

# LES MARQUAGES CORPORELS CHEZ LES COMMUNAUTÉS NÉOLITHIQUES ET ÉNÉOLITHIQUES CARPATO DANUBIENNES (I)

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**Rezumat:** În această lucrare, autorul studiază acele statuete și vase antropomorfe neolitice din spațiul carpato-balcanic și danubian, care prezintă elemente ale marcajelor corporale (tatuaje, perforări ale diferitelor părți ale corpului, scarificări etc.), practicate de către comunitățile protoistorice. Aceste marcaje corporale au avut, probabil, un rol important în socializarea indivizilor, în cadrul micro și macrogrupurilor sociale, pentru sublinierea identității de gen, vârstă, status, etnie, religie etc., în cadrul unor societăți complexe.

**Abstract:** In this paper, the author discusses those anthropomorphic statuettes and vases of Neolithic from Carpatho-Balkan and Danubian area, which showing components of bodily marks (tattoos, piercing, scarification's etc.) practiced by proto-historical communities. These bodily marks had probably an important role in the socialization of individual, within the micro and macro social group, to highlight the identities of gender, age, status, ethnicity, religion etc., in the complex societies.

**Résumé:** Dans cet ouvrage, l'auteur discute les statuettes et les vaisseaux anthropomorphes néolithiques de l'espace carpato-balkanique et danubien, qui présentent des éléments des marquages corporels (tatouages, perforations des différentes parties du corps, scarifications etc.), pratiqués par les communautés protohistoriques. Ces marquages corporels ont eu, probablement, un rôle important dans la socialisation des individus, dans le cadre des micros et des macro groupes sociaux, pour souligner l'identité de genre, d'âge, statut, ethnie, religion etc., dans le cadre des sociétés complexes.

**Keywords:** body (bodily) marks, tattoo, piercing, scarification, identity

Chaque incursion dans le monde des civilisations préhistoriques est très difficile parce que leurs témoignages, si riches et bien connus archéologiquement, sont encore bien pauvres par rapport à la complexité de la vie d'antan. Dans ces circonstances, les reconstitutions historiques ne sont que de pâles reflets de l'existence riche d'autrefois, pré- et protohistorique, les modèles de l'anthropologie culturelle nous montrent que nous sommes si loin d'une image satisfaisante de ce passé.

Mettant de côté les nombreuses créations macro sociales des hommes préhistoriques (institutions, croyances, comportements, etc.), dans cet ouvrage, nous discutons les marquages corporels intentionnés, pratiqués par les communautés néolithiques et énéolithiques, avec des nombreuses implications sociales, artistiques et religieuses, essayant, évidemment, de combiner les données fournies par les sources archéologiques avec celles de l'anthropologie culturelle et avec les sources

écrites, où une telle approche est possible, pour mettre en évidence la relation subtile entre l'individu et le micro/macro groupe auquel il était affilié, comme des complexes éléments de communication non verbale. Loin d'être une approche globale de ce problème complexe, cet ouvrage cherche à ouvrir le débat sur les aspects moins visibles du point de vue archéologique, mais qui ont occupé une place importante dans la spiritualité des communautés néolithiques et énéolithiques.

Classés, en même temps, en plusieurs catégories d'ordre social et de communication, esthétique et spirituelle, les marquages corporels intentionnés (*body adornments, body/bodily marks, marquage corporel*) s'ajoutent aux marques naturelles du corps ("l'homme rouge", "homme imberbe", pigmentation naevus/"grains de beauté", des taches hyper pigmentées couvertes de poils, hypo pigmentation/albinisme, des déficiences physiques, etc.). Les marquages corporels sont des pratiques particulières, qui changent délibérément la condition physique et l'aspect naturel du corps, selon les règles caractéristiques pour chaque communauté, société et culture. Dans ces circonstances, le corps humain ou seulement des parties de celui-ci ont été utilisés comme supports, ont été "transformés" comme les autres matériaux (céramique bois, métal etc.), pour l'encodage des différents codes culturels (fig. 1) et langages non verbales, des messages sociaux (*status* individuel, âge et sexe, position/hierarchie sociale, appartenance ethnique et de micro groupe etc.), des messages religieux, culturels et, pas finalement, esthétiques et artistiques.<sup>1</sup> Par conséquent, les hommes préhistoriques comme ceux-ci des sociétés "suspendues dans l'époque préhistorique", ont "travaillé" et "spiritualisé" le corps, en complétant le *datum* naturel avec des nouveaux éléments, symboles, signes, significations, fonctionnalités et motifs, conçus en manière holistique (morphologie, syntaxe, sémantique), constituant des modèles (*patterns*), qui ne permettent guère être dévoilés et compris.

Connus du Paléolithique Supérieur, quand ils ont été représentés sur certaines peintures rupestres, les marquages corporels ont survécu jusqu'aujourd'hui sous la forme de diverses déformations artificielles, perforations (*piercings*) et des tatouages (voir les tatouages des prisonniers, soldats, membres des différents courants artistiques et, même, religieux).

Une systématique des marquages corporels permet leur classification en: marquages corporels durables (irréversibles) et temporaires (réversibles). Des marquages corporels durables (irréversibles), on peut mentionner: la déformation des parties du corps (l'élongation de la tête, du cou, la compression et la réduction de la plante du pied, l'extension ou la diminution des lèvres et des oreilles, des grandes lèvres etc.; des mutilations de la peau – la suppression de l'œil, la coupe/l'entaille du nez, la castration, la coupe des mains/des doigts, les stigmates etc.; le perçage des parties du corps (la perforation des lobes des oreilles, tantôt les oreilles ensemble, les narines, la cloison nasale, des lèvres, pour introduire des ornements différents; l'extraction, le sciage, le polissage et la décoration des dents, l'ablation des doigts, des phalanges, la clitoridectomie, l'excision, l'infibulation, la circoncision du clitoris et du

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<sup>1</sup> Michèle Coquet, *Marcaj corporal*, dans Pierre Bonte, Michel Izard (coord.), *Dictionar de etnologie și antropologie*, Iași, Polirom, 1999, p. 402-403.

prépuce, l'enlèvement du scalpe etc.; la scarification et la cicatrisation de l'épiderme, les marquages au fer rouge, les tatouages. Des marquages corporels temporaires (réversibles) nous mentionnons: les coiffures et la peinture corporelle (*body painting*)<sup>2</sup>. Tous ces éléments contribuent au modelage culturel de l'individu, en insistant sur sa propre identité au sein du groupe social ou de ceux avec lesquels il interagit.



Fig. I. Les interactions entre les différents composants des codes culturels

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*; Jacques Galinier, *Corp*, en *loc. cit.*, p. 172-172; Blandine Bril, *Tehnici corporale*, dans *loc. cit.*, p. 173-175; Laurence Caillet, *Coduri culturale*, dans *loc. cit.*, p. 152-155; Kathlyn Gay, Christine Whittington, *Body marks: tattooing, piercing and scarification*, Brookfield, Twenty-First Century Books, 2002; Sylvie-Anne Lamer, *Graffiti dans la peau. Marquages du corps, identité et rituel*, en *Religiologiques*, no.12, automne 1995, p. 149-167; Luc Renaut, *Marquage corporel et signation religieuse dans l'Antiquité*, Thèse de doctorat soutenue le 6 décembre 2004 à l'École Pratique des Hautes Études, [http://tel.archives-ouvertes.fr/docs/00/27/52/45/PDF/1\\_Texte.pdf](http://tel.archives-ouvertes.fr/docs/00/27/52/45/PDF/1_Texte.pdf), accès 24 septembre 2009; Idem, *Les tatouages d'Ötzi et la petite chirurgie traditionnelle*, dans *L'Anthropologie*, Le Vol. 108, no. 1 (janvier - mars 2004), p. 69-105; Idem, *Le tatouage féminin dans les sociétés anciennes: beauté, sexualité et valeur sociale*, [http://hal.inria.fr/docs/00/27/62/21/PDF/Tatouage\\_feminin.pdf](http://hal.inria.fr/docs/00/27/62/21/PDF/Tatouage_feminin.pdf), accès 25 septembre 2009 (traduit en allemand *Die Tradition der weiblichen Tätowierung seit dem Altertum: Schönheit, Liebespiel und soziale Wertschätzung* en le vol. Annette Geiger (Ed.), *Des schöne Körper. Mode und Kosmetik als Topos der Kulturwissenschaften*, Köln, Böhlau Verlag, 2008, p. 91-112; Lars Krutak, *Shamanik Skin. The Art of Magical Tattoos*, [http://www.larskrutak.com/articles/Magical\\_Tattoos/index.html](http://www.larskrutak.com/articles/Magical_Tattoos/index.html), accès 12 mai 2010; Idem, *Making Boys into Men – The Skin-Cutting Ritual of the Kaningara*, dans *Skin and Ink Magazine*, August 2010 (<http://www.larskrutak.com/articles/Papua/index.html>, accès 12 mai 2010).

En nous referant au cadre temporel de cet article, le Néolithique et l'Énéolithique, IX-IV-ème/III-ème millénaires avant J. C., nous montrons qu'il existe seulement quelques hypothèses, qui tiennent compte de l'existence des marquages corporels préhistoriques, soit sur la plastique anthropomorphe en argile, pierre, os, métal, soit dans les décors de la céramique, soit dans d'autres représentations, et pour leur déchiffrement<sup>3</sup>.

Pour le Néolithique et l'Énéolithique Carpato Danubien, il y avait des opinions différentes quant à la signification des décors de la plastique anthropomorphe, dont on peut citer ceux de Ioan Andrieșescu et Dinu V. Rossetti, qui pensaient que l'ornementation incisée et/ou peinte représente des pièces de vêtements et des parures<sup>4</sup>; Eugen Comșa ajoutait, au critère mentionné déjà, les représentations des coiffures<sup>5</sup>. Ces hypothèses ont été prises, sous une forme ou une autre, par la plupart des spécialistes, s'en distinguant Dan Monah<sup>6</sup>, Nicolae Ursulescu<sup>7</sup>, Radian-Romus Andreescu<sup>8</sup>. Aux marquages corporels sur la plastique anthropomorphe de l'époque néolithique, comme le tatouage, dans le vrai sens du mot, ont fait référence George Diamandy<sup>9</sup>, Grigore C. Buțureanu, Vladimir Dumitrescu<sup>10</sup>, Silvia Marinescu-Bâlcu<sup>11</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Jak Yakar, *The language of symbols in prehistoric Anatolia*, dans *Documenta Praehistorica*, XXXII, 2005, p. 114-119; Ilze Biruta Loze, *Small anthropomorphic figurines in clay at Ğipka Neolithic settlements*, dans *Documenta Praehistorica*, XXXII, 2005, p. 158.

<sup>4</sup> Ioan Andrieșescu, *Contribuții la Dacia înainte de romani*, București, 1912, p. 105; Dinu V. Rossetti, *Steinkupferzeitliche Plastik aus einem Wohnhügel bei Bukarest*, dans *Jahrbuch für Prähistorische und Ethnographische Kunst*, Berlin, XII, 1938, (p. 29-50) p. 42, pl. 11/2

<sup>5</sup> Eugen Comșa, *Considerații cu privire la pieptănătura în cursul epocii neolitice pe teritoriul României*, dans *Cultură și Civilizație la Dunărea de Jos*, II, Călărași, 1985, p. 51-60; Idem, *Neoliticul pe teritoriul României. Considerații*, București, Maison d'Édition de l'Académie, 1987, p. 121-127; Idem, *Unele date despre îmbrăcăminte din epoca neolitică pe teritoriul Moldovei*, dans *Hierarus*, VII-VIII, 1989, p.39-56; Idem, *Figurinele antropomorfe din epoca neolitică pe teritoriul României*, série Biblioteca de arheologie, LIII, Maison d'Édition de l'Académie, București, 1995, p. 107-110;

<sup>6</sup> Dan Monah, *Plastica antropomorfă a culturii Cucuteni-Tripolie*, BMA III, Piatra Neamț, 1997, *passim*.

<sup>7</sup> Nicolae Ursulescu, *Nouvelles données concernant la représentation de la coiffure dans la plastique de la civilisation Cucuteni-Tripolye*, dans *Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica*, VI, 1999, p. 1-10

<sup>8</sup> Radian-Romus Andreescu, *Plastica antropomorfă gumelnițeană. Analiză primară*, Monographies III, București, Musée d'Histoire de la Roumanie, 2002, *passim*.

<sup>9</sup> George Diamandy, *Nouvelles idoles du Coucoutei (Roumanie)*, dans Nicolae Ursulescu, Mădălin-Cornel Văleanu, *Debutul culturii Cucuteni în arheologia europeană*, dans le vol. Nicolae Ursulescu (Ed. coord.), *Dimensiunea europeană a civilizației eneolitice est-carpatică*, Iași, Maison d'Édition de l'Université „Al. I. Cuza” Iași, 2007, p. 58.

<sup>10</sup> Vladimir Dumitrescu *et alii*, *Hăbășești. Monografie arheologică*, București, Maison d'Édition de l'Académie, 1954, p. 421-422; Idem, *Arta culturii Cucuteni*, București, Maison d'Édition Meridiane, 1979, p. 87-88

<sup>11</sup> Silvia Marinescu-Bâlcu, *Târpești. From Prehistory to History in Eastern Romania*, Oxford, BAR, 1981, p. 38; Eadem, Alexandra Bolomey, *Drăgușeni. A Cucutenian Community*, București, Maison d'Édition Encyclopédique, 2000, p. 136



et, plus tard, Eugen Comşa<sup>12</sup>, sans traiter spécifiquement ce problème ou se prononcer de manière décisive à ce sujet.

L'avis de Horia Dumitrescu est différent des hypothèses précédentes; celui-ci pensait que le décor des statuettes précucuteniennes et cucuteniennes représente des détails anatomiques des surfaces cutanées et sous-cutanées du corps humain<sup>13</sup>. Souvent, les différentes formes de marquage corporel, comme le perçage (*piercing*) et la scarification, ont été assimilées aux tatouages<sup>14</sup>, sans chercher à expliquer les motivations culturelles qui ont déterminé ces méthodes de décoration du corps humain dans les sociétés préhistoriques.

Malheureusement, pour les études pré et protohistoriques, seulement certains de ces marquages corporels peuvent être reconnus dans et par la recherche archéologique<sup>15</sup>. Quelles seraient, cependant, les preuves qui pourraient parler, dans l'absence des cadavres momifiés, sur l'existence des marquages corporels chez les communautés préhistoriques?

En outre des peintures rupestres, nombreuses en Paléolithique, pour les époques proches, les décors de la plastique anthropomorphe, peints, incisés, excisés et incrustés avec couleur, peuvent fournir des preuves assez claires concernant les marquages corporels pratiqués par les différents groupes humains. Dans ces cas, il s'agissait simplement d'un transfert des techniques des marquages corporels empruntés de la décoration céramique. En plus, de nombreux vases anthropomorphes, avec une décoration plastique et/ou peinte, avec des évidents éléments de marquages corporels s'ajoutent.

Par conséquent, compte tenu des hypothèses précédentes, nous avons essayé de sélectionner seulement les représentations trouvées sur des autres parties du corps des tels artefacts (plastique et céramique anthropomorphe), en particulier sur le visage, le cou et les membres (mains/pieds), qui pourraient nous donner plus d'informations sur l'existence des marquages corporels du Néolithique et de l'Énéolithique et qui ne peuvent être interprétés comme éléments d'embellissement (vêtements et parures), même si elles sont des importants codes culturels.

Avant de procéder à l'analyse des découvertes archéologiques qui parlent des marquages corporels, nous attirons l'attention sur la nécessité d'une bonne utilisation des concepts spécifiques à ce domaine, parce que les confusion sont encore

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<sup>12</sup> Eugen Comşa, *Le tatouage chez les communautés de la culture Gumelnița*, dans *Dacia*, NS, XXXVIII-XXXIX, 1994-1995, p. 441-444.

<sup>13</sup> Dumitrescu Horia, *La représentation du corps humain dans la plastique cucutenienne d'après les figurines striées*, dans "Actes VIII CISPP", Beograd, 1973, p. 448-454.

<sup>14</sup> Eugen Comşa, *Figurinele antropomorfe din epoca neolitică pe teritoriul României*, p. 107; Idem, *Le tatouage...*, dans *Dacia*, NS, XXXVIII-XXXIX, 1994-1995, p. 441.

<sup>15</sup> Tout en tenant compte de la nature périssable de la peau et des parties molles du corps humain, qui ont été utilisées, principalement, comme supports organiques pour les marquages corporels, et que la momification est exceptionnelle (momification intentionnelle et/ou accidentelle - dessiccation, cryodessiccation, dans les milieux abiotiques, dans les marécages et dans des autres systèmes fermés, etc.), on justifie l'absence de telles découvertes. Ainsi, nous sommes privées des preuves importantes sur la vie passée.

fréquentes, particulièrement entre tatouage et perçage (*piercing*) ou entre tatouage et scarification<sup>16</sup>. La compréhension des significations profondes de ces concepts, nous montre la complexité de ce phénomène.

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Une radiographie minutieuse de l'art paléolithique et épipaléolithique, caractérisée par l'omnipotence de l'image, comme un moyen important pour la transmission des messages mythologiques, symboliques et rituels, permet l'identification des éléments qui peuvent être associés à la présence précoce des marquages corporels.

Ainsi, sur le corps de la statuette anthropomorphe aurignacienne (mains, seins, abdomen), trouvée à Hohle Fels (sud-ouest de l'Allemagne)<sup>17</sup> (Fig. II.1a-b), et sur la main gauche de la statuette zoo-anthropomorphe du Vogelherd (Hohlenstein Stadel, Allemagne)<sup>18</sup> (fig. II.2a-c), contemporaine à la première, on observe une série de lignes quasi-parallèles incisées, qui pourraient représenter des marquages corporels comme des tatouages ou des scarifications. De même, quelques représentations de mains, identifiées sur les peintures rupestres des grottes, comme celles de Cosquer (fig. II.3) et de Gargas (France) (fig. II.4) et Castillo (Espagne), présentent de fréquentes mutilations (l'ablation des phalanges aux plusieurs doigts), fait qui a été interprété différemment, soit comme des amputations suivies à la suite des pathologies ou des accidents, soit comme des sectionnements volontaires ou comme

<sup>16</sup> **Tatouage** = signe ou dessin permanent fait sur le corps, avec un pigment introduit en perçant la peau (*Dictionar Enciclopedic Britannica*, Cornelia Marinescu (coord.), Litera Internațional, DeAgostini, 2009, p. 2770; étymologie: *tataus* (Tahiti) = signe, marque; angl. *tattoo*, fr. *tatouage*, allem. *Tätowierung*); **piercing** = terme anglais désignant un type de marquage corporel, qui consiste à percer différentes parties du corps pour ajouter des parures (anneaux, pierres précieuses, etc.); fr. *perçage corporel*; allem. *Körperpiercing*; **scarification** = marquage corporel permanent, obtenu par le grattage, la coupe superficielle ou la gravure plus profonde de la surface de la peau et l'adjonction des substances pour produire des cicatrices évidentes, qui représentent des modèles différents, "sculptés", avec des significations complexes (angl./fr. *scarification*; allem. *Skarifizierung*) (Alphonse Tiérou, *Paroles de masques: un regard africain sur l'art africain*, Maisonneuve&Larose, 2007, p. 316-317; Rufus C. Camphausen, *Return of the Tribal: Celebration of Body Adornment, Piercing, Tattooing, Scarification, Body Painting*, Inner Traditions Bear and Company, 1997; Victor Turner, Edith Turner, *Bodily Marks*, dans *Encyclopedia of Religion, Second Edition*, Lindsay Jones (editor en chef), le vol. 2, Thomson-Gale, 2005, p. 1000-1005).

<sup>17</sup> Neil S. Price, *The archaeology of Shamanism*, Routledge, Taylor&Francis Group, New York, 2001, p. 169, fig 11.2; Nicholas J. Conard, *A female figurine from the basal Aurignacian of Hohle Fels Cave in southwestern Germany*, dans *Nature*, 459, 2009, 248-252, <http://www.nature.com/nature/journal/v459/n7244/full/nature07995.html> (accès 15 mai 2010).

<sup>18</sup> Hahn J, *Kraft und Aggression. Die Botschaft der Eiszeitkunst im Aurignacien Süddeutschlands?*, en *Archaeologica Venatoria*, 1986, Tafel 17; Neil S. Price, *The archaeology of Shamanism*, NY, Routledge, Taylor&Francis Group, 2001, p. 169, fig 11.2

des doigts pliés, dans certains codes de communication<sup>19</sup>. Dans ce dernier cas, il s'agit des preuves, presque certaines, des marquages corporels aux hommes du Paléolithique Supérieur, soit dans le contexte des rites d'initiation, soit avec but punitif, soit avec des fins religieuses.

Sur l'existence des marquages corporels de la période Épipaléolithique parlent quelques-unes des peintures du complexe rupestre de Tassili n'Ajjer (Algérie)<sup>20</sup>, encadré dans la période et le style des "têtes rondes" (aprox. 9000-7000 avant J.-C.). Il s'agit de personnages représentés en différentes hypostases, montrant des signes évidents de tatouages sur le corps, des scarifications ou des peintures corporelles, dans les sites du Tassili Tamri, Touzmiak (fig. II.2) et Sefar<sup>21</sup>, fait confirmé par la découverte d'une femme momifiée et tatouée et d'une "trousse" avec des outils pour le tatouage<sup>22</sup>.

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Passant à la période et à l'espace pris directement en discussion, nous montrons que, jusqu'à présent, pour les débuts du Néolithique Carpato Danubien, ont été distingués, dans la plastique anthropomorphe et la décoration de la céramique, quelques éléments, qui peuvent être liés aux marquages corporels.

Bien que de nombreuses statuettes Starčevo-Koros/Criș ne présentent pas des éléments décoratifs, deux exemplaires, découverts à Zastavnaja-Malaj Gora (fig.

<sup>19</sup> Jean Clottes, Jean Courtin, *La grotte Cosquer. Peintures et gravures de la grotte engloutie*, Paris, Seuil, 1994; Jean Clottes, Jean Courtin, Luc Vanrell, *La grotte Cosquer. Images préhistoriques et "médecines" sous la mer*, [www.hominides.com/html/art/grotte-cosquer.php](http://www.hominides.com/html/art/grotte-cosquer.php), fig.2; <http://www.lrmh.fr> (Grotta Gargas), (accès 15 mai 2010); Clottes, Jean, 2004. *L'art rupestre et le chamanisme*, *Clio*, [http://www.clio.fr/BIBLIOTHEQUE/lart\\_rupestre\\_et\\_le\\_chamanisme.asp](http://www.clio.fr/BIBLIOTHEQUE/lart_rupestre_et_le_chamanisme.asp), (accès 15 mai 2010); Jacques Poitou, *Aux origines de l'écriture*, <http://j.poitou.free.fr/pro/html/scr/scr-intro.html#gargas> (accès 15 mai 2010).

<sup>20</sup> Douglas Mazonowicz, *Prehistoric Rock Painting at Tassili*, in *African Arts*, le vol. 2, 1 1968, p. 24-75; Raven Rowanchilde, *Male genital modification. A sexual selection interpretation*, en *Human Nature*, Volume 7, Number 2/June, 1996, p. 189-215; Paula I. Nielson, *Prehistoric Saharan Rock Art Signs of Changing Climate and Early Egyptian Religion in the Sahara* ([http://archaeologica-artifacts.suite101.com/article.cfm/prehistoric\\_saharan\\_rock\\_art#ixzz0nduoi4xM](http://archaeologica-artifacts.suite101.com/article.cfm/prehistoric_saharan_rock_art#ixzz0nduoi4xM), (accès 20 mai 2010); Jean-Loïc Le Quellec, *L'art rupestre du Sahara. Historique et répartition des découvertes*, <http://rupestre.on-rev.com/index.html>, (accès 20 mai 2010)

<sup>21</sup> J. D. Lajoux, *The Rock Paintings of Tassili*, London, Thames & Hudson, 1963; Augustin F. C. Holl, *Saharan Rock Art. Archaeology of Tassilian Pastoralist Iconography*, AltaMira Press, 2004; Paula I. Nielson, *op. cit.*, dans *loc. cit.*; Voir aussi *Sahara Néolithique* <http://ennedi.free.fr/index.html>; <http://ennedi.free.fr/photo39.htm>; <http://www.i-trekings.net/galerie/img/PICT027720%282%29.jpg>; <http://gallery.pictopia.com/natgeo/photo/278030/>, (accès 20 mai 2010).

<sup>22</sup> Theresa M. Winge, *Tattoos*, dans *Encyclopedia Clothing and Fashion*, Valerie Steele (Editor in Chief), Thomson Gale, 2005, le vol. 3, p. 268-271, <http://angelasancartier.net/tattoos> (accès 12 mai 2010).

III.9) et à Holmcy-Karan (fig. III.8), dans l'Ukraine Transcarpatique<sup>23</sup>, ont tracées, sur le visage, des lignes parallèles, incisées disposées en croix, indiquant avec clarté des marquages corporels, du type des scarifications ou des tatouages. Ces pièces sont semblables aux représentations des plaquettes en argile (fig. III.2-3), découvertes à Gulubnik (Bulgarie), appartenant au même complexe culturel<sup>24</sup>.

De tels marquages corporels (tatouages, scarifications) sont présents dans les civilisations néolithiques du Proche-Orient et de l'Anatolie, VII-ème – VI-ème millénaire avant J. C., tant sur le crâne avec le visage modèle en argile du Jerichon<sup>25</sup>, sur les statuettes de Ain Ghazal<sup>26</sup> et sur les vases avec des représentations de visages humains, ainsi que sur les autres figurines féminines (visage, seins), découvertes à Tell Hassuna<sup>27</sup> (fig. III.1.1-c), Chagar Bazar<sup>28</sup> (fig. III.4-5), Halaf (fig. II.6-7)<sup>29</sup>, Hacilar I și VI (fig. IV.1-13)<sup>30</sup> et Çatal Höyük (fig. IV.14, V.1)<sup>31</sup>; on a réalisé, avec couleur, des motifs linéaires, droites ou zigzags, verticaux et horizontaux, reproduisant des tatouages ou, peut-être, des autres marquages corporels.

Une pareille représentation faciale, avec des possibles traces de tatouage, a été découverte dans le Néolithique balkanique, dans le site de Sofia-Slatina<sup>32</sup>

<sup>23</sup> M. F. Potušnjak, *Neolit Zakarpat'ja: kultura Kriš i raspisnoj keramiki*, în *Arheologija Ukrainskoj SSR*, le vol.1, Naukovo Dumka, 1985, Kiev, p. 139-150, fig. 37/11, 38/9.

<sup>24</sup> Henrieta Todorova, Ivan Vajsov, *Novo-kamennata epokha v Bulgarija*, Sofia, Nauka i Izkustvo, 1993, p. 195.

<sup>25</sup> E. B. Banning, *The Neolithic Period: Triumphs of Architecture, Agriculture, and Art*, dans *Near Eastern Archaeology*, Vol. 61, No. 4. (Dec., 1998), p. 227.

<sup>26</sup> Charles Keith Maisels, *Early Civilizations of the Old World: the Formative Histories of Egypt, the Levant, Mesopotamia, India and China*, Taylor&Francis Group, 1999, p. 113; Denise Schmandt-Besserat (Ed.), *Symbols at Ain Ghazal*, le vol. I, <http://menic.utexas.edu/ghazal/ChapVI/fig3.jpg> (accès 12 mai 2010).

<sup>27</sup> S. Lloyd, F. Safar, *Tell Hassuna. Excavations by the Iraq Government Directorate General of Antiquities in 1943 and 1944*, dans *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, IV, 1945, p. 255-289, fig.1.2; <http://arqueocerca.com/prehistoria/neolithic/samarra.jpg>, (accès 20 mai 2010); <http://www.theartnewspaper.com/iraqmus/iraqscan/pre-hist/008.JPG>, (accès, 21 mai 2010).

<sup>28</sup> M. E. L. Mallowan, *Excavations at Chagar Bazar and an archaeological survey of the Habur Region of north Syria: 1934-5*, en *Iraq-3*, 3 (1936), p. 21, fig. 5.3; The British Museum, [http://www.hartford-hwp.com/image\\_archive/ue/figurine02.jpg](http://www.hartford-hwp.com/image_archive/ue/figurine02.jpg); [http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/highlights/highlight\\_objects/me/p/terracotta\\_figurine\\_of\\_a\\_woman.aspx](http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/highlights/highlight_objects/me/p/terracotta_figurine_of_a_woman.aspx); [www.nissaba.nl/godinnen/p/ps282359a.jpg](http://www.nissaba.nl/godinnen/p/ps282359a.jpg) (accès 10 mai 2010).

<sup>29</sup> The Walters Art Museum de Baltimore, Maryland (<http://art.thewalters.org/viewwoa.aspx?id=34867>); Royal Ontario Museum (<http://www.cbc.ca/gfx/images/arts/photos/2008/02/15/fertility-figure.jpg>), (accès 10 mai 2010).

<sup>30</sup> James Mellaart, *Excavations at Hacilar*, University Press, Edinburgh 1970, fig. 525, 535, 248-249, pl. LXIII.1.

<sup>31</sup> Çatalhöyük. Excavations of a Neolithic Anatolian Höyük, [www.carnaval.com/aquarius/catalhoyuk\\_Goddess.jpg](http://www.carnaval.com/aquarius/catalhoyuk_Goddess.jpg), (accès 7 mai 2010); Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, Ankara, <http://www.turkishodyssey.com/gallery/images/g0048.jpg>, (accès 7 mai 2010).

<sup>32</sup> Vassil Nikolov, Kunka Grigorova, Emilia Sirakova, *Die Ausgrabungen in der frühneolithischen Siedlungen von Sofia-Slatina, Bulgarien, in den Jahren 1985-1988*, dans

(Kemikovči/ Karanovo I), sur un vase anthropomorphe (fig. V.2), semblable, en partie, avec ceux de Hacilar. Il s'agit d'un fragment peint avec des motifs linéaires verticaux, sous forme de zigzag, montrant une certaine influence orientale et anatolienne.

Le phénomène des marquages corporels, dans ses divers aspects (tatouages, *piercings*, scarifications, peintures corporelles, coiffures, etc.), se prolonge, dans plusieurs civilisations de la Méditerranée Orientale, soit jusqu'à l'Age du Bronze, soit jusqu'aux périodes historiques. À cet égard, on peut citer les découvertes de l'Énéolithique ou du Bronze cycladique et chypriote<sup>33</sup> ou les sources écrites (Herodote<sup>34</sup>).

Un chapitre particulièrement intéressant et difficile, en même temps, lorsque nous discutons la présence des marquages corporels sur les vases et les statuettes réalisés par les communautés de la culture Vinča, est représenté par les nombreuses figurines avec des masques et des couvercles prosopomorphes<sup>35</sup>. Tenant compte de

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*Acta Praehistorica et Archaeologica*, 24, 1992, p. 221-233; Vassil Nikolov, *Neolithic cult assemblages from the Early Neolithic settlement at Slatina, Sofia*, dans Peter F. Biehl, François Bertemes, Harald Meller (Eds.), *The Archaeology of Cult and Religion*, Archaeolingua, Budapest, 2001, p. 133-137; Idem, *Slatina-Sofia: Data on the Early Farming Cult*, dans le vol. *Festschrift für Gheorghe Lazarovici. Zum 60. Geburtstag*, Florin Draşovean (éd.), Timişoara, Maison d'Édition Mirton, 2001, p. 19-31; Svend Hansen, *Neolithic Sulpture. Some Remarks on an Problem*, dans Peter F. Biehl, François Bertemes, Harald Meller (Eds.), *The Archaeology of Cult and Religion*, Archaeolingua, Budapest, 2001, p. 41-42.

<sup>33</sup> Douglass Bailey, *Prehistoric Figurines: Representation and Corporeality in the Neolithic*, Routledge, Taylor&Francis, 2005, p. 122-204, fig. 6.1; Sophocles Hadjisavvas (Ed.), *From Ishtar to Aphrodite. 3200 Years of Cypriot Hellenism. Treasures from the Museums of Cyprus*, New York, 2003, (<http://www.archaeology.org/online/reviews/aphrodite/index.html>, accès 11 mai 2010); Anna Laetitia a Campo, *Anthropomorphic Representations in Prehistoric Cyprus: a Formal and Symbolic Analysis of Figurines, c. 3500 - 1800 B.C. Symbolic Analysis of Figurines*, 1994; Diane Bolger, *Figurines, Fertility, and the Emergence of Complex Society in Prehistoric Cyprus*, dans *CurrAnthr*, 37, 2, 1996, p. 365-373; Elizabeth Hendrix, *Painted Ladies of the Early Bronze Age*, dans *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 55 (Winter 1997-98), p. 4-15, ([http://www.metmuseum.org/publications/bulletins/1/pdf/3258798.pdf\\_bannerred.pdf](http://www.metmuseum.org/publications/bulletins/1/pdf/3258798.pdf_bannerred.pdf), accès 11 mai 2010).

<sup>34</sup> Herodot, *Istoria*, IV, 71, V.6, dans *FHDR*, I, 1964, p. 41, 67 ; Voir aussi l'édition Adelina Piatkowski, Felicia Vanţ-Stef, Editura Ştiinţifică Bucureşti, 1961; Serghej Ivanoviči Rudenko, *Frozen tombs of Siberia: the Pazyryk burials of Iron Age horsemen*, University of California Press, 1970, p. 110-113.

<sup>35</sup> John Chapman, *The Vinča culture of South-east Europe: Studies in Chronology, Economy and Society*, Oxford, British Archaeological Reports, BAR International Series 117, 1981, *passim*; Nikola Tasić, Dragoslav Srejšović, Bratislav Stojanović, *Vinča. Centre of the Neolithic culture of the Danubian region*, Beograd, 1990 ([http://www.rastko.rs/arheologija/vinca/vinca\\_eng.html](http://www.rastko.rs/arheologija/vinca/vinca_eng.html), accès 16 mai 2010); Marija Alseikaitė Gimbutas, *The Gods and Goddesses of Old Europe: 7000 to 3500 BC. Myths, Legends and Cult Images*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1974, p. 57-66.

leur caractère de représentations fictives et de la relativité de la connaissance de l'imaginaire vinçien, nous pouvons souligner, toutefois, le fait que les nombreux couvercles prosopomorphes et les statuettes imitent, de manière plus ou moins exacte, même si les représentations zoomorphes, le massif facial humain. Dans ces circonstances, nous croyons qu'il n'est pas fortuit que sur beaucoup de ces couvercles prosopomorphes et sur la tête des figurines anthropomorphes sont représentés, avec des motifs incisés et en couleur, des possibles marquages corporels (Fig. V.4-14)<sup>36</sup>.

Des possibles représentations, similaires aux marquages faciaux, en forme de tatouages linéaires, apparaissent dans la culture Gradešnica<sup>37</sup>, tant sur les vases anthropomorphes peints, ainsi que sur quelques-unes des figurines féminines (Fig. V.3), dont plusieurs sont interprétées comme des éléments d'une proto-écriture du Néolithique et de l'Énéolithique danubien<sup>38</sup>.

D'habitude, la plastique anthropomorphe et la céramique de la civilisation Hamangia ne présentent pas des éléments qu'on peut lier à l'identification des possibles marquages corporels, pratiqués par ces communautés, développées aux confins d'entre le Néolithique et l'Énéolithique Ponto Danubien. Toutefois, les découvertes de la nécropole de Durankulak (Bulgarie) et leur publication détaillée, nous a permis d'identifier des indicateurs culturels pareils, sur les artefacts des quelques tombeaux de la III-ème phase de la civilisation Hamangia<sup>39</sup>. Ainsi, des marquages corporels, comme tatouages, coiffures développées et diadèmes (?), peuvent être observés, à notre avis, sur les couvercles prosopomorphes trouvés dans

<sup>36</sup> The Town Museum of Vršac, [http://www.arheologija.narod.ru/\\_dlustanove/vrsac/Prehistoric.html](http://www.arheologija.narod.ru/_dlustanove/vrsac/Prehistoric.html); <http://netsell.com/lococo/pottery.html>; [www.thecityreview.com/f04cant1.html](http://www.thecityreview.com/f04cant1.html), (accès 14 mai 2010); Dana Bălănescu, Gheorghe Lazarovici, *Considerații privind tipologia și evoluția vaselor-capac din cultura Vinča. Descoperiri din Clisura Dunării*, dans *Banatica*, V, 1979, p. 17-25; Gh. Lazarovici, *Neoliticul Banatului*, BMN, III, Cluj-Napoca, 1979, fig. 39; Le Muséum du Banat Montagne Reșița, <http://clasate.cimec.ro/Detinator.asp?detinator=Muzeul0Banatului0Montan0-0RESZZITZZA>, (accès 14 mai 2010); Nikola Tasić, Dragoslav Srejović, Bratislav Stojanović, *Vinča...*, ([http://www.rastko.rs/arheologija/vinca/vinca\\_eng.html](http://www.rastko.rs/arheologija/vinca/vinca_eng.html), accès 14 mai 2010).

<sup>37</sup> Vassil Nikolov, *Selishte ot starja neolit pri s. Gradeshnica, Vrachanski okrag*, dans *Arheologia*, Sofia, 1, 1975, Fig. 11.

<sup>38</sup> Harald Haarmann, *Early Civilization and Literacy in Europe: an Inquiry into Cultural Continuity in the Mediterranean World*, Approaches to Semiotics 124, Berlin, Mouton de Gruyter, 1995, p. 11-30; Marco Merlini, *The Gradešnica script revisited*, dans *Acta Terrae Septemcastrensis*, V, 2006, p. 25-78, <http://arheologie.ulbsibiu.ro/publicatii/ats/ats5/2merlini.htm>, (accès 17 mai 2010).

<sup>39</sup> Henrieta Todorova (Hrsg), *Durankulak, Band II, Die Prähistorischen Gräberfelder, Teil 1 (Textteil)*, Sofia 2002; Henrieta Todorova (Hrsg), Todor Dimov, Javor Bojadžiev, Ivan Vajsov, Kalin Dimitrov, Maja Abramova, *Durankulak, Band II, Die Prähistorischen Gräberfelder, Teil 2 (Katalog, Farbabbildungen, Verzeichnisse, Tableaus, Faltpläne)*, Sofia, 2002; Voir et [http://www.omda.bg/engl/history/selishte15\\_engl.htm](http://www.omda.bg/engl/history/selishte15_engl.htm), (accès 14 mai 2010).



les tombes 496A, 736A, 827, 885, 972<sup>40</sup>. Utilisant des incisions peu profondes et des incrustations avec la couleur blanche, des détails anatomiques, des tatouages (scarifications?) et perçages (*piercings*) nasales ont été représentés (Fig. VI. 2-5, 8-10).

Nous finissons ici la première partie de cet ouvrage, en soulignant, encore une fois, l'importance des marquages corporels aux communautés néolithiques, qui ont joué un rôle important dans la spiritualisation du corps humain, comme interface sociale de l'individu et manière complexe de l'identification culturelle. Dans la deuxième partie de l'étude, nous nous occuperons des marquages corporels chez les communautés énéolithiques de l'espace carpato balkanique et dans celui danubien.

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**Fig. I.** Les interactions entre les différents composants des codes culturels.

**Fig. II.** Marquages corporels dans l'art paléolithique et épipaléolithique. 1. Hohle Fels; 2. Vogelherd; 3. Cosquer; 4. Gargas; 5. Tassili N'Ajjer, Tanzoumaitak (Nicholas J. Conard; Neil S. Price; Jean Clottes, Jean Courtin, Luc Vanrell; <http://www.lrmh.fr>; <http://rupestre.on-rev.com/index.html>).

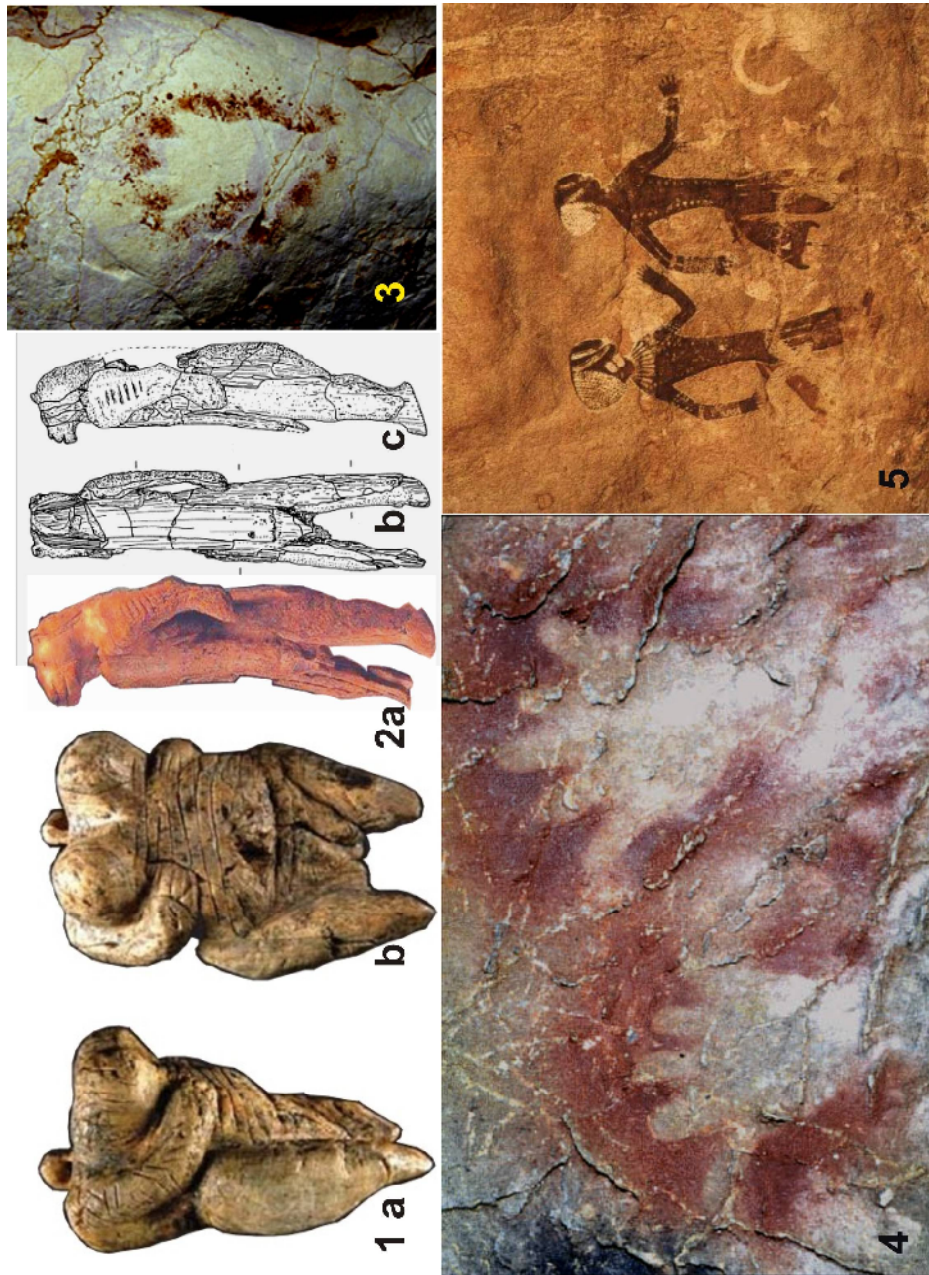
**Fig. III.** Céramique Samarra. 1a-b. Hassuna; 2-3. Plaquettes en argile de Gulubnik ; 4-7. Statuettes Halaf. 4-5. Chagar Bazar; 6-7. Localités méconnues; 8-9. Statuettes Starčevo-Criș. 8. Holmcy-Karan ; 9. Zastavnaja-Malaja Gora (<http://arqueocerca.com/prehistoria/neolithic/samarra.jpg> ; <http://www.cbc.ca/gfx/images/arts/photos/2008/02/15/fertility-figure.jpg>; <http://www.art.thewalters.org/viewwoa.aspx?id=34867>; <http://www.nissaba.nl/godinnen/p/ps282359a.jpg> ; M. F. Potušnjak, 1989; Todorova, Vajsov, 1993).

**Fig. IV.** Tatouages sur vases et statuettes. 1-13. Hacilar I; 14. Çatal Höyük (Mellaart, 1970, fig. 248-249, pl. LXIII. 1; <http://www.turkishodyssey.com/gallery/images/g0048.jpg>).

**Fig. V.** Marquages corporels sur les statuettes et les vases anthropomorphes. 1. Çatal Höyük; 2. Slatina-Sofia; 3. Gradešnica; 9, 14. Potporanj-Kremenjak; 4-6, 8, 11-12. Vinča; 7. Selevac; 10. Ujvar; 13. Zorlențu Mare (Nikola Tasić, Dragoslav Srejić, Bratislav Stojanović, 1990; <http://clasate.cimec.ro/Detinator.asp?detinator=Muzeul0Banatului0Montan00RESZZITZZA>; Gh. Lazarovici, 1979, fig. 39; The Town Museum of Vršac, <http://www.arheologija.narod.ru/d1ustanove/vrsac/img/020.jpg>; <http://netsell.com/lococo/pottery.html>; Nikolov, 1975, fig. 11; Hansen, 2001, fig. 2; [www.thecityreview.com/f04cant1.html](http://www.thecityreview.com/f04cant1.html)).

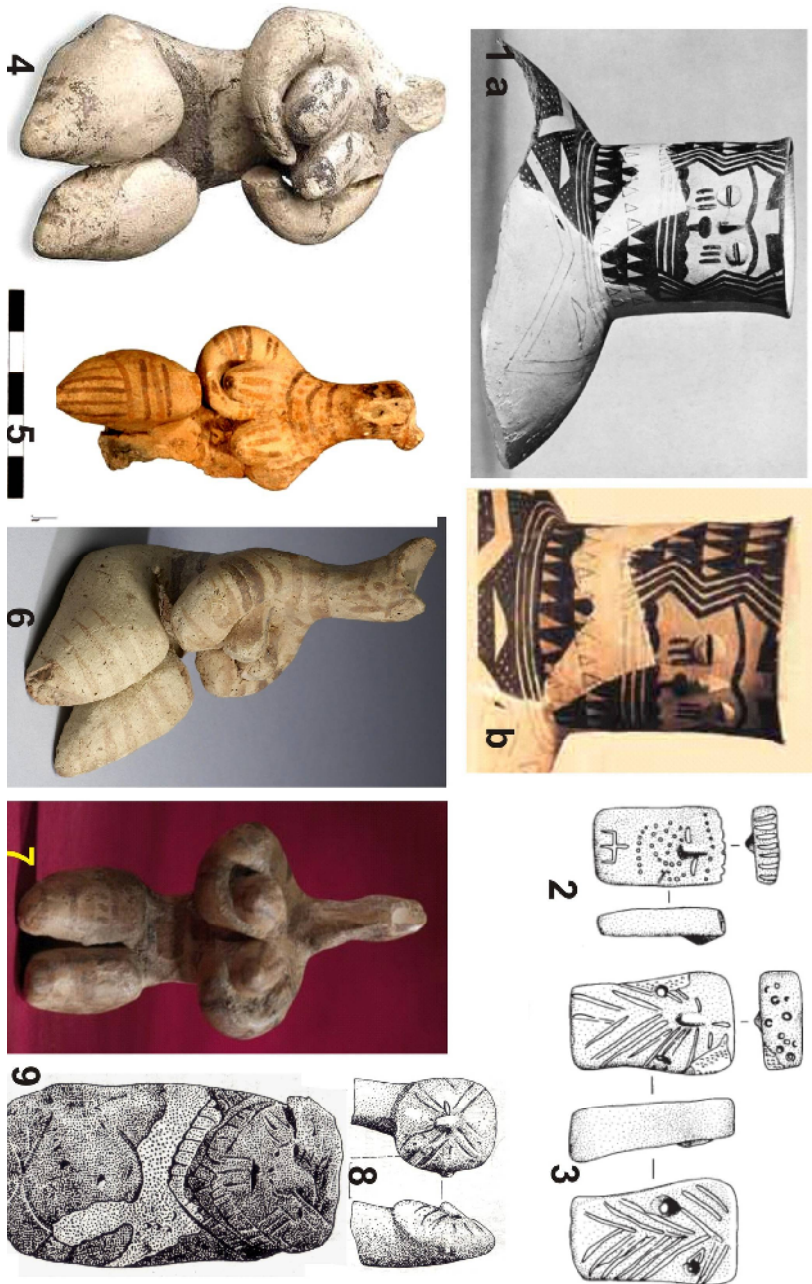
**Fig. VI.** Marquages corporels sur les statuettes et les vases anthropomorphes. 1-11. Durankulak, (Henriete Todorova (Hrsg.), 2002).

<sup>40</sup> Henrieta Todorova (Hrsg.), Todor Dimov, Javor Bojadžiev, Ivan Vajsov, Kalin Dimitrov, Maja Abramova, *Durankulak, Band II, Die Prähistorischen Gräberfelder*, Teil 2, p. 54, 68, 72, 74, 77, fig. 77/18, 126/12, 138/11, 142/4, 161/3-4.



**Fig. II.** Marquages corporels dans l'art paléolithique et épipaléolithique. 1. Hohle Fels; 2. Vogelherd; 3. Cosquer; 4. Gargas; 5. Tassili N'Ajjer, Tanzoumaitak (Nicholas J. Conard; Neil S. Price; Jean Clottes, Jean Courtin, Luc Vanrell; <http://www.lrmh.fr>; <http://rupestre.on-rev.com/index.html>).





**Fig. III.** Céramique Samarra. 1a-b. Hassuna; 2-3. Plaquettes en argile de Gulubnik; 4-7. Statuettes Halaf. 4-5. Chagar Bazar; 6-7. Localités méconnues; 8-9. Statuettes Starčevo-Criș. 8. Holmøy-Karān; 9. Zastavnaja-Malaja Gora  
<http://arqueocerca.com/prehistoria/neolitic/samarra.jpg> ;  
<http://www.cbc.ca/gfx/images/arts/photos/2008/02/15/fertility-figure.jpg> ;  
<http://www.art.thewalters.org/viewwwwa.aspx?id=34867>; <http://www.nissaba.nl/godinnen/p/ps282359a.jpg> ; M. F. Potușnjak, 1989; Todorova, Vajsov, 1993).

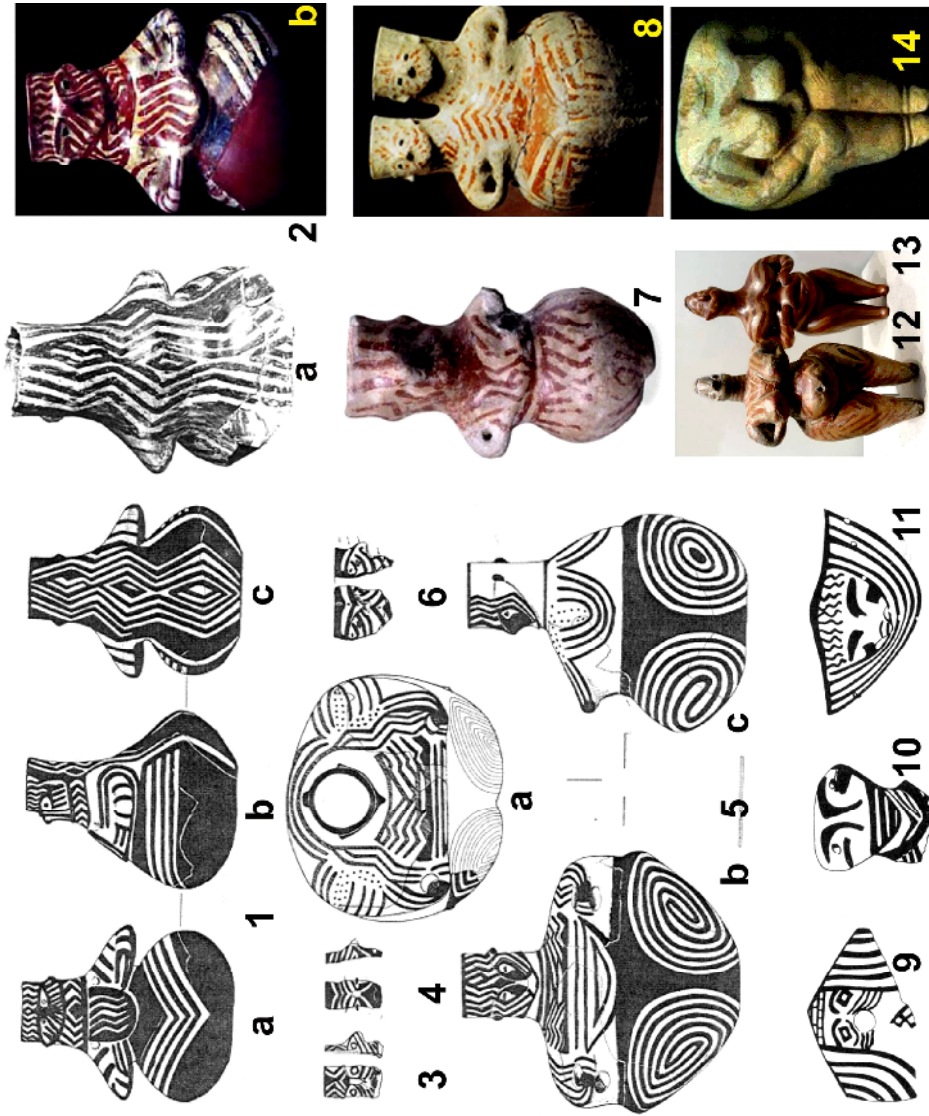
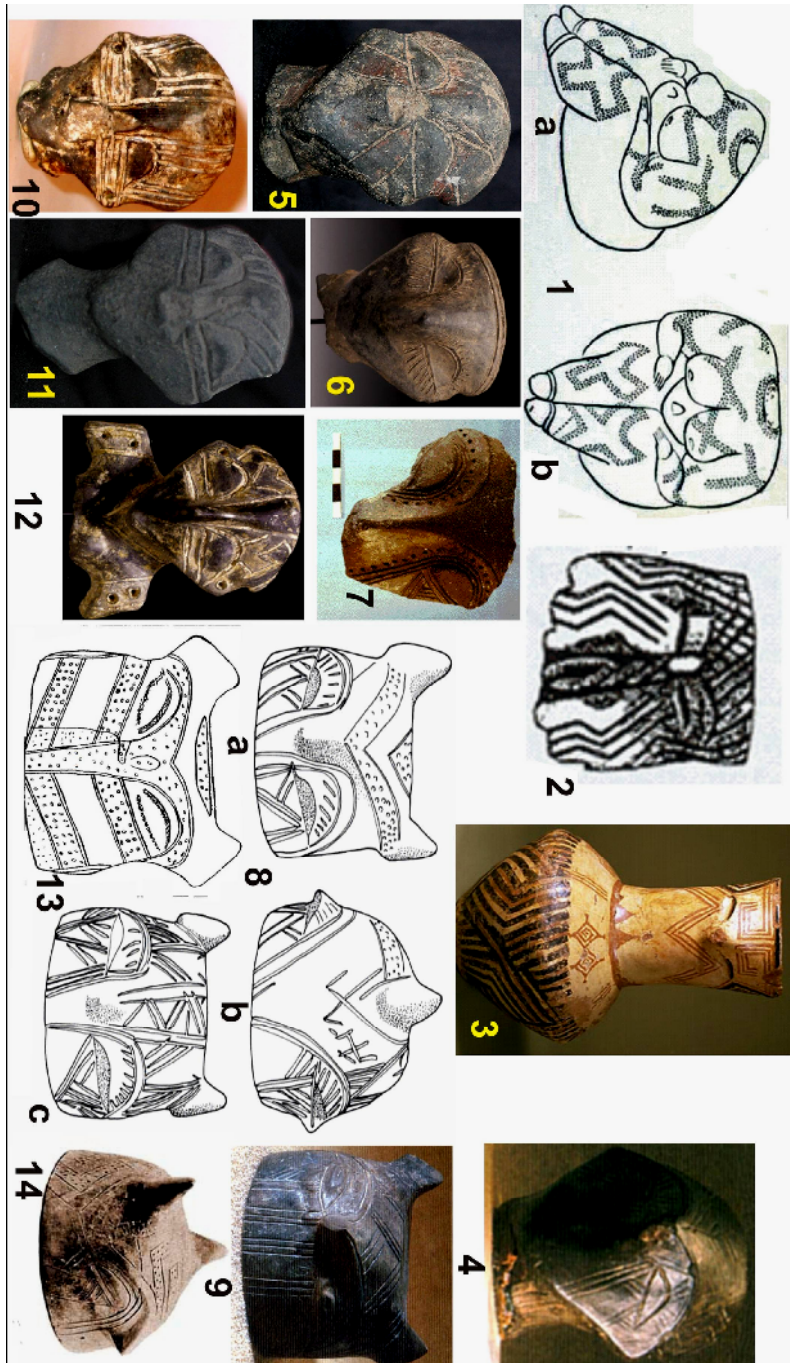


Fig. IV. Tatouages sur vases et statuettes. 1-13. Hacilar I; 14. Çatal Höyük (Mellaart, 1970, fig. 248-249, pl. LXIII. 1; <http://www.turkishodyssey.com/gallery/images/g0048.jpg>)





**Fig. 5.** Marguages corporels sur les statuettes et les vases anthropomorphes: 1. Catal Höyük; 2. Slatina-Sofia; 3. Gradešnica; 4, 14. Potporanj-Kremenjak; 4-6, 8, 11-12. Vinča; 7. Selevac; 10. Uivar; 13. Zorleštu Mare (Nikola Tasić, Dragoslav Srećević, Bratislav Stojanović, 1990; <http://clasate.cimec.ro/Detinator.asp?detinator=Muzeul0Banatului0Montan00RESZZITZZA>; Gh. Lazarovici, 1979, fig.39; The Town Museum of Vršac, <http://www.arheologija.narod.ru/dlusanovce/vrsac/img/020.jpg>; <http://netsell.com/lococo/pottery.html>; Nikolov, 1975, fig. 11; Hansen, 2001, fig. 2; [www.theicivreview.com/f04cant.html](http://www.theicivreview.com/f04cant.html)).

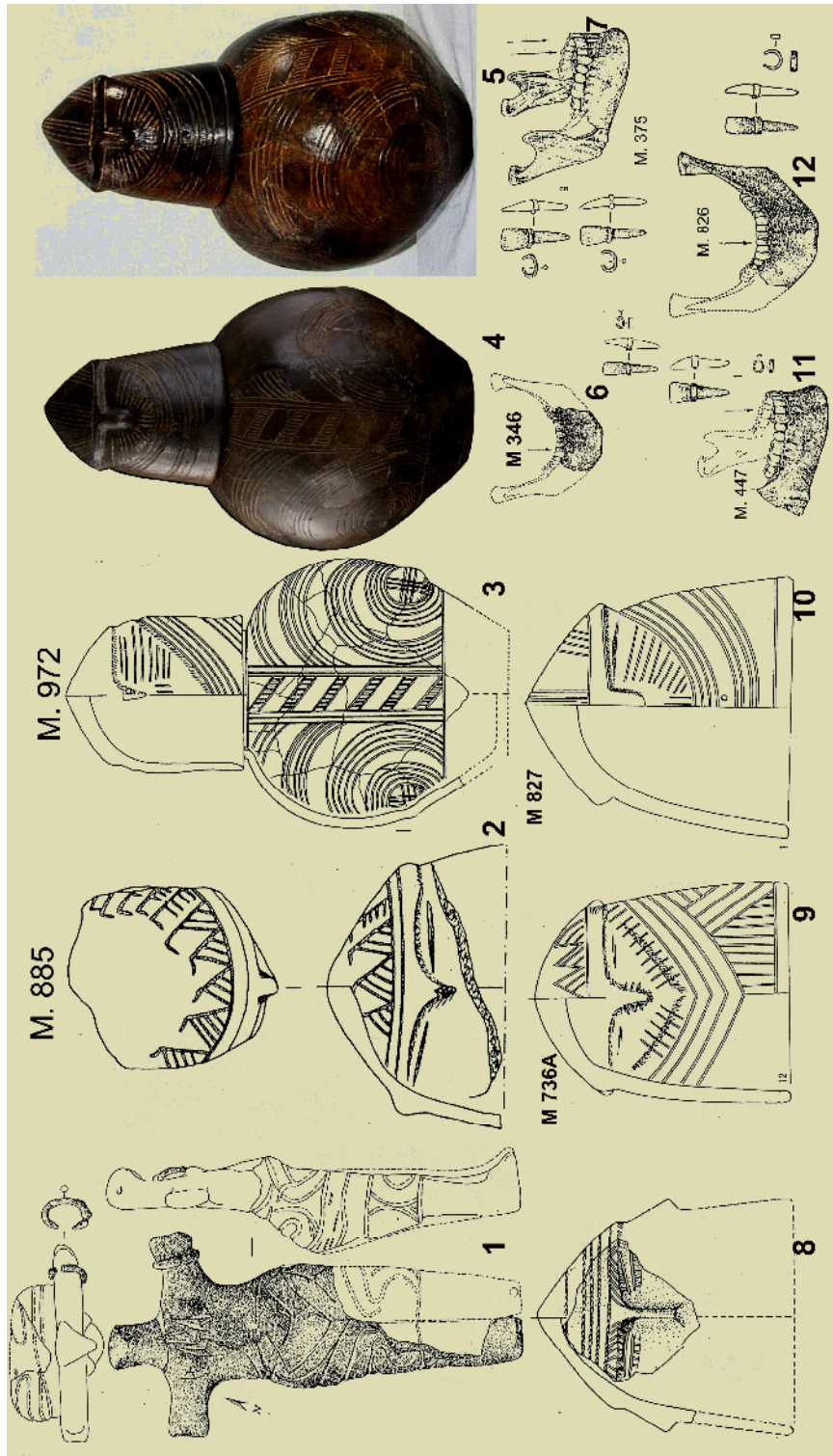


Fig. VI. Marquages corporels sur les statuettes et les vases anthropomorphes. 1-11. Durankulak, (Henriete Todorova (Hrsg.), 2002).

