the main arteries of medieval Cluj. Gaál Gábor St. was initially an obscure footpath that originated in the first half of the eighteenth century. Due to modern urban systematization, it now has a partially altered trajectory dating from the beginning of the twentieth century. Its emergence was supposedly a private initiative connected to the Calvinist parsonage from *Farkas utca* and the old medieval lots of the Church. As a result, the private property of the Church was gradually transformed into a public space that eased urban communication and created a better connection between two of the town's quarters (*Media* and *Luporum*).

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Table 1. Recorded archaeological interventions and finds in the south-eastern area of the historical center of Cluj-Napoca.

Map ID	Year	Address	Landmark	Type of dig	Research institution	Data on		Available scientific output	
						Medieval	(Early) Modern	Brief mention/ RAN/CCA/CjRep/ technical report mss	Scientific publication (according to period)
1	2007	1 Eroilor Blvd.	NW of 'Memorandum' monument	rescue excavation	MNIT	×	×	×	Roman
2	1994	1 Eroilor Blvd.	'Memorandum' monument	rescue excavation	IAIA	×	×	×	Roman
3	1963	1–2 Eroilor Blvd.	S of 'Memorandum' monument	uncategorized	MNIT	×	×	×	-
4	2007	9 and 11 Eroilor Blvd.	public fountain and statue	rescue excavation	MNIT	×	×	×	-
5	1963	6–8 Eroilor Blvd./23–25 I.I.C. Brătianu	between Greek-Catholic Church and 'Puck' Theater	uncategorized	MNIT	-	-	×	Roman
6	1997/ 1998	16 Eroilor Blvd.	private building	rescue excavation?	MNIT	×	×	×	-
7	2007	21 Eroilor Blvd.	Former 'Ferari ABC' shop	rescue excavation	MNIT/ IAIA	×	×	×	-
8	1998	24 Eroilor Blvd.	Orthodox Church	rescue excavation?	MNIT	×	×	×	-
9a	2005	Eroilor Blvd.	Urban amenities	watching brief	MNIT	?	×	×	-
9b	2006–2007	Eroilor Blvd.	Street surface	watching brief	MNIT	×	×	?	-
10	2022	2 Unirii Sq.	public building	rescue excavation	MNIT	×	×	×	-
11	2007	6 Uniirii Sq.	private building	watching brief	MNIT	×	×	×	-

Map ID	Year	Address	Landmark	Type of dig	Research institution	Data on		Available scientific output	
						Medieval	(Early) Modern	Brief mention/ RAN/CCA/CjRep/ technical report mss	Scientific publication (according to period)
12a	1926–1927	26 I.I.C. Brătianu	'Apáczai' High School	retrieval of finds	J. Herepei	×	×	×	late medieval, early modern, Neolithic
12b	2017	26 I.I.C. Brătianu	'Apáczai' High School courtyard	watching brief	MNIT	-	×	?	-
13	1845–1846	1 M. Kogălniceanu	UBB central building	retrieval of finds	?	-	-	×	Roman
14	2012	1 M. Kogălniceanu	'Școala Ardeleană' monument	trial excavation?	UBB	?	×	?	-
15a	19th c.	3 M. Kogălniceanu	'Academica' building	retrieval of finds	?	-	-	×	-
15b	1908	3 M. Kogălniceanu	'Academica' building	retrieval of finds	EME	×	×	×	-
16	2022	4 M. Kogălniceanu	'Karacsay' house/ 'Kalazantinum'	rescue excavation	UBB	×	×	×	-
17	1965	10 M. Kogălniceanu	National Archives	uncategorized	MNIT?	-	-	×	Neolithic
18	1974	12(–14) M. Kogălniceanu	Romanian Academy Library, Cluj branch	uncategorized	MNIT	×	-	×	Roman, Neolithic
19	2008	12–14 M. Kogălniceanu	Romanian Academy Cluj branch	watching brief	IAIA	×	×	×	-
20	2016	16 M. Kogălniceanu	Calvinist College	trial excavation	MNIT	?	×	?	-
21a	1910–1911	16–20 M. Kogălniceanu	Calvinist Church	uncategorized	EME	×	×	×	early modern
21b	2006	16–20 M. Kogălniceanu	Calvinist Church	rescue excavation	SC Damasus SRL	×	×	×	-
21c	2015	16–20 M. Kogălniceanu	Calvinist Church	watching brief, building archaeology	MNIT	×	×	×	-

Map ID	Year	Address	Landmark	Type of dig	Research institution	Data on		Available scientific output	
						Medieval	(Early) Modern	Brief mention/ RAN/CCA/CjRep/ technical report mss	Scientific publication (according to period)
22a	1913	23 M. Kogălniceanu	old Calvinist parsonage	isolated/incidental finds	?	×	-	×	medieval
22b	2020	23 M. Kogălniceanu	old Calvinist parsonage	watching brief, building archaeology	MNIT/ A. Weisz	×	×	×	-
23	1920s	21 M. Kogălniceanu	new Calvinist parsonage	retrieval of finds	J. Herepei	?	?	×	Neolithic
24	2020–2022	between 20 and 28 A. Iancu	'Házsongárd' Cemetery	rescue excavation	MNIT	-	×	?	-
25a	2014	23–25 A. Iancu	eastern area	rescue excavation	IAIA	×	×	×	-
25b	2018	23–25 A. Iancu	western area	rescue excavation	IAIA	×	×	×	-
26a	1914	42? A. Iancu	former 30 Petőfi S.	retrieval of finds	EME	-	-	×	?
26a	1927?	42? A. Iancu	former 30 Petőfi S.	retrieval of finds	?	-	-	×	×
27a	1903	60–62? A. Iancu	former 60 Petőfi S.?	retrieval of finds	EME?	-	×	-	×
27b	1908	60–62? A. Iancu	former 60 Petőfi S.?	donation of finds	-	-	×	×	-
28	1985–1986	5 Ștefan cel Mare Sq.	between the sq. and Baba Novac St.	rescue excavation	MNIT	×	×	×	-

Source material: CCA. Campania 1994/2006/2007/2008/2018 (Cociș, Voișian, Rusu-Bolindeț 1995; Bota, Beu-Dachin, Pupeză 2007; Bota, Beu-Dachin, Tecar 2008; Marcu et alii 2008; Ursuțiu et alii 2009; Cociș et alii 2019); Crișan et alii 1992, 133–136; MNIT Arhiva arheologică (technical reports, mss.); RAN 54984/04, 21, 22, 77, 78, 82, 84, 96, 100, 147, 208, 224, 211; main published papers (Herepei 1927; Covaciu 1926–1927 (1929); Hica-Cîmpeanu 1977; Bunta 1981; Beu-Dachin, Pupeză 2010; Gáll, Gergely, Gál 2010, 16, 73; Beu-Dachin, Pupeză, Bindea 2012; Vincze 2014, 412, 422–424; Cociș 2019).
Acronyms – EME: Transylvanian Museum Society, IAIA: Institute of Archaeology and Art History, MNIT: National Museum of Transylvanian History, UBB: 'Babeș-Bolyai' University.

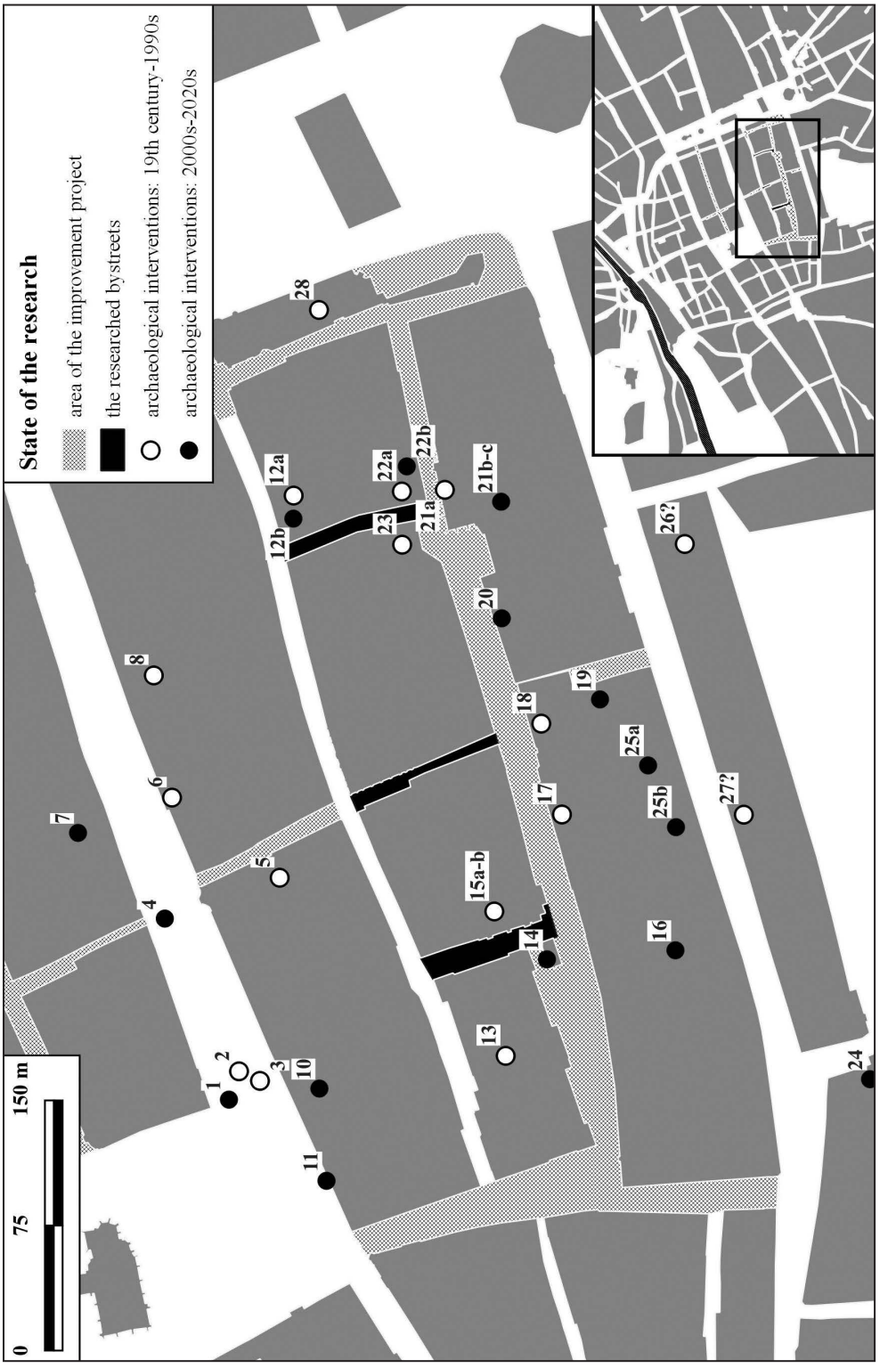


Fig. 1. The southeastern area of the historical center of Cluj: extension of the urban improvement project, current research area and spatial distribution of the recorded archaeological interventions. For the disambiguation of the ID nos., see Table 1 (map by Oana Toda).

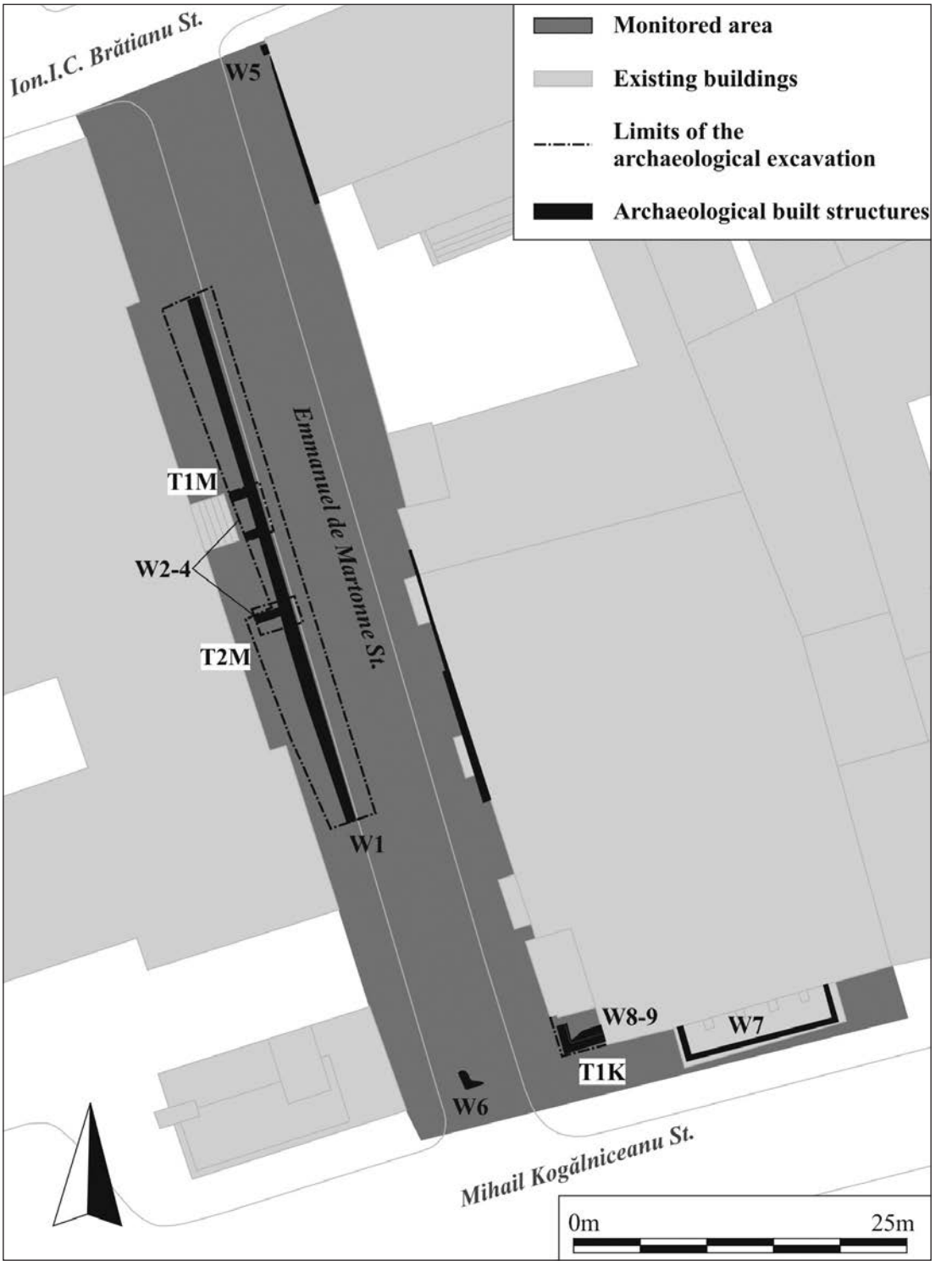


Fig. 2. Ground plan of the archaeological interventions and main finds on Emmanuel de Martonne St. (plan by Oana Toda).

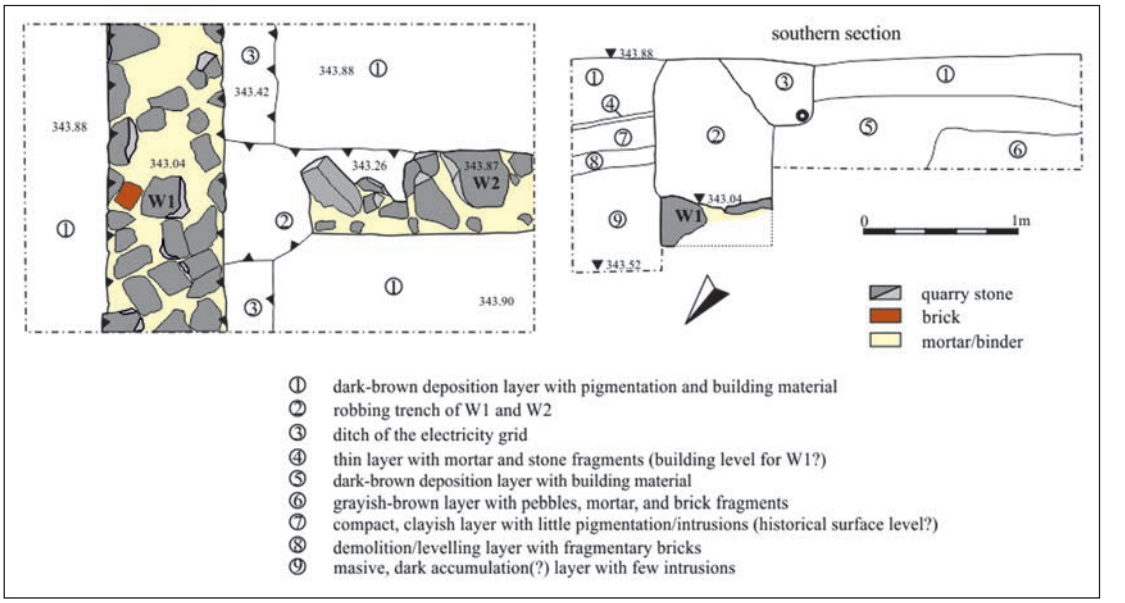


Fig. 3. Emmanuel de Martonne St.: ground plan and section drawing in T2M (drawing by the authors).

Fig. 4. Emmanuel de Martonne St.: photographic image of T2M (photo by the authors).

Fig. 5. Emmanuel de Martonne St.: south view of W1's robbing trench (photo by the authors).

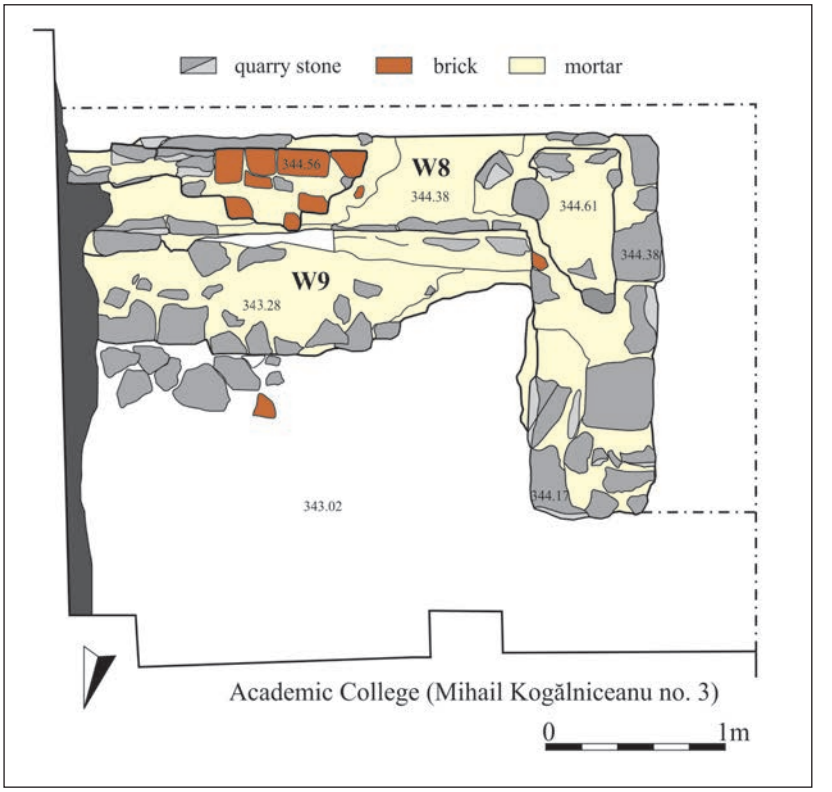


Fig. 6. Intersection of Emmanuel de Martonne and Mihail Kogălniceanu Sts.: ground plan of T1K (drawing by the authors).

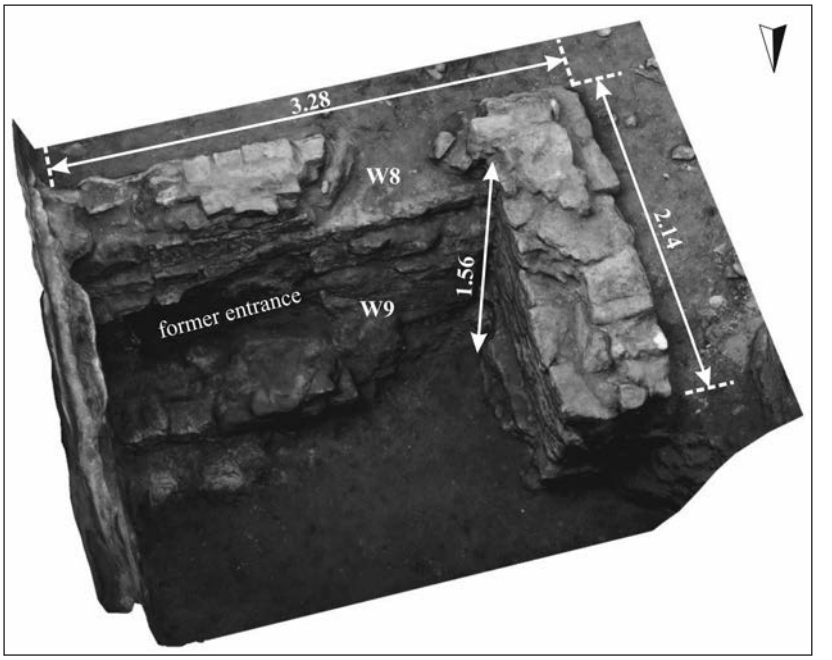
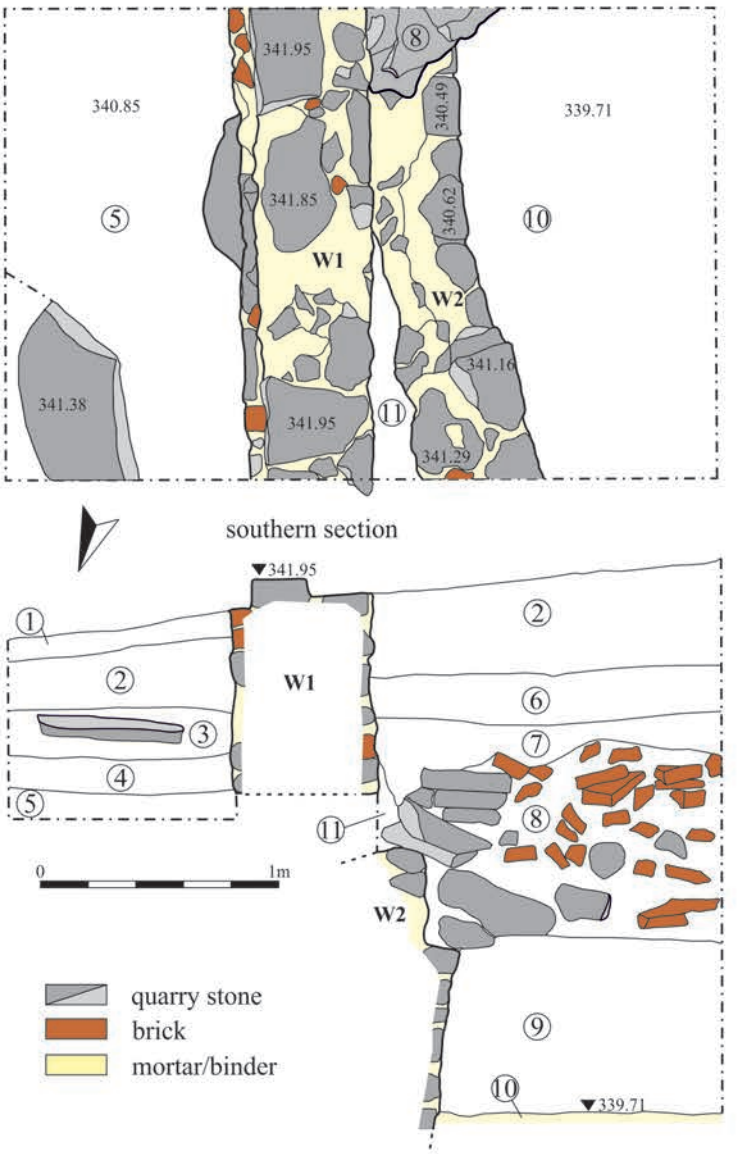


Fig. 7. Intersection of Emmanuel de Martonne and Mihail Kogălniceanu Sts.: photogrammetric model of T1K, view from the south (image by Oana Toda).

Fig. 8. Ground plan of the archaeological interventions on Hermann Oberth St. (plan by Oana Toda).



1 sand and pebble layer, current road foundation
2 19th-century levelling layer
3 compact, sandy layer with little pigmentation/intrusions
4 compact sandy layer with pebbles and charcoal pigmentation
5 greyish-brown layer with little intrusions
6 sandy accumulation layer with pebbles and construction material
7 accumulation layer subsequent to the decomissioning of W2
8 demolition layer of W2 with constuction material
9 18th-century accumulation layer during the decay of W2
10 mortar layer
11 dark-brown deposition layer between W1 and W2

Fig. 9. Hermann Oberth St.: ground plan and section drawing in T1O (drawing by the authors).

Fig. 10. Hermann Oberth St.: photographic image of T1O (photo by the authors).

Fig. 11. Hermann Oberth St.: general view of W1 from the north (photo by the authors).

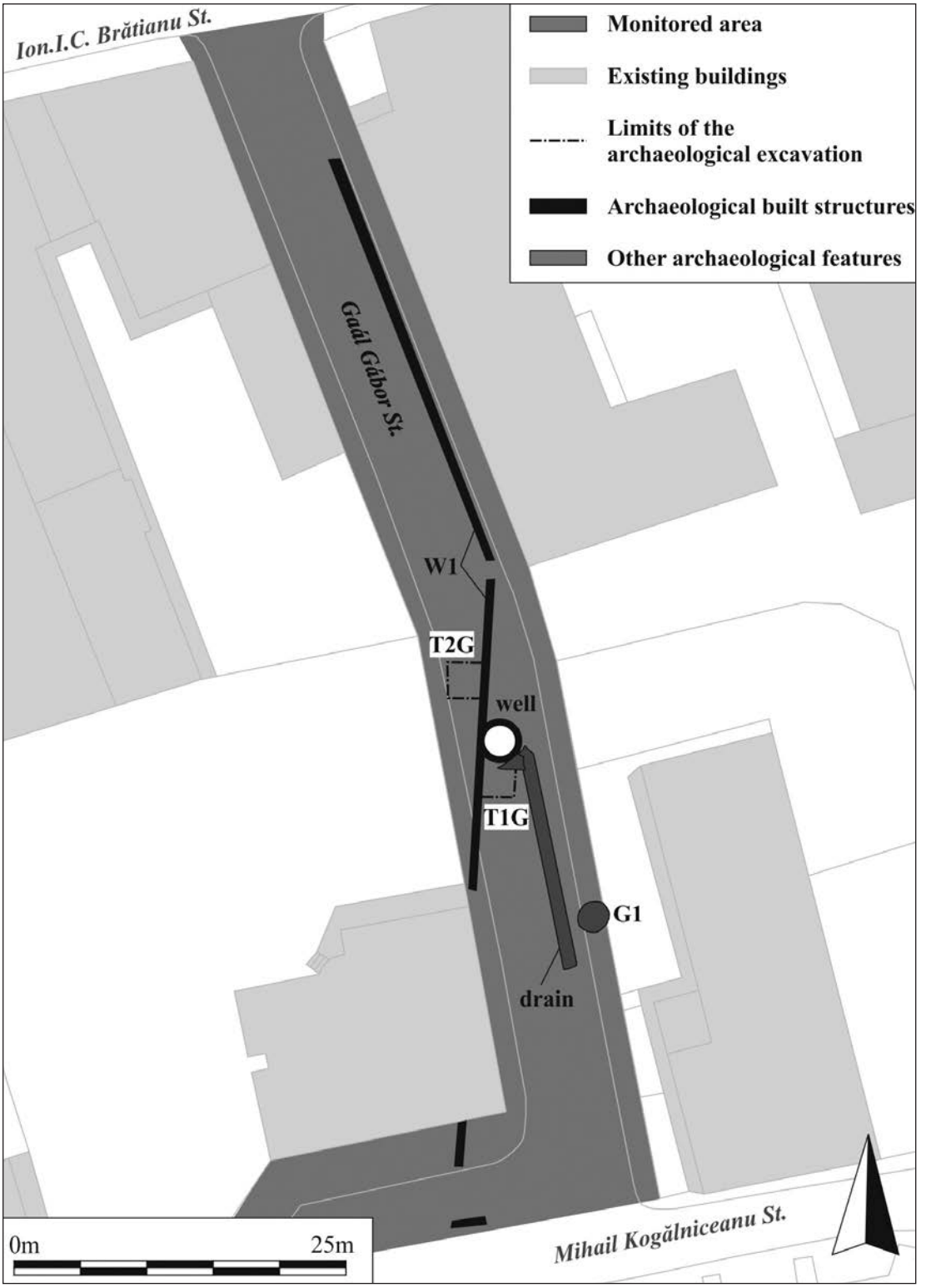


Fig. 12. Ground plan of the archaeological interventions and finds on Gaál Gábor St. (plan by Oana Toda).

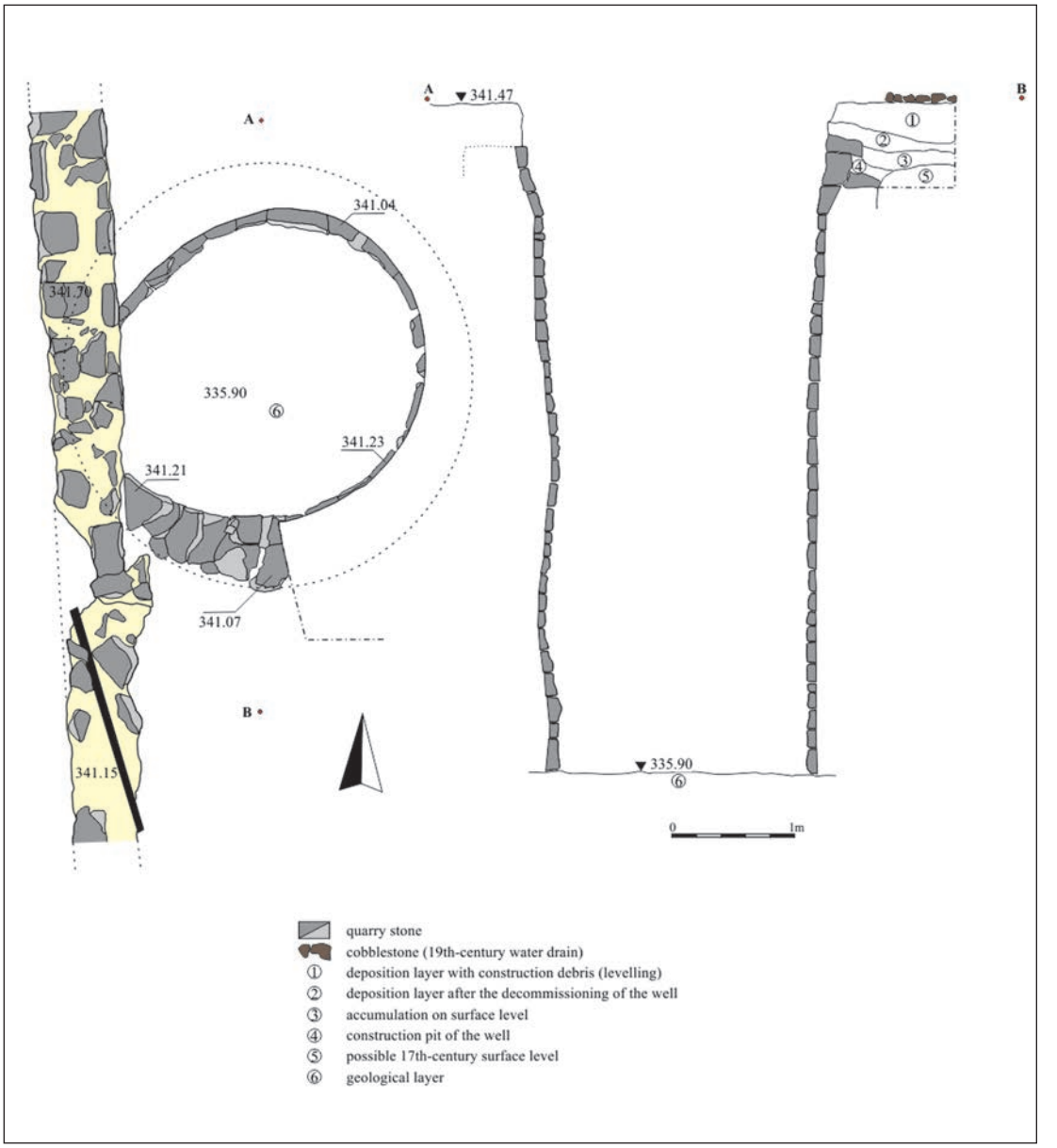


Fig. 13. Gaál Gábor St.: ground plan and section drawing of the well's lining (drawing by the authors).

Fig 14. Gaál Gábor St.: aerial image of the well (photo by Paul L. Pupeză).

Fig. 15. Gaál Gábor St.: general view of W1, T1G, and T2G (photo by Radu Lupescu).

Fig. 16. Emmanuel de Martonne St.: comparative plan based on the 1803 situation plan (MNL OL, S 105, No. 2), 1896 cadastral map (OSZK, TK 404) and the archaeological topography (plan by Oana Toda).

Fig. 17. Hermann Oberth St.: comparative plan based on the 1896 cadastral map (OSZK, TK 404) and the archaeological topography (plan by Oana Toda).

Fig. 18. Gaál Gábor St.: comparative plan based on the 1896 cadastral map (OSZK, TK 404) and the archaeological topography (plan by Oana Toda).

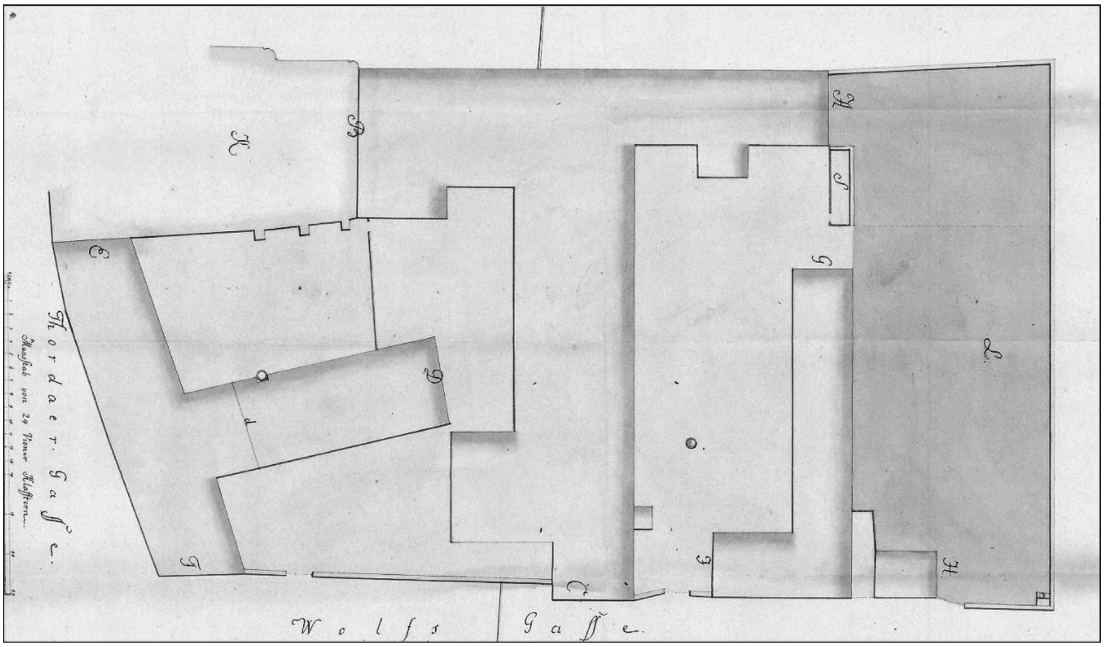


Fig. 19. 1803 situation plan of the Jesuit College (MNL OL, S 105, No. 2).

