

BRVKENTHAL. ACTA MVSEI

XIX. 1

MINISTERUL CULTURII
MUZEUL NAȚIONAL BRUKENTHAL

BRVKENTHAL
ACTA MVSEI

XIX. 1

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Gheorghe Vasile NATEA, <i>Fibulae discovered in the Dacian Citadel from Tilișca, Sibiu County, following new archaeological research. 2018-2023 campaigns</i>	7
Silviu Istrate PURECE, Gheorghe Vasile NATEA, Sergiu Mihail CHIDEȘA, <i>Tracing the hoards. Archaeological research and coin recover at Motiș, Sibiu County</i>	15
Silviu Istrate PURECE, Ecaterina NATEA, <i>The first imperial Roman hoard from Motiș, Sibiu County</i>	23
*	
Laura STANCIU, <i>Identity by marriage among Transylvanian Romanians in the 18th and 19th Centuries</i>	39
Ionuț Alexandru BANU, <i>Nicolae Minovici - The Man, Doctor, Philanthropist, Founder and Collector</i>	53
Radu TEUCEANU, <i>The Portfolio of old Maps "Sammlung Aussereuropäischer Karten (No. 430)" in the Brukenthal Cartographic Cabinet</i>	65
Valeria SOROȘTINEANU, <i>Images of socio-political life in Transylvania: The humorous calendar Poznașul [The Prankster]</i>	109
*	
Laurențiu VLAD, <i>Andrei Popovici, a Romanian diplomat in the United States of America during the New York world's fair (1939-1940)</i>	131
Vlad Horațiu MICLĂUȘ, <i>Detention regime in Sibiu penitentiary (1948-1952)</i>	143
Marius Adrian SCHEIANU, <i>The first decade of the Cold War and aspects of Mexican History in American Cinema</i>	163
Andreea CORCA, <i>Witnesses of Socialist Childhood. Pioneering Badges and Medals from the Collection of the Brukenthal National Museum</i>	179
Dan UNGUREANU, <i>History as Gesunkenes Kulturgut, New Folklore, and Fairy Tale</i>	189
*	
Book review: <i>Cristian Manolachi, "Revolverul Arhanghelului. Mișcarea legionară și mistica asasinatului politic" ["The Archangel's Revolver. the Legionary Movement and the Mysticism of Political Assassination"] București: Humanitas, 2023, 271 pages (Andrei COJOCEA)</i>	197
*	
List of Abbreviations.....	199

FIBULAE DISCOVERED IN THE DACIAN CITADEL FROM TILIȘCA, SIBIU COUNTY, FOLLOWING NEW ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH. 2018-2023 CAMPAIGNS

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Abstract: *The present study presents the fibulae discovered in the Dacian Citadel of Tilișca, following the archaeological and systematic research campaigns carried out between 2018-2023, a total of fifteen fibulae dating back to the second half of the 2nd century B.C. and the 1st century B.C. According to the typology made by Aurel Rustoiu, pieces belong to the following types: 2a, 6a and 7a2, 9a, 10a, b.*

Keywords: *La Tène, fibulae, Dacian, Tilișca.*

Rezumat: *În studiul de față sunt prezentate fibulele descoperite în Cetatea dacică de la Tilișca, în urma campaniilor de cercetare arheologică sistematică, desfășurate între anii 2018-2023, fiind descoperite în total un număr de cincisprezece fibule ce se datează în cea de a doua jumătate a secolului II î. Chr. și secolului I î. Chr. Conform tipologiei realizate de către Aurel Rustoiu, piesele aparțin următoarelor tipuri: 2a, 6a și 7a2, 9a, 10a,b.*

Cuvinte-cheie: *La Tène, fibule, dacic, Tilișca.*

In the present study, we propose to present the fibulae discovered in the Dacian Citadel of Tilișca, following the systematic archaeology research campaigns carried out between 2018-2023 in surface I, located on the fortified edge of the upper plateau (Pl. 1).

The fibula, defined as a "metal clip, used in antiquity to close or tie together items of clothing"¹ falls into the category of garments, with both a functional and decorative role. The abounding interest in which these artifacts enjoyed led to the creation of numerous catalogs, useful for dating the settlements and the internal periodization of the complexes in which they were discovered. Our main source used in the process of grouping, typological framing and dating was the typological model of fibulae from Pre-Roman Dacia provided by the researcher Aurel Rustoiu².

Group I: Fibulae of La Tène C period.

Type 2a fibulae.

This type of filiform fibulae, specific to the middle La Tène period, are made from a single metallic wire, they have a bilateral spring with four coils and an exterior band; the leg is turned over the spring and is attached by widening its end and forming a sleeve. The pin is short and curved near the spring. The type dates back to the second half of the 2nd century B.C.³

Iron fibulae, with bilateral spring, of which only two coils are preserved, on one side of the pin, which is bent in the form of a long semicircle, circular in section; the leg is turned over the spring, being attached to it with the help of a sleeve, made by widening the extremity (Pl. 2, Photo. 1). The piece was discovered in "Caroul 17" at a depth of - 0.90 m in the redeveloped layer of the terrace, composed of loose crushed stone, dating from in the middle of the 1st century B.C.⁴

Dimensions: height 6.4 cm; station width 1.13 cm; spring diameter. 0.44 cm.

Group II: Fibulae of La Tène D period

Fibula type 6 a:

¹ Dicționar Explicativ al Limbii Române, 1998, p. 377.

² Rustoiu, Fibulele din Dacia Preromană (sec. II î. e. n. – I e. n.), 1997.

³ Rustoiu, Fibulele din Dacia Preromană (sec. II î. e. n. – I e. n.), 1997, p. 35

⁴ Lupu, Tilișca. Așezările arheologice de pe Cățânaș, 1989, p. 102; Natea, Tilișca, com. Tilișca, jud. Sibiu, punct Dealul Cățânaș, 2023, p. 389.

Specific to the 1st century B.C. and spread over the entire territory of Europe, these types of fibulae have bilateral springs, a curved outer band, frame shaped pin-holders, and simple coils⁵.

Iron fibulae, bilateral spring, composed of six coils; outer band; simple curved arch, circular in section; clip holder in the form of an extremity frame (Pl. 2, Photo. 2). The piece was discovered in “Caroul 21” at a depth of -0.80 - 0.90 m.

Dimensions: height 8.4 cm; spring width 2.5 cm; spring diameter. 0.56 cm.

Iron fibulae, bilateral spring, composed of six coils; outer band; simple curved arch, rectangular in section; frame-shaped paperclip holder (Pl. 2, Photo. 3). The piece in question dates back to the second half of the 1st century B.C., taking into account the context of the discoveries, “Caroul 9”, dwelling 1/2018, depth - 0.40 m⁶.

Dimensions: height 8 cm; spring width 2.5 cm; pin width 0.61, pin thickness 0.3 cm.

Iron fibulae, with only part of the spring and coil preserved. Only one coil is preserved from the spring, the pin is simple, rectangular in section, curved towards the spring and towards the leg (Pl. 2, Photo. 4). Typologically, the bow can fit into fibulae of type 6a and 7a, types found in the 1st century B.C.⁷. The piece was discovered in “Caroul 5A” at a depth of - 0.30 m.

Dimensions: height 5.8 cm; spring width 0.78 cm; bow width 0.63 cm, bow thickness 0.42 cm.

Fibula type 7a2:

They are filiform fibulae of the late La Tène type, with a short bilateral spring, an external band, the pin curved towards the spring (circular or faceted in section), and a full pin holder, usually rectangular. There were mainly used between the years 75 - 2 B.C., rarely later; they are common in Transylvania, but they have also been discovered in the south of the Carpathians⁸.

Iron fibula, with bilateral spring, composed of four coils; outer band; simple curved pin, circular in section; triangular shaped pin holder (Pl. 2, Photo. 5). The piece was discovered in “Caroul 17”, at a depth of - 0.40 m.

Dimensions: height 6 cm; spring width 1.5 cm; spring diameter 0.36 cm.

Fibula type 9a:

This type of fibula is very widespread, frequent in the Roman military environment, which led to their “soldier's brooches” nickname. They are filiform fibulae with a short bilateral spring, consisting of four turns, with an inner band, simple pin, circular in section, full pin-holder, triangular, or trapezoidal in shape. Fibulae belonging to this type were used in Dacia from the second half of the 1st century BC to the 1st century AD, more precisely until the Daco-Roman wars⁹.

Iron fibulae, bilateral spring, composed of four coils; inner band; simple curved pin, circular in section, pin-holder missing (Pl. 2, Photo. 6). The piece was discovered in “Caroul 5A” at a depth of -0.40 -0.50 m.

Dimensions: height 6.85 cm; spring width 1.4 cm; pin diameter 0.47 cm.

Fibulae type 10a, b:

This type is characterized by fibulas with a large bilateral spring, consisting of 15-20 coils, the pin wrapped around the band, the elongated leg, the sheath-shaped triangular pin-holder. Type 10a, b dates back to the end of the 1st century B.C. and is found until the middle or third quarter of the 1st century AD¹⁰.

Iron fibulae, with bilateral spring, composed of eleven coils; outer band with wound around the spring; simple curved pin, circular in section, clip holder missing (Pl. 2, Photo. 7). The piece was discovered in “Caroul 18”, on the stepping level of house 3, near some boulders, at a depth of - 0.35¹¹.

Dimensions: height 4.6 cm; spring width 3.1 cm; pin diameter 0.4 cm.

Iron fibulae, only the spring and a portion of the pin are preserved. The bilateral spring is composed of fifteen coils; an outer band with a wound around pin; simple pin, rectangular in section (Pl. 2, Photo. 8). The piece was discovered in “Caroul 18A”, at a depth of -0.40 - 0.50 m.

⁵ Rustoiu, *Fibulele din Dacia Preromană* (sec. II î. e. n. – I e. n.), 1997, p. 39.

⁶ Natea, *Cetatea Dacică de la Tilișca – Catalog selectiv al descoperirilor arheologice*, 2023, p. 112.

⁷ Rustoiu, *Fibulele din Dacia Preromană* (sec. II î. e. n. – I e. n.), 1997, p. 39-40.

⁸ Rustoiu, *Fibulele din Dacia Preromană* (sec. II î. e. n. – I e. n.), 1997, p. 40.

⁹ Rustoiu, *Fibulele din Dacia Preromană* (sec. II î. e. n. – I e. n.), 1997, p. 42.

¹⁰ Rustoiu, *Fibulele din Dacia Preromană* (sec. II î. e. n. – I e. n.), 1997, p. 42- 43.

¹¹ Natea, *Tilișca, com. Tilișca, jud. Sibiu, punct Dealul Cățânaș*, 2024, p. 402.

Dimensions: height 2.4 cm; spring width 3.2 cm; bow width 0.52 cm, bow thickness 0.3 cm.

Iron fibulae, with bilateral spring, composed of twelve coils; outer band with wound around pin; simple curved pin, rectangular in section, pin-holder missing (Pl. 3, Photo. 1). The piece was discovered in "Caroul 17A", at a depth of -0.40 - 0.50 m.

Dimensions: height 4.9 cm; spring width 3.34 cm; bow width 0.6 cm, bow thickness 0.4 cm.

Type 2 spring Fibulae

A bilateral spring consisting of 10-15 coils are specific to this type of fibulae. This type of spring dates from the second quarter of the 1st century B.C. and disappeared at the beginning of the 1st century AD, reappearing later on some types of fibulae in the second half of the 1st century AD¹².

Iron fibulae, of which only a part of the spring and the pin are preserved. Of the spring, only five coils and a small part of the band, which is probably external, are preserved; the pin has a circular section (Pl. 3, Photo. 2). The piece was discovered in "Caroul 14A", at a depth of - 0.30 m.

Dimensions: height 4.8 cm; spring width 1.46 cm; needle diameter 0.28 cm.

Fibulae with type 3 spring

Fibulae with a bilateral spring consisting of 6-7 coils are specific to this type. Type 3 spring fibulae are found throughout the 1st century B.C., disappearing until the beginning of the 1st century AD¹³.

Iron fibulae, of which only part of the spring and pin are preserved. Of the spring, only two coils are preserved on one side of the pin, the band is external; the pin is simply curved, circular in section (Pl. 3, Photo. 3). The piece was discovered in "Caroul 13", at a depth of - 0.80 m.

Dimensions: height 2.16 cm; spring width 2 cm; spring diameter 0.44 cm.

Iron fibulae, of which only part of the spring and the pin are preserved. Only two coils and part of the outer rope remain from the spring; the needle is circular in section (Pl. 3, Photo. 4). The piece was discovered in "Caroul 18A", at a depth of - 0.50 m.

Dimensions: height 5.3 cm; spring width 1.5 cm; needle diameter 0.28 cm.

Fibulae with pin holder type 3

Fibulae with a rectangular pin holder are specific to this type. Type 3 pin holders are found in fibulae dated between the first half of the 1st century B.C. and the beginning of the 1st century AD¹⁴.

Iron fibulae, from which only the pin holder and part of the leg are preserved. The rectangular pin holder is solid; the leg is also rectangular in section. The piece was discovered in "Caroul 34", at a depth of - 0.30 - 0.40 m.

Dimensions: height 2.83 cm; leg width 0.54 cm, leg thickness 0.33 cm.

The presence of these fibulae in the citadel on the Cățănaș hill demonstrates once again the importance of this settlement and its existence since the 2nd century B.C. They can also be used to date the complexes and the layers in which they were discovered. Following their typological and chronological classification, we can observe the fact that the researched area on the fortified edge of the upper plateau was intensively inhabited in the second half of the 1st century B.C. and the first half of the 1st century AD.

At the same time, the presence of these pieces is also important for the contribution they bring to the archaeological repertoire in the submontane area of Sibiu County and, in a broader area, for the southern part of Transylvania.

¹² Rustoiu, *Fibulele din Dacia Preromană* (sec. II î. e. n. – I e. n.), 1997, p. 11.

¹³ Rustoiu, *Fibulele din Dacia Preromană* (sec. II î. e. n. – I e. n.), 1997, p. 11.

¹⁴ Rustoiu, *Fibulele din Dacia Preromană* (sec. II î. e. n. – I e. n.), 1997, p. 12.

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LISTA ILUSTRĂȚILOR / LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Planșa 1. planul cetății cu poziționarea suprafeței I/

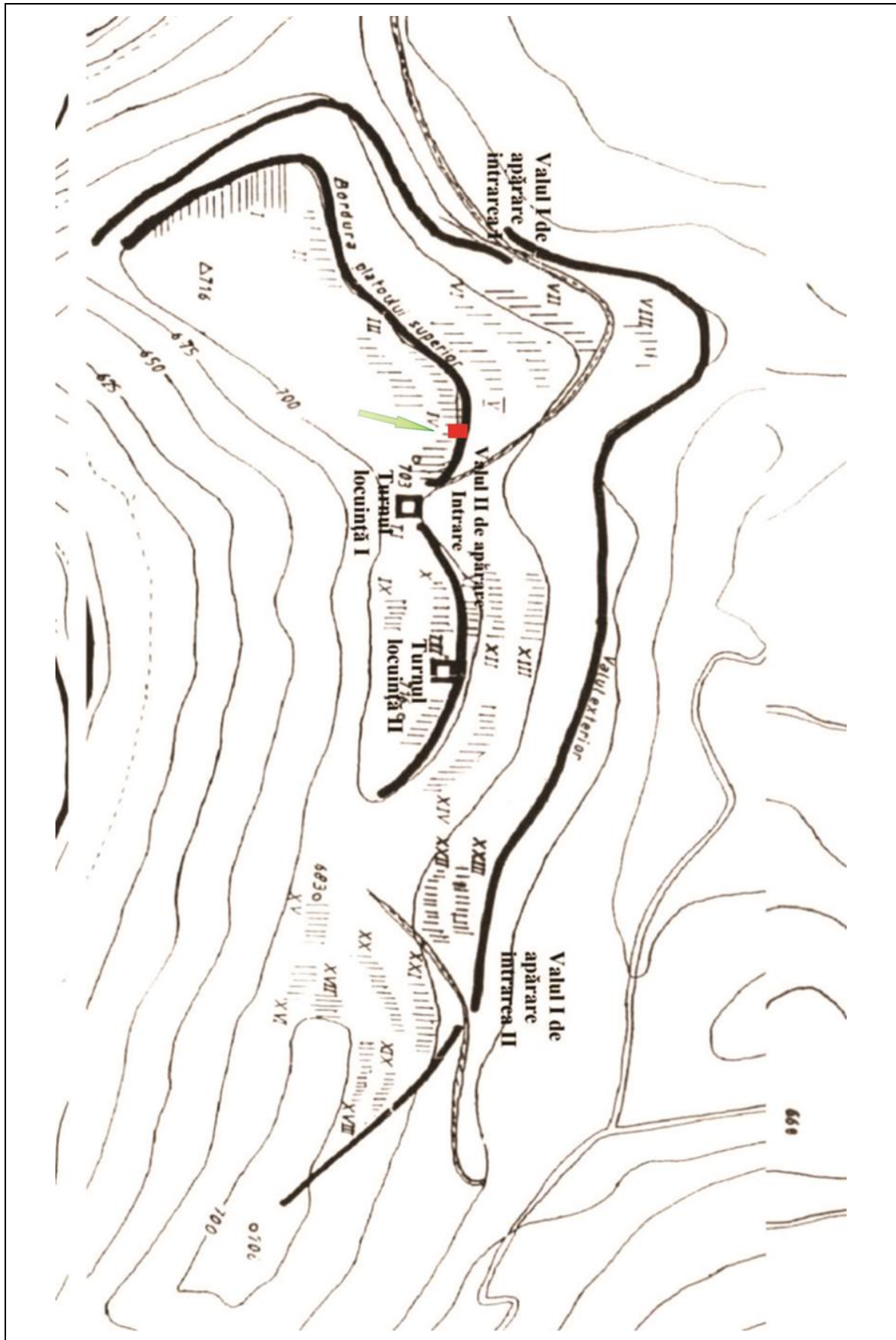
Plate 1. plan of the fortress with the positioning of surface I

Planșa 2. Fibule de tip 2a, 6a, 7a2, 9a, 10a,b./

Plate 2. Fibulae of type 2a, 6a, 7a2, 9a, 10a, b.

Planșa 3. Fibule de tip 10a,b, Fibule cu resort de tipul 2, 3, Fibule cu port-agrafa de tipul 3./

Plate 3. Fibula type 10a, b, Fibula with spring type 2, 3, Fibula with clip holder type 3.



Planșa 1 (Plate 1)



Foto. 1



Foto. 2



Foto. 3



Foto. 4



Foto. 5



Foto. 6



Foto. 7



Foto. 8

Planșa 2 (Plate 2)



Foto. 1



Foto. 2



Foto. 3



Foto. 4

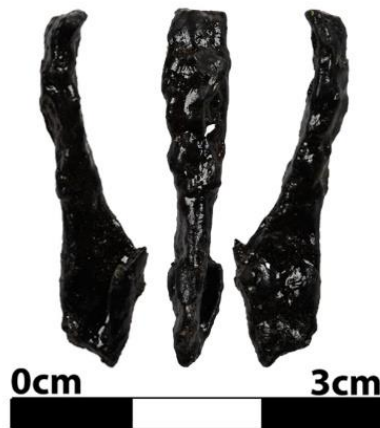


Foto. 5

Planșa 3 (Plate 3)

**TRACING THE HOARDS.
ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH AND COIN RECOVER AT MOTIȘ, SIBIU COUNTY**

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Abstract: *In 2023, three Roman imperial hoards were discovered near the village of Motiș in Sibiu County. These hoards seem to have been hidden in the context of the political and economic crisis of the mid-3rd century, a crisis that deeply affected Roman Dacia. To verify the location and the archaeological context, archaeological investigations were conducted in the area, which confirmed the finders' statements. On this occasion, another 17 coins that were part of the mentioned hoards were recovered, having been displaced to varying distances from the vessels due to natural causes.*

Keywords: *hoarding, roman coins, metal detector, third century, Roman Dacia.*

Rezumat: *În anul 2023 au fost descoperite trei tezaure romane imperial în apropiere de satul Motiș din județul Sibiu, tezaure care par a fi fost ascunse în contextul crizei politice și economice de la jumătatea secolului al III-lea, criză ce a afectat profund Dacia romană. Pentru verificarea locației și a contextului arheologic au fost efectuate cercetări arheologice în zonă care au confirmat declarațiile descoperitorilor, cu acest prilej fiind recuperate alte 17 monede ce au făcut parte din tezaurele menționate și au fost deplasate la distanțe variabile de vase din cauze naturale.*

Cuvinte-cheie: *tezaurizare, monede romane, detector metale, secolul trei, Dacia romană.*

In the autumn of 2023, three hoards containing roman imperial coins¹ came into the possession of the Brukenthal National Museum after being discovered by metal detectorists near Motiș village², Sibiu County. It is important to highlight the goodwill of the discoverers, who provided all the necessary information for the accurate localization of the discovery site. Shortly afterward, when local conditions improved, archaeological excavations were conducted in the area to confirm the exact finding location of the hoards and document the archaeological context of the discovery. From the outset, it should be noted that the hoards were found very close one to another, forming an almost triangular shape, with approximately 1 meter between them. This situation is unique in Roman Dacia, sometimes multiple hoards come from a region but with no clear connection between them³. At first look, it seems that the hoards were related with the mid IIIrd century's turbulences⁴, a large number of hoards being related with this historical context⁵. To document the

Project financed by Lucian Blaga University of Sibiu (Knowledge Transfer Center) & Hasso Plattner Foundation research grants LBUS-HPI-ERG-2023-07.

¹ The hoards are under study.

² Due to the need for site protection until it is officially registered, we will not provide the exact location. The precise coordinates will be unveiled in the future articles

³ Toma Rădulescu și Florea Crânguș, *Bârca-Dolj și cele patru tezaure monetare imperial romane din secolele I-III d. Chr.* (Buzău, 2018), 16, 23, 39, 42.

⁴ Clifford Ando, *Imperial Rome AD 193 to 284, The Critical Century* (Edinburgh, 2012), 224-229.

⁵ Viorica Suciu, *Tezaure roman imperiale din Dacia romană și postromană* (Cluj-Napoca, 2000), 135-140; Cristian Găzdac, *Monetary Circulation in Dacia and the Provinces from the Middle and Lower Danube from Trajan to Constantine I (AD 106-337)* (Cluj-Napoca, 2010), 94; Emanuel Petac, *Aspecte ale circulației monetare în Dacia Romană (106-275 p. Chr.)* (Wetteren, 2010), 43-65.

general archaeological context of these three locations, three small excavation units were opened: C1, C2, and C3⁶. The coins will be presented grouped by excavation units and in the order, they were found. Each coin is accompanied by the museum's registration number placed at the end.

Square 1 (C1) - dimensions 1,50 x1,50 m. Immediately after the removal of the vegetation layer, the upper part of the ancient pit (G1) was observed. The identified pit had a round shape, with a diameter of approximately 55 cm and a depth of 35 cm from the current ground level. From this pit was extracted a hoard containing almost 208 coins. No other coin was discovered during the digging.

Square 2 (C2) – dimensions 2x2 m. Two pits were observed immediately under the vegetation layer. In the first one, G 2, a hoard with almost 100 coins was found, it has an oval shape form 120/80 cm, with longer axe being oriented N-S, with a depth of -45 cm from the actual level. In this pit four coins were discovered: M 1, M 2, P 1, P 2. A second pit G 2a have also an oval shape, 50x40 cm and a depth of -40 cm from the actual level, from this pit two more coins were recovered: M 1, M 2, very probable being made by natural causes, maybe a falling tree etc. With the exception of the coins from G 2 who probably fall near the pot, all the other coins found in square 2 (C2) were spread because of natural issues.

Coins from G 2

1. SEVERVS ALEXANDER: IVLIA MAMAEA

IVLIA MA-MAEA AVG / FELICI-TA-PVBLICA

D, RIC IV/2 338, 222-235, ROMA, weight 1.97g, dimensions 19.29x18.42 mm, axis 12, code M 1-14.

2. ELAGABALVS: IVLIA SOAEMIAS

IVLIA SOAEMIAS AVG / VENVS CAELAESTIS

D, RIC IV/2 243, 218-222, ROMA, weight 1.55 g, dimensions 18.28x16.51mm, axis 12, code M 2-13.

3. MAXIMINVS THRAX

IMP MAXIMINVS PIVS AVG / PROVIDENTIA AVG

D, RIC IV/2 13, 235-538, ROMA, weight 2.50 g, dimensions 20.48x 20.27 mm, axis 12, code P 1-12.

4. ELAGABALVS

[IMP ANTONI]NVS PIVS AVG / ?

Fragment, D RIC IV ?, weight 0.54 g, dimensions 13.95x?, axis 6 ?, code P 2-11.

Coins from G 2 a

1. SEPTIMIVS SEVERVS

SEVERVS-PIVS AVG / P M TR P XV COS III P P

D, RIC IV/1 211, 207, ROMA, weight 2.09 g, dimensions 21.14x19.45 mm, axis 12, code M 1-10.

2. GORDIANVS III

IMP CAES M ANT GORDIANVS AVG / PAX-AVGVSTI

ANT, RIC IV/3 3, 238-239, ROMA, weight 3.31 g, dimensions 23.21x21.71 mm, axis 6, code M 2-8.

Square 3 - dimensions 2x2 m. Under the vegetation layer were found three pits, two of them being created by natural causes. One of the G 3/1 was the hoard's pit, here the largest hoard was found, containing over 600 coins, it had an oval form with the dimensions: 50x36 cm, oriented lengthwise E-V, with a depth of 54 cm. Here two coins were discovered: M4, M5 in the pit a probably were near the pot, other 8 coins were found scattered in the surface of the square, moved around due to natural causes⁷. It is very possible that some coin from periphery, as coin 3, to be from other hoard situated nearby.

⁶ See the plan.

⁷ See the plans.

1. COMMODVS

M COMM ANT P FE-L AVG BRIT / IOV IVVEN P M TR P XIII-COS V DES VI

D, RIC III 187, 189, ROMA, weight 2.30 g, dimensions 18.02x17.49 mm, axis 12, M 1-4.

2. ELAGABALVS

IMP ANTONINVS AVG / PR-OVID-DEORVM

D, RIC IV/2 130 b, 218-222, ROMA, weight 1.80 g, dimensions 18.80x18.54 mm, axis 6, M 2-15.

3. SEVERVS ALEXANDER

IMP C M SEV AL[EXAN]D AVG / IOVI-V-L-T[ORI]

Fragmented, D, RIC IV/2 144, 222-228, ROMA, weight 1.11 g, dimensions 18.85x 15.77 mm, axis 6, M 3-3.

4. SEPTIMIVS SEVERVS

L SEPT SEV PERT-AVG IMP X/ MARTI PA-CIFERO

D, RIC IV/1 113, 197-198, ROMA, weight 2.19 g, dimensions 16.19x15.48 mm, axis 12, M 4-17.

5. COMMODVS

M COMMODVS-ANTONINVS AVG / TR P VI IMP IIII-COS III P P

D, RIC III 11a, 181, ROMA, weight 3.03 g, dimensions 18.67x 18.11 mm, axis 6, M 5-7.

6. SEVERVS ALEXANDER: IVLIA MAMAEA

IVLIA MAMAE AVG / IVNO CONS-ERVATORIX

D, RIC IV/2 343, 225 - 235, ROMA, weight 2.18 g, dimensions 18.87x 17.76 mm, axis 12, M 6-6.

7. SEPTIMIVS SEVERVS: CARACALLA

M AVR ANTON-CAES PONTIF / MARTI-V-LTORI

D, RIC IV/1 11, 196-198, ROMA, weight 3.03 g, dimensions 18.67x 18.11 mm, axis 6, M 7-5.

8. ELAGABALVS

IMP ANTONINVS PIVS AVG / VICTORIA-AVG

D, RIC IV/2 161, 218-222, ROMA, weight 2.26 g, dimensions 18.25x17.79 mm, axis 6, M 8-2.

9. SEVERVS ALEXANDER

IMP C M AVR SEV ALEXAND AVG / P M TR P C-OS P P

D, RIC IV/2 7, 222, ROMA, weight 2.21 g, dimensions 18.76x17.80 mm, axis 12, M 9-1.

10. SEPTIMIVS SEVERVS

L SEPT SEV AVG IMP AVG IMP- XI PART MAX / P M TR P VII – COS II P P

D, RIC IV/1 136, late 198-200, ROMA, weight 2.76 g, dimensions 18.85x17.02 mm, axis 6, M 10-16.

Coin that in not associated with a research square

1. SEVERVS ALEXANDER

IMP SEVERVS ALEXAND AVG / P M T-R P-COS P P

D, RIC IV/2 7, 222, ROMA, weight 1.81 g, dimensions 19.46x18.57 mm, axis 12, E 1-9.

The recovered coins can be distributed to squares and issuers as follows:

- square 1 – no coin found;

- square 2 – 6 coins: Septimius Severus – 1, Elagabalus – 2 (Iulia Soaemias – 1), Severus Alexander – 1 (Iulia Mamaea – 1), Maximinus Thrax – 1 și Gordianus III – 1;

- square 3 – 10 coins: Commodus – 2, Septimius Severus – 3 (Caracalla – 1), Elagabalus – 2 și Severus Alexander – 3 (Iulia Mamaea – 1);

- outside squares – 1 coin: Severus Alexander – 1.

Although no archaeological materials or contexts have been identified to suggest habitation in the area, with the hoard's pits being dug in sterile soil, it is not excluded that the owner or owners of the hoards may have come from a settlement or villa rustica located nearby.

We must mention that near Motiș, towards Valea Viilor, a series of Roman objects have been found, which seem to indicate possible habitation⁸. Additionally, the Târnava Basin, located immediately to the north of Motiș, is densely inhabited during the Roman period⁹. Of course, it is possible that there is a rural settlement or *villa rustica* even closer to the discovery site which remains unknown. Future investigations in the area may provide us with new clues regarding this issue.

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LISTA ILUSTRĂȚILOR / LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Coins discovered during the archaeological diggings: Coins from Square 2 / G 2; Coins from Square 2 / G 2 a; Coins from Square 3; Coin that is not associated with a research square
2. Squares emplacement
3. C 1 plan
4. C 2 plan
5. C 3 plan
6. Coins in situ

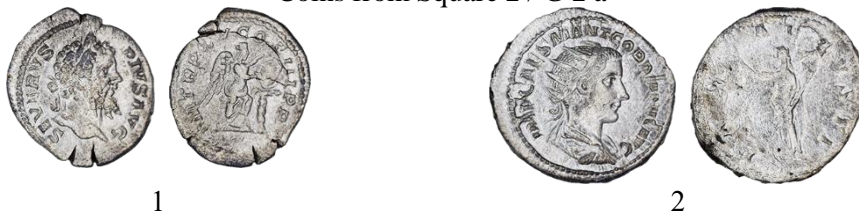
⁸ Dumitru Popa, *Villae, vici, pagi. Așezări rurale în Dacia romană intracarpatică* (București, 2002), 211; Claudiu Munteanu *Contribuții la repertoriul arheologic la județului Sibiu* (Sibiu, 2018), 105; Sabin Adrian Luca, Zeno Karl Pinter și Adrian Georgescu, *Repertoriul arheologic al județului Sibiu* (Sibiu, 2003), 239.

⁹ Nicolae Gudea, *Așezările rurale în Dacia romană (1906-275). Schiță pentru o istorie a agriculturii și satului daco-roman* (Oradea, 2008), 81-82; Mihai Chiriac, *Bazinul Târnavelor în epoca romană* (Mediaș, 2016), 31.

Coins from Square 2 / G 2



Coins from Square 2 / G 2 a



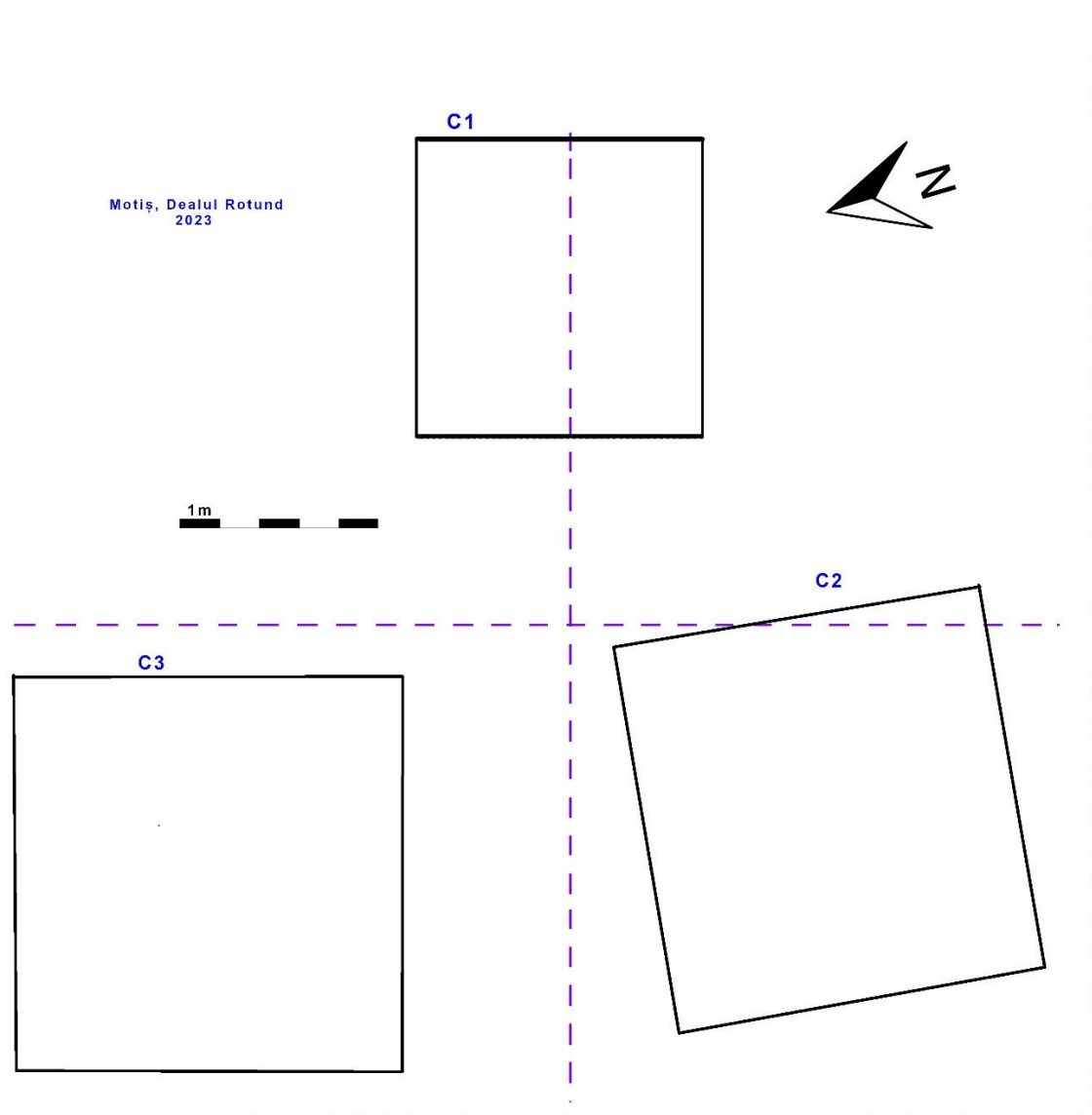
Coins from Square 3



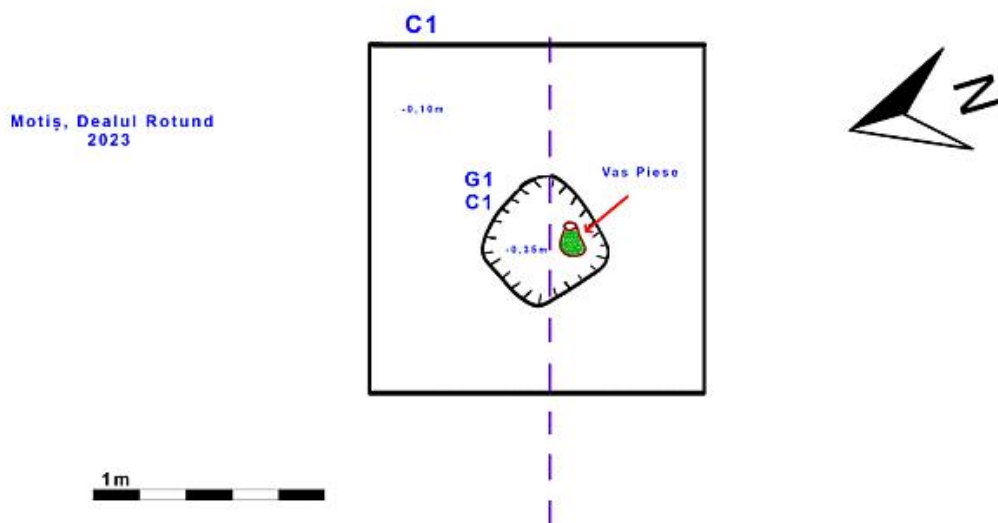
Coin that in not associated with a research square



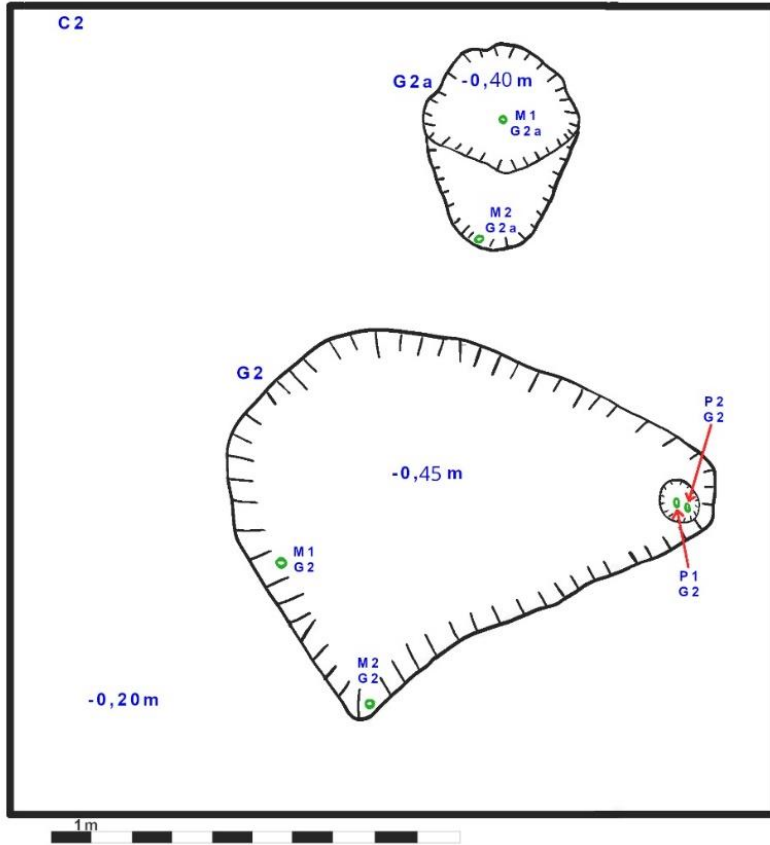
1 COINS DISCOVERED DURING THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL DIGGINGS



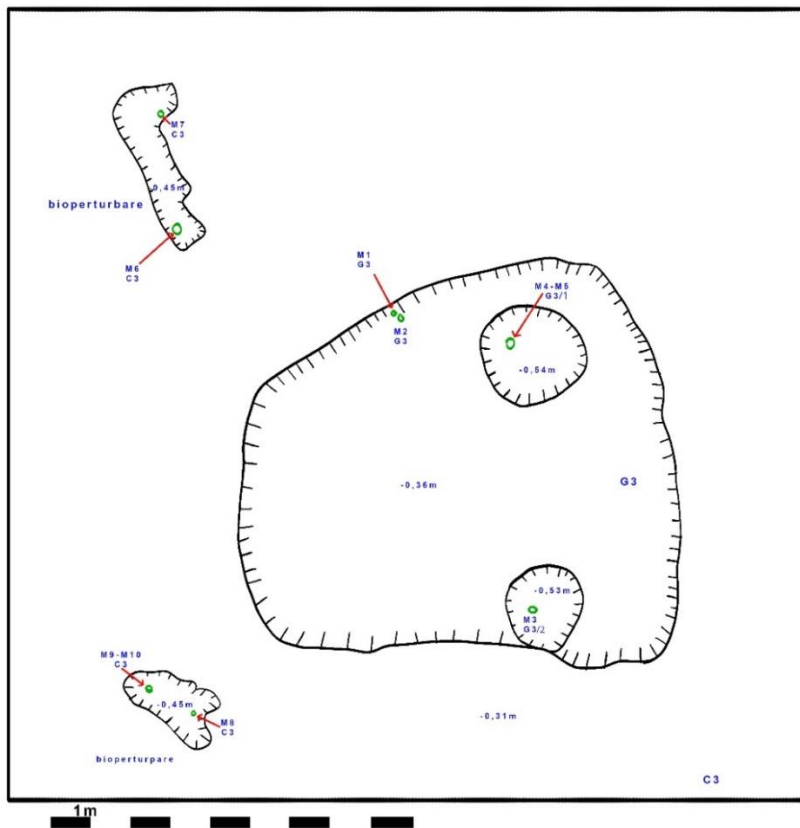
2. SQUARES AMPLACEMENT



3. C 1 PLAN



4. C 2 PLAN



5. C 3 PLAN



6. COINS IN SITU

THE FIRST IMPERIAL ROMAN HOARD FROM MOTIȘ, SIBIU COUNTY

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Abstract: *In 2023, three imperial Roman hoards were discovered near the village of Motiș in Sibiu County. These hoards appear to have been hidden during the political and economic crisis of the mid-3rd century, a crisis that profoundly affected Roman Dacia. One of the three hoards was deposited in a cup and contains 99 coins, of which 96 are denarii and 3 are antoniniani. Additionally, it appears that 7 other coins, recovered during archaeological research at the hoard's discovery site, were part of the hoard. The earliest coin in the hoard was issued by Pertinax, and the latest by Gordianus III.*

Keywords: *hoarding, roman coins, metal detector, third century, Roman Dacia.*

Rezumat: *În anul 2023 au fost descoperite trei tezaure romane imperial în apropiere de satul Motiș din județul Sibiu, tezaure care par a fi fost ascunse în contextul crizei politice și economice de la jumătatea secolului al III-lea, criză ce a afectat profund Dacia romană. Unul dintre cele trei tezaure a fost depus într-o cupă și conține 99 de monede, dintre acestea 96 sunt denari și 3 antoniniani. Tot din tezaur se pare că au făcut parte alte 7 monede recuperat în contextul cercetărilor arheologice desfășurate în locul descoperirii tezaurului. Tezaurul are cea mai timpurie monedă emisă de Pertinax și cea mai târzie emisă de Gordianus III.*

Cuvinte cheie: *tezaurizare, monede romane, detector metale, secolul trei, Dacia romană.*

In September 2023, three Roman hoards found by metal detectorists near Motiș village (Sibiu County)¹ came into the possession of the Brukenthal National Museum. One of the hoards, named Motiș I, was found in a ceramic cup. Due to oxidation, the coins were stuck together, making it difficult to estimate the exact size of the hoard until the preservation process was completed. Following specific interventions in the museum's conservation and restoration laboratory, it was determined that this hoard contained 99 coins. Shortly after the hoard was received, an inter-institutional archaeological research team was dispatched to the discovery area for further investigation. During the research, six additional coins were found scattered around the original pot's location, with another possible coin from this hoard discovered farther away².

CATALOG³

PERTINAX

1. Obv. [IMP] CAES P HELV [PERTIN AVG]; Rev. OPI DIVINAE TR P COS II D, RIC IV/1 9, 193, ROME, weight 2.33 g, dimensions 18.71x16.97 mm, axis 12 (52)

SEPTIMIUS SEVERVS

2. Obv. [L SEP]T SEV PE-RT AVG IMP IIII; Rev. SECVRITAS PVBLICA D, RIC IV/1 56, 194-195, ROME, weight 2.72 g, dimensions 18.76x16.74 mm, axis 12 (73)
3. Obv. L SEPT SEV PERT-AVG IMP VIII; Rev. ANNO-[NAE A]VGG

Project financed by Lucian Blaga University of Sibiu (Knowledge Transfer Center) & Hasso Plattner Foundation research grants LBUS-HPI-ERG-2023-07.

¹ Due to the need to protect the area we will provide the exact location of the point in a future study.

² See in this journal the article regarding archaeological diggings at Motiș.

³ The last numbers from the coins' description, placed between parentheses, are connected with the initial museum's registration.

- D, RIC IV/1 75, 196-197, ROME, weight 2.40 g, dimensions 16.02x15.36 mm, axis 6 (79)
4. Obv. L SEPT SEV PERT AVG IMP VIII; Rev. INDVLGE-NTIA AVG
D, RIC IV/1 80, 196-197, ROME, weight 2.51 g, dimensions 17.09x16.53 mm, axis 6 (81)
5. Obv. L SEPT SEV PERT-[AVG] IMP X; Rev. PACI AETERNAE
D, RIC IV/1 118, 197-198, ROME, weight 2.55 g, dimensions 16.67x16.18 mm, axis 12 (82)
6. Obv. IMP CAE L SEPT SEV PERT AVG; Rev. [M]ONE[TA]-AVG
D, RIC IV/1 350A, 193-195, ALEXANDRIA, weight 3.22 g, dimensions 16.06x15.9 mm, axis 11 (87)

SEPTIMIUS SEVERVS: CARACALLA

7. Obv. M AVR ANTONINVS CAES; Rev. SECVRITAS PE-RPETVA
D, RIC IV/1 2, 196, ROME, weight 2.96 g, dimensions 18.07x16.7 mm, axis 11 (50)
8. Obv. M AVR A[NTON CA]ES PONTIF; Rev. MARTI-VLTORI
D, RIC IV/1 11, 196-198, ROME, weight 2.18 g, dimensions 17.36x15 mm, axis 6 (98)
9. Obv. ANTONINVS PIVS AVG; Rev. PONTIF-TR P X COS II
D, RIC IV/1 95, 207, ROME, weight 3.27 g, dimensions 20x18.69 mm, axis 6 (24)
10. Obv. ANTONINVS-PIVS AVG; Rev. PONTIF-TR P X COS II
D, RIC IV/1 95, 207, ROME, weight 3.69 g, dimensions 19.29x18.97mm, axis 6 (70)

SEPTIMIUS SEVERVS: GETA

11. Obv. P SEPT GETA-CAES PONT; Rev. SECVRIT-IMPERII
D, RIC IV/1 20 A, 200-202, ROME, weight 3.14 g, dimensions 18.39x17.56mm, axis 2 (48)
12. Obv. P SEPT GETA-CAES PONT; Rev. VICT-AE-T-ERN
D, RIC IV/1 23, 200-202, ROME, weight 3.1 g, dimensions 20.08x18.42 mm, axis 12 (19)
13. Obv. P SEPTIMIUS GETA CAES; Rev. MINERV-SANCT
D, RIC IV/1 45, 203-208, ROME, weight 3.01 g, dimensions 18.97 x 16.49 mm, axis 6 (89)

SEPTIMIUS SEVERVS: IVLIA DOMNA

14. Obv. IVLIA AVGVSTA; Rev. FORTVNAE-FELICI
D, RIC IV/1 554, 196-211, ROME, weight 3.05 g, dimensions 20.32 x 17.47 mm, axis 6 (91)
15. Obv. IVLIA-AVGVSTA; Rev. MATER-DEVM
D, RIC IV/1 564, 196-211, ROME, weight 3.23 g, dimensions 20.12 x 18.1 mm, axis 12 (13)
16. Obv. IVLIA-AVGVSTA; Rev. PVDI-CITIA
D, RIC IV/1 576, 196-211, ROME, weight 3.25 g, dimensions 18.07 x 16.99 mm, axis 6 (86)
17. Obv. [IVLIA] AVGVSTA; Rev. [VENVS]-FELIX
D, RIC IV/1 580, 196-211, ROME, weight 3.3 g, dimensions 16.95 x 15.93 mm, axis 12 (96)
18. Obv. IVLIA AVGVSTA, Rev. VESTAE-SANCTAE
D, RIC IV/1 587, 196-211, ROME, weight 3.03 g, dimensions 16.8 x 16.63 mm, axis 12 (58)

CARACALLA

19. Obv. ANTONINVS PIVS AVG GERM; Rev. P M TR P XVII COS III P P
D, RIC IV/1 238 A, 214, ROME, weight 3.5 g, dimensions 17.94x17.86mm, axis 6 (84)
20. Obv. ANTONINVS PIVS AVG GERM; Rev. P M TR P XVIII COS III P P
D, RIC IV/1 280 C, 216, ROME, weight 2.83 g, dimensions 20.68x18.5mm, axis 12 (37)

CARACALLA: IVLIA DOMNA

21. Obv. IVLIA PIA-FELIX AVG; Rev. VE-S-TA
D, RIC IV/1 390, 211-217, ROME, weight 2.56 g, dimensions 18.85 x 18.59 mm, axis 6 (46)

CARACALLA: GETA

22. Obv. P SEPT GETA PIVS-AVG BRIT; Rev. LIBERA-LI-TAS AVG V
D, RIC IV/1 88, 210-212, ROME, weight 3.2 g, dimensions 18.93 x 18.84 mm, axis 6 (49)
23. Obv. P SEPT GETA PIVS – AVG BRIT; Rev. LIBERALITAS AVG V
D, RIC IV/1 88, 210-212, ROME, weight 2.92 g, dimensions 19.93 x 18.96 mm, axis 12 (1)

MACRINVS

24. Obv. IMP C M OPEL SEV MACRINVS AVG; Rev. FID-ES MIL-ITVM
D, RIC IV/2, 68, 217-218, ROME, weight 2.6 g, dimensions 19.25 x 17.69 mm, axis 12 (28)

ELAGABALVS

25. Obv. IMP ANTONINVS PIVS AVG; Rev. P M TR P II-COS II P P
D, RIC IV/2 17, 219, ROME, weight 3.47 g, dimensions 19.37 x 18.4 mm, axis 12 (64)
26. Obv. IMP ANTO-NINVS AVG; Rev. P M TR P II COS II P P
D, RIC IV/2, 23, 219, ROME, weight 3.04 g, dimensions 18.81 x 18.18 mm, axis 6 (27)
27. Obv. IMP ANTONINVS PIVS AVG; Rev. ABVNDANTIA AVG
D, RIC IV/2 56, 219, ROME, weight 2.3 g, dimensions 19.05 x 17.4 mm, axis 6 (65)
28. Obv. IMP ANTONINVS PIVS AVG; Rev. ABVNDANTIA AVG
D, RIC IV/2 56, 219, ROME, weight 2.92 g, dimensions 18.34 x 18.2 mm, axis 12 (83)
29. Obv. IMP ANTONINVS PIVS AVG; Rev. FORTVNAE REDVCI
D, RIC IV/2 83 A, 218 - 222, ROME, weight 2.64 g, dimensions 18.79 x 18.4 mm, axis 6 (10)
30. Obv. IMP ANTONINVS PIVS AVG; Rev. FORTVNAE-REDVCI
D, RIC IV/2 83 A, 218 - 222, ROME, weight 2.45 g, dimensions 20.33 x 18.12 mm, axis 12 (90)
31. Obv. [I]MP ANTONINVS-PIVS AVG; Rev. INVICTVS SACERDOS AVG
D, RIC IV/2 88, 218 - 222, ROME, weight 3.05 g, dimensions 18.49 x 18.04 mm, axis 12 (8)
32. Obv. IMP ANTONINVS AVG; Rev. LIBERALI-TAS AVG II
D, RIC IV/2 100, 218 - 222, ROME, weight 2.77 g, dimensions 19.01 x 18.34 mm, axis 6 (92)
33. Obv. IMP ANTONINVS PIVS AVG; Rev. PAX-AVGVSTI
D, RIC IV/2 125, 218 - 222, ROME, weight 2.71 g, dimensions 18.83 x 18.22 mm, axis 12 (95)
34. Obv. IMP ANTONINVS-PIVS AVG; Rev. SACERD DEI SOLIS ELAGAB
D, RIC IV/2 131, 218-222, ROME, weight 2.76 g, dimensions 20.02 x 18.41 mm, axis 12 (12)
35. Obv. IMP CAES M AVR-ANTONINVS AVG; Rev. SALVS ANTONINI AVG
D, RIC IV/2 140, sfârșit 235-început 236, ROME, weight 2.79 g, dimensions 18.44 x 18.03 mm, axis 12 (69)
36. Obv. IMP ANTONINVS-PIVS AVG; Rev. SVMMVS SACERDOS AVG
D, RIC IV/2 146, 218 - 222, ROME, weight 3.12 g, dimensions 20.04 x 19.06 mm, axis 6 (7)
37. Obv. IMP ANTONINVS P[IVS] AVG; Rev. SVMMVS SA-CERDOS AVG
D, RIC IV/2 146, 218 - 222, ROME, weight 2.75 g, dimensions 18.84 x 17.83 mm, axis 6 (39)
38. Obv. IMP ANTONINVS PIVS AVG; Rev. SVMMVS SACERDOS AVG
D, RIC IV/2 146, 218 - 222, ROME, weight 3.39 g, dimensions 18.09 x 17.75 mm, axis 6 (74)
39. Obv. IMP CAES ANTONINVS AVG; Rev. VICTOR ANTONINI AVG
D, RIC IV/2 153, 218 - 222, ROME, weight 3.27 g, dimensions 20.72 x 18.65 mm, axis 6 (16)
40. Obv. IMP ANTONINVS AVG; Rev. VICTORIA AVG
D, RIC IV/2 162, 218 - 222, ROME, weight 3.38 g, dimensions 19.92 x 17.88 mm, axis 12 (72)
41. Obv. [IMP] ANTONINVS AVG; Rev. VOTA-PVBLICA
D, RIC IV/2 203, 218 - 222, ANTIOCH, weight 3.08 g, dimensions 18.04 x 17.92 mm, axis 12 (71)

ELAGABALVS: IVLIA PAVLA

42. Obv. IVLIA PAVLA AVG; Rev. CONCORDIA
D, RIC IV/2 211, 219 - 220, ROME, weight 2.82 g, dimensions 19.58 x 17.75 mm, axis 6 (62)

ELAGABALVS: IVLIA MAESA

43. Obv. IVLIA MAESA AVG; Rev. PVDI-CITIA
D, RIC IV/2 268, 218 - 222, ROME, weight 2.54 g, dimensions 18.69 x 18.33 mm, axis 6 (59)
44. Obv. IVLIA MAESA [AVG]; Rev. [P]VDICITIA
D, RIC IV/2 268, 218 - 222, ROME, weight 2.11 g, dimensions 20.59 x 16.68 mm, axis 12 (94)
45. Obv. IVLIA MAESA AVG; Rev. PVDIC-ITIA
D, RIC IV/2 268, 218 - 222, ROME, weight 2.56 g, dimensions 18.69 x 17.86 mm, axis 2 (97)
46. Obv. IVLIA MAESA AVG; Rev. SAECVLI FE-LICITAS
D, RIC IV/2 271, 218 - 222, ROME, weight 2.51 g, dimensions 18.81 x 18.73 mm, axis 12 (44)
47. Obv. IVLIA MAESA AVG; Rev. SAECVLI FELICITAS
D, RIC IV/2 272, NEDATATĂ, ROME, weight 2.59 g, dimensions 19.28 x 18.02 mm, axis 12 (53)

ELAGABALVS: IVLIA SOAEMIAS

48. Obv. IVLIA SOAEMIAS AVG; Rev. VENVS CA-ELESTIS
D, RIC IV/2 241, 218 - 222, ROME, weight 2.67 g, dimensions 19.21 x 17.84 mm, axis 12 (78)
49. Obv. IVLIA SOAEMIAS AVG; Rev. VENVS CAELESTIS
D, RIC IV/2 243, 218 - 222, ROME, weight 1.51 g, dimensions 18.43 x 18.04 mm, axis 12 (56)

SEVERVS ALEXANDER

50. Obv. IMP C M AVR SEV ALEXAND AVG; Rev. P M TR P COS P P
D, RIC IV/2 5, 222, ROME, weight 2.91 g, dimensions 19.61 x 19.48 mm, axis 12 (61)
51. Obv. IMP C M AVR SEV ALEXAND AVG; Rev. P M TR P C-OS P P
D, RIC IV/2 5, 222, ROME, weight 2.6 g, dimensions 19.23 x 17.72 mm, axis 12 (63)
52. Obv. IMP C M AVR SEV ALEXAND AVG; Rev. P M TR P-COS P P
D, RIC IV/2 7, 222, ROME, weight 2.92 g, dimensions 19.95 x 19.55 mm, axis 6 (40)
53. Obv. IMP C M AVR SEV ALEXAND AVG; Rev. P M TR P II COS P P
D, RIC IV/2 32, 223, ROME, weight 2.17 g, dimensions 18.48 x 18.1 mm, axis 12 (75)
54. Obv. IMP C[M AV]R SEV ALEXAND AVG; Rev. P M TR P II-COS P P
D, RIC IV/2 37, 224, ROME, weight 2.2 g, dimensions 17.53 x 17.14 mm, axis 6 (17)
55. Obv. IMP C M AVR SEV ALEXAND AVG; Rev. P M TR P III-COS P P
D, RIC IV/2 42, 224, ROME, weight 2.87 g, dimensions 19.98 x 19.97 mm, axis 6 (25)
56. Obv. IMP C M AVR SEV ALEXAND AVG; Rev. P M TR P VI-COS II P P
D, RIC IV/2 61, 227, ROME, weight 1.67 g, dimensions 18.86 x 16.95 mm, axis 12 (77)
57. Obv. IMP C M AVR SEV ALEXAND AVG; Rev. P-M TR P VI-COS II P P
D, RIC IV/2 64, 227, ROME, weight 2.4 g, dimensions 18.72 x 17.83 mm, axis 6 (41)
58. Obv. IMP C M AVR SEV ALEXAND AVG; Rev. P M TR P VI COS II P P
D, RIC IV/2 64, 227, ROME, weight 3.33 g, dimensions 19.18 x 17.79 mm, axis 12 (76)
59. Obv. IMP C M AVR SEV-ALEXAND AVG; Rev. P M TR P VI-COS II P P
D, RIC IV/2 70, 227, ROME, weight 2.87 g, dimensions 18.74 x 17.78 mm, axis 12 (4)
60. Obv. IMP C M AVR SEV-ALEXAND AVG; Rev. P M TR P VI-COS II P P
D, RIC IV/2 70, 227, ROME, weight 2.38 g, dimensions 19.76 x 17.67 mm, axis 6 (21)
61. Obv. IMP C M AVR SEV-ALEXAND AVG; Rev. P M TR P VI-COS II P P
D, RIC IV/2 70, 227, ROME, weight 2.88 g, dimensions 18.24 x 18.09 mm, axis 12 (85)
62. Obv. IMP SEV ALE-XAND AVG; Rev. P M TR P VIII-COS III P P
D, RIC IV/2 105, 230, ROME, weight 2.31 g, dimensions 18.27 x 17.59 mm, axis 12 (55)
63. Obv. IMP C M AVR SEV ALEXAND AVG; Rev. ANO-NA AVG
D, RIC IV/2 133, 222-228, ROME, weight 2.98 g, dimensions 17.63 x 17.29 mm, axis 6 (32)
64. Obv. IMP C M AVR SEV-ALEXAND AVG; Rev. ANNO-NA AVG
D, RIC IV/2 133, 222-228, ROME, weight 2.64 g, dimensions 19.53 x 17.32 mm, axis 12 (80)

65. Obv. IMP C M AVR SEV-ALEXAND AVG; Rev. ANNO-NA AVG
D, RIC IV/2 133, 222-228, ROME, weight 2.93 g, dimensions 18.73 x 18.47 mm, axis 12 (20)
66. Obv. IMP C M AVR SEV ALEXAND AVG; Rev. PAX-AVG
D, RIC IV/2 168, 222-228, ROME, weight 2.27 g, dimensions 17.54 x 17.38 mm, axis 6 (88)
67. Obv. IMP C M AVR SEV ALE-[X]AND AVG; Rev. PRO[V]IDE-N-TIA AVG
D, RIC IV/2 173, 222-228, ROME, weight 2.09 g, dimensions 18.43 x 17.66 mm, axis 12 (22)
68. Obv. IMP SEV ALE-XAND AVG; Rev. ABVNDAN-TIA AVG
D, RIC IV/2 184, 228-231, ROME, weight 2.69 g, dimensions 18.84 x 18.27 mm, axis 6 (23)
69. Obv. IMP SEV ALE-XAND AVG; Rev. ANNO-NA AVG
D, RIC IV/2 190, 228-231, ROME, weight 2.5 g, dimensions 17.8 x 17.14 mm, axis 6 (47)
70. Obv. IMP SEV ALE-XAND AVG; Rev. IOVI CONS-ERVATORI
D, RIC IV/2 200, 228-231, ROME, weight 2.38 g, dimensions 18.72 x 16.82 mm, axis 6 (9)
71. Obv. IMP SEV ALE-XAND AVG; Rev. VICT-ORI-A AVG
D, RIC IV/2 212, 228-231, ROME, weight 2.9 g, dimensions 19.95 x 19.73 mm, axis 12 (67)
72. Obv. IMP SEV ALE-XAND AVG; Rev. VIRTVS AVG
D, RIC IV/2 226, 228-231, ROME, weight 1.88 g, dimensions 18.39 x 18.13 mm, axis 6 (11)
73. Obv. IMP ALEXANDER PIVS AVG; Rev. IOVI PRO-PVGNATORI
D, RIC IV/2 239, 231-235, ROME, weight 2.9 g, dimensions 20.66 x 19.05 mm, axis 6 (5)
74. Obv. IMP ALEXAN-DER PIVS AVG; Rev. PROVIDEN-TIA AVG
D, RIC IV/2 250, 231-235, ROME, weight 2.77 g, dimensions 20.84 x 19.49 mm, axis 6 (42)
75. Obv. IMP ALEXANDER PIVS AVG; Rev. SPES-P-VBLICA
D, RIC IV/2 254, 231-235, ROME, weight 2.85 g, dimensions 21.42 x 19.14 mm, axis 6 (3)
76. Obv. IMP C M AVR SEV ALEXAND AVG; Rev. PROVID-DEORVM
D, RIC IV/2 294, 222 - 235, ANTIOCH, weight 2.83 g, dimensions 18.65 x 16.32 mm, axis 12 (26)
77. Obv. IMP SEV ALEXAND AVG; Rev. VICTORIA AVG
D, RIC IV/2 301, 222-235, ANTIOCH, weight 2.21 g, dimensions 21.29 x 16.48 mm, axis 12 (14)
78. Obv. IMP C M AVR SEV ALEXAND AVG; Rev. P M TR P COS P P
D, RIC IV/2 – TIP NOU- Liberalitas în picioare spre stânga ținând abacus și cornucopiae, apare doar odată cu TR P II, weight 2.88 g, dimensions 18.47 x 17.63 mm, axis 12 (30)

SEVERVS ALEXANDER: IVLIA MAMAEA

79. Obv. IVLIA MA-MAEA AVG; Rev. FECVND-AVGSTAE
D, RIC IV/2 331, 222 - 235, ROME, weight 2.58 g, dimensions 18.16 x 17.28 mm, axis 6 (99)
80. Obv. IVLIA MA-MAEA AVG; Rev. FECVND-AVGSTAE
D, RIC IV/2 332, 222 - 235, ROME, weight 2.42 g, dimensions 18.65 x 17.76 mm, axis 9 (54)
81. Obv. IVLIA MA-MAEA AVG; Rev. FELICIT-A-S PVBLICA
D, RIC IV/2 335, 222 - 235, ROME, weight 2.75 g, dimensions 20.05 x 19.71 mm, axis 6 (31)
82. Obv. IVLIA MA-MAEA AVG; Rev. FELICIT-A-S-PVBLICA
D, RIC IV/2 338, 222 - 235, ROME, weight 2.7 g, dimensions 19.34 x 17.73 mm, axis 6 (36)
83. Obv. IVLIA MAMAEA AVG; Rev. IVNO AV-GVSTAE
D, RIC IV/2 341, 222 - 235, ROME, weight 2.72 g, dimensions 18.06 x 16.44 mm, axis 12 (45)
84. Obv. IVLIA MAMAEA AVG; Rev. IVNO CONSE-R-VATRIX
D, RIC IV/2 343, 222 - 235, ROME, weight 3.15 g, dimensions 20.42 x 18.43 mm, axis 12 (18)
85. Obv. IVLIA MAMAEA AVG; Rev. IVNO CONSERVATRIX
D, RIC IV/2, 343, 222 - 235, ROME, weight 3.2 g, dimensions 19.18 x 17.69 mm, axis 6 (43)
86. Obv. IVLIA MAMAEA AVG; Rev. IVNO CON-SERVATRIX
D, RIC IV/2 343, 222 - 235, ROME, weight 2.56 g, dimensions 18.95 x 17.62 mm, axis 6 (34)
87. Obv. IVLIA MAMAEA AVG; Rev. IVNO CONSERVATRIX
D, RIC IV/2 343, 222 - 235, ROME, weight 2.62 g, dimensions 21.67 x 17.45 mm, axis 6 (29)
88. Obv. IVLIA MAMAEA AVG; Rev. [IVNO] CONSERVATRIX
D, RIC IV/2 343, 222 - 235, ROME, weight 2.64 g, dimensions 19.6 x 16.98 mm, axis 7 (60)
89. Obv. IVLIA MAMAEA AVG; Rev. IVNO CONSE-RVATRIX
D, RIC IV/2 343, 222 - 235, ROME, weight 2.8 g, dimensions 20.44 x 18.88 mm, axis 6 (2)

90. Obv. IVLIA MA-MAEA; Rev. VE-S-TA
D, RIC IV/2 360, 222 - 235, ROME, weight 2.62 g, dimensions 18.93 x 18.42 mm, axis 6 (33)
91. Obv. IVLIA MA-MAEA AVG; Rev. VE-S-TA
D, RIC IV/2 360, 222 - 235, ROME, weight 3.09 g, dimensions 19.35 x 17.91 mm, axis 12 (15)

MAXIMINVS THRAX

92. Obv. IMP MAXIMINVS PIVS AVG; Rev. FIDES-M-I-LITVM
D, RIC IV/2 7 A, 235-236, ROME, weight 2.99 g, dimensions 20.21 x 19.69 mm, axis 12 (38)
93. Obv. MAXIMINVS PIVS AVG GERM; Rev. FIDES MILITVM
D, RIC IV/2 7 A, 235- 236, ROME, weight 2.5 g, dimensions 20.89 x 20.07 mm, axis 6 (66)
94. Obv. IMP MAXIMINVS PIVS AVG; Rev. PROVIDENTIA AVG
D, RIC IV/2 13, 235-236, ROME, weight 2.54 g, dimensions 20.41 x 18.26 mm, axis 6 (93)
95. Obv. IMP MAXIMINVS PIVS AVG; Rev. VICTO-RI-A AVG
D, RIC IV/2 16, 235- 236, ROME, weight 2.97 g, dimensions 19.62 x 19.43 mm, axis 12 (51)

MAXIMINVS THRAX: MAXIMVS

96. Obv. IVL VERVS MAXIMVS CAES; Rev. PIETAS AVG
D, RIC IV/2 1, 235-236, ROME, weight 2.89 g, dimensions 19.2 x 18.99 mm, axis 12 (68)

GORDIANVS III

97. Obv. IMP CAES GORDIANVS PIVS AVG; Rev. ROMAE AETERNAE
ANT, RIC IV/3 55, 240, ROME, weight 3.82 g, dimensions 22.23 x 21.49 mm, axis 6 (57)
98. Obv. IMP GORDIANVS PIVS FEL AVG; Rev. P M TR P II COS P P
ANT, RIC IV/3 68, 240, ROME, weight 3.68 g, dimensions 23.03 x 21.05 mm, axis 12 (6)
99. Obv. IMP GORDIANVS PIVS FEL AVG; Rev. ROMAE AETERNAE
ANT, RIC IV/3 70, 240, ROME, weight 5.06 g, dimensions 22.68 x 20.55 mm, axis 6 (35)

As observed in the coin catalog, the composition of the hoard is as follows: Pertinax 1, Septimius Severus 17 (Caracalla 4, Geta 3, Iulia Domna 5), Caracalla 5 (Iulia Domna 1, Geta 2), Macrinus 1, Elagabalus 25 (Iulia Paula 1, Iulia Maesa 5, Iulia Soaemias 2), Severus Alexander 42 (Iulia Mamaea 13), Maximinus Thrax 5 (Maximus 1), Gordianus III 3. We have a clear dominance of denarii, 96,96 %, in the hoard being only three antoniniani issued by Gordianus III.

We must also consider the results from the archaeological excavations, which revealed an additional five coins from the pot's pit zone, square 2⁴, distributed as follows: Septimius Severus 1, Elagabalus 2 (Iulia Soaemias 1), Severus Alexander 1 (Iulia Mamaea 1), Maximinus Thrax 1 and Gordianus III 1. As in the main lot, only the coin issued by Gordianus III is an antoninianus, all other are denars; all others are denarii. Another coin from Severus Alexander, discovered slightly farther from the pot's pit in square 3, G 3/1, may also be part of the hoard⁵. In this context the general composition is: Pertinax 1, Septimius Severus 18 (Caracalla 4, Geta 3, Iulia Domna 5), Caracalla 5 (Iulia Domna 1, Geta 2), Macrinus 1, Elagabalus 27 (Iulia Paula 1, Iulia Maesa 5, Iulia Soaemias 3), Severus Alexander 44 (Iulia Mamaea 14), Maximinus Thrax 6 (Maximus 1), Gordianus III 4. From a graphical perspective and in terms of coin distribution by reigning years, the changes are minimal.

The hoard is dominated by coins minted during the reigns of Elagabalus and Severus Alexander, comprising nearly three-quarters of the collection. The main group, representing close to half of the hoard, consists of coins issued by Severus Alexander. Despite this, Elagabalus has the highest ratio of coins to years of reign, at 6.25. Severus Alexander follows, but his ratio is nearly half of that, at 3.23.

An important observation is that many coins from this hoard are in poor condition, showing significant wear. This fact appears also in the case of Gordianus's antoniniani. Additionally, some coins display cracks along

⁴ See in this volume the article: Tracing the Hoards. Archaeological Research and Coin Recover at Motiș, Sibiu County.

⁵ See in this volume the article: Tracing the Hoards. Archaeological Research and Coin Recover at Motiș, Sibiu County.

the edges or even fractures. We cannot exclude the possibility that a selection of less well-preserved coins was chosen to be stored in this pot⁶. Even though we don't have any late coins from Gordianus III - all of them, including the one discovered during the archaeological excavation, were minted by 240 - we must consider the possibility that this hoard was hidden after the end of his reign, likely during the time of Philippus Arabs, a period when a significant number of hoards were concealed in Dacia⁷. It's very plausible to consider that some hoards ended with coins from Gordianus III⁸ are related with the Philippus Arabs hoard horizon⁹ formed in the context of the Carpien War¹⁰.

The vessel in which the coins were deposited is a cup¹¹ made of fine, wheel-thrown ceramic, with a reddish-yellow color and oxidizing firing. The vessel is decorated with grooves in the basin area. Approximately 40% of the original vessel has been recovered. No fragments from the rim of the cup have been preserved. Current height of the vessel: 83.98 mm. Wall thickness: 3 mm - 5 mm, thinner at the top and thicker at the bottom. Upper opening diameter: 47.98 mm. Basin diameter: 80.10 mm. Base support ring diameter: 51 mm. The cup volume is around 170 ml. In certain areas the vessel is exfoliated.

As previously mentioned, archaeological excavations were conducted in the area where the hoard was discovered. However, aside from the coins already mentioned, no additional archaeological materials were found. It is worth noting that the metal detectorist thoroughly scanned the entire area when the hoard was discovered, and no other objects were detected. Although no habitation traces were found at the exact site, Roman artifacts were discovered nearby in the vicinity of Valea Viilor¹². Furthermore, moving slightly north to the Târnava Basin, a high density of rural settlements has been documented.¹³ It is highly possible that an undiscovered Roman village or villa rustica may exist in the immediate vicinity of the discovery site. Further investigations are planned in the near future to explore this possibility.

