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STUDII

STUDIES



## WITH REGARD TO THE SYMBOLISM OF THE NEO-ENEOLITHIC ART IN CARPATHO-DANUBIAN AREA

*Constantin-Livian RĂDOESCU\**

**Abstract.** *The spiritual connotations of the neo-eneolithic art are related not only to magical-religious practices, but also to the ability of the artistic representations in order to give force on the symbolism which is emitted into the institutionalization process of the new faith. The manner in which the figures were shaped, the attitudes that they release etc., is nothing but an artistic expression of a way of manifesting the sacred through the communicative function of symbols. The artistic representations reflect a particular aspect of the religious manifestations. Thus, this is the reason why determining the functionality of the neo-eneolithic anthropomorphic pieces raises a number of problems due to the typological and morphological variety.*

**Key words:** *neo-eneolithic art, signs, symbols, religious themes.*

The spiritual life of the prehistoric communities seems to be a combination of cultural practices, amongst the most diverse ones, integrated into a system of ideas and religious beliefs, articulated around some symbols which were worshipped by the entire community. The artistic representations, engraved with such *decorations*, also reflect a particular aspect of the religious manifestations. This is the reason why determining the functionality of the neo-eneolithic anthropomorphic pieces raises a number of problems due to typological and morphological variety.

Thus, we find artistic representations used during some processions where the entire community would attend (the monumental statues), but also some pieces which proved the existence of a familial, domestic cult, as it is the case of the anthropomorphic handle covers or the perforated idols who could be used as amulets. During the current state of the research it is almost impossible to determine precisely which parts were, or were not used while conducting certain rituals, reason why the multiple functional hypotheses of these artistic representations could be a step in trying to explain the complexity of the religious phenomenon.

Among the most basic symbolic forms found in the Neo-Eneolithic art we can include the **point**, the symbol of the center and the origin of all things. Being considered the symbol of the Principle and "one of the signs which are

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directly related to the primordial tradition"<sup>1</sup>, the point frequently appears on prehistoric art objects, isolated when it marks the umbilicus<sup>2</sup> or in strings to highlight certain parts of the body, as it is the case of the bone statuettes which belong to Gumelnița and Sălcuța cultures (Fig. 1/1, 2). Sometimes, its presence within the rhombus (the female symbol which embodies the life matrix) amplifies the idea of center and enables "the initiatory passage to the womb of the world, entering into the residence of the htonien forces"<sup>3</sup> and the point set into a circle recalls the symbolism of the Center of the World, from the beginning and the end of all things (Fig. 1/3). In some cases, the associations of the point with other geometric elements raised in the Neo-Eneolithic artistry from the danubian area may reflect the beginnings of an early form of communication, the so called *Danube Script*, with a symbolic value<sup>4</sup>, whose signification must be analyzed according to the object and the manner of disposal of the signs.

Apart from the point, **the line** is part of the common signs found in the prehistoric art. Its disposal as some horizontal or oblique bands on the artifacts surface (Fig. 1/3-5), or on the arcs, spirals, meanders one, in zig-zag shaped or the "V" one (Fig. 1/5), emphasizes the geometric symbolism of ideograms. Their possible decryption requires a clear distinction between the signs of writing and the decorative elements<sup>5</sup>. Therefore, the simple lines drawn vertically make reference to the axial symbolism of the World, to the "Tree of Life", guarantee of the eternal regeneration, to the strength and wisdom of the "golden branch" from the ancient Mysteries or to the luminous nature of "the fire pole" in Vedic mythology. The horizontal lines usually define the upper register of the piece from the lower one (Fig. 1/4), but by extension, they may suggest the barriers

<sup>1</sup> R. Guénon, *Simboluri ale științei sacre*, București, 1997, p. 66.

<sup>2</sup> D. Monah, *Plastica antropomorfă a culturii Cucuteni-Tripolie*, Piatra Neamț, 1997, fig. 208/3, 5.

<sup>3</sup> J. Chevalier, A. Gheerbrant, *Dicționar de simboluri*, vol. III, București, 1995, p. 170.

