

## “*Hrisovu*”, 1941-1947: Scholarship in a Time of Crisis

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At the end of November, 1940, Aurelian Sacerdoțeanu, Director General of the *Arhiva Statului* [State Archives] and Director of the *Școala de Arhivistică* [School of Archivistics] in Bucharest, presented his annual report<sup>1</sup>. In it, he announced the forthcoming inauguration of a new scholarly journal for the *Școala de Arhivistică* to complement the *Arhiva Statului*'s own journal, the *Revista Arhivelor*<sup>2</sup>.

These were not the most auspicious times for initiating new academic endeavors. Indeed, rarely had the Romanian Kingdom seen grimmer days. The 1930s machinations of King Charles II had backfired, both internally and externally<sup>3</sup>. World War II had broken out in September 1939, marking the final collapse of the League of Nations and the full reassertion of brutal power politics as epitomized by the infamous Molotov-Ribbentrop pact<sup>4</sup>. The shocking defeat of France – the main architect and support of the Versailles system – in June 1940 led to a Soviet ultimatum to Romania that had resulted in the amputation of Bucovina and Bessarabia from the Romanian state. This was followed by the disastrous August 1940 Vienna arbitration which stripped Romania of the Southern Dobroudja and Northern Transylvania; in two months Romania had lost a third of its pre-war territory and population. The precipitous departure of King Charles from Romania in September 1940 in a hail of bullets had culminated in the establishment of the National Legionary state under General Ion Antonescu in collaboration with the fascist hoodlums of the *Legiunea Arhanghelului Mihail* [Legion of the Archangel Michael]<sup>5</sup>. The murders of numerous interwar Romanian luminaries ensued, including Nicolae Iorga and Virgil Madgearu. And, as if these political crises were not enough, in November 1940, Romania was devastated by the most powerful earthquake ever to strike the country.

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<sup>1</sup> Aurelian Sacerdoțeanu, *Dare de seamă despre Arhivele Statului făcută către Consiliul de Perfecționare (1 Ianuarie-31 Decembrie 1940)*, “Revista Arhivelor”, 4 (1940-1941), p. 335-378, dated 24 November 1940.

<sup>2</sup> Which had appeared sporadically since 1924.

<sup>3</sup> For a summary, see Rebecca Haynes, *Romanian Diplomacy Towards Germany, 1936-1940*, London, 2000.

<sup>4</sup> See my *The Nazi-Soviet Pact and the Outbreak of World War II*, “Revue Roumaine d’Histoire”, 31 (1992), p. 65-102.

<sup>5</sup> See Dennis Deletant, *Hitler’s Forgotten Ally: Ion Antonescu and His Regime, Romania 1940–1944*, London, 2006.

Sacerdoțeanu's report reflected these calamities. "This has been the year of great misfortunes which have fallen upon our country one after another," misfortunes which naturally also impacted the national archives<sup>6</sup>. As Romanian state structures were hastily uprooted in Bucovina, Bessarabia and Transylvania, it had proved impossible for them "to evacuate anything from the very important archives in Cernăuți and Chișinău ... [while] from Năsăud we have not been able to find out anything."<sup>7</sup> Though they were able to transport most of the Transylvanian archives from Cluj to Romanian held Sibiu, they could not avoid the damage inherent in such a move<sup>8</sup>. Finally, archival facilities in Craiova and Iași were impacted by the earthquake<sup>9</sup>.

Remarkably, many Romanian scholars were not daunted by this avalanche of disasters. Sacerdoțeanu was one of these. He was convinced that despite all of the difficulties confronting them, Romania's archivists would continue to move their work forward. Indeed, these hardships only seemed to spur them toward greater efforts on behalf of their country and people<sup>10</sup>.

The perceived obligation on the part of scholars to act as tribunes of the Romanian nation is one of the perpetual themes – and poignant dilemmas – of Romanian culture. This stance led to a continuous struggle between "civic passion and intellectual scruple."<sup>11</sup> From the Romanian Middle Ages, "The image of the scholar withdrawn in the quiet of his office, far from the passions which agitate society, and trying to decipher the meaning of history *sine ira et studio* was always more of an aspiration than a reality. The historian has always been a child of the citadel, to whose destiny his work is tied."<sup>12</sup> Unfortunately, that citadel seemed to be almost continually under siege. Sacerdoțeanu and his archival colleagues perforce

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<sup>6</sup> A. Sacerdoțeanu, *Dare de seamă*, "Revista Arhivelor", 1940-1941, p. 335. Abundant documentary materials for the period under consideration are provided in the "Revista Arhivelor"'s "Cronica arhivelor", and "Diverse" rubrics, Sacerdoțeanu's annual reports, and the "Partea administrativă" and "Informații" rubrics of *Hrisovul*.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 335. Cf. *Diverse*, "Revista Arhivelor", 4 (1940-1941), p. 204, which concludes "We hope that we will find them intact upon our soon return."

<sup>8</sup> Idem, *Dare de seamă 1940*, "Revista Arhivelor", 1940-1941, p. 335. See further the annexes to Sacerdoțeanu's report dealing with Cluj, pp. 362-363, Chișinău, pp. 374-376, and Cernăuți, pp. 376-378. For losses during the move from Cluj to Sibiu, see idem, *Dare de seamă despre Arhivele Statului pe 1941 făcută către Consiliul de Perfecționare*, "Revista Arhivelor", 5 (1942-1943), pp. 190-194.

<sup>9</sup> Idem, *Dare de seamă 1940*, "Revista Arhivelor", 1940-1941, annexes for Bucharest, p. 345, Iași, p. 365, and Craiova, p. 373.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 335.

<sup>11</sup> Al. Zub, *Biruit-au gândul (note despre istorismul românesc)*, Iași, 1983, p. 11, and p. 9-34 for an elaboration. Also useful is Alexandru Dușu's discussion of the philosopher-patriot in Romanian culture. See his *European Intellectual Movements and Modernization of Romanian Culture*, Bucharest, 1981, p. 70 ff.