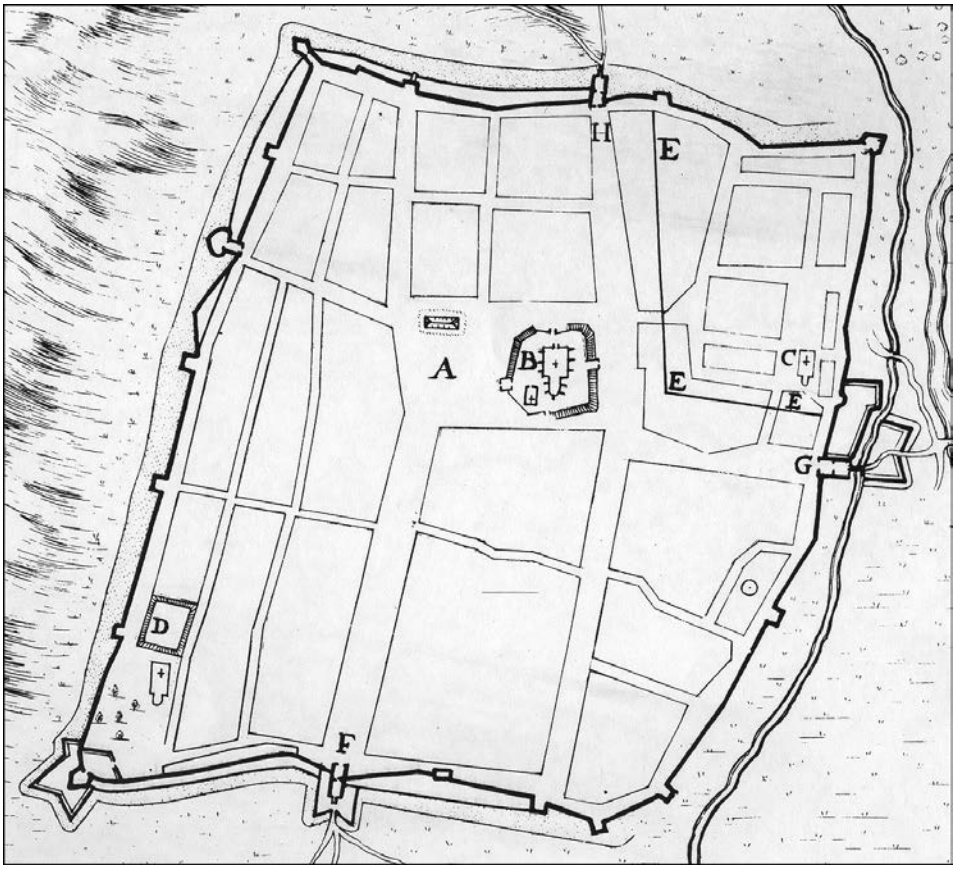


Fig. 20. Plan of Cluj from 1699 by Morando Visconti (BJM BT-B, no. 15989).

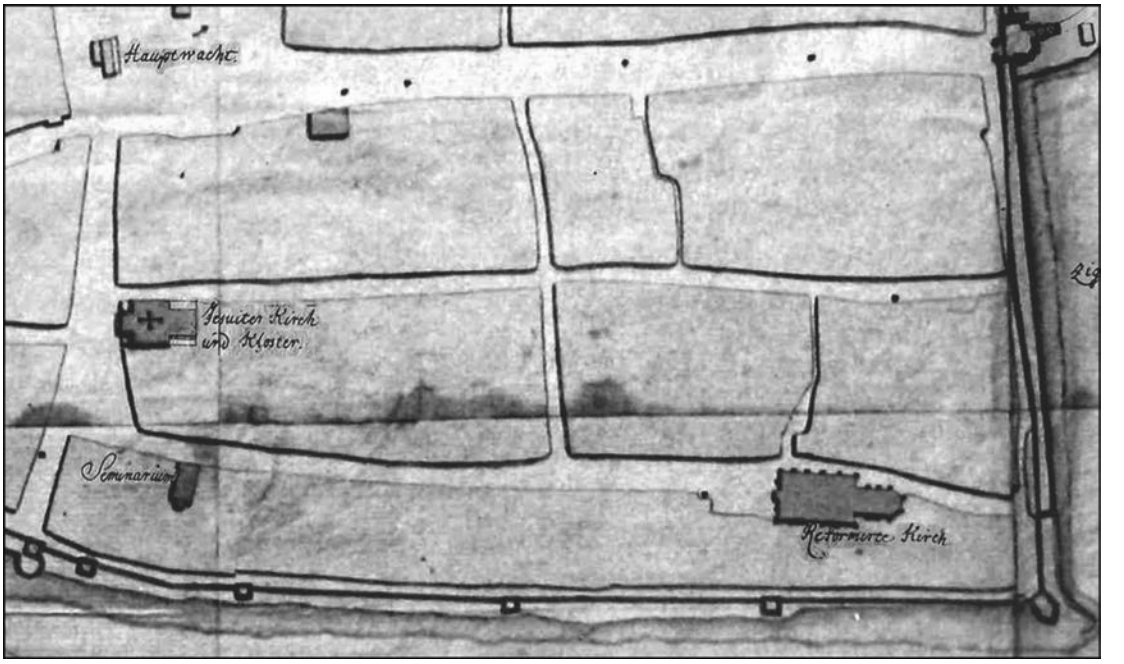


Fig. 21. Plan of Cluj from 1751 (ÖStA, Kriegsarchiv, Vienna, taken from Băldescu 2012, 283).

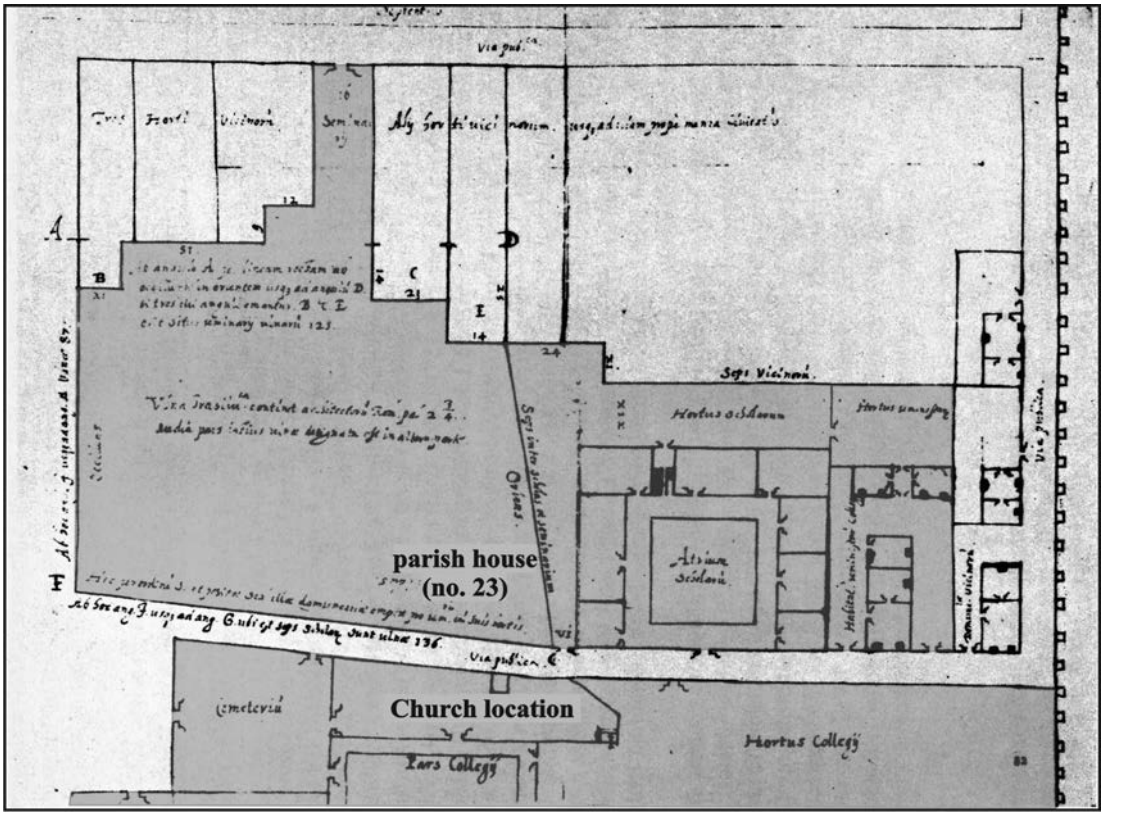


Fig. 22. Situation plan of the east end of *Platea Luporum* drawn by Fra Massimo Milanesi in 1585 (taken from Balogh 1985, 211).

Fig. 23. Image of the old theater and adjoining buildings in the middle of the nineteenth century (taken from Kőváry 1853, 76).

Fig. 24. Glass plate negative by Ferenc Veress depicting the old theater, dated 1869 (Colecția MNIT, no. M 11395; image from the MNIT Archive).

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HANDBOOK FOR MEDICINES BY IOSIF ȚIUCRA, A TEACHER. A NINETEENTH-CENTURY MANUSCRIPT IN THE HISTORY OF PHARMACY COLLECTION (MNIT)[*]

IOANA GRUIȚĂ-SAVU[**]

Abstract: Among the numerous artifacts preserved in the History of Pharmacy Collection of the National Museum of Transylvanian History in Cluj-Napoca (MNIT) there is an unpublished manuscript, a handbook with practical medical advice, dated 1876 and written in Romanian by Iosif Țiucra, a schoolteacher activating in Bârsa (Berza) village, Arad County.

This research aims to present Iosif Țiucra, the content of his manuscript and to contextualize his handbook, considering the sanitary problems of the Romanian community in Arad County, in the middle of the nineteenth century.

Keywords: manuscript, health, hygiene, nineteenth century, Arad County

Rezumat: Printre numeroasele artefacte din cadrul Colecției de Istorie a Farmaciei a Muzeului Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei din Cluj-Napoca (MNIT) am întâlnit un manuscris inedit, un mic manual cu sfaturi medicale practice, în limba română, scris în anul 1876 de Iosif Țiucra, un învățător care activa în satul Bârsa (Berza) din județul Arad.

Cercetarea de față își propune să-l prezinte pe Iosif Țiucra, conținutul manuscrisului și să contextualizeze manualul său, având în vedere problemele sanitare ale comunității românești din Comitatul Aradului, de la mijlocul secolului al XIX-lea.

Cuvinte cheie: manuscris, sănătate, igienă, secolul al XIX-lea, Comitatul Arad

Introduction

The present article deals with an unpublished nineteenth-century small-format manuscript, 11 × 16.8 cm, written in Romanian. The complete title of the manuscript is *Carte de mână pentru doctorii de Iosif Țiucra, învățătoru. Folklor din medicina veterinară și umană. Sfaturi practice casnice și din gospodăria agricolă. Carte de mână pentru ne doctori pentru a ajuta celoru cadinte în multe feluri de morburi pana la sosirea Medicului (Doctorului). Culese în Berza de Invețietoriulu Iosifu Tiucra* [Handbook for medicines by Iosif Țiucra, a teacher. Veterinarian and human medicine folklore. Practical advice to use at home and on the farm. Handbook for non-doctors to help others suffering from different kinds of diseases until the arrival of the Doctor. Collected in Berza by the schoolteacher Iosif Țiucra]. The small notebook is preserved at the National Museum of Transylvanian History, in the History of Pharmacy Collection, inv. no. IF 2355. The manuscript was

[*] This work was supported by a grant of the Romanian Ministry of Education and Research, CNCS – UEFISCDI, project number PN-III-P4-ID-PCE-2020–1562, within PNCDI III.

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planned as a booklet and follows a book structure, with chapters, pagination and a list of content. The most consistent part belongs to Iosif Țiucra and was written in 1876. At the end of the manuscript, an entry by Ioan Țiucra, written in 1901, completes the text with poetry.

Iosif Țiucra was born in 1818 in a family whose origins go back to eighteenth-century Walachia. His ancestors crossed the mountains and settled in Arad County. In 1840 he graduated from the Romanian 'Preparandia,' the first pedagogical school in the region with teaching in Romanian, established in Arad in 1812. Țiucra became a schoolteacher in Bârsa, where he was active for more than 35 years.[1] At the same time, he was a member of the Transylvanian Association for Romanian Literature and the Culture of the Romanian People [Asociația Transilvană pentru Literatura Română și Cultura Poporului Român – ASTRA]. The association popularized science, folklore and high culture among the Romanian communities, envisaging mainly an educational purpose. Iosif Țiucra, like other teachers, was involved in cultural and educational activities.[2]

The manuscript in the History of Pharmacy Collection is not the first written by the Transylvanian teacher. The monograph of the Bârsa commune mentions Țiucra's diary as one of the most important sources regarding the history of the municipality during the nineteenth century, and reproduces the complete text.[3] The teacher started a personal journal in 1846 aiming to write his quotidian observations on different aspects of the daily life of Bârsa's inhabitants, pigmented with historical references and his family's personal history. The teacher wrote the diary in the Cyrillic alphabet and later transcribed it in an abstract with Latin characters. The document, finished 29 years later, in 1875, only surfaced in the 1990s. Iancu Țiucra, a member of his family, working as an engineer in Cluj, owned the original text and donated copies of the manuscript to the Arad County Museum, the Arad Archives, the village of Bârsa and some relatives.[4]

The Handbook in the MNIT collection seems to be a sequel to the diary. I have not yet found the artifact's donation or sale act. The inventory register mentions that the manuscript became part of the museum's collection in 1997. In the light of the monographic study published in 2012, one can presume that the MNIT manuscript might have the same source, i.e. Iancu Țiucra, or perhaps another family member.

The unpublished manuscript, preserved in the History of Pharmacy Collection, raises several questions that the present study aims to answer. I wanted to find out the reasons Țiucra had for writing this guide with practical advice for preventing diseases (as he was not a doctor or a pharmacist) and what inspired him in his endeavor. To understand his initiative, a reconstruction of the context from the standpoint of the general health of the Romanian population in Arad County is necessary. Learning about Romanian villages and the health problems faced by their inhabitants in the end of the nineteenth century could

[1] Godea 2012, 203.

[2] Godea 2012, fn. 180, 211. More information about Iosif Țiucra, his family history, his village and his vision of the world he was observing and its realities can be found in Ioan Godea's monographic study dedicated to the Bârsa commune, published in 2012.

[3] *Marturia tempului. Intemplarile din lumea larga in catu am pututu vedea si audi, precum si despre ai mei cei de fatia pana la finea anului 1874 culese si prescurtate in Berza Prin Invetiatoriului Iosifu Tiucra*, published in Godea 2012, 294–350.

[4] Godea 2012, 266, fn. 195.

help us better understand Țiucra's manuscript. Another purpose of this study is to present a part of the handbook's content and some of the remedies that the schoolteacher deemed important to gather and share.

Context

Before talking about Iosif Țiucra, his text and the latter's relevance, I would like to outline the context in which this teacher from Bârsa wrote his guide, based on the secondary literature dealing with the health of the Romanian population in the second half of the nineteenth century in Transylvania,[5] then part of Hungary, within the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The most important studies published on the topic deal with pandemics, the official medical legislation, the authorities' attempts to disseminate and implement the latter and the way the official sanitary regulations reached the Romanian population. They also focus on the popularization of knowledge on personal hygiene and public health in late nineteenth-century Transylvania, preventive medicine, taking into consideration the diseases, the medical profession, types of medicines and remedies, public health, the impact of epidemics on both demography and the mentality of the population.[6] There is one study that deals with the health status of Arad's inhabitants and the involvement of teachers in preserving it, pointing out the relevant contributions of teachers as mediators between specialists and the community precisely in the period in which Țiucra wrote his study.[7]

The mentioned studies provide a comprehensive perspective on the health situation of Romanian communities, most of which were rural during this period, and the attempts of authorities and intellectuals to educate people. They all mention the small number of medical personnel to attend to a large population, the precarious living conditions, the pauperism of Romanian villages and the coexistence of traditional methods of treating diseases and modern medicine.

Țiucra wrote his manuscript in a difficult period from the point of view of medical history. Arad County, as part of the province of Hungary, within the Habsburg Monarchy, and of the state of Hungary within the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, was affected by several epidemics, among which the most aggressive was cholera. Such epidemics came in successive episodes: they began in 1831, continued with significant waves in 1855 and 1866 and culminated with a great epidemic that lasted between 1872 and 1873.[8] Besides cholera, numerous other contagious diseases stroke the population, like smallpox, diphtheria, whooping cough, scarlet fever, granular conjunctivitis, tuberculosis, measles and syphilis.[9]

The lack of proper hygiene compounded this phenomenon due to the absence of education and the poverty that characterized Romanian communities living in villages, with an inadequate diet that led to low immunity. Alcoholism was a fairly common phenomenon among the poor, who worked and lived in challenging conditions.[10] In many

[5] I use Transylvania in the contemporary understanding of the term.

[6] Mora 1997; Bolovan 2007; Habor 2012; Rotar 2012; Virag 2012; Habor 2015; Soroștineanu 2015; Mârza 2020; Dumănescu, Bolovan 2021.

[7] Oarcea 2020.

[8] Bolovan 2011, 62–66; Mârza 2020, 96.

[9] Mârza 2020, 96.

[10] Mora 1997, 110–111; Rotar 2007, 41–64; Mârza 2020, 96–97.

cases, this situation was aggravated by weather conditions. Drought or heavy rains strongly affected village communities that survived mainly by cultivating the land and raising livestock. Environmental factors were crucial for a good harvest, as were pests. Moreover, certain diseases also affected the health of farm animals, so poverty and hunger worsened during the bad years. In response to these waves of human and animal contagious diseases, government authorities tried to implement a series of measures to prevent the spread of these diseases and to offer practical advice on how to treat them.

Regarding the sanitary legislation in Hungary, according to Oana Habor, two acts of great importance were issued: the Sanitary Act in 1870 and the law on public hygiene in 1876.[11] According to the 1876 law, public health was a matter of state policy.[12] For preserving public health, the local authorities, under the authority of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, were responsible for supervising the implementation of certain rules regarding the cleaning of the streets and the buildings where the schools operated, to assure the provision of the ambulance service and the appointment of doctors where necessary, for supervising children's health.[13] During pandemics, priests, teachers and doctors also had to report the infectious outbreaks, besides public authorities.[14] Article 141 stated that the administration of communes and cities was responsible for public health and played the role of sanitary supervisors.[15] The act under discussion established health commissions in the communes that had their own doctor, which included the doctor, a veterinarian, a pharmacist, priests, notaries, teachers and three educated people working in the administration, with an advisory role and the right of initiative. The commissions were consulted for public health matters, local hygiene, food analysis, abandoned children and numerous other sanitary problems.[16]

During pandemic times, the authorities attempted to implement sanitary measures, quarantined certain areas, supplemented the number of doctors and redirected them to the territory. They also restricted certain activities, such as fairs or pilgrimages. Furthermore, they began an active campaign in the press, printed brochures explaining prophylaxis and treatment of diseases, urged the population to adopt a balanced life style, free from excesses, provided information on hygiene standards, how to maintain proper housing, proper preservation of various food types and limited consumption of some foods in order to prevent disease.[17] The law also mentioned the necessity of training the population to act in cases of emergency. People were instructed on how to provide first aid and were told the basic rules for maintaining one's health that had to be taught in schools.[18] In the case of the cholera epidemic, Ofelia Mora even talks about the appointment of ministerial commissioners, who, together with supreme committees, procedural judges and doctors, visited the most affected areas explaining the situation to the people.[19]

[11] Habor 2015, 27.
[12] Habor 2015, 44.
[13] Habor 2015, 45.
[14] Habor 2015, 50.
[15] Habor 2015, 54.
[16] Habor 2015, 67.
[17] Mora 1997, 110.
[18] Habor 2015, 45.
[19] Mora 1997, 112.

Uneducated Romanian peasants had a poor understanding of the causes of these diseases, and the propagation of information was problematic, especially in communities with no doctors or pharmacists.[20] It is important to note that the Romanian population of Transylvania was mostly rural; between 1850 and 1900, almost 90% of the inhabitants lived in villages.[21] A significant problem in Transylvanian villages was the lack of education and the survival of superstitions.[22] Such communities preferred traditional remedies and often refused medical treatment in favor of divine benevolence, which led to resistance towards any type of regulation. Furthermore, sanitary regulations in pandemics frequently conflicted with religious practice: people could not respect the tradition of burying the dead, receiving the final blessing, or participating in religious processions.[23] By analyzing the response to epidemic outbreaks researchers concluded that there was a lower rate of medical culture in the Romanian communities and less commitment in educating people regarding necessary health measures.[24] The high rate of analphabetism in Romanian villages also determined a high level of reticence to medical treatments. People preferred to use traditional remedies based on plants and roots, tested by the community, and rarely did they ask for a doctor's advice.[25] The fees for medical consultations were relatively high and exceeded the financial possibilities of ordinary village people. In most cases, even if they acknowledged the need for a specialist, doctors were not available. There was a lack of specialists, and patients had to cover long distances to find a doctor. A single district physician was responsible for all the villages in the respective district and only rich villages could afford to hire a village physician. The Romanian community preferred Romanian-speaking doctors and for this reason people even went to see such physicians in nearby boroughs.[26] It seems that, at the turn of the twentieth century, a large part of Romanian students at the universities of Budapest and Vienna chose the medical profession. However, they were still insufficient for the Romanian communities' needs, especially in the rural areas. Soroștineanu's study mentions the publication of critical press articles concerning the small number of working places for doctors in rural areas, approximately one doctor for every 20–30 villages.[27]

The educated members of Romanian communities made great efforts to discuss health problems and regulations in schools, providing children with a minimum medical education, with priests, teachers and educators playing a crucial role in the matter. Intellectual and financial elites and different charitable organizations planned campaigns to control the transmission of diseases and to reduce their effects through the free distribution of medicines and food to the poor.[28]

Alongside authorities, doctors, pharmacists, members of the clergy, teachers and professors, newspapers published in Romanian also had the task of dispersing the public's distrust of the imposed rules. In this context, specialists were encouraged to publish various

[20] Mora 1997, 110.
[21] Bolovan 2007, 230; Rotar 2012, 242.
[22] Matei 2021, 172.
[23] Mora 1997, 113.
[24] Popovici 2015, 295–269.
[25] Oarcea 2020, 77.
[26] Iudean et alii 2018, 53–54.
[27] Soroștineanu 2015, 542.
[28] Bolovan 2007, 240.

treatises reproduced in widely distributed newspapers. Numerous periodicals published materials dedicated to health and the prevention of diseases: *Albina* [The Bee], *Familia* [The Family], *Telegraful român* [The Romanian Telegraph], *Transilvania* [Transylvania], *Biserica și Școala* [The Church and the School], or *Românul* [The Romanian], to mention just a few.[29] An example given in Ofelia Mora's study is the *Treaty of public hygiene and sanitary police of Iacob Felix*, which was reproduced in *Transilvania*, the official publication of the ASTRA.[30] During the cholera epidemic, the doctor described the conditions in which the disease spread: unventilated houses, poor personal hygiene, unhealthy food, and alcoholism, among others.[31] In such articles, scientific language was adapted in order to be understood by ordinary people, as the press was one of the most effective channels for transmitting this vital information.[32]

Other essential communicators for Romanian rural communities were teachers and priests, who played an important role in disseminating the official health program, since they were in permanent contact with the people, they were considered trustworthy and were viewed as models. Thus, they facilitated official communication with individuals living in the rural areas, translating the main sanitary rules to the latter's understanding.[33] Religious publications also disseminated information related to disease prevention and public hygiene, published the names of Romanian doctors and recommended different medical treaties, such as those written by George Vuia or Simion Stoica.[34] They also published natural remedies' recipes and advertised different kinds of elixirs.[35]

The health status of the Transylvanian rural population and the solutions found by the authorities for pandemic control, the prevention of the epidemics and the desired improvement of the general health of the population provide a starting point for the analysis of Țiucra's manuscript.

Waves of cholera epidemics affected the Arad area, and in 1873 many people became ill, including children. At the time, newspapers supported the idea of introducing the study of hygiene in schools, not only in seminaries or pedagogical institutes.[36] In 1878 priests and teachers were already involved in the sanitary education of children and adult villagers, organizing conferences on morals and public hygiene, pointing out bad habits, offering support in infant care and stressing that diseases and health in general should not be neglected.[37] Teachers were directly involved in the official campaigns to popularize the new medical regulations; therefore, they were better documented in terms of medicine and hygiene than priests. At the same time, many teachers were members of various committees that dealt with managing health problems in their villages. Moreover, they also subscribed to Romanian language newspapers circulating in Transylvania. *Higiena și școala, foaie pentru sănătate, educație, instrucție* [Hygiene and school, sheet for health, education,

[29] Mora 1997, 111–113.
[30] Mora 1997, 112.
[31] Felix 1873, 168.
[32] Habor 2015, 84.
[33] Habor 2015, 150; Oarcea 2020, 76.
[34] Habor 2015, 146–148.
[35] Habor 2015, 149.
[36] Oarcea 2020, 77.
[37] Oarcea 2020, 78.

instruction], very popular among schoolteachers, was a publication that provided advice on hygiene, preventive measures against contagious diseases, skin care and diet.[38] In the case of tuberculosis, teachers were urged to consult doctors and specialized published materials in order to prepare public speeches on the subject, along with adopting supplementary hygiene measures in the classroom.[39] Therefore, one can presume Iosif Țiucra's involvement in such activities inspired the writing of the handbook. Probably Țiucra wrote the book in 1876, under the direct influence of these public discussions and official regulations.

Formal observations about the manuscript

As mentioned, the manuscript was conceived as a booklet and presented as a small book, in Romanian. The structure of the textbook consists of a dustcover (probably added later) handwritten in blue ink: *Carte de mână pentru doctorii de Iosif Țiucra învățător* [Handbook for medicines by Iosif Țiucra, a teacher]. The cover is handwritten in blue ink on cardboard: *Folklor din medicina veterinară și umană. Sfaturi practice casnice și din gospodăria agricolă* [Veterinarian and human medicine folklore. Practical advice to use at home and on the farm]. The title page is also handwritten in ink: *Carte de mână pentru ne doctori pentru a ajuta celoru cadinte in multe feluri de morburi pana la sosirea Medicului (Doctorului). Culese în Berza de Invețietoriulu Iosifu Tiucra, 1876* [Handbook for non-doctors to help others suffering from different diseases, until the Doctor's arrival. Collected in Berza by school teacher Iosif Țiucra]. The book starts with a motto, written on the verso of the title page: *Pre celu bolnavu alu cerceta. O faptă a milei trupesci* [To examine the sick. An act of bodily mercy].

The handbook has 90 themes or chapters with Iosif Țiucra's bits of advice, and a total of 76 numbered pages written in 1876. Presumably, some pages are missing because the text ends abruptly. Ioan Țiucra wrote 10 additional pages with poetry and some personal notes in 1901. The index starts on page 105 and ends on page 110. Inside, on the second cover, there is an inscription, written in graphic pencil: *Preot Teodor Bodogaie, fost profesor de teologie Gușterița* [Priest Teodor Bodogaie, former theology teacher Gușterița (n.n., a village in Sibiu County)]. This inscription might connect the handbook to Teodor Bodogaie, a theologist and teacher in Sibiu, born in 1911, but I am not confident that the annotation denotes a propriety mark.

The manuscript is written in an archaic Romanian language, specific for the late nineteenth-century Transylvania, making the text difficult to decipher. For example, numerous words end with an extra (mute) 'u' (*pusu* instead of *pus*, 'laid'; *acoperitu* instead of *acoperit*, 'covered'). The author learned to write using the Cyrillic alphabet,[40] but, in his desire to be read by his successors, he switched to the Latin alphabet. Moreover, in the nineteenth century the Romanian language had a different orthography and topic than the

[38] Oarcea 2020, 79.

[39] Oarcea 2020, 81.

[40] In Transylvania, in the middle of the nineteenth century, there was a transition period between the two alphabets and, at some point, the two coexisted. In the first half of the nineteenth century newspapers were written in Cyrillic alphabet, around 1850–1860 there was a transition alphabet, both in Latin and Cyrillic, and only after 1865–1870 the texts started being written only in Latin, with the Cyrillic alphabet still being used, albeit rarely, in private correspondence until the end of the century. When Țiucra wrote his handbook, the Latin alphabet was already predominant.

ones used in present-day Romanian. The teacher wrote his text without using diacritical marks and hence many words are almost unrecognizable to a contemporary Romanian speaker. The author uses plenty of regionalisms for plant and substance denominations, but also for different diseases or body parts. He also included typical expressions, as they were used in the common language of his village. For some of the substances mentioned in the text, I was unable to find a correspondence with nowadays pharmaceutical products. In what concerns some of the diseases he mentioned, I have tried to identify the best equivalent in contemporary Romanian and for the English translation. Where I did not understand the meaning of the words or did not find an equivalent, I kept the original Romanian form or paraphrased it in English.

Content observations

In terms of structure, the information is structured according to types of interventions, not illnesses. The advice collection has 90 entries, each containing practical information for different situations, from first aid in case of drowning, electrocution, rabies, animal bites, broken bones and frostbite, to information on various plants and their effect on human health, especially poisonous plants and fungi, dietary advice, as well as advice on hygiene, advice on treating animals for all kinds of illnesses, food preservation (how to store grapes and plums over the winter, the meat over the summer, or remedies for food affected by mold) and various other practical tips. The order of these guidelines seems random, probably related to how the author remembered these issues or perhaps related to situations in daily life that prompted him to write various practical instructions.

Iosif Țiucra identified the necessity for the community to have basic knowledge about health hazards that had to be solved very fast, without the presence of a doctor or a pharmacist. He decided to help by writing a few pieces of advice, some stemming from his own experience, as he often mentioned in the handbook: 'I tested it and it worked.' Others are remedies from folklore, as noted in the title of the manuscript, and yet others probably stem from the legislation he had to disseminate at school as part of the educational process or from newspapers that published medical articles. We know that the teacher from Bârsa read newspapers; in his diary he mentions *Gazeta de Transilvania* [The Transylvanian Gazette], *Amicul Școalei* [The School's Friend], *Concordia* [Concordia], *Amiculu Poporului* [The People's Friend] and *Tutti Frutti* [Tutti Frutti].[41]

The motto used at the beginning of the handbook is relevant. It is a reference to The Corporal Works of Mercy, found in the teachings of Jesus, and provides a model of moral behavior in treating others. Țiucra followed his Christian belief and probably considered that it was his duty to help the ones in need, especially in those hard times when people faced numerous deadly contagious diseases.

This gathering of data is also interesting owing to the association between curing human diseases and injuries and treating animals or even preserving food, or treating plants for parasites, the author paying almost equal attention to all these subjects. As previously mentioned, in the rural context, the family's survival depended not only on the health of the humans, but also on the survival of the animals and the successful growing and preservation of crops. The text under analysis is inclined more towards prevention

[41] Godea 2012, 268.

than treatment. His preoccupation with medical problems and their treatment also becomes apparent in the previously mentioned diary, a handy tool for understanding Țiucra's handbook.

The teacher has a personal approach in both manuscripts. He did not apply a scientific method in gathering the remedies and was rather interested in the topics that had a direct impact on him. However, his individual problems are well contextualized and presented against the background of his village's life. In the diary Țiucra recorded historical, economic, cultural, or educational information, such as he knew and perceived it; therefore, his text became a local narrative chronicle that covers a very long period in the history of the place, next to his own personal history.[42] He added important information over the years that can be used in various fields of research, from the history of the village, the church and the school, to studies of rural economy or climatological and medical history.[43] The teacher consistently recorded certain aspects of his family life. He mentioned the birth of his children, the schools they attended, their marriages, the illnesses they suffered and the most important events that influenced life in the village: weather conditions, the general state of the crops, the price of products, epidemics and diseases, human and animal mortality, pests that destroyed the crops, accidents, etc. For example:

> This year we did not have an easy life, and we were not free from the numerous diseases that hunted us – from which many of us also perished, such as inflammation of the lungs, cough and cold, cold in summer, dreadful cholera, in autumn the blight, the cold, the pox and the sore throat; it seems that God has begun a war to cut man off from the earth. There were not numerous diseases spread among the cattle, except for the sheep and goats, and most of them perished of the yolk.[44]

These aspects of daily life are also reflected in the advice he chose to include in his handbook. Comparing the diary and the handbook, one can notice people's reactions to different medical situations because, in both manuscripts, the teacher also mentions the community's habits when facing pandemics or diseases. Village superstitions are also noted in his handbook; he provides, for example, two solutions for treating rabies, none working.[45] One of them, 'according' to mythology, is mentioned as 'written salt:'

> One spindle, used by women to spin, you use it for writing and after you have written, with one knife scratch the written salt and feed it to the cattle, mixed with a large quantity of bran, early in the morning, before sunrise. Furthermore, for the human, in the evenings, one makes a cake, puts Verise [sic!] salt in it, and bakes it in hot ashes and then, three mornings in a row, before sunrise, he tastes good with his tongue for three times, first the salt then the cake. Many came to me, and I wrote the salt, and those who follow this way never suffered, nor their animals. Everything must be prepared very quickly; if not, and the rabies installs, there is no doctor and no cure

[42] Godea 2012, 266.
[43] Godea 2012, 274.
[44] Godea 2012, 348.
[45] Bărbulescu 2015, 306–328.

against it. It is better to put out the sparkle than to extinguish the entire house after it starts burning. In the case of all diseases, fast help is good.[46]

Popular believes and practices were widespread in Romanian villages; for instance, other magic practices were performed to cast out diphtheria or to cure epilepsy.[47]

Still, during the 29 years that the diary covers, the teacher only mentioned twice consulting a doctor for his own health problems. It seems he had circulatory problems affecting his legs and needed surgical intervention. He mentioned that if it were not for the doctor, he would have lost his life.[48] He also mentioned some of the sanitary rules applied in the village. In 1856, probably after a cholera episode, an order was issued stating that everyone had to whitewash their house inside and out.[49] He also noted in his diary the opening of a pharmacy in Sebiș[50], Arad County, in December 1876, deeming it a significant event.[51]

For each year, he talked about the diseases the villagers faced, according to their frequency and severity. We find out when cholera struck the village of Bârsa: in 1849 cholera reaped many, the teacher wrote, and in an entry dated 1851 he mentions that his brother died of the same disease.[52] In November, the community raised a cross in the church garden in front of the crypt to guard against cholera that had claimed many lives in the village.[53] He also mentioned that on 15 August 1855 there was a religious service to protect animals from disease.