⁶ We will provide further details in the context of publishing information on the other two hoards.

⁷ Viorica Suci, *Tezaure roman imperiale din Dacia romană și postromană* (Cluj-Napoca, 2000), 135-140; Cristian Găzdac, *Monetary Circulation in Dacia and the Provinces from the Middle and Lower Danube from Trajan to Constantine I (AD 106-337)* (Cluj-Napoca, 2010), 94; Emanuel Petac, *Aspecte ale circulației monetare în Dacia Romană (106-275 p. Chr.)* (Wetteren, 2010), 43-65.

⁸ Georges Depeyrot, Delia Moisil, *Les trésors de deniers et d'antoniniens de Gordien III à Aurélien en Roumanie* (Wetteren, 2008), 7-9.

⁹ Cristian Găzdac, Marian Neagoe, *Wealthy or Not in a Time of Turmoil? The Roman Imperial Hoard from Gruiain Roman Dacia (Romania)* (Oxford, 2018), 6; Silviu Istrate Purece, *Tezaure romane imperiale din colecția Muzeului Județean Vâlcea* (Sibiu, 2015), 194.

¹⁰ Christian Körner, *Philippus Arabs: Ein Soldatenkaiser in der Tradition des antoninisch-severischen Prinzipats* (Berlin-New York 2002), 134-157.

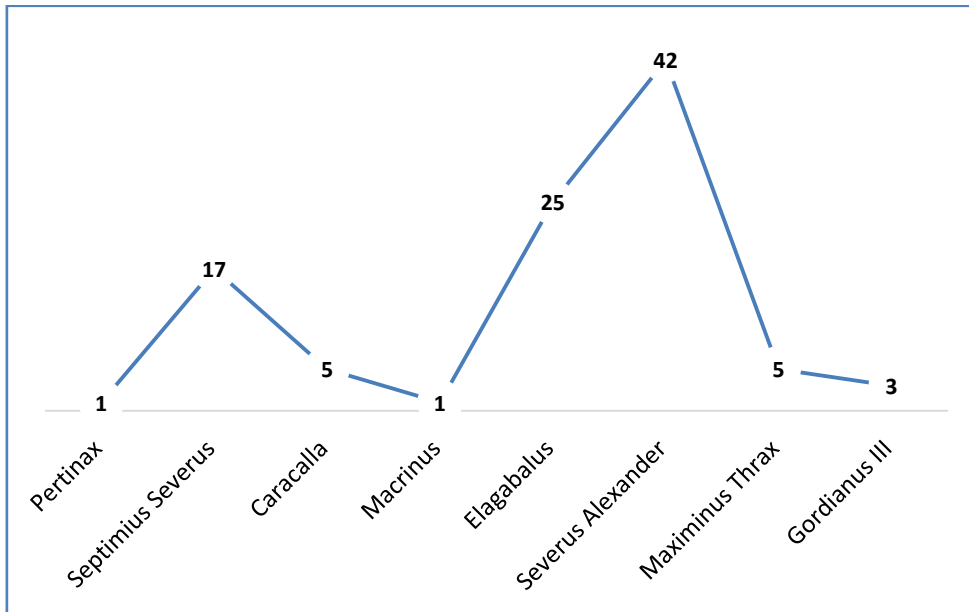
¹¹ Gheorghe Popilian, *Ceramica romană din Oltenia* (Craiova, 1974), 109-113, pl. LIX.

¹² Dumitru Popa, *Villae, vici, pagi. Așezări rurale în Dacia romană intracarpatică* (București, 2002), 211; Claudiu Munteanu *Contribuții la repertoriul arheologic la județului Sibiu* (Sibiu, 2018), 105; Sabin Adrian Luca, Zeno Karl Pinter și Adrian Georgescu, *Repertoriul arheologic al județului Sibiu* (Sibiu, 2003), 239.

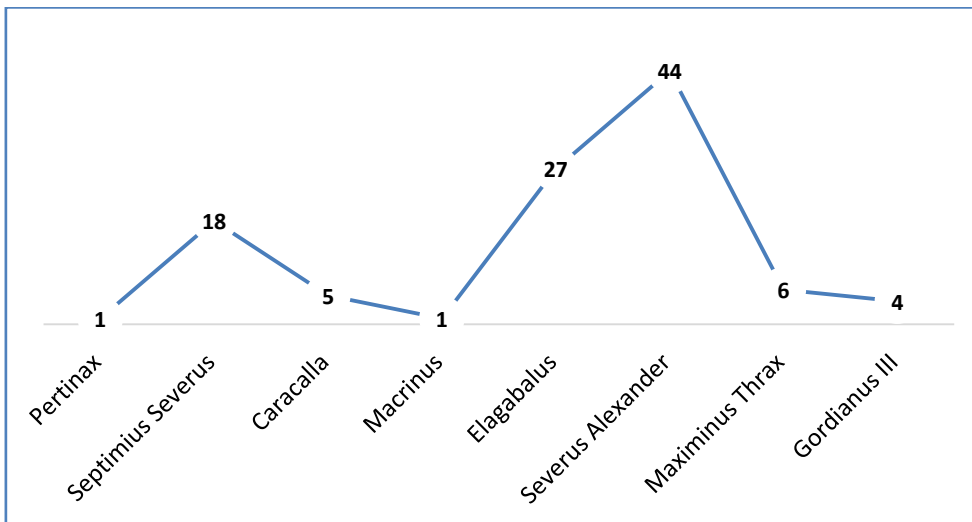
¹³ Nicolae Gudea, *Așezările rurale în Dacia romană (1906-275). Schiță pentru o istorie a agriculturii și satului daco-roman* (Oradea, 2008), 81-82; Mihai Chiriac, *Bazinul Târnavelor în epoca romană* (Mediaș, 2016), 31.

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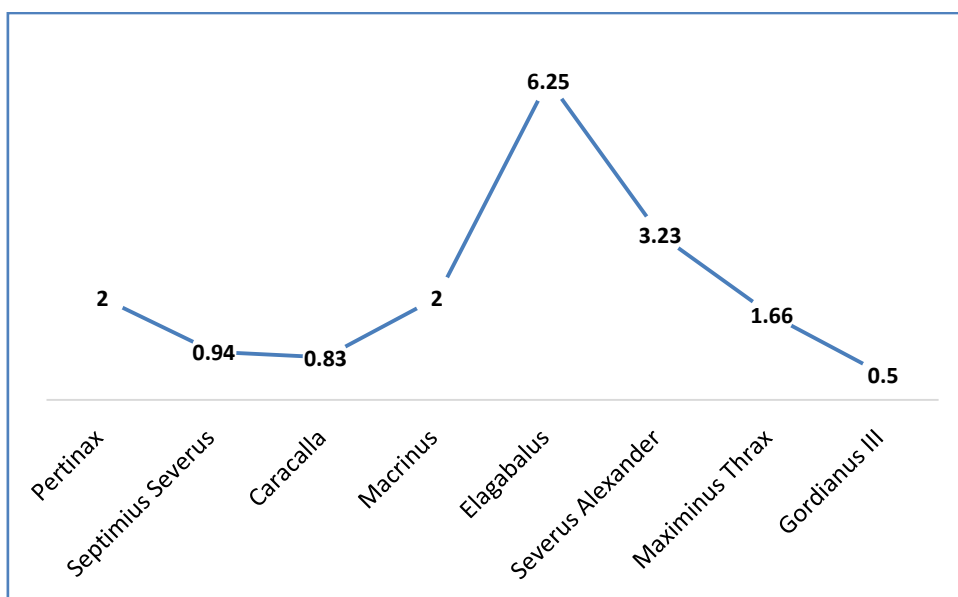
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Coin distribution of the main lot

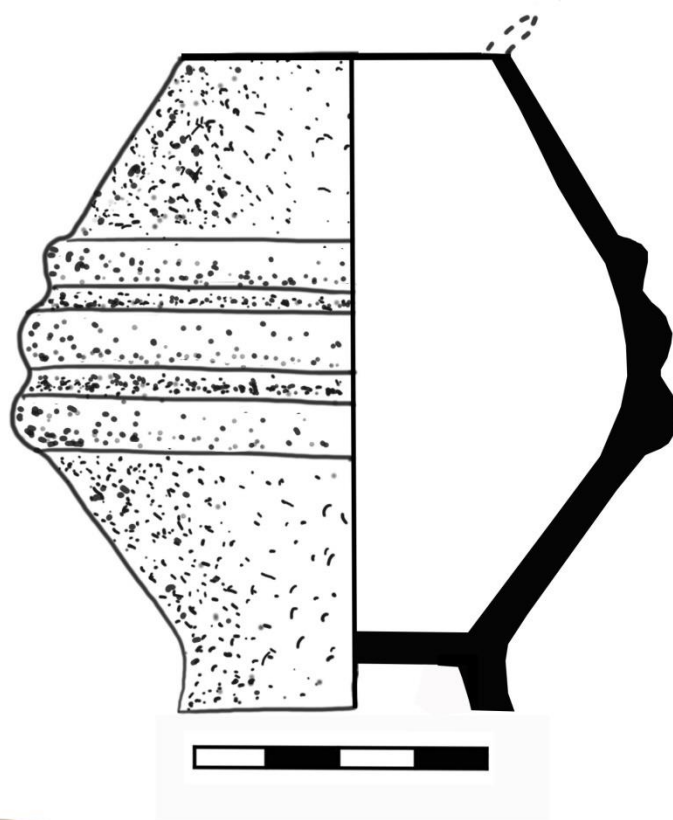


Coin distribution of the entire hoard



Coin distribution by reigning years of the main lot

The hoard pot



PERTINAX



1

SEPTIMIUS SEVERVS



2

3

4

5

6

SEPTIMIUS SEVERVS: CARACALLA



7

8

9

10

SEPTIMIUS SEVERVS: GETA



11

12

13

SEPTIMIUS SEVERVS: IVLIA DOMNA



14

15

16

17

18

CARACALLA



19



20

CARACALLA: IVLIA DOMNA



21

CARACALLA: GETA



22



23

MACRINVS



24

ELAGABALVS



25



26



27



28



29



30



31



32



33



34



35



36



37



38





ELAGABALVS: IVLIA PAVLA



ELAGABALVS: IVLIA MAESA



ELAGABALVS: IVLIA SOAEMIAS



SEVERVS ALEXANDER





SEVERVS ALEXANDER: IVLIA MAMAEA





MAXIMINVS THRAX



MAXIMINVS THRAX: MAXIMVS



GORDIANVS III



IDENTITY BY MARRIAGE AMONG TRANSYLVANIAN ROMANIANS IN THE 18TH AND 19TH CENTURIES

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Abstract: *The author of the present study reviews the regulations on the matrimonial regime among Greek-Catholic Romanians (18th and 19th centuries), starting from the analysis of the first treaty of Vienna (1781) by Samuil Micu. He took up an Enlightenment thesis embraced by Viennese politics, namely the separation of State and Church as far as the matrimonial matters are concerned. Capitalizing on the confluence of the movements within the Catholic Counter-Reformation (Febroniansim, Jansenism) with the Habsburg Reformism, Micu conceived an Enlightenment handbook of social utility. His treatise focused on presenting the identity valence of marriage, presenting all the stages and aspects related to the ceremony of its conclusion and the procedure for its dissolution. The current study makes an extensive and long-term analysis of the sources of inspiration and roots of Micu's vision coming from the canonical literature prior to him, viewed within the historical context of the age (The Acts of the Religious Union (1701), Gherontie Cotore (1746), Doctrina christiana (1757), Dogmatica Învățătură a Bisericii Arritola/ The Dogmatic Teaching of the Church of the East (1760). The author of the study describes the way in which Micu's dissertation was assimilated and its relationship with the so-called dominant culture expressed in Joseph II's Marriage Patent (6 March 1786). The impact of the Romanian Enlightenment handbook on the contemporary literature is also investigated (the works of some figures of the Enlightenment, such as Petru Maior - 1795 or Gheorghe Șincai - 1815). Last but not least, the present research highlights the impact of Micu's dissertation on the subsequent matrimonial regulations in Transylvania up to the decisions of the provincial council of the Uniate Romanian Greek-Catholic Church in 1882.*

Keywords: *Matrimony, regulation, Greek-Catholic Church, Transylvania, Aufklärung.*

Rezumat: *Autoarea face o retrospectivă asupra reglementării matrimoniale la românii greco-catolici (sec. XVIII-XIX) pornind de la analiza primului tratat conceput la Viena, în anul 1781, de către Samuil Micu. El a preluat o teză iluministă îmbrățișată de politica vieneză, anume separarea atribuțiilor Statului de cele ale Bisericii în gestionarea problemelor matrimoniale. Fructificând confluența curentelor Reformei catolice (febroniansim, jansenism) cu reformismul habsburgic, Micu a conceput astfel un manual iluminist de utilitate socială. Tratatul său s-a concentrat asupra prezentării valenței identitare a căsătoriei, prezentând toate etapele și aspectele legate de ceremonialul încheierii ei, precum și procedura desfacerii acesteia. Studiul face o amplă analiză în durată lungă a surselor de inspirație, a rădăcinilor concepției lui Micu din literatura canonică anterioară lui privită în contextul istoric al epocii (Actele Unirii religioase, 1701, Gherontie Cotore, 1746, Doctrina christiana, 1757, Dogmatica Învățătură a Bisericii Răsăritului, 1760). Autoarea descrie felul în care este asimilată disertația lui Micu și raportul acesteia cu așa-numita cultură dominantă exprimată prin Rânduiala căsătoriilor emisă de Iosif al II-lea (6 martie 1786). De asemenea, este investigat impactul manualului iluministului român asupra literaturii contemporane (lucrările iluminiștilor Petru Maior, 1795 sau Gheorghe Șincai, 1815). Nu în ultimul rând, cercetarea evidențiază impactul disertației lui Micu asupra reglementării matrimoniale ulterioare din Transilvania, până la hotărârile conciliului provincial al Bisericii Române Unite Greco-Catolice din 1882.*

Cuvinte-cheie: *Căsătorie, reglementare, Biserica Greco-Catolică, Transilvania, Aufklärung.*

Introduction

We attempt to analyse how much modernity infiltrated into the mentality of Transylvanian Romanians and if and how it changed the dynamics of couple relationships, as they are reflected in many types of historical sources. We found an answer in this respect in the literature of the time and another one, yet sporadic and incomplete, in civil documents and in families' patrimonial disputes kept in archives. Both types of sources surprise us with love relationships more or less tolerated by a conservative society confronted with out-of-

the-box romantic interactions between young people of different confessions or ethnicities.¹ In addition, another less spectacular answer was offered by the long-awaited regulations on the civil marriage.

Within the limits of the intellectual achievements of the Austro-Hungarian Empire,² Hungarian and Romanian literature offer us a complex and appealing work about the various facets of love. Famous Hungarian and Romanian prose writers portrayed the way in which family and interethnic relations functioned in the neo-absolutist³ or dualist Transylvania, in *La Belle Époque*, in the Romanian rural environment,⁴ or in the Hungarian aristocratic urban milieu.⁵ Romanian literature is represented by novels written by Ioan Slavici (1848-1925), Liviu Rebreanu (1885-1944)⁶ or Ion Agârbiceanu (1882-1963); they satisfy – aesthetically, yet partially – our curiosity about passion, love, its stakes and dramas, and the way in which a marriage was concluded among Romanians and so on. It is significant to mention that this literature captured the authenticity of the world it described, which immediately inspired the Hungarian and Romanian filmmakers, who have adapted the abovementioned novels for the screen since the interwar period, except for the one written by Agârbiceanu.⁷ Fiction provides us with snapshots of stories that convey a certain typology, but not the rule of the everyday love and domestic life of the common Transylvanian Romanian. The novel *Mara* (1894),⁸ written by Slavici, describes the urban mentality, love and mixed marriage (between a Romanian woman and a Transylvanian Saxon) concluded in a fair in Lipova. In the novel *Ion* (1920), Rebreanu reconstructs the peasant life, love and family relationships in a Romanian rural environment, just as Agârbiceanu's long novel is an extraordinary work about the Romanian society during the Great War. Previous information about the couple relationship, conclusion and rules of marriage can be found in Enlightenment homiletics (*Prediche/ Sermons*, 1784) by Samuil Micu (1745-1806) and Petru Maior (1760-1821), the latter ones being published at the very beginning of the century in Buda (1809-1811).

In everyday reality, in the society of the “Old Regime”, things were kept in check by the Church. It took the task of imposing social convenience and had the mission of monitoring the compliance with it. The Church was also responsible for and held a monopoly over the integration of the individual in the community. It was solely in charge with the regulations on people's civil life at all its essential moments: birth (baptism), couple and family relations (engagement, marriage, divorce), and death (funerals). Being the age when all the structures of the society converged towards the Church, we were concerned with the way in which the Greek Catholic confessional identity was structured, expressed and consolidated in relation to *otherness* – Orthodox and Roman Catholics – particularly regarding marriage regulations⁹. This is the essential aspect approached by *polyhistor* Samuil Micu¹⁰ in his work, *De matrimonio*, written in Vienna, in 1781.¹¹ Starting from this

¹ Ioan Bolovan and Marius Eppel, “Churches and Interfaith Marriages în Transylvania: from 1895 to te present”, in *Intermarriage throughout History*, eds. Luminița Dumănescu and Daniela Mârza and Marius Eppel (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014), 259-283; Mihaela Grancea, “Solution of a Moral Crisis in Dobârca (Dobring), a Community in South-East Transylvania. Considerations on a “Judgment Protocol” (Pfarrämtliches Gerichts-Protocoll, 1840)”, in *Transylvania in the Eighteenth Century. Aspects of Regional Identity*, eds. Laura Stanciu and Cosmin Popa-Gorjanu (Cluj-Napoca: Mega 2013), 141-157; Olga Lukács, “Power and Consciousness in Confessional Controversies: Calvinist - Catholic relations in Transylvania”, in *Transylvania in the Eighteenth Century*, 124-138; Gheorghe Șișeștean, „Căsătorii interconfesionale și construcții identitare la sfârșitul secolului al XIX-lea și începutul secolului XX (cazul orașului Șimleu Silvaniei)” in *În căutarea fericirii: viața familială în spațiul românesc în sec. XVIII–XX*, eds. Ioan Bolovan and Diana Covaci and Daniela Deteșan (Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2010), 111-146.

² Michael Pollak, *Viena 1900. O identitate pierdută*, Translation by Camelia Fetița (Iași: Polirom 1998), 181-190; Carl E. Schorske, *Viena fin-de-siècle. Politică și cultură*, Translation by Claudia Ioana Doroholschi and Ioana Ploșteanu (Iași: Polirom 1998), XXIV-XXVI; William M. Johnston *Spiritul Vienei. O istorie intelectuală și socială 1848-1938*, Translated by Magda Teodorescu (Iași: Polirom 2000), 417-420.

³ Mór Jókai, *Săracii bogați*, Translation by Gabriela Leoveanu (Cluj-Napoca: House of the Book of Science 2015), *passim*.

⁴ Ioan Agârbiceanu, *Opere*, vol. VII, ed. Ilie Rad, (București: Academia Română, 2017), *passim*.

⁵ Miklós Bánffy, *Trilogia Transilvană*, Translated by Marius Tabacu, Foreword by Marta Petreu, Introductory study and glossary by Lucian Nastasă - Kovács, vol. I-III (București: Tracus Arte 2019), *passim*.

⁶ Liviu Rebreanu, „Ion”, *Opere*, Mircea Coloșenco and Ilderim Rebreanu ed., Preface by Eugen Simion (București: Fundația pentru Cultură și Artă, vol. I, 2001), *passim*.

⁷ Ioan Agârbiceanu, *Vremuri și oameni. Lumea nouă* (București, 1943).

⁸ Ion Slavici, *Mara* (Cartex Printing Press, 2000), *passim*.

⁹ Bolovan and Eppel, “Churches and Interfaith Marriages”, 259-283; Grancea, “Solution of a Moral Crisis”, 141-157; Lukács, “Power and Consciousness”, 124-138; Șișeștean, „Căsătorii interconfesionale”, 111-146.

¹⁰ Pompiliu Teodor, *Sub semnul Luminilor: Samuil Micu* (Cluj-Napoca: CUP 2000), *passim*.

¹¹ Samuil Micu, *Disertația canonică despre căsătorie după învățătura bisericii greco-orientale*, ed. Andreea Mârza, Preface by pr. Cristian Barta, Historical study by Laura Stanciu, Theological study by pr. William Bleiziffer, Translation from Latin by Andreea Mârza, Transcription of the Cyrillic text by Mihai-Alin Gherman, Bibliography, indexes by Andreea Mârza (Cluj-Napoca/Alba Iulia: Mega/National Museum of Union Printing Press 2024), *passim*.

dissertation, we focus on the way in which the Greek-Catholic elite viewed marriage from the Religious Union of 1701 to the First Vatican Council from 1870.¹² Practically, it was only by the decisions of the provincial synod (5-14 May 1872)¹³ that the Romanian Uniate Church regulated matrimonial matters for the first time, under the supervision and with the consent of the Holy See. Of course, the marriage of priests or the possibility to dissolve a marriage in the case of parishioners defined Romanians' identity in relation to their fellow Transylvanians of other ethnicity and Roman Catholic confession (Hungarians, Szeklers).

However, we cannot limit the discussion to this first aspect during an age when the state authority involved itself in the building of a modern nation at all levels, including the family. As such, during Joseph II's time of enlightened Absolutism, the issue of marriage had profound social implications, civil resonance, and implicit social and political reverberations. It became part of the civil pedagogy and symbol of the relationship between citizen and authority during a time when the traditional culture of the local communities intersected with the dominant administrative culture of the state. The situation was the result of Vienna's ambition to provide a legal framework meant to guarantee social discipline and optimal regulation of family life, i.e. the unquestioned ideals of *Aufklärung*. The pragmatic Aulic administration linked these desiderata directly to the urgent need for uniformity and social modernization of a vast and complex empire.

The Game of Mirrors: Greek Catholics face to face with *other* Transylvanian Romanians. The Roots

From a canonical point of view, Samuil Micu elaborated his work at the congruence of Transylvanian Romanians' Eastern (Greek) tradition with the Western (Latin) one. Its emergence was facilitated by the Viennese political and cultural climate, where the program of the Counter-Reformation (with the amalgamation of its movements, such as Febronianism, Jansenism, or Gallicanism)¹⁴ met Habsburg Reformism. Therefore, even though Micu's text was presenting to the public one of the Mysteries of the Eastern Church for the first time, his work had much broader and complex implications in its time. It conveyed an unequivocal Febronian message about the unity of the Christian faith, validated precisely by the local expression of the various rites; this message needed to be correlated with the identity of the Greek-Catholic people. In fact, it is for the first time when we can talk about the expression without complexes of a perfect canonically valid Eastern identity which manifested itself by means of the tradition of marriage. From Samuil Micu's perspective, the issue of marriage was an integral part of Eastern specificity in the Catholic world, but, at the same time, it was also considered a fundamental episode of the Union and of the integration of the Uniate Romanian Church into the universal Catholic one. Micu used the sacrament of marriage for a subtle plea for Christian unity – implicitly, for the unity in diversity of the Church, of Catholic universality. As such, capitalizing on the predominantly Febronian atmosphere in the Viennese academic environment subject to the Enlightenment effervescence, Micu expressed the pragmatic and theological vision of an *Aufklärer*. He was convinced of the need to modernize matrimonial regulations demanded by everyday life, yet within the canonical limits nourished by the Eastern patristic tradition. However, at the same time, he considered that *the mystery* of marriage – as well as its civil component – were about Romanians' social cohesion (Orthodox and Greek-Catholics) within the multi-ethnic and multiconfessional Transylvanian Principality.

Over time, the issue of marriage has been an occasion for reproaches and accusations against Romanians. Edifying testimonies in this regard have been preserved since the completion of the Religious Union (1700). Divorce and bigamy were also described in the testimonies of the time, and they were considered intolerable by Catholics; however, these practices enjoyed mitigating circumstances provided by the Latin Church, being attributed to the evil Calvinist influence. In 1702, for example, Jesuit Freyberger discovered a generalized corruption among the clergy in Romanian communities: its members granted the divorce in exchange for money, a practice that needed to be corrected¹⁵. Moreover, a similar snapshot of the situation

¹² Nicolae Bocşan, Ion Cârja, *Biserica Română Unită la Conciliul Ecumenic Vatican I*. Translation of texts from Latin by Alexander Baumgarten (Cluj-Napoca: Cluj University Press 2001), *passim*.

¹³ Laura Stanciu, *Istoria Bisericii Române Unite din Transilvania prin sinoadele sale (1782-1900)*. Ediție de documente/Az erdélyi görögkatolikus egyház története zsinatai tükrében (1782-1900), *Dokumentumok*. Selection of documents, introductory study, notes, and annexes by Laura Stanciu, Introduction by Gábor Adriányi, Abstract in English by Keith Hitchins, DVD included (Budapest: MTA Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont Történettudományi Intézet 12, 2017), 43-45, 90-91, 106-114, 569-609.

¹⁴ Teodor, *Sub semnul Luminilor*, 282.

¹⁵ Andreas Freyberger, *Historica Relatio Unions Walachicae cum Romana Ecclesia*, Romanian version and introductory study by Ioan Chindriş (Cluj-Napoca: Clusium 1996), 38-39.

was taken by Cardinal Leopold von Kollonich in a letter sent to the Sacred Congregation *de Propaganda Fide*, on 28 April 1701. The cardinal spoke of the existence in Transylvania of schismatic bishops who issued marriage dispensations for a fee, gave their consent to divorce and even bigamy, and treated the attribution of the sacraments arbitrarily; thus there were men who - by episcopal agreement - had two or three wives¹⁶. Kollonich noticed another serious problem of morality even among the Transylvanian priesthood: some priests were functioning even after they had got married for the second time.¹⁷

Thus, in order to eradicate the deviations of the clergy, ten years later (in October 1711), bishop Athanasius issued a disciplinary order based on the synod of the Uniate Romanian Church: “[...] priests married for the second time should refrain from celebration, otherwise they will be punished”,¹⁸ and divorce cases were to be judged from then on by the synod, just like it had already happened within the Catholic Church. The Uniate clerical elite considered that this was the solution meant to abolish those customs and to end the deviation from the canons, even if documents of the time attested that this practice was preserved throughout the entire 18th century.¹⁹

The Church presented the matrimonial sacrament and regulated marriage by means of the instruments it had at its disposal. For the era we make reference to, the three levels of the ecclesiastical institution were: the teaching (catechisms, sermons, treatises), regulation (decisions of the synod that once codified became norms/ legislation) and administration (canonical visitations, followed by circulars/ episcopal ordinances). If the sermons and catechisms had a wider audience, their aim being that of presenting and popularizing the dogma, canon law dissertations were intended for priests and specialists interested in explaining the theological subtleties, and this involved the logical, structured, and argued presentation of the canon. Treaties were necessary and used when the clerical elite was called in the synod to codify or legislate one aspect or another, so that it could then be administered according to the canonical norm. Of course, the verification of a correct implementation of the canon in the territory was linked to the administration of the sacrament. The bishop's role was that of ensuring that the teaching/ canon became the social norm. For this purpose, various canonical visitations were organized - one of the bishop's main duties – and followed by the issuance of circulars meant to correct the violation of the canons. The stake of an ordinance was to present the norm correctly; yet, the act contained instructions for its implementation, with the aim of disseminating the canonical regulation in the territory. Obviously, the provisions of the episcopal circular became mandatory for the priests, and had to be put into practice within each parish. This was the effective mechanism by means of which the family life of the Transylvanian Romanian parishioner functioned until the State intervened to manage this essential aspect of the daily life, for the benefit of the modern citizen. Needless to say, Joseph II used all the experience provided by the Church.

Matrimonial regulations for the Transylvanian Greek Catholics

In its turn, Micu's dissertation had its roots in the canonical literature up to that time dealing with the topic of marriage. During the same years of the Religious Union the catechism *Pâinea pruncilor sau învățătura credinții creștinești* (*Bread of the Infants or the Teaching of the Christian Faith*) (1702) by Jesuit Iosif Baranny was printed in Alba Iulia. It introduced the *Catholic* line (stipulated by the Council of Trento); this line had to be followed by the Romanian Church in Transylvania in matrimonial matters from that point on: i.e. the unequivocal indissolubility of marriage.²⁰ The exception could be tolerated only if there were sexual relations, and then divorce was not accepted; it was allowed, however, if these relations had not been

¹⁶ Gábor Adriányi, „Date privind istoria Bisericii Române Unite din Transilvania 1692-1920”, in Stanciu, *Istoria Bisericii Române*, 34, 36.

¹⁷ Vasile Bărbat, „Teologul” episcopului și al Bisericii Române Unite (1701-1773), Translated from Italian by Irina - Cristina Mărginean, introductory study, notes, and edited by Laura Stanciu (București: Vremea, 2023), 153-154.

¹⁸ Bărbat, „Teologul” episcopului, 209.

¹⁹ Laura Stanciu, „Căsătorie, moralitate și condiția femeii în viziunea Școlii Ardelene”, *Apulum*, XXXIV (1997): 385-395; *Despre Biserica românilor din Transilvania. Documente externe (1744-1754)*, eds. Laura Stanciu, Keith Hitchins, Daniel Dumitran (Cluj-Napoca: Mega, 2009), 139, 146.

²⁰ Ovidiu Ghitta, „Pâinea pruncilor-context istoric, discurs și mize”, *Pâinea pruncilor sau Învățătura credinții creștinești, strînsă în mică șumă* written in short questions and answers in Hungarian by venerable Pater Boroneai Laslo, Parish Priest of the Catholic Church in Alba Iulia, and translated into Romanian Language by Duma Ianășu from Bărbantși in 1702 A.D, ed. Florina Ilis, Historical study by Ovidiu Ghitta, Philological study by Florina Ilis (Cluj-Napoca: Argonaut, 2008), 21, 60, 68, 70.

consummated.²¹

The next generation of Uniate people, formed in the intellectual atmosphere of the Counter-Reformation, in the Jesuit colleges of the time which built the identity of Transylvanian Greek-Catholics by means of Gherontie Cotore's catechism (1746), did not hesitate to condemn, within the context of the confrontation with Orthodoxy, the Greek/Oriental habit of granting divorce.²² But this generation of theologians, as it could have been seen in 1755, in *Învățătură creștinească prin întrebări și răspunsuri pentru procopseala școalelor* (*Christian Education through Questions and Answers for the Benefit of the Schools*) returned to respecting Eastern law. This position was also reiterated in the Latin version, *Doctrina christiana*, in 1757. For them, marriage remained a Sacrament of the Church, yet, they did not mention the "eternal validity" of marriage (fundamental for the Catholic Church), thus implicitly admitting the possibility of divorce. The same opinion was again promoted in the collective work *Dogmatica Învățătură a Bisericii Răsăritului* (*The Dogmatic Teaching of the Church of the East*)²³. Instead, in *Învățătură creștinească prin întrebări și răspunsuri* (*Christian Education through Questions and Answers*) (1755), it was for the first time when the fundamental social component of marriage was emphasized, this being "a sacred society [my emphasis] instituted by a man and a woman."²⁴

The student and disciple of Gherontie Cotore and follower of Jansenism, Samuil Micu, exposed the identity value of marriage in an original way. He found in it not only an opportunity to present a sacrament but also the possibility to show to the Habsburg State the capacity of the clergy's involvement in the modernization of Transylvanian society. At the level of the Uniate elite, it was implicitly something about the assumption of a useful dialogue between Church, society and State referring to one of the most important and moral aspects of the everyday life. There were therefore enough reasons for Micu (who had been recently appointed prefect of studies at *Sancta Barbara*) to dedicate a distinct work written in Febronian key concerning the matrimonial issue. It was an illustration of the pragmatic identity theology, a canonical treatise written in Latin, in a cosmopolitan Vienna marked by Joseph II's Reformism. Of course, the writing of the dissertation was encouraged by a favourable circumstance brought by the nobility's efforts to civilly regulate the institution of marriage, using the emotion of the moment as instrument of sociability and control of the social inclusion of each individual. The Basilian monk, indisputably a civic intellectual,²⁵ was financed by the state for such a translation, precisely to present and explain without any inhibitions the peculiarity of the Greek-Catholic tradition related to this sacrament, along with the way in which the Uniates understood this Sacrament, unlike the Catholics. The dissertation was a plea for the preservation of this individuality in the Catholic family, and it proves the patristic training of a theologian with a strong and concrete commitment at social level.

Micu's presentation follows two implicit plans - that of the layman and that of the cleric - from the engagement procession to the marriage, dealing with all the aspects related to the ceremony of the conclusion or dissolution of marriages. The explanation of the sacrament was also significant, i.e. the conditions that had to be fulfilled to conclude a marriage and the obstacles that stood in the way of its conclusion. Of course, the specific Eastern arguments regarding the marriage among clerics, as well as the one regarding the dissolution of laymen's marriage or remarriage were thoroughly argued. The author resorts to various patristic or Latin scholastic references. In addition to the patristic, canonical (Byzantine and Latin) or historical sources, Micu cited from the literature of the Counter-Reformation (Febronian, Gallican, and Jansenism) which was for or against the divorce accepted by the Easterners.

Micu's exposition persisted and systematically presented the reasons for divorce: the kinship not signalled out until the conclusion of the sacrament - hence, the reason for shouts in the church on three consecutive Sundays - and other factors that were leading to the dissolution of sacrament: (previous and permanent) insanity, alcoholism, kidnapping, coercion, (incurable) impotence/ sterility, infidelity (fornication, adultery), or violence. But the sentences regarding the marriages and legalization of the situation of children born from

²¹ Cristian Barta, *Tradiție și dogmă. Percepția dogmatică a Unirii cu Roma în operele teologilor greco-catolici secolele XVIII-XIX* (Blaj: Buna Vestire, 2003), 40.

²² Gherontie Cotore, *Despre articușurile ceale de price*, ed. Laura Stanciu, Preface by Iacob Mârza (Alba Iulia, 2000), 79.

²³ Laura Stanciu and Ana Maria Roman Negoii, „Reglementările matrimoniale în Transilvania celei de a doua jumătăți a secolului al XVIII-lea.”, *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie "A.D. Xenopol"*, tome XXXVIII (2001): 117.

²⁴ Barta, *Tradiție și dogmă*, 61.

²⁵ Laura Stanciu, „Un portret al unui iluminist român din Transilvania: Petru Maior (1760-1821)”, *Memoriile Secției de Științe Istorie și Arheologie a Academiei Române*, series V, tome XL (2021): 109-128.

those marriages had to be brought before the ecclesiastical courts in such a way that the case had to be started at the tribunal of the synod. That was the reason why Micu insisted on the broad issue regarding the judicial courts – main courts (the synod of the archpriests and the diocesan/episcopal superior one) and courts of appeal (the metropolitan synod of Esztergom and, later on, the archdiocesan one in Blaj) - in the case of laymen's divorce. These courts were empowered by the Church to dissolve the sacrament (to grant the divorce), precisely so that in strongly motivated, completely exceptional situations, the remarriage of widows or women, especially of those with husbands in prison for a long time, to be accepted (three times maximum). [Of course, reality and economic and social constraints forced Maria Theresa to give her consent to the fourth remarriage as well, a norm accepted by the Transylvanian Orthodox Church, as we can see in the Ordinance of Bishop Ghedeon Nichitici, issued on April 12, 1787].²⁶ Micu gave due space and arguments to the enduring debate about the marriage of priests in Eastern tradition and even to the extraordinary situations of divorce among them. The thorny debate about the celibacy of the higher clergy²⁷ and priests' bigamy were not omitted either.

The proof of the impact of Micu's dissertation on the Romanian canonical literature in Transylvania was the resumption of his vision. In short time, his text was popularized by the canonical literature of the time (Petru Maior and Gheorghe Șincai); it was also used for codification, for issuing church and civil legislation (Joseph II's decree and Bob's episcopal circular). We detect many obvious similarities between the dissertation and the decree in terms of content, but there were also inevitable differences. The recourse to Micu's text in the Uniate Romanian Church can be traced back to the second half of the 19th century.

The dissertation gives us the opportunity to understand points of contact and similarities with the vision of his contemporaries, along with the way in which Micu's conception was individualized among his disciples and close friends. For example, almost a decade after Joseph II's Marriage Patent (6 March 1786) and after ten years of experience as a parish priest in Magyar-Reghin (1795), Petru Maior reaffirmed the position of his teacher. Maior took up the debate regarding the Eastern specificity of the matrimonial tradition preserved in the Uniate Romanian Church in *Protopopadichia*. The quintessentially secular view on marriage of both Micu and Maior, according to which marriage is "bargain or contract" elevated by "Lord Christ [...] to the rank of a mystery",²⁸ is undoubtedly influenced by Josephinism, in the context in which, since 1786, Joseph II had entrusted the civil authorities with the exclusive control of marriages, limiting the powers of the Church in this field. Equally, Maior thus clearly demarcated himself from the Catholic view according to which divorce was not admitted. Both authors (Micu and Maior) condemned the attempts to impose it in the Uniate Church, and appealed to the Byzantine legislation, the New Testament, and the patristic literature to demonstrate the right of the Easterners to preserve their own customs. Following the precepts of Counter-Reformation and those of his teacher, Maior accepted and validated both models for the sacrament of marriage, i.e. the Catholic model and the Orthodox one, considering marriage as being divisible²⁹. The differences between their visions were only connected with the concrete performance of the marriage ceremony and divorce.

Contrary to Micu and Maior, Gheorghe Șincai view marriage as a Sacrament but remained anchored in the traditionalist view of the Church³⁰. For this reason, Șincai accepted only adultery as a reason for divorce,³¹ placing himself on a more conservative position, particularly if we compare his view with Micu's and Maior's, who embraced the Eastern Church position, which was based on the Byzantine legislation,³² and admitted a wide range of reasons for the dissolution of a marriage: adultery, shameful behaviour, ill-treatment, absence from home, the condemnation of a spouse for conspiracy, theft, lying, murder,³³ etc.. In the enumeration and development of the reasons leading to divorce, Micu - unlike Maior³⁴ - investigated the

²⁶ Laura Stanciu, „Căsătorie, moralitate și condiția femeii în viziunea Școlii Ardelene”, *Apulum*, XXXIV (1997): 390.

²⁷ Sorin Mitu, „Celibăt ecleziastic și moravuri clericale”, in Sorin Mitu, *Transilvania mea. Istorie, mentalități, identități* (Iași: Polirom, 2006), 186-188.

²⁸ Petru Maior, *Protopopadichia*, ed. Laura Stanciu, Preface by Pompiliu Teodor (Alba Iulia, 1998), 129.

²⁹ Maior, *Protopopadichia*, 161.

³⁰ Gheorghe Șincai, *Adunarea dogmelor credinții cu însemnări de folos pentru cei ce sunt în trebile sufletești pe scurt așezată la anul 1815* (The Library of the Romanian Academy, Cluj-Napoca Branch, Ro. MS. 493) 2v-3r, and 223v-224r.

³¹ Șincai, *Adunarea dogmelor*, 226r-v.

³² Maior, *Protopopadichia*, 147-154.

³³ Maior, *Protopopadichia*, 148.

³⁴ Maior, *Protopopadichia*, 154.

causes for which “the woman separates from staying together with her man”³⁵ differently. Both authors insisted on presenting the attributions of the judicial forums in case of dissolution of marriage.³⁶ Through the thorough analysis he made, Micu managed to question, in the subtext, the moral values and principles to which his contemporaries related. We found this model in Maior's *Protopopadichia* as well, both authors being undoubtedly influenced by the readings from Jansenism and Gallicanism in the respective field.

The relationship between State and Church to modernize marriage regulations

Beyond libraries, books, meetings, and personalities, Vienna and, implicitly, The Sancta Barbara College, created a stimulating atmosphere fuelled by the ideal of the smooth Light of knowledge, the efficient path to emancipation discovered by Romanians living there.

With the Religious Union, Vienna obtained and received the goodwill of an influential elite with whom it collaborated, working together to implement Habsburg policies. The priest, as a state official, turned into an agent of social modernization. Eloquent examples in this respect are given by the homiletics – and especially by *Predichele (Sermons)* written by Micu and Maior's *Propovedanii, Didahii, Prediche* – works that proved to be an effective way of propagating and disseminating matrimonial regulations in society. Hence the relevance of the collaboration between Church and State both as far as the moral uplift of the community and modernization of the lives of the Transylvanian Romanians and the Transylvanian society, in general, are concerned.

If in the case of homiletics examples can be countless, the effective collaboration between the Church and State for social modernization is evident at the moment when marriages pass from the jurisdiction of Church to the control of the State. The Imperial officials who drafted Joseph II's patent must have known and followed the issues presented and argued by the Romanian Enlightenment priest.

Being a sign of the discipline and functioning of a modern state through applied regulation appropriate to local realities, the patent issued by Joseph II - published in Romanian version in Vienna, on March 6, 1786 - was based on Micu's canonical dissertation on marriage written in Romanian language with Cyrillic characters. Even some wordings from the Romanian version of Joseph II's patent coincide with some passages from Micu's handbook (1782). If the initial making of *the* dissertation in Romanian was most likely linked to its use in the Greek-Catholic formative theological institutes of the time in the Empire (Blaj, Oradea), later on, Micu received funding to translate the treatise into Latin. Then, it saw the light of printing in 1781, at the prestigious printing house of Joseph Kurzbeck. In relation to Micu's canonical treatise, Joseph II's systematization of marriage regulations gained, by its clarifying nature, transparency, and administrative norm. Joseph II's Patent indicates the triumph of the state authority over the Church as far as the civil regulation of the sacrament is concerned. It established, in 66 articles, various courts, procedures, and sanctions regarding all the aspects related to marriage: engagement, validity of marriage, the temporary separation, divorce, the fate of the children, and marriage property after divorce. The systematic and unitary nature of the view on marriage that the Enlightenment-Age priest proved in his logical and rational dissertation makes us believe that he inspired the Imperial officials to conceive and organize their normative act. We make reference to the provisions related to the shouts in the church prior to the conclusion of marriage, the enumeration and acceptance of the causes of divorce, as well as the competent courts in the case of dissolution of marriage³⁷ and Joseph II 2021, 30-32, 33 -37).³⁸

For an effective dissemination and implementation in Transylvanian Greek-Catholic communities, the imperial patent was followed by the episcopal circular issued by Ioan Bob (12 June 1786) which contained - in its annex - the ordinance issued by the Government of Transylvania including five items (12 May 1786). Bob's circular was based on Micu's dissertation; even if he did not mention it, he made reference to “royal orders” regarding the observance of the three shouts prior to the conclusion of the sacrament, the conditions for perfecting interfaith marriages, just like he did in his previous circular (May 1785).³⁹ Bishop Bob brought

³⁵ Micu, *Disertația canonică*, 243-244.

³⁶ Micu, *Disertația canonică*, 173-190 and Maior, *Protopopadichia*, 157-160.

³⁷ Micu, *Disertația canonică*, 184-187.

³⁸ As a matter of fact, see S. Micu, *Despre căsătorie*, ch. 31, ch. 50-61 in parallel with Joseph II, *Rânduiala căsătoriilor (1786)*, ed. Cornelia Popa-Gorjanu, (Cluj-Napoca: Mega, 2021) ch. 31-35, p. 30-32, ch. 42-60, p. 33-37.

³⁹ Stanciu and Roman Negoi, „Reglementările matrimoniale”, 113-115.

the patent issued in March to the attention of the clergy, and made additional clarifications regarding the powers and attributions of the church judicial courts.⁴⁰ It verified the implementation of Joseph II's patent in the territory and came to pragmatically adjust the violations of both ecclesiastical and secular jurisprudence. Similar steps were taken in relation to Transylvanian Orthodox communities, as it was emphasized in the circulars issued by Bishop Ghedeon Nichitici (1784-1787).⁴¹ Of course, the purpose of these episcopal ordinances was precisely that of displacing any violation of the canons related to marriage and of ensuring the implementation of the recent civil legislation, agreed upon by the local and central administrative authorities, precisely because Joseph II's regulations harmonized the church jurisprudence with society's need to modernize the institution of marriage, a *sine qua non* condition for social progress.⁴²

Most provisions stipulated in Bishop Bob's circular were maintained by his successors and can be found in the discussions of the synod held by Bishop Ioan Lemeni together with his collaborators at the synod meeting held in Blaj (3/15 July 1833), even if after the death of Joseph II, the Transylvanian Government abrogated the patent issued in 1786, restoring to the two Romanian Churches some prerogatives in relation to marriage. The members of the synod also codified in this respect, harmonizing the civil legislation (the decree issued by Emperor Francis II, in 1792, was repeated in the Austrian civil code in 1811, 1815) with the ecclesiastical one.⁴³ We noticed that the same attitude - yet with greater attention paid to the morality of clergy and parishioners - was preserved in the decisions made by the synod on October 22, 1869.⁴⁴ In fact, throughout the entire 19th century, the assimilation of the secular civil legislation into the Church and its adaptation to the specifics of the Uniate Eastern Church were systematically sought, leading to the consolidation and modernization of marriage.

The concern for the preservation of tradition and the autonomy of the Uniate Romanian Church in relation to the Roman Catholic Church and the State is evident in the coherent regulation that the Uniate clerical elite made at the episcopal and provincial synods on marriage (1701, 1702, 1732, 1734, 1742, 1754, 1833, 1889, 1872, 1882, and 1896), with its identity accents related to the oriental discipline (the conclusion and dissolution of marriage), and to the maintenance of the Eastern specificity for the married priest (1872).

The Concordat of 1855 between the Vatican and Austria brought several changes in the functioning of church judicial courts, with repercussions on the acceptance and settlement of the cases of divorce. Thus, in 1859, the Holy See transferred the adjudication of marriage cases to the Metropolitan Church of Blaj (Făgăraș), considering that, in Esztergom, the adjudication of the appeal, in the case of marriage, was treated in accordance with the Catholic canon law. Moreover, marriages were not cancelled under the pretext of adultery, as it happened in the Orthodox and Uniate Romanian Church. This was precisely the reason for repeated clarifying discussions between the judgment seats in Rome and the metropolitan one in Blaj.

On the occasion of the debates held around 1872 and 1882 (the provincial synods), the issue of marriage regulations was resumed extensively. Alexandru Șterca Șuluțiu, Iosif Papp Szilagyí or Ioan Rațiu expressed their convictions related to matrimony, revealing the differences in opinion existing in the Uniate Church between the Eastern group and the Latin one, as far as this fundamental aspect of Transylvanian family life is concerned.⁴⁵ However, it must be stated that the dominant discussions of the time (1855-1872) were those related to the organization and canonical law specific to the Eastern Catholic Church, the regulations regarding the maintenance of the specificity and role of the synod in the leadership of the Church, the attributions of bishops and deacons in the Church, the maintenance of the role of the laity in the leadership of the Church, along with the regulations concerning the marriage of priests.

Relevantly, this is how we can explain why there are differences between the printed formulas of the decrees of the synod (1882) and their manuscript version concluded during the provincial synod (1872). For

⁴⁰ Stanciu and Roman Negoii, „Reglementările matrimoniale”, 109-110, 113.

⁴¹ Stanciu, „Căsătorie, moralitate”, 385-395; Stanciu and Roman Negoii, „Reglementările matrimoniale”, 15-116.

⁴² For the way in which the ecclesiastical and civil provisions on the matter were respected within the territory, see the circumscribed analysis of the Archdiocese of Gurghiu in the end of the 18th century (Laura Stanciu, „Modelul maiorean și realitățile oferite de protopopiatul Gurghiu - Reghin în perioada 1785-1809”, in *Spiritualitate românească și istorie europeană*, eds. Iacob Mârza, Iacob & Ana Dumitran (Alba Iulia: Bibliotheca Musei Apulensis, 11, 1998), 348-363.

⁴³ Stanciu and Roman Negoii, „Reglementările matrimoniale”, 121; Stanciu, *Istoria Bisericii Române*, 489-490.

⁴⁴ Stanciu, *Istoria Bisericii Române*, 564-566.

⁴⁵ Lucian Turcu, „Familia greco-catolică românească: reperele identității confesionale”, in *În căutarea fericirii: viața familială în spațiul românesc în sec. XVIII-XX*, eds. Ioan Bolovan, and Diana Covaci and Daniela Deteșan (Cluj-Napoca: Cluj University Press, 2010): 78-81 and Stanciu, *Istoria Bisericii Române*, 41-44.

example, if in title V, ch. VIII, the imposition of the indissolubility of matrimony was not succeeded, the “prevention” of mixed marriages was introduced (ch. IX) and clarifications regarding the summary instruction in matrimonial cases were also added (title X, ch. II). At the provincial synod of 1882, the Eastern canonical codification of matrimony (title IV, ch. I-IV) and the functioning of ecclesiastical tribunals (titles IV-V) were also maintained. Almost two hundred years after the completion of the religious Union, the correspondence preserved from that age demonstrated the determination of the Uniate ecclesiastical elite to continue campaigning for the preservation of Eastern matrimonial regulations (the marriage of priests, courts of law in case of divorce, the implicit acceptance of divorce by the laymen in case of adultery). With just as much determination, we note Rome's persistent will to impose regulations specific to the Western canon law. The result of the confrontation is the annex to the publication of the decrees of this synod, where we can find *the instructions of the Holy Office addressed to all the Eastern Rite Catholic Churches regarding matrimonial cases*, or the text of a pontifical instruction (1883) regarding the same. The rules for the functioning of matrimonial courts were specified here, as well as the different types of impediments to divorce.⁴⁶

Conclusions: Retrospective and Prospective

Samuil Micu's text published in 1781 reveals the ease of a thorough and refined connoisseur of both Eastern and Western theological traditions, but also a passionate scholar about the identity phenomenon expressed through the matrimonial sacrament. The deepening of the subject and the passion for the faithful, accurate, reproduction of this identity can only be found a century later in the canon Ioan Micu Moldovan. In his capacity as notary of the synod of 1872, the future papal prelate managed to include all the discussions related to this phenomenon in the drafting of the minutes of the provincial synod.⁴⁷

How convincingly Micu structured and explained the problematic of “Eastern marriage” can be seen from the impact his work had in that age: the debates it sparked and the circulation of the Romanian version of the work.⁴⁸ We know about the existence of two copies so far. One of them, incomplete, is preserved at the Library of the Romanian Academy, Cluj-Napoca Branch (Ro. MS. 413) - the only one which entered the scientific circuit until recently. A fragment of another copy was found at the Library of the National Museum of Union in Alba Iulia (Old Ro. Book 340). We owe the situation of the second manuscript (identification, description) to the recent documentation made by Professor Eva Mârza.⁴⁹

Since every marriage was a community celebration, the immediate social utility of the dissertation was inextricably linked to the Imperial concern to remove marriages from the exclusive jurisdiction of the Church and to regulate the matter civilly. It was the opportunity that Vienna did not lose, i.e. that of delicately imposing its dominant and homogenising culture to the most remote communities within the Empire. Thus, between 1781 and 1787 we have seventeen official documents printed in Romanian that dealt with the matrimonial regime, twelve of them being issued by the Imperial Chancery. Other ones belonged to the gubernatorial or episcopal administration (Ioan Bob, Ghedeon Nichitici) of Transylvania,⁵⁰ while the latter were what we would call today norms for the application of Viennese legislation.

The attention – or, we would even say the pedantry - towards the issue of marriage led S. Micu to write this treatise in two versions from the very beginning. The first edition, probably intended for the Greek-Catholic schools, was in Romanian; afterwards, it was conceived in Latin, as its author tells us.⁵¹ A noteworthy aspect is that copies of the dissertation written in Romanian language with Cyrillic characters, prior to the Latin text, had not been kept since then. Of course, the publication of the Latin version in Vienna, in *princeps* edition (1781), was financed in the context of the preparation of Joseph II's regulations in the field. The Latin version was addressed to fellow Catholic theologians, or, we could even say, to the academic world

⁴⁶ Stanciu, *Istoria Bisericii Române*, 106-108, 113, 489-490.

⁴⁷ Stanciu, *Istoria Bisericii Române*, 594-595, 601-602, and 607-608.

⁴⁸ Micu's work has remained a benchmark in the field, being used until now, its usefulness being proven around the time of the Second Vatican Council as well (Alphonse Raes S.J., *Le mariage, sa célébration et sa spiritualité dans les Églises d'Orient* (Paris: Éditions de Chevetogne, 1958), *passim*).

⁴⁹ Eva Mârza, „Samuil Micu, *Dissertatio canonica de matrimonio* într-o variantă manuscrisă în limba română din secolul XVIII”, *Petru Maior și prietenii*. Proceedings of the National Symposium held in Reghin (September 11-12, 2020), ed. Laura Stanciu (Cluj-Napoca: Mega, 2021): 30-32.

⁵⁰ Cornelia Popa-Gorjanu, “Introductory study”, in Joseph II, *Rânduiala căsătoriilor*, 10-11.

⁵¹ Micu, *Disertația canonică*, 102.

contemporary with the author. Thus, its content attracted the attention of the imperial administration, and the normative act won as far as regulations were concerned; it constituted a strong impulse in the direction of modernization: in the quality of couple relationships, women and child emancipation, improvements in the family's relation with the community. In fact, after the printing the Micu's Latin version of the treaty, in the following year (20 June 1782), the publication of the Romanian version was also approved,⁵² but it never saw the light of print.

Written with Cyrillic characters in Romanian, *Despre căsătorie (On Marriage)* (Vienna, 1782) was intended for the author's Transylvanian compatriots, in order to clarify, preserve, and respect the Eastern tradition of the Uniate Church. It was used in Blaj as a handbook for training Greek Catholic priests. The text circulated, most likely, taking the form of some notebooks, in various copies in Transylvania of that time, which may explain the non-existence of a complete Romanian version of his dissertation. It is important, however, that Micu's handbook thus became an integral part of the State's effort to build a modern citizenship within the Habsburg Empire, in one of its peripheral provinces.

Despre căsătorie had a twofold major quality that ensured its success during the age. It was a formative work, written in accordance with the entire Eastern tradition on marriage, which it confronted with Western literature on the topic, being equally coincident with the policy of the Habsburg reformism. Finally, when we evaluate the content of Micu's treaty, one must take into account that the need for social modernization generated solutions coming from the State. They were meant to regulate civil life, which simultaneously gave birth to frustrations within the Church since it was losing its control over society. Even if Samuil Micu embraced the Catholic Enlightenment, being a convinced *Aufklärer*, he remained a representative of the Greek-Catholic Church and the exponent of a clerical mentality of Eastern type. In his original synthesis, he relied on the systematization of the biblical, canonical, patristic, scholastic, and historical arguments, and cited contemporary theological literature, regardless of its orientation (Western or Eastern). Thus, by means of a canonical text *on marriage*, he managed to clearly and convincingly define the dogmatic identity of Greek Catholics within the great Catholic family, and also in relation to Orthodox communities, Roman Catholics or Reformed in the Habsburg Empire. Despite its apparently limited circulation, his thesis stood the test of time, and influenced Transylvanian Romanians' mentalities.

⁵² The Viennese censors who recommended the publication of the Romanian manuscript were Josef Hoffinger (1732-1794) and Alexander/Sándor Szekeres. In fact, the last one will approve the publication of the Romanian petition known as *Supplex* (1792), being investigated for his gesture.

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NICOLAE MINOVICI
THE MAN, DOCTOR, PHILANTHROPIST, FOUNDER AND COLLECTOR

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Abstract: *Through this work we set out to bring the personality of dr. Nicolae Minovici, who became an emblem of medicine but also of national culture, by illustrating a biography accentuated by the intellectual and cultural profile of man who became a symbol. A biography of Professor Nicolae or a history of the Minovici family is necessary in the current historiographical landscape by virtue of the fact that no such work has been written and published to date.*

Keywords: *Nicolae Minovici, forensic doctor, biography, founder of institutions, philanthropist.*

Rezumat: *Prin această lucrare ne-am propus să aducem în contemporaneitate personalitatea dr. Nicolae Minovici, devenit o emblemă a medicinei, dar și a culturii naționale, prin ilustrarea unei biografii accentuată de profilul intelectual și cultural al omului devenit simbol. O biografie a profesorului Nicolae sau o istorie a familiei Minovici este necesară în peisajul istoriografic actual în virtutea faptului că nu a fost redactată și publicată până în prezent o astfel de operă.*

Cuvinte cheie: *Nicolae Minovici, medic legist, biografie, ctitor de instituții, filantrop.*

Talking nowadays about the personality of the scientist Nicolae Minovici (**Fig. 1**) and the contribution that the Aromanian Minovici family had in the process of transforming Bucharest into the capital of Modern Romania is a great responsibility.

Through this approach, we set out to bring to contemporaneity his personality, which has become an emblem of medicine, but also of national culture by illustrating a biography accentuated by the intellectual and cultural profile of the man who has become a symbol. A biography of Professor Nicolae or a history of the Minovici family is necessary in the current historiographical landscape by virtue of the fact that no such work has been written and published to date. There are few who have leaned towards studying his life and work. These, whether historians or physicians, have touched in their works, studies or articles extremely little data, evocations that present his life and his striking activity. For this reason, this work comes to complete a page in our national history and culture by rendering, as complete as possible, the biography of the coroner but also developing the idea of collection, collector and founder of institutions in Romania, before World War I and during the interwar period.

Few are the researches developed at the beginning of the last century that include biographical data of both the three doctors and about the other family members. Among these works we mention the existence of a single biography dedicated to the three personalities entitled "Friars Minovici", signed by Nicolae Ioanid and Barbu Angelescu¹, a work that reviews, but in a laconic way, biographical data, studies, scientific and humanitarian activity.

The present work represents a tribute to the man, philanthropist, collector, founder and professor Nicolae Minovici, bringing it back to our memory, in a way that clarifies all his work and activity, in an era in which the progress gave a different connotation to the national values.

His intellectual profile and particularly varied cultural horizon become character traits, traits that during the first three decades of the 20th century gave him the title of "founder of institutions" not only in the medical field but also in the social and cultural field. So, we proposed that in this first part of the study to offer a biography that would present and bring to light the profile of an intellectual with a vast cultural horizon, as well as his national spirit highlighted in the work and legacy left to posterity, unknown in totality.

¹ Bogdan Angelescu, Nicolae Ioanid, *Frații Minovici*, (București: Științifică, 1970).

The ancestors of the Minovici family are part of the Balkan Romanity dispersed in the mountainous region that surrounded the small town of Tetovo², in the northwestern area of Macedonia, called today,

Macedonian Romanians, due to their territorial origin. The Aromanians here are also known as Macedonians or Armenians as they prefer to call themselves. They are also known as Vlahi or Olahi, a name given by the Turks.

The spread of the Aromanians in the Balkan Peninsula against the background of multiculturalism is indisputable. Besides the Thraco-Illyrian origin, they were also based on an influence resulting from the Romanization process, since starting from the 2nd century BC, Macedonia became a Roman province. In general, they knew how to preserve their identity and survive not only against the Slavic tribes with whom they made contact since the 6th century, but also against Ottoman rule, starting from the 15th century and which extended until the 20th century³.

At the beginning of the 19th century, with the outbreak of the first Serbian revolution in 1804, continuing with the Russo-Turkish War, between 1806-1812, and reaching the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913 and the World War I new states, such as Greece, Bulgaria, Serbia⁴ have been established.

Against this conflictual background generated both by the aggressiveness of Muslims of Albanian origin, who in 1789 destroyed their Moscopole shopping center, and by the Russo-Turkish war of 1806, the Aromanians migrated due to the activity of trade or transhumance, to the Romanian Countries. Thanks to the fact that Romania, especially the capital, was a favorable and attractive center for trade, the first waves of Aromanians begin to reach the Romanian territory. In this sense, communities were founded in centers such as Oradea, Beiuș, Cluj, Sibiu, Deva, Brașov, Craiova⁵.

In our approach, we managed to identify a special material about the history of minorities on the territory of our country, material from which we succeeded to identify other waves of Macedonian immigrants. Thus, in the first decades of the 19th century, around 1821, with the movement of Tudor Vladimirescu (1780-1821), another stage of Aromanians' migration took place. The following waves of Macedonians are brought after the Peasant Uprisings in Macedonia: from Neğuș in 1822, from Razlovți in 1876, Kresna in 1878; all these waves led to the organization of Macedonians in communities⁶.

This review of the Aromanian issue, from its origins to the first waves of immigrants on Romanian territory, was carried out to show their Romanian root, to emphasize once again that part of the elite in Wallachia had Aromanian roots and not least to show that Aromanians such as Metropolitan Andrei Șaguna, deputy Constantin Papanace and members of the Mocioni family, Minovici doctors, writers, linguists and many others contributed to the foundation of Modern Romania.

The first Aromanian ancestor of the Minovici family, the young Ștefan Mina - a cattle dealer - arrives on Romanian soil with the first waves of Macedonian immigrants, settling in Oltenia.

As the Serbian authorities were using a destructive way of "ethnic unification" – changing the names into a Serbian form -, Ștefan Mina's passport was issued with the name of Ștefan Minovici. This method has been used until the time of the second world conflagration where the traditional "ethnic unification by changing names was applied, without the consent of the respective persons"⁷. This "traditional" method of "ethnic unification by changing names was applied without the consent of the respective persons" and it has been used until the beginning of the second world conflagration.

In the biography dedicated to the three forensic doctors, their grandfather was thus characterized „an intelligent, lively and enterprising young Macedonian, cattle dealer, Ștefan, who from the first moment he stepped into Wallachia, was enchanted by the beauty of the country, with its rich and mundane herds and numerous herds of cattle, by its picturesque settlements and by the warm and benevolent welcome with which he was greeted everywhere. He felt like he was between brothers, especially since the language spoken by the locals was not much different from his. And so Ștefan decided to stay in these lands,

² Anastasie Hâciu, *Aromânii, Industrie, Arte, Expansiune, Civilizație* (Focșani: Tipografia Cartea Putnei, 1936), 609.

³ Ion Gherman, *România și românii din jurul ei* (București: Vreimea, 2003), 486.

⁴ Gheorghe Zbucea, *O istorie a românilor din Peninsula Balcanică, Secolele XVIII-XX*, (București: Biblioteca Bucureștilor, 1999), 228.

⁵ Th. Kahl, *Istoria Aromânilor*, (București: Tritonic, 2006), 119-121.

⁶ D. Dumitrescu, C. Căpiță, M. Manea, *Istoria minorităților naționale din România*, (București: Didactică și Pedagogică, 2008), 29.

⁷ N. Misăilă, *Ascendență*, (București: Biblioteca Bucureștilor, 2010), 37.

considering that here were favorable conditions for his business”⁸.

The young cattle trader, Ștefan Minovici, settled for a period of time in Craiova. As custom required, he married a young woman originated from Oltenia, a union that gave birth to four boys⁹. All four attended the Greek school; if in the West the education was taught in Latin, on the territory of our country, in the Macedonian communities, the courses were taught only in Greek.

In the areas of Craiova, Horezu, Turnu-Severin, but especially in Craiova, were the most important colonies of Macedonians, of which Ștefan Minovici was a part and where he carried out his activity as a cattle trader. In the following period, he traveled outside the country's borders, his trade increasing and ending up with exports of horses to Austria and Prussia where Romanian horses were highly sought after¹⁰.

Thanks to these trips outside the country, the young trader's vision extends from cattle trading to horse and to grain export. Realizing that Romanian grains were highly sought after, he broadens the spectrum of his activity with cereal exports. Starting with 1829, through the treaty of Adrianople that established the exit of Moldova and Wallachia from Ottoman rule, an opportunity for modernization and independence was thus created. The same treaty legislated the freedom of trade of animals, wood and cereals, Brăila becoming an important seaport on the Danube.

About the port of Braila, the great historian Nicolae Iorga stated that ”Brăila created Muntenia” which became a gate of the East where all goods from West entered”¹¹, Aromanian merchants taking advantage of this new opportunity.

We conclude that around the 1830s, the Minovici family had moved to Brăila, a fact also confirmed by biographers N. Joanid and B. Angelescu ”as Brăila was at that time the most important ”scaffold”, he [Ștefan] does not hesitate to move with his family to the Danube port, associating his boys who worked zealously under his guidance”¹². During this period spent in the Danube city in Wallachia, the second son of the family, who bore his father's name, Ștefan, married a widow from Brăila, Sofia Haliu.

In the research we undertook, biographical data about Sofia Haliu could not be identified. In the work dedicated to the Minovici family, the author Adrian Majuru emphasized the fact that ”...young Ștefan married a woman from Brăila, of Greek origin, Sofia Haliu, a young widow with a child”¹³, in support of this Greek origin, the author does not indicate any bibliographic source.

Ștefan Minovici [the son] has been characterized as ”a poetic and dreamy nature, reads eagerly whatever book falls into his hand, takes long walks around the city and its surroundings. With discretion, but also with generosity, he helps the needy, satisfied that he could do good, without thinking for a moment that, in this way, the little he had was thinning”¹⁴.

After the death of his father, he gave up the business activity he carried out with the other brothers and, around 1860, with the inheritance he received, he moved with his family to Râmnicu Sărat, in the Vatra slum. In addition to this date, the periodicals of the time confirmed that he had become the mayor of Râmnicu Sărat commune, helped by Ioan Protopopescu and Constantin Fernescu¹⁵.

The couple Ștefan and Sofia Minovici gave birth to thirteen children, nine of whom survived, six boys and three girls as it follows from the biography ”Friars Minovici”, data that during this research resulted as erroneous, as we will see. Three of the boys, Mina, Ștefan and Nicolae, will become famous names in Romanian medicine from the beginning of the 20th century, but our attention is turning to the middle child of the family, Nicolae. In addition to the family tree, we discovered new data that led to the identification of the other children. Together with the three doctors, Mina, Ștefan and Nicolae, from the press of the time we learn that the other boys were Mihai, Petre and Ion, and the three girls Elena, Ecaterina and Alexandrina.

Through this biography we try both to add new biographical data to those already existing in the only

⁸ Nicolae Ioanid; Bogdan Angelescu, *Frații Minovici*, (București: Științifică, 1970), 9.

⁹ Nicolae Ioanid; Bogdan Angelescu, *Frații Minovici*, (București: Științifică, 1970), 10.

¹⁰ Nicolae Ioanid; Bogdan Angelescu, *Frații Minovici*, (București: Științifică, 1970), 13.

¹¹ Nicolae Iorga, *Din trecutul istoric al orașului Brăila*, (Brăila: Istros a Muzeului Brăilei, 1999), 17.

¹² Nicolae Ioanid; Bogdan Angelescu, *Frații Minovici*, (București: Științifică, 1970), 11.

¹³ A. Majuru, *Familia Minovici - Univers Spiritual*, (București: Institutul Cultural Român, 2005), 12.

¹⁴ Nicolae Ioanid; Bogdan Angelescu, *Frații Minovici*, (București: Științifică, 1970), 14

¹⁵ „Mayoral election”, *Curierul de Iași*, 5th March 1870.

biography dedicated to the three scholars, already mentioned, and to capture Nicolae's entire scientific and social activity combined in a balanced way with his artistic side, resulting in three institutions, namely the Salvation Society, the Emergency Hospital and the Villa on the road, which we will develop along the way.

Nicolae Minovici was born on October 23, 1868, in Râmnicu Sărat, the last of the boys of the couple Ștefan and Sofia Minovici. According to biographer N. Ioanid: "Nicolae Minovici was born on October 23, 1868, in his parental home in Râmnicu Sărat, being the seventh child of the couple. He was characterized as a stubborn; stubborn but voluntary, little Nicolae gave a lot of work to his parents"¹⁶.

As his older brothers, he completes the first school cycle at the Communal School no. 1 in Brăila, continuing them here with his secondary studies, which he later completed in Bucharest, at the Sfântul Sava High School¹⁷. We mention that high school studies were completed in the capital, due to the fact that Mina, the older brother, obtained, in June 1879, the position of external pharmacist at the Eforie of Civil Hospitals, thus bringing his entire family to the city of Bucharest¹⁸.

After taking the baccalaureate exam in 1891, he followed his inner voice and opened his way to a career in art by enrolling at the School of Belle-Arte in Bucharest. This school is considered to be the first art school in our capital, established by decree, by Alexandru Ioan Cuza, on November 2/14, 1864 and inaugurated on December 14/26 of the same year¹⁹.

Even though attending art school classes only lasted a year, this passion accompanied him throughout his life, a fact proven by his entire social, cultural and artistic work. After only one year of studies, the young Nicolae gives up his artistic education in favor of the study of medicine, following the same path as the other two brothers, Mina and Ștefan.

Their biographer, N. Ioanid, emphasized in the mentioned work that "the oldest brother, Mina, managed to convince him to give up his chosen career, so that, after a year, Nicolae Minovici enrolled at the Faculty of Medicine. From here on, Mina Minovici will watch over his little brother, guide him and form him for the same discipline in which himself was active, seeing in him a continuation of the concerns to which he had consecrated himself"²⁰.

Starting from 1892, he began his medical studies, during which, due to his attraction to art, he was first a draftsman and preparer of the dissection room, then of the clinic and the Institute of Surgery and Gynecology; according to the same source, he is also assigned positions as a trainer, assistant of the Department of Histology, and in 1894 he was the assistant of the coroner Mina Minovici²¹.

In 1898, the medical courses were completed with a bachelor's thesis entitled "Tattoos in Romania", a work published in the same year. After defending this thesis, on June 16, 1898, the ministry assigned him the right to freely practice medicine in the country²².

In our local space, Nicolae Minovici is the first to touch on this issue, developed in his study, analyzed from a historical, social and demographic perspective. The thesis, considered unique at the end of the 19th century, a character preserved until now, consists of 145 pages with representations in 57 drawings, the result of a study of approximately 15,000 copies. In addition to the core studied, 25 tattoos were procured from anatomy museums in Stockholm, Copenhagen, Hamburg and Berlin. Another part was taken from hospitals and from the pathological anatomy museum of Professor Victor Babeș²³.

Driven by the desire to continue his professional training, but also by the desire to make direct contact with the medical world outside the country's borders, he carried out several training courses. So, between the years 1897-1901, we find him in Berlin at the Institute of Pathological Anatomy, at the Institute of Forensic Medicine, where he also worked in the alienated department of the Moabit Hospital. He continued in Paris, between the years 1901-1902, both with a training course in medico-legal psychiatry, courses held within the

¹⁶ Nicolae Ioanid; Bogdan Angelescu, *Frații Minovici*, (București: Științifică, 1970), 20.

¹⁷ T. Buculei, *Prezențe brăilene în spiritualitatea românească*, 3rd ed. (Brăila: Ex Libris, Brăila, 2004), 272.

¹⁸ A. Majuru, *Minovici. O sută de ani de pionierat*, (București: Muzeul Municipiului București, 2017), 23.

¹⁹ Constantin Giurescu, *Istoria României în date*, (București: Enciclopedică, 2003), 670.

²⁰ Nicolae Ioanid; Bogdan Angelescu, *Frații Minovici*, (București: Științifică, 1970), 116.

²¹ „Medical Faculty”, *Universul*, 29th December 29 1894.

²² „News”, *Universul*, 29th December 1894.

²³ Șt. Anastasiu, *Salvarea și Spitalul de Urgență*, (București: Institutul de Arte Grafice „Maryan”, 1941), 139.

asylum at the Sainte-Anne Hospital and with lectures in the field of anthropology²⁴.

Between the internships and further training carried out in Berlin, he was also present in the latest research in the Romanian capital. So, in December 1900, the School of Anthropology was inaugurated in the Palace of Justice in Bucharest, and the courses held within it were entrusted to the young researcher Nicolae Minovici. By Royal Decree, dr. Nicolae Minovici was confirmed on April 1, 1905 as a professor at the School of Anthropology and Head of the Anthropometric Service, within the Bucharest Prefecture²⁵.

In 1902 he returned to the country and this is the moment when his social and scientific works begun to take shape. In the next period, he was appointed assistant, professor, head of works within the Department of Medicine of the Faculty in the capital, he would receive this position with the definitive title in 1912. Also in 1902, he was appointed coroner of the Prosecutor's Office of the Ilfov Court and subdirector of the Institute of Forensic Medicine²⁶.