<sup>4</sup> H. Haarmann, *The challenge of the abstract mind: symbols, signs and notational systems in european prehistory*, în *DP*, XXXII, 2005, p.230, fig. 15; idem, *The Danube Script and its Legacy: Literacy as a Cultural Identifier in the Balkanic-Aegean Convergence Zone*, în *The Danube Script. Neo-Eneolithic Writing in Southeastern Europe* (J. Marler ed.), Sibiu-Sebastopol, 2008, p. 61-76; Gh. Lazarovici, *Sacred Symbols on Neolithic Cult Objects from the Balkans*, în *Early Symbolic System from Communication in Southeast Europe* (L. Nikolova ed.), *BAR International Series*, 1139, Oxford, 2003, p. 57-64; idem, *Simboluri sacre pe obiectele de cult. Semnificații*, în *Festschrift für Florin Medeleț zum 60 Geburtstag*, Timișoara, 2004, 17-59; M. Merlini, Gh. Lazarovici, *Settling discovery circumstances, dating and utilisation of the Tărtăria tablets*, în *ATS*, VII, 2008, p. 118-195; R.-R. Andreescu, *The Sign: Typology, contest, meaning*, în *The Danube script: Neo-eneolithic "writing" in Southeastern Europe. International Symposium*, 2, 2008, Sibiu, (S.-A. Luca ed.), 2009, p. 77-87.

<sup>5</sup> M. Merlini, *A semiotic matrix to distinguish between decorations and signs of writing employed by the Danube civilisation*, în *ATS*, VI, 2007, p. 73 și urm; C.-M. Lazarovici, *Pre-writing signs on the neo-eneolithic altars*, în *Early Symbolic System from Communication in Southeast Europe* (L. Nikolova ed.), *BAR International Series*, 1139, Oxford, 2003, p. 85-96.

that separate the underground world from the terrestrial one and the terrestrial world from the celestial one. Instead of this, the oblique lines are presented either in the form of strips illustrating clothing accessories (pendant diagonals on the waist) (Fig.1/4), or in zig-zag shaped, in which case we can speak of certain decorative elements, such as "the wolf teeth" motif, met in the Vădastra fine art.

An interesting symbolism was attributed to the broken line which generates a series of signs such as "V", "Λ", "M" or "W" because of the ways of constituting the angles. If in the case of the "V" shaped lines and of its graphical versions (to which certain communicative meanings are assigned) a real directory<sup>6</sup> has been established, the "M" or the "W" shaped lines have been interpreted as symbols of the Cassiopeia constellation<sup>7</sup>. Considering their semantics which these signs hold and transmit, the "V" could be considered the styling of the female organ, and the "M", showing vastness or infinity can also include the great unknown god, who should never be represented<sup>8</sup>. The five stars which make up Cassiopeia are arranged in the form of a crown, which gives the "W" ideogram a solemn character, and its presence in a number of cult objects highlights the transcendent character of an achievement. Similar to the consecration crowns, the crown expresses the elevation and illumination tendency. Moreover its symbolic use during certain cultic acts values cosmically the sacrifice<sup>9</sup>.

The meanders, the spirals, the zigzags, the "S"s, etc., seen as symbolic representations of the serpent, are commonly used in the art of neo-eneolithic cultures of southeastern Europe<sup>10</sup>. Embodiment of the sacred and the source of life, symbol of wisdom, ascension, soul and also of the libido<sup>11</sup>, the serpent is *imago mundi*, the embodiment of the raw material. Due to its elongated shape, it can be considered an androgynous creature in which the two co-eternal principles co-exist, and it provides the regeneration of the World as a master of the vital dialectics. Present since the inception of the primordial undifferentiating, the serpent, in its first manifestation, appears "immortalized" as a simple straight line, being able to expand in one direction or another and

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<sup>6</sup> H. Haarmann, *The challenge...*, p. 230, fig. 14

<sup>7</sup> Gh. Lazarovici, F. Drașovean, Z. Maxim, *Parța. Monografie istorică*, Timișoara, 2001, p. 271.

<sup>8</sup> S. Bancopagni, *Lumea simbolurilor*, București, 2003, p. 241, 243.

<sup>9</sup> J. Chevalier, A. Gheerbrant, *op. cit.*, vol. I, București, 1994, p. 372

<sup>10</sup> Z. Maxim, *Snake symbolic in the Prehistory of the South-East Europe*, în *CDDJ*, XXII, 2005, p. 53-62.

<sup>11</sup> J. Chevalier, A. Gheerbrant, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 298-313; G. Durand, *Structurile antropologice ale imaginarului*, București, 2000, *passim*; C. G. Jung. *Opere complete I. Arhetipurile și inconștientul colectiv*, București, 2003, *passim*; I. Evseev, *Enciclopedia semnelor și simbolurilor culturale*, Timișoara, 1994, p. 180-181; M. Eliade, P. Culianu, *Dicționar al religiilor*, București, 1993, *passim*.

can take any form. This is proved by the variety of the signs -symbols associated with it.