## SPIRITUS LOCI DANS LA PRÉHISTOIRE DE LA BUCOVINE

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**Rezumat:** *Alocuțiunea, pe care am prezentat-o cu ocazia decernării titlului de Doctor Honoris Causa al Universității „Ștefan cel Mare” Suceava (7 dec. 2009), încearcă să surprindă caracteristica fundamentală a Bucovinei, ca entitate istorică și culturală în cadrul civilizațiilor carpatice. Din exemplele alese din diferite perioade ale preistoriei se desprinde ideea că pe teritoriul Bucovinei, aflat la marginea nord-estică a spațiului carpatic, s-au produs mereu sinteze între elementele locale predominante (care au imprimat un anumit ritm al evoluției, întâlnit, sub diverse forme, și în celelalte zone carpatice) și diverse influențe alogene, venite mai ales dinspre Europa Centrală (pe la nordul Carpaților), dar, uneori, și din regiunile de stepă și de silvo-stepă nord-pontice. Rezultă de aici o anumită legitate pentru întreaga istorie a Bucovinei: oscilația periodică între integrarea în ansamblul civilizației carpatice și, pe de altă parte, deschiderea către influențe externe, mai ales de origine est-central europeană.*

**Abstract:** *The allocution, which I presented on the occasion of awarding of Doctor Honoris Causa of the University „Stefan cel Mare” Suceava (December 7. 2009), aims to capture the fundamental characteristic of the Bukovina, as historical and cultural entity of the Carpathian civilizations. Examples drawn from different periods of Prehistory emerge the idea that synthesis between the prevailing local elements (which imparted a certain rhythm of the evolution, encountered also, in different forms, in the other Carpathians areas) and different allogeneous influences, especially from Central Europe, but sometimes also from the north-Pontic steppe and forest-steppe regions always occurred in the territory of Bukovina, located at the northeastern edge of the Carpathian area. It therefore follows that the periodical fluctuation between the integration in the Carpathian civilization and the opening towards the external influences, especially East-Central European ones, is the rule of the entire history of Bukovina.*

**Résumé:** *L’allocution que nous avons présenté à l’occasion de l’accordage du titre de Docteur Honoris Causa de l’Université “Etienne le Grand” Suceava (7 décembre 2009) essaie à surprendre la caractéristiques fondamentale de la Bucovine, comme entité historique et culturelle dans le cadre des civilisations carpatiques. Des exemples choisis des différentes périodes de la préhistoire, on décèle l’idée que sur le territoire de la Bucovine, situé à la limite nord-est de l’espace carpatic, se sont produites toujours des synthèses entre les éléments locaux prédominants (qui ont imprimé un certain rythme de l’évolution, rencontré, sous diverses formes, dans les autres zones carpatiques, aussi) et les diverses influences allogènes, venues surtout de l’Europe Centrale (par le nord des Carpates), mais, parfois, aussi des régions de steppe et de silvo-steppe nord-pontiques. Il y résulte une certaine légitimité pour l’histoire toute entière de la Bucovine: l’oscillation périodique entre l’intégration dans l’ensemble de la civilisation carpatic et, de l’autre partie, l’ouverture vers les influences externes, surtout d’origine centrale – européenne.*

**Key words:** *Bucovina, Prehistory, spirit of the place, Carpathian space, East-Central Europe.*

Les deux décennies où j'ai vécu en Bucovine ont eu, parmi d'autres, pour résultat, la formation d'une conviction qu'ici, dans ce territoire merveilleux, unique par ses paysages et par son histoire fascinante, il existe un certain „esprit du lieu”, qui a posé son empreinte sur le comportement des habitants, sur la spiritualité émanant de ceux-ci pendant des siècles. Bien que chaque endroit possède un tel spécifique local, il n'est pas toujours facile de surprendre cette particularité, qui détermine l'apparition d'une certaine allure au peuple du lieu, voire au regard des semblables de même origine ethnique, qui sont nés et ont vécu dans d'autres zones géographiques. Afin de saisir ce spécifique, il faut surtout bien connaître l'histoire, les traditions et la géographie du lieu, parce qu'avec ces éléments, à mon avis, se sont formés graduellement les mentalités dominantes du comportement des hommes de cette zone.

Plus d'une fois je me suis posé la question: quelle peut être la cause primordiale déterminant la formation de ce *spiritus loci*? Bien que dans une époque on a essayé de combattre le déterminisme géographique, nous croyons qu'il ne peut pas être évité le problème de l'influence dominante de l'environnement sur l'homme et les communautés qui s'y insèrent. C'est pourquoi, la définition géographique d'un territoire confère un plus d'objectivité aux interprétations et à nos conclusions historiques.

Du point de vue géographique, la Bucovine est une partie intrinsèque de l'espace carpatique, c'est-à-dire du territoire sillonné et délimité par le réseau hydrographique d'origine des Carpates et le débouché au Danube ou à la mer Noire, ayant pour des limites, à l'Est et à l'Ouest, les fleuves Nistre, respectivement Tisza. Dans cet espace, le long des millénaires, en commençant par la préhistoire, d'une partie et d'autre des Carpates ont vécu des communautés humaines qui ont appartenu, en grande majorité et d'une manière compacte, aux mêmes aires de civilisation. Ces communautés ont habité et ont circulé le long des rivières, des Carpates jusqu'au Danube et à la mer Noire. L'uniformisation ethnique a été plus compacte dans les zones centrales et, par contre, plus raréfiée vers les marges, où, conformément aux règles de la géopolitique, des infiltrations d'autres populations apparaissent et, par la suite, les mélanges interethniques.

Situé vers la limite septentrionale de l'espace carpatique, le Nord de la Moldavie (y compris le territoire de la Bucovine) s'est soumis, au long de l'histoire, à quelques règles appartenant, en grande mesure, à la géopolitique. L'historien Gh. Brătianu, qui s'est occupé tout spécialement des problèmes de géopolitique, a démontré le dynamisme de la notion d'*espace ethnique*, en fonction du potentiel démographique, de la force d'expansion d'un peuple et d'autres éléments<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Gh. Brătianu, *Chestiunea Mării Negre*, București, 1942 (apud Idem, *Marea Neagră*, București, 1988, p. 107).

Donc, le territoire de la Bucovine est placé du point de vue géographique et géopolitique, dans une zone marginale de l'espace carpatique, ce qui lui confère une ouverture et des contacts vers les régions de l'Europe est centrale, mais aussi d'autres, principalement par les voies de communication vers l'immensité des zones orientales de sylveste et steppe du Nord de la mer Noire.

Dans les Carpates Boisés, situés au Nord du territoire de la Bucovine, ont les sources les rivières Siret, Prut et Nistre (qui sillonnent puis l'aire orientale de l'espace carpatique), la Vistule, avec son affluent San (les deux dirigées vers le Nord, en ouvrant le chemin au mer Baltique), mais aussi la rivière de Tisza, qui assure la liaison vers la Plaine Pannonique et le Danube Moyen, donc vers l'Europe Centrale. L'étroit voisinage entre les sources de ces grandes artères fluviales a favorisé des contacts entre les civilisations orientales et méridionales, septentrionales et occidentales<sup>2</sup>.

L'ethnologue Nicolae Dunăre (1916-1987), dans son livre dédié à la zone des Carpates Septentrionales<sup>3</sup>, attirait l'attention sur le rôle détenu par cette vraie „maison des eaux” dans la formation de quelques synthèses ethnoculturelles entre les Roumains d'ici et les différentes populations carpatiques voisines, par des influences et des emprunts réciproques.

Il est suffisant de mentionner que même la délimitation toponymique (avec des connotations politiques!) de cette partie organique du Nord de la Moldavie, devenue dès la fin du XVIIIe siècle une entité historique connue sous le nom de Bucovine<sup>4</sup>, a été la conséquence de quelques phénomènes, liés justement à la position marginale de ce territoire roumain, entré dans la sphère d'intérêt d'autres États; cette situation géopolitique n'a toujours pas disparu et a contribué, en quelque mesure, à la formation de ce *spiritus loci* en Bucovine.

A partir de ces considérations générales sur le spécifique de l'évolution historique en Bucovine, par de suite de sa position géographique – d'une part, comme une zone représentative des civilisations existantes au long de l'histoire dans l'espace carpatique et, d'autre part, en tant qu'une région ouverte aux influences venues de l'espace nord carpatique – nous voulons exemplifier ces affirmations avec quelques exemples choisis de la préhistoire et du début des périodes protohistoriques. Nous arrêterons y strictement à notre domaine de spécialité, même si d'autres périodes offrent des exemples suggestifs sur ce spécifique de l'histoire de la Bucovine. On fait cette délimitation thématique/ chronologique, afin de n'appliquer pas – nous même – la boutade qui affirme (non sans certaine raison!) qu'il est plus facile à parler et d'écrire sur des choses moins connues, parce que, au fur et à mesure

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<sup>2</sup> Par exemple, la distance entre les sources des rivières Nistre, Tisza et San est même moins de 20 km.

<sup>3</sup> N. Dunăre, *Civilizația tradițională românească din curbura carpatică nordică* [Civilisation traditionnelle roumaine de l'arc carpatique septentrional], Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, București, 1982.

<sup>4</sup> M. Iacobescu, *Din istoria Bucovinei*, I, Editura Academiei Române, București, 1993, p. 49-91.



qu'un thème est approfondi, il soulève beaucoup des questions, dont on hésite en ce qui concerne le réponse correct.

Ainsi, même dès les débuts de la civilisation néolithique agricole, en même temps que l'établissement, dans le VI<sup>e</sup> millénaire BC, d'une population stable sur le territoire actuel de la Bucovine, on constate l'existence, quelque part dans le bassin supérieur de la rivière de Siret, de la limite septentrionale de diffusion de cette première grande civilisation néolithique (Starčevo-Criș), découverte sur presque tout le territoire de la Roumanie, comme dans la Serbie et l'Est de l'Hongrie<sup>5</sup>. Mais, au-delà de la frontière septentrionale de la Roumanie, sur le territoire de l'Ukraine sous carpatique, de la Pologne et de la Slovaquie, est né, dans la deuxième moitié de ce même millénaire, un autre grand complexe culturel, celui de la céramique linéaire/rubanée, d'origine central européenne<sup>6</sup>. Les fouilles effectuées pendant une décennie à Suceava, sur le site néolithique du parc de la Cité, ont attesté la manière dont graduellement des influences de cette culture septentrionale ont commencé à apparaître dans l'habitat de type Starčevo-Criș d'ici<sup>7</sup>; ces influences ont été suites, à bref délai, même de l'apparition dans la zone, de quelques communautés central européennes de la céramique rubanée, qui ont fondé de nouveaux habitats, comme ceux trouvés à Mihoveni<sup>8</sup> et Șcheia<sup>9</sup>, près de Suceava.

Dans la période énéolithique, la brillante civilisation à céramique peinte Cucuteni (environ 5000-3500 BC) a eu une diffusion plus large, couvrant vers le Nord non seulement le territoire de la Bucovine<sup>10</sup>, mais aussi celui de la Galice et de la Volhynie<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> E. Comșa, *Neoliticul pe teritoriul României. Considerații*, Editura Academiei, București, 1987, p. 27-31; N. Ursulescu, în *Istoria Românilor*, vol. I (coord. M. Petrescu-Dîmbovița, Al. Vulpe), Editura Enciclopedică, București, 2001, p. 123-132; idem, *Începuturile istoriei pe teritoriul României*<sup>2</sup>, Casa Editorială Demiurg, Iași, 2002, p. 66-73.

<sup>6</sup> J. Lichardus, *Zur Entstehung der Linearbandkeramik*, Germania, 50, 1972, 1-2, p. 1-15; Anna Kulczycka-Leciejewiczowa, *Bandkeramik and Stroked Culture*, in: *The Neolithic in Poland* (ed. T. Wiślański), Ossolineum, Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków, 1970, p. 14-75; N. Ursulescu, *La civilisation de la céramique rubanée dans les régions orientales de la Roumanie*, in: *Le Paléolithique et le Néolithique de la Roumanie en contexte européen*, (eds. V. Chirica, Dan Monah), Iași, 1991, p. 188-224; Olga Larina, *Kul'tura linejno-lentočnoj keramiki Pruto-Dnestrovskogo regiona*, Stratum plus, 2, 1999, p. 10-140.

<sup>7</sup> N. Ursulescu, *Evoluția culturii Starčevo-Criș pe teritoriul Moldovei*, Suceava, 1984, p. 18-21, 39-40.

<sup>8</sup> N. Ursulescu, Victoria Batariuc, *Așezarea culturii ceramicii liniare de la Mihoveni (jud. Suceava)*, SCIVA, 30, 1979, 2, p. 271-284; Sorin Ignătescu, *Ceramica liniară de la Mihoveni-Cahla Morii*, Suceava, 26-28 (1999-2001), p. 45-87.

<sup>9</sup> S. Ignătescu, *Locuirea liniar-ceramică de la Șcheia-Siliște*, Codrul Cosminului, S. N., 6-7 (16-17), 2000-2001, Suceava, 2003, p. 3-10.

<sup>10</sup> O. Kandyba, *Schipenitz. Kunst und Geräte eines neolithischen Dorfes*, Wien-Leipzig, 1937; C.-M. Mantu, *Cultura Cucuteni. Evoluție, cronologie, legături*, BMA V, Piatra Neamț, 1998; S. Ignătescu, *Istoricul cercetării culturii Cucuteni în Podișul Sucevei*, Codrul Cosminului, S. N., 11 (21), 2005, p. 3-18.

<sup>11</sup> Leon Kozłowski, *Młodsza epoka kamienna w Polsce*, Lwów, 1924; Marian Himner, *Etude sur la civilisation prémycénienne dans le bassin de la Mer Noire après des fouilles*



Ainsi, celle-ci a influencé aussi une série de populations des territoires actuels de la Pologne et de l'Ukraine, appartenant à la culture des gobelets à entonnoir<sup>12</sup>. À son tour, la population Cucuteni a reçu, surtout vers la fin de son évolution, quelques influences de la part de cette culture énéolithique central européenne<sup>13</sup>.

Dans la deuxième moitié du IV<sup>e</sup> millénaire BC, quand les grands mouvements de populations et les synthèses conduisant à la formation de peuples de type indo-européen se sont produits, le Nord de la Moldavie a été de nouveau le lieu de rencontre de quelques groupes de populations de différentes origines: d'une part, les éléments locaux continuant en nouvelles formes, de synthèse (avec les infiltrations nord pontiques), l'évolution de l'ancien fond Cucuteni (cette fois-ci, par la culture Gorodsk-Horodiștea)<sup>14</sup> et, d'autre part, les éléments central européens appartenant aux complexes culturels des amphores globulaires et de la céramique cordée, venus de l'actuel territoire de la Pologne<sup>15</sup>. La synthèse de ceux-ci a donné la naissance à un

*personnelles*, Swiatowit, 14, 1933, p. 26-163; Wl. Antoniewicz, *Les cultures néolithiques de la céramique peinte en Pologne*, in: *Actes du Colloque international des civilisations balkaniques*, București, 1961, p. 80-86; S. Jastrzębski, *Kultura Cucuteni-Trypole i jej osadnictwo na Wyżynie Wołyńskiej*, Lublin, 1989.

<sup>12</sup> Jan Kowalczyk, *The Funnel Beaker Culture*, in: *The Neolithic in Poland* (ed. T. Wiślański), Ossolineum, Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków, 1970, p. 144-177; Tadeusz Wiślański (ed.), *Kultura pucharów lejkwatych w Polsce*, Poznań, 1981; E. Kempisty, *Odkrycie ceramiki kultury trypoljskiej na zachód od Wisły*, *Wiadomości Archeologiczne*, 33, 1968, 3-4, p. 377-380; S. Jastrzębski, *Imports of the Trypole Culture Pottery in the South-Eastern Group of the Funnel Beaker Culture*, in: *Memoires Archeologiques* (ed. A. Kokowski), Lublin, 1985, p. 71-92; Józef Ścibior, *Die Trichterbecherkultur und die Tripolje-Kultur auf der Wolynien-Hochebene*, in: *Actes du XII<sup>e</sup> Congrès International des Sciences Préhistoriques et Protohistoriques*, 2, Bratislava, 1993, p. 522-528.

<sup>13</sup> Hortensia Dumitrescu, *Connections between the Cucuteni-Tripolie Cultural Complex and the Neighbouring Eneolithic Cultures in the Light of the Utilization of Golden Pendants*, *Dacia, N.S.*, V, 1961, p. 69-93; V.G. Zbenovič, *Pozdnee Tripol'e i ego svjaz' s kul'turami Prikarpat'ja i Malopol'ski*, *AACarp*, 16, 1976, p. 21-56; Tamara G. Movša, *Vzaemovidnosyny Tripillja-Kukuteni z synchronnymi kul'turamy Central'noj Evropy*, *Archeologija*, 51, 1985, p. 22-31.

<sup>14</sup> T.S. Passek, *Periodizacija tripol'skich poselenij*, *MIA* 10, Moskva, 1949, p. 157-215; H. Dumitrescu, *La station préhistorique de Horodiștea sur le Pruth*, *Dacia*, IX-X, 1940-1944, p. 127-133; Marin Dinu, *Le complexe Horodiștea-Foltești et le problème de l'indo-européanisation de l'espace carpato-danubien*, in: *Actes du II<sup>e</sup> Congrès Int. de Thracologie*, I, București, 1980, p. 35-48; Idem, *Towards a New Systematization of the Cucuteni Culture*, in: *Itinera in Praehistoria. Studia in honorem magistri Nicolae Ursulescu quinto et sexagesimo anno* (eds. V. Cotiuğă, F.A. Tencariu, G. Bodi), Iași, 2009, p. 115-136; V.A. Dergacev, *Pamjatniki pozdnego Tripol'ja*, Chișinău, 1980; Idem, *Bestattungskomplexe der späten Tripolje-Kultur*, Mainz, 1991; N.M. Šmaglij, *Gorodsk'ko-volynskij varjant piznótripol'skoj kul'tury*, *Archeologija*, 20, 1966, p. 15-37.

<sup>15</sup> T. Sulimirski, *Cordé Ware and Globular Amphorae North-East of the Carpathians*, London, 1968; T. Wiślański, *The Globular Amphora Culture*, in: *The Neolithic in Poland* (ed. T. Wiślański), Ossolineum, Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków, 1970, p. 178-231; J. Machnik, *The Corded Ware Culture and Cultures from the Turn of the Neolithic Age and*

nouveau groupe culturel, *Suceava*, caractérisé par l'utilisation exclusive du rite funéraire de l'incinération, ainsi que l'atteste la grande nécropole (plus de cent tombes) fouillée sur le même plateau voisin de la Cité de Suceava<sup>16</sup>, où auparavant a existé l'agglomération néolithique ancienne. Des vestiges de cette période sont apparus encore dans le quartier Burdujeni de Suceava<sup>17</sup>, à Sf. Ilie<sup>18</sup> (près de Suceava), à Șerbănești<sup>19</sup> et dans d'autres localités du Nord de la Moldavie<sup>20</sup>.

Le début de l'Âge du Bronze (la deuxième moitié du IIIe millénaire BC) atteste de nouvelles relations entre le bassin de la Tisza et les cours supérieurs des rivières du Prut et du Nistre, ainsi que le montre surtout la culture Edinets du Nord de la Bessarabie<sup>21</sup>, qui présente des ressemblances évidentes avec des cultures du Bronze Ancien des bassins supérieur et moyen de la Tisza (comme Hatvan et Periam), ce qu'on peut expliquer grâce aux liaisons établies entre les deux zones par les défilés des Carpates Septentrionales<sup>22</sup>.

De même, dans la période suivante, le Bronze Moyen (la première moitié du IIe millénaire BC), le Nord et le centre de la Moldavie ont connu la diffusion de quelques groupes du complexe culturel Komariv-Bialyi Potik-Costișa<sup>23</sup>, tandis que dans le Sud de l'espace est carpatique se forme la culture Monteoru; entre les deux phénomènes culturels on passe une série d'interpénétrations et d'influences réciproques.

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*the Bronze Age*, in: *The Neolithic in Poland* (ed. T. Wiślański), Ossolineum, Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków, 1970, p. 383-420; M. Dinu, *Contribuții la problema culturii amforelor sferice pe teritoriul Moldovei*, ArhMold, I, 1961, p. 43-59; Fl. Burtănescu, *Epoca timpurie a bronzului între Carpați și Prut*, BThr 37, București, 2002; Idem, *Globular Amphore Culture in Moldavia between the Carpathians and Prut. Current State of the Evidence*, TD, 23, 2002, p. 119-152.

<sup>16</sup> N. Ursulescu, *Les commencements de l'utilisation du rite de l'incinération dans le monde proto-thrace du nord de la Moldavie*, in: *The Thracian World at the crossroads of civilisations*, I (eds. P. Roman, M. Alexianu), Bucharest, 1997, p. 447-464.

<sup>17</sup> V. Batariuc, *Un mormînt din perioada de tranziție de la neolitic la epoca bronzului descoperit la Suceava*, Suceava, X, 1983, p. 835-840.

<sup>18</sup> I. Mareș, *Sondajul arheologic de la Sf. Ilie-„Siliște” (1991)*, Suceava, 17-19 (1990-1992), 1993, p. 496-502.

<sup>19</sup> M. Ignat, D. Popovici, *Un mormînt în cistă descoperit la Șerbănești (com. Zvoriștea, jud. Suceava)*, Suceava, 6-7, 1979-1980, p. 657-662.

<sup>20</sup> Fl. Burtănescu, *Epoca timpurie a bronzului între Carpați și Prut*, BThr 37, București, 2002.

<sup>21</sup> V. Titov, *A New Group of the Early Bronze Age in Northern Moldavia*, in: *Die Frühbronzezeit in Karpatenbecken und in den Nachbargebieten. Internationales Symposium 1977*, Budapest, 1981, p. 207; V.A. Dergacev, *Epoca bronzului. Perioada timpurie*, TD, 15, 1994, p. 129, 136-137.

<sup>22</sup> V.A. Dergacev, *Culturi din epoca bronzului în Moldova*, Chișinău, 1994, p. 36-40.

<sup>23</sup> Gh. Dumitroaia, *Comunități preistorice din nord-estul României. De la cultura Cucuteni până în bronzul mijlociu*, BMA, VII, Piatra Neamț, 2000, p. 127-156; *Cultura Costișa în contextul epocii bronzului din România* (eds. V. Cavruc, Gh. Dumitroaia), Piatra Neamț, 2001.

Au début de l'Âge du Fer (autour des années 1000 av. J.-C.), dans le Plateau de Suceava se forme le groupe culturel Grănicești<sup>24</sup>, lié du complexe culturel Gáva-Holíhrady<sup>25</sup>, originaire de l'espace des Carpates Septentrionales. Dans le reste de la Moldavie (jusqu'au Nistre) a évolué, pour la même période, la culture Corlăteni-Chișinău<sup>26</sup>, qui présente quelques ressemblances et d'interférences avec le groupe Grănicești, mais aussi des affinités méridionales.

Vers la fin de la première période de l'Âge du Fer (Hallstatt D: le milieu du Ier millénaire av. J.-C.) est né dans la partie Nord de la Moldavie un groupe culturel (dénommé podolo-moldave)<sup>27</sup>, où se mélange les éléments spécifiques de la culture gète (du type Bârsești)<sup>28</sup> avec d'autres de facture étrangère, surtout scythiques, ainsi que l'indique spécialement les trouvailles des nécropoles tumulaires de Volovăț<sup>29</sup> et de Cașvana<sup>30</sup>. Il semble qu'à ce groupe appartiennent les grandes cités avec des remparts en terre, comme celles de Stâncești<sup>31</sup> et Cotu-Copălău<sup>32</sup> (dép. de Botoșani), Merești<sup>33</sup> (dép. de Suceava), Cotnari (dép. de Iași) etc.<sup>34</sup>, qui dénote un haut stade de développement social et politique atteint déjà par la population thraco-gète de la zone.

Cet horizon se termine, au Nord de la Moldavie, au début de la deuxième période de l'Âge du Fer (le IIIe s. av. J.-C.) par l'invasion du peuple germanique des Bastarnes, descendu de Baltique; ceux-ci donneront, approximativement pour deux siècles, un autre aspect à la culture locale (la soi-disant culture Poienești-Lucașevca) au regard du reste de la Dacie<sup>35</sup>.

<sup>24</sup> A. László, *Începuturile epocii fierului la est de Carpați*, BiblThrac VI, București, 1994, p. 48-104.

<sup>25</sup> Galina I. Smirnova, *Complexele de tip Gáva-Holyhrady – o comunitate cultural-istorică*, SCIVA, 25, 1974, 3, p. 359-380.

<sup>26</sup> A. László, *op.cit.*, p. 105-141.

<sup>27</sup> M. Ignat, *Un nouveau groupe culturel du Hallstatt tardif sur le territoire de la Roumanie*, SAA, VII, 2000, p. 331.

<sup>28</sup> S. Morintz, *Novaja gal'statskaja gruppa v Moldove, Dacia, N.S., I, 1957, p. 117-132.*

<sup>29</sup> M. Ignat, *Necropola tumulară de la Volovăț-Dealul Burlei*, Suceava, V, 1978, p. 107-140.

<sup>30</sup> Idem, *Quelques vestiges de l'Âge du Bronze du Nord de la Moldavie*, SAA, IX, 2003, p. 155-166; Idem, *Necropolele tumulare din zona Rădăuți în cadrul lumii traco-getice (sec. VII-V a.Ch.)*, Târgoviște, 2006.

<sup>31</sup> A.C. Florescu, Marilena Florescu, *Cetățile traco-getice din secolele VI-III a. Chr. de la Stâncești (jud. Botoșani)*, Cetatea de Scaun, Târgoviște, 2006.

<sup>32</sup> O.L. Șovan, M. Ignat, *Așezarea getică fortificată de la Cotu-Copălău*, Cetatea de Scaun, Târgoviște, 2005.

<sup>33</sup> M. Ignat, D. Popovici, *Cercetările arheologice din "Cetățuia" de la Merești (com. Vulturești, jud. Suceava)*, Suceava, VIII, 1981, p. 545-551.

<sup>34</sup> A.C. Florescu, *Unele considerații asupra cetăților traco-getice (hallstattiene) din mileniul I î.e.n. de pe teritoriul Moldovei*, CercIst, II, 1971, p. 103-118; O. Cotoi, *Contributions to the evolution of the fortification systems at the East of Carpathians during the Iron Age*, SAA, VI, 1999, p. 61-77; A. Zanoci, *Fortificațiile geto-dacice din spațiul extracarpatic în sec. VI-III a. Chr.*, București, 1998.

<sup>35</sup> M. Babeș, *Die Poienești-Lukaševka-Kultur. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte im Raum östlich der Karpaten in den letzten Jahrhunderten vor Christi Geburt*, Bonn, 1993; Idem,

Ce n'est que l'unification politique commencée dans le temps du roi Bourebiste (le milieu du I s. av. J.-C.) qui va apporter de nouveau une uniformisation de la culture gèto-dace, y compris au Nord de la Moldavie. Mais, à ce moment-là nous sommes déjà en pleine protohistoire, ce qui dépasse le cadre chronologique proposé par notre exposé.

C'est donc qu'une conclusion s'impose des données présentées. L'évolution historique au Nord de la Moldavie dans la préhistoire aussi bien qu'au début de la protohistoire a, en général, le même rythme que dans le reste de l'espace carpatique, mais, périodiquement, des influences ethnoculturelles étrangères, surtout nord occidentales (de l'Europe est centrale) apparaissent, ce qu'il conduit à la constitution de quelques aspects locaux de synthèse. On considère ce phénomène comme naturel, si on prend en compte la position marginale de ce territoire (y compris de celui actuel de la Bucovine) dans l'ensemble de l'espace carpatique.

À notre avis, les exemples ici choisis de la préhistoire viennent soutenir l'existence d'une certaine norme dans l'évolution de ce territoire – règle qui est ressentie aussi aux périodes suivantes de l'histoire de la Bucovine: l'oscillation périodique entre l'intégration dans l'ensemble des civilisations carpatiques et, d'autre part, l'ouverture vers les influences externes, surtout d'origine est centrale européenne.

## LA LETTERA DEL VESCOVO BASILIO DI ROMAN NEL CONTESTO DEL CONFLITTO TRA IL METROPOLITA GERONZIO ED IL GRANDE PRINCIPE IVAN III

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**Rezumat:** *Un prim dialog dintre ierarhii români și cei ruși este reflectat într-o scrisoare a episcopului Vasile al Romanului către Gherontie, mitropolitul Moscovei. Este unul dintre cele mai vechi documente care atestă legăturile Bisericii Române cu Biserica Rusă, sau mai exact a "mitropolia de jos a Moldovei" cu Mitropolia Moscovei. Scrisoarea apare în contextul neînțelegerii cneazului moscovit Ivan al III-lea cu mitropolitul Moscovei Gherontie. Acesta, cu prilejul sfințirii catedralei "Uspenia" din Moscova, a înconjurat-o cu întreg soborul său de slujitori, împotriva cursul soarelui. Cneazul moscovit, fiind nemulțumit de această rânduială tipiconală, intră în conflict cu mitropolitul. Din nefericire, nu avem păstrată în documente scrisoarea mitropolitului Gherontie către episcopul Vasile.*

**Resume:** *Un premier dialogue entre les hiérarques roumains et ceux russes est réfléchi dans une lettre de l'évêque Vasile de Roman adressée à Gherontie, le métropolitain de Moscou. Il s'agit de l'un des plus anciens documents qui attestent les liaisons de l'Eglise Roumaine avec l'Eglise Russe, ou plus exactement de "l'Eglise Métropolitaine d'en bas de la Moldavie" avec l'Eglise Métropolitaine de Moscou. La lettre apparaît dans le contexte du conflit entre le prince moscovite Ivan III avec le métropolitain de Moscou, Gherontie. Celui-ci, à l'occasion de la sanctification de la cathédrale "Uspenia" de Moscou l'avait entourée avec tout son synode de sujets, contre le cours du soleil. Le prince moscovite, étant mécontent de cette coutume tipiconale, est entré en conflit avec le métropolitain. Malheureusement, la lettre du métropolitain Gherontie envers l'évêque Vasile ne s'est pas gardée parmi les documents. Un primo dialogo tra i gerarchi romeni e quelli russi è riflesso in una lettera del vescovo Basilio di Roman<sup>1</sup> a Geronzio<sup>2</sup>, metropolita di Mosca.*

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<sup>1</sup> Il vescovo Basilio (Vasile) di Roman – è l'erede alla sede del vescovo Tarasio. Non si può stabilire in che anno è stato nominato sulla sedia vescovile di Roman. E' nominato per la prima volta appena nel 1484, in una lettera di risposta, che il vescovo di Roman manda al metropolita Geronzio di Mosca. E' "ricordato in diversi altri documenti interni", "ed il 12 luglio 1499 è indicato insieme al metropolita Giorgio (Gheorghe), al vescovo Gioanicchio (Ioanichie) di Rădăuți ed ai grandi funzionari del paese nel trattato concluso da Stefano il Grande con Jan Olbracht, re di Polonia". Morì a breve tempo dopo il 31 agosto 1499, quando è attestato dai documenti per l'ultima volta. (P. Prof. Dott. Mircea Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii Ortodoxe Române/Storia della Chiesa Ortodossa Romena*, vol. I, Ed. Institutului Biblic și de Misiune al Bisericii Ortodoxe Române, Bucarest, 1991, pp. 366 – 367). Doru Mihăescu sostiene: "dal 17 novembre 1502" è ricordato il "vescovo" Basilio "della Metropolia del Basso, della città di Roman" (Doru Mihăescu, *Episcopia Romanului, 600 de ani de istorie/Il vescovado di Roman, 600 anni di storia*, Ed. Academiei Române, "Codrul Cosminului", XVI, 2010, No. 1, p. 29-40

**Abstract:** *A letter addressed by the Bishop Vasile of Roman to Gerontius, the Metropolitan of Moscow, reflects an early dialogue between the Romanian and the Russian ecclesiastic hierarchy. It is one of the oldest evidence on the relations of the Romanian Church (or "Metropolitan of the Lower Country of Moldova") with the Russian Church (or the Metropolitan of Moscow). The letter appears in the context of misunderstanding between the grand prince of Muscovy, Ivan III, and Gerontius, the Metropolitan of Moscow. During the consecration of the cathedral "Uspenia" in Moscow, the Metropolitan has surrounded the church with all his ministers' council, against the sun. The prince of Moscow was dissatisfied by this ordinance and started the conflict with the highest priest.*

**Keywords:** *Bishop Vasile of Roman, Gerontius, the Metropolitan of Moscow, Ivan III, grand prince of Muscovy, cathedral "Uspenia" in Moscow, conflict, letter, ecclesiastic hierarchy.*

Si tratta di uno fra i più antichi documenti che attestano i collegamenti tra le Chiese Romene con la Chiesa Russa, o, per meglio dire tra la “metropolia meridionale della Moldavia”<sup>3</sup> con la metropolia di Mosca.

La lettera appare nel contesto del malinteso tra il principe moscovita Ivan III con il metropolita di Mosca Geronzio, il quale, in occasione della consacrazione<sup>4</sup> della cattedrale “Uspenia”<sup>5</sup> di Mosca, ha fatto il giro della cattedrale in senso contrario a quello solare. Il principe di Mosca, scontento che la tradizione tipica non era rispettata entrò in conflitto col metropolita. Non si è conservata fra i documenti, invece, la lettera del metropolita Geronzio al vescovo Basilio.

Il 2 febbraio, tramite un certo Michele Iacovlevici, l'arciprete di Roman mandò a Mosca la rispettiva lettera che riproduciamo qui per intero: “Anno 6992 [1484]. E' arrivata [la lettera] dai Moldavi con Michele Iacovlevici. Il pio vescovo moldavo

Bucarest, 2007, p.12. DRHA vol III, pp.503-506, Nr.283), probabilmente è un errore di stampa.

<sup>2</sup> Geronzio (Gherontie) – metropolita di Mosca (1473 - 1489), eletto il 23 aprile, insediato il 29 giugno. Mori il 5 o il 28 maggio. E' stato beatificato nella Chiesa Ortodossa Russa nel 2001. Il suo sarcofago si trova nella cattedrale L'Assunzione della Beata Vergine di Kremlin insieme a San Giona, sul lato nord della cattedrale.

<sup>3</sup> P. Prof. Dott. Mircea Păcurariu, *op.cit.*, p. 366. “Della Metropolia del Basso, della città di Roman” in Doru Mihăescu, *op.cit.*, p.12.

<sup>4</sup> La consacrazione avvenne il 12 agosto del 1479.

<sup>5</sup> Uspenia – “la cattedrale dell'Assunzione della Beata Vergine”. Si trova “nel centro del Kremlin” ed è il “principale santuario dell'intera Russia”. Qui si trova “l'icona miracolosa” della Beata Vergine di Vladimir, qui avveniva l'incoronazione degli zar, ed erano seppelliti i metropoliti. Ivan III ha strappato nella cattedrale il documento del khanato tartaro, in cui era sostenuta la dipendenza della Russia della Orda d'Oro.”

La cattedrale è stata costruita dai maestri russi in base al progetto e sotto la guida dell'ingegnere ed architetto bolognese Rodolfo Fiovanti tra gli anni 1475-1479. (Hubert Faensen, Vladimir Ivanov, *Arhitectura rusă veche/Architettura russa antica*, Editura Meridiane, vol.I., Bucarest, 1981, p.293).

della città di Roman, Basilio, a colui che vive nella gratitudine dello Spirito Santo; padre dei padri, pastore e maestro dei monaci e dei preti e insegnante della salvezza di Dio, nella città di Mosca, Kir Geronzio, arcivescovo e pastore dell'intera terra russa. Mi prostro davanti alla Sua fede, santo e onorato padre, chinandomi fino a terra. Nuovamente informo la Sua grandissima Santità quale nostro pastore, che se compare un litigio tra Lei ed il grande principe di Mosca per quanto riguarda la consacrazione della chiesa, dato che alcuni dicono che la processione va fatta in senso orario, mentre altri in direzione inversa, sappia bene, Vostra grande Santità, Signore padrone, che nella legge greca non si fa niente nella Santa Chiesa in direzione del sole, ma al contrario, sia la consacrazione, sia l'invito alla messa, o



BINECUVĂNTAREA MARELUI CNEAZ IVAN AL III-LEA DE CĂTRE MITROPOLITUL GHERONTIE

qualunque altra azione fatta nella Santa Chiesa, si fanno in direzione contraria all'andamento del sole. Colui che lo farà in direzione dell'andata del sole, in base alla legge greca, sarà scomunicato dal primo concilio dei 318 possessori di Dio, i santi padri di Nicea.

Da noi, i Latini (cattolici) fanno così [cioè la chiesa viene consacrata circondandola al senso dell'andamento del sole], ma noi non siamo d'accordo, che ci degni il buon Dio (di sedere) alla sua destra nel giorno del giudizio e di ascoltare la sua voce tramite la preghiera dei suoi santi. Scritto nella Metropolia meridionale della Moldavia. Febbraio 2. A colui che vive nella grande salvezza dello Spirito Santo, l'Arcivescovo di Mosca, Kir Geronzio".<sup>6</sup>

Il conflitto tra il principe di Mosca e l'arciprete Geronzio avvenne il giorno 12 agosto del 1479. Il conflitto in sé ebbe diversi aspetti, ma arrivò all'apice dato che il "metropolita Geronzio che ha fatto il giro della chiesa con le croci in direzione contraria al sole"<sup>7</sup> dopo che il principe si offrì e disse "che simili cose provocano l'ira di Dio"<sup>8</sup>.

Gli oppositori di Geronzio, che sostenevano il contrario, chiamati dal principe per analizzare l'accaduto, erano l'arcivescovo Basiano di Rostov e l'arcimandrita

<sup>6</sup> Paul Mihailovici, *Legături culturale dintre români și ruși (Relazioni culturali tra romeni e russi)*, Chișinău 1932, p.11. La lettera in romeno è stata pubblicata da Ștefan Ciobanu col titolo *Din bibliotecile rusești (Dalle biblioteche russe)* in "Anuarul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice", Chișinău, 1924, p.73.

<sup>7</sup> Макарий (Булгаков) Митрополит Московский и Коломенский, „История Русской Церкви”, книга четвертая, часть первая, Издательство Спасо-Преображенского Валаамского монастыря, Москва, 1996, Macarie (Bulgakov) Metropolita di Mosca e di Kolâmisa, *Istoria Bisericii Ruse (Storia della Chiesa Russa)*, IV libro, I-a parte, Mosca, p. 44 (traduzione dal russo).

<sup>8</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 44 (traduzione dal russo).

Gennadio<sup>9</sup>, che, nel 1478, ebbe per primo una disputa relativa alla giurisdizione del monastero “Kirilo-Belozersk”, disputa che il grande principe risolse a favore dell’arciprete di Rostov. L’arciprete Basiano e l’arcimandrita Gennadio non avendo argomenti seri, dissero “Cristo, il Vero Sole, ha pestato l’Inferno, ha legato la morte e ha liberato le anime; per quello in occasione della Pasqua viene fatto il giro [in direzione del sole], ed è così che si fa anche al mattutino.”<sup>10</sup>



SFÂNTUL GHERONTIE  
MITROPOLIT AL MOSCOVEI

La maggior parte degli arcimandriti e degli egumeni erano della parte del metropolita. Uno dei sostenitori dell’arciprete di Mosca osservava: “Io ho visto sul Santo Monte la consecrazione di una chiesa – li andavano con le croci in senso opposto alla [direzione] del sole.”<sup>11</sup> Il conflitto si concluse presto, a causa dei problemi civili del principe e cioè delle invasioni tartare nel khanato di Ahmat. Due anni dopo, riprese la stessa disputa pubblica tra il grande principe ed il metropolita per quanto riguardava la consecrazione delle chiese. Ivan III vietò al metropolita Geronzio di consacrare le chiese da lui costruite, “[San] Giovanni Crisostomo”<sup>12</sup> e “La Nascita della Beata Vergine di Kremlin”<sup>13</sup>. Il metropolita si ritirò nel monastero di Smirnov “lasciando il bastone arcivescovile nella cattedrale e prendendo con sé solamente i paramenti”<sup>14</sup> il “24 agosto 1481”<sup>15</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> L’arcimandrita Gennadio – priore del monastero Ciudov, poi arcivescovo di Novgorod. E’ stato duramente punito dal metropolita Geronzio.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 44; „Е.Е. Голубинский „История Русской Церкви” том II ,период второй от нашествия монголов до митрополита Макария включительно первая половина тома, (E.E.Golubinski, *Istoria Bisericii Ruse (Storia della Chiesa Russa)*, secondo periodo, dall’invasione dei mongoli fino al metropolita Macario inclusa la prima parte del volume), Ed. крутицкое патриаршее подворье, Москва, 1997, p.554 (traduzione dallo slavo).

<sup>11</sup> *Ibidem*, p.44 (traduzione dal russo).

<sup>12</sup> Архим. Макарий Веретенников, Геронтий –митрополит Московский и вся Руси Православная Энциклопедия, том XI Георгий –Гомар, Цековно-научный центр»Православная Энциклопедия» Москва,2006, Arcim. Macarii Veretennikov, *Gherontie-mitropolit al Moscovei și a întregii Rusiei (Geronzio – metropolita di Mosca e dell’intera Russia)*” in *Enciclopedia Ortodoxă*, vol. XI; Gheorghie-Gomar, *Centrul științific-bisericesc „Enciclopedia Ortodoxă”*, Mosca, 2006 p.407 (traduzione dal russo).

<sup>13</sup> *Ibidem*, p.407 (traduzione dal russo).

<sup>14</sup> Macarie (Bulgakov), *Metropolita di Mosca e della Kolâmia*, *op. cit.*, vol. IV, libro I, parte I., p.44.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibidem*, p.407 (traduzione dal russo).



Il metropolita Geronzio, che godeva del forte sostegno del clero, mentre della parte del principe era soltanto l'arcivescovo Giosafato<sup>16</sup>, discendente di Basiano e l'arcimandrita Gennadio, cedettero e mandarono suo figlio "Ivan Moldoi"<sup>17</sup> a chiedergli perdono e di ritornare sulla sedia metropolitana. Però, l'arciprete si rifiutò, così che il "Grande principe è partito lui stesso e si è inginocchiato, pregandolo di ritornare alla guida della metropolia, riconoscendo che egli è colpevole di tutto; promettendo di ubbidire al metropolita nei suoi insegnamenti, così come sono stati anticamente"<sup>18</sup>.

Un altro aspetto della disputa può essere inteso dal fatto che, in quanto riguarda le tradizioni ecclesiastiche, il metropolita Filaret ci informa: "non c'è niente di sorprendente; alla fine del XVI secolo in Russia si erano formati molti riti particolari o innovativi. Una parte di loro si è formata per malinteso, un'altra a causa dell'indifferenza con la quale consacravano le sante Chiese..."<sup>19</sup> Lo stesso storico indica che "è noto che nelle prime regole stampate, la processione "по-солонь" (in direzione del sole) era indicata solamente per i matrimoni, mentre mancava nel liturgiere di Solovečk del metropolita Macario (no. 1085)"<sup>20</sup>. Così si spiega perché in Russia in questo periodo non c'era niente di scritto sul rito della processione intorno alla chiesa nel momento della consacrazione, fatto confermato dalla mancanza di tale usanza nei libri liturgici. La cronaca "Sofiiski", dalla cui praticamente tutti gli storici prendono spunto in questo conflitto è menzionato che: "Per avere una decisione sul problema comparso hanno cercato sui libri, ed hanno ricercato molto in loro (nei libri), però non hanno trovato alcunché – su come andare in processione per la consacrazione della chiesa, in direzione del sole o al contrario"<sup>21</sup>.

In relazione agli argomenti teologici che erano portati a sostegno di un insegnamento della Chiesa, dato che in questo periodo in Russia c'era bisogno di una

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<sup>16</sup> L'arcivescovo Gioasaf fu arciprete di Novgorod dal "22 luglio, anno 1481" E.E. Голубинский, *op.cit.*, p. 554 (traduzione dal russo).

<sup>17</sup> „Иван Молодой”(1458-1490), cioè "Ivan il Giovane" chiamato sulle cronache anche „Иван Тверянки” cioè "Ivan di Tverenc": Cronaca Simeonov, Cronaca Novgorod, Cronaca Sofiiski, ecc. (traduzione dallo slavo ecclesiastico).

Lo zarevici Ivan è figlio del grande principe Ivan III dal primo matrimonio con Maria Borisovna (probabilmente 1442 – 1467) della famiglia del "principe di Tveri, Boris Alexandrovici, che era cugina di terzo grado con Ivan III, e che morì probabilmente avvelenata, in base alle ultime ricerche dei medici legisti che hanno trovato una grande quantità di piombo nei suoi resti ossei. (Т. Д. Панова, Кремлевские усыпальницы, История, судьба, тайна [T.D. Panova, *Criptele din Kremlin. Istoria, soarta, taina (Le cripte di Kremlin. Storia, sorte, mistero)*, Изд., Индрик, Москва, 2003, p. 120 (traduzione dal russo).

<sup>18</sup> Macario (Bulgakov), Metropolita di Mosca e Kolâmia, vol. IV, libro I, parte I, *op.cit.*, p. 45 (traduzione dal russo).

<sup>19</sup> Архиепископ Филарет, „История русской Церкви”(Arcivescovo Filaret, *Istoria Bisericii Ruse/Storia della Chiesa Russa*), Ed. издательство сретенского монастыря 2001, p. 415 (traduzione dal russo).

<sup>20</sup> *Ibidem*, p.415 (traduzione dal russo).

<sup>21</sup> E.E.Golubinski, *op.cit.*, tomo II, p.553 (traduzione dal russo).

prova scritta e che c'era l'esempio della disputa tra il metropolita Filippo, il saggio Nikita Popovici da un lato, ed il legato papale Antonio dall'altra sull'unione di Firenze<sup>22</sup>, tanto che, l'ultimo non avendo "le prove dei libri"<sup>23</sup> non furono neppure presi in considerazione gli argomenti quali credibili. Kloss B. M. e Nazarov V. D. ci indicano che nel 1481, all'intorno del metropolita "è stata creata un'opera polemica sulla regola della consacrazione delle chiese"<sup>24</sup>, in cui si confermava, che la regola in direzione del sole "è un'eresia contraria alla Santa Scrittura".<sup>25</sup>



PUNEREA PIETREI DE TEMELIE A PALATULUI DIN CURTEA MITROPOLIEI

Un altro elemento del conflitto è indicato dallo storico russo Kartasev: "Il grande principe di Mosca, in cui era aumentata la coscienza di essere, in base al trasferimento di potere dai cesari bizantini, che di fatto, si era concretizzato con il matrimonio del 1472 con la nipote dell'ultimo degli imperatori, Sofia Peleologo, sempre più ha avuto il coraggio di implicarsi negli affari della chiesa. Però il metropolita nominato dal grande principe iniziò a perdere l'autorità e la sua precedente indipendenza..."<sup>26</sup>

"Ivan, sposato con Sofia, iniziò a considerarsi l'erede degli imperatori bizantini, e iniziò a indicarsi quale zar nelle relazioni con gli stranieri. Introdusse il titolo di zar, la cerimonia del matrimonio dello zar e la figura di San Giorgio che uccide il drago sull'emblema di Mosca è riusciti a collegarsi all'emblema bizantina prendendo l'aquila bianca bicefale."<sup>27</sup>

Ma allo stesso tempo i gerarchi di Mosca avevano una grande influenza sul grande principe per quanto riguardava i problemi ecclesiastici, però qualche volta

<sup>22</sup> Macario (Bulgakov), Metropolita di Mosca e Kolâmia, *op.cit.*, vol. IV, libro I, parte II, p. 183 (traduzione dal russo).

<sup>23</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 183 (traduzione dal russo).

<sup>24</sup> Arcim. Macarii Veretennikov, *op.cit.*, p.407; Клосс Б. М., Назаров В. Д., Полемиическое сочинение 1481 г. о хождении «посолонь», (Opera polemica dell'anno 1481 sulla processione "in direzione del sole") Московская Русь (1359-1584), Культура и самознание, Москва, 1997, p.383 (traduzione da russo).

<sup>25</sup> *Ibidem*, p.407. *Ibidem*, p.383 (traduzione dal russo).

<sup>26</sup> A.V. Карташев (A.V.Kartaşev), "Очерки по истории русской православной Церкви" (*Schiță pentru Istoria Bisericii Ortodoxe Ruse/Disegno per la Storia della Chiesa Ortodossa Russa*), том I, Санкт-Петербург, „Библиополис”, Издательство Олега Абышко, 2004 p. 403(traduzione dal russo)

<sup>27</sup> Н. Н. Воейков „Церковь, Русь, и Рим” Минск, Лучи Софии, 2000, (N.N.Voieicov, *Biserica, Rusia și Roma*) (*La Chiesa, Russia e Roma*, Minsk), p. 364 (traduzione dal russo).

anche per quelli politici e ne abbiamo, naturalmente, esempi evidenti; il metropolita Filippo, precursore di Geronzio obbligò Ivan III a impedire il legato papale di entrare in Mosca a capo della delegazione che accompagnò Sofia Peleologo, con la croce latina in rilievo<sup>28</sup>, mentre l'arcivescovo Basiano<sup>29</sup> intervenne con una dura risposta rivolta a "Ivan Vasilievici", quando lo zar fu in conflitto militare con il khanato di Ahmat. Allo stesso modo anche il metropolita Macario<sup>30</sup> descrisse l'arciprete di Mosca dicendo che il santissimo Geronzio era un uomo di carattere duro e nei problemi della chiesa non una volta aveva dimostrato la propria indipendenza nelle relazioni con il grande principe."<sup>31</sup>

Abbiamo esposto quanto sopra per capire meglio la situazione nell'ambito del conflitto tra il grande principe ed il metropolita. Dal testo della lettera risulta con certezza anche la data di spedizione: il 2 febbraio 1484, mentre l'autore della lettera è Basilio, vescovo di Roman, che compare per la prima volta proprio grazie alla firma della lettera, nel 1484.<sup>32</sup>

Il sacerdote e storico Paul Mihailovici sostiene che il "Metropolita Geronzio durante la disputa con il principe, si rivolse al vescovo Basilio di Roman, che era considerato uomo dotto e buon conoscitore delle cose di Chiesa, per sapere il suo parere sul problema"<sup>33</sup>. Desideriamo menzionare che il conflitto tra il grande principe ed il metropolita ricominciò nel 1482, secondo il metropolita Macario<sup>34</sup>, e nel 1481 secondo Golubinski<sup>35</sup>, l'arcivescovo Filaret<sup>36</sup> e Kartasev<sup>37</sup>. E' evidente che la lettera non arrivò durante la disputa ma a due o tre anni dopo che il conflitto era spento<sup>38</sup>, e allora non si può dar credito all'opinione di Paul Mihailovici.

E. E. Golubinski sostiene che "il vescovo ha scritto la lettera senza essere richiesta dal metropolita, ma ha deciso personalmente, senza indicare all'ultimo (al metropolita) che è giusto che si deve andare in processione all'inverso della direzione del sole."<sup>39</sup> Anche se non abbiamo la lettera di richiesta dell'arciprete di Mosca al vescovo di Roman, possiamo considerare vera l'affermazione dello storico russo,

<sup>28</sup> Macario (Bulgakov), Metropolita di Mosca e Kolâmia, libro IV, parte II, *op.cit.*, p. 183 (traduzione dal russo).

<sup>29</sup> L'arcivescovo Basiano era il padre spirituale del principe ed aveva una grande influenza su di lui. Disse al principe in un momento delicato, quando ritornò a Mosca durante le guerre coi tartari: "tutto il sangue dei cristiani ricade su di te, perché li hai traditi, scappi dal combattere coi tartari. Temi la morte? Non sei immortale, ma mortale. Dammi il tuo esercito perché lo guidi io – vedrai, chinerò io, un vecchio, la mia testa ai tartari." *Ibidem*, libro IV, parte I, p.46 (traduzione dal russo).

<sup>30</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 43 (traduzione dal russo).

<sup>31</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 43 (traduzione dal russo).

<sup>32</sup> P. Prof. Dott. Mircea Păcurariu, *op.cit.*, vol. I, p. 366.

<sup>33</sup> Paul Mihailovici, *op. cit.*, p.10.

<sup>34</sup> Macario (Bulgakov), Metropolita di Mosca e Kolâmia, *op.cit.*, libro IV, parte I, p. 44 .

<sup>35</sup> E. E. Golubinski, *op. cit.*, p. 554.

<sup>36</sup> Arcivescovo Filaret, *op. cit.*, p. 416.

<sup>37</sup> A .V .Kartasev, *op. cit.*, p. 404.

<sup>38</sup> E. E. Golubinski, *op. cit.*, p. 555.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 555 (traduzione dal russo).

però nel testo in slavo ecclesiastico della lettera troviamo in modo sorprendente l'argomento che il metropolita Geronzio usa nella disputa con l'arcivescovo Basiano Râlo e l'arcimandrita Gennadio chiamati dal principe per sostenere l'opinione contraria, che invocano l'argomento "по кадилу", "in direzione dell'incensiere"<sup>40</sup>. Nel testo romeno tradotto da Ștefan Ciobanu questo dettaglio manca "tanto alla consacrazione, alla chiamata alla liturgia, o in qualunque altra occasione", e viene presa in considerazione l'edificazione della Santa Mensa dal diacono, che inizia da destra e gira intorno alla Santa Mensa in direzione contraria al sole.<sup>41</sup>

Un'altra prova che l'epistola è stata scritta su richiesta dell'arciprete di Mosca sono gli argomenti molto categorici ed il soggetto del problema: "tale pratica liturgica non appartiene agli insegnamenti della Chiesa Ortodossa", nella fede greca non sarà fatto niente nella Santa Chiesa nella direzione dell'andamento del sole, ma al contrario", che, però, è specifica alla Chiesa Romano-Cattolica, così come ci testimonia il vescovo Basilio: "Da noi, i latini fanno così", certamente in modo non casuale e per combattere l'insegnamento "innovatore"<sup>42</sup> che è sostenuto dal grande principe e dai suoi aderenti. Anche se la relazione tra il grande principe ed il papa era buona, dato che il primo si era sposato su proposta<sup>43</sup> del cardinale Bessarione, l'atteggiamento di Ivan Vasilievici restò riservato nei confronti del papa.<sup>44</sup> Abbiamo

<sup>40</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 555. Si veda Описание рукописных сборниковъ Публичной Библиотеки Бычкова (*Descrizione delle collezioni di manoscritti della Biblioteca Pubblica di Bâcikov*), I, 507, sub fin. (traduzione dallo slavo ecclesiastico).

<sup>41</sup> Macario (Bulgakov), Metropolita di Mosca e Kolâmia, *op.cit.*, libro IV, parte I, p. 44.

<sup>42</sup> Golubinski stesso considera "che la processione contraria alla direzione del sole indica un'antica tradizione che conteneva un'usanza specifica a tutti e in modo evidente al grande principe gli è sembrata una novità" E. E. Golubinski, *op. cit.*, p. 555 (traduzione dal russo).

<sup>43</sup> "Nel 1469", Ivan III è tentato dalla proposta del cardinale Bessarione tramite diversi ambasciatori di sposarsi con la nipote dell'ultimo imperatore bizantino. Nei diplomi di papa Paolo II era indicata la fede ortodossa ed il nome venne cambiato da Zoe in Sofia. Lo scopo era, naturalmente, quello di portare Giovanni III al cattolicesimo e di farlo entrare nella lotta antiottomana.

Il 24 giugno 1472, dopo un'udienza al papa Sesto IV, Zoe partiva, accompagnata da 60 cavalieri ed una importante delegazione di greci ed italiani. Uno dei greci, diventò monaco in Russia e in seguito santo, col nome di Cassiano di Mangop.

Il 12 novembre 1472, Zoe arrivò a Mosca e nello stesso giorno si sposò in Kremlin. (Т, Д. Панова, Кремлевские усыпальницы, История, судьба, тайна), (Т.Д. Панова, *op.cit.*, pp. 124-130 (traduzione dal russo).

<sup>44</sup> Lo storico americano, Nicholas Riasanovsky indica che: "Anche se Ivan III si considerò successore dei principi di Kiev, rifiutò di entrare in ampi piani o di sacrificare la propria indipendenza. Così rifiutò il suggerimento del papa di unirsi con Roma o di ristabilire nella persona del capo di Mosca, un imperatore cristiano di Costantinopoli e lui rispose: "Preghiamo che il Signore lasci noi e i nostri figli così come siamo, padroni del nostro paese, in quanto riguarda l'incoronazione così come non l'abbiamo mai voluta non la vogliamo neppure adesso." (Nicholas V. Riasanovsky, *O istorie a Rusiei*) (*Una storia di Russia*), Ed. Institutul european, Iași, 2001, p. 123)

anche il conflitto religioso tra ucraini, bielorusi e russi ortodossi con i polacchi e lituani cattolici nell'ambito dell'unione polacco-lituana che erano in un'acerba disputa col grande principato di Mosca per le regioni popolate da slavi ortodossi, con i vescovi russi del principato di Mosca che erano antiunionisti, e che obbligava il principe ad avere una politica antipapale (Ivan Vasilievici fu uno dei precursori della politica di liberazione degli ortodossi slavi – al momento quelli che erano sottomessi ai lituani – come, più tardi, Pietro I per gli slavi ortodossi dei Balcani). Così, l'ortodossia divenne un mezzo politico efficiente per centralizzare lo stato russo e per allargare i suoi possedimenti. Ivan III andò in guerra contro suo genero, il gran duca Alessandro di Lituania, dato che aveva obbligato sua figlia Elena a diventare cattolica. E' ovvio che si trattò solo di un pretesto, però abbastanza scomodo per il granduca di Lituania. Così Ivan Vasilievici non poteva permettersi un'immagine di sostenitore di un insegnamento "innovatore" specificatamente latino da parte del clero, in maggior parte russo, e specialmente da parte di un vescovo straniero. Ciò non andava con la sua politica né con la sua religione.

Ritornando al contesto della lettera del vescovo Basilio desideriamo sottolineare che la tradizione tipica "in direzione del sole", in conformità alle regole della Chiesa "di legge greca", "e stata scomunicata dal primo Concilio dei 318 portatori di Dio", "e, se il destinatario della lettera e *Kir Geronzio* allora il colpevole è "lui" – cioè il grande principe, che non ascolta i "santi padri di Nicea". Una simile affermazione valeva più di un argomento, era una minaccia di scomunica da parte della Chiesa. Il peso di tali parole ci porta a credere che sono state "ordinate" dall'arciprete di Mosca, ma specialmente l'uso dello stesso argomento – e cioè la tradizione "по кадилу" che abbiamo già indicato.

La conoscenza del vescovo di Roman, in conformità a quanto sostiene il professore Mircea Păcurariu, da parte del metropolita Geronzio fu possibile grazie ad "Elena, sposa di Ivan in Giovane, nel 1483, figlio del grande principe Ivan III"<sup>45</sup>. L'idea di p. Păcurariu può essere concreta perché, c'è una lettera della "grande cneaghina Olena"<sup>46</sup> al "dolce e gradito signore e al caro padre Giovanni Stefano voivoda"<sup>47</sup>. La lettera non ricorda affatto il problema discusso allora a Mosca. Resta

<sup>45</sup> Mircea Păcurariu, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 366.

<sup>46</sup> *Relațiile istorice dintre popoarele U.R. S.S. și România în veacurile XV – începutul celui de-al XVIII[lea] (Le relazioni storiche tra i popoli dell'U.R.S.S. e la Romania nei secoli XV – inizio sec. XVIII)*, vol. I (1408 – 1652), ed. J. S. Grosul, A. C. Oțetea, A. A. Novoselski, L. V. Cerepnin, Mosca, Ed. "Știința" 1965, p. 57; Olena – è nominata nelle cronache Elena o Olena. Per esempio la "cneaghina Olena" in Симеоновская Летопись, (*Cronica Simeonov/Cronaca Simeonov*), том XVIII, Издательство (Ed.), ООО „Знак”, Москва, 2007, стр. 270 (traduzione dallo slavo ecclesiastico). Alexandru Boldur spiega "in ucraino Olena", Alexandru V. Boldur, *Ștefan cel Mare Voievod al Moldovei (1457 – 1504, (Stefano il Grande Voivoda della Moldavia - 1457 – 1504)*, II edizione, Editura Junimea, Iași, 2004, p.316.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibidem*, p.58.

comunque valida l'ipotesi del noto slavista Iațimirski<sup>48</sup> che indica l'esistenza della corrispondenza emessa da Elena Voșanșca con suo padre Stefano, signore di Moldavia. L'editore della lettera ci avverte che la data di emissione della lettera "non è anteriore al gennaio 1483 – e non oltre il 1502."<sup>49</sup> Una data di emissione molto larga, però fattibile, che informava il vescovo Basilio fino al 1484, il 2 febbraio da parte di Elena. E. E. Golubinski sostiene che il "vescovo è stato informato del conflitto di Mosca dagli ambasciatori russi, arrivati dal suocero del grande principe (nel 1482), (Stefano voivoda di Moldavia)".<sup>50</sup>

Per quanto riguarda il matrimonio e l'arrivo degli ambasciatori russi abbiamo le relazioni delle cronache: la Cronaca di Lvov e la Cronaca di Vologodsk-Perm ci forniscono numerose informazioni. La cronaca di Lvov ci indica in prima fase l'opposizione del re di Polonia". Andrea Plesceev e Ivan Zinovievici sono andati a portarla [Elena], però il re [di Polonia] non ha voluto lasciarli passare."<sup>51</sup> Nella seconda fase dei negoziati diplomatici per il salvacondotto ottenuto dagli ambasciatori russi per portare la principessa Elena a Mosca, sono ricordati i due fratelli "Andrea e Pietro Mihailovici Pleșceev".<sup>52</sup> La cronaca di Vologodsk-Perm ricorda "Michele Pleșceev"<sup>53</sup> e vi sono indicati anche tre nobili moldavi: "Vlaicu e Sincu e Gherasim".<sup>54</sup> Così, la lettera poteva essere spedita con i nobili e insieme alla delegazione di Mosca. Possiamo inoltre menzionare che Michele Iacovlici,

<sup>48</sup> А.И. Яцимирски, Из истории славянской письменности в Молдавии и Валахии XV-XVII вв. (*Din istoria literaturii slave în Moldova și Valahia în secolele XV-XVII (Dalla storia della letteratura slava in Moldavia e Valacchia nei secoli XV-XVII)*) si veda Damian P. Bogdan, *O călătorie științifică în U.R.S.S. (Un viaggio scientifico nell'U.R.S.S.)* in "Analele româno-sovietice", 1(29), gennaio-marzo (anno XIV – serie II), p. 136.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 57.

<sup>50</sup> E.E. Golubinski, *op.cit.*, p. 555 (traduzione dal russo).

<sup>51</sup> Tatiana Panova *Soarta marii cneaghine Elena fiica lui Ștefan cel Mare (La sorte della grande principessa Elena figlia di Stefano il Grande)* in "Stefano il Grande e Santo atleta della fede cristiana", Ed. Mușatinii, Suceava, 2004, p.465; *Cronica de la Lvov (La Cronaca di Lvov)* in Русские Летописи ("Cronache russe") [RL], IV, Ryazan, 1999, p. 452. "Stefano ha mandato la figlia in Russia insieme ai suoi nobili: Lanc, Sinc e Gherasim ed alle loro mogli. Sazimir non ha concesso più il passaggio, però ha mandato doni in segno di riconoscimento." Karamzin, *op.cit.*, p. 246; "Al passaggio della signora per la Lituania, a Novgorodeț, i delegati di re Casimiro gli hanno offerto doni", Gheorghe Bezviconi, *Contribuții la relațiile româno-ruse (Contributi alle relazioni romeno-russe)*, Ed. Tritonc, Bucarest, 2004, p.50.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 465; *Ibidem*, pp. 452-453.

<sup>53</sup> Damian P. Bogdan, *Recensioni alla Collezione completa delle cronache russe (Recenzii la Colecția completă a cronicelor rusești)*, tomo 26, *Letopiseșul Vologdo-Perm*, in "Analele româno-sovietice (Annali romeno-sovietici)", seria storia, 1(33), gennaio - marzo 1961 (anno XV- serie III) p. 173, Полное собрание русских летописей, Том двадцать шестой, Вологодско-Пермская летопись, (*Colecția completă a cronicilor ruse - La collezione completa delle cronache russe*), volume XXVI, *Cronica Vologdo-Perm*) Изд.АН.СССР.М.-Л1959 412 (413).