For the young coroner, social assistance represented the support he could offer to another person, which would strengthen his weaknesses through his strength and skill, in other words for him assistance was

limited to giving the other something of himself. Driven by this creed, based on studies, research carried out in the West, these new ideas will be put into practice in a capital where organization was completely lacking.

His first social work was solving the mission that the General City Hall tasked him with namely find a solution to a big problem that the capital was facing at the beginning of the 20th century, vagrancy and begging. The desolate aspect of the capital and the lack of solutions led the City Hall management to ask for the help of a coroner, driven by the fact that begging was a social plague of society and only a coroner who, by job, was familiar with social reality could have overcome it.

The first steps to solve it took place since 1904, when the *Adevărul* newspaper carried out an investigation about begging on the streets of Bucharest. In this sense, the newspaper was titrating "Nicolae Minovici, the head of our anthropometric service, with the help of the police, raided and gathered a large part of the beggars, and was able to start an investigation in this direction"²⁷.

The extensive project started with an investigation in order to collect them from the streets of Bucharest, a program staggered over five years, but without success. The solution proposed by the doctor was to gather beggars and vagabonds from the streets of the capital, with the help of the police and the City Hall, and according to his idea "man must be helped and directed through work, while almsgiving is only an encouragement to laziness, which is the mother of all vices"²⁸. This program was based on three pillars: the Work Assistance Office, the Night Asylum and the Agricultural Colony or the Băneasa Farm.

During the process, approximately 13,000 beggars were gathered and divided into three large categories. A first category was made up of children or minors, a category that the state had the obligation to form in order to perform their work for its benefit, the second category was made up of the elderly, a group that the state also had the obligation to maintain due to the work done by them for the benefit of the community, and the last category were pretenders, more precisely a category of people who were able to work, but they were developing their own infirmities with the help of crutches, prostheses, smoky glasses, to sensitize the merciful citizen.

The second category, of the elderly, were hospitalized in the asylum for curative purposes, the other two categories were brought to the farm in Băneasa. On the land purchased here, this agricultural colony develops, becoming over time a real center. It didn't took long, and the newspapers started titling the activity that the philanthropist Minovici carried out here. "In Băneasa, next to the nest of Dr. Nicolae Minovici, is the colony of the Assistance Office, where the old beggars grow fruitful trees, raspberries, vegetables, roses, raise birds, bees and instead of being a burden, they are useful to society. It is admirable what the energy, leadership and discipline of dr. Nicolae Minovici"²⁹.

²⁴ T. Bucurei, *Prezențe brăilene în spiritualitatea românească*, 3rd ed. (Brăila: Ex Libris, Brăila, 2004), 272.

²⁵ *Monitorul Oficial*, 15/28th April 1905.

²⁶ T. Bucurei, *Prezențe brăilene în spiritualitatea românească*, 3rd ed. (Brăila: Ex Libris, Brăila, 2004), 273.

²⁷ „Beggars in the capital”, *Adevărul*, 8th March 1904.

²⁸ About this topic, I published an article in the newspaper www.Cotidianul.ro on 23th January 2021, (www.cotidianul.ro/Colonia-agricola-de-la-Băneasa).

²⁹ „The colony of the Assistance Office”, *Adevărul*, 16th April 1911.

According to its own statistic made for the period 1910-1911, it was found that more than two thousand eggs were distributed, about two hundred jars of honey, hundreds of kilograms of fruit, also a number of birds and pigs, and loans were distributed, and in the period 1912-1913, over a thousand eggs, a number of approximately one hundred animals and birds, over fifty kilograms of fruit were distributed, and loans exceeded the amount of two thousand lei³⁰.

Following in a chronological way the development of the doctor's artistic personality, his second project, a project of national importance, was the construction of the *Villa on the road* or as it has remained known to this day with the name of „Villa with bells” (Fig. 2).

In addition to the biographical picture, we must continue with our approach through a detailed research of the first ambulance service, not only in the capital but also in the entire country – *Societatea Salvarea*, the third project of national scope. As we have shown before, the young coroner showed exceptional organizational thinking. Altruistic spirit, with philanthropic inclinations towards fellow which were suffering, he was affected every time he witnessed an accident by the non-existence of an intervention service as prompt as possible, affected by the refusals of coachmen that did not want to transport the patient or the injured person to the hospital, on the grounds that they get their carriages dirty, and once he arrived at the hospital he met the doctors' refusal to take care of the patient, or the lack of available beds. All this led to the establishment of the Salvation Society, in 1906, on whose frontispiece it would remain until the bombing of August 23, 1944, the name of its founder – Nicolae Minovici.

During the General Exhibition of 1906, an ambulance for the transport of injured persons was on display in the Austrian pavilion. About this pavilion, in his *Memoirs*, Dr. Minovici expressed himself in this

way „so much concerned me with what I had seen in that pavilion with dressing and operating rooms, with his draw for vehicles, that I went daily and even twice a day to admire and study it in the smallest details. The obsession made me dream at night that I was on the coach box of such an ambulance. I had to make such a Rescue Society here as well. I did not address either the State or the Authorities and less so the City Hall because I was sure that I would not be supported. There remained the great public, to whom I also followed to address with some timidity because it had been requested too much by so many works of a more or less philanthropic nature. But I had no hope, namely that this time my fellow citizens would trust me, because they had shown me some sympathy during other organizations in the medico-social field, and I was not mistaken”³¹. This is how, in less than a month, on June 28, 1906, the Salvarea Society was founded, with the motto:”Always and everyone, ready for help”, the first of its kind in our country.

Years passed, the society developed, a new headquarters was built, the doctor's personal residence was also provided on the headquarters' floor. In connection with this new headquarters, in 1916 a plot of land with an area of 600 square meters was purchased by the City Hall from the owners Ioan Cerchez and Al. Zottu with the amount of 65,000 lei³², for the construction of a garage intended for ambulances, with the costs of the beneficiary company.

All this approach was interrupted by the outbreak of the war, which is why the land became the property of the company only in 1919. In 1921, the construction plans were signed by the architect Cristofi Cerchez, and the upper floor of the headquarters was provided for Dr. Minovici, consisting of the vestibule, living room, bedroom with salon, bathroom, and another space equipped with an alcove³³.

The time period immediately following the war, we find the scientist Nicolae Minovici in Cluj Napoca, where he was asked to fill the chair of forensic medicine, becoming the founder of the Institute of Forensic Medicine; we meet him at various congresses, medical visits in Europe, Moscow, New York in order to be inspired concerning the medical issue that was troubling him.

According to Decree no. 4031/ 1919, basis were placed at the University of Dacia Superior in Cluj-Napoca, which became Ferdinand I University, within which the Faculty of Medicine was also located. Within this faculty, the renowned coroner Nicolae Minovici was invited to take the forensic medicine courses related to the academic year 1919-1920, along with other famous names such as Victor Babeș, Vasile Pârvan or Ștefan Nicolau.

³⁰ Documents from the archive of the Folk Art Museum Dr. Nicolae Minovici.

³¹ Șt. Anastasiu, *Salvarea și Spitalul de Urgență*, (București: Institutul de Arte Grafice „Maryan”, 1941), 41.

³² Oana Marinache, *Cristofi Cerchez un vechiu arhitect din București*, (București: Istoria Artei, 2022), 153.

³³ Oana Marinache, *Cristofi Cerchez un vechiu arhitect din București*, (București: Istoria Artei, 2022), 157.

Minovici's personality drew not only his reputation as a great coroner, but also as a trailblazer, founder of institutions, in Transylvanian lands. As part of his professional activity, Nicolae Minovici founded the Institute of Forensic Medicine, a non-existent service in the Transylvanian space of the 20th century, an institute he led between 1919-1932. The time period he spent in Cluj ended in 1932 on the occasion of the retirement of his brother Mina Minovici; thus he was called to continue the scientific activity started by the famous scientist. For this reason, he took charge of the institute established by Mina in the capital, in 1892.

During the mentioned time interval, in Cluj-Napoca he taught courses at the University, and in Bucharest he took over the management of the town hall of The Blue Sector III, respectively the entire right side of the Dâmbovița river. The idea of appointing him to the leadership of the Blue Sector, the poorest and dirtiest sector of the capital, belonged to the Mayor General dr. Ion Costinescu.

About the appointment of his lordship, in this position without having asked for it, he mentioned: "I am not a new man in public life. I took a few exams and succeeded. Among these I count, the abolition of begging and the establishment of Salvation. I am not part of any political party. I think that if I was appointed to be mayor, my merits cannot, therefore, have anything to do with politics, but only with my activity so far. Man of action, I understand to realize in the construction field not inventions but the application of solutions. For this I need to be understood"³⁴.

The cleaning of the streets was primarily part of his building program, but he urged the residents to do the same, and the garbage to be taken to the streets to be picked up by the employees of the town hall. Being asked about the town hall's projects, without hesitation he evoked: „I still need the time until spring and because it is indispensable to know my color (n.n. the Blue Sector) and its population perfectly, with all their needs. For this, I am announcing right now, that the blue mayor will not have his office at the town hall headquarters, but in the slum. I bought my blouse and worker's cap and I will be constantly in the midst of

sweepers, those who pave, garbage collectors, etc. Following directly the execution of the works and above all, being incessantly among the population that needs to know me and that I need to know, in order to work together"³⁵.

About his program at the Blue Sector III, *the Mountain Hunter Corps* was writing him a letter that I found in the Nicolae Minovici fund of the National Library of Romania, for its beauty, we reproduce it below:

„Dear Mr. Mayor,

I hasten to thank you for your delicate lordship's attentions (flower pots). We also preserve the beautiful customs of our ancestors as best we can. At which Christian house, either in the village or in the city, the red geraniums in the window and the yellow geraniums in the garden do not bloom? Because the Romanian inherits beauty in his soul.

From the first days of your lordship's arrival at the head of sector III, we had every hope of changes for the better, because quite well we know your ideas and nature from the various gatherings (from '922-'924) of the National Houses and the example catches on.

It proves that the other sectors also understood to scrape the Dâmboviței Gorge, etc., etc. Showing all my satisfaction that I have been given the opportunity to turn the idea of beauty into fact, and I ask you to receive with the expression of the most distinguished feelings the adjoining literary proof, in response to the two cute flower pots."

20. VII. 1928

Major Tăgulescu, Șerban Vodă, 14³⁶

In 1920 he was elected mayor of Băneasa-Herăstrău commune, and in 1934, he was elected mayor a second time, within the same community. Other positions, unfortunately refused, due to his principles of not being part of any political party, were the position of Minister of the Interior and that of Prefect of the capital. Instead, in 1936 he was elected President of the College of Physicians, in the same year he founded the

³⁴ „A new mayor”, *Adevărul*, 12th August, 1927.

³⁵ „Building program”, *Universul*, 13th August 1927.

³⁶ Historical Archive of BNaR, Fond Dr. Nicholas S. Minovici, File 1989, CCXX/8, f. 73.

Journal of Forensic Medicine, the first magazine in our country, and in June 1939, with the elections for the Senate on June 2, 1939, dr. Nicolae Minovici was elected Senator with 120 votes³⁷.

Definitely returned to Bucharest, in 1932, the idea of establishing the Emergency Hospital gained momentum. A significant contribution in this regard was made by the Minister of Health and Social Order, dr. R. Ioanițescu, who in the meeting of September 29, 1933 gave the opinion on the establishment of a hospital with a capacity of 50 beds, under the direct management of „Salvarea”, and the maintenance will be done from the subsidies of the ministry³⁸.

It was the first emergency-based hospital in Romania and the third in the world, after the ones in Moscow and Buenos-Aires. The hospital was provided with a lecture hall with a capacity of one hundred seats, it was equipped with laboratories intended for scientific research, dining rooms were provided in the basement and employees received a meal free of charge, and a room was also provided here for cases of gas attack³⁹.

According to the legislation in force, in 1938, at the age of 70, fulfilling the conditions provided by the law, Professor Dr. Nicolae Minovici (**Fig. 3**) retired from pedagogical activity and from the directorate of the Medico-Legal Institute, but would remain in charge of the founded institutions, starting from October 1 1938⁴⁰.

Throughout the course of his scientific evolution, he sought to broaden his vision through different outings abroad in order to extract information, observe models from other more evolved countries, and then come to implement them in the country for a development and alignment of it to the highest international standards. We recall working trips made in Poland to Warsaw, to the Austrian capital, Belgium, Holland, Barcelona, Paris and even New York.

Another novel aspect, which no biographer has been able to identify and collect in a harmonious way to praise his gesture, is the donation of his entire fortune to different societies, institutions. In February 1940, dr. Nicolae Minovici donated 1,000,000 lei to the Macedonian-Romanian Society. The document can be found in the fund of the Macedonian-Romanian Society. He made a second donation in January 1941 to the House of Schools and People's Culture, donating the sum of 500,000 lei to it. The donation is accompanied by the receipt of the Deposit House, no. 63/1940. Its authorization was carried out by the Ministry of Instruction, Education, Cults and Arts, based on the minister's report no. 41,734 since 1940⁴¹. One of the most important donations was the one to the Bucharest municipality in 1937, of the villa – museum on the road together with the collections and related land.

There was also a donation of paintings to the Romanian Athenaeum; three photo albums of the interiors of the villa – museum can be found in the Archives of the Romanian Academy, the State Archives and the Bucharest Pinacoteca, - the related documents can be found in the book of dr. Stefan Anastasiu.

Professor Nicolae Minovici passed away on the morning of Sunday, June 8, 1941, on Pentecost. *Gazeta Sibiului* was announcing: ”On Sunday, Professor Dr. Nicolae Minovici, holder of the department of forensic medicine, at the University of Bucharest, former director of the Medico-Legal Institute and founder of ”Salvarea Society” and the Emergency Hospital”⁴².

The burial ceremony was officiated in the afternoon of Tuesday, June 10, at 5:00 p.m., a service officiated by priests Ghe. Comana and Liliacoveanu from the Church of the Holy Apostles, after which he was transported to the Bellu Orthodox Cemetery, where he was buried in the Minovici family vault.

Conclusions

Through this biography we wanted to emphasize in a more detailed way than the other biographers or historians, his human features, his solidarity with his peers, the energy with which he worked not only to overcome his own condition, but also to the development society, with an unparalleled vitality, a fact for which the title of ”founder of institutions” really belongs to him.

³⁷ *Monitorul Oficial*, 6th June 1939.

³⁸ *Monitorul Oficial*, 6th October 1933.

³⁹ Șt. Anastasiu, *Salvarea și Spitalul de Urgență*, (București: Institutul de Arte Grafice „Maryan”, 1941), 393-426.

⁴⁰ „Retirements”, *România*, 39th September 1938.

⁴¹ SANIC, *Fund Casa Scolelor si Culturii Poporului*, File 10/1940, f. 88.

⁴² „Deaths”, *Gazeta Sibiului*, June 1941.

In his vast activity, not only scientific but also social, he showed a special interest in philanthropic activities, which is why today we can call him one of the founders of Romanian society of the 20th century. For his fruitful activity both in the medical field and in the social, cultural field, but also for his organizational spirit, he was recognized by his appointment as Honorary President or Honorary Member in various scientific societies and beyond, either at home or abroad, in this way, the features of an international scholar were recognized.

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATION / LISTA ILUSTRĂȚIILOR

Fig. 1. Dr. Nicolae Minovici, 1900, Bucharest City Museum.

Fig. 2. Villa Minovici, Baneasa, 1930, Bucharest City Museum.

Fig. 3. Dr. Nicolae Minovici, 1935, Bucharest City Museum.



Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.

THE PORTFOLIO OF OLD MAPS "SAMMLUNG AUSSEREUROPÄISCHER KARTEN (NO. 430)" IN THE BRUKENTHAL CARTOGRAPHIC CABINET

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Abstract: *The subject matter of this article is a volume comprising fifty-two late-19th-century bound maps of Asia, Africa, the Americas, Oceania, and the Polar Regions, as well as one world map. This collection was compiled by the Transylvanian Saxon jurist Emil Neugeboren, who extracted these maps from the first eight issues of the German Journal of Geography and Statistics (Deutsche Rundschau für Geographie und Statistik). The specific maps varied, in addition to the physical ones, there were also ethnographic and geological ones, as well as those showing the routes of some expeditions.*

Keywords: *Bound volume, maps, German Journal of Geography and Statistics, Asia, Africa, North America, South America, Oceania, the Polar Regions.*

Rezumat: *Tema acestui articol este un volum care cuprinde cincizeci și două de hărți coligate datând de la sfârșitul secolului al XIX-lea ale Asiei, Africii, Americilor, Oceaniei și regiunilor polare, pe lângă o planisferă. Această colecție fost alcătuită de juristul sas transilvănean Emil Neugeboren, care a extras aceste hărți din primele opt numere ale Revistei Germane de Geografie și Statistică (Deutsche Rundschau für Geographie und Statistik). Hărțile au specific variat, pe lângă cele fizice găsiindu-se și unele etnografice și geologice, precum și cele care prezintă traseele unor expediții.*

Cuvinte cheie: *Volum coligat, hărți, Revista Germană de Geografie și Statistică, Asia, Africa, America de Nord, America de Sud, Oceania, zonele polare.*

During the 19th century, the political map of the world was a motley, uneven, almost unfathomable one. "South and Central America had splintered into 17 independent republics following the final retreat of Spanish rule in 1820; but the new Latin-American states were inward-looking, their centres of population and resources isolated by mountains, jungle, and sheer distance, and disputes among them were of chiefly local interest. [...] European possessions on the American mainland were reduced to three small Guianan colonies in South America. North Africa was still nominally under the aegis of the Ottoman sultan, while sub-Saharan Africa, apart from a few European ports on the coast, was terra incognita. The British had regularized their hold on the Indian subcontinent after putting down the Indian Mutiny of 1857-1858, while the Chinese and Japanese empires remained xenophobic and isolationist. Thus the cabinets of the European Great Powers were at the zenith of their influence. Europe itself, by 1871, seemed to be entering an age of political and social progress. [...] International peace also seemed assured once Otto von Bismarck declared the new German Empire a satisfied power and placed his considerable talents at the service of stability".¹

Owing to the slave-hunting forays, all undertaken under the red banner of the Sultanate of Muscat-Zanzibar, this state was in its heyday around 1850, a fact attested by the Arab proverb of that time: "When the whistle is blown in Zanzibar, all Africa, all the way to the Great Lakes, begins to play."

"A decade later, by 1860, Europeans accepted the idea of a division of Africa. The number of travellers had grown enormously, and trade had taken the place of scientific exploration in some places. However, another fifteen years would pass before the onslaught proper on the Dark Continent. [...] But the tempo of the occupation was accelerated by the bold actions of Leopold II, King of Belgium, and subsequently by the Germans' emergence on the African scene. [...] It is more logical to establish the beginning of "the scramble for Africa" with the Brussels Conference of 1876, to which the King of Belgium invited all the opponents of slavery, all the friends of exploration, and, in general, all the militants for the spread of civilization in Africa. This date coincides with great journey of Stanley, who crossed the continent between Zanzibar and the

¹ Walter A. McDougall, "20th-Century International Relations," in *The New Encyclopædia Britannica* (Chicago: Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., 1994), 21, 798.

confluence of the Congo River. But let us not forget that this trip was organized by the owner of a newspaper, Gordon Bennett ... Nothing can demonstrate better that the European public opinion, already sensitized by Jules Verne's book "Five Weeks in the Balloon", the great bookstore success of the era, was ready for new colonial adventures [...] In fact, the expedition which left Europe in 1877 to begin its "civilizational" activity in Africa was a Belgian expedition. This time the starting point was also Zanzibar. After many difficulties due to the climate and the staff's lack of experience, the expedition established a post at Karema, on Lake Tanganyika. The acclimatization of the Indian elephant was tried there, but failed".²

A cartographical portfolio (shelf mark No. 430, inventory number 5900/H, old, prior to 1948 shelf mark IX.K.II.6), typical for this period of intense interest in overseas lands, was compiled by the Transylvanian Saxon jurist Emil Neugeboren, born on January 7, 1838 in Hermannstadt (Sibiu), from whose assets („Nachlass Emil Neugeboren") the museum acquired on May 14, 1918 the periodical "German Review of Geography and Statistics" ("Deutsche Rundschau für Geographie und Statistik") (shelf mark P II 2598), so during the last months of World War I (another book from his assets, in the last days of the same year 1918 was, for example, "Zur Volkskunde der Juden" by Richard Andree, published in Bielefeld and Leipzig in 1881. Andree's book on Ethiopia was donated to the museum much later, that is, in the summer of 1943, by the Bookshop (Bücherei) Bedeus). Neugeboren affixed in 1886 his signature in iron gall ink to the beginning of both the portfolio ("Dr. Emil Neugeboren K. Prof. 1886") (Fig. 2) and the eighteen yearly issues of the review which he had acquired for himself. In fact, he simply took these maps out of the first eight yearly issues of this scientific review and carefully arranged in this portfolio, in chronological order, and numbered them from 1 to 52 (the first map, a topographical world map, was recorded with the Roman numeral I, as Neugeboren must have considered it too general and a sort of preamble) (Fig. 3-4). As to the "Deutsche Rundschau" itself, this former owner also had it bound uniformly by yearly issue, that is, in pressed cardboard wrapped in thin shiny marbled paper (Fig. 1). I have decided to translate the titles, which are all in German, into English, to make them more accessible to readers, all the more so when it comes to long titles, hard to follow otherwise. After the title I have placed the size, the scale (where there is one), the file number in the portfolio, and the issue and page where the map originally was. After 1886, Neugeboren seems to have put an end to his project; his change of attitude at that moment makes me suppose that he disapproved of the colonial expansion which was swiftly taking place at that moment.

For this reason, the value of this collection is that of a scientific and cultural document, a proof of a humanistic view of the world, and at the same time an encyclopaedic-kaleidoscopic one, resembling that of an ethnologist roaming halfway around the world – moreover, there are several "Ethnographische Karten" "scattered" within this small collection.

These maps collected by Neugeboren are 1870s and 1880s lithographed ones. When this technique, invented by the German actor and playwright Johann Alois Senefelder in the 1790s, was introduced into France, the father of the writer Prosper Mérimée expressed his admiration when he wrote that "as one can see the degree of perfection that lithography has reached, would one not be tempted to believe that art has nothing or almost nothing left to convey?" In fact, the specificity of lithography quickly becomes apparent. The drawer can trace his or her composition directly on the stone. By restoring action to the artist and by rendering halftones without recourse to the conventions of intaglio, it gives the image an air of authenticity which only photographic processes were later to surpass.³

As he wanted to go from general to particular, Neugeboren had the rather infelicitous idea of placing at the beginning a commonplace physical world map. Such things could only diminish the value of the collection, but he must have done so because of sheer lack of time and sources. In spite of all these shortcomings, variety and artistic imprint do exist, enhanced by the exactness made possible by the new techniques, to which add the scientific data which I have already mentioned (a very interesting aspect is that in those very years the Second Industrial Revolution started!). Finally, traditional elements can still be encountered, such as, in a few cases, footpaths and mineral deposits.

This small collection is much more homogenous than the other cartographic volumes in the library, due to the fact that the "German Review of Geography and Statistics" had thought out a publishing standard. So that, against the backdrop of the white/whitish paper, all the maps contain the graticule (meridians and

² Louis Cosme Damien Joos, *Scurtă istorie a Africii negre*. Trad de [Valentin Urum] (București: Editura Politică, 1966), 252, 292, 296.

³ Jean Toulet, « L'Art du livre », in *Encyclopædia Universalis* (Paris: Encyclopædia Universalis, 1996), 13, 935.

parallels), the heights are represented by means of brown hachures, the stagnant waters are greenish blue, whereas rivers and coasts are black curved lines. Another feature concerns the routes of expeditions, which are shown by means of bright red lines. The result is that many of these maps, and particularly the large-scale ones, are characterized by a sharp white-black-(greenish) blue contrast; nonetheless, in this case there are no clashing colours. In the light of what I already stated in one of my last articles about the marked difference between maps and paintings, one may also compare cartography with the art of carpet weaving, all the more so as long ago there were maps created with mosaic pieces: "those Baluchi rugs that abjure the use of brown. Rugs from Eastern Anatolia [...] show a wide range of rich and unusual colour shades; their hexagonal and lozenge patterns are frequently sharpened by the rug's construction, the knots being tied in such a manner (offset) as to produce diagonal rather than vertical rows"⁴). Given that no modern map can any longer "abjure the use of brown," because of international conventions as regards hypsometric tints, on the other hand, for example, there can be found caterpillar-like hachures for heights, in this portfolio as well. In some maps great heights are marked in red, where in reality there are snow-capped mountains, and their true appearance is captured in the photographs taken from satellites.

Two generations after Emil Neugeboren, another Central European, the Czech ethnologist, traveller, and author Miloslav Stingl (1930–2020), had somewhat related hobbies from a young age, and later confessed that "I have dreamed of the world, of distant travels, the most distant and beautiful land, of Polynesia, since I was a boy. As an eleven-year-old, I used to copy Maori words from some pamphlets about New Zealand, until I compiled a whole dictionary and then I learned it by heart, and I knew it better than the multiplication table. I also drew a large atlas. It did not lack – of course – the map of the dream island of Tahiti and – strangely – along with it the outline of its satellite, Mo'orea, [...] a name which translates as 'Island of the Yellow Lizard' ",⁵ which in turn calls to mind salamanders, bearers of rich symbolism in Western tradition.

I cannot help but make a reference to the "perfect island," which the Medieval Benedictine monk Gaunilo, within his criticism of ontological argument for God's existence of Saint Anselm of Canterbury, used as an example. Yet the famous island in the midst of the Pacific has almost become synonymous to such a fanciful place in the Europeans' collective imaginary since the great circumnavigations of the 18th century. It is true that in the present portfolio it is not Tahiti that is represented, but Tasmania, a kind of "rival," alongside with, say, Mauritius. In this small collection is also represented Samoa (Fig. 17), to which add the Caroline Islands (these latter were visited in the early 19th century by Adalbert of Chamisso, who was the first voyager around the world to set off from Berlin). Leaving now theology and the history of culture, I would like to draw attention to a kinship between recently founded academic disciplines, since "cultural anthropology has close links with human geography. Both of them place great importance on man, either as he uses space or acts to transform the natural environment. It is not without significance that some early anthropologists were originally geographers."⁶ The Romanian journalist Mircea Novac, a habitué of overseas shipping carried out by the Romanian commercial fleet in the late 20th century and the "sea wolves" on board of the vessels, wrote that "I was all excited and ruled by the thought that tomorrow we were all going to reach the island of Tasmania, the closest to the South Pole. [...] I talked with others, listening to all kinds of opinions, impressions from some who had already been there. [...] I confess that of the dozens of countries on four continents where I have landed, [...] to none have I been as anxious to arrive faster as now in the island of Tasmania. Maybe also because it is said to be the most beautiful one on the planet".⁷ There have been other admirers of Tasmania as well, along with the German actor-writer Joachim Fuchsberger (1927-2014), to the Italian Paolo Giordano, who published his novel "Tasmania" as recently as 2022.⁸

In the foreword to the first issue of the "German Review of Geography and Statistics", the editor, Dr. Carl Arendt, avowed that "thanks to [our scientific staff] we 'could' do what we 'should.' A quick glance at the table of contents shows that the editors have tried to make use of a wealth of material. The publishers, for their part, have tried and decorated all the issues in a dignified manner. Particular attention should be paid to

⁴ *The New Encyclopædia Britannica* (Chicago: Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., 1994), 12, 879.

⁵ Miloslav Stingl, *Ultimul paradis*, trad. de Marga Ionescu-Nișcov (București: Sport-Turism, 1981), 165, 167.

⁶ Paul Mercier, "Cultural Anthropology," in *The New Encyclopædia Britannica* (Chicago: Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., 1994), 27, 328.

⁷ Mircea Novac, *Am fost la capătul Pământului* (Cluj-Napoca: Dacia, 1983), 85-86.

⁸ Paolo Giordano, *Tasmania* (Torino: Einaudi, 2022).

the treasure trove of maps, which alone represent a considerable value. If individual illustrations were perhaps less good, this must be attributed to the fact that the cuts could often only be started shortly before the issue of the relevant issues.”⁹ In fact, the maps were considered so important, that a few articles were conceived as mere explanations and comments (“Begleitworte zur Karte”).

In the 8th volume (1886) of the “German Review of Geography and Statistics” one can find the following rhetorical fragment by Knight (“Ritter”) Josef von Lehnert, an Austrian frigate captain: “at that time [the Age of Discovery], geographical research had barely come into being, whereas today it is celebrating its greatest triumphs; at that moment it was rather a by-product which would not always come from reliable sources, yet nowadays it has been raised to the throne of pure science. It surrounds itself, in the manner of a queen, by a retinue of other auxiliary sciences: what a tremendous change! But what a difficult struggle it was to reach this stage ... The pioneers of those times thirsty for adventure and gold, the Diaz, Vaco (sic !) da Gama, Cortez, Pizarro, not to forget the bold Magalhaens [...] – all of these bold men followed One Idea („alle diese kühnen Männer folgten Einer Idee”)”.¹⁰ Another interesting and precious information laid on paper by Lehnert is that “the rich Spanish silver fleets, which constantly brought new nourishment to the splendour of the Castilian court, sailed [...] the high seas for a long time. [...] Geographical science, as a common good of mankind, did not benefit from these and other similar expeditions, because the captains of the galleons guarded the knowledge of the geographical structure of the ocean as a big secret. It is known that English and Dutch ships would repeatedly lie in wait for the galleons, not only for the purpose of robbing them of their cargo, but mainly to gain possession of the sea charts”.¹¹

Nonetheless, the tone of the first eight issues of the German periodical was quite different, namely, a neutral informative discourse, rather “hardheaded,” resembling those which were to be broadcast on the radio half a century later. It addressed somewhat an audience of “gentle readers” and “gluttons of books.” As expected, the authors would praise civilization, science, and its accomplishments, as well as the endeavours to bring them to the primitive peoples overseas. Though, the approach as such remains balanced, even dry, and certain mistakes and bloody events brought about by Europeans are admitted. What seems to me significant is, moreover, the objectivity and praiseworthy avoidance of claptraps, cheap exoticism, which were beginning to flourish under the form of the so-called colonial novels, and sensationalism, in spite of the racist descriptions typical of the epoch, so that the readership may forge an opinion as correct and accurate as possible about the realities of the far-off lands. For example, well-known scientists (and, in this case, explorers) are criticized when the author of an article had been forming a not wholly positive opinion on their professional probity, because of their tendency to flourish the stories, or to make up stories outright. More than that, all these did not prevent them from embellishing the text with attractive descriptions, especially of the natural environment. The positivist spirit in which the articles were written is stifling and narrow only in some places, but bracing, topical, and various, and also meeting the reader. Finally, there are black-and-white images everywhere, mostly of landscapes, which help to counterbalance the aridity of the text as such. To these add the maps, which contribute even more to this. A few articles also resemble 20th-century broadcast news bulletins in that they typically have no conclusion, usually leaving the impression of ephemera “to be continued in the near(est) future.”

A colourful description of the typical upper-middle-class social background from the last decades of the 19th century and the first decades of the 20th century can be found in the work of the Yugoslav novelist Vladan Desnica (1905-1967): “later in the afternoon, after an hour or two of siesta and sleep, my grandfather’s friends and subordinates [...] would gather in the living room. They had beautifully contoured profiles, with thick scowling eyebrows and well-groomed beards, like true dignitaries. [...] I was told later that they were hard-working and honest people, ‘old-fashioned liberals,’ and that in the circles of these ‘old-fashioned liberals,’ in libraries, pharmaceutical offices, and living rooms like ours, all over the globe, the fate of the world had been decided for decades on end. [...] [They] also managed communal affairs, and commented on events from around the world that the ships of the Lloyd company brought weekly (on

Thursday afternoons) to the pages of the “Citizen’s Opinion”. They would engage in heated debates about increasing excise taxes, about sending greeting telegrams to the Montenegrin prince, or protesting the Dreyfus affair. Later, they would follow thrillingly the daring ascents of Kilimanjaro and Ruwenzori, or the

⁹ Arendt 1879, in *Deutsche Rundschau für Geographie und Statistik*, III.

¹⁰ Josef von Lehnert, „Wanderungen durch die Magellanstrasse. (Mit einer Karte)”, *Deutsche Rundschau für Geographie und Statistik* 8 (1886):145.

¹¹ Lehnert, „Wanderungen durch ...”, 146.

expeditions to the South Pole".¹² The maps, of course, could not be absent: "my grandfather's maritime company was installed on the ground floor. [...] On one wall hung two geographical maps, next to the advertisements of large transoceanic navigation companies: on the maps the whole globe was laid out, with its most distant points joined by thin red curved lines, on which the duration of the journey was indicated [...]. I stood on tiptoe for hours in front of their maps and advertisements".¹³

Asia

The first map proper of the portfolio is "Map of Afghanistan and the Adjacent Areas (Using A. Petermann's Map of Iran and Turan)" ("Karte von Afghanistan und den angrenzenden Gebieten (mit Benützung von A. Petermann's Karte von Iran und Turan)") (Fig. 5) (25 x 28 cm; 1:5,000,000) (No. 1) (I, 52) by Joseph Chavanne, an Austrian meteorologist, geographer, and traveller (1846, Graz (Styria)–1902, Buenos Aires). After extensive travels, he worked as a meteorologist in Vienna beginning with 1869 and recorded the lower reaches of the Congo in 1884-1885. His books particularly deal with the climate of Austria-Hungary and Africa.¹⁴ The author justified his approach by stating that "the possibility of a violent solution to the Anglo-Afghan conflict, the genesis of which will already be known to readers of this review, by way of the daily political press, gives us the opportunity to present in the following lines a concise sketch of the country in question, its geographical-physical character and that of its inhabitants".¹⁵ A detailed description of the relief follows, and the article as such is accompanied by a beautiful, yet unsigned china-ink drawing of the mountainous massif Ali Masjid ("Ali Musdschid").¹⁶

As the author himself mentions, this map, which was made to the scale of 1:5,000,000, was made by using A. Petermann's map of Iran and Turan. It is an attractive, smartly drawn map on white background, where, for the most part, toponyms are legible because the author was able to differentiate them by several letter types, italics and capitals, or large, spaced, or bold, and at the same time keeping uniformity. Another achievement is the brilliant representation of the graticule, as a network of thin lines, impeccably drawn, which, at the same time, rigorously and precisely divide the area. Technical craftsmanship is completed by artistic skill, since the author had the inspiration to choose subdued dark brown hachures for heights, which, added to the thick dark-rose political border, clears away monotony. Nonetheless, the overall appearance is an unusual, atypical one, an irregular shape, with sharp corners, which calls to mind rather the map of a European state. The explanation for the two colours, rose and brown, is most likely to be found in age-old local traditions: "in the plains of Kabul, the flowers follow one after the other from spring to autumn, painting the stretches of fields in different shades. First the tulip, the architectural flower, leitmotif of Persian tiles, with its red or lilac bulbs – harbinger of the Afghan spring."¹⁷ In addition, of course, brown symbolizes the fertile soil of gardens. Sand sheets (ergs) are figured by agglomerations of small black dots, yet in a masterly fashion, as these dots are not uniform: this effect must have been achieved thanks to lithography. The Turan was evoked by the Austrian novelist and freemason Alexander Giese (1921–2016) in his novel about the poet Omar Khayyam.¹⁸ The fact is remarkable that the old great city Merw was shown in the northwest, as an important settlement; nevertheless, it must have been deeply redolent of age, and soon afterwards completely abandoned. The River Indus flows asymptotically to the whole star-shaped landlocked country, and the other, smaller rivers, as well as the roads (Afghanistan is devoid of railroads) make up a finely drawn network accompanied by the numerous circlets of the settlements which make up the largest part of the anthroposphere.

Wilhelm Tomaschek, the author of the article and the map "The Eastern Hindu Kush Region (Das östliche Hindukuschgebiet)", Wien, A. Hartleben's Verlag (16,5 x 27 cm; 1:1,000,000) (Fig. 6) (No. 23) (IV, 318), like Chavanne, was a native of Graz. This map is actually a linguistic one, made up of isoglosses. In order to

¹² Vladan Desnica, *Primăverile lui Ivan Galeb*. Trad. de Mircea Spiridoneanu și Voislava Stoianovici (București: Univers, 1972), 37-38.

¹³ Desnica, *Primăverile lui Ivan Galeb*, 10.

¹⁴ *Das Grosse Brockhaus* (Leipzig : Brockhus, 1929), 3, 751.

¹⁵ Joseph Chavanne, „Afghanistan. (Mit einer Karte)", *Deutsche Rundschau für Geographie und Statistik* 1 (1879):49-50.

¹⁶ Chavanne, „Afghanistan ...", 51.

¹⁷ I. Voledî, *Afganistanul* (București: Editura Științifică, 1981), 17.

¹⁸ Alexander Giese, *Precum zapada în deșert. Un roman despre Omar Khayyam*. Trad. de Dana Herescu (București: Editura Univers, 1982).

make it easier for our readers to delimit these three important language areas, we have drawn up the annexed small map, which seemed all the more necessary since the eastern Hindu Kush region does not appear to be accurately represented in any of the more widespread map works”.¹⁹ The explanation in the legend is the following: “Yellow delimits the distribution area of the un-Arian Wūriški; blue, the distribution area of the Indian dialects (especially Khowāri), north of which Iranian Ğalča dialects predominate” (in the German original: „Gelb umgrentz das Verbreitungsgebiet des unarischen Wūriški, Blau das Verbreitungsgebiet der indischen Dialekte (bes. des Khowāri) nördlich davon herrschen éranische Ğalča-dialekte”). As expected, it is easy to notice that the isoglosses and the watersheds are the same for the most part, and are easy to follow thanks to the subdued reddish brown which the author chose to represent the mountainous regions. The town Iškāšem, figured in the northwest, calls to mind Marco Polo’s Scasem.²⁰ “In order to make it easier for our readers to delimit these three important language areas, we have drawn up the enclosed map, which seemed all the more necessary since the eastern Hindu Kush region does not appear to be accurately represented in any of the more widespread mapping productions”.²¹ The complex relief is represented by means of large, somewhat cloudy, ethereal, chestnut-brown hachures, in the middle of which one can distinguish, isolated, three irregular bright green-olive-coloured forms that seem to symbolize salt lakes – unfortunately, all three were left unlabelled.

“The Khanate of Kelat-Beludjistan with Adjacent Parts of Sindh, Pakistan, and Afghanistan” (“Das Khanat von Kelat-Beludschistan mit angrenzenden Theilen des Sindh, Pendjab, Afghanistan”) (Fig. 7) (22,5 x 28 cm; 1:3,700,000) by Baron (Freiherr) T. L. von Oesterreicher (No. 2) (I, 149) is similar in technique with the map of Afghanistan. The author admitted that “the detailed knowledge about this country is [...] to be found in the English sources, and among these the recently published work of A. W. Hughes, who himself drew on the existing geographical and official sources, deserves the most prominent attention, and that is why we will mostly focus on his information in this brief outline”.²² The region, with its rugged mud mountains (“the north-eastern basin of Katschi-Gandawa, which lies barely a few hundred feet above sea level and is surrounded to the north and west by high and barren mountain ranges”²³) was also described by a 20th-century German novelist, Ernst Augustin (1927, Hirschberg–2019, München), who dwelt on his experience as a doctor. For his part, Oesterreicher continues to comment that “Mekran in particular, except the coastal area, is considered to be very unhealthy everywhere. Extremely virulent fevers prevail there”.²⁴ The whitish of the paper is filled by the political borders, which are rendered by way of conventional dash-dotted lines, only the heights being marked by way of tints in a somewhat subdued dark-brown hue. Nevertheless, it is more impressive that the map of Afghanistan, because of the monumentality ensured by the large area which is covered, ensured by the use of the either Bonne (dépôt de la guerre), azimuthal, or Nicolosi globular projections (interestingly, the latter two ones were developed in the Islamic world during the 11th century). Watersheds are highlighted, even more than in the map of Afghanistan, suggesting a dramatic hilly-mountainous scenery expected to be somewhat outlandish, arid, perhaps what one likes to call in the 21st century lunar or Martian landscape, which it often is indeed. This is reinforced by the “frail” rendering of the drainage, which also suggests aridity. Here the Indus is rendered only by parallel lines, whereas in the map of Afghanistan it is firmly drawn and accompanied by other river beds and arms. Again unlike the map of Afghanistan, the eonyms (names of settlements) are written in beautiful thick italics, somewhat reminiscent of the old chancery hand; all of these features, in subtle contrast with each other but not dissonant, help create an atmosphere of refined Persian miniature, even if devoid of colours other than deep brown. An unusual characteristic of this map is the presence of many circlets without the corresponding eonym, which may have been the result of lack of information – about those certainly dwellings perched on hills or slack settlements; another possibility is that the map may actually be unfinished. To these add the no less than ten meridians unfolding in a fan-shaped manner from west to east and the contrast between the black lettering and the white spaces representing the sea and deserts. Interest in this part of the world was natural, since “Baluchistan from ancient times commanded the land routes of human migration between the South Asian sub-continent, Middle-East, Central and western Asia.” Not least, “the province is not only culturally very

¹⁹ Wilhelm Tomaschek, „Aus dem östlichen Hindukusch. (Mit einer Karte)”, *Deutsche Rundschau für Geographie und Statistik* 4 (1882):323.

²⁰ Marco Polo. *Milionul*. Trad. de Romolo Ottone (București: Editura Științifică, 1958), 34, 224.

²¹ Tomaschek, „Aus dem östlichen ...”, 323.

²² T. L. von Oesterreicher, „Kelat-Beludschistan. (Mit einer Karte)”, *Deutsche Rundschau für Geographie und Statistik* 1 (1879):145.

²³ Oesterreicher, „Kelat-Beludschistan ...”, 147.

²⁴ Oesterreicher, „Kelat-Beludschistan ...”, 147.

rich but it is also very rich in mineral deposits, oil, and gas". Surveying the region was certainly no easy task; an area north of Karachi has been recently described as follows: "a twisting, unimproved dirt road provides access from Bela to the Bank Hari prospect on the western flank of the Piaro ridge. Access to all other mountain flank areas is by unpaved roads and tracks, or to some extent by stream washes. The region is too dissected to allow much cross-country vehicle travel. Access to the mountainous hinterland of the Piaro ridge and the Mor range is by foot, via stream courses and trails, and camel-laden pack trails. It is very hot during May to August and cold during December to February".²⁵

"The Ethnographic Map of High Mountain Asia" ("Ethnographische Karte von Hoch Asien") (22,5 x 29 cm; 1:5,000,000) (No. 26) (V, 1), that is, covering the orographic Pamir Knot, is the work of K. E. von Ujfalvy (Charles-Eugène Ujfalvy de Mezökövesd), a French traveller of Hungarian origin, who was born in Vienna in 1842. He made a military career, but soon devoted himself to linguistic studies, studied at the University of Bonn, and went to France, where he devoted himself to teaching living languages. He taught in several high schools in Paris and after his retirement he settled in Florence. Together with H. Desbordes-Valmore, Ujfalvy published a number of translations from Hungarian poets ("Les Poésies de Petöfi", 1871; "Poésies magyares", 1873). He also issued a book on Hungary (1872), unfortunately very shallow in content, then directed from 1875 to 1877 the "Revue de Philologie et Ethnographie", where he made known the linguistic work of Magyar and Finnish scholars on the Ugro-Finnish languages. Finally, beginning with 1878 he undertook several expeditions to Central Asia, the results of which are recorded in the volumes "Le Kohistan", le Ferghanah et Kouldja" (1878); "Le Syr-Daria" (1879); "Les Bachkirs, les Vespes" (1880); "Résultats anthropologiques d'un voyage en Asie centrale" (1880); "L'Art des cuivres anciens au Cachemire" (1883); "Les Aryens au Nord et au Sud de l'Hindou-Kouch" (1896). His wife, Mrs. Ujfalvy-Bourdon, born in Chartres in 1845 and who accompanied him in his travels, was also a writer and published "De Paris à Samarkande" (1881) and "Voyage d'une Parisienne dans l'Himalaya occidental" (1887).²⁶ This map covers the territory between Afghanistan to the south and Lake Balkhash to the north, so roughly the 34th and 46th parallels and the 66th and 78th meridians. A surprising flaw of this map is the unaccountable lack of the relief forms, as the author chose to represent only the drainage and human settlements. Yet this map is also somewhat confused: in spite of the beautiful colouring (the author used no less than seven shades of greenish, lighter and darker, to represent both Hindu ("Hindukusch Indier") and "Turko-Tataren" peoples) and also the beautiful and diverse lettering, especially in the southeastern part there is a jumble of ethnonyms, choronyms, eonyms, and potamonyms (names of rivers). Ujfalvy confessed that "about five years ago, when I returned home from my first journey to Turkestan, I attempted to draw up an ethnographic map of Central Asia, using, apart from my personal observations, almost exclusively Russian sources. In this first attempt I was particularly concerned with establishing a work on an anthropological-linguistic basis. Since then, I have been to Central Asia for a second time, recently travelled to the western Himalayas and the southern foothills of the Karakoram Mountains and have also studied English academic travel literature in detail. The works of Shaw, Vigne, Wood, Torrens, Thomson, Inie, Bellew, Gordon, Forsyth, Drew, Harcourt, Biddulph, Cunningham, and others strengthened my views, clarified some doubts, opened up new horizons for me, and I have made the decision again to design an ethnographic map of Central Asia, which should not only include the actual Inner Asia [...], but also the junction where the Himalayas and the Karakoram Mountains meet the Hindu Kush valleys of the upper Indus, with its tributaries, and Afghan Turkestan".²⁷

Ujfalvy was a source for another ethnic map of Central Asia, "Ethnographische Karte von Mittel-Asien. (Hauptsächlich nach Wenjukow, Rittich, Ujfalvy und Cust)" (26.5 x 41 cm; 1:10,000,000) (No. 11) (II, 178), by Joseph Chavanne. On this map, Indo-European peoples ("Indogermanen") are rose, Finno-Ugrians ("Uralier"), brown, Turkish peoples ("Turkisch-tatarische Gruppe"), yellow and orange, and Mongols ("Mongolische Gruppe"), olive-green. The author explained that the realities of the region were the result "of the fighting that has been taking place without major interruptions in East Turkestan and western Mongolia (Kalmyk Empire and others) from the beginning of the 14th century to the end of the 18th century and the associated migration".²⁸ The choice for hachured and bright vermillion was an interesting and justified one,

²⁵ Qasim Ali Qasim and M. Habibulah Khan Khattak, "An Archaeological Reconnaissance in the Kanrach Valley of Las Bela District, Baluchistan", *Ancient Sindh: Annual Journal of Research* 5 (1998-1999):57; 59.

²⁶ *La Grande Encyclopédie* (Paris, s.a.), 31, 570.

²⁷ K. E. Ujfalvy, „Zur Ethnographie von Central-Asien“, *Deutsche Rundschau für Geographie und Statistik* 5 (1883):1; 4.

²⁸ Joseph Chavanne, „Begleitworte zur ethnographische Karte von Mittel-Asien“. *Deutsche Rundschau für Geographie und Statistik*

calling to mind travellers' accounts of unusual landscapes and optic phenomena in the Gobi Desert, such as The Flaming Mountains and blinding bright reddish sunsets in rocky areas. As Ujfalvy's map, this one is flawed by the same problem of the lack of the relief.

A Russian-Soviet writer, Artiom Vesioly, a victim of Stalin's terror, left behind colourful descriptions of Siberian and Central Asian peoples, from which I quote a paragraph about the army who fought the Cossacks in 1585 on the other side of the Ural Mountains: "the Altai warriors had provided themselves with bows made of buffalo horns and small sharp spears tied to a belt of ten arrows, designed to pierce iron mail shirts. [...] An old prince from Altai was sipping koumiss from a bone cup and slowly slurping it between his teeth. His tufted morocco boots had coloured silk stitching and were decorated with silver motifs like squirrel claws. A large ruby was also glittering in the prince's ring, like a tiger's eye. [...] Far away, deep into the steppe, the bitter smoke of the fires, the neighing of the horses, the noise of voices in several languages, the din of the feast. [...] The geese were stuffed with raisins and hazelnuts, the pigeons and wild roosters were seasoned with spices and swimming in a boiled lemon sauce, there were pressed roe and Bukhara melon, lollipops fried in ram fat".²⁹

The Cologne captain (Hauptmann) von Schnehen's "Map of the Lower Amu Darya and its Delta: with the Sketch of the Newly Discovered Daudan- and Tonu Darya" ("Karte des unteren Amu-Darja und seines Delta: mit der Skizze des neu aufgefundenen Daudan- und Tonu-Darja") (Fig. 8) (24,5 x 30,5 cm; 1:1,100,000) (No. 24) (IV, 471) is a beautiful, detailed map, where the experience of the military cartographer can readily be seen. The author mentioned a Russian expedition which took place between mid-October 1879 and August 1880. "The expedition was engaged in hydrometric reconnaissance, levelling and terrain surveys along the Amu Darya to the Aral Sea, as well as in meteorological observations and finally in the search for a waterway through the delta". As to the map itself, "the attached map provides an accurate picture of the Amu Delta according to the current state of our knowledge".³⁰ The map is characterized by the contrast between the cobweb of the black-ink drainage, to which adds the southern shore of the Aral Sea, and the ochre of the deserts, figured by way of four distinct, irregular forms to the east. Among them, the Kyzylkum desert stands out like a beige irregular shape resembling the head of a horned deer, near the right edge of the map, in contrast with the rigorously-drawn "gridiron-like" surface of the Aral Sea. Add to all these the old beds of the Amu Darya River, irrigation canals, and roads, three of whom crossing the Kyzylkum desert.

Chavanne's "Przhevalsky's Travels through the Gobi Desert to Tibet" ("Przewalski's Reisen durch die Wüste Gobi nach Tibet") (29 x 39,5 cm; 1:5,000,000), (No. 35) (VI, 145) is a rather gloomy map, printed on cheap buff paper, and in fact it suits the haziness of a sandstorm raging across this cold, highland desert. It occupies only the lower left half of the sheet, as if divided in two equal parts diagonally, the blank right part (what is the Mongolian state of nowadays and the ill-famed Badain Jaran Desert – although the choronym MONGOLEI was placed in the upper left part of the map) being occupied by the title and legend. This map has got juxtaposed sponge-shaped hachures, which resemble a spine. The graticule (meridians and parallels) is given every two degrees, an extra proof of the scope of the three expeditions, which took place in 1873, 1876-1877, and 1879-1880; their routes are shown by means of red lines. Age-old routes have been mentioned in scientific literature, such as, for instance, in an archaeological context, and all these aspects can be brought together to create a transdisciplinary narrative: "such a block of white marble, standing out well against the rocky desert, erected at the mouth of a wide gorge between the mountain ranges opening to the south, towards the wide delta of Etsin-Gol, could well indicate the practicable and convenient path across the sands of Alashan towards the Great Wall".³¹ Of the sandy sheets of the Gobi, it is only two that can be found on this map. Both lie at the foot of the mountains – the oblong-shaped „Sand-Wüste-Kum-Tag” – and another, unlabelled one, near the right edge of the map, so that the Gobi is left as a puzzling blank expanse, appropriate for the remote, legendary chalky and clayey plateau cut here and there by small hills and gulfs. The expedition shunned the saline areas (here, in German: Salzsumpf) of the Qaidam basin, whose elongated form occupies half of the width of the map. Still, the existence of a lake called Chara-Nor, northeast of Lob-

2 (1880):180.

²⁹ Artiom Vesioly, *Volga petrece*. Trad. de Leonid Dimov (București: Editura Științifică, 1981), 138-141.

³⁰ Von Schnehen, „Die Erforschung des alten Bettes des Amu-Darja. (Mit einer Karte)”, *Deutsche Rundschau für Geographie und Statistik* 4 (1882):471; 473.

³¹ Sergei G. Klyashtornyj, *Old Turkic Runic Texts and the History of the Eurasian Steppe* (București: Editura Academiei Române, Brăila, Editura Istros a Muzeului Brăilei, 2008), 103.

Nor, remained unclear, as it is accompanied by a question mark, whereas just south of Turfan we can encounter a „Sumpf od[er] Salz See". A brilliant lesson of survival was given "after Przhevalsky was abandoned by the Mongol guide after passing the Napchitai-ulan-muren and the expedition remained alone in the desert of northern Tibet. Uninhabited land stretched all around for hundreds of miles; there was therefore no question of getting a new guide. Recourse had to be taken again to reconnaissance rides, as the only means of finding out information about the route at hand and avoiding fruitless marches through difficult areas. After brief consideration, Przhevalsky decided to first go south in order to reach the Mur-Ussu River, where, as he had already learned in 1873, the caravan route of the Mongol pilgrims to Lhasa led the stream upwards. [...] Finally the Hoang-ho was also crossed on a raft and the expedition spent the month of June 1880 in the snowy mountains of Dschedier 4960 metres high. It was there that they arranged the rich collections of flora and fauna, and returned via Sinin to the mountains stretching north of the Tscheibssen idolatrous temple and northeast of Kuku-Nor Lake. After one month of working and gathering samples in this section of the Nan-Shan, the party set off for Ala-Shan after spending 20 months in foreign, partly completely unexplored areas".³²

Franz von Lemonnier, who is presented as "k. k. Ministerial-Konzipist" is the author of the "Map of Formosa (Taiwan Island of the Chinese), Based on English Coastal Surveys, the Surveys of Thomson, Swinhoe, Perry, and Others" ("Karte von Formosa (Insel Tai wan der Chinesen) auf Grund englischer Küsten-aufnahmen, der Aufnahmen von Thomson, Swinhoe, Perry und anderen") (23 x 29,5 cm; 1:1,500,000) (No. 43). This map also includes an inset "Plan of the Port of Kelung, Based on the Survey by Commodore Perry" ("Plan des Hafens Kelung nach der Aufnahme des Commodore Perry") (VII, 97). This cartographer shows a preference for functional maps filled with grey-bluish hachures, highlighting very profiled watersheds resembling tall flat terraces; the outlines, shores and the drainage are rather coarse and not very precise, probably for security reasons.

Lemonnier also drafted a map of the southern Chinese island Hainan (Fig. 9) (22,5 x 29 cm; 1:1,500,000) (No. 47) (VII, 438). The fact is interesting that two generations later these two great islands, Taiwan and Hainan, were to be the seat of the Chinese Nationalist government after having lost the war against the Communists. As to his sources, the author mentioned: "the maps of the British Admiralty were used as the basis for the construction of the following map for the coastal outlines: No. 2661a. China Sea. Northern Portion 1882; No. 2062 Tong-king Gulf 1881; and last No. 876 Hainan Strait 1:142,000 based on the above-mentioned measurements by Captain Napier. For the interior of the island, the older maps by Klaproth and Berghaus (China Sea), drafted after Chinese sources, were used, as well as Hirth's map of the province of Kuang-tung 1872 1:2,600,000, also after Chinese sources. Finally, for the western part of Hainan, the Carte de l'Indo Chine Occidentale by Dutreuil du Rhins, Paris 1881, in 4 sheets, could be used".³³ The map is an interesting combination of an economic and ethnic map. The area where the Li, described as "mountain people" (Bergbewohner), lived, is beautiful bright light yellow. In the legend, the author emphasized by underlining the fact that the boundary is "ethnographical, and not political"). In the meantime, the underlined eonyms are Chinese customs stations, which were linked in the north and west by a coastal road. The remaining five stations are either on the shore or could be reached by navigating upstream (of course, by kedging). Attention is paid to the riches of the land; whereas mineral resources had not been yet discovered, there still was Zucker-Rohr, Ricinus, Areca, Cocos Palmen, and Bauholz Wälder. Not least, hot springs (Heisse Quellen) were marked in two places in the east, not far from the shore. There is even a helping advice on Chinese pronunciation („**A n m e r k u n g.** // **Ch** – ist wie das deutsche **tsch** / **sh** – ist wie das deutsche **sch** auszusprechen").

The "Map of Southern China, Tong-Kin, and the Adjacent Parts of Siam and Burma: Overview of the Research Journeys in 1882 [Calquhoun, C. Bock. Villeroi d'Augis](Karte des südlichen China's, Tong-Kin's sowie der angrenzenden Theile von Siam und Birma. Zur Übersicht der Forschungsreisen im Jahre 1882 [Calquhoun, C. Bock, Villeroi d'Augis])" (23,5 x 30 cm) (No. 29) (V, 307; 1:6,000,000) is an unattractive map on buff paper, but well drafted, very likely in the Bonne or Nicolosi globular projections, rich in detail, and showing the three different routes by way of red lines. The author recounts the adventure that two merchants had experienced, in the true spirit of the age-old itinerating trade: "in late autumn 1881, two

³² Joseph Chavanne, „Przewalski's dritte Forschungsreise in Hochasien. (Mit einer Karte)", *Deutsche Rundschau für Geographie und Statistik* 6 (1884):147, 202.

³³ Franz von Le Monnier, „Die Insel Hainan. (Mit einer Karte)", *Deutsche Rundschau für Geographie und Statistik* 7 (1885):441-442.

French wholesale dealers, Villeroi d'Augis and Courtin [...] penetrated as far as the Chinese border [...] where the death of Courtin forced d'Augis to return. The plan of d'Augis [was] to advance on the river to Yunnan. [...] Returning to Hanoi in January 1882, d'Augis repeated the attempt, but had to abandon any attempt to advance further just a few kilometres above the mouth of the He-hô in the Song-ka (Red River) (48 kilometres northwest of Hanoi), as the attitude of the Chinese (irregular soldiers under black flags) had already become very threatening".³⁴ It is primarily a physical map, attempting to highlight the mountainous relief of the area.

Friedrich von Hellwald's "Map of Lower Cochinchina (French Cambodia) (Karte von Nieder Cochinchina (Französisch Cambodscha))" (27,5 x 29 cm; 1:1,000,000) (No. 14) (II, 457), is in certain places a mesh of marshy areas, channels, manmade canals (such as Vinh Te), and islands. As landmarks there are Phnom Penh in the northwestern corner and Saigon in the east. The large amount of data is enhanced by the urban and rural settlements, telegraph lines, and district borders, but the author also represented the floodable portions and sandbanks that continue the dry land, accompanied by their names. "Its main rivers are the Mekong, the mightiest river in the hinterland of India, and the Dong Nai, which form several large and small deltas at their mouths. The hopes of making the upper Mekong navigable, with the intention of bringing the products of the hinterland to the capital Saigon and bringing about a lively boom in the colony, have unfortunately fallen through. The great backbone of Cambodia and the Laos countries, the Mekong, is too unruly a son of the wilderness („ein zu ungebärdiger Sohn der Wildniss") to be turned into a regular waterway for large-scale trade".³⁵ The surveyors' task must have been a gigantic one, and they must have been resorted to walking on stilts, since the geographic conditions are „densely populated villages which merge into one another and are surrounded by palm trees, huge pineapple fields, rice and vegetable plantations irrigated by countless channels. The bamboo, straw, and clay huts [...] [lie on] a muddy, brown-yellow river, one of the many branches of the Mekong, which rises and falls with the ebb and flow".³⁶

"West Java and the Sunda Strait, the Area of the Earthquake of August 1883" ("West-Java und die Sundastrasse, das Gebiet des Erdbebens vom August 1883") (VI, 81) (19 x 29 cm; 1:2,500,000) (No. 33), very likely in the Bonne or Nicolosi globular projections, is the coarsest map in this collection. Outlines and rivers, all drawn in black, are thicker than usual and the author resorted to a kind of "spongy" hachures, in very dark brown, almost black, somewhat leaving an appearance of "smeared with coal" leaf, something of an art college artifact. Nonetheless, like Tomaschek's map of the Hindukush, it is a pioneering work, as the author explained, "the map attached to these lines was drawn several weeks ago at the request of many people, since according to the first English reports the scene of the catastrophe was considered to be much more extensive than it actually is. Nevertheless, it will be welcome to our readers as a guide to the location of all the places mentioned in the various reports, since all manual atlases lack a map of the Sunda Strait and Java on a sufficiently large scale".³⁷

"A General Depths Map of the Sunda Area" ("Allgemeine Tiefen-Verhältnisse der Sunda-Region") (Fig. 10) (V, 52-53) (21 x 29 cm; 1:22,000,000) (No. 27), again very likely in the Bonne or Nicolosi globular projections, is characterized by the pedantic matching of the beautiful weathered-bronze colour of the landmass and the whitish of the seas. Against the backdrop of this whitish expanse is figured the host of small islands and on the other hand the records of sea depths. In the legend it is specified that the sign \perp "placed above the special number indicates that the plumb line has not found any ground."³⁸ Coral reefs are marked by way of small black crosses, whereas cliffs dangerous for navigation, by the usual dots within small circles.³⁹ In two places red corals were marked; south of the great Sonde islands silt (Schlamm) was recorded three times. A late-20th century Romanian traveller left a relevant description of the seascape which must have inspired the colours used for this map: "here, at the Equator, the dawn is very brief: half an hour only after its rise, the sun was already above the horizon, clinging to a yellow sky portending bad weather.

³⁴ Joseph Chavanne, „Der Fortschritt der geographischen Forschungen und Reisen im Jahre 1882. II. Asien. (Mit einer Karte)", *Deutsche Rundschau für Geographie und Statistik* 5 (1883):307.

³⁵ Friedrich von Hellwald, „Nieder-Cochinchina. (Mit einer Karte)", *Deutsche Rundschau für Geographie und Statistik* 2 (1880):457.

³⁶ Eberhard Panitz, Thomas Billhardt, *Gesichter Vietnams* (Berlin: Militärverlag der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1978), 20-21.

³⁷ „Der Vulkanismus im Sunda-Gebiete und die Katastrophe vom August 1883. (Mit einer Karte)", *Deutsche Rundschau für Geographie und Statistik* 6 (1884):83.

³⁸ „Allgemeine Tiefen-Verhältnisse der Sunda-Region. (Mit einer Karte)", *Deutsche Rundschau für Geographie und Statistik* 5 (1883):52-53.

³⁹ Petre Mureşeanu, *Călătorie la antipod* (Bucureşti: Editura Ştiinţifică şi Enciclopedică, 1986), 234; 235; 257.

[...] The whitish of the ocean surface, viewed in passing, was considered a consequence of the reflection of the sun rays, with their brightness lost in the filter of the clouds, resembling a warp stretched over the entire sky – as well as the streaks of foam formed by the waves set in motion by the monsoon which was beginning to be felt more and more."⁴⁰ Four detail inset maps were also added, that is, a larger one, "Korallen Bildungen in der Siboku Bai" and three smaller ones, showing three atolls: Pratas, Scarborough, and Discovery.

Joseph Chavanne's "Map of the Distribution of Rainfall in Asia" ("Karte der Regenvertheilung in Asien") (37 x 35,5 cm; 1:30,000,000) (No. 38) (VI, 359) is a large, beautiful map, where the Asian continent was dignified by a monumental appearance, as the land colossus stretching for most of the distance between the Ecuator and the North Pole. The different areas, ranging from very light yellow through green to dark blue, are separated by red isobaric curves. A somewhat unexpected scientific conclusion reached by the author in his article is that "finally, the Arctic northern Asian rim also belongs to the area of northern hemispheric summer rains, and it is a specific feature of rain conditions in Ustyansk that they share some similarities with the conditions in the monsoon region".⁴¹

Africa

"The Algerian-Tunisian Chotts Basin, According to Capt. Roudaire's Survey" ("Das Algerisch-Tunesische Schott-Becken nach Capt. Roudaire's Aufnahmen") (Fig. 11) (22,5 x 42 cm; 1:1,000,000) (No. 12) (II, 272), drafted by Joseph Chavanne, features François-Elie Roudaire's survey of 1874-1875, and, respectively, that of 1876. Other elements are the limit of the flood area, oases, wind-swept dunes, wells, and tombs of Muslim saints, which for the sake of local colour, are marked, by way of black dots surmounted by crescents. In his article, Chavanne stressed the fact that "the oldest Arab geographers, from El Bekri in the 13th century to recent times, all describe the danger which these bulkheads are to travellers. The Schott El Jerid has already swallowed up thousands of camels and people, all vanished without a trace".⁴² On the map, heights are given in metres, but numbers marked with the sign – "indicate absolute depression": „Höhen in Meter. Die mit dem Zeichen – versehen Höhenzahlen bezeichnen absolute Depression". The author, nicely und understandably, represented the roads, as black thin twisting lines linking the settlements, which look like beads on a string.

The sandy desert area in the southwest (El Areg (Dünenregion) has got an almost perfect octopus shape. François-Elie Roudaire (Guéret, August 6, 1836-Guéret, January 14, 1885) was a French officer and hydrographer. He went to Saint-Cyr in 1854 and transferred to the General Staff School in 1856. He was appointed staff captain in 1861 and squadron leader in 1878, and the measurement of the meridian of Biskra was finally entrusted to him in 1873. As he was taken by surprise by the fact that the Sahara lies below sea level, he considered that there had once been a sea; therefore, he thought that we could fertilize the desert by drilling the dunes which separate it from the Mediterranean and create thus an inland sea. He estimated that 20 million francs would suffice for this purpose. The following year, the National Assembly earmarked 10,000 francs to enable him to do further research for his scheme. Roudaire was dead set on his plan and spent two years in Tunisia at the head of a mission. He returned with conclusions in the favour of his ideas, for whose support he had won Ferdinand de Lesseps. He published two pamphlets: "Une mer intérieure en Algérie" (1874), and "Rapport sur la mission des Chotts en Algérie" (1876). Eventually, however, more rigorous demonstrated that the project was impossible to be carried out, and it was abandoned.⁴³

Joseph Chavanne is also the author of a "Map of the Southern Part of the Algerian Province of Oran (Chotts Plateau and Northern Rim of the Sahara): Edited According to the Latest Original Sources" ("Karte des südlichen Theiles des algerischen Provinz Oran. (Schottplateau und Nordrand der Sahara). Nach den neuesten Originalquellen bearbeitet") (27 x 30 cm) (No. 21) (IV, 155; 1:2,000,000). This map is characterized by the contrast between the black drainage and the chestnut-brown subdued elongated hachures "beaming" from blank watersheds. The map is also a detailed one – some roads may well be tracks worn

⁴⁰ Mureşeanu, *Călătorie la antipod*, 258.

⁴¹ Joseph Chavanne, „Die Vertheilung der Niederschlagsmengen (Regen) in Asien. (Mit einer Karte)", *Deutsche Rundschau für Geographie und Statistik* 6 (1884):363.

⁴² Joseph Chavanne, „Das algerisch-tunesische Binnenmeer. (Mit einer Karte)", *Deutsche Rundschau für Geographie und Statistik* 2 (1880):274.

⁴³ *La Grande Encyclopédie* (Paris, s.a.), 28, 990.

across fields, as in the case of the map of the Amu Darya by von Schnehen. The author left a remarkable description in his article: “about 15 kilometres from Bresina, three isolated 60-metre-high red “ghurs”, rising steeply from the plain, held our interest. In shape they resemble the ruins of an enormous palace. The setting sun causes them to look like liquid fire blinding our eyes and disrupting our thoughts. This is a glorious geological phenomenon”.⁴⁴

The “Overview Map of the Latest Research in the Area of the Upper Niger and Senegal” (“Übersichtskarte der neuesten Forschungen im Gebiete des Oberen Niger und Senegal”) (20 x 22,5 cm) (No. 18) (III, 309) by Philipp Paulitschke is typical for the style of the G. Freytag Lithographical Works, and has as an element of originality the route of a planned railway between Dakar and Saint-Louis on the Atlantic coast, to Bamako (Bamaka), Manabugu, and Dina, with Bakel as a future hub. In my view, this area is a kind of antipode of the already mentioned land stretching between the coast and the Great Lakes, where the whistle blown by the once powerful Sultan of Zanzibar, another Muslim ruler, was once heard. As a curiosity, on the Gambia River was a British trading station named Pisania, which the Scottish explorer Mungo Park had reached in June 1795⁴⁵ („după pisanii 6723. Radul voevod, care pisania mănăstirei Câmpulungului arată cum că o zidise măriă sa”),⁴⁶ or I can quote the sub-title of a specialized periodical, “Makedonski Folklor”, whose first issue was in 1968 (“Spisanie na Institutot za Folklor”, Skopje). “Our indefatigable times have been trying and solving two issues in the northern West Africa for some time: the one sheer theoretical, scientific, and the other practical. The theoretical issue is the exploration of the course of the Niger and the now carried-out discovery of its headwaters. The practical issue culminates in the construction of a railway linking the French settlements at the mouth of the Senegal River, along this river, with the upper reaches of the Niger, and, this River downstream, with the “Queen of the Desert,” Timbuktu. Finally, this trans-Saharan railway is supposed to be magnificently built on up to Algiers”.⁴⁷

“Central Afrika mit dem Kongo-Staate” (No. 46) (VII, 289; 1:13,000,000) is already an almost full-fledged political map, even though there are three areas on it marked as unexplored (Unerforscht). It includes five detail inset maps, skillfully placed so as to obtain a pleasant appearance, but special attention was given to the Belgian factory (trade post, entrepôt) Boma and the treacherous Zanzibar Channel, where depths are given every ten metres. “An entrepôt is a universal bazaar, where you can find a little bit of everything that an African needs. But there was no shortage of tobacco and drink either. All these houses were made in Belgium from fir boards, gelled, painted, numbered, and then finished here. They are set on stone pillars, like our granaries”.⁴⁸ Out of the five illustrations in the “Geographical Review”, one of them, representing the Congo Estuary, is particularly beautiful and interesting. It is a facsimile of a copper engraving of 1816 and shows a village of seafaring Blacks, where they seem to climb a large pumpkin-shaped rock (perhaps inspired by Seneca’s pumpkin, “The Pumpkinification of the Divine Claudius?”) to take counsel; their boats are bent and sharp-pointed.

The “Map of the Lower Congo for an Overview of the Latest Research” (“Karte des Unteren Congo zur Uebersicht der neuesten Erforschungen”) (24,5 x 27,5 cm; 1:3,500,000) (No. 32) (VI, 25) has got the same subdued dark-brown hachures as other maps in this collection. There are got three features: „Stationen des Comité d’Études du Haut Congo”, „Missionsstationen, and „Handelsfactorien”. In the southeastern part one can notice the „Residenz des Muene Puto Kassongo.” Unlike other geological maps in our collection, “Geologische Skizze vom westlichen Congogebiet” (No. 51) (VIII, 289; 1:3,000,000) by Pechuël-Loesche features only the coast and the Congo River valley. It has nine features and a profile of the right Congo bank, which is placed below the map. According to this map, it is thick laterite that prevails on the Atlantic coast and red sandstone on the river – more precisely, in its inland segment. In true scientific spirit, the author wrote that “it is only those areas whose geological nature can be stated with certainty that have been highlighted on this map. Although such a limitation to what has been proven results in only a poor map image, this one will still serve its purpose better than the other one, which appears to have arisen from a comprehensive and complete knowledge in which unknown areas have been covered with colours to a very large extent at random. Maps of the latter type are marred by two flaws. Some future researchers will

⁴⁴ Joseph Chavanne, „Die südliche Theil der Provinz Oran. (Mit einer Karte)”, *Deutsche Rundschau für Geographie und Statistik* 4 (1882):118.

⁴⁵ *The Encyclopædia Britannica* (London: Encyclopædia Britannica Inc., 1926), 20, 826.

⁴⁶ *Repertoriul manuscriselor de cronici interne sec. XV-XVIII privind istoria României* (București: Editura Academiei, 1963), 189.

⁴⁷ Philipp Paulitschke, „Die neuesten Forschungsreisen im Gebiete des obern Niger und Senegal. (Mit einer Karte)”, *Deutsche Rundschau für Geographie und Statistik* 3 (1881):309-310.