The handbook under discussion reveals the problems that the commune's inhabitants faced at that time. Țiucra chose to start his volume of practical advice with first aid interventions. He offered solutions on how to handle frostbites, the drowned, the hanged, the ones struck by lightning and those who had ingested poisonous substances. The advice he offered in cases of emergency were meant to avoid death until the doctor's arrival. It is noticeable that for severe problems like lightning strikes or frostbite, he mentioned that the doctor must be consulted: 'If someone becomes all frozen … after one has put him into bed – one must cover him with snow up to the mouth and afterward send for the doctor to continue with the necessary operations.'[54] In other serious cases he specifically mentioned that medicine must be administered: 'For dislocations and broken bones, one must pull them to put them in their original place, and from all the remedies, it is better to use the medicine than the spirit, and again cold water and a good rest.'[55]

The handbook also provides information on how people could tell the difference between plants, how to recognize poisonous plants and fungi, and what quick solutions they could implement to avoid death until the arrival of a doctor. In the paragraphs

[46] The information can be found in Țiucra 1873, 16–17.
[47] Habor 2015, 121.
[48] Godea 2021, 317, 326.
[49] Godea 2012, 323.
[50] In Romanian: 's-a deschis potica din Sebiș' (Sebiș is a town, 82 kilometers from Arad).
[51] Godea 2012, 279, 350.
[52] Godea 2012, 314, 316.
[53] Godea 2012, 280, 322.
[54] Țiucra 1873, 1.
[55] Țiucra 1873, 9.

dealing with accidental poisoning, Țiucra devoted an essential place to poisonous plants and mushrooms, describing them and precisely identifying the places where they grew. His readers could be safe following his advice. Like in the other chapters, prevention is the primary goal. He also described the symptoms caused once the plants were ingested. Nonetheless, he did not provide any suggestions for treating symptoms caused by these plants. Among the mentioned plants are cypress spurge (*euphorbia cyparissias*), the Henbane, Belladonna, Hemlock, (White) Hellebore, Narbonne and Star-of-Bethlehem. For example, in the section dedicated to *balandaritialele*[56] (*Datura stramonium*) he noted: 'These grow in slippery places and have big white flowers and a piney head full of flower seeds that make ill the children breastfed upon them. The seed can cause fever, muscle tension, gristle, ill senses, gnashing of teeth and death.'[57]

Țiucra described various treatments that could be performed with palliative substances that people had at home, such as salt, vinegar, honey, alcohol and sometimes even plum brandy. He wrote about the virtues of substances that presumably had beneficial effects on several conditions, such as oil: against feverish sweat and chest pain, cattle lice and horse scab. **Vinegar** is also recommended for treating numerous conditions. Bread crust soaked in vinegar and put on the forehead was recommended for headaches. Vinegar was also recommended as a disinfectant, but it could also be used to stop bleeding in case of wounds; moreover, salty vinegar had sterilizing properties for wounds caused by poisonous bites (before sucking the poison out): 'When someone hurts oneself with some sharpened object or with something else, the blood must be stopped by dipping a rag from a shirt in vinegar or brandy and to strongly tie the cut, still pouring brandy from time to time over the bind…'.[58] Țiucra also recommended washing one's teeth with vinegar in order to remove bad smell. Vinegar was also useful for treating animals: boiled with sugar and water it became nutrition for bees, in the years when the quantity of honey was not enough for sustaining the bees over the winter, but it could also be used in a mixture to treat sheep diseases.

Zaitinul[59] **('oil')** was recommended for all kinds of wounds, especially for skin burns. It was supposed to be heated on fire and turned into an unguent. With this substance, one had to lubricate a clean piece of paper, put it on the wound and change it often until the healing began. Oil was recommended for stomach pain as well: 'you rub the belly with *Zaitinu* or hot ash mixed with embers and water as hot as one can bear it.'[60]

Lye of ashes is recommended for poisonous wasp bites, **brandy** with salt for stomach pain and **sour stone (alum)** and **charcoal** for disinfecting open wounds, 'if the blood does not stop, grind some sour stone and wrap it with some flour like ground charcoal, and that mixture spread it all over the cut and tie it firmly, and it will stop,' the teacher wrote.

Țiucra also recommended some remedies that were not so accessible in villages. **Coffee** was mentioned for headaches and for waking up after hard drunkenness. Another

[56] *Balandaritia* is a Transylvanian regionalism used to denominate *ciumăfaie* (in English, 'Devil's Trumpet,' 'Thorn Apple' or 'Jimsonweed'/'Jimson Weed'). The word *balandariția, balandarița* or *bolundarița* probably derives from the Hungarian word *bolond*, meaning 'crazy.'

[57] Țiucra 1873, 19.

[58] Țiucra 1873, 9.

[59] *Zaitinu* is probably *zăitin*, meaning 'oil' (Mărgărit 2012, 238).

[60] Țiucra 1873, 51.

solution for headaches was **camphor** melted in alcohol, mixed with a bit of saffron; a cloth had to be dipped in this mixture and put on the forehead to solve the problem. He mentioned camphor also for repelling flies or treating eye diseases: fresh egg white, crushed sugar and camphor whipped in a bowl until they became a mousse and then placed on a patch over the eye.

For treating the ones bitten by sick animals, especially rabid dogs, cats, wolves, or foxes, he suggested the same, rather unusual, treatment, for both humans and cattle, assuring his readers that those who tried this remedy suffered no harm. He proposed the conservation in salt of 'green bugs called little worms' that have to be ingested:

> For humans: in the evenings, after dinner, one must give the bitten 1 to 5 worms. If he feels nausea, one can hide them inside his food, and the less sensitive must eat them plain because they do not taste bad. They are salty like Easter bread; then, some stomach cramps will follow and a feeling of heaviness, but after 12 hours, everything will go away.[61]

He also suggested a recipe for an unguent that allegedly treated any kind of wound. For its preparation one had to appeal to the apothecary.

> Buy from the apothecary distilled *Nienberger fasteru*[62] in value of 50 Kreuzer [currency; equals half a Gulden]*;* in a clean *zaitinu* [oil] heated on fire then make the unguent and lubricate a clean piece of paper and put in on the wound and often change it until you see the healing begins.[63]

These types of universal remedies were popular and many newspapers published advertisements for 'true universal medicine.' In 1886, there was an advertisement for *Whilhelm's Thea curățitoare de sânge* [Whilhelm's Thea blood cleaner], a concoction, that was supposedly curing rheumatism, open wounds and other types of affections.[64] All the advertised products had fancy names like: *Sucul și Bomboanele Spitwegerich* [Spitwegerich Juice and Candy], or *Extractul lui Shaker* [Shaker's Extract] and they were mostly doing more harm than good, being severely criticized by doctors.[65]

Among the sicknesses mentioned by the author are colds or chills (the name he uses for fever symptoms), diarrhea, stomach pain, vomiting, hemorrhage, heartache, cough, toothache, blindness and erysipelas, but he also gave advice for dealing with contagious diseases like chickenpox and cholera.

From his diary we know the teacher was familiar with the symptoms and consequences of cholera, which seems to have been a permanent presence in the Arad area in the nineteenth century. Since the great cholera of 1831, the Buteni region was regularly affected by the disease, each new episode resulting in numerous deaths among the population. The disasters caused by cholera are mentioned in 1848, 1849, when in October 'it killed many

[61] Țiucra 1873, 13.
[62] Presumably a product bought from Nürnberg, Germany.
[63] Țiucra 1873, 67.
[64] Habor 2015, 116–117.
[65] Habor 2015, 118–119.

of the Hungarian people,' in August 1851, when again many people died, including the teacher's brother Theodore and his wife, and in September and October 1855, when 16 people died in Bârsa. The last record of this disease appears in 1873, and the teacher stated that the time of great cholera started in the village on 1 June and lasted for three months.[66]

Analyzing his advice, it is somewhat clear that the teachers were among those responsible for educating people in matters of public health. He admits that there was no cure to stop cholera, and his suggestions refer mostly to hygiene measures. He recommended good room ventilation, keeping the house clean, changing the bedding often, drinking a glass of wine in the morning, eating fat-free and simple light food in moderate amounts, avoiding low temperatures and physically tiring work and consulting a doctor. He did not provide recipes for this dangerous disease, being aware that he was not qualified to treat it. Instead, he noted common-sense advice aimed at not worsening the illness and keeping the sick alive until the doctor's arrival. For treating cholera doctors prescribed mint tea, mint (for chewing), sage, wood bark, laudanum, bismuth subnitrate, quinine, boiled water, thermally prepared food, clean air, quassia extract (for cleaning mustaches), crystal iron-sulfur melted with distilled water, wine spirit, mint oil and carbolic acid, pepper and cloves.[67]

For chickenpox, another contagious disease, Țiucra mentioned that if the pustules start bursting, the following rules must be followed: moderation in eating and drinking, no fruits, drinking beverages that make one hot and cause sweat, fresh air, keeping active and not padded in clothes. It is also mandatory for the afflicted not to scratch their pustules and keep a good spirit.

From his recommendations one can deduce what were the most common afflictions. For example, regarding stomach sickness he mentioned that many people suffer from it because it is difficult to establish what causes it and often people die because they ingest the same food or drink without knowing they are in danger. For these situations, he recommended 'sour milk, with a lot of whey, kraut or sour cucumber juice, up to two liters,' and also 'skillfully warming the stomach by putting wet hot ashes wrapped on top of the stomach until the vomiting or diarrhea starts; by then, the disease is gone.'[68]

He also included pieces of advice for hemorrhoids,[69] from which everyone was apparently suffering:

> One can find this disease in every person, which is caused by excessive sitting for writing and so on, or too heavy a burden that causes swelling of the belly, pain, and twinges in the entire body. When the man feels this, he must know that the hedgehogs [hemorrhoids] have *decârnitu* [regionalism, perhaps moved or twisted]. The best cure for hedgehogs [hemorrhoids] is gunpowder and natural honey. Take the gunpowder as much as fits in a thimble, distill it in a glass of water and drink, then immediately take a spoonful of honey.[70]

[66] Godea 2012, 289.
[67] Habor 2015, 111.
[68] Țiucra 1873, 25.
[69] When he refers to hemorrhoids, he also uses the terms *trânsi,* a regionalism, or *arici,* meaning 'hedgehogs.'
[70] Țiucra 1873, 67–68.

Another category of advice concerns the treatment of those suffering from alcoholism, known to be a severe problem in poor environments. It seems that the problem was so serious that in 1871 priests, teachers and doctors were publicly urged by the editors of *Transilvania* [Transylvania] to teach people about the dangers of this vice.[71] The teacher's writings include no less than three entries on this subject. For severe alcohol poisoning, he recommended tea with sugar and milk, but without rum, salt melted in water, or coffee and, for those who drank spirits, he recommended replacing strong alcohol with beer.

He was concerned with providing lifestyle bits of advice for overweight people, for example, to whom he recommended more exercise, smoking, walking or riding and lots of sweating, as well as swimming in cold water, avoiding alcoholic drinks and fatty foods, light soups in the evening, stopping eating before they feel full and sleeping less.

Țiucra also paid attention to aesthetic issues such as warts, but he nevertheless cautioned his presumed readers about the toxicity of cosmetics that women used for makeup. The word Țiucra used for denominating makeup was *ruminele*, a regionalism deriving from *a rumeni*, meaning 'to color in red.' The teacher was against their use mainly because they were made of substances that could become dangerous for the skin and for children, especially infants.

One category of advice that Țiucra provides in his booklet refers to the storage and preservation of food, remedies for partially spoiled food and drink and solutions for eliminating pests. This advice was precious to village people, and preserving nourishment and avoiding eating damaged foods sometimes made the difference between life and death. Diet, next to hygiene, was a constant topic in the articles written by doctors in periodicals, and it considered among the most important factors in the constant fight against diseases.[72] In Arad, for instance, one can mention doctor G. Vuia's contribution to the popularization of hygiene and dietary rules in a material adapted for priest and teachers, where he noted the importance of a healthy diet and guidelines for how food had to be prepared and preserved.[73]

In the same vein, Țiucra noted, for example, a recipe for preserving grapes for up to eight months, if placed with bran and corn flour in a sealed jar and kept cold. For plums, he suggested picking them before they were fully ripe, placing them in a bowl covered with plum leaves, and keeping them in a well, where they would last until winter. Meat that was problematic to store on summer days could be kept for up to four weeks in sour milk, which had to be replaced every two days. He also gave practical tips on how to clarify wine, how to repair wine that had lost its strength or had turned moldy, how to clean rancid butter, or how to recover frozen eggs. He knew how to get rid of garden fleas, mice, ants and cockroaches. Most of the suggested remedies could be prepared with accessible substances such as vinegar, bitter salt, brick, ash, sage, quick lime, brimstone and wormwood.

Animal diseases were a significant problem for Țiucra and the community of Bârsa. In his diary, he mentioned on a yearly basis whether the animals were healthy or whether they suffered from various illnesses. Thus, we learn that the sheep were suffering from capering

[71] Habor 2015, 171–172.

[72] Habor 2015, 191.

[73] George Vuia, *Higiena poporală cu privire la săteanul roman. Învățături practice pentru preoți, învățători, seminarii, școli normale, licee și pentru toți cei care țin la sănătatea poporului de la țară*, Arad 1884. See Habor 2015, 191.

or coenurosis, a disease caused by parasites that attach to the animal's brain. The disease manifests itself by dizziness and convulsions and, rarely, it can be transmitted to humans. To treat the animals, Țiucra suggested the nasal administration of spirits and honey with barley juice and vinegar, along with a bloodletting procedure.[74] Another mentioned disease affecting sheep is sheep cough, for which Țiucra recommended the root of the hairy plant (*Cirsium arvense*) mixed with bran or chili pepper (*piperca*). He also provided solutions for curing cattle diarrhea, for which he suggested milk mixed with bran, eggs and oak bark and leaves, or elderflower. Țiucra also noted some practical advice, for example, on how to repel a particular type of fly from the *Simuliidae*[75] family, mentioned also in his diary for causing much damage in 1856.[76] Actually, his preoccupation with this subject is often apparent in the diary, where he mentioned in 1852 other diseases that affected animals, such as the plague, of mouth and nails sour that affected sheep, goats and calves. In another entry, he mentioned pigs that died of different illnesses. In his handbook, he included multiple remedies for treating pigs: 'The substance obtained by boiling rancid bones is useful for the pigs, given to them on an empty stomach. In pig's cholera, it is also useful to catch the small frogs that live under the pig's water basins or the old wood or bridges, but one must choose the frogs with the red bellies.'[77]

Conclusions

Țiucra's manuscript is a collection of various materials on all the health-related topics that the Romanian rural community should, in his opinion, be aware of. The handbook thus deals with first aid measures, contagious diseases, accidents, cases of poisoning, eyesight problems, toothache, stomach pain, unhealthy dietary habits, but also includes practical advice on how to preserve food and eradicate pests. The approach to these problems resembles in some cases the advice given by doctors in Romanian periodicals or by public authorities in times of pandemics, while other entries are bits of advice taken from folklore and yet others have no relevance, being related to superstitions that were still quite popular in Romanian rural communities.

One naturally wonders to what extent contemporary publications influenced Iosif Țiucra in his preoccupations with communities' health problems. We know that the teacher from Bârsa was familiar with Romanian newspapers published in Transylvania and Hungary. Being an active member of the ASTRA, he was likely aware of, or even involved in the association's activities and projects concerning health education for Romanian rural communities. In newspapers such as *Transilvania* [Transylvania], *Telegraful Român* [The Romanian Telegraph], or *Observatorul* [The Observer], doctors and members of ASTRA's scientific section, published articles that aimed at popularizing knowledge on issues of personal and public hygiene in Transylvania.[78]

[74] They were not accustomed to raising large herds of sheep in the region, hence knew little about actual treatments. The respective disease is traditionally treated, even today, by professional and skillful shepherds by means of trepanation and live brain surgery, from which the animal usually recovers. It can also be contacted by humans, also requiring brain surgery. I thank the peer reviewer for the pertinent observations.

[75] In Romanian: *Muscele columbace*.

[76] Godea 2012, 323.

[77] Țiucra 1873, 36.

[78] Habor 2012, 501.

It seems Țiucra was not the only teacher that had foreseen the need for such a manual. Aneta Oarcea mentions in her study dedicated to the involvement of teachers from the Arad County in maintaining population health at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century that the practitioners of this profession were actively involved in the authorities' efforts to introduce sanitary education among rural communities. Petru Vancu, a teacher in Măderat, published similar information in his monographic study, later, in 1905. He gathered traditional remedies, mentioning, just like Țiucra, the beneficial role of different plants in curing diseases and ameliorating symptoms. To offer but few examples, he mentioned garlic for relieving ear and stomach pain, or acacia and Lady's Mantle tea for treating cough and sore throat.[79] Similar to Țiucra's manuscript, scientific knowledge was entangled with traditional remedies in Vancu's case as well.

The purpose Țiucra wanted to serve by writing this booklet is unclear. However, it is evident even from the title he chose for his manuscript that he intended to create a valuable guide for the ordinary people living in Romanian villages, mainly to prevent the spread of diseases and to provide first aid. How these tips were supposed to circulate among the people is open to debate. Maybe Țiucra wanted to publish the material as a printed volume or as articles in the periodicals of the time; considering how the handbook was structured and written, the former option is more plausible. It is also possible that the text was circulating in his village and was used by the ones who could read it.

In 1878 the state started a sustained campaign of instructing the population about basic rules of diet and hygiene, with the participation of Romanian Transylvanian doctors educated in Vienna, Budapest and Cluj. Oana Habor mentions the works published by George Vuia and Simion Stoica, for example, which were clearly more systematic, more complex and better documented than Țiucra's text, although there was common ground between their recommendations.[80]

Țiucra identified the needs of his community and he acted accordingly, using, with good intentions, all the knowledge he had on the subject. However, unfortunately, he was limited in medical training and relied a lot on folklore and empirical treatments. In some cases, he failed to provide real solutions, though in others his suggestions might have prevented the illness from aggravating. Considering he was not the only teacher willing to write about health problems, it is evident that there was an acute need for information among villagers in Romanian rural communities. The manuscript provides important insight data about mentalities and medical concerns in the second half of nineteenth century and, for historians interested in the subject, Țiucra's handbook and diary, correlated with other contemporary sources, provide an overview of the daily life in the Romanian villages in Arad County.

[79] Oarcea 2020, 77.

[80] Habor 2012, 500–505.

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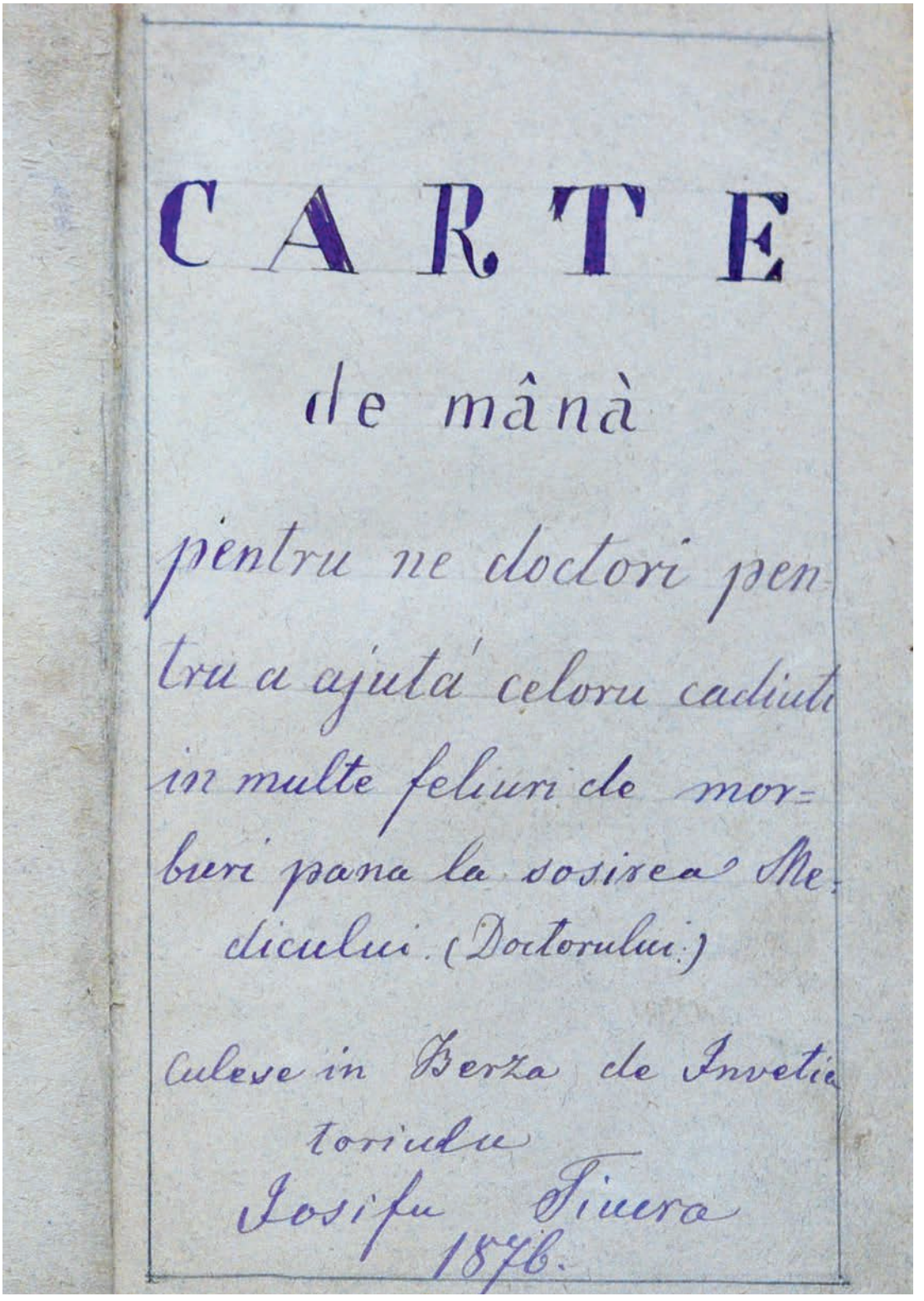

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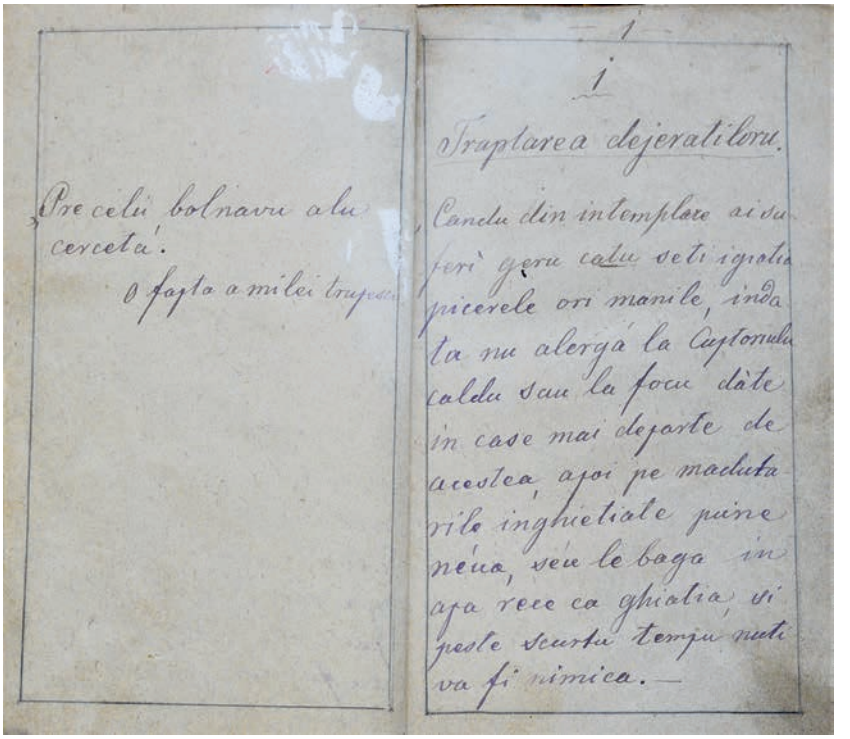

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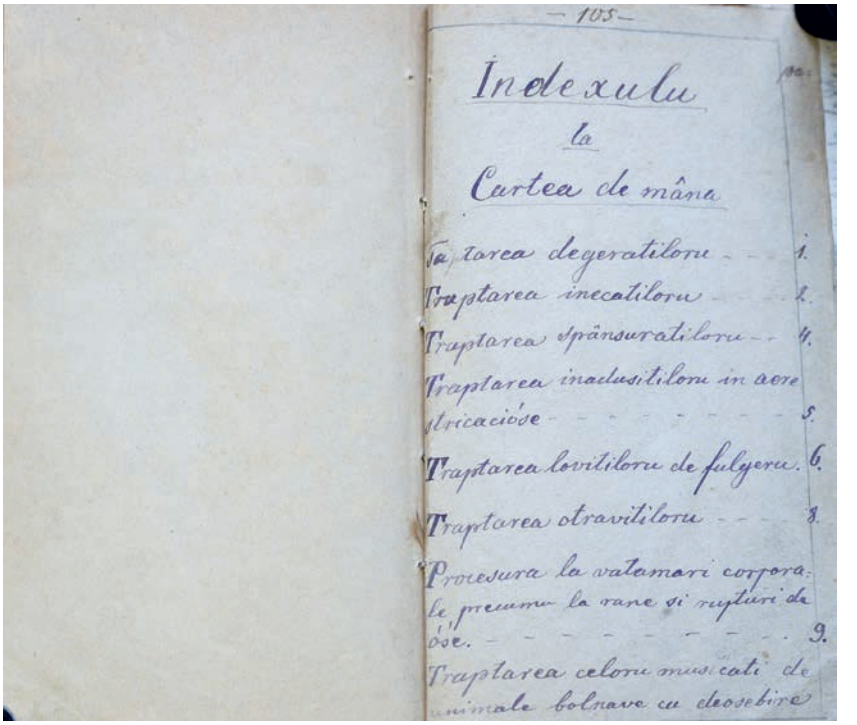

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HITLERJUGEND WAFFEN-SS DIVISION. FACES OF FANATICISM[*]

ADRIAN DRAGOȘ DEFTA[**]

Abstract: Research into the different types of fanaticism that animated some of the most notorious elite forces of the Third Reich represents a key investigation tool for any historian who applies hermeneutic and phenomenological criticism of combat motivation and morale among warriors belonging to Waffen-SS troops. The study below addresses the very specific features of the ordinary fighter conscripted to the 12th SS Panzer Division 'Hitlerjugend.' The fierce battles that compounded the Normandy Campaign (also known as *Operation Overlord*) of June – August 1944 were particularly shaped by the committed and uniquely involved units belonging to the Hitlerjugend Division, alternatively called the *Baby Division* by their Canadian, Australian and British opponents. These youngsters had been battle-hardened before their 'fire-baptism' due to a tough and professionally delivered military and propagandistic program aimed at transforming young soldiers into efficient killing machines, sufficiently indoctrinated so that they could perform outstanding duties through morale disengagement under contextual forces. Both theoretical and military training were delivered by a professional officer's corps, assisted by NCO's formed of veterans with a long battle experience on the Eastern Front. Cross investigation analyses were conducted with the purpose of gaining a complex view and better understanding of all social, psychological and military mechanisms that worked together in order to obtain Hitler's ultimate warrior: 'the Hitlerjugend soldier.'

Key words: Second World War, Third Reich, Waffen-SS, the 12th SS Panzer Division 'Hitlerjugend,' fanaticism

Rezumat: Fanatismul – sub diferitele lui forme dictate de specificitatea situației – reprezintă un domeniu de studiu esențial utilizat de cercetătorul care aplică metodologia hermeneutică în scopul analizării și explicitării fenomenologiei motivației combative și a dezangajării morale practicate de luptătorii trupelor Waffen-SS. Studiul prezent se adresează caracteristicilor psiho-sociale și combative ale soldatului tipic înrolat în Divizia 12 SS „Hitlerjugend", unul dintre ultimele corpuri de armată aruncate în luptă de Germania nazistă în etapa terminală a celui de-al Doilea Război Mondial. Bătăliile sălbatice care au caracterizat Debarcarea din Normandia, în cadrul așa-numitei operațiuni „Overlord" din perioada iunie – august 1944, au fost în mod definitoriu amprentate de prestația militară a unui număr semnificativ de unități aparținând Diviziei „Hitlerjugend", supranumită peiorativ „divizia copiilor" de către inamicii ei canadieni, britanici și australieni. Recruții acestei divizii de elită beneficiaseră de livrarea unui instructaj tehnico-tactic și teoretic-propagandistic deosebit de eficient din partea unui corp ofițeresc dislocat din alte divizii Waffen-SS, alcătuit în marea lui majoritate din veterani experimentați și încercați, cu bătălii grele la activ purtate pe Frontul de Est și în alte campanii de anvergură ale celui de-al Doilea Război Mondial. Studiul utilizează o analiză investigativă combinată (surse primare, secundare și memorialistică de război) menită să

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creioneze o perspectivă complexă asupra mecanismelor sociale, psihologice și militare folosite în scopul obținerii luptătorului suprem al lui Hitler: „soldatul Hitlerjugend".

Cuvinte cheie: Al Doilea Război Mondial, Al Treilea Reich, Waffen-SS, Divizia SS „Hitlerjugend", fanatism

Among several recurring definitions based on behavior in battle, fanaticism is one of the most used labels attached to the Hitlerjugend soldiers. Its popularity results from a series of convenient usages: it is polysemous—a plurality of semantic meanings can be attributed to it; because it is so versatile, it also renders further analysis moot; and, finally, due to these considerations, it is a way to limit other examinations from coming to light. Some Canadian historians[1] claim that the fanatic label ascribed to the Hitlerjugend soldiers does not necessarily come from their attitude towards the prisoners of war; instead, it is thought to be mainly a by-product of their ruthless actions witnessed during battle. A report by General Dwight Eisenhower contained the following short but vivid description of their battle performance: 'in attack or defense they fought to a man with a fanatical courage.'[2]

Secret orders were allegedly given to the Hitlerjugend soldiers by their superior officers mandating them 'not to give themselves up and rather commit suicide if there were no other opportunities left.'[3] In the absence of any official archival records of such orders, the authenticity of some of these claims is disputable. Nevertheless, reports found in several Canadian War Diaries seem to confirm this allegation. Some Canadian historians, such as Michael Sullivan, do not seem to be deterred by the lack of any records of official, written orders; on the contrary, the second-hand claims are simply regarded as 'considerable evidence' given the many years of ideological indoctrination that the Hitlerjugend soldiers had been subjected to.[4] The allegation of fanaticism had, in fact, been largely used by all the parties involved in World War II, irrespective of the side they found themselves on: the Germans referred to the Russians as fanatics, while the Allies referred to the Germans in the same way. In the early stages of World War II, the Germans were among the first to use the 'fanatic' designation when referring to Polish fighters: 'the Poles were *insidious*, mentally subnormal, cowardly, fanatical and so on.'[5] On the other hand, Heinz Höhne believes that the intensive ideologization program had a much lesser influence over the character of the Waffen-SS warriors than initially believed:

> The SS soldiers lived in another world […] far removed from the ideological verbiage of the SS and they won for themselves a select place in the annals of war. The Waffen-SS

[1] Some of the most relevant Canadian historians who have produced significant research on Hitlerjugend warriors are hereafter quoted and analysed.

[2] In order to avoid confusion, I must emphasise that the present case-study has been carried out on particular soldiers and units belonging to the 12th SS Panzerdivision 'Hitlerjugend,' not on Hitler Youth (NSDAP Youth Wing Organisation). This confusion is still largely spread among some well-known historians and World War II commentators.

[3] LAC, RG 24, v. 10427/8.

[4] Sullivan 2001, 45–46.

[5] Evans 2009, 20.

> became the personification of military steadfastness and aggressiveness but has gone down as the most controversial troops ever. […] It was the bitter struggle in Russia which finally broke the 'umbilical cord' connecting the Waffen-SS to Himmler. The emblems and memories of fallen comrades were woven to a mystical ribbon which kept the Waffen-SS together to the bitter end.[6]

A common behavior ascribed to fanaticism refers to the presence of unpredictable, inconsistent and aberrant manifestations. Several descriptions of the close combat behaviors displayed by soldiers belonging to the 12th SS Pz. Div. 'Hitlerjugend' describe them as erratic. These observations were based on primary sources (including war journals, testimonies and reports) and collected by historians and various other researchers from all sides of the war. Let us start first with a series of Canadian memoirs from the 'North Nova Scotia Highlanders' regiment. For example, Major J. D. Learmont found the Hitlerjugend soldiers to be:

> […] wildly excited and erratic. They shouted, screamed and behaved in an excessive and unusual way. Their actions were such as they may well have been caused by drug consumption.[7]

Sergeant C. B. Morris from the same Canadian regiment provided a similar account:

> They conducted themselves like lunatics, rather than ordinary soldiers. They were shooting their weapons erratically and behaving like they had been drugged. Their faces were flushed as they were dancing and turning around in a very strange way. I was accompanied by 10 men, some from my own platoon and others from 'A' Company when we were actually assaulted across a field. The Germans started firing their sub-machine guns at our heels, shouting and acting like Indians.[8]

Private J. M. MacDonald also recalls that:

> A number of them (German soldiers) were literally frothing at the mouth, as they were shouting and screaming over and over again.[9]

Such descriptions illustrate a different image of the Waffen-SS soldier than the one we are familiar with. These descriptions which contain references to childish and ridiculous behaviors might be a direct consequence of the strong impact that the encounter with the Germans had on the Canadian fighter; secondly, their tonal consistency also seems to reveal some traces of prior exposure to propagandistic messages. If we take the testimonies cited above at face value, they seem to fulfill a certain behavioral expectation that had been attributed to the Hitlerjugend soldiers prior to any military engagement. It is also true that during the time spent in the pre-military camps (the so-called WELs or

[6] Höhne 1984, 487.
[7] LAC, RG 24, v. 12842/366.
[8] LAC, RG 24, v. 12842/353.
[9] LAC, RG 24, v. 12842/180.

Wehrertüchtigungslager), the Hitlerjugend recruits received a thorough field instruction: such intensive training sessions were intended to sharpen their instinctive connection to the wilderness. These exercises were specifically designed to cover a series of night activities in the field ranging from patrolling or orienteering in complete darkness to terrain games and close fighting sessions. Interviewed by historian Michael Buddrus,[10] a former WEL inspector, SS-Sturmbannführer Gerhard Hein outlined the necessity of including group conflict exercises and physical fighting simulations in the night games; he considered that such training was necessary to trigger their natural, adolescent need for violence. The WEL-type special training program delivered a great level of activities adapted to a youthful frame of mind which strengthened the boys' willingness to overcome hardships of any kind and built up their self-confidence.[11] Further analysis of the Hitlerjugend's erratic behavior can be conducted by adopting a psychological framework of analysis.

Another instance that describes the Hitlerjugend soldiers' behavior is found in the War Diary belonging to the 1st Battalion of the Canadian Scottish Regiment: the incident in question occurred on 15 August 1944, during the battle for Hill 168. Seeing as the German positions had started to successively collapse, a young grenadier from the 26th SS Pz. Gren. Regiment chose to commit suicide rather than surrender to the Canadian troops.[12] Similar accounts reveal another episode that occurred during the last phase of the battle around Falaise; approximately 50–60 Hitlerjugend soldiers who found themselves trapped behind the walls of a school were the protagonists of this incident. The Canadian troops managed to conduct a sustained assault on the school, and under these circumstances, none of the German combatants wanted to leave their critical position to report their dire situation. Faced with the prospect of capture or death, their attitude was colored by the helplessness of the situation. Lots were drawn and a soldier was appointed to deliver the message and, by extension, to live while his fellow comrades were killed in battle. At the end of the day, when the battle was over, the Canadians managed to capture only four survivors. The above incident was described differently depending on which side was making the assessment: whereas Hubert Meyer saw it as 'supreme proof of gallantry and determination to sacrifice themselves,'[13] the Canadian commentators perceived it as just another categorical example of futile fanaticism.

To some degree, the example above and the subsequent appraisals reveal the 'double standards' of evaluation – the side that makes the assessment also shapes its tone. For example, on the eve of the battle of Al Alamein, Field-Marshall Montgomery's address to his troops included a controversial passage which his German enemies could have very well categorized as 'fanatical:' 'let no man surrender so long as he is unwounded and can fight.'[14] The concept of fanaticism implies the perpetuation of a clearly established set of political, ideological or religious beliefs; nevertheless, several post-war studies support the hypothesis that a soldier's concern for personal survival was superseded by his sense of comradeship and the emotional bonds formed with his fellow comrades.[15] We deal with

[10] Buddrus 2003.

[11] Hein 1943 (*Was leisten die Wehrertüchtigungslager*?), as referenced in Buddrus 2003.

[12] LAC, RG 24, v. 15038.

[13] Meyer 2005, 197.

[14] Fennell 2011, 208.

[15] Shils, Janowitz 1982, 285–310.

some sort of dualistic approach towards the value of life cultivated by the Hitlerjugend ethos: we see the drive towards self-sacrifice, predicated on the notion that ultimately, individual life is insignificant in the grand scheme of Nazi ideals, nationalistic agendas or military victories; besides, when it comes to comradeship, it is common to share hardships or to go to the rescue of one's comrades. In this sense, we see how no sacrifice would be too high if it meant that the lives of others would be spared. Of course, this line of logic was the usual *Kameradenschaft* pattern cultivated within Waffen-SS troops. This aspect of the fighting ethos can be found in most of the elite military forces of the world and presupposes the self-sacrifice of the individual who has put his life in the hands of the others. In turn, others will also pay the same price in support of the individual. Team spirit is seen as a key element of combat motivation. Consequently, we could conclude that soldiers fight for each other as much as they fight for their own survival.