<sup>54</sup> *Ibidem*, p.173.

identificato nella lettera, potrebbe essere di fatto Mihailo Plescev, che non ha il cognome del padre degli ambasciatori “Mihailovici” nella cronaca di Lvov, e neanche il nome dell’ambasciatore. Ma esiste anche un’altra inesattezza: la delegazione era arrivata fino alla “festa dell’Epifania” quando avvenne il matrimonio, cioè il 6<sup>55</sup>, 12<sup>56</sup> o 16<sup>57</sup> gennaio del 1483, mentre la lettera fu scritta solo il 2 febbraio 1484. Si può concludere che la lettera non arrivò a Mosca mediante la delegazione, ma ammettiamo che i delegati potevano informare l’arciprete di Roman sul conflitto di Mosca. Panova più che sicuro sostiene sbagliatamente che “Elena è partita per Mosca nel 1483”, però se fosse partita il 1 gennaio 1483 Elena non sarebbe arrivata il 6, 12 o 16 gennaio a Mosca con tutta la corte.<sup>58</sup>

Paul Mihailovici indica che la dicitura “nuovamente informiamo”<sup>59</sup> starebbe a indicare che l’autore avrebbe scritto un’altra lettera. Tale ipotesi può essere accettabile data l’affermazione di Ulianički, e cioè che “nella prima metà del secolo XVII, esistevano ancora registri valacchi dal 6990 (1482) fino al 7013 (1505) con le spedizioni da Mosca e gli arrivi degli ambasciatori di Mosca, nonché degli arrivi a Mosca e partenze degli ambasciatori valacchi.<sup>60</sup> Certamente la scomparsa dei registri ha presupposto la scomparsa dei testi degli ambasciatori e dunque anche la lettera del vescovo Basilio di Roman. Questa prima lettera è possibile fosse arrivata con gli ambasciatori moscoviti o moldavi prima del 1484, con l’arrivo di Elena, cioè nel 1483. Un’opinione di Golubinski, letta tra le righe delle cronache e che “la tradizione

<sup>55</sup> *Ibidem*, p.173.

<sup>56</sup> Семионовская Летопись, (*Cronaca Semionov/Cronica Semionov*), Mosca, 2007, ed. 000 Znak, p. 207.

<sup>57</sup> Новгородская Летопись (Cronaca Novgorod/Cronica Novgorod ), Ed „Языки славянской культуры” Mosca, 2004, tom XLIII, p. 270.

<sup>58</sup> ”Da Mosca a Iasi una notizia poteva arrivare, in condizioni invernali in 25 giorni, Ionel-Claudiu Dumitrescu, *Activități informative românești în serviciul Porții Otomane(secolele XVI-XVII) (Attività informative romene a servizio della Sublime Porta - secoli XVI-XVII)*, p. 53 in “Anuarul Institutului de Istorie „A.D.Xenopol” (Annuario dell’Istituto di Storia)”, XXXV, 1998, Ed.Universității, Al. I. Cuza, Iași; Tashin Gemil, *Relațiile Țărilor Române cu Poarta Otomană în documente turcești 1601-1712) (Le relazioni dei Paesi romeni con la Sublime Porta nei documenti turchi - 1601-1712)*, Bucarest, 1984, doc. 204, p. 419, come esempio: “nel gennaio 1653, gli uomini di Basilio Lupu arrivarono da Mosca in 25 giorni (kâmil yigirimi beş gunde Moskov tarafından adamlarınız gelub), *ibidem*, p. 46; *ibidem*, p. 289, doc. 127.

<sup>59</sup> Paul Mihailovici, *op.cit.*, p. 11.

<sup>60</sup> V. A. Ulianički, *Materiale pentru istoria raporturilor reciproce ale Rusiei, Poloniei, Moldovei, Valahiei (Țării românești) și Turciei în sec. XIV – XVI (Materiali per la storia dei rapporti reciproci della Russia, Polonia, Moldavia, Valacchia e Turchia nei secoli XIV-XVI)*, Mosca, 1887, p. IV.; Alexandru V. Boldur, *op.cit.*, p. 217; Negli antichi archivi della diplomazia russa si trovavano anche i libri moldavi (knigi voloskie ) degli anni 1482 – 1505, con le annotazioni degli arrivi e le spedizioni dei diversi ambasciatori. “I libri non sono arrivati fino ai nostri giorni però i ricercatori dell’argomento, quali il professore Vladimir Ulianički, indica l’importanza attribuita da Mosca ai rapporti con la Moldavia”, Gheorghe Bezviconi, *op.cit.*, p. 50.

non l'hanno cambiata” e ciò si spiega nel fatto che “il grande principe è stato obbligato a umiliarsi dinanzi al metropolita [...] il grande principe è andato da lui [dal metropolita] stesso e si è chinato, pregandolo di ritornare a capo della metropolia, riconoscendo che lui [il grande principe] era colpevole di tutto; promettendo di ascoltare il metropolita nei suoi insegnamenti, così come era stato anticamente”<sup>61</sup>, però “non ha lasciato la sua opinione e perciò ha chiesto che in futuro ci fosse una regola in forma scritta”<sup>62</sup>.

Se la lettera arrivò nel 1484, è certo che non cambiò niente di essenziale nel conflitto tra il metropolita ed il grande principe, ma poteva confermare la correttezza della tradizione tipica per la consacrazione delle chiese e cioè in “forma scritta” che il grande principe desiderava vedere quale argomento. Abbiamo detto prima che i russi in questo periodo credevano soltanto alle “testimonianze scritte”.

Un fatto interessante è che il grande principe non chiede ai greci alcuna spiegazione per questa tradizione tipica. Il motivo ce lo spiega lo storico Golubinski, il quale sosteneva che “per decidere la disputa era naturale indirizzarsi con la domanda ai greci, come è da loro la tradizione; però il grande principe, indifferentemente della risposta di un arcimandrita o di un egumeno, per esempio [di] Athos, proprio per questo non l'ha fatto, come dicevamo sopra, perché i russi di allora avevano smesso di considerare i greci quali portatori [eredi] dell'ortodossia nei problemi di rito ecclesiastico; non rispettavano più la loro autorità.”<sup>63</sup> Il collegamento di famiglia tra Stefano il Grande e Santo e Ivan III, la fede ortodossa e la sua indipendenza politica, ma anche lo slavo ecclesiastico in cui erano redatti i documenti, si dovevano ascoltare quale conferma imparziale, che il metropolita Geronzio poteva usare dinanzi al principe.

La lettera del vescovo Basilio di Roman poteva contribuire alla comparsa di un “breve articolo nell'ambito della collezione datata 1490 – 91, che vietava ai preti la pratica di andare in direzione del sole a pena di essere considerati eretici, scomunicati e condannati”<sup>64</sup>. Nicolae Cartoian affermava che “al tempo di Stefano il Grande la cultura religiosa in forma slava era soddisfacente per la Moldavia, tanto che nel 1484 il vescovo di Roman, Basilio, osò intervenire in un problema di ordine teologico che era comparso tra il Metropolita di Mosca Geronzio ed il principe di Mosca, Ivan III Vasilevici.”<sup>65</sup>

<sup>61</sup> Macario (Bulgakov), *op.cit.*, p. 45 (traduzione dal russo).

<sup>62</sup> E. E. Golubinski, *op.cit.*, p. 555 (traduzione dal russo).

<sup>63</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 555 (traduzione dal russo).

<sup>64</sup> Arcim. Macarii Veretennikov, *op.cit.*, p. 407; РГБ, Муз., №3271. Л.44. об, Седельников А. Д., Рассказ 1490 г. Об инквизиции Тр. Комисии по древнерусской литературе. Л., 1932, т.с.425 (traduzione dal russo).

<sup>65</sup> Nicolae Cartoian, *Istoria literaturii române vechi (Storia della letteratura romana antica)*, Editura Minerva, Bucarest, 1980, p. 47.



## THE HUNGARIAN PARTICIPANTS IN THE AMERICAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

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**Rezumat:** La Războiul de Independență a coloniilor engleze din America de Nord au participat câteva mii de soldați veniți din diverse părți ale Europei. În timp ce coroana britanică a beneficiat de sprijinul mercenarilor germani, americanii secesioniști i-au avut de partea lor pe francezii grupați într-un corp special de armată. Acestora li s-au alăturat voluntari de pe teritoriul Sfântului Imperiu Roman, din Suedia sau din Regatul Poloniei. Mai puțin cunoscute sunt aspectele legate de participarea unor soldați din Regatul Ungariei care au luptat pentru libertatea americanilor. Următorul articol aduce informații referitoare la patru luptători de origine maghiară ajunși pe câmpul de luptă american: Maurice August Benyovszky, Baronul Francisc Seraph Benyovszky, Mihály Kováts de Fabricy și Jean Ladislau Poleretzky. Având drept principală caracteristică spiritul de aventură, cele patru personaje sunt protagoniștii unor istorisiri incitante, cu sușuri și coborâșuri, cu răsturnări de situație și deznodăminte neprevăzute.

**Abstract:** Thousands of soldiers coming from different parts of Europe have participated in the American War of Independence. While the British crown received support from the German mercenaries, the secessionists Americans were helped by a special unit of the French army and by other volunteers from the territory of the Holy Roman Empire, the Kingdom of Sweden, and Poland. Less known are the issues of participation of troops from the Kingdom of Hungary who fought for American freedom. The following article brings information on the four foreign fighters who arrived on the American battlefield: Maurice August Benyovszky, Baron Francisc Seraph Benyovszky, Mihály Kováts of Fabricy and Jean Ladislau Poleretzky. Having the spirit of adventure as a main characteristic, the four characters are the protagonists of some exciting stories, with ups and downs, with twists and unexpected denouement.

**Résumé:** A la Guerre d'Indépendance des colonies anglaises de l'Amérique de Nord ont participé quelques milliers de soldats venus de diverses parties de l'Europe. Pendant que la couronne britannique a bénéficié de l'appui des mercenaires allemands, les Américains sécessionnistes ont eu de leur partie les français groupés dans un corps spécial d'armée. A ceux-ci, se sont ajoutés des volontaires du territoire du Saint Empire Romain, de Suède ou du Royaume de la Pologne. Moins connus sont les aspects liés de la participation des soldats du Royaume de l'Hongrie qui ont lutté pour la liberté des Américains. L'article ci-joint apporte des informations concernant quatre lutteurs d'origine hongroise arrivés sur le champ de bataille américain: Maurice August Benyovszky, le baron Francisc Seraph Benyovszky, Mihály Kováts de Fabricy et Jean Ladislau Poleretzky. Ayant comme caractéristique principale l'esprit d'aventure, les quatre personnages sont les protagonistes des histoires incitantes, avec des ascensions et des descentes, avec des torsions et des dénouements inattendus.

**Keywords:** *American War of Independence, soldier, traveler, military operations, stories, adventure.*

It is generally known that in the American War of Independence, or in the so-called American Revolution, fought also a few thousands of warriors, who came on the North American battlefields directly from the different parts of Europe. The majority of them were the Hessian mercenaries bought by the British Crown in the German principalities.<sup>1</sup> Almost 7000 soldiers belonged to the special French army corps were sent to help the American ally by the French royal court in 1780. The command of this corps was given to Lieutenant General count de Rochambeau. However, in the eight years lasting bloody war (1775-1783) fought the tens of the Frenchmen long ago before France entered the war against the British Crown officially. Among the most famous warriors belonged the general Lafayette. Besides the Frenchmen who fought with the Continental Army, were more or less renowned volunteers from the different countries of Europe, (i.e. from the territory of the Holy Roman Empire, Sweden or from the Kingdom of Poland). Short time before the start of the American Revolution, Poland lost a great part of its area in the First Partition and its population suffered the first from the several emigration waves. It is not necessary to name and describe in detail the deeds of the participants as were the Germans Johann Kalb and Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben, or the Swede Hans Axel von Fersen. Among the warriors of a Slavic origin we can mention the Poles Kazimierz Pułaski – a veteran of the uprising of the Confederation of Bar against the Russians and pro-Russian king Stanislas August Poniatowski – or Tadeusz Kościuszko, who after the return to the homeland, took the important role in the national uprising of 1794, against an imperialistic politics of the Russian tsarina Catherina II.

The less known chapter of the history of the American Revolution is the participation of a few warriors from the area of the Kingdom of Hungary, who fought for the American freedom with more or less efficiency. In the present article, we would like to offer an overview on the essential facts, partly based on our own research, on the participation of the four warriors with the Hungarian origin in the War of American Independence. Surely, the most renowned, but also the most questionable participant in the American Revolution, coming from the area of the Kingdom of Hungary, was the famous adventurer and traveler: Maurice August Benyovszky.<sup>2</sup> He became a famous person in Europe, mainly after his tragic death,

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<sup>1</sup> There were more than 30.000 „Hessian“ mercenaries fighting against the American revolutionaries, but a part of them was comprised of non-German origin soldiers. See E.J. Lowell, *The Hessians and the other German auxiliaries of Great Britain in the revolutionary war*, New York, 1884. Accessible at: <http://www.americanrevolution.org/hessians/hessindex.html>.

<sup>2</sup> Maurice August Benyovszky (1746-1786, Slovak form of his name: Móric August Beňovský). In the American primary sources, it is often Beniowski or Bieniewski, which are the Polish versions of this surname.

when his work – *Memoirs and travels* – was published in French and English.<sup>3</sup> The *Memoirs* describes, largely fabricated or exaggerated, his military activities in the uprising of the Confederation of Bar, that was the union of the pro-national thinking Polish nobility which stood in opposition to the Russian interference into the inner Polish politics and the progressive reforms realized by the advisers to the king Stanislas August Poniatowski. Benyovszky took part in this war, in 1768 and again in 1769-1770, until the capture by the Russian army. After the trial in Saint Petersburg, he was sent, as a deported, to the fort of Bolsheretzka, in the Kamchatka peninsula. Along with his supporters, he escaped on a stolen ship. During his voyage, he touched the seacoast of the present-day Alaska, the islands of Japan and Taiwan (known, in his times, as “Ilha Formosa” or “Beautiful Island”), and finally he dropped anchor in the port of Canton, China. From there, he and the rest of his crew (many of them died from malaria during the voyage and in Canton) sailed to France, where Benyovszky entered the French colonial service as the commander of a small volunteer regiment. Because of the government’s intent to colonize the island of Madagascar, he was sent to build up a trade post there. Yet, his activities in the years 1774-1776 were not successful, partly due to the animosity of the local French colonial administration. His adventurous life continued in the participation in the war of the Bavarian succession (1778-1779), in the American Revolution in 1782, and finally in his second self-organized voyage to Madagascar and subsequent stay on the island, between July 1785 and May 1786. His activities were perceived as a threat to the French interests. For this reason, Benyovszky was traced and finally shot dead in a French punitive expedition.

Coming back to Benyovszky’s participation in the American Revolution, the recent historical research has rebutted the statement for a long time repeated in the historiographical literature. According to that, the Hungarian adventurer visited America three times during his life: at the turn of 1779–1780, in 1782, and finally in 1784, when he sailed from Baltimore (Maryland) to Madagascar. The Polish publicist and historian Janusz Roszko was the first researcher who clearly proved, that in 1779 and 1780, the person who tried to join the Continental Army was not Maurice Benyovszky, but his younger brother: Baron Francis Seraph Benyovszky.<sup>4</sup> Roszko came to this conclusion based on the older paper of the Hungarian historian Lajos Thallóczy, where the original archival sources are quoted *in extenso*, proving the stay of Maurice Benyovszky in Paris and in Vienna, in 1779 and 1780.<sup>5</sup> Roszko subsequently confirmed by his own archival research that in this case occurred the confusion of the two brothers, and that the older Maurice came to the USA, for the

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<sup>3</sup> Under the title: *Memoirs and Travels of Mauritius Augustus Count de Benyowsky*. London 1789 (first limited test edition), 1790 (second edition).

<sup>4</sup> Baron Francis Seraph Benyovszky - Slovak form of his name is František Serafin Beňovský, 1753–after 1789.

<sup>5</sup> Lajos Thallóczy, *Gróf Benyovszky Móricz haditengerészeti és kereskedelem-politikai terveit*, „Magyar Gazdaságtörténelmi Szemle“, vol. VIII, 1901, no. 8, pp. 329–376 and no. 9, pp. 385–409.

first time, in 1782.<sup>6</sup> Later, the historian's theory was confirmed by the further archival documents found and described in an article written by the author of this paper.<sup>7</sup> However, we can raise a question: what were the reasons of leaving the Benyovszky brothers the homeland and of taking the participation in the American Revolution?

Francis Seraph Benyovszky was a professional soldier and a kind of troublemaker with a carefree character. During his stay in Paris in 1777, Maurice decided to transfer his younger brother from the Polish garrison town of Tarnów<sup>8</sup> and to place him in a special French unit, which was created to fight with the British in America (later known as the Lauzun's Legion).<sup>9</sup> It is very probable that Maurice made this decision under the advice of his new Paris acquaintance Benjamin Franklin, an American emissary, with whom he had very friendly relationship (for example, they played the chess very often).<sup>10</sup> There is no mention in the sources which way to America Francis Seraph took, but his departure and first short stay there is confirmed in a Maurice's letter to his brother Emanuel from August 22, 1778.<sup>11</sup> In the letter from December 10, 1778 Maurice wrote that after his return to France, Francis led a lavish lifestyle, played cards, and this gambling put him in debt. Finally, he spent three weeks in the Bastille, but he was released from the prison by the queen Marie Antoinette who was so kind and bought for him a rank of lieutenant in the regiment of hussars in the Lauzun's Legion.<sup>12</sup> We know that Francis attempted to get to the USA, but was repeatedly captured by the English.<sup>13</sup> The fourth attempt to get to America was successful and he reached Boston in the summer of 1779. We know that from the letter of General Horatio Gates to John Jay, in August 21, in which he wrote information about Baron Benyovszky who requested a horse and a sum of money for

<sup>6</sup> Janusz Roszko, *Awanturnik nieśmiertelny*, Katowice, 1989, pp. 215-217.

<sup>7</sup> Patrik Kunec, *Sporný pobyt Mórica Beňovského v Spojených štátoch amerických v rokoch 1779-1780*, „Vojenská história“, vol. 9, 2005, no. 2, pp. 92-101; Idem, *Beňovského pobyt a aktivity v Amerike*, in Ľubomír Bosák, Patrik Kýška (eds.), *Móric Beňovský : legenda a skutočnosť. Zborník referátov z odbornej konferencie o Mórica Beňovskom, ktorá sa uskutočnila vo Vrbovom 10. októbra 2006*, Vrbové, 2007, pp. 43-56.

<sup>8</sup> At that time, Tarnów belonged to the Habsburg monarchy.

<sup>9</sup> Letter to brother Emanuel Benyovszky from July 6, 1777 and from December 10, 1778. Published in Mór Jókai, *Gróf Benyovszky Móric: Saját emlékiratai és útleírásai*, Budapest, 1888, vol. II, pp. 386-387, 406-407.

<sup>10</sup> Janusz Roszko, *op.cit.*, pp. 195-196.

<sup>11</sup> In that letter, Maurice wrote that the brother Francis Seraph, sent by him to America, was captured by the English and returned back to Paris. Letter to brother Emanuel Benyovszky from August 22, 1778, written in Strasbourg, and published in M Jókai, *op.cit.*, vol. II., pp. 391-392.

<sup>12</sup> „Le frère François est enfin employé dans la legion de Lauzun-houssards en qualité de lieutenant après avoirs été à la Bastille 3 semaines... heureusement il passera de nouveau en Amerique et nous serons délivré de ce mauvais sujet.“ Letter to Emanuel Benyovszky from December 10, 1778, written in Neuschloss bey Arnau (today's Hostinné, the Czech Republic) in M Jókai, *op.cit.*, vol. II., p 407.

<sup>13</sup> The mentions of the repeated attempts to get to America are found in the letter of F. S. Benyovszky read in the Congress on June 26, 1780.

the journey to Kazimierz Pułaski.<sup>14</sup> Gates gave him a horse and a little amount of money and sent him to Philadelphia. It is possible he had the recommendation letter for him from older brother Maurice, who acquainted Pułaski from the period of his participation in the Confederation of Bar uprising. Later in Philadelphia, the Congress gave a horse and necessary amount of money to Francis,<sup>15</sup> but he probably did not manage to meet Pułaski in person. Unfortunately for Francis Seraph, Pułaski died in October 11, 1779 in the skirmish before the town of Savannah (Georgia). According the content of the same letter, from June 26, which Francis Seraph addressed to the Continental Congress, he allegedly joined the cavalry Legion of Count Kazimierz (Engl. Casimir) Pułaski, but it is not probable he could ride the distance of approximately of 1000 km from Philadelphia to Savannah in a few days. Without the influential protector, Francis Seraph lost all his hopes for obtaining the post in an American army. He did not give up easy and at the end of 1779 and during the first half of the year 1780, he mailed to the Congress several letters filled with the pleas for the position in the army or for the money for the return journey to Europe.<sup>16</sup> The Congress did not allow financing his return journey and from July 1780. There are no traces of Francis Seraph Benyovszky in the papers of the American archives. Actually, one mention on him found its place in a letter of William Clajon, a secretary to General Horatio Gates, which reads: „*Count Pulaski's pretended Brother is gone to the Enemy. I suppose he was afraid of being known to have been expelled out of Lauzun's Legion in the French Service, that Corps being at Newport.*“<sup>17</sup> Although the name of a deserter is not mentioned in the letter, based on Francis Seraph Benyovszky's several times expressed (but groundlessly) family relationship with Pułaski, we can be sure that this deserter was F. S. Benyovszky.

J. Roszko found the very interesting punch line of this story in the state papers deposited in the Austrian State Archive in Vienna. Among the diplomatic dispatches from Constantinople, Benyovszky's request for repatriation was written by the hand of an Austrian envoy Herbert Rathkeal, on September 10, 1783 and sent to the State Chancellery together with the two-pages *curriculum vitae*, written by the hand of

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<sup>14</sup> Letter of Gates to Jay, August 21, 1779. *Papers of the Continental Congress, National Archives, Washington, D.C.* (further only NA), item 171, ff. 252-253.

<sup>15</sup> Report of the Board of War from September 3, 1779. *Papers of the Continental Congress*, NA, item 147, vol. II, f. 441.

<sup>16</sup> Undated supplication in Latin read in the Congress on December 13, 1779, *Papers of the Continental Congress*, NA, item 78, vol. III, ff. 415-416. Letters from May 9, June 15 and June 26, 1780 written all in Philadelphia, *Papers of the Continental Congress*, NA, item 78, vol. III, ff. 461, item 78, vol. III, ff. 481, item 78, item 41, vol. I, ff. 291-293. All letters were republished *in extenso* in L. Orłowski, *Maurycy August Beniowski*, Warszawa, 1961 pp. 246-250.

<sup>17</sup> Letter of W. Clajon to General H. Gates from August 20, 1780, written in Philadelphia. E. Clark (ed.), *The State Records of North Carolina*, vol. XIV (1779-1780). Winston, NC, 1896, pp. 566-567.

Francis Seraph.<sup>18</sup> Before the eyes of the Austrian envoy, Benyovszky wrote down in points his military career – let us mention only few statements: at 1779, he wrote on his attendance in the battle of Charleston and before Savannah where he was the witness of the death of Pułaski; these statements are false, as we have said. To the year 1780, he allegedly fell again into English captivity after the fall of Charlestown on May 12. He was imprisoned in New York, from there he was transferred to England, and later he moved to the Dutch Republic where he allegedly entered the Dutch naval service. Subsequently, he tried to enter the Spanish Army, but the war with Great Britain slowly moved to the end and this fact stopped his hopes for the career in the Spanish Army. Finally, he decided to return to America, to the General Bernardo de Gálvez, but his ship wrecked on May 1783, near the Cap Verde. From there, he went to Gibraltar, and then through Genoa, Livorno, and some Greek islands where he found a way to Constantinople. There, he went ashore without the money and in the poor appearance. We still know nothing about his journey back to home, but sure thing is he reached his place of birth - the townie of Vrbové, where he died in 1789. The fact that Francis Seraph Benyovszky really spent some time in America trying to enter the American army or the French auxiliary corps can be confirmed by the several letters of the French officers, written by and mailed to him during his stay in the USA and after the return home. They were preserved in the family archive until today, one of them being written by the Admiral of the French allied fleet General d'Estaing.<sup>19</sup> It can be said that Francis Seraph Benyovszky belongs to the ambiguous participants of the American Revolution, because we have no direct evidence of his participation in the real combat in the war of the American Independence. In this way, his story resembles the Maurice Benyovszky's efforts in the USA during the year of 1782. As we have mentioned above, Maurice August Benyovszky set foot on the East-American coast for the first time in March 1782. Which were the reasons of his departure for America and his effort to take participation in the American Revolution? After the service in the Austrian army, in the war of the Bavarian Succession (1778-1779), Benyovszky tried, in the period of 1780–1781, to establish the first Austrian trade and war fleet in the port of iume (today's Rijeka, Croatia). After the refusal of his projects by the Austrian court, he created a transport company, to transport the products of the Hungarian and Croatian agriculture to the port of Fiume. Unfortunately, the transport business went bad and finally, in the summer of 1781, Maurice Benyovszky left the company to his partner and shareowner, Count Marotti.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Österreichisches Staatsarchiv [Austrian State Archives], Vienna, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Staatskanzlei, Turkei II Berichte, VII-X 1783, Kart. 81, fasc. 2, ff. 68.

<sup>19</sup> Letter of d'Estaing to Francis Seraph Benyovszky, Savannah October 3, 1779. Magyar Országos Levéltár [Hungarian State Archive], Budapest, Collection P 444 Kvassay család, vol. 10, fasc. Xx, fol. xx.

<sup>20</sup> On the projects of Benyovszky from the years 1780 and 1781. See Lajos Thallóczy, *Gróf Benyovszky Móricz haditengerészeti és kereskedelem-politikai tervei*, „Magyar Gazdaságtörténelmi Szemle“, vol. VIII, 1901, no. 8, pp. 329–376 and no. 9, pp. 385–409.



After the failure of his business activity, Benyovszky realized he had to maintain his family (he had two daughters) in other way. Once again, he decided to search for the solid post in France. It is obvious that leaving Hungary he did not plan to depart for the USA. To Paris he came with his family in the autumn of 1781, and he immediately restored his friendship with Franklin.<sup>21</sup> With the strong probability only here, he started to think about his participation in the American Revolution. Maybe he was positively influenced by the case of Lafayette, Kościuszko and others European participants in the war of the American Independence, which in that time slowly ended. Although some of them lost their lives in the war (such as his old friend Pułaski), he decided to take a part in this conflict. It is probable that this decision was determined by his existential problems and pragmatic expectations. Benyovszky thought that in America he could obtain a proper army position or another chance for the stabilization of his existence.

As it was said, Benyovszky finally decided in Paris for the departure for the USA. During the sessions with Benjamin Franklin, he stated his intention to settle down in America with all his family and property.<sup>22</sup> Firstly, Franklin tried to prevent Benyovszky from this idea, but Maurice stood firmly on his decision. Most likely Franklin knew something about Benyovszky's adventurous past from the unknown sources, and surely, these pieces of information were not flattering for Benyovszky. From the Franklin's letters and diary it is not quite clear whether Benyovszky did mention his will or plan to participate in the war, but he asked Franklin for the letters of recommendation to the influential members of the American government. At the end of 1781, Maurice obtained Franklin's approval with the journey to the America, and two letters of recommendation: one to Robert Morris, the member of the Congress, and one to Richard Bache, the minister in the government. In these letters, there are no mentions about Benyovszky's intention to take part in the fight for the American independence. The shores of Europe Benyovszky left at the end of January, maybe at the beginning of February 1782.<sup>23</sup>

After the arrival in America, Benyovszky maintained the contact with General Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben, the prominent commander and one of the creators of the American army. He sent him a letter with Benyovszky's plea for Steuben's intervention and support in the case of Benyovszky's request for the post in the Continental Army. Steuben gave him an advice to address his request directly to General Washington and he helped to Benyovszky with composing the letter, because the Hungarian enthusiast for a case of the American freedom did not write and speak English. In the letter of March 18, 1782 Benyovszky asked Washington for the letter of recommendation addressed to the Congress and he stated he is ready to „*offer to Your country (of which I am ambitious of becoming a Citizen) my blood, my*

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<sup>21</sup> Janusz Roszko, *op.cit.*, p. 239.

<sup>22</sup> Janusz Roszko, *op.cit.*, p. 240; E. Dvoichenko-Markov, *Benjamin Franklin and Count M. A. Benyowski*, in *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 99, No. 6 (Dec. 1955), p. 410 (entry of the Franklin diary from Janury 2, 1782).

<sup>23</sup> Janusz Roszko, *op.cit.*, p. 241.

*knowledge and my courage.*<sup>24</sup> As we can see, he also had a desire to become the US citizen. From the content of this letter, it is clear that Maurice decided not only to settle down as soon as possible, but also to take an active participation in the fighting against the English in the war, which – unfortunately for him – ended in the last October with the surrender of the English land forces in the fort of Yorktown, Virginia.<sup>25</sup> The plan to settle down in the United States was from the beginning pretended because Benyovszky was lacking in money for its realization. His own property in the Kingdom of Hungary was forfeited. Washington wrote his reply on the same day.<sup>26</sup> He informed Benyovszky with the expression of regret that his request came too late, because the war on land is over and „*that the considerable reduction has lately taken place among our old officers by which some very valuable Generals and Officers who have served their country during the whole of this Contest and who wished to remain in Service – will be obliged to retire.*“

Benyovszky did not discourage himself by the negative reply and he immediately prepared the first version of the project, which was the only result of his activities during his stay in the United States. The project concerned the establishment of the legion of foreign volunteers in the service of the USA. The text of the project was written in French and sent on March 24 (i. e. only six days after the Washington's negative reply!), so it is obvious that Benyovszky had to think about it much earlier.<sup>27</sup> Benyovszky's project of the foreign legion is very detailed and it confirms the warfare experiences and knowledge of its author. Actually, he proposed to the US government to recruit in Europe, mainly among the Germans, the future soldiers of his foreign volunteers' legion, which could consist of three divisions, each of 1161 men, in the total number of 3483 mercenaries. Organization of the legion, number of its regiments, the recruited men, their equipment, and armory are described in a remarkable way. Finally, Benyovszky evaluated the costs of creating and equipment such a legion – the preliminary costs he calculated in the overall amount of 518.000 french livres, a sum he demanded from the Congress. The supreme command of the legion should be in the hands of the general, which post Benyovszky secured for himself. In this way, he probably planned to resolve his financial problems and to start a new military career in a new country. It is very disputable to describe Benyovszky as the altruistic enthusiast of the cause of the American freedom, as was f. e. the Polish warrior Tadeusz Kościuszko.

<sup>24</sup> Quoted after L Orłowski, *Maurycy August Beniowski*, p. 256. The photocopies of many Benyovszky's letters and the Washington's replies can be found at: <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/gwhtml/gwhome.html> (The web-page of the George Washington Papers preserved in the Library of Congress).

<sup>25</sup> The war continued in the Atlantic in 1782.

<sup>26</sup> J.C. Fitzpatrik (ed.), *The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources, 1745-1799*. 39 vols. Washington, D.C., 1931-1944, vol. XXIV, pp. 77-78. Published also in L Orłowski, *op. cit.*, p. 258.

<sup>27</sup> Although the original text was sent to General von Steuben, the English copy of it preserved among the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, NA, item 19, vol. I, ff. 275-282, 291-292, 297-298. Parts of it are republished in L Orłowski, *op. cit.*, pp. 258-264.

The Washington's consideration of the proposed project was written and sent to General von Steuben on April 12.<sup>28</sup> Washington's opinion on the establishment the foreign legion was generally positive, but he also noticed: „*the Utility of his plan for introducing a Legionary Corps of Germans into the Service of the United States of America depends, in my opinion, upon the political State of Affairs in Europe – the Probability of the War continuing, and the mode of conducting it – as also on the Time which will be required to bring this Corps into Action.*“ His comments concerned only the question of the required amount of monthly paid soldiers' pay. From the Washington's point of view, it should be less month-by-month from the reason of the expected casualties.<sup>29</sup>

Not only Washington had so positive attitude to Benyovszky. A few other high representatives of the American army and diplomacy intervened in his cause. Among the mentioned Franklin, there were Baron von Steuben and the French ambassador in the USA Chevalier de La Luzerne. He described Benyovszky in his letter addressed do Washington as „*Je n'ai pas besoin de rappeler à Votre Excellence les services et les actions qui rendent M. de Beniowski recommandable.*“<sup>30</sup>

On May 6, Benyovszky presented his slightly revised project to the Continental Congress.<sup>31</sup> The Congress passed his project to the Board of War, which passed Benyovszky's project on May 14 to the special Committee for the final decision. Committee was composed of the three members: A. Clarke, E. Rutledge, and Theodorick Bland and it gave on May 24 a positive evaluation to the project, declaring that the Minister of War should prepare the text of an agreement between the Congress and Benyovszky in the two originals. Although it seemed that nothing could stop the ratification of Benyovszky's project, the things unexpectedly changed. The Congress from still unknown reasons created on May 27 a second committee, which members were T. Madison, Scott, and Ramsay and this time their evaluation of the effect of the proposed foreign legion was negative.<sup>32</sup> From the text of the report it could not be said why the committee rejected the proposal of the project. It could be only assumed that the members of the second committee had more positively expectations concerning the development of the peace negotiations that resulted in the preliminary peace articles signed by the belligerents at the end of November 1782 in Paris. Probably the members of the second committee did not want to invest the large sum of money for the risky business in the times when the desired peace negotiations were expected. Benyovszky was a little stubborn man and he did not give up easy. He

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<sup>28</sup> J.C. Fitzpatrik (ed.), pp. 163-164.

<sup>29</sup> „Articles 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> are, in my opinion, inadmissible – because it would be giving a certain quantum of pay and subsistence p. month, to a Corps, which may by Deaths, Desertions, and other Casualties, be rendered very incompleat...“

<sup>30</sup> Letter of La Luzerne to Washington, April 18, 1782, from Philadelphia. Francis Wharton (ed.), *The Revolutionary Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States*, 6 vols., Washington D.C., 1889, vol. V, p. 314. Letter republished in W.M. Kozłowski, *Beniowski w Ameryce*, p. 163, L Orłowski, *op. cit.*, p. 268.

<sup>31</sup> *Papers of the Continental Congress*, NA, item78, vol. IV, ff. 299-301.

<sup>32</sup> Janusz Roszko, *op.cit.*, p 245.

decided to realize his project with the help of the Congressman for Virginia Theodorick Bland, who was the member of the first committee and had probably a great deal of sympathy for the personality of Benyovszky. Bland proposed to him that the project of the foreign legion could be approved and financed by the state of Virginia itself. Benyovszky slightly changed some of the points in project: instead of the German mercenaries should be recruited the Polish soldiers and officers, who left the homeland after the final defeat of the Confederation of Bar uprising and the first Partition of Poland. This plan failed too. Bland, with the strong probability, got the newscast doubts upon the credibility of Benyovszky's character and of the support from the French royal court.<sup>33</sup> Finally, Benyovszky gave up to the hostile fate and in the summer of 1782, he decided for the return to Europe. Therefore, this was the story of the Count Benyovszky's efforts to help the Americans in their fight against the British Army. Although he was not an active soldier in the fighting for the American Independence, he was prepared to sacrifice his life for the liberty of the United States of America.

The third Hungarian participant in the American Revolution is Mihály Kováts de Fabricy. His life story and the different military activities described in the detail a Hungarian historian József Zachar.<sup>34</sup> There are just a few mentions about the origin, family, and birth of Mihály Kováts. The precise date of his birth is not known, but most probably it was in August 1724 in the townie of Karcag (today in the county of Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok, Hungary). He was a Calvinist and his family belonged to the gentry. In 1740, Mihály Kováts started his military career, firstly as a common hussar in the Hávor's regiment (from 1744 it was called the Dessewffy's regiment). During the second war of the Austrian Succession (1744-1745), he fell into French captivity and unwillingly entered the French army. Later, captive in hands of the enemy, he was compelled to enter the Prussian army. On September 23, 1752, he obtained the degree of cornet in the Prussian First Hussar Regiment. In this regiment, many other Hungarian officers and common soldiers served. The commander of this unit from 1750 to 1758 was Mihály Székely. In 1761, Kováts left the service in the Prussian army and unsuccessfully tried to enter the Polish service. After the crossing the Polish-Hungarian border, he was arrested and imprisoned in Vienna as the deserter from the Austrian army, but in May 1762, the queen Maria Theresa gave him freedom after one year spent in prison. At the end of January 1763, the queen returned to him the rank of major and gave him a year pension of 500 gulden, as the means for the appropriate existence. Though he married in May 1763 and moved with his wife to the town of Prešov (Hungarian Eperjes), shortly after his marriage he left his home very often for unknown reasons and soon started to live his life in an adventurous

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<sup>33</sup> These speculation expressed Janus Roszko, *op. cit.*, p. 246-247.

<sup>34</sup> Aladár Póka-Pivny, József Zachar, *Az amerikai függetlenségi háború magyar hőse: Kováts Mihály ezredes élete 1724–1779*, Budapest, 1982; József Zachar, *Kováts Mihály levele Benjamin Franklinnak 1777. január 13.*, „Hadtörténelmi Közlemények“, vol. 26, 1979, no. 2, pp. 308–318, Idem, *Kováts Mihály és Kazimierz Pulawski Magyar-lengyel fegyverbarátság az Ó- és Újvilágban*, „Acta Academiae Paedagogicae Agriensis“, Nova Series 2007, vol. XXXIV, Sectio Historiae, accessible at: <http://tortenelem.ektf.hu/efolyoirat/04/zachar.htm>.

way.<sup>35</sup> There is a very interesting mention in the letter of his father-in-law Sigismund Szinyei-Merse, from June 1765, concerning the long periods of Kováts's absence. The father-in-law complained in that letter that his son-in-law is very often in the company of the Polish magnate Karol Radziwiłł, the Duke of Vilnius, who stayed at that time in Prešov. Radziwiłł was a leading person in the group of the Polish nobility, which stood in opposition to the reforms prepared by the advisers of King Stanislas August Poniatowski and the increasing Russian involvement into the inner politics of the Kingdom of Poland.<sup>36</sup> Along with the Duke Radziwiłł, other Polish noblemen have settled down in Prešov or its close neighborhood. Prešov became their base in the first phase of the Confederation of Bar uprising.<sup>37</sup>

Between the years 1767–1772, the traces of Mihály Kováts are missing in the archival sources.<sup>38</sup> With the strong probability, Mihály Kováts fought in the uprising against the Russians too, although we still do not have a direct evidence for this assumption in the archival documents. He probably fought in this revolt under the pseudonym, or *nom de guerre*. However, from his later American close relationship to Kazimierz Pułaski we can assume that he really took a participation in the Confederation of Bar uprising.<sup>39</sup> Kováts arose from the darkness again in the summer of 1772, when he appeared in the hussar uniform in Buda. After the return to the homeland, Kováts lived mainly in Buda but in the summer of 1776 he decided to leave the country and he went to Italy.<sup>40</sup>

From Italy, he moved to Paris and from there to the southwestern coast of France. We know this fact from one letter, which was preserved in the correspondence collection mailed to Benjamin Franklin. Kováts wrote his letter in Latin and mailed it from the port town of Bordeaux, on January 13, 1777.<sup>41</sup> The content of this letter concerns the plea for the recommendation letter for the Continental Congress because Kováts decided to enter the service in the American army. A very interesting fact is that many sentences from Kováts's supplication, starting from the Latin motto *Aurea Libertas fulvo non venditur auro* (Golden liberty could not be buy with gold), can be found also in the supplication of Francis Seraph Benyovszky, presented to the Congress in December 13, 1779. Is the Benyovszky's supplication a copy of that of Kováts's? It is difficult to answer, but the sure thing is

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<sup>35</sup> Aladár Póka-Pivny, József Zachar, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

<sup>36</sup> S. Grodziski, *Polska w czasach przelomu (1764-1815)*, Kraków, 1999, pp. 19–20.

<sup>37</sup> On the Poles in Prešove wrote Melánia Benkovská, *Barskí konfederáti a Prešov*, „Nové obzory“, vol. 18. Prešov, 1976, pp. 99–143.

<sup>38</sup> Aladár Póka-Pivny, József Zachar, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

<sup>39</sup> J. Zachar, *op. cit.*, p. 312.

<sup>40</sup> Aladár Póka-Pivny, József Zachar, *op. cit.*, pp. 91–93.

<sup>41</sup> Kováts wrote in Latin because he did not speak or write in English or French. See *The Benjamin Franklin Papers*, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, Pa., vol. LXX, no. 88, p. 1–4. The excerpt of the letter is published also in the edition of Franklin's papers L.W. Labaree et alii (ed.), *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, New Haven, London 1983, vol. 23, p. 173; facsimile of his letter is published in the article of J. Zachar, *op. cit.* pp. 313–316.

that Kováts died half a year before the letter of Francis Seraph Benyovszky was read in the Congress. Another strange fact is that Mihály Kováts's request for the recommendation has been addressed to Benjamin Franklin only three weeks after Franklin's arrival to Paris!<sup>42</sup> Who informed Kováts in the far Bordeaux that Franklin as a special American emissary came to Paris? Was Kováts himself in contact with the American diplomatic mission in Paris and in this way he was informed about the latest news? Unfortunately, due to the lack of information in the original sources, we still do not know the answers to these questions. Surprising is also the fact, that Kováts was not the only one who was willing to enter the service in the American army. He wrote in his letter to Franklin that he was waiting for other friends who wanted to come to America as well.

Hungarian military historian József Zachar found the precise date of the departure of the ship *Catherina Froom Darmouth* – on its board Mihály Kováts left Bordeaux on February 26 and although we do not know the date of his arrival, he surely was on April 30 in Providence (Rhode Island), where Kováts delivered some letters with military information to General Spencer. Later Kováts bore some letters to General Washington. He received Kováts in the camp in Morristown and his letter to the Congress from May 17, 1777 confirms this fact.<sup>43</sup> Kováts appealed to the Congress, asking accepts to enter the rows of the Continental Army, but the Continental Congress gave him a negative response on May 23. With no chance for the position in the regular army, Kováts decided to enter the Pennsylvania militia in Philadelphia and he was accepted. He became an officer in a special German battalion with the task of recruiting men into it.<sup>44</sup>

The change in Kováts's life came only with the arrival of K. Pułaski to America in July 1777. Kováts surely met him in the uprising of the Confederation of Bar, where they started a good relationship. He joined with Pułaski shortly after the battle of Germantown (October 4) and from this time on the two were an inseparable couple. Pułaski organized and trained the first American cavalry regiment at that time, because the cavalry was the poorest part of the young American Army. The military experiences of the hard-bitten Kováts were of great worth and Pułaski praised Kováts in letters sent to Washington.<sup>45</sup> Probably, due to Washington's recommendation, colonel Kováts became a „master of training“ in the future cavalry regiment under the command of Pułaski. The nomination for that position came from the Board of War on January 14, 1778.<sup>46</sup> As the officer responsible for training Kováts took a direct part in establishing the first regular regiment of the American cavalry, which later bore Pułaski's name. Pułaski proposed the establishment of such a regiment, or Legion, to General Horatio Gates on March 19, 1778 with the project

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<sup>42</sup> Franklin landed in France on December 3 and arrived to Paris at the end of 1776. J.R. Dull, *Diplomatic history of the American Revolution*, New Haven, London, 1985, p. 65.

<sup>43</sup> Aladár Póka-Pivny, József Zachar, *op. cit.*, pp. 101-102.

<sup>44</sup> M. Haiman, *Poland and the American Revolution War*, Chicago, 1932, p. 84.

<sup>45</sup> F. e., in his letter to Washington from January 9, 1778, Pułaski praised Kováts as the excellent horse-riding master. L Orłowski, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

<sup>46</sup> Aladár Póka-Pivny, József Zachar, *op. cit.*, p. 108.



of creating the cavalry unit under his own command. In this proposal, he mentioned Kováts, whom he championed for the post of his deputy commander. Gates, at that time the president of the Board of War, supported his proposal and Congress approved the establishment of the Legion on April 18, 1778. The Legion was to be composed of 68 lancers and two hundred fusiliers. The soldiers would make reconnaissance, spy tasks, and harm the enemy by the small attacks. At the beginning of 1779, the Legion had approximately 330 men and besides the Americans, there were the Germans, French, Irishmen, and Poles. The Continental Congress approved the rank of *Colonel-commandant* to Mihály Kováts. From that moment, the military activity of Kováts was connected with the campaigns the Legion participated in.

On September 15, Pułaski wrote to Washington, that the Legion is prepared for fight. After months of training, the Legion went to its first action, on October 8th the cavalymen of Pułaski's Legion arrived in Egg Harbor (New Jersey), where they fought against the soldiers of the British Fleet ships, which were at anchor in this port. A week later, October 15, 1778, the Legion suffered great casualties by a surprise night attack: two officers and thirty common soldiers were killed. On October 24, the Legion came to Trenton. From there, it moved to Sussex Court House, on October 26, and finally, it was sent to Minisink, on the river of Delaware, on November 10. Here, the Legion's task was to protect the civil population against the attacks of the Indians and the loyalists (Americans loyal to the British Crown). Pułaski proposed to the Congress the change the locality for the Southern Front at the beginning of 1779 in Philadelphia. Congress agreed and sent the Legion to the South, under the command of General Benjamin Lincoln. On February 2, the Congress also decided that the Legion should help the French allied fleet in South Carolina and Georgia, where the cities of Charleston and Savannah were in danger. Firstly, the Legion was sent to Charleston, South Carolina, which the British tried to win. At the end of March, the fusiliers and later the equestrians moved from Yorktown, Virginia, where the Legion was located in the winter camp, to Charleston. The legion had 336 men at this time. The Legion came to Charleston on May 8, but the number of men was diminished by a smallpox epidemic.<sup>47</sup> The Southern British army under the command of Colonel Prevost endangered Charleston. Pułaski with his Legion tried to defend the besieged town and, on May 11, he decided to attack the more numerous British army. In this attack, Mihály Kováts was mortally wounded. According to the relation of Doctor Joseph Johnson, the physician in Charleston, Kováts was buried at the place where he fell down, i. e. at the corner of the Huger Street.<sup>48</sup> Several statues and the specific Kováts's day commemorate Kováts's heroic participation in the American war of Independence in the USA.

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<sup>47</sup> Aladár Póka-Pivny, József Zachar, *op. cit.*, pp. 126–127.

<sup>48</sup> J. Johnson, *Traditions and reminiscences chiefly of the American Revolution in the South*. Charleston, S.C., 1851, p. 244.

The last participant in the American war of Independence was a major of the French army: Jean Ladislav Poleretzky.<sup>49</sup> He was born in the Alsatian townie of Molsheim, in 1749.<sup>50</sup> His father was André Poleretzky de Polereka, in that time the colonel of the light cavalry regiment. André Poleretzky was born in the town of Banská Bystrica, in the Upper Hungary, but his family roots were in a small village of Polerieka, in the Turiec region, today in Slovakia. After the defeat of the last uprising of the Hungarian nobility against the Habsburg dynasty – which was led by the prince of Transylvania Francis Rákóczy II – he left his homeland and went with his family firstly to Poland, and finally, at the beginning of the third decennium of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, to Paris, in the entourage of the Rákóczy's widow. In France, he entered the French army. He became a hussar in the regiment led by other Hungarian emigrant Ladislav Bercsényi. André Poleretzky moved up the military ranks gradually and he finally obtained the rank of Brigadier and became an owner of his own hussar regiment. In the command of his regiment, he fought bravely in the wars of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748). His two sons followed in the father's footprints and went to army. Older Francois Phillipe became general and governor of one Alsatian townlet of Rosheim. The younger Jean Ladislav obtained the rank of major in the hussar regiment and from 1779, he tried to make even better army career in the special corps, which was to be sent to the USA.

Jean Ladislav Poleretzky changed in 1779 his “mother-regiment” for the newly established special unit, known as the Lauzun's Legion, of which the supreme commander was Armand-Louis de Gontaut, Duke de Lauzun (1747-1793), a bon vivant and renowned women seducer of the French court, but also a brave soldier, who distinguished himself in the war on Corsica in 1769.<sup>51</sup> Most of the Legion was composed of units from the *Volontaires étrangers de la Marine*, created in September

<sup>49</sup> The personality of major Jean Ladislav Poleretzky (Slovak form of his name is Ján Ladislav Polerecký) was researched by the Slovak historians Jozef G. Cincík and Vladimír Segeš, and by the Hungarian military historian Józef Zachar. Jozef G. Cincík, *O pôvode a rode majora Jána L. Polereckého (1748–1830)*, „Literárny almanach Slovák v Amerike“, Chicago, 1958, pp. 31–56; Jozef Cincík, *Major Ján L. Polerecký a významní americkí činitelia*, „Jednota, Katolícky kalendár na obyčajný rok 1958“, Middletown, Pa., 1958, pp. 50–72; No author (Jozef Cincík?), *The Slovaks Were There: Major John L. Polerecký Fought for America's Independence*. In: *Slovakia*, VII, 1957, No. 3–4 (Sept.–Dec.), pp. 83–87; Vladimír Segeš, *Tri generácie Polereckovcov v službách boha Marsa*, in M. Kovačka, E. Augustínová, M. Mačuha (eds.), *Zemianstvo na Slovensku v novoveku*, Martin, 2010, pp. 81-90; József Zachar, *Pollereczky János őrnagy az Amerikai forradalmi függetlenségi háborúban*, „Hadtörténelmi Közlemények“, 27, 1980, č. 2, pp. 293–310.

<sup>50</sup> The short biographies of the male members of Poleretzky family can be found in the article of Louis Schlaefli, *Notes complémentaires sur les familles des Hongrois établis à Molsheim*, „Annuaire de la Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Molsheim et environs 1995“, Molsheim, 1995, pp. 92-99.

<sup>51</sup> R. de Gontaut Biron, *Un célèbre méconnu : Le Duc de Lauzun (1747-1793)*. Paris, 1937. Duke de Lauzun wrote his own memoirs which were published for the first time in Paris in 1821, but there is no mention on J. L. Poleretzky in the text of memoirs concerning the American campaigns.

1778 by the naval minister Gabriel de Sartine, and “propriétaire” status had been granted to the Duke de Lauzun.<sup>52</sup> His Legion was to be part of the greater special corps, which the royal court planned to send to America in the context of the alliance agreement signed in February 1778. Although a small part of the corps of the *Volontaires étrangers de la Marine* was sent to America already in 1778,<sup>53</sup> the majority of the Legion sailed for the USA only in May 1780. The Lauzun's Legion was composed of the infantry regiments, small artillery unit and two light cavalry regiments of three hundred men. In one of them major Poleretzky served.

Almost one year after the arrival to America, the soldiers of the Lauzun's Legion did not take part in the battles or other military operations. Only in the summer of 1781, the French corps moved with the American allies to New York, which was still in the British hands.<sup>54</sup> They planned to capture this important city, and for that reason they attacked the fort of Knyphausen (another name is Fort Washington) lying few miles from the city. The hussars fought with a British cavalry in the skirmishes near the fort. In this fight, Jean Ladislas lost his horse, which was killed by an enemy shot.<sup>55</sup> The assault on New York finally proved as unsuccessful.

In early September, the men of the Lauzun's Legion moved to the South, to the fort of Yorktown, Virginia, where the final phase of the war for American independence took place. In the different military operations, the Lauzun's hussars confirmed their reputation of the brave soldiers, mainly in the skirmishes with the dragoons led by Lieutenant-Colonel Banastre Tarleton, who obtained a very bad reputation during the campaigns in South Carolina, in 1780. The fights between the French hussars and the British dragoons are described in the Lauzun's *Memoirs*. Although there is no mention of major Poleretzky military activities, it is without doubt that he also fought in these minor skirmishes, but as the higher officer, he probably maintained the services of the mutual contact between the headquarters and the fighting men. There is no reason to disbelieve to the brave conduct of major Poleretzky in the battles, but the newly found documents made a stain on his character. Recently published *Memoirs* of the Lieutenant Colonel of the Lauzun's Legion Claude-Etienne Hugau<sup>56</sup> speak unfavorably about the behavior of major

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<sup>52</sup> Short history of the Legion can be found in the article of Robert A. Selig, *The Duc de Lauzun and his Legion. Rochambeau's most troublesome, colorful soldiers*, „Colonial Williamsburg. The Journal of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation“, Vol. 21, No. 6 (December/ January 2000), pp. 56–63. Article is accessible at: <http://www.americanrevolution.org/lauzun.html>.

<sup>53</sup> Francis Seraph Benyovszky was enlisted in this unit in 1778.

<sup>54</sup> Short description of the French corps can be found in the article of Glenn Williams, *March to Victory*, „Revue historique des armées“, 2007, no. 246, pp. 10-21.

<sup>55</sup> This event is described in Jean Ladislas Poleretzky's petitions for the war pension. National Archives, Washington, D.C., Record Group No. 15A – Revolutionary War Pension file of John L. Polereczky.

<sup>56</sup> C.E. Hugau, *Détails intéressants sur les événements arrivés dans la guerre d'Amérique. Hyver 1781 à 1782*, in G.A. Massoni (ed.), *Hampton, Charlotte et suite*, Besançon 1996, maîtrise [MA thesis].

Poleretzky during the Yorktown campaign and after it. This text discovers the problems with the discipline within the Legion and describes the unknown details of everyday life of the ordinary soldiers and higher officers, who fought in the American Revolution. Hugau mentioned Major Poleretzky already on the first page of his Memoirs. On November 11, 1781, in Hampton (near Yorktown), where the Lauzun's Legion was in the winter encampment after the capitulation of the British, Poleretzky submitted the request for a vacation and for the return to France. Lieutenant Colonel Hugau not even refused the plea for the vacation, but moreover sent Poleretzky to the prison because he was accused of different crimes and misconduct! Most serious of the accusations was that of a stealing the horses of the comrades and their resell, which could bring to major Poleretzky the profit of almost 30.000 French livres! Hugau presumed that major would like to leave the army with this money and wrote in his memoirs directly that „qu'il falloit s'en retourner en France qu'il n'y avait plus rien à glaner dans ce país“[he wants to return to France because there is nothing else to filch in this country].<sup>57</sup> Besides the horses' stealing, major Poleretzky was accused of a looting of the private property. Point five of the accuse list speaks that major Poleretzky took from the certain house in Gloucester Point (on the other side of the York River, opposite to the fort) „one beautiful table“and „several books from the bookshelves“. Poleretzky extraordinary interest in – although not his own – books can make his unpleasant conduct a little sympathetic, if we could have an evidence he really read the stolen books and did not try to resell them. Major Poleretzky was accused of the embezzlement of the regiment property, of the sell of borrowed things and of the not quite clear financial transactions, in which he grabbed his comrades. Therefore, as Hugau wrote, they did not want to serve with him and even they did not want to eat with him at one table. Poleretzky's crimes – if he committed them all – cannot be apologized, but they could be explained by the fact, that the soldier's pay was low and some of them tried to obtain more during the war campaigns. The punishment for the crimes did not come probably due to the good relationship between Poleretzky and Lauzun, who could not support Poleretzky in person, because on October 24 he returned back to France to inform the court of the British capitulation in Yorktown.

After his imprisonment, Poleretzky presented to Hugau a letter from Lauzun, in which the Duke gave him his permission for leaving the Legion for the vacation. Hugau could not ignore this fact and on November 13, he released major Poleretzky from the prison. He departed the same day to Philadelphia; from there, he probably sailed by the merchant ship back to France. The sure thing is that Poleretzky did not travel to France in the entourage of the Duke de Lauzun and he did not described the capitulation by his words before the King and Queen, as it is often stated in the Slovak historiographic and encyclopedic literature.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> C.E. Hugau, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

<sup>58</sup> *Slovenský biografický slovník* [Slovak Biographical Dictionary], Martin, 1990, vol. IV, p. 505.

Jean Ladislas returned at the beginning of 1782 to Alsace to settle some family affairs and in the summer of 1782, he came back to the USA. He left the French military service and decided to settle down in America. With the small pension from the French court, he could stay more than two years in Boston, but finally in 1785 he bought the tiny farm in the village of Pownalborough, today's Dresden, on the territory of the state of Maine. In 1788, he obtained the letter of naturalization and married for the second time. In Dresden, he acted in various administrative posts, a few years he was a lighthouse keeper on the Seguin Island, but finally he returned to Dresden where he worked as the notary. Because of the very low salary, he tried to obtain a state pension as the warrior of the war for Independence from 1818, but the first sum came to his address only after his death in 1830. His grave is easy to find, because the metal star commemorating the graves of the heroes of the American Revolution marks it. As his story shows, the heroes of the past were not always without the blemish.

These four participants in the American War of Independence show the different forms of the participation of the Foreigners in the American Revolution. Francis Seraph Benyovszky was a prototype of an adventurer who at the first time had a solid post in the French corps, but later he tried to enter the service in the American Continental Army independently – and finally unsuccessfully. His elder brother, Maurice August Benyovszky also tried to enter the American Army, and after the refusal of his offer he tried to offer a project of establishment of the foreign Legion, which was to fight for the freedom of the USA. Benyovszky would like to become the supreme commander of it, of course. However, the Continental Congress rejected his proposal and Benyovszky had to find another way how to secure his existence. More active participation in the American war of Independence took another Hungarian adventurer – Mihály Kováts de Fabricy, who entered the Cavalry Legion of his old acquaintance Kazimierz Pułaski. His heroic military conduct ended in the battle of Charlestown, in May 11, 1779, five months before the death of his commander and friend Pułaski. The last type of the foreign warrior in the American Revolution was major of the French army Jean Ladislas Poleretzky, the Frenchmen by birth, but the Hungarian by his origin. He fought for the independence of the USA in the so-called Lauzun's Legion, the special corps sent to America by the French royal court as a part of the „Expédition Particulière“ in 1780. Although he participated in the several battles, his moral behavior was not without the blemish. These four different stories form only the marginal chapter in the history of the American war of Independence, but with no doubt, very colorful and interesting one.

# ION I. NISTOR AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF ROMANIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY IN BUCOVINA TO THE UNION OF 1918<sup>1</sup>

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**Rezumat:** *Preferința românilor bucovineni pentru istorie și limbă este un reflex al militantismului național propriu sfârșitului de secol XIX. Supuși unei administrații străine, care modificase structuri și mentalități, românii au căutat în limbă și în istorie mărturii și argumente folositoare la conservarea valorilor naționale și la recuperarea demnității colective. O întreaga pleiadă de cărturari a fost cuprinsă în procesul de forjare a conștiinței românești. Următorul studiu evidențiază aspecte din biografia și activitatea istoriografică a lui Ion Nistor, ca și contribuția sa la dezvoltarea istoriografiei românești în Bucovina, în două epoci critice: perioada de dinainte de Primul Război Mondial, atunci când mișcarea națională fusese redimensionată, în funcție de nevoile vremii, și perioada 1914-1918, cu accent pe unificarea Bucovinei cu Regatul Român, inclusiv consecințele imediat următoare evenimentului din decembrie 1918. Deși nu lipsesc amănuntele legate de viața istoricului, accentul cade pe contribuția lui Ion Nistor la acțiunea de profesionalizare a istoriografiei românești, specifică sfârșitului secolului al XIX-lea și începutului secolului XX.*

**Abstract:** *The preference of Romanians in Bukovina for history and language is a reflection of their national militancy, which characterized the end of the XIXth century. Subjected to a foreign government, that changed structures and mentalities, the Romanians have found in language and history some useful arguments for preserving their national values and recovering their collective dignity. Many scholars were involved in the forging of Romanian consciousness. The following study highlights aspects of biographical and historiographical activity of Ion Nistor. It also presents the historian's contribution to the development of Romanian historiography in Bukovina, in two critical periods: the period before the World War I, when the national movement had been resized, depending on historical needs, and the period during 1914-1918, focusing on unification of Bukovina with the Romanian Kingdom, including the consequence of the next events in December 1918. Although there are some details about the historian's life, this study is emphasized in the role of Nistor to the professionalization of the Romanian historiography, which was specific to the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century.*

**Résumé:** *La préférence des historiens bucoviniens pour l'histoire et la langue est un reflet du militantisme national propre à la fin du XIX-ème siècle. Soumis à une administration étrangère, qui avait modifié des structures et des mentalités, les Roumains ont cherché dans la langue et dans l'histoire des témoignages et des arguments utiles à la conservation des valeurs nationales et à la récupération de la dignité collective. Une pléiade toute entière d'érudits a été comprise dans le processus de forger la conscience roumaine. L'étude ci-jointe*

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<sup>1</sup> This article is dedicated to the memory of George R. Ursul (Emerson College), who always made a point of noting his Bucovinian descent.



*met en évidence des aspects de la biographie et de l'activité historiographique de Ion Nistor, ainsi que sa contribution au développement de l'historiographie roumaine de la Bucovine, en deux époques critiques: la période d'avant la Première Guerre Mondiale, lorsque le mouvement national avait été redimensionné en fonction des besoins de l'époque, et la période 1914-1918, avec accent sur l'union de la Bucovine avec le Royaume de la Roumanie, inclusivement les conséquences immédiatement suivantes à l'événement de décembre 1918. Quoiqu'il ne manque pas les détails liés de la vie de l'historien, l'accent tombe sur la contribution de Ion Nistor à l'action de professionnaliser l'historiographie roumaine, spécifique à la fin du XIX-ème siècle et au début du XX-ème siècle.*

**Key words:** *historian, professionalization of history, elite, historiography, national movement, education, unification, cultural life.*

## I. INTRODUCTION

In 1927, N. Iorga, the doyen of Romanian historiography, wrote "The awakening of historical study in Bucovina is due to Ion Nistor"<sup>2</sup>. Indeed, Ion Nistor distinguished himself prior to World War I as the first Romanian professor of history at the University of Cernăuți in Austrian Bucovina. He was an outstanding scholar, whose accomplishments at the University of Vienna and meticulous publications based on first hand study of a wide variety of archives put him at the forefront of the new generation of Romanian historians that emerged after 1900<sup>3</sup>.

At the same time, because of the environment in which Nistor functioned—living in an estranged Romanian province ruled by the Habsburg Monarchy since 1775 that was threatened with denationalization—he was also a key member of a cohort of increasingly militant Romanian scholars who saw themselves called to affirm national rights both by means of their academic work and through political activism<sup>4</sup>. Many in this generation of Romanian academics were inspired by a kind of

<sup>2</sup> N. Iorga, *Roumanie*, in M. Battalion, et al, *Histoire et Historiens depuis Cinquante Ans* (Paris: Felix Alcan, 1927), p. 334.

<sup>3</sup> For background, see Lucian Boia, *Evoluția istoriografiei române* (București: Universitatea din București, 1976); Paul E. Michelson, *The Birth of Critical Historiography in Romania: The Contributions of Ioan Bogdan, Dimitrie Onciul, and Constantin Giurescu*, "Analele Universității București. Istorie", Vol. 32 (1983), pp. 59-76; Al. Zub, *De la istoria critică la criticism. Istoriografia română sub semnul modernității*, second edition (București: Editura Enciclopedică, 2000); and Lucian Nastasă, *Generație și schimbare în istoriografia română. Sfârșitul secolului XIX și începutul secolului XX* (Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 1999).

<sup>4</sup> See Vasile Grecu's excellent *Ion I. Nistor ca istoric*, in: Maximilian Hacman, et al., *Omagiu lui Ion I. Nistor, 1912-1937* (Cernăuți: Glasul Bucovinei, 1937), pp. 22-23. For more on militant Romanian historians, see my forthcoming "Silviu Dragomir, Romanian Militant Historiography, and the *Revue de Transylvanie*, 1934-1944". The experience of Transylvanian Romanian historians and that of Romanian scholars in Bucovina had many obvious, close parallels. Al. Zub, *Istorie și istorici în România interbelică* (Iași: Editura

"political missionaryism" and a "call to arms" mentality, which was strengthened by a strong *esprit de corps* and a drive to become the leading elite in the development of their nationality and nation.<sup>5</sup> Historians played a prominent role in this process. And in the end, as Iorga noted, the development of historiography in Transylvania, Bucovina, and even Basarabia and Macedonia "was determined by parallel struggles"<sup>6</sup>. Ion Nistor's prolific research and publications across a wide range of issues and problems in Bucovinian and Romanian history not only shed new light to the past of the region. It also resulted in his election to the Romanian Academy in 1915, the highest scholarly recognition in the then separated Romanian lands<sup>7</sup>.

The chaotic events of World War I might have disrupted the academic work of a less-focussed individual, but even as Nistor was forced to flee Bucovina with the outbreak of the War in 1914 and subsequently became involved between 1914 and 1918 in a significant number of cultural and political activities in the Romanian Kingdom, in Basarabia and Odessa, and finally in Bucovina, he continued to carry out research, to give academic lectures virtually everywhere he went, and to publish<sup>8</sup>.