**The spiral**, single or double, expresses the cyclical continuity on progress, being linked to the symbolism of monthly and aquatic fertility<sup>12</sup>(Fig. 1/5). Reflecting the initiatory death and the transformatory rebirth, it also mirrors the journey the soul takes after death, which explains its use in anthropomorphic ceramics and fine arts. The spiral is present in the Vinča culture, to Zorlențu Mare, Parța<sup>13</sup>, in Dudești-Vinča synthesis aspect, to Cârcea Viaduct<sup>14</sup>, Radovanu<sup>15</sup>, in the art of Vădastra<sup>16</sup> and Boian<sup>17</sup> cultures, on some of the Gumelnița figurines<sup>18</sup>, but also in the south of the Danube, in the Karanovo<sup>19</sup> culture, which confirm the widespread beliefs about the cults of fertility and fecundity. The "S" shaped spirals which go round a continuous circle (the graphic expression of the primordial egg) identified at Parța<sup>20</sup>, at Hotarani (the Vădastra culture)<sup>21</sup>, in the Cucuteni culture<sup>22</sup> etc., symbolize the cosmic serpent which protects its creation, preventing it from disintegration.

The "S" strings which appear on the surface of the Vădastra figurines<sup>23</sup>, are found in the artistry of the communities such as Bolintineanu<sup>24</sup>, Boian<sup>25</sup> etc., and reflect the unity of motion that characterizes the perpetual life as well as the selenary metamorphosis<sup>26</sup>. The Zig-zag lines, single or double, rendered vertically or horizontally, are associated to water, waves, the serpent movement, and the meanders to the earthy water and life. Single or grouped in certain decorative registers, this symbol signs give an

<sup>12</sup> M. Eliade, *Tratat de istorie a religiilor*, București, 1992, p. 142-144; I. Evseev, *op. cit.*, p. 172-173.

<sup>13</sup> Gh. Lazarovici, *Neoliticul Banatului*, în *BMN*, IV, 1979, pl. XIX/H14; XXIV/E31.

<sup>14</sup> M. Nica, *Le rôle de la culture Vinča à la g n se et   l' volution n olitique d'Oltenie*,  n *The Vinča culture*, Timișoara, 1996, fig. 13/1, 5.

<sup>15</sup> E. Comșă, *Complexul neolitic de la Radovanu*,  n *CCDJ*, VIII, 1990, fig. 49/5, 7.

<sup>16</sup> M. Nica, *Reprezent rile antropomofe antropomorfe  n cultura V dastra descoperite  n așez rile neolitice de la Hot rani și F rcașele, județul Olt*,  n *Oltenia*, II, 1980, fig. 1/1a; 2/5a-5c; 11/1a-1b; 13; 17/1-2.

<sup>17</sup> R. R. Andreescu, *Valea Teleormanului. Considerații asupra plasticii antropomorfe*,  n *SP*, 4, 2007, pl. 6/1-3, 6

<sup>18</sup> Idem, *Plastica antropomorfă gumelnițeană. Analiză primară*, București, 2002, pl. 2/1, 7; 6/2, 3; IV.

<sup>19</sup> H. Todorova, I. Vaisov, *Novo kamenata epoha v Bulgarija*, Sofia 1993, pl. 97/12.

<sup>20</sup> Gh. Lazarovici, *op. cit.*, pl. XXIV/E22-23; XXIV/H8.

<sup>21</sup> M. Nica, *Le r le...*, fig. 6/10.

<sup>22</sup> Vl. Dumitrescu, *Arta culturii Cucuteni*, București, 1979, fig. 1/a, 21/b; M. Petrescu-D mbovița, M. Florescu, A. C. Florescu, *Trușești, monografie istorică*, București, 1999, fig. 176/6; D. Monah, *Plastica antropomorfă...*, *passim*.

<sup>23</sup> M. Nica, *Reprezent rile antropomorfe...*, fig. 2/5a-5c; E. Comșă, *Figurinele din epoca neolitică pe teritoriul Rom niei*, București, 1995, fig. 18/3.

<sup>24</sup> E. Comșă, *op. cit.*..., fig. 12/2.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibidem*, fig. 12/1, 4; 16/1

<sup>26</sup> J. Chevalier, A. Gheerbrant, *Dicționar...*, vol. III, p. 251.

increase of sacredness of human representations which, once anthropomorphized, acquire transformative powers and mediate the link between the terrestrial world and the celestial one.