In his sociological study, 'The American Soldier,' Samuel Stouffer examines the main motivations that drove soldiers to fight. He interviewed World War II veterans to determine what exactly kept them going during the war. The most common response was that they needed to end the war, so they could return home. The second most common response referred to the strong ties that existed between the soldiers and the powerful bonds that had developed during the combat operations.[16] Another inquiry sought to identify what were the most powerful sources of support: the most common response was 'prayers' while the second most common was 'loyalty towards fellow soldiers.'[17] Despite what has been depicted in films and in the vast literature of the post-war period, Stouffer's book demonstrated that for the ordinary American soldiers of World War II, patriotism, commitment to the cause and ideology were not seen as high priority combat motivations. To a certain extent, similar conclusions can be drawn about the German soldiers too. Stouffer's assessment is supported by US Army military historian, Samuel Lyman Marshall, author of several books about warfare; Marshall is quoted to have said that: 'men do not fight for a cause, but because they do not want to let their comrades down.'[18]

Could this assessment also apply to the Wehrmacht soldiers? An early sociological study examined German prisoners of war in an attempt to identify their main motivation to fight even when faced with the inevitable fact that Germany was going to lose the war. The research was conducted by Edward Shils and Morris Janowitz. The main driver of combat motivation was derived from the existence of strong interpersonal relationships within the military unit, hereafter referred to as the 'primary group.' These close rapports provided support and increased self-esteem and cultivated a sense of power among soldiers from both officer corps. The second source of combat motivation stemmed from their allegiance to Hitler and the National Socialist State.[19] These findings reveal to what extent a sustained ideological education can affect a soldier's motivation and combat behavior, and also establish the existence of certain differences in the psychological makeup of German and American soldiers. Furthermore, Shils and Janowitz's study also found that any disruption in the 'primary group' – i.e., being isolated from their commanding officers – made the

[16] Stouffer 1949, 107.
[17] Stouffer 1949, 110.
[18] Marshall 1947, 43.
[19] Shils, Janowitz 1982, 281.

decision to surrender much easier, especially once their main combat motivation had been suppressed.

Did the National Socialist doctrine fail to incorporate itself in the psychology of the Waffen-SS soldier? This question seems logical, since several sociological studies on the combat motivation of the Wehrmacht soldiers have found that the National Socialist doctrine was only a secondary source of influence. The Goebbels propaganda program seems to have targeted to a far greater extent the Waffen-SS units and, where the 12th SS Pz. Div. 'Hitlerjugend' is concerned, it is safe to assume that its members were subjected to an environment designed to indoctrinate them as thoroughly as possible. Building an impeccable *esprit de corps* within the Waffen-SS formations had been a constant preoccupation since Paul Hausser was appointed inspector of the SS-Verfügungstruppe in 1936. Hausser was put in charge with designing the military training program and ensuring the ideological training of the troops. The motivation of the Hitlerjugend soldier should stem not from his allegiance to the 12th SS Division, but from the Nazi creed (this recommendation was proposed during a meeting attended by senior leaders of the Hitler Youth and Waffen-SS that was held on 16 February 1943). Additionally, subjecting the recruits to the six-week ideological and military training program of the WEL was intended to cultivate a higher form of *politische Ausbildung* ('political education') focused on the more ideological themes of National Socialism. How could the Hitlerjugend soldiers become more motivated by idealistic aims than by anything else? The typical Hitlerjugend soldier received a twofold type of education: on one level, he was subjected to a strong ideological indoctrination regimen; on the other level, his general education was also well supported.

An American visiting professor at Marburg University in 1946 gives an insightful assessment of the young people he came across, all of whom had been members of the Hitler Youth Organization:

> I have never had better students than those in Marburg. For me and my colleagues, these youngsters displayed unparalleled intellectual diligence, characterized by a deep understanding of the problems of the time and by a thrilling desire to acquire knowledge and necessary information about the methods of scientific work. It is also true that only a few of these students could have been described as convinced democrats […]. It appears to me as the manifestation of a cautious attitude suitable to any reasonable person who is reluctant to jump from one ideology to a new one that he does not know and had not seen it yet at work.[20]

The above statement seems to indicate that the National Socialist schooling was capable to provide, to a certain and maybe limited extent, the young generation with the tools of 'intellectual diligence characterized by a deep understanding of the problems.'[21] Based on the visiting professor's evaluation, we may draw a conclusion on what was the actual 'intellectual material' of the typical Hitlerjugend soldier who had passed all levels of political and social education prior to his recruitment. On average, the ordinary

[20] Koch 2000, 258.

[21] Koch 2000, 258.

American soldier of 2012 completed 12 years of education prior to enrolment, an aspect which suggests that the contemporary American soldier has graduated high school; most of the Hitlerjugend soldiers from 1944 had also completed a 10–12 year-long rigorous educational program (including the AH-Schulen [Adolf Hitler Schools] where they could be enrolled from the age of 12). They were indeed the most representative example and, at the same time, the most definitive ideological achievement of a generation that had been military trained and ideologically socialized during the National Socialist dictatorship.

In analyzing whether the actions of the Hitlerjugend soldiers were a display of fanaticism or of heroism, we need to assess whether they acted as 'automatons' destined only for death and glory, or whether their actions were the only way to achieve their mission. Did they fight instinctively – as the ultimate killing machine, a product of formidable propaganda? Or did they internalize the precepts of the Nazi creed as the result of a laborious learning process whose effectiveness was reflected in the soldiers' actions? The present assessment seeks to determine the soldiers' behavioral profile by following a rigorous sociological and psychological methodology. The analysis focuses on the soldier's ideological values and how they impacted his ability to execute the orders assigned to him. In the particular case of the Hitlerjugend soldiers, this transfer was made possible through the direct involvement of the officer corps and NCOs who were tasked with delivering the necessary ideological, technical, physical and military training. The training was a long, elaborate process, closely supervised in order to ensure that the highest standards of warfare were met. After all, only through warfare could the supreme goals of the cause be achieved. In order for the military to apply the political will that would help it reach its goals, exemplary army leadership was essential. This was also the case with other armed forces of the time, where the people in charge of the troops had to be formidable officers and NCOs. On a number of occasions, it could be seen just how streamlined the military's operation process had become.

Since 1933, the German doctrine of military leadership had outlined the essential qualities that any army leader should have:

> The army personnel occupying positions of command is a compelling example that reflects the influence of the leadership on the armed forces. An officer who demonstrates cold-bloodedness, decisiveness, resoluteness and courage will determine his troops to join him in risky endeavors such as abandoning the trenches and launching himself at the enemy. But he must first find the way to the hearts of his subordinates, and to do so, he needs to acquire an understanding of their feelings and motivations, as well as to be able to demonstrate an incessant concern for their well-being. In times of emergency and of grave danger, mutual trust becomes the strongest foundation on which discipline and bonds are built, and by extension, on which one's very survival is underpinned.[22]

The passage quoted above fits perfectly into the general military doctrine specific to the *Weimarer Republik* [Weimar Republic] and later, to Nazi Germany: the Reichswehr Regulations of 1933/1934 stated that 'Warfare is an art, a scientifically based, creative

[22] *Der Chef der Heeresleitung* 1933, no. 1.

activity. It places the highest demands on personality.'[23] If this were the case, then the assertion that the average Waffen-SS soldier was a mere puppet does not work.

Whether or not warfare theories were treated as 'a creative activity' in the years after Hitler's ascension to power remains a contentious topic; the same can be said of the old-style Prussian military doctrine on warfare: determining to what degree it was incorporated in the military doctrine of the Waffen-SS is still up for debate. Richard Schulze-Kossens, former SS adjutant to the Foreign Minister, Joachim von Ribbentrop, and former commander of SS-Junkerschule, Bad Tölz, wrote a romanticized, yet illustrative analysis of the Waffen-SS Junkerschulen's mission. The Junkerschulen had been tasked to train an entirely new generation of Waffen-SS officers. Schulze-Kossens thought that the new Führerkorps had emerged in a sort of spiritual environment built on 'a unique kind of brotherhood:'

> A unique brotherhood existed where the officer candidates would engage in continuous exchanges and critical reassessments. This outcome reflected how unusual the whole situation was, especially when contrasted to the traditional, dogmatic and military practices. Here, the young minds were awakened, self-reliant and impressively effervescent.[24]

Another identified particularity consisted of a consciously cultivated *kameradschaftliche* ('comradely') equality. The spirit of comradeship had been constantly nurtured so that it created a strong bond between all rank and file. In Schulze-Kossens' opinion, establishing a personal connection amongst all ranks was of great significance since it allowed the Waffen-SS soldiers and leaders alike to become strongly invested in the well-being of one another. Should this goal be achieved, the entire Waffen-SS force would have become the only classless military formation in the world. All members being equal meant that all had the opportunity to reach their full potential, irrespective of their rank. Whether this ideal was accomplished in practice remains to this day a contentious issue among military historians. Some of the objectives formulated by the Junkerschulen had to have been at least partially fulfilled, especially since equal attention had been paid to both the military training and the personal development aspects. Numerous divisional orders and other related documents from the 12th SS Pz. Div. 'Hitlerjugend' analyzed earlier confirm this assessment. Indeed, a certain ethos, typical to all Waffen-SS formations, had been closely cultivated in the Hitlerjugend Division, by virtue of rejecting certain traditional soldierly attitudes such as humbleness and submissiveness vis-à-vis superiors; this kind of attitude was considered to be completely incompatible with the Waffen-SS ethos[25] and, as such, was replaced with a set of values and creeds derived from the *Unsere Ehre heisst Treue*[26] motto. A thought-provoking conclusion can be drawn from comparing the leadership models promoted in the Waffen-SS era with the present-day Bundeswehr regulations; both describe the army leader as an individual who displays a wide set of soldierly virtues:

[23] *Der Chef der Heeresleitung* 1933, no.1.
[24] Schulze-Kossens 1982.
[25] Meyer 2005.
[26] 'My Honour is Loyalty' was the motto of the *Schutzstaffel* (SS) organisation.

> The personality of a military leader combined with *l'esprit de corps* is always essential for success. His exemplary behavior, consisting of the most exemplary attitudes, abilities and personal performance will shape those units subordinated to him.[27]

A similar comparison can be made between the qualities demanded of the military leaders from back then and those expected from the present-day commanders by contrasting the requirements listed in the documents belonging to the 12th SS Pz. Div. 'Hitlerjugend' with those found in contemporary regulations such as the 2007 Bundesministerium der Verteidigung (BMVg):

> A military commander should grant his subordinate leaders more leeway in conducting their missions. This freedom is required for immediate action and is intended to increase the subordinates' personal responsibility. Subordinate leaders are therefore allowed to act independently and adapt to the situations that present themselves in order to respond promptly and seize the best opportunity to take action.[28]

Additionally, an order issued by the divisional command of the Hitlerjugend Division in 1944 stipulated that any immediate decision that needed to be taken by the SS leaders had to adapt to the situation and not be influenced by the will of the superiors: such a decision would establish the priorities as well as identify the proper assault and defensive tactics that the situation required. The division of responsibilities was clearly stated: the higher rank officers oversaw the overall completion of the task, while the NCOs were responsible for selecting the methods that would achieve the mission's goals.[29] Moreover, superior officers were limited with regard to what dispositions they could give in order to not interfere with the orders issued by the NCOs. The comparison of the two cases (Reichswehr Regulations 1933–1934 and Bundeswehr Regulations 2007) reveals that, in either situation, both officers and NCOs had been trained to operate within a flexible framework of decision-making which they could shape at their will, instead of submissively deferring to it like automatons. In light of this, a logical conclusion can be drawn: Waffen-SS strategists were aware of the basic prerequisites needed to obtain tactical success against an enemy that held the numerical advantage, that was better armed and better equipped and which, at this point in time, surpassed the Germans in all the essential areas of warfare.

Most contemporary historians regard the German soldiers' commitment, discipline and courage as displays of 'Nazi fanaticism' or 'suicidal aggressiveness.' To a certain degree, applying the label of fanaticism is justified and cannot be disputed; after all, SS-Brigadeführer Fritz Witt himself demanded that his subordinates fight under the SS ethos 'like fanatics.'[30] The claim that the soldiers were simple-minded 'Nazi fanatics' can be critically interrogated once we take into account a number of features specific to the National Socialist society.

The most popular representation of the SS 'fanatics' is that which refers to an infamous politico-military elite force comprised of fanatical, indoctrinated, blue-eyed and blond-haired Nazi Aryans. If, among all the Waffen-SS formations, there is one that

[27] BMVg FSH, 2007.
[28] BMVg FSH, 2007.
[29] NARA, T 354 R. 154, F 3797376.
[30] NARA, T 354 R. 156, F 3800398.

embodied all these features, then it would certainly be the 12th SS Pz. Div. 'Hitlerjugend.' The entire national education curriculum at that time had been designed to convince the Hitler Youth students of the importance of racial theories. The purpose was to create a strict education that would enforce the Nazi ideals. In fact, the dissemination of National Socialist ideas through the process of socialization is the second essential stage (after the family environment) in the creation of the Hitler Youth; the primary aim of the National Socialist education was to advance the nationalistic and racist ideas that resulted from Hitler's own *Weltanschauung*.[31] In addition to the compulsory schooling program, all children had to join the Hitler Youth where they received specially designed training that would further indoctrinate them. For instance, almost half of the Hitler Youth official textbooks focused on racial principles[32] and the other half on political issues. Alfons Heck, a former Hitler Youth leader, recalls how from an early age, he and his companions had been constantly subjected to a regimen of indoctrination based on nationalist and racial precepts. This testimony shows how 'fanaticism' can be fostered in people from a very young age:

> We were five and six years old and knew absolutely nothing about freedom, nor had the slightest idea of what it would be. More than any other political organization, the NSDAP realized, and Hitler had repeatedly stated, that those who control children's education hold the future of the nation firmly in their hands. We had to swallow our daily portion of Nazi indoctrination as naturally as the morning milk.[33]

From a historical perspective, the term 'fanaticism' had been used since Antiquity by Roman thinkers such as Cicero and Juvenal who would equate 'fanatic' with 'superstitious' or 'raving.'[34] Philosopher John Locke expanded the meaning of the term, bringing it closer to its present understanding: he considered that someone was a 'fanatic' if they were intolerant of anyone else's opinion. Matthew Hughes ascribed this label to the first-century zealots of Israel who resorted to terror and violence in their struggle against the Roman occupiers and who eventually took a leading position in the First Jewish-Roman War (66–73 AD) in the aftermath of which Jerusalem was destroyed. Hughes described their rebellion as 'fanatical.'[35] Hughes' description reveals the subjective nature of the term: these so-called fanatics could be regarded as true heroes among their people or as nothing else than a bunch of hopeless rebels engaged in a futile fight. Amos Oz writes about the ease in engaging in fanatical behaviors and gives a series of present-day examples of individuals who can easily become fanatically anti-fanatic and anti-fundamentalist and, who, therefore, may be tempted to undertake an anti-Jihad crusade.[36] Other renowned historical personalities have also emphatically used the term 'fanatic' in order to either condemn or disapprove of people or causes different from their own. For example, Martin Luther regarded the fighters of the Peasant War of 1524–1525 as 'fanatics,' though he did not agree with the actions that the Catholic Church took against them. Luther's usage provides a compelling

[31] Bracher 1991, 260.
[32] For example, see: Brennecke 1938.
[33] Keck 2012, 29.
[34] Colas 1997, 372.
[35] Hughes, Johnson 2005, 2.
[36] Oz 2006, 76.

example of the complexity surrounding the word 'fanatic.' Anthropologist Dominic Bryan questions the usage of the term 'fanatic' since it fails to accurately describe any type of behavior. Bryan, an expert on political rituals, public space and identity, argues that, in most cases, the term is used in order to trivialize some kind of violent human action which challenges our values:

> Are all soldiers willing to sacrifice their lives for their country, not fanatics, because there is 'excessive enthusiasm' and 'uncritical devotion' in their behavior, qualities that are often ascribed to fanatics?[37]

The complex concept of 'fanaticism' is filled with significance and needs to be examined beyond its stereotypical meanings. Barry Paskins examines the concept, starting from one of its narrow definitions, and finds it rooted in 'misplaced simplicity.'[38] First of all, fanaticism invariably involves extreme measures, decisions and actions. War itself is one of mankind's most extreme endeavors. Carl von Clausewitz's theory of war captures the extreme nature of warfare. In this sense, Clausewitz's assessment is framed in categorical terms:

> Fighting is the central military act. […] The object of fighting is the destruction or defeat of the enemy. […] What do we mean by the defeat of the enemy? Simply the destruction of his forces, whether by death, injury, or any other means, either completely or enough to make him stop fighting. […] Direct annihilation of the enemy's forces must always be the dominant consideration.[39]

Where this worldview is concerned, we can draw the following evident conclusion: war triggers extreme behaviors in all belligerents, regardless of ethical considerations. Paskins warns that we should not draw conclusions about war that are too overgeneralized, like those stating that war turns all belligerents into fanatics and therefore only those who oppose the idea of war can avoid the trap of fanaticism. Defining fanaticism in terms of 'misplaced simplicity' opens two directions of inquiry: one is driven by the multiple significances associated with this term; the other focuses on identifying what all these meanings have in common. Besides the mainstream suggestions found in dictionaries, additional meanings continue to be added to the actual term, some of which are political, ethical, psychological and emotional. The general sense of fanaticism stems from a rather emotional understanding of the concept rooted in the idea that 'one man's fanatic may be another's hero.' Based on what we have analyzed so far, we can see that 'fanaticism' is a term with an imprecise definition. Other words, such as 'justice,' 'terrorism,' or 'illegitimate fighter' ('partisan'), pose a similar problem. It seems that the source for the general definition is dependent on the political, followed closely by the ethical, considerations. On the whole, all European dictionaries define fanaticism as harmful extremism. But it appears that in order to serve an extremist cause, positive qualities might be needed. Among these qualities, we can identify courage, determination and resolution. This was seen in the

[37] Colas 1997, xix.
[38] For further reading, see Paskins 2005, 7.
[39] Clausewitz 1991, 226–229.

case of the Hitlerjugend Division; numerous evaluation reports of Hitlerjugend soldiers from their time in the training camps identified a full set of abilities and qualities that were displayed by the higher ranks and demanded from the 12th SS Pz. Div. 'Hitlerjugend' soldiers. Among the soldierly qualities outlined in the respective evaluation sheets, we can mention self-abnegation,[40] discipline, politeness, logical thinking, honesty, trustfulness, readiness for battle,[41] reliability, power of discernment, good will, loyalty,[42] enthusiasm, speaking and writing fluency,[43] optimism, sense of humor and clear-headedness.[44]

It may seem hard to reconcile the qualities enumerated above with the reputation that preceded the faithful Nazi warriors; it should be impossible to combine positive attributes such as politeness, logical thinking or sense of humor with ruthlessness in battle, blind obedience towards National Socialist precepts or self-sacrifice for the Nazi Führer's cause. Since there were no reports describing instances of cognitive dissonance (or, if there were, they were strictly managed), it is safe to assume that the average Hitlerjugend soldier could juggle such contradictory attitudes. This particular aspect will be further analyzed in the final chapter dedicated to the Hitlerjugend soldier's psychology.

In terms of etymology, one of the first meanings of the term 'fanaticism' is derived from Latin, where *fanaticus* means 'inspired by a deity, enthusiastic.' The meanings found in the Oxford Dictionary are all pejorative. The German Duden Dictionary traces the word *fanatisch* to a sixteenth-century import from English and French, rooted in the Latin meaning. An enemy possessed by overwhelming passion, enlightened by ideological revelations is likely to become a fanatic; in all European languages, this appears to be the most common understanding of the word. An interesting approach is found in the nineteenth-century Persian-English Dictionary by Arthur Wollaston, which adds 'milder' meanings to the word *fanatic*: 'attached to one's people,' 'supporting them,' 'partial,' 'zealous,' 'bigoted' and 'superstitious.'[45]

Frances Steinglass claims that the Persian term *muta'assib* that defined 'fanatic' as 'attached to one's people' is of Arabic etymology. It would appear that 'fanatic' has never had a negative or pejorative meaning in Arabic and, as such, nobody of 'divine possession' could be regarded as bad in Islamic culture. It seems most likely that from the time of Cicero onwards, the term *fanaticus* became part of the Western European heritage, culture and languages where it was used to define a dangerous person of dual character. The notion was used in ethical methodology to disqualify whatever ideological concepts opposed the European way of life, traditional Christian religion and democracy. In light of this, we can explain how the modern sense of fanaticism came to be understood as a form of violence and direct aggression unleashed by someone acting on behalf of certain beliefs against other people – combatant or non-combatant. At least, this is the definition we can rely on when referring to the recent terrorist acts committed in the Western hemisphere over the last two decades. Attacks on civilian targets are by no means an innovation of the twenty-first

[40] NARA T 354, R 155, F. 3797661.
[41] NARA T 354, R 154, F. 3797656.
[42] NARA T 354, R 154, F. 3797542–3797543.
[43] NARA T 354, R 154, F. 3797516.
[44] NARA T 354, R 154, F. 3797754.
[45] Steinglass 1978, 1162.

century: during World War II, non-military targets were frequently targeted by the Allied forces, as the bombings of Berlin, Dresden, Hamburg, Bucharest, Hiroshima and Nagasaki demonstrate. Brutality has frequently been regarded as a defining component of fanaticism. The association of the two terms can be applied to both the Heer and the Waffen-SS war operations in the East. The most common evaluation of all military operations of this kind speaks about the brutality that characterized the Germans' actions, brutality inspired by Nazi fervor and fanaticism that had penetrated even the Wehrmacht units. Though the civilians living in those villages and towns situated on the path of the advancing Heer had often supported the partisans, either directly or indirectly, the violence visited on them cannot be justified. We know that the German occupants committed war crimes against the civilian population in the occupied territories, and the civilian fighters were entitled to resist their invaders. We also know that partisans often used civilian houses as barricades or places that allowed them to maintain fighting positions – this was the case during the Ardennes Offensive, when US Army infantry units installed batteries[46] in the farmers' courtyards, leaving the civilians to face the wrath of the Heer and Waffen-SS units.[47]

From the very beginning, the war against Stalin's empire was not about to be an ordinary war. Hitler's anti-Bolshevism sought to totally annihilate the Soviet Union – an aim that had been previously articulated through the social Darwinist and other National Socialist creeds. Before the launch of Operation Barbarossa, several orders and documents had been issued, among which we can mention the 'Decree of Jurisdiction' (*Erlass über die Ausübung der Kriegsgerichtsbarkeit im Gebiet 'Barbarossa' und über besondere Maßnahmen der Truppe vom 13. Mai 1941*) and the 'Commissar Order' (*Kommissarbefehl*); consequently, the Heer troops received strict directions with regard to certain segments of the civilian population that were perceived as enemies, equal to the Red Army.[48] Thus, any hostile civilian would have to be killed on the spot and the decision was taken by the Heer officer closest to the respective situation. Moreover, the 'Guidelines for the Conduct of Troops in Russia,' issued in May 1941, identified the harsh measures that needed to be taken against all Bolshevik agitators, Jews and all active and passive resistance.[49] These guidelines came into effect as soon as the campaign in the East commenced. Naturally, the regulations that the German occupation authorities in the Soviet Union had to observe were not aligned to any international convention, being primarily a dictate issued by the Nazi leadership. Battalion commanders and officers in more senior positions were ordered to retaliate against civilian enemies and destroy all villages from where Heer units had been fired upon. According to Ben Shepherd, any Heer officer who held the civilian population responsible for these attacks, regardless of whether they were young or old, men or women, and who was willing to take punitive measures against them, became a person whose actions were framed in fanatical terms. Shepherd's assessment takes into account the large number of unarmed civilians, partisan accomplices and partisans who had been killed by the German forces.[50]

[46] Palloud 1987, 23.

[47] For further reading, see Shepherd 2005, 64.

[48] Heer, Naumann 2009, 240–241.

[49] Messerschmidt 258–259, OKW/Wehrmachtführungsstab / Abteilung L (IV/Quartiermeister), 19. Mai 1941, Anlage 3. *Richtlinien für das Verhalten der Truppe in Rußland*.

[50] Shepherd 2005, 69.

That being said, the British historian does not consider that ideological fanaticism was the primary driving force for the Heer brutality exhibited in the anti-partisan fights; instead, the violence seems to have been a reaction to the partisan activities that created a sense of frustration and helplessness.[51] It should also be noted that the Wehrmacht's institutional 'guerillaphobia' derived from a set of deeply entrenched principles of war conduct that had always animated the traditional German military. Military strategists have yet to devise a sustainable alternative for dealing with insurgent warfare and, where modern armies are concerned, it remains a sensitive issue, even to this day. In conclusion, if brutality is one of the defining elements of fanaticism, it may be extrapolated that the entire Wehrmacht had acted fanatically on several occasions during World War II.

In order to understand how the Hitlerjugend ethos emerged from a long-term indoctrination program, we need to understand that fanaticism, especially of the National Socialist kind, represents what Christine Nystrom describes as 'the ultimate triumph of reflex in the prejudice of reflection.'[52] In the particular case of the Waffen-SS' reported political fanaticism, it can be observed that it is similar in nature to religious fanaticism, since National Socialist creeds also display quasi-religious ideologies, and are concerned with the sacrosanctity of nationalistic ideas. Germany's 'fanatical nationalism' during World War II proved to be strong enough to eventually wipe out any sense of rationality to the point that it was gradually replaced by fatalism—the stoic acceptance of the inevitability of death, a recurrent theme in the field of applied fanaticism, according to Omer Bartov. Bartov's theory supports my understanding of the relation between political and religious fanaticism. Fatalism is an element found both in Christianity and in National Socialist beliefs as it is tied to a number of doctrines concerning millenarism[53] and the coming of the end of history – the coming of the Apocalypse. Fatalism, as the preferred theme of fanaticism, played a primordial role in shaping the Hitlerjugend soldier's psychological profile as the present analysis has shown time and time again.

The ideology impressed upon the phenomenology of fanaticism remains intact. In other words, despite the sustained efforts of Western civilization to bring all complementary visions on the culture of violence into a unitary interpretation, some views are simply irreconcilable. Though the subject of fanaticism has been widely theorized, the popular belief that 'one person's fanatic is another one's hero' lies outside the scope of scientific inquiry. Together with 'terrorism,' the notion of 'fanaticism' tends to receive various political connotations and, as a result, it can be shaped to signify whatever a certain political ideology wants it to be. Historiography has also overused the term and it has a well-established tradition of casting ethical judgments and aspersions on events and people. Taking this aspect into consideration, I reckon that the term 'fanatic' along with its related idioms should scarcely be used within the scientific terminology, especially when it applies to defining abstract behaviors. 'Fanaticism' often describes an ideological purpose rather than a scientific cause, since it always requires producing analysis against an established

[51] Shepherd 2005, 70.

[52] Nystrom 2002, 175.

[53] Originally, *millenarism* was the belief in the *millennium* from the Christian prophecy described by Apostle John in the book of the Apocalypse (*Book of Revelation*); as far as its social meaning is concerned, it has often been invoked by some revolutionary activists in relation to their ideals of universal happiness and human perfection.

code of ethics upon which all behaviors and actions are judged. Ethical considerations rarely rely on the scientific instruments of psychology or sociology since they are used to pass judgment, rather than to confirm or deny research hypotheses.

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‘FIVE-DAY LABOR.’ THE MASS DEPORTATIONS IN THE AUTUMN OF 1944 IN THE MEMORY OF THE FORMER SZÉKELY INTERNEES AND PRISONERS OF WAR

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Abstract: The experience of imprisonment at the end of World War II and during the subsequent period is still deeply etched in the survivors’ memory. Throughout the present paper, the author deals with specific issues related to the topic, focusing on the ordeal of some Hungarians from the Székelyland who took part in the operations and were taken prisoner by the Soviet and Romanian authorities both from the front and through centrally issued orders and instructions regarding those who had returned to civilian daily life. The author turns to several of the dozens of interviews with survivors that he has collected during the 1990s and the 2000s, but also to archival sources that reveal the details of how they were taken prisoners and their attachment to the homeland and the loved ones left behind. The paper approaches the topic from the bottom up, from the perspective of individuals affected by the war and its consequences.

Keywords: World War II, Székelyland, prisoners of war, internees, memory

Rezumat: Prizonieratul de la finele și din perioada următoare celui de-al Doilea Război Mondial a rămas adânc întipărit în memoria supraviețuitorilor. În lucrarea de față autorul tratează unele aspecte legate de acest subiect, cu accent pe calvarul unor foști combatanți maghiari din Secuime, luați prizonieri, de către autoritățile românești și sovietice, atât pe teatrele de operațiuni, cât și în urma unor instrucțiuni și ordine, centrale, privitoare la cei reveniți la viața civilă, de zi cu zi. Autorul apelează la câteva din zecile de interviuri realizate cu supraviețuitori în anii 1990 și 2000, precum și la surse de arhivă, din care reies atât împrejurările în care cei vizați au căzut în prizonierat, precum și atașamentul lor față de cei dragi, rămași acasă, și față de pământul lor natal. Lucrarea tratează acest subiect din perspectiva omului, pradă a războiului și urmărilor sale.

Cuvinte cheie: al Doilea Război Mondial, Secuime, prizonieri de război, internați, memoria

This article attempts to show how the Eastern – Romanian and Soviet – imprisonment during World War II got imprinted in the memory of Székely men. This trauma, which had been treated as a taboo for decades, equally affected men who were taken prisoners of war by the Soviets, sometimes by the Romanians, during the final phase of the World War in Hungary, in the autumn of 1944 and the spring of 1945, and men who were taken from their homes to prison camps in the months following the Romanian switch on 23 August 1944. Only the place and circumstances of imprisonment differed, not their fate. In the prisons and forced labor camps in the Soviet Union, the authorities treated prisoners in the same way and did not distinguish between those who were captured as soldiers and those who were captured as civilians.

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The recollections used in this study were collected on a voluntary basis, besides my daily work, without any remuneration and/or compensation, from the 1990s to the summer of 2021. They are mostly conversations recorded on tape and, to a lesser extent, memories and diary fragments written down by survivors. My subjects are from the Székelyland, from the former administrative units of Csík/Ciuc and Háromszék/Trei Scaune, now Harghita and Covasna Counties. They were farmers during the Second World War when they were inducted into the Hungarian Army. All were retired at the time of the interviews. During the interviews I did not use any kind of questionnaire or prefabricated survey, but – keeping the thread of the conversation in line with my questions and additions – I tried to let my subjects speak freely, as they could remember the events and what they remembered, to recall the events in as many details as possible. My aim was to get people who had experienced trauma to talk about what they could hardly talk about in the decades of communist dictatorship, at most in a narrow circle of family members and/or peers. Given the communist dictatorship and the very limited space for speech and expression that it allowed, as well as the young generations of today and tomorrow who hardly know it at first hand, I should note here that from the communist takeover after the World War II until the regime change of 1989, in the East-Central European countries in the Soviet sphere of interest, the Eastern Captivity was (could) not (be) given any place in the public space. It was not a subject of public discourse, nor of professional narrative or research, and no publications on the subject appeared. This was only possible after the aforementioned regime changes, when the (fragments of) memories appeared first in the press and then, from the mid-1990s onwards, in volumes and documentaries.

Personally, it was in the 1990s that I started collecting diaries and interview memoirs. At the same time, Ernő Boros, a journalist from Carei/Nagykároly (Satu Mare County), was interviewing deportees of Hungarian and Swabian nationality from Sătmar/Szatmár County, first in the columns of the *Szatmári Friss Újság*, and then in a series of books. These include *Mindennap eljött a halál. Szatmár megyeiek a földvári fogolytáborban* [Every day death came. Szatmár county people in the prison camp of Feldioara],[1] which was published in a second edition under the title *Hogy a magyar pusztuljon* [That the Hungarian should die] and, recently, in a third expanded edition under the same title.[2] On the deportation of the Swabians of Satu Mare, Ernő Boros wrote a book entitled *„Volt minekünk jó életünk, van most nekünk jaj". 1945–1949. A szatmári svábok deportálástörténete* ['We had a good life, now we have a bad one.' 1945–1949. The deportation history of the Swabians of Satu Mare][3] and in a new edition, *A szatmári svábok deportálásának története* [The history of the deportation of the Swabians of Satu Mare].[4]

Similarly, following the collection of memoirs from the 1990s, another book appeared, edited by journalist Imre Ferencz, entitled *Történetek a fogságból. Hatvan székely hadifogoly* [Stories from captivity. Sixty Székely prisoners of war].[5] Also in the mid-1990s, historian and journalist Annamária Papp published a series of interviews with the survivors of the

[1] Boros 2002.
[2] Boros 2009.
[3] Boros 2005.
[4] Boros 2010.
[5] Ferencz 1997.

deportations in Cluj and Turda, which was subsequently published in 2002 under the title *Szögesdrót* [Barbed Wire].[6] In Romanian historiography, professor Dumitru Şandru, from Iaşi, was the first to publish studies on the subject of camps and internment centers in Romania: *Metamorfozele GULAG-ului românesc. Centrele de internare: 1944–1945* [The metamorphosis of the Romanian GULAG. The internment camps: 1944–1945].[7] An interview volume on the sufferings of Romanian prisoners in the Soviet Union was published in Livia Coroi's collection entitled *Al doilea Război Mondial în memoria veteranilor din zona Brad, judeţul Hunedoara* [World War II in the memory of veterans from the Brad area, Hunedoara County][8] and in Ionel Oprişan's collection *Infernul prizonierilor români în Rusia Sovietică* [The inferno of Romanian prisoners in Soviet Russia].[9]

In analyzing the experiences of nearly a hundred conversations I have had with some of the survivors, I must emphasize a few key factors. The first and perhaps the most important is that the overwhelming majority of those who spoke to me in the first phase of my research, in the second half of the 1990s, were happy to talk, eagerly awaiting the opportunity to finally talk about their experiences in public. Very rarely, in only one or two cases, did the subjects find it difficult to talk, preferring to share with me and, through me, with the public, the everyday problems of today: the woes of old age, the expensive medicines, the high prices and the small pensions. During the discussions, the identity of the geography and the region proved to be a very important factor: when, during introductions and check-ins – when it was necessary at all – people learned that my homeland was Székelyland, including the three regions of Háromszék and Erdővidék (Baraolt Basin, part of Covasna County), they immediately trusted me and sometimes became more familiar, even friendly. Another very important factor was the existence of direct and indirect acquaintances. In the latter case, the existence of a third person as a common acquaintance – parent, friend, former classmate, etc. – proved very useful in strengthening trust from the beginning.

Some of the collected memories were published in the columns of the daily newspaper *Háromszék* in Sfântu Gheorghe/Sepsiszentgyörgy (Covasna County), in the cultural magazine *Székelyföld* in Miercurea Ciuc/Csíkszereda (Harghita County) or in my oral history collection entitled *Fogolykönyv* [Prisoners' Book], published in 1999.[10] Another part of the collected memories I published in my oral history collection entitled *Muszáj volt élni valahogy* [It was necessary to live somehow][11] and some were included in the appendix of the repository entitled *3006 év hadifogságban* [3006 years in captivity] by József Gocz.[12] Others can be found in my joint work with Annamária Papp, called *Magyar fogolysors a második világháborúban* [The fate of Hungarian prisoners during the Second World War], published in 2007,[13] as well as in other publications.

[6] Papp 2002.
[7] Şandru 1994.
[8] Coroi 2013.
[9] Oprişan 2014.
[10] Benkő 1999.
[11] Benkő 2001.
[12] Gocz 2001.
[13] Benkő, Papp 2007.

Last but not least, I must mention another fact. In the last few years, from around 2016 onwards, when these people were well into their 80s, some well into their 90s, the conversations were not so meaningful, as memories had faded, and because of their age, many of them were not physically and mentally the same as they were a decade and a half earlier, so it is very likely that many details of their experiences have been forgotten. But at least we recorded and saved what could still be saved.