Ion Nistor was not only an important academic and cultural figure, he was a leader in the process which resulted in the reunion of both Basarabia and Bucovina with the Romanian Kingdom in 1918. During the interwar era, he was the most prominent figure connected with the Romanianized University of Cernăuți, a leader in the Romanian Academy, and numerous times a cabinet minister. However there was a price to be paid: as Lucian Boia noted, "Unfortunately, as for others, political

Junimea, 1989), p. 234, argues that both the Cluj school and the Bucovina group had their "sources in the needs of national militantism."

<sup>5</sup> Elena Siupiur, *Misiunea poliției și funcțiile intelectualilor în Europa de Sud-Est în secolul al XIX-lea*, in Al. Zub, Venera Achim, and Nagy Pienaru, eds., *Națiunea română. Idealuri și realități istorice. Acad. Cornelia Bodea la 90 de ani* (București: Editura Academiei, 2006), pp. 406-418, which includes a comprehensive bibliography. See also Lucian Nastasă, *Le rôle des études à l'étranger dans la carrière des professeurs d'université roumaines (1864-1944)*, in Victor Karady and Mariusz Kulczykowski, eds., *L'enseignement des élites en Europe Centrale (19e-20e siècles)* (Cracow: Université Jagellonne, 1999), pp. 149-158.

<sup>6</sup> Iorga, *Roumanie*, 1927, p. 335.

<sup>7</sup> See Nicolae Stoicescu, *Istoricul Ion I. Nistor (1876-1962)*, "Revista de Istorie", Vol. 29 (1976), pp. 1967-1970, for a summary.

<sup>8</sup> In addition to Grecu, *Nistor istoric*, 1937, pp. 22-48, and Stoicescu, *Istoricul Nistor*, 1976, pp. 1967-1978, Nistor's bibliography is well-served by Sanda Căndea, Nistor, Ion I., in her *Bibliografia lucrărilor științifice ale cadrelor didactice Universitatea București. Seria istorie* (București: Biblioteca Centrală Universitară, 1970), Vol. 2, pp. 392-400; Vianor Bendescu, *Opera unui măiestru de frunte al istoriografiei române pragmatice și al practicei politice. Contribuții la bibliografia scrierilor profesorului și bărbatului de stat Dr. Ion I. Nistor (Născut 4/16 August 1876+11 noembr. 1962)*, "Buletinul Bibliotecii Române" (Freiburg), Vol. I (V) (1967-1968), pp. 141-162; Emil Ioan Emandi, "Ion I. Nistor. Bibliografie selectivă," *Europa XXI*, Vol. 1-2 (1992-1993), pp. 155-165; and Mihai-Ștefan Ceaușu, *Bibliografie*, in Zub, *Nistor*, 1993, pp. 20-34.

activity took much of his time and hindered him from his true calling".<sup>9</sup>

Ironically, it was also these very academic, civic, and political activities that have made the study of the life and work of Ion Nistor problematic. The fact that he was one of those who both "wrote and made history" made him *persona non grata* when Romanian society was turned upside down after 1945<sup>10</sup>. In 1940, Northern Bucovina was annexed once more by the Soviet Union<sup>11</sup>. It returned to Romanian control in 1941, but in 1944 it became part of the Soviet Union's Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. Romania itself became a communist people's republic in 1948. All study or even mention of Bucovina was prohibited and/or risky, libraries were purged of books and journals relating to the region by special teams sent in from the Soviet Union<sup>12</sup>, and people like Nistor himself were sent off to the Romanian gulag and given little or no mention in history books<sup>13</sup>.

For nearly two decades, almost nothing could appear in a tightly-censored Romania concerning Bucovina, Bucovinian Romanians, or Romanian culture in Bucovina, and most of the materials relating to this area and its history were extremely scarce.<sup>14</sup> And because of tensions with the Soviet Union over the "lost provinces", even after the Romanian leadership began to pursue a neo-Stalinist national-Communism, Bucovina rarely appeared on the cultural radar screen, though a number of direct and indirect studies were published beginning in the 1970s<sup>15</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> Boia, *Evoluția istoriografiei române*, 1976, pp. 320-321. Compare Lucian Boia, *History and Myth in Romanian Consciousness* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2001), pp. 63 ff., dealing with objectivity, political involvement, and historiography.

<sup>10</sup> See Al. Zub, *Istorie și geopolitică: Ion Nistor*, in Al. Zub, ed., *Ion Nistor (1876-1962)* (Iași: Editura Universității Al. I. Cuza, 1993), pp. 35-38. Zub notes that whereas Gh. Brătianu, Silviu Dragomir, and Ioan Lupaș were "discreetly" rehabilitated, Nistor was not because of the breadth of his activities and because of the themes which his work pursued (such as "territorial disputes"). Zub's *Istorie și istorici*, 1989, p. 28, alludes to the same point. Despite the pre-1989 taboo, Zub manages to make more than two dozen references to Nistor and his work.

<sup>11</sup> See my "The Nazi-Soviet Pact and the Outbreak of World War II," *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire*, Vol. 31 (1992), Nr. 1-2, pp. 65-102.

<sup>12</sup> The loss of the University of Cernăuți Library, the second largest in all of interwar Romania was particularly tragic.

<sup>13</sup> For a listing of banned books and periodicals, see *Publicațiile interzise până la 1 mai 1948* (București: Ministerul Artelor și Informațiilor, 1948), 522 pp. Nistor gets 28 entries, pp. 303-305. As for Nistor's place in posterity, one book consulted for this study (which shall remain nameless) actually confuses him with the archaeologist Ion Nestor in its index.

<sup>14</sup> Extensive personal book searching and buying in the 1970s and 1980s confirms this.

<sup>15</sup> An example of this censorship is provided by V. Curticăpeanu's *Mișcarea culturală românească pentru unirea din 1918* (București: Editura tiințifică, 1968), which has a map showing centers of cultural societies including Rădăuți and Suceava in Bucovina, but discreetly omits Cernăuți and other parts of Bucovina that are no longer part of Romania. Ironically, the one academic outlet between 1945 and 1989 that actually included information and discussion of Bucovinian Romania culture was the work of Romanian Orthodox Church historians, such as Mircea Păcurariu.

Following the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, Bucovina and Basarabia were once more "open" topics, but because Northern Bucovina had been pretty successfully Ukrainianized, there was much less forthcoming from Cernăuți as compared with Chișinău. On the other hand, studies of figures such as Ion Nistor, of Romanian education in prewar and interwar Bucovina, of Bucovinian Romanian culture, and of Romanian national and cultural associations have begun to appear—although often in obscure places and sources—and there are signs that these blank pages in the recent Romanian past will continue to be filled in. Since these individuals and movements made important contributions to 19th and 20th century Romanian history and civilization, this is all to the good.

The study that follows traces the biography and work of Ion Nistor in the development of Romanian historiography in Bucovina in two critical eras: the prewar epoch of Romanian national awakening and affirmation at the beginning of the 20th century, and, secondly, the period of the World War and the resultant unification of Bucovina with the Romanian Kingdom in 1918 and its immediate aftermath, the establishment of the first post-unification Romanian cabinet in December 1918. Though Nistor's non-historiographical activities are of course included, the emphasis is on the contributions of Nistor the historian in the context of the professionalization of Romanian historiography in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

## II. AUSTRIAN BUCOVINA, 1876-1914<sup>16</sup>

Ion Ilie Nistor was born into a Romanian peasant family the Rădăuți region of Habsburg-controlled Bucovina in 1876<sup>17</sup>. He graduated from the German lyceum in

<sup>16</sup> For the Bucovinian context, see Ion Nistor's posthumously published *Istoria Bucovinei*, edited by Stelian Neagoe (București: Humanitas, 1991); Emanuel Turczynski, *Geschichte der Bukowina in der Neuzeit: zur Sozial- und Kulturgeschichte einer mitteleuropäisch geprägten Landschaft* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1993), for a German perspective; and Nicolae Ciachir, *Din Istoria Bucovinei (1775-1944)* (București: Editura Didactică și Pedagogică, 1993), for a contemporary Romanian point of view.

<sup>17</sup> There is an excellent "Tabel cronologic," by Mihai-Ștefan Ceaușu in Zub, *Nistor*, 1993, pp. 12-19. The most extensive collection of studies on Nistor is Zub, *Nistor*, 1993. For brief overall sketches, see Mihai Iacobescu, *Ion I. Nistor (1876-1962)*, "Suceava. Anuarul Muzeului Județean", Vol. 4 (1977), pp. 263-277, and *Viața și activitatea istoricului Ion I. Nistor*, "Studii și Articole de Istorie", Vol. 49-50 (1984), pp. 140-157; Ștefan Ștefănescu, *I. I. Nistor și opera sa istorică*, "Analele Bucovinei", Vol. 1 (1994), Nr. 1, pp. 29-37; Eugenia Istrate, *Ion Nistor (1876-1962), Destin Românesc*, Vol. 4 (1997), Nr. 1, pp. 77-85; and Nichita Adăniloae, *O personalitate a Bucovinei: Istoricul Ion I. Nistor*, in Zub, *Nașterea română*, 2006, pp. 130-136. For the period up to 1918, see Mihai Dim. Sturdza, *Ion Nistor, Istoric al Bucovinei*, *Buletinul Bibliotecii Române* (Freiburg), Vol. 14 (XVIII) (1987-1988), pp. 387-391; Stelian Neagoe, *Ion Nistor. Un istoric pentru eternitatea Românilor de pretutindeni*, in Ion Nistor, *Istoria Basarabiei*, edited by Stelian Neagoe (București: Editura Humanitas, 1991), pp. v-xxxvi; Stelian Neagoe, *Ion Nistor cel mai de seamă istoric și om politic al Bucovinei*, in Ion Nistor, *Istoria Bucovinei*, edited by Stelian Neagoe (București: Editura Humanitas, 1991), pp. v-xxxii (these are similar but the one

Rădău i in 1897, where, despite the absence of the subject in school manuals, he developed an interest in history, particularly Romanian history.<sup>18</sup> He not only became aware of the discrepancy between the official version of Bucovina's history and culture and what he heard at home about the place of his own ethnic group in that history and culture, his national consciousness was raised in the second year at the lyceum when a teacher forbade him to wear Romanian national colors on his sleeve<sup>19</sup>.

Now somewhat radicalized, Nistor decided to pursue his interest in history by enrolling in the University of Cernău i (the K. u. K. Franz-Joseph Universität founded in 1875)<sup>20</sup>, located in the capital of the province<sup>21</sup>. He participated in the Romanian

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focusses on Nistor and Basarabia and the other stresses Nistor and Bucovina); and Ovidiu Bozgan, *Ion I. Nistor. Preliminarii monografice* (I) and (II), *Revista Istorică*, Vol. 4 (1993), pp. 573-582, and Vol. 5 (1994), pp. 345-357, Part I covering up to 1914, Part II deals with 1914 to 1962 (Bozgan had access to Nistor family archives). For Nistor's own take, there is an autobiographical note covering 1897-1914, published as *Fragmente autobiografice*, *Buletinul Bibliotecii Romane* (Freiburg), Vol. 5 (IX) (1975-1976), pp. 579-588, with an introductory note by Vianor Bendescu, cited below as Nistor, *Fragmente*, 1975-1976. There are also available extracts from an unpublished Nistor manuscript, *Date autobiografice*, (from which the *Fragmente* were probably extracted though there are minor differences between them) used by Bozgan, "Preliminari (I)" 1993, *passim*; this is cited below as Nistor, *Date*, 1993. Lastly, Neagoe's introduction to Nistor's *Istoria Basarabia*, 1991, has some autobiographical materials from 194-1918. Of course, Nistor's views on the late 19th and early 20th centuries are also presented in *Istoria Bucovinei*, 1991, especially Chapters X-XIV.

<sup>18</sup> Nistor, *Date*, 1993, pp. 574-575. According to Bozgan, Rădău i was the "most Germanized city in Bucovina". Bozgan, *Preliminari (I)* 1993, p. 574. The need to perfect his German explains why it took Nistor so long to complete his basic schooling. However, this command of German proved to be a major contributing factor in his subsequent success. Nistor, "Date," 1993, p. 574.

<sup>19</sup> Nistor, *Date*, 1993, p. 575: "În gândul meu găseam o nepotrivire între cele văzute i auzite acasă i cele învățate la coală i de aceea eram ve nic preocupat de dorul să aflu adevărul. A a s-a trezit în mine dragostea i interesul pentru preocupările istorice."

<sup>20</sup> The establishment of a German university in Cernău i had been part of the celebrations connected with the centennial of the Habsburg annexation of Bucovina. On the history of the university, see Ion I. Nistor, *Originea și dezvoltarea Universității din Cernău i* (Chi înău: Tipografia Eparhială Cartea Românească, 1927); Marin Popescu-Spineni, *Instituții de înaltă culturală. Învățământul superior: Muntenia 1679-1930, Moldova 1562-1930, Ardeal 1581-1930, Bucovina 1849-1930* (Vălenii-de-Munte: Datina Românească, 1932), pp. 172 ff.; Mircea Grigorovița, *Învățământul în nordul Bucovinei (1775-1944)* (Bucure ti: Editura Didactică i Pedagogică, 1993); Grigore Bostan, "Der Beitrag der Universität Czernowitz zur Entwicklung der Rumänischen Kultur un der ukrainisch-rumänischen Beziehungen," in Ilona Slawinski and Joseph P. Strelka, eds., *Glanz und Elend der Peripherie. 120 Jahre Universität Czernowitz* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1998), pp. 123-133; Hannelore Burger, "Das Probleme de Unterrichtssprache an der Universität Czernowitz," in Slawinski, *Glanz and Elend*, 1998, pp. 65-81; and Eugen Pitei, Vladimir Trebici, and Drago Rusu, *Universitatea din Cernău i (1880-1938)* (Ploie ti: Fundația Gh. Cernea, 2001). Because of protests by Romanian activists, the university belatedly

*Societatea Academică Junimea*<sup>22</sup> (serving as president) and other activities related to the Romanian national movement in Bucovina, thus clearly associating himself with the emerging political movement of the Romanians in the region<sup>23</sup>. Paradoxically, the

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included a professorship of Romanian language and literature, which was held by Ion Gh. Sbiera. Sbiera's memoirs, published as *Familia Sbiera după tradițiune și istorie. Amintiri din viața autorului* (Cernăuți: Societatea Tipografică Bucovineană, 1899), constitute a kind of history of the Romanian side of the university at the end of the 19th century.

<sup>21</sup> For the history of Cernăuți, see Harald Heppner, ed., *Czernowitz. Die Geschichte einer ungewöhnlichen Stadt* (Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 2000). On turn-of-the-century Cernăuți, see Jean-Paul Bled, "Czernowitz avant 1914: Une société multiculturelle," *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire*, Vol. 35 (1996), Nr. 1-2, pp. 21-26; and Ortfried Kotzian, *Die Bedeutung der Universität für den 'Mythos Czernowitz*, in Slawinski, *Glanz und Elend*, 1998, pp. 15-26.

<sup>22</sup> See O. Tofan, *Societăți academice din Bucovina (1875-1938). Scurtă privire istorică, Suceava. Anuarul Muzeului Județean*, Vol. 17-19 (1990-1992), pp. 314-327; Emilian-Dan Petrovici, *Repertoriul societăților cultural-naționale românești din Bucovina (1848-1918), Suceava. Anuarul Muzeului Județean*, Vol. 20 (1993), pp. 219-238; Anghel Popa, *Societatea Academică Junimea din Cernăuți, 1878-1938* (Câmpulung Moldovenesc: Fundația Culturală Alexandru Bogza, 1997); Corneliu Crăciun, *Societăți academice din Bucovina. Arboroasa și Junimea* (Oradea: Fundația Culturală Cele Trei Cri uri, 1997); and Simina-Octavia Stan, "Societăți culturale românești din Bucovina până la Primul Război Mondial," *Analele Bucovinei*, Vol. 11 (2004), Nr. 2, p. 335-344. The first president of *Societatea Academică Junimea* was Dimitrie Onciul.

<sup>23</sup> On pre-World War I Bucovina culture and politics in general, see Mircea Grigorovița, *Din istoricul culturii în Bucovina (1775-1944)* (București: Editura Didactică și Pedagogică, 1994); Ioan Căpreanu, *Bucovina: istorie și cultură românească (1775-1918)* (Iași: Editura Moldova, 1995), especially pp. 91 ff.; Gerald Stourzh, *Der nationale Ausgleich in der Bukovina 1909/1910*, in Ilona Slawinski and Joseph P. Strelka, eds., *Die Bukovina. Vergangenheit und Gegenwart* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1995), pp. 35-52; Mihai-Ștefan Ceaușu, *Parlamentarism, partide și elită politică în Bucovina habsburgică (1848-1918)* (Iași: Editura Junimea, 2004); and Erich Prokopowitsch, *Die rumänische Nationalbewegung in der Bukowina und der Dako-Romanismus* (Graz-Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 1965); Marian Olaru, *Mișcarea națională a românilor din Bucovina la sfârșitul secolului al XIX-lea și începutul secolului al XX-lea* (Rădăuți: Editura Septentrion, 2002); Constantin Ungureanu, *Bucovina în timpul stăpânirii austriece (1774-1918): Aspecte etnodemografice și confesionale* (Chișinău: Civitas, 2003); Ioan V. Cocuz, *Partidele politice românești din Bucovina. 1862-1914* (Suceava: Editura Cuvântul Nostru, 2003); Ștefan Purici, *De la supus la cetățeni. Românii din Bucovina (1775-1914)*, *Analele Bucovinei*, Vol. 13 (2006), Nr. 1, pp. 155-166; and Simina-Octavia Stan, *Mișcarea cultural-națională în Bucovina în a două jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea-începutului al XX-lea*, *Analele Bucovinei*, Vol. 12 (2006), Nr. 2, pp. 515-527. On Nistor, see Grigore Nandri, *Commemorative Address at the Centenary Meeting of the Society for Culture, Delivered on the 27th November 1962*, in: Grigore Nandri, *Bessarabia and Bucovina. The Trojan Horse of Russian Colonial Expansion to the Mediterranean* (London: Editura Societatea Pentru Cultura, 1968), pp. 47 ff.; Mihai-Ștefan Ceaușu, *Ion Nistor, luptătorul pentru unirea Bucovinei cu România*, in Zub, *Nistor*, 1993, pp. 111-112. Doina Huzdup, *Ion I. Nistor și rolul său în viața culturală a Cernăuțiului*, *Analele Bucovinei*, Vol. 1 (1994), Nr. 2, pp. 243-262; and Doina Alexa,

University, which was seen by both Germans and Romanians as a move to further the Germanization of culture in the region, provided both theological training for the Romanian Orthodox Church and a platform for Romanian national consciousness raising<sup>24</sup>.

Nistor's studies were interrupted for Habsburg military service in 1899-1900 (part of which was spent in Vienna, the rest at Pola on the Adriatic). This was not only the first time he had left Bucovina; it also introduced him to "a new world" as he came into contact with *România Jună*, the Romanian activist student association in Vienna; became aware of the nationalities situation of the Habsburg Empire; met the Transylvanian Romanian cultural leaders such as Iosif Vulcan of Oradea; and visited the Romanian kingdom (the Regat) on his way to and from Vienna and Pola<sup>25</sup>.

He returned from his military service "disgusted" with the factionalism of the Romanian national movement in Bucovina, particularly because he felt it had neglected to link up with their compatriots especially in the Regat "without which a truly national politics in Bucovina could not be carried out. For me, as I pursued my historical studies, I was also caught up in the whirlpool of political life, realizing that the injustices committed against the Romanian people in Bucovina and elsewhere needed righting and complete overthrow. But, this could not be done without rigorous political and national action"<sup>26</sup>.

Ion Nistor graduated from the University of Cernăuți with a degree in history and geography in 1904 and began teaching at the lyceum in Suceava<sup>27</sup>. At the same time, he co-founded (with Gheorghe Tofan and others) the activist review, *Junimea*

*Ion Nistor. Dimensiunile personalității politice și culturale* (Rădăuți: Editura Institutului Bucovina Basarabia, 2000).

<sup>24</sup> Aurel Morariu, *Bucovina 1774-1914* (București: Pavel Suru, n.d.), pp. 61-65. On the Austrian Mission of the German university, see Rudolf Wagner, ed., *Vom Halbmond zum Doppeladler. Ausgewählte Beiträge zur Geschichte der Bukowina und der Czernowitzer Universität Francisco-Josephina* (Augsburg: Verlag Der Sudostdeutsche, 1996). One exception to the Germanization was the establishment of a Metropolitanate of Bucovina in Cernăuți in early 1875 (with an imposing palace and church by 1882), followed by the formation of a Romanian Orthodox Faculty of Theology at the university in 1875, which was a center of theological education throughout the Romanian lands, and the publication of a major journal, *Candela*, in 1882. Several of the rectors of the university were Romanians from the theological faculty. See Ion Nistor, *Istoria bisericii din Bucovina și a rostului ei național cultural în viața românilor bucovineni* (București: Editura Casa Școalelor, 1916); Simeon Reli, *Politica religioasă a Habsburgilor față Biserica Ortodoxă Română în secolul al XIX-lea, în lumina unor acte și documente inedite din arhiva Curții imperiale din Viena, Codurul Cosminului*, Vol. 4-5 (1927-1929), pp. 445-562; and Mircea Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii Ortodoxe Române* (București: Editura Institutului Biblic și de Misiune al Bisericii Ortodoxe Române, 1981), Vol. 3: pp. 188-194 and 277-279.

<sup>25</sup> Nistor, *Fragmente*, 1975-1976, pp. 580-582.

<sup>26</sup> Nistor, *Date*, 1993, p. 575.

<sup>27</sup> In 1904, he married Virginia Pauliuc. Their only child, a daughter Oltea, was born in 1905. Virginia was related to the pioneering professor of Romanian at Cernăuți, I. Gh. Sbiera. Nistor, *Fragmente*, 1975-1976, p. 583.



*Literară*, which he served as editor<sup>28</sup>. They declared that "we represent not only art... we also represent the national idea.... [I]n order to avoid disappearing under the waves of the peoples who surround us, we need to have our own culture...we need to be inspired by an unbounded love for all that is ours, which love will serve as a fortification against the multitude of foreign influences"<sup>29</sup>. One of the first activities that they sponsored was a mass commemoration in 1904 of the 400th anniversary of tefan cel Mare's death.

Nistor was a frequent contributor to this journal on historical subjects between 1904 and 1914, with more than two dozen articles, reviews, and commemorative pieces, ranging from the idea of Latinity in Romanian history<sup>30</sup>. to a tribute to Sim. Fl. Marian<sup>31</sup>. to reviews of works by N. Iorga<sup>32</sup>. Having thus stabilized his situation professionally and personally, he was now "able to dedicate myself completely to historical studies, which I continued with great passion"<sup>33</sup>.

After teaching high school in Suceava (1904-1907) and Cernăuți (1907-1908), Nistor went on extended leave to attend the University of Vienna, studying at the Institut für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung and the Seminar for East European History<sup>34</sup>, and defending a dissertation in 1909 under the direction of the noted Slavist

<sup>28</sup> *Junimea Literară* appeared January 1, 1904, in Cernăuți. In October, 1904, it moved to Suceava, where it was published until May 1914. It reappeared between 1925-1939. Nistor was editor-in-chief throughout. I. Hangiu, *Dicționarul presei literare românești (1790-2000)*, third edition (București: Editura Institutului Cultural Român, 2004), pp. 368-369. For additional comment, see Constantin Loghin, *Istoria literaturii române din Bucovina (175-1918)* (Cernăuți: Tipografia Mitropolitului Silvestru, 1926); Ioan Cocuz, *Presa românească din Bucovina (1809-1914)*, Suceava. *Anuarul Muzeului Județean*, Vol. 16 (1989), pp. 1-117; Aurel Buzincu, *Junimea literară în prima perioadă de apariție, Analele Bucovinei*, Vol. 2 (1995), Nr. 2, pp. 297-310; and Mihai Lazăr, *The Contribution of 'The Political Magazine' to the Affirmation of Cultural Identity of the Romanians from Bucovina*, in Mihai Iacobescu, Gheorghe Cliveti, and Dinu Balan, eds., *Slujind-o pe Clio. In Honorem Dumitru Vitcu* (Iași: Editura Junimea, 2010), pp. 603-608.

<sup>29</sup> Quoted in D. Marmeliuc, *Aspecte din viața culturală a Bucovinei, Revista Fundațiile Regale*, Vol. 8 (1941), Nr. 8-9, pp. 449. Marmeliuc discusses other pan-Romanian activities before World War I as well.

<sup>30</sup> *Ideea latinității în istoria română, Junimea Literară*, Vol. 3 (1906), pp. 74-76, 100-101, 110-114, 126-129.

<sup>31</sup> *Un modest prinț de venerare* (Lui Simion Florea Marian), in *Junimea Literară*, Vol. 4 (1907), pp. 161-164.

<sup>32</sup> Including *Geschichte des rumänischen Volkes im Rahmen seiner Staatsbildungen, Junimea Literară*, Vol. 3 (1906), pp. 58-61; and *Istoria imperiului otoman, Junimea Literară*, Vol. 8 (1911), pp. 115-120.

<sup>33</sup> Nistor, *Fragmente*, 1975-1976, p. 583.

<sup>34</sup> He is mentioned in the histories of these two institutions: Leo Santifaller, *Das Institut für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* (Vienna: Universum Verlag, 1950), p. 131; and Walter Leitsch and Manfred Stoy, *Das Seminar für Östeuropäische Geschichte der Wiener Universität 1907-1948* (Wien: H. Böhlau, 1983), pp. 50, 58-59. On Nistor's graduate studies, see Stelian Mândruț, *I. I. Nistor, doctor în filosofie al Universității din Viena*

Konstantin J. Jireček<sup>35</sup>, This was followed by additional study at the Universities of Munich, Leipzig<sup>36</sup>, Bucure ti, and Ia i.<sup>37</sup> He specifically noted his debt to the emerging critical Romanian historiography of the Regat: "Romanian historiography took a great leap forward in that era through the studies and publications of A. D. Xenopol,<sup>38</sup> Dimitrie Onciul,<sup>39</sup> Ioan Bogdan<sup>40</sup>, and especially those of Nicolae Iorga,<sup>41</sup> inspired by the national idea"<sup>42</sup>.

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(1909), *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie A. D. Xenopol*, Vol. 34 (1997), pp. 341-354. Also useful in Mândruț, *Die Rumänische Intelligenz und die Wiener Universität, 1867-1918. Allegemeine Betrachtungen*, *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire*, Vol. 34 (1995), Nr. 1-2, pp. 97-107, with full bibliographical notes.

<sup>35</sup> Nistor's autobiographical notes (Nistor, *Fragmente*, 1975-1976, p. 584) speak highly of Jireček and in 1924, he published a tribute to him as *În amintirea lui Constantin Jiricek, Codrul Cosminului*, Vol. 1 (1924), pp. 613-615. His dissertation was published as *Die moldauischen Ansprüche auf Pokutien*, *Archiv für Österreichische Geschichte*, Vol. 100 (1910), pp. 1-182.

<sup>36</sup> At Munich, he studied Byzantinology with Karl Krumbacher and economics with Luigi Brentano. At Leipzig, he studied with Karl Lamprecht. Nistor, *Fragmente*, 1975-1976, p. 585.

<sup>37</sup> See Nistor, *Fragmente*, 1975-1976, pp. 585-586, where Nistor wrote: "To become a professor of Romanian history, I felt the need to spend some time in Bucure ti and Ia i in order to attend the courses of Onciul, Xenopol, Iorga, and Bogdan. Knowing the German method of historical study, it was easy..." Stoicescu, *Istoricul Nistor*, 1976, p. 1967, sees this experience as critical, both in orienting Nistor to contemporary Romanian national historiography and in establishing Nistor's credibility with the leaders of that historiography.

<sup>38</sup> On Xenopol, see Ion Nistor, *Opera istorică a lui A. D. Xenopol, Junimea Literară*, Vol. 18 (1929), pp. 233-241.

<sup>39</sup> On his fellow Bucovinian, Onciul, see Ion Nistor, *Dimitrie Onciul, Junimea Literară*, Vol. 5 (1908), pp. 135-138; *În amintirea lui Dimitrie Onciul, Junimea Literară*, Vol. 12 (1923), pp. 57-60; and *Dimtrie Onciul. La zece ani dela moartea sa, Junimea Literară*, Vol. 22 (1933), pp. 73-79.

<sup>40</sup> On Bogdan, see Ion Nistor, *Die Urkunden Stephans des Grossen, Zeitschrift für Osteuropäische Geschichte*, Vol. 4 (1914), pp. 392-400, a review of Bogdan's *Documentele lui Itefan cel Mare* (1913).

<sup>41</sup> Iorga had made a big splash in 1905 when he toured and lectured in Bucovina. For his account of the visit, see N. Iorga, *Neamul Românesc în Bucovina* (Bucure ti: Editura Minerva, 1905). In 1917, he published *Histoire des Roumains de Bucovine à partir de l'annexion autrichienne (1775-1914)* (Ia i: Imprimeria Națională, 1917). These were reprinted as *Românisumul în trecutul Bucovinei* (Bucure ti: Datina Românească, 1938). Nistor tributes to Iorga included *Opera istorică a d-lui Nicolae Iorga, Academia Română. Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice*, Seria III, Vol. 12 (1931), pp. 45-54; *Nicolae Iorga ca istoric, Codrul Cosminului*, Vol. 7 (1931-1932), pp. xxi-xxxii; and numerous reviews.

<sup>42</sup> Nistor, *Fragmente*, 1975-1976, p. 583. Ceau u writes that contact with Iorga's Semănătorist ideas "constituted a moment of ideological programatic clarification for Ion Nistor". Mihai-Ștefan Ceau u, *Ion Nistor, luptătorul penury unirea Bucovinei cu România*, in Zub, *Nistor*, 1993, p. 111.

In 1911, Nistor took the daring step of applying for and taking the habilitation exam at the University of Vienna which would allow him to teach at the principal university of the Empire<sup>43</sup>. This was a calculated part of a campaign that had been waged since 1908 to create a chair of Romanian history at the University of Cernăuți<sup>44</sup>. The strategy was that the Austrian authorities could hardly refuse a scholar who had qualified to teach at the leading university in the Monarchy, even though Nistor's Romanian activism constituted a major objection to him for German and Ukrainian professors at Cernăuți<sup>45</sup>. (Sextil Pu cariu had "pioneered" the approach by becoming a docent in Romance philology at Vienna in 1904, which set the stage for his ascending to the chair of Romanian language and literature at Cernăuți in 1906)<sup>46</sup>.

In 1911, Nistor passed the daunting Vienna habilitation exam, became an official university docent, and published a second thesis, this time on medieval economic history<sup>47</sup>. Almost at the same time, his friends in București gave another boost to his career: on May 18, 1911, he was voted a corresponding member of the

<sup>43</sup> Nistor, *Fragmente*, 1975-1976, p. 586. On this episode, see Astrid and Dumitru Agache, *Ion Nistor – docent al Universității din Viena*, in Zub, *Nistor*, 1993, pp. 41-94, with documents, including a copy of Nistor's handwritten curriculum vitae of 1911 (pp. 83-85).

<sup>44</sup> See Drago Olaru, *Contribuții la istoricul creării catedrei de istorie a Românilor la Universitatea din Cernăuți*, *Glasul Bucovinei*, Vol. 2 (1995), Nr. 1, pp. 76-85. Shortly after arriving in Cernăuți in 1906, Sextil Pu cariu had written a lengthy letter to Nistor and *Junimea Literară* (published in the first number of 1907) bemoaning the pathetic, crisis situation of the Romanian national movement in Bucovina, in which politics and infighting, not unity and national desiderata, were primary. This letter is quoted extensively in Bozgan, *Preliminari (I)*, 1993, pp. 578-579. One result was the campaign to establish the Romanian chair. See Bozgan, *Preliminari (I)*, 1993, pp. 579-580.

<sup>45</sup> For "a short history" of the history chair and the machinations connected with its founding and Nistor's eventual election, see Sextil Pu cariu, "Câteva scrisori," in Hacman, *Omagiu Nistor*, 1937, pp. 1-21; and Lucian Năstasă, "Ion Nistor. Debutul la Academia Română," in Zub, *Nistor*, 1993, pp. 106-108. Pu cariu notes that Nistor was the ideal combination of tireless researcher, established scholar and writer, gifted teacher, and unflinching defender of his people (p. 2).

<sup>46</sup> Măndruț, *Doctor din Viena* 1997, p. 343. Nistor and Pu cariu, one of Romania's leading linguists, were close collaborators in Cernăuți until the latter left to found the Romanian University of Cluj in 1919. See Sextil Pu cariu, *Memorii*, edited by Magdalena Vulpe (București: Editura Minerva, 1978); Drago Olaru, *Sextil Pu cariu. Scrisori către Ion Nistor*, *Glasul Bucovinei*, Vol. 1 (1994), Nr. 3, pp. 122-146. In 1937, Pu cariu noted that he and Nistor had had three decades of "sincere and undisturbed friendship." *Scrisori*, 1937, p. 21.

<sup>47</sup> His habilitation thesis was *Die auswärtigen Handelsbeziehungen de Moldau im XIV., XV., und XVI. Jahrhundert* (Gotha: F. A. Perthes, 1911), XIX + 240 pp. It received the Hagi Vasile Prize of the Romanian Academy. Ion Bogdan praised the work as "complete exposition of external Moldovan commerce in the first three centuries of Moldovan history" and noted that it was the first study of this sort in the literature. Stoicescu, *Istoricul Nistor*, 1976, p. 1968.

Romanian Academy, nominated by Ioan Bogdan and supported by N. Iorga and Dimitrie Onciul<sup>48</sup>. He cemented his credentials by delivering a course in South East European history at Vienna, beginning with a lecture on "The Place of the Romanians in South-East European History"<sup>49</sup>. In 1912, he completed his work on Moldovan economic history with two more significant publications<sup>50</sup>.

The result of these assiduous efforts was the appointment of Ion Nistor in the fall of 1912 to a newly founded chair of South-East-European history at the University of Cernăuți (the title of the chair was both a compromise and a stratagem to get approval from the German-dominated university administration).<sup>51</sup> His inaugural lecture in October 1912 was on "The Historical Importance of the Romanians and the Beginnings of their State Organization"<sup>52</sup>. Delivered in German, Nistor's publicly announced that his chair would concentrate on the history of the Romanians since they were plainly the leading nationality in South Eastern Europe. This was because they had maintained their state existence throughout the Ottoman era, they had served as a refuge for Balkan culture, and they had provided a base for Balkan national awakenings. He also passed in review key elements of Romanian medieval culture, including its outstanding painted churches, its theological and historical writings, and its educational contributions, including the Academy of Putna.

<sup>48</sup> See Dorina N. Rusu, *Nistor, Ion I.*, in her *Membrii Academiei Române 1866-1999* (București: Editura Academiei, 1999), p. 376. Ceaușescu, *Tabel cronologic*, 1993, p. 14, (among others) mistakenly dates Nistor's election as 1914. Năstasă, *Debutul la Academia*, 1993, pp. 108, sees this election as part of a concerted effort by the București critical school to gain control of the principal institutions of Romanian culture. Bogdan, Vasile Pârvan, and G. Weigand had also been "mobilized" to derail (through withering reviews) the candidacy of Ilie Gherghel, who was supported for the Cernăuți post by the German party. Pu cari, *Scrisori*, 1937, p. 3; Năstasă, *Debutul la Academia*, 1993, p. 107. On the Academy and Bucovina, see Vasile I. Schipor, *Bucovina istorică, elita bucovinenilor și Academia Română, Analele Bucovinei*, Vol. 12 (2005), pp. 33-49. For references below to events at the Academy, see Dorina N. Rusu, *Istoria Academiei Române. Repere cronologice* (București: Editura Academiei, 1992), *passim*.

<sup>49</sup> Pu cari, *Scrisori*, 1937, p. 7, cites a letter from Nistor, dated 31 October 1911, reporting that 80-100 people attended this lecture and that 40-50 students were signed up for the course, a remarkable number. See also Nistor, *Fragmente*, 1975-1976, p. 586.

<sup>50</sup> These were *Handel und Wandel in der Moldau bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Cernăuți: H. Pardini, 1912), XIII + 200 pp., focussing on trade routes, postal systems, social and ethnic status of merchants, monetary systems, and prices; and "Das moldauische Zollwesen im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert," *Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung, Verwaltung, und Volkswirtschaft im Deutschen Reich*, Vol. 36 (1912), pp. 235-282, which dealt with customs systems and Moldovan trade. See Grecu, "Nistor istoric," 1937, pp. 25-26.

<sup>51</sup> Pu cari, *Scrisori*, 1937, p. 1. The title of the chair was the "Lehrstuhl für Geschichte Südosteuropas, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der rumänischen Geschichte." Nistor, *Fragmente*, 1975-1976, p. 586.

<sup>52</sup> For a summary, see Grecu, *Nistor istoric*, 1937, pp. 26-27. For a discussion, see Ion Todera cu, *Prelegerea inaugurală a lui Ion Nistor la universitatea din Cernăuți (1912)*, in Zub, *Nistor*, 1993, pp. 95-104.

By May 1914, Nistor was tenured at the University of Cernăuți.

On the national/political front, in the summer of 1912, Nistor and Sextil Pu cariui had agreed that the national movement in Bucovina was on the wrong track<sup>53</sup>. In their opinion, the cultural associations were dominated by "the old men" and by unhealthy "politicianism". The term had been popularized by Constantin Rădulescu-Motru's *Cultura română și politicianismul*<sup>54</sup>, which saw contemporary Romanian politics as a con game: "The reforms accomplished in Romania by politicians are, some of them, for the apparent benefit of the generation of today, and all of them to the real harm of the generation of tomorrow." What happens is that "public institutions and services are transformed from the means of accomplishing the public good...into the means of achieving private interests."<sup>55</sup> Regrettably, the course of modern Romanian history has shown that the reformers and critics of politicianismul today usually become the exponents of politicianismul tomorrow, partly because of the lack of a wide enough civil (i.e. private) society tradition. Etatism and centralism made politicianism almost inevitable in Romanian culture.

Nistor spent some time at Pu cariui's summer retreat at Bran in Transylvania, where they laid out plans to transform the Romanian cultural movement in Bucovina (in collaboration with Gheorghe Tofan and Alecu Procopovici). The goal was to move beyond the "tiny problems" of Bucovina to the larger "Romanian problem" and Pan-Romanianism<sup>56</sup>. This was fostered by the Balkan wars of 1912-1913, where Romania's acquisition of Southern Dobrogea was seen as only "the first step of Romanian expansion." Though in 1913, Nistor and Pu cariui had been elected members of the committee of the Societatea Pentru Cultură și Literatură Română din Bucovina (and Nistor had edited the Society's *Calendarul* for 1914), both resigned in early 1914 because they thought the Society was wasting time in pointless debates and discussions rather than working out a strategic approach for the promotion of Romanian culture in Bucovina<sup>57</sup>.

In 1912, Nistor also published a study on the history of Austrian education which refuted the claim that the Austrian regime had brought public education to Bucovina. The truth was, he argued, that the new regime's policies had led to an

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<sup>53</sup> For details on these summer activities, see Pu cariui, *Scrisori*, 1937, pp. 8 ff. For the context, see Ioan V. Cocuz, *Viața politică românească în Bucovina (1900-1914)*, Suceava. *Anuarul Muzeului Județean*, Vol. 10 (1983), pp. 599-627; and Vladimir Trebici, *Sextil Pu cariui în Bucovina*, *Glasul Bucovinei*, Vol. 1 (1994), Nr. 3, pp. 28-33. Among their collaborators was Dr. Isidor Bodea. See Cornelia Bodea, *Isidor Bodea, Sextil Pu cariui în Bucovina*, *Glasul Bucovinei*, Vol. 1 (1994), Nr. 3, pp. 34-38.

<sup>54</sup> Third edition (București: Socec, 1904).

<sup>55</sup> Rădulescu-Motru, *Politicianism*, 1904, title page and p. iii.

<sup>56</sup> This constituted a rejection of the *Bucovinitist doctrine*, which tended to argue for a comfortable, status quo, multiculturalist view of a "unique" Bucovina. Ceaușu, *Luptătorul*, in Zub, *Nistor*, 1993, p. 112.

<sup>57</sup> Nistor, *Fragmente*, 1975-1976, p. 587-588.

undermining of existing Romanian schools<sup>58</sup>. Nistor and Pu cariu became increasingly aware of the ramifications of education for the Romanian national cause. As a result, in 1913, they set up a summer school at Dorna Candreni attended by 50 to 100 participants. They hoped to expand these activities the following year, but, as Pu cariu wryly noted, "The war brusquely interrupted our plans"<sup>59</sup>.

### III. THE FIRST WORLD WAR, 1914-1918<sup>60</sup>

Though World War I did not officially begin for Romania until 1916, for many Romanian cultural leaders living outside of the Romanian Kingdom, such as Ion Nistor, the outbreak of the war in 1914 brought immediate chaos and disruption<sup>61</sup>. Sextil Pu cariu was called up to his Austro-Hungarian regiment on 28 July. When the Romanian Kingdom declared neutrality on 3 August, things became very difficult for Romanian nationalists in Bucovina. Eduard Fischer, head of the Austrian gendarmerie, called the *Junimea Literară* group "a band of spies and traitors" and the Governor of Bucovina, Rudolf Meran, threatened the death penalty for people "even suspected of espionage"<sup>62</sup>. This repression and the subsequent occupation of Cernăuți in 2 September 1914 by the Russians (the Russian border was just 20 miles from the capital of Bucovina) led Nistor and his family to flee to București<sup>63</sup>. In the long run, this was rather counterproductive for the Austrians, since it meant that they provided the Romanians with a cluster of talented and ardent advocates in favor of the entry of the Romanian Kingdom into the war against Austria-Hungary, "the Dungeon of Peoples"<sup>64</sup> and eventually for the union of all the Romanian lands.

<sup>58</sup> *Zur Geschichte des Schulwesens in der Bukowina, Jahresbericht der gr. or. Ober-Realschule in Czernowitz*, Vol. 18 (1911-1912), pp. 2-49, summarized by Grecu, "Nistor istoric," pp. 27-28.

<sup>59</sup> Pu cariu, *Scrisori*, 1937, p. 12.

<sup>60</sup> Much of the biographical specifics in this section are from Ceaușu, *Tabel cronologic*, in Zub, *Nistor*, 1993, pp. 14-16; and Nistor, *Istoria Bucovinei*, 1991,

<sup>61</sup> For Romania and the Great War, see Constantin Kirilescu, *Istoria războiului pentru întregirea României*, second edition, three volumes (București: Casa Coalelor, 1925-1927); Victor Atanasiu, et al., *România în primul război mondial* (București: Editura Militară, 1979); and Glenn E. Torrey, *Romania and World War I. A Collection of Studies* (Iași: The Center for Romanian Studies, 1998), dealing with a wide variety of topics.

<sup>62</sup> Nistor, *Istoria Bucovinei*, 1991, pp. 356 ff. See also Volodimir Sapoloudchyj, "Activitatea structurilor de forță austriece în Bucovina în condițiile 'stării excepționale' (1914-1918)," *Analele Bucovinei*, Vol. 13 (2006), Nr. 2, pp. 609-629.

<sup>63</sup> Nistor, *Date*, 1993, p. 581. The Nistor family arrived in București in November 1914. The Russians occupied Cernăuți times during the war: September- October 1914, November 1914-February 1915, and June-July 1917. Nistor, *Istoria Bucovinei*, 1991, pp. 357-375; and Dumitru Preda, Vasile Alexandrescu, and Costică Prodan, *În apărarea României Mari. Campania armatei române din 1918-1919* (București: Editura Enciclopedică, 1994), p. 81. Naturally, each occupation and retreat brought further hardships and reprisals for the Romanian population of Bucovina.

<sup>64</sup> Nistor, *Istoria Bucovinei*, 1991, p. 362.

Thus began a remarkable new chapter in Ion Nistor's work. Though in exile, though a leading activist in the Romanian Bucovinian cause, though venturing (willingly and sometimes unwillingly) from one end of the Romanian war zone to another, eventually sentenced to death in absentia by the Austrian authorities, Ion Nistor managed not only to continue his academic research and writing (he was busily at work in the Academy Library soon after his arrival in Bucure ti in 1914), but to teach and publish as well. In Bucure ti, Ion Nistor immediately became involved with others in forming a Bucovinian Refugee Committee, which elected him as president<sup>65</sup>. This was just the first of many such duties that he assumed between 1914 and 1918. It seems clear that he had decided to cast his lot with the Romanian Kingdom against the Austrian Monarchy come what may. In fact, in July 1917, he officially became a Romanian citizen.

Despite the unsettled circumstances, in 1915, Nistor published *Românii i rutenii în Bucovina. Studiu istoric i statistic*<sup>66</sup>, a book that examined the Ukrainianization of Bucovina on a statistical basis. He was particularly keen to refute Ukrainian claims to the contrary, arguing that the Romanian element in Bucovina had been the largest until very recently. When the outcome of the Great War led to a situation potentially supportive of Wilsonian national self-determination claims, such analyses had an obvious linkage to the larger Romanian national question, so in 1916 a revised and expanded German edition was printed, though it was not "published" until the end of 1918.<sup>67</sup> These two books and the ethnographic map in the second, Greco tells us, later played an important role at the Paris Peace Conference and provided the basis for the eventual border with Poland. Indeed, the fact that "the Romanian government succeeded in gaining the entire Bucovina in its former historical boundaries" was due to Nistor's work<sup>68</sup>.

In May of 1915, Ion Nistor was elected a full member of the Romanian Academy in Bucure ti, where he joined Pu cariu (who had become a full member in

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<sup>65</sup> Nistor, *Date*, 1993, pp. 581-582.

<sup>66</sup> Bucure ti: Socec, 1915, xx + 209 pp. This work was reprinted under the same title by Editura Dominor in Ia i in 2001.

<sup>67</sup> Published as *Der nationale Kampf in der Bukowina. Mit enier ethnographische Karte der Bukowina* (Bucure ti: Carol Göbl, 1919), 227 pp. Nistor prepared the translation himself. Details in Greco, *Nistor istoric*, 1937, pp. 29-30.

<sup>68</sup> Greco, *Nistor istoric*, 1937, p. 30. In 1930s, Nistor resumed his examination of "the Ukrainian Problem," with three articles: "Contribuții la relațiunile dintre Moldova i Ucraina în veacul al XVII-lea," *Academia Română. Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice*, Seria III, Vol. 13 (1932-1933), pp. 185-221; and *Problema ucraineană în lumina istoriei. Codrul Cosminului*, Vol. 8 (1933-1934), pp. 1-281, reprinted as Ion Nistor, *Problema ucraineană în lumina istoriei*, edited by tefan Purici (Rădăuți: Septentrion Agora, 1997); and *Die rumänisch-ukrainischen Beziehungen in ihren geschichtlichen Werdegang, Sudostdeutsche Forschungen*, Vol. 4 (1939), pp. 229-242. His key affirmation was that "The territorial claims of the Ukrainians always stopped at the Nistru." Greco, *Nistor istoric*, 1937, p. 32.



the summer of 1914)<sup>69</sup>. He would be one of the most active members of the historical section over the next thirty years, frequently speaking at Academy commemorative sessions<sup>70</sup>, and published over forty studies under the Academy's auspices<sup>71</sup>.

One of these works, "Emigrările de peste mun i în Moldova i Bucovina"<sup>72</sup>, a paper given three days after his election to the Academy, made a significant contribution to the movement toward Romanian national unification and preparations for Romania's eventual entry into the World War against Austria-Hungary by emphasizing that the Romanians in the Romanian lands spoke the same language, shared the same religion, and were, in fact, the same people. Ironically, Austrian policies, both economic and political, led to considerable immigration from Transylvania (especially of intellectuals), which in turn fueled the Romanian national movement throughout the Carpathian arc<sup>73</sup>.

Nistor's Academy inaugural lecture in 1916, entitled "Un capitol din viea a culturală a Românilor din Bucovina 1774-1857"<sup>74</sup>, took up once more the theme of Austrian educational pseudo-reform after 1774. Instead of improving, the educational and cultural life of Romanians in Bucovina actually got worse. Despite this, Romanian national consciousness was preserved and cultural activities expanded. Particularly noteworthy were the contributions of the Hurmuzachi family to Romanian culture generally<sup>75</sup> and the consciousness-raising events of 1848. In the end, "Bucovinians, even in the saddest epoch of their past, were and remained a living branch of the Romanian people".

In 1916, Nistor published yet another work of importance for affirming

<sup>69</sup> See Năstasă, *Debutul*, in Zub, *Nistor*, 1993, pp. 109-110. On the role of the Romanian Academy in the war and the creation of Greater Romania, see Dorina N. Rusu, *Academia Română i lupta pentru desăvâ irea statului național unitar român*, in Zub, *Națiunea română*, 2006, pp. 345-358.

<sup>70</sup> Zub, *Istorie i istorici*, 1989, pp. 154-162, notes that Nistor was one of the principal Romanian "broadcasters of ideals" and continued to contribute to "the crystallization of national consciousness, an always open problem". Elsewhere (p. 97), Zub compares Nistor to Ioan Lupa as an "apostol of the national ideal."

<sup>71</sup> Stoicescu, *Istoricul Nistor*, 1976, p. 1969. Nistor also represented Romania and the Academy at the interwar international historical congresses in Warsaw, Zurich, Berlin, and Stockholm, served as president of the historical section from 1929-1932, and was director of the Academy Library from 1945 to 1950.

<sup>72</sup> *Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice. Seria 2*, Vol. 37 (1914-1915), pp. 815-865. Cf. Stoicescu, *Istoricul Nistor*, 1976, p. 1974; and Grecu, *Nistor istoric*, 1937, p. 33.

<sup>73</sup> The primary sources for this study, from the Ministry of War Archives in Vienna, were later published by Nistor at "Bejenarii ardeleni în Bucovina," *Codrul Cosminului*, Vol. 2-3 (1925-1926), pp. 443-563.

<sup>74</sup> Delivered 21 May/3 June, 1916, with a response by N. Iorga, published in *Academia Română. Discursuri de recepție*, Vol. 49 (1916), pp. 1-64. Iorga praised Nistor for the collegial tenor of his work and approach and noted that Nistor had permanently enlarged the foundations needed for the study of Bucovina's history.

<sup>75</sup> Nistor would later edit several volumes in the fabled Humuzaki document collection.

Romanian national rights in Bucovina. This was his *Istoria bisericii din Bucovina și a rostului ei național cultural în viața românilor bucovineni*<sup>76</sup>. The argument here was that the Romanian Orthodox Church was the national church and as such safeguarded national existence. (The contrast was with the Roman Catholic Church, which saw itself as "universal" not national.) The role of Romanian Orthodoxy was threatened in 1775 when Bucovina was annexed by Austria and the church became a battleground just as education and other areas had. Some Bucovinian church leaders excelled as defenders of the nation; others allowed for a bureaucratization of the Romanian church and made far too many concessions to non-Romanian (i.e. Ruthenian/Ukrainian) orthodoxy<sup>77</sup>.

Lastly, as Romanian negotiations with the Entente proceeded between 1914-1916, Nistor prepared numerous memoranda on Bucovinian issues<sup>78</sup>. He was pleased that his efforts to get Cernăuți along with the whole of Bucovina included in the proposed Romanian state settlement were successful<sup>79</sup>.

Romania's entry into the war in August 1916 did not go as planned as defeat after defeat followed. When the Romanian government fled into refuge following the German occupation of București at the end of November 1916, Nistor went with it. On the 17th of January 1917 in Iași, he signed a declaration of war against the Habsburgs and was part of the leadership of a National Committee of Romanian Emigrants from Austria-Hungary. This led to his being condemned to death by the Austro-Hungarian regime for treason.

In June of 1917 – their numbers greatly increased by Austrian prisoners of war – the first battalions of Transylvanian and Bucovinian volunteers from Russia arrived in Iași and in the presence of the Romanian Prime Minister, Ion I. C. Brătianu, took an oath of loyalty to Romania. Ion Nistor addressed the volunteers in the name of Bucovina, hailing the "brotherhood in arms and the union of Romanians from

<sup>76</sup> București: Editura Casa Școalelor, 1916, 295 pp., including 15 annexes.

<sup>77</sup> See Greco, *Nistor istoric*, 1937, pp. 30-31, who remarks that this was no longer a problem following 1918. In 1932, Nistor gave another paper at the Romanian Academy on *Biserica și coala greco-română din Viena*, published in *Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice. Seria 3*, Vol. 12 (1932), pp. 69-108. Also relevant is his contribution to *Biserica și problemele sociale* (București: Tipografia Cărțile Bisericești, 1933), pp. 167-190: *Rolul politic și social al bisericii în trecut și prezent*, which underlined the social and political contributions of the Orthodox Church in all of the Romanian lands and called for a revival of this influence (Greco, *Nistor istoric*, 1937, p. 47). Nistor was, thus, at least partly responsible for the myth of the nationalist church, when, in fact, the Church was one of the most recalcitrant elements in the process of modernizing Romanian society. See Paul Michelson, *Romanian Politics, 1859-1871. From Prince Cuza to Prince Carol* (Iași: Center for Romanian Studies, 1998), pp. 89-90. His views also gave comfort to Romanian adherents of the Orthodox heresy of phyletism.

<sup>78</sup> See Nistor, *Istoria Bucovinei*, 1991, pp. 370-371; and Ion Varta, *Le tsarisme russe et la question de la Bucovine pendant la première guerre mondiale. Contributions documentaires*, *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes*, Vol. 33 (1995), pp. 267-277.

<sup>79</sup> Nistor, *Date*, 1993, p. 582. Cf. Ceaușu, *Luptătorul*, in Zub, *Nistor*, 1993, p. 115.

everywhere," and the comradeship of those "with whom you will form a single country and with whom you will live together when triumph is ours. As it will be!"<sup>80</sup> This was followed in July of 1917 by the founding by the Romanian government of the Romanian Mission to Bucovina (in which Nistor also played a part) to conduct pan-Romanian propaganda in Bucovina itself and to prepare for the peacetime reorganization of the country<sup>81</sup>. It was at this time that he was proclaimed a Romanian citizen.

In August of 1917, as Austro-German forces moved on the offensive in Moldova, Nistor and others were sent to Russian Odessa (now in the throes of the Russian revolution that had burst out in March of 1917), where he collaborated with Octavian Goga, the president of the Transylvanian refugee group, in a joint Transylvanian-Bucovinian refugee committee. Nistor continued his academic work: doing research, teaching courses on Romanian history and on Romanian language at the University of Odessa<sup>82</sup>, and writing.

The situation on the Eastern Front deteriorated rapidly at the end of 1917: in November the Bolshevik coup ousted the Russian Provisional government; this led to the armistice at Brest-Litovsk between Russia and the Central Powers on 5 December and the armistice of Focani between Romania and the Central Powers on 9 December. These would culminate respectively in the Peace of Brest-Litovsk (3 March 1918) and the Peace of București (7 May 1918). Following the Bolshevik takeover of Odessa, Ion Nistor barely managed to escape to Basarabia<sup>83</sup>.

However the Romanians of Transylvania and Bucovina were not without hope<sup>84</sup>. The Basarabian Romanians had carved out a bit of space between the Prut and the Nistru. When the Russian revolution occurred in March 1917, numerous Transylvanian and Bucovinian intellectuals rushed to Chi inău to help develop Romanian cultural life and support Basarabia's political emancipation<sup>85</sup>. Included among these were Onisifor Ghibu (who left detailed memoirs)<sup>86</sup>, Gh. Tofan, and, later on, Ion Nistor. A congress of Moldovan soldiers in November 1917 had called for Basarabian autonomy and the election of a popular assembly, the Sfatul Țării<sup>87</sup>. The Sfatul Țării began work in December 1917, declaring an Autonomous Moldovan

<sup>80</sup> Text in Nistor, *Istoria Bucovinei*, 1991, p. 366.

<sup>81</sup> Nistor, *Istoria Bucovinei*, 1991, p. 366.

<sup>82</sup> Ștefan Ciobanu, *Cultura română în Basarabia sub stăpînirea rusă* (Chi inău: Editura Enciclopedică Gheorghe Asachi, 1992), p. 144; Nistor, *Istoria Basarabiei*, 1923, p. 408.

<sup>83</sup> Pu cari, *Memorii*, 1978, p. 340. This is amplified in a dramatic autobiographical extract published by Neagoe in Nistor, *Istoria Basarabiei*, 1991, pp. xiii-xiv.

<sup>84</sup> For the events of 1917-1918 in Basarabia, see M. Cernenco, A. Petrencu, and I. Și canu, eds., *Crestomație la istoria românilor (1917-1992)* (Chi inău: Universitas, 1993).

<sup>85</sup> See Nistor, *Istoria Basarabiei*, 1923, p. 412.

<sup>86</sup> Onisifor Ghibu, *Pe baricadele vieții. În Basarabia revoluționară (1917-1918)*, edited by Octavian O. Ghibu (Chi inău: Editura Universitas, 1992).

<sup>87</sup> See Alexandru Bobeică, *Sfatul Țării. Stindard al renașterii naționale* (Chi inău: Universitas, 1993). In part, this was a reaction to efforts by the Ukrainian Rada in Kiev to take control of Basarabia and Bucovina. Nistor, *Istoria Basarabiei*, 1923, pp. 412-414.

Democratic Republic on 15 December. The new government found it necessary to invite the Romanian army in Moldova to enter Basarabia to maintain order (23 January 1918)<sup>88</sup>, which led to a breaking of diplomatic relations between the Soviet government and the Romanians (26 January) and a declaration of independence by the Sfatul Țării (6 February). Basarabia thus became virtually the only Romanian area that was free to carry forward and more Romanian intellectuals poured into the area to assist in 1918<sup>89</sup>.

Late February or early March of 1918 found Ion Nistor in Chi inău, where he remained until 17 November.<sup>90</sup> There he promoted popular education, organized libraries, prepared teachers<sup>91</sup>, taught the history of Basarabia, did work in Basarabian archives<sup>92</sup>, was a co-founder of the Chi inău Historical and Literary Society<sup>93</sup>, and launched the publication of a series of popularizations of Romanian history<sup>94</sup>.

And he was present as a guest at the Sfatul Țării session of 27 March 1918 that voted for union with the Romanian Kingdom. At the conclusion of the vote, the Romanian Prime Minister himself, Alexandru Marghiloman, entered the hall and accepted the declaration. Nistor published an article on the proceedings in Ghibu's *România Nouă* describing the proclamation as "one of the greatest, most remarkable, and felicitous events in entire past of our people"<sup>95</sup>.

Nistor and Goga proceeded to establish a National Committee of Transylvanians and Bucovinians in Moldova and Basarabia and also organized a volunteer corps of Transylvanians and Bucovinians ready to fight<sup>96</sup>. Nistor served as

<sup>88</sup> Bolshevik troops occupied parts of Chi inău in late December. A week later, Romanian troops ousted them. Nistor, *Istoria Basarabiei*, 1923, pp. 419-420.

<sup>89</sup> Nistor, *Istoria Basarabiei*, 1923, p. 422.

<sup>90</sup> See Doina Huzdup, *Un episod din viața lui Ion Nistor. Chi inău 1918*, in Zub, *Nistor*, 1993, pp. 123-130; and an autobiographical extract published by Neagoe in Nistor, *Istoria Basarabia*, 1991, pp. xiv-xvi, for what follows.

<sup>91</sup> Nistor, *Istoria Basarabia*, 1923, p. 423, has a photo of lecturers who gave courses to teachers. Nistor is in the center of the first row.

<sup>92</sup> Some of this teaching and research was eventually published in 1932 as Ion Nistor, *Istoria Basarabia. Scrieri de popularizare* (Cernăuți: Glasul Bucovinei, 1923), which went through four editions.

<sup>93</sup> The Society was to promote monument conservation, promote archaeological, ethnographic, and other studies, set up a Basarabian region museum, and publish. Nistor was named director of the Society's annual and conservator of its archives. He also gave numerous lectures and organized various projects for the Society. Huzdup, *Episode*, in Zub, *Nistor*, 1993, pp. 128-129.

<sup>94</sup> The first book in the series was Nistor's *Drepturile noastre asupra Hotinului* (Chi inău: Biblioteca Istorică pentru Istoria Basarabia, 1918), 31 pp.

<sup>95</sup> An extended extract is reprinted in Nistor, *Istoria Basarabiei*, 1923, pp. 427-432. Pp. 432 ff. details some of what Nistor thinks are the principal consequences of the Union, especially as a positive omen for the other Romanian provinces.

<sup>96</sup> See Nistor, *Istoria Basarabiei*, 1923, pp. 407 ff.; and Gh. Palade, *Din activitatea intelectualilor din Vechiul Regat, Ardeal și Bucovina în Basarabia anilor unirii 1918-1920*, *Destin Românesc*, Vol. 4 (1997), pp. 85-100.

president of the Transylvanian-Bucovinian committee, was in constant contact with the Romanian government in Iași<sup>97</sup>, and was part of the executive committee of Bucovinian refugees which was approved by the Romanian government on 1 November 1918. (On 10 December 1918, the Sfatul Țării declared that, having received assurances that the new Romania would be democratic with a universal vote and that the agrarian problem would be resolved, voted to annul the preconditions and declared an unconditional union of Basarabia with Greater Romania)<sup>98</sup>.

Ion Nistor also participated in the first gathering of the Romanian Academy (15 November) following the end of the German occupation. This meeting was the scene of considerable recrimination over "collaborationism" with the Germans and other World War issues. N. Iorga was particularly incensed by the Germanophiles. It was Ion Nistor who conciliated these disputes, suggesting that the Academy would do well to not dwell on a painful and humiliating past, but instead to focus on its mission of leading the nation in scholarship and culture<sup>99</sup>. Following the session, Ion Nistor moved to Iași in preparation for his return to Bucovina<sup>100</sup>.

Meanwhile, Sextil Pușcariu had been demobilized in February 1918 and returned to Cernăuți in June, resumed teaching and his deanship of the faculty of letters, and re-entering the Romanian national movement<sup>101</sup>. He was somewhat depressed to note that four years of war hadn't really changed many people: there was the same bickering, factionalism, and naked ambition. "The war has not enlarged the horizons of most; almost everybody is intimidated and disoriented," he wrote. The one major change was that the German mystique had almost completely disappeared in Austrian defeats mounted up<sup>102</sup>.

Throughout 1917 and early 1918, various schemes for the future of Bucovina were hatched by the Austrians and the Ukrainians. The former even proposed a so-called Halici project (the creation of a unified Galicia, Bucovina, and Subcarpathian Rus principality as part of the Austrian Empire). The latter wanted a Ukrainian Bucovina either within a federalized Habsburg Monarchy or as part of a Ukrainian

<sup>97</sup> On 19 October 1918, Goga and Nistor met with King Ferdinand to formally present a declaration of the Transylvanian-Bucovinian committee rejecting the federalist "solution" being promoted by the Austrian Emperor Karl. For the text of the declaration, see Nistor, *Istoria Bucovinei*, 1991, pp. 367-369.

<sup>98</sup> Nistor, *Istoria Basarabiei*, 1923, pp. 432-433.

<sup>99</sup> Zub, *Istorie și istoricii*, 1989, pp. 108-109.

<sup>100</sup> For the final stage, see Mihai-țefan Ceaușu, *Ion Nistor, luptătorul pentru unirea Bucovinei cu România*, Zub, *Nistor*, 1993, pp. 111-122; and several contributions by Nistor himself: Ion Nistor, *Unirea Bucovinei, 28 Noiembrie 1918. Studiu și documente* (București: Cartea Românească, 1928), pp. 76-211 is documents; Ion Nistor, *et al.*, *Zece ani de la Unirea Bucovinei. 1918-1928* (Cernăuți: Glasul Bucovinei, 1928); an anthology edited by Nistor, *Amintiri răzlețe din timpul Unirii 1918* (Cernăuți: Glasul Bucovinei, 1938); and Nistor's own account in his *Istoria Bucovinei*, 1991, pp. 354 ff.