Another symbol which appears frequently on the Neo-Eneolithic artistic representations and whose meaning gives a certain aura of sacredness to the "carriers", is the **circle**, which, together with the center, the cross and the square plays an important role in the prehistoric religious and magical thinking (Fig. 1/3, 5). Sign of the Primordial Unity and sign of the sky, the circle appears as a result of the mid-point radial extension (the Principle, the pure Human Being) and becomes the logo of the World which has just emerged into the space created. The serpent which eats its tail (Uroboros) symbolizes the cyclical resorption. Its form expresses the dynamics of the circle which thus becomes the symbol of the infinity of the time, equivalent to the "wheel of life" or "wheel of things"<sup>27</sup>.

Typically, the circle marks the umbilical or genital female representations and it was present on the figurine from the Farcașul de Sus (Dudești IIIB)<sup>28</sup>, on the body of "Goddess" from Vidra (the Gumelnița culture)<sup>29</sup> or on the façade of the temple from Trușești, the Cucuteni culture, as a symbol of pregnancy<sup>30</sup>. Regarded as an archetypal image of the Self, the circle embodies the unity and completeness of the entire personality and, thus, ensures the connection between man and the whole of nature. Its use in various rituals reveals only a part of the semantics implied by. Thanks to its geometric closed shape, the circle assures the individual protection, maintaining the cohesion between the soul and the body, but also that of the entire community of any external manifestation which could affect the balance established through a founder act. The apotropaic value of the ring, bracelets, amulets, etc., or the circular shape of some architectural monuments located in the center of the settlement ("the center of the world"-*omphalos*) where the community ceremonies took place, reveals not only one of the many aspects of the sacred-profane dialectic, but also the complexity of the spiritual needs of the prehistoric man.

The painting or the incision of the anthropomorphic representations with a series of concentric circles is common to several neo-eneolithic cultures and it was present in Anatolia, at Çatal Hüyük<sup>31</sup>, within the linear pottery complex, at

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<sup>27</sup> S. Bancopagni, *op. cit.*, p. 161; J. Chevalier, A. Gheerbrant, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 294-300; R. Guénon, *op. cit.*, p. 65-68.

<sup>28</sup> M. Nica, *La culture de Dudești en Oltenie*, în *Dacia*, NS, XXI, 1976, fig. 17/3.

<sup>29</sup> R.-R. Andreescu, *op. cit.*, pl. 53.

<sup>30</sup> Gh. Lazarovici, C.-M. Lazarovici, *Despre construcțiile de cult neo-eneolitice din sud-estul Europei: tehnici de construire, organizare spațială, scurte interpretări. Partea I-a*, în *Dimensiunea europeană a civilizației eneolitice est-carpatice* (N. Ursulescu ed.), Iași, 2006, p. 90, fig. 29.

<sup>31</sup> M. Gimbutas, *The Language of the Goddess*, London, 1989, fig. 390/2.

Biatorbágy-Tyúkberek<sup>32</sup> in the Gumelnița area, at Vidra<sup>33</sup>, on some anthropomorphic items from Vitănești<sup>34</sup>, as well as in the content of the Cucuteni culture, at Drăgușeni, Trușești or Izvoare<sup>35</sup>. The significance of this graphic sign can be regarded as an evocation of the universe, of "the Unique and Unleashed Human Being" but also as a symbol of the soul which is preparing for a trip from the peripherals to the center of any understanding, which could explain the cultic use of some parts "marked" with such decorations.

The presence of perforations on the anthropomorphic figurines highlights certain parts of the body (head, shoulders, arms or hips) and also gives a symbolic value to these copies. The female representations made of bone in the transition phase from the Boian culture to the Gumelnița culture<sup>36</sup>, those modeled from clay<sup>37</sup>, bone<sup>38</sup>, marble<sup>39</sup> and gold<sup>40</sup>, specific to Gumelnița fine arts, the Sălcuța idols<sup>41</sup> or the statues belonging to Cucuteni culture<sup>42</sup>, reflect the existence and the perpetuation of a certain artistic canon with magical-religious affinities.

Some examples are also indicated in the category of the perforated artistic representations. Here, the tendency of the body schematization sometimes achieves pure geometric forms, as there is the case of the two Spondylus pendants, respectively, marble, and belonging to the Hamangia culture, which shows a way of implementing the real artistic sense<sup>43</sup>. The disc, cut in the abdominal area, is surrounded by a concentric circle highlighted in the case of the Spondylus figurine and carved in the second example. Thus, this fact demonstrates the use of "the golden section", one of the most harmonic rules of composition found in the great works of the humanity art<sup>44</sup> through

<sup>32</sup> S. Hansen, *Bilder vom Menschen der Steinzeit. Untersuchungen zur antropomorphen Plastik der Steinzeit und Kupferzeit in Südosteuropa*, Mainz am Rhein, 2007, Taf. 509/3.