<sup>12</sup> Al. Zub, *Biruit-a*, 1983, p. 32-33.

subscribed to the same fortress mentality, though in circumstances where others were much more unrestrained.

The new publication was to be named “*Hrisovul*”, a title derived from “*hrisov*”, the name for the impressive high acts of Romanian medieval chancelleries, lavishly decorated with seals and calligraphy; that is, one of the major pieces of Romanian archivistics<sup>13</sup>. Between this announcement and the actual appearance of “*Hrisovul*” in late 1941, Romanian history underwent a few more of its contortions. The failed Legionary uprising in January 1941 brought about a rout of the green-shirts and the installation of the Antonescu military dictatorship which would last to 1944. This was followed in June 1941 by the opening of the war in the East with the Nazi invasion of Germany’s erstwhile ally, the Soviet Union. Romania joined in the anti-Bolshevik crusade, regaining Bucovina and Bessarabia for its troubles<sup>14</sup>. Needless to say, this expansion of the World War, Romania’s direct involvement in it, and continued internal political turmoil further complicated life for the *Arhiva Statului*<sup>15</sup>.

For example, a continuing issue concerned the pulping of archival materials without their having been reviewed by archival specialists<sup>16</sup>. During the Legionary state era of 1940-1941, the problem was aggravated by the fact that discarded documents were to be turned over free to the *Comandamentul Legionar al Materiilor prime* [The Legionary Command of the Raw Materials], which doubtless had very little interest in preserving documentary materials from the preceding regimes and a high interest in making money<sup>17</sup>. This was strenuously protested by Sacerdoțeanu, who pointed out that such supposedly charitable donations had accelerated the loss of Romania’s documentary heritage, especially those in foreign languages and the

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<sup>13</sup> “Hrisov”, in *Dicționar al științelor speciale ale istoriei. Arhivistică, cronologie, diplomatică, genealogie, heraldică, paleografie, sigilografie* (ed. by Ionel Gal), București, 1982, p. 133.

<sup>14</sup> Leading Sacerdoțeanu to celebrate this as a good year for the Romanian people: “Our institution has recovered its patrimony in Cernăuți and Chișinău, while the country has restored its boundaries, thanks to the power of the Romanian army and the unequalled spiritual power of Marshal Ion Antonescu. These are pages of epic written with Romanian blood and decisiveness, which the chroniclers of our times will write forever in the annals of our history.” A. Sacerdoțeanu, *Dare de seamă 1941*, “Revista Arhivelor”, 1942-1943, p. 166.

<sup>15</sup> For 1940-1941, see *Cronica Arhivelor. 1 Septembrie 1940-31 August 1941*, “Revista Arhivelor”, 4 (1940-1941), pp. 449-467; and annexes to A. Sacerdoțeanu, *Dare de seamă 1941*, “Revista Arhivelor”, 1942-1943: for Cluj-Sibiu, p. 190-194; and for Chișinău, p. 198-206. The 1941 report for Cernăuți was subsequently published in idem, *Dare de seamă despre Arhivele Statului pe 1942 făcută către Consiliul de Perfeccionare*, “Revista Arhivelor”, 5 (1942-1943), p. 419-420.

<sup>16</sup> See the decrees of the *Consiliul de Miniștri* [Council of Ministers], 1 November 1938 and 3 June 1939 in *Cronica arhivelor. Decrete regale, Jurnal al Consiliului de Miniștri, Decizii Ministeriale și comunicate oficiale (1 Oct. 1938-31 August 1939)*, “Revista Arhivelor”, 4 (1936-1939), p. 436-437. And in April 1940, the *Arhiva Statului* had reported that regional archival materials were being destroyed, discarded, and pulped without any sort of control by experts. See *Cronica Arhivelor. Sept. 1939-31 August 1940*, “Revista Arhivelor”, 4 (1940-1941), p. 201-202.

<sup>17</sup> Decree of 10 January 1941, *Cronica*, “Revista Arhivelor”, 1940-1941, p. 451.

Cyrillic alphabet. Such a process “is extremely costly to national historical interests ... of the *Arhiva Statului*, and, thus, of the state itself.”<sup>18</sup>

Volume 1 of “*Hrisovul*”, sub-titled *Buletinul Școalei de Arhivistică* [The Bulletin of the School of Archivistics], appeared in December 1941, under the editorship of Aurelian Sacerdoțeanu<sup>19</sup>. Its program statement<sup>20</sup> began by noting the perilous times through which the Romanian people were passing. Sacerdoțeanu observed that Romanian historical periodicals were plentiful: why yet another? The answer was that “*Hrisovul*” would be much narrower in scope than the others, concentrating on the historical document both for itself and as a historical source. In addition, it had the practical scope of providing an organ for the *Școala de Arhivistică*, whose mission was to follow in the tradition of the renowned *École des Chartes* in Paris. The basic commitments of this mission were summarized by Sacerdoțeanu as “Erudition, Probity, and Abnegation.”

The founders of the *Școala de Arhivistică* had planned such a journal from the 1920s. Thus, the new review’s subject matter closely followed the profile of its institutional parent, including the publication of historical documents, textual editions, studies of the special or auxiliary sciences of history, and material related to the education and preparation of archival specialists<sup>21</sup>. The main points of *Hrisovul*’s program included:

1. an emphasis on method and works of an archivist nature: “studies of the smallest detail ... the description, analysis and indexing of archival fonds, catalogues, bibliographies, and surveys of library holdings.” In other words, the kind of painstaking works of abnegation that one could expect from archivists;
2. works of erudition, such as textual studies and editions and other foundational materials;
3. critical studies, but stressing objectivity and an irenic spirit. “We have nothing to hide, nothing to fear, probity being the *sine qua non* of our work”;
4. Lastly, the journal was designed to publicize the work of the *Școala de Arhivistică*, “not only how we work, but who we are, what we prepare for, and what we can do.”<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> *Cronica*, “Revista Arhivelor”, 1940-1941, p. 451 ff., for the relevant decree and Sacerdoțeanu’s 18 January 1941 response, Nr. 60.