<sup>101</sup> Pușcariu, *Memorii*, 1978, pp. 300 ff. for details.

<sup>102</sup> Pușcariu, *Memorii*, 1978, pp. 301-302, 307.

state under the title of "Western Ukraine"<sup>103</sup>.

By early fall 1918, the Emperor Karl was calling for a federalized Austria and issued a manifesto to that effect on 6 October 1918. Nistor wrote: "The manifesto of Karl I, which in effect self-dissolved the Habsburg Monarchy, produced a great impression in Bucovina. Romanian scholars recognized the significance of the moment and decided to act"<sup>104</sup>. Thus it was that in response to a question from Alecu Prokopovich: "Shouldn't we begin?" Pu cari u responded: "Now, yes. We will begin"<sup>105</sup>. On 11 October 1918, the Bucovinian Romanians issued a statement entitled "Ce vrem?" outlining their program. This was published in the first issue of a new periodical,  *Glasul Bucovinei*, which appeared on 22 October<sup>106</sup> and led directly to the 27 October formation of the Bucovinian Constituent Assembly and the election of a Romanian National Council headed by Iancu Flondor<sup>107</sup>.

Things began to move quickly. On 28 October, the independence of Bohemia and Moravia was declared and Galicia proclaimed union with Poland. On 29 October, the independence of Yugoslavia was formalized, while on 2 November Hungarian independence was announced. On 11 November, Emperor Karl I abdicated and the next day Austria was proclaimed a republic<sup>108</sup>.

As the Empire crumbled, and Ukrainian soldiers began to flood Bucovina, the Bucovina Romanian National Council asked the Romanian government (still under Marghiloman, who left office on 16 November) in Ia i to send troops, which occurred on 9 November. Eventually Romanian troops occupied not only Cernău i (on 11 November) but most of the traditionally Romanian regions of Bucovina.<sup>109</sup> Ion Nistor, on behalf of the Bucovina refugee committee in Ia i, sent King Ferdinand a congratulatory telegram declaring their support, joy, and commitment to completing "the work of national unification" and their gratitude for the first steps toward "the work of liberation and rejoining for all time [of Bucovina] to the Mother Country."<sup>110</sup> The Romanian National Council, meeting on 12 November in Cernău i, assumed supreme power in Bucovina, with Iancu Flondor serving as head of state.

<sup>103</sup> Nistor, *Istoria Bucovinei*, 1991, pp. 372-376.

<sup>104</sup> Nistor, *Istoria Bucovinei*, 1991, p. 380.

<sup>105</sup> Pu cari u, *Memorii*, 1978, pp. 316 ff. On the work of this group, see Ceau u, *Luptătorul*, in Zub, *Nistor*, 1993, pp. 117-118.

<sup>106</sup> The text is in Pu cari u, *Memorii*, 1978, pp. 322-323. The first issue also carried Alecu Procopivici's *The Obituary of Austria*. Nistor, *Istoria Bucovinei*, 1991, pp. 380-381.

<sup>107</sup> On Flondor, see Constantin Longhin, *Iancu cavaler de Flondor (1865-1924)* (Bucure ti: Dâmbovița, 1944); Marian Olaru, *Iancu Flondor și mișcarea națională a românilor din Bucovina (sfârșitul secolului al XIX-lea și începutul secolului al XX-lea)*, *Analele Bucovinei*, Vol. 5 (1998), Nr. 2, pp. 333-350; and Vlad Gafița, *Doi oameni politici bucovineni: Aurel Onciul și Iancu Flondor*, in *Slujind-o pe Clio*, 2010, pp. 609-622.

<sup>108</sup> Nistor, *Istoria Bucovinei*, 1991, p. 385.

<sup>109</sup> Nistor, *Istoria Bucovinei*, 1991, pp. 385-387. See also Ion Zadik, *Generalul Iacob Zadik și revenirea Bucovinei la România*, *Analele Bucovinei*, Vol. 5 (1998), Nr. 1, pp. 21-29; and Ceau u, *Luptătorul*, in Zub, *Nistor*, 1993, pp. 118-119.

<sup>110</sup> Nistor, *Istoria Bucovinei*, 1991, pp. 387-388.

On 14 November 1918, Sextil Pu cariu, now serving as the secretary of state for external affairs for the Bucovina National Council, was sent to Iași to thank the King and to solicit Nistor's support for the *Glăsuț Bucovinei* program and return home<sup>111</sup>. Nistor's uncompromising advocacy of unification with Romania without conditions (in part he argued that an unconditional union would communicate to the world the overwhelming desire of the Romanians in Bucovina to dismantle the Habsburg Monarchy and unite with the Romanian Kingdom) convinced Pu cariu that this was the best course of action for the Bucovinians<sup>112</sup>. He met with King Ferdinand (who surprised him with his grasp of leaders and events in Bucovina and Ardeal), Queen Marie, Ionel Brătianu, and others. On 17 November, Pu cariu and Nistor were sent by special train to Cernăuți<sup>113</sup>, where Nistor was promptly cooped into the National Council and charged by Flondor with writing the Act of Union<sup>114</sup>. These events culminated on 28 November 1918 when the Bucovinian Assembly voted for "unconditional union" with the Romanian Kingdom.<sup>115</sup> That same day, a delegation of Bucovinians, including Ion Nistor, travelled to Iași to present the declaration to King Ferdinand and the Romanian government. In effect, "Bucovina ceased to exist any longer as a political entity" and the irredentist point of view of Ion Nistor, Sextil Pu cariu, and others had triumphed against very long odds and through very complex historical developments<sup>116</sup>.

On 12 December 1918, Ion I. C. Brătianu once more assumed the Prime Ministership of Romania which he had relinquished in January 1918. Ion Nistor was named by Brătianu as a member of his cabinet on 18 December, as Secretary of State for Bucovina. The Great War was over and the time for building had begun.

#### IV. CONCLUSION

In his posthumously published *Istoria Bucovinei*, Ion Nistor wrote that that "the history of Bucovina began in 1775 and ended in 1918"<sup>117</sup>. This was the hope and aspiration of the interwar generation that emerged from the World War to lead

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<sup>111</sup>Incidentally, both Nistor and Pu cariu were among those afflicted by the deadly flu epidemic of 1918, which was particularly hard on people in their 30s and 40s. Pu cariu, *Memorii*, 1978, pp. 337, 346.

<sup>112</sup>Nistor, *Istoria Bucovinei*, 1991, pp. 390-391. Nistor was also a centralist, a view he shared with Ionel Brătianu. Interestingly, Iorga told Pu cariu that he was for "the widest possible autonomy" and warned him against Brătianu. King Ferdinand was a supporter of unconditional union, but promised to nominate as functionaries only those that the Bucovinians proposed. Pu cariu, *Memorii*, 1978, p. 340-343.

<sup>113</sup>Pu cariu, *Memorii*, 1978, pp. 340-346. He commented wryly: "How the times have changed! The traitor to his country returns home by special train" (p. 346).

<sup>114</sup>Nistor, *Istoria Bucovinei*, 1991, pp. 391-392.

<sup>115</sup>Nistor, *Istoria Bucovinei*, 1991, pp. 393-403, including extracts from a lengthy article published by Nistor published in *Glăsuț Bucovinei* just before the meeting and the text of the declaration.

<sup>116</sup>Ceaușu, *Luptătorul*, in Zub, *Nistor*, 1993, pp. 120-121.

<sup>117</sup>Nistor, *Istoria Bucovinei*, 1991, p. 1.



Greater Romania, including Ion Nistor. Unfortunately, this was not to be.

The Austro-Bucovinian and World War stages of his career were over; he and his colleagues looked forward to building a new Romania. Unfortunately, they were to have less than two decades in which to do this; it was their lot to have come of age in what turned out to be a time of almost perpetual turmoil, struggle, crisis, and change. As Al. Zub put it, these scholars were to live through "the vitalist frenzy of the Belle Époque, followed by the Balkan crisis, the World War, which for Romanians was a war of national union, then the post-war reconstruction efforts, the great economic crisis of the 1930s, the territorial amputations which drastically diminished the Romanian space, and lastly the Soviet occupation and installation of a communist regime with all its disastrous consequences." In short, "a convulsive and dramatic time"<sup>118</sup> in which promise and pitfall awaited just around every corner. For Ion Nistor it would be a time of affirmation, but also of disaster and eventually tragedy.

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<sup>118</sup>Zub, *Cuvânt înainte*, in Zub, *Nistor*, 1991, p. 10.

## CONSIDERATIONS SUR L'ŒUVRE HISTORIQUE DE NICOLAI GRAMADA

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**Rezumat:** Revigorarea interesului pentru tot ce este legat de istorici și istoriografie în Bucovina a stimulat dezvoltarea de studii și articole retrospective. Următorul articol prezintă câteva aspecte referitoare la scrierile istorice ale lui Nicolai Grămadă, oferind șanse unei viitoare exegeze. Deși istoricul bucovinean și-a legat numele de lucrarea Studii și materiale de toponimie bucovineană - cunoscută sub titlul Toponimia minoră a Bucovinei - scrierile lui Grămadă poartă amprenta epocii interbelice, perioadă marcată de Marea Unire din 1918 și de efervescența culturală specifică timpului. Ele pot fi integrate unui vast registru istoriografic. O simplă privire asupra lor este suficientă pentru a descoperi diferite teme, circumscrise științelor auxiliare ale istoriei, istoriei culturale și sociale a Bucovinei și multe, multe altele.

**Abstract:** The renewed interest for all that is related to the historians and historiography in Bukovina, has stimulated the development of retrospective studies and articles. The following article presents some aspects from Nicolai Grămadă's historiographical work, providing the chances for a future exegesis. Although the bukovinean historian has linked his name by his work entitled Studies and Materials of Bukovinean Toponymy – known as The Minor Toponymy of Bukovina - Grămadă's writings bear the imprint of the interwar era, the ages that was marked by the Great Union of 1918 and the cultural effervescence. It tried to be integrated in a broad historiographical register. A look over his writings is enough to discover various themes such as falling auxiliary sciences of history, cultural and social history of Bukovina and more.

**Résumé:** La relance de l'intérêt pour tout ce qui est lié des historiens et de l'historiographie en Bucovine a stimulé le développement des études et des articles rétrospectifs. L'article ci-joint présente quelques aspects concernant les écrits historiques de Nicolai Grămadă, offrant des chances à une future exégèse. Quoique l'historien bucovinien ait lié son nom de l'ouvrage Studii și materiale de toponimie bucovineană – connu sous le titre de Toponimia minoră a Bucovinei - les écrits de Grămadă portent l'empreinte de l'époque de l'entre deux guerres, période marquée par la Grande Union de 1918 et l'effervescence culturelle spécifique à ce temps-là. Ils peuvent être intégrés dans un vaste registre historiographique. Un simple regard sur ceux-ci est suffisant pour découvrir de différents thèmes circonscrits aux sciences auxiliaires de l'histoire, à l'histoire culturelle et sociale de la Bucovine et beaucoup d'autres.

**Keywords:** historian, Bukovina, culture, toponimy, historical writings, auxiliary sciences of history, documents, erudition.

Tout en parcourant la galerie des historiens nés et formés dans l'espace bucovinien, nous nous sommes arrêtés sur un nom connu aux spécialistes grâce à son œuvre ou, au moins, à son ouvrage monumental, *Toponimia minoră a Bucovinei/ La toponymie mineure de la Bucovine*: Nicolai Grămadă. Son œuvre porte l'empreinte de l'époque de l'entre deux guerres, époque qui s'est trouvée sous le signe de la Grande Union de 1918 et de l'effervescence culturelle voulant définir le spécifique national et intégrer, dans des catégories plus amples que possible, la multitude d'initiatives sur le plan organisationnel. Il nous suffit de jeter un regard sur ses écrits pour y découvrir des thèmes variés, circonscrits aux sciences auxiliaires de l'histoire, à l'histoire de la Bucovine et aux interférences culturelles.

Biensûr, le nom de Nicolai Grămadă est lié de l'ouvrage *Studii și materiale de toponimie bucovineană // Etudes et matériaux de toponymie bucovinienne*, entré dans le circuit scientifique avec le titre de *Toponimia minoră a Bucovinei // La toponymie mineure de la Bucovine*<sup>1</sup>, ouvrage qui l'a consacré, d'ailleurs, quoique celui-ci est apparu posthumément, en 1996. Le chemin du livre vers l'imprimerie a été une véritable épopée. Tout comme sa vie. Il est né le printemps de l'année 1892, dans la famille de Ilie et de Maria Grămadă du village Zaharești, il a été le sixième enfant. Il a passé ses premières années "chez soi", dans une atmosphère idyllique – si on prend en considération les appréciations de l'un de ses descendants<sup>2</sup>, mis à l'abri des problèmes et des tensions par lesquels des autres enfants de son âge avaient passé. Après ses premières années d'école, faites dans un bâtiment improvisé, il a été inscrit au Gymnase gréco oriental de Suceava. La première année de lycée a été difficile pour le jeune homme habitué avec le milieu paysan ; les prétentions accrues des professeurs de cette ville, les lacunes des classes primaires et l'inadaptabilité à la vie urbaine ont contribué à un redoublement de la classe pas voulu. Seulement l'ambition des parents l'ont déterminé à ne pas abandonner l'école, Nicolai a réussi à dépasser les obstacles ; mais cela jusque dans la VII-ème classe, lorsque l'adversité envers les sciences exactes, en spécial envers les mathématiques et la physique, à laquelle s'est ajouté le décès de son père et l'idylle née entre lui et une élève de Ilișești, l'ont apporté, de nouveau, dans la situation de redoubler l'année.

Tout en bénéficiant d'appui matériel de la société culturelle "Școala Română" ("L'Ecole Roumaine") – habitant même, les dernières classes, à l'internat de la

<sup>1</sup> Quoique Nicolai Grămadă avait intitulé son ouvrage *Studii și materiale de toponimie bucovineană*, l'éditeur a choisi le remplacer avec *Toponimia minoră a Bucovinei*, considérant la dernière "option" plus appropriée pour une recherche monographique, unique dans ce domaine, consacrée au Pays Haut de la Moldavie." Cf. Ion Popescu-Sireteanu, *Notă asupra ediției*, en *Toponimia minoră a Bucovinei*, București, Editura Anima, 1996, p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. aux notes dactylographiées appartenant au neveu de frère de l'historien, le professeur de Iași, Nicolai V. Grămadă, identifiées, en l'année 2004, par le professeur Raluca Găitan. Des autres repères bibliographiques offre, aussi, Dimitrie Marmeliuc, *Destine și cărți*, dans le volume Nicolai Grămadă, *Toponimia minoră a Bucovinei*, Academia Română, filiala Iași, Centrul de studii „Bucovina“, Ed. Anima, 1996, p. 5-12. Voir aussi Harieta Mareci, Nicolai I. Grămadă, "Glasul Bucovinei", 1/2005, p. 17-23.

société – il s'est inscrit à l'Université de Tchernovtsy, où il a réussi s'intégrer assez rapidement dans la vie culturelle de la ville et a pris partie aux conférences de la société culturelle *Junimea*. Mais comme le déclenchement de la guerre avait bouleversé la société de Tchernovtsy, les cours de l'Université ont été, eux aussi, suspendus ; Nicolai Grămadă avait continué son instruction à Vienne, mais pas pour longtemps, car la réalisation du stage militaire a imposé son transfert sur le labile front austro – russe de la Galice. Il a été officier volontaire dans le corps militaire roumain, “la promotion de la guerre”, fait répercuté sur ses frères, Vasile et Dumitru, enquêtés plusieurs fois par les autorités autrichiennes.

Après la fin de la guerre et la reprise de la vie quotidienne, le jeune bucovinien finalisera ses études universitaires. En 1919, à Tchernovtsy, Nicolai Grămadă avait pris l'examen de capacité aux “spécialités” roumain et latin<sup>3</sup>. C'était seulement le début d'une nouvelle carrière. Comme il voulait continuer sa préparation postuniversitaire et, comme il bénéficiait d'une bourse en quantum de 2 500 lei de la part des autorités bucoviniennes<sup>4</sup>, mais aussi de l'aide de son frère, George, parti pour le Canada, Nicolai a étudié à Vienne entre 1921-1922 – où il a obtenu le titre de Docteur – ensuite à Leipzig (1922-1923) et Paris (1923-1924), réussissant à voir ce qu'il était digne à voir et, d'une certaine manière, indispensable pour la profession embrassée. En 1925, il est arrivé dans la capitale de l'Italie, comme membre de “Școala română din Roma” (“L'Ecole Romaine de Rome”), forum dirigé par Vasile Pârvan. Il a étudié à la Bibliothèque du Vatican ; le permis lui a été délivré pour finaliser son étude faisant référence à la localisation de l'antique *ozolimna*<sup>5</sup>.

La rentrée dans le pays a marqué le début de sa carrière comme enseignant, car tout en commençant avec l'année 1926, Nicolai Grămadă a été nommé professeur de langue roumaine et d'histoire à Tchernovtsy ; il a fonctionné au Lycée de filles et à l'Ecole Normale de garçons, pour enseigner ensuite au Lycée de garçons de Storojineț<sup>6</sup>. Dans la même période, il est devenu collaborateur permanent à *Codrul Cosminului*, le bulletin de l'Institut d'Histoire et de Langue de Tchernovtsy, revue qui publiera la majorité de ses études et articles.

L'obtention en 1928, du titre de “docent” en histoire avait motivé Nicolai Grămadă se présenter au concours organisé par l'Université de Tchernovtsy pour le poste de maître de conférences à la Faculté de Lettres et Philosophie, devenant titulaire sur la chaire de sciences auxiliaires de l'histoire – position détenue dans la période 1928-1940 et 1941-1944. En même temps, disposé à se confronter avec les avatars de la lutte politique, il a été proposé, en 1934, comme candidat du Parti National Libéral pour la Chambre des Députés, de la partie du département de Suceava. Malgré ses attentes, les résultats des élections ont marqué l'échec politique de l'historien bucovinien, contribuant, aussi, au refroidissement des relations entre celui-ci et les libéraux, fait qui a culminé en 1938, avec le passage au Parti National

<sup>3</sup> Anuarul Universității „Regele Carol al II-lea“ de Tchernovtsy, 1937-1938, Tchernovtsy, 1938, p. 218.

<sup>4</sup> Direcția Județeană Suceava a Arhivelor Naționale, fond *N. Grămadă*, no. 138, dossier A 18.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibidem*, dossier A 18, f. 1.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibidem*, dossier A 25, f. 1.

Paysan, “à la recherche d’une solution gouvernementale”<sup>7</sup>. Peu de temps après ce moment-ci, l’instauration de la monarchie autoritaire de Charles II a représenté la fin de l’activité politique déployée par Grămadă, quoique après 1945, il est revenu sur l’arène politique, de la part du Parti Social Démocrate, et a essayé faire partie d’un mouvement considéré comme un “contrepoids du Parti Communiste Roumain”. Malheureusement, après la fusion des deux groupes et, surtout, après la vérification demandée de ses membres, Grămadă a été obligé à renoncer à la lutte politique, l’abandonnant définitivement en faveur des recherches historiques.

Appartenant à la “génération sacrifiée”, Nicolai I. Grămadă a dû passer par les mêmes moments tragiques qui ont marqué la destinée d’autant de Bucoviniens durant l’été de l’année 1940. Après le refuge à Suceava, il est arrivé à Iași, où il a réussi à occuper un poste de maître de conférences dans le cadre de l’Université “Cuza Vodă”. Pourtant, il reviendra à Tchernovtsy après une année de recherches et inquiétudes, avec le même désir de reprendre ou, en certains cas, de recommencer ses préoccupations scientifiques et organisationnelles. Pour un biographe de

Nicolai Gramadă, il est impossible ne pas insister sur l’étape dans laquelle l’historien a détenu la fonction de directeur du “Musée de la Bucovine”, son effort consistant dans l’acquisition de biens, inclusivement par les appels adressés aux directeurs d’écoles de la Bucovine<sup>8</sup>. Seulement aux archives de Suceava (là, se trouve, aussi, le *fond Nicolai Grămadă*) on garde 26 demandes semblables, et cela sans penser à la multitude de documents éparpillés et perdus à la suite de l’occupation soviétique. Pour presque trois années, l’historien s’est soumis à un travail immense qui devrait offrir une organisation fonctionnelle à cette institution, rééditant, aussi, l’*Annuaire* du musée. Malheureusement, en 1944, l’expérience de l’exil devait se répéter. Pourtant, la réaction de l’homme qui avait passé par des événements similaires, a été différente. Avant de quitter la ville de Tchernovtsy, Grămadă a déclaré qu’il avait comme objectif “la sauvegarde des riches collections du Musée”, c’est-à-dire l’opposition envers l’essai des troupes allemandes d’évacuer les exposés en Allemagne. Le geste de Nicolai Grămadă a signifié, en fait, le transfert des collections muséales de Tchernovtsy à Suceava ; celles-ci constituent aujourd’hui le fond principal dans le cadre du patrimoine culturel de l’institution de Suceava<sup>9</sup>.

Mais comme le chemin du refuge ne pouvait pas être évité, Nicolai Grămadă a passé quelques autres mois loin de la Bucovine, plus précisément à Râmnicu Vâlcea, ville dans laquelle devraient fonctionner pour une année (entre mars 1944 et mars 1945) la Faculté de Théologie et l’Institut d’Histoire. La distance trop grande a déterminé les professeurs de la faculté à chercher des solutions et, à la suite de leurs démarches, le Ministère de l’Education Nationale a approuvé l’intégration de l’institution dans la structure de l’Université “Alexandru Ioan Cuza” de Iași et son

<sup>7</sup> *Glasul Bucovinei*, l’année XXI, no. 5235, de 11 janvier 1938, p. 2.

<sup>8</sup> Direcția Județeană Suceava a Arhivelor Naționale, *fond Nicolai I. Grămadă*, no. 138, dossier 132, f. 29.

<sup>9</sup> Pavel Țugui, *op. cit.*, p. 376-377 (la lettre de 29 mai 1958).

fonctionnement à Suceava<sup>10</sup>. En ce sens, Grămadă a été nommé délégué du Conseil de la Faculté de Théologie, en vue de contacter les autorités de Suceava et de constater “les possibilités d’installation de la faculté et de son internat, théologique, avec le personnel tout entier de cette institution”<sup>11</sup>. Après de collègues comme Milan Șesan, Cicerone Iordăchescu, Vladimir Prelipceanu, Iustin Moiescu et Ilie Grămadă, à l’institution académique transférée à Suceava, Nicolai Grămadă a occupé les Chaires de l’Histoire des Roumains et l’Histoire de la littérature roumaine<sup>12</sup>.

Le nouvel transfert de la Faculté, à București, en 1946, a déterminé l’historien bucovinien déménager à Iași, redevenant maître de conférence à la Faculté d’Histoire et recevant, ultérieurement, la confirmation de professeur, aussi (cela en 1948, après avoir fait déjà les propositions concernant la transformation de sa “conférence” en chaire<sup>13</sup>). En qualité de spécialiste à la Chaire de l’Histoire de la Roumanie, l’époque médiévale, il a eu comme collègues

D. Tudor, M. Petrescu-Dâmbovița, N. Corivan, I. Chelcea, F. Horowitz, R. I. Mircea, D. Ciurea<sup>14</sup>. Toujours en 1948, Nicolai Grămadă est devenu – par nomination – doyen de la Faculté d’Histoire et Géographie<sup>15</sup>, qualité qui avait fortifié son désir de fonder l’Institut d’Histoire<sup>16</sup>.

Son statut, devenant incommode pour le régime du temps, ainsi que les complications survenues, ont hâté la retraite de l’historien, en 1952, à seulement 60 ans – considérée “l’âge de la maturité scientifique complète”. Seulement que la pension petite et les difficultés matérielles ne lui assuraient “la vie tranquille” promise par l’Etat, fait qui a obligé Nicolai Grămadă à enseigner, comme professeur suppléant, à quelques écoles générales de Iași. Impressionné par la destinée de son oncle, Ilie Grămadă, le maître de conférences de Iași a sollicité aux autorités l’accord d’une pension “spéciale, d’Etat”, situation réglementée à peine après de nombreuses interventions<sup>17</sup>. On ne peut pas dire la même chose sur l’œuvre de l’historien.

Conçue comme plan avant 1940<sup>18</sup>, finalisée environ l’année 1957<sup>19</sup> – lorsque le manuscrit a été déposé à la maison d’édition – *Toponimia Minoră a Bucovinei // La Toponymie Mineure de la Bucovine* a reçu l’avis favorable des académiciens Iorgu Iordan et Emil Petrovici. Dans son *Raport asupra lucrării „Studii și materiale de toponimie bucovineană de N. Grămadă” // Rapport sur l’ouvrage “Etudes et matériaux de toponymie bucovinienne de N. Grămadă”*, Iorgu Iordan notait que

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<sup>10</sup> Gheorghe Giurcă, *Facultatea de Teologie de la Suceava*, en “Codrul Cosminului”, nouvelle série, no. 5 (15), Suceava, 1999, p. 326.

<sup>11</sup> Vasile Loichiță, *Facultatea noastră teologică și-a redeschis biblioteca*, en “Făt-Frumos”, l’année XVIII, no. 2, 1945, p. 76; voir aussi Gheorghe Giurcă, *op. cit.*, p. 327.

<sup>12</sup> Gheorghe Giurcă, *op. cit.*, p. 327.

<sup>13</sup> *Monitorul Oficial*, no. 290/13 décembre 1948, p. 9995.

<sup>14</sup> Dimitrie Marmeliuc, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

<sup>15</sup> *Monitorul Oficial*, no. 290, de 13 décembre 1948, p. 9997.

<sup>16</sup> Dimitrie Marmeliuc, *op. cit.*

<sup>17</sup> Pavel Țugui, *op. cit.*, p. 371.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 379.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibidem*.

celle-ci “contient une richesse immense de toponymiques, ramassés des sources écrites, anciennes et nouvelles, mais aussi par ses correspondants [...] Je ne connais pas une collection de telles dénominations plus riche que celle-ci et, donc, plus intéressante pas seulement pour la connaissance du passé, modeste, par la force de choses, mais réelle, c'est-à-dire vive, des contrées bucoviniennes, concernant lesquelles nous apprenons de ce matériel toponymique tant de choses dignes à retenir, mais aussi pour la compréhension de la manière dans laquelle prennent naissance les toponymiques en général”<sup>20</sup>. A son tour, Emil Petrovici écrivait “L’ouvrage de Nicolae Grămadă contient un numéro très grand de toponymiques et de noms topiques de la Bucovine, extrêmement importants pour l’histoire de la langue roumaine, pour l’ethnographie du peuple roumain, pour l’étude des habitations roumaines de cette partie-là du pays, ainsi que pour l’étude des relations entre la population roumaine et celle ukrainienne qui a habité jadis et qui habite encore en Bucovine. L’étude de ces toponymiques peut donner des renseignements sur quelques problèmes concernant l’histoire du peuple roumain. Pour cela, je suis d’avis que cet ouvrage soit publié par la Commission pour l’étude de la formation de la langue et du peuple roumain”<sup>21</sup>. La mort de l’historien a ajourné ensuite, avec plus de presque une demie siècle, l’imprimerie. A peine après l’année 1990, le Centre d’Etudes “Bucovina” din Rădăuți, sous l’égide de l’Académie Roumaine, a initié l’édition. *Toponimia minoră a Bucovinei // La toponymie mineure de la Bucovine* a été rédigée sur la base des documents, des actes de vente – achat, des actes de délimitation, des cartes cadastrales du XVIII-ème siècle et a deux parties : A. *Studii de toponymie minoră // Etudes de toponymie mineure* (une définition de l’objet et des méthodes de la toponymie mineure – composante des sciences auxiliaires) et B. *Materiale de toponymie minoră și identificări de localități // Matériaux de toponymie mineure et identifications de localités* (dans laquelle l’historien identifie 6 groupes de toponymes mineurs, liés de l’homme – l’homme comme être religieux, mœurs, occupations ; l’histoire – noms de voïvodes, peuples, titres de grands dignitaires, brigands ; le sol – la qualité du sol, des détails de planimétrie ; la flore – arbres, céréales ; la faune – animaux domestiques, sauvages, oiseaux ; divers – appellatifs populaires, bruits, termes obscènes). En ce qui concerne les toponymes des villages bucoviniens, ceux-ci sont classifiés en fonction des sources documentaires : noms anciens, qui se trouvaient dans les actes de la commission autrichienne de délimitation de leurs villages et de leurs domaines de 1782, des noms compris dans les cartes cadastrales des villages bucoviniens dressées par les Autrichiens entre 1782 et 1787, toponymes du XIX-ème siècle, dès le début du XX-ème siècle etc.

Biensûr, la contribution de Grămadă à l’histoire de la Bucovine ne se résume seulement à *Toponimia minoră // La toponymie mineure*. Deux de ses ouvrages font référence au village natal, Zaharești. Il s’agit de l’article *Anul zidirii bisericii din Zaharești // L’année de la fondation de l’église de Zaharești*<sup>22</sup> – dans lequel il

<sup>20</sup> Dimitrie Marmeliuc, *op. cit.*, dans le *vol. cit.*, p.7-9.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 9.

<sup>22</sup> Nicolai Grămadă, *Anul zidirii bisericii din Zaharești*, “Codrul Cosminului”, II-III, Tchernovtsy, 1925-1926, p. 35-80

constate que l'édifice religieux a été bâti avant l'année 1542 – et de l'étude *Din trecutul satului Zaharești // Du passé du village de Zaharești*<sup>23</sup> – une monographie de l'habitation dans laquelle on retrouve des informations relatives à la fondation, aux maîtres, aux habitants.

En 1957, Nicolai Grămadă a publié l'étude *Aspecte de viață din trecutul orașului Suceava // Aspects de vie du passé de la ville Suceava*<sup>24</sup>, un ouvrage assez ample, dont il ne manque pas les références sur l'histoire politique et sur la vie religieuse spécifique à l'habitation. La première partie présente les événements de la première attestation documentaire (1388) et jusqu'à la décadence, résultat du déménagement de la capitale de la Moldavie à Iași (les XVI-ème – XVII-ème siècles). Grămadă a essayé une reconstitution des limites de la ville médiévale et du tableau des églises disparues, de Sainte Parascheva, Vovidenia et Saint Toader et jusqu'aux églises les Saints Archanges, celle luthérienne et celle catholique. De plus, les références à la Cour princière, à la Cité Princière et à la petite cité de Șeptilici dévoilent le fait que Grămadă a commencé, l'été de 1947, les fouilles archéologiques du plateau Șeptilici et que, à son intervention, la Commission des monuments historiques a déclaré la petite cité comme monument historique.

Une autre étude qui s'encadre dans la catégorie des matériaux de l'*Histoire de la Bucovine est Sătenii și stăpânii în Bucovina între 1775 și 1848 // Les villageois et les maîtres en Bucovine entre 1775 et 1848*<sup>25</sup>, ouvrage qui analyse les relations sociales au niveau du village bucovinien, de la perspective de la législation autrichienne, mais aussi de celle de la Moldavie du XVIII-ème siècle, surtout des lois adoptées par les princes régnants Constantin Mavrocordat et Grigore VI Ghica. On mentionne les 4 catégories de villageois (frunțași – ceux avec 6 bœufs, plusieurs vaches, chevaux et moutons ; mijlocași – avec une paire de bœufs et plusieurs vaches ; codăși – avec un bœuf et vaches ; colibași – sans animaux et sans terre). Au moins, la dernière partie de l'étude est destinée aux abus commis sur les paysans (comme par exemple, la croissance exagérée de *robota*, le travail dans les jours de dimanche, la soustraction des terres rustiques et des parties de jachère, l'envoi à l'armée d'un autre villageois au lieu de celui recruté), des abus connus, d'ailleurs, par les autorités habsbourgeoises – comme en montre la patente de novembre 1786 qui établissait la procédure à suivre concernant l'avancement et la recherche des plaintes, mais aussi les sanctions qui devaient être appliquées aux maîtres contrevenants. Les réalités sociales et culturelles du village bucovinien d'après 1918, aussi, ont été le sujet d'un matériel publié par Grămadă dans le volume d'hommage occasionné par l'accomplissement de 10 années de la Grande Union<sup>26</sup>.

<sup>23</sup> Idem, *Din trecutul satului Zaharești*, Tchernovtsy, 1944.

<sup>24</sup> Idem, *Aspecte de viață din trecutul orașului Suceava*, "Mitropolia Moldovei și Sucevei", Iași, XXXIII, 1957, pp.868-883

<sup>25</sup> Idem, *Sătenii și stăpânii în Bucovina între 1775 și 1848*, "Anuarul Muzeului Bucovinei", Tchernovtsy, I-II, 1943-1944, pp. 70-78.

<sup>26</sup> Idem, *Din viața satelor bucovinene*, en *Zece ani de la Unire*, Tchernovtsy, 1928, pp. 341-348.



Comme l'histoire du village bucovinien se dévoile en documents, Grămadă a publié 2 ouvrages portant le titre : *Vechile peceți sătești bucovinene // Les anciens sceaux villageois bucoviniens*<sup>27</sup> et *Vechile peceți bisericesti bucovinene // Les anciens sceaux ecclésiastiques bucoviniens*<sup>28</sup>. Les sceaux avaient le rôle d'authentification, tout en renforçant la signature du bailli du village. La fonction d'authentification était tant pour les actes sortis de la chancellerie villageoise, mais aussi pour des témoignages et des actes privés. Grămadă considérait que des sceaux semblables avaient été introduits en Bucovine une fois avec l'administration habsbourgeoise, avant 1775, les villages de cette partie de la Moldavie n'étant pas des unités administratives propres. L'inscription des sceaux comprenait le nom du village (en allemand, roumain ou hongrois) et l'effigie (représentations du paysan faisant des travaux agricoles, des outils ou des produits agricoles, des arbres, des fleurs, des animaux, des oiseaux, des éléments religieux, des édifices, l'emblème de la Bucovine), l'inscription dans la langue roumaine étant officialisée par décision ministérielle en 1880. Le premier sceau – dit Grămadă – est celui du village Fundul Moldovei, de l'année 1785.

En ce qui concerne les sceaux ecclésiastiques, ils auraient été introduits en Bucovine par la décision de 6 septembre 1799, leurs inscriptions étant dans la langue roumaine, mais aussi avec des lettres cyrilliques; ils ont été refaits ultérieurement avec des caractères latines (situation qui a généré le proteste des Ukrainiens). L'inscription comprenait les noms de localités et la fête de l'église, l'effigie représentant le visage des saints et le patron de l'église.

En ce qui concerne les sciences auxiliaires de l'histoire, on sait que N. Grămadă a été un des pionniers du domaine ; de 1930, l'année dans laquelle il avait occupé la chaire de Sciences auxiliaires de l'histoire à l'université de Tchernovtsy, ses préoccupations se sont dirigées dans cette direction. Parmi les ouvrages que celui-ci a signé, on rappelle *Cum trebuie să se publice documentele // Comment on doit publier les documents*<sup>29</sup>, *Cancelaria domnească în Moldova // La chancellerie princière en Moldavie*<sup>30</sup> et *Moldavica*<sup>31</sup>. Grămadă a refusé les hypothèses formulées par Mihail Lascharis et Nicolae Iorga conformément auxquelles les influences qui se retrouveraient à la base de l'organisation de la chancellerie moldave seraient d'origine lituanienne, mais aussi l'opinion de Damian P. Bogdan qui croyait que celles-ci auraient été d'origine slave – valaque. L'historien bucovinien considérait que les influences polonaises auraient donné la majorité des éléments constitutifs du document princier (de la formule de la dévotion *intitulatio* et jusqu'à la formule de la narration et de la disposition). Il reconnaissait qu'il y ont eu, aussi, des influences

<sup>27</sup> Idem, *Vechile peceți sătești bucovinene 1783-1900*, "Codrul Cosminului", Tchernovtsy, XII, 1939, pp. 219-268.

<sup>28</sup> Idem, *Vechile peceți bisericesti bucovinene*, extrait de "Candela", Tchernovtsy, 1939, 89 p.

<sup>29</sup> Idem, *Cum trebuie să se publice documentele*, "Codrul Cosminului", Tchernovtsy, VI, 1929-1930, pp. 485-486.

<sup>30</sup> Idem, *Cancelaria domnească în Moldova*, "Codrul Cosminului", Tchernovtsy, IX, 1935, pp. 129-231.

<sup>31</sup> Idem, *Moldavica*, en *Omagiul lui Ion Nistor*, Tchernovtsy, 1937.

byzantines, sud slaves, c'est-à-dire l'invocation symbolique *Io* de la titulature, la formule *domnia mea*, le générique *sfânt răposafi* donné aux voïvodes décédés, la couleur rouge du cordonnet en soie avec lequel on accrochait le sceau, les titres de *logofăt*, *grămătic* et probablement, de diacre.

En ce qui concerne les documents, l'attention de Grămadă s'est concentrée sur les *zapise* (*de témoignage* – qui supposait l'existence des dignitaires grands et petits en qualité de témoins – et *de vente*). *Documentele scrise de destinatari* (*Les documents écrits par les destinataires*)<sup>32</sup> étaient intéressants, aussi ; il s'agissait, en spécial, du patriciat des villes transylvaines, ceux qui les rédigeaient et ensuite les envoyaient au règne pour authentification.

A ces matériaux-ci s'ajoute la contribution dans le domaine de la héraldique. En ce sens, on rappelle l'étude *A existat la români instituția heraldică? // Est-ce qu'il a existé chez les Roumains l'institution héraldique?*<sup>33</sup>, dans laquelle l'historien était d'avis qu'on ne peut pas parler d'une chose semblable pendant que les porteurs de blason du Moyen Age ont été les descendants des familles byzantines réfugiées après 1453 sur le territoire roumain. En ce qui concerne *Ozolimna*<sup>34</sup>, toponyme mentionné par Ana Comnena en *Alexiada*, celui-ci devient le point de départ pour une étude dans laquelle Grămadă refuse la location établie par Tomaschek – “les grands marécages du sud de la Bessarabie”- Gh. Brătianu et N. Iorga – le lac Reazim – Grămadă identifiant *Ozolimna* comme le marécage de Ialomița, considérant que l'étymologie du toponyme ne provient ni de la population des Uzi, ni de “marécage odorant”, mais que c'est la formule corrompue d'un toponyme autochtone : “*ezerete Ialomiței*”. Le même type d'investigation historique a été pratiqué en ce qui concerne *Vicina*<sup>35</sup>, Grămadă étant d'avis que le toponyme provient de *Isolda Vecinae*, mentionné dans les anciennes sources cartographiques et qui ne serait autre chose que l'actuel Isaccea.

En ce qui concerne le domaine de l'histoire de la culture, Grămadă est l'auteur d'une étude de proportions intitulée *Contribuții la istoria cărții și a scrisului în Evul Mediu // Contributions à l'histoire du livre et de l'écriture au Moyen Age*<sup>36</sup>, dans laquelle il refait le tracé du rouleau à codex. Ultérieurement, Grămadă a repris une partie des idées pour les développer dans le cadre de l'ouvrage *Din domeniul scriiturii // Du domaine de l'*<sup>37</sup>, dans lequel il passe en revue les types d'écriture connus par l'humanité jusqu'à l'apparition de l'imprimerie, de celle cunéiforme, hiéroglyphique, des Sémites, des Grecs et des Latins et jusqu'à celle “élevée”, des humanistes.

<sup>32</sup> Idem, *Documentele scrise de destinatari*, “Codrul Cosminului”, IV-V, la II-ème partie, 1927-1928, pp.567-568.

<sup>33</sup> Idem, *A existat la români instituția heraldică*, “Studii și Cercetări Istorice”, București, XIX, 1945, pp. 26-32.

<sup>34</sup> Idem, *Ozolimna*, “Codrul Cosminului”, II-III, 1925-1925, pp. 86-97.

<sup>35</sup> Idem, *Vicina*, “Codrul Cosminului”, I, 1924, pp 437-459.

<sup>36</sup> Idem, *Contribuții la istoria cărții și a scrisului în Evul Mediu*, “Codrul Cosminului”, IV-V, la I-ère partie, 1925-1926, pp 35-175.

<sup>37</sup> Idem, *Din domeniul scriiturii*, “Codrul Cosminului”, VI, 1929-1930, pp. 239-260.

Biensûr, dans la liste des ouvrages de N. Grămadă, on comprend aussi les ainsi nommées “études menues”<sup>38</sup>, notes, comptes-rendus, médaillons. En tout cas, tous ces efforts ont fait que le jeune parti de Zaharești de la Bucovine puisse fructifier les énergies accumulées le long du temps. La conscience que tout effort mérite être fait l’a fait persévérer de manière exemplaire, et l’effort lui-même l’a ennobli avec sérieux, avec esprit d’ordre et de méthode.

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<sup>38</sup> Idem, *Aramafta*, “Codrul Cosminului”, IV-V, la II-ème partie, 1927-1928, pp. 309-310; Idem, *Câteva note din manuscrisele bizantine*, “Codrul Cosminului”, IV-V, la II-ème partie, 1927-1928, pp. 566-567; Idem, *La Scizia Minore nele carte nautiche del medio evo*, “Ephemeris Dacoromana”, IV, 1930, pp. 212-256; Idem, *O chestiune de filologie românească*, “Codrul Cosminului”, IV-V, la II-ème partie, 1927-1928, pp. 310-311; Idem, *O pretinsă scrisoare latină în timpul împăratului August*, “Codrul Cosminului”, IV-V, la II-ème partie, 1927-1928, pp. 565-566; Idem, *Originea numelui „burcaș”*, “Codrul Cosminului”, II-III, 1925-1926, p.611; Idem, *Originea românească a vechiului nume al proprietății țăranilor liberi din Polonia*, “Codrul Cosminului”, VIII, 1933-1934, p. 457; Idem, *Păstori sufletești din satul Zaharești – Suceava de la 1778 până la 1798*, “Mitropolia Moldovei și Sucevei”, XXXIV, 1958, pp. 910-913; Idem, *Studii mărunte din domeniul științelor auxiliare ale istoriei*, Tchernovtsy, 1934, 28 p.; Idem, *Studii paleografice*, “Codrul Cosminului”, I-II, 1925-1926, pp. 35-80.

# IMPLEMENTATION OF ROMANIAN AGRARIAN REFORM REGULATIONS IN BESSARABIA AND BUCOVINA DURING BETWEEN-WAR PERIOD

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**Rezumat:** *Articolul vorbește despre realizarea condițiilor reformei agrare din anii 1920-1921 în Bucovina și Basarabia. O bună parte din materialele periodice și documente de arhivă, care se referă la această problemă încă nu sunt folosite pe deplin în literatura științifică. Cercetarea întreprinsă de autor permite oglindirea unor realități concrete în unele județe ale Bucovinei și Basarabiei. Materialul colecționat mărturisește, că în general în regiunea cercetată condițiile reformei se îndeplineau. Suprapopularea agrară n-a permis împroprietărirea țăranilor cu pământ. Rezolvarea acestei probleme în condițiile de atunci a fost imposibilă, deoarece în ținut nu erau destule terenuri agricole. Trebuie menționat și aspectul pozitiv al reformei agrare: după înfăptuirea ei, corelația între moșieri și micii proprietari de pământ se schimbă – zeci de mii de țărani au fost împroprietăriți cu pământ.*

**Abstract:** *The article talks about achieving conditions of agrarian reform in the years 1920-1921, in Bukovina and Bessarabia. The journals and archival documents, which refer to this problem, are not fully used in the scientific literature. The research proposed by the author allows a reflection of agrarian realities in some counties of Bukovina and Bessarabia. It is an attempt to review the basic stages of this process. The collected material proved that in the region, the conditions for a reform were fulfilled. The agrarian overcrowding did not allow authorities to give land to all peasants. Solving this problem, at that time, was impossible, because of the lack of arable land in a specific region. A positive aspect of land reform must be noticed: after its achievement, the correlation between the landowners and small tenants was changed -tens of thousands of peasants were granted with land.*

**Résumé:** *L'article parle de la réalisation des conditions de la réforme agraire des années 1920-1921 en Bucovine et en Bessarabie. Une bonne partie des matériaux périodiques et des documents des archives qui font référence à ce problème ne sont pas encore utilisés complètement dans la littérature scientifique. La recherche entreprise par l'auteur permet d'envisager des réalités concrètes de certains départements de la Bucovine et de la Bessarabie. Le matériel collectionné témoigne qu'en général, dans la région recherchée les conditions de la réforme étaient accomplies. La surpopulation agraire n'a pas permis le biens aux paysans avec de la terre. La résolution de ce problème dans les conditions de ces temps-là a été impossible, parce que dans cette région il n'y avait pas de terrains agricoles suffisants. On doit mentionner, aussi, l'aspect positif de la réforme agraire, parce que, après sa mise en pratique, la corrélation entre les fonciers et les petits propriétaires de terre a changé – des dizaines de milliers de paysans ont reçu de la terre.*

**Keywords:** *Bessarabia, Bukovina, agrarian reform, arable land, scientific literature, peasants, landowners*

The implementation of 1920-1921 Romanian agrarian reform regulations in Bessarabia and Bucovina is still the least studied aspect of this reform (though many attempts were made to study the reform in different periods of time<sup>1</sup>). Taking into consideration the available published works, which elucidate minutely the legislative base of the reform and the background period for its implementation, the author's aim in the investigation is to analyze the implementation of the peasant reform regulations on the example of Hotin (Khotyn) district (Bessarabia) and Chernautsi (Chernivtsi) and Storojinets (Storozhynets') districts (Bucovina). Moreover, the work is mainly focused on the recollections of eyewitnesses, not published sources from the state archives of Chernivtsi oblast (Ukraine), National archives of Romania (Suchava department) and the periodicals.

Agrarian reform in Bessarabia and Bucovina was carried out at several stages: foundation of the institutions, which were in charge of lands expropriation from wealthy landowners, churches, monasteries and aliens and parceling them for land-poor or landless peasants; big properties distraintment and buying out of surplus lands; listing the applicants for extra, full, colonization plots of land and parceling this land property for the peasants. Among them the most interesting for the investigators are the procedures of expropriation and parceling of the lands, which soviet historians such as: V. Litvinov<sup>2</sup>, A. Malinskiy<sup>3</sup>, S. Timov<sup>4</sup>, N. Frolov<sup>5</sup> and others criticized for a long time. They had not given any example of legal implementation of the Reform regulations. However, the study of new documents revealed, that in most cases everything took place on the contrary exactly to the law. Obviously, those frauds, which had succeeded, depended, upon the local committees and peasants' resolution to assert their legal rights for their lands. We should admit that, sometimes, the committee's members unintentionally would make wrong decisions, however, after

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<sup>1</sup> Квітковський Д., Бриндзан Т., Жуковський А. Буковина: її минуле і сучасне. – Париж-Філадельфія-Дітройт: Зелена Буковина, 1956. – 965 с.; Кобилянський С. Д. З історії проведення аграрної реформи на Північній Буковині під час окупації краю буржуазно-поміщицькою Румунією // Минуле і сучасне Північної Буковини. – К.: Наукова думка, 1972. – Вип. 1. – С. 40-51; Литвинов В. К. Аграрная реформа на Буковине во время румынской оккупации 1921-1926//Черновицкий государственный университет. Тезисы докладов XIII отчетной научной сессии профессорско-преподавательского состава. – Черновцы, 1957. – С. 69-70; Піддубний Г. Буковина, її минуле і сучасне. Суспільно-політичний нарис із малюнками і мапою Буковини. – Харків, 1928. – 256 с.; Cardaş A. Aspecte din reforma agrară basarabeană. – Chişinău, 1924. – 132 p.; Doboş F. Zece ani de viaţă agricolă în Bucovina. – Cernauţi: Glasul Bucovinei, 1929. – 36 p.; Şandru D. Reforma agrară din 1921 în România. – Bucureşti: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1975, 359 p.

<sup>2</sup> Литвинов В. К. Аграрная реформа на Буковине во время румынской оккупации 1921-1926. – С. 69-70.

<sup>3</sup> Малинский В. Аграрная реформа 1918-1924 гг. в Бессарабии. – Кишинев, 1949. – 144 с.

<sup>4</sup> Тимов С. Аграрный вопрос в Румынии. – М., 1928. – 231 с.

<sup>5</sup> Фролов Н. П. Аграрные отношения в буржуазно-помещичьей Румынии. – Кишинев, 1958. – 251 с.

being inspected, they corrected their decisions afterwards. For confirmation of our thought we would like to give some examples of law expropriation and parceling of the lands in Bucovina and Bessarabia in the years of Romanian agrarian reform, which were concealed many years.

One of the wealthy landlords of the region was Mark Fischer from Ispas who owned lands in Vijnitsa (Vyzhnytsia) and Zastavna districts. His estate included over 1800 hectares of land. Those lands were in the communities: Babin (Babyne) – 131 hectares, Borautsi (Borivtsi) – 49 hectares, Kalineshti (Kalynivka) – 98 hectares, Kiseleu (Kyseliv) – 149 hectares, Ispas – 1134 hectares, Mihova (Myhove) – 11 hectares, Prilipcha (Prylypche) – 298 hectares. The inspection revealed that all those lands belonged to the same owner. After the reform had been carried out, he was expropriated the estates in Babin (Babyne), Borautsi (Borivtsi), Kalineshti (Kalynivka), Kiseleu (Kyseliv) and Mihova (Myhove). The lands in Ispas and Prilipcha (Prylypche) were partially expropriated, with, respectively, 352 hectares and 91 hectares left, out of which plough-lands comprised 250 hectares<sup>6</sup>, according to the Agrarian law for Bucovina<sup>7</sup>. The expropriation of land from a big landowner Oleksandr Fischer from Shtefaneshti (Stefaneshty) was held in accordance with the law too. Before the Reform was carried out, he had had only 327 hectares of plough-land in Babin (Babyne) and Prilipcha (Prylypche) communities. After the Reform had been carried out, he was left 207 hectares (according to the law<sup>8</sup>), and 120 hectares were given to the reform reserves for land-poor or landless peasants<sup>9</sup>.

As Meltzer Koppel from Mihova (Myhove) had not used his lands for agricultural purposes but for the commercial ones, he was expropriated his entire estate, including 8 hectares of plough-land, his house and business utilities<sup>10</sup>.

The expropriation of the land from many landowners in Hotin (Khotyn) district, who were permitted to own not more than 100 hectares of plough-land, was held without any violations<sup>11</sup>. The estate of Olena Yavorovs'ka from Pashkautsi (Pashkivtsi) was reduced from 176 hectares to 100 hectares (by 76 hectares)<sup>12</sup>. Initially, the committee had left extra 8 hectares for Yavorovs'ka, but the inspection revealed it and made her leave the plot of land or pay the rent for its use<sup>13</sup>. In Pashkautsi (Pashkivtsi), landlords from Tolburen' and Kaplivka communities owned lands too. They were expropriated over 130 hectares<sup>14</sup>. In the same community,

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<sup>6</sup> Державний архів Чернівецької області (далі – ДАЧО). – Ф. 293. – Оп. 1. – Спр. 11. – Арк. 41.

<sup>7</sup> Hamangiu C. Codul General al României. Legi uzuale. 1913-1919. – Vol. 8. – București: Editura Librăriei Alcalay & Co. – P. 169.

<sup>8</sup> Ibidem. – P. 169.

<sup>9</sup> ДАЧО. – Ф. 293. – Оп. 1. – Спр. 11. – Арк. 65, 69.

<sup>10</sup> ДАЧО. – Ф. 687. – Оп. 1. – Спр. 294. – Арк. 1.

<sup>11</sup> Alexianu G. Legile agrare. 1917-1936. – București: Editura Librăriei "Universala" Alcalay & Co. – P. 5-12.

<sup>12</sup> ДАЧО. – Ф. 854. – Оп. 1. – Спр. 350. – Арк. 2.

<sup>13</sup> ДАЧО. – Ф. 854. – Оп. 1. – Спр. 50. – Арк. 35.

<sup>14</sup> ДАЧО. – Ф. 854. – Оп. 1. – Спр. 350. – Арк. 2.

several wealthy peasants owned 50-60 hectares of plough-land, which could not be expropriated (they had less than 100 hectares), that is why the Reform did not concern them<sup>15</sup>. In Shirautsi (Shyriivtsi), no landlord experienced the expropriation for the same reason<sup>16</sup>. Let us consider some examples of church lands' expropriation. The state expropriated all church's lands, safe for the priest's plots of land, deacons' (if they had ones)<sup>17</sup>. As a rule, they had 18 hectares of plough-land. In Malintsi (Malyntsi)<sup>18</sup> and Silautsi (Shylyivtsi) communities, before the Reform, the church had owned 72 hectares in each community, and after the land was expropriated, they had only 18 hectares in each community<sup>19</sup>. In Shirautsi (Shyriivtsi), the church had owned 37 hectares, and left 18 hectares<sup>20</sup>. In Stalineshti (Stal'niivtsi) – 39 hectares<sup>21</sup>, left – 18 hectares<sup>22</sup>. In Malineshti (Malynivka) – 35 hectares, 18 hectares were expropriated<sup>23</sup>. In Staucheni (Stavchany) – 35 hectares, left – 18 hectares<sup>24</sup>. In Pashkautsi (Pashkivtsi)<sup>25</sup> and Syndzher<sup>26</sup> (Zhylyivka) – 36 hectares in each, 18 hectares were expropriated in each community. In Crishchatek (Khreshchatyk) community in Bucovina, the church lost 13 hectares out of 25 hectares of land<sup>27</sup>.

The Vatopedi Holy Mt. Athos Monastery in Hotin (Khotyn) district used to own big land resources before the reform<sup>28</sup>. Nevertheless, Romanian agrarian reform was aimed at expropriating all alien monasteries' lands; thus, the estate of the Vatopedi Holy Mt. Athos Monastery in Malineshti (Malynivka) community (402 hectares of plough-land) was parceled for the state land reserves in 1922-1924<sup>29</sup>.

Commercial company "Zarozhan" (sugar mill in Zarozheni (Zarozhany) community) was one of the biggest owners of plough-land in Hotin (Khotyn) district. In Staucheni (Stavchany), the company owned 582 hectares<sup>30</sup>, in Livenits (Livyntsi) – 1525 hectares<sup>31</sup>, in Syndzher (Zhylyivka) – 326 hectares<sup>32</sup> and in Zarozheni (Zarozhany) – 405 hectares<sup>33</sup>. As the company was not engaged in agriculture production, all its lands (except for several hectares) were expropriated for the state

<sup>15</sup> ДАЧО. – Ф. 854. – Оп. 1. – Спр. 350. – Арк. 2.

<sup>16</sup> ДАЧО. – Ф. 854. – Оп. 1. – Спр. 478. – Арк. 1.

<sup>17</sup> Hamangiu C. Codul General al României. Legi uzuale. 1913-1919. – Vol. 8. – P. 1181.

<sup>18</sup> ДАЧО. – Ф. 854. – Оп. 1. – Спр. 480. – Арк. 13.

<sup>19</sup> ДАЧО. – Ф. 854. – Оп. 1. – Спр. 539. – Арк. 3.

<sup>20</sup> ДАЧО. – Ф. 854. – Оп. 1. – Спр. 478. – Арк. 1.

<sup>21</sup> ДАЧО. – Ф. 854. – Оп. 1. – Спр. 357. – Арк. 14.

<sup>22</sup> ДАЧО. – Ф. 854. – Оп. 1. – Спр. 476. – Арк. 2.

<sup>23</sup> ДАЧО. – Ф. 854. – Оп. 1. – Спр. 128. – Арк. 1.

<sup>24</sup> ДАЧО. – Ф. 854. – Оп. 1. – Спр. 94. – Арк. 1.

<sup>25</sup> ДАЧО. – Ф. 854. – Оп. 1. – Спр. 350. – Арк. 2.

<sup>26</sup> ДАЧО. – Ф. 854. – Оп. 1. – Спр. 156. – Арк. 1.

<sup>27</sup> ДАЧО. – Ф. 687. – Оп. 1. – Спр. 286. – Арк. 4.

<sup>28</sup> ДАЧО. – Ф. 854. – Оп. 1. – Спр. 128. – Арк. 1.

<sup>29</sup> ДАЧО. – Ф. 854. – Оп. 1. – Спр. 128. – Арк. 1.

<sup>30</sup> ДАЧО. – Ф. 854. – Оп. 1. – Спр. 94. – Арк. 1.

<sup>31</sup> ДАЧО. – Ф. 854. – Оп. 1. – Спр. 167. – Арк. 31.

<sup>32</sup> ДАЧО. – Ф. 854. – Оп. 1. – Спр. 156. – Арк. 1.

<sup>33</sup> ДАЧО. – Ф. 854. – Оп. 1. – Спр. 95. – Арк. 30.

land reserves. There were cases when the committees of the highest authority would make mistakes in calculations, but later on, district committees corrected them. In particular, David Fischer from Kiseleu (Kyseliv) owned 130 hectares of plough-land, and local committee expropriated only 6 hectares instead of 28 hectares<sup>34</sup>. District committee, while inspecting, found the mistake and ordered to expropriate 22 hectares more<sup>35</sup>. The district committee in the same community had to expropriate from Adolf Fischer 34 hectares out of 160 hectares of plough-land, which he owned; and the local committee expropriated only 5 hectares. The mistake was corrected after some time, and the landlord lost 29 hectares more<sup>36</sup>.

There were also funny cases, when peasants complained that they would bribe committees' members to get "spare" 1-2 hectares of land, but the land was not gained as well as the money was not returned. Such an incident took place in Nousulitsa (Novoselytsia)<sup>37</sup> community, Bricheni (Brychany) volost, Hotin (Khotyn) district. Peasant Anatoliy Sardari submitted a complaint to the district agricultural board in 1933, asserting that before lands parceling, he had bribed local agrarian committee's member Ivan Voloshchuk with 750 leus and that he had eyewitnesses of the event. He wanted Ivan Voloshchuk to give him 1 hectare more than it was permitted. However, he did not gain any land, and wanted his money back<sup>38</sup>. Expropriation as well as parceling could be carried out in a legal way. As an example, we would like to describe the procedure of land parceling in Mahala community, Chernautsi (Chernivtsi) district. The land reserves were parceled: for local school – 6 hectares; to create experimental plot – 2,5 hectares; to make roads – 6,5 hectares; for deacon and sexton – respectively 3 hectares and 1 hectare; for peasants – 0,15-1 hectares plots of land. Peasants' plots of land appeared to be very small because of comparatively poor land resources and overpopulation in the community<sup>39</sup>.

In Stalineshti (Stal'nivtsi), the land was parceled for 331 persons, moreover, the biggest plot of land was 2,5 hectares<sup>40</sup>. The total area of peasants' plots of land covered 428 hectares. 40 hectares were parceled for agronomic station, 20 hectares – for zootechnics station; school's parcel comprised 2 hectares; woods were planted on 93 hectares; 12 hectares were parceled for community's needs. Totally, 595 hectares were parceled here<sup>41</sup>. Most expropriated lands became peasants' property.

Pashkautsi (Pashkivtsi) committee parceled 218 hectares of plough-land for 155 farmers. Like in other villages, the parcels were 0,5-2,5 hectares<sup>42</sup> in size. In Silautsi (Shylivtsi), 39 persons got two-hectares plots of land, and 8 hectares were

<sup>34</sup> ДАЧО. – Ф. 293. – Оп. 1. – Спр. 11. – Арк. 75.

<sup>35</sup> ДАЧО. – Ф. 293. – Оп. 1. – Спр. 11. – Арк. 77.

<sup>36</sup> ДАЧО. – Ф. 293. – Оп. 1. – Спр. 11. – Арк. 80.

<sup>37</sup> Împărțirea administrativă a teritoriilor alipite pe județe, plăși, voloste, notariate și comune. – București: Imprimeria Statului. – 1921. – P. 73.

<sup>38</sup> ДАЧО. – Ф. 854. – Оп. 1. – Спр. 572. – Арк. 14.

<sup>39</sup> ДАЧО. – Ф. 293. – Оп. 1. – Спр. 12. – Арк. 16.

<sup>40</sup> ДАЧО. – Ф. 854. – Оп. 1. – Спр. 357. – Арк. 15.

<sup>41</sup> ДАЧО. – Ф. 854. – Оп. 1. – Спр. 476. – Арк. 3.

<sup>42</sup> ДАЧО. – Ф. 854. – Оп. 1. – Спр. 350. – Арк. 3.



parceled for other needs from the community lands<sup>43</sup>. Many peasants agreed to get parceled lands in neighboring communities.

In Shirautsi (Shyriivtsi), the parcels of 2 hectares<sup>44</sup> were given to 237 possessors. 2 hectares – to school, one-hectare plots of land– for the village headman’s office, for roads and cemetery, and several hundreds square metres – for gendarme checkpoint and cemetery for animals. In total, approximately 240 hectares were parceled<sup>45</sup>. In Syndzher (Zhylivka), 179 local peasants got two-hectares plots of land<sup>46</sup>. Staucheni (Stavchany) committee parceled 0,5-2,5-hectares plots of land for 287 persons<sup>47</sup>. In Malintsi (Malyntsi), 322 persons got parceled lands<sup>48</sup>. All peasants got their lands by 1927<sup>49</sup>. We should mention that before the reform started, in Zarozheni (Zarozhany) community, most peasants (261) had had two-hectares plots of land, 119 peasants had been landless at all, and according to the law on agrarian reform, they were able to get parcels, which became, for many peasants, the escape from starvation during a difficult after-war period<sup>50</sup>. Peasants from Livenits (Livyntsi) community got 507 hectares of parceled lands; their plots of land were almost the biggest (approximately 3 hectares). Furthermore, 55 hectares were given for the community needs, for the reserves, for woods planting, and several hectares were not productive enough for cultivation<sup>51</sup>.

In Malineshti (Malynivka) community, 438 hectares were to be parceled. 2,5-hectares plots of land were parceled for 205 family heads (in total, 315 hectares)<sup>52</sup>, 32 hectares were parceled for the community’s reserves, 11 hectares were not fertile, and some more than 80 hectares were parceled for colonization plots of Nouselitsa (Novoselytsia) inhabitants. We should mention, that colonization plots were considered the plots, situated far from the community’s lands, which could be given to other villages’ inhabitants, who were lacking lands but only with the permission of the community<sup>53</sup>. Thus, notwithstanding the acknowledged opinion of Soviet historians<sup>54</sup>, the colonists were not only Romanians from Old Kingdom, as in this case, but also peasants from neighboring communities of Bucovina and Bessarabia. Similarly, during the parceling of land reserves in Livenits (Livyntsi), colonization

<sup>43</sup> ДАЧО. – Ф. 854. – Оп. 1. – Спр. 539. – Арк. 4.

<sup>44</sup> ДАЧО. – Ф. 854. – Оп. 1. – Спр. 478. – Арк. 2.

<sup>45</sup> ДАЧО. – Ф. 854. – Оп. 1. – Спр. 478. – Арк. 34.

<sup>46</sup> ДАЧО. – Ф. 854. – Оп. 1. – Спр. 156. – Арк. 2.

<sup>47</sup> ДАЧО. – Ф. 854. – Оп. 1. – Спр. 94. – Арк. 1, 11.

<sup>48</sup> ДАЧО. – Ф. 854. – Оп. 1. – Спр. 480. – Арк. 14.

<sup>49</sup> ДАЧО. – Ф. 854. – Оп. 1. – Спр. 94. – Арк. 489.

<sup>50</sup> ДАЧО. – Ф. 854. – Оп. 1. – Спр. 95. – Арк. 61.