<sup>33</sup> Vl. Dumitrescu, *Arta preistorică în România*, București, 1974, fig. 256.

<sup>34</sup> S. Marinescu-Bîlcu, "Greutăți" decorate din aria Gumelnița, în *SP*, 4, 2007, fig. 7/1; 8/1, 3.

<sup>35</sup> D. Monah, *op. cit.*, fig. 225/1, 2, 7.

<sup>36</sup> E. Comșa, *op. cit.*, fig. 57/3-6.

<sup>37</sup> R.-R. Andreescu, *op. cit.*, pl. 18/2, 3; 19/1-8; 23/3.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibidem*, pl. 40-50.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibidem*, pl. 51/1, 2.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibidem*, pl. 52.

<sup>41</sup> D. Berciu, *Contribuții la problemele neoliticului în România în lumina noilor cercetări*, București, 1961, fig. 153/1; 154/3; 156/3; I. Stângă, *Reprezentări plastice aparținând neoliticului târziu, din județul Mehedinți*, în *RMM*, 6, 1988, p. 36, fig. 1; M. Nica, C. Schuster, Tr. Zorzoliu, *Cercetări arheologice în tell-ul gumelnițeano-sălcuțean de la Drăgănești-Olt- "Corboanca" - campaniile din anii 1993-1994*, în *CAANT*, I, 1995, ..., p. 17, fig. 11/4, 7a-7b, 8.

<sup>42</sup> D. Monah, *op. cit.*

<sup>43</sup> V. Voinea, *Un nou simbol Hamangia*, în *SP*, 7, 2010, pl. I, II.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 50.

associations with other modules of geometric composition. Marking the abdominal area through a geometric figure with symbolic properties, illustrated by a series of works of Gravettian art<sup>45</sup>, we also find it in the case of the neolithic anthropomorphic representations to Sesklo<sup>46</sup>, Gradešnica<sup>47</sup>, Padea<sup>48</sup>, in the Gumelnița -Kodjadermen-Karanovo VI culture, to Ruse, Sultana, Gumelnița, Vidra<sup>49</sup> and reflects a way to illustrate the birth of the world starting with a primordial reality embodied by the *egg*. The germinative capacities of the World Egg express the organizing principle established after a chaotic state and provide the multiplicity of human beings<sup>50</sup>. In its wholeness, *the egg* symbolizes rebirth, cycles and, like the zero, "closes in self the infinite mystery"<sup>51</sup>.

**The triangle**, another geometric figure with symbolic attributes, is present in the neo-eneolithic anthropomorphic fine arts, usually indicating the female sexuality. Recorded on a whole range of works of art, but also on the domestic ones<sup>52</sup> ever since the Upper Paleolithic, the sign-symbol is mostly expressed by means of incised lines (Fig. 1/1, 2, 4) or rows of dots arranged in the abdominal and genital area (Fig. 1/1), suggesting not only the sacred area but also the stylized image of femininity. Like any other geometric motifs found in the Paleolithic art such as the rhombus, the angular signs etc.<sup>53</sup>, the triangle will replace the old genital representations and will become the defining element of the procreation and birth sanctity in the Neo-Eneolithic art. The presence of this sign on a stylized female figurine belonging to Epipaleolithic/Mesolithic from Cuina Turcului<sup>54</sup> and also in case of the neo-eneolithic anthropomorphic creations the Vădastra<sup>55</sup>, Gumelnița<sup>56</sup>,

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<sup>45</sup> M. Cârciumar, *Paleoliticul, epipaleoliticul și mezoliticul lumii*, Târgoviște, 2006, fig. 72/4, 5, 9.

<sup>46</sup> S. Hansen, *op. cit.* Taf. 109/6, 7.

<sup>47</sup> B. Nikolov, *Gradešnica*, Sofia, 1974.

<sup>48</sup> S. Hansen, *op. cit.* Taf. 353/1.

<sup>49</sup> R.-R. Andreescu, *op. cit.*, pl. 52/1, 3-5, 7.

<sup>50</sup> J. Chevalier, A. Gheerbrant, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 390-392; M. Eliade, *Tratat...*, p. 321-324; R. Guénon, *op. cit.*, p. 215-218.