<sup>19</sup> „*Hrisovul*”, 1 (1941), 568 p. + V plates. Registered for publication 24 March 1941. Likely published in December 1941 (see following note). 500 copies printed.

<sup>20</sup> A. Sacerdoțeanu, *Cuvânt preliminar*, “*Hrisovul*”, 1 (1941), p. 7-10, signed 25 March 1941. Because of the circumstances alluded to above, this first volume actually appeared in print considerably later, possibly in late December 1941 when a copy of 1 (1941) was sent to the Ministry of Education. Nr. 570, 24 December 1941, “*Hrisovul*”, 2 (1942), p. 279.

<sup>21</sup> “*Hrisovul*”, in *Dicționar* (ed. by Gal), 1982, p. 133. Cf. *Enciclopedia istoriografiei românești* (ed. by Ștefan Ștefănescu), Bucharest, 1978, p. 448.

<sup>22</sup> Thus, 1 (1941) included an extensive “*Partea administrativă*”, p. 502 ff., which described the staff of the *Școala de Arhivistică* and the courses taught, listed those who had studied there since its founding in 1924, and reprinted the relevant governmental decrees concerning the school.

The first volume of “*Hrisovul*” was certainly successful in carrying out these desiderata. It opened with a thirty page history of the *Școala de Arhivistică* by its nowretired founding director, Constantin Moisil<sup>23</sup>. This was followed by two erudite pedagogic studies: N. Drăgan on the transcription of Cyrillic texts<sup>24</sup>, and Aurelian Sacerdoțeanu’s introduction to the study of medieval documents<sup>25</sup>. Emil Condurachi<sup>26</sup>, I.-R. Mircea<sup>27</sup>, Dragoș Petroșanu<sup>28</sup>, Sacerdoțeanu<sup>29</sup>, and Ioan Hudiță<sup>30</sup> contributed studies of the detailed, focused type alluded to previously. A third category of publication included works designed for students: H. Stahl on archival preservation and technology<sup>31</sup>, Sacerdoțeanu’s lists of East European rulers<sup>32</sup>, Elena Bogdanovici’s study of inks<sup>33</sup>, and Maria Dumitrescu’s work on the physical health of books<sup>34</sup>.

These studies were followed by fifty pages of learned “*Note și comunicări*”<sup>35</sup>, authored by Sacerdoțeanu, M. Regleanu, Emil Vîrtosu, Alfonso Gallo, Dan Simonescu, Damian P. Bogdan, and Alexandru Elian; twenty pages of “*Note bibliografice*”<sup>36</sup>; an extensive “*Partea administrativă*,” dealing with the life and history of the *Școala*<sup>37</sup>, and a brief news section entitled “*Informații*.”<sup>38</sup> The volume concluded with two comprehensive indices<sup>39</sup>.

All in all, “*Hrisovul*” made a very successful and promising debut, which spoke well for both its editor and the *Școala de Arhivistică*. A typical response was that of Ioachim Crăciun, one of Romania’s leading bibliographical specialists, who enthusiastically greeted the appearance of “*Hrisovul*”, writing “Rarely have I had a greater joy reading a journal or periodical than that I have had reading this *Hrisov*,

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<sup>23</sup> Const. Moisil, *Din istoria Școalei de Arhivistică*, p. 11-45.

<sup>24</sup> N. Drăgan, *Transcrierea textele chirilice*, p. 46-59.

<sup>25</sup> A. Sacerdoțeanu, *Introducere în Diplomatică*, p. 60-76.

<sup>26</sup> Emil Condurachi, *Tezaurul de monete argintate dela Măcin*, p. 77-99, a study of some 300 Roman coins.

<sup>27</sup> Ion-Radu Mircea, *Marii logofeți din Țara Românească (sec. XIV și XV)*, p. 117-140.

<sup>28</sup> Dragoș P. Petroșanu, *Hurezi sau Romani. O chestiune de toponimie românească*, p. 192-209.

<sup>29</sup> A. Sacerdoțeanu, *Marul ne e fiica lui Mihai Viteazul*, p. 218-240.

<sup>30</sup> Ioan Hudiță, *Franța și Cuza Vodă. Lovitura de Stat proiectată în 1863. După documente inedite*, p. 269-429, with a 52 page documentary annex.

<sup>31</sup> H. Stahl, *Moartea documentelor*, p. 100-116.

<sup>32</sup> A. Sacerdoțeanu, *Liste de suverani. Introducere. Împărații din Orient (Bizanț). Împărați din Trapezunt. Turcii și Imperiul Otoman. Grecia modernă. Români. Bulgarii. Sârbii. Ungurii. Polonii. Rușii*, p. 141-191.

<sup>33</sup> Elena Bogdanovici, *Cerneluri și istoricul lor*, p. 210-217.

<sup>34</sup> Maria Dumitrescu, *Sănătatea cărților*, p. 241-268.

<sup>35</sup> “*Note și comunicări*”, p. 430-481.

<sup>36</sup> “*Note bibliografice*”, p. 482-501.

<sup>37</sup> A. Sacerdoțeanu, *Partea administrativă*, p. 502-541. This was continued in “*Hrisovul*”, 2 (1942), p. 238-274.

<sup>38</sup> “*Informații*,” p. 542.

<sup>39</sup> A. Sacerdoțeanu, *Indice de document*, p. 543-547; and *Indice general*, p. 547-563.

dedicated to the auxiliary sciences of national history.”<sup>40</sup> The contributors included many of the heavyweights and pioneers of Romanian scholarship, especially medievalists<sup>41</sup>. Though its profile was a little hard to distinguish from that of the “*Revista Arhivelor*”<sup>42</sup>, it was obvious that there was more than enough high quality material being produced by Romanian academics – especially those associated with the *Școala de Arhivistică* and the *Arhiva Statului* – to make it well worthwhile.