<sup>51</sup> ДАЧО. – Ф. 854. – Оп. 1. – Спр. 167. – Арк. 32.

<sup>52</sup> ДАЧО. – Ф. 854. – Оп. 1. – Спр. 147. – Арк. 1.

<sup>53</sup> Namangiu C. Codul General al României. Legi uzuale. 1913-1919. – Vol. 8. – P. 1183.

<sup>54</sup> Литвинов В. К. Становище селян Буковини в боярській Румунії (1918-1939) // Наукові записки ЧДУ. – Т. 18. – Серія історичних наук. – Львів: Вид-во Львівського державного університету, 1956. – С. 58; Литвинов В. К. Аграрная реформа на Буковине во время румынской оккупации 1921-1926. – С. 69.

plots of land with the total area of 1000 hectares became the property of inhabitants of Malintsi (Malyntsi), Zarozheni (Zarozhany), Shirautsi (Shyriivtsi), Silautsi (Shylyivtsi), Poiana (Poliana), Balkautsi (Balkivtsi), Dankautsi (Dankivtsi)<sup>55</sup>. Colonization plots of land with the area less than 2 hectares were parceled for the inhabitants of Cerstineshti (Kerstentsi) and Dolzhok (Dovzhok) communities from Staucheni (Stavchany) land reseves<sup>56</sup>, and from Syndzher (Zhylyivka) reserves – for peasants of Cruhlic (Kruhlyk) and Bilautsi (Bilivtsi) communities<sup>57</sup>. And farmers from Stalineshti (Stal'nivtsi), who were lacking lands in their community were parceled 291 hectares of colonization plots of land from expropriated lands of landlord Nykodym Krulka from Korestautsi<sup>58</sup>, Bricheni (Brychany) volost (nowadays, Republic of Moldova).

We should mention that the reform in Bessarabia and Bucovina was not always implemented in a lawful way. Although law violations did not have the determinative meaning but the description of the agrarian reform would not be sufficient without them. Therefore, we shall consider the prevailing ones found in the complaints, blaming committees' members to have committed the law violations and preserved in archive papers as well as those, which were published in the local newspapers.

Landlord class, beforehand, tried to sell their estates having a good bargain, to conceal the real area of their land-tenure or to parcel it out among their relatives in order to avoid their estates being expropriated<sup>59</sup>. There are some examples: landlord Liubomyrs'kyi from Putila (Putyla) district concealed more than 160 hectares; landlord Weissler Seide owned 454 hectares<sup>60</sup>, but he reported to the District agrarian committee only 279 hectares<sup>61</sup>. The lands of landlords in Doroshautsi (Doroshivtsi)<sup>62</sup>, Maliatinets (Maliatyntsi)<sup>63</sup>, Mihalcia (Mykhal'cha) and Mamornitsa (Mamornytsia)<sup>64</sup> were parceled out among immediate relatives. That is why the estates of Bernard Korn, Markus Greyfer, Mark Kurisch had been long time unimpaired<sup>65</sup>.

Court appeals against the activities of different authority committees were the most widespread landlords' counteraction to avoid the expropriation. Similar litigation could last sometimes for years; meanwhile peasants were not able to get plots of land and had to pay rent for using landlords' lands. The family of landlord Vladyslav Ramashkanu (Stalineshti (Stal'nivtsi) community), who owned over 700

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<sup>55</sup> ДАЧО. – Ф. 854. – Оп. 1. – Спр. 167. – Арк. 33.

<sup>56</sup> ДАЧО. – Ф. 854. – Оп. 1. – Спр. 94. – Арк. 2.

<sup>57</sup> ДАЧО. – Ф. 854. – Оп. 1. – Спр. 156. – Арк. 2.

<sup>58</sup> ДАЧО. – Ф. 854. – Оп. 1. – Спр. 397. – Арк. 3.

<sup>59</sup> Кобилянський С. Д. З історії проведення аграрної реформи на Північній Буковині під час окупації краю буржуазно-поміщицькою Румунією. – С. 42.

<sup>60</sup> ДАЧО. – Ф. 687. – Оп. 1. – Спр. 157. – Арк. 3, 5, 23.

<sup>61</sup> ДАЧО. – Ф. 687. – Оп. 1. – Спр. 51. – Арк. 1-5.

<sup>62</sup> ДАЧО. – Ф. 687. – Оп. 1. – Спр. 39. – Арк. 5-6.

<sup>63</sup> ДАЧО. – Ф. 687. – Оп. 1. – Спр. 364. – Арк. 68.

<sup>64</sup> ДАЧО. – Ф. 687. – Оп. 1. – Спр. 131. – Арк. 16.

<sup>65</sup> Кобилянський С. Д. З історії проведення аграрної реформи на Північній Буковині під час окупації краю буржуазно-поміщицькою Румунією. – С. 43.

hectares<sup>66</sup> in 1918 was among them. However, after the case had been tried at the court, the suit was settled in 1930, and the Ramashkanu's estate was expropriated in accordance with the law, the estate was not parceled out among the village inhabitants by that time<sup>67</sup>. The litigation on the case had gone on until 1934, but the court decision was not changed<sup>68</sup>.

There were cases of total lawlessness. In particular, in Percautsi (Perkivtsi) (Hotin (Khotyn) district) District agrarian committee expropriated legally 48 hectares of plough-land from landlord Barak and parceled it for peasants, but after they had ploughed it, sowed and grown the harvest, the landlord turned them away of the land and took all the harvest away<sup>69</sup>. District committee in Repujinets (Repuzhyntsi) expropriated 195 hectares of land from landlord Baumann in 1925. 66 hectares out of those 195 hectares were transferred to the state for community needs. The rest of the land was parceled for peasants, but the landlord wouldn't let them use it for 10 years<sup>70</sup>. The inhabitants of Vashkivtsi community, unsatisfied with the reform pace, submitted a complaint to the security service division in Vijnitsa (Vyzhnytsia) in 1921. The complaint contained the facts that the committee suspended the listing of parceled land on purpose, and one of the committee's members (priest Mikitovych) stated, "This matter will take years" and "peasants can wait"<sup>71</sup>.

A very unpleasant event took place in Volchinets (Vovchynets') community (Seret district) in 1925; the head of the local agrarian committee of the highest authority, being, at the same time, the head of the village community together with a former district agronomist let many people illegally transfer their plots of (barren) land to the land reserves and get fertile lands instead<sup>72</sup>. There were cases when the lists of parceled lands were cut down, and the land reserves for peasants were reduced. For instance, 278 people from Verbautsi (Verbivtsi) had the right to get plots of land, but they received only 38 hectares (of which 10 hectares were given to those who did not have the right to). The lands of landlords Koppel (191 hectares) and Liskovats'ka (145 hectares) left not expropriated in this community<sup>73</sup>.

In Onut community, the reserves were "reduced" three times. Before the reform started, peasants had been promised to receive 82 hectares of parceled lands, but in fact, only 25 hectares were parceled out<sup>74</sup>. Peasants of Mamornitsa (Mamornytsia) had been promised 300 hectares of landlord Goldner's plough-land, but they received only 2,5 hectares of land expropriated from church. In Shipinets

<sup>66</sup> ДАЧО. – Ф. 854. – Оп. 1. – Спр. 49. – Арк. 3.

<sup>67</sup> ДАЧО. – Ф. 854. – Оп. 1. – Спр. 49. – Арк. 15.

<sup>68</sup> ДАЧО. – Ф. 854. – Оп. 1. – Спр. 49. – Арк. 32.

<sup>69</sup> ДАЧО. – Ф. 854. – Оп. 1. – Спр. 32. – Арк. 3.

<sup>70</sup> Кобилянський С. Д. З історії проведення аграрної реформи на Північній Буковині під час окупації краю буржуазно-поміщицькою Румунією. – С. 43.

<sup>71</sup> ДАЧО. – Ф. 12. – Оп. 1. – Спр. 467. – Арк. 1.

<sup>72</sup> ДАЧО. – Ф. 1240. – Оп. 1. – Спр. – 227. – Арк. 1.

<sup>73</sup> ДАЧО. – Ф. 14. – Оп. 2. – Спр. 16. – Арк. 1-2.

<sup>74</sup> Боротьба. – 1927. – 10 липня. – Ч. 6. – С. 2.

(Shypyntsi), they had been promised 150 hectares, but they received only 25 hectares<sup>75</sup>.

There were recorded cases, when similar “reduction” of the lists for parceled land, made by local agrarian committees, took place in the committees of the highest authorities. To illustrate this, we can take the case of Coteleu (Kotelevo) community, where, initially, 461 peasants had got right to receive land, but after the list had been approved, only 153 peasants were on the list. In Vladichna (Vladychna), 414 families’ heads had entered in the list to receive lands, and only 335 left<sup>76</sup>.

Other kinds of lists forgery were found too. In particular, wealthier peasants entered in the list in the first place instead of land-poor or landless peasants, who desperately needed land. In Coshuleni (Koshuliany) community, in 1921, the local committee deprived 53 families of invalids and war widows, as well as recruits’ wives of the right to receive plots of land in the first place. They wrote in the complaint, that they were not able to provide for their families because of the lack of the land, and that landlords’ lands are parceled out for “those people, who can work hard and have enough their own land”, therefore “the poor ones have to starve”<sup>77</sup>. In Nousulitsa (Novoselytsia) community (Khotyn district), the families of seven deceased soldiers received their plots of land within difficult reach of their houses (in Lenkautsi (Lenkivtsi), Ataki (Ataky), Kobolchin (Kobolchyn) communities etc)<sup>78</sup>. In Nousulitsa (Novoselytsia), some of the local inhabitants forged the documents on disability and received a plot of fertile land<sup>79</sup>.

Of great consideration is the case of landlord Georgiy Vasyl’ko’s land expropriation and parceling. According to the data of the inspection held in 1933, District agrarian committee adopted the resolution (1922) to expropriate 1997,8 hectares of his estates in Shipot (Shepit) and Berehomet. Of these lands, 937 hectares were to be parceled out for peasants, 292,4 hectares – for the state reserves, 697 hectares – to let. The parceling was held in 1924. Peasants refused to receive 120 hectares, because those lands were not fertile. The inspection report (1933) reveals that “The parceling of the estate of Georgiy Vasyl’ko from Berehomet was held very bad. That is the reason why the parceling in Berehomet has not been completed till present days. Many peasants, who had 3-5 hectares, didn’t enter in the parceling lists (however, they had the right to – O.R.)”<sup>80</sup>. On the other hand, 142 heads of families received extra 185,7 hectares, and 201 peasants received 64,4 hectares less than it was indicated on the list. 205 peasants, who were not on the list, received 150,9 hectares, and only 213 peasants legally received 147 hectares<sup>81</sup>.

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<sup>75</sup> Боротьба. – 1928. – 29 квітня. – Ч. 11. – С. 1.

<sup>76</sup> Кобилянський С. Д. З історії проведення аграрної реформи на Північній Буковині під час окупації краю буржуазно-поміщицькою Румунією. – С. 45.

<sup>77</sup> Там само. – С. 45.

<sup>78</sup> ДАЧО. – Ф. 854. – Оп. 1. – Спр. 572. – Арк. 9.

<sup>79</sup> ДАЧО. – Ф. 854. – Оп. 1. – Спр. 572. – Арк. 3.

<sup>80</sup> ДАЧО. – Ф. 734. – Оп. 2. – Спр. 4. – Арк. 19, 23.

<sup>81</sup> ДАЧО. – Ф. 734. – Оп. 2. – Спр. 4. – Арк. 28-44.

Religious fund did its best not to keep its lands. At that time “one could hardly mention the district, where the lands of this great – since Austro-Hungarian times – province landowner were not found”<sup>82</sup>. “Any respectable and wealthy landlord couldn’t do without its support. Either the road to his land belonged to the fund or, for example, a wood narrow-gauge railway did”<sup>83</sup>. Its “lobby”, initially in Vienna, and afterwards in Bucharest, during the Romanian period, particularly in “the Ministries of agriculture, wood industry and even the Ministry of defence”<sup>84</sup> guaranteed funds’ estates inviolability even at the end of Romanian ruling in the region. Some cases had been tried by 1938, for example, the case on the funds’ lands in Mamaeshti (Mamaivtsi) and Coroviya communities in Chernautsi (Chernivtsi) district<sup>85</sup>.

Before the reform, according to the rough estimate, landlords had owned “about half of all region lands”<sup>86</sup>. H. Piddubnyi asserted that the owners of plots of land with the area of 5-1000 hectares had most lands. They cultivated 81,63% of Bucovina lands. These lands were parceled for eighteen thousand families. 125 biggest owners had in their disposal more than 1000 hectares everyone, an in total, 433000 hectares; that is 40% of all land<sup>87</sup>. In Hotin (Khotyn) district, in 1905, peasants’ farms with the land area of less than 2 hectares comprised 10,9%, 2-5 hectares – 82,5%, 5-10 hectares – 6,4%, 10-20 hectares – 0,1%, 20-50 hectares – 0,1%<sup>88</sup>. Before the World War I, landlords, monasteries, state treasury owned 46% of all land in the district, peasants owned the rest of the land<sup>89</sup>.

In Bucovina, more than 800<sup>90</sup> estates with the total area of 75,976 hectares<sup>91</sup> were expropriated in 1929. 41,994 of them were expropriated from 235 landlords, 27,572 hectares – from Religious fund, the rest – from churches, schools etc<sup>92</sup>. 42,832 hectares of them were parceled for 76,911 persons. 33,135 were used for pastures, for planting communal woods, for making roads etc. 5, 692 peasants left without plots of land because of the land scarcity and dense population<sup>93</sup>. In Hotin (Khotyn) district, all peasants were parceled land. All peasants, who had right for land, received plots of

<sup>82</sup> Кресс В. Моя первая жизнь: Невыдуманная повесть. – Черновцы: Зелена Буковина, 2008. – С. 195.

<sup>83</sup> Там само. – С. 195.

<sup>84</sup> Там само. – С. 195.

<sup>85</sup> Arhivele Naționale ale României. Direcția Suceava. – Fond 10. – Inventarul 35. – Dosar 28. – Foia 2, 7, 9.

<sup>86</sup> Грігоровіч Г. Буковинське селянство в ярмі (уришок) / Добржанський О. В., Старик В. П. Бажасмо до України! – Одеса: Маяк, 2008. – С. 1154.

<sup>87</sup> Піддубний Г. Буковина, її минуле і сучасне. Суспільно-політичний нарис із малюнками і мапою Буковини. – С. 164.

<sup>88</sup> Буковина: історичний нарис. – Чернівці: Зелена Буковина, 1998. – С. 109.

<sup>89</sup> Там само. – С. 109.

<sup>90</sup> Zece ani de viață agricolă în Bucovina // Progresul. – 1929. – №1. – P. – P. 9.

<sup>91</sup> Anuarul statistic al României pe anul 1929. – București: Tipografia Curții Regale, 1930. – P. 86.

<sup>92</sup> Zece ani de viață agricolă în Bucovina // Progresul. – 1929. – №1. – P. – P. 8.

<sup>93</sup> Anuarul statistic al României pe anul 1929. – P. 86.

land; though some gained small plots<sup>94</sup>. 511 estates with the total area of 152,184 hectares<sup>95</sup> were expropriated (according to the other data, 153,921 hectares<sup>96</sup>). 50104 persons had right for a plot of land, and gained 91,535 hectares<sup>97</sup>. The rest of the land was also provided for different needs like in Bucovina.

Agrarian committees' work resulted in the following situation; in 1930, 97,7% of plough-land were the small owners' property and only 2,24% were owned by landlords out of 303,771 hectares in Hotin (Khotyn) district<sup>98</sup>. In Chernautsi (Chernivtsi) district, where plough-land comprised 119,682 hectares, this proportion was 88,59% to 11,41% in peasants' favor<sup>99</sup>, in Storojinets (Storozhynets') – 87,96% to 12,04% under 80,018 hectares of plough-land<sup>100</sup>. Thus, the dominance of peasants' landowning in all districts was impressive, while before the reform, the situation had been vice-versa. Hence, all above-said examples substantiate that, in general, the reform's regulations were observed in the region under study. The concepts of the Soviet era researches, who considered Romanian agrarian reform to be the peasants' land grabbing, and who vigorously criticized it, have no grounds.

On the contrary, peasants of Bucovina and Bessarabia needed more land, than they got after the reform, but thousands of landless and land-poor inhabitants of the region were saved from starvation, when they got still tiny but their own separate plots of land. Very often, we don't appreciate the importance of land for peasants in that time. We should keep in mind that peasants could have hardly earned their "crust" in other way than cultivating their land.

Agrarian overpopulation prevented peasants from getting lands to the full. The scarcity of agricultural lands was the reason why those problems could not be solved in the then situation. We should admit that agrarian reform changed the proportion of landlords and small landowners in the latter's favor. Tens of thousands of peasants were parceled land.

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<sup>94</sup> Ibidem. – P. 86.

<sup>95</sup> Ambrojevici T., Potlog A. Monografia agricola a județului Hotin. – Cămpina: Tipografia și legătoria de cărți M. S. Gheorghiu. – 1929. – P. 9.

<sup>96</sup> Ciobanu Ș. Basarabia: Monografie. – Chișinău. – 1926. – P. 352.

<sup>97</sup> Ambrojevici T., Potlog A. Monografia agricola a județului Hotin. – 1929. – P. 9.

<sup>98</sup> Enciclopedia României: Țara românească. – Vol. 2. – P. 219.

<sup>99</sup> Ibidem. – P. 129.

<sup>100</sup> Ibidem. – P. 424.

## CONSIDERATIONS SUR L'EVOLUTION DE L'AFFICHE COMMUNISTE VERS LA STANDARDISATION

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**Rezumat:** Folosirea afişului pentru propagarea ideologiei marxist-leniniste, dar și pentru popularizarea „mărețelor realizări ale regimului popular” a reprezentat doar unul dintre aspectele fenomenului propagandistic din țara noastră. Pentru istoria postbelică a României afişul reprezintă un veritabil document, cu un specific aparte. Valența acestuia, puternic manipulatorie, este legată de acțiunile Partidului Comunist (Muncitoresc) Român, începând cu 1944-1945. Pentru creșterea eficienței afişului de propagandă, regimul comunist a impus controlul și standardizarea acestuia prin intermediul Uniunii Artiștilor Plastici din România, contribuind la manipularea conștiinței românilor în direcția formării „Omului Nou”.

**Abstract:** Using poster to spread Marxist-Leninist ideology, but also to popularize “grand achievements of the popular regime” represented only one aspect of the phenomenon of propaganda in our country. For Romania's postwar history the poster is a genuine document, with unique specific. Its valence, powerful manipulator, is linked to Romanian Communist (Workers) Party activities, since 1944-1945. To increase the effectiveness of propaganda poster, communist regime imposed its control and standardization through the Artists Union of Romania, contributing to the handling of Romanian consciousness in shaping the “New Man”.

**Résumé:** L'utilisation de l'affiche pour la propagation de l'idéologie marxiste – léniniste, mais aussi pour la popularisation “des réalisations grandioses du régime populaire” a représenté seulement un des aspects du phénomène propagandiste de notre pays. Pour l'histoire d'après les deux guerres mondiales de la Roumanie, l'affiche représente un véritable document, avec une spécificité à part. La valence de celui-ci, puissamment manipulatrice, est liée des actions du Parti Communiste (Travailleur) Roumain, tout en commençant avec 1944-1945. Pour augmenter l'efficacité de l'affiche de propagande, le régime communiste a imposé le contrôle et la standardisation de celui-ci à l'intermédiaire de l'Union des Artistes Plastiques de la Roumanie, contribuant à la manipulation de la conscience des Roumains dans la direction de la formation de l'“Homme Nouveau”.

**Keywords:** propaganda, posters, communism, visual excitement, standardization

Le XX-ème siècle a été, à tel point et à juste titre, appelé le siècle de la communication, des moyens et des stratégies d'information en masse, de manière que parler et écrire aujourd'hui sur l'histoire de l'affiche roumaine ne signifie autre chose que relever la contribution roumaine à l'histoire de ce siècle extrêmement agité. Certes, on ne peut pas mesurer cette contribution, mais on peut, au moins, la comprendre, même si la compréhension est conditionnée, à son tour, par de nombreux aspects de l'histoire vécue, connue et aperçue de la dernière moitié du XX-è siècle

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„Codrul Cosminului”, 2010, No. 16, p. 105-120.

roumain. C'est dans cette perspective que nous intégrons une possible histoire de l'affiche de propagande roumaine d'après la guerre, histoire qui s'ouvre aux interprétations et aux analyses sociologiques, psychologiques, historiques et, biensûr, esthétiques.

L'absence, presque totale, d'études sur ce sujet – et, en même temps, objet –, produit par un régime passé, nous pousse à aborder le thème de l'affiche dans la tentative de compléter le tableau de la propagande communiste de la période de Gheorghiu-Dej. Les quelques études qui discutent le thème de l'affiche de propagande appartiennent surtout à la période communiste, étant tributaires aux formules-standard d'analyse et évaluation de ce moyen de manipulation. C'est pourquoi il n'est pas du tout facile de réaliser l'histoire de l'affiche roumaine, car, par sa nature, ce type de «document» a le but d'annoncer quelque-chose – souvent des événements –, mais elle est placée dans des lieux publics, ce qui accélère sa disparition. Combien de choses, d'événements, de personnalités importantes n'ont pas été annoncés par l'intermédiaire de ce moyen et, en même temps modalité facile, moins chère et efficace d'information au niveau micro et macro social ? Combien de telles feuilles de papier imprimées ou affichées sur de piliers, de panneaux aménagés pour ce but, de coins de bâtiments, voire de palissades n'ont pas disparu ou ne sont pas tombés, tout simplement, à cause du vent, sans trop susciter l'attention des passants ? Mais combien d'entre elles ne sont pas restées, pourtant, dans la mémoire des gens qui vivent «en ville ou à la campagne» par l'impacte des dessins, souvent naïfs, ou par la résonance des deux ou trois mots qui accompagnaient le dessin ? Tout cela rend l'affiche un document historique *sui generis*, soumise à l'analyse et au goût de la société pour laquelle et au milieu de laquelle elle est née. L'apparition de l'affiche a été, selon nous, le résultat d'un double conditionnement: d'un côté, l'affiche est parue comme une nécessité d'information séquentielle et, à la fois, brève de la société qu'elle essaie modeler; de l'autre côté, la société a influencé le développement de l'affiche, en forme et contenu, du point de vue thématique et visuel.

Notre approche vise l'organisation institutionnelle de la graphique roumaine, avec impact sur la production d'affiches artistiques, mais aussi typographiques / industrielles, avec toutes les conséquences dérivées de ce contrôle rigoureux, dont une, et très importante, a été la standardisation de l'affiche communiste de propagande. De plusieurs points de vue, l'affiche fait partie des moyens d'information en masse. On a discuté, un peu plus haut, quelques-uns de ses traits. On pourrait y ajouter aussi le divertissement, car la caricature a servi pour nuancer de situations inouïes ou de mœurs de la société. Mais dans ce cas-là, il s'agit surtout de l'affiche artistique, réalisée par les peintres ou les illustrateurs, et moins de l'affiche typographique.

L'affirmation de l'affiche roumaine descend jusqu'au milieu du XIX-è siècle quand sont parues les premières annonces de certains événements culturels et mondains, sous forme de feuilles volantes, à Iassy et à Bucarest, mais aussi en Transylvanie<sup>1</sup>. Chez nous, l'ascension de l'affiche se déroule, d'une certaine manière,

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<sup>1</sup> Gheorghe Cosma, *Afișul românesc*, București, Editura Meridiane, 1980, p. 13-16.



en parallèle avec la presse, au moins jusqu'à la Première Guerre Mondiale. Seulement après la guerre l'affiche devient une forme d'expression plastique, étant assimilée à l'art graphique. Pendant la période de l'entre deux guerres on parle même d'une école roumaine de graphique<sup>2</sup>, avec de très bonnes participations aux expositions externes.

Pourtant, quelques années après la fin de la Seconde Guerre Mondiale, l'affiche roumaine était peu connue en Europe: l'italien Lo Duca écrit une étude sur l'évolution de l'affiche dans presque tous les pays européens, y compris la Hongrie, la Bulgarie, la Tchécoslovaquie et la Pologne, mais il ne rappelle point les caractéristiques roumaines en ce domaine ou une telle école roumaine de graphique et d'affiche<sup>3</sup>. Mais il faut y ajouter que, cependant, l'étude dont on parle prolonge son analyse jusqu'à la fin de la période de l'entre deux guerres, moment où la graphique roumaine était en pleine affirmation et elle allait se consacrer définitivement après la guerre.

Ce qui nous intéresse c'est l'affiche politique (et ses valences de propagande communiste) en Roumanie pendant les deux premières décennies après la guerre. Cette délimitation a, au moins, deux raisons: 1) jusqu'à la Seconde Guerre Mondiale, l'affiche politique roumaine a été presque inexistante et ce qui prédominait c'était l'affiche culturelle et commerciale; 2) après 1944 commence l'affirmation de l'affiche de propagande, avec valence politique, premièrement, et très rarement avec valence culturelle. Si avant la Première Guerre Mondiale l'affiche politique est restée en dehors des préoccupations des illustrateurs – car sa capacité de persuasion n'avait pas encore été conscientisée –, à la fin de la guerre, la même affiche «s'intègre au programme de grandes campagnes sociales et politiques, culturelles et éducatives, d'une appréciable signification historique, en attirant de milliers de gens pour trouver ensemble de solutions aux problèmes fondamentaux de notre époque»<sup>4</sup>. De même avis étaient aussi Ion Frunzetti et Remus Niculescu, qui critiquaient «le mépris des autorités» de l'entre deux guerres à l'égard de l'affiche, de l'illustration de livre et d'autres formes de la graphique, en la considérant un genre mineur et insignifiant<sup>5</sup>. Selon les mêmes auteurs, le moment d'affirmation de l'affiche roumaine a été l'acte émis au 23 août, qui a consacré en Roumanie la victoire des «forces démocratiques», précisément du Parti Communiste, le promoteur agile de l'art en tant que «l'un des moyens les plus efficaces pour la mobilisation des consciences à la lutte politique». Nous ne sommes pas d'accord avec l'affirmation que les illustrateurs de l'époque ont été ceux qui se sont rendu compte de l'importance de leur talent dans la propagande du parti – chose dont les auteurs mentionnés veulent nous convaincre, en insinuant l'adhésion, sans équivoque, des artistes à l'idéologie communiste. Cette tentative a appartenu, sans aucun doute, aux institutions de l'Etat roumain, la Section d'Agitation

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 26.

<sup>3</sup> Voir, aussi, Lo Duca, *L'Affiche*, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1958.

<sup>4</sup> Gheorghe Cosma, *op. cit.*, p. 38. L'auteur exprime d'une manière sincère et transparente, la contribution de la propagande de l'affiche politique à la formation de la société roumaine d'après l'instauration du communisme.

<sup>5</sup> Ion Frunzetti, Remus Niculescu, *Grafica*, în George Oprescu (coordinateur), *Artele plastice în România după 23 August 1944*, București, Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Române, 1959, p. 113.

et de Propagande du Parti Communiste et, bien sûr, à quelques conseillers soviétiques qui surveillaient les activités organisées par l'Union des Artistes Plastiques (U.A.P) et par le Syndicat des Beaux Arts. Au mois de mai 1951 a eu lieu une réunion de l'U.A.P. où a pris part le conseiller soviétique Kovalenko. Iosif Cova, l'un des affichistes roumains les plus connus à cette époque-là, s'intéressait sur la manière d'organisation du «problème de l'affiche» en U.R.S.S. Le modèle présenté brièvement par le conseiller soviétique était celui concernant le niveau politique: la centralisation de tous les problèmes sous la rédaction d'une seule maison d'édition<sup>6</sup>.

D'ailleurs, Magda Cârnci, aussi, considère que l'art roumain de la période staliniste a été conçu «pareil au régime» qu'il devait représenter. Elle a même réalisé une périodisation de l'art et de la culture en trois grandes parties différentes. Ce type de périodisation peut, sans doute, aller de pair avec une possible périodisation politique<sup>7</sup>. Conformément à cette périodisation, entre 1944-1947 il y avait encore lieu d'événements culturels et artistiques, dominés par une certaine liberté de création. Mais après la proclamation de la République, cette liberté minimale en art et en culture devient beaucoup plus restreinte en faveur du centralisme et de la censure.

L'autre type d'affiche, typographique, a été beaucoup plus répandu pendant ce temps-là. L'explication en est simple : elle était un produit industriel, sa conception ne prenait pas trop de temps et son but était très clair : informer les citoyens (mais, en réalité, il s'agit de désinformer et mystifier la vérité). En Transylvanie, où il y avait une nombreuse minorité hongroise, assez bien représentée, les premières années, dans les hautes structures du Parti Communiste Roumain, on a édité aussi beaucoup d'affiches en langue hongroise<sup>8</sup>. Nous avons trouvé de telles affiches au Musée National d'Histoire de Transylvanie, à Cluj-Napoca. Certaines d'entre elles appartiennent à la Défense Patriotique, d'autres au Front des Agriculteurs, au Comité démocratique des juifs, à l'Organisation des femmes antifascistes, mais il faut souligner que sur aucune affiche n'apparaît le nom du Parti Communiste Roumain, car celui-ci conduisait la campagne électorale et, en général, aussi d'autres événements derrière le nom du Bloc des Partis Démocratiques. Il faut aussi ajouter le fait que presque toutes les affiches électorales de Cluj et de ses environnements auxquelles nous avons eu accès au musée de Cluj ont été imprimées à la maison d'édition «Minerva», sous la coordination de l'ingénieur hongrois Kiss Márton ; quelques-unes à la maison d'édition Jordaky-Nyomda, également de Cluj. Nous n'avons pas assez d'informations concernant le patronat de ces maisons d'édition, mais nous supposons qu'elles se trouvaient sous l'influence politique des Hongrois et, par eux, des communistes roumains. Malheureusement, le caractère totalitaire du

<sup>6</sup> Arhivele Naționale Istorice Centrale, fond Uniunea Artiștilor Plastici, dossier no. 9/ 1950-1951, ff. 1-4 *apud* Carmen Rădulescu, *Arta sub regimul comunist. Uniunea Artiștilor Plastici 1950-1953* en „Arhivele Totalitarismului”, An XV, nr. 56-57/ 3-4/ 2007, p. 171.

<sup>7</sup> Magda Cârnci, *Artele plastice în România 1945-1989*, București, Editura Meridiane, 2000, pp. 6-17.

<sup>8</sup> Quelques unes des affiches ont été réalisées en miroir: la première moitié de l'affiche, soit verticale, soit horizontale, contient le message en roumain, tandis que la seconde moitié contient le message en hongrois.

régime communiste a déterminé l'élimination des affiches électorales ou les affiches des autres partis politiques de l'époque.

Le début officiel de la nouvelle orientation dans l'art et dans la culture est représenté par le Congrès des Syndicats des Artistes, des Écrivains et des Journalistes de Roumanie, qui a eu lieu en octobre 1947, quand le chef de la propagande du parti, Iosif Chișinevschi a établi un lien directe entre l'art et l'idéologie communiste<sup>9</sup>, mais aussi par la grande exposition «Flacăra», en 1948, où on a exposé plus de 800 travaux, y compris d'affiches de propagande, exposition dont le but était d'être une manifestation de force pour impressionner, mais aussi pour intimider les artistes les plus réticents. Pourtant, le domaine en discussion était encore en pleine élaboration : en 1949 est parue la revue «L'art graphique»<sup>10</sup>, sous la rédaction de la Centrale Industrielle des Arts Graphiques, ayant le rôle de coordonner la production graphique roumaine, surtout du point de vue technique; en 1948 se sont fondées les Expositions Annuelles d'État, représentant de formes collectives de manifestation artistique et le Fond Plastique, une sorte de banque d'emprunt et d'aide pour les artistes; en 1950 est fondée l'Union des Artistes Plastiques (U.A.P.), contrôlée par l'appareil de propagande du parti<sup>11</sup>, et en 1954 sont parues les revus d'art «L'Art Plastique» de l'U.A.P et «L'Art dans la République Populaire Roumaine». Il faut souligner aussi que la formation des artistes se faisait dans le cadre des deux Instituts d'Art Plastique, de Bucarest et de Cluj, les descendants directs des Académies de l'entre deux guerres.

Cette brève chronologie concernant l'organisation institutionnelle et le développement de l'art et de l'affiche correspond aux organisations et aux réorganisations de la nomenclature du Comité Central du Parti Ouvrier Roumain d'après 1948, selon le modèle du Parti Communiste (bolchévique) de l'U.R.S.S, l'art étant géré par la Section de Propagande et Agitation<sup>12</sup> du parti. Dans le cadre de cette organisation très rigoureuse, l'affiche était coordonnée par la Sous-section d'affiche de l'U.A.P, tandis que la revue officielle des artistes plastiques avait la mission de refléter les activités et les événements du pays et de l'étranger, mais également les carences assez souvent évoquées, en ce qui concerne le travail d'illustrer le réalisme roumain, que les idéologues du Parti assimilaient aux réalités socio-économiques de la Roumanie<sup>13</sup>.

C'est dans ces conditions que l'affiche communiste est définitivement consacrée, tolérée, selon Magda Cârnci, seulement «comme forme de propagande, strictement contrôlée par la censure officielle [...], ayant un langage visuel extrêmement simple et maladroit, à la limite de l'amateurisme...»<sup>14</sup>. L'analyse du développement et de l'évolution de l'affiche doit être soumise aux circonstances du

<sup>9</sup> Magda Cârnci, *op.cit.*, pp. 17-19.

<sup>10</sup> „Arta grafică”, buletin tehnic de îndrumare și ridicare a nivelului profesional, An I, no. 1/ novembre, 1949, p.2.

<sup>11</sup> Magda Cârnci, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-21.

<sup>12</sup> Nicoleta Ionescu-Gură, *Nomenclatura Comitetului Central al Partidului Muncitoresc Român*, București, Editura Humanitas, 2006, p. 14.

<sup>13</sup> „Arta plastică”, an I, no. 1/ 1954, p. 30.

<sup>14</sup> Magda Cârnci, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

temps et de manière, prêtant attention aux aspects suivants: 1) qui était la personne qui avait le pouvoir total en Roumanie; 2) à qui s'adressait l'affiche de propagande; 3) à quel point s'impliquaient les illustrateurs dans la politique de propagande des communistes; 4) quel était le degré d'assimilation de cette propagande visuelle. Le pouvoir instauré en 1945 a su user de la corruption, de la terreur et de la contrainte de telle manière qu'il a obtenu l'adhésion de la majorité des élites roumaines, de tous les domaines. Dans ce sens, nous signalons l'étude de Mioara Anton, *«Progressistes» versus «Réactionnaires». La subordination des intellectuels. 1944-1955*, où l'auteur présente les causes et les conditions qui ont mené à cette subordination des élites au facteur politique. Mioara Anton cite la publication britannique *«The Economist»*, qui considérait que l'intellectualité roumaine était «opportuniste» et «inconséquente» du moment qu'elle soutenait si rapidement le régime politique<sup>15</sup>. Mais à part l'opportunisme, il faut encore ajouter l'ingéniosité du régime communiste de récompenser avec de grandes sommes d'argent ou d'autres formes d'aide matériel tous ceux qui s'impliquaient dans l'organisation de la propagande communiste. L'État roumain était, ainsi, par ses institutions, le seul propriétaire officiel d'art de Roumanie, commandant et achetant les ouvrages des artistes plastiques, d'habitude dans le cadre des expositions publiques. En 1948, par exemple, l'État roumain a acquis de peintures, de graphiques et des ouvrages en plâtre aux prix de 20.000-40.000 lei, de sommes assez consistantes pour cette époque-là<sup>16</sup>. Ainsi, l'artiste plastique échappait à la dictée d'un marché libre et concurrentiel des œuvres d'art et il entrait sous la «protection bienveillante» de l'État. D'ailleurs, le fait que l'État savait très bien récompenser les élites scientifiques et culturelles-artistiques est souligné aussi par les premières éditions, en 1963, de quelques ouvrages d'histoire de l'art publiés par l'académicien Georges Oprescu, qui a reçu la somme de 50.000 lei ou par la suite de dessins «La nouvelle vie en Oaş» de Paul Erdős, honoré avec la somme de 30.000 lei et beaucoup d'autres<sup>17</sup>.

Ces sommes accordées comme prix reflètent très bien la situation privilégiée, du point de vue matériel, de plusieurs créateurs d'art pendant le régime communiste de notre pays. L'argent représentait le prix de la collaboration de ceux-ci avec les institutions communistes, leur implication constante dans l'édification du réalisme socialiste. Un «stage obligatoire» de quelques semaines, voire un mois, au sein des villages roumains près de Bucarest ou du pays entier devait se concrétiser à sa fin, en affiches thématiques en tant que travaux de synthèse et représentatifs, mais en même temps cela signifiait une double «connaissance» : de l'artiste par les paysans et des

<sup>15</sup> Mioara Anton, „*Progresiști*” versus „*Reacționari*”. *Subordonarea intelectualilor. 1945- 1955* en Dan Cătănuș (coordinateur), *Intelectuali români în arhivele comunismului*, préface de Dan Berindei, București, Editura Nemira, 2006, pp. 16-17. La même opinion est exprimée par Magda Cârneli, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-30. Selon elle, les intellectuels roumains ont accepté le communisme, aussi, pour les promesses du gouvernement Groza de reconstruire le pays.

<sup>16</sup> Carmen Rădulescu, *op. cit.*, en „*Arhivele Totalitarismului*”, no. 56-57/ 3-4, 2007, p. 163.

<sup>17</sup> Dan Cătănuș, *op. cit.*, pp. 573-583. La situation est présentée dans trois annexes de la liste avec des propositions pour le Prix d'État en 1962, pour des ouvrages scientifiques, techniques et d'art.

paysans par l'artiste. Adrian Lucaci, un célèbre affichiste des années '50 dévoile les «merveilles» du régime communiste dans les couleurs les plus favorables : «Les ampoules répandent chaleureusement la lumière, la radio murmure sans cesse dans les appartements. Les citoyens vont deux fois par semaine au film et ils suivent régulièrement le programme de la télévision, de l'appareil qui se trouve dans la maison de culture, comme si tous ces cadeaux de notre révolution culturelle avaient existé depuis toujours.»<sup>18</sup>

De tels «extases» face aux merveilles contemporaines devaient se matérialiser ensuite en de travaux graphiques, affiches qui pouvaient être multipliées et exposées partout. Iulian Olariu, Lucia Ioanid et Aurel Aniței avaient le même zèle pour connaître l'essor des villages grâce à la politique du Parti. Dans les endroits où ils se sont rendus, ceux-ci ont «augmenté le niveau culturel des villages» et ils se sont proposé d'y revenir chaque fois qu'il était besoin pour mieux comprendre ce milieu social<sup>19</sup>. Ce type d'art s'adressait aux masses populaires, surtout aux celles villageoises, où la campagne de collectivisation de l'agriculture était en plein déroulement. Il n'est pas très difficile d'imaginer que sous le prétexte d'une telle ou telle visite ou exposition de graphique à la campagne, les artistes avaient aussi la mission de contribuer, d'une manière moins dure et repoussante, à l'accomplissement de la politique du parti concernant l'agriculture. On n'exclut pas le caractère de divertissement de ces expositions artistiques villageoises, curieuses pour les personnes âgées et – pourquoi pas ? – intéressantes pour ceux plus jeunes. Le peintre Micu (Pop) Cristina, qui soutient être pratiquante, mais aussi théoricien des arts plastiques, se pose plusieurs questions: Qu'est-ce que le beau ? Qu'est-ce que l'art ?, et elle essaie de trouver la clé de l'interprétation du beau artistique. Elle suggère une démocratisation de la perception artistique, de l'art, la descente de l'art parmi les gens, sans qu'il soit l'apanage d'une minorité spécialisée et très restreinte de critiques d'art<sup>20</sup>. Cette démocratisation dans la perception esthétique, proposé pour nos jours, ressemble beaucoup avec «la démocratisation de l'art» et son descente parmi les gens de la période du régime communiste, mais la différence essentielle est la liberté de l'expression artistique, qui se reflète aussi dans la perception esthétique.

L'un des problèmes de l'affiche, en tant que genre artistique, mais aussi de l'affiche typographiée était leur standardisation, pour faire plus efficace le rôle de propagande et d'agitation qu'on leur attribuait et pout coordonner et surveiller cette activité extrêmement importante. Le Parti Ouvrier Roumain dictait dans l'art aussi de directives et de tâches obligatoires. Pour le bon fonctionnement de l'industrie graphique, on a construit une École professionnelle et une École moyenne, ayant plus de 800 élèves<sup>21</sup>, où ceux-ci apprenaient non seulement le métier d'«artiste graphique», mais aussi la manière de le conscientiser du point de vue idéologique. On

<sup>18</sup> „Arta plastică”, an VI, no. 2/ 1959, p.42.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 43.

<sup>20</sup> Micu (Pop) Cristina Claudia, *Cum găsim o strategie de evaluare în artele plastice contemporane?*, Bacău, Editura Rovimed Publishers, 2007, p. 47.

<sup>21</sup> „Arta grafică”, an I, no. 1/ novembre, 1949, p. 3.

pourrait dire que les communistes n'ont rien fait à l'hasard. Les conditions techniques, graphiques, d'apparition des affiches ont été surveillées et coordonnées attentivement. Il y avait deux institutions qui s'occupaient de l'élaboration et de la parution de l'affiche : l'Union des Artistes Plastiques – pour l'affiche en tant qu'art plastique, conçue par des artistes graphiques, certains d'entre eux étant assez connus et agréés par le système (les noms les plus connus sont, selon Magda Cârnci, Petre Grant, Iosif Cova, Pavlin Nazarie, Nicolae Popescu, le collective Dralco et Vincențiu Grigorescu<sup>22</sup>, mais aussi d'autres); La Centrale Industrielle des Arts Graphiques (C.I.A.G.), qui devait imposer la standardisation de l'affiche typographiée.

Le premier numéro de «L'Art graphique» annonce les prévisions concernant l'industrie graphique. Pour l'optimisation de cela, il fallait «rationaliser le travail, conseiller scientifiquement les gens, uniformiser les méthodes technologiques». Le but en était le même produit standardisé, généralisé et maints exemplaires<sup>23</sup>. Pour quelle raison ? Pour réaliser l'uniformisation de la société roumaine. La standardisation de la graphique visait les matériaux premiers, les outillages, le processus de production et les produits finis, c'est-à-dire les affiches. Celles-ci avaient de dimensions précises, sur plusieurs catégories : A0, A1, A2, A3, A4, A5. Elles devaient être distribuées partout dans le pays, là où décidait la propagande de parti. Les affiches les plus percutantes et rencontrées le plus souvent étaient celles en grand format, A0, A1, A2. Nous avons trouvé de telles affiches dans les collections des bibliothèques de Cluj.

«L'art graphique» représentait aussi la porte-parole des travailleurs, pour lesquels «le mot écrit fait partie de la vie [...], leurs efforts sont directement liés aux ouvrages imprimés que le Parti met à la disposition des gens, des ouvrages qui sont aussi nécessaires que le tour, le marteau et le métier à tisser<sup>24</sup>. De la même source nous apprenons quelles étaient les tâches de la Centrale Industrielle des Arts Graphiques pour l'année 1950, concernant la production de graphique : l'organisation et le contrôle du «besoin de culture toujours plus grand des travailleurs [...], l'augmentation de leur niveau culturel», la popularisation de Casa Scânteii, «édifice imposant de culture socialiste». Vu l'importance de l'affiche pour la propagation des idées communistes dans la société, les ouvriers-illustrateurs étaient encouragés au perfectionnement continu, à atteindre la maîtrise artistique. Les conseils d'ordre technique et graphique accompagnaient les nombreux articles de la revue en discussion, concernant la mise en page, la suite des pages et d'autres détails de ce type. Le contenu proprement-dit, qui représentait, d'ailleurs, l'idée, le message de l'affiche, était toujours établi par les propagandistes et les activistes responsables de l'activité éducative<sup>25</sup>.

Comme partout à cette époque-là, le travail et les moyens de propagande étaient, à leur tour, popularisés, pour la soi-disant compétition socialiste, qui avait, en

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<sup>22</sup> Magda Cârnci, *op.cit.*, p. 201.

<sup>23</sup> „Arta grafică”, an I, no. 1/novembre, 1949, p. 13.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibidem*, nr. 2/ janvier, 1950, p. 1.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 5.

effet deux buts : mettre en évidence les meilleures personnes de la compétition et effrayer les personnes retardataires. Il y en avait, bien sûr, un exemple : à Sibiu, un collective d'ouvriers typographiques de l'entreprise «Tiparul Roșu» ont fabriqué de couteaux supérieurs à ceux existants, de provenance étrangère, et le mérite était d'autant plus grand qu'ils avaient été réalisés en acier roumain, ce que signifiait «déjà une petite révolution», car, ainsi, l'industrie graphique roumaine était exonérée de commendes externes<sup>26</sup>. On louait le même progrès à Cluj aussi, à l'entreprise «Zorile», où fonctionnait une presse nouvelle qui simplifiait considérablement le travail des typographes. Au delà de la manifestation un peu amusante de nationalisme que montraient les rédacteurs de «l'Art graphique», quand ils annonçaient des choses absolument naturelles comme s'il s'agissait de remarquables progrès, même pour le niveau industriel de chez nous à cette époque-là, une chose reste visible et incontestable : la propagande, avec tous ces moyens et formes.

De ce qu'on a présenté plus haut, on peut distinguer deux grandes catégories d'affiche, qui ont eu, chacune, leur importance de propagande: *l'affiche artistique*, pareille, souvent, à une peinture, exposée surtout dans le cadre de certaines expositions et, au cas où elle était agréée par la propagande, multipliée en cent ou millier d'exemplaires<sup>27</sup>; *l'affiche industrielle*, exposée au grand public, aux masses, dans les endroits les plus visible. Les deux catégories ont servi le régime communiste; d'ici leur trait politique définitoire qui les rend différentes d'autres types d'affiches – culturelles, sportives, touristiques. D'ailleurs, ces dernières ont été beaucoup moins visibles et expressives et elles n'avaient pas été soumises de la même manière sévère aux critiques de ceux qui coordonnaient l'activité graphique roumaines de l'époque de Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej. Elles n'ont eu non plus la valence de propagande de l'affiche politique, même si une affiche qui annonçait une conférence à l'Université ou une compétition sportive pouvait, au moins théoriquement, avoir également de telles qualités.

Le besoin d'une propagande générale et efficace demandait une production d'affiche à une échelle industrielle, standardisée. Cela a été réalisé après 1947 par la fondation de plusieurs entreprises typographiques dans la capitale et dans quelques grands centres urbains. Au fond «mercantilisme» de B.C.U. de Cluj-Napoca, nous avons découvert un grand nombre d'affiches, réalisées par la technique du photomontage et qui avaient surtout de thèmes économiques : la construction de logements, d'entreprises industrielles, de chantiers, le développement du domaine économique, par la comparaison, d'un côté, des chiffres de la période d'après la guerre avec ceux de la période de l'entre deux guerres et, de l'autre côté, par de comparaisons statistiques à l'intérieur de l'époque staliniste, pour en montrer l'évolution d'un quinquennat à l'autre; il y a, ensuite, de nombreuses affiches de

<sup>26</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 21.

<sup>27</sup> Virgiliu Țărău, Ioan Marius Bucur (coordinateurs), *Strategii și politici electorale în alegerile parlamentare din 19 mai 1946*, Cluj-Napoca, Centrul de Studii Transilvane Fundația Culturală Română, 1998, pp. 69-70. L'intervention de Iosif Chișinevschi dans la séance plénière, le 29 janvier 1946, du C.C. du Parti Communiste Roumain., en ce qui concerne l'importance de la propagande de masse pour la future campagne électorale.

cérémonie, dédiées au jour de 23 août et à d'autres fêtes communistes; d'affiches représentant la lutte pour la paix, la solidarité internationale des ouvriers; d'affiches conseillant à l'économie de l'énergie électrique, à la culture de la terre, à tondre les moutons, etc. Nous avons constaté aussi l'attention du régime communiste de faire connaître ses réalisations dans la langue hongroise. Un tel exemple est l'affiche «Le développement de l'industrie dans la Région Autonome Hongroise», qui souligne, par de chiffres, l'augmentation économique, dans toutes les entreprises de la région: à Târgu Mureș, Reghin ou Sângeorgiul de Pădure. Le tirage de telles affiches était, d'habitude, de quelques cents exemplaires. Un exemple en ce sens est une affiche typographiée à l'Entreprise Polygraphique de Sibiu, où il est marqué aussi le tirage de 600 exemplaires. Sur plusieurs affiches examinées se trouve le nom de plusieurs entreprises polygraphiques ( I.P.) du pays: I.P. Bacău., I.P. La Ville Stalin, I.P. Iassy, I.P. Suceava, I.P. Brăila, I.P. Timișoara ou d'autres institutions importantes telles que Le Comité d'Etat pour Culture et Art, l'Institut de Documentation Technique, l'Entreprise «La Nouvelle Graphique», La Maison d'Édition Politique (affiche: «Vive le 23 Août, le jour de la libération de la Roumanie de l'oppression fasciste»), mais aussi l'affiche faite par des artistes graphiques, par exemple celle de M. Gion, de 1959, qui a comme thème la dépense des ressources (deux ouvriers causent, tandis que le combustible s'écoule de la citerne; l'affiche en discussion est réalisée en blanc et noir). Tout cela confirme, certainement, la standardisation de l'affiche communiste. Le plus souvent, le format de l'affiche, proposée pour l'exposition extérieure, a été grand: sur de panneaux spéciaux, sur les murs de bâtiments, précisément à la campagne, où les possibilités d'exposition aménagée étaient plus réduites, dans toutes les entreprises et les institutions de l'Etat. Ce format assurait la visibilité de l'affiche, même de la distance. Le papier utilisé pour imprimer ces affiches diffère du point de vue de l'épaisseur : celles en grand format, de 70x100 cm ont été imprimées sur un papier plus épais et, très possible, plusieurs d' entre elles étaient exposées dans un endroit ouvert ; d'autres, de dimensions plus réduites, étaient imprimées sur du papier fin et elles étaient destinées, nous semble-t-il, à l'exposition intérieure, en entreprises et institutions. Ce que nous a semblé intéressant c'est que, en général, les affiches en grand format, imprimées sur du papier plus épais, ont une composition mixte, faite d'image (photomontages avec de bâtiments, des endroits urbain, visages d'ouvriers ou de soldats, de caricatures) et de texte (parfois de statistiques et de graphiques), tandis que les affiches ayant de dimensions plus réduites et imprimées sur du papier fin, ne contiennent que de slogans, de fragments de la Constitution de la Roumanie, d'appels à la paix, etc. Certes, ces quelques détails techniques des affiches sont aussi directement liés de l'efficacité et l'impacte de la propagande sur les personnes auxquelles elles s'adressaient.

En ce qui concerne les textes des affiches, ils ont un style d'expression difficile, répétitive, rigide, et cela caractérise toutes les formes de communication communiste. Cette communication a été complètement décrite et analysée par Tatiana



Slama-Cazacu<sup>28</sup>, après 1990. Le syntagme „langue de bois” dont on parle après 1989 envisageait non pas seulement l'expression directe, verbale, mais aussi l'expression de la presse, écrite et audio-visuelle. Notre intention est d'appliquer cette formule également en ce qui concerne l'affiche communiste, en nous appuyant sur les aspects communs qui existent entre la réalisation d'une affiche, ensuite son édition et son exposition publique et la production de tout autre message, soit présenté à l'oral, dans le cadre d'une manifestation restreinte ou grande, soit écrit et reproduit en divers formes et moyens. Lorsqu'on a le même émetteur, le même type de message, adressé au destinataire, ayant le même but, celui de persuader et de manipuler en vue de la création d'un „nouvel homme”, alors on peut invoquer, sans doute, la présence de la „langue de bois” dans l'affiche, aussi. Quelques exemples<sup>29</sup>, en ce sens, sont les slogans et les mots d'ordre assez fréquemment rencontrés dans les affiches roumaines d'après 1944: „Ceux qui prêchent la haine de rase et le chauvinisme seront sanctionnés par le Bloc des Partis Démocratiques”, „Une nouvelle victoire de la démocratie”, „Sous le symbole de 23 août et 6 mars”, etc. Les exemples des affiches citées appartiennent à la campagne électorale de 1946 et sont clairement démagogiques et farceuses de la réalité. Les affiches imprimées après 1948 sont d'autant plus significatives de ce point de vue, car elles contiennent de slogans et de mots d'ordre pour plus de thèmes de propagande. On en exemplifie seulement quelques-unes: „«Non» ferme à la bombe aux neutrons!”, „Vive l'amitié roumaine-soviétique !”, „Nous défendons la paix, le bonheur et l'avenir lumineux du notre peuple ouvrier”, «Le grain traité a comme résultat une récolte riche.»<sup>30</sup> Par suite, il n'y a pas une grande différence entre les mots d'ordre des affiches et les discours des communistes roumains concernant la syntaxe de la phrase. Il s'agit des mêmes verbes et des mêmes adjectives qui renforcent le message manipulateur, la seule différence étant le caractère synthétique du texte de l'affiche, par rapport au message oral d'une réunion de parti ou par rapport au message écrit dans les journaux de l'époque.

La standardisation des affiches communistes se reflète, selon nous, aussi dans les couleurs utilisées pour les dessins et les textes insérés. La couleur de l'affiche avait comme rôle d'attirer les passants de la rue ou de l'intérieur du bâtiment dans le hall où l'affiche était exposée. Pour la réalisation des affiches informatives, électorales, éducatives (par leurs conseils et slogans), les couleurs qui ont prédominé ont été le rouge, le noir et le bleu, ayant le fond blanc. D'ailleurs, ces couleurs sont les plus adéquates pour un texte. Les ouvrages de graphiques, c'est-à-dire les affiches artistiques, ont eu une chromatique plus généreuse, mais seulement après 1948. En

<sup>28</sup> Voir, aussi, Tatiana Slama-Cazacu, *Strategeme comunicatională și manipularea*, Ed. Polirom, Iași, 2000, pp.57-58. L'auteur se trouve parmi ceux qui ont analysé le style d'expression spécifique aux communistes, en parlant de la «langue de bois» ou de «langage de bois».

<sup>29</sup> Voir les affiches électorales du Musée National d'Histoire de la Transylvanie, l'affiche no. inv. C 2007; C 2014.

<sup>30</sup> Des affiches du fond «mercantilaș» „Materiale de Agitație și Propaganda, al Bibliotecii Centrale Universitare „Lucian Blaga” din Cluj-Napoca. Celles-ci ne sont pas inventoriées, mais elles sont accessibles aux chercheurs de l'époque contemporaine.

analysant les affiches des années 1944-1947, surtout celles électorales, aussi en roumain, qu'en hongrois, nous avons constaté quelques aspects très intéressants: tous les textes de ces affiches sont écrits en rouge sur blanc, en noir sur blanc ou rouge et noir sur blanc, particulièrement dans le cas des affiches bilingues. Nous n'avons rencontré aucune affiche, contenant de mots d'ordres, de slogans ou d'annonces électorales, écrite en bleu. Or, il y a des études et des expérimentations réalisées en France<sup>31</sup>, après la Seconde Guerre Mondiale, concernant l'impacte psychologique des couleurs et des combinaisons chromatiques. Dans ce sens, ces études ont établi une hiérarchie qui confirme la pertinence de notre analyse. Dans cette hiérarchie, les couleurs ayant l'impacte le plus fort sont : noir sur blanc, noir sur jaune, rouge sur blanc, et, sur la dixième place seulement, se trouve le bleu sur blanc. Toujours est-il que les combinaisons chromatiques les plus significatives sont: rouge sur bleu ciel, rouge sur gris, rouge sur jaune-vert, rouge sur jaune-orange. Malheureusement, en Roumanie on ne connaît pas de telles expérimentations qui mesurent le degré d'apercevoir les couleurs par les gens ou l'impacte psychologiques des couleurs intensément utilisées à l'occasion de diverses conjonctures ou situations politiques.

La rigidité textuelle et chromatique de l'affiche de propagande explique assez bien le type de communication imposée par le régime communiste. Ce régime n'a eu point l'intention d'établir une communication naturelle avec ses citoyens, mais une communication verticale, qui avait le point de départ dans la direction du parti et qui était moyenné par les institutions de propagande de telle manière que l'information qui arrivait aux «destinataires» devait se répandre dans la conscience des Roumains et les rallier à la politique du parti et de l'État. La formule de s'adresser «(aux) Citoyens!», qui se trouve sur plusieurs affiches communistes signale l'existence de ce processus de communication en verticale, descendant de celui fort vers le faible, communication standardisée, dont parle aussi Denis McQuaill<sup>32</sup>, l'un des classiques de la sociologie politique américaine. Le vocatif, utilisé fréquemment dans les affiches, est spécifique aussi pour le langage collectif. Dans le langage usuel des communistes (affiches et autres textes imprimés) il y a trois grandes catégories de masses anonymes auxquelles s'adresse l'agitation visuelle: la masse des citoyens, ayant comme hypostase le Citoyen; la masse des militants, ayant comme hypostase le Militant et la masse des ouvriers, ayant comme symbole le marteau. La catégorie du Citoyen est, donc, pour la propagande communiste, amorphe et uniforme par définition, à laquelle on ne prête attention que dans la mesure où elle est capable d'appuyer sans conditions le Parti-État.

En conclusion, notre avis est que les effets persuasifs du papier imprimé, dessiné ou écrit ont été assez forts. La standardisation, dont nous avons parlée plus haut, a visé la forme et, également le contenu de l'affiche. Pour ceux qui s'occupaient de l'agitation visuelle, les deux aspects étaient importants pour inculquer d'idées et de messages manipulateurs à la population. La standardisation de l'affiche correspond à

<sup>31</sup> Lo Duca, *op.cit.*, p. 82.

<sup>32</sup> Denis McQuaill, *Comunicarea*, traduction de Daniela Rusu, préface Ioan Drăgan, postface Iulian Popescu, Iași, Institutul European, 1999, p. 200.

la standardisation du langage utilisé dans les discours et dans les publications communistes. De ce point de vue, nous considérons que l'affiche de propagande fait partie de la catégorie des moyens d'information en masse, appartenant entièrement à la stratégie de communication communiste. Les communistes roumains comptaient sur cette fonction visuelle de l'affiche, mais aussi sur sa capacité d'être «écoutée» par les gens.

## Annexes

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# EXPOZIȚIE DOCUMENTARĂ NOUA ORDINE A LUI HITLER

## PREZENTATĂ DE »ARLUS«

**23 Iunie-15 Iulie în Sala de Expoziție din Parcul Orașenesc**  
Expoziția este deschisă de la ora 9 a. m. până la ora 20 seara.

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# AZ »ARLUS« KIÁLLITÁSA HITLER ÚJ RENDJE

**1945. évi június 23–július 15-ig a sétatéri Múcsarnokban**  
A kiállítás nyitva van reggel 9 órától este 20 óráig

**In cadrul Expoziției vor concerta:**

23 Iun. ora 18: Muzica Vânătorilor de Munte  
24 Iun. ora 17: Muzica Garnizoanei Armatei Roșii  
24 Iun. ora 19: Corul și muzica muncitorilor C.F.R.  
25 Iun. ora 18: Muzica Vânătorilor de Munte  
26 Iun. ora 18: Corul și muzica mineit. dela Uzinele de Oțel  
27 Iun. ora 18: Muzica Garnizoanei Armatei Roșii  
28 Iun. ora 18: Corul și muzica muncitorilor Uzinei Dermata  
29 Iun. ora 18: Muzica Vânătorilor de Munte  
30 Iun. ora 18: Muzica Garnizoanei Armatei Roșii  
1 Iul. ora 18: Corul Funct. particulari și muzica Vânătorilor

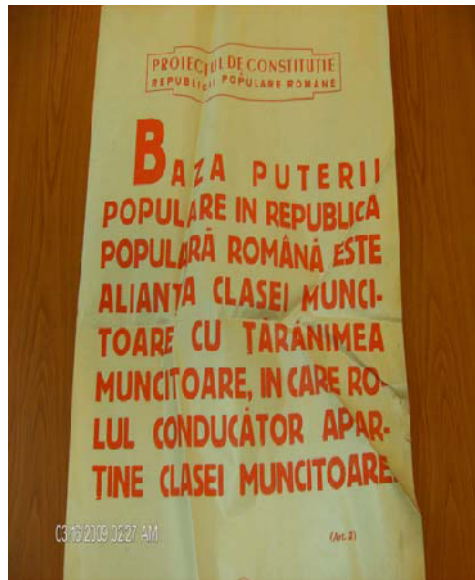
**A kiállítás keretében hangversenyeznek:**

Jun. 23-án d. u. 18 ó: Hegyivadászok zenekara  
Jun. 24-én d. u. 17 ó: A Vörös Hadsereg zenekara  
Jun. 24-én d. u. 19 ó: C.F.R. kórus és zenekara  
Jun. 25-én d. u. 18 ó: Hegyivadászok zenekara  
Jun. 26-án d. u. 18 ó: Az Acélárnyék kórusa és zenekara  
Jun. 27-én d. u. 18 ó: A Vörös Hadsereg zenekara  
Jun. 28-án d. u. 18 ó: A Dermata kórusa és zenekara  
Jun. 29-én d. u. 18 ó: Hegyivadászok zenekara  
Jun. 30-án d. u. 18 ó: A Vörös Hadsereg zenekara  
Jul. 1-én d. u. 18 ó: Nagánisziv. zenekara és katonazenek.

Affiche – Musée National d’Histoire de Transylvanie-Cluj-Napoca



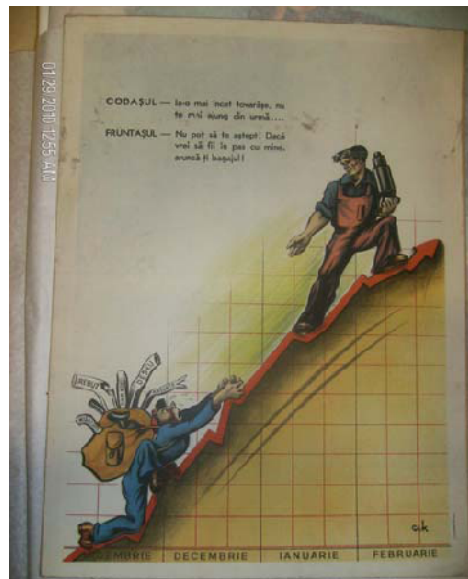
Affiche – B.C.U. “Lucian Blaga” – Cluj-Napoca



Affiche – B.C.U. “Lucian Blaga” – Cluj-Napoca



Affiche – B.C.U. “Lucian Blaga” – Cluj-Napoca



Graphique – Musée National d'Art de Transylvanie- Cluj- Napoca





Graphique – Musée National d'Art de Transylvanie- Cluj- Napoca



Graphique – Musée National d'Art de Transylvanie- Cluj- Napoca



Affiche – B.C.U. “Lucian Blaga” – Cluj-Napoca



Graphique – Musée National d'Art de Transylvanie- Cluj- Napoca

## SOME ASPECTS OF THE ECONOMIC-INDUSTRIAL COOPERATION IN THE ROMANIAN-WEST GERMAN RELATIONSHIPS FROM THE SECOND HALF OF THE 20th CENTURY

**Fedor Lucian**

“Ștefan cel Mare” University, Suceava

**Rezumat:** Când și-a început controversatul proces din a doua jumătate a deceniului 6 al îndepărtării față de directivele Uniunii Sovietice, România a urmărit, printre altele, construirea unei economii naționale independente și dezvoltarea relațiilor politico-diplomatice și economice cu statele occidentale dezvoltate. La începutul deceniului 6, Germania de Vest a dorit, pe lângă alte proiecte legate de spațiul vest-european, o apropiere de capitalele răsăritene și cooperarea cu acestea. În cadrul relațiilor bilaterale, România și-a fixat o serie clară de obiective sau inițiative economice (cooperarea industrială și cooperarea tehnico-științifică) iar Germania Federală a urmărit dezvoltarea domeniului comercial și concretizarea relațiilor culturale. Primele instrumente oficiale care statutuau cooperarea economică între cele două state: Acordul asupra cooperării tehnico-economice din august 1967 și Acordul pe termen lung privind colaborarea economică, industrială și tehnică din iunie 1973. Cooperarea în producția industrială dintre R.S. România și R.F. Germania a cunoscut mai multe forme – specializare bilaterală sectorială a producției, coproducția-concept, coproducția în întreprinderile mixte, producția la comandă, lucrarea cu echipamente și utilaje pe credit rambursabil în produse.