<sup>51</sup> S. Boncompagni, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

<sup>52</sup> D. Vialou, *L'art paléolithique*, în *La Préhistoire* (M. Otte dir.), Paris-Bruxelles, 1999, p. 222-224, fig. 13A; M. Cârciumar, *op. cit.*

<sup>53</sup> J. Kozłowski, *L'art de la Préhistoire en Europe orientale*, Paris, 1992, p. 74-76; G. Sauvet, *Les signes dans l'art mobilier*, în *L'Art des objets au Paléolithique* (sous la dir. de J. Clottes), tome 2: *Les voies de la recherche*, (Coll. Int. Foix-Le Mas-d'Azil, Clamecy, 1987), 1990, fig. 3-8.

<sup>54</sup> Al. Păunescu, *Paleoliticul și mezoliticul din spațiul cuprins între Carpați și Dunăre. Studiu monografic*, București, 2000, fig. 140/2a-b; V. Chrica, *Teme ale reprezentării Marii Zeițe în arta paleolitică și neolitică*, în *MemAnt*, XXIII, 2004, p. 113.

<sup>55</sup> M. Nica, *Reprezentările antropomorfe...*, p. 37, fig. 7/1a-1c.

<sup>56</sup> R.-R. Andreescu, *op. cit.*, pl. 5/3, 5, 6; 25/4; 30/1.

Precucuteni<sup>57</sup>, Cucuteni<sup>58</sup> type, express the artistic ideas of the sanctity of femininity, in all spiritual aspects involved.

As symbol of fertility, the triangle appears sometimes associated with the rhombus. This fact gives a symbolic value to the artistic representation, given the fertilizing valences posed at the last anthropomorphized element. Usually found in the abdominal area, the rhombus defines the reproductive capacities of *the Great Gods*, in order to ensure and protect the balance of the world. The symbolism differs according to its location on the body. Thus, its disposal in the chest area may involve a dress pattern or an item of adornment, when perforated. Even though there have been stylized anthropomorphic representations in the back of the rhombus, their symbolic significance can hardly be glimpsed because, at this stage, we cannot identify any practical or spiritual necessity which can be based on such justification (Fig. 1/6).

The richness and the variety of the decoration applied on the neolithic representations are accentuated by the use of **colors**, which illustrate a highly complex symbolism besides their aesthetic valences, mainly associated to the primordial elements. The use of the ocher even from Mousterian, as the discoveries from Qafzeh (Israel), Chapelle-aux-Saint (France), etc. prove, or those from the Peștera Cioarei (Gorj county), reflect the existence of a possible correlation between the symbolic significance of colors and certain magical practices. Coating the bodies with red ocher, "the ritual blood substitute" is a widespread practice from the Far East to the west of Europe, in conjunction with the belief in a post-mortem survival<sup>59</sup>. Embodiment of force, power, brilliance, the color of fire and sacrifice, "red" can become the expression of an initiative renaissance, when ritual spraying with blood of the sacrificed animal is performed<sup>60</sup>.

The symbolism of this ambivalent color is found in a number of archetypal images associated with the diurnal / nocturnal regime of the light according to its shades. Thus, the red light is diurnal and explosive, becoming the emblem of masculinity, and the opposite side, the nocturnal, feminine and mysterious one, is the mystery of life<sup>61</sup>. The decorated anthropomorphic figurines, which show traces of red paint (Fig. 2/3), reflect the custom of ritual painting of the body due to its apotropaic capacity that this color has. Such practices have been reported even since the Starčevo period<sup>62</sup>, designed to provide the deceased a new existence in the world beyond.

<sup>57</sup> S. Marinescu-Bîlcu, *Cultura Precucuteni pe teritoriul României*, București, 1974, *passim*.

<sup>58</sup> D. Monah, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

<sup>59</sup> M. Eliade, *Istoria credințelor și ideilor religioase*, vol. I, București, 1981, p. 19.

<sup>60</sup> E. Evseev, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

<sup>61</sup> J. Chevalier, A. Gheerbrant, *op. cit.*, p. 171-174; E. Neumann, *The Great Mother. An analysis of the Archetype*, Princeton Univ. Press, 1974, p. 105.

<sup>62</sup> N. Kalicz, *Dieux d'argile L'âge de la Pierre et du cuivre en Hongrie*, Corvina, Budapest, 1970.

Another component of the range of colors, often used in neo-eneolithic art, is illustrated by the white color, which makes the transition between visible and invisible possible because of its ambivalent character, providing periodic rebirth of the human being who firstly underwent an initiatory death. Symbolizing both the dark specter of the afterlife and the light, life, divinity and purity, the white color marks extreme moments of the human condition thanks to its nuances in which it can be perceived - the dusk and dawn, the night void and the return to the primordial state, to the perfect daytime consciousness<sup>63</sup>. The combination of white and red found in the Rast<sup>64</sup> or Vădastra<sup>65</sup> art gives a touch of originality to the artifacts decorated with styled motifs and value many facets of the light / dark dialectics in a very subtle way.