Many of the people who spoke to me – especially those who were taken prisoners of war as soldiers – had been in Soviet forced labor camps, but many of those interned as civilians had escaped from being shipped to the Soviet Union. This was due to the fact that the first stations of their captivity, such as the Romanian prison camps in Feldioara/Barcaföldvár[14] and Brașov/Brassó (both in Brașov County),[15] were located in the vicinity of their homeland, but the Soviet transit camp in Focșani/Foksány (in former Putna, today Vrancea County)[16] was not so far from home that they could not return with adequate knowledge of the terrain in case they escaped. In addition, the Romanian authorities expelled by the Soviets, and in particular the gendarmerie, were replaced in Northern Transylvania during this period by the so-called 'People's Guard,' consisting mainly of men of Hungarian nationality, which facilitated the return of the prisoners who had escaped from the Romanian concentration and transit camps from mid-November 1944 to March 1945. As known, the Romanian administration was expelled from Northern Transylvania by the Soviet authorities on 11 November 1944 and was only allowed to return to the region on 13 March 1945, after the establishment of the Groza government on 6 March 1945.

As is well known, on 23 August 1944, Romania, hitherto an ally of Germany, switched to the Allies. This created a new military context, making it easier for Soviet troops to advance into the territory. As Hungary remained an ally of Germany, this inevitably led to a war between Romania and Hungary. To make it more difficult for Romanian and Soviet troops to enter Northern Transylvania, and to close the access routes from the Southern Carpathians, Hungary launched an attack on Romania on 5 September 1944. On 7 September, Romania in turn declared war on Hungary. This study does not deal with the Romanian-Hungarian war, but I merely wanted to point out that the internments and deportations in the autumn of 1944 took place under wartime conditions.

Two main groups of prisoners can be distinguished: those captured as soldiers in the theatre of operations, i.e. prisoners of war, and civilians who were imprisoned from

[14] The Romanian-controlled prison camp no. 2 operated here between 1941 and 1945. Soviet prisoners of war were held in this camp until August 1944, and Hungarian and German prisoners of war and civilians from the autumn of 1944. According to various sources, the permanent number of prisoners reached 3,000–6,000. The names of nearly 300 Hungarian and German prisoners and 738 Soviet prisoners who have died are known so far (Duțu 2015).

[15] For the moment we have no information about the prison camp in Brașov. According to some survivors, the camp was located near the railway station.

[16] Soviet prison camp no. 176 was located in this town between 1944 and 1948. According to surviving prisoners and Romanian archival sources, the permanent prison population of the camp was between 35,000 and 40,000. The Soviet authorities detained mainly Germans and Hungarians, and those who were able to work were sent to the Soviet Union for forced labor, but there were also prisoners of Romanian nationality. Following an order of the Ministry of Interior of the USSR, from June 1947 the prisoner camps 176 in Focșani and 36 in Sighetul Marmației/Máramarossziget (Maramureș County) functioned further as transit camps for the repatriation of prisoners (Văratic 2013, XXXIII).

their homes for various reasons and taken to internment camps. The latter included (as we shall see) the soldiers fallen behind or escaping the Hungarian army troops retreating in the autumn of 1944, or those who deemed further fighting pointless, and, after the failed Hungarian attempt to break out of the army on 15 October, had refused to fight under Szálasi and returned home, and who, although returned to civilian life, were regarded as prisoners of war by the Romanian General Staff and interned.

The former Transylvanian prisoners, including my subjects in the Székelyland, came from both main categories. However, it is also important to note that the Romanian authorities of the time, but especially the Soviet military-political authorities, lumped together the prisoners from both categories and regarded all as prisoners of war and took to the so-called Soviet *Gupvi*-camp system.[17] The Soviets treated differently the convicts sentenced in political trials who were eventually sent to the so-called *Gulag*-camp system.[18] In essence, both groups of prisoners were employed in the same Soviet forced labor camp system and were subjected to so-called reparation work. The prisoners worked in coal or stone mines, construction sites, logging, agriculture, and/or various factory/industrial jobs.

Official measures

Let us now see what the background was to the deportation of tens of thousands of Hungarians from Romania, more precisely the outspoken, to prison camps. The switch of 23 August 1944 resulted in a state of war between Romania and Germany and its (forced) ally Hungary. One of the first measures taken by the Romanian Ministry of the Interior, including the General Inspectorate of the Gendarmerie, was to order the arrest on 25 August of all the leaders of the *Deutsche Volksbund* [German People's League] and of those who were organizing possible resistance actions by the Saxon and Swabian population, as well as the detention of the leaders of the Hungarian community.[19] The measure was obviously intended for the territory of Romania after the Second Vienna Award, as it could not apply to Northern Transylvania, which was then still part of Hungary. Thus, the internment first of all affected the Hungarians of Southern Transylvania, first and foremost their leaders: teachers, pastors, lawyers, writers, journalists, entrepreneurs, etc.

Mass internment was extended to Northern Transylvania after the conclusion of the Soviet-Romanian armistice agreement in Moscow on 12 September 1944. Section 2 of this agreement reads: 'The Government and High Command of Romania undertake to take steps for disarming and interning of the armed forces of Germany and Hungary on Romanian territory and also for the interning of the citizens of both states mentioned who reside there.'[20] In the Appendix to Section 2, the parties stipulated that citizens of Jewish origin in Germany and Hungary were exempt from the provision.[21] As we can see,

[17] *Gupvi* – Russian acronym from the abbreviation of *Glavnoye Upravlenye po delam Voyennoplennih i Internyrovannih* [Main Administration for Affairs of Prisoners of War and Internees]. It was created after the Soviet Union's attack on Poland on 17 September 1939 to guard prisoners of war and civilian internees.

[18] *Gulag* – Russian acronym from the abbreviation of *Glavnoye Upravlenye Lagerey* [Main Camp Administration]. It was established in 1918 by the Soviet power to guard political internees and convicts.

[19] SJC AN, IJCj, 25/1944, 5; Şandru 1994, 8.

[20] MO, I/CXII, 264/1944, 7334–7340.

[21] MO, I/CXII, 219/1944, 6372–6374. Because of the typos in the first publication, the convention was republished in 14 November 1944 in three languages: Romanian, Russian and English. See MO, I/CXII,

the convention itself did not apply to the indigenous Hungarian or German nationality population in Romania. The internment of the latter or more precisely the whole of Transylvania – as well as the Banat and Partium – was completed in two further stages. First, on 20 September 1944, the Romanian Ministry of the Interior set forth the measures for the implementation of the armistice agreement with the Soviets concerning the internment of Hungarians and Germans. According to this, despite the fact that, following the abolition of the Vienna Award, all inhabitants of Northern Transylvania are considered to have automatically and retroactively become Romanian citizens again, the Hungarian and German nationals of Northern Transylvanian origin holding Hungarian passports and living in the territory under the control of the Romanian administration are to be interned, with the exception of the Romanian nationals of Northern Transylvania and the Jews.[22] The General Inspectorate of the Gendarmerie issued its subordinate bodies Circular no. 44 759 of 29 September 1944 to implement the measure.[23] The second step in broadening the internment to the indigenous Hungarian population of (Northern) Transylvania was when the Romanian General Staff informed its subordinate bodies, through notice no. 578 832 issued on 19 October 1944, that 'the deserters who had served in the Hungarian army and returned to their homes in liberated Transylvania were to be considered prisoners of war and interned in camps;' and the Inspectorate General of the Gendarmerie issued a secret circular number 46 180 on 27 October 1944 for enforcement.[24]

The Ministry of the Interior submitted it to the Council of Ministers on 1 November 1944, and the Council of Ministers adopted the rule on the establishment and operation of internment centers on 6 November 1944.[25] From the day Romania entered the war on 22 June 1941 until the switch on 23 August 1944, a total of 12 prison camps – including camp no. 2 in Feldioara – were operating in the country, holding a total of 59,856 Soviet prisoners of war on the day of the switch.[26] According to Section 5 of the Soviet-Romanian armistice agreement, Soviet prisoners of war, as well as citizens of the (new) Allied states detained on the territory of the then Romania were released and the number of camps increased. Historian Professor Dumitru Șandru (1934–2013), who was one of the first to research and publish on this subject in Romania, identified 36 such concentration and temporary detention camps.[27] In my research so far, I have found 44 municipalities in Romania having such centers. Other internment centers were established and operated in Arad, Sebiș/Borossebes, Pâncota/Pankota, Drauț/Doroszlófalva and Hălmagiu/Nagyhalmágy (Arad); in Brașov, Sânpetru/Barcaszentpéter, Feldioara, Timișu de Jos and Timișu de Sus/Alsó- and Felsőtömös (Brașov County); in Oradea/Nagyvárad, Beiuș/Belényes and Tărcaia/Köröstárkány (Bihor County); as well as in Jimbolia/Zsombolya, Lugoj/Lugos, Vulcan/Vulkány, Târgu Jiu, Slobozia Veche, Ciurel, Piteşti, Caracal etc. There was at least one such camp in almost every county.

264/1944, 7334–7340. The unofficial translation of the latter was published on 3 December 1944 by the *Népi Egység* (newspaper in Brașov).

[22] ANICB IGJ. 119/1944, 22, 25; SJC AN, IJCj, 25/1944, 14–15.

[23] ANICB IGJ. 119/1944, 22, 25; SJC AN, IJCj, 25/1944, 14–15.

[24] ANICB IGJ. 149/1944, 9.

[25] MO, I/CXII, 258/1944, 7196–7199.

[26] Popa 2007, 6.

[27] Șandru 1994, 18.

The imprisonment of returning soldiers

It was a common misdirection during the deportation of civilians that Hungarian men were promised that they would be given a certificate at the gendarmerie stations and then they would be free to go home. Another common misleading practice, mimicking the Soviet 'Malenky robot,' was to call them in for a few days' work. In Hungarian public consciousness and discourse, the mass deportations were recorded as 'Malenky robots,' derived from the Russian term *malenkaya rabota*, a small job, as the Soviet military authorities had carried them out themselves. In the case of Romania, the same thing actually happened, but the reason why the call-up for a few days' work is not remembered as a 'Malenky robot' is that the Soviet military authorities were not in charge of the internment, but rather the Romanian gendarmerie was. Besides, Hungarians were also deported on the 'charge' of being partisans.

In the case of my subjects who were displaced as civilians, the first two hoaxes applied. One such example was the case of the Székely men of Sânmartin/Csíkszentmárton (Harghita County). Retreating German troops blew up the Karakó railway bridge in the Ghimeş/Gyimes Pass, for the repair of which they gathered the male population of the village, but separated the thirty men who had left the retreating Hungarian army shortly before and returned home. István Imre (Sânmartin) recalled:

> They announced us that we all had to go to the Krakkó[28] bridge taking food for 5 days because all healthy and sound men no matter who it was who would not go would be shot immediately in the head without judgment. (…) From Sânmartin and Cecheşti [Csekefalva, Harghita County] thirty such former soldiers gathered instantly and came home.[29]

According to the recollection of Andor Berecz's from Sânmartin, the Romanian gendarmes announced that the 'Krakkó-bridge had been detonated, it should be fixed, and everyone would have to work there for a week and then could return home.'[30] Imre Bocskor (Sânmartin) recalled that it had happened in the beginning of November 1944, so pursuant to the aforementioned Instruction no. 578 832 as of 19 October of the Romanian General Staff when a gendarme and a town crier came and knocked on their door:

> Hurry, aunt Bocskor! Quickly pack something for Imre because he has to go to the Krakkó bridge; they need many over there! I went and packed and we hurried down to the school. (…) about one hundred and fifty – sixty people from the village went up to the Krakkó bridge, and we were thirty, so about two hundred people from Sânmartin were gathered.[31]

[28] Incorrect Székely colloquial term; correct version: *Karakó*.

[29] The author's interview with István Imre; recording in the author's personal archive. See fragments in Bartók, Benkő, Somogyi 2001–2002; Benkő, Papp 2007.

[30] The author's interview with Andor Berecz; recording in the author's personal archive. See fragments in Bartók, Benkő, Somogyi 2001–2002; Benkő, Papp 2007.

[31] The author's interview with Imre Bocskor; recording in the author's personal archive. See fragments in Bartók, Benkő, Somogyi 2001–2002; Benkő, Papp 2007.

Similar cases were recorded in Covasna County, too. András Bod (Albiș/Kézdialbis, Covasna County) said that he had hardly got home from the retreating army, 'when three days later a gendarme came to tell us to go to Dalnic [Dálnok, Convasna County] to fix the bridge and take food for 3 days.'[32] Imre B. Nagy (Aita Seacă/Szárazajta, Convasna County) was also a soldier left behind who got home through a rather bizarre turn of events on 21 October 1944 from Reghin/Szászrégen (Mureș County) to his village, and they announced in the village that: 'he who came home from the Hungarian army (…) should come and take food for five days because he will be sent to work.'[33] Almost at the same time as Imre B. Nagy arrived, in mid-October 1944, József Kádár (Valea Zălanului/Zalánpatak, Covasna County) also got home; he said that 'the gendarmes came from Aita Seacă and told us to pack food for two days because they would take us carrot harvesting for the Saxons. (…) Then we went to the police station and they said that we would leave only for 1–2 weeks.'[34] Mózes Sebestyén (Căpeni/Köpec, Covasna County), also a soldier left behind, reported: 'One day I got the order to assemble because I was being taken to Brașov to work, to clear the ruins. They entrained me in, but then they didn't take me to Brașov, but to the camp in Feldioara.'[35]

When implementing the superiors' orders issued by the authorities to intern Hungarian men returning from the battlefield, the local authorities, probably depending on the improvisation of the local commanders, called in the men for different reasons and explanations. According to the survivor Ferenc Arros (Zăbala/Zabola, Covasna County), during the retreat it happened that lower-ranking Hungarian commanders, especially those who were in direct contact with the soldiers and fought alongside them, tacitly acknowledged or discreetly indicated that further fighting was pointless. As he said:

> …the corporals, the platoon commanders, even the junior officers, said that everyone should go home. And everyone set off. We got back home, we were home for a few days, and then they started to get us together to go down to Sfântu Gheorghe because they were giving us some document and this and that. This is how they had the people fooled.[36]

Béla Gáll (Căpeni), a survivor also recalled a similar situation; he reported that 'in the village we were about 40 men who came home from the Hungarian army, we had been left behind by the troops (…) The Romanian gendarmes assembled all of us. They only told us that we would go to Sfântu Gheorghe and they would give us a document.'[37]

[32] The author's interview with András Bod; recording in the author's personal archive. See fragments in Benkő, Papp 2007.

[33] The author's interview with Imre B. Nagy; recording in the author's personal archive. See Benkő 1999, 102–114; fragments in Benkő, Papp 2007.

[34] The author's interview with József Kádár; recording in the author's personal archive. See Benkő 1999, 160–166; fragments in Benkő, Papp 2007.

[35] The author's interview with Mózes Sebestyén; recording in the author's personal archive. See Benkő 1999, 167–173; fragments in Benkő, Papp 2007.

[36] The author's interview with Ferenc Arros; recording in the author's personal archive. See fragments in Benkő, Papp 2007.

[37] The author's interview with Béla Gáll; recording in the author's personal archive. See Benkő 2001, 148–158; fragments in Benkő, Papp 2007.

Gergely Józsa deported from Valea Zălanului reported that: 'I was home for about a month after I came home from the army. They told everyone who had been a soldier to apply because they would give you a pass at the police station that would say that you were home and not to be look for. They lied.'[38] According to the recollection of survivor László Józsa (Aita Seacă): 'the gendarmes came and told us to report to the station with a day's food, because they were taking us to Sfântu Gheorghe, and we would be given an identity card so that we wouldn't be caught…'[39]

Imre Incze (Aita Seacă) also arrived home in October 1944 as a stranded soldier. As he said:

> we hadn't even been home for a week when the order came that we had to report to them because they were taking us to Sfântu Gheorghe and giving us documents and ID cards so that we could walk freely. Yes, but you know what they gave us? Diddly-squat. They took me to Sfântu Gheorghe and put me in prison,[40]

from the center in Sfântu Gheorghe then to Feldioara and then to Tighina/Bender/ Бендеры[41] (Basarabia, today Republic of Moldova). Ödön Máthé (Zoltan/Étfalva-Zoltán, Covasna County), who was a primary school teacher in the autumn of 1944 in the Sălaj region/Szilágyság, was taken to Zalău/Zilah with many others and there 'they told us that we go for a hearing to Cluj [Kolozsvár, Cluj County]. And we were at ease...'[42]

Lajos Bacsó (Dobolii de Sus/Feldoboly, Covasna County), a survivor, told me that: 'We came home, but we were soon picked up. We were accused of being partisans because at that time there was a treaty that Hungary had to give a million people to Russia as a tribute of war. The gendarme sergeant came and simply picked us up. They took me to the prison in Sfântu Gheorghe.'[43] Lajos Bacsó also got to the detention camp in Feldioara where he managed to escape from in the spring of 1945. A noteworthy element in his statement is the mention of the one million Hungarian prisoners to be sent to the Soviet Union. At the time of the interview, in 1997, no study had yet been published that would have mentioned the one million Hungarians taken prisoner from the Carpathian Basin.[44] Since the authorities who carried out the internment undoubtedly did not tell the population the details of the Soviet-Romanian armistice agreement, for example – which, moreover, did not mention numbers – we are surely dealing with a piece of contemporary hearsay.

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[38] The author's interview with Gergely Józsa; recording in the author's personal archive. See Benkő 1999, 198–201; fragments in Benkő, Papp 2007.

[39] The author's interview with László Józsa; recording in the author's personal archive. See Benkő 1999, 115–122; fragments in Benkő, Papp 2007.

[40] The author's interview with Imre Incze; recording in the author's personal archive. See Benkő 1999, 192–197. Fragments: Benkő, Papp 2007.

[41] Soviet prison camp no. 104 operated there between November 1944 and November 1945. See more in Taşcă 2013.

[42] The author's interview with Ödön Máthé; recording in the author's personal archive. See Benkő 2001, 138–147; fragments in Benkő, Papp 2007.

[43] The author's interview with Lajos Bacsó; recording in the author's personal archive. See Benkő 1999, 148–159; fragments in Benkő, Papp 2007.

[44] See Bognár 2017, 66–98.

According to survivor Jenő Égető (Căpeni) the mass dispatchment that he had also been involved in was nothing else but deportation. As he said, not long after they returned home from the army 'the deportation began... It was deportation. (…) My grandma would cry, my mom would cry, aunt Máris and the kin would come over from the neighborhood: "Don't cry, Rózsika, don't cry, Rózsika, let them take him away, at least he would see the world …" Well, I've seen it alright. Just as the others have…'[45]

Hungarian soldiers, prisoners of war

The soldiers who had not been stranded during the retreat were captured later during the subsequent operations. Most of them were captured by the Soviets in post-Trianon Hungary, but some were taken prisoners in Austria, and many of the survivors still remember the events. I have selected some of the recollections. According to Géza Németh (Herculian/Magyarhermány, Covasna County), the Hungarian army had already fallen apart, but he faithfully took care of the carriage that had been entrusted to him: 'I could not escape from my carriage. So, the Russians caught me, took my horses and my carriage. It's true that they did not harm me, but I was still a prisoner.'[46] Albert Kósa (Aita Medie/Középajta, Covasna County) said that by Christmas 1944 they got to Šahy/Ipolyság (Nitra District, today in Slovakia). On Christmas Eve they built a bridge over the Garam River, then the Soviets attacked them at Kamenný Most/Kőhídgyarmat (Nitra District, today in Slovakia). Private Kósa hid in a house, but he saw he stood no chance as he was greatly outnumbered.

> I had no time to change into my civilian clothes, I went out in my military garments to the yard. They did not harm me. They tapped me on my shoulder: "Igi damoi!" I could go home. But in military garments? "Yes, yes, in military garments, no one's going to harm you!" I set off on foot, even mingling with some gypsies from the labor service. At one point, a Russian soldier shouted at us, "Igisuda!"[47] Come here! We had to empty a truck of ammunition, and the gypsies had already retreated, and I would have gone with them, but the Russian grabbed my arm and stabbed me in the side with his rifle: "Igisuda!" I told him: I didn't come with you, I came with these gypsies. He stabbed me in the side again with his rifle, and there was nothing I could do, I had to go.[48]

István Lőcsei (Sântionlunca/Szentiványlaborfalva, Covasna County) became a Soviet prisoner in Somogy in March 1945.

> We went to a well with the Russians to fetch water. To a well! When they came down from the vineyard, rattling their canteens, we were ordered not to shoot at them

[45] The author's interview with Jenő Égető; recording in the author's personal archive. See Benkő 2001, 52–96; fragments in Benkő, Papp 2007.

[46] The author's interview with Géza Németh; recording in the author's personal archive. See Benkő, Papp 2007.

[47] 'Come here!' in Russian.

[48] The author's interview with Albert Kósa; recording in the author's personal archive. See fragments in Benkő, Papp 2007.

> because they had come for food. It was the same with them. It was a convention: we were not allowed to shoot at them when they came to the well, and they were not allowed to shoot at us when we went to fetch water. We never went there at the same time. Because you could see the other one coming down the hill. On 1 April, Easter, the Russians launched a huge attack on us. (...) What to do, what to do, because there was no other excuse, either we would die or be taken prisoner. There was no other way. With me was a boy named Árpád Séra. He pulled a stake from the edge of the ditch, tied his puttee on it, stuck it out and waved it. Then he looked out. When the Russians saw him, they started shouting: "Igisuda, magyarski!, Igisuda…" We jumped out of the ditch, so we got caught... It was the first of April, nineteen forty-five, the first day of Easter – reminisced István Lőcsei.[49]

There had also been what might be called odd captures. Former soldier Mihály Moré (Lemnia/Felsőlemhény, Covasna County) said that they wandered around the vineyards of Lake Balaton with the retreating Hungarian army when the sergeant told him that they could drink a flask of wine each but shouldn't remain behind.

> We went to a farm with Zolti Beder. There was a man there, he put up resistance at first. I told him not to resist because the Russians were coming and he would be kicked in the ass, so it's better to move house until the Russians get here … He says: "Go then, and drink …" We drank and ate. But we got drunk from the wine and fell sound asleep. We were supposed to go back to the battery, but when we woke up the next morning, the sun was shining... I said to Zolti: Man, we've spent the night here…

The two privates took up their weapons and set off after their comrades, but found themselves confronted by three Romanian soldiers.

> We didn't see each other. But they were frightened, they raised their arms and weapons even though there were a lot of soldiers around. They were not ten or fifteen meters away from us. Zolti said as he spoke Romanian quite well because he was a Romanian soldier before: "Well, we don't want to shoot…" Well then, they said, drop your weapons. We dropped the guns, they picked them up. (…) And from then on we became prisoners and they always escorted us – remembered Mihály Moré.[50]

István Becze (Sfântu Gheorghe) said they were mending a telephone cable on the banks of the Slaná/ Sajó (river in Slovakia and Hungary), and as they were done, they hurried back to the battery by motorbike.

> Well, we've done our job, we're going full speed, and after a bend a dark crowd comes towards us. We're about thirty or forty meters away from the column, and I see six Hungarian soldiers in khaki uniforms in front, and Russians in dark grey uniforms

[49] The author's interview with István Lőcsei.; recording in the author's personal archive. See fragments in Benkő, Papp 2007.

[50] The author's interview with Mihály Moré; recording in the author's personal archive. See Benkő 2001, 115–137.

> behind them. In front was sergeant Gábor Bartis, a man from Ciuc [County]. I shouted from the bike: Gabi, where did you pick up so many Russians? And they said: "They picked us up…" – recounted with bitter humor István Becze, who was then taken prisoner by Soviet soldiers together with his comrade.[51]

After the unsuccessful Hungarian breakout attempt on 15 October 1944, many of the soldiers who were forced to continue fighting after the failed breakout were told that if they could not stay behind and had to continue their march towards the west-northwest, they should at least try not to be captured by the Soviets, but by the Westerners. This is what Lajos Barabás (Sfântu Gheorghe) tried, too:

> In Austria, the Hungarian army no longer had to fight because it was all over. We laid down our guns. We were in Burgenland [Őrvidék Province, today in Austria], 40 km from Linz [Austria]. We would work on farms. (…) Suddenly, the people walking around spread out. Everyone ran left and right, the Germans started running, the infantrymen fleeing with rifles started running west, and then around a bend a Russian tank loaded with six or eight soldiers in assault helmets appeared. They drove past us, but at one turn the tank stopped crosswise on the road, one or two more came, blocked the whole road, the crew jumped off the roof, forming a chain: "Stoi!"[52] (…) This was the moment when they closed the road: those who crossed were captured by the Americans, and those who did not fell into the hands of the Soviets.[53]

On the two sides of barbed wire

Men still held in camps in Transylvania or Old Romania were sought out by their loved ones. Related to the concentration camp of Feldioara we must mention the selfless helpfulness of the Reformed inhabitants of the neighboring village of Hăghig/Hídvég (Covasna County). As far as possible, the people of Hăghig brought food into the camp and gave shelter to those who were looking for their relatives. The recollections also reveal that the guards did not let those who were looking for the prisoners to get close to them. Ödön Máthé (Zoltan) was visited by his mother in the Feldioara camp when he messaged her about his whereabouts.

> My mother came. She brought me a package and a leather vest. They already knew that there was an assembly camp in Feldioara. The leather vest was excellent. They allowed my mother close to the gate and sent a soldier with the parcel back to me. He must have been ordered to call me, so that my mother could see me.… At the main entrance there was a strip fence, and before that there was a section separated by a barrier. The distance between the two gates was about the same as from the street corner to here, about thirty meters. I walked up to the barrier, I was not allowed to go

[51] The author's interview with István Becze; recording in the author's personal archive. See Gocz 2001, 192–216.

[52] 'Stop!' in Russian.

[53] The author's interview with Lajos Barabás; recording in the author's personal archive. See Gocz 2001, 217–236.

any further. My mother was not allowed to go any further than the outer gate. Poor thing, she was crying... me too... that was it... She left – remembered Ödön Máthé.[54]

Arthur Bogdán (Baraolt/Barót, Covasna County) was visited by his mother in the internment camp in Braşov in the autumn of 1944 before he was taken to the Soviet Union. According to the memoire of the former soldier and prisoner, written in 1988, the family members were not allowed to get close to each other there either. As he writes: '…and my God, there stood my mother with a parcel. (…) A table was placed between the gates, and I was standing next to the table inside. They wouldn't let me get closer (…) we could talk for 2–3 minutes till I got the parcel and that was it…'[55]

According to József Benedek's (Bățanii Mari/Nagybacon, Covasna County) memoires written between December 1993 and January 1994, he was visited by his mother in Focşani.

(…) I recognized my mother, but the Russian soldiers wouldn't let her closer to come in from the street. (…) They were let into the guard room one by one. Those whose relatives came forward were called out by name from inside. The guards put the tables outside the guard room. We were not allowed near our parents; we were about ten meters apart. We were told not to talk because the one who talked would not be given his parcel. (…) When my mother was called in the guardroom, they called me by name, I could go through the guardroom to meet her, but they wouldn't let me close. The interpreter took the parcel she had brought for me, brought it to me, put it on the table, the guards took everything out of the bag, took the money and the brandy, and cut the bread in two to see if there was anything in it. They gave me the bacon, cottage cheese, bread and cake, I put them in my jacket, and they gave the bag back to my mother, while she said: "Sanyika died a hero." I nodded that I knew; I didn't know anything about Dad. With tears in my eyes, I had to say goodbye and go back to the guardroom. It was a sad meeting – József Benedek wrote in his memoirs.[56]

The bad feeling of being separated from home, from the homeland, was obviously intensified by the onward transport, the constant geographical distancing. There were also extreme cases when the prisoner was unable to get in touch with his home. According to Imre Incze (Aita Seacă) 'we couldn't send letters home either from Feldioara or Tighina or Tiraspol [Тирасполь, Republic of Moldova] for four years. From anywhere. For four years from 1944 to 1948 here at home they didn't even know where I was.'[57] Lajos Sebők (Racu/Csíkrákos, Harghita County), a railwayman who was taken prisoner by the Soviets in Hungary in the autumn of 1944, recorded in his diary the bitterness of being separated from his family and wife: '30 March 1946. For the first time since we've been away from each other, I'm kissing you in my dream, my Sweetheart. (…) I woke up to a big disappointment

[54] The author's interview with Máthé Ödön; recording in the author's personal archive. See Benkő 2001, 138–147.

[55] Arthur Bogdán: *Elhittem, hogy van Isten* [I believed there was a God]. See Benkő 1999, 312–390.

[56] József Benedek: *Bajtárs, ne add el a kenyeredet!* [Comrade, don't sell your bread!]. See Benkő 1999, 243–310.

[57] The author's interview with Imre Incze; recording in the author's personal archive. See Benkő 1999, 192–197.

because instead of soft white sheets, the narrow planks of the bunk were pressing against every part of my body.'[58]

In Ferenc Nagy's (Baraolt) letter sent to his parents from the Soviet prison camp no. 7062/5 we can sense what a small piece of news from home meant: '2/01/1948. My dear parents, the letter my mother mentions (12/11) did not arrive, but I finally received a postcard, which I received on new year's eve, and which gave me more pleasure than if I had received six oxen.'[59] Such lines, received from home, most certainly carried encouragement, the hope of returning home. One example of this is the letter written by Imre Incze to his son Pál Incze, a teacher imprisoned in the Soviet Union, on 7 January 1948:

> Our dear Palkó! (…) Trust and pray: God may bring about the time when we see each other again. Take good care of your health, my sweet little boy. There is some news about Józsika that he is alive, but he has not yet written. There's no sign about my dear Lacika. Write, my dear Palika, as much as they will let you to, for very few reach us. We wish you a peaceful happy new year, we hug you and look forward to seeing you again: Mom, Dad and Tera.[60]

The two letters just quoted were written at the turn of the years, and both show the increased sensitivity that is usual around the festive winter season. During our interview, when talking about Christmas, teacher Pál Incze (Aita Seacă) noted that in 1947–1948:

> …the Germans (…) would come every morning singing. At Christmas time they would sing the *Stihle nacht*, i.e. Silent night, Holy night… they were singing it all the time (…). Well, this was how they marked the holiday. What about us?... Uncle Gyuri Péterfi would always say: I would need nothing, Incze… but to walk down my home village that smells like cake … my home village smelling like cake …[61]

As mentioned, many of the Székely prisoners avoided deportation to the Soviet Union by escaping from one of the temporary camps near their homeland. This is what Imre B. Nagy (Aita Seacă) also did:

> …it could have been around the 20 February 1945 when I was called to the gate one time. My mother was waiting for me. She said that the letter I had cast the day before was taken to Aita Seacă by the servant (…) I told her: Well, mother you have packed me alright for 5 days … But don't you worry, I will escape…

And Imre B. Nagy escaped from the camp in Feldioara on 25 March 1945 with three others and got back home to Aita Seacă safe and sound.[62]

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[58] Diary of Lajos Sebők from Racu. See Benkő 1999, 391–429.

[59] The author's interview with Ferenc Nagy; recording in the author's personal archive. See Benkő 1999, 33–46.

[60] The author's interview with Pál Incze; recording in the author's personal archive. See Benkő 1999, 60–101.

[61] The author's interview with Pál Incze; recording in the author's personal archive. See Benkő 1999, 60–101.

[62] The author's interview with Imre B. Nagy; recording in the author's personal archive. See Benkő 1999, 102–114.

Homecoming

Returning home was a strong emotional experience, and is clearly remembered as a positive event by the survivors. The attachment to the family and the homeland overrode everything, there was not one of my interviewees who did not want to return to the homeland in the narrowest sense of the word, to their home, even under the circumstances when they knew that Transylvania, Székelyland, was no longer part of Hungary.

Such was the case of István Lőcsei (Sântionlunca) who returned home from the Soviet Union prison camp on 19 September 1947, and who himself was faced with a choice in the Sighetu Marmației distribution camp: to choose residence between Hungary or Transylvania, the latter having become part of Romania de jure after the peace of Paris on 10 February 1947. As he said, that in the Sighetu Marmației prison camp rumor had it that prisoners of Hungarian nationality from Transylvania were declared Romanian citizens and would be returned to the Soviet Union, and that 'there is no order to release Romanian citizens, only Hungarian citizens can go home.' In such circumstances, there were those who encouraged him to 'say you are from Hungary because if you say you are from Transylvania, you will be kept here.' But István Lőcsei did not budge. As he said:

> I had the opportunity to go to the country I wanted to. (…) They asked me: "My son, where would you like to go?" (…) But we could hardly wait to get home, not to go to another country!... Home, Sântionlunca! We were nine brothers and sisters, and I couldn't wait to get home to see my parents and my brothers and sisters.

His wish came true after a detour on the Sighetu Marmației–Ghimeș Pass–Focșani detour when they got entrained in the southern-Wallachian town on 17 September 1947, and they could go home. 'Like a captive pigeon when you are thrown out of the cage, we just couldn't fly... we took off with joy...,' he said.[63]

A similar situation was faced by survivor Károly Molnár (Covasna, Covasna County) who returned home from Soviet captivity on 8 November 1948. He would have had the opportunity to settle in Hungary, and he had a personal reason to do so. 'We would have come anyway even if we got glued to the side of the wagon because we felt we were coming home,' he said during our interview, and then added: 'I had a fiancée there [in Hungary]. I came home rather for my parents' sake. What can I say? No matter where I go, I was still born here…. Homesickness is homesickness…'[64]

It can be noticed that both during the interviews and in the memoirs, the survivors summarized the moment of their return home only in very short sentences or phrases. The moment when, after such a long absence and so much suffering, a prisoner crosses the threshold of his home/parents' house is hardly something that needs or can be put into words. Albert Kósa (Aita Medie) merely reported that in Focșani 'he was given the certificate that he was promised earlier. I got home on 18 October 1948. My mother and father were home… People came, the house was full…,' and he started weeping quietly.[65]

[63] The author's interview with István Lőcsei; recording in the author's personal archive. See Benkő 1999, 174–191.

[64] The author's interview with Károly Molnár; recording in the author's personal archive. See Gocz 2001, 159–173.

[65] The author's interview with Albert Kósa; recording in the author's personal archive. See fragments in Benkő, Papp 2007.

József Benedek (Bățanii Mari) put down in his memoirs that in Bashkiria/Башкирия (Federația Rusă), in *Magna Hungaria*, the plywood factory where he used to work could have provided him a livelihood:

> …if homesickness did not torment me more to come back to the foothills of Harghita in Székelyland. I want to die where my ancestors lived and struggled with many difficulties. Divine Providence has been with me, keeping me hopeful and giving me health. If time comes, I can see my homeland, my parents, my brothers and sisters again…[66]

His desire came true on 24 June 1948 when he arrived home to Bățanii Mari. 'When we stepped in Bățani, tears fell from my eyes. (…) My father came to the news. We met on the Csinódi bridge [Csinód, neighborhood of Bățanii Mari]. I saw a man broken by fate, and my tears fell as I was approaching home. We rejoiced and hugged. And we came home…' – wrote József Benedek.[67] The homecoming was similarly recorded by Arthur Bogdán (Baraolt) in his quoted memoir. He wrote:

> …I entered the kitchen where my parents and brothers were having lunch. Suddenly everyone was surprised, because I was wearing a Russian military uniform. They probably did not recognize me at least that's what it seemed like. But after I said hello, everyone jumped up from the table, my mother jumped to my neck, she couldn't say a word, she just cried…[68]

Mihály Moré (Lemnia) could not finish his sentence either when he spoke about returning home. He said:

> The whole neighborhood was gathered at our place, I entered and heard that there were so many talking. (…) Mother! Well, silence fell. I called once again: Mother! Someone said: "It's Misi's voice…" They recognized my voice. (…) Then they ran at me… I could hardly enter the house from the porch… everyone was hugging my arms and my legs …

Géza Molnár (Cernatu de Sus/Felsőcsernáton, Covasna County) came home from the Sfântu Gheorghe railway station by carriage. He had a hard time finishing his story:

> …my mother… ran out to the street… I got off in the middle of the street… my mother came out because she had noticed I was coming, and she fainted … and I hung on her lips speechless, like fruit on a tree … And then my father came to the front in the yards and said: "Stop, son, let me tie the dog because it's gonna bite you!" (…) And the dog came out. And I told him: Bundáska, it's me, Bundáska!... And he was staring at me. And all of a sudden it jumped at me, hugged me, I hugged him, it

[66] József Benedek: *Bajtárs, ne add el a kenyeredet!* See Benkő 1999, 243–311.
[67] József Benedek: *Bajtárs, ne add el a kenyeredet!* See Benkő 1999, 243–311.
[68] Arthur Bogdán: *Elhittem, hogy van Isten* See Benkő 1999, 312–390.

licked me, it kissed me, I kissed him. Then he ran back to my dad as if he said: "Look, he's back, he's home!..."[69]

Brief conclusions

The experience of eastern – Romanian and Soviet – imprisonment during World War II is still deeply etched in the survivors' memory. During the interviews with nearly a hundred people, it became clear that the survivors had long awaited the opportunity to talk about this trauma not only in the privacy of their homes, but also in public. Experience has shown that there were no obstacles to recalling and recording memories.