⁴⁸ Aurel Varlam, *Nopti și zile în Africa ecuatorială*. In *Călători români în Africa* (București: Sport-Turism, 1983), 211.

consider such a map to be wholly reliable, relying on the author's scientific repute, and will refrain from further investigation; yet the more conscientious have to fight against the inaccuracies they encounter, which, being absorbed all too quickly into the body of knowledge, are difficult to eliminate. A map with gaps, on the other hand, simply calls for additions due to its sparseness, and every researcher can add their findings clearly and with freely. It is in this manner that reliable details gradually add, to form a full narrative".⁴⁹ At least some of these geological observations seem to have been easy to make, because the rocks were quite visible to anyone arriving in these places, as can be seen in André Gide's travel notes from Congo: "this morning we returned to the junction of the Congo and Djoué streams, roughly six kilometres away from the town of Brazzaville. [...] We can see a small fishing village. The odd dry riverbed is an unaccountable array of darkish boulders, resembling the moraine of a glacier. A scramble from rock to rock ensued, all of them rounded, to the banks of the Congo River. [...] I sailed all day among the islands: some are covered by dense forests and others by papyrus and reeds. The branches twist in an odd manner and snags are lost deep in the black water".⁵⁰

From the western end of the Dark Continent I return now to the eastern one, also lying between bodies of water: "The Country between Lake Tanganyika and the Indian Ocean" ("Das Land zwischen dem Tanganika See und dem Indischen Ocean") (21,5 x 31 cm; 1:5,000,000) (No. 44) (VII, 145), signed by a little-known cartographer, Henry Lange. As in the other maps, the author marked by means of red lines the route of three expeditions, the German East African one and two short ones undertaken by Van Decken, in December 1860 (in the south) and the following year, in the north. "In the same year when Roscher died, a new researcher entered the dangerous terrain, Baron Carl Claus von der Decken, in many respects an uncommon, outstanding figure, a cavalier who not only saved his life, but also a great fortune, that is, about 600,000 German marks, assigned to scientific research. Unfortunately, his voyages of discovery were dogged by misfortune from beginning to end".⁵¹

The "Special Map of Zululand, the Adjacent British Colonial Territories of Natal and Transvaal and the Portuguese Possessions on Delagoa Bay: Based on the Work of Jeppe, Merensky, Baines & Sanderson" (Fig. 12) ("Special-Karte des Zulu-Landes, der angrenz[enden] Britischen Colonial-Territorien Natal und Transvaal u[nd] d[er] portugiesischen Besitzungen an der Delagoa Bay. Nach den Arbeiten v[on] Jeppe, Merensky, Baines & Sanderson") (27,5 x 40,5 cm; 1:1,600,000) (No. 5) (I, 340) is one of the most beautiful and nicely-made in this small collection. It is characterized by the contrast between the rigorous, thick double grey shading of the coast on the one hand; the beautiful reddish-brown, sponge-shaped hachures on the other; and the three arched black capitalized names TRANSVAAL STAAT, NATAL, and ZULULAND, all three features being skilfully set in functional contrast. The title was arranged centrally in the lower right corner, in a stylish manner as well. It is also a documented map, with seven features: capital cities (Hauptstädte), post offices (Postämter od[er] Stationen), villages (Dörfer), mission headquarters (Missions Station), white (Boer) settlers' farms, kraals (Kaffernkraal), and forts. "One of the missionaries from Berlin, Alexander Merensky, [...] built a thriving settlement protected by a small fort and focused on industry and schooling, with workshops and even a press. [...] After the publication of the 1868 map, Merensky and Jeppe appear to have gone their separate ways. Jeppe involved himself in governance and other ventures. [...] In 1875, Merensky published a new map in the "Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin" that included new data primarily from published sources but also his own information, collected with admirably 'deficient' (mangelhafte) instruments. [...] The map was still entitled 'Original Map of the Transvaal or South African Republic' [...] and was labelled in English, to assure its appeal to the market for printed maps within South Africa and the British Empire. [...] The map was eclipsed within a year and a half by Jeppe's new map of the Transvaal, which was published even more widely and in a number of editions, but both seem to have been aware of the other's work. [...] Merensky's cartography is notable because information passed through him in a number of ways. Information from indigenous (baPedi) informants, passing travellers, and his own journeys appeared on maps that he compiled or helped to compile. At the same time, he served to tailor the provision of information towards specific policy aims, such as the removal of the African king Sekhukhune I, the aggrandizement of mission activity in the region, or the publicization

⁴⁹ Pechuël-Loesche, „Zur Geologie des westlichen Congogebietes. (Mit einer Karte)“, *Deutsche Rundschau für Geographie und Statistik* 8 (1886):289.

⁵⁰ André Gide, *Călătorie în Congo: note de drum*. Trad. de Iulia Soare (București: Univers, 1971), 18; 31.

⁵¹ Henry Lange, „Deutsche Forschungsreisen in Ostafrika. (Mit einer Karte)“, *Deutsche Rundschau für Geographie und Statistik* 7 (1885):146-147.

of the Transvaal as a conceptual unit”.⁵² On this map, the route of Baines and Sanderson was shown by means of a thin black line alongside the coast but moving away in the northeast (it strangely resembles roads near the Romanian coast, where lagoons also exist).

Franz Lemonnier is the author of a “Map of the Great Namaqualand and the German Settlement around Angra Pequena: Based on English and German Admiralty Surveys, the Research of the Travellers Andersson, Chapman, Galston, and Hahn” (“Karte des Gross Namaqualandes und der deutschen Niederlassung um Angra Pequena. Nach englischen und deutschen Admiralitäts-Aufnahmen, den Forschungen der Reisenden Andersson, Chapman, Galston und Hahn”) (26 x 36,5 cm; 1:2,500,000), very likely in the sinusoidal projection, also includes “The Bay of Angra Pequena: Based on the Original German Survey by the Gunboat Nautilus in 1884” (“Die Bay Angra Pequena. Nach der deutschen Original-Aufnahme des Kanonenbootes Nautilus 1884”) (No. 41) (VI, 529). As a result of the decades of German domination, Angra Pequena, the old Portuguese name, is more commonly replaced nowadays by Lüderitz, and has become an important place of call for ships; there is an inset map representing the bay, with heights and depths in metres. “A quiet bay on the lonely coast of southwest Africa, Angra Pequena, which is only called upon by whalers, has suddenly become a much-mentioned place and a topic of daily conversation. [...] However, as German sea-borne trade has continued to blossom after the proclamation of the German Empire, the idea of founding German colonies has also enjoyed a wider echo. Angra Pequena is now the place where this plan is to be realized, so it would seem appropriate to take a closer look at this place, which is so important for today’s cultural history”.⁵³ As to the region immediately east of the Skeleton Coast, the author noted, somewhat in the old tradition of *Hic sunt Leones*, but now with a commercial twist, that “it is said to be inhabited by a wild Namaqua tribe. Rich in game (ostriches and lions).”

“The Central Provinces of Madagascar According to Joseph Mullens’ Survey” (“Die Central-Provinzen von Madagaskar nach den Aufnahmen von Joseph Mullens”) (20,5 x 27,5 cm; 1:1,000,000) (No. 22) (IV, 255) is Ernst Otto Hopp’s work, but the technique is similar with Joseph Chavanne’s map of the province of Oran. “The famous traveller of the Middle Ages, Marco Polo, seems to have already gained intelligence about Madagascar; he wrote about Rok, a giant bird, the well-known mythical creature from Arabian fairy tales, which is said to have alighted once on the island. The “*Aepyornis maximus*”, a gigantic bird of the ostrich family, is now extinct, but not long ago certainly had its home in Madagascar. His eggs have been found, the size of 6 to 7 ostrich eggs or about 148 chicken eggs and are 12 ¼ inches long by 9 ¼ inches wide. Two of them are now in the British Museum. [...] The monthly review “*Teny Soa*”, (literally: Good Words), is said to have 4,000 Malagasy subscribers. A physical geography has already been reprinted for the second time, and the quarterly “*Mpanolo Tsaina*” (“The Adviser”), as well as several Christian books, all of which being written in the Malagasy language with the aid and collaboration of the missionaries, and widely read”.⁵⁴

J. C. Beer, who is presented as „k. k. Oberlieutenant”, is the author of “Karte der Insel St. Helena” (Fig. 13) (19,5 x 27,5 cm; 1:75,000) (No. 16) (III, 54). He described the relief as follows: “the island is made up of a wildly fissured basalt mass, which rises with almost vertical walls, especially on the coasts, forming a hilly region inside the island and a plateau in the eastern part, bordered to the west by numerous conical mountains, a characteristic feature of volcanic soil formation. [...] Numerous ravines, which have been deepened by rain over the course of time, cross the island and make it inaccessible from the sea”.⁵⁵ Because of the conical mountains, this map is characterized by the omnipresence of subtle radial relief hachures, attention being paid to mountain peaks, which were left blank to create the necessary contrast, and the ravines. The high, inaccessible shore is figured in such a way to give an idea of this characteristic feature, so that almost the whole island seems to be placed on a kind of stepped pedestal. The trees on this island are likely to be standards, that is, exposed to wind from all directions.

As he had done for Central Asia, Joseph Chavanne drafted an “Ethnographic Overview Map of Africa: Based on the Latest Research” (“Ethnographische Übersichtskarte von Afrika. Nach den neuesten Forschungen”) (28,5 x 30,5 cm) Wien, A. Hartleben’s Verlag, s.a. (No. 25) (IV, 518; 1:30,000,000). This time, for obscure reasons, the author chose to employ red capital letters for ethnonyms. There is certain

⁵² Lindsay Frederick Braun, *Missionary Cartography in Colonial Africa: Cases from South Africa*. In *Lecture Notes in Geoinformation and Cartography*, Berlin-Heidelberg (2012), 257-263.

⁵³ Franz von Le Monnier, „Angra Pequena. (Mit einer Karte)”, *Deutsche Rundschau für Geographie und Statistik* 6 (1884):529.

⁵⁴ Ernst Otto Hopp, „Neuguinea und Madagaskar. II. Madagaskar. (Mit einer Karte)”, *Deutsche Rundschau für Geographie und Statistik* 4 (1882):255.

⁵⁵ J. Carl Beer, „Die Insel St. Helena. (Mit einer Karte)”, *Deutsche Rundschau für Geographie und Statistik* 3 (1881):54.

coherence in the author's methods, because, as on the ethnic maps of Central Asia, the "Indogermanen" are represented by the same rose and reddish colour, whereas the dark green for the Tibetans is used here for the Bantu ("A'B'antu"), the pale green of the Brahui, here for "Nigritier (Sudanneger)", and the brown for the Chinese, here for the Ethiopians, labelled "arabisch-nigritische Mischbevölkerung". The author's sources were: R. Hartmann, "Die Nigritier"; Gerhard Rohlfs, "Drei Monate in der libyschen Wüste"; Nachtigal, "Sahara und Sudan"; H. Barth, "Reisen und Entdeckungen in Nord- und Centralafrika und Wanderungen durch die Küstenländer des Mittelmeeres"; G. Fritsch, "Die Eingeborenen Südafrikas und drei Jahre in Südafrika"; Duveyrier, "Les Touareg du Nord"; Schweinfurth, "Im Herzen von Afrika"; L. Quintin, "Etudes ethnographiques sur les pays entre le Sénégal et le Niger"; O. Lenz, "Über Zwergvölker in Afrika"; Cl. Denhardt, "Erkundigungen im äquatorialen Afrika"; W. Felkin & T. Wilson, "Uganda and the Egyptian Sudan".⁵⁶

Another "Übersichtskarte" by Chavanne is the "Hydrographic Overview Map of Africa" ("Hydrographische Übersichtskarte von Afrika") (28,5 x 30,5 cm; 1:30,000,000) (No. 28) (V, 263). This is a useful, beautiful map, characterized by the use of pastel colours for the various basins and the attempt to represent as many tributaries as possible of the great rivers, which look like thin black wrinkles or arteries, accompanied by their names in small italics. In an introductory passage in his article, the author pointed out that "in the last year, 1882, it was 'Africa' that attracted the attention, not only of geographers, but of the entire educated world. There is interest everywhere in the immediate future of the continent, in terms of trade policy and of economics. The discoveries and research of Stanley, Cameron, and many other pioneers of geography are already beginning to bear fruit. Yet, at the same time a bad seed is growing into jealousies and disputes, which by the time when they will break out will have tangibly damaged the civilizational mission of explorers and will have undone the halo of civilized peoples in the eyes of the 'Nigritians' and 'A'Bantu'".⁵⁷

Joseph Chavanne continued his efforts with the "Map of the Distribution of Rainfall in Africa" ("Karte der Regenvertheilung in Afrika") (28,5 x 30,5 cm; 1:30,000,000) (No. 36) (VI, 241), similar in manner to that of Asia. In his article, the author noted that "thanks to the great journeys of the last few decades, to the numerous inland and seaboard meteorological stations, except the equatorial region, we currently have got some data, albeit still very poor, which at least makes possible a clear representation of the rainfall conditions, so that the attempt to map the distribution of precipitation may have some justification and make the understanding of this distribution much easier".⁵⁸

The Americas

Data collected by an expedition was turned to good account in the "Map of the Headwaters of the Snake River and the Adjacent Part of the Yellowstone Area (National Park): Based on the Surveys of the Snake River Expedition" ("Karte des Quellgebietes des Snake River und des angrenzenden Theiles des Yellowstone Gebietes (Nationalpark) nach den Aufnahmen der Snake River Expedition") (Fig. 14) (28,5 x 29 cm; 1:735,000) (No. 3) (I, 244). In this map one comes across dark brown florid hachures, which, more than in any other map in this portfolio, partly because of the relatively poor quality of the printing, are foggy, shrivelled up, in sharp contrast with the firmly, thickly outlined, small, but compact, dark turquoise of the lakes, especially the graphical roughly octopus-shaped Yellowstone Lake, with its three beautifully-contoured islands; all this was done for the sake of the visual hierarchy. "countless hot springs arise whistling, blowing up the steam stored inside the earth, like out of locomotive valves. They are, so to speak, the safety flaps of the enormous fire and steam boiler in Vulcan's workshop. [...] As if fired up from his gigantic cannon, with a terrible roar, a steamy jet of water more than 20 feet in diameter reaches a height of 60 feet, and five to six thinner jets are shot through this grandiose column, one emerging telescopically from the other, up to the height of a bell tower".⁵⁹ This map is characterized by short descriptions of relief and

⁵⁶ Joseph Chavanne, „Erläuterungen zur ethnographische Uebersichtskarte von Afrika“, *Deutsche Rundschau für Geographie und Statistik* 4 (1882), 519-520.

⁵⁷ Joseph Chavanne, „Der Fortschritt der geographischen Forschungen und Reisen im Jahre 1882. I. Afrika. (Mit einer Karte)“, *Deutsche Rundschau für Geographie und Statistik* 5 (1883):263.

⁵⁸ Joseph Chavanne, „Die Vertheilung der Niederschlagsmengen (Regen) in Afrika. (Mit einer Karte)“, *Deutsche Rundschau für Geographie und Statistik* 6 (1884):241.

⁵⁹ Joseph Chavanne, „Der Nationalpark der Vereinigten Staaten Nordamerikas. (Mit einer Karte)“, *Deutsche Rundschau für Geographie und Statistik* 1 (1879):243; 245.

vegetation, strewn everywhere. Thus, near the lower left corner one can read “PART OF ROCKY DESERT covered with LAVA-BASALT destitute of water and vegetation”. Unlike other maps, in this case both hachures and lettering are the same colour, that is, dark brown. The map is completed by four small geologic profiles, within rectangles marked by Roman numerals, set in the lower right corner, among which the largest and most dramatic is that of the Teton Range. Unfortunately, the writing is very small and barely legible.

Another map of the Yellowstone wilderness, Anton Steinhauser’s “Karte des Yellowstone-National-Park. Nach Poole-Bros Karte (Chicago 1883)” (22 x 25 cm; 1:500,000) (No. 52) (VIII, 398), is a complex one of heights and conveyance. Unlike the previous map, the relief is clearly rendered, namely, by means of light brown hachures highlighting the watersheds. Lakes are shown by way of black outlines filled with pleasantly-looking greenish light blue, whereas rivers are precisely drawn by means of black lines. The result is a beautiful and easy-to-use map, and the masterly use of varied lettering only increases its value. Six routes are represented, each marked with Roman numerals (Route No. I., Route No. II, and so forth). Besides, one can encounter four means of transportations: The Pacific Rail Road (which is figured only in the distant north), constructed roads (“Gebaute Fahrwege”), wagon trails (“Karrenwege”), riding- and footpaths (“Reit- und Fussessteige”), as well as individual buildings (“Einz[elne] Gebäude”), springs, and geysers.

The “Karte von British Columbien nach den Aufnahmen von Waddington, Sandford und der Canadian Survey” (32,5 x 44,5 cm; 1:3,000,000) (No. 34) (VI, 110) was the work of “Ch.,” almost certainly Joseph Chavanne. This map was probably meant directly to serve government planning, as it is more functional than beautiful, and also printed on cheap buff paper, certainly shading off the brown hachures. Indeed, the two great projects, that is, Project Waddington and Project Sandford, are marked by means of two thick red lines.

Another great engineering project is the purpose of the “Special Map of the Isthmus in Southern Darien: for an Overview of the International Canal Scheme” (“Spezialkarte der Landenge im Süd[lichen] Darien z[ur] Übersicht des internationalen Canalprojectes”) (No. 6) (I, 402; 1:500,000). It is a rather conservative map, devoid of hachures for heights, which nonetheless are replaced, in an ingenious contrivance, by figures displaying the heights in metres. On this map, wooded areas are shown in the time-honoured fashion, namely, by clusters of circlets, each casting a shadow. The author, C. Filippi, noted that “vegetation [...] grows in all the lushness of the tropics covers the ground everywhere and poses for engineers and surveyors the greatest difficulties in carrying out their task. [...] The recording of the Tuyra valley took place with satisfactory results. The geologist Brooks also reported encouraging results from his drilling, which was driven down to 9.50 m in Pinogana down to 20 m at the mouth of the Cupe River. A precision level, which controlled the tachymeter, was sent ahead of the latter. [...] Around mid-January, the two tachymetric departments met again in the Indian village of Paya; the depth given by Mr. Wyse for the water level at Paya to be 47 m was rectified to 73 m” (of course, a considerable difference) “by the twice-controlled precision levelling, and although all hope of finding the trace of a level channel has gone, he proceeded at once to record the watershed, yet more for scientific reasons than for practical ones”.⁶⁰ This map also includes a small inset one, showing the location of the several schemes to dig a canal in Central America (“(Carton) zur Übersicht d[er] verschied[enen] Canalprojecte in Central-Amerika”).

Like all maps of South America in this portfolio, the “Map of the United States of Colombia (Karte der Vereinigten Staaten von Columbien)” (23,5 x 27 cm; 1:6,000,000) (No. 31) (V, 465) is a much more accomplished one than others from the same period; care for exactness, but also for beauty, is obvious. For example, nearly all toponyms are written rigorously horizontally, several typefaces being used. This map is peculiar and very different from those of Colombia from nowadays, in that it was mostly the northwestern, mountainous part of the country that was covered, and also Panama, which was still part of Colombia. “After a long cessation, the construction of the interoceanic shipping canal from Chagres to Panama in the Colombian state of Panama has once again drawn the attention of geographers to the Federative Republic of Colombia during the last six years and offered explorers the opportunity to try and know the extensive territory of these United States of South America. [...] The beginnings of cartographic surveys in the present-day Free States only date back to their liberation from Spanish sovereignty and it was mostly foreigners that

⁶⁰ C. Filippi, „Der Isthmus von Darien und die Projecte zu seiner Durchstehung. (Mit einer Spezialkarte der Landenge im südlichen Darien)“, *Deutsche Rundschau für Geographie und Statistik* 1 (1879):400-401.

undertook this difficult task".⁶¹

The completely obscure Dr. Essendorfer, who is described as „Marine-Stabsarzt” (that is, physician of a marine brigade), is the author of a map focusing on a “triconfinium”, “Map of the Border Areas of Peru, Bolivia, and Chile” (“Karte der Grenzgebiete von Peru, Bolivia und Chile”) (Fig. 15) (18 x 32 cm; 1:8,000,000) (No. 8) (I, 508), another remarkable work, even more beautiful than the previous one. Lima and Valparaiso were placed at the extremities – they must have been included thanks to the prestige and attractions of both. A detail inset map was added, that is, of the upland railway Lima-Oroya. In this case, a peculiar charm was obtained by means of the pale reddish-brown hachures for the heights on the one hand, and the Pacific Ocean and the lakes on the other. The ocean, labelled here in the archaic fashion, „Grosser Ocean”, is depicted in a suggestive manner, that is, by means of a narrow, intense-blue stripe shading off into dark green. The map was attached to the article “Die Cordilleren-Eisenbahn in Peru” by Essendorfer. Interest in the Yungas region can be inferred from the articles in the review (although that region is not named as such). “Yungas [is a] humid, subtropical region in western Bolivia. It occupies the eastern slopes of the Andean Cordillera Real and extends northeast and north of the cities of La Paz and Cochabamba. This rainy forested belt of rugged terrain (sharp ridges and deep gorges, eroded by numerous streams) has its counterparts in Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru. Its middle level of elevation allows a diversity of crops to be grown. Settlers have been attracted to the area by gold, coca, coffee, cacao, and sugarcane, and government efforts to improve transportation and colonize the region continue.”⁶²

Henry Lange drafted a small, but both clear and interesting “Map of Julius Crevaux’s Travels in French Guyana and to the Amazon River 1877-1879” (“Karte vom Julius Crevaux’s Reisen in Französisch Guiana und zum Amazonenstrom 1877-1879”) (18 x 20 cm; 1:5,000,000) (No. 13) (II, 362). The areas east and south of French Guyana are labelled as “unexplored” (Unerforscht). The two routes are shown, namely, that of 1877 and that of 1879, by means of a dot-and-dash, respectively, continuous thick bright red line. Jules-Nicolas Crevaux, French explorer, born on April 1, 1847 in Lorquin (Lorraine), died in a squirmish on the Pilcomayo River on April 24, 1882. A doctor by profession, in 1870 he enlisted during the Franco-Prussian War and distinguished himself for his bravery. When the war was over, as he did not have a vocation for sedentary medicine, he went to sea and was appointed naval surgeon in 1871. Thirsty for glory, Crevaux first visited the coast of Africa, then decided to turn his efforts towards South America, where were vast territories still poorly known or even completely unknown. Let us remember that some regions were discovered only in the 20th century, such as Roraima and even the greatest waterfall in the world, Angel, and all this was only possible with the advent of aviation. In 1877, Crevaux explored Guyana. The account of his explorations, first included in “Le Tour du Monde”, was published under the title “Voyages dans l’Amerique du Sud” (Paris, 1883, in-4). The Paris Geographic Society has drawn the material for a work: “Fleuves de l’Amerique du Sud” (1883) from the papers of the deceased.⁶³

An obscure cartographer, F. Montolieu, was the source of a “Map of the Bifurcation Area of the Orinoco and Rio Negro (Amazon River)” (“Karte des Bifurcations-Gebietes des Orinoko und Rio Negro (Amazonenstroms)”) (22,5 x 28 cm; 1:1,600,000) (No. 17) (III, 176). This map is nearly identical in technique to those of Baluchistan and Zululand, but this is the only map in this collection where the author wanted to show an entire watershed crossing the whole region from east to west, by means of a dashed black line. “In January 1541 [...] Orellana decided to go with the flow and sail to the sea, not knowing where he would eventually end up. [...] The Spaniards reached a tributary on the left side, whose water seemed ‘as black as pitch.’ Orellana gave this tributary the name Rio Negro (the largest of the left tributaries of the Amazon, over 1500 km long). [...] In July 1799, Humboldt and Bonpland landed on the coast of Venezuela (the port of Cumana). From there they went to Caracas and then headed south in the direction of the Orinoco River. They ascended the upper branch of the river to the place where the Casiquiare branch breaks off to the southwest, ‘which is not inferior to the Rhine in breadth.’ It flows into the Rio Negro [...]. Humboldt drew up the first scientific description of this phenomenon and after a few years the Casiquiare began to be considered a classic example of the bifurcation of rivers”.⁶⁴

⁶¹ „Die Vereinigten Staaten von Columbien (Begleitworte zur Karte der Columbien)”, *Deutsche Rundschau für Geographie und Statistik* 5 (1883):465.

⁶² *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc., 1994), 12, 878.

⁶³ L[ucien] Hesse, *Crevaux*. In *La Grande Encyclopédie*, 13, Paris (s.a.), 358.

⁶⁴ I. P. Maghidovici, *Istoria descoperirilor geografice*. Trad. de Ion Vlăduțiu și M. Leicand (București: Editura Științifică, 1959),

The two-sheet “Map of the Argentine Republic: Based Primarily on American Sources” (“Karte der Argentinischen Republik vorzugsweise nach amerikanischen Quellen. In 2 Blättern”) (30,5 x 62 cm; 1:6,000,000) (No. 39), very likely drafted in the sinusoidal projection, which accurately represents distances at all latitudes. This map also includes two inset maps, the “Jahresisothermen in Graden Celsius nach Gould” and a small black-and-white plan of Buenos Aires (VI, 455) having got a regular grid in the centre. The unmentioned author did not miss the opportunity for nationalistic-populistic propaganda, stating that “the focus of the Argentine government is primarily on the Germans; they are valued everywhere because of their efficiency and hard work and many German compatriots have already ended up in good situations in Argentina”.⁶⁵ It is also a more carefully-worked map, paying close attention to all features. Besides the political and administrative borders, the author represented three kinds of railways (already in use, under construction, and planned) and two kinds of telegraph lines (already in use and planned). The nicely-drawn hachures for heights pleasantly contrast with the subdued pink of the political borders. As to the relief, it is remarkable that Uruguay is painstakingly represented, including transportation, as it was a nearly empty land. The American astronomer Benjamin-Apthorp Gould (1824-1896), “a son of Benjamin Apthorp Gould (1787-1859), principal of the Boston Latin school, was born at Boston on the 27th of September 1824. Having graduated at Harvard College in 1844, he studied mathematics and astronomy under C. F. Gauss at Göttingen, and returned to America in 1848. From 1852 to 1867 he was in charge of the longitude department of the United States coast survey; he developed and organized the service, was one of the first to determine longitudes by telegraphic means, and employed the Atlantic cable in 1866 to establish longitude-relations between Europe and America. The “Astronomical Journal” was founded by Gould in 1849; and its publication, suspended in 1861, was resumed by him in 1885. From 1855 to 1859 he acted as director of the Dudley observatory at Albany, New York. [...] He undertook in 1868, on behalf of the Argentine Republic, to organize a national observatory at Cordoba; began to observe there with four assistants in 1870, and completed in 1874 his “Uranometria Argentina” (published 1879) for which he received in 1883 the gold medal of the Royal Astronomical Society. [...] He secured at Cordoba 1,400 negatives of southern star-clusters, the reduction of which occupied the closing years of his life”.⁶⁶ His main work dates from his stay in Cordoba, where, with the help of four assistant astronomers, he carried out a systematic exploration of the southern sky. The final accomplishment was the revision of old maps and creation of new ones.”⁶⁷

Josef von Lehnert, already mentioned, is the author of “The Area of the Strait of Magellan in the Mercator Projection: Designed According to English Surveys” (“Das Gebiet der Magellanstrasse in Mercators Projection. Nach englischen Aufnahmen entworfen”), Wien, A. Hartleben’s Verlag, s.a. (18,5 x 24,5 cm; 1:5,000,000) (No. 50) (VIII, 145). The word “Sand”, of course a label for the dangerous banks, occurs three times off the eastern coast of Patagonia, below the corresponding depth. Arrows from battles of the past, waged by warring kingdoms, were transmuted here by subtle alchemy, this time as black-ink tiny arrows indicating winds and currents. It is with an arrow that were marked the „Strömungen”, in the west-east direction. A dashed line marks the occurrence of the 0° air temperature in July and August, whereas another one marks the magnetic variation, which is 24° easterly. Four signs mark the periods in which icebergs can be seen at sea: ○ with two short vertical “rays” up and down, from January to March; ● for April to June; ○ for July to September; and ○ with four small rays, for October to December. “The miserable natives of the Magellan region, that race of people whose intellectual development is far behind due to the extremely unfavourable conditions and offers no prospect of being raised from the deep barbarism that seems to characterize their existence. [...] The bestial character has remained utterly insensitive to the numerous proofs of benevolence. [...] Not only the Fuegians, but also the inhabitants of individual areas of the Patagonian mainland are actually more dangerous to sea traffic in the present day and are more feared than in any previous period. [...] The accompanying map, which contains a sketch of the interesting location and a profile of the flood heights, should better illustrate what has already been said”.⁶⁸

303; 702; 820.

⁶⁵ „Die argentinische Republik. (Mit einer Karte in zwei Sectionen)”, *Deutsche Rundschau für Geographie und Statistik* 6 (1884):455.

⁶⁶ *The Encyclopædia Britannica* (London: Encyclopædia Britannica Inc., 1926), 12, 284.

⁶⁷ L[éon] S[agnet], „Benjamin Apthorp Gould”. In *La Grande Encyclopédie*, 19, Paris (s.a.):51.

⁶⁸ Josef von Lehnert, „Wanderungen durch die Magellanstrasse. (Mit einer Karte)”, *Deutsche Rundschau für Geographie und Statistik* 8 (1886):156; 214.

Australia and Oceania

G. Freytag is the author of "The Australian Overland Telegraph" ("Der australische Überland-Telegraph") (17 x 24,5 cm; 1:10,000,000), (No. 7) (I, 460). "In 1858 [...] Central Australia was still a 'white spot on the map.' [...] For some unaccountable reason, the Melbourne Geographical Society arranged for Burke to cross Australia in both directions, instead of the expedition being brought from the northern coast to Melbourne by sea. That is why he had to organize intermediate bases. Besides, Burke used not only horses but also camels (brought from Afghanistan) for the first time in Australia on the way through the desert, which was as rational as possible. [...] In 1860, John MacDouall Stuart independently undertook attempts to cross the Australian continent. [...] The first attempt failed. Stuart had never imagined that central Australia was such a terrifying desert. [...] In late 1862, [...] at last, [...] he found his way to the sea through the thicket which had previously seemed impassable to him – on Birdum Creek, a southern tributary of the Roper River. From the banks of this river, Stuart proceeded north-west to the Adelaide River, and up this he arrived in July 1862 on the shores of Van Diemen's Bay. Thus, John Stuart made the second crossing (after Burke) of the Australian continent in the direction of the meridian. The route he followed (with slight deviations in both directions) was soon used for the installation of the trans-Australian telegraph line. [...] Exaggerating, of course, greatly, he praised northern Australia, declaring it to be 'the most wonderful region it was ever given to man to see.' [...] The inland regions of Australia, located west of the telegraph line, remained completely unexplored. The explorers would proceed from Adelaide to one of the stations in the center of the continent, which they had chosen as their starting base, and then enter the desert from the west".⁶⁹ Like the map of the northern polar regions, the map is characterized by the contrast between the greenish blue of the ocean and lakes alike and the white space of the landmass. In is true that the mapmaker was advantaged by the scarcity of heights, which otherwise would have overburdened the map. Freytag chose deep greenish blue, subdued black hachures for heights, and a bright red winding line for the telegraph, linked to the north-west with the submarine „Kabel v. Bangoewagi (Java)". The telegraph stations were figured by means of red circlets, graphically occurring beside the black caterpillar-like hachures of the mountains. The author admitted that the land telegraph line "was only damaged once by the natives; major disruptions to the line in the tropical part are brought about by white ants".⁷⁰ In my opinion, the major flaw of this map is that it creates the false impression that the interior is a fertile region, rich in running water, which is not the case. Dr. Essendorfer was much more inspired when he represented the „Pampay Lago de Sal" by means of blue and white horizontal lines, and it would have been the case for Lake Eyre, which in most of the time is not a lake teeming with life, but a flat expanse of salt where mirages occur.

"The Australian Colony of Victoria" ("Die australische Colonie Victoria") (20,5 x 29 cm; 1:3,000,000) (No. 30) (V, 381) resembles to a great extent the manner in which the map of Colombia was made, but it also shows the railways, with the city of Melbourne as the most important hub. The author also paid attention at the borders of counties, which overlap with the watersheds in the southern mountainous areas. In the northwestern region, the county borders tended to be drawn with the ruler downright, so that a perfectly rectangular-shaped county, named Weeah, came into being. "In some areas [...] large-scale topographic maps are not required. Australia [...] has large-scale coverage only of its populated coastal areas in the east".⁷¹

Emil Mayr's chorochromatic "Economic Conditions of New South Wales" ("Die ökonomischen Verhältnisse von Neu-Süd-Wales") (21 x 31 cm; 1:5,500,000) (No. 37) (VI, 289), very likely in the azimuthal projection, covering much of the so-called wheat/sheep belt of Australia,⁷² is coloured in the same way as the map of the Congo State, namely, in the same palette of green, rose, and, to a smaller extent, light yellow. On the one hand, there are the four economic features as such (agriculture (Feldbau), mining (Bergbau), cattle raising (Viehzucht), and gold mining (Gold), and the transportation is figured as well (railways – in use and under construction, and main roads (Hauptstrassen)). Like Karl Czoernig's 1856 ethnic map of the Austrian Empire, this one must also have been drawn up according to answers of questionnaires. Greenery prevailing

⁶⁹ Maghidovici, *Istoria descoperirilor geografice*, 740-742.

⁷⁰ Ch., „Der australische Ueberland-Telegraph. (Begleitworte zur Karte)", *Deutsche Rundschau für Geographie und Statistik* 1 (1879):460.

⁷¹ C.F.F./Ed., "History of Cartography. – Mapmaking", in *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc., 1994), 23, 482.

⁷² Martine Maron and Charlie Zammit, *Northern Wheat/Sheep Belt*, S.I., s.a., 1.

in the coastal landscape is reflected in the name Green Cape (in the pasture area). Aboriginal toponyms can be encountered, such as the seaboard Ulladulla, then Parramatta, Wagga Wagga, Tumarumba, a landlocked village, and the famous Gundagai (in the southeast), which gave its name to the well-known folk song and a novel with the same title, “The Road to Gundagai”, by Graham McInnes, published in London in 1965.

Henry Greffrath’s “The Colony of South Australia: According to Australian Sources” (“Die Colonie Süd-Australien. Nach australischen Quellen”) (Fig. 16) (22,5 x 30,5 cm; 1:4,200,000) (No. 45) (VII, 350) is one of the most beautiful and well-drawn maps in this portfolio. As to its style, it is different from the other maps, as it is dominated by a beautiful and equally functional rosy hue, because a pleasant contrast was obtained with the subdued blue of the ocean. A third feature is the caterpillar-shaped hachures of heights, again in a beautiful subdued brown. The beauty of this map is further enhanced by the use of antiqua typefaces, in italics for smaller features, written horizontally. An interesting choice was to have the names of lakes bent to the left. Oronyms (names of relief features) are straight, whereas the names of smaller settlements (small towns and villages) are bent to the right. In the upper right corner one can notice the choronym “Lake District” (thus paying homage to Britain), Hope Plains, and Stony Desert (Stein Wüste).

“Die Insel Tasmania” (23,5 x 28,5 cm; 1:1,450,000) (No. 42) (VII, 58) by the same Henry Greffrath is, unlike the rest of this collection, a topographical map, filled with subdued greyish hachures, and also of the mineral deposits – gold, iron, tin, and coal, and the railway which had been built. In this way, the author succeeded in avoiding the ambiguity of Emil Mayr’s map, where the relief is lacking completely. Both river valleys and county borders are doubled by very light blue lines, matching the equally light blue sea, but the result is a dim appearance and false patina and wear and tear. Greffrath drew up a brief physical description of the island in his article: “there are many inland lakes, large and small rivers and streams. [...] The climate is one of the most beautiful and healthy on earth, which is why convalescents from the Australian continent are increasingly visiting this island. [...] The mortality rate among young children in Tasmania is very low. Most people there die of old age. [...] In the low-lying plains and valleys, on the other hand, the soil, which is mostly formed from the weathering of trap rocks, is extremely fertile, while the great plateau of Central Tasmania is home to the most beautiful pastureland. From the plant world, which includes around 1,100 species, of which around 1,000 are native, we would like to mention the Eucalyptus globulus, commonly called Blue Gum, which is known for its dehydrating and therefore fever-killing properties. It is, along with Dacrydium Franklini or Huon pine, one of the most widespread and strong trees on the island”.⁷³

“The Island of New Guinea and the Bismarck Archipelago: According to the Latest Dutch, English, and German Research and Recordings” (“Die Insel Neu-Guinea und der Bismarck-Archipel nach den neuesten holländischen, englischen und deutschen Forschungen und Aufnahmen”) (20 x 30 cm; 1:9,000,000) (No. 48) (VII, 541) is made in the similar manner as that of South Australia, but it was adapted to the requirements of a political map. Australian possessions are a beautiful rosy, whereas the Dutch ones are a dull, subdued mauve, and the German, blue. All these are surrounded by the light bluish of the seas. The article is accompanied by two beautiful and interesting ink drawings, “Papuan Temple on New Guinea” (signed “JJK”) and “Boat with Outrigger of the Papuans”.⁷⁴ The temple building is in fact typical for a seafaring people, namely, a large wicker boat, set up on poles in a shallow lagoon.

Heinrich Wildthurn’s “The Caroline Archipelago: According to Spanish and English Sources” (“Der Carolinen-Archipel. Nach spanischen und englischen Quellen”) (20 x 30 cm; no scale mentioned) (No. 49) (VIII, 62) was probably made in the Mercator projection. “On the map are highlighted, by means of broken underlinings of the names, the islands where German entrepôts can be found”.⁷⁵ Two of these islands, namely, Yap and Bonebey, are represented in inset maps. In this case, the author chose to oppose blank landmass to thick bluish horizontal lines to represent the seas, and all against the backdrop of the rigorous squares of the graticule, every five degrees, in a marked functional manner. The lettering is also simple and practical. All shores are, however, doubled by a thick greenish-blue stripe, which is conspicuous in the case of the islands, and the result are the small “haloes” around them.

The smallest map in this collection, “Samoa, or Islands of the Navigators” (“Die Samoa oder Schiffer Inseln”) (Fig. 17) (14,5 x 21 cm; 1:5,000,000) (No. 9) (I, 568), in the Mercator projection as well, was signed

⁷³ Henry Greffrath, „Die Colonie Tasmanien. (Mit einer Karte)”, *Deutsche Rundschau für Geographie und Statistik* 7 (1885):59-60.

⁷⁴ „Die Insel Neu-Guinea und der Bismarck-Archipel nach den neuesten holländischen, englischen und deutschen Forschungen und Aufnahmen (Mit einer Karte)”, *Deutsche Rundschau für Geographie und Statistik* 7 (1885):544-545.

⁷⁵ Heinrich Wildthurn, „Die Carolinen. (Mit einer Karte)”, *Deutsche Rundschau für Geographie und Statistik* 8 (1886):67.

simply by "R." "Mr. de Bougainville was right when he named these islands the Islands of the Navigators. The natives never walk from one village to another, but travel only in dugouts. Moreover, all the villages are located by the sea, in small bays, and the few hikes lead only to the uninhabited interior of the island".⁷⁶ The map was made shortly after the following events: "on January 24th of this year, a friendship treaty was concluded between the German Reich Government and the Government of the Samoa Islands in Apia, the essential provisions of which the hon. readers will have found in the 10th issue of this review. Given the importance that this treaty, which grants the German Reich the rights of a most favoured nation and the establishment of a coal depot in the port of Saluafata near Apia, has for the development of German trade in the South Sea, we believe it is appropriate to give a concise description of the Samoan archipelago".⁷⁷ The archipelago is divided into two segments, namely, *Westliche Gruppe* and *Östliche Gruppe*, and the rigorous graticule made of squares is included; it is erased to make place for the artistically-written, centered title and the unit of measure below it.

The Polar Regions

The "Overview Map of the North Polar Region" ("Übersichtskarte der Nordpolarregion") (Fig. 18) (25 x 28 cm; 1:44,500,000) (No. 4) (I, 283) was drafted using the azimuthal projection. On the other hand, the somewhat sketch-like appearance of this map is counter-balanced by the representation of the still unexplored North Pole region (by means of a roughly teardrop-shaped blank area). This map is also valuable because of the representation of the routes of the Swedish and Dutch polar expeditions. The author chose to represent only the drainage and settlements, thus enhancing the contrast between the blank landmasses and the greenish-blue of the seas. It was an inspired choice, because this vast blank area is, moreover, almost entirely, the one covered by snow in winter in the northern hemisphere and where much of the frozen soils occur. Just like on the map of Sunda, in this case, instead of coral colonies (Korallenbildungen) one can encounter the ice pack limit (Eiskante), represented by somewhat cloudlike irregular outlines with flourish hachures. The other two features are the Swedish and Dutch polar expeditions, whose routes were marked by means of several small black arrows. This map is remarkable as it is very ambitious and comprehensive, embracing the latitudes to the Persian Gulf – it effectively comes near what one could very well call "an ideal map" of the Northern Hemisphere, as there is very little distortion.

In spite of its title, the small "Map of the Northeast Passage with the Course of Nordenskjöld's Expedition in 1878, the Course of the Steamer *Pröven* in 1875-1876, and the Course of Capt. Johansen in 1878" ("Karte der Nordost-Durchfahrt mit dem Kurs der Expedition Nordenskjöld's 1878, dem Kurs der Dampfer *Pröven* 1875, 1876 und dem Kurse des Capt. Johansen 1878") (14,5 x 38,5 cm; 1:15,000,000) (No. 10) (II, 49) actually shows northern Eurasia north of the 57th parallel, namely, to cover southern Norway. It must have been drafted according to the Mercator projection, since the graticule indicates the great distortion. An emphasis is put on the Taimyr Peninsula, as it is divided into two halves, a western and an eastern one. It must have been considered to be larger than in reality, because of surveying errors which, moreover, easy occurred in that hostile environment. As in the most of the other maps here, it is characterized by the same blank landmass/dark-bluish sea dichotomy, the rigorous graticule (because of that, the entire map looks as if seen from behind lattice work), and the black- and red-line expeditionary routes. Other geographical features are the „Karische Pforte“, „Eis Cap“, „Yalmal (sic !) od[er] Samo jeden H[alb] I[nsel]“, the vast „Tschuktschen Land“, and, last but not least, the „Kellett Land“, supposed to exist north of Wrangel Land (all of these has proven in the meanwhile to be only an island, Vrangal, the well-known haven of the polar bears), the latter two being nearly identical in form to Patagonia. The course of the Vega and Lena ships, in red line, is marked with the days, from the Yugorsky Strait on August 1 to the wintering site on the remote Chukchi Peninsula, from September 28 (in the following manner: 1/8; 2/8; 3/8 and so forth).

It is the completely forgotten nowadays Heinrich W. Klutschak that drafted the "Map of the Areas of the Western of Hudson Bay Coast Inhabited by Eskimos" ("Karte der durch Eskimo bewohnten Strecken der westlichen Küste von Hudson Bai") (Fig. 19) (19,5 x 24,5 cm; no scale mentioned) (No. 19) (III, 417). This map resembles somewhat a political map, as the author represented the hunting grounds of three Eskimo tribes, that is, the Ukusiksilik (green), the Kinnepetu (yellow), and the Eiwili (rose). As on the Transylvanian

⁷⁶ La Pérouse, *Jurnal de călătorie*. Trad. de Anca Livescu (București: Editura Științifică, 1962), 189.

⁷⁷ R., „Die Samoa oder Schiffer Inseln (Begleitworte zur Karte)“, *Deutsche Rundschau für Geographie und Statistik* 1 (1879):566.

map of the frontier regiments, the Eskimo seasonal camps are represented according to the season when they were occupied, that is, the beginning of the year (“Frühjahr”), summer, autumn, and winter. The article includes two highly interesting engravings, Mutual Encounter between Eskimos from Different Tribes” (“Gegenseitige Begegnung von Eskimos verschiedener Stämme) and A Woman as An Envoy among the Netchillik Eskimos (“Ein Weib als Parlamentär bei den Netchillik-Eskimos”). “The points marked *F* on the map are usually the places where the Eivillik Eskimos can be found in the spring (“Frühling”). The saline moss genera attract the animals close to the salt water, and provide the animals separated in isolated stations (marked *S* on the map) with food, if not quantitative enough to build up stocks, at least sufficient to live for the short period. The individual rivers and lakes play the most important role and the points marked *H* on the map show their distribution during the autumn (“Herbst”). However, if their supplies of walrus meat are very significant, then the Eskimos prefer to spend the winter in as many numbers as possible in one place (marked *W* on the map).” The hachures of heights are interestingly drawn. This map is the only one which I have seen to date which contains descriptions of the relief, which were written in small italics: “Plateau with few animals and water, crossed from east to west only by sparse low hill ranges”; “Rocky, hilly terrain cut by countless water courses”; and “Undulating hill country with numerous reindeer herds.” A reference to fauna is “Reindeer and musk oxen are numerous” (Renntiere u[nd] Moschus Vieh zahlreich vertreten). On the other hand, the map becomes somewhat confusing, as these labels cannot be readily distinguished from each other. Heinrich Klutschak was the son of Franz Klutschak (born in Prague on February 11, 1814) led the literary review “Bohemia” and also “Česká Včela” (The Bohemian Bee), “Panorama des Universums”, and a few calendars. Besides them, he took up a large topographical work, “Böhmische Adelsitze”.⁷⁸ I cannot account for his absence from reference works, either West or Central European, since he was an accomplished researcher, cartographer, and even artist, as he illustrated himself his own voyages.

“The Franz Josef Land: According to the New Discoveries by Leigh Smith in 1880” (“Franz-Josef-Land. Nach den neuen Entdeckungen von Leigh Smith im Jahre 1880”) (18 x 26 cm; 1:3,800,000) (No. 20) (III, 532) was drafted in the Mercator projection by Benjamin Leigh Smith, an English traveller born in 1828. Called to the London bar in 1856, he soon abandoned the law for geographical explorations and was particularly fond of the arctic regions, where he went five times. In 1871 and 1872, he crossed the almost unknown regions north of Spitzbergen. He returned in 1873 and rescued the expedition blocked by the ice, and subsequently studied the temperature of the deep waters and the direction of the Gulf Stream currents as well. In 1880, on board of a ship which he had had built specially for the purpose, the Eira, he went to the

Franz-Joseph land and discovered islands and the coasts of a new land. He returned to the same area the following year, but the Eira was taken away by ice and smashed.⁷⁹ On this map is also represented the extremely tortuous route of the Eira (by means of a thin black line) and the drift of the Tegetthoff, the main ship of Austro-Hungarian North Pole Expedition, between August 1872 and May 1874 (by means of a thin dashed black line).

The other corresponding polar azimuthal-projection map, which could not be missing from this collection, the “Map of the Southern Polar Regions” (“Karte der südlichen Polarregionen”) (Fig. 20) (diameter 22 cm) (No. 16) (III, 101; 1:62,000,000), is a round map, interesting for the parabola-shaped route of the „projectirte italienische Südpolar-Expedition”, shown by means of a red line. This enterprise was to cross the Antarctic, in a near-symmetrical curl, but avoiding the South Pole itself. The Italians had planned to have a break in Montevideo in 1881, to pass east of Tierra del Fuego, cross the Drake Strait, to spend the winter 1881/1882 in Antarctica (which is entirely labelled “unexplored land” (Unerforschtes Gebiet)), to pass into the Ross Sea, proceed along the shore, spend the second winter (1882/1883) near the edge of the ice pack, and finally return via South Africa and the Atlantic Ocean. “Crossing the Challenger’s course vertically, the expedition ship will sail through the North and South Atlantic Oceans. In Montevideo, where there is a large Italian colony, the expedition will replenish its supplies and send ahead in vehicles with provisions, coal, and others, to set up a coal yard and warehouse on Tierra del Fuego. [...] There is no need for special mention that during the threefold wintering the expedition will pay special attention to the conversion of all observations relevant to the field of earth physics, the results of which will significantly fill the previous gaps in our knowledge of the Antarctic natural environment”.⁸⁰ Several isobars and isotherms were marked on this map. Swarms of

⁷⁸ Constant von Wurzbach, *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich* 12, Wien (1864):129-130.

⁷⁹ R[ené] S[amuel], „Benjamin Leigh Smith” in *La Grande Encyclopédie*, 30, Paris (s.a.):111-112.

⁸⁰ Joseph Chavanne, „Die projectirte italienische Südpolar-Expedition. (Mit einer Karte der Südpolar-Region)”, *Deutsche Rundschau für Geographie und Statistik* 3 (1881):104.

black thin arrows are figured on this map, like on that of the Strait of Magellan.

As a conclusion, this collection is one not very brilliant at first glance, but instead one which proves to contain hidden treasures and meanings. These maps involved considerable effort and mobilization of resources. As regards the Old World, or Afro-Eurasia, from the historical-documentary point of view, they represent an interesting transition period from the local forms of government to the new European overseas possessions, or at least areas of influence. It was indeed an intricate history of exploration, dashes across deserts, travel, military conquest, and "projects of the daring," documented in this case by various artifacts such as maps retracing expeditions, ethnographic maps, geological maps, and inset maps, all different in style, according to each cartographer.

Catalogue

- I Debes, E. *Landhöhen und Meerestiefen der Erde in Nell's modifizierter Globular-Projektion*, Leipzig, s.a. (aus Alex. Supan's Physischen Erdkunde)
1. Chavanne, Joseph. *Karte von Afghanistan und den angrenzenden Gebieten* (mit Benützung von A. Petermann's Karte von Iran und Turan), Wien, A. Hartleben's Verlag, s.a. (I, 52)
 2. Oesterreicher, T. L. von. *Das Khanat von Kelat-Beludschistan ...*, Wien, A. Hartleben's Verlag, s.a. (I, 149)
 3. Chavanne, Joseph. *Karte des Quellgebietes des Snake River und des angrenzenden Theiles des Yellowstone Gebietes (Nationalpark) nach den Aufnahmen der Snake River Expedition*, Wien, A. Hartleben's Verlag, s.a. (I, 244)
 4. *Übersichtskarte der Nordpolarregion*, Wien, A. Hartleben's Verlag, s.a. (I, 283)
 5. *Special-Karte des Zulu-Landes, der angrenz. Britischen Colonial-Territorien Natal und Transvaal u[nd] d[er] portugiesischen Besitzungen an der Delagoa Bay. Nach den Arbeiten v. Jeppe, Merensky, Baines & Sanderson*, Wien, A. Hartleben's Verlag, s.a. (I, 340)
 6. Filippi, C. *Specialkarte der Landenge im Südl. Darien z. Übersicht des internationalen Canalprojectes*, Wien, A. Hartleben's Verlag, s.a. (I, 402)
 7. Freytag, G. *Der australische Überland-Telegraph ...*, Wien, A. Hartleben's Verlag, s.a. (I, 460)
 8. Essendorfer. *Karte der Grenzgebiete von Peru, Bolivia und Chile ...*, Wien, A. Hartleben's Verlag, s.a. (I, 508)
 9. R. *Die Samoa oder Schiffer Inseln*, Wien, A. Hartleben's Verlag, s.a. (I, 568)
 10. *Karte der Nordost-Durchfahrt mit dem Kurs der Expedition Nordenskjöld's 1878, dem Kurs der Dampfer Pröven 1875, 1876 und dem Kurse des Capt. Johansen 1878*, Wien, A. Hartleben's Verlag, s.a. (II, 49)
 11. Chavanne, Joseph. *Ethnographische Karte von Mittel-Asien. Hauptsächlich nach Wenjukow, Rittich, Ujfalvy und Cust*, Wien, A. Hartleben's Verlag, s.a. (II, 178)
 12. Chavanne, Joseph. *Das Algerisch-Tunesische Schott-Becken nach Capt. Roudaire's Aufnahmen*, Wien, A. Hartleben's Verlag, s.a. (II, 272)
 13. *Karte vom Julius Crevaux's Reisen in Französisch Guiana und zum Amazonenstrom 1877-1879*, Wien, A. Hartleben's Verlag, s.a. (II, 362)
 14. Hellwald, Friedrich von. *Karte von Nieder Cochinchina (Französisch Cambodscha)*, Wien, A. Hartleben's Verlag, s.a. (II, 457)
 15. Beer, K. *Karte der Insel St. Helena*, Wien, A. Hartleben's Verlag, s.a. (III, 54)
 16. Chavanne, Joseph. *Karte der südlichen Polarregionen*, Wien, A. Hartleben's Verlag, s.a. (III, 101)
 17. Montolieu, F., (nach ~), *Karte des Bifurcations Gebietes des Orinoko und Rio Negro (Amazonenstroms)*, Wien, A. Hartleben's Verlag, s.a. (III, 176)
 18. Paulitschke, Philipp. *Übersichtskarte der neuesten Forschungen im Gebiete des Oberen Niger und Senegal*, Wien, A. Hartleben's Verlag, s.a. (III, 309)
 19. Klutschak, Heinrich W. *Karte der durch Eskimo bewohnten Strecken der westlichen Küste von Hudson Bai*, Wien, A. Hartleben's Verlag, s.a. (III, 417)
 20. *Franz-Josef-Land. Nach den neuen Entdeckungen von Leigh Smith im Jahre 1880*, Wien, A. Hartleben's Verlag, s.a. (III, 532)
 21. Chavanne, Joseph. *Karte des südlichen Theiles des algerischen Provinz Oran. (Schottplateau und Nordrand der Sahara). Nach den neuesten Originalquellen bearbeitet von*, Wien, A. Hartleben's Verlag, s.a. (IV, 155)

22. *Die Central-Provinzen von Madagaskar nach den Aufnahmen von Joseph Mullens*, Wien, A. Hartleben's Verlag, s.a. (IV, 255)
23. Tomaschek, Wilhelm. *Das östliche Hindukuschgebiet*, Wien, A. Hartleben's Verlag, s.a. (IV, 318)
24. Schnehen, Hauptmann von. *Karte des unteren Amu-Darja und seines Delta: Mit der Skizze des neu aufgefundenen Daudan- und Tonu-Darja*, Wien, A. Hartleben's Verlag, s.a. (IV, 471)
25. Chavanne, Joseph. *Ethnographische Übersichtskarte von Afrika. Nach den neuesten Forschungen*, Wien, A. Hartleben's Verlag, s.a. (IV, 518)
26. Ujfalvy, K. E. von. *Ethnographische Karte von Hoch Asien*, Wien, A. Hartleben's Verlag, s.a. (V, 1)
27. *Allgemeine Tiefen-Verhältnisse der Sunda-Region*, Wien, A. Hartleben's Verlag, s.a. (V, 52-53)
28. Chavanne, Joseph. *Hydrographische Übersichtskarte von Afrika*, Wien, A. Hartleben's Verlag, s.a. (V, 263)
29. *Karte des südlichen China's, Tong-Kin's sowie der angrenzenden Theile von Siam und Birma. Zur Übersicht der Forschungsreisen im Jahre 1882 [Calquhoun, C. Bock. Villeroy d'Augis]*, Wien, A. Hartleben's Verlag, s.a. (V, 307)
30. *Die australische Colonie Victoria*, Wien, A. Hartleben's Verlag, s.a. (V, 381)
31. *Karte der Vereinigten Staaten von Columbien*, Wien, A. Hartleben's Verlag, s.a. (V, 465)
32. *Karte des Unteren Congo zur Uebersicht der neuesten Erforschungen*, Wien, A. Hartleben's Verlag, s.a. (VI, 25)
33. *West-Java und die Sundastrasse, das Gebiet des Erdbebens vom August 1883*, Wien, A. Hartleben's Verlag, s.a. (VI, 81)
34. Ch., *Karte von Britisch Columbien nach den Aufnahmen von Waddington, Sandford und der Canadian Survey*, Wien, A. Hartleben's Verlag, s.a. (VI, 110)
35. Chavanne, Joseph. *Przewalski's Reisen durch die Wüste Gobi nach Tibet*, Wien, A. Hartleben's Verlag, s.a. (VI, 145)
36. Chavanne, Joseph. *Karte der Regenvertheilung in Afrika*, Wien, A. Hartleben's Verlag, s.a. (VI, 241)
37. Mayr, Emil. *Die ökonomischen Verhältnisse von Neu-Süd-Wales*, Wien, A. Hartleben's Verlag, s.a. (VI, 289)
38. Chavanne, Joseph. *Karte der Regenvertheilung in Asien*, Wien, A. Hartleben's Verlag, s.a. (VI, 359)
39. *Karte der Argentinischen Republik vorzugsweise nach amerikanischen Quellen*, Wien, A. Hartleben's Verlag, s.a. Blatt 1 (VI, 455)
40. *Karte der Argentinischen Republik vorzugsweise nach amerikanischen Quellen*, Wien, A. Hartleben's Verlag, s.a. Blatt 2 (VI, 455)
41. Lemonnier, Franz Ritter von. *Karte des Gross Namaqualandes und der deutschen Niederlassung um Angra Pequeña. Nach englischen und deutschen Admiralitäts-Aufnahmen, den Forschungen der Reisenden Andersson, Chapman, Galston und Hahn. Cuprinde & Die Bay Angra Pequena. Nach der deutschen Original-Aufnahme des Kanonenbootes Nautilus 1884*, Wien, A. Hartleben's Verlag, 1884 (VI, 529)
42. Greffrath, Henry. *Die Insel Tasmania*, Wien, A. Hartleben's Verlag, s.a. (VII, 58)
43. Lemonnier, Franz Ritter von. *Karte von Formosa (Insel Tai wan der Chinesen) auf Grund englischer Küstenaufnahmen, der Aufnahmen von Thomson, Swinhoe, Perry und anderen*, Wien, A. Hartleben's Verlag, 1884. Cuprinde & *Plan des Hafens Kelung nach der Aufnahme des Commodore Perry* (VII, 97)
44. Lange, Henry. *Das Land zwischen dem Tanganika See und dem Indischen Ocean*, Wien, A. Hartleben's Verlag, s.a. (VII, 145)
45. Greffrath, Henry. *Die Colonie Süd-Australien. Nach australischen Quellen*, Wien, A. Hartleben's Verlag, s.a. (VII, 350)
46. *Central Afrika mit dem Kongo-Staate*, Wien, A. Hartleben's Verlag, s.a. (VII, 289)
47. Le Monnier, Franz Ritter von. *Die Insel Hainan*, Wien, A. Hartleben's Verlag, s.a. (VII, 438)
48. Hopp, Ernst Otto. *Die Insel Neu-Guinea und der Bismarck-Archipel nach den neuesten holländischen, englischen und deutschen Forschungen und Aufnahmen*, Wien, A. Hartleben's Verlag, s.a. (VII, 541)
49. Wildthurn, Heinrich. *Der Carolinen-Archipel. Nach spanischen und englischen Quellen bearbeitet und gezeichnet von*, Wien, A. Hartleben's Verlag, s.a. (VIII, 62)
50. Lehnert, Josef von. *Das Gebiet der Magellan-Strasse in Mercators Projection. Nach englischen Aufnahmen entworfen*, Wien, A. Hartleben's Verlag, s.a. (VIII, 145)
51. Pechuël-Loesche, *Geologische Skizze vom westlichen Congogebiet*, Wien, A. Hartleben's Verlag, s.a. (VIII, 289)
52. Steinhäuser, Anton. *Karte des Yellowstone-National-Park. Nach Poole-Bros Karte (Chicago 1883)*, Wien, A. Hartleben's Verlag, s.a. (VIII, 398)

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- „Der Vulcanismus im Sunda-Gebiete und die Katastrophe vom August 1883. (Mit einer Karte)”. *Deutsche Rundschau für Geographie und Statistik* 6 (1884).
- Wildthurn, Heinrich. „Die Carolinen. (Mit einer Karte)”, *Deutsche Rundschau für Geographie und Statistik* 8 (1886).

ILLUSTRATION LIST / LISTA ILUSTRĂȚILOR

- Fig. 1. The Portfolio (first cover)
- Fig. 2. Emil Neugeboren's signature
- Fig. 3-4. Emil Neugeboren's table of contents
- Fig. 5. Chavanne, Joseph. *Karte von Afghanistan und den angrenzenden Gebieten (mit Benützung von A. Petermann's Karte von Jran und Turan)*, Wien, A. Hartleben's Verlag, s.a.
- Fig. 6. Tomaschek, Wilhelm. *Das östliche Hindukuschgebiet*, Wien, A. Hartleben's Verlag, s.a.
- Fig. 7. Oesterreicher, T. L. von. *Das Khanat von Kelat-Beludschistan ...*, Wien, A. Hartleben's Verlag, s.a.
- Fig. 8. Schnehen, von. *Karte des unteren Amu-Darja und seines Delta: Mit der Skizze des neu aufgefundenen Daudan- und Tonu-Darja*, Wien, A. Hartleben's Verlag, s.a.
- Fig. 9. Lemonnier, Franz Ritter von. *Die Insel Hainan*, Wien, A. Hartleben's Verlag, s.a.
- Fig. 10. *Allgemeine Tiefen-Verhältnisse der Sunda-Region*, Wien, A. Hartleben's Verlag, s.a.
- Fig. 11. Chavanne, Joseph. *Das Algerisch-Tunesische Schott-Becken nach Capt. Roudaire's Aufnahmen*, Wien, A. Hartleben's Verlag, s.a.
- Fig. 12. *Special-Karte des Zulu-Landes, der angrenz. Britischen Colonial-Territorien Natal und Transvaal u[nd] d[er] portugiesischen Besitzungen an der Delagoa Bay. Nach den Arbeiten v. Jeppe, Merensky, Baines & Sanderson*, Wien, A. Hartleben's Verlag, s.a.
- Fig. 13. Beer, K. *Karte der Insel St. Helena*, Wien, A. Hartleben's Verlag, s.a.
- Fig. 14. Chavanne, Joseph. *Karte des Quellgebietes des Snake River und des angrenzenden Theiles des Yellowstone Gebietes (Nationalpark) nach den Aufnahmen der Snake River Expedition*, Wien, A. Hartleben's Verlag, s.a.
- Fig. 15. Essendorfer. *Karte der Grenzgebiete von Peru, Bolivia und Chile ...*, Wien, A. Hartleben's Verlag, s.a.
- Fig. 16. Greffrath, Henry. *Die Colonie Süd-Australien. Nach australischen Quellen*, Wien, A. Hartleben's Verlag, s.a.
- Fig. 17. R. *Die Samoa oder Schiffer Inseln*, Wien, A. Hartleben's Verlag, s.a.
- Fig. 18. *Übersichtskarte der Nordpolarregion*, Wien, A. Hartleben's Verlag, s.a.
- Fig. 19. Klutschak, Heinrich W. *Karte der durch Eskimo bewohnten Strecken der westlichen Küste von Hudson Bai*, Wien, A. Hartleben's Verlag, s.a.
- Fig. 20. Chavanne, Joseph. *Karte der südlichen Polarregionen*, Wien, A. Hartleben's Verlag, s.a.



Fig. 1

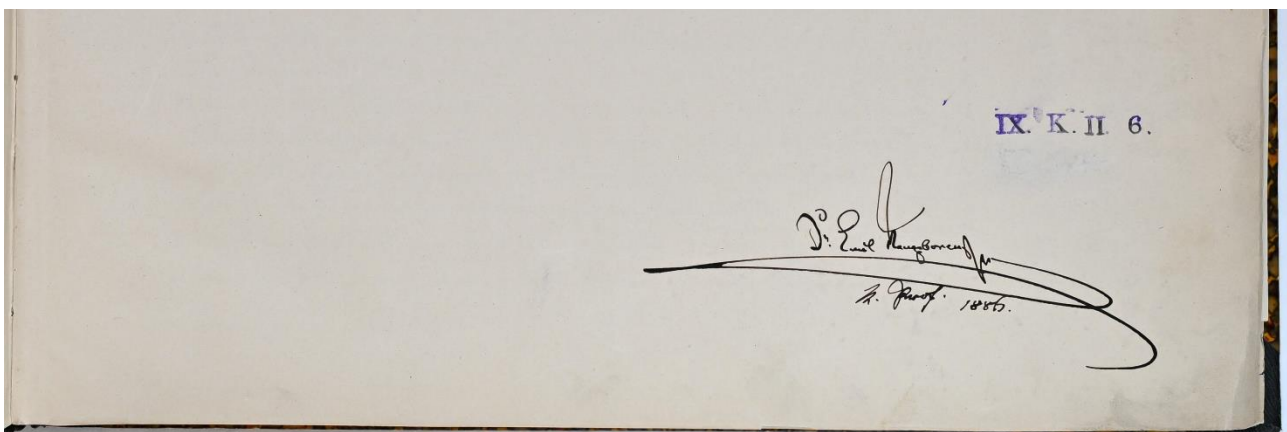


Fig. 2

Starten

zu außereuropäischen Welttheilen aus der
 Deutschen Rundschau für Geographie u. Statistik.

	Vergl.	Seite.
I Landhöhen u. Meerestiefen der Erde (aus Alex. Supan's <i>Physikal. Erdkunde</i>) 1884.	III	
1. Afghanistan u. die angrenzenden Gebiete nach H. Petermann	I	49
2. Helat - Belutschistan mit den angrenzenden Teilen des Indus, Punjab Afghanistan und Persien	I	145
3. Das Quellengebiet des Snake-river u. die angrenzenden Gebiete des Yellowstone (Gibbs)	I	240
4. Die Nordliche Region in Polarprojection	I	277
5. Das Zulu-land u. die benachbarten Colonialterritorien Natal u. Transvaal nach den portugiesischen Entdeckungen in der Delagoa Bucht	I	339
6. Das internationale Canalproject auf der Landenge im südlichen Sibirien	I	399
7. Der australische Ueberland-Telegraph von Perth Darwin nach Perth Augustae	I	458
8. Die Grenzgebiete von Peru, Bolivia u. Chile mit Rücksicht auf den peruanisch-chilenischen Krieg u. den Eisenbahn Lima = Traya	I	509
9. Die Sumatra oder Schuppen = Inseln	I	566
10. Die nordöstliche Durchfahrt mit dem Dampfer der Expedition Nordenskiöld	II	49
11. Ethnographische Notizen von Mittel-Libien nach Wenigkorn, Pittich, Uffalvi u. Cust.	II	178
12. Das algerisch-tunesische Schott = Frickon	II	272
13. Grewaux's Reisen in französische Guiana u. zum Amazonas	II	362
14. Nieder-Lochin-China (französisch = Cambodja)	II	457
15. Ein Entzug Ost-Hebriden	II	54
16. Die südlichen Polar-Regionen	III	101
17. Das Bijuterationsgebiet im Orinoko u. Rio negro (Amazonenstrom)	III	176
18. Übersicht über die Fortschritte von Oberen Niger u. Senegal	III	309
19. Die Strecken der von Eskimo Entdeckten nördlichen Inseln in Hudson Bay	III	417
20. Das Franz-Josef-Land im J. 1880 (nach den neuesten Entdeckungen)	III	532
21. Die algerische Provinz Oran (Schott = Platanus in Nordmund der Sahara)	III	115

22.

Fig. 3

	№	Seite
22. Die Centralprovinzen von Madagaskar	IV	255
23. Das östliche Hindukusch Gebirg	IV	318
24. Den untere Ome-Darja u. sein Tal, im Daudan u. Some Darja	IV	471
25. Ethnograph. Völkerverhältnisse von Afrika von Jos. Chavanne	IV	518
26. Ethnograph. Länder von Hochäthien von Prof. Uffelwing	V	1
27. Ullgem. Sieben-Monatskarte der Sundas = Pangsua nach Uffelwing der Sorellan-Eiländer	V	49
28. Hydrograph. Uebersichtskarte von Afrika	V	263
29. Das süd. China, Szechuan u. die umgränzten Teile von Siam u. Birma	V	307
30. Die australische Colonie Victoria	V	387
31. Die vereinigt. Staaten von Columbia	V	465
32. Den untere Congo mit den Völkern über die mannan Eiländer	VI	25
33. West-Isere und die Sundas = Ome, im Gabel, im Erdbeben von August, 1883.	VI	81
34. Britische Columbia nach Washington, Sanford u. im Canadian Survey	VI	110
35. Krzewalski's Reisen nach die Goki nach Tibet	VI	145
36. Regenverhältnisse in Afrika	VI	241
37. Die ökonomischen Verhältnisse von Neu Süd-Wales	VI	289
38. Regenkarte von Asien von Dr. Chavanne	VI	359
39. Die argentinische Republik	VI	455
40. Patagonien und Feuerland, Infants, Infanterie, Plan von Buenos Aires	VI	"
41. Groß-Memorqualand mit dem höchsten Meridianlauf im Unga-Becken	VI	529
42. Die Insel Formosa	VII	58
43. Die Insel Formosa (Saiwan der Chinesen)	VII	97
44. Das Land zwischen dem Sanganika Meer u. dem indischen Ocean	VII	145
45. Die Colonie Südaustralien	VII	350
46. Central Afrika mit dem Congo Flusse	VII	289
47. Die Insel Hainan	VII	438
48. Die Insel Neu Guinea u. den Neimark Archipel	VII	543
49. Der Cuvulinen Archipel		
50. Das Gebiet der Magellana = Straße.		