Black is the color of the primordial darkness associated with chaos, expressing the state of absolute passivity that precedes creation. Opposite, but complementary to the white color, black is present in chthonian cults, being associated to the fertile soil, the germ material which makes the revival of the daylight possible, reason why it becomes the symbol of fecundity and fertility<sup>66</sup>. The fact that certain female representations from Cucuteni are painted in black, may be evidence of the existence of chthonian deities or some of their situations<sup>67</sup>, and the frequent settings when red and black interfere, illustrate the fact that these colors can be interchanged under their multiple symbolic meanings. In contrast, the combination of black and white is a hierogamy from which the color gray results. Grey is the center of the world colors, whose significance in Christianity correspond to the resurrection of the dead<sup>68</sup>, which could also explain the use of statues decorated in chromatic tone as cult objects during the funeral ceremonies.

The spiritual life of the neo-eneolithic communities reflected through the artistic creations reveals the existence of some religious themes centered on the image of "the Great Goddess", which is present in various poses because of the conflicting attributes. As an archetypal deity, "the Great Mother" watches over life and death, and the cults devoted to it could only be developed by discovering the plants culture.

The artistic representations which prove the religious multivalence of the "Mater Genitrix" mean an extremely thorough analysis of the hypostasis in which it appears as a dispensation of fertility and fecundity, alone or

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<sup>63</sup> E. Evseev, *op. cit.*, p. 14; J. Chevalier, A. Gheerbrant, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 75-78.

<sup>64</sup> Vl. Dumitrescu, *Arta neolitică...*, p. 59-60; idem, *Plastica neolitică...*

<sup>65</sup> M. Nica, *op. cit.*, fig. 10/1a, 1b; 3a, 3b.

<sup>66</sup> J. Chevalier, A. Gheerbrant, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 334-339; I. Evseev, *op. cit.*

<sup>67</sup> Vl. Dumitrescu, *Arta neolitică în România*, București, 1968, p. 68; O. Höckmann, *Die menschengestaltige Figuralplastik der südost-europäischen Jungsteinzeit und Steinkupferzeit*, Hildesheim, 1968, I, p. 142.

<sup>68</sup> J. Chevalier, A. Gheerbrant, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 284.

accompanied by the "male sidekick." As "an archaic way of reflecting the Divine paradox"<sup>69</sup>, the bipolarity of the "Great Goddess" highlights the principles of the male-female complementarity whose very complex morphology is translated into a large number of artistic representations that capture the essence of what is called the "mother's religion"<sup>70</sup>. This archetypal form experiences a variety of sacred gestures and attitudes whose interpretations are not only simple typological classifications but the deciphering of the semantic content prescribed by the ritual and subsumed to some great religious themes<sup>71</sup>.

In the neo-eneolithic iconography, **the Orante stance**, the one which mediates between humans and gods, was identified in the vinčian environment, at Zorlențu Mare<sup>72</sup>, in the Tisza<sup>73</sup> and Dudești<sup>74</sup> cultures, at Radovanu (the transition phase from the Boian culture to the Gumelnița culture)<sup>75</sup>, in the Gumelnița culture at Ovčarovo<sup>76</sup>, Zâmbreasca<sup>77</sup>, Căscioarele<sup>78</sup>, Vitănești<sup>79</sup>, Sultana<sup>80</sup>, Măgura Gumelnița (Fig. 2/3). The same attitude is found on the pottery from Gumelnița where two schematic human figures<sup>81</sup> appear, in case of the anthropomorphic representations discovered at Drăgănești-Olt tell<sup>82</sup>, in the Cucuteni sculpture, at Scânteia-Iași<sup>83</sup>, Trușești-Botoșani<sup>84</sup>, Rădeni-Iași<sup>85</sup> etc. In

<sup>69</sup> E. Neumann, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

<sup>70</sup> M. Eliade, *Yoga. Nemurire și libertate*, București, 1993, p. 307

<sup>71</sup> S. Marinescu-Bîlcu, *Die bedeutung einiger Gesten und Haltungen in der Jungsteinzeitlichen Skulptur der Ausserkarpatischen gebiete Rumänien*, în *Dacia*, XI, 1967, p. 47-58; D. Monah, *op. cit.*, p. 201-215; C.-L. Rădoescu, *Hypostases et gestes religieux de la Grande Déesse identifiés dans l'art anthropomorphe néo-énéolithique du nord du Danube*, în *Annales d'Université Valahia Targoviste, Section d'Archeologie et d'H*

<sup>72</sup> F. Drașovean, D. Ciobotaru, *The Neolithic Art in Banat. Catalog of the exhibition*, Timișoara, 2001. *istoire*, Tome XIII, Numéro 2, 2011, p. 83-97.