Thus, it was doubtless with a great deal of dismay that Sacerdoțeanu and his colleagues received the astonishing news at the end of May 1941 that the government was planning to disband “*Hrisovul*”’s parent organization, the *Școala de Arhivistică*. Though Sacerdoțeanu immediately submitted a detailed seven point memoir to the then Minister of National Education, Culture, and Religion, Gen. Radu Rosetti, he was not even invited to discuss the proposal before an 11 October 1941 decree appeared abolishing the *Școala de Arhivistică* under the somewhat mysterious pretext that this was necessitated by the re-acquisition of university institutions in Cernăuți and Chișinău<sup>43</sup>.

“*Hrisovul*” laconically took note of the event as follows: “The *Școala de Arhivistică* has been disbanded; *Hrisovul* will, however, continue to appear with the same program. We wish to be of use to all in continuation in the study of the auxiliary sciences ... The forthcoming volume will go to press in January 1942.”<sup>44</sup>

The council of the *Școala* was somewhat less restrained. Meeting on 31 October 1941, the Council noted that it considered the dissolution of the *Școala* “a great error, lacking in any explanation at all, especially after 17 years of fruitful activity.”<sup>45</sup> On 17 November 1941, following Rosetti’s resignation, Sacerdoțeanu sent a memoir to the ministry asking that the *Școala de Arhivistică* decision be rescinded: “No state, however uncivilized, can leave the preparation of personnel to chance.” The former minister’s failure to provide any kind of explanation was just one more reason for the closing to be overturned. “Our primary and final scope is precisely the investigation, study, and critical diffusion of national historical sources, preparing at the same time for the most dedicated conservation of these resources.”<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Ioachim Crăciun, review of *Hrisovul*, “Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Națională din Cluj-Sibiu”, 8 (1939-1942), p. 523.

<sup>41</sup> Nearly two-thirds of the contributors to Vol. 1 garnered entries in *Enciclopedia istoriografiei românești* (ed. by Ștefănescu), 1978.

<sup>42</sup> See Constantin Moisil, *Un program de muncă*, “*Revista Arhivelor*”, 1 (1924-1926), p. 1-2.

<sup>43</sup> For the decree, related documents, and comments by Sacerdoțeanu, see *Hrisovul*, 1 (1941), p. 533-541. Rosetti was minister from 27 January 1941 to 11 November 1941.

<sup>44</sup> A. Sacerdoțeanu, *Informații*, “*Hrisovul*”, 1 (1941), p. 542.

<sup>45</sup> Idem, *Cronica Școalei (1 Sept. 1941-31 Aug. 1942)*, “*Hrisovul*”, 2 (1942), p. 276, Proces Verbal Nr. 2, 31 October 1941.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 277-278, Nr. 346, Memoir of 17 November 1941. He also played the national card, quoting the Vice-President of the Council of Ministers, Mihai Antonescu, to the effect that “a Romanian school is needed, based on our national genius, for Romanian achievements, founding national sciences of Romanian thought and life.”, p. 278.

This was followed on 10 December 1941 with an appeal to the new Minister of Education, Ion Petrovici<sup>47</sup>. At the same time, a letter writing campaign was launched to solicit support from Romanian scholars for the refounding of the *Școala*<sup>48</sup>.

Whatever the reason for Gen. Rosetti's hostility toward the *Școala de Arhivistică*<sup>49</sup>, its demise proved to be of short duration. By early 1942, the Minister of Education, Ion Petrovici, had been persuaded to resurrect the *Școala*<sup>50</sup>. A new law reorganizing the 1941 Rosetti reorganization was published on 23 May 1942 which brought the *Școala* back into existence<sup>51</sup>. "*Revista Arhivelor*" noted with some satisfaction: "the *Școala de Arhivistică* has been returned to its rightful place among the special schools of higher education<sup>52</sup>," and Sacerdoțeanu wrote in his annual report "1942 was much better for the lot of our archives."<sup>53</sup>

Let us turn now to Vol. 2 (1942) of "*Hrisovul*"<sup>54</sup>. Sacerdoțeanu began the second volume with additional preliminary comments<sup>55</sup>. "We are not speaking of a change in program. We remain with what we had established in the opening pages of the first volume of our publication; the study and practice of the techniques of the auxiliary disciplines of history." Sacerdoțeanu felt it necessary to explain the seven month hiatus in the functioning of the *Școala de Arhivistică*, a closure without any apparent motive. "No country in the world has a greater need for the preparation of

<sup>47</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 278, Nr. 455, 10 December 1941. Petrovici was minister from 5 December 1941 to 23 August 1944.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 278. Some 49 letters were sent. For more details, see *idem*, *Alt cuvânt preliminar*, "*Hrisovul*", 2 (1942), p. 6.

<sup>49</sup> Sacerdoțeanu says he does not know the motive. See his *Dare de seamă despre Arhivele Statului pe 1941 făcută către Consiliul de Perfecționare*, "*Revista Arhivelor*", 5 (1942-1943), p. 172. There is some reason to believe that the University of București wanted control over higher education in the capital. The 1932 legislation relating to the *Școala* had emphasized the need for the *Școala* to work together with the University ("*Hrisovul*", 1 (1941), p. 531) while Rosetti's dissolution decree turned over to the Faculty of Letters at the University control of the *Școala*'s program ("*Hrisovul*", 1 (1941), p. 540). Possibly Rosetti, who had been Director of the *Biblioteca Academiei*, had turf interests of his own.

<sup>50</sup> A. Sacerdoțeanu, *Dare de seamă 1941*, "*Revista Arhivelor*", 5 (1942-1943), p. 174, mentions that Petrovici had "promised" to include the *Școala* in a higher education bill under development.