51) Geologische Karte von Prof. Uffelwing
52) Karte der Yellowstone National Park

Fig. 4



Fig. 5

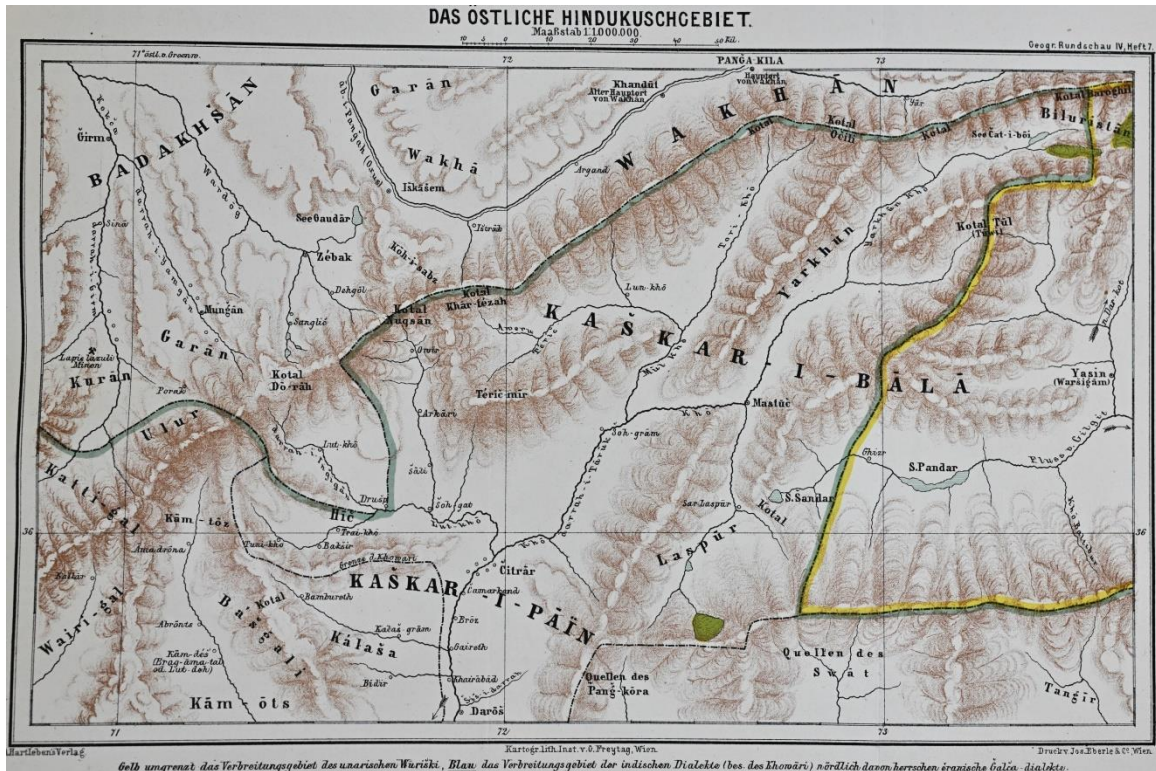


Fig. 6



Fig. 7

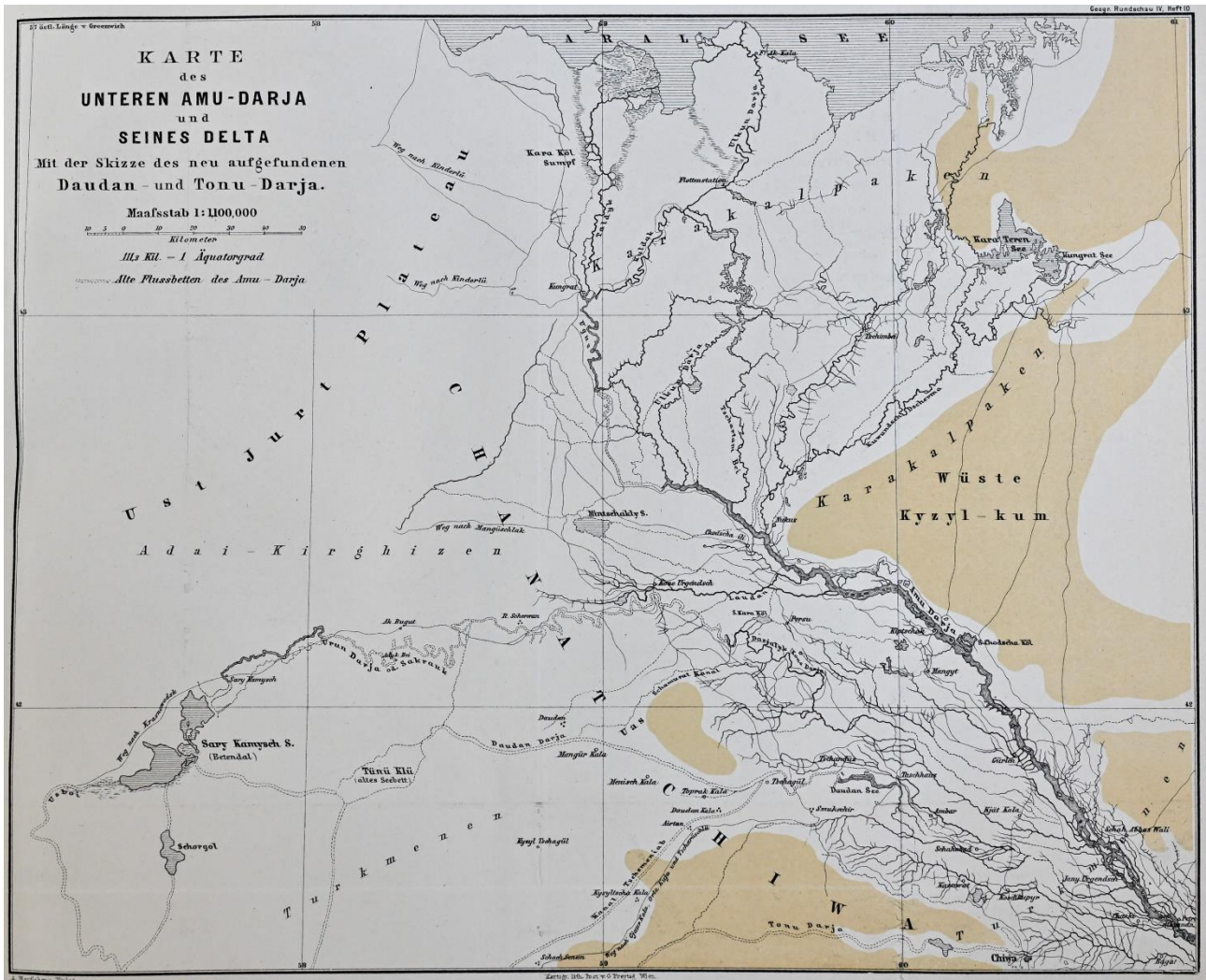


Fig. 8



Fig. 10



Fig. 11

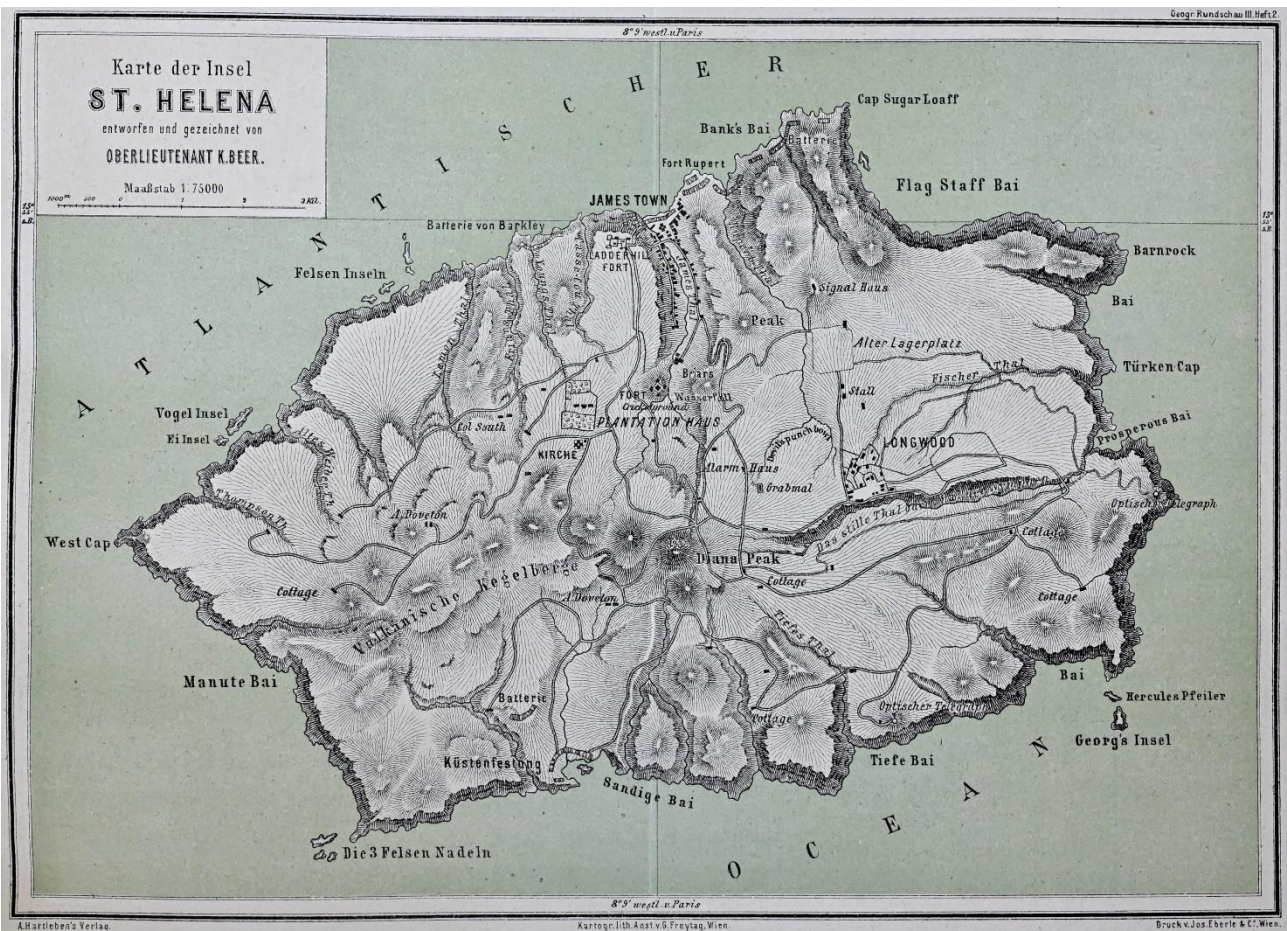


Fig. 13



Fig. 12



Fig. 14



Fig. 15



Fig. 16



Fig. 18

IMAGES OF SOCIO-POLITICAL LIFE IN TRANSYLVANIA: THE HUMOROUS CALENDAR *POZNAȘUL* [THE PRANKSTER]

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Abstract: George Călinescu was convinced that Romanian literature from the classical period originated from satire and humor, and this study examines how Romanian publications of this type evolved in Transylvania. I chose the humorous calendar *Poznașul*, edited by Ermil Borcia in Sibiu from 1896 to 1917, as a case study. An admirer of humorous publications from the Old Kingdom and of I.L. Caragiale, Borcia succeeded in providing an accurate depiction of Transylvanian Romanian society primarily through humor rather than sarcasm. This article explores the humor of the time, the subjects of Borcia's caricatures, and how his style became politically correct in 1914.

Keywords: self-image, humour and satire, humorous and satirical literature, elite, *Poznașul*

Rezumat: George Călinescu era convins că literatura românească din perioada clasică a plecat de la satiră și umor, iar acest studiu urmărește felul în care au evoluat publicațiile românești de acest tip din Transilvania. Am ales ca studiu de caz calendarul umoristic *Poznașul*, editat de Ermil Borcia la Sibiu între 1896–1917. Admirator al publicațiilor umoristice din *Vechiul Regat* și al lui I.L. Caragiale, a reușit să ofere o imagine reală a societății românești transilvănene prin umor cu precădere și mai puțin prin sarcasm. Acest articol explorează umorul vremii, subiectul caricaturilor și cum stilul lui Borcia a devenit unul corect politic în 1914.

Cuvinte-cheie: imaginea de sine, umor și satiră, literatura umoristică și satirică, elita, *Poznașul*

About Romanian Humorous and Satirical Literature in the Old Kingdom and Transylvania

Like in world literature, humor and satire have been present in Romanian literature as well, motivated differently depending on the permissiveness of Romanian society throughout history toward its own flaws and shortcomings or oriented toward others. Although laughter has been considered healthy since Roman times (*Ridendo castigat mores*), the process is not easily accepted when individuals are directly mentioned. We attempt to offer a detailed overview of the humorous calendar *Poznașul* [The Prankster] since there are insufficient references on the topic.

Undoubtedly, dealing with humor and satire is a serious matter. Our literature does not refer much to this topic, harking back to the Greek and Roman classical writers: Hesiod, Lucretius, Martial, Juvenal, and moving forward to popular Romanian satire, with Păcală being a representative figure.¹ George Călinescu refers to the beginnings of Romanian literature as linked to pamphlets and satirical accents, starting with Grigore Ureche, Antim Ivireanul, and especially Dimitrie Cantemir, who was not easy on his political opponents. This is especially evident in Cantemir's *Historia Hieroglyphica*. In Romanian history, the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were more open to humour and satire, with many talented writers from that period excelling in this area. They wrote critically about the modernization of society as a real, not mimetic, process, which often attracted unfavourable reactions from the authorities. Satire was perceived as dangerous because it singled out and directed criticism towards political topics or persons involved in politics. For instance, in Moldova, the ruler Mihail Sturdza condemned Vasile Alecsandri and Alecu Russo's works—*Iașii în carnaval* [Iasi in Carnival] and *Jitnicerul Vadră* [Governor Vadră] respectively—in an organic decree.² A significant step forward was made during A.I. Cuza's reign when the first humorous publications appeared: *Țânțarul* [The Mosquito] in 1859, edited by N.T. Orășanu, and *Păcală și Pepelea* [Păcală and Pepelea] in 1860, by C.A. Rosetti. As expected, these early humorous publications were short-lived, but the initial efforts of humourists such as Orășanu and Nicolescu paved the way for the later

¹ Vergiliu Ene, *Satira în literatura română. Studii și antologie*, vol. 1 (Bucharest: Albatros, 1972), XIV, XVI, XVII.

² Vergiliu Ene, *Scritori satirici români* (Bucharest: Editura Universal Dalsi, 1999), 5, 8.

involvement of prominent names in Romanian literature.³

I.L. Caragiale was the founder of the literary pamphlet, recognizing the importance and influence of satirical journals. The journal *Moftul roman* [The Romanian Whim] emerged as Caragiale's response to B.P. Hasdeu's publications, *Satyru* [The Satyr] and *Aghiuță*. Both writers shared the same intentions—criticizing societal norms and institutions to correct them. The classic writers of our literature made significant contributions: Ion Creangă with his robust humorous prose, Mihai Eminescu with his brilliant poetry, sometimes infused with period satire, and Caragiale with his satirical theater. Caragiale supported those who wanted to publish in humorous and satirical journals. His journalistic activity cannot be separated from his contributions to *Ghimpele* [The Thorn], edited by Orășanu, and especially his editorial work on *Moftul român*. He stands at the crossroads of the early humorous experiences of Alceu Urechea and Dumitru Teleor and those considered professionals in this field from the second half of the nineteenth century to the early twentieth century: Anton and Constantin Bacalbașa, and George Ranetti.

Caragiale's role in publishing humorous journals extended his influence to Anton Bacalbașa and George Ranetti, as all were engaged in moralizing activities from the pulpit of irony.⁴ The editor transitions from individual public attacks to group criticisms, targeting the mistakes of the small urban bourgeoisie and common gossips. The heroes of his sketches, such as Moș Teacă and Ghenadie, strive to become the saviours of the people who, according to Kalinderu, the manager of royal estates, needed nothing but a village theatre. These sketches were published either in *Moftul roman* or in the volume *Momente și schițe* [Stories and Sketches] in 1901. Their most frequent topic was political, and many journals explicitly declared their satirical nature—such as *Ardeiu* [The Chilli], *Strechea* [The Stampede], and *Piperul* [The Pepper]—while simulating a humorous intent without actually criticizing society or targeting specific individuals, thus neutralizing their opponents.⁵ Caragiale maintained his dominant status in satirical prose and comedy during the latter half of the nineteenth century. When *Momente și schițe* was published in 1901, G. Ranetti remarked, “Not Stories [“momente,” i.e., “moments”], maestro, but Monuments should have been the title of your admirable book.”⁶ Encouraged by Caragiale, Ranetti continued his path in comedic publication and became the founder of Romania's most well-known and long-lived journal, *Furnica* (The Ant).

In Transylvania, Romanian satirical literature had a different orientation. Mention of it is incidental, along with the authors who employed satirical tones in their works: Dimitrie Țichindelean, Ioan Budai-Deleanu, and Ioan Slavici, who debuted with two short stories marked by humorous tones—*Popa Tanda* and *Budulea Taichii* [Father's Own Budulea].⁷ The timeline of satirical and comedic publications was integrated into the empire's literature. In Vienna, Joseph Richter, considered the only true journalist of the eighteenth century, introduced a “pervading observation and humorous spirit.” The humorous press in Vienna was inaugurated in 1837 by M.G. Saphir with *Der Humorist*, a publication that remained popular for 20 years.⁸ Subsequently, the satirical press in the empire was represented by the various nations within its borders, although their publications often ceased after addressing political demagoguery and false imperial liberalism. Many of these publications—Polish, Ruthenian, Czech, and German with Hebrew script—faced trials, and their editors and contributors served time in prison. The same was true for Hungarian publications. The first of this type appeared in 1846 in German, *Der Zeitgast*, edited by Beck Vilmos. A year later, Lanka Gustav published *Dongo* [The Wasp], which became *Charivari* in 1848, and later *Charivari/Dongo*, following a Viennese model and drawing inspiration from the French caricaturist Honoré Daumier. The most famous Hungarian prose writer, Jókai Mór, published *Ustokos* [The Comet] in 1858, followed by Tóth Kálmán in 1861 with *Fekete Leves* [Black Soup] and Mitkovitch Pál and Verteji Arnold with *Bolund Mischa* [Mishka the Fool].⁹

Romanian satirical journals experienced a similar evolution and engaged with topics of interest to their contemporaries. The movement began in Pest with Mircea Vasile Stănescu, the son of a merchant from Bucharest who studied law in Pest and became a reputable lawyer. He published *Tutti-Frutti* in 1861 and

³ Silvian Iosifescu, *Proză umoristică română*, vol. 1 (Bucharest: Editura pentru Literatură, 1965), 9; Ioan Munteanu, “Satira și umorul,” *România Literară* 28–29 (1982): 31, 39.

⁴ Constanța Ghițulescu, *Presa umoristică de altădată*, vol. 2 (Bucharest: Editura Minerva, 1980), 5.

⁵ Iosifescu, *Proza*, 9, 19–20; Ene, *Satira*, XXIV–XXV.

⁶ Laurențiu Bădicioiu, *Repere ale comicului românesc în revistele satirico-umoristice din perioada interbelică* (Bucharest: Editura Universității din București, 2021), 41.

⁷ Ene, *Satira*, 7. Iosifescu, *Proza*, XI.

⁸ Livia Grămadă, *Istoria presei satirice românești din Transilvania în secolul al XIX-lea* (PhD thesis, Cluj-Napoca, 1971), 7–8.

⁹ Grămadă, *Istoria*, 181–183.

Strigoitul [The Ghost] a year later. His closest collaborator was Iulian Grozescu, although he, like most contributors, used a pen name. Well-written, these journals garnered many readers in Banat and Transylvania. Later, Iosif Vulcan began publishing *Umoristul* [The Humorist] in 1863, which gained popularity, especially after 1866 when the title letters were rendered in human figures. Several years later, in 1870, the publication was renamed *Gura satului* [The Village's Mouth] due to public demand and was published in Arad and Gherla. From 1901, it was edited in Arad by Ioan Russu-Sirianu, who ensured that Ioan Slavici contributed to it. Another contributor, Ioan Popa, published *Calicul* [The Beggar] in Sibiu during two periods: 1881–1895 and from 1903 onwards. Both *Gura satului* and *Calicul* were among the most popular journals for Romanians within the dualist empire and faced legal challenges. In 1881, *Cocoşul Roşu* [The Red Cock] from Braşov was impeached for criticizing the government's stance on nationalities. Similarly, *Nichipercea* from 1862 was seized for a caricature titled "Turkish-Austrian Alliance," which depicted Austria as a blind and crippled woman. *Calendarul literariu și humoristic* [The Literary and Humoristic Calendar] from 1865 was banned due to comments like "Romanians will pass the Red Sea and will reconquer Transylvania."¹⁰

The editors aimed to "correct social aberrations, poor habits, abuses, and corruption in a humorous manner, through prose or poetry," hoping to evade censorship more easily. In *Umoristul*, Iosif Vulcan criticized "impotence, bigotry, and parvenus," while *Calicul* promised to be a universal remedy in verse against all "human ailments and weaknesses." Additionally, *Vulturul* [The Eagle] from Oradea carried the subtitle *Humor and Satire*, and aimed to "whip general weaknesses," being the only publication that sought to "raise the humorous level in our literature."¹¹ During this period, the Romanian elite was viewed as having a somewhat timid stance towards authorities. Şaguna's successors were considered cautious, and publications like *Telegraful Român* [The Romanian Telegraph] were labeled as timid or "chickadees." Metropolitan Miron Romanul was depicted as a "synodal lobster," and Greek-Catholic hierarchs Ioan Szabo and Ioan Vancea were described as being "hitched to the Pope's cart." These descriptions highlighted the limitations faced after the establishment of dualism and the challenges in decision-making. Consequently, press laws were increasingly used to restrict the actions of the unofficial Hungarian press.¹² Polemics with German and Hungarian publications also included personal grievances and criticisms of institutions such as Astra. These publications underscored the Romanians' apparent lack of interest in national culture, extending to debates on linguistic issues like Latinist exaggerations, fighting Slavonism, and uninspired translations from Hungarian. One comment on a caricature depicting the "burial of letters" remarked, "We, Romanians, have more orthography than letters."

Among the most notable contributions to *Gura satului* [The Village's Mouth] was Ioan Slavici's work *Revoluția din Pârleşti* [The Pârleşti Revolution]. Materials published in *Calicul* were also highly regarded. Overall, these publications are credited with advancing the modernization of the Romanian press in the latter half of the nineteenth century.¹³ Although these publications were popular, their value varied. For instance, *Tutti-Frutti* offered less informative content and had etymological orthography, while *Umoristul* addressed complex issues with colorful and creative language. In contrast, *Gura satului* and later *Calicul* represented the pinnacle of Romanian satirical press, exemplifying its militancy and effectiveness. Transylvanian editors such as Ioan Slavici and Ioan Russu-Sirianu, drew on folklore for their humor, showcasing folklore creations. Additionally, various humorous calendars were associated with these publications, including *Calendarul umoristic al lui Tutti-Frutti* [Tutti-Frutti's Humouristic Calendar], *Calendarul Umoristului* [The Humourist's Calendar], *Almanahul umoristic Tanda și Manda* [The Humouristic Alamac Tanda and Manda], *Calendarul Calicului* [The Beggar's Calendar], and *Calendarul Cocoşului Roşu* [The Red Cock's Calendar]. These calendars were genuine collections, sometimes reprinted. The value and popularity of these Transylvanian publications were closely linked to the large number of caricatures featured in each issue. The only exception was *Claponul* [The Capon] (1877), where Caragiale chose not to include any illustrations. According to Ioan Breazu, Romanian humorous publications from Transylvania played a significant role in the development of the Romanian press, serving as a "huge

¹⁰ Grămadă, *Istoria*, 226, 312, 320; Laurențiu Bădicioiu, *Repere ale comicului românesc în revistele satirico-umoristice din perioada interbelică* (Bucharest: Editura Universității din București, 2021), 34.

¹¹ Grămadă, *Istoria*, 25–29, 32; Bădicioiu, *Repere*, 34.

¹² Grămadă, *Istoria*, 83–88.

¹³ Grămadă, *Istoria*, 100, 121, 158.

laboratory of national conscience” that embraced self-criticism when necessary.¹⁴

Ermil Borcia and His Humorous Activity

At the beginning, nothing indicated the humoristic talent of Ermil Borcia. He was born on January 25, 1870, in Brașov, into the family of lawyer Dr. Ioan Borcia. Other members of his family chose to live in Sibiu – his brother, Ioan Borcia, was a professor at the Civil School for Girls of the Association, and Dr. Lucian Borcia followed in their father’s footsteps in Sibiu. The death of his brother Ioan Borcia in 1912 deeply affected the entire family. Ermil Borcia studied at the Economic Academy in Vienna, and after graduating, held a position at the Insurance Bank Transylvania in Sibiu.¹⁵

“The joker and beloved Ermil Borcia” gained popularity mainly due to the humorous calendar *Poznașul* (1896–1917), whose full name was *Poznașul sau Calendar de vreme lungă (ce urâtul îl alungă)* [the Long-Term Calendar (that Drives Away the Ugly)]. After retiring, he worked as the manager of *Gazeta Transilvaniei* [Transylvania’s Gazette] and published in *Libertatea* [Liberty], in Orăștie. He was in Brașov when the First World War broke out, mentioned at the city sanatorium after the entrance of the Romanian troops. At the end of 1916, he returned to Sibiu and completed the issue of *Poznașul* that was due to appear in 1917. He then fell ill with heart and nervous conditions and died at the city hospital on February 24, 1917, at the age of 47. At his funeral, Ioan Broșu read the eulogy of writers, and the archbishop Dr. Ioan Stroia also spoke.¹⁶

Ermil Borcia was an active member of the Romanian community in Sibiu and was involved in commendable cultural activities. He was a permanent guest at soirees organized by the Astra Association, where he had a humorous section that received standing ovations. At the 1909 soiree, he read several fables by George Ranetti, an author from the Old Kingdom. He appreciated the humor of well-known humorists from the Old Kingdom, including I.L. Caragiale, Petre Liciu, and G. Ranetti, and their publications, *Moftul Român* and *Furnica*.¹⁷ He was also a member of the Romanian political community in Sibiu County and attended gatherings of Romanian representatives for Sibiu, Nocrich, Cristian, and Cîsnădie. Borcia supported the Reunion of Romanian Women in Sibiu, becoming a member in 1897.¹⁸ He contributed terms related to the banking system and public insurance to the three volumes of the Romanian Encyclopedia, edited by Cornel Diaconovici.¹⁹

One longstanding aspiration of the Romanian elite was to establish a Romanian theatre. The Society for Funding the Romanian Theatre was formed in 1869 at Iosif Vulcan’s insistence. The Society held annual meetings for fundraising and Romanian play performances. At the 1895 soiree at the city theatre in Sibiu, Ermil’s sister, Eleonora Borcia, sang “Ruy Blas” by Mendelssohn Bartholdy with Eugenia Simionescu on piano. Ermil was an enthusiastic attendee at the performances of the “Romanian amateurs of Sibiu,” where he played the remarkable role of Baron Marsal in Zell’s play *The Bust*. The audience delighted in his comical talent, noting him as “an old well-known amateur, a first-hand comedian.”²⁰ Onisifor Ghibu considered him a “cultured man who also dealt with poetry and philosophy as an unpretentious amateur” after Ermil Borcia congratulated him for mentioning the brochure “Romanian Banks in Transylvania” in the pages of *Telegraful Român*.²¹ Borcia also collaborated with another association, the Reunion of the Romanian Craftsmen of Sibiu. He held conferences, among which was “Our Humorous Literature.” He also attended charitable actions and contributed to the Victor and Eugenia Tordășianu fund to endow the poor girls of the reunion with a house and a warehouse to sell their products.

¹⁴ Ion Breazu, *Literatura Transilvaniei: Studii. Articole. Conferințe* (Bucharest: Editura Casa Școalelor, 1944), 11. Quoted in Laurențiu Bădicioiu, *Repere*, 39.

¹⁵ “Dr. Ioan Borcia,” *Foaia Poporului* 20, no. 10 (1912): 121.

¹⁶ “+ Ermil Borcia,” *Telegraful Român* 65, no. 11 (1917): 43; “Înmormântarea lui Ermil Borcia,” *Telegraful Român* 65, no. 12 (1917): 46–47.

¹⁷ “Adunarea populară în Sibiu. Convocare,” *Gazeta Transilvaniei* 70, no. 54 (1907): 3; “Reuniunea Femeilor Române din Sibiu,” *Tribuna* 13, no. 117 (1897): 466.

¹⁸ “Adunarea,” 3; “Reuniunea,” 466.

¹⁹ Voichița Bițu, “Memoria documentelor Bibliotecii Astra. Dr. Corneliu Diaconovici,” *Transilvania* 109, no. 9–10 (2004): 811.

²⁰ “Serata muzicală-dramatică a diletanților români din Sibiu,” *Tribuna* 12, no. 48 (1895): 191–192; “Opereta ‘Moș Ciocârlan’,” *Amicul poporului* 46 (1906): 75–76; “Reprezentățiunea teatrală a diletanților români din Sibiu,” *Telegraful Român* 42, no. 19 (1895): 74.

²¹ Onisifor Ghibu, *Pe baricadele vieții. Anii mei de învățătură* (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Dacia, 1981), 115.

He was interested in the Romanian economic history of Sibiu County. In 1894, he was among young Romanian intellectuals—T. L. Albani, Liviu Brote, George Moldovanu, and I. Russu-Șirianu—who initiated a contest with prizes. He convinced two Theology professors, Daniil Popovici-Barcianu and Dumitru Comșa, to review the works. Among the reviewed monographs, the most successful was considered the one on Rășinari village by Professor Victor Păcală and the one on Orlat village by Romul Simu, a teacher at the border guard school and then secretary of Astra. Other accomplished works were about the village Gura-Râului by the priest Ioachim Muntean (who later became archpriest of Galați/Făgăraș County) and the work on Răhău, written by the priest Nicolae Cărpinișan. This initiative was not new; it was a continuation of a similar one by Astra and church authorities, asking teachers to write monographs of schools. In 1928, these initiatives were to be revitalized by the Romanian authorities.²² A member of the Astra Association of Sibiu and a great lover of music, Ermil Borcia was also a member of the Romanian Reunion of Music in 1893. He was applauded for the role of the notary Haralamb Călămăr in the successful operetta *Moș Ciocârlan* [Old Man Ciocârlan]. The operetta was famous in Bukovina and played many times in Sibiu, included in the program of Serbările Astei [Astra Celebrations] in 1906.²³

His first publications appeared in *Revista Economică* [The Economic Review] or *Telegraful Român*, signed b. They were republished in brochures: *Legea de asigurare din Codul de comerț ungar, însoțită de cele mai importante hotărâri ale Curții de Casație ungare regești* [The Insurance Law of the Hungarian Code of Trading, Accompanied by the Most Important Decisions of the Royal Hungarian Court of Cassation], which was issued by the Biblioteca Bancilor Române and translated from Hungarian, Sibiu, 1910; *Broșura Legea de asigurare (din Codul de comerț ungar. Articolul de lege XXXVII din anul 1875. Textul însoțit de deciziunile curiale cele mai importante dat în traducere românească de Ermil Borcia)* [Brochure Insurance Law (from the Hungarian Commerce Code. Article XXXVII of 1875. A Text Accompanied by the Most Important Decisions Translated in Romanian by Ermil Borcia)], published by Editura Revistei Economice, 1910, Sibiu; and *Nicolae Părău sau Binefacerile asigurării vieții pentru țărani (O schiță din popor)* [Nicolae Părău or the Benefits of Life Insurance for Peasants (A Popular Sketch)], released by Editura Băncii de Asigurare Transilvania, Editura W. Krafft, Sibiu.²⁴

Haralamb Călămăr was Borcia's pen name; he published humorous verses in the following books: *Farafastăcuri. Versuri pentru distracție* [Trinkets. Verses for Entertainment], Sibiu, 1910; *Bobârnaci și Bazaconii* [Knocks and Nonsense] (a collection of jokes and caricatures), Sibiu, 1908; and *Versuri flușturate* [Whimsical Verses], at S. Bormemisa's Publishing House in Orăștie, Librăria Națională, 1912. The last book *Luceafărul* [The Morning Star] mentioned that it "filled the void in the sterile productivity of our humorous literature." Ermil Borcia was considered "one of the few serious humorous writers" in *Țara Noastră* [Our Country], one of Astra's publications. Although there were other humorous publications in Transylvania—*Cocoșul roșu*, *Calicul*, *Gura satului*, and *Vulturul*—the last three preserved more of the Hungarian-German spirit, while Ermil Borcia exuded the Transylvanian spirit, clumsy but laughing whole-heartedly. *Posnașul* and *Bobârnacii și Bazaconii* were the natural expressions of our merry literature.

Borcia's publication closer to his heart was the early humorous calendar *Posnașul* starting in 1896 and published only by W. Krafft in Sibiu. The name of the author was mentioned only starting in 1909; several pen names were used before that—Simplex (1903–1904), Gâdilici (1905), and Haralamb Călămăr (1906–1917). The fact that the first part of the publication was a calendar increased its commercial chances. The humorous part included several humorous sketches from the Old Kingdom, written by Petre Ispirescu, I.L. Caragiale, Anton Bacalbașa, and George Ranetti.²⁵ Moreover, Nicolae Iorga expressed his sincere admiration for the first edition of *Posnașul*, appreciating the "neat illustrations, the calendar materials, and

²² "Literatura noastră umoristică. O conferință la seratele meseriașilor din Sibiu," *Tribuna* 13, no. 130 (1909): 5. The author considered that unlike the "brothers from the Kingdom" we cannot talk about humorous literature in Transylvania. He was a great admirer of I.L. Caragiale with his book *Momente, schițe și amintiri* and George Ranetti, director of *Furnica*. "La Fondul de 20 de bani," *Tribuna* 17, no. 141 (1901): 563; "Fondul Victor și Eugenia Tordășianu," *Telegraful Român* 58, no. 141 (1910): 141, 591; Eugeniu Munteanu, "Monografiile satelor din Ardeal," *Dimineața* 18 December 1928.

²³ "Opereta 'Moș Ciocârlan,'" *Amicul Poporului* 46 (1906): 75–76.

²⁴ Sebastian Bormemisa, *Almanahul scriitorilor de la noi* (Orăștie: Editura Sebastian Bormemisa, 1911), 109–111; Protopopul Ioan Moța, *42 de ani de gazetărie. Contribuții la istoria gazetăriei populare din Ardeal și Banat* (Orăștie: Tipografia Astra, S.A., 1935), 39.

²⁵ Georgeta Răduică and Nicolin Răduică, *Calendare și almanahuri românești (1731–1918). Dicționar bibliographic* (Bucharest: Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1981), 602; "Cronica," *Transilvania* 49, no. 1–6 (1917): 89–90.

better than the rude humorous literature. The moral quality of the target public is indeed different!”²⁶ The book *Versuri flușturate*, illustrated by Florian Mureșianu, was reviewed by *Tribuna* [The Tribune]: “Călămăr offers social and political satire – local or from abroad – and lyrical sentimental verses.” The journal *Cosânzeana* considered Borcia the only outstanding Romanian humorist from Transylvania.²⁷

His sense of humor was appreciated in Orăștie, where he collaborated with *Libertatea*, edited by the archpriest Ioan Moța. The editor mentioned in his memoirs that he valued Borcia’s long collaboration with the biggest Romanian publication before the Great Union. He was also entrusted with the appearance and support of the humorous supplement *Bobârnaci*. Ermil Borcia was the main provider of verses and short jokes. Sebastian Bornemisa specified Borcia’s fruitful collaboration with *Libertatea* in *Almanahul scriitorilor de la noi* [The Almanac of Our Writers].²⁸ Other Borcia’s collaborations with the Romanian press included *Tribuna*, *Luceafărul*, *Lupta*, *Foaia Poporului Român* [The Romanian People’s Gazette], and *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, but he was also interested in developing popular literature. Some of his humorous sketches refer to important events for Romanians, such as the Independence War; it was mentioned in the sketch *Din timpul războiului* [From the War Period]. We must also mention the only Romanian calendar included in the library of Archduke Franz Ferdinand, according to the official response received on 17 February 1914.²⁹

On Self-Image. General Considerations

Given that the verses and caricatures from *Posnașul* provide us with the self-image of Transylvanian society and the image of Romanians beyond Transylvania's borders, it is necessary to refer to the formation process of the Romanians’ national identity in Transylvania. To address national identity, we must include its most important component—self-image. As self-image tends to be perfectible, it often requires an enemy to contribute to its identity crystallization. The enemy is the other, the foreigner, who in most cases is a dangerous presence, offering the components of a delimitation process and thus identification. The distance is more significant when the other is within or beyond the borders. While the liberty and tolerance of a person or a community impose some limits, seeking to understand the other becomes an attempt to understand alterity. History of nations has shown that our value is best distinguished through comparison with the other and establishing social norms. Many conflicts throughout history have led pessimists to consider that “we build our inferno on earth constantly and intensively,” according to George Orwell.³⁰

In the case of the identity formation process of the Romanian nation, the general and specific influenced each other. In Transylvania, three other identities claimed this space and history, rewriting it simultaneously. Two solutions became clear: one was a Transylvanian identity that included the Romanian one and imposed a hierarchy. It is also true that the tolerance from the confessional background positioned Transylvania in Europe, but the historical tension could not be neglected. The increasing number of foreign travelers who rediscovered Europe freed from the Turks in the eighteenth century used positive or negative components to delineate national identities. For these Enlightenment admirers of the 18th century, culture and school were the most important standards, attributing to Transylvanian Saxons the exemplary community title, based on their specific cultural tradition and solidarity.³¹

The self-image of Romanian Transylvanians referred to history, confession, the Latin origins of the Romanian language, and the importance of the rural space. To be Romanian before the Reformation meant to be Christian in the Eastern Orthodox tradition. Therefore, ethnic solidarity overlapped with confessional solidarity. The emergence of the Greek-Catholic Church represented a link with Rome, the most prestigious and emulated empire, especially by the Habsburgs. The necessity to build a positive image was based on the same foundation: the compensating function of history, the Latin origin, efforts to save medieval Christian

²⁶ “Din Bobârnaci și Bazacnii de Ermil Borcia,” *Luceafărul* 8, no. 7 (1909): n.p.; “Cronica,” *Semănătorul* 4, no. 7 (1905): 11.

²⁷ “Bibliografii,” *Tribuna* 14, no. 103 (1910): 9; “Versuri flușturate,” *Cosânzeana* 2, no. 45 (1912): n.p.

²⁸ Valentin Orga, “Sebastian Bornemisa (1890–1953),” *Sargeția. Acta Musei Devensis* 27, no. 2 (1997–1998): 292; Dan Orghici, “Revista *Cosânzeana*: 110 Ani de la Apariție,” *Cotidianul*, May 15, 2024, <https://www.cotidianul.ro/revista-literara-cosinzeana-110-de-ani-de-la-prima-aparitie/>.

²⁹ “*Poznașul la Curte*,” *Poznașul* 21 (1917).

³⁰ Umberto Eco, *Cum ne construim dușmanul* (Iași: Editura Polirom, 2013), 10, 30–35.

³¹ Mihaela Grancea, “Conturarea identității transilvane în zorii modernității,” in *Reconstituiri istorice. Idei, Cuvinte, Reprezentări. Omagiu profesorului Iacob Mârza*, ed. Laura Stanciu (Alba-Iulia: Editura Aeternitas, 2006), 247–270; Mihaela Grancea, “Inventarea exemplarității sasului în literatura de călătorie a secolului al XVIII-lea,” in *Populația României. Trecut, Prezent, Viitor*, ed. Sorina Paula Bolovan, Ioan Bolovan, and Traian Rotariu (Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2006), 85–98.

Europe, and the moral individual qualities of an ethno-psychological profile: goodness, hospitality, modesty, decorum, patience, seriousness. Romanian self-perception as a weakly educated people, with a lost elite in the Middle Ages and reconstructed culturally only in the 18th century, was seen as a moral and spiritual degradation.³² Geography is subordinated to history by supporting the number and spread of Romanians in Transylvania. Although this argument is not denied, Timotei Cipariu believed that this numerous people must not be imposed only by this: “We are many but not the most.” From a political perspective, Romanians were displeased by the fact that they were not recognized as a nation on many levels. They were more upset by the perception of a backward and poor nation, especially when it was used as a political tool. Self-image was built from the outside and was polemical, distorting reality.³³

With the establishment of dualism in 1867, a Hungarianization process was initiated. This triggered the Romanian national conscience and the efficiency of school and church activities, along with Romanian associations and foundations. Romanians attempted to surpass their history by addressing the correction of self-image and legitimation.³⁴ By the end of the nineteenth century, Romanians had built a series of national symbols: places of memory—Câmpia Libertății in Blaj in 1848, the national flag, and the national anthem, “Un răsunet” [An Echo] by Andrei Mureșianu. The symbolic geography overlapped with the issue of Romanians in Hungarian territory. Transylvania remained disputed by including her in several scenarios, as Sabina Fati described. There was also a national pantheon, where alongside Christian heroes, the Romanian ones represented the basis of the Romanian nation, with peasants represented in 1784 by Horia, Cloșca, and Crișan and in 1848 by Avram Iancu. The latter was considered “one of the providential men of the nation.”³⁵ A cultural elite supported the process and became the epitome of the Romanian people’s virtues—representatives of the Transylvanian School, the “men of genius of the Romanian people.” Also, Andrei Șaguna was a providential man, playing a significant role in awakening the Romanian conscience although the identity construction became more complex. The cultural activities organized by Astra contributed to the identity project, admitting that there was much to do in the Memorandum of 1892. The school was the institution where most of the struggle took place in the de-nationalizing attempts. The lack of culture of the Romanian peasant was a reality that changed slowly. The church had been the foundation of the Romanian community, inspiring people to preserve the collective self.³⁶ The specific characteristics of the Transylvanian region influenced the self-image of Romanians. Thus, self-image was built from within and outside, with the help and support of the Romanians from the Old Kingdom.

The Romanian nation had a feeling of marginality, discrimination through language and law, politically and administratively, abandoned by the emperor and victim of Hungarian rule. The most profound negative element was the propaganda to Hungarianize the Transylvanian population, a process supported by the state and society. The Romanian discourse of this period was a defensive, persuasive, and argumentative one, with alterity being represented by the traditional enemy—Hungarians. Ioan Slavici explained the Romanians’ cohabitation with others in the same space: “Romanians didn’t live alone but peacefully near others though not together.”³⁷

Romanians’ Self-Image in *Poznașul*, before and after 1914

Ermil Borcia, author of most of the jokes in verse in the humorous calendar *Poznașul*, had a great sense of balance, knowing where to stop joking and how to use symbols properly. We are interested in how daily elements are reflected in this calendar, especially as some refer to the political reality of Transylvania. The Astra Library has gathered all the issues of *Posnașul/Poznașul* since 1911, but we were able to check issues from the following years: 1896–1897, 1904–1907, 1909, 1912, 1914–1917. In 1896, the first year of the humorous calendar, Romanian members of Parliament were praised in Budapest for organizing a club of nationalities with other non-Hungarian members: “At the Congress of nationalities, it was proven that neither the Slovak potatoes nor the Serbian chili, but the Romanian onion stings the Hungarians.”³⁸ Given that

³² Sorin Mitu, *Geneza identității naționale la românii ardeleni* (București: Editura Humanitas, 1997), 40, 109, 273–282.

³³ Mitu, *Geneza*, 331, 395–397, 399.

³⁴ Luminița Ignat-Coman, *Imaginea de sine la românii ardeleni în perioada dualistă* (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Argonaut, 2009), 134, 135, 150.

³⁵ Ignat-Coman, *Imaginea*, 136, 147, 178, 182.

³⁶ Ignat-Coman, *Imaginea*, 198, 184–185, 217, 223.

³⁷ Ignat-Coman, *Imaginea*, 234, 303, 307.

³⁸ “Congresul naționalităților,” *Posnașul* 1 (1896): 40.

writing about the Romanians' situation and problems was not easy, some caricatures depict journalists' involvement in the national question and their comfortable lack of involvement. Valeriu Braniște, the well-known editor of *Drapelul* [The Flag] in Lugoj, was mentioned as he was tried and condemned to prison.

Other caricatures refer to Romanian journalists as well. Ioan Russu-Șirianu, who became the editor of *Tribuna* in 1896, was accused of a specific editing policy. He was also in charge of fundraising for a statue of Avram Iancu and later accused of embezzlement. Ermil Borgia rightly observed that the state wanted the confiscation of the funds.³⁹ Romanian peasants fell victim to banks, including Romanian ones: "The most expensive paper for the Romanian peasant is the people's paper, tabulated to the limit by our beneficial maniac banks. Others who managed to deposit money at a bank, such as Sărăciana, withdrew the money just to be sure they could trust the institution."⁴⁰ Since Romanians had no visible elite at the Imperial Court, Andrei Șaguna's successor in the Metropolitan chair in Sibiu, Procopie Ivașcovici, answered Queen Elisabeth's concern about mixed primary confessional schools for boys and girls with, "There is no problem; they are too young yet."

Ermil Borgia preferred jokes and satires in verse, delineating the daily Romanian's profile and combining contradictory aspects: a very good friend but not entirely, interested, unable to repay debts on time, attracted by modern ideas but with old stubborn patterns: "The Romanian promises you / The land and the sky / That is why he can ever / Keep his word."⁴¹ In the 1905 *Calendar*, more considerations about Romanians were included: "Although in 1848, Mureșianu considered us an essentially wise people, the situation extended till 1905, as most innkeepers and café-owners know how well we sleep at night." In the same context, a caricature of the efficiency of officials reminds us of the efficiency of the Romanian elite: "Our political balance sheet wrapped up at zero, as the assets of old passive people value the same as the liabilities of the young activists." Other anecdotes highlight the parents' realism versus their sons' fantasies of studying in universities to help their society.⁴²

Ermil Borgia used puns and dialogue with comical effects. Someone from Sibiu discusses with someone from Brașov the most dangerous association for the Hungarian state, and the winner is the Society for Funding the Romanian Theatre from Brașov because it "had a volcano as its head" (Iosif Vulcan). In 1906, Octavian Goga's marriage to Partenie Cosma's daughter, Hortensia Cosma, generated a joke in a dialogue between two young people. They discussed the fear of one concerning his cousin's engagement at the Astra Ball: "If she doesn't get engaged, the poor secretary of Astra [Octavian Goga] will be blamed by all Romanian newspapers." Ironies were expressed regarding Astra's debates for an urban Romanian elite and efforts to bring culture to the rural space. Since there were two literary secretaries at Astra for urban and rural spaces, there must be two cultures of this Association. One of the most famous jokes in verse by Ermil Borgia was "Cârțan la Paris!" [Cârțan in Paris!]. The first visit of the Romanian shepherd from Transylvania was to Rome, where he was in awe of Trajan's Column. His second visit was to Paris, the most powerful voice of Latinity. While visiting Bonaparte's grave, the Romanian shepherd knew too little to express his fervor, uttering "Vive la France" and "Consulat roumain." This prompted a spontaneous French reaction of "Vive la Roumanie," leading Cârțan to say the newly learned word "Merci."⁴³

In 1912, Borgia expressed his dissatisfaction with the nation and its representatives. His target was Vasile Mangra from Arad, who, despite being involved in the national movement, decided to be a candidate on the governing party's list. When the Astra Celebrations took place in Blaj in 1911, Borgia did not miss the opportunity to express his concern that some participants attended just to party: "Celebrations started with getting to know each other so that in the next morning people could hardly recognize each other after the party. It was not the case of self-knowledge, which is the most difficult thing for a Romanian. The heart of the matter was the banquet, as on any occasion. When Romanians eat and drink, they talk a lot till hunger and thirst hit them again."

Another section of the calendar ironically addressed the efficiency of Romanian political life: "1912 could

³⁹ "Efectele temniței," *Posnașul*, 1 (1896): 48; "Cură eficace," *Posnașul* 8 (1904): 81; "Iancu modern," *Posnașul* 1 (1896): 43; "La birt," *Posnașul* 1 (1896): 54.

⁴⁰ Nicolae Potriveală, "Nuci în părete," *Posnașul* 1 (1896): 40; "Culmea precauției," *Posnașul* 13 (1909): 52.

⁴¹ "Autentic," *Posnașul* 1 (1896): 53; "Românul și una alta," *Posnașul* 1 (1896): 84.

⁴² "Despre noi," *Posnașul* 9 (1905): 40; "Invenția patentată Deșteaptă-te Române," *Posnașul* 10 (1906): 60–61; "Observații la diverse situații făcute de Capadochie Colacovici," *Posnașul* 9 (1905): 40; "Disputa filozofică," *Posnașul* 9 (1905): 75.

⁴³ "O întrebare de taifas," *Posnașul* 10 (1906): 52; "La reîntoarcere," *Posnașul* 13 (1909): 45; "Darea Românilui," *Posnașul* 13 (1909): 64; "Două culturi," *Posnașul* 13 (1909): 52; "Cârțan la Paris!," *Posnașul* 13 (1909): 41–45.

mean covering all political idiocies of 1911.” The author also mentioned the lack of literacy courses for adults, Romanian members of Parliament's failures in representing Romanians in Budapest, and renegades who changed their coats as the wind blew. The general conclusion was that as a year passed by, “our foolishness has no limits.” Borcia did not trust the new generation who supported political activism in Transylvania in 1905, as they lacked maturity.⁴⁴ The joke on this topic is a subtle comparison between tidying one’s closet and the national party.⁴⁵

The outbreak of the First World War changed the content of the humorous calendar: fewer political jokes (perhaps due to military censorship) and more information on the victories of the imperial army. Even so, these sections praised the involvement of Romanian soldiers. The general situation in the Hungarian part of the empire was rendered by simple verses, referring to the bitterness and hardships Romanian soldiers had to face. The first year of the conflict was considered “the year of the biggest madness the human mind could ever produce.” There are references to the front situation, Romania’s involvement, and some audacious jokes. Due to the dire situation within the empire, Count Tisza Istvan offered Romanians some concessions and a vague promise to ease the political situation after the war. Nevertheless, these initiatives were not well regarded. The author concluded that feeble promises were few compared with the sacrificed lives. Likewise, the question of a national flag could not be reconciled within the Hungarian state unless it included Kossuth Lajos’ face.⁴⁶

The last years of the calendar’s issues praised the Romanian soldiers, especially those from the Apuseni/Western Mountains who fought in Galicia. Romanian soldiers' bravery is presented in various forms, sometimes with comical notes. For example, a Romanian soldier answered the question of what his impression of the Cossacks was: “I don’t know, but I know what their impression of us was.”⁴⁷ Loyalty is another topic, expressed by a father’s utmost desire for the emperor to win. More events were mentioned in the following year, including Romania’s attitude and the consequences of founding a Hungarian diocese in Hajdudorog. The Romanian loyalty on the front for two and a half years is also the main focus of some sections.⁴⁸ Borcia’s calendar included caricatures and jokes from Furnica, sketches of grand writers such as “Bubico” [“Bubico”] by I.L. Caragiale, “Moș Teacă” [Old Man Teacă] on 10 May by Anton Bacalbașa, and fables by George Ranetti. Most of them contained daily realities, with only a few focusing on political matters. In 1896, when a liberal government came to power in the Romanian Kingdom, it was thought that the leader D.A. Sturza would change the title of the party press from *Voința Națională* [The Nation’s Will] to *Voința Rațională* [Rational Will].⁴⁹

Two realities as two mirrors met during the Second Balkan War when Romania became a decision-maker in the Balkans. This is why Ermil Borcia highlighted the importance of political leaders like Carol I and Prime Minister Titut Maiorescu in some verses. Sober reports about King Carol I, Ion Ghica, Manolache Costache Epureanu, and Mihail Kogălniceanu were mentioned in the pages of the humorous calendar until 1916. From the summer of 1916, there was no chance for a positive reimagination of Romania: “Since Carol the uncle and Brătianu the father created ex nihilo the Kingdom of Romania, it took 40 years for Ferdinand the nephew and Brătianu the son to take it to nothing.” Moreover, there was an accusation that Romania intended to attack Hungary/Transylvania from behind while pretending to be neutral.⁵⁰ The image of Romanians from the Kingdom, especially after the fall of Bucharest, is one of a deceived nation. Thus, two men from Bucharest—Burtescu and Porchelianu—complained about the difficult situation, with the first regretting that they had not opposed, not to Mackensen and Falkenhayn, as the latter stated.

A caricature titled “Rusia și România” [Russia and Romania] questions whether Russia wanted to relieve Romania from its dire situation. The answer is that, on the contrary, Russia involved Romania in the war to

⁴⁴ “Despre întunecimile anului 1912,” *Poznașul* 16 (1912): 44; “Raport scurt despre serbarea lungă de 50 de ani ai Astei la Blaj,” *Poznașul* 16 (1912): 54; “Prevestiri pentru anul 1912,” *Poznașul* 16 (1912): 70–71; “Între ‘oțeliți’,” *Poznașul* 16 (1912): 20.

⁴⁵ “Despre întunecimile,” 44; “Raport,” 54; “Prevestiri,” 70–71; “Între ‘oțeliți’,” 20.

⁴⁶ “Răvașul anului 1913,” *Poznașul* 18 (1914): 56; “În vreme de războiu,” *Poznașul* 19 (1915): n.p.; “Concesiile contelui Tisza,” *Poznașul* 19 (1915): 64; “Steagul național,” *Poznașul* 19 (1915): 80; “Răvașul Poznașului asupra anului 1915,” *Poznașul* 20 (1916): 6.

⁴⁷ “Răvașul Poznașului pe anul 1915,” *Poznașul* 20 (1916): 55–56; “Cum gândește românul,” *Poznașul* 20 (1916): 75.

⁴⁸ “Cronologia pe anul 1917,” *Poznașul* 21 (1917): 58; “Impresia,” *Poznașul* 21 (1917): 95.

⁴⁹ “O contemplație,” *Poznașul* 1 (1896): 53; “O cugetare afundă,” *Poznașul* 1 (1896): 66.

⁵⁰ “Răvașul Poznașului de pe anul 1913,” *Poznașul* 17 (1914): 55–56; “Noi și România (Două cuceriri),” *Poznașul* 17 (1914): 86; “Regele Carol la manevre, Mihail Kogălniceanu și Manolachi Costachi, Ion Ghica,” *Poznașul* 20 (1916): 92; “Cronologia pe anul 1917,” *Poznașul* 21 (1917): 58; “Răvașul Poznașului de pe anul 1916,” *Poznașul* 21 (1917): n.p.

ruin it. Another caricature depicts King Ferdinand's desperation, showing him deceived by his generals. When General Alexandru Averescu is asked by the king about Mackensen, whom they studied together in Berlin, Averescu responds that he did not know him well, as Mackensen only attended courses and then turned his back. The king's reply was: "Yes, in those years, Mackensen was showing you his back." Forced to leave the royal palace and retreat to Iași, the monograms F/M on the cushions in the palace caught the attention of some guards, who wondered about their meaning. The guards concluded that the letters stood for Falkenhayn/Mackensen. References to Romania's unfortunate situation end with verses praising the only political figure who could change the situation—P.P. Carp—seen from the beginning as a providential man.⁵¹ 1917 was the last year of *Poznașul*, as Ermil Borcia died at the beginning of the year. We do not know his views on the last years of the war and especially on 1918, but we can suspect that he would have remained close to his fellow Romanians from Transylvania.

Conclusions

In Transylvania, Romanian satirical literature evolved in a unique context influenced by the political situation of the period. Nevertheless, some Romanian humorous publications emerged. Edited in Sibiu for over two decades, the humorous calendar *Poznașul* (1896–1917) represents a significant contribution to the development of this literary genre and an ingenious means of presenting the self-image of Romanians. Although Ermil Borcia was not as famous as other satirical writers, such as Aurel P. Bănuț, known as the best Romanian satirical prose writer from Transylvania, Borcia chose to remain linked to his humorous calendar. His work reflected Romanian society, offering both appreciation and critique through humor. Borcia demonstrated, perhaps not as compellingly as Aurel P. Bănuț, that criticizing the society one is part of does not mean loving it any less.

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⁵¹ "Așa da," *Poznașul* 21 (1917): 90; "Rusia și România," *Poznașul* 21 (1917): 91; "Mackensen și Averescu," *Poznașul* 21 (1917): 86; "Monogramul regal," *Poznașul* 21 (1917): 78; "Petre Carp," *Poznașul* 21 (1917): 62.

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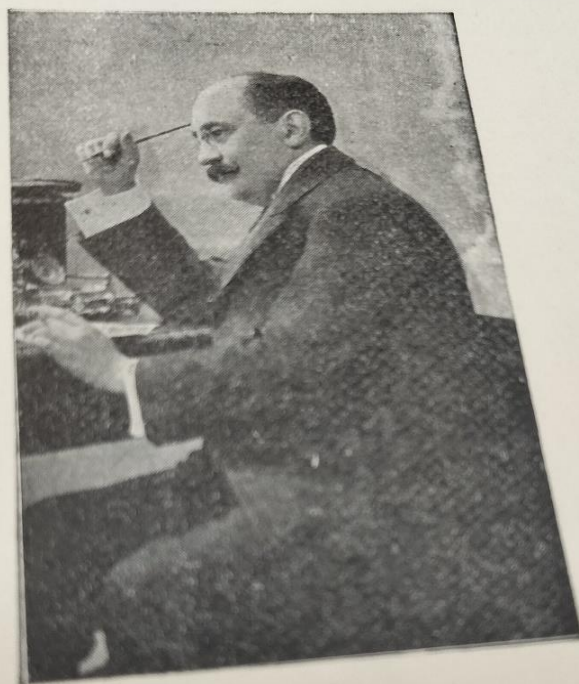
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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS / LISTA ILUSTRĂȚILOR

- Fig. 1. *Posnașul* Humorous Calendar 1907.
- Fig. 2. Funny verses by Haralamb Călămăr, Ermil Borcia, author's portrait, Librăria națională S. Bornemisa, Orăștie
- Fig. 3. *Posnașul*, "The effects of the prison," 1896, 48.
- Fig. 4. *Posnașul*, "Efficient diet," 1904, 81.
- Fig. 5. *Poznașul*, "Modern Iancu," 1896, 43.
- Fig. 6. *Poznașul*, "At the bar," 1896, 54.
- Fig. 7. *Posnașul*, "Cârțan in Paris," 1909, 41–45.
- Fig. 8. *Poznașul*, "Wake up, Romanian," 1906, 60–61.
- Fig. 9. *Poznașul*, "Russia and Romania," 1917, 91.



Fig. 1. *Posnașul* Humorous Calendar 1907.



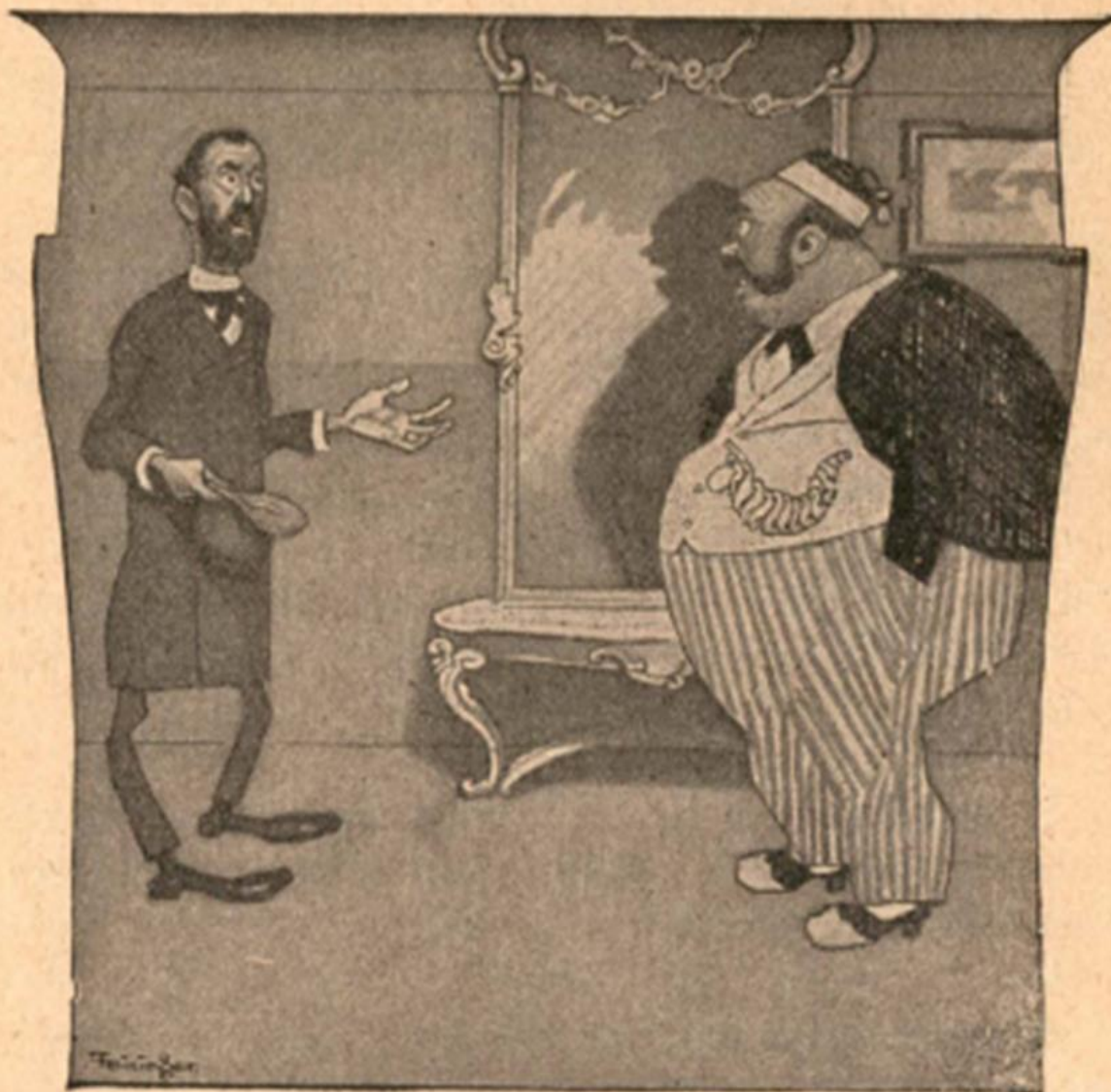
Ermil Borcia.

Fig. 2. Funny verses by Haralamb Călămăr, Ermil Borcia, author's portrait, Librăria națională S. Bornemisa, Orăștie



Fig. 3. *Posnașul*, “The effects of the prison,” 1896, 48.

—→ Cură eficece. ←—



— Ce faci domnule Scândură, de ești așa de svelt?
Eu toate verile merg la Carlsbad și tot nu scap de grăsime.

= Scrie numai un articol de fond ca mine într'un ziar
pasivist, ș'apoi dute la cură la — Seghedin și ai să vezi ce
eftin o să slăbești.



Fig. 4. Posnașul, "Efficient diet," 1904, 81.

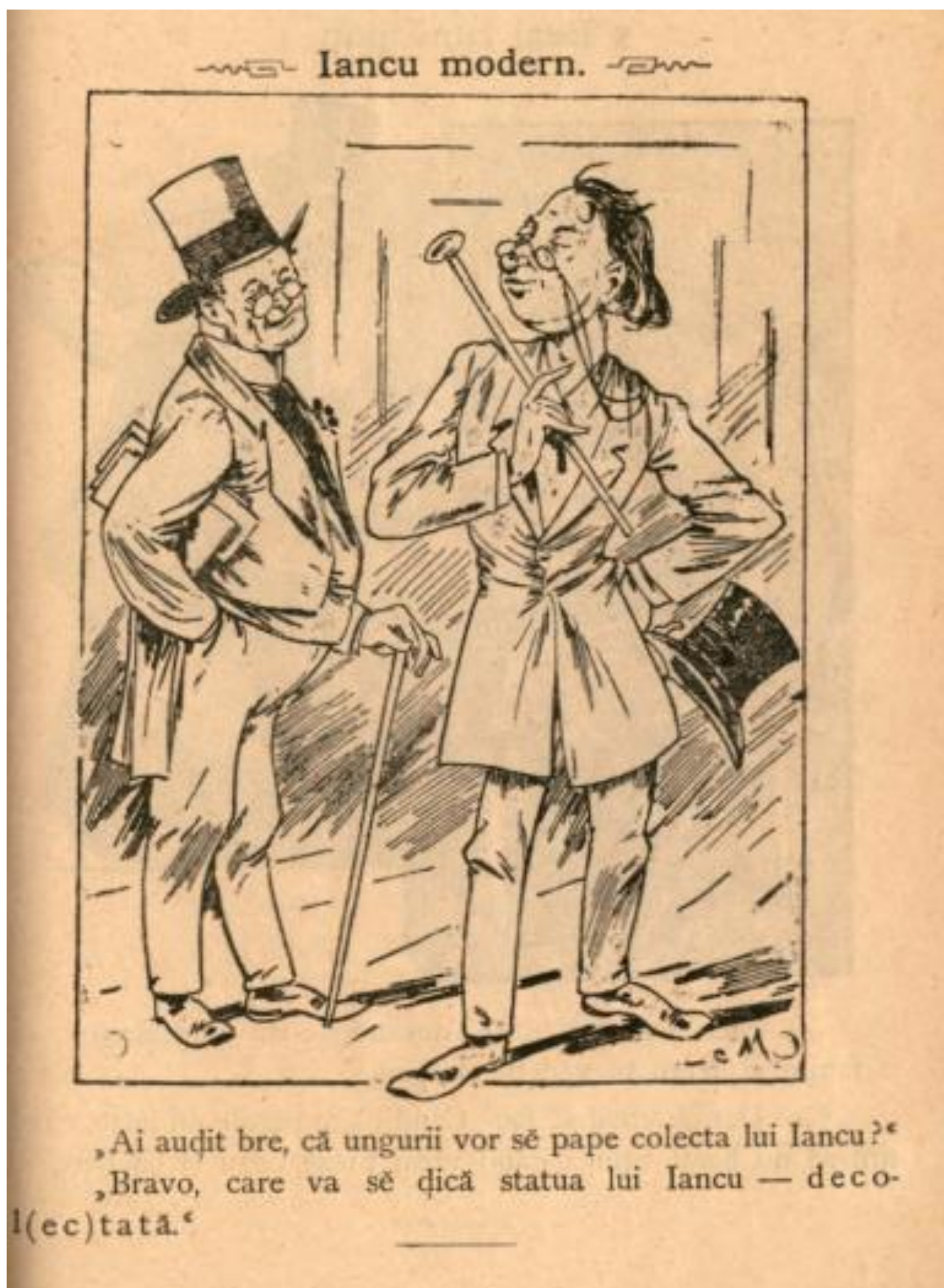


Fig. 5. *Poznașul*, “Modern Iancu,” 1896, 43.



Fig. 6. *Poznașul*, “At the bar,” 1896, 54.



Fig. 7. *Posnașul*, „Cârțan in Paris,” 1909, 41–45.



Fig. 8. Poznașul, “Wake up, Romanian,” 1906, 60–61.

Rusia și România.



P. B. Angeltan & C. S. S.

— Ce crezi, Rusia are să scape România?
= Din contră, a băgat-o în războiu să se scape pe ea
până va peri România.

Fig. 9. *Poznașul*, “Russia and Romania,” 1917, 91.

ANDREI POPOVICI, A ROMANIAN DIPLOMAT IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA DURING THE NEW YORK WORLD'S FAIR (1939-1940)*

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Rezumat: *Textul de față a încercat să recompună din piese disparate o schiță biografică diplomatului român Andrei Popovici, aflat în post la Washington în perioada interbelică. Cu deosebire și-a propus să aducă în prim plan activitatea sa în calitate de Comisar general adjunct al României la New York World's Fair din 1939-1940. A fost perioada în care a colaborat strâns cu Comisarul general al României, Dimitrie Gusti, dar și cu Ministrul guvernului de la București la Washington, Radu Irimescu. În tot acest timp a proiectat și coordonat activitatea unui birou de propagandă în Statele Unite ale Americii pe perioada expoziției, a supravegheat toate lucrările de construcție și amenajare a pavilioanelor naționale, a supervizat plățile făcute către arhitecți, constructori, asiguratorii, avocați (căci au existat și litigii), furnizori, personal etc. În acest demers au fost valorificate documente inedite din fondul Washington al Arhivei Ministerului Afacerilor Externe, cu atât mai mult cu cât există puține referințe bibliografice relative la biografia diplomatului (sunt câteva sugestii în lucrări semnate de Nicolae Dascălu, George G. Potra sau L. D. Grigorescu și Marian Ștefan).*

A fost evocată și și ascensiunea în serviciul diplomatic a lui Andrei Popovici, care trecea rând pe rând, începând de prin 1925, prin toate treptele profesiei: de la atașat de legație, secretar (trei clase erau de parcurs în acest caz), ajungând în poziții precum cele de consul general și ministru plenipotențiar clasa a II-a în 1938. Din păcate, nu au fost găsite până în acest moment prea multe informații privind activitatea și viața lui Andrei Popovici după New York World's Fair, doar că în 1941 era chemat în țară și va fi activat o vreme în Centrala Ministerului Afacerilor Străine, iar prin 1947 se afla în Statele Unite ale Americii, între foștii colegi diplomați de la Washington, într-un exil impus de schimbarea regimului politic din România, ce avusese loc la puțin timp după încheierea celui de-Al Doilea Război Mondial.

Cuvinte-cheie: *Andrei Popovici, New York World's Fair (1939-1940), relații româno-americe, Legația României de la Washington, istorie diplomatică, studii românești.*

Abstract: *The present text tried to reconstruct from disparate pieces a biographical sketch of the Romanian diplomat Andrei Popovici, posted in Washington during the interwar period. In particular, it aims to bring his work as Deputy Commissioner General of Romania at the New York World's Fair from 1939-1940 to the forefront. It was during this period that he worked closely with Romania's Commissioner General, Dimitrie Gusti, as well as with the Minister of the Bucharest government in Washington, Radu Irimescu. Throughout this time, he designed and coordinated the work of a propaganda office in the United States during the exhibition, supervised all the construction and fitting out of the national pavilions, oversaw payments to architects, builders, insurers, lawyers (as there were disputes), suppliers, staff, etc. In this endeavor, unpublished documents from the Washington collection of the Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs were used, especially as there are few bibliographical references to the diplomat's biography (there are a few suggestions in works by Nicolae Dascălu, George G. Potra or L. D. Grigorescu and Marian Ștefan).*

Andrei Popovici's ascension in the diplomatic service was also mentioned, as he advanced one step at a time, starting in 1925, through all the phases of the profession: from legation attaché, secretary (three courses had to be completed in this case), reaching positions such as consul general and minister plenipotentiary class II in 1938. Unfortunately, not much information about Andrei Popovici's activity and life after the New York World's Fair has been found so far, except that in 1941 he was called back to the country and worked for a

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while in the Central Office of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and by 1947 he was in the United States of America, among his former diplomatic colleagues in Washington, in an exile imposed by the change of the political regime in Romania, which had taken place shortly after the end of the Second World War.

Keywords: Andrei Popovici, New York World's Fair (1939-1940), Romanian-American Relations, Romanian Legation in Washington, Diplomatic History, Romanian Studies.

Foreword

This article brings in the foreground some moments from the professional biography of a Romanian diplomat in the United States of America, named Andrei Popovici. We have focused on the years 1939-1940 (taking into account some details from 1938 and 1941 respectively) when the World's Fair was held in New York, a period that was marked, beyond his usual diplomatic duties (he was General Consul), by his activity as Deputy Commissioner General of the Romanian pavilion, thus assisting Professor Dimitrie Gusti.

Andrei Popovici is not known to have actually written a biographical study. But details of his activity as Romania's diplomatic representative in Washington can be found in several publications. For example, Nicolae Dascălu has outlined a biographical sketch of the Romanian diplomat by evoking a series of initiatives / actions of his during the course of the volume *Imaginea României Mari în Statele Unite ale Americii în perioada interbelică 1919-1939 (The image of Greater Romania in the United States of America in the interwar period 1919-1939)*, data that was later partially taken up by us in the article dedicated to the functioning of a foreign propaganda office during the New York exhibition¹.

We found a second biographical reference to our character in a footnote to a text by George G. Potra, in which Andrei Popovici's diplomatic career was presented in a few lines, most of the information being taken from the *Anuarul Diplomatic și Consular (Diplomatic and Consular Yearbook)* of 1942, as the author himself points out².

Finally, another biographical detail was found in the article by L.D. Grigorescu and Marian Ștefan, dedicated to another Romanian diplomat in the United States of America in 1947, who was sending information on Romanian emigration and its position in relation to the new socio-political realities in the country to the Ministry's Central Office; among those concerned was Andrei Popovici³.

We should also mention that most of the sources on which our approach is based are documents from the Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Washington fund, Romania-USA problem, cultural issues (exhibitions), vol. 210-213, 215-220.

Andrei Popovici: biographical notes, 1924-1935

About Andrei Popovici, who was apparently born in 1895, we know that he had a degree in law and political science (Oradea) and a Phd in humanities from Georgetown University (1928) with a thesis on Basarabia, which was published in 1931 with funding from the foreign propaganda funds of the Press Directorate of the

¹ Nicolae Dascălu, *Imaginea României Mari în Statele Unite ale Americii în perioada interbelică, 1919-1939* (Bucharest: Bucharest University Press, 1998), 114, 117, 119, 121, 123, 136, 158-159, 163, 175, 191, 193-194, 200-201 etc.; respectively Laurențiu Vlad, "România la Expoziția internațională de la New York (1939-1940): un moment din istoria diplomației culturale autohtone; documente privind înființarea și funcționarea unui birou de propagandă în SUA", *Studia Politica. Romanian Political Science Review* VI, nr. 4 (2006), 951. Our text can also be found at: <https://www.cooperativag.ro/romania-la-expozitia-internationala-de-la-new-york-1939-1940-un-moment-din-istoria-diplomatiei-culturale-autohtone-documente-privind-infiintarea-si-functiunea-unui-birou-de-propaganda-in-sua/> or <https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:0168-ssoar-56255-8>.

² George G. Potra, "Nicolae Titulescu în Statele Unite și Canada. Repere ale unui itinerar politico-diplomatic": <https://cutiacuvechituri.files.wordpress.com/2012/02/titulescu-in-sua-si-canada.pdf>, accessed on 19.10.2023; details on Andrei Popovici biography were taken from *Anuarul diplomatic și consular* (Bucharest, Monitorul Oficial & Imprimeriile Statului & Imprimeria Națională: 1942), 81, 105, 148).

³ L.D. Grigorescu, Marian Ștefan, "Un diplomat român în America despre românii din America în 1947": [Memoria.ro - Diaspora - Un diplomat român în America despre românii din America în 1947](https://www.memoria.ro/diaspora-un-diplomat-roman-in-america-despre-romanii-din-america-in-1947), accessed on 17.10.2023. Some data on Popovici's activity during the New York World's Fair (1939-1940) in Claudiu-Alexandru Vitanos, *Imaginea României prin turism, târguri și expoziții universale în perioada interbelică* (Bucharest: Mica Valahie, 2011), 262-263, 267-269, 307-316. See also Lucia Curta, "Constructing an "Imagined Community": The Romanian Classroom at the University of Pittsburgh, 1927-1943", *Studies in the Decorative Arts* V, nr. 2 (1998), 54.

Royal Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Bucharest⁴. In 1924 he was already in the Ministry, having held several positions in the Romanian Legation in Washington, namely: Legation Attaché (1925), Secretary (third class in 1927, second class in 1930 and first class in 1937); in 1938 he became General Consul and Plenipotentiary Minister (second class), remaining in the United States until 1941⁵.