**Résumé:** Lorsque la Roumanie a commencé le controversé procès d'éloignement des directives de l'Union Soviétique de la seconde moitié de la 6-ème décennie, elle a suivi, entre autres, la construction d'une économie nationale indépendante et le développement des relations politiques - diplomatiques et économiques avec les Etats occidentaux développés. Au début de la 6-ème décennie, l'Allemagne d'Ouest a voulu, auprès des autres projets liés de l'espace ouest-européen, un rapprochement des capitales estiques et la coopération avec celles-ci. Dans le cadre des relations bilatérales, la Roumanie s'est fixé une série claire d'objectifs ou d'initiatives économiques (la coopération industrielle et la coopération technique – scientifique), pendant que l'Allemagne Fédérale a suivi le développement du domaine commercial et la concrétisation des relations culturelles. Les premiers instruments officiels qui ont statué la coopération économique entre les deux Etats: l'Accord sur la coopération technique-économique d'août 1967 et l'Accord à long terme concernant la collaboration économique, industrielle et technique de juin 1973. La coopération dans la production industrielle entre La R. S. Roumanie et la République Fédérale Allemagne a connu plusieurs formes – spécialisation bilatérale sectorielle de la production, la coproduction – concept, la coproduction dans les entreprises mixtes, la production à commande, l'ouvrage avec des équipements et outillages sur crédit remboursable en produits.

**Abstract:** When it started the controversial process of alienating our country from the Soviet Union's directives in the second half of the 6th decade, Romania tried, among others,

*to build an independent national economy and to develop political-diplomatic and economic relationships with the developed western countries. At the beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup> decade, the Western-Germany looked, among other projects relating to the west European region, for the approach of the Eastern capitals and the cooperation with these ones. Within the bilateral relationships, Romania set out a clear series of objectives or economic initiatives (the industrial cooperation and the technical-scientific cooperation) and the Federal Germany intended to develop the commercial field and to put across cultural relationships. The first official instruments stating the economic cooperation between the two countries were represented by the Agreement for the technical-economic cooperation in August 1967 and by the Long term Agreement for the economic, industrial and technical collaboration in June 1973. The industrial production cooperation between S.R. of Romania and F.R. of Germany knew several forms – international sector bilateral specialization of production, co-production concept, co-production in the mixed companies, the loan, the work with equipments and machineries on credit payable in products.*

**Keywords:** Relationships, production, governments, economic cooperation, companies, industry.

Within the more complex context of political and economic opening of Romania towards the western world, the beginning of dialogue and the dynamics of the economic bonds with the Federal Republic of Germany represented an extremely important page of history for the Romanian external economic relationships. No details are known for the steps the Romanian government's officials took for the relationships with the Western-Germans, less known and less studied relationships. We tried to supply in a certain measure the ignorance of the dynamics of the economic relations between Bucharest and Bonn, presenting the dialogues and the contacts between the two European states the way we were allied to. This is one of the most important topics transcending from the Romanian relations with the Federal Germany which deserves to be studied and brought to light in the contemporary history and that we have tried to treat respecting the scientific strictness perspective which is specific to history. In the 50s, Romania and the western German land found new economic and diplomatic vocations, according to the political evolution specific for each country, thus getting new statutes within a complex European geopolitical context.

In the second half of the 6th decade it started a controversial process of alienating our country from the Soviet Union's political-economical directives, process which has its origin in the efforts of the leaders Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej and Ion Gheorghe Maurer to layout its own diplomatic and economic direction to Romania<sup>1</sup> (as a response to the try of the Soviet Union to change some European communist leaders from the old guard<sup>2</sup> and to consolidate the economic integration of the European socialist countries under its influence<sup>3</sup>) and which took place within a larger external context of relaxation of the European diplomatic life and of the

<sup>1</sup> Dennis Deletant, *România sub regimul comunist*, București, 1997, p. 119.

<sup>2</sup> Idem, *Teroarea comunistă în România. Gheorghiu-Dej și statul polițienesc. 1948-1965*, Iași, 2001, p. 214.

<sup>3</sup> Kurt Treptow (ed.), *A History of Romania*, Iași, 1995, p. 540.



isolated crises within the socialist block<sup>4</sup>. Romania tried then to build an independent national economy, to develop political-diplomatic and economic relationships with the developed western countries, to come off the diplomatic, economic and cultural structures strictly related to the Warszawa Treaty bodies and to the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and also to be strongly present in the international diplomatic arena<sup>5</sup>.

After Bonn had won *de facto*, in 1952, the state political and economic sovereignty, the west-German political and economic leaders looked for, on one hand, the consolidation of their country's position in the western political-economic world and the community institutional construction in the Western Europe and on the other hand the approach of the Eastern capitals and the cooperation with these ones<sup>6</sup>. The Eastern component of the external politics (named „Östpolitik”) in which the Federal Republic of Germany opened the dialogue with the communist countries<sup>7</sup> was determined by a series of premises (the political meltdown between East and West, the internal economical growth which also generated the interest for the Eastern markets) and by specific causes (the desire to detach from the American political-diplomatic directives, advanced cooperation of other western countries with the socialist economies, the desire to approach the important German community from the communist central-European space) and it was followed by relatively long periods under the „Hallstein doctrine” influence since 1955 when Bonn didn't have a dialogue with the countries which recognized the existence of the Democratic Republic of Germany<sup>8</sup>.

The Romanian and also the Federal Germany evolutions from the second half of the 50s aimed two main directions: the industrialization of the country with western contribution and the refuge from the eventual political-military mixtures of the soviets, respectively the development of the relationships with the West and the settlement of the relationships with the European socialist countries. All these objectives of the Romanian and West-German diplomacy determined complex actions within a series of specific evolutions: ideological evolutions, diplomatic evolutions and economic evolutions. Romania and the Federal Germany carried on, within their relationships, a series of specific actions which, by their consequences, satisfied the proposed governmental politics within the context of formulating and orienting their own directions for external and internal politics at the beginning of the 7th decade.

Romania set out a clear series of objectives or economic initiatives even from the beginning in its relationships with the Federal Republic of Germany. The most important initiatives in this respect were the industrial cooperation and the technical-scientific cooperation; based on the detachment from the soviet politics and within the industrialization process it has starter, Bucharest looked for a new European partner

<sup>4</sup> Serge Bernstein, Pierre Milza, *Istoria Europei*, vol. 5, Ia i, 1998, pp. 243-247.

<sup>5</sup> Lavinia Betea, *Convorbiri neterminate. Corneliu Mănescu in dialog cu Lavinia Betea*, Cluj-Napoca, 2001, p. 74.

<sup>6</sup> Josef Foschepoth (coord.), *Adenauer und die Deutsche Frage*, Göttingen, 1990, p. 62.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 73.

<sup>8</sup> Josef Foschepoth (coord.), *op.cit.*, pp. 61-63.

capable to support its economic programs<sup>9</sup>. The Federal Germany intended within its relationships with Bucharest to develop the commercial field, to become one of the most important western partners for the Romanian economy and commerce, to put across complex bilateral cultural relationships<sup>10</sup>. Not last, Bonn paid an extremely important attention to the statute of the Romanian citizens of German origin involving itself even from the beginning in the first negotiations at the level of the Ministry of Exterior Affairs in helping their emigration. The Federal Republic of Germany always looked attentively at the life of the German communities outside its borders, analyzing the evolution of the German origin population and the reality of their lives within the European socialist countries, knowing also the Romanian situation.

The official contacts at the institutional level between the communist Romania and the Federal Germany were not accidental and they were not established before some careful steps of the governmental cabinets from the two European countries, all being part of the external politics plans – both countries were based on – for the settlement of contacts with the most important members of the opposite political-military and economic blocks. The settlement of the economic and respectively diplomatic relationships with the Federal Republic of Germany at the end of the 50s and the beginning of the 60s was part of a larger system of political-diplomatic and economic actions of the socialist Romania: the establishment of some own directions for the political action and for the economic growth, the affirmation of the decisional independence of the direction of the Romanian Labour Party for its own internal or external politics and the economic organization within the European socialist structures, the refuse to be part of the supra-state economic plans of the Soviet Union, the establishment of relationships with Western countries such as France, Great Britain or the United States of America<sup>11</sup>.

After The Second World War, the economies of the states from Eastern and Western Europe started to differentiate very much and this was also the situation for Romania and the Western Germany too: our country had to imitate the soviet economic model while the new state from Eastern Europe continued the liberal capitalist economic system which existed at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

The post-war economic and commercial relationships between Romania and the Western Germany were born at the end of the 6th decade, by performing the first imports and exports between the two countries<sup>12</sup> and the first informal political-diplomatic contacts were made in the first years of the 7th decade<sup>13</sup>; at the institutional level, the economic collaboration started in 1963 when the permanent

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<sup>9</sup> Arhivele Na ionale Istorice Centrale (A.N.I.C.), Fond C.C. al P.C.R., sec ia Cancelarie, dosar nr. 24/1964, f. 177.

<sup>10</sup> Eduard Mühle (ed.), *Germany and the European East in the Twentieth Century*, Oxford, 2003, p. 164.

<sup>11</sup> Lavinia Betea, *op. cit.*, pp. 74-75.

<sup>12</sup> Arhiva Consiliului Na ional pentru studierea Arhivelor Securit ii (A.C.N.S.A.S.), fond Documentar, dosar D11.745, ff. 1-8.

<sup>13</sup> A.N.I.C., Fond C.C. al P.C.R., sec ia Cancelarie, dosar nr. 69/1966, f. 44.

trade representative offices of the two countries were opened. The diplomatic collaboration at the embassy level started in January 1967.

Once the commercial and economic relationships established, Romania knew the increase of exports (especially for agricultural products), the contact with a very competitive market (which allowed to accumulate a commercial experience in treating the relationships with other western partners), an industrial technology infusion at the highest level (especially for the metallurgical industry, for the machine industry and for the chemical industry), west-German equity investments as loans or investments (which helped it in the special economic relationships with its Eastern neighbours), it reshaped the export values, it found a relatively important market for the sale of its industrial products. The economic cooperation was advantageous for our country, all the economic branches and the Romanian scientific-technical field gaining further this type of collaboration contacts and programs: it had access to advantageous external loans, it got favourable customs preferences for its export products in its relationship with the European Economic Community, it played a privileged role in its economic relationships with different west-European community bodies.

Even though it was not situated at the level expected by the Romanians, the Romanian–west-German economic relationships brought an advantage to our country, being responsible in a certain measure by the economic development from the second half of the 20th century. Concerning the political-diplomatic relationships after January 1967, Romania found in the Western Europe a very strong and stable political ally in its external evolution, the Western Germany being one of the vanguards of the entrance of the Romanian diplomacy in the western world. The same thing can be said for the Federal Germany for the Warszawa Treaty area. For the Federal Republic, the political-diplomatic relations with Romania created the opportunity for a series of premieres in its external political history: the formalization of the first diplomatic relationships at an embassy level with a socialist country, the first country visits of an External affairs minister, of a socialist first minister and president, the first visits of an external affairs minister, of a chancellor and of a German president into a socialist country (for the socialist countries, except for the Soviet Union). Within this kind of relationships, Bonn could control in a certain manner the situation of the German ethnics' migration from our country in the Federal Republic. If our country had the advantage in the case of the bilateral economic relationships, the Western German involvement was greater in the case of the political-diplomatic relationships. The “family reunion” issue represented one of the fundamental themes for the bilateral relationships, theme that was discussed again and negotiated many times by the German part which wanted to bring in the F.R. of Germany a part of the Romanian citizens of German origin who were having their family there. The west-German diplomacy's insistence was fruitful, a few thousand of ethnics leaving Romania for the Western Germany.

The precise definition and the exact delimitation of the cooperation concept from the one referring to the economic collaboration, of the commercial exchanges, presents an utility both in theory (for a strictly scientific economic analysis) and in practice (in order to elaborate a proper state economic politics which offers the

guidance and the most favourable framework for the extension of the international economic relations). The international economic cooperation represents the contract relationships established between two or more legal or physical entities from different countries, scheduled for many years, aiming the achievement of some operations between them by co-participation, in the production, trade or credit field, in order to obtain mutual benefits such as profit or any other agreed form.<sup>14</sup>

The international economic cooperation (accelerated under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution from the 60s and 70s of the 20th century – on one hand and of the internal process, organized by becoming aware of the political and economic decision factors – on the other hand) represented an important factor for the socialist Romanian economic growth. The main directions the economic cooperation contributed to – and still are, but obviously in other historic conditions – to the economic level growth are: a. The cooperation for the production (which permits the realization of some great objectives ensuring a stability and continuity character to the partners' relationships, permitting the introduction of some long term estimation and planning elements, representing an important means to perfect the international economic structures, becoming an information means of the of the economic specialty staff, continually ameliorating the company's organization); b. In science and techniques (permitting the avoidance of the institutional parallelism and of the funds, the acceleration of production, of transactions and equity exchange, contributing to the attenuation of the technical-scientific gaps between countries); c. In the international commerce (which is a propeller factor for the external trade and it ameliorates the exchange and product structure currents; d. In the payment and credit system (it creates a favourable framework for solving the payment issues, it confers dynamics and suppleness to the international credit system). Taking all these positive effects of the international economic cooperation upon the development and modernization of the Romanian economy into account, the fact that this cooperation represents one of the dynamic processes of the world economy from the second half of the 20th century, it was normal that the Labour Party (after 1965 named the Communist Party) to have the initiative to align Romania to this flux of world economic circuit.

The essential features of the bi and multilateral economic cooperation are: the cooperation is strictly legally regulated, based on contract; within it, the economic partners reunite their efforts (human, material and financial resources); the cooperation is realized in all the activity fields; the performed operations for cooperation are long term inter-related; the cooperation has a precisely determined target-function: obtaining material or financial advantages by all its partners.

**LEGAL FRAMEWORK.** The first official instrument which stated the economic cooperation between the two states was represented by the Technical-

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<sup>14</sup> Alexandru Albu, *Cooperarea economică și tehnico-științifică internațională*, Bucure ti, 1973, p. 16.

economic cooperation Agreement between the S.R. of Romania and the F.R. of Germany signed on 3rd of August 1967 in Bucharest.

By the provisions of this Agreement<sup>15</sup>, the contract parties engaged themselves to promote the technical-economic cooperation between the two countries, especially supporting the production and sale cooperation; the agreement emphasized the cooperation importance in the machine production, equipments deliveries on third markets, the cooperation regarding the development of new technical processes, getting licenses, documentations, samples etc. The economic units of the two countries were the ones establishing the conditions for the realization of cooperation. There was agreed that for the delivery of goods produced under the cooperation agreement, of raw materials, materials and machines necessary for the production of these goods the governments of the two countries, notwithstanding the proper contingencies, to be created the import possibilities based on their internal legislation. According to the provisions of article IV, a mixed commission composed of the two countries' representatives will have examined the issues concerning the cooperation, submitting to the governments of the two countries solution proposals and recommendations. The agreement was approved by the decision of the Ministers' Council in October 1967 and it was decided that the date when these one became effective to be settled between the two countries by a note exchange. That Agreement replaced the letter exchange referring to the technical-economic cooperation done once with the signature on 6th of October 1966 of the 2nd Appendix-Protocol to the Agreement regarding the Good Exchange between the S.R. of Romania and F.R. of Germany on 24th of December 1963 and which is part of this one.

In 1973, year that marked the visit of president Ceausescu in the Federal Germany and the signature of several bilateral agreements, a new agreement was signed in Bonn in this field; the Long term agreement (1973-1983) for the economic, industrial and technical cooperation on 29th of June 1973 valid for the period 1973-1983. Based on it, the Romanian part and the Western-German decided to extend their economic collaboration and to sustain the economic, industrial and technical cooperation growth in the two states' companies, organizations and institutions. The signatories agreed to create facilities (having in view their rights and obligations as G.A.T.T. members, including the mutually agreed the most favoured nation clause) for the agreement and elaboration of cooperation projects and to facilitate the marker access for the partner economic agents. In conformity with art.3, the bilateral cooperation must follow a series of more important objectives: the construction of new industrial equipments and also the extension or modernization of the existing ones; the common production and trade of goods and specialization in production and sale; the incorporation of mixed production and trade companies; the exchange of technical information, patents and licenses; the application and improvement of the existing technical processes or the development of new processes and also the preparation and exchange of specialists and practitioners; experience exchange, agreements in the norm, metrology and material trial fields. For the bilateral

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<sup>15</sup> Gheorghe Gheorghe, *Tratatele internaționale ale României*, vol. IV, Bucure ti, 1986, p. 73.

cooperation the following fields were considered: ferrous metallurgy, machine and equipment construction, car, air plane and naval construction, electro-engineering, chemistry and petro-chemistry, light industry, alimentary industry, agriculture. The two parties agreed to pay all the efforts for the eventual financing and credits given under the most favourable conditions possible within the existing regulations in the two countries and the mutual payments must be done in DM or in other freely convertible currencies. Article X showed that the partner countries agreed to constitute a mixed commission having as objective the annual examination of the economic cooperation, carrying on a regular opinion exchange regarding the continuous development of cooperation<sup>16</sup>.

**FORMS OF ECONOMIC COOPERATION.** In the 60s-80s, the main activity field in which international cooperation agreements took place were: the cooperation in the industrial and agricultural production, the cooperation in science and engineering, the cooperation in marketing and trade, the bank cooperation and credit actions, the cooperation in the productive services.

In the Federal Republic, the industrial and technical-scientific cooperation were imposed also by the need to consolidate the economic position on the world market, by the increase of the adaptation capacity to the international economic competition. The interest showed by the federal governments for the settlement and development of these forms of cooperation reflected in the measures taken since 1963, when the Federal Ministry of Economy elaborated a document which included proposals aiming almost 30 concrete forms of cooperation.<sup>17</sup> It is obvious that among all the countries it had cooperation relationships; the E.E.C. member states had the greatest percentage (France, Great Britain, Holland, Italy). Concerning the cooperation with the European socialist countries, Bonn had difficulties in finding and developing the most appropriate forms of cooperation, having to constantly consider the different political-economic systems, the different structure of the economies of each country, the reserves manifested by the West-German private companies towards the East-European national companies. The desire for economic growth of the two parts finally created an appropriate legal framework which regulated and granted the cooperation actions based on industrial and technical-scientific cooperation agreements. In the 6th decade, the most important aspects of this type of cooperation led to the creation on the West-German territory of mixed banks (with Yugoslavia, Hungary and Bulgaria), license exchange (with U.S.S.R and Czechoslovakia), the common constitution of some industrial objectives and of some production and trade companies (with Romania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria), the cooperation in production (with Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia), the trade in Germany of the products made based on the cooperation agreement with Yugoslavia, Hungary and Poland).

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<sup>16</sup> Gheorghe Gheorghe, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

<sup>17</sup> Marina Rud rean, Ioan Denu a, *Republica Federală a Germaniei – monografie economică*, Bucure ti, 1971, p. 159.

**THE INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION COOPERATION.** This is the largest field for the international cooperation, all the cooperation actions are converging for, and it knows several forms; international sector bilateral specialization of production, co-production concept, co-production in the mixed companies, the loan, the work with equipments and machineries on credit payable in products.

**a. the international sector bilateral specialization of production.** Within the socialist type cooperation processes (especially in the C.M.E.A. member states) the concept of international sector bilateral specialization of production appeared at the beginning of the 8th decade. This concept is present under the form of agreements between the two countries (through which the states were obliged to develop some production branches or subbranches in order to ensure both the goods needs come from the respective branch and also the partner's needs, by mutual works) and it evolved based on the development of the capitalist production relationships.<sup>18</sup> The political-economic expansion of the West-European and North-American countries, the creation of the global economic system (meaning the economic globalization) determined the C.M.E.A. member states – so the Socialist Romania too – to get in touch and to acquire a series of capitalist economic laws and practices.

Analysing the development features and directions specific to the economic specialization of the S.R. of Romania and the F.R. of Germany, the following aspects can be revealed: the specialization of the productive activity in the Federal Republic was realized through some economic mechanisms continuing the ones from the German state before the Second World War, being after 1948 under the „surveillance” of the Western allies, under the conditions of the private interests for the world market, while in the communist Romania the specialization was achieved through some precisely ordered directives of the Romanian government and party, at the Soviets' „indications”, in the case of the Federal Germany the specialization was dictated by the capitalist market, by the desire of the private companies self-financing their production and projects, and in the Romanian case the state's intervention is present, the economic means being strengthened by instruments of political power guidance; the polarized character of the labour division (which supposes the economic specialization on branches or production characterized by important differences of rhythm and level of the assimilation of the technical progress)<sup>19</sup> was also different in the case of the two countries: on one hand, the Federal Republic's specialization in the heavy industry (energetic, metallurgical, machine constructions, chemical) and services (trade, finances) and on the other hand, the Romanian specialization in agriculture (plant culture and animal husbandry) and in the „classical” industries (extractible, wood transformation, textile and confections).

Thus, the F.R.G. profited on fields with superior productivity, consequently obtaining superior advantages in the world market trade; that is why the net transfer

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<sup>18</sup> Alexandru Albu., *op. cit.*, p. 44.

<sup>19</sup> Idem, *Cooperarea economică internațională a Republicii Socialiste România*, Craiova, 1979, p. 33.

of financial values was done from countries with a low level of the production forces towards the West Germany. Romania, profiled on inferior production fields (even through it tried to create a profitable heavy industry with superior productivity) built a structure complementary to the one of its more developed economic partners (in our case, the Federal Germany); that is why its economic dynamics and possibilities of introducing the advanced technologies were conditioned or even determined from outside, the internal production process being dependent on the rhythm and quality of the technological transfer from the more economically developed countries. All these phenomena finally affected, especially in the 9th decade, the profound economic independence of Romania, creating technological and financial gaps compared to the central-European socialist countries and to the West-European countries, our country didn't succeed in completely detaching from the statute of cheap source of production factors and of cheap market for selling products. That is why the wanted economic independence the entire different progress of Romania in the socialist block in the second half of the 20th century started from, finally proved not to be ended. No matter how strong the socialist economic ideology proved to be (exponent of the „superior social system”, promoter of a „new type of economic relationships by planned development”), the Evolution of the world economy showed the limits of the socialist economic system; at the beginning of the 10th decade, the C.M.E.A. member states, „shacked” by the „superior system”, confronted with severe problems in all the production sectors, with an important economic gap compared to the capitalist countries apparently impossible to be recovered.

**b. co-production concept.** This is another concept present within the industrial cooperation and it represents a form of cooperation between states or companies from different countries, in which the partners agree to produce a certain product, based on an equal or unequal, but compensatory contribution, in order to obtain a material or financial advantage.<sup>20</sup>

Starting 1976, the West-German governmental and economic authorities showed their growing interest for the economic relationships and for concluding some projects in the co production field. In the first years of the 70s, we talked a lot about the Romanian industrial cooperation with „Fokker” and „Volkswagen” companies, project which unfortunately suffered from repeated postponements; in 1976, as the ambassador Morega from Koln transmitted to the Romanian Minister of Exterior Affairs,<sup>21</sup> it was determined the desire of the German companies to retake the bilateral discussions and to come as much as possible in greeting the Romanian demands for the actions to be concluded. Despite both parties' will and endless negotiations, the German company and the Romanian government didn't reach any agreement.

**c. co-production in the mixed companies.** These mixed companies could carry on activities of production, services, with scientific research, trade of products etc. These offered some solutions for certain demands such as: the level of the capital investment, the need to attenuate the technological gap between countries, the

<sup>20</sup> Alexandru Albu, *Cooperarea economică i tehnico- tiin ific interna ional* , p. 79.

<sup>21</sup> A.C.N.S.A.S., fond Documentar, dosar D13.041, volumul 23, f. 412.



overcome of some price obstacles. In those years, the incorporated mixed companies could be share companies or limited liability companies. For the incorporation of a mixed company, the economic units with legal personality (industrial plants, integrated works, trusts, groups of factories) having attributions for the external trade and international economic cooperation could participate, and for the foreign part physical and legal entities from Industry, agriculture, services could participate. The legal framework for the incorporation of mixed companies in the S.R. of Romania was done by the Law no.1/1971 and by the Decree no.424/1972, and the participation of the Romanian economic units in the mixed companies abroad was adopted by the Decree of the State Council on 30th of May 1975.<sup>22</sup>

In April 1972 the first mixed production company was incorporated in the socialist Romania; in April 1973 a Romanian-American mixed production company was incorporated in Bucharest („Romcontrol Data”, which produced the peripheral equipments for the information technology); in 1975 the first Romanian-French company was incorporated („Elarom”, which produced and traded household medical devices). The „Resita-Renk” company played an important role within the Romanian-West-German industrial co production in the mixed companies.

In August 1972, by a telegram sent by the Romanian Embassy to Köln<sup>23</sup> it was showed the interest of Dietrich von Menges, president of the „G.H.H. – Gute Hoffnungs Hutte” an important corporation in Oberhausen, to visit the Bucharest International Fair in November 1972 in order to have contacts with I.Gh. Maurer to materialize the cooperation issues between the Romanian state and „Renk” (company belonging to „G.H.H.”) regarding the incorporation in Romania of mixed production companies for the naval reducers.

On 9th of June 1973, Dietrich von Menges, president of the G.H.H. Corporation was received in audience by Nicolae Ceausescu and by a commission formed by Ion P an –ministry al Exterior Commerce and Gheorghe Oprea – Ceausescu’s adviser. The discussion<sup>24</sup> had referred to the industrial cooperation in the production field between the Romanian state and the west-German company. In this discussions, the west-German manager didn’t doubted the conclusion of the projects exposed by Ceausescu (in fact there were some projects, direct negotiations upon some issues that hadn’t been settled with other companies or countries that date) and he agreed to cooperate with the Romanian state.

On 28th of June 1973 it took place the visit of President Ceausescu at the „G.H.H.” headquarters in Oberhausen. There it was signed the articles of incorporation for the „Re i a-Renk” mixed company. The members of the corporation’s management and authorities from the Oberhausen city and the Romanian delegation assisted to the formal speech<sup>25</sup> of P. Von Menges, president of the Administration Board of „G.H.H.”: „*The „G.H.H.” group (...) is specially related*

<sup>22</sup> Alexandru Albu, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

<sup>23</sup> A.N.I.C., Fond C.C. al P.C.R., sec ia Rela ii externe, dosar nr. 170/1972, f. 1

<sup>24</sup> A.N.I.C., Fond C.C. al P.C.R., sec ia Rela ii externe, dosar nr. 93/1973, ff. 2-8

<sup>25</sup> „Scînteia”, nr. 9.554/29 iunie 1973, p. 2.

*to the Romanian economy. Our technicians are proud to have been able to contribute to the Hunedoara and Galati ironworks, which proves that the quality level of our engineering is appreciated in our country too. We have always offered (...) technical assistance (...) for the development of your industry and for placing the Romanian industrial products, considering that the economic life does not know one way directions: the seller must help his partner for this one to sell too. Thus, by a common work (...) performed by the Romanian economic organizations, by the Romanian embassy in the F.R.G. and by our companies, the Romanian employers who temporarily work at „M.A.N.” and „Kirchfeld” – companies of our corporation are appreciated technical collaborators, also representing guarantees for the cooperation, as the products made by Romanian companies and the G.H.H. corporation ones working together. Today when talking a lot about cooperation, we could refer to the results obtained (...) on the existing contracts and licenses. I mention in this respect only the collaboration between the Brasov truck factories and M.A.N. and also between Schloemann and the axles and bogies factory from Bals. I believe that (...) we should build together a greater edifice on this fundament practically confirmed both by the mixed company with the Renk company, which could represent a reference model for other similar projects, as by the cooperation in the field of cast iron and steel, of steel transformation and of non-ferrous metal industry, between the Ministry of Ironworks Industry and the companies of the G.H.H. corporation.”*

The discussions of the Romanian state with “G.H.H.” continued in the following years. On 7th of May 1976, M. Lennings, president of the German corporation, came to our country for negotiations and then it took place a meeting with the Romanian state’s president. From the discussion’s stenograph,<sup>26</sup> we find out about the slow evolution of those years of the economic relationships of the Romanian state with the German company, the conclusion of the action for the machine construction (through „M.A.N.” – an important truck company from Nurenberg) and about the collaboration in the engineering field. The 8th of May an Agreement regarding the cooperation within the Electric ovens mill was signed between the two parties.

**d. The loan.** It was a form of cooperation by which a company from one country ordered to a producer company from another country the execution of a product in conformity with the technical documentation it puts at hand. This production has two forms: the finished good was made with the raw materials and the materials of the company executing the order – on the first case or the finished good was made using the raw materials and materials and equipments of the ordering company– in a second case.

We included the actions for buying the LD Steel works for the „Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej” Steel Mill from Galati in this type of collaboration, that the Romanian state ordered from the „G.H.H. – Guttehoffnungshütte” West-German company. Romania, at the beginning of its post-war industrialization, started the plans

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<sup>26</sup> A.N.I.C., *loc. cit.*, dosar nr. 42/1976, f. 3.

for the growth of steel works industry; wanting to have access to the newest world technologies for the steel work products, the Romanian state focused on the West-German companies, the most suitable for satisfying the requirements of the Romanian orders: „G.H.H.”, „Sidexport-Krupp”, „Sofresid F.L.C.” and „Vöest”<sup>27</sup>. The decision for the steel mill installations to be supplied by the G.H.H. company was taken during the session of the Political Office of the C.C. of C.P.R. in May 1965 (when the acquisition from the West of steel work engineering was discussed among other things); the greatest experience and the lowest price offered by the above-mentioned West-German company counted for the Romanian politicians of that time<sup>28</sup>. At the end of the negotiations, as the experts from the Ministry of Exterior Commerce proposed and as it was obvious from the discussions of the political leaders of the labour Party, the order for the installations was made only to the G.H.H. West-Germans; the contract had a value of 113,5 million lei currency, 60% of the objective value being done in our country<sup>29</sup>.

Another example when a West-German company imposed itself in front of the western competition for winning an order from the Romanian state was that related to the order for a one-line ammonia installations having a capacity of 900 tones/day, including the annex-sections. In the period 1964-1965 Bucharest received offers from companies from United States and West Europe (such as „Topsoe – U.H.D.E.” from Denmark and F.R.G., „Vöest” from Austria, „Rheinstahl” from F.R.G.). Finally the „Topsoe-U.H.D.E.” consortium won and two ammonia installations having the capacity of 300 tones/day were installed in Turnu-M gurele<sup>30</sup>.

In June 1965, „I.S.C.E. Ma iniexport” concluded a contract with the West-German company „Urban” (specialized in the construction machine, mining machines and equipment production and in mining transport) and based on it, during the period 1966 and 1970 in Romania there were produced and delivered in the Western Germany 100.000 concrete mixers of 100 liters; these ones were made in conformity with the German company’s license and technical documentation and based on the supply of some equipments for production.<sup>31</sup>

**e. The work with equipments on credit payable in products** represents the fact that one of the parties delivered machines, installations and equipments needed for the construction of an industrial or agricultural objective on credit and that credit was to be paid back in shares from the production of the respective objective or in other products and services of national origin. This type of collaboration remained at the discussion level.

The more important official instruments stating the economic cooperation between Romania and the Federal Republic were represented by the *Agreement for*

<sup>27</sup> A.N.I.C., Fond C.C. al P.C.R., sec ia Cancelarie, dosar nr. 71/1965, f. 49.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibidem*, ff. 22-28.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibidem*, sec ia Economic , dosar nr. 11/1965, ff. 20.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibidem*, sec ia Cancelarie, dosar nr. 71/1965, ff. 40.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibidem*, sec ia Economic , dosar nr. 11/1965, ff. 14-15.

*the technical-economic cooperation* in August 1967 and by the *Long term Agreement for the economic, industrial and technical collaboration* in June 1973.

The achievements in this field were globally satisfying for both parties. We limit ourselves in exposing the most important positive aspect of the bilateral cooperation – the collaboration of the Romanian state with the G.H.H. corporation (which also held the M.A.N., Renk, Kirchfeld companies – through which the metallurgic and the machine construction industry from our country knew a special growth), and also a series of actions which would have deserved more attention from both states: no contracts were concluded with the important German corporations „Fokker” (for air-plane construction) and „Volkswagen” (for the car production), the projects for the common oil exploitation into the Black Sea were not concluded and neither the incorporation of mixed companies in the Western and central zone of Romania inhabited by German ethnics. The cooperation field within the mixed companies was less used by both countries. There was much talk and less action related to the bilateral „*extension of cooperation*”; at each meeting between the economic or diplomatic representatives, there was much talk about this issue, there were negotiated the fields and operation ways, but finally, because of the different visions (both of the Romanian state, master of the economic production forces, and of the West-German private economic agents who were the ones who decided how and with whom to collaborate), of the legislative differences, of the different economic practice, they reached a dead end; the discussions were extended over the years and the results were mostly null.

President Ceausescu complained several times about the fact that the West-German state didn't involve enough in the economic decision, intending that the federal executive to order to the legislative and the economic agents. There is no doubt that the West-German central administration institutions wanted the development of the economic and commercial collaboration with Bucharest, but the ones who decided where, how and how much to invest were the private agents (who, no matter how much they were stimulated by the state, wanted guarantees related to their expectations from the Romanian and West-German states and also short and medium term profits). In addition, Bonn was engaged in the decisions and practices of the Common Market, of the European Community which issued laws regarding the economic life, laws that the German politicians couldn't ignore. But the West German could do more, certainly – and here came a series of critics of Ceausescu! We must say that the Romanian political was rigid concerning some aspects of the external collaboration, some internal legislative decisions, the issuance of unrealistic plans for the Romanian economy and for the economic conjuncture of the 70s and 80s (years of the profound energetic and financial crises). Some external commerce practices were without success; in addition, we must not forget the desire to liberalize certain segments of the internal economic life, as was the case of Czechoslovakia or Hungary.

## VALUING LANGUAGE IN THE UKRAINIAN-ROMANIAN BORDERLANDS

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**Rezumat:** Acest articol analizează modul în care activitățile economice informale, care au ajuns să domine multe comunități rurale de la granița ucraineano-română din 1989/1991, favorizează cunoașterea limbii române. Materialul este rezultatul a cincisprezece luni de cercetare etnografică în două comunități rurale, situate de ambele părți ale graniței de Est-ucraineano-română, în apropierea orașului Siret, în condițiile în care comercializarea și achiziționarea de bunuri de peste graniță – complementară migrației forței de muncă în Sudul și Vestul Europei – constituie o componentă importantă a economiei rurale locale.

**Abstract:** This article examines how informal economic activities, which have come to dominate many rural communities in the Ukrainian-Romanian borderlands since 1989/1991, are favouring a knowledge of Romanian rather than the Ukrainian language. It is based on fifteen months of ethnographic research in two rural communities on either side of the Eastern Ukrainian-Romanian border near the Romanian town of Siret,<sup>1</sup> where the trading and purchase of goods across the border, in addition to migration for work to Southern and Western Europe, form a major part of the local rural economy.

**Résumé:** L'article ci-joint analyse la manière dans laquelle les activités de l'économie informelle, qui sont arrivées à dominer plusieurs des communautés rurales de la frontière ukrainienne – roumaine de 1989/1991, favorisent la connaissance de la langue roumaine. Le matériel est le résultat de quinze mois de recherche ethnographique de deux communautés rurales, situées des deux parties de la frontière ukrainienne – roumaine des alentours de la ville Siret, dans les conditions où la commercialisation et l'acquisition de biens d'au-delà de la frontière – complémentaire à la migration de la force de travail dans le Sud et l'Ouest de l'Europe – constitue une composante importante de l'économie rurale locale.

**Keywords:** Informal economy, language, ethnography, borders, rural populations, migration.

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<sup>1</sup> Siret is in Suceava County, Romania and is the main road border crossing between Ukraine and Romania in Eastern Romania. This crossing is located approximately 40km to the south of the city of Chernivtsi in Ukraine and 40km to the north of the city of Suceava in Romania. Much of the rest of the Ukrainian-Romanian border is located in the Carpathian Mountains, so this crossing is very busy both in terms of local and international road traffic. This is one of the primary routes by which the many Turkish goods sold in Ukraine arrive in the country.

### Introduction

This is a region that has seen considerable political change since the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. As part of this political change, the communities of Diyalivtsi and Gorbănița<sup>2</sup> have also experienced shifts in the official state languages and the language of the state education system. These numerous changes are perceptible in the vocabulary and grammatical structures of the local dialects of Ukrainian and Romanian. The most recent shift in language policy came after the collapse of the Soviet Union, with Article 10 of the 1996 Constitution declaring Ukrainian to be the only state language<sup>3</sup> north of the border (Pavlenko 2006: 86). Romanian has been the official language to the south of the border since 1918; however the current border, which was finalised in 1944, does not reflect a distinct linguistic border. The majority of the population of Diyalivtsi was Ukrainian-speaking, but both of the larger neighbouring villages were Romanian-speaking. Gorbănița was home to heritage speakers of Ruthenian,<sup>4</sup> which was also spoken in the majority of neighbouring settlements, however was slowly being replaced amongst the younger generations by Romanian. The article is divided into three sections: the first gives a brief introduction to language shift in the region, highlighting perceptions of state languages and language education; the second section explores the use of language in cross-border trading and shopping; the third analyses perceptions of language used in migration.

### Language Shift in the Ukrainian-Romanian Borderlands

One of the key linguistic legacies of the Soviet era in this region, as in many others, was the widespread use of Russian as a lingua franca.<sup>5</sup> The large Romanian minority to the north of the border was one of the reasons that the Russian language came to dominate more so in this region than in other areas of Western Ukraine.

*As a result of this imbalance, Russian speakers could afford to be monolingual, speakers of titular languages aspiring to social advancement had to be bilingual, and minority language speakers had to be either bilingual (with Russian or the titular language as a second language) or multilingual.* (Pavlenko, 2008b: 282)

Many Romanian speakers in Chernivtsi region became only bilingual and not multilingual in the Soviet period, i.e. did not learn Ukrainian, due to the fact that it had up until this point never been used officially in the region, in either education or

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<sup>2</sup> These are the pseudonyms I have given to the two communities in which I carried out my fieldwork, Diyalivtsi in the Chernivtsi region of Ukraine and Gorbănița in Suceava County, Romania.

<sup>3</sup> Russian and Ukrainian are the official languages in the Autonomous Province of Crimea.

<sup>4</sup> I use the term Ruthenian here as the villagers always referred to themselves as speaking ‘porus’kyy’. However, it is important to note that this language is very similar to the dialect spoken north of the border, where people would refer to it as ‘village’ or simply Ukrainian. It does differ in a number of ways from modern, standardised Ukrainian.

<sup>5</sup> For more on this topic see Bilaniuk 2003, 2005 and Pavlenko 2006, 2008a, 2008b, 2009.

administration. Some have remained resistant to learning Ukrainian since 1991, as Dima,<sup>6</sup> a Romanian-speaker from Diyalivtsi's neighbouring village explains:

*First I had to learn Russian and now they want me to learn Ukrainian. Well I won't. I am too old to learn another language.*

In autumn 2007, I was talking to Vasyl' a middle-aged civil servant in Chernivtsi, who was ethnically Romanian and had been brought up bilingually, speaking Romanian at home and learning Russian through his education and later in his workplace. Vasyl' told me that in 1991 he had been given three months to learn Ukrainian and had done so to a suitable level to satisfy his superiors. However, on a day to day basis, all of Vasyl's colleagues still spoke to him in Russian. Almost all of his non-written professional communication was in Russian and being fairly senior, his Ukrainian-speaking colleagues simply accommodated him. Unlike Vasyl', Dima had not had the resources to learn Ukrainian after 1991. He could not return to school and there were no other means for him to officially gain some knowledge of the language. Instead, he relied upon the passive knowledge he had developed of the language over the years and continued to communicate himself in Russian outside of his Romanian-speaking environs. This practice is commonly referred to as 'non-reciprocal bilingualism' or 'mutual passive bilingualism' (see for example Bilaniuk, 2005). A distinction is made between this type of bilingualism in which each interlocutor understands but is unable to converse in the language of the other and 'non-accommodating bilingualism' (Bilaniuk, 2006: 3), in which each interlocutor chooses to respond in another language, in spite of having an active knowledge of that of his interlocutor.

In spite of having the right to minority-language education, it seemed that both Romanian speakers in Ukraine and Ruthenian speakers in Romania had started to favour education in the state language. Maria was a teacher from a Ukrainian-language school in a Diyalivtsi's neighbouring Romanian-speaking village: *Every year we have more and more pupils, as more parents decide to send their children here instead of the Romanian school. They think it is better to be educated in Ukrainian now.*

The concerns of parents were confirmed by Irina, a lecturer from the university in Chernivtsi. As she herself was from a Ukrainian-speaking village in a more remote part of the region, she had little patience with the pleas of her Romanian-speaking students: *These people cannot write an essay in Ukrainian. I spend most of my time crossing out Russian words. Sometimes, when they are really bad, I return their essays and tell them to resubmit them in Ukrainian!*

In Romania, standardised Ukrainian had also begun to challenge the local Ruthenian dialect. A number of initiatives exist to assist fellow Ukrainian-speakers across the border in Romania. These include the production and dispatch of Ukrainian language materials to local schools,<sup>7</sup> the availability of places at the sixth form and university in Chernivtsi and cross-cultural projects through the universities, museums

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<sup>6</sup> All names have been changed.

<sup>7</sup> These include the publishing house, 'Bukrek' <http://bukrek.net/>.

and other organisations in the region. Standardised Ukrainian is used in these texts and students who left their villages to study in Ukraine returned speaking a distinctly different language from that maintained in their homes and local communities. A conversation with Doina, an English language teacher from a school in a village near Gorbănița, highlighted the perceived value of the Ukrainian language in these communities: *The children used to speak in Ukrainian amongst themselves, because they knew I didn't understand. They would use Ukrainian words for things sometimes, but that doesn't happen so much anymore. A few years ago, the parents voted to have all classes at the school in Romanian, so that their children would not be disadvantaged linguistically.*

She confirms the lessening use of Ukrainian, in spite of efforts from across the border and also explains that this was an active choice by parents; a choice concerning the future prospects for their children. This gave a greater sense that the language was used only in the village; one to be confined at home and of little use outside of this limited geographical space. It also highlighted, that many Ruthenian-speakers in the area did not see value in maintaining the language in the future.

*A lack of competence to communicate adequately is here not seen as a problem of the speaker, but as a problem for the speaker, lodged not in individual forms of deficit or inability but in the connection between individual communicative potential and requirements produced by the environment.* (Blommaert et al, 2005: 198)

Therefore, the environment created by the official language of the state both in Romania and Ukraine was perceived to be a problem for the speakers of minority languages, which local people were trying to address through educating their children in the state language. However, such decisions represented choices for the future and did not reflect the current, everyday life in both Diyalivtsi and Gorbănița, in which few households were sustained solely by formal employment.

Most householders were dependent to some extent upon income from remittances from overseas migrants, cross-border trading or the access to cheaper goods across the border. As examples, in Diyalivtsi the village doctor's wife had been working in Italy illegally for seven years, sending money home for her two teenage daughters to go to medical school and university. Lyuba was a younger woman who had not left for Italy and remained in Diyalivtsi; however she supplemented her husband's salary from the Ukrainian National Guard with the money she made in trading cigarettes across the border to Romania. In Gorbănița, the majority of households with people of working age had at least one member currently employed overseas. The local blacksmith was in receipt of goods through contacts from Ukraine, which he sold in the surrounding villages, as was the local shopkeeper. Other families, who had the means to do so, often travelled to Ukraine themselves to buy goods. It was these activities that were dictating the immediate language needs of the population and I shall now discuss how they favour knowledge of the Romanian language.



### **The Informal Economy of the Border**

Romanian has come to be seen as more useful in Ukraine in recent years in cross-border trading activities and in gaining employment in the many services aimed at Romanian shoppers. Both of these factors were highlighted in the economic activities of the people in Diyalivtsi. In contrast, due to the high number of Romanian speakers in the shops and at the market in Chernivtsi, Ruthenian speakers from Romania rarely enjoyed any benefits to their shopping due to their language skills. Whilst the villagers of Diyalivtsi regularly discussed their abilities in Romanian and viewed such knowledge as valuable, no-one in Gorbănița alluded to any advantages to being able to speak Ruthenian in terms of cross-border trade.

#### *Trading Across the Border*

In December 2007, I crossed the border to Romania with two Ukrainian speakers from Diyalivtsi. The young couple made such trips on a daily basis to trade cigarettes in the Romanian border town of Siret. As neither of them spoke Romanian, their activities depended on a network of Romanian speakers from Ukraine and Ukrainian/Ruthenian speakers from Romania. Their language skills did not enable them to deal directly with Romanian speakers in Romania and their profits were affected by the 'commission' charged by their bilingual intermediaries. When living in Gorbănița, I observed how bilingual traders from Ukraine were able to come and sell products and goods directly at local markets and with local businesses. The knowledge of both languages proved to be a means of gaining income both through direct trading activities and also through acting as an intermediary to other traders.

*Trade between individuals is facilitated when all traders share a common culture and language. A common culture allows individuals to trade with one another without intermediaries. In the case of language, this is most clear. If two agents speak the same language, they can negotiate a contract without the use of a translator. A common culture allows the traders to have common expectations and customs, which enhances trust. (Lazear, 1999: S97). Lazear highlights that being able to trade in the same language enhances trust. He also goes on to discuss the cost implications of the use of a translator or intermediary.*

*In reality, trade can occur between individuals with different cultures or languages. In the case of language, a translator can be used. In the case of culture, mistrust and misunderstandings can be avoided by hiring individuals who are bicultural to act as liaisons. But such activity is costly, and it is best to think of the value of a trade as the net gain associated with being able to conduct the trade without engaging the services of an intermediary. (Lazear, 1999: S98)*

It was a desire to improve their gains in trading across the border that made the acquisition of Romanian language important to the people of Diyalivtsi. It was notable that of those traders from Chernivtsi, who were most actively engaged in these activities, many were ethnic Romanians. Most were able to trade with contacts in Suceava and operated a dual role of providing transportation for people wishing to

travel between to the two urban centres, as well as engaging in some trading as well.<sup>8</sup> Many travelled across the border in their own minibuses/vans, whilst those in Diyalivtsi used cars and mopeds or were dependent on hitching a ride with someone crossing on the main road. The Romanian language and being able to speak it well, was a clear advantage in negotiations with buyers of goods in Romania. However, as Lazear concludes, those who benefit most are the bilingual. Ukrainian speakers to the south of the border, who engaged in the cigarette trade, money changing, etc. with the villagers of Diyalivtsi did benefit from their knowledge of Ukrainian. Nonetheless, as the sellers of the goods, the onus was upon those from Ukraine to meet the needs of their market by speaking Romanian.

*Serving the Shoppers*

The removal of the Ukrainian visa regime for Romanian citizens has led many to travel across the border to buy Ukraine's cheaper goods<sup>9</sup> for their own personal use or to sell on in Romania. This has led to a rise in the number of businesses on the Ukrainian side of the border crossing with Romania to meet their needs. To avoid having to travel all the way to Chernivtsi, many Romanians prefer to use the petrol stations and shops that have sprung up near the border. These businesses charge a premium compared to their counterparts in Chernivtsi or in nearby villages and they also provide much-needed employment in rural communities. The benefits are not always evenly felt though, as Romanian-speakers are in greater demand to deal with the wave of Romanian clients. Maria, a young woman from the neighbouring Romanian-speaking village to Diyalivtsi came to me very excited one day about an offer of employment: *The owner of that new shop on the main road by the border has offered me a job. He approached me directly and really wants me to work there; to speak to the clients.*

Maria was approached due to her knowledge of Romanian, which was not shared by most people in Diyalivtsi.

Whilst many of the people of Diyalivtsi were keen to learn some Romanian to help in this trade, few from Gorbănița spoke of a need for Ukrainian in their shopping trips to Ukraine. I travelled one day with a young couple from Gorbănița to Kalynyvs'kyi market in Chernivtsi. The young man was from Gorbănița, but had worked for a number of years in France and had no working knowledge of Ukrainian. His wife was from a nearby Romanian-speaking village. When we arrived at the market, I initially accompanied them and was translating between them and the stallholders, but it soon became apparent that such translation was not necessary as

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<sup>8</sup> The profitability of their trade is highlighted by the homes these people were currently building. Around Chernivtsi, many large new homes are being built; some of these belong to cross-border traders and are built from the profits of this trade.

<sup>9</sup> As a general guideline, at the time of research, certain household goods and produce were between half of the price and ten times cheaper in Ukraine. Petrol was approximately half the price it was in Romania and cigarettes and alcohol could be as little as a tenth of the price. Since that time, subsequent research shows that increases in prices following the economic crisis in Ukraine has made such trips less appealing, but they remain popular, particularly prior to important celebrations, such as Easter and Christmas.

most stallholders knew enough Romanian to deal with the young couple. Knowledge of Romanian proved to be useful not only to those selling across the border in Romania, but also in gaining jobs and customers in Ukraine itself. By contrast, there seemed to be few benefits related to the speaking of Ukrainian for the brief shopping trips made by Romanian citizens to the north of the border. Nonetheless, there were Ukrainian speakers in Romania profiting from acting as intermediaries to monolingual Ukrainian traders from across the border. The next section examines how Romanian was also useful indirectly in the languages of international migration.

### **International Migration**

During the 1990s and into the 2000s, Russian remained important as a language of migration in Ukraine, with many men from the region continuing to go to work in construction in Russia, where salaries were higher. Although earnings were lower than those in countries in the EU, the risks and costs associated with this type of migration were lower. Russian, therefore, remained a valuable language to those in Diyalivtsi. Work in official positions and the formal sector, in which Ukrainian was necessary, continued to be beyond the reach of most people in Diyalivtsi. However, Russian was also beginning to lose its economic value as migration to Southern Europe grew and by the time of my fieldwork in 2007-2008, no migrant workers from the village remained in Russia. The most popular destinations for workers from Diyalivtsi were Italy and Spain,<sup>10</sup> with the majority of workers being female, but including also some younger men, who had left together with their wives.<sup>11</sup> In Gorbănița, Italy and France had become the main sites of migration, with some people from the village now moving from France or Italy to the UK in particular, to gain higher salaries.<sup>12</sup> In contrast to Diyalivtsi, most of the migrants were men or young families.<sup>13</sup>

#### *Romanian as a Useful Language*

The Romanian language had come to be valued not only for cross-border trading, but also in migration. Natalya, a middle-aged woman from Diyalivtsi, walked with me through the village one day and we got talking about migration to Italy.

*It really helps to know Romanian, you know? People who speak Romanian find it so much easier to learn Italian.*

Her comment is one voiced commonly in the village and is confirmed by a conversation I have with Anatoliy, a migrant worker in Italy, who returned to Diyalivtsi in the winter of 2007/2008 to visit his family: *You know, it took us all these seven years to even start to get comfortable in Italian. The first two or three years*

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<sup>10</sup> The popularity of Italy as a destination was confirmed in a poll carried out by the Centre for Peace, Conversion and Foreign Policy of Ukraine (CPCFPU) in 2005, where 60% cited Italy as an attractive option, 32% Portugal and 25% Spain, with just 8% choosing Russia (Dikiy, 2007).

<sup>11</sup> For more on migration from Ukraine in the 1990s and 2000s, see Kotsunencko, 2007.

<sup>12</sup> Since Romanian accession to the European Union on 1<sup>st</sup> January 2007.

<sup>13</sup> For more on migration from Romania and Ukraine to Italy see Castagnone et al. 2007.

*were really hard; we didn't understand anything. It's easier now, but I wish I had known some Romanian.*

Knowledge of Romanian had had little status in the Soviet era, with Russian as a lingua franca and a lack of opportunities to travel outside of the Soviet Union, there was no economic reason for the people of Diyalivtsi to actively learn or maintain any knowledge they had. However, the growth in informal cross-border trading to Romania, new employment opportunities in services to Romanian shoppers crossing the border and migrant labour to southern Europe have all led to a growing awareness in Diyalivtsi that Romanian has actual economic value. Although the non-possession of Romanian language skills does not act as a complete barrier to these activities, it is widely perceived that such skills could assist villagers in their participation in them.

#### *Hidden Ukrainian*

In contrast to the usefulness of Romanian, the Ukrainian language was to a certain extent 'hidden' in international migration. There were two main reasons for this: firstly, that for heritage speakers from Gorbănița, they integrated into the Romanian migrant community and a knowledge of the language of the country of migration and Romanian were the only visible ones; secondly, due to the fact that immigration by the people of Diyalivtsi was often illegal or began illegally, they were also often forced to hide their native tongue. Raluca was a native of Gorbănița and had grown up speaking Ruthenian at home. She had married a Romanian speaker from a neighbouring village and she and her husband, along with their small child, were living and working in London. Raluca shared her home in London with another Romanian family from Transylvania. One day, when visiting Raluca, I spoke to her and her brother in Ukrainian, something we had done in the past. The two women from the other family in the house expressed shock and surprise in hearing Raluca speak another language. She had lived with them for two years and in that time had made no reference to being from a Ruthenian-speaking family. Given her own husband's inability to speak the language, she had simply never felt the need to make reference to it or use it. Raluca then had to explain to the two women that she was from a 'Russian-speaking' village.<sup>14</sup>

Irina, a woman from Diyalivtsi who had spent three years living and working in London, explained how she hid her Ukrainian knowledge and instead came to use Russian:

*We had some good friends from the Baltics, Russian speakers, you know? They were very good friends, really they were and we understood one another well. I have tried to contact them since we got back, but I couldn't. They were good people, Lena and her husband. We spoke Russian to them, you know? They were illegal, like us at the beginning, but then they could use their own passports after a year or so, you know? They became members of the European Union.*

Unlike in Italy, where there were large numbers of Ukrainian migrants, Irina and her husband were more isolated and found themselves making contacts on the

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<sup>14</sup> This is a mistranslation into Romanian of 'po-rus'kyi', in which most villagers from Gorbănița referred to themselves as speaking 'limba rusă', i.e. Russian.

basis of Russian, rather than Ukrainian. In addition, they had begun their stay in the UK with Greek passports, but later, like Lena and her husband, held passports from one of the Baltic States. This meant that Russian proved useful not only in terms of meeting other people, but also became their 'official' language with their false passports, as they posed as Russian speakers from the Baltics. Romanian, in contrast, did not become hidden in migration in the same way as Ukrainian and was considered to be useful by the people of Diyalivtsi in learning the Latin languages that were dominant in migration from the village.

### Conclusions

In this article I have discussed just some of the factors influencing the use of Ukrainian and Romanian in rural communities near the border. Language in this region and its usage are complex issues; however, I have focussed on language in informal economic activities because of their dominance in the region. The languages necessary for these activities often fall outside of formal education policy. Romanian and languages such as Italian and Spanish were generally acquired informally, i.e. self-taught in Diyalivtsi. This reflected the fact that education and formal language training in both Ukraine and Romania are focussed on the formal employment sector. Several authors have suggested that in many post-Soviet countries English and Russian represent languages of opportunity (Bulajeva & Hogan-Brun, 2008; Nagzibekova, 2008). Yet, my research in Diyalivtsi showed that these two languages proved less important than Romanian, Italian, Spanish and even Portuguese. In Gorbănița and in surrounding Ruthenian-speaking villages, the continuance of the village's native language was being threatened by not only the state language, Romanian, but also languages of migration, such as French, English and Italian.

The Romanian language was clearly perceived to have advantages for the people of Diyalivtsi in economic terms. In migration, whilst they may hide or 'under-communicate' their Ukrainian language skills, a knowledge of Romanian was indirectly useful in learning Italian and Spanish, the main languages of migration for the villagers. However, in cross-border trading, the uses of Romanian were more directly felt, as it enabled trading without intermediaries and increased the geographical scope of their trade and therefore potentially could earn them greater profits. Villagers in Diyalivtsi's neighbouring Romanian-speaking villagers were finding themselves in demand in the local shops and services near the border, therefore also profiting from the Romanian language in cross-border economic activities.

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## UN OUVRAGE IMPORTANT SUR LA COLLECTION DE MANUSCRITS SLAVONS DU MONASTÈRE DRAGOMIRNA

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**Rezumat:** În acest articol, autoarea semnalează prezența unei lucrări importante, puțin cunoscută, despre colecția de manuscrise slavone a mănăstirii Dragomirna. Este vorba de lucrarea *Manuscrise slavo-române din Moldova. Fondul Mănăstirii Dragomirna*, întocmită, înainte de anul 1962, de cercetătorii Ioan Iufu și Victor Brătulescu; păstrată în biblioteca mănăstirii, în manuscris, în copie dactilografiată r., de aproape cinci decenii, ea trebuie publicată în folosul cercetătorilor vechii culturi românești. Manuscrisele sunt descrise tematic, începând cu *Mineele*. Descrierea manuscriselor (f. 13-322) este precedată de o *Introducere* (f. 1-12). Lucrarea este însoțită de *Note finale* (f. 323-327); nu are *Cuprins*, nici *Indice*. După descrierea manuscrisului lucrării, autoarea ne prezintă un rezumat al informațiilor cuprinse în *Introducere*. Prin elaborarea acestei lucrări s-a marcat un prim pas important spre realizarea unui catalog general al manuscriselor slavone din Moldova. O necesară ediție va trebui să mai conțină bibliografia adusă la zi, un indice general și facsimile, după cel puțin o foaie reprezentativă pentru fiecare manuscris.

**Abstract:** In this paper the author makes known the presence of an important, yet less known work about the collection of Slavonic manuscripts in Dragomirna Monastery. It is about the work entitled *Slavonic-Romanian Manuscripts in Moldavia. Dragomirna Monastery Fund* and it was made before 1962 by the researchers Ioan Iufu and Victor Brătulescu. It has been kept, as a manuscript in a typed copy, for about five decades and it must be published for the benefit of the researchers of the old Romanian culture. The manuscripts are described on a thematic basis, starting with “*Mineele*”, books that contain the services for the saints celebrated by each day. The description of the manuscripts (pp. 13-322) is preceded by an *Introduction* (pp. 1-12). The work has some *Final Notes* (pp. 323-327); no *Contents*, no *Index*. After the description of the work’s manuscript, the author presents an abstract of the information included in the *Introduction*. This paper represents a first important step towards a general catalogue of the Slavonic manuscripts in Moldavia. A necessary edition will have to contain the updated bibliography, a general index and facsimiles, after at least one representative page for each manuscript.

**Résumé:** Dans l’article ci-joint, l’auteur signale la présence d’un ouvrage important, peu connu, sur la collection de manuscrits slavons du monastère Dragomirna. Il s’agit de l’ouvrage *Manuscrits slavo-roumains de la Moldavie. Le Fond du Monastère Dragomirna*, dressé avant l’année 1962 par les chercheurs Ioan Iufu et Victor Brătulescu ; gardé dans la bibliothèque du monastère, en manuscrit, en copie dactylographiée r., de presque cinq décennies, il doit être publié dans le bénéfice des chercheurs de l’ancienne culture roumaine. Les manuscrits sont décrits de manière thématique, tout en commençant avec les *Minee*. La description des manuscrits (f. 13-322) est précédée par une *Introduction* (f. 1-12). L’ouvrage est accompagné de *Notes finales* (f. 323-327); il n’a pas de *Sommaire*, ni d’*Index*. En ce qui

concerne la description du manuscrit de l'ouvrage, l'auteur nous présente un résumé des informations comprises dans l'Introduction. Par l'élaboration de cet ouvrage, on a marqué un premier pas important vers la réalisation d'un catalogue général des manuscrits slavons de la Moldavie. Une nécessaire édition devra contenir, aussi, la bibliographie actualisée, un index général et des facsimiles selon, au moins, une feuille représentative pour chaque manuscrit.

**Keywords:** *Dragomirna Monastery, manuscripts, Romanian culture, Slavonic manuscripts, bibliography*

Dans la période 20-22 juillet 2009, le Monastère Dragomirna a organisé un Symposium international "Dragomirna et ses fondateurs", à l'occasion de l'anniversaire de 400 ans d'existence et de 380 ans de la mort d'un des ses grands fondateurs – le métropolite Anastasie Crimca. La préparation de la communication en vue de la participation à cette manifestation scientifique nous a apporté de nouveau devant un ouvrage important, peu connu, sur la collection de manuscrits slavons du monastère. Il s'agit de l'ouvrage *Manuscrite slavo-române din Moldova. Fondul Mănăstirii Dragomirna (Manuscrits slavo – roumains en Moldavie. Le Fond du Monastère Dragomirna)*, dressé avant l'année 1962, par les chercheurs Ioan Iufu et Victor Brătulescu; gardé dans la bibliothèque du monastère, en manuscrit, en copie dactylographiée r., de presque cinq décennies, il doit être publié au profit des chercheurs de l'ancienne culture roumaine.

Dans la note 1, qui accompagne le titre de l'ouvrage, on spécifie: "Sous ce titre, on signalera les fonds et les manuscrits slavons gardés aujourd'hui dans les bibliothèques d'Etat, dans celles des éparchies et des monastères de la Moldavie. Dans l'ouvrage ci-joint, on donne seulement les manuscrits du monastère Dragomirna. Dans les numéros suivants de la revue L'Eglise Métropolitaine de la Moldavie, seront décrits, aussi, les autres manuscrits slavons qui se trouvent aux monastères Putna, Sucevița, Neamțu et Secu, ceux des centres des éparchies de Iași et de Roman, ceux des Archives de l'Etat de Iași, ainsi que ceux de la Bibliothèque «M. Eminescu» de l'Université de Iași". Malheureusement, aucun des ouvrages indiqués n'a pas été imprimé dans la revue qu'on vient de mentionner.

Les déplacements à tous les détenteurs de valeurs bibliophiles de la Moldavie ont été possibles grâce à la compréhension et à l'appui matériel de Sa Sanctité le Métropolite de la Moldavie et de Suceava de cette époque-là, Iustin Moisescu.

De la Note de la fin de l'Introduction (p. 12), signé par Victor Brătulescu, on apprend des données importantes sur la réalisation de cet ouvrage (comme ses auteurs le nomment). En 1962, comme celui-ci a été terminé, il a été présenté dans le cadre de l'Association des Slavistes de la Roumanie; à la requête de l'Association, le professeur P. P. Panaitescu lui a fait un compte-rendu avec des observations pertinentes (dont les auteurs ont tenu compte) et dans lequel celui-ci a proposé la publication de l'ouvrage. La mort prématurée de Ioan Iufu (en 1964) a conduit au retard de la rédaction de la forme finale, en vue de la publication. Les dernières vérifications du texte ont été faites, en 1964, par Victor Brătulescu et Zlatca Iufu, la femme de Ioan Iufu, lecteur à l'Université de București, l'Institut de langues et littératures étrangères, la Faculté de langues slaves. D'ailleurs, tout en partant de cet



ouvrage (sur lequel elle est revenue en 1966), Zlatca Iufu a rédigé un précieux matériel de synthèse sur les manuscrits du monastère<sup>1</sup>.