<sup>51</sup> *Idem*, *Partea Administrativă. II. Material documentar*, "*Hrisovul*", 2 (1942), p. 236-238, Law Nr. 386, published 23 May 1942. In addition, there was to be annexed to the *Școala* a new Institute of Archivist Studies (p. 237). Letters were sent (Nrs. 66, 67, 68) thanking Ion Antonescu, Mihai Antonescu, and Ion Petrovici for the refounding, pp. 281.

<sup>52</sup> *Idem*, *Cronica Arhivelor, 1 Sept. 1941-31 Aug. 1942*, "*Revista Arhivelor*", 5 (1942-1943), p. 296.

<sup>53</sup> *Idem*, *Dare de seamă despre Arhivele Statului pe 1942 făcută către Consiliul de Perfecționare*, "*Revista Arhivelor*", 5 (1942-1943), p. 395.

<sup>54</sup> "*Hrisovul*", 2 (1942), 306 p. + II plates. 500 copies. The editor's preface is dated 23 May 1942, but the volume did not go to print until June 1943 (information in the back of volume following p. 306).

<sup>55</sup> A. Sacerdoțeanu, *Alt cuvânt preliminar*, "*Hrisovul*", 2 (1942), p. 5-12, dated 23 May 1942.

specialists than ours,” he wrote. Romanian archives were in chaos, the dissipation of her documentary treasures was continuing, and the number of trained personnel was completely inadequate. These needs were beginning to be remedied by the *Școala de Arhivistică* when it was capriciously shut down. Through a letter sent out with “*Hrisovul*”, Vol. 1, Sacerdoțeanu observed, he was able to confirm from numerous responses by Romanian and international scholars the value, necessity, and contribution of the *Școala* to Romanian cultural life. Perhaps this enthusiastic support and these obvious needs contributed to Ion Petrovici’s agreement to the refounding of the *Școala*; now the field of work lay before them<sup>56</sup>.

The second volume was considerably shorter than the first, by more than 250 pages. Most of these pages came from Section I: “*Studii*”. In contrast to Vol. 1, all of these “*studii*” were much more tightly focused on the auxiliary historical sciences. Representative pieces were Al. Iordan’s on book format<sup>57</sup> and H. Dj. Siruni’s on Ottoman nomenclature for Romanian rulers<sup>58</sup>. Other contributors included Constantin I. Andreescu, Damian P. Bogdan, Emil Condurachi, Radu Greceanu, Dumitru H. Muster, Aurelian Sacerdoțeanu, and Emil Vîrtosu. Sections II: “*Note și comunicări*”<sup>59</sup>, and III: “*Note bibliografice*”<sup>60</sup>, were also not as rich as those in the first volume. Contributors here included Sacerdoțeanu, Dan Simonescu, and Constant Grecescu. This perhaps reflected a slow down in publication due to the war. Nevertheless, given the circumstances, Vol. 2 (1942) was a worthy product that promised more for the future.

By 1943, things had seemingly normalized for the *Școala de Arhivistică* and “*Hrisovul*”. Earthquakes, both natural and political, had been weathered, two numbers of the journal had been completed, the *Școala* had been scuttled then reopened, and lost territories and archives had been recouped in Bucovina and Bessarabia. Of course this would not last. By 1943, the war was clearly running against the Axis and the Romanians were beginning to explore ways of exiting the war. Sacerdoțeanu’s lecture to open the 1943-1944 academic year was optimistic in tone, as perhaps befitted the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the *Școala de Arhivistică*<sup>61</sup>. Clearly, in retrospect, his faith that the future of the “much tried Romanian nation” was bright seems misplaced. On the other hand, the *Școala* had lasted two decades and survived an attempt to abolish it. It had successfully published a substantial scholarly journal,

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<sup>56</sup> Interestingly, the *Școala* would henceforth be under the didactic and administrative aegis of the Rector of the University of București. *Hrisovul*, Vol. 2 (1942), p. 11. Possibly we have here a compromise which allowed the University the desired degree of control while allowing the Arhiva Statului to have its specialist school.

<sup>57</sup> Al. Iordan, *Ce este formatul de carte*, p. 85-106.

<sup>58</sup> H. Dj. Siruni, *Hașmetlu. Pe marginea titulaturii Domnilor români în cancelaria otomană*, p. 139-202.

<sup>59</sup> *Note și comunicări*, p. 217-226.

<sup>60</sup> *Note bibliografice*, p. 227-230.

<sup>61</sup> A. Sacerdoțeanu, *Cuvânt de deschidere ținut în ziua de 11 Nov. 1943*, “*Hrisovul*”, 3 (1943), p. 121-126.



and its financial situation, despite the war, was stronger than it had been in 1938. It had had 843 registered students, of whom 88 completed the courses and 33 had written theses.

Sacerdoțeanu also reviewed the purposes of the *Școala* and its journal. These were the now familiar themes of preparing professional archivists and librarians, of providing training in erudite studies, and of serving the needs of the nation. He made particular mention of the romantic historical views of Florian Aaron and Mihail Kogălniceanu that the study of the past provided the nation with “spiritual arms.” In the end, “we believe that, just as in the past we have stood here unmovable and unshakable for millennia, within ourselves lies the power to make other millennia pass without our people vanishing.”

Work was completed on Vol. 3 (1943) of “*Hrisovul*”, but before it could see the light of day, new disaster struck. During the 7 May 1944 Allied bombing of Bucharest, the volume was destroyed while in press. Only in June 1946 would most of the lost number be reassembled and published<sup>62</sup>. Its contents<sup>63</sup> continued to illustrate the profile laid out in 1941: pieces by Sacerdoțeanu on numismatics<sup>64</sup>, Iosif E. Naghiu cataloging manuscripts at the Blaj library<sup>65</sup>, Elena Bogdanovici on handwriting analysis as a tool in the authentication of documents<sup>66</sup>, as well as articles by Marcel Romanescu and Ion-Radu Mircea<sup>67</sup>. Contributions to the sections on “*Note și comunicări*”<sup>68</sup> and “*Note bibliografice*”<sup>69</sup> included for the first time Sacerdoțeanu’s year-opening address to the *Școala*<sup>70</sup>, but showed a marked decline in participation as all of these notes were provided by Sacerdoțeanu himself.