The Romanian diplomat became involved in a dispute on the subject of minorities with Reverend Cornish, the representative of the Hungarians, when he participated as a Romanian delegate at the inauguration of the International Institute in Williamstown in 1925; he gave a well-documented speech on the situation in Transylvania before 1918, which was well received by the American press (*New York Times*, *Boston Globe*, etc.)⁶. Popovici's success on that occasion led to his being appointed as Romania's representative at other meetings of the Institute, such as that of August 1927⁷, where he fought against the claims of revisionist propaganda that the country was heading towards dictatorship and that there were undemocratic attitudes, particularly with regard to the regime of minorities. The Romanian diplomat's presentation was more convincing than those of the revisionists, so that, in the end, many of the participants rather noticed the lack of democratic reflexes in the internal policy (with reflexes in the foreign propaganda) of the Budapest government.

As Andrei Popovici distinguished himself in the field of anti-revisionist propaganda of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and as Hungarian actions were extremely well organized in the United States of America, with the establishment of the anti-revisionist office of the Little Entente, which was an initiative of the Romanian Minister in Washington, Carol Davila⁸, our character was appointed to the leadership of this body (1933)⁹.

Over the years he published several articles and studies on subjects he specialized in: the problem of minorities (*Delta Chi Quarterly*, 1928), Romanian-American relations (*Romania*, the magazine of the *Society of Friends of Romania*, 1929), Romanians in the United States of America (*Bulletin of the American Institute of Romania*, 1934), the pacifist policy of the Little Entente (*Romania*, 1936)¹⁰, Americans of Romanian origin (*Romanian Sociology*, 1937), etc. We know that he was the author of several volumes that were inspired either by the themes of his doctoral thesis or by subjects he had dealt with in periodicals. For example, in 1926 he published the volume *Românii în America (Romanians in America)*, and in 1931 he published *The Political Status of Bassarabia* (doctoral thesis)¹¹. Nicolae Dascălu also mentioned the subsidization by the Press Directorate of some of the prints signed by Andrei Popovici in 1935, without mentioning them by name¹².

Andrei Popovici also gave lectures (for example, on July 30, 1928 on NBC radio) and inaugurated courses of study, such as the 1933 course dedicated to the Little Entente and intended for doctoral students at Georgetown University¹³. He was also committed to the idea that more young people from Romania should

⁴ Apud Nicolae Dascălu, *Imaginea României Mari în Statele Unite Unite ale Americii în perioada interbelică, 1919-1939*, 136. In George G. Potra, "Nicolae Titulescu în Statele Unite și Canada. Repere ale unui itinerar politico-diplomatic", loc.cit. it is stated that he had a doctorate in literature from Cleveland and in philosophy from Washington.

⁵ Apud Nicolae Dascălu, *Imaginea României Mari în Statele Unite Unite ale Americii în perioada interbelică, 1919-1939*, 114, 158-159, 175, 200-201. Apud George G. Potra, "Nicolae Titulescu în Statele Unite și Canada. Repere ale unui itinerar politico-diplomatic", loc.cit.

⁶ Apud Nicolae Dascălu, *Imaginea României Mari în Statele Unite Unite ale Americii în perioada interbelică, 1919-1939*, 158-159. The discussions of 1925, including the topics dealt with by Andrei Popovici, were partially included, as Nicolae Dascălu points out, in the booklet *Some Political Problems of Contemporary Europe*.

⁷ Nicolae Dascălu, *Imaginea României Mari în Statele Unite Unite ale Americii în perioada interbelică, 1919-1939*, 159.

⁸ Carol Davila (1888-1963), Romania's Minister in Washington from 1929-1938, was the son of the playwright Alexandru Davila (also in the diplomatic service for a time) and Ortansei Keminger de Lippa. He settled in the United States, as did other Romanian diplomats in Washington in the interwar period. Apud Lucian Predescu, *Enciclopedia României. Cugetarea* (Bucharest: Saeculum S.A. - Vestala, 1999), 259 and L.D. Grigorescu, Marian Ștefan, "Un diplomat român în America despre românii din America în 1947", loc.cit.

⁹ Apud Nicolae Dascălu, *Imaginea României Mari în Statele Unite Unite States of America în perioada interbelică, 1919-1939*, 163.

¹⁰ Nicolae Dascălu, *Imaginea României Mari în Statele Unite Unite ale Americii în perioada interbelică, 1919-1939*, 114, 117, 121, 123.

¹¹ Șerban Drutz, Andrei Popovici, *Românii in America*, with a preface by Prof. Nicolae Iorga (Bucharest: Cartea Românească, 1926). See also Andrei Popovici, *The Political Status of Bessarabia* (Washington: Ransdell, 1931). It should also be mentioned that the 1931 volume was reviewed by James Lea Cate in the *Journal of Modern History*, nr. 4 (1932).

¹² Apud Nicolae Dascălu, *Imaginea României Mari în Statele Unite Unite ale Americii în perioada interbelică, 1919-1939*, 119.

¹³ Nicolae Dascălu, *Imaginea României Mari în Statele Unite Unite ale Americii în perioada interbelică, 1919-1939*, 191, 200.

study in the United States, and insisted that the Rockefeller Foundation should promote the work of the Foundation in this direction, as well as strengthening relations between American and Romanian universities¹⁴.

Andrei Popovici, Deputy Commissioner General of Romania at the New York World's Fair

In our research on Romania's participation in the 1939-1940 New York World's Fair, we met diplomat Andrei Popovici right in the middle of the events. His name was present in almost all the diplomatic

correspondence related to the above-mentioned event, so we were able to extract a few moments from his professional (and even personal) biography from 1938-1941.

*

A propaganda office, 1938-1939

On November 3, 1938, Andrei Popovici, as Deputy General Commissioner for Romania at the New York World's Fair, wrote to Dimitrie Gusti with a proposal to set up a propaganda office for the duration of the exhibition, with a monthly budget of 750 dollars, and a press attaché, a reporter, a translator and a typist¹⁵. The model of Poland was invoked by the diplomat, who had already initiated an extremely active cultural propaganda activity, to the liking of the American public, with colourful posters and posters, symbolic ceremonies for the inauguration of the construction of pavilions, etc. The General Commissariat of Poland had such an office, and Popovici was influenced in his proposal by its existence and smooth functioning¹⁶.

Andrei Popovici imagined four main propagandistic directions, which should impact the institutional structure he proposed: 1. dissemination in the American press of articles / information on the image of Romania, emphasizing the personality of Carol II and his initiatives; 2. publishing posters, printed press and brochures to be offered to any guest of the pavilions; 3. to make an inventory of all visitors in order to correspond with them according to their hypothetical interest in certain exhibits / sections / stands; 4. to invest the restaurant pavilion with the symbolic dimension of a synthesis of traditional cultural life, on the model of Paris in 1937, with an emphasis on musical and choreographic performances¹⁷. In a separate report, the Romanian diplomat also insisted on the idea that an experienced American restaurateur, known in New York, should be found to take over the restaurant, so that the symbolic benefits I have mentioned would be doubled by the realization of material profits¹⁸.

Dimitrie Gusti, Romania's General Commissioner for the 1939 New York World's Fair, approved all his deputy's recommendations at the end of November 1938¹⁹. Thus, the office, consisting of Horia Babeș²⁰ (press attaché, he had a monthly allowance of 100 dollars for this activity), Petre Neagoe²¹ (editor and

¹⁴ Nicolae Dascălu, *Imaginea României Mari în Statele Unite ale Americii în perioada interbelică, 1919-1939*, 193-194.

¹⁵ Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, (hereafter AMAE), Bucharest, Washington Fund, Romania - USA, cultural problems (exhibitions), vol. 213, pp. 0408-0417; report no. 217/a of November 3, 1938 by Andrei Popovici, Deputy Commissioner General of Romania, to Dimitrie Gusti, Commissioner General. The text of the report can be found in Laurențiu Vlad, "România la Expoziția internațională de la New York (1939-1940): un moment din istoria diplomației culturale autohtone; documente privind înființarea și funcționarea unui birou de propagandă în SUA", 953-957. The details of this moment in Andrei Popovici's activity are taken from our earlier mentioned article. Some data, including the partial republication of the correspondence between Andrei Popovici and Dimitrie Gusti, which led to the establishment of the propaganda bureau, but without mentioning our contribution, published some years earlier, also in Claudiu-Alexandru Vitanos, *Imaginea României prin turism, târguri și expoziții universale în perioada interbelică*, 262-263, 307-316.

¹⁶ Laurențiu Vlad, "România la Expoziția internațională de la New York (1939-1940): un moment din istoria diplomației culturale autohtone; documente privind înființarea și funcționarea unui birou de propagandă în SUA", 955.

¹⁷ "România la Expoziția internațională de la New York (1939-1940): un moment din istoria diplomației culturale autohtone; documente privind înființarea și funcționarea unui birou de propagandă în SUA", 954-957.

¹⁸ AMAE, Bucharest, Washington Fund, vol. 213, pp. 0418-0422 / p. 0421, report no. 216/a of November 3, 1938 by Andrei Popovici to Dimitrie Gusti.

¹⁹ AMAE, Bucharest, Washington Fund, vol. 218; address no. 000344 / November 27, 1938, from Dimitrie Gusti to Andrei Popovici, unpaginated.

²⁰ Horia Babeș was secretary of the *Society of Friends of Romania* from the 1920s, after which he was integrated into the Romanian Foreign Propaganda Service. He lectured and published articles on the Romanian political situation in the United States. He became press secretary in New York (and even consul) in the late 1930s. Apud. Nicolae Dascălu, *Imaginea României Mari în Statele Unite ale Americii în perioada interbelică, 1919-1939*, 113-114, 115, 117, 118, 119.

²¹ This is probably Petru (Petre) (Peter) Neagoe (1881-1960), Romanian writer who wrote in English. He studied painting in Bucharest and New York, but was more attracted to prose. Around 1926 he moved to Paris, where he devoted himself to writing,

translator, he had 300 dollars) and a typist (with 200 dollars), to which was added the commercial counsellor Paul Sterian²² (without allowance), all under the coordination of Andrei Popovici, began to function in January 1939; a first evaluation of his work was scheduled for May 1939 and, depending on the result, he would be given new assignments²³.

Among the office's activities, we should mention the publication of a periodical²⁴ newsletter with economic and cultural details (including traditional culture), which were later also included in the English brochures published to present the Romanian pavilion (e.g. *Romania at the New York World's Fair, Notes on Romanian Cooking, Romanian Wines*, etc.). This information also found its way into the American press (*Cleveland Plain Dealer, Cleveland News, Cleveland Press, Chicago Daily News, Chicago Tribune, Detroit Free Press* (January 30 and April 3, 1939), *New York World Telegram* (February 23, 1939), etc.²⁵ In the first months of 1939, Andrei Popovici negotiated the inclusion of articles on his country's economy in periodicals such as *The Annalist* (April 19, 1939; \$1,500 was to be paid by the Bucharest officials) or *Journal of Commerce* (May 31, 1939; \$950...)²⁶.

At the same time, the office prepared posters, various texts which were later included in general publications of the exhibition, such as *Going to the Fair, Preview* or the *International Guide*, and collaborated with the Bucharest authorities to issue postage stamps related to the New York exhibition²⁷. A first philatelic issue depicting the Peles Castle, two ecclesiastical buildings specific to Bucovina and Maramureş, an ethnographic detail and a natural landscape were images that were easily found in the Romanian brochures or leaflets distributed at the American exhibition²⁸, but also at other similar events (for example, in Brussels in 1935 or Paris in 1937). It was, after all, the choice of Romanian officials in the 1930s to construct a propagandistic image of identity, which included royalty, the Orthodox religion and its architectural pendant (the church), historical continuity, cultural (artistic) tradition, and the picturesque landscape²⁹.

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Some current assignments, 1938-1939

Andrei Popovici was the main correspondent of Dimitrie Gusti during the construction of the national pavilions in New York (1938-1939) and, together with the Romanian Minister in Washington, Radu

before settling in the United States. Among his books are *Storm* (1932), *This is My Heart* (1935), *A Time to Keep* (1949), *The Saint of Montparnasse* (1965; posthumous), all of which have been published in Romanian. Apud Lucian Predescu, *Enciclopedia României. Cugetarea*, 588 and Aurel Sassu, *Dicţionarul biografic al scriitorilor români, M-V* (Piteşti: Paralela 45, 2006), 185-186.

²² Paul Sterian (1904-1984), poet, journalist, economist, civil servant. He studied law and philosophy in Bucharest and specialized in law and economics in Paris. A Rockefeller Scholar (1931), he then became editor of "Curentul" and "Cuvântul", and in 1938 economic counsellor to the Romanian Legation in Washington. After 1940, he also worked as a civil servant in the Ministries of Economy, Finance and Foreign Affairs. His volumes include *La Roumanie et la réparation des dommages de guerre* (1929) and his poetry (*Pregătiri pentru călătoria din urmă, 1932* and *Poeme arabe*, 1933). Apud Lucian Predescu, *Enciclopedia României. Cugetarea*, 812 and Aurel Sassu, *Dicţionarul biografic al literaturii române, II* (Piteşti: Paralela 45, 2004), 623-624.

²³ AMAE, Bucharest, Washington Fund, vol. 218, address no. 000344 / November 27, 1938, from Dimitrie Gusti to Andrei Popovici, unpaginated. In addition to allowances, 150 dollars per month were allocated for paper, printed matter, office supplies, etc.

²⁴ AMAE, Bucharest, Washington Fund, vol. 218, address no. 125 of April 1, 1939 from the Press Secretary of the Romanian Legation in the USA to Ion Dragu, Director General of the Press of the Undersecretariat of State for Press and Propaganda, unpaginated. It talks about the issue of May 14, which had as its theme the national holiday, and about the issue of June 10, dedicated to "the restoration, the celebration of youth and, in the words of Mr. Dimitrie Gusti, to new methods of education of the people - the apprenticeship and social service". The same address also mentions an article on Romania published by Charles Hodges, a professor at New York University, in *Travel Magazine*, which was to be reproduced in 1 000 copies for the exhibition's propaganda.

²⁵ AMAE, Bucharest, Washington Fund, vol. 218, newsletters dated January 30, 1939 (*Romania at the Fair*) and April 3, 1939 (*Notes on Romanian Cooking*). On each newsletter there was a list of American journals to which the text was sent. The *Romanian Wines* brochure is archived in vol. 217.

²⁶ AMAE, Bucharest, Washington Fund, vol. 218, telegram of February 28, 1939 from Andrei Popovici to Dimitrie Gusti, unpaginated.

²⁷ AMAE, Bucharest, Washington Fund, vol. 218, extract from *Curentul*, February 26, 1939.

²⁸ See, for example, *Romania, Roumanian People, Roumania, Roumania's Historical and Artistic Monuments, Roman Antiquities in Romania, The Participation of Roumanian Craftsmen in the New York World's Fair*.

²⁹ See, for example, for the 1935 exhibition, Laurenţiu Vlad, *În căutarea Belgiei Orientului. Romania la expozițiile universale și internaționale de la Anvers, Bruxelles, Liège și Gand, 1894-1935* (Bucharest: Nemira, 2004), 118-147 or, for the 1937 exhibition, Laurenţiu Vlad *Imagini ale identității naționale. România la expozițiile universale de la Paris, 1867-1937*, 2nd revised and added edition (Iași: Institutul European, 2007), 197-225.

Irimescu³⁰, and the architect engineer August Schmiedigen³¹, was at the forefront of this activity³².

In the summer of 1938, he organized the tenders for the builders, together with Radu Irimescu, and in the autumn of the same year he sought to find a concessionaire to take over the work of the pavilion restaurant³³. Thus, he contacted Gino Cavallero (owner of “the most select restaurant” in New York, the *Colony*), William Lincoln Weiner (who had a project to set up two distinct sections in the premises of the Romanian House, one for the general public, with lower prices, on the ground floor or in the garden, for example, and another upstairs, which would be frequented by the upper class) or Theodore Titze (former director of the restaurant at the Ritz Carlton Hotel)³⁴.

In addition, Andrei Popovici supervised the construction works, architectural design changes, the placement of exhibits in the stands, and, on behalf of the General Commissariat and Dimitrie Gusti, he paid for all the services related to the organization and functioning of the Romanian representative buildings in New York between 1938 and 1939, etc.³⁵

Perhaps it would be appropriate to mention here also Andrei Popovici's insistence on making Constantin Brâncuși's presence in New York during the exhibition more consistent. Thus, he contacted the Museum of Modern Art, which initially hesitated, suggesting that the Brâncuși exhibition take place at the end of 1939, as the exhibition program during the first season of the New York World's Fair was already outlined. In the end, after several negotiations and interventions by the Deputy Commissioner General of Romania, the museum agreed that several of Brâncuși's works could be presented as part of its exhibitions from May to October 1939³⁶.

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A “confidential” or “top secret” correspondence, October - November 1939

In the month in which the first season of the world exhibition in New York was ending (April 30 - October 31, 1939), our protagonist had to face accusations and defamations coming from the artist Fănică Luca. The Romanian Legation in Washington received a “strictly confidential” address, dated October 19, 1939, from the Personnel Directorate of the Royal Ministry of Foreign Affairs³⁷, and Radu Irimescu, the holder of the

³⁰ Radu Irimescu (1890-1975) studied artillery and engineering, then navy and engineering (in Germany), which were interrupted because he participated as an officer in the Bulgarian campaign (1913); in 1916 he obtained his airplane pilot's license. He was a senator, Undersecretary of State at the Ministry of National Defense and Air (1932-1935), Minister of Air and Navy (1937-1938), and served as Romania's Minister in Washington from 1938-1940. After the end of his term of office he remained in the United States of America, becoming a citizen in 1942. Apud *Enciclopedia României. Cugetarea*, 444 and Ion Mamina, Ioan Scurtu, *Guverne și guvernanți, 1916-1938* (Bucharest: Silex, 1996), 192-193.

³¹ August Schmiedigen had a degree in architectural engineering from Dresden (1904), which was recognized by the professional body in Bucharest only three decades later. He was responsible, among other things, for the repatriation of exhibits found in Romanian stands at the Paris exhibition, and since 1938 he had been living in the USA. See <http://arhivadearhitectura.ro/arhitecti/august-schmiedigen/>, respectively <https://arhivadearhitectura.blogspot.com/2021/01/august-schmiedigen.html>, accessed on 06.11.2022.

³² See Laurențiu Vlad, “Câteva date cu privire la construcția, amenajarea și organizarea activității Casei Românești la New York World's Fair (1939-1940). Restituiri documentare din Arhivele Naționale și ale MAE, 1938-1939”, *Anuarul Institutului de Cercetări Socio-Umane Gh. Șincai*, XXV (2022), 316-339.

³³ Laurențiu Vlad, “Câteva date cu privire la construcția, amenajarea și organizarea activității Casei Românești la New York World's Fair (1939-1940). Restituiri documentare din Arhivele Naționale și ale MAE, 1938-1939”, 324. See also AMAE, Bucharest, Washington fonds, vol. 212, August Schmiedigen's report from New York to Dimitrie Gusti (June 8, 1938), unpaginated.

³⁴ For example, Laurențiu Vlad, “Câteva date cu privire la construcția, amenajarea și organizarea activității Casei Românești la New York World's Fair (1939-1940). Restituiri documentare din Arhivele Naționale și ale MAE, 1938-1939”, 326-327, 329. See also AMAE, Bucharest, Washington Fund, vol. 213, address from Andrei Popovici to Dimitrie Gusti (no. 155/a, October 12, 1938, unpaginated). In the same volume, see also address by Andrei Popovici to Dimitrie Gusti, Commissar General (no. 216/a, November 3, 1938), unpaginated.

³⁵ For example, Laurențiu Vlad, “Câteva date cu privire la construcția, amenajarea și organizarea activității Casei Românești la New York World's Fair (1939-1940). Restituiri documentare din Arhivele Naționale și ale MAE, 1938-1939”, 324, 328-329. See also AMAE, Bucharest, Washington Fund, vol. 213, address of Andrei Popovici to Dimitrie Gusti (no. 216 / a, November 3, 1938), unpaginated; vol. 219, report of Andrei Popovici to Dimitrie Gusti, December 28, 1939, pp. 025-027; vol. 220, payment/expense reports (allowances, service payments, utilities, etc.) from 1939-1940, all signed by Andrei Popovici. See also <http://octavdoicescu.blogspot.com/2013/06/scrisoare-adresata-de-octav-doicescu.html>, letter from architect Octav Doicescu to Andrei Popovici (July 12, 1938); consulted by us on 09.11.2022.

³⁶ Apud. Claudiu-Alexandru Vitanos, *Imaginea României prin turism, târguri și expoziții universale în perioada interbelică*, 268, 269.

³⁷ AMAE, Bucharest, Washington Fund, vol. 215, confidential note of the Personnel Department of the Royal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, to Radu Irimescu, October 19, 1939 (registered at the Legation on November 24, 1939), unpaginated.

position in the capital of the United States of America was obliged to respond. The address in question was accompanied by an informative note of a “secret” nature, which recalled what Fănică Luca had said in various places in Bucharest, namely that after Dimitrie Gusti's departure, Radu Irimescu “delegated Legation Counsellor Popovici to manage the exhibition [...], and that he, together with a young Georgescu and an inspector Sebastian, in permanent revelry, in the sight of all, compromised everything that had accumulated a good reputation for morality about Romania”³⁸. The note began with the formula “the talk of the town” and ended with the idea that the Romanian exhibition in New York could never achieve the success of the one in Paris in 1937, Fănică Luca having the opportunity to make comparisons, as he had also been present in the capital of Hexagon³⁹.

Andrei Popovici, as was the administrative custom, was asked to respond to the accusations. He drafted a document, which he sent to Radu Irimescu on November 8, 1939, in which he refuted all the accusations in the informative note⁴⁰.

Radu Irimescu then sent a reply to Grigore Gafencu, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the government in Bucharest, in which he also rejected all the accusations made against his collaborator (November 24)⁴¹. He said that Andrei Popovici had been legally appointed Deputy Commissioner General of Romania at the exhibition from May 1938 until the end of March 1939 with full powers and acting on the instructions he received from the Commissioner General⁴².

On Dimitrie Gusti's departure from the United States in July 1939, he delegated Radu Irimescu to the post of Commissioner General, so that the Romanian Minister in Washington ended up working more closely on the exhibition with Andrei Popovici, who continued his work in the same manner as before⁴³. Radu Irimescu also said that Andrei Popovici did not drink, as he was “gassed from the war” and “not only did he not party at the exhibition, but [...] he hasn't partied at all for about 20 years”⁴⁴. Finally, he added that the rumours spread by Fănică Luca are due to the fact that Andrei Popovici, at the request of Radu Irimescu, asked the orchestras to have “a reserved and decent attitude in the matter of tips”, especially after the incident in which the lute player publicly and threateningly expressed his displeasure when he received a tip from a guest, which he considered too small⁴⁵.

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The 1940 New York World's Fair

In 1940 Andrei Popovici collaborated with Radu Irimescu and Dimitrie Gusti (less, due to the delegation given to the Romanian Minister in Washington) for the organization of Romania's participation in the second season of the New York World's Fair (May 11 - October 27).

Thus, we find him in the correspondence about the negotiations in May 1940 on the initiation of a philatelic

³⁸ AMAE, Bucharest, Washington Fund, vol. 215, “strictly confidential” address from the Personnel Directorate of the Royal Ministry of Foreign Affairs to Radu Irimescu, Romania's Minister in Washington, October 19, 1939, unpaginated. The address was accompanied by a “secret” informative note, October 12, 1939, p. 0105, from which I have quoted in the text.

³⁹ AMAE, Bucharest, Washington Fund, vol. 215, “secret” information note, October 12, 1939, p. 0106.

⁴⁰ AMAE, Bucharest, Washington Fund, vol. 215, justification note signed by Andrei Popovici to Radu Irimescu, November 8, 1939, pp. 0103-0104.

⁴¹ AMAE, Bucharest, Washington Fund, vol. 215, reply of Radu Irimescu to the address of the Personnel Directorate of the Royal Ministry of Foreign Affairs of October 19, 1939, addressed to Grigore Gafencu, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Bucharest Government, November 24, 1939, pp. 0098-0101.

⁴² AMAE, Bucharest, Washington Fund, vol. 215, reply of Radu Irimescu to the address of the Personnel Directorate of the Royal Ministry of Foreign Affairs of October 19, 1939, addressed to Grigore Gafencu, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Bucharest Government, November 24, 1939, 0098-0099.

⁴³ AMAE, Bucharest, Washington Fund, vol. 215, reply of Radu Irimescu to the address of the Personnel Directorate of the Royal Ministry of Foreign Affairs of October 19, 1939, addressed to Grigore Gafencu, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Bucharest Government, November 24, 1939, 0099-0100.

⁴⁴ AMAE, Bucharest, Washington Fund, vol. 215, reply of Radu Irimescu to the address of the Personnel Directorate of the Royal Ministry of Foreign Affairs of October 19, 1939, addressed to Grigore Gafencu, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Bucharest Government, November 24, 1939, 0100.

⁴⁵ AMAE, Bucharest, Washington Fund, vol. 215, reply of Radu Irimescu to the address of the Personnel Directorate of the Royal Ministry of Foreign Affairs of October 19, 1939, addressed to Grigore Gafencu, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Bucharest Government, November 24, 1939, 0101.

issue⁴⁶ or in the one concerning the setting of the date and program of Romania's day at the exhibition (June 8, 1940)⁴⁷.

In June 1940 Andrei Popovici tried to reopen the economic section, affected by some deterioration during the winter and spring; there were, however, financial problems, as he felt that two new employees were needed, but Dimitrie Gusti in Bucharest had expressed some reluctance; with the support of Radu Irimescu a compromise was found and the stands were ready for visitors from the summer of that year⁴⁸.

A long and complicated correspondence began in July 1940 and lasted until 1941, between Romania's Commissioner General Dimitrie Gusti, his deputy and the authorities of the New York World Exhibition, concerning the dismantling of the pavilions, their demolition and the repatriation or donation (or sale) of the exhibits. Thus, in a note dated July 19, 1940⁴⁹, Andrei Popovici wrote to Dimitrie Gusti about the very high costs of storing household and handicraft objects in the exhibition stands (just as high were the costs of shipping them to the country or selling them, which in the latter case had to include customs duties). It was therefore thought that it would be better to put them up for sale in the pavilions, only that the customs duty that had to be paid would make the price too high to be easily sold. Many of the exhibits will have been donated to various Orthodox parishes in the United States or to Romanian American societies, which used them in various festive and ceremonial situations, in which they propagandized their identity, as will be seen in some significant examples below.

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An exhibition in Cleveland; correspondence with George Anagnostache⁵⁰, January 1941

In January 1941 Andrei Popovici, who was still busy dismantling the pavilions and finding viable solutions for the transfer / sale / repatriation of the exhibits from the exhibition stands in optimal conditions, entered into a correspondence with the Romanian consul in Cleveland, George Anagnostache. An exhibition was being held in Cleveland from January 4th to 19th, which the Romanian Consul in Cleveland, as well as the Romanian community there, wished to honour. Under these circumstances, Romanian exhibits were requested, in general, among those representing the traditional culture, which had been found in the Romanian stands at the New York World's Fair.

On January 30th, the consul in Cleveland sent Andrei Popovici a brief report on the important contribution of Cristina Georgescu, sent by the Deputy Commissioner General to support the organization of the Romanian stands⁵¹ (it was the same Mrs. Georgescu, with whom the Deputy Commissioner General would have had a party, if we were to believe Fănică Luca). In the report, Anagnostache also showed what happened to the crates in which the exhibits were transported (some of them were donated to the parish of St. Dumitru in Cleveland, others had been handed over with a receipt to Father Truția and, finally, a third part had gone to the Legation in Washington).

Two days later, Andrei Popovici answered him, thanking him for the effort and the success; in the private letter he told him that it was possible that he would pass through Cleveland, sometime in March, with his wife (Marion), when he intended to take a month's vacation and go to California⁵². Then, Popovici said, he

⁴⁶ AMAE, Bucharest, Washington Fund, vol. 216, correspondence of Andrei Popovici with Radu Irimescu of May 15, 28, 30, 1940, unpaginated.

⁴⁷ AMAE, Bucharest, Washington Fund, vol. 216, correspondence between Andrei Popovici, the American exhibition authorities and Radu Irimescu of May 31 and June 4, 1940, unpaginated.

⁴⁸ AMAE, Bucharest, Washington Fund, vol. 216, correspondence between Andrei Popovici, Paul Sterian and Radu Irimescu of June 11, June 25, July 2, 1940, unpaginated.

⁴⁹ AMAE, Bucharest, Washington Fund, vol. 216, correspondence between Andrei Popovici and Dimitrie Gusti of July 19, 1940, unpaginated.

⁵⁰ George Anagnostache, graduate of the School of Mines at the University of Pittsburgh (1923), consul in Cleveland (Ohio), close collaborator and friend of Andrei Popovici, was an active presence in organizing the participation of Romanian Americans, as well as the participation of the Bucharest government in the international exhibitions in Cleveland in 1932, 1936-1937 and 1941. In 1928, he was also involved in the initial initiatives to set up and organize the so-called "Romanian Classroom" at the University of Pittsburgh. He emigrated to the United States after the change of political regime in Romania a few years after the end of the Second World War. See AMAE, Bucharest, Washington Fund, vol. 210, 211, 216, correspondence with officials in Bucharest or with committees of Romanian Americans who were in charge of organizing stands with exhibits from the country. See also Lucia Curta, "Constructing an "Imagined Community": The Romanian Classroom at the University of Pittsburgh, 1927-1943", 52.

⁵¹ AMAE, Bucharest, Washington Fund, vol. 216, letters of George Anagnostache to Andrei Popovici of January 30, 1941, one official, one private, unpaginated.

⁵² AMAE, Bucharest, Washington Fund, vol. 216, Andrei Popovici's letters to George Anagnostache of February 1, 1941, one

could baptize their child; and he concluded with irony, telling his friend and collaborator in Cleveland that he had to be careful how he endured “the sufferings of labour”, because he knew for certain that Mary, the wife of Anagnostache, could take care of herself!

Epilogue

We don't know much more about our protagonist after the correspondence of January-February 1941, except perhaps that in the same year he was called to the central administration of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and in 1943 he gave a speech at the inauguration of the Romanian Classroom at the University of Pittsburgh, which he had also decorated with ornaments and exhibits that had been found in the official pavilions of the government in Bucharest at the New York World's Fair⁵³. It was a symbolic gesture of Romanian identity propaganda in the United States, an action supported, as always, by the organizations / societies of Romanian Americans, as well as by their parishes. (It was also a gesture dictated by practical reasons, given the situation of the exhibits in the Romanian pavilions, which were difficult to store in the United States, repatriate or sell, given the very high costs.) Let us add that the initiative of setting up a Romanian hall at the University of Pittsburgh, a project also supported by Andrei Popovici, was not unique. At that time, several European national communities in Pennsylvania had invested such places with symbolic, identity-related values; for example, the Romanian hall was close to the Lithuanian one⁵⁴...

We also know that in 1947 he was a political refugee in the United States. We learned this detail from an informative report from that year, signed by Alexandru Lăzăreanu, a Romanian diplomat who had just been posted to the United States⁵⁵. He transmitted to the Central Office data on the opinions of former diplomats who had served in Washington or Cleveland or New York between 1920 and 1940 regarding the new regime in Bucharest. They targeted Romania's ministers in Washington from 1929-1940, Carol Davila (“a paid informant for the State Department and agent of the opposition”) and Radu Irimescu (“who made a huge fortune”; but it seemed he was not political in any way), former press attaché George Boncescu⁵⁶ (“both he and especially his wife are reactionaries”), and our own Andrei Popovici (“a legionary and an open enemy of ours”; like former consul George Anagnostache⁵⁷). And so much for Andrei Popovici's new “American life”, which remains to be discovered...

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We have tried in these lines to recompose from disparate pieces a biographical sketch of the diplomat Andrei Popovici, stationed in Washington during the interwar period. In particular we wanted to bring to the forefront his work as Deputy Commissioner General of Romania at the New York World's Fair from 1939-1940. He worked closely with Romania's Commissioner General, Dimitrie Gusti, as well as with the Minister of the Bucharest government in Washington, Radu Irimescu. During all this time he designed and coordinated the work of a propaganda office in the United States of America during the period of the exhibition, supervised all the construction and fitting out of the national pavilions, supervised the payments made to architects, builders, insurers, lawyers (as there were also disputes), suppliers, personnel, etc. In our endeavour we have capitalized on a series of unpublished or lesser-known documents from the Washington Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, all the more so as we have identified few bibliographical references on our topic (there are some suggestions in works by Lucia Curta, Nicolae Dascălu, L. D. Grigorescu and Marian Ștefan, George G. Potra, Claudiu-Alexandru Vitanos or in our researches on New York World's Fair, 1939-1940).

official, one private, unpaginated.

⁵³ George G. Potra, “Nicolae Titulescu Nicolae Titulescu în Statele Unite și Canada. Repere ale unui itinerar politico-diplomatic”, loc.cit. See also Lucia Curta, “Constructing an “Imagined Community”: The Romanian Classroom at the University of Pittsburgh, 1927-1943”, 54.

⁵⁴ Lucia Curta, “Constructing an “Imagined Community”: The Romanian Classroom at the University of Pittsburgh, 1927-1943”, 40.

⁵⁵ L.D. Grigorescu, Marian Ștefan, “Un diplomat român în America despre românii din America în 1947”, loc.cit.

⁵⁶ George Boncescu was Romania's press attaché in Washington from 1927-1938. He was also involved in Romanian propaganda in the United States, as well as serving as the Legation's financial advisor. He was briefly transferred to Paris in April 1938 and returned to Washington in September 1938 as financial counsellor. Apud Nicolae Dascălu, *Imaginea României Mari în Statele Unite ale Americii în perioada interbelică, 1919-1939*, 108-110.

⁵⁷ L.D. Grigorescu, Marian Ștefan, “Un diplomat român în America despre românii din America în 1947”, loc.cit.

Of course, we also included in our article Andrei Popovici's ascension in Romania's diplomatic service, who, starting around 1925, passed step by step through all the stages of the profession: from legation attaché, secretary (three classes were to be completed in this case), reaching positions such as consul general and minister plenipotentiary class II in 1938. Unfortunately, I have not found much information on Andrei Popovici's activity and life after the New York World's Fair. Only that in 1941 he was summoned to the country and worked for a while in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, that two years later he gave a speech at the inauguration of the Romanian Studies Hall at the University of Pittsburgh, and that by 1947 he was in the United States of America, among his former diplomatic colleagues in Washington, in exile imposed by the change of political regime in Romania, which took place shortly after the end of the Second World War.

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<https://arhivadearhitectura.blogspot.com/2021/01/august-schmiedigen.html>, accessed on 06.11.2022.



Andrei Popovici and his wife Marion in Los Angeles in January 1935.

Photo published in the Los Angeles Times, 18th of January 1935 (explanation of photo: Dr. Andrei Popovici, secretary of the Romanian Legation at Washington D.C., and his wife Marion, arrive for a series of speaking engagements, Los Angeles, 1935).

Source: *Los Angeles Times Photographic Archive, UCLA Library Special Collections*

DETENTION REGIME IN SIBIU PENITENTIARY (1948-1952)

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Abstract: *The present article aims to improve the knowledge about the concentration camp system in Romania during the communist period, taking Sibiu Penitentiary as the object of research. Although specialized literature, general literature and memoirs provide information about Sibiu Penitentiary, an in-depth study that takes into account the evolution of this unit, living conditions, diet, sanitary service, including the activity of the prison administration, has not been carried out so far. The research of archival documents about Sibiu Penitentiary from SJANS¹, respectively ACNSAS², revealed unexplored information. Some of these primary sources have been capitalized in this article.*

Moreover, the attachment of photographs from the personal archive adds value to the knowledge of the Sibiu Penitentiary, part of the ongoing work in progress.

Keywords: *Sibiu Penitentiary, detention, communist period.*

Rezumat: *Articolul de față își propune să îmbunătățească cunoașterea despre sistemul concentraționar din România în perioada comunistă, având ca obiect al cercetării Penitenciarul Sibiu. Cu toate ca literatura de specialitate, literatura generală și memorialistica recuperează informații despre Penitenciarul Sibiu, un studiu aprofundat care să aibă în vedere evoluția acestei unități, condițiile de viață, regimul alimentar, serviciul sanitar, inclusiv activitatea personalului închisorii, nu a fost realizat până în prezent. Cercetarea documentelor de arhivă despre Penitenciarul Sibiu din cadrul SJANS, respectiv ACNSAS, a dezvăluit informații neexplorate. O parte dintre aceste surse primare au fost valorificate în cadrul acestui articol.*

Mai mult decât atât, atașarea fotografiilor din arhiva personală aduce un plus de valoare asupra cunoașterii Penitenciarului Sibiu, parte din șantierul de lucru care se află derulare.

Cuvinte cheie: *Penitenciarul Sibiu, detenție, perioada comunistă.*

Historiographical references

The penitentiary as we know it today has its origins in the 18th century, when it was a place of confinement of the self in order to serve a sentence. However, as Michel Foucault³ noted, the main purpose of the prison was to re-educate and reintegrate people into society. However, even if the process of re-education was an ideal Foucault observed, the ultimate goals of the prison experience were partly different from the re-education institutionalized by the communist regime in all countries, which fell under the USSR. We have multiple testimonies of what life was like for people in the 'Soviet gulag', and one work that expresses the quintessence of the experience of people who survived the purgatory created by the communist regime in Moscow is Alexandr Solzhenitin's work, "Arhipelagul Gulag"⁴, a compendium of the memories, recollections and stories of no less than 227 people who survived imprisonment.

In order to make an incursion into what the penitentiary meant in Romania during the first two communist decades, it is necessary to have a thorough knowledge of the historiography of the penitentiary system. A good part of the works dealing with this subject have been written since the 90s. During this period, memoirs were the most popular. Memoir means, among other things, at a deeper level of reading and understanding, human resistance through culture. This resistance can be seen as an individual's struggle against forgetfulness, which is why the recording of significant events is another facet of historical realities. The revival of the memoirs of former inmates of communist prisons in the 1990s is the first step on the arduous

¹ *** County Service of the National Archives Sibiu.

² *** National Council for the Study of the Securitate Archives.

³ Michel Foucault, *A supraveghea și a pedepsi. Nașterea închisorii*, București, Humanitas, 1997, *passim.*, 15-47.

⁴ Alexandr Soljenițin, *Arhipelagul gulag*, volumele I-III, București, Univers, 2012.

road to the truth about the harsh aspects of communist detention⁵.

The people who survived the concentration camp regime managed, for the most part, to express in writing or through oral accounts what happened inside the cells. Ruxandra Cesereanu's work⁶ is revealing in its analysis and inventory of these memoirs, bringing a daring approach to an interdisciplinary study of prison memoirs. The author identifies and realizes a history of the "Romanian gulag"⁷, focusing her research on the way in which memoirs record the psychological, physical and social effects of the terror of the concentration camp universe in Romania, reflected on its victims. The attention that the author gives to the memoirs, with their important emphasis on the process of re-education and the methods used by the authorities to train the 'new man', takes on multiple nuances⁸. Gathering the memories of those oppressed by the communist regime in Romania is a labor of attrition, which is why Ruxandra Cesereanu conceives the book as a manual of the crushing of suffering and dehumanization. The hell of the prisons contributes to the transformation of the self, while its loss and rediscovery through writing and memory reveal revealing aspects in order to understand the struggle that human conscience has waged with life. Many of the concepts used, such as 'the new man' and 'the gulag', take on a special meaning that is analyzed in relation to the individual experiences of the convicts and to research on the metamorphoses of communist imprisonment. The strata of the analysis of the reception of the Romanian concentration camp space are shown to be distinct universes in which the human side is put under the inquiry of morality. The profile of the detainee and the profile of the oppressor are painstakingly constructed and present an echo of damnation. Far from being an exhaustive study of all the forms of remembrance specific to the space of human confinement⁹, the pages written under the pen of Ruxandra Cesereanu contain a particular model of reception of the atrocities of communist power.

The overthrow of the communist regime in Romania, in those tumultuous days after mid-December 1989, meant a significant change for many researchers and historians who wanted to reconstruct, fragmentarily, what terror and detention under the Romanian communists meant. The historian Ion Bălan has managed to document the concentration camp space by accessing the Romanian National Archives, gathering evidence, testimonies and memoirs of those who lived through the communist prisons and concentration camps. In the introduction to his work he explains the importance of such research, the dangers and obstacles involved. Ion Bălan lists several historians who have conducted quantitative studies of the incarcerated population and who experienced the horrors of detention between 1945-1964. At this level of analysis he observes significant differences, thus Vlad Georgescu estimates the number of detainees at around half a million, while Victor Frunză proposes another estimate, about 2,000,000 people¹⁰. Other historians such as Adrian Niculescu and Gheorghe Boldur Lătescu identify other dimensions of the quantitative analysis, thus Niculescu is of the opinion that it was one of the most serious expressions of reclusion in Eastern Europe, raising the number of victims to "800,000 political prisoners, 300,000 of whom died"¹¹. On the other hand, Lătescu's research puts the figure of 1,131,000 political prisoners between 1945-1989 at 1,131,000. It can be seen here how the author questions the historiographical debate on the issue of prisons during the communist period in Romania and manages to identify some of the problems that can be nuanced: the phenomenon of re-education in prisons, the inhumane regime in concentration camps and the role attributed to the regime in the evolution of the phenomenon of re-education¹². The first chapter discusses the new forms of detention created by the communist regime, changes that began to take place after the overthrow of Antonescu's regime on August 23, 1944. We find these changes in the legislation adopted with the appointment of Dr. Petru Groza as Prime Minister of Romania (March 6, 1945)¹³. Internment centers began to appear all over the country, including penitentiaries and psychiatric hospitals. Knowing the aspects mentioned by Ion Bălan are relevant to understand the mechanisms through which the communist regime operated, including the transformations that took place in relation to the penitentiary system. With the help of memoirs and primary sources at hand, Ion Bălan reviews several labor colonies, such as Salcia, Poarta Albă, Baia Sprie and so on, and reconstructs the image of these colonies in terms of working conditions, food, moral and psychological

⁵ Ruxandra Cesereanu, *Gulagul în conștiința românească: Memorialistica și literatura închisorilor și lagărelor comuniste. Eseu de mentalitate*, Iași, Polirom, 2005, *passim*. 5-13

⁶ *Ibidem*.

⁷ The author explains in detail the reasons behind such a work in: *Ibidem*, p. 9-16.

⁸ *Ibidem.*, pp. 328-342.

⁹ *Ibidem.*, pp. 121-194. See from the chapter II, subchapters 3 and 4.

¹⁰ Ion Bălan, *Regimul concentraționar din România (1945-1967)*, București, Fundația Academia Civică, 2000, p. 8.

¹¹ *Ibidem*.

¹² *Ibidem.*, pp. 9-12.

¹³ *Ibidem.*, p. 31.

profile of the guards and torturers¹⁴. The following sub-chapters analyze what the phenomenon of deportations, re-education, release and detention that occurred in 1964 meant. It is important to note that the technique of reconstructing the phenomenon of labor camps and colonies is taken up in the successive cases, Bălan manages to compose deportation, re-education and release from several perspectives¹⁵. The conclusions proposed by Ion Bălan are general, but I believe that they should be listed here because they open up multiple avenues of research and of reporting on the phenomenon of communist prisons. Two questions that are of great interest to the historian, they condense the uncertainty and difficulty that the researcher finds in the morality of the subject: "Who will accuse and who will judge? Who will be accused and judged?"¹⁶.

Romanian historiography continues to record a series of studies that support the understanding of the characteristics of the concentration phenomenon. In the early 2000s, I would like to mention the contribution made by the researcher Radu Ciuceanu in his work, „Regimul comunist din România 1940-1962”¹⁷, which aims to provide a comprehensive treatment of the communist concentration regime in Romania. He begins his study with an overview of the main legislative features of the prison system since the 16th century. The difficulty caused by the lack or unavailability of documents is invoked both for past centuries and for the communist period. Thus, the book provides a detailed analysis of the communist prisons and proposes a classification according to several criteria related to the specific nature of the prison and the nature of the sentence¹⁸. In addition, the historian contributes to assembling the skeleton of the oppressive mechanism of the Romanian state, dealing with a wide range of topics: the specifics of the prisons, their staff and the life of the prisoners. Moreover, he succeeds in reconstructing the evolution of repressive legislation, namely the General Directorate of Prisons (DGP).

For a concise analysis of the "romanian gulag", the historiography of the 2000s records the work of the writer Romulus Rusan, "Cronologia și geografia represiunii comuniste în România. Recensământul populației concentraționare (1945-1989)", a study carried out under the aegis of the International Center for the Study of Communism¹⁹. The importance of this study lies in the issue of the quantitative evaluation of the victims that the communist regime produced in the form of categories of repression²⁰. In essence, Romulus Rusan deals with several historical themes of reference, from the establishment of the communist regime as a preliminary stage in the process of institutionalization and subjugation of all political and social forces in Romania, to the presentation of places of detention, the number of victims and the consequences of the four decades of terror²¹. In other words, the first part of the work is devoted to the chronological presentation of the installation of the communist regime at the reins of power; the subject of mass arrests carried out by the party's repressive organ, Securitate, is dealt with in detail, the extent of this phenomenon attracts the author's attention, who criticizes the party's position towards the country's citizens, including former members of the historical parties. An overview of the places of deprivation of liberty throughout Romania is followed by a categorization of the concentration camps.

The Presidential Commission for the Analysis of the Communist Dictatorship in Romania has carried out an essential and necessary action to retrieve information about the communist past, namely the characteristics of the penitentiary institution in communist Romania, allocating substantial pages to this subject. The researchers who have contributed to the documentation of the concentration camp have proposed a division of the concentration camp according to several criteria. There were several categories of prisons: common, political and special²².

The declassification of the archives in 2006 brought to the surface a series of documents that aroused great interest. The team of researchers who compiled the "Dicționarul penitenciarelor din România comunistă

¹⁴ *Ibidem.*, *passim*. 82-103.

¹⁵ *Ibidem.*, *passim*. 132-256.

¹⁶ *Ibidem.*, p. 296.

¹⁷ Radu Ciuceanu, *Regimul penitenciar din România 1940-1962*, București, Institutul Național pentru Studiul Totalitarismului, 2001.

¹⁸ *Ibidem.*, *passim*. 8-30.

¹⁹ Romulus Rusan, *Cronologia și geografia represiunii comuniste în România. Recensământul populației concentraționare (1945-1989)*, București, Fundația Academia Civică, 2007.

²⁰ *Ibidem.*, pp. 5-6.

²¹ *Ibidem.*, *passim*. p. 9-42.

²² Vladimir Tismăneanu, Dorin Dobrinu, Cristian Vasile (eds.), *Raport final*, București, Humanitas, 2007 (further on *Raport final...*), p. 231.

(1945-1967)²³ managed to access the prison staff files held by the National Penitentiary Administration (A.N.P.), which took over the archives of the former General Directorate of Prisons²⁴. The basis of this work are the primary documents which have in their composition the summary history of penitentiaries. The exploitation of the archival sources and their analysis in relation to the diaries or memoirs already published or in manuscript form is concretized by the realization of a profile of each penitentiary in the above mentioned time interval. In the case of this essay, "Dicționarul penitenciarelor..." is the main source that I consulted in order to realize a documented history of Sibiu Penitentiary.

"Dicționarul ofițerilor și angajaților civili ai Direcției Generale a Penitenciarelor", published under the aegis of the Institutului de Investigare a Crimelor Comunismului în România²⁵ is a useful tool for historiography on the subject of communist prisons. This dictionary, published in two volumes, aims to provide a profile of the officials of the DGP, under the direction of the MAI, who fulfilled multiple roles in the administration of prisons, colonies and labor camps during the communist period²⁶.

The researchers in charge of compiling this database were modelled on the regulations that were applied following the adoption of the order on the realization of the records of the personnel of the Ministry of the Interior repealed in 1968²⁷. In other words, the structure of each individual record in the dictionary tries to follow the following pattern: general identification information (name, highest rank attained, date and place of birth, date and place of death); nationality; origin and social affiliation; basic profession on joining the MIA; positions in political, mass and public organizations; civilian education; military service; military studies; professional activity; successive ranks; decorations; punishments²⁸. The need for such a working tool is mentioned by those who developed it: "many files of informers have been published, but the personal files of Ministry of the Interior officers have remained under institutional secrecy. This lacuna creates an imbalance in the historiographical landscape to which we refer, an imbalance that needs to be eliminated by developing a working tool that is useful to researchers"²⁹.

More than a mere dictionary, the first volume covers theoretical administrative aspects, how officers and civilian employees obtained their numerous posts, the obligations they had to fulfill, including how their service was rewarded by the management: by explaining the criteria for awarding officer and civilian distinctions³⁰. The bureaucratic universe is commented and argued, with the aim of systematizing, in two volumes, the key landmarks of the educational and professional path, the deviations and distinctions of as many staff as possible in the concentration universe³¹. The attention given to this dictionary, as a tool for understanding and exploring the prison system, is increased by the presentation of the evolution of the organization and functioning of the General Directorate of Prisons³². Within this paradigm are set out: the powers of the management of this institution, the component directorates and their bureaucracy, internal developments linked to structural changes, including the criteria on the basis of which employees are recruited, and the component institutions.

The volume coordinated by professor Virgiliu Țărău brings together a series of studies on Transylvanian prisons³³. The specificity of this work is given by the multiplicity of topics addressed. The studies cover various aspects, such as: the evolution of the legislative system during the communist period, the characteristics and composition of the D.G.P., the dynamics of the prison population and quantitative and qualitative analyses of political prisoners and common law prisoners. The historians involved put together the specific features of Transylvanian prisons in the form of a jigsaw puzzle. I would like to mention the use of numerous archival sources which have contributed to the suggestive tables that accompany most of the

²³ Andrei Muraru (coord.), Clara Mareș, Dumitru Lăcătușu, Cristina Roman, Marius Stan, Constantin Petre, Sorin Cucerai, *Dicționarul penitenciarelor din România comunistă (1945-1967)*, Iași, Polirom, 2008, (further on *Dicționarul penitenciarelor...*).

²⁴ *Ibidem.*, p. 10.

²⁵ Mihai Burcea, Marius Stan, Mihail Bumbăș, *Dicționarul ofițerilor și angajaților civili ai Direcției Generale a Penitenciarelor. Aparatul central (1948-1989)*, vol. I (2009), vol. II (2011), Iași, Polirom (further on *Dicționarul ofițerilor...*).

²⁶ *Ibidem.*, vol. I, pp. 9-10.

²⁷ *Ibidem.*, p. 17.

²⁸ *Ibidem.*, pp. 65-68. This model is taken from the first individual file of captain Adoba Ștefan Iosif.

²⁹ *Ibidem.*, p. 9.

³⁰ *Ibidem.*, pp. 19-23.

³¹ *Ibidem.*, pp. 10-11.

³² *Ibidem.*, p. 34.

³³ Virgiliu Țărău (coord.), *Sistemul penitenciar din România comunistă. Cazul închisorilor din Transilvania*, Cluj-Napoca, Mega, 2009 (further on *Sistemul penitenciar...*).

studies. Moreover, the new discoveries in terms of archival sources and innovative approaches contribute to the revitalization of research on the communist regime in general and the prison system in particular.

Andrea Dobeş's studies, "Penitenciarul Principal Sighet (1950-1955)"³⁴, in collaboration with Robert Furtos, and the one on the "Decedații de la închisoarea Sighet 1950-1955"³⁵ were later integrated into a monograph on the prison³⁶. The appearance of this exhaustive radiography contributed to the development of the field of knowledge on the subject of communist prisons. The development and nuancing of the political changes in the late 1940s and early 1950s clarifies to a large extent the organizational-institutional functioning of Romanian penitentiaries, with the transformations in Sighet Penitentiary as an epistemological problem. In addition to those works that deal with the phenomenon of the concentration camp system in communist Romania, I would like to bring to your attention a series of monographic studies, aimed at improving our knowledge of the functioning of penitentiary institutions. In this respect, of great interest are the works by Mircea Stănescu³⁷ and Alin Mureşan³⁸ on the subject of the "re-education" regime of torture applied in Romanian prisons. Moreover, I would like to mention the three exhaustive monographic works on the prisons in Făgăraş³⁹, Oradea⁴⁰ and Râmnicul Sărat⁴¹.

This case study is mainly intended to supplement the existing data in the historiography on Sibiu Penitentiary. In other words, my attention will focus on the history of the institution, the staff and the food and sanitary regime.

History of Sibiu Penitentiary

The history of the former penitentiary in Sibiu is closely linked to the decision of the Austro-Hungarian authorities to purchase in 1905 a plot of land worth 97,000 crowns, part of the space that would be used to build the future penitentiary. The other part of the land was received as a donation by the authorities. Although there is no documentary record of the date on which the work began, it was completed on March 17, 1910⁴². In addition to the two buildings of which the prison consisted, it is known that the prison was connected by construction to the present Palace of Justice. When the prison project was completed, it consisted of two buildings 'with a total of 63 rooms, of which 30 were used for detention and 33 for administrative activities'⁴³. With a total perimeter of 306 m and a surface area of 5 600 m², the space allocated for the incarceration of future prisoners was designed to have a capacity "estimated at between 230 (calculated at 8m³/person) and 370 (calculated at 5m³/person) places"⁴⁴. The penitentiary was surrounded by a 4 meter high wall with a 0.75 meter high barbed wire installation on top. In terms of geographical location, the penitentiary was situated in the south-western part of Sibiu, on Zaharia Boiu Street. The town of Şelimbăr is within a radius of 5 km from the penitentiary, the railway and Sibiu CFR station are 1.5 km away⁴⁵, and the national road is 200 meters away⁴⁶.

From the date of its commissioning until 1919 there is no published information about the category of prisoners who were incarcerated in the Sibiu Penitentiary. Between 1919 and 1937 a number of individuals who had committed crimes of murder and robbery were sentenced to serve their sentences here. Thus, one of the main characteristics of this penitentiary during the inter-war period was that it housed common criminals. However, some of these prisoners were also members of the historical parties which were gradually disbanded at the end of the 1940's. In 1937, there were some prisoners who were deprived of their liberty because of communist activities. A relevant example is that of the engineer Maximilian Ringher. Two years

³⁴ *Sistemul penitenciar...*, pp. 190-262.

³⁵ *Ibidem.*, pp. 263-280.

³⁶ Andrea Dobeş, *Spații carcerale în România comunistă: Penitenciarul Sighet (1950-1955)*, Vol. I-II, Cluj-Napoca, Argonaut, 2021.

³⁷ Mircea Stănescu, *Reeducarea în România comunistă (1945-1952)*. *Aiud, Suceava, Pitești, Brașov*, vol. I, Iași, Polirom, 2010; *Idem*, *Reeducarea în România comunistă (1948-1955)*. *Târgșor, Gherla*, vol. II, Iași, Polirom, 2010

³⁸ Alin Mureşan, *Pitești. Cronica unei sinucideri asistate*, ediția a II-a revăzută și adăugită, Iași, Polirom, 2010.

³⁹ Ioan Ciupea (coord.), *Făgăraș. Închisoarea polițiștilor*, vol. I-III, Cluj-Napoca, Mega, 2007.

⁴⁰ Cristina Pușcaș, *Iadul roșu în orașul de pe Criș. Penitenciarul Oradea (1945-1977)*, Oradea, Editura Muzeului Țării Crișurilor, 2014.

⁴¹ Marius Neculăe, *Închisoarea de la Râmnicul Sărat în sistemul penitenciar românesc (1862-1947)*, Iași, Polirom, 2023.

⁴² ACNSAS, Fond Informativ, D8859/27, f. 9.

⁴³ *Dicționarul penitenciarelor...*, p. 455.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem.*

⁴⁵ *Ibidem.*

⁴⁶ ACNSAS, Fond Informativ, D8859/27, f. 9.

later, in addition to legionaries and communists, there were also 11 politically convicted prisoners.

Three years later, the prisoners convicted for legionary activity were transferred to prisons such as Aiud, Deva, Vaslui or Ișalnița on the basis of order number 14109 of 1942 of the Penitentiary Directorate, which came to supplement order number 14630 of March 31, 1942, which established that only underage common law prisoners would serve their sentences in Sibiu Penitentiary. In the report no. 6450 of December 20, 1943 there were 312 convicts: 150 convicted for common crimes, 107 convicted for theft, 38 convicted for fraudulent border crossing and 17 convicted for murder. In the following year, the number of prisoners increased due to the number of prisoners convicted for political reasons, the average number of prisoners being 500. In 1949, the number of prisoners almost doubled to 900, including "anti-communist fighters from the armed resistance group led by Major Nicolae Dabija"⁴⁷. Some of the fighters were tried by the Military Tribunal in Sibiu on several occasions; 7 out of about 20 were sentenced to death. The seven: Nicolae Dabija, Ioan Scridon, Augustin Rațiu, Titus Onea, Traian Mihălțan, Gheorghe Oprița and Silvestru Bolfea were executed at 5 a.m. on October 28, 1949: "the bodies of those executed were thrown into a mass grave in the Cemetery of the Poor in Sibiu, without even a cross being placed over their heads"⁴⁸.

From 1950, the Sibiu Penitentiary had an average of 250-350 common law prisoners⁴⁹. The Hungarian Revolution in 1956 triggered a new wave of arrests, which is why many of them ended up in the cells of the Sibiu Penitentiary. The events in the run-up to the Hungarian revolution generated a series of complaints among the Romanian elite in Transylvania, which is why the Transylvanian scholar Onisifor Ghibu sent an open letter to the Soviet authorities requesting the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Romania⁵⁰. Some of these prisoners didn't stay in Sibiu for long, about 100 of them being moved to the prison in Făgăraș, after their final sentences were pronounced between April 4, 1957 and June 25, 1957, "others being sent to Gherla and Aiud"⁵¹. During the above-mentioned period, the former director of the hospital in Făgăraș, Stanciu Stroia⁵², was initially imprisoned in Sibiu. Between 1950 and 1968, the number of prisoners was fairly stable, fluctuating between 250 and 350 common-law prisoners. From September 1, 1967, the Sibiu Penitentiary underwent a new reorganization which provided for the serving of sentences in the penitentiary of common law prisoners who were sentenced with a sentence of up to 3 months. At the time the archive document was drawn up on April 12, 1968, the internal and external security of the penitentiary was carried out by three groups of non-commissioned officers who worked alternately for 12 hours, followed by 24 hours off. One group was led by a warrant officer who was responsible for ten others⁵³.

I shall list the offices that functioned in the penitentiary as follows: the Prisoners' Register and Records Office; the Accounting-Cashier's Office, which guided and gave directives (to the storekeeper, the unit driver and the barracks); the Production Office and the Medical Office. The prisoners' schedule was set according to the seasons, so during the summer season (April 1 - September 30) prisoners had to wake up at 5 a.m. and go to bed at 9 p.m., and the same schedule was followed during the winter season (October 1 - March 31)⁵⁴. During the same year, there were 132 common prisoners⁵⁵.

Prison officers, characterizations and references

Data on Sibiu Penitentiary staff are meagre for the years 1948-1949. For subsequent years, the files in the SJANS reveal information on the work that the militiamen were supposed to carry out. In other words, in one of the reports drafted between 1951 and 1952, a militiaman from Sibiu penitentiary formulates a succinct answer to a question he was asked: the duty of a penitentiary militiaman in both political and professional

⁴⁷ *Dicționarul penitenciarelor...*, p. 455.

⁴⁸ Liviu Pleșa, *Implicarea militarilor în mișcarea de rezistență armată. Cazul maiorului Nicolae Dabija (1948-1949)*, in Cosmin Budeancă, Florentin Olteanu, Iulia Pop (ed.), *Rezistența anticomunistă – cercetare științifică și valorificare muzeală*, vol. I, Cluj-Napoca, Argonaut, 2006, pp. 121-123.

⁴⁹ ACNSAS, Fond Informativ, D.8859/27, f. 10.

⁵⁰ Onisifor Ghibu spent more than a year behind bars (during the period 10 decembrie 1956 – 18 ianuarie 1958). Details of Petru Groza's intervention and the pardon letter, cf. Onisifor Ghibu, *Pagini de Jurnal (1935-1963)*, vol. I, București, Albatros, 1996, p. 348 (note 270).

⁵¹ *Dicționarul penitenciarelor...*, p. 456.

⁵² *Ibidem*.

⁵³ ACNSAS, Fond Informativ, D.8859, vol. 27.

⁵⁴ ACNSAS, Fond Informativ, D.8859/27, f. 11.

⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, f. 3.

work. The three-page text of the anonymous employee is revealing to understand how they were educated and about the political thinking inoculated into them. The subject praises the Soviet army for being disciplined and virulently criticizes the "bourgeois-monarchist regime". He believes that before the communists took power in Romania, the prison system had a completely different structure. He also explains how finances were allocated to purposes that were divergent from the prison's needs, such as food rations or prisoners' clothing. At the time the text was drafted, the militiaman saw the new changes in good faith, and the interest was directed towards the new service clothing and the salary increase. There follows a list of the duties he has to fulfill towards the M.A.I., the prison superiors, and, most importantly, towards the Romanian People's Republic. As far as political activity and work are concerned, he considers that it leaves much to be desired and that those in charge of political training do not give as much importance to this work as they should. He admits, outraged by his own behaviour, that he did not manage to devote enough time to political and ideological training, being criticized several times by the prison management⁵⁶.

As far as the prison management is concerned, information about each director or commander is sketchy or non-existent. However, I have noticed a criticism of one of the prison directors, namely sub-lieutenant Ruja Ioan⁵⁷. In an informative report drawn up after September 1952 by Raicu Constanța, a militia officer at Sibiu Penitentiary, incriminatory facts are found against the new prison director, Ruja Ioan. In other news, after a series of incidents that led to the arrest of the old prison management and the appointment of Ruja Ioan as head of Sibiu prison, things have deteriorated in the prison administration. Thus, according to Raicu Constanța's redactions, the new director created problems that directly influenced the work of the prison staff. Ruja Ioan was caught several times in the company of an inmate, Marin Maria⁵⁸.

Further, the archive documents contain a report provided by a political deputy of the Sibiu Penitentiary, condemning the attitude of the director, second lieutenant Ruja Ioan. This report is recorded on March 10, 1953 and refers to the events of two days ago. Very dismayed, the Political Substitute is disturbed by the indifference of the Director to Stalin's death (March 5, 1953) and the way he is treated. Ruja Ioan together with other militiamen, with the idea of making fun of the political lieutenant, created a situation in which the latter was called to the telephone of the unit's accounting office to contact the MAI Stalin Regional Directorate and to answer a supposed request to report to Stalin's Town (Brasov) the next day. The annoyance of the political lieutenant led him to criticize Director Ruja Ioan, whom he considered careless in view of the work and the political ideology that the lieutenant was trying to spread among the staff in the unit. Moreover, he saw the director as an instigator of disobedience by the militiamen and a factor of indiscipline in relation to their behaviour⁵⁹.

The behaviour of sub-lieutenant Ruja Ioan is targeted by another lieutenant who compiles an informative report on the intimate relations that the director had with a former prison inmate. Thus, the political lieutenant, second lieutenant, Păscuț Ioan, opened a whole inquiry to investigate the blameworthy relationship. It was found that the former inmate's name was Păcleșan Aurelia and that she lived in Sibiu, at 9 Valea Mare Street. On the other hand, it was discovered that her husband, Păcleșan Ștefan, was serving his sentence at Sibiu Penitentiary at the time. Director Ruja Ioan was observed in the evening of May 9, 1953 together with Păcleșan Aurelia on their way to a ball. After the ball was over, Ruja Ioan chose to sleep at the former inmate's home and the next day to report to the establishment. Following more information from the prison militia, the prison officer deduced that Ruja Ioan is easily influenced by any woman of easy morals. Moreover, following what was reported by the militiaman Tudorace Ioana, who learned from the inmate Marin Livea that on April 28, 1953 the warden was in a drunken state and visited the inmate while she was working on washing the clothes of the pupils of the MAI school and roughed her up. The political deputy requested an investigation to verify the statements of the inmate Marin Livea⁶⁰.

From 1951-1952 archival sources record characterizations and references made by political lieutenants, respectively by fellow militiamen who criticized and complained about their colleagues or their inferior in rank in prison. These are two characterizations and two references that I have chosen to present in order to

⁵⁶ SJANS, Fond Penitenciarul Sibiu (1945-1952), Preluare 2, Politic, D.1/1951-1952, ff. 1-6.

⁵⁷ For more details see Table 1.

⁵⁸ *Ibidem.*, ff. 34-35.

⁵⁹ *Ibidem.*, f. 58.

⁶⁰ *Ibidem.*, f. 88.

find out the reasons for the dissatisfaction of some officers with others⁶¹.

The characterization signed by the political deputy, H. Nicolae, was drawn up on June 25, 1952 and concerns guard B. Vasile, whose behaviour is totally inconsistent with prison regulations. The political deputy is surprised by the fact that, although he comes from a poor family, he fails to comply with the prison's internal rules and is not a member of the PMR. He explains a situation in which he called B. Vasile to talk to him and the latter asked him to allow him to go home. H. Nicolae's defamation continues by noting that he does not obey the orders of any boss and that he was criticized on several occasions by the duty officer. He also failed to attend meetings regularly and was absent without justification. He concludes by suggesting the exclusion of this guard from the MAI service, implicitly from Sibiu prison⁶².

Another characterization is drawn up on June 20, 1952, by a lieutenant on the militiaman Tanasie Soare. He characterizes the militiaman as an "unstable element". Although he is a party member, Tanasie Soare does not conform to the official ideology and has different opinions among the military and other party members. The lieutenant had the opportunity to talk several times with this militiaman, and several times he was given unfavorable information about the director of the Sibiu penitentiary at that time, Commander Litera Gheorghe⁶³. The militiaman is accused of cowardice, as he denied any information told to the lieutenant when he had to defend his point of view in front of Litera Gheorghe. He performs a very poor activity as a militiaman, and the lieutenant concludes by reinforcing the idea that Tanasie Soare does no credit to the party and to the position he occupies and that he should get out of any activity in a hurry because he does not bring any service to society, but only to his own interest⁶⁴.

The first reference in this series is the one made by the militiaman Ghinea Ifrim to the militiaman Vulpe Toma. The accuser met the latter in 1946, the year in which he was on guard duty at the Ocnele Mari Penitentiary, seconded from the Ploiești Penitentiary, and during which he worked for six months at the Brezoi Colony. He did not know the militiaman Vulpe Toma very well then, but only when he was transferred from Ocnele Mari Penitentiary to Sibiu Penitentiary in 1948-1949. At the time of his arrival, he turned out to be a calm person who fulfilled his duties. After a short time, Vulpe Toma records, the accused was accused of several reprehensible acts, including being undisciplined and having intimate relations with a former inmate, and moreover, being very interested in external events. Furthermore, another reprehensible act is that he has friendly ties with a former militia officer of Sibiu Prison, Ciriperu Nicolae, who was expelled from the unit for a series of misconduct. The conclusion of Vulpe Toma Vulpe's accusations against his colleague Ghinea Ifrim is that, although he carries out his professional work seriously, his personal life is reprehensible and must be punished⁶⁵.

The second and the last reference was made by the guard Brezae Vasile on June 20, 1952 to the same B. Vasile to whom the substitute H. Nicolae refers in his characterization of June 25, 1952. In other words, the guardian mentions a series of misconduct and disrespect of conduct related to the address vis-à-vis their bosses. It is mentioned that B. Vasile often falls asleep at his post and creates a lot of problems for the other cadres⁶⁶. Analyzing the characterization made by the political substitute H. Nicolae and Brezae Vasile's characterization of the same individual, I can say that there are a number of obvious similarities. The characterization of H. Nicolae is signed five days later than the reference of the guard, which leads me to conclude that what was written by the guard Brezae Vasile prompted the start of investigations into the actions and work of B. Vasile⁶⁷.

The situation of personnel in Sibiu Prison in 1952

A secret statement of the Secretariat Service of the DGP dated March 21, 1952 makes known that several directors and political lieutenants from the following prisons will be present at Sibiu Penitentiary: Petroșani, Deva, Barcea Mare, Alba Iulia, Dumbrăveni, Sighișoara, and Odorhei⁶⁸. The purpose of this meeting at Sibiu

⁶¹ *Ibidem.*

⁶² *Ibidem.*, ff. 49-50.

⁶³ For more details see Table 1.

⁶⁴ SJANS, Fond Penitenciarul Sibiu (1945-1952), Preluare 2, Politic, D. 1/1951-1952, f. 47

⁶⁵ *Ibidem.*, f. 53.

⁶⁶ *Ibidem.*, f. 51.

⁶⁷ *Ibidem.*, f. 49.

⁶⁸ SJANS, Fond Penitenciarul Sibiu (1945-1952), Preluare 2, Biroul Cadre, D. 2/1952, f. 33.

Penitentiary was to discuss a topic that has created several problems throughout the year, namely the recruitment of new staff⁶⁹. The management of the Sibiu Penitentiary is called to the attention of the Sibiu Penitentiary to take prompt and effective measures to integrate a minimum of five cadres by March 25, 1952. In this connection, the DGP's communication states that measures have been taken to support the recruitment drive and that the Directorate General of Labor Reserves (DGRM) has been contacted⁷⁰.

In other words, a table discovered at SJANS highlights the civilian staff employed at Sibiu Penitentiary in 1952. In that year, a number of appointments were made to the position of militiaman by several people who needed to be mentioned in order to complete the overall picture of the prison staff in the early 50's. For instance, by the verbal process no. 9227 of November 27, 1952, following the decision taken by the prison director, sub-lieutenant Cibu Ioan, together with the political substitute and the secretary of the Party's Base Organization, the employment of Isăilă Vasile as a militiaman was accepted⁷¹. On June 14, 1952, the Cadre Directorate of the General Directorate of Penitentiaries, Colonies, and Work Units (DGPCUM) forwarded a complaint to Sibiu Penitentiary regarding some problems of the former prison management, director Dogaru Ilie and accountant Popescu Lidia. The complaint was made because there were a number of shortages at the unit's food store. The document mentions that 2680 kilograms of onions and 13 kilograms of cheese were missing, as well as 18 kilograms of oil⁷².

Food and Sanitary Regime

The archival documents studied contain few provisions on food and sanitary regulations. In the case of Sibiu Penitentiary there are a number of documents relating to food regulations by categories of prisoners. These types of rules were sent by the DGP to Sibiu on January 12, 1951⁷³. Given that both files are identical, and that these types of rules are circulars, the information that I will present will be extracted from the file related to the Sibiu Penitentiary. In other words, there were distinct categories of prisoners grouped according to different daily allowances. Thus, there are prisoners with daily allowances of 35, 40, 55 or 80 lei. The following is an example of a menu for a ten-day period designed for those prisoners who fall under the 35 lei per day allowance. For the first three days prisoners could receive 350 grams of cooked potatoes daily, which calculated over a ten-day period would result in a total of 3.5 kilograms. For the next three days the prisoners could have 150 grams of bean dish daily, which calculated over ten days would be 1.5 kilograms of this dish. For a further two days the prisoners could be given a 150-gram meal of spinach every day, for ten days the total would be 1.5 kilograms. Finally, for the last two days, a cabbage meal of 150 grams per day could be prepared, and for the ten-day period the total would be 1.5 kilograms⁷⁴.

Data on food rations and daily calories, i.e. the food provided and their weight by category of prisoners according to two-time coordinates: summer and winter. For rule no. 20, 2399 calories were calculated in winter and 2419 calories in summer. This norm takes into account prisoners who receive an allowance of 35 lei per day but do not work⁷⁵. Further, for norm no. 21, 3490 calories in winter and 3500 calories in summer were foreseen for those prisoners with an allowance of 55 lei who worked in workshops or on agricultural farms owned by the DGP⁷⁶. For those prisoners suffering from TBC (tuberculosis) who had daily allowances of 60, a food ration was provided with a daily total of 3500 calories in winter and 3511 calories in summer, according to Rule no. 22⁷⁷. On the other hand, for those who had an allowance of 40 lei per day, but who were sick and placed in the prison infirmary or hospital, the daily calories provided under Rule 23 reached 2475 calories per day in both summer and winter⁷⁸. Rule no. 24 provided a total of 2896 calories per day in summer and winter for pregnant prisoners in the last three months before giving birth on a special diet and an allowance of 40 lei per day⁷⁹. Rule no. 25 concerned the category of prisoners with children up to one year

⁶⁹ *Ibidem.*, ff. 30-31.