Dans la même Note, on a précisé, aussi, la contribution de chacun des auteurs : l'étude historique et linguistique (l'établissement de la rédaction, la traduction des textes, la datation et la localisation des manuscrits) a revenu à Ioan Iufu, pendant que la description des éléments ornementaux, des miniatures et des reliures à Victor Brătulescu; le travail minutieux pour apprendre et identifier les filigranes "qui a nécessité feuilleter chaque feuille de tous les manuscrits, ainsi que leur confrontation avec les catalogues de spécialité, a été faite en commun".

### **La description du manuscrit**

La copie dactylographiée, qui présente les traces d'une utilisation lointaine, est gardée entre des couvertures de dossier (30,5 x 21 cm.), fixées, dernièrement, dans un bibliorayon. Celle-ci a 327 feuilles numérotées, avec quelques exceptions, en papier pelure. Pour compléter le texte, sur plusieurs feuilles, on a ajouté par collage, des fragments de papier. Les manuscrits sont décrits de manière thématique, tout en commençant avec les *Minee*.

La description des manuscrits (f. 13-322) est précédée par une Introduction (f. 1-12). L'ouvrage est accompagné de Notes finales, certaines inachevées (f. 323-327); il n'y a pas de Sommaire, ni de l'Index.

Le titre des textes, les notes marginales reprises dans la langue slavone (avec l'indication des titres, des lettres superposées), suivis de la traduction sont des copies manuscrites réalisées à l'indigo, presque illisibles, vers la fin ; certains sont en crayon ou écrits avec de l'encre bleue. Plusieurs interventions sur le texte de Victor Brătulescu, ensuite vers la fin de Zlatca Iufu, la seule qui a signalé l'existence de ce manuscrit (dans l'étude qu'on vient de mentionner), sans indiquer, pourtant, l'endroit où celui-ci est conservé.

### **Quelques-unes des informations présentées en Introduction**

Dans les bibliothèques recherchées de la Moldavie, on garde presque 650 manuscrits slavons.

Excepté un nombre réduit de manuscrits en rédaction serbe et russe, tous les autres sont écrits dans la rédaction médio – bulgare, une tradition enracinée dans les écoles de diacres de la Moldavie. Des ceux-ci, quelques dizaines de manuscrits datant de la seconde moitié du XVI-ème siècle et surtout du XVII-ème siècle ont souffert l'influence de la rédaction russo-ukrainienne.

La recherche des manuscrits slavones de la Moldavie a commencé avec le monastère Dragomirna, la gardienne de la plus importante collection de manuscrits. On a décrit 167 manuscrits<sup>2</sup>, provenus des monastères (Moldovița, Voroneț, Putna,

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<sup>1</sup> *Manuscrisele slave din biblioteca și muzeul mănăstirii Dragomirna*, en "Romanoslavica", XIII, 1966, p. 198-202.

<sup>2</sup> En fait, il y en a 165 manuscrits ; les dernières deux positions comprennent des feuilles volantes, qui proviennent des manuscrits de la collection.

Solca, Sucevița, L'Evêché de Rădăuți) et des églises de la Bucovine (Vama, Broscăuți, "Sf. Nicolae" de Suceava, Gavrileşti, Gemenea, Horodnicul de Sus, Siret, Ruși-Moldovița, Câmpulung, Costești, Hatna, Breaza).

Ecrits entre la moitié du XIV-ème siècle et la première moitié du XIX-ème (les derniers dans l'orthographe de l'école de Paisie Velicikovski) et circulant sur un territoire restreint, les manuscrits permettent l'étude de l'évolution de l'écriture slavone de la Moldavie.

Comme un fait intéressant, les auteurs observent que les plus anciens manuscrits slavons de la Moldavie (inclusivement ceux provenus du monastère Neamț, qui se trouvent aujourd'hui à la Bibliothèque de l'Académie Roumaine) ont appartenu initialement au monastère Voroneț. On a offert des exemples tels : *Sbornicul lui Gherman*<sup>3</sup>, écrit à Veliko Tyrnovo, en 1359, et gardé aujourd'hui à la Bibliothèque de la Patriarchie Roumaine (apporté à cet endroit-ci de la bibliothèque du monastère Dragomirna); un *Pavecernic*, conservé aujourd'hui dans la bibliothèque du monastère Dragomirna (inv. 1831/742), écrit dans la même période. Les deux textes sont "écrits dans la rédaction médio - bulgare avec des textes pas revus et dans l'ancienne orthographe antérieure à l'époque du Patriarce Eftimie".

On a mis en relief, aussi, l'importance des six *Sbornice*, qui proviennent du monastère Moldovița, un important centre de culture slavone<sup>4</sup>, pour la littérature slavone – roumaine, semblable à celui du monastère Neamț. Ecrits, en plus grande partie, au début du XV-ème siècle, les *Sbornice* contiennent des ouvrages hagiographiques et homilétiques<sup>5</sup>. En un de ces *Sbornice* (inv. 1813/724), se trouve la note du copiste, dans laquelle on mentionne que ces livres ont été écrits au Monastère Studion de Constantinople. Quelques-uns des textes qui entrent dans la composition des *Sbornice* sont uniques dans la littérature slavone de ce genre, entre eux, un matériel riche de textes apocryphes ; par exemple, le manuscrit (inv. 1885/796) composé de 48 textes, tous apocryphes, attribués dans leur majorité à Ioan Gură de Aur.

Toujours du groupe provenu du monastère Moldovița, les *Minee* pour presque tous les mois de l'année présentent une grande importance ; ils ont été copiés entre les années 1460-1470, une partie à l'Eglise Métropolitaine de Suceava, une autre au monastère Moldovița.

<sup>3</sup> Ioan Iufu, *Sbornicul lui Gherman (1359)*, en "Ortodoxia", XII, 1960, no. 2, p. 253-279; Olga Stoicovici, *Biblioteca Palatului Patriarhal și Biblioteca Sinodală*, dans le volume *Catalogul manuscriselor slavo-române din București* (coordinateur : Elena Lința), București, 1981, p. 283-291.

<sup>4</sup> I. Iufu, *Mănăstirea Moldovița – centru cultural important din perioada culturii române în limba slavonă (sec. XV-XVIII)*, en "Mitropolia Moldovei și Sucevei" (dans les pages à suivre, MMS), 1963, no. 7-8, p. 428-455.

<sup>5</sup> Le Sommaire des *Sbornice* est reproduit posthument : Ioan Iufu et Zl. Iufu, *Colecția Studion*, en "Biserica Ortodoxă Română", 1969, no. 7-8, p. 817-835. En variante bulgare, Zlatka Iufu, *Za desetomnata kolekcija Studion (Iz arhiva na rum"nskija izsledvač Jon Iufu)*, en "Studia Balcanica", Sofia, 1970, p. 299-343.

Les notes des feuilles des manuscrits de Dragomirna représentent “un précieux matériel documentaire concernant l’histoire de la Moldavie et l’histoire de la langue roumaine”. Il y en a un manuscrit de la première moitié du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle (inv. 1929/999), dans le sommaire duquel on trouvait plusieurs feuilles avec un glossaire slavon-roumain, desquelles, aujourd’hui, on n’a gardé qu’une seule feuille<sup>6</sup>.

En ce qui concerne l’ancienneté des manuscrits, selon l’appréciation des auteurs, la situation se présente de la manière suivante : 7 manuscrits du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle, 1 manuscrit des XIV-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles, 36 manuscrits du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle, 4 manuscrits des XV-XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles, 79 manuscrits du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, 5 manuscrits des XVI-XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles, 19 manuscrits du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle, 9 manuscrits du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle et 7 manuscrits du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle.

Les manuscrits les plus anciens (3 dans la rédaction serbe et 4 dans la rédaction médio-bulgare) n’ont pas été écrits en Moldavie ; ils ont été apportés soit de Constantinople et de la Bulgarie, soit du Mont Athos.

Dans la période de la documentation des deux chercheurs (tout comme aujourd’hui), au monastère Dragomirna, se trouvaient sept des manuscrits avec des miniatures, réalisés pendant le métropolite Anastasie Crimca: *Tetraevanghel*, de l’année 1609; *Evanghelie*, de l’année 1609; deux *Liturghiere*, de l’année 1610; *Tetraevanghel*, de l’année 1615; *Liturghier*, de l’année 1616; *Psaltire*, de l’année 1616.

Dans la dernière partie de l’Introduction, on rencontre des observations riches concernant la reliure des manuscrits, l’illustration des couvertures, soit qu’elles sont en plaques métalliques ou en bois et cuir ; il suit la présentation des motifs ornementaux rencontrés aux frontispices, les initiales ornées, les vignettes et les bordures<sup>7</sup>, tout en observant comme à tous les manuscrits de la Moldavie et de la Valachie “une unité évidente et une concordance parfaite entre le caractère linéaire des ornements (frontispices, bordures, initiales ornées) et entre le ducte, toujours linéaire, de l’alphabet cyrillique” (f. 8), dans la vertu de l’existence d’une école commune.

A la fin, on nous présente la liste des 54 filigranes identifiés sur les feuilles des manuscrits de Dragomirna, dans leur ordre alphabétique. Le filigrane le plus répandu est le sanglier, suivi par la tête de boeuf, les ciseaux, l’emblème et la couronne, en différentes variantes. La plus grande partie ont pu être identifiés dans le catalogue de Briquet<sup>8</sup>; les autres, assez beaucoup de variantes de tête de bœuf, sanglier, ciseaux et emblème, ne sont pas signalés dans le catalogue rencontré.

Sans doute, par l’élaboration de cet ouvrage, on a marqué un premier pas vers la réalisation d’un catalogue général des manuscrits slavones de la Moldavie, quoique

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<sup>6</sup> Voir Diomid Strungaru, *Începuturile lexicografiei române*, en “Romanoslavica”, XIII, 1966, p. 146.

<sup>7</sup> Voir Prof. Victor Brătulescu, *Ornamentica manuscriselor slavone provenite de la mănăstirea Moldovița și aflate la mănăstirile Dragomirna, Sucevița și în alte părți*, en MMS, 1963, no. 7-8, p. 473-501.

<sup>8</sup> Ch. M. Briquet, *Les filigranes. Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier des leur apparitions vers 1292, jusqu’en 1600*, I-IV, Paris, 1907; la II<sup>a</sup>-ième édition, Leipzig, 1923.

la description des manuscrits ne soit pas toujours faite conformément aux standards consacrés des catalogues de ce genre. Par exemple, la description de la reliure, des éléments d'ornementation est très riche, dans le détriment du sommaire (aux livres liturgiques, surtout), avec l'exception des *sbornice*, qui sont décrits de manière détaillée ; on ne mentionne pas toujours les feuilles, où se trouvent les notes ou les éléments d'ornementation ; on n'indique pas *Incipitul* et *Desinitul*, dans le cas des manuscrits incomplets ; on ne spécifie pas le type d'écriture le format du livre. Pour cela, une édition nécessaire du manuscrit signalé devra contenir, auprès des complétions de dessus, la bibliographie actualisée, des autres commentaires, un Index général et des facsimilés, après au moins une feuille représentative pour chaque manuscrit.

**Traduit par Violeta-Anca Epure**

## A CONSULAR REPORT FROM CHERNIVTSI TO THE ROMANIAN FOREIGN MINISTER ABOUT THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN THE DUCHY OF BUKOVINA (1914)

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**Rezumat:** Documentul descoperit în Arhivele Ministerului de Externe este un Raport al Consulatului României în Bucovina și Galiția, cu privire la luptele politice ale partidelor românești (Partidul Democrat, Partidul Național și Partidul Independent de Centru) în lunile premergătoare declanșării Primului Război Mondial. Autoritățile austriece îi urmăreau în permanență pe români, bănuindu-i de trădare, iredentism și lipsă de loialitate față de dinastia de Habsburg.

**Abstract:** The document that was found in the Archives of the Foreign Ministry is a Report of the Romanian Consulate in Bukovina and Galicia. It presents the political struggles of the Romanian parties (Democratic Party, National Party and the Independent Center Party) in the months preceding the onset of the First World War. The Austrian authorities diligently pursued Romanians, suspecting them of treason, irredentism, and lack of loyalty to the Habsburg dynasty.

**Résumé:** Le document trouvé dans les Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères est un Rapport du Consulat Roumain en Bucovine e ten Galicie sur les luttes politiques des partis roumains (Le Parti Démocrat, le Parti National et le Parti Independent du Centre) au cours des mois précédant le début de la Première Guerre Mondiale. Les autorités autrichiennes le poursuivait sans cesse sur l'irredentisme roumain, les soupçonner de trahison et de déloyauté envers la dynastie des Habsbourg.

**Keywords:** Romanian Foreign Minister, Bukovina, Nicolae Iorga's Cultural League, The Democratic Party, Romanian National Party, Bucharest, Chernovtsi, ruthenisation of Bukovina, provincial parliament, Chernivitsi, Bucharest, Galicia, Mittelpartei.

Mr. Georgescu, the Romanian consul in the Duchy of Bukovina and Galician Kingdom, informed the Romanian Foreign Minister that both authorities, from Vienna and Chernovtsy were dominated by the concern of the increasing influence of Romania, after the Balkan wars and especially after the Peace of Bucharest (1912). The Austrian central authorities and provincial government of Bukovina had become extremely suspicious on Romania's attitudes and actions on short and medium term. The tension was growing as the information arrived from Romanian Kingdom, bearing the future annexation of Bukovina, Transylvania, and Banat. The Romanians were constantly suspected of spying the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Even the army deserters, who wanted to settle in Bukovina, were considered spies, sent by the

Romanian intelligence services. Every citizen visiting the duchy was severely supervised and controlled. The habitants from compact Romanian villages in Southern Bukovina were often suspected of links with Romania. In addition, they were held for items that would be sent to newspapers in Bucharest or for maintaining correspondence with the nationalist professor and politician, Nicolae Iorga. Tampering with mail coming from Romania became a common practice. Romanians in Bukovina were seen as possible traitors, duchy's government launching into a true persecution against them. Any officer or agent could help to "rescue the Monarchy," denouncing Romanians as irredentists and traitors. The accusations focused primarily on Romanian National Party members or sympathizers.

Unfortunately, the system was developed through the Democratic Party of Bukovina<sup>1</sup>, whose leaders such as Aurel Onciul, Mihail Chisanovici, Romul Reuț become also deputies in the provincial Parliament. In order to gain sympathy, the Austrian government concerned about Romania's policy toward Russia, but also on the fervent activity of Nicolae Iorga's "Cultural League." The "Nationalists" were denounced in the Democratic Party's journal ("Foaia Poporului") and in "Die Wahrheit" as well as in meetings of provincial institutions or public gatherings. They were considered by the Austrian State as traitors and irredentists, loyal to Romanian Kingdom. Georgescu posed Aurel Onciul in a very bad light, saying that he had a long career as informer against his fellow compatriots and political opponents. Nikolai Wassilko (the leader of the Ruthenian Party) had him as a model, accusing his opponents (the "Old Ruthenians")<sup>2</sup> of maintain hidden liaisons with Russia. Austrian authorities perceived these politicians as "saviors of the Fatherland".

The Romanian consul recalled that, at the end of 1913, Romanians had submitted a memorandum relating to each issue (Church, Emperor, Prime Minister, Minister of Religion, and Governor of the Province etc). Their proposal was to establish a separate Ruthenian bishop, preserving the national character of the Orthodox Church in Bukovina. In order to improve the image of the central government at Vienna and of the local government at Chernivtsi, in 1913, politicians such as Constantin Isopescul-Grecul or Mihail Chisanovici were sent to Bucharest. Both of them had previous contact with politicians from Romania, and the King Carol I received them. The government from Chernivitsi considered Chisanovici, deputy in the provincial parliament, a respected leader in Bucharest. Even so, the Romanian consul advised the Foreign Minister that Chisanovici together with Aurel Onciul did not miss any opportunity to denigrate the Romanian state and its citizens. As such, Bucharest's government rejected the support for Aurel Onciul's newspaper "Foaia Poporului" and the gratuities for its transport inside Romania.

Also, Georgescu found that Romanians from Bukovina were divided into three political groups, but only two of them were truly significant: nationalists and

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<sup>1</sup> See Marian Olaru, *Activitatea politică a lui Aurel Onciul (1904-1918)*, "Analele Bucovinei", II, 1995, nr. 2, pp. 275-289 ; Idem, *Despre crezul politic al lui Aurel Onciul*, "Analele Bucovinei", IV, 1/1997, pp. 175-180.

<sup>2</sup> Idem, *Mișcarea națională a românilor din Bucovina*, Rădăuți, Editura Septentrion, 2002.

democrats<sup>3</sup>. The Independent Party (or the Center *Mittelpartei*) had a political doctrine almost identical to the nationalist, but generally characterized by obedience to the Austrian government. Greatly weakened, independents were denying the cooperation with “Cultural League”, while Democrats kept their attitude of hostility. Romanian National Party of Bukovina was politically isolated because of the joint actions by government and local Democrats. Georgescu believed that the followers of Aurel Onciul are a “clique gathered around the family Onciul - Lupu<sup>4</sup>”. Their political purposes were not to improve Romanian’s situation in the Duchy of Bukovina, but rather personal or group interests. The Democratic Party, led by Aurel Onciul made national concessions to Ruthenian, German or Poles, which affected the autochthon population<sup>5</sup>. By “Land Bank”, created from the initiative of this party and provincial parliament, Democrats have drained resources and wealth peasantry Church Fund. A million crowns deficit was covered by government support, but the province was forced to contract new loans. They became *instruments of blackmail in the hands of government*, losing their action freedom. In addition, Romanian consul in Bukovina accused Aurel Onciul that “he has no national identity”.

In political or church matters, he rather supported Ruthenians against Romanians, affirming insincerely, that denationalization is not applied systematically in Bukovina. In fact, the Church Fund couldn’t offer scholarships to Romanian students, but only those of Ukrainian Orthodox religion. A number of senior officials in Bukovina (Second Deputy Governor, top prosecutors in Chernovtsy and Suceava) were declared unfit and demoted to lower positions. At the moment of Bukovina’s Union<sup>6</sup> with Romania, Aurel Onciul was considered a traitor and was excluded from the political activity by the Romanian Kingdom authorities.

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<sup>3</sup> Mihai-Ștefan Ceașu, *Parlamentaris, partide și elită politică în Bucovina Habsburgică*, Iași, 2004 and Ioan Cocuz, *Partidele politice românești din Bucovina (1862-1914)*, Suceava 2003.

<sup>4</sup> Florea Lupu, *Constatări și lămuriri asupra mișcării politice a românilor bucovineni...*, Cernăuți, 1923.

<sup>5</sup> Mihai Iacobescu, *Elita românilor bucovineni între anii 1862-1918*, in *Bucovina (1861-1918): Aspecte edificatoare pentru o Europă unită?*, Suceava, 2002.

<sup>6</sup> D. Hrenciuc, *Minoritatea polonă în Bucovina*, „Analele Bucovinei”, VII, 2/2000, pp. 439-457; *Un capitol din recunoașterea diplomatică a Marii Uniri. Problema Bucovinei în cadrul Conferinței de Pace de la Paris (1919-1920). Contribuții istorice*, „Analele Bucovinei”, X, 2/2003, pp. 439-449; *Continuitate și schimbare: Integrarea minorităților naționale din Bucovina istorică în Regatul României Mari (1918-1940). Perspectiva Național-Liberală (1918-1928)*, Rădăuți, Editura Septentrion, 2005; Rodica Iațencu, *Unirea Bucovinei cu Regatul Român. Integrarea politico-administrativă (II)*, „Analele Bucovinei”, X, 1/2003, pp. 155-193; *Unirea Bucovinei cu Regatul Român. Integrarea politico-administrativă (III)*, „Analele Bucovinei”, X, 2/2003; Radu Economu, *Relațiile politico-diplomatice între România și Ucraina în perioada 1918-1940*, „Glasul Bucovinei”, III, nr. 4/1996, pp. 8-12; Pavel Țugui, *Unele precizări cu privire la revenirea Bucovinei la România*, „Analele Bucovinei”, III, 2/1996, pp. 467-476; Ion Zadik, *Generalul Iacob Zadik și revenirea Bucovinei la România*, „Analele Bucovinei”, V, 1/1998, pp. 21-29.

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„D’le Min(inistru),

Prin raportul meu cu No. 599 din 1/14 Iunie curent, am avut onoarea a arăta Ex. V. că viața politică a Românilor bucovineni prezintă simptome noi. Aceste simptome se manifestă pe de-o parte în ținuta Guvernului față de Români, pe de alta în raporturile reciproce dintre diferitele partide românești de aici. În ceea ce privește pe Guvern, situațiunea politică creată prin ultima criză balcanică l-a făcut să fie mai bănuitor, căci de când s-a văzut avântul cu care s-a făcut mobilizarea la noi și rolul pe care ni l-am dobândit prin pacea de la București, toate cercurile oficiale și toate păturile sociale austriace, după cum aceasta se vede și în Bucovina, sunt cuprinse de neliniște și chiar frică în privința ținutei României în viitor. Informațiunile pe cari le aduc încoace diferite persoane cari se întorc din România și cari spun că la noi nu se vorbește decât de reluarea părților românești aflate sub sceptrul Habsburgic, contribuesc a mări această neliniște încât aici pretutindeni se poate auzi vorbindu-se că într-adevăr România se pregătește acum ca să pună mâna pe Bucovina, Transilvania și Banat. Din această cauză, se pare că suntem considerați ca un stat cu intențiuni ostile Monarhiei. Suntem, de exemplu, bănuți că trimitem spioni în Austro-Ungaria. Până și dezertorii din armata noastră cari voesc să se stabilească în Bucovina sunt presupuși a fi venit în Austria din ordinul autorităților noastre militare, după cum am putut vedea cu chiar ochii mei în niște dosare ce mi-au fost trimise din greșală de Prefectura din Rădăuți, pentru verificarea declarațiilor dezertorilor respectivi.

În consecință, jandarmeria și poliția supraveghează pe fiecare supus român care vine în Bucovina, și cu această ocaziune organele inferioare fac arestări fără rost și cauză, oprind și persoane cu acte doveditoare în regulă. Satele românești din sudul Bucovinei, cari sunt aproape curat românești, și poate din această cauză inspiră mai puțină încredere stăpânirii, se găsesc sub un control neconținut și supărător al serviciului de siguranță, astfel că, chiar niște țărani liniștiți și nepricepuți în ale politiceii sunt bănuți a avea legături politice cu România. Profesori și funcționari români sun trași la răspundere pentru niște articole ce ar fi trimis ziarelor din București și pentru că întrețin corespondență cu Dl. Iorga. Scrisori cari sosesc din România, ajung violate în mâna adresaților și orice manifestațiune națională a Românilor bucovineni, care mai înainte trecea neobservată, astăzi este comentată și supravegheată de autorități.

Cu un cuvânt, s-a întreprins o goană și contra unor închipuiți vrăjmași ai Statului și acest sistem fiind odată inaugurat, fiecare funcționarăș și agent, doritor a arăta zel patriotic și a-și câștiga merite, se grăbește a contribui și ele la opera de salvare a Monarhiei, fără a mai examina mult dacă ceea-ce raportează este și conform cu adevărul. Astfel, la Guvernamentul local și la comandamentul jandarmeriei și chiar și la autoritățile centrale din Viena ar fi parvenit nenumărate denunțuri relative la pretinse gesturi iredentiste ale diferiților Români bucovineni. Este însă semnificativ că denunțurile nu se referă decât la persoane despre care se știe că aparțin partidului național.



Aceasta se datorește deputatului Onciul (n.n. Aurel) și aderenților (prietenilor săi) Mihail Chisanovici și Romul Reutz, șefi ai partidului democrat, cari văzând nervozitatea Guvernului imp(erial). Reg(al). în privința ținutei viitoare a României și impresia adâncă pe care au făcut-o în Austria și adunările Ligii Culturale, au profitat de ocazie, spre a calomnia pe naționaliști, adversarii politici, sugerând Guvernului bănuiele în privința lealității lor față de Tron și de Stat. Încă din vara anului trecut aproape cu fiecare număr al ziarelor <<Foia Poporului>> și <<Die Wahrheit>>, în adunările lor politice, în ședințele oficiale ale diferitelor instituțiuni, precum și în conversațiune particulară, (...) ei denunță fără de scrupul și de măsură pe naționaliști pe iredentism, adică de legături ascunse cu România și au ajuns până a face reproșuri în această privință și Mitropolitului Repta și a provoca scandaluri de felul aceluia despre care tratează raportul meu cu No. 599 (...).

Obiceiul de a denunța pe adversarii săi politici și de a calomnia România nu este nou la deputatul Onciul. El și-a început cariera sa politică tot în felul acesta, după cum s-a văzut și în procesul său cu Baronul Eudox Hormuzaki, în care amestecase și persoana domnului Tit Maiorescu și despre care acest oficiu a avut onoarea a informa Ministerul sub No. 190 din 31 Mai 1904. Este receta (n.n. rețeta) probată a renegatului Nocala Wassilko pe care o urmează, căci și acesta denunțând prin presă, în Parlament și până și la Împăratul pe Rutenii-bătrâni că întrețin legături ascunse cu Rusia, a reușit a-i nimici, câștigându-și el la stăpânire aureola unui salvator al patriei și partidul său rămânând unicul partid rutenesc în Bucovina.

Același scop îl urmărește și șeful partidului democrat român, deși știe bine că naționaliștii sunt oameni liniștiți, departe de a fi iredentiști și nu primesc din România nici un fel de încurajare, în această privință. O face spre a discredita și nimici partidul național, pentru ca apoi democrații să rămână stăpâni pe situațiune și să-și asigure și pentru viitor mandatele, pe cari le-au periclitat prin faptele lor în timpul celor 12 ani de când s-au ivit pe arena politică. Se pare că această tactică este binevenită și Guvernului, căci în modul acesta el ar putea scăpa de naționaliști și prin urmare și de rezistența pe care i-o fac în diferite chestiuni în cari stăpânirea dorește să satisfacă pe Ruteni, cum a fost – spre exemplu – afacerea bisericească.

În afacerea bisericească, despre care am avut onoarea a informa Departamentul (...) prin rapoartele mele sub No. 934 și 1025 din 29 August și 25 Septembrie 1913, mai am de adăugat că Românii au înaintat pe la sfârșitul anului 1913, încă câte un memoriu Maiestății Sale Împăratului, precum și Ministrului Președinte, Ministrului Cultelor și Guvernatorului Bucovinei, prin care cer cu insistență o Episcopie separată pentru Ruteni, păstrându-se caracterul național român al actualei Arhiepiscopii. Aici, alăturat, am onoarea a înainta Excelenței Voastre (...) în textul german și în traducere română copii de pe memoriile respective.

Această nouă intervenire a Românilor a rămas ca și până acum fără de efect și este puțină speranță că guvernul o va lua îndeaproape în considerațiune, mai ales acum când acei cari au făcut-o, adică naționaliștii, au pierdut creditul la stăpânire și când partidul democrat s-a pus cu trup și suflet pe parte Rutenilor, (...) pe cari și Guvernul și chiar și Împăratul personal, ține să-i mulțumească.

În ceea ce privește adunările Ligei Culturale, ele, după cum am arătat mai sus, au făcut aice o impresie adâncă și cu ocaziunea aceasta s-a putut observa mai bine atitudinea pe care o au în afaceri naționale românești, diferiții factori cari fac politică în Bucovina. Guvernul le/a considerat ca un incident foarte desagrabil și compromițător pentru dânsul, mai ales că presa din Europa întregă a luat notiță de acele adunări, făcând deducțiuni în privința raporturilor dintre noi și Monarhie. Faptul că Guvernul le-a dat destulă importanță rezultă și din expedientul la care a recurs și despre care voi vorbi mai jos și, spre a se apăra de învinuirile ce i s-au adus și spre a liniști spiritele în România.

Publicul din Cernăuți a dat și el asupra celor ce s-a vorbit la adunările Ligei o deosebită atenție și pretutindeni s-a discutat cu interesul cel mai viu dările de seamă, aduse de ziarele noastre în privința aceasta.

Mijlocul cel mai potrivit de a convinge factorii competenți din România despre nedreptatea ce se face stăpânirii austriece, Guvernul a găsit că este a îndupleca chiar pe cei interesați în cauză, adică Românii bucovineni, ca să desaprobe și desminte învinuirile Ligei. Acesta a fost scopul pentru care au fost trimiși la București deputații Isopescul-Grecul și Mihail Chisanovici, despre cari am avut onoarea a raporta Ex. V. telegrafic sub No. 294 din 18 Martie trecut (...).

Deputatul din Parlament și din Dietă, Isopescul-Grecul, profesor universitar care în timpul din urmă a fost nobilat și decorat, și este cunoscut că vânează după măririi, și care, cu orice ocaziune caută să-și manifeste sentimentele sale ultra austriace, a fost pentru contele Berchtold cea mai indicată persoană pentru o asemenea misiune, mai cu seamă că deja cu o ocaziune anterioară se introdusese pe la diferiți oameni politici din București și avusese onoarea de a fi primit și de Maiestatea Sa Regele.

Pe de altă parte, deputatul dietal Mihail Chisanovici, de profesiune institutor la o școală primară din Cernăuți, a fost și el trimis în București pentru că are cunoștințe întinse în capitala noastră. În privința lui, trebuie să intercalez că este cunoscut în Bucovina întregă ca un om lipsit de orice sentiment național și de orice morală personală și politică. Este deci regretabil că o parte din ziaristii noștri și diferite centre culturale și politice de la noi, îi dai oare-care atenție, căci acest om, care, ca și șeful său Aurel Onciul, ori de câte ori se întoarce din excursiunile sale din România, își bate joc prin localurile publice din Cernăuți despre cele ce a auzit și văzut la noi, ne ponegrește în fața străinilor, criticând cu rea voință administrațiunea, instituțiile, societatea și moravurile noastre, nu merită să fie primit la noi decât cu dispreț. El a știut însă, dându-se în București drept bun român, să se introducă pe la diferite persoane politice și să obțină de la noi, în repetite rânduri, abonamente și ajutoare pentru <<Foaia Poporului>>, să capete bilete gratuite pe căile noastre ferate și pe vapoarele serviciului nostru maritim, și să găsească ospitalitate în coloanele diferitelor ziare din București.

Pe lângă intervenirile pe cari acești doi emisari au fost însărcinați a le face în București, Guvernul a mai înscenat și prin presa locală și aceea din Viena, o acțiune de justificare a partidelor românești și Românilor cu vază aice, să desmintă ei înșiși ca

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nef fondate afirmațiunile Ligei Culturale. Cine nu a voit s-o facă de bună voie, a trebuit să cedeze amenințărilor.

Dintre toți, singuri naționaliștii s-au ținut cu demnitate în limitele strictului necesar. Ei au publicat un Comunicat prin care au declarat că în adevăr Românii bucovineni sunt nedreptățiți față de Ruteni, dară că partidul nu a cerut intervenție din străinătate și deci nu o poate aproba. Nu tot astfel și deputații din partidul așa-zis independent ca Baronul Nicu Flondor, Isopescul-Grecul și Teofil Simionovici. Aceștia, în loc să se mărginească a spune că nu au nici o legătură cu Liga și să decline răspunderea pentru acțiunile acesteia, s-au grăbit să facă prin interviurile pe care le-au dat presei locale și acelei din Viena, niște declarații politice slugarnice, ieșind astfel din rezerva pe care ar fi trebuit să o observe ca Români, față de o mișcare întreprinsă în interesul poporului, pe care pretind că îl reprezintă.

În ceea ce privește pe deputații democrați, Aurel Onciul, M. Chisanovici, R. Reuș și aderenții lor, ei au profitat cu prisosință de această împrejurare pentru a se insinua Guvernului ca partidul cel mai supus și devotat patriei și dinastiei. Aceștia, pe de o parte, prin interviuri și articole iscălite de dâșii, s-au repezit asupra Ligei și a țării noastre ca și când ar fi fost vorba că dorobanțul român încearcă să forțeze porțile Austriei, iar pe de altă parte, după cum am amintit mai sus, au început a calomnia și denunța naționaliștii, că ei ar fi inițiatorii protestului Ligei, etc. Naturalmente, că această ținută a democraților a fost pe deplin după placul Guvernului, după cum (...) conduita așa-zisului partid independent nu a lăsat nimic de dorit în privința gestului patriotic pe care stăpânirea îl cerea de la dânsul.

Însă, pentru că declarațiunea dată de naționaliști nu l-a satisfăcut, Guvernul a falsificat-o trimițând ziarelor din Viena comunicatul respectiv în redacție preschimbată și nu în textul alcătuit de partid. În același fel s-a procedat și în privința bătrânului naționalist Dionisie Bejan. Aceasta, pe lângă că este deputat dietal și consilier consistorial, mai este și președinte al *Asociației pentru Cultura și Literatura Română în Bucovina* și deci o persoană marcantă în societatea românească din Cernăuți. Deoarece el a refuzat a se pronunța cu privire la acțiunea Ligei, Guvernul (...) nu s-a sfiit a publica un interview aprobator din partea părintelui Bejan.

(...) Trebuie însă să constat că afacerea cu Liga Culturală a slăbit situația politică a partidului naționalist. Deși oamenii politici români din Bucovina sunt divizați în trei tabere, totuși se poate zice că nu există decât două partide, acel național și acel democrat. Doar câțiva, între cari și Mareșalul Țării, Baronul Alexandru Hormuzaki se numesc independenți sau și partid de centru, s-au ales și ei tot pe programul național, și în luptă au fost învinși de democrați (...)"

**Arhivele Ministerului Afacerilor Externe (i.e. Foreign Ministry Archives, București, fond E2, vol. IX, partea a II-a, filele 170-175.**

## ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN THE PROXIMITY OF DRĂGUȘENI VILLAGE (SUCEAVA COUNTY) IN THE LETTERS SENT BY DIMITRIE DRĂGUȘANU TO VASILE CIUREA

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**Rezumat:** *Arheologia interbelică românească a fost tributară activității entuziaste a amatorilor. Puținele instituții de specialitate nu puteau acoperi întreg teritoriul țării și erau subfinanțate. Această situație este valabilă și pentru regiunea orașului Fălticeni, unde funcționa un muzeu regional complex încă din 1914. Vasile Ciurea, directorul acestuia, colabora cu numeroși intelectuali din regiune pentru a identifica situri arheologice și a recupera obiecte valoroase pentru instituția pe care o conducea. Unul dintre acești colaboratori a fost Dimitrie Drăgușanu, învățător la Drăgușeni. La Galeria oamenilor de seamă din Fălticeni, în fondul Vasile Ciurea se găsesc cinci cărți poștale trimise acestuia – către Dimitrie Drăgușanu. Ele conțin informații cu privire la cercetările de la Drăgușeni – Cetățuia, întreprinse de cei doi intelectuali, dar și de Vladimir și Hortensia Dumitrescu, precum și despre alte situri arheologice din regiune.*

**Résumé:** *Entre les deux guerres mondiales, l'archéologie roumaine a dû beaucoup à l'activité enthousiaste des amateurs. Les institutions de spécialité peu nombreuses n'étaient pas capables de couvrir tout le territoire du pays et, en plus, elles étaient sous financées. Ce contexte est valable aussi pour la région de la ville de Fălticeni, où fonctionnait un musée régional complexe de 1914. Vasile Ciurea, le directeur de ce musée, était en relation avec de nombreux intellectuels de la région pour identifier des sites archéologiques et pour récupérer des objets de grande valeur pour l'institution qu'il dirigeait. Parmi ces collaborateurs se retrouve Dimitrie Drăgușanu, instituteur dans le village de Drăgușeni. Galeria oamenilor de seamă de Fălticeni possède cinq cartes postales envoyées par Dimitrie Drăgușanu à Vasile Ciurea. Les cartes postales renferment des informations concernant les recherches de Drăgușeni – Cetățuia, recherches réalisées par les deux intellectuels mentionnés, mais aussi par Vladimir et Hortensia Dumitrescu, et aussi des informations sur d'autres sites archéologiques de la région.*

**Abstract:** *The Romanian interwar archaeology was an activity dependent of some enthusiastic amateurs. A few specialized institutions could not cover the whole country and were underfunded. This situation was specific for the Falticeni region, where a regional and a complex museum existed since 1914. Vasile Ciurea, its director, worked with many intellectuals in the region to identify archaeological sites and recover the valuable objects for the institution he led. One of these employees was Dimitrie Drăgușanu, a teacher from Drăgușeni. In one of the collections of „Gallery of notable people” can be found five postcards sent by Dimitrie Drăgușanu to Vasile Ciurea. They contain information on investigations from Drăgușeni - Citadel, undertaken by both intellectuals, but also by Vladimir and Hortensia Dumitrescu, and about other archaeological sites in the region.*

**Keywords:** *Fălticeni, archaeology, museum, Vasile Ciurea, Dimitrie Drăgușanu, postcard, Drăgușeni, Vladimir Dumitrescu, Cristești, pottery, mounds.*

The Romanian archaeological research after the First World War had much to thank to the activity of the amateurs, since the few institutions of the profile confronted financial problems and the impossibility to cover the whole country. It is the time of the enthusiastic search for beautiful objects, but also of the first museums. Although blamed for lack of professionalism, the amateur archaeologists of this time have not been or have hardly been exceeded, in terms of dedications, by today's professionals.

Could things look different in Fălticeni, a town which gave to the Romanian culture so many intellectuals? Certainly not. Vasile Ciurea's initiative to organize a complex museum here, although regarded with scepticism by so many, had, among other things, the purpose of bringing together the interest of the intellectuals of the region, who found in the display of the archaeological, ethnographical or biological treasures they already had, the highest reward of their effort.

One of the closest collaborators of Vasile Ciurea and Vladimir Dumitrescu was Dimitrie Drăgușanu, a teacher from Drăgușeni, later inspector, who, together with his brother, Ștefan Drăgușanu, a physician from Liteni, were among the constant contributors of the museum<sup>1</sup>. A group of five postal cards from the archives of the *Galeria oamenilor de seamă* from Fălticeni, sent by Dimitrie Drăgușanu to Vasile Ciurea, improves our image regarding the work of these two archaeologists<sup>2</sup>.

The first information about the archaeological research undertaken in the area of the Drăgușeni village was published by Vasile Ciurea in 1931. He claims to have first visited the *Cetățuia* site in the summer of 1920, being led there by George Cardaș, who was at the time teacher in Broșteni<sup>3</sup>, later teacher at the University of Bucharest, himself a friend of the Museum. Nevertheless, the first of the postcards sent to Vasile Ciurea by Drăgușanu that speaks about this site is dated "1<sup>st</sup> February 1920"<sup>4</sup>.

Moreover, the text refers to a previous visit of Vasile Ciurea at Drăgușeni – *Cetățuia*, maybe in 1919, during which he recovered at least one vessel. Drăgușanu wishes to clarify a misunderstanding and specifies that in the matter of his own discoveries "all the potsherds are from the same pot, except one, which I suspect to be from the vase you found when you have been to Drăgușeni"<sup>5</sup>. Although the exact place of the discoveries is not indicated, from the other postcards we understand that

<sup>1</sup> V. Ciurea, *Muzeul Fălticeniilor. Două decenii de muncă 1914-1934. Istoricul și activitatea lui*, Fălticeni, 1934, p. 130-137.

<sup>2</sup> We would like to thank to Mister Adrian Cocârță, curator at *Galeria oamenilor de seamă* Fălticeni, for allowing us to use the mentioned postcards, without which the writing of the present paper could not have been possible.

<sup>3</sup> Idem, *Preistoria. Viața omului primitiv în vechiul ținut al Sucevei (Baia de azi) V*, în *Natura*, 10, 1931, p. 18.

<sup>4</sup> *Galeria oamenilor de seamă*, fond Vasile Ciurea, nr. 736.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibidem*.

at that time no other archaeological sites apart from *Cetățuia* have been found at Drăgușeni, and we also know that most of the artefacts from the collection of the Drăgușanu brothers originated in this place. We believe that, if the fragments from the two vases intermingled, they must have been dug out by the two from the same place, but we cannot say if that happened the same day, or Drăgușanu came to the same spot later. From the postcard we find out clearly only that Vasile Ciurea had been to Drăgușeni before the summer of 1920, with Dimitrie Drăgușanu or George Cardaș, very probably at *Cetățuia*, the date being other than the one published in the text of the article about the prehistoric discoveries from the Baia county.

In the same text Dimitrie Drăgușanu expresses his impatience to start archaeological research in spring in places that have been indicated by a certain Nastasă Crețu from Broșteni<sup>6</sup>.

The second postcard, dated “Drăgușeni 6 November 1920”<sup>7</sup>, suggests that Ciurea advised Drăgușanu to glue the vase recovered previously, which he did not succeed, because after the adhesive dried out, the potsherds came apart. Dimitrie Drăgușanu also says that, apart from the vase mentioned, he had found, probably in the same place, zoomorphic representations, one whole and two fragments, anthropomorphic representations, two inferior halves and one whole, one flint tool and other objects.

The teacher from Drăgușeni announces the discovery of three other prehistorical sites: Iorcani, com. Tătăruși - *La vișini*, Oniceni, com Forăști – *Oniceni* (probably in the perimeter of the village), visited by Drăgușanu; the cave *La curțile smeilor* from Tătăruși, he had not seen yet, because the cold weather had come. Regarding the ways used to procure these archaeological materials, the text leaves no doubt, as Drăgușanu writes that from the first two sites recovered “few potsherds and flints, because the land froze and I cannot dig anymore”.

The site mentioned at Iorcani – *La vișini*, is unknown to the specialists, in the village area being mapped only two mounds<sup>8</sup>. The information on the existence of an archaeological site in the village Oniceni was later used by Ciurea, who wrote that in this location have been found some prehistoric traces<sup>9</sup>.

At the end of the letter we can find an important piece of information: at that time Dimitrie Drăgușanu wanted to organize a museum at Drăgușeni and needed to consult Vasile Ciurea and ask his help in solving different problems like choosing a suitable adhesive to glue the pottery.

In another postcard from April 10<sup>th</sup> 1921, Dimitrie Drăgușanu expresses his opinion that if Vasile Ciurea wishes to conduct more diggings at *Cetățuia* he should come in the week after Pulm Sunday, when he could be helped by the students coming home at Drăgușeni for the holidays<sup>10</sup>. From this invitation we understand that

<sup>6</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>7</sup> Galeria oamenilor de seamă, fond Vasile Ciurea, nr. 737.

<sup>8</sup> V. Chirica, M. Tanasachi, *Repertoriul arheologic al județului Iași*, vol. II, Iași, 1985, p. 397-400.

<sup>9</sup> V. Ciurea, *op. cit.*, 1931, p. 18.

<sup>10</sup> Galeria oamenilor de seamă, fond Vasile Ciurea, nr. 738.

the diggings from the previous years have been undertaken in the same place. The same passionate collaborator of the Museum says that he did not make any diggings at *Cetățuia* in the spring of 1921, because he used his spare time to search other sites. He adds that the presence of human remains has not been confirmed at *Bâtca smeilor* from Tătăruși, probably the same with the one mentioned in the previous letter under the name *La curțile smeilor*, because was nothing more than “a simple cave – more likely a gangway, where a wolf could hardly enter”.

Another postcard sent to Vasile Ciurea is dated a year later, February 26<sup>th</sup> 1922, in Boroaia, where Dimitrie Drăgușanu had moved meanwhile, possibly for reasons related to his job<sup>11</sup>. The author of the letter expresses his regrets that he can no longer offer information on *Cetățuia*, since he left the village. We understand from the text that other diggings took place at Drăgușeni – *Cetățuia* between Aprilie 1921 and February 1922.

We find out that the land where the diggings took place, belonged to the village and was rented for a sum of money, for which was handed a receipt. Two paid workers also took part in the diggings. Drăgușanu promises to bring to Vasile Ciurea the two receipts, although he did not yet have the one for the payment of the workers. The money was probably given by the Fălticeni Museum and Vasile Ciurea needed the receipts to account for it.

At the end of the letter, Drăgușanu declares that he would wish that diggings took place in the summer of 1922 at Drăgușeni at the mounds in the forest when, being on leave, he would return in his village. He probably refers to the two mounds Ciurea said had been found by Drăgușanu in the garden of P. Vasiliu, on the road to the village Uda, com. Tătăruși, 1 km away from *Cetățuia*, in the fall of 1920. From the text published by Ciurea in 1931 we understand that Drăgușanu cut through one of them, but also that new research had been made, that he promises to publish another time, which never happened<sup>12</sup>.

The last postcard from the group is dated 21<sup>th</sup> August (postdate August 25<sup>th</sup> 1926)<sup>13</sup>. The text makes interesting observations on the research made by Vladimir and Hortensia Dumitrescu at Drăgușeni – *Cetățuia*, where they came invited by Dimitrie Drăgușanu<sup>14</sup>. In the postcard he informs Vasile Ciurea that Vladimir Dumitrescu left Drăgușeni on the 15<sup>th</sup> of August and that “in the digging in the coast he found beautiful idols and many painted vessels”, which was confirmed by the article published later<sup>15</sup>. Apparently Dimitrie Drăgușanu did not participate directly at the diggings organize by Hortensia and Vladimir Dumitrescu, although the two archaeologists found out about the site from him.

<sup>11</sup> Galeria oamenilor de seamă, fond Vasile Ciurea, nr. 739.

<sup>12</sup> V. Ciurea, *op. cit.*, 1931, p. 20.

<sup>13</sup> Galeria oamenilor de seamă, fond Vasile Ciurea, nr. 371.

<sup>14</sup> Vl. Dumitrescu, *Une nouvelle station a céramique peinte dans le Nord-Ouest de la Moldavie*, în *Dacia*, III-IV (1927-1930), 1933, p. 115; Idem, *Oameni și cioburi*, Călărași, 1993, p. 63.

<sup>15</sup> Idem, *op. cit.*, 1933, p. 115-149.

The last part of the letter is dedicated to an invitation that Drăgușanu makes to Vasile Ciurea to visit the archaeological site from Cristești, whose owner, Sturza, was about to leave from his mansion on the 25<sup>th</sup> of August. Obviously, taking into account the postal date from the postcard, the letter arrived too late. From the article published by Vladimir Dumitrescu we know that he would have liked very much to research the site from Cristești, and not the one from Drăgușeni, because the state of conservation of the ceramic material, but that was impossible, because the owner did not approve of this<sup>16</sup>.

Later, Vasile Ciurea visited the site and presented it in his papers<sup>17</sup>, and Vladimir Dumitrescu mentioned the materials from the Drăgușanu collection in an article published on the occasion of other systematic and surface research, made in the Baia county in September 1933<sup>18</sup>.

Probably after Dimitrie Drăgușanu left Drăgușeni, he abandoned the ambitious project of founding a museum in his village, but his efforts were not in vain. The papers published by Vladimir Dumitrescu and Vasile Ciurea made the site from the *Cetățuia* hill known to the international archaeological community. Most of the objects from the Drăgușanu brothers collection was donated to the Fălticeni Museum some time before 1934<sup>19</sup>. In the years that followed the founding of the communist collective farms the site was significantly destroyed by the Soviet type tractors. Even so, the settlement continued to be an important landmark for the research of the Cucuteni civilisation, new diggings being undertaken by Paraschiva-Victoria Batariuc in 1989.

### Postcards:

Nr. 736.

1 Fevr. 920

Domnule profesor,

Am primit scrisoarea D<sup>v</sup>. Duminică am căutat să mă întâlnesc cu D<sup>v</sup>. dar erați foarte ocupat. Nu știu ce au spus băieții, dar toate hârburile sunt din aceeași oală, afară de un singur hârb, care bănuiesc a fi din vasul ce l'ați găsit D<sup>v</sup>. când ați fost la Drăgușeni. Eu singur am reconstituit oala și am văzut că lipsește numai ceva din fund și ceva din gură. Cred că săptămâna aceasta am să vii pe la Fălticeni și voi căuta să mă întâlnesc cu D<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 115.

<sup>17</sup> V. Ciurea, *op. cit.*, 1931, p. 20-21.

<sup>18</sup> Vl. Dumitrescu, *Funde im Bezirk Baia (Moldau)*, Dacia, IX-X (1941-1944), 1945, p. 521-530.

<sup>19</sup> V. Ciurea, *op. cit.*, 1934, p. 94; *Idem*, *op. cit.*, 1931, p. 19-20.



La vești noi vă pot spune că abea aștept primăvara să încep cercetările în locuri ce mi-au fost spuse de Nastasă Crețu din Broșteni și nădăjduesc a descoperi frumoase lucruri.

Vă salut,  
D<sup>tru</sup> Drăgușanu

Nr. 737

Drăgușeni, 6 Noemvrie 920

Stimate Domnule profesor,

Am ascultat sfatul D<sup>v</sup> și am încercat să lipesc oala. După ce se usucă, se desprinde, așa că n'am putut face nimic. E păcat să nu se poată avea un asemenea vas și drept să vă spun, ar fi păcat și de munca mea. Două săptămâni am stat de am potrivit hârburile.

În afară de această oală, am mai găsit idoli: un bou întreg, un cap de bou, două picioare de om și un trup de om cu cap, precum și capul unui animal(?). Am mai găsit o bombă de silex și diferite.

Am descoperit încă 3 localități preistorice: 1. „La vișini” Iorcani-Tătăruși, 2. „Oniceni” Oniceni-Forăști. Din aceste două am adus puține hârburi și silexuri, căci a înghețat și nu mai pot săpa. 3. După spusa oamenilor, tot așa de interesantă, dacă nu mai mult, ar fi peștera „La curțile smeilor” Tătăruși – în pădure. Acolo însă n'am fost. A venit frigul prea curând.

Dle profesor, ca unul ce vreau cu orice chip să întemeieze muzeu în Drăgușeni, n'am uitat promisiunea D<sup>v</sup>. Joi vin în Fălticeni. Poate veți fi găsit și ceva de lipit.

Cu deosebită stimă,  
D. Drăgușanu

Nr. 738

10 Aprilie 1921

Domnule Ciurea,

Dacă voiți a mai săpa la „Cetățuia” puteți să veniți în săptămâna de după Florii, când sunt și normaliștii în sat cari ar putea lucra.

În primăvara aceasta eu n'am mai săpat deloc, căci am fost ocupat cu altele și timpul liber, puțin cât l'am avut, l'am întrebuințat cu cercetări în alte părți.

Astfel, m'am convins că la „Bâtea smeilor” dela Tătăruși, despre care vorbește atât legendele din popor nu e nimic. O mică peșteră, - mai mult un gang unde abea ar putea pătrunde un lup. Încolo nici o urmă, nici un alt semn.

Dacă puteți veni, mi-ați face plăcere.

Vă salut,  
D. Drăgușanu

Nr. 739

Boroaea, 26 II 922

Domnule profesor,

Vă mulțumesc pentru urările ce-mi trimiteți. Acum când am părăsit Drăgușeni, puține informații vă mai pot da relativ la „Cetățuie”. Am la mine chitanța de plată a pământului închiriat dela obștie, pe care vă voiu aduce-o. Chitanța de la cei doi oameni cari au săpat n’o am. Cred că o voiu aduce-o și aceia. La vară, voiu fi la Drăgușeni. Aș dori să se facă ceva săpături la movilele din pădure.

D<sup>voastră</sup> ce noutăți mai aveți? Când viu la Fălticeni, voiu veni pe la D<sup>v</sup> să vă aduc chitanțele.

Vă salut

D. Drăgușanu - Boroaea

Nr. 371

21 August

Drăgușeni

Stimate Domnule Profesor,

Abia azi ajungând acasă am găsit scrisoarea D<sup>voastră</sup> și vă rog să mă iertați că nu m-am ținut de cuvânt așa cum făgăduisem. D<sup>l</sup> Dumitrescu a plecat la 15, în ziua nunții fratelui meu și de atunci și până azi am fost tot călător. În săpătura din coastă a găsit idoli de o frumusețe și multe vase pictate. Am închipuit și eu ceva din cele săpate acolo prin băieții ce săpau.

Dacă dispuneți de timp, vă rog veniți pentru Cristești, căci D<sup>l</sup> Sturza pleacă la 25 Aug. Eu comunic lui Trițescu că sosiți Marți. Rog telefonați-mi pentru cazul când nu puteți veni.

Vă salut,

D. Drăgușanu

**UNE RECONNAISSANCE BIEN MÉRITÉE:  
L'ACCORDAGE DU TITRE DE *DOCTOR HONORIS CAUSA*  
AU PROFESSEUR NICOLAE URSULESCU**

**Mircea Ignat**  
"Ștefan cel Mare" University, Suceava

**Rezumat:** *Articolul tratează un eveniment din viața științifică a Catedrei de Istorie și Relații internaționale: conferirea titlului de Doctor Honoris Causa profesorului Nicolae Ursulescu de la Universitatea «Al. I. Cuza» din Iași. În material se subliniază procedura și componența comisiei care a decis acordarea înaltei distincții academice. De asemenea, se publică integral «Laudatio», unde sunt apreciate principalele merite ale profesorului N. Ursulescu, ca și răspunsul său de mulțumire adresat universității sucevene.*

**Abstract:** *This article presents an important event in the scientific life of the Department of History and International Relations: the investiture of Professor Nicolae Ursulescu of the University "Al. I. Cuza" of Iași with the title of Doctor Honoris Causa. The material outlines the procedure and the composition of the commission that decided to grant the highest academic distinction. Also, it is published the full text of "Laudatio", and the main merits of Professor N. Ursulescu, as well as his gratitude response to the University Suceava.*

**Résumé:** *L'article ci-joint traite un événement de la vie scientifique de la Chaire d'Histoire et Relations Internationales: l'accord du titre de Doctor Honoris Causa au professeur Nicolae Ursulescu de l'Université «Al. I. Cuza» de Iași. Dans le matériel, on a souligné la procédure et la composition de la commission qui a décidé l'accord de la haute distinction académique. On a publié intégralement «Laudatio», aussi on y a apprécié les principaux mérites du professeur N. Ursulescu, ainsi que sa réponse de remerciement adressée à l'université de Suceava.*

**Keywords:** *Doctor Honoris Causa, procedure, research, recognition, archeology, prehistory, science, teaching.*

La personnalité du professeur Nicolae Ursulescu est bien connue parmi les historiens et les archéologues du pays et de l'étranger et de manière tout à fait particulière au milieu académique de Suceava, où se sont déroulées les années de début de sa carrière de professeur et de chercheur.

La biographie du professeur dévoile une vie dédiée au département d'histoire et au travail de recherche scientifique. En plus de quatre décennies, une diversité frappante de préoccupations et réalisations dans de domaines différents caractérisent sa vie et son œuvre scientifique. Nous nous limitons à quelques chiffres, quoique celles-ci aient leur relativité, mais nous ne pouvons pas ignorer que le professeur Ursulescu est l'auteur de 20 livres de spécialité et cours universitaires, de 200 communications présentées à des réunions scientifiques du pays et de l'étranger, ainsi

que de 280 études, articles, notes, chroniques et comptes-rendus publiés en revues de spécialité ou volumes thématiques apparus dans le pays, mais aussi au-delà des frontières. Une recherche efficace et laborieuse, à laquelle on ajoute l'activité didactique, éditoriale, celle de manager etc. Mais toutes ces choses ne seraient pas suffisantes pour l'accordage du prestigieux titre académique. Il y a eu une autre raison fondée et en ce sens, je me permets de citer quelques passages de *Laudatio*.

“La personnalité du professeur Nicolae Ursulescu a été profondément ancrée dans le milieu académique de Suceava et il n'est un secret pour personne que cette liaison a résisté à travers les décennies”. De l'année 1965 et jusqu'en 1984, fonctionnant à l'Institut d'Enseignement Supérieur de Suceava, Monsieur Ursulescu y a mis les bases de l'enseignement supérieur d'histoire ancienne et archéologie. Il a été un effort du début: “... il a rédigé et il a fait imprimer plusieurs cours, il a initié la pratique archéologique des étudiants, finalement, il a mis les bases d'un Séminaire d'Archéologie, avec une collection provenue des recherches de terrain effectuées avec les étudiants. Les fouilles archéologiques de cette époque-là ne lui ont apporté pas seulement la satisfaction de l'accomplissement d'une démarche didactique, mais aussi la joie de quelques découvertes de valeur certaine, il a été un ouvrier de chemins dans la recherche préhistorique de la zone de Suceava par des recherches systématiques d'ampleur. Celui-ci qui parcourra son liste d'ouvrages scientifiques constatera que plusieurs de celles-ci font référence au passé lointain de ces parages”.

“Nous ne pouvons pas omettre, aussi, son implication active dans la vie spirituelle de la ville de Suceava avec diverses contributions, fait qui a conduit à une appréciation bien méritée des concitoyens”.

Ce que nous venons de présenter de manière succincte ont constitué des arguments solides pour que le Sénat de l'Université approuve la proposition du Conseil de la Faculté d'Histoire et Géographie de décerner la distinction et dans la séance de 16.09.2009 à valider la proposition. La Commission d'évaluation, composée de: professeur Dr ingénieur Adrian Graur – le Recteur de l'Université, le professeur universitaire Dr Ștefan Purici – le Doyen de la Faculté d'Histoire et Géographie, Académicien M. Petrescu-Dâmbovița - Université “Al. I. Cuza” Iași, professeur universitaire Dr V. Spinei, membre correspondant de l'Académie Roumaine, le directeur de l'Institut d'Archéologie de Iași, professeur universitaire Dr Mircea Babeș – Université București, professeur universitaire Dr Marin Cârțumaru – Université “Valahia” Târgoviște, professeur universitaire Dr Mihai Iacobescu – Université “Ștefan cel Mare” Suceava.

Les membres de la commission ont été en unanimité d'accord à décerner le prestigieux titre académique. La solennité de décerner, devant un public nombreux, sous la direction d'un prestigieux président formé de: président – professeur Dr ingénieur Adrian Graur – le Recteur de l'Université, professeur universitaire Dr Aurel Burciu – Prorecteur, professeur universitaire Dr Sorin Maxim – le Secrétaire scientifique de l'université, le professeur universitaire Dr Ștefan Purici – le Doyen de la Faculté d'Histoire et Géographie, professeur universitaire Dr Mircea Diaconu – le Doyen de la Faculté de Lettres, professeur universitaire Dr Vasile Efros – le Prodoyen de la Faculté d'Histoire et Géographie, professeur universitaire Dr Mihai Iacobescu –

Université "Ștefan cel Mare" Suceava. Après une allocution soutenue par le Recteur Adrian Graur, le professeur Mihai Iacobescu a lu *Laudatio*, où on a présenté de manière synthétique les mérites tout à fait particulières du professeur Nicolae Ursulescu et ses contributions au développement de l'enseignement supérieur de Suceava et à la recherche archéologique de la zone.



Il suit, dans les accords de l'hymne *Gaudeamus igitur* la donnée des signes et du diplôme de *DOCTOR HONORIS CAUSA* de l'Université "Ștefan cel Mare" à Monsieur professeur Nicolae Ursulescu. Ensuite, plusieurs de ceux présents (collègues, chercheurs, anciens étudiants) ont voulu parler, soulignant les qualités de celui honoré comme homme, professeur et chercheur de l'histoire.

Celui honoré a remercié et a exprimé sa reconnaissance envers tous et surtout envers le Sénat de l'université; le texte sera publié dans les pages à suivre. Conformément à la tradition, ce moment solennel a été suivi par le soutien d'une conférence avec un thème généreux sur l'esprit de l'endroit dans la préhistoire de la Bucovine, qui a réfléchi la liaison puissante et permanente du chercheur avec les parages de son début comme archéologue spécialisé en préhistoire. Comme la conférence a un contenu riche en idées, suggestions et observations pertinentes, la rédaction de la revue "Codrul Cosminului" a considéré nécessaire à publier le texte de celle-ci dans les pages suivantes.

L'accordage du haut titre académique de *DOCTOR HONORIS CAUSA* de l'Université "Ștefan cel Mare" à Monsieur le professeur universitaire Nicolae

Ursulescu a été un acte nécessaire, une reconnaissance d'une laborieuse activité et par cela un remerciement apporté à celui honoré.

Traduit par Violeta-Anca Epure

## MOT DE GRATITUDE ET DE RECONNAISSANCE

Nicolae Ursulescu

C'est pour moi un particulier honneur et d'une grande joie que l'institution universitaire de Suceava, où j'ai développé mon activité environ deux décennies, avec d'interruptions, me confère aujourd'hui le plus haut titre académique de reconnaissance des résultats de mon travail didactique et scientifique. De nombreux membres du corps académique espèrent que dans leur vie il puisse leur arriver une telle chose merveilleuse, mais un peu de ceux-ci voit leur rêve réalisé. Aujourd'hui je me compte parmi ceux-là heureux, parce que le destin m'a offert une telle satisfaction!



C'est pourquoi que je veux remercier particulièrement aux collègues du collectif d'histoire de l'Université „Ștefan cel Mare” pour leur attitude de sincère amitié conservée pendant des années, en dépit du fait que les événements de la vie m'ont éloigné de Suceava, mais non aussi de son ambiance, qui a resté pour toujours dans mon coeur. Je les remercie parce qu'ils ne m'ont pas oublié (contredisant ainsi le

dicton „loin des yeux, loin du cœur”), aussi bien que pour la proposition faite à la direction de l'Université de Suceava de me décerner cette haute distinction.

Mes pensées de reconnaissance se dirigent également vers l'équipe de direction de l'Université „Ștefan cel Mare”, vers M. le Président de l'Université, le Prof. ingénieur dr. Adrian Graur, et vers les membres du Sénat de l'Université, qui, par l'approbation de la proposition de la Faculté d'Histoire et Géographie, ont montré que mon activité à Suceava n'est pas oubliée et celle ultérieure à Iași a été poursuivie et appréciée, y compris par le décernement de ce honorable titre académique.

De même, je veux remercier particulièrement les membres de la commission d'élaboration des documents nécessaires au décernement du titre de *Doctor honoris causa*, qui, par leur signature, ont garanti, avec le prestige de leurs noms, la validation de ce titre. En dernier lieu, mes pensées de reconnaissance se dirigent vers tous ceux ici présents, qui ont bien voulu participer à cette festivité dont l'Université de Suceava me récompense pour une vie de travail dans le service de la science de l'histoire et de la formation de nombreuses générations de professeurs et chercheurs.

Pour moi, les années passées à Suceava ont été mes années de début et d'accumulations, les années de premières expériences didactiques et de premiers cours universitaires, les années de premiers chantiers archéologiques que j'ai dirigé par moi et de conseil aux premiers étudiants à la pratique archéologique, les années de premières communications et de premiers ouvrages scientifiques publiés, les années de l'élaboration de la thèse de doctorat, les années de premières reconnaissances professionnelles, enfin, les années que j'ai fait à Suceava sont aussi celles des amitiés inoubliables et impossible à remplacer. Tous ceux-ci ont constitué la base qui m'a permis ultérieurement de réaliser les choses consignées avec générosité dans les actes ici présentés.

Le chemin de ma carrière n'a pas toujours été facile, avec de nombreux obstacles, mais je crois que si j'ai réussi à les dépasser – grâce à la foi ferme que la profession choisie représentait même ma vie, que je n'ai pas eu deux voies parallèles à poursuivre, mais une seule, où la vie et la profession de historien archéologue se sont heureusement entrelacé.

J'ai reçu un aide permanent de la part de la famille, qui a toujours été près de moi pour le meilleur comme pour le pire: d'abord mes parents, puis ma femme et mes enfants, qui sont devenu, à leur tour, des parents, changeant ainsi mon statut social, par le haut „rang” de grand-père. Je les remercie aussi qu'ils aient fait tout leur possible pour être aujourd'hui près de moi, afin de pouvoir partager ensemble la joie de ce moment inoubliable, de récompense des résultats de mon activité à l'Université „Ștefan cel Mare” de Suceava.

Je vous prie maintenant de retenir votre attention, en concordance avec les coutumes d'un tel moment solennel, avec quelques mots de ma conférence sur „L'esprit du lieu dans la préhistoire de la Bucovine”.

## NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

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