From the memories told, it is possible to trace and reconstruct the fate of the subjects during the period in question. Both archival sources and memoirs show that the authorities of the time took action against the targeted individuals and communities on the basis of citizenship status and ethnicity. The archival sources provide information on the measures taken by the authorities of the time, but these sources are by their very nature not revealing, as they cannot go into details such as how the deportees and internees experienced and survived the events, and what memories of these events are preserved. This is why the memories/fragments also prove that they are indispensable additions to the history examined from below, from the perspective of Man, and that they complete and make comprehensible the picture of what has happened so far.

Although some details of the experiences recorded in the last five or six years have faded compared to those collected in the early 1990s, the indelible leitmotif of all the memories is the attachment to the homeland, home and family, which could not be altered by the change of empire that took place during the absence of the interviewees.

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CONSERVATION AND RESTORATION

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REMEDIAL CONSERVATION OF MUMMIFIED BIRDS, ANIMALS AND HUMAN REMAINS FROM THE EGYPTIAN COLLECTION OF THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF TRANSYLVANIAN HISTORY

IOANA COVA*

Abstract: The aim of this paper is to give an account of the remedial conservation treatments which were undertaken on the animal and bird mummies, as well as on mummified human parts from the Egyptian collection of the National Museum of Transylvanian History in Cluj-Napoca, while considering the conservation-restoration standards (minimum interventions on the object) as well as the objects' history.

Key words: ZMEA project, Egyptian collection, remedial conservation

Rezumat: Scopul lucrării de față este prezentarea tratamentelor de conservare curativă realizate asupra mumiilor de animale și păsări dar și asupra părților umane mumificate care fac parte din colecția egipteană a Muzeului Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei Cluj-Napoca, ținând cont de principiile de conservare-restaurare (minima intervenție asupra obiectului) dar și de istoricul obiectelor.

Cuvinte cheie: proiect ZMEA, colecția egipteană, conservare curativă

Introduction

The Egyptian collection of the National Museum of Transylvanian History was formed in the second half of the nineteenth century, when the Transylvanian Museum of Kolozsvár (Cluj) was the beneficiary of important donations. The Egyptian collection is mainly composed of votive and funerary objects.[1] The collection holds about one hundred artifacts, ranging from statuettes and amulets, to mummified human parts,[2] mummified animals and a human mummy[3] in its wooden coffin.

In February 2020, the National Museum of Transylvanian History in Cluj-Napoca initiated a project[4] entitled ZMEA: *Gods and Mortals of Ancient Egypt*, funded through the EEA Grants 2014–2021 and developed through the RO-CULTURE Programme.[5] Among

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[1] Beu-Dachin, Nemeti 2022, 10.

[2] When referring to these particular cultural objects I prefer to use the term/phrase 'mummified animals, mummified birds and mummified human parts/remains' as opposed to simply 'mummies,' as to not completely objectify them.

[3] Boroș 2000–2001/2003

[4] Project team: Ph.D. Felix Marcu, Ph.D. George Cupcea, Victoria Barabas, Ph.D. Eugenia Beu-Dachin, Ph.D. Irina Nemeti, Ph.D. Diana Bindea, Ph.D. Student Ioana Cova, Ph.D. Student Sabin Grapini, Ph.D. Monica Bodea and Sanda Man.

[5] Beu-Dachin, Nemeti 2022, 9.

the aims of the project were the conservation and restoration of many of the objects within the collection.

This paper is concerned with the remedial conservation actions which were taken on almost all of the mummified human parts and mummified animals from the Egyptian collection. From the beginning of the project, the conservators, restorers, museographers and exhibition curators involved have decided that most of the objects would go through a remedial conservation treatment and not undergo a full restoration, in order to preserve as much of the historical aspects that the artifacts had acquired in time. The Egyptian collection of the National Museum of Transylvanian History holds, apart from a mummified human, eight mummified human remains and mummified animals and birds, which required a different level of care from conservation professionals in deciding on and applying a conservation methodology. Mummified humans and, by extension, mummified human parts, animals or birds are not the usual type of cultural objects one would find in a Romanian museum collection, therefore a conservation treatment would be even more challenging. Conservation in itself is a complex action, carried out after a thorough assessment of the object/objects in question. The aim of the remedial conservation methodology developed and applied for the above-mentioned museum objects was to stop or decelerate the current damaging processes and reinforce the objects' structure both for their display and particularly for future storage. Nonetheless, preserving the many previous interventions that the objects were subjected to, be them intended (like the materials which were put on some of the objects during earlier repairs, while in the museums' collection or prior to that) or not.

Mummified human remains and mummified animals and birds

The museum holds in its Egyptian collection four mummified human parts[6] (a mummified lung, a mummified human hand and two mummified phalluses) and four mummified animals (Fig. 1) and birds (two ibises – one in a ceramic container, a falcon and a baby crocodile).[7] Together with the rest of the collection, these artifacts entered the museum collections in the nineteenth century. Apart from the mummified human lung and the falcon, all of the other cultural objects were donated to the Transylvanian Museum of Kolozsvár (Cluj) by Balázs Orbán, a Transylvanian nobleman who acquired most of what now constitutes the Egyptian collection following his travels to Egypt.[8]

The table below gives an account of the eight mummified human remains, animals and birds:

Title	Inventory number	Dimensions
Mummified human lung	v1680	15 cm long / 9 cm wide / 6 cm thick
Mummified human hand	v1712	21 cm long / 8 cm wide / 4.5 cm thick
Mummified human phallus	v1756	12.1 cm long / 3.8 cm in diameter
Mummified human phallus	v1757	14.2 cm long / 3 cm in diameter

[6] Riggs 2014, 268.
[7] Beu-Dachin, Nemeti 2022.
[8] Beu-Dachin, Nemeti 2022, 11–13.

Title	Inventory number	Dimensions
Mummified baby crocodile	v1681	50.8 cm long / 5 cm wide / 3.5 cm high
Mummified bird (falcon)	v58143	25 cm long / 6 cm wide / 6 cm high
Mummified bird (ibis)	v58144	36 cm long / 10 cm wide
Mummified bird (ibis) in ceramic container	v1660	39 cm long
Ceramic container	v1660	Maximum diameter of 14.5 cm Base diameter of 6.5 cm

The human parts, birds and animals were mummified using traditional techniques. They were dehydrated, treated with resinous substances and wrapped in successive layers of linen in order to achieve mummification.

Of the two mummified ibises in the museum's collection, one is held within its original ceramic, conically shaped container, made out of brick-color fabric.

Preliminary examination

At the start of the project, it was decided that one of the best outcomes would be a series of analyses and investigations performed on the mummified human parts and the animal and bird mummies in particular, from computer tomography scans and X-ray radiographies, through multiple microscopical investigations, as these could provide a series of novel details.[9] Not only did the investigations reveal valuable new information, but they also helped team members determine the nature of some of the materials (Figs. 2a–b). Thorough examinations of the objects and subsequent material analyses were also required prior to the elaboration of the conservation methodology (as was the case with the mummified ibis, as described below).

Medical imaging investigations, performed at USAMV (Universitatea de Ştiinţe Agricole şi Medicină Veterinară) in Cluj-Napoca – the Faculty of Veterinary Medicine,[10] led to the discovery of additional data about the mummified human parts and mummified animals and birds. The structures of each mummified human part were clearly visible, as was the anatomical structure of the mummified baby crocodile. Of the three mummified birds, however, two of them, the two presumed ibises,[11] were revealed to have been made out of a conglomerate of different fragments, holding no trace of an actual anatomical structure.

Microscopical and physical-chemical analyses were also performed[12] on textile fibers from the mummified crocodile and mummified birds. The mummified human organs were analyzed with a portable microscope, which showed the overlapping layers of linen; samples from the textile fabrics were not taken, as they were too embedded into the surface layer of the organs.

The qualitative analytical microchemistry and the optical microscopical investigations performed on textile samples taken from the fabric wrapping of the mummified crocodile

[9] Meier 2001.

[10] The medical investigations were performed by a team led by Robert Purdoiu Ph.D.

[11] Beu-Dachin, Nemeti 2022, 76, 79.

[12] The analyses were performed by Ph.D. Andrea Beatrix Magó from the National Museum of Transylvanian History.

revealed (as expected) that they are cellulosic S-twisted linen[13] threads, approx. 0.8–0.9 mm thick. The fabric is plain weave. The same type of investigations was performed on textile samples from the mummified whole bird. The analyses showed that the threads were also S-twisted cellulosic-linen ones, 0.3 mm thick. Optical microscopical investigations were also performed on textile samples from the fabric wrapping the mummified bird (ibis) placed in a ceramic container. The results showed that the threads are S-twisted cellulosic threads, approximately 0.3 mm thick. However, one fragment proved to be of a cellulosic-jute thread, approximately 0.4 mm thick. It is very likely that the textile fragment was a later addition. The analyses of textile samples from the wrappings of the other mummified ibis revealed cellulosic, linen threads, S-twisted, with different thicknesses, ranging from 0.18 mm, 0.2 mm, 0.3 mm to 0.4 mm.

Conservation state and diagnoses

The group of four mummified animals, birds and mummified human remains showed many similarities in regards with their conservation state, which is generally characterized[14] by physical and chemical degradations.

Previous conservation-restoration campaigns were surely conducted before the start of the project, although we do not have a complete set of factual data on what treatments were undertaken or when they were applied. Published information[15] from the 1980s and partial archived restoration documentation and investigations from the National Museum of Transylvanian History's Laboratory archive have revealed that some objects from the collection underwent conservation/restoration treatments and were investigated prior to being exhibited in 1986.

The eight objects described in this paper underwent a thorough direct assessment prior to establishing the conservation-restoration methodology, in order to determine the likely causes of deterioration and reach a correct diagnosis. Due to the nature of the component materials, the burial medium and the excavation conditions, as well as their history (finding, trading, etc.), storage and display practices, the objects suffered a series of inevitable degradations. Because the mummified animal, birds and human parts are of organic nature (animal and human remains, linen bandaging and embalming bituminous resins) they represent materials that age naturally, mostly because of the environmental conditions, characterized by temperature, relative humidity and light. The cultural objects' exposure to incorrect temperature, relative humidity and to light as well as to other agents of deterioration, such as physical factors (for example to contaminants or pests), impacted their current condition/state. Human and animal remains are subjected to a series of damages, such as loss of structural stability or biological attacks. Textile fibers are prone to a natural degradation due to exposure to physical and chemical factors which result in a general friability.

The mummified baby crocodile suffered a series of degradations. Towards the head of the animal mummy, the linen bandaging is missing, revealing the head and upper part of

[13] Linen was the fabric used for mummification in Ancient Egypt.

[14] Nicola et alii 2008.

[15] Igna 1988.

the animal. The tip of its tail, still retaining the linen wrapping, was fractured and attached to the lower part of the animal body by tying it together with a thread. There is no way of knowing when the lower part of the animal mummy was uncovered and for what reasons and when its tail was fractured. The body of the mummified animal was covered with dust and soiling. The linen bandages suffered a series of characteristic degradations, such as dehydration, fragilization, weakening, detached and loose threads, thinning, knotting and twisting of loose ends of the fabric. The bandaging had dirt deposits on the entire surface, and light-colored coatings of an unknown provenience on the inner part of the animal mummy.

The ceramic container with bird mummy also had a series of degradations. The ceramic container was covered on the surface with soil and dust. It was previously repaired, at an unknown date, when a fragment from the vessel's rim was reattached. The degradations of the bandaging wrapping the mummified bird itself were characteristic to textile deterioration: dehydration, dust and soil deposits, thinning and twisting of individual threads, detached and loose ends.

The other mummified ibis in the museum's Egyptian collection is also conical in shape; however, it underwent structural restoration at an unknown date when the entire surface was covered in an unwoven fabric (made from viscose) onto which the original linen fragments were repositioned, presumably in the same manner they were originally displayed. The museum object was characterized by the same type of degradations as those previously described (Fig. 3). Towards the thinner end of its conical shape, at approximately seven centimeters from the tip, the mummified bird was severed and remained attached only by the fragmentary original linen wrapping the surface.

The mummified falcon, just like the mummified baby crocodile, is missing the linen bandages at one end, exposing part of the bird's skeleton and wing. The textile bandage was also heavily degraded, characterized particularly by dehydration, friability and soiling. Traces of an inactive insect attack were also visible.

The mummified human parts were also deteriorated. Their condition state was characterized mostly by dehydration, deposits of soil and dust, friability and loss of structural integrity. None of the four objects retained the outer linen bandages in full, only fragments of the original textile wrapping being still embedded into the surface of each object. The mummified human hand lost much of the linen wrappings, especially on the fingers and the palm, which were left visible. The textile fibers in the successive layers of linen fragments were severely roughened, dehydrated, thinned and battered, as they would be, given the object's history. The visible palm and fingers were very friable and showed deposits of dust and soil. The mummified human lung, although structurally more stable than the other three objects, was also covered in dust and dirt and showed minor traces of various adherent foreign substances; the linen wrappings were not preserved on the entire surface, revealing parts of the organ. The two mummified phalluses were the most friable; just like the other two objects, they only preserved small fragments of the original linen wrappings. As the linen layers are missing over large areas, the exposed tissue became further weakened and friable.

Treatment procedure

The remedial conservation treatments were aimed at undertaking the minimum interventions, i.e. to stop further degradations of the objects and reduce the damage already caused to the objects. Given that the objects are animal and bird mummies as well as mummified human parts, the conservation treatments were only directed towards the textile wrappings and the surface.

First of all, it was decided that the mummified animal and birds would remain wrapped,[16] and only surface mechanical and wet cleaning and repositioning of loose threads and linen fragments would be undertaken. It was never the intention of the curators or conservators to remove the linen bandaging from the animal and bird mummies or the mummified human parts.

The treatment operations were conducted in two phases: first, the mechanical and the wet cleaning, and second, the consolidation of the loose textile threads and fragments.

1.1. Mechanical cleaning

The mechanical cleaning was undertaken in order to remove the dust/dirt and compact soiling particles attached to the linen bandaging. This procedure was done by using different types of brushes (with soft hairs), Whishab sponges (Fig. 4) and a low powered surgical vacuum cleaner (Fig. 5). The brushing was done with soft, short movements, following the natural weaving of the fabric, so that the linen threads would not be teaseled. This mechanical cleaning method was backed up by using the low powered surgical vacuum cleaner, with circular movements, over the entire surface of the object in order to remove the dust and soiling particles. All eight artifacts were subjected to this procedure (Fig. 6).

1.2. Wet cleaning

The wet cleaning operation was only directed towards small parts of linen wrappings and/or loose threads and it was undertaken only on the birds and animal mummies. The procedure was conducted by pulverizing vapors of cold, distilled water, on small surfaces of the bandaging, and by using wet pieces of cloth or Japanese paper, in order to restore some of the linen's flexibility and reposition the knotted threads or folded parts. This procedure[17] would also remove most of the damaging dust and dirt[18] while the linen fabric would still retain the resin used for embalming. The wetting process was repeated at different periods of time in order to ensure the linen's proper flexibility, although not excessively, so that the original embalming resins would not be removed.

2. Consolidation of loose threads and linen fragments

The second phase in the conservation/restoration process was the consolidation/fixing of the loose threads, loose fragments and folded ends of the linen wrappings. Just like in the case of the wet cleaning operation, this process too was only applied to the animal and birds' mummies, since the mummified human parts only retained fragments of the linen wrappings almost entirely glued onto the organs.

Where possible, a repositioning of the loose threads and loose textile fragments was attempted, following the original waving technique or display patterns, like in the case of

[16] Parent 2021.
[17] Hillyer 1984.
[18] Ahmed 2011.

the mummified ibis[19]. The linen threads and fabric ends were fixed directly onto the existing original strips using narrow stitches, approximately one centimeter apart, with natural, undyed silk threads (Fig. 7). The fixing was used on the mummified baby crocodile and the mummified ibis in the ceramic vessel where threads, fabric ends and small fragments have not been detached completely. Their repositioning and consolidation were done after the threads and linen fragments were humidified, so that their flexibility (be it temporary) would be restored. In the case of the other mummified ibis, the fixing of linen threads with stitches was followed by gluing the original linen threads and linen ends with 1% CMC – carboximetil celulosa in distilled water, on very small surfaces; given that the object had been previously structurally reinforced and the original linen threads and fragments were repositioned onto the new consolidation material, the required current fixing proved to be scanty.

Conclusions

This paper focused on the scientific and practical aspects of conserving objects from a well-defined collection, giving a stern account of the treatment procedures undertaken. The remedial conservation treatments, i.e. cleaning procedures and consolidations, which were performed on the mummified human parts and mummified animals and birds from the Egyptian collection of the National Museum of Transylvanian History in Cluj-Napoca was just one of the objectives of the ZMEA: *Gods and Mortals of Ancient Egypt* project. These types of cultural objects are not the usual artifacts one would find in a Romanian museum collection; therefore, their remedial conservation treatment was even more challenging.

[19] The bird mummy displayed a pattern of parallel individual linen threads along the length of the object and several knots of threads around the narrow end.

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Fig. 1. Mummified baby crocodile (photo by Cristina Rădulescu).

a. **b.**

Fig. 2. a. Microscopical examination of woven linen; **b.** Microscopical examination of a linen thread (images from the MNIT Archive).

Fig. 3. Mummified ibis – detail of degradations (image from the MNIT Archive).

Fig. 4. Mummified human hand – detail of surface mechanical cleaning (image from the MNIT Archive).

Fig. 5. Mummified baby crocodile – detail of surface mechanical cleaning (image from the MNIT Archive).

Fig. 6. Mummified human lung – detail of surface mechanical cleaning (image from the MNIT Archive).

Fig. 7. Mummified ibis – detail of linen threads consolidation (image from the MNIT Arhive).

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CONSERVATION AND RESTORATION OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL TEXTILES. A CHILD'S DOLMAN FROM THE SEVENTEENTH–EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

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Abstract: Several archaeological textiles were discovered in 2019 during the rehabilitation works of the Calvinist Church in Huedin. A child's dolman was among the items of clothing found in the crypt. The dolman is a three-dimensional piece of clothing made of green silk brocade ornamented with vegetal motifs arranged in 4.5 cm wide vertical registers. Its components were assembled by hand stitching with running stitches using silk threads. From the moment the piece arrived at the National Museum of Transylvanian History, it went through several conservation-restoration processes meant to restore its structural integrity. The undertaken treatment allowed for its display and storage in optimal conditions.

Keywords: Calvinist Church in Huedin, child's dolman, archaeological textiles, restoration, analyses

Rezumat: În anul 2019 au fost găsite mai multe textile arheologice cu ocazia reabilitării Bisericii Reformate din Huedin. În criptă au fost găsite mai multe piese vestimentare, printre care și un dolman de copil. Acesta este o piesă vestimentară tridimensională, realizată din brocart din mătase de culoare verde cu motive vegetale dispuse în registre verticale late de 4,5 cm. Părțile componente ale dolmanului au fost asamblate cu cusături manuale din fire de mătase în tehnica *punct înaintea acului*. Din momentul în care piesa a ajuns la Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei acesta a trecut prin mai multe procedee aplicate în domeniul conservării-restaurării pentru a putea fi expus și depozitat în condiții optime.

Cuvinte cheie: Biserica Reformată din Huedin, dolman de copil, textile arheologice, restaurare, analize

Archaeological uncovering

In 2019, during the rehabilitation works of the Calvinist Church in Huedin,[1] Cluj County, a two-stage archaeological research was undertaken,[2] within which four crypts were discovered under the collapsed vault in the sanctuary. The team of archaeologists led by expert archaeologist Zsolt Csók managed to extract a series of archaeological textiles (silk boots, bonnet, pillow, adult dolmans, but also a child's dolman). Based on the inscriptions found on the coffins, these belonged to members of a Hungarian noble family from Transylvania (the Bánffy family). The discovered archaeological textiles have been preserved over the years in a relatively good state of conservation (Figs. 1–2).

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[1] Organized by the National Museum of Transylvanian History (Cluj-Napoca, Romania; abbreviated MNIT) and funded by the László Teleki Foundation (Budapest, Hungary).

[2] Duration of the research: October–December 2019, February–October 2020.

The transition from these climatic conditions to those accepted by the norms was a very long and slow process. These materials, newly discovered, must be kept in conditions similar to those of the environment from which they were removed, until the beginning of laboratory interventions. The device used for measuring the microclimate parameters indicated a value of 91% RH and 14.9 °C in the crypt where the textiles were located (Fig. 3).

The influence of Turkish textiles and costumes on the territory of Wallachia and Transylvania

After the fall of Constantinople, in Western Europe, protocol gifts, trade exchanges and travel notes influenced/educated the taste of the nobility for fabrics, carpets, embroideries and various objects of Ottoman provenance. These were ordered especially by Italian nobles.

The proximity and domination of the Ottomans, as well as the import of luxury textiles from Italy, Flanders, Germany and France (phenomena characteristic of the thirteenth–fourteenth centuries[3]) had a decisive influence on the adoption of new clothing elements (in terms of cut, materials, style), a process characteristic of the above-mentioned period throughout the territory of the Romanian countries.

In the fifteenth–seventeenth centuries, two main groups of textiles can be distinguished: brocaded velvets produced in Italy, which dominated the entire course of the fifteenth century and the first half of the sixteenth century, and silks with threads that originated in the Near East (Asia Minor, Persia, Syria), which appeared from the second half of the fifteenth century and were in use until the beginning of the nineteenth century. It should be specified that at the princely courts of Wallachia and Moldavia, fabrics from Italy continued to be bought directly from or through Turkish merchants, only from Venice. From the eighteenth century onwards, French fabrics from Lyon came to be preferred instead of the Italian ones.[4]

Oriental fabrics continued to be imported after the seventeenth century as well, however, their value and artistic appearance started to decline due to them being mass-produced. A consequence of this loss of value was that the materials no longer or barely contained metal threads.[5]

At present, it is difficult to identify the precise provenance of certain fabrics and silks from that period due to the mutual influence of the two regions. Even contemporary sources (such as dowry acts and trade registers) hardly differentiate between Italian and Oriental fabrics.[6] The Ottoman artistic style had a particular influence on Hungary as well, which for a period of time was a Turkish pashalik. Ottoman techniques and motifs were adopted, which could be found especially on the garments of the nobility. The strong influence of such techniques and motifs on Hungarian embroideries also dates from this period.[7] For Turkish textiles, the contact with the Byzantine world and the closeness of the Persian regions had a decisive influence on the establishment of a specific ornamental repertoire.

[3] *Broderii turceşti* 1997.
[4] Nicolescu 1970, 31.
[5] Nicolescu 1970, 63–64.
[6] Nicolescu 1970, 55.
[7] Palotay 1940, 70–74.

Turkish artistic style properly came to be defined within Turkish ornamentation during the heyday of the Ottoman Empire, under the rule of Süleyman the Magnificent. Known as the 'four-flower' style, it developed from the well-known 'flower bush' Persian floral decoration. The motif of the four flowers included tulips, carnations, hyacinths, rosehips, but also roses, daffodils, pomegranates, rosehip flowers and leaves, and was constantly enriched through the assimilation of new elements over time, without excluding the original ones.

Towards the end of the fourteenth century, a style characterized by exuberant shapes and colors, as well as winding vegetal patterns began to be preferred over the more somber, geometrical aspect of the old decoration. The basic ornamental forms were the scroll, the medallion and the 'four-flower' bundle with its variants: bouquet, bouquet-palmette, flowery branch, flower bush, flower basket, flower vase, 'tree of life' vase, and shrub bundle. The eighteenth–nineteenth centuries brought a new stylistic synthesis under the influence of the West, as Baroque ornamental elements came to be incorporated in the decoration.

The intensification of relations with the West, the circulation of European artists at the Ottoman court, as well as freedom of expression have contributed to a diversification of the representations, by adopting elements from the surroundings: ships, mosques, fishponds, bridges, arcades, landscape fragments, animals, birds etc.[8]

Brief history of the dolman

The preserved inventories of goods and trade registers help one identify the garments that made up Western European court fashion. Due to the multitude of translations, different terms are used for the same piece of clothing (tunic, jacket, doublet, waistcoat, short coat, in some cases lined with fur and decorated with passementerie).

As a garment, the dolman is one of the most important pieces of clothing along with the mantle. It was worn over the shirt, under the mantle (which was not mandatory). The origin of the dolman is related to the need for a protective garment between the shirt and the chain mail. The dolman could be lined with fur, quilted or lined with hemp tow, sewn in squares, diamonds or stripes. The 'pourpoint' (gambeson, arming doublet), which appeared in France and became part of the court attire, developed from this type of garment.[9]

In the fourteenth century, the French tunic became the most luxurious and richly ornamented piece of clothing. It was closed in the front with 30 round buttons, the neckline revealing the embroidered collar of the shirt. The sleeves were tight-fitting up to the elbow. Along the entire length of the forearm they were closed with 20 buttons similar to those on the chest, but smaller in size. The cuffs were wide, with sharp 'dog-eared' or rounded ends that extended over the hand. These had a protective role in the winter just like a glove, and in the summer, they folded back into a cuff. At first, the sleeves were cut in one piece together with the front and back of the tunic. They were joined by a single seam on the sides of the garment. The flare at the bottom of the garment was created by inserting a triangular gore between the side seams that joined the front to the back.

According to the descriptions of foreign travelers regarding the territory of Wallachia, the general appearance of the court attire had a strong Turkish influence. In the case of

[8] *Broderii turcești* 1997, 8–11.

[9] Nicolescu 1970, 94.

Transylvania, Turkish and western influences overlapped, and one finds the same type of clothing made of silk (embroidered with metal threads and pearls) closed with buttons up to the waist, according to the oriental style.

The long silk tunic was worn over a linen or silk shirt that was embroidered at the sleeves and the collar. At first the closure was straight; however, from the second half of the seventeenth century, a corner piece appeared in the lower part of the tunic that overlapped the front.

According to the descriptions of garments worn by the Hungarian nobility in the seventeenth century, the length of the dolman was shortened to mid-thigh under the influence of Western fashion. In the sixteenth century, a woven sash was worn over the dolman around the waist, tied with a knot in front, the free ends extending beyond the dolman's length. From the seventeenth century onwards, the woven sash was replaced by one made of a bundle of cords.[10] From the middle of the seventeenth century, the sleeve became short, sometimes being only a strip on the shoulder. Towards the end of the seventeenth century, the sleeve became longer again, still allowing the embroidered part of the shirt sleeve to be seen.[11]

Description of the dolman

The dolman[12] discovered in the crypt of the Calvinist Church in Huedin is a three-dimensional piece of clothing typical to the male attire. The origin of the dolman is related to the need for a protective garment between the shirt and the chain mail, and it was worn over the shirt, under the mantle. In this specific case, a child's garment was discovered. The child's dolman[13] is made of a silk brocade fabric,[14] the color of which cannot be determined precisely due to the chromatic degradation caused by the chemical processes resulting from the conditions of lying in the crypt. On the surface of the fabric, however, areas of green background color are visible on which the ochre-colored vegetal decoration is highlighted. The mid-thigh length piece has very short sleeves, cut in one piece at the front and back, complete with a narrow strip of fabric at the bottom of the sleeves. Tight-fitting down to the waist, the dolman is flared in the pelvis area, which was achieved by inserting triangular gores in the lower half (from the middle down) of the garment between the back and the front. In their lower parts, the gores end with five-centimeter-long slits. The gores were formed by joining several fragments of fabric.

The dolman has a round neckline, without a collar or the usual button closure system. The edges are finished with 0.5 cm wide silk piping on the contour lines. The absence of buttons suggests a closure system with a girdle, which was, however, not identified following the archaeological discovery.

The vegetal decoration formed by the vertical alternation of two types of small 'bouquets' forms four-centimeters-wide decorative bands on the surface of the fabric (Figs. 4a–b; 7–8).

[10] Nicolescu 1970, 120; Vehrer 2017, 256–268.

[11] Höllrigl 1940; Nicolescu 1970, 95, 106–107; Újváry 2013, 7–17.

[12] The dolman entered the patrimony of the National Museum of Transylvanian History and is currently registered in the Medieval and Pre-modern Collection, under inv. no. F 29954.

[13] The dolman's length is 56 centimetres.

[14] Analysis Bulletin no. 2/17.11.2020 and Annex to Analysis Bulletin no. 2/17.11.2020.

The causes of degradation of archaeological textiles

The degradation of archaeological materials depends to a large extent on the nature of the soil in which they were found, on its humidity and salt concentration. Wet soils quickly decompose organic materials (in the case of our region's climate, textiles, leather and wood can rarely be recovered in a relatively good state of conservation).

The factors that determine the aggressiveness of the soil are: humidity, pH (acidity or alkalinity), destructive biological agents such as bacteria, fungi, and insects, as well as the amount of local precipitation. One of the main problems in the case of archaeological textiles is the loss of water from the composition of the elementary fibers. This loss may be permanent. For this reason, the physical, mechanical and chemical properties change, the fiber becoming hard and brittle. The process is irreversible, and restoring the original properties is impossible. In the scholarly literature, one might find treatments (practiced in the past) with emollients based on an aqueous glycerin solution. These treatments, according to newer studies, do not seem to have the desired effect. Archaeological textiles most often start to decay rapidly precisely at the moment of discovery. In the soil, a balance is reached between the object and the surrounding agents, and upon uncovering, this state of balance suddenly breaks.[15]

Proteinaceous textiles (natural silk, wool) decay under the attack of proteolytic bacteria, which break down proteins in two stages: proteolysis (the breaking down of protein macromolecules) and putrefaction (decomposition of oligopeptides and amino acids) under the action of proteolytic and peptidase enzymes. Fungi or molds are heterotrophic lower plants that degrade textiles. Proteolytic fungi degrade threads in the case of proteinaceous textiles.

The brown color of most archaeological textiles results from the decomposition of the dye and the oxidation of the fiber.

According to the results published in the scholarly literature, after the physical and chemical treatments of the archaeological pieces, they must be progressively rehydrated with the help of cold water vapors, to help the silk fiber regain its initial properties.[16]

Stages preceding the conservation process

The first mandatory stage in the conservation process is the quarantine of the archaeological textiles. In this process, they are provided with a crypt-like microclimate. The microclimate parametres (the air's relative humidity and temperature) must be gradually correlated and brought as much as possible to the values recommended in the field. In the present case, this process took place over the course of a year in closed spaces controlled in terms of temperature and humidity. Monitoring the pieces and periodically checking their state of conservation are defining steps for saving these pieces.[17]

Analyses

The samples taken from the child's dolman were analyzed with an optical microscope[18] to determine the textile fibers. The method included two stages: making microscopic

[15] Marian 2000, 251–258; Guttmann 2009, 17–26.

[16] Várfalvi 2014, 121–129.

[17] Marian 2001, 9–17.

[18] OLYMPUS CX33 Microscope.

preparations and the microscopic examination of the textile fibers. The preparations in our case were made with the help of neutral liquids (distilled water).

The results of the analyses show that the brocade was woven from silk thread, as was the piping material on the dolman's edge (Figs. 5a–d).

To identify the type of material, samples were taken from the following places, showed in Table no. 1.

Analyzed samples	Characterization of threads		
	thickness	technique	fabric
fabric thread (warp)	varies between 0.1–0.2 mm	the thread is not twisted	silk
fabric thread (weft)	varies between 0.2–0.55 mm	the thread is not twisted	silk
ornamented brocade thread	varies between 0.16–0.33 mm	the thread is not twisted	silk
piping thread (warp)	approx. 0.1–0.15 mm	the thread is not twisted	silk
piping thread (weft)	approx. 0.1–0.15 mm	the thread is not twisted	silk
piping thread (selvedge)	approx. 0.1–0.15 mm	the thread is not twisted	silk

Tab. 1. Characterization of the threads.

Conservation/restoration of the dolman

When the crypt (no. 3) was opened, successive burials (eight deceased) were found, which contributed to the deterioration of the coffins placed beneath. In the first phase, it was not possible to make an exact assessment of the state of conservation of the pieces from the eight coffins, due to the deposits of humus, debris and traces of plants placed according to the burial ritual. Considering the high humidity and the specific fragility of archaeological textiles, it was considered that the pieces were in a precarious state of conservation, requiring urgent stabilization interventions and active *in situ* conservation.

As part of the conservation process, the measures taken were aimed at stopping the evolution of biological and chromatic degradation caused by organic and inorganic materials found in the environment from where the pieces were removed.

Thus, the archaeological textiles discovered were kept in a controlled environment according to the norms of preventive conservation, so when the crypt was opened, the device for measuring air parameters showed values of 91% RH and 14.9 °C in the premises (Fig. 6a).

The first intervention measure taken for the child's dolman was disinfection with an 80% alcohol solution. After the disinfection of the piece, the mechanical cleaning of the piece followed, an operation carried out with the help of a soft brush and the AsKhir surgical suction pump with variable vacuum control.[19] We started from the premise that

[19] Várfalvi 2014, 121–129.

the cleaning operation is the most important stage of the conservation treatment. It aims at chemically stabilizing the objects by removing the deposits (humus, organic remains and materials from the crypt's modifications) that represent a potential source of degradation.

After the disinfection and dry cleaning of the dolman, it was considered that the piece's state of conservation was stable and it was possible to proceed to the next stage: wet cleaning (of the piece) by immersion (Fig. 6b).

A series of deposits were removed by wet cleaning with a hydroalcoholic solution (5%), followed by cleaning with a radix saponariae decoction[20] solution (5%) and repeated rinsing with distilled water (water being a natural surfactant) and/or alcohol. For wet cleaning, the piece was sandwiched between two layers of tulle. Thus prepared, it was immersed in the washing solution, in special tubs. During this step, we have repeatedly checked the pH of the washing solution, which must be neutrally stable.

This type of cleaning facilitates the removal of impurities and restores the flexibility of the weakened fibers by the penetration of water into the structure of the dehydrated fibers. Due to the piece's poor state of conservation, following the wet cleaning there were areas (along the lines where the dolman elements were joined) where the assembly threads were completely lost. After cleaning, the textile fragments were laid out on a flat surface, aiming to regain the shape of the dolman.

The consolidation of the fragments was carried out on a new support,[21] by fixing them on a horizontal frame. The method used for the dolman's restoration was that of strengthening the textile surfaces on a natural silk ochre veil, by manual stitching with a thin silk thread. In areas where the degradations have led to the destruction of the material, fixing was done with specific stitches used in textile restoration, such as the self-couching stitch, and support stitches were used on the rest of the surfaces. After the consolidation of the fragments, they were reassembled, following which the piping was repositioned on the outline of the piece.[22]

All these conservation-restoration interventions were aimed at protecting the integrity of the textile object over time (Fig. 9).

Storage and display

The storage of conserved-restored archaeological textiles must be carried out according to the norms in force (Fig. 10).[23] An archaeological textile cannot be displayed for months or years at a time. The restorer proposes methods for display, specifies the duration of display, and strictly defines the microclimate system according to the particularities of the object and especially according to its state of conservation.