⁷⁰ *Ibidem.*, f. 53.

⁷¹ *Ibidem.*, f. 9.

⁷² *Ibidem.*, f. 23.

⁷³ SJANS, Fond Penitenciarul Sibiu (1945-1952), Preluare 2, Biroul Administrativ, D.6/1951, f. 1.

⁷⁴ *Ibidem.*, f. 1-2.

⁷⁵ *Ibidem.*, f. 4.

⁷⁶ *Ibidem.*, f. 5.

⁷⁷ *Ibidem.*, f. 6.

⁷⁸ *Ibidem.*, f. 7.

⁷⁹ *Ibidem.*, f. 8.

old and an allowance of 80 lei per day, who were distributed 3625 calories in winter and 3645 in summer⁸⁰.

In another vein of ideas, for the month of May 1950, a report of the Medical Service of the Sibiu Penitentiary, drawn up by the unit's doctor C. Octavian, presents the sanitary activity for that month. We learn that 160 sick prisoners were examined during the month. At the same time, 373 different treatments were given and 230 inmates were diagnosed with T.A.B. Also, 1396 individual baths, 127 individual and two general deworming and nine other tests were carried out. No deaths have been recorded during the period in which prisoners have been hospitalized in the prison hospital. The doctor notes that no prisoners were suffering from contagious diseases. In order to be sure that the kitchen and the canteen were free of germs that could cause illness, the doctor specifies that he made frequent checks in these two places, i.e. he checked at all times the condition of the food that was to be served to the prisoners. Several administrative and security staff have also been seen in the prison hospital. As a result of the health problems detected, two guards were hospitalized and a total of 29 tests were carried out and various specific treatments were given⁸¹.

In addition to the informative report, doctor C. Octavian prepared, for the same year, two statistics on the treatments that were used during the months of January and February⁸².

Conclusions

In order to understand the Romanian penitentiary system during the communist period, it is necessary to know the levers through which it functioned. Historiography recovers, for the most part, general or particular characteristics of the institutions that operated under the careful guidance of the DGP. The interest in this subject began in the 1990s, with the publication of a large number of memoirs and diaries of former prisoners who lived through the "communist experiment". These writings were a landmark of past realities and a chance for researchers and historians to engage in the hard work of reconstructing the "Romanian gulag". As a result, since the first decade of the 2000s, monographs of prisons have been drawn up and have benefited from a huge amount of documentation.

As for the attention paid to Sibiu Penitentiary, it has been minimal, as evidenced by the few writings dealing with the characteristics of this prison. Consequently, through this paper, I aimed to contribute to filling in some of the gaps and to provide new information acquired through archival research. In other words, in exposing the history of the penitentiary I managed to bring new data about the categories of people who were incarcerated in Sibiu; the problems at the management level of the institution, the poor relations revealed among the penitentiary employees, including the acute problems of the medical system and the diet. Also, the data presented throughout the article have an expository, at times banal, character, such as the information on the scandals in which prison directors were involved. However, given the fact that the research on Sibiu Penitentiary is ongoing, I can say that some pieces of the whole puzzle find their place in the reception of the history of this institution.

In another vein, the part that reinforces the originality of the work is the section of appendices. I refer to the photos taken of the prison, with the observation that the photos depicting the aspects of the cells, doors, the window, the stove of the former Sibiu Penitentiary were taken with the support of the current administrator of the building, Adrian Rădulescu. With his help I was able to take pictures of the plans of the ground floor and basement of the building, which I have attached in the appendices.

⁸⁰ *Ibidem.*, f. 9.

⁸¹ SJANS, Fond Penitenciarul Sibiu (1945-1952), Preluare 2, Secretariat, D.10/1950, f. 202.

⁸² *Ibidem.*, ff. 231, 240.

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATION / LISTA ILUSTRĂȚILOR

- Fig. 1.** Ground floor plan (entire)
Fig. 1. Plan Parter (întreg)
- Fig. 2.** Basement plan (entire)
Fig. 2. Plan demisol (întreg)
- Fig. 3.** Main access gate of the former Sibiu Penitentiary, front (street view)
Fig. 3. Poarta de acces principală a fostului Penitenciar Sibiu, frontal (vedere din stradă)
- Fig. 4.** Former main building and Palace of Justice, side view (street view)
Fig. 4. Fosta clădire principală și Palatul Justiției, imagine laterală (vedere din stradă)
- Fig. 5.** Intrarea principală în curte (vedere din stradă)
Fig. 5. Main entrance to the courtyard (street view)
- Fig. 6.** Clădirea fostului penitenciar (vedere din curte)
Fig. 6. Former penitentiary building (view from the courtyard)
- Fig. 7.** Entrance door into the former prison building (original)
Fig. 7. Ușa de acces în clădirea fostei închisori (originală)
- Fig. 8.** Imagine hol, parter (în poză este administratorul actual al clădirii, Adrian Rădulescu)
Fig. 8. Picture hallway, ground floor (in the picture is the current administrator of the building, Adrian Rădulescu)
- Fig. 9.** Imagine cu o fostă celulă de la etajul al doilea (ușă originală)
Fig. 9. Picture of a former cell on the second floor (original door)
- Fig. 10.** Imagine cu o fostă celulă (ușă originală)
Fig. 10. Picture of a former cell (original door)
- Fig. 11.** Door of a former cell, metal foil (you can see where the window used to be positioned)
Fig. 11. Ușa unei foste celule, folie de metal (se poate observa locul unde era poziționată vizeta)
- Fig. 12.** Cell heating stove (fed from the hallway)
Fig. 12. Soba de încălzit a celulei (se alimenta din hol)
- Fig. 13.** Bell at the entrance to the second floor (original)
Fig. 13. Soneria de la intrarea la etajul al doilea (originală)

LIST OF TABLES / LISTA TABELELOR

- Tab. 1.** Name and function of the officers who administered Sibiu Penitentiary
Tab. 1. Numele și funcția ofițerilor care au administrat Penitenciarul Sibiu
- Tab. 2.** General training of officers
Tab. 2. Situația pregătirii generale a ofițerilor
- Tab. 3.** Civilian staff employed at Sibiu Penitentiary
Tab. 3. Personalul civil încadrat la Penitenciarul Sibiu
- Tab. 4.** Visits and medical treatments carried out in January 1950
Tab. 4. Vizitele și tratamentele medicale efectuate în cursul lunii Ianuarie 1950
- Tab. 5.** Visits and medical treatments carried out in February 1950
Tab. 5. Vizitele și tratamentele medicale efectuate în cursul lunii Februarie 1950

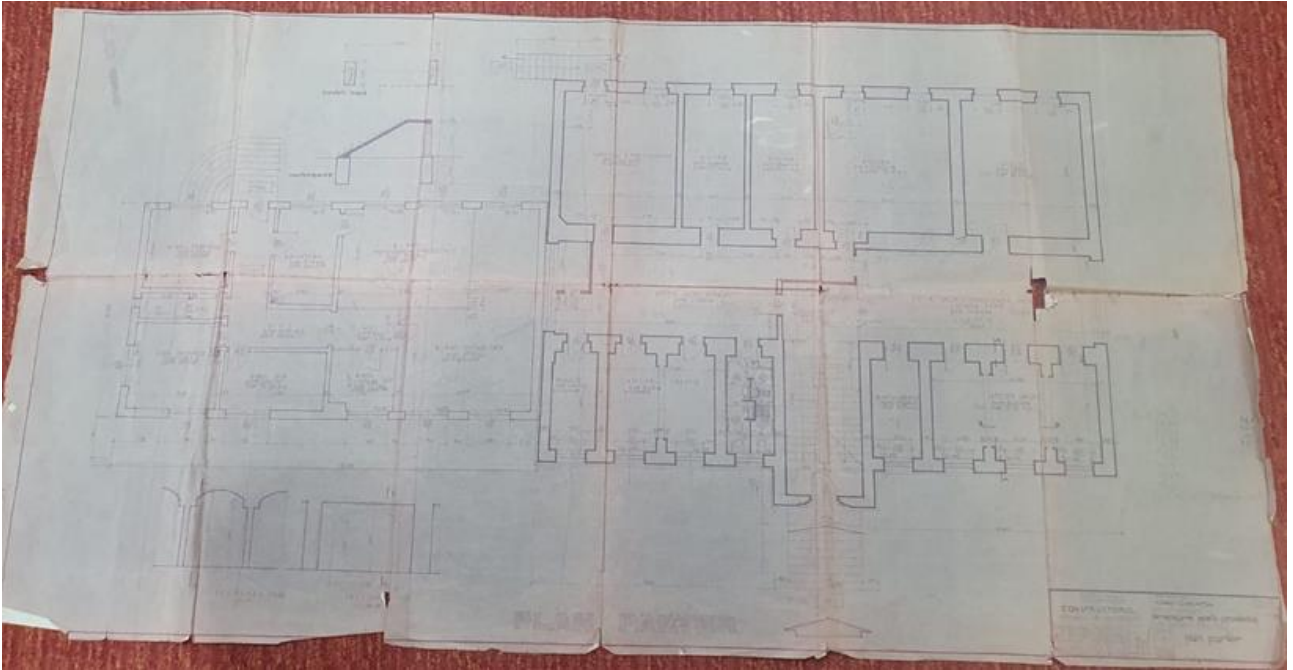


Fig. 1.

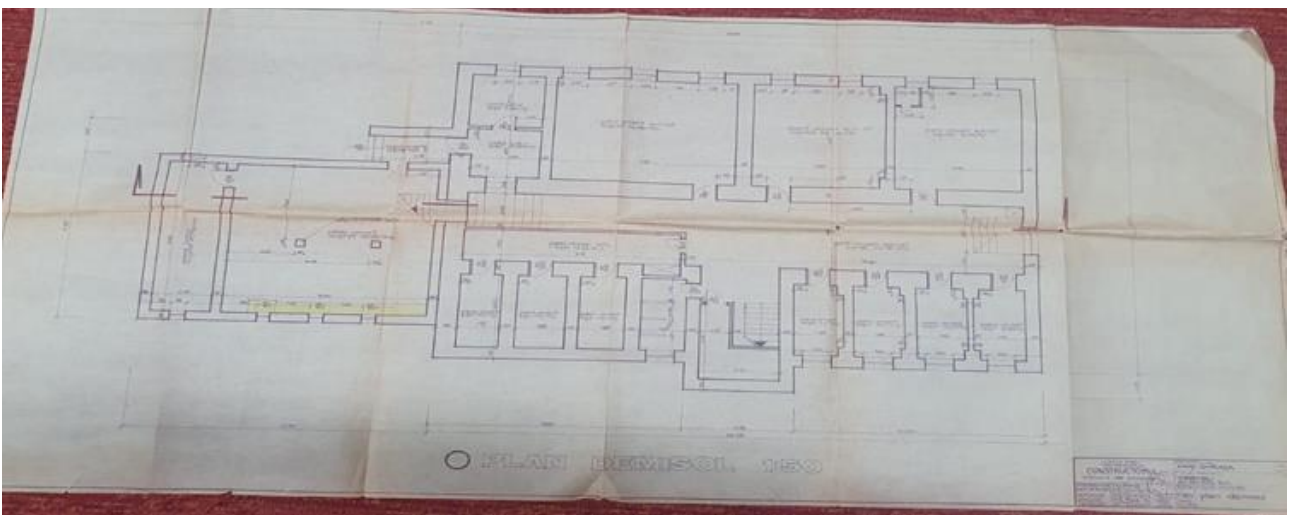


Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.



Fig. 4.



Fig. 5.



Fig. 6.



Fig. 7.

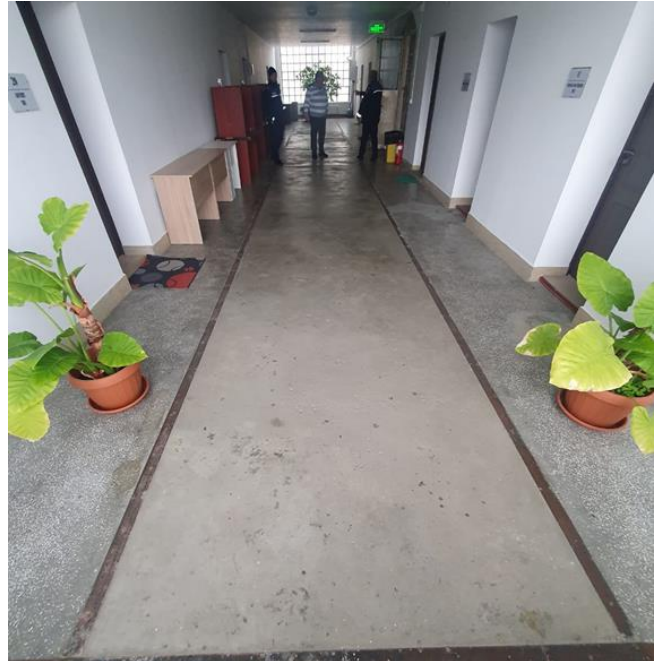


Fig. 8.



Fig. 9.

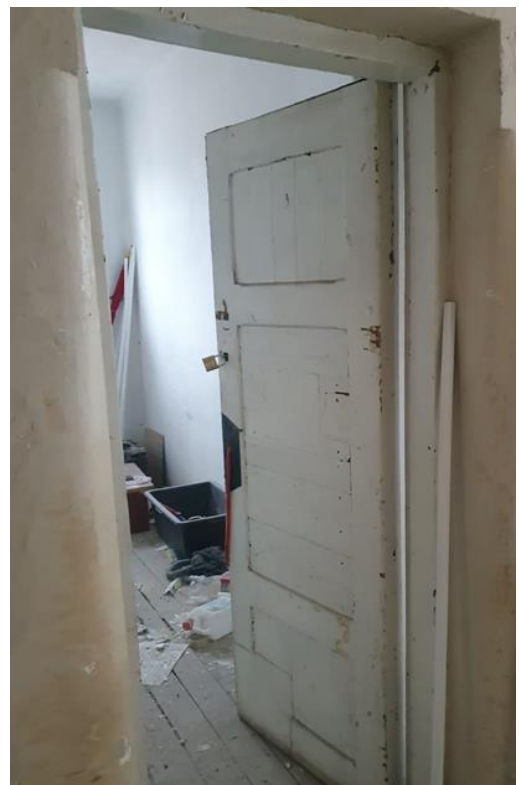


Fig. 10.



Fig. 11.



Fig. 12.



Fig. 13.

Name	Function
Georgescu Ion Marian	Substitute Commander for services at Sibiu Penitentiary (1 February 1975 – 1 August 1977)
Virgil Ștefănescu	Director / Commander of the Sibiu Penitentiary (1943-1944)
Ioan Birăescu	Director / Commander of the Sibiu Penitentiary (1944-1946)
Popa Isaia	Chief Administrator/Director of Sibiu Penitentiary (1946-1949)
Papuc Vasile	Director / Commander of the Sibiu Penitentiary (1949-1950)
Litera Gheorghe	Director / Commander of the Sibiu Penitentiary (1950-1952)
Dogaru Gheorghe Ilie	Director / Commander of the Sibiu Penitentiary (1 July 1951 – 6 July 1952)
Cibu Ioan	Director / Commander of the Sibiu Penitentiary (1952-1953)
Ruja Ioan	Director / Commander of the Sibiu Penitentiary (1953 – six months)
Bălăceanu Petre	Director / Commander of the Sibiu Penitentiary (1953-1955)
Moldovan C. Traian Florin	Political substitute at Sibiu Penitentiary (1 October 1955 – 1 July 1956)
Iosipescu Zamfir	Director / Commander of the Sibiu Penitentiary (1955-1956)
Sântion Ioan	Director / Commander of the Sibiu Penitentiary (1956-1957)
Fleșeru Chirion Mihai	Commander of the Sibiu Penitentiary (1 November 1957 – 1 May 1975)
Georgescu Ion Marian	Substitute Commander for services at Sibiu Penitentiary (1 February 1975 – 1 August 1977)

Tab. 1.⁸³

Grade, name and forename	Function	Unit	Education
Sl. Cibu Ioan	Commander	Sibiu	5 class / 3 nursing school / 6 months officer school Bucharest
Sl. H. Nicolae	Political deputy	Sibiu	7 class / 3 industrial class / 6 months sergeants school Bucharest
Sl. Pășcuș Ioan	Assistant political deputy	Sibiu	4 class / Political Officers School Oradea and Deva
Sl. Ruja Ioan	Operative Office	Sibiu	7 class / 3 months officer school Bucharest
Sl. Sandu Traian	Commander Plt. Security	Sibiu	4 class / 6 months officers Bucharest

Tab. 2.⁸⁴

⁸³ ACNSAS, Fond Evidență, D. MFI 62707, ff. 9-13.

Brukenthal. Acta Musei, XIX. 1, 2024
Detention regime in Sibiu penitentiary (1948-1952)

Name and forename	Grade	Function	Employment date	Date of birth /day/year	Political affiliation	Civil status	Unit where he/she is titular	Family Domicile
Petrescu Lidia	-	Accountant I	5. VII.1938	20.02.1912	PMR	Married	Sibiu Penitentiary	Sibiu
Georgescu Mircea	-	Doctor	15.VI.1950	30.06.1921	PMR	Married	Sibiu Penitentiary	Sibiu
Marcu Elisabeta	-	Cashier	505.IX.1950	20.08.1923	PMR	-	-	Sibiu

Tab. 3⁸⁵.

Medical treatment	T. A. B	Bath	General deworming	Hospitalizations in the infirmary	Hospitalization	Antibifilic treatment	Analysis
402	258	1650	4	12	1	3	1

Tab. 4⁸⁶.

Medical treatment	T. A. B	Bath	General deworming	Deworming	Analysis	Different analysis	Hospitalization Infirmary	Hospitalization	Antibifilic treatment
269	389	1650	2	4	94	4	6	1	18

Tab. 5⁸⁷.

⁸⁴ SJANS, Fond Penitenciarul Sibiu (1945-1952), Preluare 2, Biroul Cadre, D. 2/1952, f. 4.

⁸⁵ *Ibidem*, f. 50.

⁸⁶ SJANS, Fond Penitenciarul Sibiu (1945-1952), Preluare 2, Secretariat, dosar nr. 10/1950, f. 240.

⁸⁷ *Ibidem.*, f. 231.

THE FIRST DECADE OF THE COLD WAR AND ASPECTS OF MEXICAN HISTORY IN AMERICAN CINEMA

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Abstract: *The historical past has always been in the attention of filmmakers as a rich source of inspiration. The public's perception of the historical events rendered by cinematography was strongly influenced by the artistic work that illustrated them, but also by the contemporary socio-political context. In United States of America, many of these films introduced American viewers to their nearby Mexican neighbours. In films, the image of the Mexican was usually dominated by stereotypes deeply rooted in American culture. This habit of the American film industry of portraying Mexicans as bandits or as displaying every vice that could be shown on the screen began to change by the middle of the last century. This study aims to underline the role played by cinema, used as a propaganda tool, as means of conveying various political messages in the early years of the conflict known as The Cold War, when two political ideologies, represented by the two superpowers, the USA and the USSR, confronted each other in the world. To illustrate this, the analysis focuses on American movies inspired by certain events in Mexican history, that became allegories for the contemporary socio-political context.*

Keywords: *cinema, history, Mexico, USA, Cold War, politics.*

Rezumat: *Trecutul istoric a constituit încă de timpuriu o sursă de inspirație pentru cineaști. Percepția publicului asupra evenimentelor istorice ilustrate de cinematografie a fost puternic influențată de operele care le ilustrau, dar și de contextul socio-politic în care erau produse. În Statele Unite ale Americii multe dintre filmele de gen își familiarizau publicul cu vecinii mexicani. Cel mai adesea imaginea mexicanilor din film era dominată de stereotipuri adânc înrădăcinate în cultura americană. Obiceiul de a-i portretiza pe mexicani ca purtători de multiple vicii începe să se modifice la mijlocul secolului trecut. Acest studiu își propune să sublinieze rolul jucat de cinema ca instrument propagandistic, care transmitea mesaje politice în anii de început ai conflictului cunoscut ca Războiul Rece, când două ideologii politice reprezentate de două superputeri, SUA și URSS, se confruntau pe arena internațională. Pentru a ilustra acestea, sunt analizate filme americane inspirate de anumite evenimente din istoria mexicană, care devin alegorii pentru contextul socio-politic contemporan.*

Cuvinte-cheie: *cinema, istorie, Mexic, SUA, Război Rece, politică.*

Mexican history and cinema

The largest and most populous Hispanic country in Latin America, Mexico has been in the spotlight in modern and contemporary times due to its tumultuous history of internal conflicts, wars and foreign invasions. From the first decades of Mexican independence and especially from around the middle of the 19th century, North Americans became directly interested in the realities south of the US border. This mobile frontier, when it reaches the Pacific coast, turns the attention of the authorities within the United States of America and other interested elements from there to Mexico. The encounter between the American pioneers, mostly Protestant and of Anglo-Saxon origin, and the Mexicans of the sparsely populated and underdeveloped northern territories of Mexico leads to inevitable conflicts that degenerate into major confrontations, such as the Texan Revolution, in which Texas seceded from Mexico and joined the USA, and the Mexican-American War, fought between 1846 and 1848, in which Mexico lost almost half of its territory to its northern neighbour. The civil war between conservatives and liberals (1857-60), which broke out after the overthrow of General Santa Anna's dictatorial regime, ends with the victory of the liberals led by Benito Juárez. Juárez's radical reforms (1858-1872) triggered the conservative forces to fight back and the moratorium imposed on Mexico's foreign debt led to armed intervention by France, Britain and Spain in 1861. After the withdrawal of Anglo-Spanish forces (1863), Napoleon III, seeking to create a Catholic Central American empire under French tutelage, imposes the Austrian Archduke Maximilian of Habsburg as

Emperor of Mexico (1864-67). After the withdrawal of the French expeditionary force under US pressure, Emperor Maximilian is captured and shot.

The Anglo-Saxon settlers coming to Mexican lands in search of new opportunities find themselves at odds with the native Mexicans, leading to the creation of negative images and stereotypes in the American imagination of the native population, which proved to be enduring. All this will be affected by the emergence in the second half of the 19th century of a rich consumer literature, which will become the so-called western genre and will popularize and generalize a certain image of the Mexican. Here, the American hero, distinguished by individualism and daring, is opposed by characters dominated by savagery, cowardice, greed and cunning, many of whom are of Mexican origin. The image of the Mexican in artistic representations was also conditioned by its relation to the contemporary socio-political context, thus during the long period when General Porfirio Díaz (1876-1911) was in charge of the country, the public perception of Mexico underwent changes. President Díaz has invested in the modernization of the country, opened doors to foreign investors and has taken an interest in spreading abroad a civilized, prosperous and modern Mexico. All this has been achieved at the cost of an authoritarian policy, which has led to great discrepancies between the various social classes and to the impoverishment of those categories of citizens who were vulnerable to inequality and injustice of all kinds. These were some of the causes that led to the outbreak of the Mexican Revolution (1910-1920), which would shake the country for a decade, bringing Mexico back into the international spotlight. Now, popular leaders like Emiliano Zapata, Francisco “Pancho” Villa, Francisco Madero and Venustiano Carranza stand out.

Since the early years of the 20th century, shortly after its discovery at the end of the previous century, cinema became the most popular, and the most accessible art. With the film industry in the US taking important steps towards development, after the end of the First World War, US film products penetrated and dominated markets in Europe and the rest of the world. American cinema took many motifs and themes from 19th-century commercial literature about the dangerous world of the frontier, including many Mexican characters, the latter, carriers of classic stereotypes. The revolutionary unrest created excitement and concern in the US, as American economic interests were affected and there was a danger that tensions could spread north of the border. In 1916 a raid by revolutionary leader Pancho Villa - who had initially enjoyed the sympathy of the American public - on the American town of Columbus led to an American armed intervention in northern Mexico.¹ Cinema was called upon to be the bearer of messages to the general public evoking the state of tension and exposing the point of view of various stakeholders. The image of the Mexican wearing a cross-brimmed cartridge case on his chest, a wide-brimmed hat in whose shadow one can sense the character's fiery features, became generalised. Such characters often populated a barren desert landscape on cinema screens, dotted with cactuses, or with a village in near ruins as a backdrop, from which a church in almost the same state of desolation can be identified. These images soon became familiar to the ordinary viewer, who recognised what would be described as a typical Mexican environment.

In addition to bandits and revolutionaries, other types of characters populated films with Mexican themes. Of these, Catholic priests and monks were always given a positive image, partly due to the religious sensibilities of the American Catholic public. Mexican aristocrats, whose European origins can be recognized, had an ambivalent image, just like Mexican women who, sometimes in the film, if virtuous or aristocratic, can become the subject of an American hero's love interest. The depictions were a complex mix; they were a reflection of both the racist attitudes of the time, and of the more progressive portrayals. Mexican characters were depicted through an unfortunate lens of stereotyping and xenophobia common until 1930s American cinema.

Film and politics

The end of the Mexican Revolution in 1920 brought radical elements to the country's leadership, who in part implemented the reforms which have been called for during the revolution. During the 1920s, anti-clerical policies and support for revolutionary movements in Central America, such as in Nicaragua, and the nationalisation of the oil industry in the following decade, contributed to American mistrust regarding Mexico and the tension between the two countries. However, from the mid-1930s onwards, the negative portrayal of

¹ John Mason Hart, *Revolutionary Mexico, The Coming and Process of the Mexican Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 325.

Mexican characters in American films began to undergo noticeable and perceptible changes, and took on more complex nuances.

The arrival in the White House as president of the United State of America of the Democratic Party representative, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and the economic programs carried out under his mandate elevated the United States out of the serious economic and social crisis that began with the crash of the New York Stock Exchange in 1929. After overcoming the crisis, foreign policy was not to be neglected either, and the presidential administration adopted the so-called “good neighbor policy” towards Latin American countries. This policy was intended to develop cooperation and relations on a much friendlier basis with Latin American republics, compared to the authoritarian, often forceful, policy pursued by the US towards the countries of the Western Hemisphere in previous decades. As tensions on the international political scene heightened, art, with cinema at the forefront, would also be a mean to support this policy. Among the first beneficiaries of this benevolent policy towards Latin America will be the US's own neighbour, Mexico.

All government agencies have been asked to take part in the effort led by the Office for the Coordination of Inter-American Affairs. John Hay Whitney, head of the agency's Cinema Section, stressed the special role of cinema in promoting inter-American cooperation. The Hayes office that controlled censorship over film production also appointed an expert in charge of Latin American issues.² Two films are relevant to the period we are referring to: *Viva Villa!*³ and *Juarez*.⁴ The two films approach aspects of Mexican history in a different way than in the past, using Mexican history as a vehicle to convey different commentaries on contemporary events, demonstrating that propaganda functions of cinema had been appreciated and appropriated by various political forums.

The first half of the 1940s on the American continent and in Europe was under the enormous impact of the Second World War. Film production has been fractured in countries that have suffered military occupation or that have been integrated into the war effort. The United States' abandonment of neutrality with the entry into World War II brought changes to the film industry. In the US, before the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, films depicting Mexico or Mexicans continued to be produced, but the need for metaphors and placing contemporary subjects in the past was no longer so necessary. Mexican characters began appearing in a more positive light in films with contemporary subjects in view of the participation of Mexican-Americans in the American war effort and Mexico's entry into the war alongside the Allied Powers against the Axis.

Moreover, the years during and after World War II saw an improvement in the treatment of national minorities in the US, including Mexicans. About half a million Mexican-Americans had fought in the war. Support for minority rights has grown as a result of the shocking impression left by genocidal policies of Nazi Germany. The Mexican reaction to these acts of goodwill was not long due. After the Japanese aggression against the US, the southern neighbour declared war on the Axis powers, so finally, after decades of animosity and conflict, the US and Mexico found themselves, for the first time in history, as allies. The alliance was also materialized for the Mexican film industry in the form of economic and technical aid from the US, that will have a major impact on Mexican-American relations.

The end of the Second World War, which brought the military defeat of the Axis powers, left only two superpowers, the US and the USSR, on the international political stage. They would find themselves in open but tightly controlled competition for decades to come, each with ideological allies on its side. The Cold War, as this period of geopolitical tension became to be known, was waged politically, economically and propagandistically, while avoiding direct military confrontation. Politically, the US's focus on Latin America was mainly on combating any possible extension of communist influence. In March 1947, President Harry S. Truman declared that the United States “supports free people who resist attempted subjugation by armed minorities or outside pressure.”⁵ The president was targeting communist uprisings in Europe, such as the one in Greece, but his message also reverberated in Latin America, where authoritarian leaders will be quick to accuse their political opponents of communism in order to enjoy US support. Representatives of the US and 18 Latin American countries signed the Inter-American Treaty of Mutual Assistance in Rio de Janeiro, which

² Allen L. Woll, *The Latin Image in American Film* (Los Angeles:UCLA Latin American Center Publications, University of California, Los Angeles, 1980), 54-55.

³ *Viva Villa!*; director: Jack Conway; writer: Ben Hecht; actors: Wallace Beery, Fay Wray, Leo Carillo, 1934.

⁴ *Juarez*; director: William Dieterle; writers: John Houston, Eneas MacKenzie, Wolfgang Reinhardt; actors: Paul Muni, Bette Davis, Brian Aherne, 1939.

⁵ Alan McPherson, *A Short History of U. S. Interventions in Latin America and the Caribbean* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2016), 138.

considered an attack on one state an attack on the other signatories.⁶ During the terms of the Mexican presidents Miguel Alemán and Adolfo Ruiz Cortines, and the American presidents Harry S. Truman and Dwight Eisenhower, relations between the two countries were cordial.

The ideological confrontation with the communist bloc led to a state of anxiety in American society. In 1944, the Motion Picture Alliance for the Preservation of American Ideals was founded in Hollywood to combat the communist threat to the industry.⁷ The tension between the US and the USSR would become a defining feature of the 1950s in the US. After the end of the world conflict, Western leaders began to worry that the USSR would develop expansionist tendencies and that the spread of communism was increasingly threatening democracy and capitalism. As a result, communism had to be stopped by diplomacy, threats or force. This idea shaped American foreign policy for many years, but it also influenced domestic policy. Many Americans were frightened by the thought that the communist danger could destroy American society both from within and without, spreading the so-called “Red Scare”. In the early years of the first post-war decade, Senator Joseph McCarthy was a prominent figure in the public sphere, denouncing the infiltration of communism into the United States with a speech in Wheeling, West Virginia, in February 1950, thus making an important contribution to intensifying the Red Scare among the American public. This fear of communist conspiracies was not only linked to the political rise of the Republican senator but came from an older anti-radical tradition already affecting American society and institutionalized by organizations such as the Un-American Activities Committee, founded in 1938.⁸ As expected, there has been a particular focus on the film industry. The US Congress held dozens of hearings aimed at stopping “un-American activities”. Filmmakers who were suspected or found to have left-wing sympathies or belong to radical circles will be heard by the aforementioned organisation, with some of them facing criminal convictions and bans from working in the film industry. Films that set out to deal with sensitive subjects such as revolutionary movements therefore had to take into account that McCarthyism, as the anti-communist politics associated with the Republican politician came to be known, demanded explicit political positions from those working in the arts.⁹

Harry Truman would dominate American politics from 1945 to 1953. On the social front, the Truman administration would support the passage of civil rights legislation and the beginning of racial integration in military and federal agencies. On the foreign front, he was the architect of the Marshall Plan for the economic reconstruction of Western Europe, the Truman Doctrine, which became the foundation of foreign policy and led to the founding of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 1949. His 1947 message to Congress outlining his foreign policy programme is considered the starting date of the Cold War.¹⁰

On the cinematic front in the late 1940s, American filmmakers returned to the shared Mexican-American history, one example being the film *California*,¹¹ which takes viewers to the newly lost territories of Mexico as a result of the Mexican-American War. The opening images show a paradisiacal setting, but one that seems deserted by people until the American settlers arrive. Some characters seem to borrow traits of Mexican aristocrats, even if their origins seem unclear, such as Pharaoh Coffin, an estate owner who wants to become ruler of California, and to be crowned emperor. To this end he hides weapons in the chapel of a Catholic church where he wants to crown himself but is opposed by the priest of the church. The Mexican priest turns out to be on the side of good as other Mexicans even sacrifice their lives to warn Trumbo, the American hero, of Coffin's intentions.

Aspects of Mexican history in American cinema in the late 1950s

The onset of the Cold War, which pitted the free world led by the US against the USSR and the communist states under its influence, led the US to become increasingly involved in international politics, as the era of isolationism was over. Wherever they suspect the threat of unrest, the US intervenes, especially in Latin

⁶ McPherson, *A Short History of U. S. Interventions in Latin America and the Caribbean*, 139.

⁷ Donald T. Critchlow, *When Hollywood was Right. How Movie Stars, Studio Moguls and Big Business Remade American Politics* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 47.

⁸ Adela Pineda Franco, *The Mexican Revolution on the World Stage: Intellectuals and Film in the Twentieth Century* (Albany: State University of New York Press), 65.

⁹ Krutnik, Frank et al., *“Un-American” Hollywood Politics and Films in the Blacklist Era* (New Brunswick, New Jersey and London: Rutgers University Press, 2007), 226.

¹⁰ René Rémond, *Istoria Statelor Unite ale Americii* (București: Corint, 1999), 136-138.

¹¹ *California*; director: John Farrow; writers: Frank Butler, Theodore Strauss; actors: Barbara Stanwyck, Ray Milland, Barry Fitzgerald, 1946.

America, an area considered vital to its security. In the 1950s, the US would orchestrate regime change in countries such as Guatemala in 1953, Iran a year later and Lebanon at the end of the decade as part of a policy to contain the communist threat; a policy promoted internationally by President Harry Truman, but also driven by economic interests such as control over natural resources, as in Iran, or geographic proximity to changes that could affect US stability, as in Guatemala.¹² The ideological confrontation with the USSR would also be reflected in cinema, with Mexico and Mexican history providing an appropriate backdrop in American cinema to convey contemporary political messages.

The theme of the Mexican Revolution, which had received little attention in the previous decade, has come to the fore with the release of *Viva Zapata!*¹³ A complex film whose production, under the aegis of one of Hollywood's major film studios, 20th Century Fox, brought director Elia Kazan together with writer and screenwriter John Steinbeck, who had taken an earlier interest in Mexico. This time, the aim was to illustrate in a cinematographic way the main aspects of the biography of one of the most important heroes of the Revolution, Emiliano Zapata. Less known to the American public as Pancho Villa, due to the fact that his reach during the Mexican Revolution overlapped only territories far from the US border, but also because Zapata was much less concerned with his image, Zapata was more known for his revolutionary intransigence; he seemed to many Americans in the years following the end of the war a radical, rather close to communism, and not just a picturesque character like Villa.

Before filming began, careful documentation was done, with screenwriter John Steinbeck doing research in Mexico to get the most accurate portrayal of Zapata's personality on screen. Elia Kazan's desire to film in Mexico, out of concern for historical accuracy, could not be fulfilled even though it had been discussed, a sign that the controversial subject matter of the upcoming film would be subject to close criticism in both Mexico and the US.¹⁴ In fact, the sensitivity of the film's subject matter and the complexity of the political context in the U.S. led director Kazan, a former member of the Communist Party of USA, to appear twice before the Un-American Activities Committee in 1952, the year the film was produced.¹⁵ In order to avoid any inconvenience from the authorities, the film had to resort to a series of omissions and inadvertencies in the rendering of various moments that were meant to represent the historical context that was related to the subject of the film, not because of a superficial knowledge of Mexican history. Nevertheless the production enjoyed a generous budget.¹⁶

Throughout the film the moral dilemmas of the hero are emphasized, while the vocation of a revolutionary who hated the system and demanded a radical reform of society. This image is weighted against that of a hesitant rebel who at one time filtered through the structures of power, and who once joined the rebellion, exasperating his more doctrinaire comrades by his ambivalent stance on political and social issues. Much of the conflict, especially in the first part of the film, focuses on Zapata's desire to conform to the existing order.

The film opens with a fictional audience with a group of Indian peasants from the state of Morelos, granted by the President of Mexico, General Porfirio Díaz, in 1909. The delegation includes the young Emiliano Zapata. President Díaz displays a paternalistic tone in his approach to the meeting, calling his interlocutors "children", causing their embarrassment and reluctance to voice the problems that had brought them to the capital, explaining his demands with little clarity. Overcoming his shyness, one of the peasants, Pablo Gomez, tells the President that despite having documents from the time of the Spanish rule to prove their ownership rights, their land is being taken away by the big landowners, the traditional maize crop is being replaced by sugar cane and they are denied access to the land they had owned. Díaz recommends patience: "I am your father, your protector, I am your blood. But believe me, these things take time, you have to be patient." These words, with which the president implies that the meeting is over, make Zapata speak: "with your permission we make *tortillas* from corn, not from patience, and patience will not get over a reinforced fence."

Back in Morelos, the peasants break through fences and return to their confiscated properties, being brutally attacked by the local potentate's men, causing Zapata to intervene by neutralizing a machine gun that was

¹² Stanley Corkin, *Cowboys as Cold Warriors, The Western and U.S. History* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2004), 177.

¹³ *Viva Zapata!*; director: Elia Kazan; writer: John Steinbeck; actors: Marlon Brando, Jean Peteres, Athony Quinn, Joseph Wiseman, 1952.

¹⁴ Zuzana M. Pick, *Constructing the Image of the Mexican Revolution, Cinema and Archive* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2010), 210.

¹⁵ Franco, *The Mexican Revolution on the World Stage*, 75-76.

¹⁶ Richard Slotkin, *Gunfighter Nation, The Myth of the Frontier in Twentieth-Century America* (New York: Atheneum, 1992), 421.

being fired at the peasants. This act of rebellion leads Emiliano to flee the law with his brother Eufemio and others in the mountains. Here, he is found by Fernando Aguirre, a messenger of Francisco Madero, who, from Texas, is preparing to rise up against the Díaz regime, and wishes to draw Zapata to the cause. Fernando is a fictional character created by screenwriter Steinbeck and director Kazan. Fernando is a city dweller, when he arrives at the mountain hideout he also carries a typewriter, an instrument that makes him look intrusive, like the machine gun in the scene before, a weapon that is neutralized by Emiliano using a rope, or the train that will be attacked by the revolutionaries later. Emiliano's impulsive brother Eufemio tries to destroy the typewriter but is stopped by Emiliano.

Back in the mountain hideout, Zapata finds Pablo Gomez, his friend returned from Texas, where he had met Madero. Throughout the film, one notices the care taken to treat with respect any aspects reminiscent of the USA, a care that Zapata and his followers certainly lacked, with one such scene here beginning with Eufemio's question, "Why don't they lock Madero up there?" Fernando answers, "there they protect the political refugees", "why?", Eufemio replies, "there is democracy", Pablo adds, so that Fernando intervenes again, "there the government rules, but with the consensus of the people, the people make themselves heard", "they also have a president, but he rules with the consensus of the people. Here we have a president but without consent. Who asked us but do we want Díaz for 30 years? Nobody." Later, Zapata is appointed general by Madero. Once President Madero is reluctant to redistribute the land to the peasants, "we build slowly and carefully", "they will get their land but legally. It's a delicate matter. It must be studied."

The indecisive and conciliatory attitude towards the big landowners makes Zapata liken Madero to Díaz, "this mouse in a suit talks like Díaz", his friend Pablo intervening, "no, he's right. It's peace. He needs time. Let's respect the law." Fernando also intervenes, "The law. It's not the government that makes the law, it's the people" and "the same people who ruled before are here in the room. They are his advisors. We have to get rid of them and give back the land", "and if Madero doesn't do it, then he's an enemy too." Fernando's fanaticism, sensed earlier by Eufemio, now stands out, as opposed to the moderation recommended by Emiliano's old friend Pablo Gomez. The fact that McCarthyism, demanded explicit political positions is also due to the appearance of the character Fernando Aguirre in the film. He becomes the image of a professional revolutionary.¹⁷ The director denied accusations of communism or that the Mexican hero was a communist at a time when Mexico did not yet have a communist party, and even claimed that the character of Fernando, who initially advised Zapata and then betrayed him, as will be seen towards the end of the film, was created precisely to demonstrate the communist mentality. "Kazan believes that Fernando represents those who use people's bitterness for their own ends, change its course, betray any friend or principle or promise to seize power and hold it."

The army commander, General Victoriano Huerta, appears on the scene and advises Madero: "Kill Zapata now." President Madero convinces Zapata that his men should surrender their weapons, the revolutionary struggle is considered over, and the president even visits Emiliano's fiefdom in the state of Morelos. Madero confirms that he was an unrealistic and unskillful, albeit well-intentioned, politician when he gives credit to General Huerta and ends up killed by him. Huerta's usurpation of power also means the return of Morelos to the struggle. The resumption of hostilities leads to heavy losses on the revolutionary side, but also to increased determination to continue the fight. Pablo Gomez also falls victim and ends up executed by Zapata himself. "Our cause was the land, not an ideal, the cornfields that fed our families", "freedom, not a word ..., a man sitting quietly in front of his house in the evening", "peace, not a dream." Pablo's execution shows that Zapata remains consistent with his promises, unlike his brother Eufemio, a case of failed revolutionary, as Emiliano would later discover.

The film recreates one of the most emblematic images of the Revolution, the meeting between Pancho Villa and Emiliano Zapata in the presidential palace after the victory over President Huerta's forces in 1914, illustrated by a famous photograph taken on that occasion¹⁸. Having become president of Mexico, Zapata realises that he is about to turn into Díaz, treating a delegation of peasants in the same manner as the dictator did at the beginning of the film. Relinquishing power, Emiliano returns home to witness the failure of his brother, who, unhappy with the material gains of the struggle, has developed an abusive and tyrannical character. Leaving the capital, Zapata also breaks up with his adviser Fernando Aguirre, who had encouraged

¹⁷ John A. Britton, *Revolution and Ideology, Images of the Mexican Revolution in the United States* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1995), 210.

¹⁸ Pick, *Constructing the Image of the Mexican Revolution, Cinema and Archive*, 211.

his most radical impulses: “Now I know you. No land, no home, no friends, no wife, no woman. You only destroy, that's your love”.

In front of the peasants of Morelos, he will also express his creed: “The earth is yours. But you must defend it. It won't be yours for long if you don't defend it. If you have to with your life.”, “always look for leaders. There's no such thing as leaders, only people like you. They change, they quit, they die. There are no leaders but you. Strong men are the only lasting power. New president Carranza sends his army to pacify the Morelos region, but without the desired results. In a meeting with his officers, one of them points out that they cannot confront Zapata's men in a conventional manner. Mentioning the leader of the rebellion: “We are not dealing with a man. He is an ideal that is spreading.” With the support of his former collaborator, Ferrnando, Zapata is lured into a trap and killed, his body being brought to the city for his followers to see. The result is not as expected, among those gathered around the corpse, one old man saying: “I've been fighting him all these years, do they think they can fool me? I can't kill him. Never can.” Another local peasant continues: “can I catch a river or kill the wind?”, for another to add “it's no river or wind, it's a man but I still can't kill him”, the dialogue between those present continuing: “then where is he?”, “I can't find him now, but if we need him he'll be back. He's in the mountains’ Turning their heads, the peasants can see Zapata's white horse on the mountain top, evoking the hero's apotheosis and his entry into legend.

Mexicans objected to the film's script because of historical inaccuracies. They condemned references to the hero's Spanish blood, the colonial manner in which he wooed his future wife, and his initial reluctance to take up armed combat. The fact that what stirred most the film's Mexican critics was the way Zapata relinquishes power when the Revolution finally triumphs. The film has been attacked from both left and right wing positions¹⁹. Critics on the left complained that the screen did not show the redistribution of land to the peasants of Morelos, one of the most significant revolutionary acts of Zapata's work. After the film premiered in the Mexican capital, running for only a few days in one cinema without attracting much attention, it was banned in Mexico for several years. Nevertheless, the film has been seen since its release as a landmark cinematic work, one of the most important and serious attempts in American cinema to portray complicated aspects of Mexican history on the silver screen. At least in the US, the film has enjoyed critical acclaim, winning numerous film industry awards, as well as public acclaim, and is an example of how fiction can be used to present historical complexities.

While *Viva Zapata!* does not feature American characters, other films deal with the subject of the Mexican Revolution, often seen through the lens of one or more Americans who arrived in Mexico during the clashes between the various sides in the civil war. *Wings of the Hawk*²⁰ features a real historical figure, Pascual Orzoco, a controversial figure in the Revolution, which is also highlighted in the film. Here, a mine owner in Mexico, the American Gallagher, has his gold mine seized by the corrupt Colonel Ruiz, an officer of the federal army. Gallagher becomes involved in the conflict by joining the insurgent forces fighting against Porfirio Díaz, after rescuing Raquel Noriega, an injured revolutionary, part of a group led by Arturo Torres who calls Orzoco a thief and a bandit, thus highlighting the dissension between the various revolutionary factions as well as between the Mexican characters involved in the story. Thus Elena, the sister of the revolutionary Raquel, is not kidnapped by Colonel Ruiz but lives willingly with him, who, like her, behaves cruelly towards the revolutionaries and hostages who end up shot in front of a firing squad. The film brings back familiar characters like the priest who helps the rebels, the revolutionary dedicated to the cause, along with other seductive female characters. The film ends with Pascual Orzoco preparing the assault on federal army positions in Ciudad Juárez, an event that actually happened.

*The Treasure of Pancho Villa*²¹ is also about an American in 1915 Mexico, this time a mercenary who offers his services to a band of revolutionaries led by General Juan Castro, who plans to rob a federal army train carrying a large amount of gold and then give the precious cargo to the revolutionary leader Pancho Villa. The opening of the film announces that it was made with the support of the Mexican authorities and is set in the “years when Mexico was fighting for its freedom” and where “there were two liberators, only one of them became dictator”. The hero-turned-dictator referred to here is Pancho Villa, who although he does not appear as a character in the film, according to what was said at the beginning of the film, carries the

¹⁹ Woll, *The Latin Image in American Film*, 96.

²⁰ *Wings of the Hawk*; director: Budd Boetticher; writers: James E. Moser, Kay Lenard; actors: Van Heflin, Julie Adams, Abbe Lane, 1953.

²¹ *The Treasure of Pancho Villa*; director: George Sherman; writer: Niven Busch; actors: Rory Calhoun, Shelley Winters, Gilbert Roland, 1955.

controversial facts that made him famous, but in a moderate way that explains his slide towards dictatorship. However, the representative of the revolutionary cause here is Colonel Castro, a capable and dedicated commander who, despite being betrayed, sacrifices his life in an attempt to provide funds for the Revolution. At the end of the film, when he is no longer alive, he receives the appreciation of his American partner who calls him “a real man” Tom Bryan, the American mercenary who eventually dedicates himself to the revolutionary cause, is assisted by an American, Ruth Harris, who became a soldier and told Colonel Castro, “Mexico was a good school for me.” The fact that the film benefited from Mexican help is also evident from the careful presentation of typical aspects, which seem to be made more for tourist purposes, such as the elaborate *tequila*-drinking ritual against the backdrop of emblematic monuments in the Mexican capital. In the film, dynamic and elaborate battle scenes, such as the attack of military train. Here the American assures superiority by being the one who wields the machine gun and uses dynamite.

Pancho Villa himself will return in *Villa!*²², the film that illustrates the first part of the Mexican hero's career. Villa becomes a rebel after the injustices suffered by his family and other peasants in the village, injustices at the hands of the local landowner. Here, too, a North American in Mexico, gunman and arms smuggler, Bill Harmon, persuades Villa to join the Revolution. Until he joins the revolutionary struggle, Villa comes across as a Mexican village raider, devoted to cruelty, as in the treatment of captured federal army officers, but who also treats his own men with a certain brutality. The human nature of the character is underlined by amusing moments, including the presentation of his many marriages, and his cerebral speeches to his men. Without illustrating the dark side, his lieutenant, Rodolfo Fierro, appears in this version as a character more amusing and prone to brag than the real historical figure. As Villa's forces enter the Mexican capital, he is left by Bill Harmon who returns to the US.

A cynical American mercenary, Wilson joins a revolutionary faction in *Bandido!*²³ led by Colonel Escobar, a military man dedicated to the revolutionary cause. The confrontation at the beginning of the film takes place in a town, between the federal army and the revolutionaries, in which Wilson is at first a passive witness, then an active participant, ultimately bringing victory to the revolutionaries. The passivity of some of the Mexican witnesses to the battle underlines the fact that after several years of conflict, bloody confrontations had become commonplace. In addition to the American Wilson, another countryman, Kennedy, is nearby with the aim of delivering arms to the opposing side, led by General Lorenzo. Control of the precious arms shipment is the main theme of the film. Here, too, the audience is treated to more images of the varied Mexican landscape, less present in films from previous years, as the heroes make their way to the shores of the ocean. An expressive scene shows the evacuation of a village in the mountainous area under the control of the revolutionaries, under pressure from advancing federal troops. A feature of the Mexican Civil War, along with brutal fighting, was such displacements of civilian populations.

*San Antone*²⁴ takes the audience back to the immediate aftermath of the American Civil War, when former Confederate soldiers cross the border into Mexico to fight on the side of Emperor Maximilian. In the beginning of the film, Chino Figueroa, excluded from a party of the Southern elite, is reminded of his noble origins: “I understand that through your veins flows the noblest blood”, only for him to recall, when told that: “your father lost the land, “he didn't lose it, it was confiscated. To Julia Allerby, who refuses to respond to his feelings of love, he says he will go to his country “in Mexico, Juárez needs people to fight. I'm going to join him”. If Chino is denied the love of an American girl, the same is not true of a former Confederate officer who seduces Mistania, Chino's sister, transformed in Mexico into a generous bandit type. Abusers of Mexicans both in the US and on the other side of the border, it seems to be the Southerners guilty of starting the American Civil War. The Americans are however forgiven by the presence in Mexico of Carl Miller and his support, also a former Confederate officer, for Juárez's cause. The coincidence between the French invasion of Mexico and the American War was addressed in *The Eagle and the Hawk*²⁵. An American spy and a Texan lawman join forces to discourage the Mexican general Liguras, who taking advantage of the war in the north, creates an army to retake Texas. The two Americans avert this danger by revealing the French plan to invade Mexico to the Mexican, proclaim Maximilian emperor and conquer Mexico in his name. According to the film, the Mexicans would have preferred an American Texas to a French Texas.

²² *Villa!*; director: James B. Clark; writers: Louis Vittes; actors: Brian Keith, Cesar Romero, Margia Dean, 1958.

²³ *Bandido!*; director: Richard Fleischer; writers: Earl Felton; actors: Robert Mitchum, Ursula Thiess, Gilbert Roland, 1956.

²⁴ *San Antone*; director: Joseph Kane, writer: Steve Fisher; actors: Rod Cameron, Arleen Whelan, Forrest Tucker, 1953.

²⁵ *The Eagle and the Hawk*; director: Lewis R. Foster; writers: Lewis R. Foster, Daniel Mainwaring; actors: John Payne, Rhonda Fleming, Dennis O'Keefe, 1950.

The times of the American Civil War and the French invasion of Mexico also make up the backdrop for the action in *Border River*²⁶, where a Confederate officer crosses the Rio Grande into Mexico to purchase arms using gold captured from Unionists. These guns were owned by Mexican General Eduardo Calleja, who had created a territory on the Mexican side of the river, *Zona Libre*, which was virtually independent, had its own flag, and offered protection to fugitives from the law on both sides of the river. The general, acting like a cruel and cunning bandit, advised by a treacherous German, intends to seize the American's gold. The presence of the German character is a resonance given to the plot coming from the times of the First World War and the Mexican Revolution. The general wearing an extravagant uniform is initially able to win over the Mexican heroine, Carmelita, who ultimately chooses the American idealist. If in *San Antone* there are Southerners causing mischief, the situation is balanced by another Confederate who rescues the Mexican Chino from the hanging prepared by the others. In *Border River*, the Confederate hero has positive qualities throughout the film, so that at the end, the Mexican officer, loyal to the true president Juárez, who returns the *Zona Libre* to Mexico tells him: "you have done Mexico a great service". This is also a way in which former secessionists were reintegrated into American values.

The 1950s also bring back on screen the Battle of the Alamo, which returns with *The Man from Alamo*.²⁷ The famous battle set during Texan Revolution when a handful of Americans faced a large Mexican army, is only depicted in the opening scenes of the film, without the tragic outcome. The battle is only the starting point of the hero's story, John Stroud, one of the defenders of the fort who chooses to leave the battlefield only to face charges of cowardice later. At the beginning of the film it is said of the Americans in Texas that "they fought for Mexico when it won its freedom from Spain and lived peacefully as a separate province until general Santa Anna seized the presidency of Mexico. Then they faced the possibility of a military war government." Noteworthy is also the scene when, during a battle, an American tries to save a Mexican flag, which seems to have been flown by the defenders themselves on one of the fort walls, when the banner had been hit by Mexican artillery, thus illustrating the initial loyalty to Mexico. Good relations with ordinary Mexicans come about when Stroud meets Carlos, a Mexican child who lived with his family on the American's farm, from whom he learns that they had all been killed by a gang of Americans disguised as Mexicans. This is not the first time when American outlaws have appeared disguised as Mexicans, taking advantage of the animosity of Anglo-Saxon residents towards Hispanics. Eventually, the hero exposes them, who, led by Jess Ward, set out to terrorize American families in Texas on behalf of Santa Anna's government.

Much more complete will be the rendering of the Alamo standoff in *The Last Command*.²⁸ The film begins by saying that: "in the 1830s, the northern part of the young Mexican republic known as Texas was populated by tribes of native Indians and few Mexican citizens, from the north and east others came, settlers who took over the land, appropriated by the Mexicans to hasten the development of the territory. "It is noted that the Mexicans are second only to the Indians in listing the inhabitants of Texas. However, the first shots of the film show us a typical Mexican town. General Santa Anna makes an appearance in the film, declaring his good intentions to Jim Bowie, a leader of the Americans in Texas, who has come to the Mexican capital. The general is shown to be a good Mexican patriot whose priority is the prosperity of the country. His determination to attack the Americans seems well disguised, although certain shades of cynicism can be detected from his meetings with Bowie.

Loyal to the Americans, on the other hand, is Lorenzo de Quesada, a Texan potentate who says of himself that he is: "Mexican, of pure Spanish extraction." Both he and his niece Consuelo, who harbors amorous feelings for Jim Bowie, besides being effective in support of the American cause, exhibit stereotypical Anglo-Saxon traits, including physical ones, unlike Santa Anna and his generals. At the Quesada family estate, in the presence of the Americans, scenes often seen in previous years are once again taking place, with singing and dancing to traditional rhythms. The film closely insists in its unfolding on the resistance of the American defenders of the Alamo fort to the Mexicans. The Mexican army appears equipped in flamboyant uniforms marching to military music, contrasting sharply with the austere American equipment. General Santa Anna at the head of the cavalry also gives a bombastic allure to the scenes in which he is present. The

²⁶ *Border River*; director: George Sherman; writers: William Sackheim, Louis Stevens; actors: Joel McCrea, Yvonne De Carlo, Predo Armendariz, 1954.

²⁷ *The Man From Alamo*; director: Budd Boetticher; writers: Steve Fisher, D. D. Beauchamp; actors: Glenn Ford; Julie Adams, Chill Wills, 1953.

²⁸ *The Last Command*; director: Frank Lloyd; writer: Warren Duff; actors: Sterling Hayden, Anna Maria, Albergetti, Richard Carlson, 1955.

Mexicans are also well equipped with high-performance cannons and generally superior military equipment to the Americans. The qualities of Mexican warriors are recognized when an American says that: "Mexicans are excellent fighters". The actor Sterling Hayden, who appears as the hero Jim Bowie, the film's central character, who fights to the point of supreme sacrifice to defend the fort, had in the past faced accusations of being a member of the American Communist Party. Because of this, he was in a hearing conducted by the House Un-American Committee, and was forced to accuse other Hollywood industry figures of Communist sympathies. He also received the committee's loyal citizen's notice after the act. Appearing in such a film with a deeply patriotic message also served to rehabilitate such a personality.²⁹

The first part of the 1950s also increases references to territories lost to Mexico in the War of 1846-1848, led by California. Interesting is the *California Conquest*³⁰ which takes place in the same province, announced in the title, still under Mexican rule. The beginning of the film announces that the province of California was desired by powers such as France, Great Britain and Russia, the latter being the closest to achieving this goal. It is also recalled that: "the tsar did not take into account the people of California who wanted freedom". Reinforcing this statement, also at the beginning of the film, are the words spoken by the central character, Don Arturo Bodega, to his companion, the peasant Juan: "the freedom brought by the United States is something you will taste Juan." Arturo Bodega is an aristocrat and a vocal advocate of the annexation of California to the United States. He is part of a group of aristocrats who delegate one of their number Don Esteban to meet with US representative John Fremont.

The conversation between the two reveals the scruples the American has about annexation: "It's a beautiful country". Don Esteban tells the American: "a country ripe for progress." Don Esteban goes on to address the American saying: "you are an explorer, an American, no one has entered a new country to take anything, only to bring." The American says "why don't the people of California choose their own form of government?" Don Esteban is in a hurry to make the case for annexation to the US, the Mexican capital is too far away, Mexico faces its own problems, the peasants know nothing about forms of government and don't care. After an attack from which Fremont barely escapes, he is received at the estate where he is awaited by the other Mexican aristocrats who prepare a ball for the American guest, not lacking the dancing and singing characteristic of the Mexican aristocracy. But the American concludes that he cannot help California on the grounds that "Mexico is a neighbour and a friend and by treaty California is a Mexican territory", much to the disappointment of Arturo Bodega, who firmly maintains that: "we are the people of California and we want annexation". Eventually Arturo discovers from the bandit Jose Martinez, the man who attacked Fremont, the latter part of a gang organized by the Brios brother, that they want to offer California to the Russian Tsar. Arturo manages to rally the other pro-Americans by successfully repelling an invading Russian force led by the fictional characters Countess Helene de Gagarin and General Alexander Rotcheff. Developing a love affair with the daughter of the American owner of a small business, the young woman tells him in response to his proposal of marriage: "You'd give a lot to be an American citizen, wouldn't you?" The fact that a nobleman of Spanish descent barely qualifies to live up to the claims of a modest American woman could not have escaped an attentive viewer.

Equally undisguised is the danger posed by Russian imperialism in alliance with Mexican bandits, the reference to contemporary Soviet danger being obvious. Such a film was clear proof of the patriotism of those involved in its production, sparing them from suspicion at a time when Senator McCarthy's accusations had caused many filmmakers to suffer. The film will mention the last Russian settlement in California but omits any reference to the upcoming war between the US and Mexico. Russian interest in California dated back to the era of Spanish rule, as independent Mexico had inherited the existence of a Russian settlement known as Fort Ross on California territory from the last years of colonial rule, which aroused some irritation. In 1826 the Russian American Company would open a permanent trading post in Monterey. But Russian interest here went beyond commercial interests, aiming for more ambitious goals. However, the Russian authorities gave up any serious intentions towards California on the eve of the American conquest.³¹

²⁹ Gary D. Keller, *Hispanics and United States Film: An Overview and Handbook* (Arizona: Bilingual Review/ Press, Tempe, 1994), 81-82.

³⁰ *California Conquest*; director: Lew Landers; writer Robert E. Kent; actors: Cornel Wilde, Teresa Wright, Alfonso Bedoya, 1952.

³¹ William Harrison Richardson, *Mexico Through Russian Eyes, 1806-1940* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1988), 27-44.

Another territory ceded by Mexico to the United States, this time after the conclusion of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which ended the war between the two countries, is the subject of *Conquest of Cochise*.³² The film begins by announcing that in 1853 in Mexico City: “a treaty was being discussed between representatives of Mexico and the United States, which will be known in history as The Gadsden Purchase.” Here in the Mexican capital, a Mexican minister expresses concern about the fate of the remaining Mexicans in the territory that was to come under American administration, to be reassured by the guarantees offered by the American partner General Gadsden. It is revealed that the greatest danger to the Mexicans here was the constant raids by the Apache and Comanche Indians, as evidenced by the scene in which a couple is attacked and the wife is killed. Felipe, the survivor of the couple, later expresses his distrust of the newly arrived Americans at a dinner at the home of his brother-in-law, Don Francisco, who had said: “The Americans are our only hope.” Felipe comments on the house owner's statement: “our only hope is to shoot them on the spot”, in turn drawing the reaction of Consuela, Francisco's daughter, who argued that: “they came here to bring peace”. Felipe concluded the dialogue with the question: “in the name of which authority of the occupiers or the irresponsible people of Mexico City?” Members of the family of Don Francisco de Cordova are representatives of a progressive Mexican civilization that appears to be on a par with that of the Americans, at least in the eyes of the Indians. The idea of modern civilisation is conveyed by the illustration of government buildings from the Mexican capital, to the city of Tucson, newly under American administration, which is not reminiscent of dusty frontier towns.

In *Lone Star*,³³ Martha Ronda, an aristocrat of Mexican origin, edits a newspaper in the Texas town of Austin in 1845, when Texas was still an independent republic, as announced at the beginning of the film, and benefits from the love interest of two men in different positions. Craven wants Texas independence, to become president, in a deal with Mexico, while rancher Burke, who will win the heart of the Mexican lady, wants annexation to the US. The Mexican danger is mentioned throughout the film, although, the other secondary Mexican characters present are harmless. Annexation to the US meant war with Mexico and Texas' continued statehood was conditional on signing a treaty with the southern country. However, at the end of the film the two unite to face the Mexican enemy. *The Iron Mistress*³⁴ features aspects of the biography of American Alamo hero Jim Bowie. He arrives in Mexican Texas and marries Ursula, the daughter of the governor of Texas-Coahuila, Juan de Veramendi, a suitable partner for the future hero of Texan independence.

*The First Texan*³⁵ is also about a Texan hero, Sam Houston, and the film shows the Battle of San Jacinto, where the victorious Mexicans at the Alamo were defeated, and General Santa Anna, President of Mexico, was taken prisoner. Those associated with Santa Anna, such as Martin Pefecto de Cos, also a real historical figure, which appears in the film as the president's brother, show their suspicion of the Americans from the beginning of the film. Another representative of the Mexican state is the judge who decides, accepting Sam Houston's position as jurist, to release those who had been arrested for rebellion. Here, again Mexicans appear to support the cause of an independent Texas alongside Americans, one saying: “Mexicans like me and Americans like you don't want to be governed by Mexico”, and are even willing to make the ultimate sacrifice. Texas revolutionaries are shown marching with a flag reminiscent of the Mexican tricolor. At the end of the film, Sam Houston is treated after the battle of San Jacinto by a Mexican military doctor, only for General Santa Anna to appear vanquished when he tells Houston: “you have defeated Napoleon of the West”, and then, on his knees, declares his unconditional surrender.

In *Sierra Baron*,³⁶ Don Miguel Delmonte came from Mexico to California in 1848 to protect his property here. If in Mexico, Miguel is shown enjoying a bohemian lifestyle, partying with friends playing shallow games, his attitude changes in California when, upon arriving at the family estate, his sister Felicia tells him how the Americans came here and that their people would have wanted to resist but no one was here to lead them, Miguel being in Mexico. In the end, both Miguel and Felicia fall in love with American characters. The romantic tone of *Sierra Baron*, where Miguel begins a love affair with the American woman. On the other hand, Jack, the Texan who had offered him support, is killed, as a result of which Miguel's sister, the

³² *Conquest of Cochise*; director: William Castle; writers: Arthur Lewis, DeVallon Scott; actors: John Hodiak, Robert Stack, Joy Page, 1953.

³³ *Lone Star*; director: Vincent Sherman; writer: Borden Chase; actors: Clark Gable, Ava Gardner, Broderik Crawford, 1952.

³⁴ *The Iron Mistress*; director: Gordon Douglas; writer: James R. Webb; actors: Alan Ladd, Virginia Mayo, Joseph Calleia, 1952.

³⁵ *The First Texan*; director: Byron Haskin; writer: Daniel B. Ullman; actors: Joel McCrea, Felicia Farr, Jeff Morrow, 1956.

³⁶ *Sierra Baron*; director: James B. Clark; writer: Houston Branch; actors: Brian Keith, Rick Jason, Rita Gam, 1958.

Texan's girlfriend, becomes a nun. The film shows that the American government recognized Mexican rights to the land granted by the Spanish crown. *

Joaquin Murietta, a hero from Mexican folklore, appears as a supporting character in *Man Behind the Gun*.³⁷ Here the film's action begins in the Californian town of San Pedro, a few years before the American Civil War, and then moves to Los Angeles. Young Murietta is a knife-wielding bandit who, after attempting to rob undercover agent Ransome Callicut, a former Mexican-American War veteran, along with others, is used by him to uncover a plan to secede Southern California and turn it into a slave state. In *Bandit Queen*,³⁸ newly American-possessed California attracts large numbers of American settlers drawn here by the discovery of gold deposits, but “for the native Spaniards (sic) it proved a tragedy, they found themselves hunted and persecuted.” Also at the beginning of the film it is announced that the Californian locals refused to submit and fought for justice. It is in this context that Zara Montalvo returns home to witness the murder of her parents by a gang of Americans. Her father, Don Jose, owned an estate and gold mines coveted by the newcomers. The young girl takes refuge in the convent of San Sebastian, where she is protected by Father Antonio. The Catholic priest is a friend and protector of Joaquin Murietta, another defender of the cause of the wronged. Zara succeeds in rallying other farm owners to the cause, declaring that he is seeking “the return to the only true law, Spanish law”, and later ends up collaborating with Murietta. Interestingly, throughout the film, the Americans call the Californian locals *Spaniards*, who use the same ethnic designation, nowhere referring to Mexicans or Mexico.

In *Mark of the Renegade*,³⁹ Marcos Zappa is a character who also acts in California, part of the Mexican Republic, in 1825, and defends the interests of the state against pirates who want to burn Los Angeles but, above all, he also confronts Pedro Garcia, who wants to crown himself emperor of California and, to this end, wanted to compromise Don Jose de Vasquez, a local aristocrat loyal to the Mexican Republic. Zappa whom Garcia reminds that “they met in Mexico City where you were still a hero of the newly born republic, a distinguished gentleman from an ancient family with great wealth” who “nevertheless betrayed your own class and joined the rebels who opposed the empire, because the people wanted independence.” Aided in his mission to thwart Garcia's plan by the Franciscan monk Juan, Marcos Zappa, though initially posing as a renegade, turns out to be an undercover agent for the Mexican government and wins the love of Manuela, Don Jose's daughter. In *The Fighter*,⁴⁰ Felipe Rivera is the son of a fisherman in an idyllic village whose tranquility is brutally disturbed by the appearance here of a federal army unit led by Captain Alvarado, who, in search of the revolutionary Durango, will kill the villagers, including Felipe's family and fiancée. By the time it reaches El Paso, across the border in Texas, viewers can see that the Mexican exiles here, who run a publication campaigning against President Díaz's dictatorial regime, are guided in their fight for democracy by the American model of freedom, and portraits of American personalities can be seen at the publication's headquarters. Again, Felipe benefits from the support and trust of secretary Kathy, an American who is a supporter of the Mexican revolutionary cause.

The year 1954 brought to the screen a new film whose production had a large budget and which brought together famous names of American cinema, such as Gary Cooper, Burt Lancaster and others. The name of the film, *Vera Cruz*,⁴¹ referred to a clear geographical landmark, namely the gateway to Mexico from the Atlantic Ocean. The port city of Veracruz played an important role in Mexican history, being the site of several important armed confrontations and the starting point for several European invasions of independent Mexico. By the time the film hit the screens, the name also resonated with a large portion of American audiences. Four decades earlier, American marines landed in the Mexican port as part of a military intervention in the complex and complicated turmoil caused by the Mexican Revolution.

In 1954, as part of a policy to contain the communist threat, the CIA, the Central Intelligence Agency, supported a coup d'état in Guatemala overthrowing the regime of President Jacobo Arbenz, who had initiated

³⁷ *Man Behind the Gun*; director: Felix E. Feist; writer: John Twist; actors: Randolph Scott, Patrice Wymore, Dick Wesson, 1953.

³⁸ *Bandit Queen*; director: William Berke; writers: Victor West, Budd Lesser, Orville H. Hampton; actors: Barbara Britton, Willard Parker, Phillip Reed, 1950.

³⁹ *Mark of the Renegade*; director: Hugo Fregonese; writers: Robert Hardy, Andrews, Louis Solomon; actors: Ricardo Montalban, Cyd Charisse, J. Carrol Nish, 1951.

⁴⁰ *The Fighter*; director: Herbert Kline; writers: Aben Kandel, Herbert Kline; actors: Richard Conte, Vanessa Brown, Lee J. Cobb, 1952.

⁴¹ *Vera Cruz*; director: Robert Aldrich; writers: Roland Kibbee, James R. Webb; actors: Gary Cooper, Burt Lancaster, Denise Darcel; 1954.

far too radical reforms that threatened the economic interests of major American companies, at a time when the new American president, Dwight Eisenhower, seemed willing to abandon certain aspects of the “good neighbour” policy, which called for tact in relations with the other countries in the Western Hemisphere.⁴² Therefore, the use of a Latin American territory as the backdrop of a cinematically rendered adventure resonates with a certain topicality. The film presents the adventures of a motley band of North American mercenaries in Mexico, not long after the end of the American Civil War, towards the end of the reign of Maximilian of Habsburg the short-lived and ill-fated monarch of the Second Mexican Empire.

The leaders of this band are former Confederate officer Benjamin Trane, with the characteristics of a true Southern gentleman, and unscrupulous gunslinger Joe Erin. They are hired by the Marquis Henri de Labordere, the Emperor's emissary, to escort the French Countess Marie Duvarre through Mexican revolutionary-controlled territory to the port of Veracruz to embark for Europe. As the heroes would discover during the dangerous mission, the convoy was hiding a large amount of gold that was about to leave Mexico. Although their only interest is financial gain, they will eventually have to choose between two conflicting sides, that of the Mexican revolutionaries or of the French invaders supporting Emperor Maximilian. For the time, it may have seemed unusual to choose this type of hero to illustrate such an American incursion south of the border. Although initially all Americans pursue material interests, in Trane's case a legitimate one, the rebuilding of his war-destroyed plantation, the character of Joe Erin, played by Burt Lancaster, crosses certain boundaries that no American character, not even a villain, had ever tested in film before. Erin is an amoral who finds pleasure in displaying an intimidating attitude towards others. Erin symbolizes a clandestine face of war incriminated by the Doolittle Report, a comprehensive study of Central Intelligence Agency activity written in 1954 at the request of President Eisenhower in the wake of American-orchestrated coups in Guatemala and Iran as inconsistent with American concepts of fair play.⁴³

Vera Cruz will also be one of the films from the 1950s that will familiarize audiences with the presence of Southern veterans of the American Civil War in military actions south of the border. Ben Trane's gesture of finally opting to offer assistance to the natives will be imitated by other heroes of a similar nature in the years to come, as it had not happened in cinema before. The American film-makers were thus recovering and integrating into the gallery of American heroes the disillusioned Southern fighters who, by supporting the just cause of the rebels in the South, were recovering their idealism, this time on a more realistic basis. Another unique character in the American camp is the African-American Ballart, who will resonate most with the human Trane, evidence of a democratic, racially tolerant spirit illustrated by the Confederate veteran. The presence of this character, as well as a Mexican native, Nina, who makes a major contribution to Trane's transformation, signals the intention of a liberal approach to the integration of racial images into film discourse at a time when the struggle for civil rights by various ethnic and racial groups in the US is taking on new dimensions.