By 1944, the war front had moved to Romanian territory. The *Școala de Arhivistică* suspended classes in April 1944 because of Allied bombing, not to resume until 27 November 1944<sup>71</sup>. An effort to transport some of the most valuable Romanian archival holdings to safety in Vădeni, Gorj, backfired when one of the three train cars carrying this precious cargo was destroyed in the 4 April 1944

<sup>62</sup> Idem, *Dare de seamă despre Arhivele Statului pe 1944 făcută către Consiliul de Perfecționare*, “*Revista Arhivelor*”, 6 (1944-1945), p. 288; and Idem, *Informații*, “*Hrisovul*”, 4 (1944), p. 159-160 which gives the original contents and noted that part of the delay owed to a lack of Cyrillic type at the printers.

<sup>63</sup> “*Hrisovul*”, 3 (1943), 164 p. + IV plates. 500 copies. Published June 1946 (p. 164).

<sup>64</sup> A. Sacerdoțeanu, *Despre circulația monetară la Români în evul-mediu – după documente* –, p. 5-34.

<sup>65</sup> Iosif E. Naghiu, *Catalogul manuscriselor latinești și în limbi moderne dela Biblioteca Centrală din Blaj*, p. 35-74.

<sup>66</sup> Elena Bogdanovici, *Grafometria*, p. 109-120.

<sup>67</sup> The destroyed version of Vol. 3 (1943) contained articles by Damian P. Bogdan on Slavo-Romanian texts and Constantin Moisiu on the seals of Mircea cel Bătrân which did not appear in the restored print version. See *Informații*, “*Hrisovul*”, 4 (1944), p. 159-160.

<sup>68</sup> *Note și comunicări*, p. 121-136.

<sup>69</sup> *Note bibliografice*, p. 136-146.

<sup>70</sup> A. Sacerdoțeanu, *Cuvânt de deschidere ținut în ziua de 11 Nov. 1943*, p. 121-129.

<sup>71</sup> Idem, *Dare de seamă 1944*, “*Revista Arhivelor*”, 1944-1945, p. 292.

bombing of the *Gara de Nord* in Bucharest. Additionally, the archive building in Iași was completely destroyed by bombing (fortunately most of the actual archives were elsewhere), and the Bucharest building, though avoiding direct hits, had its roof, doors, and windows damaged<sup>72</sup>. And on 23 August, King Michael had ousted the Antonescu regime, leading to a Soviet occupation of Romania and an armistice on 12 September 1944. Clearly a new page in Romanian history had been turned, one which would lead to the installation of a Communist regime on 6 March 1945, culminating in the abdication of the King and the proclamation of the *Republica Populară Română* on 30 December 1947.

It was in these trying times that the *Școala de Arhivistică* reopened in November 1944 and that a new volume of “*Hrisovul*” appeared. Sacerdoțeanu’s 1944 inaugural – in addition to once more stressing the technical, professional nature of the work of the *Școala de Arhivistică* and its journal through service to others via “work, honesty, and abnegation” – had a more universal tone, concluding: “This is our purpose here: to prepare the study of the foundations upon which the civilization of humankind is built.”<sup>73</sup>

Volume 4 (1944) of “*Hrisovul*”<sup>74</sup> led off with an extensive article by Constantin I. Andreescu that amounted to a defense of the erudite studies approach and the auxiliary sciences of history, and a plea for the continued professionalization of Romanian archival studies<sup>75</sup>. This was followed by an introduction to archival studies by Sacerdoțeanu<sup>76</sup>, a survey of the auxiliary science of genealogy by Mihai Berza, a recent addition to the staff of the *Școala de Arhivistică* and another future luminary of Romanian historiography and Southeast European studies<sup>77</sup>, and a discussion of the terms “*regesi*” and “*rezumat*” by Sacerdoțeanu (including a mild reproach of the Romanian Academy for not taking leadership in this area)<sup>78</sup>. The “*Note și comunicări*”<sup>79</sup> included Sacerdoțeanu’s opening lecture at the Școala for 1944, as well as contributions by Constant Grecescu, N. Ceredarec, and Iosif E. Naghiu. The “*Note bibliografice*”<sup>80</sup> were again solely provided by Sacerdoțeanu. In sum, the articles were genuinely useful; the other sections showed a not surprising degree of haste.

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<sup>72</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 294-297. The fate of archives in Cernăuți and Chișinău by this time was clearly problematic.

<sup>73</sup> A. Sacerdoțeanu, *Cuvânt de deschidere ținut în ziua de 21 Noemvrie 1944*, “*Hrisovul*”, 4 (1944), p. 112-116.

<sup>74</sup> “*Hrisovul*”, 4 (1944), 168 pp. 500 copies. The volume does not indicate the printing date, but judging from the contents, it was likely early in 1945.

<sup>75</sup> Constantin I. Andreescu, *Știință și tehnică în istorie*, p. 5-59.

<sup>76</sup> A. Sacerdoțeanu, *Introducere în arhivistică*, p. 60-80.

<sup>77</sup> Mihai Berza, *Genealogia – disciplină auxiliară a istoriei*, p. 81-99.

<sup>78</sup> A. Sacerdoțeanu, ‘*Regesi*’ și ‘*rezumat*’, p. 100-111.

<sup>79</sup> *Note și comunicări*, p. 112-149.

<sup>80</sup> *Note bibliografice*, p. 150-156.