[20] Common soapwort, *Saponaria officinalis*.

[21] Natural silk veil dyed with natural products (tea, walnut, and coffee) in a shade similar to that of the original piece.

[22] Landi 1985, 35–56.

[23] Relative humidity of 50–65%, the temperature should not exceed 22 °C, illuminance should measure between 50 and 80 luxes, the UV component emitted by the light sources should not exceed 75 μW/lm, while no more than 2 to 3 flat pieces can be overlapped.

Conclusions

The present work illustrates through a case study the sequence of operations carried out on the archaeological material, from its discovery in the excavation to its storage and successful display. We believe that the applied measures of conservation and methods of restoration have led to the salvage of the archaeological textile under discussion, a fact that will allow historians, archaeologists, art historians and textile restorers to research this cultural artifact in the future.

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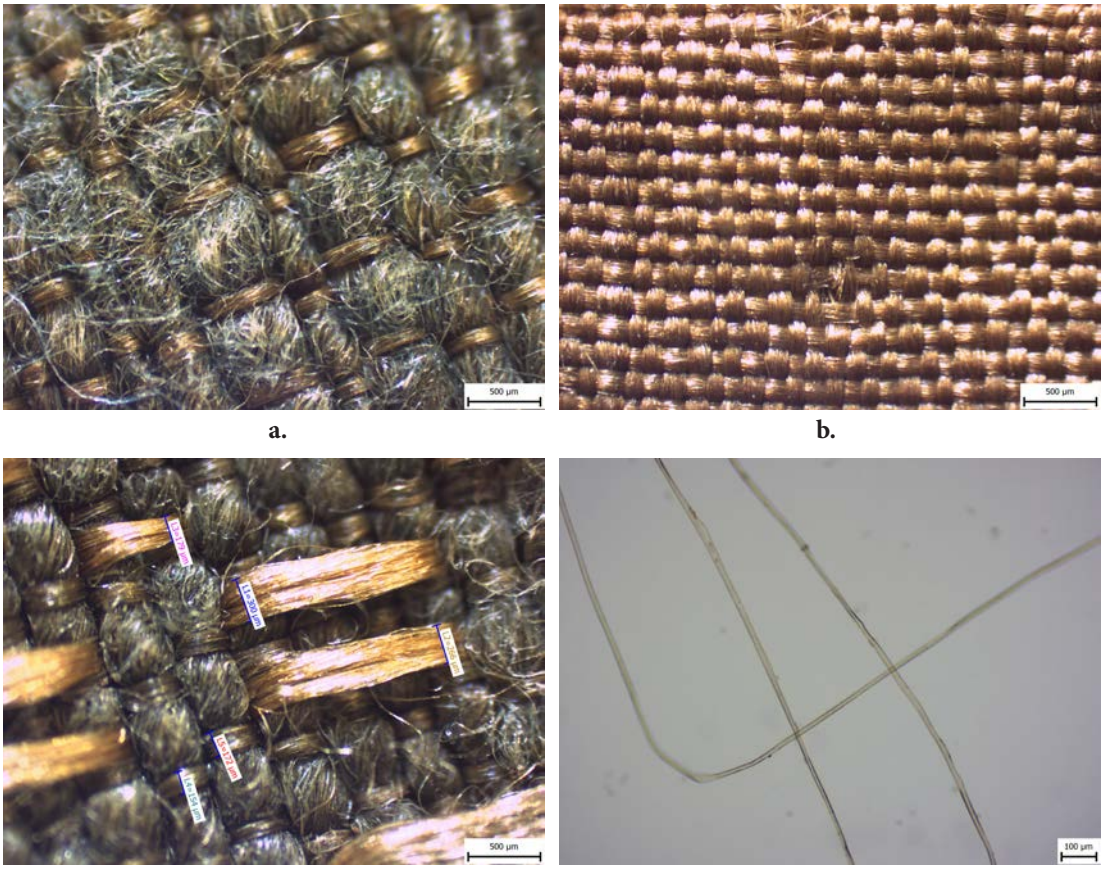
Fig. 1. Collapsed vault in the sanctuary of the Calvinist Church in Huedin (image from the MNIT Archive).

Fig. 2. The archaeological textiles in the crypt, at the time of their discovery (image from the MNIT Archive).

Fig. 3. Archaeological textile with petals of different flowers (image from the MNIT Archive).

a. **b.**

Fig. 4. a. Detail with the ornamental motifs of the brocade fabric; **b.** Triangular gore detail on the side seams, finished at the edges with a silk piping (images from the MNIT Archive).



a. **b.**

c. **d.**

Fig. 5. a. Image in reflected light magnification: 4×, detail of the child's dolman; **b.** Image in reflected light, magnification: 4×, piping detail; **c.** Image in reflected light, magnification: 4×, detail of decorative motif; **d.** Image in transmitted light, magnification: 20×, thread 1 from the decoration (images from the MNIT Archive).

a. **b.**

Fig. 6. a. Disinfection stage of the archaeological piece; **b.** Removal of large deposits originating from the crypt (images from the MNIT Archive).

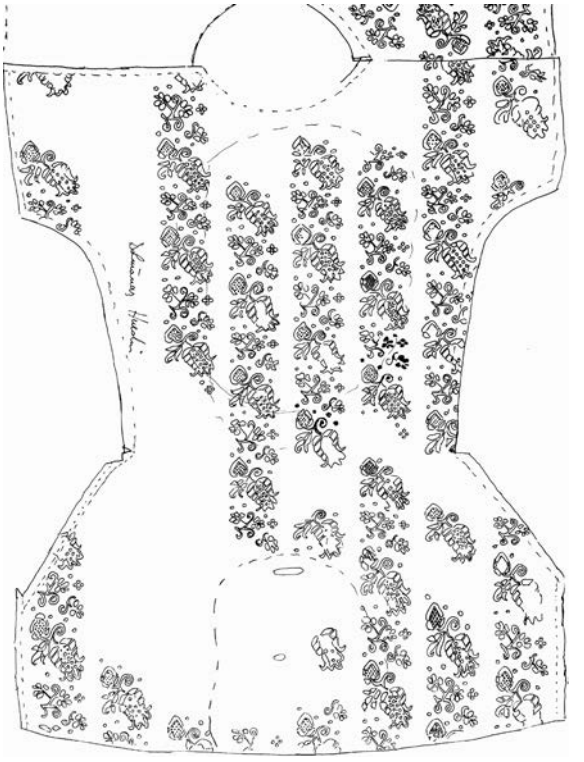


Fig. 7. Survey drawing of the dolman (drawing by Mihaela Chetrari).

Fig. 8. Restored child's dolman (image from the MNIT Archive).

Fig. 9. Consolidation on a silk veil (image from the MNIT Archive).

Fig. 10. Dolman from the seventeenth–eighteenth centuries (image from the MNIT Archive).

Orbis Mediaevalis
III

Moreşti–Cetate/Podei archaeological site, photo by Szilamér P. Pánczél

REVIEWS

ORBIS MEDIAEVALIS III. *Exploring Dwellings and Manufacturing Spaces in Medieval Context (7th–14th Centuries). Proceedings of the International Conference Exploring Dwellings and Manufacturing Spaces in Medieval Context (7th–14th Centuries)*, Keve LÁSZLÓ, Dan BĂCUEȚ-CRIȘAN, Ioan STANCIU, Florin MĂRGINEAN (eds.), Târgu Mureș, 27th–30th October 2020, Mega Publishing, Cluj-Napoca, 2021, pp. 272, ISBN 978–606-020–427-5

Reviewed by ERWIN GÁLL*

The latest *Orbis Mediaevalis* volume, edited by several museums from Transylvania and Crișana, came out last year. By reaching this third proceedings issue, it gradually becomes a tradition to have this publication appear every two years. The volume collects the papers presented at the third *Orbis Medievalis International Conference*. *Exploring Dwellings and Manufacturing Spaces in Medieval Context (7th–14th Centuries)*. This assemblage of eleven original studies and two reviews stands out due to the broad spectrum of early medieval archaeology research topics ranging from non-invasive research to results of the latest archaeological excavations.

The volume opens with the presentation of an exciting Austrian project titled *Metallic Idiophones between 800 BC and 800 AD in Central Europe – Their Function and Acoustic Influence in Daily Life*, authored by Beate Maria Pomberger, Jörg Mühlhans and Karina Grömer. The article focuses on archaeometallurgy over a broad chronological framework in several regions of Central Europe. The paper is valuable because of its methodological framework,[1] especially as Fig. 2 (titled: *Model of interdisciplinary research project*) draws our attention.

Spotting the Past of Moreşti. New Data Collected through Non-invasive Research (pp. 31–58) is the title under which Alpár Dobos, Szilamér-Péter Pánczél, Katalin Sidó, Keve László, Sándor Berecki, Mihály Pethe, László Lenkey and Máté Szabó delivered the result of a well-developed research in the Moreşti micro-region (Mureș County).[2] This was

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[1] Though, an objection is mandatory. The first figure of the paper presents the spatial distribution of the archaeological sites and a timeline that marks the end date of the Avar Age in 822. However, the new archaeological results and the ^{14}C data clearly show that the Avar-age cemeteries did not end in the first decades of the ninth century but in its second half (Faragó et alii 2022; Szenthe, Gáll 2022, 264–293).

[2] I have to comment on the authors' note about what they call the 'sword from Moreşti.' First, the sword entered the collection of the Transylvanian Museum Society after it was discovered in Brăișoru (in Hungarian Malomszeg, Cluj County). The original place was recorded by A. Ferenczi, who could not have mistaken the two village names! Secondly, in most cases, these weapons have been retrieved from burials. Another indirect proof for the provenance of the sword would be that no graves dated between the sixth and the twelfth centuries have yet been researched in the eastern part of the Transylvanian Basin (Gáll, Mărginean 2022,

primarily based on geophysical measurements and archaeological field walks conducted in two locations out of the six village boundaries with old excavation sites (the *Podei* and the *Hulă* plateau). The geophysical survey revealed anomalies produced by archaeological features distributed with various densities across the investigated surface. The study provided the scientific milieu with valuable new insight into the old archaeological research, as the geomagnetic survey was correlated with the old georeferenced excavation plan (Fig. 10). During the field walk, the team collected ceramic fragments from the prehistoric period to the Árpád Age, with the most significant ceramic lot dated in the Gepidic period (Fig. 11).

Two valuable studies focus on dwellings and manufacturing spaces in Marca – *Sfărăuaș* I, Sălaj County (by Dan Băcueț-Crișan, pp. 59–73) and on the *Examination of the Early Medieval Pottery Production Concerning the Use of the Potter's Wheel in the Eastern Part of the Carpathian Basin (7th–9th Centuries)* (by Ioan Stanciu, pp. 75–122).

Subsequently, the volume continues with a study by Anita Rapan Papeša (*The Lion does not care about the Opinion of the Sheep*) that focuses on the publication of a grave from Nuštar (Croatia) that contained a belt set, displaying, among other elements, a big strap end adorned with the image of a lion. The strap is dated to the ninth century based on the inventory assemblage (pp. 123–135). The Late Avar Age was also explored by Daniela Tănase in her study dealing with a settlement fragment from Remetea Mare: *Living Spaces and Spaces Destined for Craft in the Early Medieval Settlement at Remetea Mare – "Gomila lui Pituț" from Timiș County* (pp. 157–176).

The very interesting paper signed by Cristina Paraschiv-Talmațchi and Constantin Șova, called *Production Space Versus Living Space. Constructions with Grinding Devices in Mainland Dobrudja* (pp. 137–156), discusses the delimitation of production and living areas during the ninth and tenth centuries, based on archaeological researches performed in Dobrudja. This broader discussion was prompted by the grinding installations documented inside a building excavated as part of a large early medieval settlement used between the ninth century and the beginning of the eleventh century south of *Valu lui Traian*. The installation's presence suggests a specific organization of the space and an economic role, somewhat different from the organization of the contemporary dwellings of the same settlement. Moreover, the authors suspect a change in the building's function over time because, after the end of the grinding activity, the space could have been adapted for habitation.

In her article titled *Workshops in the Production Centers in the Vicinity of the Capital Preslav* (pp. 177–190), Stela Doncheva presents and analyzes the data on the metal workshops excavated near Preslav, Bulgaria (Novoselo, Zlatar), a center of the Bulgarian Khanate and, after 864, of the Bulgarian Tsardom. It is essential to mention that many of the objects produced in Novoselo and Zlatar have close analogies within the Carpathian Basin, respectively, in an area of far more interest to us, namely, the Transylvanian Basin, where, until present, similar workshops have not been uncovered. For example, one can find among the products from Novoselo or Zlatar the analogies for belt mounts discovered

forthcoming). Hence, the actual place of discovery is Brăișoru and not Moreşti (in Hungarian *Malomfalva*). Lastly, the sword cannot be dated to the so-called 'Árpád Age.' Based on Alfred Geibig's blade typology, the sword from Brăișoru falls into the combination-type 11 dated in the tenth century and the first decades of the subsequent one. On this topic, with bibliography, see Gáll 2013, vol. I: 317, vol. II: Pl. 157/1.

in Cluj-Napoca – *Plugarilor Street* or in Alba-Iulia (Figs. 16–18). Organically related to the former study, the paper published by Stella Doncheva, Nina Arhangelova, Ákos Csepregi, Anikó Angyal and Zita Szikszai examines the ingots and scrap metal retrieved from the archaeological excavation in Nadarevo, Bulgaria (pp. 191–208: *PIXE – Analyse of Ingots and Scrap from the Metal Art Production Centre Near Nadarevo, Targovishte Municipality*).

The article *Eleventh-century Stone Fortifications in Alba Civitas (Fehérvár) in the Light of Excavations at 14 Jókai Mór Street*, by Hungarian archaeologists Frigyes Szücsi, Csilla Szőllősy and Sándor Romát, is essential for the early medieval topography of Székesfehérvár, Hungary (pp. 209–240). Previously, archaeologists assumed that the stone-built town wall of Székesfehérvár could be dated only in the thirteenth century. However, the authors of the excavation on 14 Jókai Mór Street have concluded that the stone wall was erected in the first part or, at the latest, by the middle of the eleventh century. First and foremost, the dating of two separate dendrochronological samples emphasized that the wooden elements were cut down either in 1045 or in 1049/1050. Moreover, the ^{14}C dating established a chronological interval between 997 and 1057 (unfortunately, the authors did not calibrate the ^{14}C samples). The article's authors conclude that the stone wall was built in the eleventh century, with a higher probability of dating around the middle or in the third quarter of the century. It is highly plausible that the name of the city – *Székesfehérvár* (*Stuhlweißenburg* in German, meaning 'the white stone castle of the ruler') – is associated with the white color of the stones uncovered by archaeologists from the Szent István Király Museum.

The last scientific article of the volume, *Árpád Age Pottery Kiln Workshops in the Light of Archaeological Finds from the Lower Mureș Basin* (pp. 241–259), belongs to Florin Mărginean. The analysis of these archaeological features opens with the presentation of the newly discovered kilns from Pecica – 4R and Vladimirescu – *Cetate* (Arad County). An upgraded list of the known pottery kilns from the eastern half of the Carpathian Basin is presented in the following paragraphs. The author's observations, based on the archaeological excavations, are significant: 1. the pottery kilns excavated in the vicinity of Pecica suggest a shift in economic dynamics; 2. during the eleventh–thirteenth centuries, the Lower Mureș area became a major transit area in the economy of the Hungarian Kingdom.

The conference proceedings conclude with the review of two essential works mainly concerning the Transylvanian Middle Ages. Ünige Bencze provides an overview of the second volume of the Orbis Mediaevalis proceedings: *Inter tempora. The Chronology of the Early Medieval Period: Issues, Approaches, Results*, Mega Publishing House, Cluj-Napoca, 2019, edited by Florin Mărginean, Ioan Stanciu and Keve László (pp. 261–263), while Zalán Győrfi presents the monographic work of István Botár, *Havasok keblében rejtező szép Csík. A Csíki-medence középkori településtörténete* [Beautiful Ciuc Hiding in the Mountains. The Medieval Settlement History of the Ciuc Basin], Opitz Archaeologica 15, Martin Opitz Kiadó, Budapest, 2019 (pp. 265–268).

To conclude, the volume that reunites the works of specialists from Austria, Bulgaria, Croatia, Hungary and Romania has undoubtedly demonstrated the importance of the regional archaeological analyses integrated into a macro-regional approach, exceeding the national-romantic perspective, and sets the groundwork of a new analysis of the different types of networks in the Middle- and Lower Danube area.

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Florinela GIURGEA, *Deportarea romilor sub regimul Ion Antonescu* [The deportation of Roma people under Ion Antonescu's regime], Cetatea de Scaun, Târgoviște, 2022, pp. 290, ISBN 978–606-537–556-7

Reviewed by SABINA COJOCARU*

As Florinela Giurgea points out from the beginning, the subject of *Samudaripen*/*Porajmos* was, for decades, deliberately avoided by the official historiography. Superficial knowledge regarding the deportations of Roma people to Transnistria combined with perpetuated systemic discriminatory behavior (given that the Roma community was not recognized as an ethnic minority until 1990) has led to the present situation. With all official statements about the importance of remembering the Genocide against the Roma on a societal level, something remains incomplete considering that a large majority of people tend to understand the Holocaust as especially relating to the suffering of the Jews, not yet other minorities or other categories of people.

The suffering of Roma people during World War II is not debatable; it is a factual truth that people died because of their ethnicity under Ion Antonescu's regime. It is imperative to acknowledge the sensitivity of the subject when discussing this matter. We might easily propagate the idea that the topic is unattainable and even controversial by not taking this into consideration. And that is not a risk worth taking.

Maintaining the topic in the public eye will eventually lead to a common understanding of this matter. This is what Florinela Giurgea's book does. On the one hand, it represents a starting point for discussions. Secondly, it contributes to generating knowledge about the implications and consequences of the actions taken against the Roma community during the war. Equally important is the impressive number of previously unpublished documentary sources about the subject brought to the readers' attention, showing that we still have many things to discover.

On the other hand, this volume is proof that even if documented carefully, the topic deserves a more nuanced viewpoint. The book reveals the importance of studying a complex subject in recent history like this one from different points of view – the one chosen in this case, as the author states (p. 15), being that the deportations of Roma people to Transnistria are analyzed as a result of the state's public policies (or 'population policies') regarding the minorities. The author continues to underline this perspective:

> This approach also has the advantage of allowing a sequential follow-up of the subject, the objective analysis of the documents, without falling into the temptation of the emotion conveyed by, for example, the oral testimonies of the survivors or the possible subjectivity of Roma activism.[1]

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[1] Personal translation.

It is not a matter of advantages and disadvantages when choosing an approach for studying any topic, but a matter of interest. Looking at things centered on what one chooses to demonstrate eventually is adequate. However, it is a long way from documenting one's interest to just making assumptions about the subjectivity of other sources, like judging based on emotions or Roma activism. These assumptions only estrange other equally important sources, the most relevant example being the testimonies obtained from oral history. To achieve the objective analysis of the documents, one may think to be pursuing a coherent path but could end up perpetuating unfortunate ideas or conclusions, even unintentionally.

I could appreciate that in the introductory part the author provides a glimpse of the present situation regarding the recognition of the Romani Holocaust and its literal consequences in our society. Moreover, addressing the negationist agenda is unavoidable when discussing the racial politics of Ion Antonescu's regime. Although the multidisciplinary approach is noticeable and the preeminent questions of this research are revealed, I did not find the introduction very convincing. The author does not explain from the beginning how the chapters would play their part in the bigger picture; a sight of each chapter would have helped with a better understanding of the main intentions of this research.

The book's table of contents portrays how the subject is structured in eight different chapters, the last one containing a categorized list of bibliography sources. First of all, it is noticeable that the author preferred to create a conceptual framework. Consequently, she dedicated two chapters (the second and the third) to this purpose, presenting facts from a general perspective to a particular one. The second chapter gives the readers a larger perspective on concepts such as genocide and ethnic cleansing. In contrast, the third chapter deals with interwar Romania's history regarding the social and economic means of the state's policies and racist theories in Europe that had a solid contribution to Romania's methods of ethnic cleansing. The fourth chapter is the most important one considering that it discusses the deportations of Roma people to Transnistria. The subsequent chapter is a case study that briefly presents the situation of the Roma community in Fascist Italy. The sixth chapter discusses how these deportations were interpreted during the post-war years, including some reflections on how the Roma people were treated when they came back to Romania.

Given the intentionality of the second chapter, *The conceptual framework*, the discussion began with presenting the problem of naming the Romani Holocaust. This approach deserves our full attention, and it is a matter of respect to acknowledge the survivor's points of view regarding *their* suffering. Over and above that, how we choose our words is telling. Is it just another 'trend' (p. 28), as the author states that Roma Organizations worldwide are trying to choose a suitable name for the Romani Holocaust? This is not a marketing strategy. It is a way of reclaiming what was lost using the word 'Holocaust' as an umbrella term for decades. These vague ways of expression do not, at all, serve the purpose of generating knowledge.

The last sub-section of this chapter describes the fundament of this research. The author presents the 'population policies' elaborated by Sabin Mănuilă, the director of the Central Institute of Statistics during Ion Antonescu's regime, explaining, in addition, the role of this institute in *supposedly* resolving any problem shown by statistics (p. 49). In this

part, the author focuses on how this new approach to public policies (firstly meant to deal with social-economic problems) gradually surfaced as racist in the public eye.

Given that the deportation of Roma people to Transnistria was analyzed from the point of view of public policies, one main thing to focus on is how the author points out until the end the racist means of this politics. What could have been easily seen as elusive at first sight was adequately explained in the later chapter, *The Roma problem in interwar Romania*. This part begins by clarifying what the 'Jewish problem' and the 'Gypsy problem' meant back then in interwar Europe, including Romania, and continues by presenting racial theories. The author explains that Romanian anti-Semitism was based on a nationalist background (p. 79); the preoccupation with building a country only for Romanian citizens gradually became prevalent in different political areas. For the 'Gypsy problem,' the author observes the pre-existing European background – for centuries, Roma people were not recognized as an ethnic group and that criminality was often thought to be related to their nomadism and way of living. The eugenics theory of relating to Roma people as 'asocial' human beings is also presented in this chapter: this term has connotations when referring to social-economic problems, but the author reveals, with examples and sources, the racial meaning behind it. This third chapter clarifies how Ion Antonescu's regime related to the 'Gypsy problem,' also revealing how the state leader saw the Roma people.

The transition to the fourth chapter is made by the author's question: how can the term 'elimination' (present in many of Ion Antonescu's speeches) be interpreted? It could be seen in the sense of social alienation and marginalization (using, for example, the method of deportation) or a literal and physical elimination that would result in genocide. In the *Deportation of Roma to Transnistria*, the author further points out the implications of the racist mechanisms of the state and its institutions. Using document archives, Florinela Giurgea details the methods of subaltern bodies that were ordered to comply with and further implement these decisions. In the first part, she chooses to come closer to the subject by analyzing the topic from a *quantitative* point of view, comparing numbers, mainly because Roma people who were deported were divided into categories ('nomads' and 'semi-nomads'). Only then the author switches the perspective to a *qualitative* one, analyzing the motivation behind these actions and the implications for the army and other law enforcement units, especially riot police.

Throughout this chapter, when talking about the situation of deported Roma people, although many of the chosen topics are documented carefully, the information is not always placed in context. This does not mean it needed to be strictly categorized, but it seemed that, in multiple ways, some quotes were overly used without further explanations. One of the main reasons I believe this happened is the high number of sources; they were handled rigorously, but perhaps what was missing was a somewhat narrative thread. On the other hand, I noticed that the author sometimes lost control of her text through phrasing, the analysis becoming somehow repetitive.

I mentioned earlier how the author tried to detach from any subjectivity, mentioning the 'temptation' of emotions. Although the author's choice in studying this topic is understandable, it would have been adequate that the title *Survival* to be particularized by using more testimonies of the Roma people who have suffered in Transnistria (and then in

Romania) but managed to, somehow, survive. This approach would not have represented, in any way, a disadvantage in the overall picture of the book.

The next chapter is a short case study about the Roma community in fascist Italy, revealing that Italy's Holocaust Recognition Law does not refer to the number of Roma victims. Considering that Italy did not have the same specific racial agenda, it would have been more thoughtful to elaborate on this idea. In this way, the risk of inappropriately placing and understanding this chapter in the bigger picture of this thesis would have lessened, at least. Furthermore, this chapter only indicates some suppositions, and it manages to fracture in some ways the argumentation of the book because it does not follow the supposedly-narrative thread.

Perhaps this is one of the reasons behind the structure of the next chapter. The two subchapters (*The situation of the Roma upon returning from Transnistria* and *Deportation to Transnistria as part of war crimes trials*) seem interconnected. However, by choosing this structure, the author did not pay the required attention to these events that could have been analyzed separately. This approach is also shown by observing how the transition from the first sub-chapter to the next one is made. The author still has many things to explain regarding the subject.

Although concepts in the conceptual framework are explained, the author fails to maintain readers' attention on the discriminatory motives behind these public policies. Even unintentionally, some ways of expression are unclear even in the *Conclusions* part. The author states that 'it is extremely debatable whether the measure of deporting Roma in Transnistria responded to a real need' (p. 249) – and, in this sentence, it is the word 'responded' that can be seen as a warning sign. Perhaps what is debatable is if it could have responded to a real need, not that it did – considering that people died in the process, it certainly did not.

When talking about Ion Antonescu, the author is almost doing the same thing by choosing vague ways of expressing the conclusions of this study. Florinela Giurgea states that the discussion about the Marshal's 'racism'[2] (p. 262) should be nuanced given the fact that regarding Roma people, as the author continues to explain, there is no mention of physical extermination in his speeches (p. 262). Although the author contributes to evaluating and interpreting Ion Antonescu's speeches, clear conclusions are necessary. It is inappropriate to suggest, especially as a conclusion, that the racist means regarding the Roma people are questionable. Moreover, the author does not seem to take into consideration that being racist cannot be looked upon differentially based on whom one chooses to discriminate against – the attempt of comparing how Ion Antonescu related to Jews and Roma people is nothing but unfortunate in this case.

Over and above that, stating that we may think of Ion Antonescu as if he 'is not as racist as other collaborators' (p. 271) is a dangerous thing to do for so many reasons, the most prominent being that it can easily lead to apologism. How could one quantify levels of racism and conclude that someone is *less* racist than another, especially when talking about the head of state that ordered the further marginalization of ethnic, social and religious groups?

[2] These quotation marks belong to the author of the presented book.

Florinela Giurgea's book is and will remain a relevant book to consider when talking about the deportation of Roma people to Transnistria, even if it will be for the things that the author did correctly or for the others that could have been expressed in a more pointing manner. Overall, this book is somewhat rigid and intentionally detached from the ones that went through all this pain and suffering.

We still have things to learn about the *Porajmos*/*Samudaripen*, and we could not possibly stop observing and interpreting documents the official institutions issued. This way, we are far from understanding this tragedy in its whole complexity.

Acta Musei Napocensis, 59/II, 2022, 243–245

Cosmin POPA, *Elena Ceaușescu sau anatomia unei dictaturi de familie* [Elena Ceaușescu or the anatomy of a family dictatorship], Litera Press, București, 2021, pp. 320, ISBN 978–606-33–7143-1

Reviewed by PAULA CORPODEAN*

The period of communism in Romania during the time of Nicolae Ceaușescu still represents for historians a field of research that can generate many valuable studies. In this case, those interested in the topic have the opportunity to enter that world and to understand its mechanisms. Cosmin Popa's work, *Elena Ceaușescu sau anatomia unei dictaturi de familie* [Elena Ceaușescu or the anatomy of a family dictatorship], is in this sense a work that offers an interesting perspective on how the country's leadership system has changed and worked from the moment Nicolae Ceaușescu granted his wife numerous positions in the state. The author creates a portrait of Elena Ceaușescu that captures her involvement in political life, but also elements of her personal life. By offering an extended picture of Elena, the author tried to highlight the complexity of her character and the role she played in society and in her family.

In this sense, the arguments brought by the author outline a chronological picture about how Elena Ceaușescu's path to power developed, emphasizing her role in the state and the traces she left on the regime in the last two communist decades. Also, critically analyzing the events, the author highlights the disastrous effects of Elena's inclusion at the head of the state and of the policies proposed by the Ceaușescu family in their desire to 'transform the country into a Stalinist dictatorship based on the clan idea' (p. 303).

Elena Ceaușescu is an important character in Romanian history, which makes her a source of inspiration for other authors as well. Lavinia Betea, in *Tovarășa. Biografia Elenei Ceaușescu* [The comrade. The biography of Elena Ceaușescu] offers an extensive picture of her life, including elements of her private life. For example, the author provides information about Elena Ceaușescu's activities that involved her family during their free time. Also Lavinia Betea, in *Ultimul an din viața Elenei Ceaușescu. Agenda Tovarășei în 1989* [The last year in the life of Elena Ceaușescu. The comrade's agenda in 1989] brings to the fore the daily activity of Elena from the last year in which she was in power, with her husband, based on Elena's daily meeting agenda.

Analyzing the methodology and sources used, *Elena Ceaușescu sau anatomia unei dictaturi de familie* turns out to be a well-documented work. In addition to specialized literature, the author also uses archival documents from the Central National Historical Archives. The numerous edited documents are complemented by a significant number of memorial works written by some of the personalities who were contemporary to the events. The seven chapters of the book follow a chronological development, starting from the coming to power of Nicolae Ceaușescu, explaining the context and opportunities for

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Elena's political rise, passing through the different phases of the regime and finally reaching the loss of control and the couple's execution in 1989. The illustrations, introduced by the author throughout the work, add value to it. These are photographs of Elena and Nicolae Ceaușescu in different contexts, from portraits to family photos and images captured during work visits, in Romania and abroad.

Referring to the structure of the book, the first chapter discusses the decisions made to support Elena Ceaușescu's rise in Romanian political life. The next chapter brings to the fore the changes in Ceaușescu's policy during the 1970s. This coincided with the period in which Elena consolidated her power, as she appeared constantly next to her husband. In the third chapter, emphasizing Elena Ceaușescu's role, the author discusses her stand on the policy of women's emancipation and their promotion to certain leadership positions. Considering Elena's role in leading the cadres, the next chapter highlights the influence of her decisions on this aspect and also discusses how the party apparatus changed following Elena's interventions. In the fifth chapter, the privileges of Elena Ceaușescu are made known, from various gifts to other tokens of appreciation. Also, at the end of the chapter, the author analyzes her intellectual training and her family life. In the sixth chapter, the author discusses Elena Ceaușescu's position alongside her husband in the leadership of the state, but also the couple's decisions regarding economic problems. This is also where Elena's aversion towards intellectuals during the 1980s is explained. The last chapter gives a presentation of the situation in which the two spouses, at the helm of the state, are caught in their own opinions and beliefs, refusing to observe the actual situation that Romanian society had reached.

Throughout the book, the author goes beyond the chronological rendering of political events and the measures applied during the Communist Regime, to critically analyze the decisions that granted Elena Ceaușescu decision-making powers. She was, in fact, a person who had no real competences to solve the respective issues in the context in which the country was facing difficulties in more and more areas. Thus, Popa draws attention to the fact that, instead of facilitating communication between the leader and the communist party and society, the rise of Elena Ceaușescu gradually contributed to blocking the optimal functioning of the system.

Cosmin Popa claims that, although poorly educated, Elena Ceaușescu managed to support Nicolae in consolidating his power, demonstrating organizational and practical spirit. In this sense, wanting to control as much as possible, she valued the loyalty of those around her. Elena Ceaușescu preferred to surround herself with docile people who would not challenge the ruling couple's decisions and who would provide her with all required information. As the author mentions, 'from the very beginning she was connected to the immense information flow leading to the General Secretary of the PCR' (p. 47). Once her visibility began to increase, the author analyzes how, both in Romania and especially on an international level, steps were taken for Elena Ceaușescu to be recognized for her scientific activity. However, the author claims that scientific research was not among her concerns and this was just another attempt to strengthen her prestige and importance.

The visibility of women as political actors and their promotion in various positions represents one of the characteristics of Ceaușescu's political program. This was especially noticeable after the officialization of his wife's role in politics. Although the leading couple

supported a policy of gender equality in the 1970s, the rise of Elena Ceaușescu did not lead to a sudden increase in the number of women in political positions. Referring to Elena Ceaușescu's role as a woman in supporting the improvement of other women's lives, the author came to the conclusion that she had no initiatives that promoted a truly beneficial policy for them.

Elena Ceaușescu's influence and power were so solid at the end of the 1970s, that the author suggests that Romania started to experience a period of 'bicephalic dictatorship' (p. 193). Thus, the last decade of the communist regime in Romania was a difficult period for Romanian society because of the way in which the couple considered decisions should be made. Completely ignoring the real needs of the people, the author states that in the mid-1980s 'the two lost touch with reality' entirely (p. 215). Even in that situation, Elena Ceaușescu continued to be a supporter of all her husband's decisions and, in the end, the collapse of the Ceaușescus turned out to be a violent one.

In his research, Cosmin Popa manages to highlight the rise of Elena Ceaușescu, going through all the stages of her climbing the power hierarchy. He brings to attention her influence in the political sphere, but also the way in which she behaved in the domestic space, with those close to her. In both situations the author notes her desire to be in control. In this sense, by creating different ways for his wife to have access to power, Nicolae Ceaușescu put all his trust in her, giving her numerous prerogatives and decision-making power. Having contempt for intellectuals and lacking morality in some decisions, through her position, Elena Ceaușescu managed to consolidate her husband's power. Thus, by supporting each other, the two managed to create a system in which loyal people would implement their decisions without opposition. The idea of family and clan dictatorship, as formulated by the author, was viible in the way the state was run during the last two communist decades.

Overall, Cosmin Popa's work represents a credible source when it comes to analyzing the context and methods through which Elena Ceaușescu reached a top leadership position, alongside Nicolae Ceaușescu. The book is well documented and well argued. The author manages to explain, both for specialists and for the general public, how the authority of the two spouses became intertwined over time. One can observe how power gradually changed Elena Ceaușescu and this book is an excellent work that explains the complexity of the female personality that was at the top of the communist regime in Romania.

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Dennis DELETANT, *In Search of Romania*, C Hurst&Co Publishers Ltd, London, 2022, pp.294, ISBN 978–178-738–701-0

Reviewed by HORAȚIU MICLĂUȘ*

British historian Dennis Deletant was born in Norfolk in 1946. As one of the international historians who has previously researched the history of Romania during the communist period, he contributes significantly to the cultural and historical consciousness of Romania while maintaining his reputation as a distinguished scientist. Given that he had the chance to study in Romania during Nicolae Ceaușescu's rule, he is an astute observer of the changes that occurred during that period. According to Dennis Deletant, his first encounter with communist ideas took place in 1958 at the Halloway Comprehensive School in London, where the Marxist historian George Rude was teaching. However, his first personal experience with the communist regime in Romania gave him the chance to learn about the realities of the communist society. This event occurred while visiting Sinaia during an organized summer camp in July 1965. The author also wrote several books about Romania's communist period throughout his career as a historian.[1]

The book under review is similar to a diary and mainly focuses on the author's experiences between 1965 and the 2000s. By arranging the events in his work in a diachronic manner, Deletant was able to present the many facets of his generation's politics, culture and society, important meetings, friendships and activities in which he participated. The book has 20 chapters in total, including the following extra sections: *Preface*, *Map of Romania* and *Acknowledgements*.

The first chapter introduces the reader to the diary structure on which the book is based. Thus, the author describes his first exposure to the communist doctrine in 1958. This event occurred before chronicling the events leading up to his journey to Sinaia in 1969. The opening chapter is significant because the author introduces a particular framework, followed in the subsequent chapters. Consequently, each chapter focuses on an important event that occurred over a predetermined time. For example, in the subsequent section, Dennis Deletant recounts his return journey to Bucharest (1971) while remembering the awful experiences he had when his luggage was searched at the Hungarian border. The chapter continues by describing Ceaușescu's official visit to London on 13–16 June 1978, during which the author served as one of the translators. Deletant closes the chapter by describing his meeting with Romanian author Marin Preda in the summer of 1980. He summarizes their creative exchanges and focuses on Preda's, at the time, ongoing project, entitled *The Earth's Most Beloved Son*.