The only real historical character in the film is Emperor Maximilian, who is portrayed as duplicitous and unscrupulous, willing to resort to any means to keep his throne. The European characters, besides some of the American mercenaries, are intriguing and dominated by negative traits such as cynicism and cruelty. The more individual Mexican characters, two in number, are good examples of patriotism, courage and integrity. The masses of Mexican peasants who rallied to the Revolution behaved bravely in attacking the French forces despite their losses, but despite flattering images they became the bearers of stereotypes about Mexicans deeply rooted in American culture. From the very beginning of the film, the viewer finds himself in a territory that is both exotic and familiar. It's a small Mexican border town displaying all the characteristics American audiences were already used to: whitewashed houses, a half-ruined church, *sombrero*-clad peasants dressed in white, asleep leaning against walls and women wearing baskets on their heads. The ex-Confederate officer's entry into town and his meeting with the other Americans take place under the eyes of the Mexican peasants, who are ignored by the American protagonists, passive spectators meant to provide a picturesque and homogeneous backdrop for the dramas of the complex North American characters. The Mexican peasants of *Vera Cruz* who are watching the North American heroes are those imagined and idealized by Hollywood; inhabitants of a Mexico fascinated by the United States and aspiring to become like those of Anglo-Saxon descent. At the end of the film, when the Mexicans led by General Ramirez and the Americans led by Trane and Erin attack the French garrison in Veracruz, the Mexicans fall

⁴² McPherson, *A Short History of U. S. Interventions A Short History of U. S. Interventions in Latin America and the Caribbean*, 140-141.

⁴³ Slotkin, *Gunfighter Nation, The Myth of the Frontier in Twentieth-Century America*, 435.

in huge numbers under the superior firepower of the French. Meanwhile, the two American leaders score decisively in favour of the rebels by the weapons they possess but also by the fact that they are the only ones who can handle a captured machine gun. This underlines the technical superiority of the North Americans. The Mexican troops who triumph with the support of Trane and Erin at the end of the film are a Cold War fantasy of an obedient and grateful population happily accepting US support.

Mexican folklore, more or less authentic, with music and dance at the forefront, was present in almost every film dealing with a Mexican subject. In *Vera Cruz*, these moments take on a special significance when the African-American Ballard joins the Mexican dance. The liberal intentions of the filmmakers behind the Ballard character are also apparent when the former Union veteran is the one who rescues Nina from her fellow mercenaries when they try to abuse her.

In *Vera Cruz*, a Hollywood-imagined Mexico welcomes American adventurers from a familiar setting stepping into a foreign land in the midst of revolutionary upheaval. "Crossing the border" in the context of the Korean War has become a politicised act, full of meanings and allegories of interventionism, isolationism and imperialism. American historian Richard Slotkin draws parallels between Westerns and American government policy, identifying in *Vera Cruz* a clear parallel to Eisenhower's contemporary decision to intervene in Asia, and in the immoral mercenary Joe Erin, played by Burt Lancaster, a parallel to the dilemma expressed in the 1954 Doolittle Report: "how dirty, how much like an enemy can an American hero become, to remain an American hero?" As former Confederate combatant Ben Trane asks: "What's happening to Americans here?"

To be sure, Trane's nonchalance reflects the problematic nature of responding to an elusive enemy, articulating, overtly, the contemporary dilemmas facing the American military structure on different meridians. The purpose of his question highlights how *Vera Cruz*, though set in Mexico, is in fact a story of American citizens following their own narrative thread from which natives are largely excluded. In the Mexican bar, the conversation between Erin and Trane develops around the American Civil War and the rebellion of the locals against Emperor Maximilian which is called "the civil war they have here." Mexican issues are subordinated to familiar references as American adventurers develop scenarios in an exotic setting.

Conclusion

The construction of a Mexican fantasy as presented in *Vera Cruz* inherits a theorization of the "good neighbor" policy, initiated by President Franklin D. Roosevelt, which was also promoted in cinema. The long perpetuated cinematic view of Mexicans as aspirants to American civilisation dates back at least to the 1930s, when Hollywood began to portray Mexico as a nation trying to emulate the North American model but also attempting to make amends for the way Mexicans had been portrayed on cinema screens. The film industry was asked to contribute to inter-American unity by taking a benevolent attitude towards Mexico and other Latin American countries. The major film studios were receptive to the federal authorities' request, with the production of films with Latin American subjects reaching an unprecedented level. A sign of the good relations between Mexico and the United States of America was also underlined by the fact that the project and the script of *Vera Cruz* were to the liking of Mexican authorities and that, from the beginning, the intentions of the American producers of the film were not to offend Mexican sensibilities in any way, and the film was allowed to be shot in Mexico. Cinema thus also becomes a barometer for measuring good relations between countries.

In the middle of the 20th century, television, a strong competitor to cinema, emerged in the audio-visual world; a competitor with considerable advantages, the most obvious being the possibility for audiences to watch audio-visual productions from the comfort of their own homes. Cinematography is forced to offer several incentives: the number of colour films begins to increase (colour images only became widespread in television in the mid-1960s), new film and projection systems appear to make the images better defined and wider, and the treatment benefits from a greater dose of realism and authenticity in the themes addressed. Thus viewers watching a film that touches on a Mexican subject may become familiar with other variations of the Mexican natural or man-made landscape other than the images of desert landscapes depicted in the past. However, it was the international context of the early years of the Cold War that would decisively influence a certain type of representation of Mexicans and modern Mexican history in American cinema.

As relations with the USSR worsened, with the enemy developing nuclear capabilities, the passages of American heroes on movie screens in Mexico became increasingly politicized and politically charged. Thus, American characters arriving on Mexican soil develop partnerships with locals fighting against reactionary tyrants or foreign invaders, contributing decisively to the success of the righteous cause, especially through access to superior technology. These actions are no longer a simple and quick border crossing, as the heroes sometimes reach deep into Mexican territory, an opportunity for the American viewer to become familiar with more of the varied and exotic Mexican landscape, both natural and man-made, as well as traditional rituals and customs. And Mexicans in territories lost as a result of the war with the US, such as California or Texas, are also recognized for the rights they had and the abuses and injustices they were subjected to, such as land confiscation. The Americans who commit these abuses are, however, opposed and inevitably defeated by heroes of the same origin, proving the ability of the newcomers to provide justice and security.

Reviewing these examples completes the picture of the power of cinema which, not only in totalitarian regimes, can follow and adapt to political trends, becoming a vehicle through which messages can be conveyed, history can serve as an allegory for the present and contemporary events. Since the industry's pioneering years, film productions have tended to adapt to and echo the social, political or cultural context in which they were made. The involvement of factors other than artistic or commercial ones in film production has meant that these artistic works have become carriers of various political interests or vehicles for propaganda messages.

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WITNESSES OF SOCIALIST CHILDHOOD. PIONEERING BADGES AND MEDALS FROM THE COLLECTION OF THE BRUKENTHAL NATIONAL MUSEUM

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Abstract: *This article aims to publish 15 pioneering inventory pieces from the Modern-Contemporary collection of the Brukenthal National Museum, consisting of badges and medals dated around 1980. The badges and medals were offered to the members of the Pioneers' Organization as rewards for the activity carried out within the school team, stimulating their concerns for teaching, work, sports or various civic practices. This pioneer distinctions were associated to the organizational affiliation, strenghtening the group unity and having an important role in emphasizing the feeling of social inclusion. However, the distinctions also had the purpose of familiarizing the younger generations with the doctrinal values of socialism, the organizational symbols being connected to the symbols of the policy promoted at the central level. Thus, the article contextualizes the pioneering inventory pieces of the era in which they were produced, stressing their patrimonial potential in the study of recent history.*

Keywords: *pioneering badges, Pioneer Organization, childhood, communism.*

Rezumat: *Acest articol urmărește valorificarea a 15 piese de inventar pionieresc din colecția Modern-Contemporan a Muzeului Național Brukenthal, constituite din insigne și medalii datate în jurul anului 1980. Insignele și medaliile erau oferite membrilor Organizației Pionierilor ca recompense pentru activitatea desfășurată în cadrul colectivului școlar, stimulându-le preocupările pentru învățatură, muncă, sporturi sau diferite practici cu caracter civic. Aceste distincții pionierești erau asociate apartenenței organizaționale, întărind coeziunea de grup și având un important rol în accentuarea sentimentului de incluziune socială. Distincțiile aveau însă și scopul de a familiariza tinerele generații cu valorile doctrinare ale socialismului, simbolurile organizaționale fiind conexe simbolurilor politicii promovate la nivel central. Astfel, articolul contextualizează piesele de inventar pionieresc epocii în care au fost emise, valorificând potențialul lor patrimonial în studierea istoriei recente*

Cuvinte cheie: *insigne pionierești, Organizația Pionierilor, copilărie, comunism.*

The Pioneer Organization in Romania was officially established on April 30, 1949, when the first pioneer detachments appeared, comprising students between 9 and 14 years old. Between 1949 and 1966, it was subordinated to the Union of Communist Youth, after which it passed under the leadership of the National Council of the Pioneer Organization, under the direct guidance of the RCP. The statute of the Pioneer Organization of 1975 provided the following definition: "The Pioneer Organization is the mass revolutionary organization of children, the union of all detachments and units of pioneers in the Socialist Republic of Romania"¹. The Pioneer Organization proposed initiating children into the practices, culture and rituals specific to the socialist universe, so that they would reach adulthood as citizens loyal to party policies. In the taxonomy of the socialist ideological universe, the Organization of Pioneers constituted a "school of revolutionary education"², within which civic spirit dedicated to progress would materialize through work and life programs that assimilated all the children of the homeland. Translated into the language of the young generation of citizens of the RSR, the revolutionary spirit was embodied by stimulating work and learning, maintaining the right conduct, knowing and respecting the laws of the country, critically appreciating one's own activity, combined with self-exigency, being willing to learn a profession, making a "useful technical construction", getting involved into activities useful to society and helping parents in household maintaining³. Within the Pioneers' Organization, the children acquired a strong sense of social inclusion, equivalent to acceptance by the (micro)community to which they belong, whether it was the school group or the group of friends with whom they spent their spare time.

¹ ***Statutul Organizației Pionierilor din Republica Socialistă România, Editura Politică, București, 1975, p. 5.

² ***Ghidul Pionierului, Bucureștii Noi, București, 1985, p. 17.

³ Cutezătorii, XVIII, No. 853, 9th February 1984, pp. 1-2.

The awarding of pioneer badges and medals was a way of rewarding students who had distinguished themselves through special activities within the Pioneer Organization, with the aim of stimulating their concern for learning, the acquiring of skills and attachment to work, participation in patriotic activities, protection of nature, beautification of public spaces and behavior in the spirit of pioneer ethics⁴. These pioneering symbols were associated with organizational belonging, strengthening group cohesion and having an important role in emphasizing the feeling of social inclusion, necessary for each student in the transition from childhood to adolescence. Beyond these considerations, however, the distinctions also had the purpose of familiarizing the younger generations with the doctrinal values of socialism, the organizational symbols being connected to the symbols of the policy promoted by the state.

Anne M. Platoff classified the badges and medals in the category of symbols of civil religion, inherent in the culture of modern patriotism, along with flags, hymns, coats of arms and badges⁵. They contributed to strengthening the group's identity, revealing the common beliefs underlying the existing political system. The familiarization of the new generations with the symbols of the civil religion promoted by the state took place from preschool age, through the education received in kindergartens. As children progressed through the educational system and participated in the activities of politically controlled mass organizations, socialist principles were strengthened, as they developed personal ties to ideologically popularized symbols through distinctions of the pioneer kind⁶.

Wearing pioneer badges had a double function: on the one hand, it attested to the status of member of the Pioneer Organization in front of other people, and on the other hand, to confirm the position of a pioneer in the organization⁷. Undoubtedly, the badges also played an important role in clothing, giving the wearer prestige in the universe of socialist childhood. Regarding the manner of wearing badges and medals, it should be noted that there were no regulations or other official instructions elaborated in this regard, there being written in the pioneer publications only the vague specification that they had to be worn on the left side of the chest, above the pocket, when accompanying the uniforms⁸.

The Modern-Contemporary Collection of the Brukenthal National Museum preserves 12 badges and 3 pioneer medals, of which: a badge belonging to the Pioneer Organization (1966-1989 model), four second-degree badges with the title "Sports Pioneer", three first and second degree badges and a badge without rank with the title "Leader in patriotic work", a first-degree badge with the title "Creative Pioneer", a first-degree badge with the title "Sanitary Pioneer", a first-degree badge with the title "Pioneer Inventor", two medals with the title "Leading Pioneer" and a medal with the title "Pioneering Merit". Apart from the badge belonging to the Pioneer Organization, inventoried as an integrated part of a pioneer uniform for girls, the others came into the management of the museum in 1996 through a donation, not being scientifically valued until now. The rank badges and medals were donated by the same person, previously in the position of unit commander. All 15 pieces fall into the category of individual pioneer distinctions and are in a good state of preservation.

Throughout the four decades of the Pioneer Organization's existence, numerous types of pioneer distinctions have been created, out of which the medals have been the highest means of honoring pioneer activity. Typically, the badges were designed according to the areas of interest and performance of the students enrolled in the Pioneer Organization. The badges with various themes, such as health, sports, philatelic, tourism or cultural-artistic topics reflected the passions of the pioneers, contributing not only to defining their identity, but also to the potential choice of a future profession. The badges kept in the museum's collection show few typing or color errors, which will be presented below. In general, most of the errors that occurred in the production of pioneering distinctions are after 1966, representing a consequence of the mass production, by increasing the print runs and the types of badges⁹. Regarding the pioneer degrees of the badges, Radu Tabără considered that the fulfillment of the necessary conditions for receiving them was

⁴ *Luminița*, XXIX, No. 4, 1978, p. 6.

⁵ Platoff, Anne M., *Little Leninists: Symbols and the Political Socialisation of Soviet Children*, in UC Santa Barbara Previously Published Works, 2022, pp. 2-3.

⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 25.

⁷ Radu Tabără, *Evoluția insignei Organizației Pionierilor din România (1949-1989)*, in *Buridava. Studii și Materiale*, IX, Râmnicu Vâlcea, 2011, p. 272.

⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 280.

⁹ Radu Tabără, *Erori de culoare, text și batere la insignele și medaliile Organizației Pionierilor din România (1949-1989)*, in *Studia Universitatis Cibiniensis. Series Historica*, vol. 10, Sibiu, 2013, p. 182.

uneven, there being large differences between the pioneers from the urban area, who could participate in several events and competitions, and those from the rural area, whose activity in the Pioneers' Organization was more restricted¹⁰. This point of view allows the chronological classification of the badges in the collection of the Brukenthal National Museum prior to the years 1983/1984, since then the classification of these types of distinctions on the basis of grades has been abandoned. Only one badge can be dated after 1983, being a badge without rank. Regarding the period of making the pioneer badges, it should be noted that many copies similar to the originals were issued after 1989, as a consequence of the public's interest in the communist period, and thematic parties were even organized in which the participants had to dress in the same way as the pioneers¹¹. Often, the criteria for awarding pioneering distinctions were not respected, with students who managed to get them based on their parents' status or good behavior, while other students used to exchange badges in order to be able to wear a more diversified set of distinctions, although they did not reflect their performance in certain areas¹². The fact that, apart from the badge belonging to the Pioneer Organization, all the other distinctions were donated to the museum in a common lot, demonstrates the veracity of these findings, especially since there are cases of several badges and medals of the same category.

The Pioneer Membership Badge (**Fig.1.**) was awarded to students upon entry into the Pioneer Organization, along with a tie. Undoubtedly, this badge was inspired by the model of the badges intended for children in the USSR, more precisely, by the one that the "little Octoberists" received at the entrance to the organization, which had the shape of a red star, in the middle of which was the face of V.I.Lenin, at the age of childhood, as well as the insignia of the Pioneer Organization, whose shape has varied over time, from the red flag of the revolution to the red star with the face of the founder of Bolshevism. The badge of belonging was worn, like the other pioneer distinctions, on the left side of the chest, above the pocket. Throughout the period of existence of the Romanian Pioneer Organization, three types of membership badges were issued, chronologically classified as follows: 1949-1957, 1957-1966 and 1966-1989.

Initially, the badge was oval in shape and was composed of a half cogwheel, two ears of wheat, three flames and the symbols of world communism: the hammer and sickle. The three flames were important, on the one hand, because they emphasized the connection between the pioneers, UTM-ists and communists, and on the other hand, because they induced the pioneers to the idea that the fire of love for the homeland must burn in their hearts¹³. Anne M. Platoff put forward the idea that this symbol would also be reminiscent of the image of the campfire that gathered around it the crowds of pioneers during the summer holidays, and was also found in all four models of pioneer badges issued in the USSR between 1929 and 1991¹⁴. This symbol remained unchanged until the dissolution of the Pioneer Organization and implicitly, the system of pioneer decorations. On the center, the badge was inscribed with the answer to the pioneers' motto: "ALL FORWARD/TOT ÎNAINTE."

The next badge issued had only one visible change on its surface. On the center, this time it had inscribed the slogan "I AM ALWAYS READY/SUNT GATA ÎNTOTDEAUNA", translated by the permanent preparation of the pioneers to fight for the cause of communism. As in the first issue, the badge had inlaid in the lower register the hammer and sickle, which together with the cogwheel and the ears of wheat had the role of emphasizing the alliance between the working class and the peasantry under the leadership of the party¹⁵.

The model of the badge kept in the collection of the Brukenthal National Museum was issued in the spring of 1966, following the plenary session of the Central Committee of the RCP. The badge is made of plasticized brass and is provided on the reverse with a hairpin. Unlike the previous models, which integrated the colors red and yellow, this one integrated a variation of different colors, in addition, it stood out by replacing the communist symbols with the Romanian tricolor and a book, changes produced under the effect of the independent policy towards the USSR and the attempts to imprint on the Organization of Pioneers specifically national elements. At the lower level, the same cogwheel has been preserved, as an expression of

¹⁰ Radu Tabără, *Catalogul insinelor emise de Organizația Pionierilor și Organizația Șoimii Patriei din România*, ASTRA Museum, Sibiu, 2014, p. 13.

¹¹ Radu Tabără, *Erori de culoare...*, p. 183.

¹² Radu Tabără, *Catalogul insinelor...*, p. 15.

¹³ *Luminița*, I, No. 1, 1965, p. 2.

¹⁴ Anne M. Platoff, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

¹⁵ *Luminița*, I, No. 1, 1965, p. 2.

industrialization and solidarity with the workers engaged in this professional branch, while the ears of wheat symbolized agriculture and the respect of children for the work of the fields, in which they were obliged to participate during the agricultural practice at the end of the school year, and the open book indicated both the desire to learn, and the fact that the Pioneer Organization was intended for students. At the same time, the texts previously written on the membership badge have disappeared permanently. Along with the pioneer tie, the membership badge had to be worn daily by members of the organization.

The "Sports Pioneer" distinction related to the second degree (**Fig.2.**) was awarded to students of grades II-IV who had participated in at least three pioneering cross-country races and in two athletics, long jump and sheep ball throwing competitions, as well as in a competition in the category of sports disciplines registered in the Youth Cup. It could also be awarded to pioneers who knew four dynamic games, who obtained at the end of the school year an average of at least 7 in all subjects and 10 in behavior and who practiced daily refreshment gymnastics¹⁶. The awarding of the distinction began to be practiced in 1977 and continued until 1983, after this date, it was no longer divided according to grades¹⁷. Starting with 1980, the distinction was also offered to those who had managed to stand out through an active participation in the famous "Daciada" sports competition¹⁸.

The triangular shape of the four badges, bordered by the tricolor, suggests the image of a pioneer tie, the three sides of the tie invoking the transgenerational connection between the pioneers, UTC-ists and communists. On the circumference of the upper semicircle is specified the title of the distinction, and in the center, on a white background, the figure of an athlete is stylized, next to which the rank with Roman numerals is inscribed. On the reverse, all the badges are provided with a clasp and have the initials MS (State Mint) incised on the fastening system, indicating the issuer. All badges are made of plasticized brass and have uniform shades of bluish-green, yellow and red.

The "Leader in Patriotic Work" badge for the first grade (**Fig.3.**) was awarded to students in grades V-VIII who participated in patriotic work actions, took part in afforestation plans, participated in planting fruit trees and cleaning ponds and pastures, contributed to the beautification of the public space, recycled paper, metal and glass, collected medicinal plants, helped raise small animals and managed to obtain an average of at least 7 in all subjects and 10 in behavior at the end of the school year¹⁹. Grade II was awarded to students in grades II-IV for similar thematic activities: namely, who participated in the beautification of the image of the class, school and locality to which they belonged, planted flowers and trees, helped raise small animals and managed to obtain an average of at least 7 in all subjects and 10 in behavior²⁰. The badge was accompanied by a diploma. The decision to issue this badge was adopted by the National Council of the Pioneer Organization in 1971, continuing to be awarded until the fall of communism, although since 1983, the ranks have been eliminated²¹. From the point of view of circulation, it was classified as common.

The triangular shape of the four badges preserved in the museum's collection suggests the pioneer tie, as well as the tricolor and the color red. At the top, a flower with five petals and a black bulb is framed with laurel leaves, and in the middle of the badge, the title and degree of the distinction are inscribed. The four badges with this title that the museum holds in the collection have some differences. First of all, there are red differences between MC 1047/7 (**Fig.4.**) – the only one with grade II, and the other three. Secondly, the MC 1047/14 badge (**Fig.5.**) is without rank, which allows it to be classified chronologically after 1983, and has the text printed in a different font than the others.

Last but not least, the MC 1047/5 badge (**Fig.6.**) has a small defect, due to the leakage of plastic from the surface outside the right side of the triangle. All four badges are in a good state of preservation, are made of plasticized brass and are provided on the reverse with a fastening clip, incised with the initials MS.

The "Creative Pioneer" badge for the first grade (**Fig.7.**) was awarded to students in grades V-VIII who carried out at least one sustained activity within literary, fine arts or photographic circles, contributed through their own creations to the embellishment of the image of the class and the school, had managed to rank in the first five places of the fine arts competitions or the literary contest "Young Pencils" and who had

¹⁶ *Luminița*, XXIX, No. 4, 1978, p. 10.

¹⁷ Radu Tabără, *Catalogul insinelor...*, p. 100.

¹⁸ *Cutezătorii*, XIV, No. 685, 13th November 1980, p. 2.

¹⁹ Radu Tabără, *Catalogul insinelor...*, p. 82.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 81.

²¹ *Ibidem*.

participated in fine art or photographic exhibitions organized at the level of the school or locality to which they belonged²². The badge was accompanied by a diploma. Starting with 1982/1984, in the context of the reform of the system of pioneer distinctions, it was also awarded to pioneers who participated with their own creations in the National Festival "Song of Romania"²³.

The front of the badge is rectangular in shape and rounded at two opposite corners. In the upper part is drawn a watercolor palette, crossed by a laurel branch. At the bottom, the degree of distinction is inscribed with Roman numerals, and along the edge, a tricolor stripe is drawn. On the reverse, the badge is provided with a clasp, fastened with a circular application on which the capital letters MS are inscribed. The badge is made of plasticized brass and is in a good state of preservation.

The "Sanitary Pioneer" distinction for the first grade (**Fig.8.**) was awarded to students in grades V-VIII who practiced daily refreshment gymnastics, permanently took care of body hygiene, had clean clothing, supported the activity of the health team of the detachment to which they belonged, had knowledge of the transmission of contagious diseases and knew how to defend themselves against them, they knew the rules for providing first aid, they had participated in the "Skilled Sanitary Workers" competition or they were part of the "Friend of the Red Cross" circle²⁴. This badge began to be awarded in 1977, but in 1983 the degree of distinction was renounced.

The triangular shape, bordered by the tricolor, is reminiscent of the pioneer tie, as in the case of the examples described above. At the top, a sanitary cross is drawn in the middle of a white circle, on the circumference of which are inscribed the title and degree of the distinction. On the reverse, the badge is provided with a clasp. It is made of plasticized brass.

The "Pioneer Inventor" badge for the first grade (**Fig.9.**) was awarded to students of grades VII-VIII who had been working for at least three years in a technical circle, obtained leading places in the county or national phases of the technical creation competitions, participated with their own works in equipping the laboratories, school workshops and small agricultural production cooperatives and which at the end of the school year obtained an average of at least 7 in all subjects and 10 in behavior²⁵. This badge began to be awarded in 1967, but was most likely withdrawn from circulation in 1983, with the appearance of the "Start to the Future" badge, which gradually replaced it. When handed over, it was accompanied by a patent. The obverse of the badge has the shape of a shield on which are represented: the emblem of the Pioneer Organization, the degree in Roman numerals, an ear of wheat, a cogwheel and a spiral with an arrow at the top. On the reverse, the clamping system is composed of a paper clip. The badge is made of plasticized brass.

The "Pioneer Merit" medal (**Fig.10.**) was awarded to students of grades VI-VIII who had obtained the title of leading pioneers at least twice and who had carried out sustained activity within the Pioneer Organization for at least three years²⁶. Initially, the medal was created to be offered to students who had distinguished themselves through their activity in the Pioneers' Organization, at the time of leaving it, but the criterion was soon modified so that the medal could also be awarded to active pioneers²⁷. Over the years, the award criteria were modified, the medal being awarded to the pioneers who had managed to obtain two consecutive years the general average of 10 and the title of "Leading Pioneer", one of the first places at the county or republican phase of some competitions or who had managed to achieve special deeds of heroism through services to the defense of the homeland, saving a human life, preventing serious traffic accidents or discovering criminals²⁸. This medal was accompanied by a diploma. In order for a pioneer to receive this distinction, he had to be nominated at the proposal of the County Councils of the Pioneer Organization, and subsequently, the nomination to be approved by the National Council of the Pioneer Organization.

The medal is composed of a rectangular strip, on which the title of the distinction is inscribed, and a round plaque, divided radially into 14 triangular sections, centrally decorated with the emblem of the Pioneers' Organization, highlighted in relief. On the reverse, the strap is provided with a clip, the fastening system

²² *Luminița*, XXIX, No. 4, 1978, p. 10.

²³ Radu Tabără, *Catalogul insiganelor...*, p. 88.

²⁴ *Luminița*, XXIX, No. 4, 1978, p. 11.

²⁵ Radu Tabără, *Catalogul insiganelor...*, p. 93.

²⁶ *Luminița*, XXIX, No. 4, 1978, p. 9.

²⁷ Radu Tabără, *Catalogul insiganelor...*, p. 68.

²⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 69.

being inscribed with the initials MS. The dimensions of this medal (4.5 x 6.5 cm), larger than other clothing items of the same type, suggested that it represented the highest pioneering distinction. The medal was made of plasticized brass.

The medal with the title "Leading Pioneer" (**Fig.11-12.**) was awarded to pioneers of grades IV-VIII who had previously managed to win three consecutive treasuries and two badges of leaders in patriotic work. This medal could be obtained a maximum of three times and was accompanied by a diploma²⁹. Over time, the criteria for awarding the medal varied, initially it was awarded only to pioneers who managed to obtain grades of 9 and 10 in education and the maximum grade in conduct for three years. Along the way, these criteria have been relaxed, without the prestige of the medal being affected. The proposal for awarding the medal was made by the commander of the pioneer detachment, with the agreement of the unit commander, and it was to be offered during the celebration of the Pioneer Day, which took place on the first Sunday of the summer vacation³⁰. At first, the medal was worn next to the badges, on the left side of the chest, but then the decision was made to wear it on the right, in order to be more visible.

The collection of the Brukenthal National Museum preserves two such medals. The medals are composed of a round strip and plate, being provided centrally with the emblem of the Pioneers' Organization, and on the circumference, with golden rays and laurel branches. The plate and the strap are connected by a small ring. The plaque is inscribed on the back with the following text: "AWARDED WITH THE TITLE OF LEADING PIONEER/DISTINS CU TITLUL PIONIER DE FRUNTE", and the strap is presented in the form of a greenish scarf, on which the title of the distinction is inscribed. On the reverse, the strap is provided with a clasp, this in the case of both badges. The two pieces have some differences in terms of color shades. Medal 1047/9 (**Fig.11.**) has a uniform shade of blue-green on the surface of the strap and laurel scarf at the bottom of the plate. Medal 1047/8 (**Fig.12.**) has, on the other hand, a yellow-green hue unevenly distributed over the entire surface, and on the right side, dark tones of black over yellow and green. The current appearance of the second mentioned medal could be determined by the unevenly applied plasticization on the surface of the strap, on the left side being applied a much thinner layer, noticeable to the touch. From the point of view of distribution, medals of this kind are considered to be some of the most widespread distinctions, achieved in several series and in different years, throughout the period 1966-1989.

In conclusion, for the members of the Pioneers' Organization, badges and medals were forms of reward and stimulation of their activity, their acquisition contributing to strengthening the attachment to the group and to emphasizing the feeling of social inclusion. Framed in the symbols of the civil religion instituted with the Sovietization of Romania, the pioneering distinctions were connected to the socialism promoted at the central level. They expressed both adherence to the Pioneers' Organization and to the doctrinal values of communism, implemented including at the level of the curriculum, reflecting the qualities that the young generation had to assimilate.

Lacking so many aesthetic qualities – through the economy of the elements of production and of the obvious political symbolism; as well as pecuniary qualities – the individual amounts being only a few tens of lei; however, the pioneering badges and medals reveal the patrimonial importance of the relevant objects regarding the socialist daily life and the childhood lived as a whole.

²⁹ *Luminița*, XXIX, No. 4, 1978, p. 9.

³⁰ Radu Tabără, *Catalogul insinelor...*, p. 77.

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****Ghidul Pionierului*, Bucureștii Noi, București, 1985.

****Statutul Organizației Pionierilor din Republica Socialistă România*, Editura Politică, București, 1975.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATION / LISTA ILUSTRĂȚIILOR

Fig.1. Insigna de apartenență la Organizația Pionierilor din România (model 1966-1989); colecția Muzeului Național Brukenthal, 1056/5 MC; Monetăria RSR; material: alamă plastifiată; dimensiuni: 2 x 2,5 cm; greutate: 4,43 grame.

Fig.1. Pioneer Membership Badge (1966-1989 model); Brukenthal National Museum collection, 1056/5 MC; RSR Monetary; material: plasticized brass; dimensions: 2 x 2,5 cm; weight: 4,43 grams.

Fig.2. Insigna „Pionier Sportiv”; colecția Muzeului Național Brukenthal, 1047/1 MC; Monetăria RSR; material: alamă plastifiată; dimensiuni: 3 x 2 cm; greutate: 3,28 grame.

Fig.2. The „Sports Pioneer” Badge; Brukenthal National Museum collection, 1047/1 MC; RSR Monetary; material: plasticized brass; dimensions: 3 x 2 cm; weight: 3,28 grams.

Fig.3-6. Insigna „Fruntaș în Muncă Patriotică”; colecția Muzeului Național Brukenthal, 1047/6 MC; Monetăria RSR; material: alamă plastifiată; dimensiuni: 3 x 2 cm; greutate: 3,49 grame.

Fig.3-6. The „Leader in Patriotic Work” Badges; Brukenthal National Museum collection, 1047/6 MC, 1047/7 MC, 1047/14 MC, 1047/5 MC; RSR Monetary; material: plasticized brass; dimensions: 3 x 2 cm; weight: 3,49 grams.

Fig.7. Insigna „Pionier Creator”; colecția Muzeului Național Brukenthal, 1047/11 MC; Monetăria RSR; material: alamă plastifiată; dimensiuni: 1,5 x 2,2 cm; greutate: 3,80 grame.

Fig.7. The „Creative Pioneer” Badge; Brukenthal National Museum collection, 1047/11 MC; RSR Monetary; material: plasticized brass; dimensions: 1,5 x 2,2 cm; weight: 3,80 grams.

Fig.8. Insigna „Pionier Sanitar”; colecția Muzeului Național Brukenthal, 1047/12 MC; Monetăria RSR; material: alamă plastifiată; dimensiuni: 3 x 2 cm; greutate: 3,17 grame.

Fig.8. The „Sanitary Pioneer” Badge; Brukenthal National Museum collection, 1047/12 MC; RSR Monetary; material: plasticized brass; dimensions: 3 x 2 cm; weight: 3,17 grams.

Fig.9. Insigna „Pionier Inventator”; colecția Muzeul Național Brukenthal, 1047/13 MC; Monetăria RSR; material: alamă plastifiată; dimensiuni: 1,3 x 2 cm; greutate: 3,00 grame.

Fig.9. The Pioneer Inventor Badge; Brukenthal National Museum collection, 1047/13 MC; RSR Monetary; material: plasticized brass; dimensions: 1,3 x 2 cm; weight: 3,00 grams.

Fig.10. Medalie „Meritul Pionieresc”; colecția Muzeului Național Brukenthal, 1047/10 MC; Monetăria RSR; material: alamă plastifiată; dimensiuni: 4,5 x 6,5 cm; greutate: 31,21 grame.

Fig.10. The PionEER Merit Medal; Brukenthal National Museum collection, 1047/10 MC; RSR Monetary; material: plasticized brass; dimensions: 4,5 x 6,5 cm; weight: 31,21 grams.

Fig.11-12. Medalie „Pionier de Frunte”; colecția Muzeului Național Brukenthal, 1047/9 MC, 1047/8 MC; Monetăria RSR; material: alamă plastifiată; dimensiuni: 3 x 4 cm; greutate: 9,78 grame.

Fig.11-12. The Medal with the title Leading Pioneer; Brukenthal National Museum collection, 1047/9 MC, 1047/8 MC; RSR Monetary; material: plasticized brass; dimensions: 3 x 4 cm; weight: 9,78 grams.



Fig.1.



Fig.2.



Fig.3.



Fig.4.



Fig.5.



Fig.6.



Fig.7.



Fig.8.



Fig.9.



Fig.10.



Fig.11.



Fig.12.

HISTORY AS *GESUNKENES KULTURGUT*, NEW FOLKLORE, AND FAIRY TALE

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Summary: *The article explores the coexistence of written and oral cultures throughout history. Written culture, relies on writing for its proper functioning, while oral culture, prevalent in rural societies, transforms the past into myths. These two cultures coexisted for millennia. Their coexistence has been fraught with difficulties and conflicts, as they are fundamentally incompatible. The author argues that phenomena such as the rise of "Dacomania" in post-1990 Romania, along with the work of people like Daniel Roxin, are products of an oral mentality.*

Keywords: *Scientific argument, Gesunkenes Kulturgut, pseudo-history, cartography, Dacia.*

Rezumat: *Culturile scrise au coexistat cu cele orale de-a lungul istoriei. Cultura scrisă, care a apărut acum 5.000 de ani, se bazează pe scris pentru buna sa funcționare, în timp ce cultura orală transformă trecutul în mituri. Relația dintre aceste două culturi a fost marcată de dificultăți și conflicte, deoarece sunt fundamental incompatibile. Autorul explică fenomene precum apariția "Dacomaniei" în România post-1990, împreună cu lucrările unor autori precum Daniel Roxin, sunt produse ale unei mentalități orale.*

Cuvinte-cheie: *Argumentare științifică, Gesunkenes Kulturgut, pseudo-istorie, cartografie, Dacia*

The coexistence of oral and written cultures.

For millennia, up to the present day, written, urban culture with chronological memory has coexisted with oral, rural culture, where the past is quickly transformed into story, fairy tale, legend, or myth. Writing emerged five thousand years ago. We refer to written culture as one in which writing is indispensable for its proper functioning (Sumer, Akkad, Assyria, etc.). We refer to oral culture as one that may know writing, but it remains marginal and has no essential function: medieval Ethiopia, Muslim countries in sub-Saharan Africa, medieval Moldova, and Wallachia.

The use of the written text in oral cultures.

This coexistence is difficult, always marked by crises and conflicts. The two cultures are not truly compatible. Oral cultures use writing for magic purposes, *tabellae defixionum* (curse tablets) amulets, fortune telling. In the 18th and 19th centuries, Romanian peasants in Transylvania asked orthodox priests to "open the book" *Păscălii* (Paschal tables, used also as astrological books) – that is, to tell fortune.

(See Valer Simion Cosma, *Molitve, cetanii, afurisenii*, PhD thesis, 2013; Ion Agîrbiceanu, *Păscălierul*).

Hassidic Jews used and still use books for fortune-telling (the Chabad hassidim use *Igeret Kodesh* etc.).

The first newspapers in democratic Romania focused on paranormal phenomena and sensationalistic stories - the hen that gave birth to live chicks. The "paranormal" is an oral culture phenomenon, even though it appears in print.

Oral cultures take texts from written cultures and transform them into magic items or fairy tales.

We will attempt to argue that phenomena like the Dacomania in Romania after 1990, authors like Daniel Roxin and their audience arise from an oral mentality for which the creation of a beautiful legend or a national myth is paramount. For oral cultures, archaeological and historical evidence or scientific arguments are entirely irrelevant science creates knowledge, which is completely distinct from myth, national mythology, nationalistic mythology and so on.

This pseudo-history (which we might rather call popular history, folkloric history, national mythology) will not disappear because it serves a different function than scientific history. Scientific history is knowledge.

Folkloric history serves the function of a fairy tale. Adults, too, need fairy tales—about others (Atlantis, paleo-astronauts) or about their own people (the Dacians, Gauls for the French). Oral culture lives alongside written culture. Written culture cannot destroy oral culture. Oral culture borrows subjects from the written culture (e.g., the "Dacians"), reworking them through its own symbolic systems and transforming them into legend. (Mihaela Grancea, *Dacismul și avatururile discursului istoriografic postcomunist*, in Romanian Political Science Review, vol. VII, nr. 1, 2007).

The relationship between oral culture and its people, and written culture and its people, is neurotic. Since people of oral cultures do not understand how written culture functions, they describe what they do not understand as black boxes: "The secret archives of the Vatican," "documents that the Hungarians would love to have so they can hide them," etc.

In the following, we will discuss an article about how the history of Romanians is transformed into folklore and fairy tales, or about the perception of written culture in an oral, illiterate, pre-written culture. This is the culture of the uncultivated strata of society, for whom the written word still serves as a mere fetish with magical powers.

We will use an example below, a Dacopath article, rooted in oral culture, which incorporates elements of written culture that it does not understand and transforms them into a pure fetish, much like how the Papuans, upon seeing airplanes, created cargo cults—fetishizing airplanes whose purpose they could not comprehend. All texts about the Dacians from such authors should be understood as a phenomenon of popular oral culture. Although written, they belong to a different symbolic universe, a magical one, filled with fairy tales.

Dacomania, preoccupations with the paranormal, alternative medicine, and similar subjects, are ways in which illiterate oral culture absorbs notions from written culture and transforms them into myth.

I will illustrate below with an article by Daniel Roxin about a 16th-century map. Roxin's article is from 2017. I read it and dismissed it long ago, but I received it again in August 2024, as it continues to circulate through e-mail.

Roxin's article follows in its entirety, followed by my commentary, analyzing it paragraph by paragraph, like examining histopathological slides.

"DACIA – The Unknown Maps of the Austro-Hungarian Empire"

By Daniel Roxin 22/07/2017

An exceptional treasure, consisting of over 30 original maps and other documents of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, all centuries old, is currently in the possession of a Romanian. Their value is enormous, not only financially (likely tens of millions of euros) but especially historically, as they could cause significant headaches for Hungarian revisionists. For obvious reasons, I will not disclose the name of the owner of this treasure, as I am currently only authorized to present them to the public, so people know they exist in their original form and are of great importance to national history. What I can tell you, however, is that these documents have been inherited through a lineage that traces back to the ruling families of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. This man has received offers from both the Budapest government and representatives of other interests, but despite offers totaling tens of millions of euros to sell them abroad, his patriotism has made him refuse to allow these treasures to leave Romania. Moreover, and perhaps surprisingly to many, his former wife, of Hungarian ethnicity, left him with the dying wish that these maps should not leave the country, that they must be used in Romania's interest, and that even Hungary **MUST NOT** have them because no one would hear of them again after their acquisition!

The authenticity of these maps has been confirmed by both accredited experts from Romania's Ministry of Culture and an expert from the British Royal House. All the documents bear the noble seal of Count Peter Frangepan, the treasurer of a great royal dignitary, and their value is that of a **TREASURE** of National Heritage. Despite this, as expected (!!!), the Romanian state, which for 27 years has destroyed and sold off Romania, did not wish to acquire them in the national interest, even though the owner's offer was... tens of times lower than what had been offered from abroad. As a result, I have taken on the responsibility of gradually bringing them to the public's attention and, in parallel, motivating political representatives to purchase them for the benefit of Romania's history. For this article, I have chosen an exceptional map: the

map of Europe during the time of Charlemagne, King of the Franks (747 – 814 AD), reproduced from a map by Ortelius around 1600 by the editor Ioannes Iansonius in Amsterdam. It is titled *Germania Veteris* and has the power to overturn the entire philosophy of Hungarian revisionism, as the map clearly shows that on the territory of present-day Romania, and even part of present-day Hungary, before the arrival of the Hungarians in Europe in the 9th century, the DACIANS lived here!!!

Moreover, Charlemagne, after a military incursion into this area, speaks in the *Annals of the Kings of the Franks* about the DACIANS who lived on both sides of the Tisza River (a river in present-day Hungary). Alongside these historical sources, the map we present to you further confirms this reality.

So, put these two documents together, people: the *Annals of the Kings of the Franks*, which speak of the presence of Dacians in the 9th century on the territory of today's Hungary, and an original medieval map that presents the ethnic and military reality of that time, just before the arrival of the Hungarians, confirming the *Annals of the Kings of the Franks*. If you do that, you will understand how important it is to prove the Dacian continuity in Transylvania and how irresponsible and ignorant (or traitorous!) those are who claim that the Geto-Dacians disappeared from history and that today's Romanians have no connection to them... Also, you will understand how significant the interests are to prevent this map from ever reaching a museum in Romania!

In the next issues of *ISTORIE INEDITĂ* magazine (you can purchase the first issue here: [link]), I will present other sensitive maps of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, with heritage value for us. Stay tuned to rediscover history together!

Daniel Roxin

So far, this is Daniel Roxin's article.

Now, let us comment on the above text, paragraph by paragraph:

"DACIA – The Unknown Maps of the Austro-Hungarian Empire"

Here we are talking about a map created by Abraham Ortelius from the Netherlands, a map of Germany from the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* atlas, printed in Antwerp. It has absolutely nothing to do with the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

And it is not an "unknown" map. The atlas *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* was printed in 1570 and had 31 (thirty-one) editions by 1612, and was later reprinted by Joan and Willem Blaeu multiple times. The atlas, renamed *Atlas Maior*, was reprinted in several languages, until 1662. *Parergon* (the supplement to *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, where this map appears) was first published as a supplement in 1579, reprinted separately in 1595 and 1624, and reprinted multiple times until 1612, then reprinted again in 1624.

As of 2024, there are editions from 1587, 1590, 1595, 1601, 1603, 1618, 1630, 1634, 1644, and 1645, some in libraries, others available for sale, and almost all accessible online.

"An exceptional treasure, consisting of over 30 original maps and other documents of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, all centuries old, is currently in the possession of a Romanian. Their value is enormous, not only financially (likely tens of millions of euros) but especially historically, as they could cause significant headaches for Hungarian revisionists."

The only example Roxin gives from this map collection is *Germaniae veteris typus*, from around 1600, engraved by Ioannes Iansonius. The map is available for sale online, with prices ranging from 350 to 600 euros. Thirty such maps would cost between 10,000 and 18,000 euros. "30 original maps" doesn't mean much – I have shown that this map has gone through dozens of editions. "Tens of millions of euros" could mean "twenty million euros." The maps, worth at most 18 thousand euros, are worth a thousand times less than the illiterate Roxin imagines.

"For obvious reasons, I will not disclose the name of the owner of this treasure, as I am currently only authorized to present them to the public, so people know they exist in their original form and are of great importance to national history."

In 1948, with the proclamation of the People's Republic of Romania, around two hundred noble Hungarian families left Romania. Their mansions were looted of furniture, paintings, and books. Atlases and maps were

also stolen, of course. This is the only reason someone would hide that they own a collection of old maps. "For obvious reasons," someone who has old maps hides their identity – unless it's the usual paranoia of illiterate people who possess a rare object but don't know exactly what it is or how to evaluate it. These maps were repeatedly re-engraved and republished in the 16th and 17th centuries, and they can be found in private collections, museums, libraries, and online. They are of no importance because they have been widely known for centuries, and in any case, they represent nothing new: *Germaniae veteris typus* is compiled from ancient historians and geographers – Tacitus, Ptolemy, Pliny, Herodotus, the Peutinger Table. Tacitus, Ptolemy, Pliny, Dio Cassius, and Herodotus are mentioned on the map.

"What I can tell you, however, is that these documents have been inherited through a lineage that traces back to the ruling families of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and that this man has received offers from both the Budapest government and representatives of other interests, but despite offers totaling tens of millions of euros to sell them abroad, his patriotism has made him refuse to allow these treasures to leave Romania."

A legend, a sentimental story. "Representatives of other interests" – yet another paranoid touch. "Moreover, surprisingly to many, his former wife, of Hungarian ethnicity, left him with the dying wish that these maps should not leave the country, that they must be used in Romania's interest, and that even Hungary MUST NOT have them because no one would ever hear of them again after their acquisition!"

As I mentioned: all these maps have been republished, commented on, and are available online. There are thousands of maps online on David Rumsey's website, <https://www.davidrumsey.com/>

The idea that Hungary would want to buy them and then hide them is laughable and proves the paranoia mixed with illiteracy – or, in more charitable terms, it is the sign of an oral culture. This idea ("Hungary must not have them [the maps] because no one will hear of them again after acquisition!") is typical for oral cultures, which do not understand that printed material exists in multiple copies, that information is available from multiple sources, and so on. *Germaniae veteris typus* exists in dozens of printed editions and also exists online, in dozens of versions. And is based on Roman and Greek historians, whose works exist in multitudinous editions and translations.

"The authenticity of these maps has been confirmed by accredited experts from the Romanian Ministry of Culture, as well as by an expert from the British Royal House. All the documents bear the noble seal of Count Peter Frangepan, the treasurer of a great royal dignitary, and their value is that of a TREASURE of National Heritage."

There are several Peter Frankopan or Frangepan figures, and Roxin should have told us which one he was referring to. Authenticating a printed map is only useful when someone wants to sell it, not when they are assessing the data on it. Illiterate people (the members of a primarily oral culture) do not understand how authenticity and authentication operate.

"Despite this, as expected (!!!), the Romanian state, which for 27 years has destroyed and sold off Romania, did not wish to acquire them in the national interest, even though the owner's offer was... tens of times lower than what had been offered from abroad."

Both the evanescent owner and Daniel Roxin were too uneducated to search for the maps online and find the prices at which they are available. No museum or library wants to buy them because most large museums and libraries already own these maps.

"As a result, I have taken on the responsibility of gradually bringing them to the public's attention and, in parallel, motivating political representatives to purchase them for the benefit of Romania's history."

*For this article, I chose an exceptional map: the map of Europe during the time of Charlemagne, King of the Franks (747–814 AD), reproduced from a map by Ortelius around 1600 by the editor Ioannes Iansonius in Amsterdam. It is titled *Germania Veteris* and has the power to overturn the entire philosophy of Hungarian revisionism because, as clearly shown on it, the map demonstrates that in the territory of present-day Romania, and also part of today's Hungary, before the arrival of the Hungarians in Europe in the 9th century, DACIANS lived here!!!*

The map's name is *Germaniae veteris typus*, depicting ancient Germany. (Roxin's phrase, "It is called *Germania veteris*" only proves he doesn't know Latin, with all the resulting consequences). In the bottom left corner of the map it reads:

"Locorum vocabula circa Caroli Magni tempora primum nata, inter vetusta non numero, ea itaque, nec in ipsa tabula neque hic seorsum nominare visum fuit."

"The toponyms that appeared during the time of Charlemagne are not included among the ancient ones, and thus I have not mentioned them either on the map or in this list." The map refers only to antiquity and does not include the toponyms after 700 AD. The illiterate Roxin saw Charlemagne's name and deduced that the map represented Europe at that time. But the latest geographer mentioned on the map is Dio Cassius, from the 3rd century.

The map is not exceptional in any way. It appeared in dozens of editions, some are found in public libraries, some are for sale, and others scanned online.

Moreover, Charlemagne, after a military incursion into this area, speaks in the Annals of the Kings of the Franks about DACIANS who lived on both sides of the Tisza River (a river in present-day Hungary). Alongside the historical sources, the map we present confirms this reality.

The *Annals of the Kings of the Franks*... probably refer to the *Annales regni francorum* or *Annales Laurissenses maiores*, 741-829. There is a single mention of Dacia in these annals (year 824, November): "*Caeterum legatos Abodritorum, qui vulgo Praedenecenti vocantur et contermini Bulgaris Daciam Danubio adiacentem incolunt, qui et ipsi adventare nuntiabantur; ilico venire permisit*" = (Louis the Pious) allowed the envoys of the Slavic Obodrites (also known as Praedenecenti, who inhabit Dacia along the Danube, neighbors of the Bulgarians) to come, as they had announced their arrival. Anyway, Roxin neither provides the quote nor references any chapter or page. His references are haphazard. He has no idea what he is talking about.

"So, put together, good people, the value of these two documents: the Annals of the Kings of the Franks, which speak of the presence of the Dacians in the 9th century on the territory of present-day Hungary, and an original medieval map that presents the ethnic and military reality of that time, just before the arrival of the Hungarians, confirming the Annals of the Kings of the Franks."

The Dacians completely disappear from history after 250 AD. A mention of the Carpodacians in Zosimus, in the year 381, is likely an anachronism (Byzantine authors often call the Franks – Gauls, the Hungarians – Paeonians, the Goths or Pechenegs – Scythians, after the peoples who inhabited those areas in antiquity). Even assuming that Carpodacians existed after 381, they disappear from sources after that.

The above passage and the entire article, is full of untruths.

The *Annals of the Kings of the Franks* mention Dacia, but inhabited by Slavic Obodrites, and not on the territory of Hungary, but somewhere "along the Danube."

The map is not an "original medieval map" but a Renaissance map of ancient Germany, drafted based on ancient sources.

"If you do this, (connect the data on the map with the alleged data in the Annals, our note) you will understand how important it is to prove Dacian continuity in Transylvania and how irresponsible and ignorant (or traitorous!) those who claim that the Geto-Dacians disappeared from history and that today's Romanians have no connection to them are... You will also understand how significant the interests are to prevent this map from ever reaching a museum in Romania!"

Illiteracy is multifarious. There is the standard illiteracy, the incapacity of a person to write or read; and there is the cultural illiteracy, the incapacity of a person belonging to an oral culture to interpret written data as historical data. The article by Daniel Roxin has two *Leitmotive*: the first, the printed text as secret and inaccessible and unique item: the map is exceptional and worth millions of euros, the owner is unknown, the map comes from the collection of a noble. The Hungarians would certainly buy it and hide it. The second *Leitmotiv* is that the map proves the existence of Dacians in Dacia during the eighth century, during the reign of Charlemagne.

The map (*Germaniae veteris typus*) represents the settlement of Germanic tribes from the 1st-2nd century. All historical and archaeological data are publicly available. No one hides any kind of data.

The oral culture transforms any written document into a unique treasure, and any research is an Indiana Jones and the Temple of Doom-type of quest. The map of Germania in Antiquity is the mystical stone, coveted by archenemies, who would like to have it and to hide it forever. In this oral culture, any

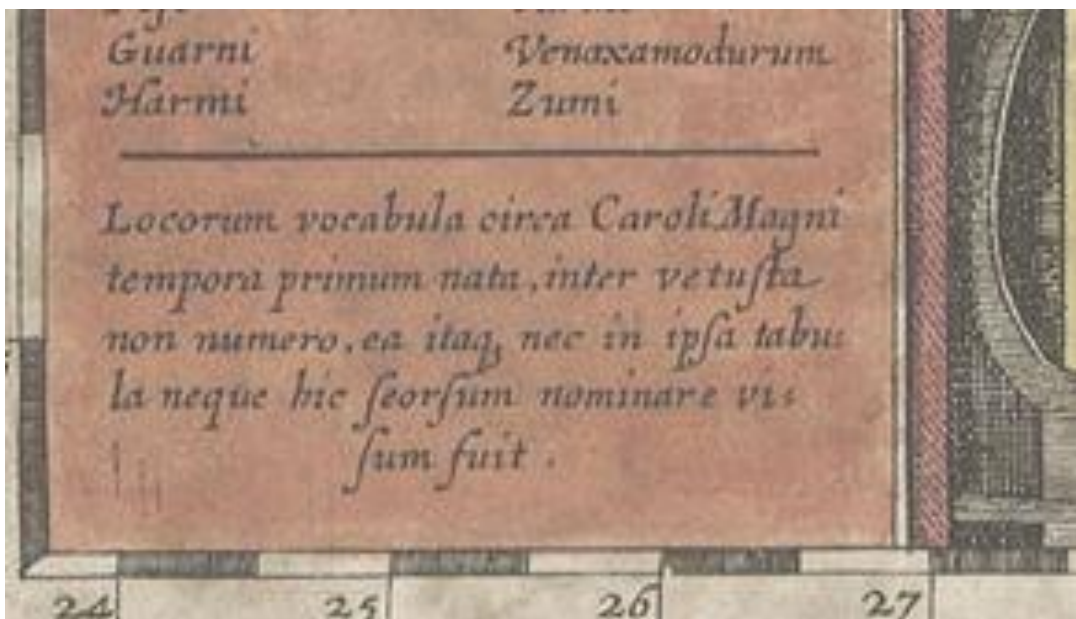
written document becomes the subject of a quest, coveted by two camps. The story then follows the standard rules of narratology.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS / LISTA ILUSTRĂȚILOR

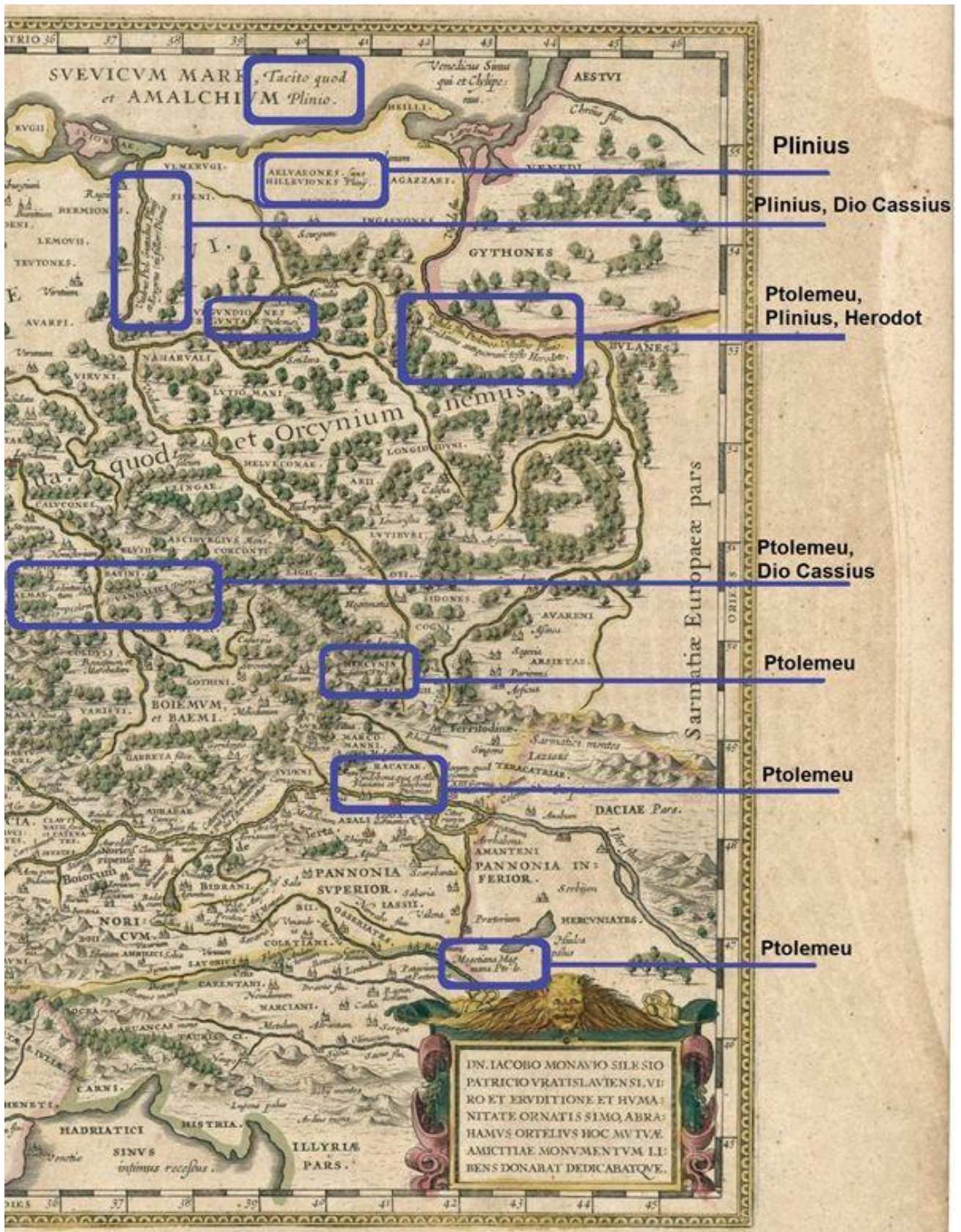
- Map 1. Germaniae veteris typus
Harta 1 Germaniae veteris typus
- Map 2. Same map, text from the left down corner, cropped
Harta 2. Aceeași hartă, textul din colțul din stânga jos tăiat
- Map 3. Same map, right side, with the antique sources indicated by Ortelius on the map.
Harta 3. Aceeași hartă, partea dreaptă cu sursele antice indicate de Ortelius pe hartă.



Harta 01



Harta 02



Harta 03

**BOOK REVIEW: CRISTIAN MANOLACHI, “REVOLVERUL ARHANGHELULUI. MIȘCAREA LEGIONARĂ ȘI MISTICA ASASINATULUI POLITIC” [“THE ARCHANGEL’S REVOLVER. THE LEGIONARY MOVEMENT AND THE MYSTICISM OF POLITICAL ASSASSINATION”]
BUCUREȘTI: HUMANITAS, 2023, 271 pages**

Cristian Manolachi (b. 1987) is a Romanian historian, researcher, and writer with expertise in his field. He has studied and published works on the history and avatars of political violence in interwar Romanian society and is a graduate of the Faculty of History and Philosophy at Babeș-Bolyai University in Cluj-Napoca.

Manolachi's areas of interest span the spectrum of historical anthropology, collective mentalities, social imaginaries, and political mythologies. He focused his doctoral thesis on the issue of far-right movements in interwar Romanian society, using the Legionary Movement as a case study. During his postdoctoral research, he investigated major corruption cases in Romania, adopting a long-term cultural approach, covering the 19th to the 21st centuries, to analyze the causes, implications, and consequences of this phenomenon. He has also actively engaged in public life by popularizing history and his subjects of interest through radio and TV shows, public lectures, round tables, and as coordinator of the Urban Culture Center in Cluj-Napoca.

Manolachi's book “Revolverul Arhanghelului. Mișcarea legionară și mistica asasinatului politic” was published by Humanitas in Bucharest in 2023. It is one of the most recent examinations of the relationship between the far-right, under the auspices of the Legionary Movement, and the interwar Romanian state, marked by the aftermath of the war and the challenge of standardizing the legislative and institutional framework across the new provinces. Thus, the work brings to the forefront an important topic for the last hundred years of Romanian history: the issue of far-right extremist movements. The book explores the Legionary Movement, with particular attention to the role of violence and political assassination in the ideology and practice of this group. In other words, the author analyzes both the shaping and the application of the defining mechanisms of far-right violence, as well as the mental backdrop that allowed these actions to infiltrate and, in the most severe cases, lead to political assassinations. The metamorphosis of violence into a political tool, justified by the mystique of martyrdom and national salvation, profoundly influenced interwar Romanian politics and society.

In his approach, the author chose to focus on this period because it was the product of considerable and undeniable political and national reverberations. In Manolachi's analysis, the central focus is not the narration of events, but the explanation of the mechanisms that generated, encouraged, and legitimized Legionary political violence in Romanian society. The unleashing of atrocities in the post-World War I period involved various types of individuals from different social backgrounds and historical regions. The actions and participating groups can be outlined around antitheses such as killers and killed, suppressors and suppressed, illicit and licit, criminals and incriminated. Even the formation of the Legion can be viewed in these terms, as it anachronistically blends elements of classical fascism with the values of radical Christianity, emphasizing various myths and political mythologies such as the “funeral wedding,” the “New Man” and others.

The rigor with which the author has selected his sources and structured his analysis makes this work a true benchmark in the field. To support his argument, Cristian Manolachi uses a wide range of primary sources, including archival documents from the County Service of the National Archives in Cluj, particularly from the Police and Gendarmerie Inspectorates, local or national articles from the press of the time, Legionary and official propaganda brochures, as well as memoirs of the protagonists or other notable figures of the time. What is interesting and sets this work apart from most others in the field is the author's use of filmed footage of political gatherings from that period, taken from various documentaries, and the inclusion of oral testimonies from aggressors or victims involved in acts of violence, found in collections of interviews, newspapers, anthologies, or other types of sources. Regarding secondary sources, the historian draws on works related to the interwar period published in Romania and global historiography.

The historian presents the actors antagonistically. The book's theoretical approach is interdisciplinary, subordinated to the analysis, description, comparison, and interpretation of the symbolism. Although at times it seems to emphasize one component over another, the author did not aim to produce a classic historiographical essay that merely lists events, dates, and characters.

The volume opens with an introduction presenting the subject, the research objective, and the methodological approach used. Structured across 22 chapters of varying lengths of about ten pages each, the book reconstructs some of the main episodes and directions adopted by the Legionary Movement's sympathizers. The chronological presentation of events, the fluency of the text, and the language accuracy lead the reader into the evolution of the Legionary Movement from its early symptoms to its rise, institutionalization, and eventual decline and prohibition.

Throughout 271 pages, the work fulfills the premises and goals set by the historian. The author presents this "tumultuous" interwar period under the auspices of Legionary actions by blending public and private life, the "birth" of real or imaginary adversaries, and the political controversies that led to the amplification of chaos and terror.

The work is presented as a synthesis that captures the third to fifth decades of the 20th century, outlining the social, cultural, political, and historical context of a turbulent period in Romania's history. The original contribution of this work lies in the detailed and nuanced analysis of the role of political assassination within the Legionary Movement, highlighting how violence was not only a means of action but also a central element of Legionary ideology and mysticism.

Compared to other works on the Legionary Movement, Manolachi offers an innovative perspective on how violence was sanctified and integrated into the political culture of the Legionaries, which has not been explored in depth by previous studies. In this sense, the book changes the local historiographical landscape by emphasizing the interaction between mysticism, ideology, and violent political practices, thus providing a more complex understanding of the Legionary phenomenon. Regarding the connection to the broader historiographical dialogue, the author engages in a relevant discussion with similar works in the history of fascism and far-right extremism in Europe, integrating comparative perspectives and reflecting on external influences on the Legionary Movement. Manolachi succeeds in bringing into the conversation the results of other relevant research, thus contributing to a better understanding of the Legionary phenomenon in the broader context of European extremism.

The author's discourse benefits from academic accuracy and clarity, making the information easily understandable for the reader. The combination of a well-documented structure with its subtleties and, from a certain point of view, a crime novel-style narrative can attract a much wider audience, making the volume more appealing to readers. Moreover, the clarity of the arguments is supported by a logical organization of the chapters and a fluid transition between ideas, allowing the reader to easily follow the narrative thread and understand the complexity of the subject. Orthographic and grammatical accuracy is exemplary, with no notable errors, reflecting keen attention to detail and professional editing. Due to these characteristics, the book not only informs, but also engages the reader in deep reflection on the discussed themes.

This work represents a unique editorial release, relevant both for Romanian and universal historiography. The target audience of this book is varied. Primarily, it is aimed at academics and researchers in history and political science, offering a valuable contribution to the study of political extremism. Additionally, history or political science students may find this work a useful and well-founded resource for understanding extremist movements in interwar Romania. For foreign researchers, lacking extensive knowledge of far-right movements in Romania, the volume can serve as a comparative approach. As for history enthusiasts interested in the interwar period and the rise of nationalist movements, they will find this volume a captivating and informative read. It will provide a deeper understanding of the historical context and social dynamics that led to the rise and consolidation of the Iron Guard.

Moreover, the volume has the merit of making significant methodological and source-based contributions, considering the post-communist access to archival documents, photographic sources, and oral history interviews. Therefore, "Revolverul Arhanghelului. Mișcarea legionară și mistica asasinatului politic" stands out among books that can be read by both the academic community and the general public.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA	<i>Acta Adriatica.</i>
ActaAH	<i>Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i> , Budapest.
ActaMN	<i>Acta Musei Napocensis</i> , Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei, Cluj-Napoca.
ActaMP	<i>Acta Musei Porolissensis</i> , Zalău.
ActaSic	<i>ActaSiculica</i> , Sfântu-Gheorghe
ActaTS	<i>Acta Terrae Septemcastrensis</i> , Universitatea „Lucian Blaga” din Sibiu.
AIIAC	<i>Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie Cluj</i>
AM	<i>Arheologia Medievală</i>
Angustia	<i>Angustia</i> , Muzeul Carpaților Răsăriteni, Sfântu Gheorghe.
AnB(SN)	<i>Analele Banatului</i> , Serie nouă, Timișoara.
Annales UA	<i>Annales Universitatis Apulensis.</i>
Apulum	<i>Apulum. Acta Musei Apulensis</i> , Muzeul Național al Unirii, Alba Iulia.
Archaeo-Mal	<i>The Archaeo-Malacology Grup Newsletter</i> , Wallingford, U.K.
Archeologické Rozhledy	<i>Archeologické Rozhledy</i> , Praga.
ArchErt	<i>Archaeologiai Értésítő</i> , Budapest.
Arheologia	<i>Arheologia</i> , Sofia.
AȘU	<i>Analele Științifice ale Universității „Al. I. Cuza”</i> , Iași.
ATS	<i>Acta Terrae Septemcastrensis</i> , Sibiu.
AUVT	<i>Annales d’Université Valahia</i> , Târgoviște.
AVSL	<i>Archiv des Verains für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde, Neue Folge, Hermannstadt/Sibiu</i>
BAM	<i>Brvkenthal Acta Musei</i> , Muzeul Național Brukenenthal, Sibiu.
Banatica	<i>Banatica</i> , Muzeul Banatului Montan, Reșița
BAR	<i>British Archaeological Reports. International Series</i> , Oxford.
BEN	<i>Bibliotheca Ephemeris Napocensis, Institutul de Arheologie și Istoria Artei, Academia Română</i> , Cluj-Napoca
BB	<i>Bibliotheca Brukenthal</i> , Muzeul Național Brukenenthal, Sibiu.
BCMI	<i>Buletinul Comisiei Monumentelor Istorice, București</i>
BCSS	<i>Buletinul Cercurilor Științifice Studențești. Arheologie – Istorie – Muzeologie</i> , Alba Iulia.
BHAB	<i>Bibliotheca Historica et Archaeologica Banatica</i> , Muzeul Național al Banatului, Timișoara
BMA	<i>Bibliotheca Musei Apulensis</i> , Muzeul Național al Unirii, Alba Iulia.
BMN	<i>Bibliotheca Musei Napocensis</i> , Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei, Cluj-Napoca
BMN.CP	<i>Biblioteca Muzeului Național. Seria Cercetări Pluridisciplinare, Muzeul Național de Istorie a României</i> , București
BS	<i>Biblioteca Septemcastrensis</i> , Universitatea „Lucian Blaga” din Sibiu
BSNR	<i>Buletinul Societății Numismatice Române</i>
CCA	<i>Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice</i> , București.
CCDJ	<i>Cultură și Civilizație la Dunărea de Jos</i> , Muzeul Dunării de Jos, Călărași
Cercetări Istorice	<i>Cercetări Istorice (Serie Nouă)</i> , Iași.
CetDacTrans	<i>Cetăți dacice din Sudul Transilvaniei</i> , București.
CN	<i>Cercetări Numismatice</i>
ComArchHung	<i>Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungaricae.</i>
Corviniana	<i>Corviniana. Acta Musei Corvinensis</i> , Hunedoara.
Crisia	<i>Crisia</i> , Tara Crisurilor Museum, Oradea.
Dacia	<i>Dacia. Revue d’archéologie et d’histoire ancienne</i> , Nouvelle Série, Bucharest.

DocPrae	<i>Documenta Praeistorica</i> , Ljubljana.
EJA	<i>European Journal of Archeology</i> , Oxford.
FolArch	<i>Folia Archaeologica</i> , Budapest.
ForVL	<i>Forschungen zur Volks- und Landeskunde</i> , Institutul de Cercetări Socio-Umane, Sibiu
Gumowski	Marian Gumowski, <i>Handbuch der polnischen Numismatik</i> , Graz, 1960.
HERA	<i>Human and Ecological Risk Assessment</i> .
Huszár	Lajos Huszár, <i>Münzkatalog Ungarn: von 1000 bis heute</i> , München, 1979.
Izvestia	<i>Izvestija na Narodnija Muzej Varna</i> .
JAS	<i>Journal of Archeological Sciences</i> , Amsterdam.
JSR	<i>Journal of Sedimentary Research</i> , Tulsa, U.S.A.
MCA	<i>Materiale și cercetări arheologice</i> , București.
MBR	G. Buzdugan, O. Luchian, C. C. Oprescu, <i>Monede și bancnote românești</i> , București, 1977.
MemAntiq	<i>Memoria Antiquitatis. Acta Musei Petrodavensis</i> , Piatra Neamț.
MNJ	<i>Macedonian Numismatic Journal</i>
MonArch	<i>Monumenta Archaeologica</i> , Los Angeles, U.S.A.
PA	<i>Preistoria Alpina</i> , Trento.
PaläontZ	<i>Paläontologische Zeitschrift</i> , Berlin.
PB	Patrimonium Banaticum, Direcția pentru cultură a județului Timiș, Timișoara
PBF	<i>Prähistorische Bronzefunde</i> , München.
PMJH	<i>Publicațiile Muzeului Județean Hunedoara-Deva</i> , Deva
Pontica	<i>Pontica</i> , Constanța.
PZ	<i>Praehistorische Zeitschrift</i> , Berlin.
RA	<i>Revista de Arheologie</i> , București.
RB	<i>Revista Bistriței</i> , Bistrița.
Rengjeo	Ivan Rengjeo, <i>Corpus der mittelalterlichen Münzen von Kroatien, Slavonien, Dalmatien und Bosnien</i> , Graz, 1959.
RIC	Harold Mattingly, Edward A. Sydenham, <i>The Roman Imperial Coinage</i> , III, London, 1930.
RMMMIA	<i>Revista muzeelor și monumentelor. Monumente istorice și de artă</i> , București.
SAA	<i>Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica</i> , Universitatea „Al.I. Cuza”, Iași
Sargetia	<i>Sargetia. Acta Musei Devensis, Muzeul Civilizației Dacice și Romane</i> , Deva
SCIV(A)	<i>Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche (și Arheologie)</i> , București.
SCN	<i>Studii și Cercetări de Numismatică</i>
ScriptaGeo	<i>Scripta Geologica</i> , Leiden.
SIBan	<i>Studii de istorie a Banatului</i> , Timișoara.
SIC.SH	<i>Studia Universitatis Cibiniensis. Series Historia</i> , Universitatea „Lucian Blaga” din Sibiu.
SlovArch	<i>Slovenská Archeológia</i> , Nitra.
StComB	<i>Muzeul Brukenthal. Studii și comunicări (arheologie-istorie)</i> , Sibiu.
StudPre	<i>Studii de Preistorie</i> , București
SUBB	<i>Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai</i> , Universitatea „Babeș-Bolyai”, Cluj-Napoca
Symposia	Thracologica Symposia Thracologica, București.
TCIC	<i>Techniques & Culture, Itinéraires de coquillages</i> .
Thraco-Dacica	<i>Thraco-Dacica. Institutul Roman de Tracologie</i> , București.
TJS	<i>Turkish Journal of Zoology</i> .
Wcoins a / b	C. R. Bruce II (ed.), <i>Standard Catalog of World Coins. Seventeenth Century. 1601 - 1700</i> , 4th ed., Iola, 2008. / <i>Eighteenth Century. 1701 – 1800</i> , 3rd ed., Iola, 2002.
Zargidava	<i>Zargidava. Revistă de istorie</i> , Bacău.
Ziridava	<i>Ziridava. Studia Archaeologica</i> , Muzeul Arad.