1945, of course, saw the end at long last of World War II. However, as Dennis Deletant has recently pointed out, the Soviet occupation and the subsequent Stalinization of Romania constituted a continuation of the war. “That process ceased on 22 December 1989. On that same day the Second World War also finally came to an end for Romania.”<sup>81</sup> This was reflected in Sacerdoțeanu’s 1945 inaugural at the *Școala de Arhivistică*<sup>82</sup>. In the context of a discussion of the utility of history, he referred approvingly to the work of Marx, the idea of progress, studiously avoided nationalist references, and suggested that history might help us see that “the unity of the planet imposes on us the unitary knowledge of human life.” In the end, history will help us “to contribute to the elimination of barbarism, the return of mankind to humanity, and make us more human.”<sup>83</sup> New days had come, and it was becoming clearer and clearer to many that Soviet influence over Romania would not be short-lived.

The work of the *Școala* led to the publication of the fifth volume of “*Hrisovul*” as well as a public lecture series under the auspices of the Institute of Archivistic Studies<sup>84</sup>. Volume 5 (1945) of “*Hrisovul*”<sup>85</sup> continued the by now familiar pattern of studies, notes and communications, bibliographical notes, and material relative to the *Școala*. Sacerdoțeanu led off with a study on the preparation of archivists<sup>86</sup>. This was followed by topics of a professional type (such as Sacerdoțeanu’s article on the organization of military archives<sup>87</sup>) or related to the auxiliary sciences (such those by Petre Ș. Năsturel<sup>88</sup> and Emil Condurachi<sup>89</sup>). Other contributors included Maria Marinescu, Constant Grecescu, Ion-Radu Mircea, Emil Vîrtosu, Constantin I. Andreescu, and Nicolae Predescu. Sacerdoțeanu, Iosif E.

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<sup>81</sup> D. Deletant, *Hitler’s Forgotten Ally*, 2006, p. 277.

<sup>82</sup> A. Sacerdoțeanu, *Cuvânt de deschidere a anului școlar 19 Noemvrie 1945*, “*Hrisovul*”, 5 (1945), p. 152-160.

<sup>83</sup> Compare this with idem, *Dare de seamă despre Arhivele Statului pe 1945 făcută către Consiliul de Perfecționare*, “*Revista Arhivelor*”, 7 (1946-1947), p. 112 ff. which is very pessimistic about “the uncertainty, the state of alarm...[and] the shortages of all kinds”, and doubts whether publications will be possible in the future because of soaring costs. He also noted that the *Școala* opened a month after the end of Christmas vacation because there was no wood to heat the building.

<sup>84</sup> The lecture series, obviously an effort to give the *Școala* more visibility and public recognition, ran from 9 December 1944 to 11 June 1945 and included Constant Grecescu, Damian P. Bogdan, Aurelian Sacerdoțeanu, Constantin Andreescu, Mihai Berza, Ion-Radu Mircea, Petre Năsturel, and Maria Holban. They ranged from popularization (Andreescu’s *Comemorarea mișcării revoluționare din 1848*) to the arcane (Berza’s *Causidicus în textele latine medievale*). Cf. *Informații*, “*Hrisovul*”, 5 (1945), p. 202.

<sup>85</sup> “*Hrisovul*”, 5 (1945), 216 p + III plates. 500 copies. Published late 1945 or early 1946.

<sup>86</sup> A. Sacerdoțeanu, *Pregătirea arhiviștilor*, p. 5-41.

<sup>87</sup> Idem, *Organizarea arhivelor armatei*, p. 75-89.

<sup>88</sup> Petre Ș. Năsturel, *Un hrisov nou de la Constantin Duca (1702)*, p. 97-105.

<sup>89</sup> Emil Condurachi, *Blazonul lui Ștefan cel Mare*, p. 146-151.

Naghiu, and N. Ceredarec contributed the “*Note și comunicări*”<sup>90</sup> (which contained an unusual number of obituaries), while Grecescu, Maria Dumitrescu, and Sacerdoțeanu did the “*Note bibliografice*”<sup>91</sup>. The somewhat broader participation was welcome; the quality remained high and the focus was clear.

“Hrisovul” and the *Școala de Arhivistică* were now entering into their final years, 1946-1947, as the pace of the Soviet takeover of Romania accelerated<sup>92</sup>. Volume 6 (1946) of “*Hrisovul*” appeared in November 1947<sup>93</sup>. Unfortunately, Sacerdoțeanu’s hope that the journal would be taken over by an editorial committee was not realized and much of the content was the product of his extremely fertile pen<sup>94</sup>. This included an introduction to medieval archaeology<sup>95</sup> and material from Cozia Monastery<sup>96</sup>. His colleagues Mihai Berza and Mircea Tomescu contributed, respectively, pieces on comparative history<sup>97</sup> and a bibliography of chronicler-inspired drama<sup>98</sup>. Other articles were from Constantin Turcu and Sigismund Jakó. The “*Note și comunicări*” and “*Note bibliografice*” were provided by Sacerdoțeanu, Petre Năsturel, and Mircea Tomescu. Volume 6 continued to fill a critical role in Romanian scholarship.

On 5 November 1947, Sacerdoțeanu once more gave the inaugural address at the *Școala de Arhivistică*<sup>99</sup>. He began by saying that “Day before yesterday, I was at a lecture dealing with Soviet historiography in the last thirty years. From this succinct but interesting presentation I was able to note many things which particularly concern us. We need to underline a significant fact: Soviet historiography not only does not restrict the realm of historical studies, but to the contrary, extends it greatly ... It is the merit of historical Marxism to search *to know* everything that has happened *as exactly as possible*.”<sup>100</sup>

This *pro forma* acknowledgment of Romania’s new course and its Soviet occupiers was followed by a lengthy review of Sacerdoțeanu’s stewardship of the *Arhiva Statului* and the *Școala de Arhivistică*, a kind of *pro domo*. He repeated and affirmed the need for the *Școala de Arhivistică* and for its journal. He noted that “All

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<sup>90</sup> *Note și comunicări*, p. 152-176.

<sup>91</sup> *Note bibliografice*, p. 177-196.