The following chapters portray the political evolution that occurred during Ceaușescu's rule. Deletant states that a change in the reception of Nicolae Ceaușescu's

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[1] Deletant 1995; Deletant 2001; Deletant 2012.

foreign politics emerged at the beginning of the 1980s. The author also highlights various aspects of the Securitate, the secret police that supervised people's lives and imprisoned many of them for various reasons allegedly related to national security. Moreover, chapter three, *1981–1988: Moldova, Corneliu Coposu*, provides Corneliu Coposu's life as a case study, as he was hunted by the Securitate because he supported democratic political ideas and the freedom of expression.

It is worth mentioning that Deletant provides a more thorough analysis of the ideals that sparked the Revolution against the communist regime in Romania, evaluating the reality in Romania just before the collapse of Ceaușescu's authoritarian regime. The British author's writing style about the dissolution of the communist system and the period between post-communism and democracy testifies to the objectivity of his interpretation. Dennis Deletant, who was in Bucharest on 22 December 1989 (the day of the protest), was able to grasp the peculiar situation and the terror that gripped most of the population in the Capital with the expertise of the historian who observed in detail, without giving full rein to speculation. Also, the author mentioned the supposition about the Securitate, who allegedly increased terror and panic among the people and distracted them by destroying automobiles on the road and storefronts.[2] Deletant records two moments in the mirror. The first took place at the British embassy's headquarters. In contrast, the second occurred at the Party's Central Committee location. Deletant recorded that:

> …a group of three or four broke into the residence of the British ambassador opposite to the Romanian Television studios on Strada Emil Pangratti in the evening of December 22 and installed a machine-gun on the roof fitted the description of all the above categories. They sprayed the studios for more than an hour before tank-fire reduced the residence to a burned-out shell […] The incident can be catalogued alongside the sudden explosion of gunfire which erupted in the main square facing the Central Committee building the evening of December 22 (p. 107).

Approaching the issue of Romanian dissidence, Deletant provides essential details about the life of dissent. The eighth chapter entitled *1992: Nucșoara and Moldova* reproduces the interview that Elisabeta Rizea gave Dennis Deletant. The interview took place as part of the author's ongoing investigation into the significance of the dissident movement in the early Communist Era in Romania. In order to better understand the phenomenon of armed insurrection in the mountains, a component of Romanian dissidence, in 1992, the author travelled from London to Bucharest to learn more about this issue.

The chapter about the author's file created by the Securitate is particularly interesting. It reveals how the author was closely intertwined in a social and historical process without being aware. Deletant claims that he became implacable and began digging into his file once the Access to the Archives of Former Security Law was introduced in January 2006: 'They total some 1,500 pages and cover the years 1965 to 1989' (p. 184). The author provides an overview of the information and surveillance mechanism of the commoners, writers, dissidents or teachers whom the Securitate suspected of inimical behavior. Copies of their private correspondence with his wife, Andrea, his close friends from Romania and the

[2] For more information on this topic, see Ursu, Thomasson, Hodor 2019.

frequent excursions to the country are all present in his Securitate files. He reveals his code names and speaks freely, clearly amused that the Romanian's secret service had given him various code names: 'MacDonald – mystified but flattered to be considered Scottish – David, Danti, Dima, Croitoru (tailor) and Aurul (gold)' (p. 185). After reviewing his files, the author became aware of the tremendous amount of work the Securitate had put into learning everything about him and his partners or friends. Deletant was surprised to see that people who helped or spoke to him gave information about him to the Securitate.

In conclusion, Dennis Deletant's book, *In Search of Romania*, provides a nuanced and objective analysis of Romanian's recent history, the Communist Regime and the post-December 1989 transition to democracy. This book focuses on the author's experience of learning Romanian history, which he shares with his readers after successfully integrating himself into the local culture and befriending eminent scientists. Even though his work's structure corresponds to a diary, the footnotes highlight the value of documentation and the veracity of the historical explanations. Moreover, the author records the social policies implemented under the communist regime and the terror rehearsed by the secret service, the Securitate. Overall, the work is a complex historical tour guide for understanding more deeply Romania's recent past; it makes a big deal out of the political and historical development of our nation, underlining both its positive and negative aspects in the social and political sphere.

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Baroque medicine chest, MNIT Collection.

PROJECT PRESENTATION

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PHARMATRANS. ALL THINGS APOTHECARY IN SIXTEENTH–TWENTIETH-CENTURY TRANSYLVANIA. THE HISTORY OF PHARMACY COLLECTION IN CLUJ-NAPOCA/2022[*]

ANA-MARIA GRUIA[**]

The second year of the PHARMATRANS research project implemented through the National Museum of Transylvanian History has mainly focused on the **research for and the completion of the exhaustive catalogue** of the History of Pharmacy Collection in Cluj, the main objective of the research team. First, we have photographed (with the continued pro bono cooperation of Ph.D. Alexandru Rădulescu) and processed (inventoried and included in the collection) most of the previously unknown artifacts identified when the collection was relocated from the Hintz House to the temporary storage rooms of the National Museum of Transylvanian History, plus several donations received in 2021–2022 and recent archaeological finds. Thus, the collection has been **enriched with 1,030 artifacts** (manuscripts, books, pharmaceutical containers, ephemera, druggist containers, a lot of more than 600 pharmaceutical financial and accounting documents from the Engel pharmacy in Iași etc.) (Fig. 1). Due to the existence of several lots of very similar items, the objects were recorded under 111 inventory numbers (IF 2413–2524). Though the newly added items have already surpassed our initial estimation and have considerably enriched the collection, there are still more unprocessed artifacts (such as a large lot of accounting documents from the Hintz pharmacy and about 200 unidentified contemporary containers, of lesser historical value). Due to independent factors, such as the insufficient personnel and time, we have decided to exclude such goods from the scope of the present project. The catalogue will likely be completed by a subsequent volume, published by the museum after the completion of the project. We also envisage a new wave of public interest and donations after the reopening of the exhibition in the Hintz House in 2023, that will lead to the addition of new objects. The team has also decided that the lot of documents pertaining to the history of the collection (notes and correspondence of prof. Valeriu Bologa, the founder of the museum, documents pertaining to the previous museographers, blueprints of the museum), recently rediscovered and processed scientifically, will be subsequently included in the sub-collection 'The History of the National Museum of Transylvanian History' by curator Ph.D. Ovidiu Muntean.

Ph.D. Mária Pakucs has completed the inspection, processing, partial transcription and translation of the **manuscripts** in the collection. She has travelled from Bucharest to Cluj in order to inspect both the manuscripts and the artifacts with paleographic writing. Some

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of these items required special inspection under UV light for better visibility, especially the inscriptions on pharmaceutical ledger covers and the drawers of the eighteenth-century medicine chest (Fig. 2).

The sub-collection of **books** in the collection has been exhaustively researched by Ph.D. Ioana Gruiță-Savu. She has completed the files of all the books, including their ownership marks and handwritten notations (sometimes in collaboration with Mária Pakucs), with special interest in two particular items: a book printed in 1596, owned by Giovanni Battista Gussetti (that she will publish in 2023) and a nineteenth-century Romanian manuscript book (in this volume).

The six-volume catalogue is almost complete, with all item entries written by team members (to be refined and corrected in the beginning of 2023, with the continuing pro bono support of Ioana Gruiță-Savu and Mária Pakucs) and the introductions to the separate volumes sketched. The structure of the first volume of the catalogue has been set, with a series of introductory studies written by project team members and collaborators and a lot of specialized contributions from both team members and external specialists, providing historical case studies relevant for the research of the collection. Some of the studies were delivered in Romanian and translated in English, while a few invitations have not been answered.

Introductory studies

- Ana-Maria Gruia, *Introduction*
- Ana-Maria Gruia, *Pharmatrans project presentation*
- Ana-Maria Gruia, *The history of the collection*
- Ana-Maria Gruia, *An overview of the collection*
- Ioana Gruiță-Savu, *The old books in the history of pharmacy collection*
- Mária Pakucs, *The manuscripts in the history of pharmacy collection*
- Ioana Cova, *Conservation and restoration interventions on artifacts in the collection*
- Márta Guttmann, Andrea Beatrix Magó, *Investigations performed on artifacts in the collection*

Historical case studies

- Ana-Maria Gruia, *The pharmacies of Cluj*
- Robert Offner, *Tobias Mauksch, the privileged pharmacist of Cluj/Kolozsvár/Klausenburg*
- Melinda Mitu, *Dr. Hintz György József I (1840–1890)*
- Melinda Mihály, Zsolt Kovács, *The history of the Hintz House in the light of the recent research and restoration works*
- Ágnes Alföldy-Găzdac, *The coins recently discovered in the basement of the Hintz House*
- Oana Habor, *Pharmaceutical education in Cluj (1919–1934)*

For the history of the pharmacy and of the collection, Ph.D. Ana-Maria Gruia has conducted several informal interviews with Ph.D. Eva Crișan, the first museographer in charge of the collection under the management of the History Museum in Cluj, Dr. Gábor Hintz, who has initiated the recovery of the Hintz pharmacy from the Romanian state,

and Dr. Georg Hintz, the current owner of the house. Georg Hintz has also revealed that the family had preserved the original documents from the 1949 nationalization of the pharmacy. Copies of this previously unknown and very valuable historical source have been made available for study and will be detailed in Ana-Maria Gruia's study regarding the pharmacies from Cluj, in the introductory catalogue volume mentioned above.[1]

The second type of activities performed in 2022 was aimed at continuing the **analysis of materials and surfaces**, mainly of the components of the eighteenth-century medicine chest. Ph.D. Andrea Beatrix Magó, employee of the National Museum of Transylvanian History, has completed the **micro photographic investigation** of nine complex artifacts. She has performed microscopic analyses under transmitted, reflected, and polarized light on several textile, paper, thread, and *materia medica* samples from the medicine chest, discovering that the paper employed as cover for the containers was handmade out of vegetal fibers (rags were recycled, shredded and made into a paste, leaving colored microfibers in the structure of the paper). The investigations have also revealed the structure of the thread used for securing the paper covers (made of twisted fibers) (Fig. 3). They have also confirmed that the content of some of the bottles matches the inscriptions. The investigations were performed using an OLYMPUS CX33 microscope and a polarizing NIKON-OPTIPHOT2-POL microscope (working condition with one Nicol and cross Nicol). The analysis of the paper components of the Baroque medicine chest included the identification of paper pH and the quantity of glue employed. Some samples were basic and other acidic, but this may be explained by the interaction of the paper covers with the medical preparations and the specific preservation conditions. Andrea Beatrix Magó has also checked the type of paper glue employed, through a test that reveals the excessive, normal, weak or absent quantity of glue in the paper based on the absorption of a micro water drop during a set interval. The absorption times differed considerably, pointing again to the possible change of paper covers due to the interaction with the contents or the possible use of different types of paper when the covers were replaced (the change in content required the change of cover, with a new inscription).

The series of planned investigations continued with a number of non-invasive XRF (**X-ray fluorescence**) tests performed with a portable EDXRF spectometer Elva X Prospector3 MAX with energy dispersive SDD detector in collaboration with SC Union SRL Cluj-Napoca still under the coordination of Andrea Beatrix Magó (Fig. 4). The tests have led to the identification of the metal alloys used for several components of the eighteenth-century apothecary chest. We have thus discovered that the key and rivets of the chest are made of an alloy rich in iron, the other metal components are made of copper and tin, while the screw caps of the glass containers are made of lead (toxic, but soft and easy to process).

The type of parchment and/or velum on some of the pharmacist diplomas and old books has been determined with the aid of Ph.D. Lucreția Miu, from the National Research and Development Institute for Textiles and Leather in Bucharest. This was a chance, but

[1] Oral history thus becomes one of the numerous tools employed in the completion of the research project. We thank all those who have participated and kindly provided information regarding the Hintz family and pharmacy and the pharmacy museum.

very useful collaboration, mediated by Ioana Cova, as the project team and museum staff currently lack a specialist in parchment and leather.

During 2022 team members have also selected and extracted the samples (Fig. 5) that will be analyzed by several institutions. Thus, 14 samples were sent for **chromatographic and mass spectrometric analyses** at the Department of Chemistry and Industrial Chemistry of the University in Pisa. The team led by Prof. Maria Perla Colombini has created a database of biomolecular markers through the analysis of reference materials, replicas of old formulations, and artificial ageing of both reference materials and replicas, and can thus provide some of the interpretation of the results. A set of 14 samples from the same containers have been collected and sent for **liquid chromatographic–mass spectrometry analyses** to the Department of Pharmacognosy and Herbal Medicines of the Wrocław Medical University. The latter analyses will be performed free of charge, based on an ad-hoc scientific cooperation with a Polish research project that we have discovered while taking part in the *International Congress for the History of Pharmacy* in Milan.[2] The results of all these analyses will be fully processed and interpreted during 2023. In the collection, analysis, and interpretation of the samples we have benefited from the cooperation of Ph.D. Márta Guttmann, chemist and expert conservator, lecturer at the University of Sibiu and Ph.D. Andrea Beatrix Magó, employee of the National Museum of Transylvanian History. Other five samples will be collected and sent for **SEM-EDX** investigations of inorganic materials (glass, metal) and *materia medica* to the National Institute of Research and Development for Isotopic and Molecular Technologies in Cluj-Napoca, in collaboration with the Faculty of Chemistry, in 2023.

Another objective was to **clean, consolidate, and restore the artifacts** that require such specialized interventions. 264 selected artifacts, made of paper, parchment, glass and ceramic, have been processed and documented by Ioana Cova and her colleagues from the conservation and restoration department that she coordinates (Cornelia Rotariu, Tudor Tomescu and Radu Cordoș). The pharmaceutical collection is generally in a good state of preservation, and except for a few cases of actual restoration (broken containers), the interventions focused on the cleaning and consolidation of the patrimony goods. Ioana Cova has performed most of the interventions herself, consisting of cleaning and straightening manuscript books, recipes, pharmaceutical diplomas on paper and parchment, and twentieth-century financial records of pharmacies (Fig. 6).

Visiting pharmacy museums and collections and networking with peers and specialists abroad was another objective that has been reached in 2022. In September 2022, Ana-Maria Gruia has visited the history of pharmacy collection of the *Museo Nazionale della Scienza e della Tecnologia Leonardo da Vinci* in Milan, with a special guided tour kindly provided by Mrs. Simona Casonato and her colleagues. Most of the artifacts in this collection were obtained from the antiquities market, thus their original contexts of use remain unknown, but the small display is very beautiful and evocative. In 2016 all items were conserved or restored. During the same month, Ana Maria Gruia has also visited the History Museum of the *Ospedale Maggiore*, with a collection of pharmaceutical and medical items from the hospital of Milan founded in the fifteenth century, including an

[2] Focusing on reconstructions of historical theriac recipes. Coordinator Ph.D. Jakub Węglorz, supported by the Polish National Science Centre [funding number: 2017/26/E/HS3/00452].

impressive archive (Fig. 7), and the *Civico Museo di Storia Naturale*. The latter contains a new exhibition of minerals (some of which were also used in the making of medicines), as well as the old but scientifically very interesting display of fossils and natural specimens that were also in the attention of pharmacists throughout history. During the history of pharmacy congress in Milan detailed below, Ana-Maria Gruia has met several international specialists in the history of medicine, some of which will allow for the development of future collaborations (with the association of pharmacy museums from the German-speaking areas and the team of the research project in Poland mentioned above).

Team members have put much effort into the elaboration of several **research papers**, more than initially estimated. One of the articles has been completed in 2021 but was printed in the very end of the year: Ana-Maria Gruia, *Engel Pharmacy 'La Coróna,' near the gate of the royal court, Jassy*, SUBB Historia, 66/2 (2021), 45–76 (doi:10.24193/subbhist.2021.2.03). Another article has been published in the present volume: Ioana Gruiță-Savu, *'Handbook for Medicine by Iosif Țiucra, a Teacher.' A nineteenth-century Manuscript in the History of Pharmacy Collection (MNIT)*. Two more articles are partially written, prepared for ActaMN, 60/II (2023): Mária Pakucs, *'They Steal It from the Sultan's Pharmacy.' Transylvanian Imports of Drugs and Chemicals from the Ottoman Empire in the Early Modern Period* and Ioana Gruiță-Savu, *'Libro di me.' Gio Batta Gussetti.'* The most significant article, to be submitted in 2023 to an ISI periodical to be subsequently selected, will be the collective work of most of the project team members and collaborators, focusing on the eighteenth-century medicine chest and integrating the results and interpretations of all the investigations and chemical analyses performed so far. It is currently in the stage of preliminary sketch.

Team members have also performed research for three conference presentations. Ana-Maria Gruia has delivered the presentation entitled *Pharmatrans – a Transylvanian exploratory research project* at the *45th International Congress for the History of Pharmacy* organized in Milan by the International Society for the History of Pharmacy, in 7–10 September 2022. At the invitation of the Polish colleagues encountered in Milan, she has also delivered online the presentation entitled *Museum Reconstructions of Pharmacy Interiors* during the scientific workshop entitled *Historical reconstruction as a research tool*, organized by the Institute of History, of the Wrocław University, in 10–11 December 2022. Ioana Cova has delivered the presentation *Aspecte privind conservarea Colecției de Istorie a Farmaciei din Cluj* [On the conservation of the History of Pharmacy Collection in Cluj] during the works of the *Bucovina – File de Istorie Symposium* (the XXIVth edn.), in the conservation and restoration panel. The symposium was organized by The National Museum of Bucovina in Suceava, in partnership with 'Ștefan cel Mare' University, the Faculty of History and Geography, in 24–25 November 2022.

The final objective was to promote the project, its activities, and its results. On several occasions, especially during the congress in Milan, we have distributed visit cards (Fig. 8) promoting the project and its website, that we have constantly updated. The website, available at https://pharmatrans.mnit.ro in both Romanian and English, is affiliated to the official website of the National Museum of Transylvanian History in Cluj-Napoca and includes the annual scientific reports. Upon completion, the full catalogue will be available on this website in a free download format. By the end of 2022 we have created 44 blog posts

(Romanian and English), grouped according to three categories: study visits, research, and conservation and restoration (Fig. 9). Between January and December 2022 the website has had more than 4,738 visits (partial data in Fig. 10). The data show an almost double number of visits as compared to 2021 and a constant interest in the project, with almost even monthly visits. The project is also presented on the official website of the National Museum of Transylvanian History, at https://www.mnit.ro/pharmatrans/.

On social media platforms we have posted more than 20 times (marked with hash tags such as #pharmatrans #mnit #uefiscdi and #cncs). All were first posted on the Facebook page of the History of Pharmacy Collection (https://www.facebook.com/colectiefarmacluj), shared on the fan page of the collection (https://www.facebook.com/MuzeulFarmaciei) and in several Facebook groups (from Romania: museographers, conservators, inhabitants of Cluj, history students, pharmacists; and an international group of pharmacy historians). Partial reports have also been published in the *Newsletter* of The National Museum of Transylvanian History, also widely distributed online: January–July 2021,[3] July–December 2021,[4] January–June 2022,[5] and a material was also delivered for the July–December 2022 issue.[6] The promotion of the project has been completed through more than 30 posts on the personal profiles of team members on academic and social media platforms.

Throughout the second year of the project, the activities have been coordinated by project leader Ana-Maria Gruia and the audit will be performed by an external specialist. Team members and collaborators have frequently met in person, mainly those from Cluj-Napoca, but occasionally also with Mária Pakucs from Bucharest. We have also maintained our regular meetings and communication online (emails, zoom meetings, by phone). Ana-Maria Gruia has completed the scientific report and has been responsible for all management activities.

[3] Available at https://www.mnit.ro/wp-content/uploads/Newsletter-IAN-IUN-2021–6.pdf.

[4] Available at https://www.mnit.ro/wp-content/uploads/Newsletter-iul-dec-2021–5-2.pdf?fbclid=IwAR1w5iOB4wcLsyhnjgsdTbiG1G2inTw6kMcFBPRL9_BQp36h8 mmOIZrHLOM.

[5] Available at https://www.mnit.ro/wp-content/uploads/Newsletter-iul-dec-2021–1.pdf.

[6] Available at https://www.mnit.ro/wp-content/uploads/Newsletter-iul-dec-2022-2.pdf.

Fig. 1. Lot of cut-out metal plaques for the stencil marking of pharmaceutical containers, rediscovered in the old collections (Colecția MNIT, no. IF 2451, image from the MNIT Archive).

Fig. 2. Identification of faded writing on the drawers of the Baroque medicine chest under UV light (Colecția MNIT, no. IF 1903, image from the MNIT Archive).

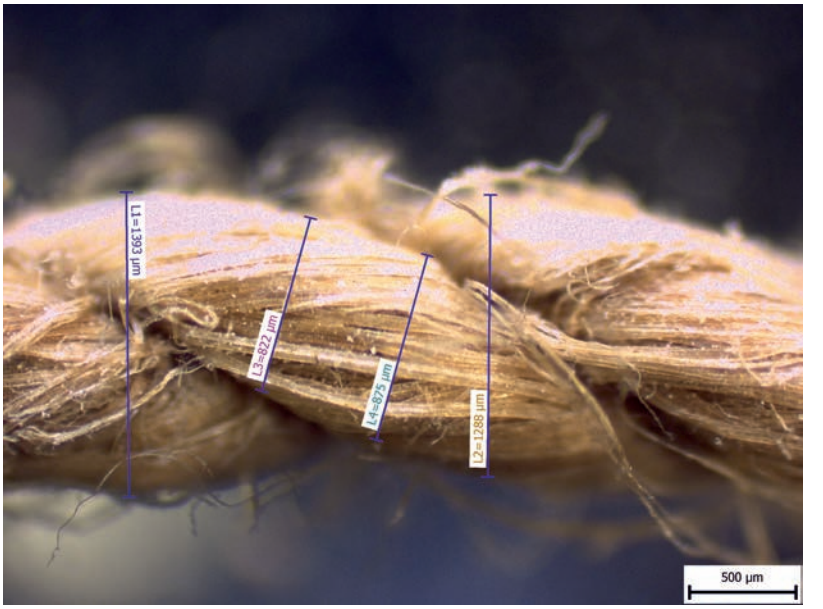


Fig. 3. Microphotograph of the structure of the thread used for securing the paper cover of a pharmaceutical container (Colecția MNIT, no. IF 1911, image from the MNIT Archive).

Fig. 4. XRF (X-ray fluorescence) test showing the composition of the glass of an apothecary container (Colecția MNIT, no. IF 1948, image from the MNIT Archive).

Fig. 5. a-b. *Materia medica* sample collection (image from the MNIT Archive).

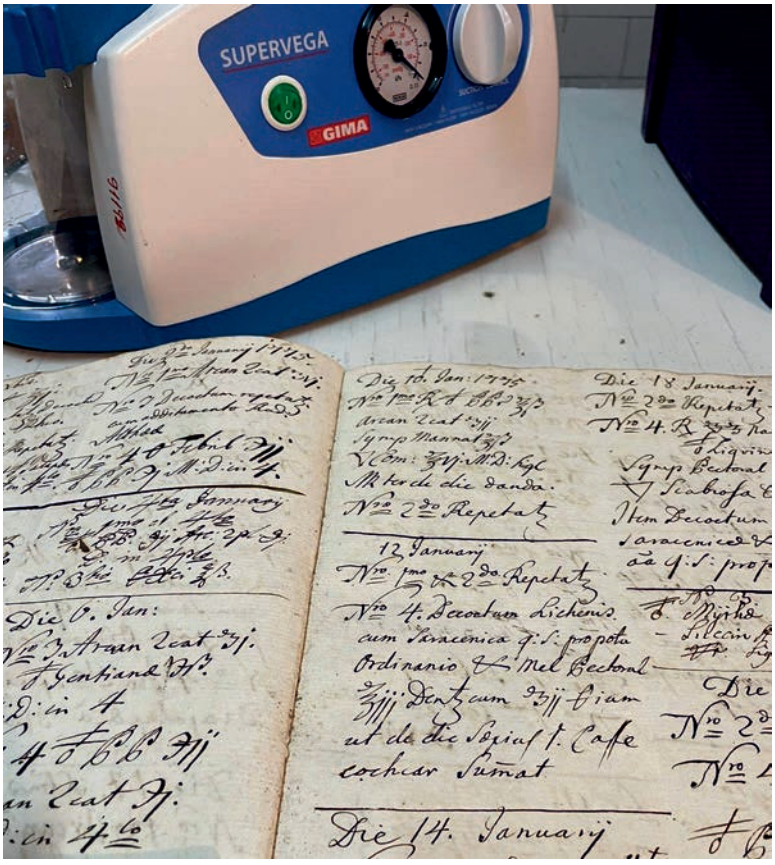
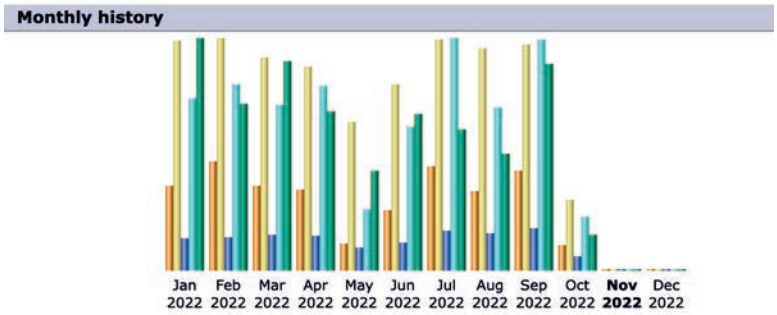


Fig. 6. Cleaning an eighteenth-century manuscript ledger (image from the MNIT Archive).

Fig. 7. Archive of the *Ca' Grande* in Milan, preserving the administrative documents of the *Ospedale Maggiore* (photo by Ana-Maria Gruia).

Fig. 8. Business cards distributed in Milan.

Fig. 9. Blog page of the dedicated website, affiliated to the website of the National Museum of Transylvanian History: https://www.mnit.ro/pharmatrans/.



Month	Unique visitors	Number of visits	Pages	Hits	Bandwidth
Jan 2022	174	476	2,388	13,019	819.61 MB
Feb 2022	226	481	2,508	14,037	589.81 MB
Mar 2022	174	442	2,704	12,484	740.56 MB
Apr 2022	168	424	2,574	13,934	563.27 MB
May 2022	55	309	1,682	4,618	352.28 MB
Jun 2022	123	387	2,064	10,811	554.35 MB
Jul 2022	216	479	2,955	17,527	499.00 MB
Aug 2022	164	460	2,753	12,326	413.68 MB
Sep 2022	206	469	3,191	17,489	729.37 MB
Oct 2022	53	145	1,057	4,029	124.76 MB
Nov 2022	0	0	0	0	0
Dec 2022	0	0	0	0	0
Total	1,559	4,072	23,876	120,274	5.26 GB

Fig. 10. Website visits (https://www.mnit.ro/pharmatrans/, data as of the end of October 2022).

ABBREVIATIONS

ActaMN	Acta Musei Napocensis (I. Prehistory – Ancient History – Archaeology; II. Historica), Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei, Cluj-Napoca.
ACMIT	Anuarul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice. Secția pentru Transilvania, Cluj.
AMHA	Acta Medico-Historica Adriatica, Croatian Scientific Society for the History of Health Culture and University of Rijeka, Faculty of Medicine, Rijeka, HR.
Apulum	Apulum. Acta Musei Apulensis, Muzeul Național al Unirii, Alba Iulia.
Ars Decorativa	Ars Decorativa, Az Iparművészeti Múzeum évkönyve, Budapest.
Ars Hungarica	Ars Hungarica, a Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Művészettörténeti Kutatóintézetének közleményei, Budapest.
Arhivele totalitarismului	Arhivele totalitarismului, Institutul Național pentru Studiul Totalitarismului, București.
ASUI	Analele Științifice ale Universității „Alexandru Ioan Cuza" (Serie Nouă). Istorie, Universitatea „Alexandru Ioan Cuza", Facultatea de Istorie, Iași.
AUA hist.	Annales Universitatis Apulensis. Series Historica. Universitatea 1 Decembrie 1918, Alba Iulia.
BAM	Brukenthal. Acta Musei, Istorie, Muzeul Național Brukenthal, Sibiu/Hermannstadt.
BCȘS	Buletinul cercurilor științifice studențești, arheologie-istorie, Departamentul de Istorie, Arheologie și Muzeologie, Universitatea „1 Decembrie 1918", Alba Iulia.
Caiete ARA	Caiete ARA. Arhitectură. Restaurare. Arheologie, Asociația Arhitectură. Restaurare. Arheologie, București.
Caietele restaurării	Caietele restaurării. Publicația Asociației Art Conservation Support.
Canadian Military History	Canadian Military History, Journal of the Laurier Centre for the Study of Canada, Waterloo, Ontario, CA.
Catastrum	Catastrum. Évnegyedes katasztertörténeti folyóirat, Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár, Budapest.
CCA	Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice, Institutul Național al Patrimoniului, București.
Chungara	Chungara: Revista de Antropologia Chilena, Departamento de Antropología, Universidad de Tarapacá, Arica, CL.
Clujul Medical	Clujul Medical, rebranded as Medicine and Pharmacy Reports, „Iuliu Hațieganu" University of Medicine and Pharmacy, Cluj-Napoca.

Családi Tükör	Családi Tükör. Új Sorozat, Kolozsvár–Nagyvárad.
Dolgozatok Ú. S.	Dolgozatok az Erdélyi Múzeum Érem- és Régiségtárából. Új Sorozat, Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, Kolozsvár.
Építés-Építészettudomány	Építés-Építészettudomány, A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Műszaki Tudományok Osztályának Közleményei, Budapest.
EphNap	Ephemeris Napocensis, Institutul de Arheologie și Istoria Artei, Academia Română, Cluj-Napoca.
Erdélyi Múzeum	Erdélyi Múzeum. Az Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület Bölcsészet-, Nyelv- és Történettudományi, valamint Jog-, Közgazdaság- és Társadalomtudományi Szakosztályainak közlönye, Kolozsvár.
ErdISz	Erdélyi Irodalmi Szemle. Tudományos és kritikai folyóirat, Kolozsvár.
ETC	ETC: A Review of General Semantics, Institute of General Semantics, Forest Hills, NY.
Ethnographia	Ethnographia, A Magyarországi Néprajzi Társaság, Budapest.
E-conservation Journal	E-conservation Journal, Laboratório HERCULES, Universidade de Évora, Évora, PT.
Folia Archaeologica	Folia Archaeologica, Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Budapest.
Fons	Fons. Forráskutatás és történeti segédtudományok, A Szentpétery Imre Történettudományi Alapítvány kiadványa, Budapest.
Historia	Historia, Adevărul Holding, București.
HLCS	Historical Life Course Studies, Electronic journal of the European Historical Population Samples Network (EHPS-Net), published by the International Institute of Social History (IISH).
HU	Historia Urbana, Comisia de istorie a oraşelor din România, Sibiu–București.
Hungarian Archaeology	Hungarian Archaeology/Magyar Régészet, E-Journal of the Archaeolingua Foundation, Budapest, http://www.hungarian archaeology.hu/.
Hungarian Historical Review	Hungarian Historical Review, Institute of History, Research Center for the Humanities, Center of Excellence of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Eötvös Loránd Research Network, Budapest.
IJHS	International Journal of Heritage Studies, Routledge.
Int J Conserv Sci	International Journal of Conservation Science, Romanian Inventors Forum, Iași.
Int J Reg Loc Stud	International Journal of Regional and Local Studies (currently History), Taylor & Francis Ltd., UK.
ISIS	ISIS. Erdélyi Magyar Restaurátor Füzetek, Haáz Rezső Múzeum, Székelyudvarhely.
JAS: Reports	Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports, Elsevier.
J Archaeol Res	Journal of Archaeological Research, Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, IL, USA.

Keleti újság	Keleti újság, Kolozsvár.
Keresztény Magvető	Keresztény Magvető, Magyar Unitárius Egyház, Kolozsvár.
Korunk	Korunk. Fórum–Kultúra–Tudomány, Kolozsvár.
Limba Română	Limba Română, Institutul de Lingvistică al Academiei Române „Iorgu Iordan–Al. Rosetti", București.
Magiszter	Magiszter. A Romániai Magyar Pedagógusok Szövetségének szakmai-módszertani folyóirata, Csíkszereda.
Magyar Családtörténeti Szemle	Magyar Családtörténeti Szemle, Genealógiai és Heraldikai Szaklap, Magyar Heraldikai és Genealógiai Társaság, Budapest.
Magyar Idők	Magyar Idők konzervatív közéleti napilap, Budapest.
Magyarország és a Nagyvilág	Magyarország és a Nagyvilág, Budapest.
Mortality	Mortality, Promoting the interdisciplinary study of death and dying, Taylor & Francis Ltd., UK.
MSR	Medieval Settlement Research, The Medieval Settlement Research Group.
Művelődés	Művelődés – közművelődési havilap, Kolozsvár.
Művészeti Szalon	Művészeti Szalon: képes folyóirat, Kolozsvár.
Művészettörténeti Értesítő	Művészettörténeti Értesítő, A Magyar Régészeti és Művészettörténeti Társulat Folyóirata, Budapest.
Néprajzi Értesítő	Néprajzi Értesítő, A Néprajzi Múzeum évkönyve, Budapest.
News in Conservation	News in Conservation, Conservation of Historic and Artistic Works, London.
Peuce S.V.	Peuce. Serie Veche, Centrul Muzeal Eco-Turistic „Delta Dunării", Tulcea.
Polgári Szemle	Polgári Szemle: gazdasági és társadalmi tudományos folyóirat, Budapest.
ProMemoria	ProMemoria, Institutul de Istorie Socială, Chișinău.
Public Opinion Quarterly	Public Opinion Quarterly, American Association for Public Opinion Research, Oxford Academic.
RMM SM	Revista muzeelor și monumentelor. Seria Muzee, Consiliul Culturii și Educației Socialiste, București.
Saeculum	Saeculum. Jahrbuch für Universalgeschichte Lehrstuhl für Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit, Georg-August-Universität, Göttingen.
Sargetia S.N.	Sargetia. Serie Nouă. Acta Musei Devensis, Muzeul Civilizației Dacice și Romane, Deva.
Satu Mare. Studii și comunicări	Satu Mare. Studii și comunicări, Muzeul Județean Satu Mare.
SCIVA	Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche și Arheologie, Institutul de Arheologie „Vasile Pârvan", Academia Română, București.
Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica	Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica, Universitatea „Al. I. Cuza", Iași.
Studies in Conservation	Studies in Conservation, International Institute for Conservation of Historic and Artistic Works, London.

SUBB Historia	Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai. Historia, Facultatea de Istorie și Filosofie, Universitatea „Babeș-Bolyai", Cluj-Napoca.
Századok	Századok. A Magyar Történelmi Társulat. Közlönye, Budapest.
Történelmi Tár	Történelmi Tár, A Magyar Történelmi Tarsulat, Budapest.
Történeti Lapok	Történeti Lapok, Kolozsvár.
TR	Transylvanian Review/Revue de Transylvanie, Centrul de Studii Transilvane, Academia Română, Cluj-Napoca.
Transilvania	Transilvania. Revista lunară, culturală-literară, Organul „Asociaţiunii Transilvane pentru literatura Română şi Cultura Poporului Român" (ASTRA), Brașov–Sibiu.
Transsylvania Nostra	Transsylvania Nostra, UTILITAS. Centru de Cercetare și Proiectare în Domeniul Reabilitării Patrimoniului Construit, Cluj-Napoca.
Tudományos Gyűjtemény	Tudományos Gyűjtemény, Budapest (formerly Pest).
Unitárius Közlöny	Unitárius Közlöny. A vallásos és erkölcsös élet ébresztésére, Kolozsvár.
Valachica	Valachica. Studii și cercetări de istorie și istoria culturii, Complexul Național Muzeal „Curtea Domnească", Târgoviște.
Világtörténet	Világtörténet, Történettudományi Intézet, Budapest.