<sup>92</sup> See my *The East European Revolution Revisited (La révolution de l’Europe de l’Est revisitée)*, “Revue Roumaine d’Études Internationales”, 27 (1993), 1-2, p. 49-64. For a brief review of 1946, see A. Sacerdoțeanu, *Dare de seamă despre Arhivele Statului pe 1946 făcută către Consiliul de Perfecționare*, “Revista Arhivelor”, 7 (1946-1947), p. 343 ff.

<sup>93</sup> *Hrisovul*, 6 (1946), 200 p. + III plates. 500 copies. Published November 1947 (p. 200).

<sup>94</sup> *Informațiuni*, “Hrisovul”, 6 (1946), p. 184.

<sup>95</sup> A. Sacerdoțeanu, *Introducere în arheologia medievală*, p. 5-20.

<sup>96</sup> *Idem*, *Din arhiva mănăstirii Cozia*, p. 65-104.

<sup>97</sup> Mihai Berza, *Istorie comparată-istorie internațională-istorie universală*, p. 21-36.

<sup>98</sup> Mircea Tomescu, *Drama de inspirație cronicărească. Repertoriu bibliografic*, p. 37-64.

<sup>99</sup> A. Sacerdoțeanu, *Cuvânt de deschidere a anului școlar, 5 Noemvrie 1947*, “Hrisovul”, 7 (1947), p. 183-193. No inaugural was published for 1946.

<sup>100</sup> Emphasis in the original.

these works, carried out in difficult circumstances, for the most part during a state of war, have not been easy to do.” Working long days, in freezing or other intolerable conditions, at the sacrifice of free time and ones health, Romanian archivists had gone through a lot in the past nine years, including false rumors, power struggles, and other ‘sordid’ attacks. Yet Sacerdoțeanu declared himself optimistic about the future, a future which could be build on the “solid framework” built over the last decade.

Volume 7 (1947) followed a short time afterward<sup>101</sup>. The first four articles were the standard fare: Sacerdoțeanu on the history of archivistics<sup>102</sup>, M. Guboglu’s catalogue of Ottoman rulers<sup>103</sup>, Sacerdoțeanu on Romanian diplomatics<sup>104</sup>, and Petre Năsturel’s list of Orthodox patriarchs<sup>105</sup>. (The final piece, by Dan Al. Berindei, dealt with 19<sup>th</sup> century Romanian history, perhaps a bit out of place for this journal<sup>106</sup>.) The “*Note și comunicări*”<sup>107</sup> and the “*Note bibliografice*”<sup>108</sup> sections were expanded and included contributions by Sacerdoțeanu, H. Chircă, Constant Grecescu, Teodor Balan, Mircea Tomescu, Petre Năsturel, Iosif E. Naghiu, Irina Bodor, and Ion Constantin Chițimia<sup>109</sup>.

The “*Informații*” section contained further signs of the times: laudatory notices of the founding of the *Institutul de Studii și Cercetări Științifice Româno-Sovietic* [Institute of Romanian-Soviet Scientific Studies and Researches] and of the “amazing progress” of medieval archaeology in Hungary and the USSR<sup>110</sup>. These gestures (and more) of accommodation to the realities of the Soviet occupation proved futile. “*Hrisovul*” ceased publication with Vol. 7 (1947). And in 1948, the *Școala de Arhivistică* was transformed into an *Institut de Arhivistică, Bibliologie și Muzeografie*, which lasted until 1950, when it was absorbed by the University of București<sup>111</sup>.

The accomplishments of Aurelian Sacerdoțeanu, the *Școala de Arhivistică*, and “*Hrisovul*” were significant. They kept the fires of scholarship going in wartime. They set the agenda and provided a model for Romanian archivists in the 1940s and thereafter. They trained many of the ‘lost’ or ‘hidden’ generation of Romanian

<sup>101</sup> “*Hrisovul*”, 7 (1947), 260 p. 500 copies. No publication date; probably early 1948.

<sup>102</sup> A. Sacerdoțeanu, *Arhivistica*, p. 5-47.

<sup>103</sup> M. Guboglu, *Sultani și mari dregători otomani*, p. 49-136.

<sup>104</sup> A. Sacerdoțeanu, *Note de diplomatică românească*, p. 137-146.

<sup>105</sup> Petre Năsturel, *Lista patriarhilor ortodocși: Constantinopol, Alexandria, Antiohia și Jerusalem*, p. 147-168.

<sup>106</sup> Dan Al. Berindei, *Dionisie Pop Marțian și Congresul de statistică din Berlin, Septemvrie 1863*, p. 169-181.

<sup>107</sup> *Note și comunicări*, p. 149-159.

<sup>108</sup> *Note bibliografice*, p. 160-179.

<sup>109</sup> Worthy of note was Sacerdoțeanu’s excitement over the publication of the first “complete” edition in Romanian of Marx and Engels’ *Communist Manifesto*, p. 237.

<sup>110</sup> *Informații*, p. 256.

<sup>111</sup> “*Învățământ arhivistic*”, in *Dicționar* (ed. by Gal), 1982, p. 148-149.

scholarship of the 1950s-1960s. Sacerdoțeanu's contributions were heroic, often producing major portions of the journal single-handed while busy with his duties as director of both the *Arhiva Statului* and the *Școala*, coping with the difficulties of a world war and a Communist takeover<sup>112</sup>.

Sacerdoțeanu himself described "*Hrisovul*" in 1947 as follows: "It is a beginning attempt in our country to give a professional, technical character to the auxiliary sciences of history, the publication being reserved only for these and for erudite works involved in the criticism of sources ... the review succeeded in establishing its own niche. Questions related to archivistica, bibliography, diplomatica, chronology, numismatics, and paleography thus won their own specific place in Romanian scholarly literature."<sup>113</sup> It was certainly that and more; it is unfortunate that it did not have the opportunity to develop in more propitious and healthier circumstances.

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<sup>112</sup> For more, see "Sacerdoțeanu, Aurelian," in *ibidem*, p. 203-205.

<sup>113</sup> A. Sacerdoțeanu, *Arhivistica*, "Hrisovul", 7 (1947), p. 14.