<sup>73</sup> N. Kalicz, *op. cit.*, fig. 45, 65-68.

<sup>74</sup> R.-R. Andreescu, *Valea Teleormanului...*pl. 3/3.

<sup>75</sup> E. Comșa, *Figurinele antropomorfe...*, fig. 15/3.

<sup>76</sup> H. Todorova, V. Vasiliev, Z. Zanusevic, M. Kovacheva, P. Valev, *Ovcharovo (Razkopki i Prouchvania 9)*, Sofia, 1983; Cl. Cohen, *La femme des origines des origines. Images de la femme dans la prehistoire occidentale*, Berlin, 2003, p. 146-147.

<sup>77</sup> Vl. Dumitrescu, *Arta preistorică...*, fig. 234.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibidem.*, fig. 250.

<sup>79</sup> R.-R. Andreescu, P. Mirea, Șt. Apope, *Cultura Gumelnița în vestul Munteniei. Așezarea de la Vitănești, jud. Teleorman*, în *CA*, 12, 2003, fig. 11/3.

<sup>80</sup> R.-R. Andreescu, *Plastica antropomorfă...*, pl. 56/1, 3.

<sup>81</sup> Vl. Dumitrescu, *op. cit.*, fig. 265.

<sup>82</sup> M. Nica, C. Schuster, T. Zorzoliu, *Cercetări arheologice...*, fig. 9/9.

<sup>83</sup> C.-M. Mantu, *Plastica antropomorfă a așezării Cucuteni A3 de la Scânteia (jud. Iași)*, în *ArhMold*, XVI, 1993, p. 53, fig. 8/4-5

<sup>84</sup> M. Petrescu-Dîmbovița, M. Florescu, A. C. Florescu, *Trușești...*, fig. 372/2.

<sup>85</sup> V. Chirica, M.-C. Văleanu, C.-V. Chirica, *Motivul orantei în arta și religiile paleolitice și neo-eneolitice*, în *Arta antropomorfă feminină în preistoria spațiului carpato-nistean* (V. Chirica, G. Bodi eds.), Iași, 2010, fig. 1.

the Sălcuța culture, the characters in such cases have been reported at Verbicioara<sup>86</sup>, Valea Anilor<sup>87</sup> and Cuptoare "Sfogeia" in Banat.

The arms ascension requires not only the begging but it also the invoking of the Deity at times, in order to meet some personal or the community's requirements. As a result the **Ornate** theme can be considered a "materialization" of the chthonic-uranian relationship in the artistic creation, in which case the modeled character is a simple nun or expresses an uranian-uranian report, while dealing with an aspect of divinity<sup>88</sup>. Related to the cultic ceremonies of the growers and breeders communities, *Orante* was regarded as the expression of a particular form of manifestation of the sacred. This attitude is present not only in the Eastern religions but also in the Christian iconography and it is the result of the perpetuation of a great religious theme over the time.

Another religious artistic way to illustrate this attitude is the play of the hand which, according to its position to the body, expresses specific moods. This iconic image with real spiritual values can include protection, supremacy and "it makes the rite of substitution of the sacrifice itself"<sup>89</sup> due to the fact that it represents the wholeness. The position of the raised hands, palms facing the outwards (*passis manibus*) means capturing the deity's goodwill, or it marks a meditative attitude when they are put on the knee. The "magic" value of the hands, guaranteed by many gestures that convey, reveals the existence of a specific language, whose religious message came in the sphere of the artistic creation, giving to these artistic representations new spiritual meanings, as it is the case of the thrones with the backrest finished with over raised extremities, present in the precucutenien assemblies from Poduri<sup>90</sup>, Isaiia<sup>91</sup>, Traian-Dealul Fântânilor (Fig. 2/4, 6). Regarding the latter anthropomorphized objects, the backrests with horn-shaped protrusions could be the stylized image of the virile male principle or the gesture of the raised arms and the invoking of a superior deity, by the female characters who are sitting on the thrones<sup>92</sup>. Over all the neo-eneolithic iconography, the presence of horns signals the Great Goddess presence (*coincidentia oppositorum*), so that the thrones can be considered substitutes of divinity.

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<sup>86</sup> C. E. Ștefan, *O reprezentare antropomorvă inedită de la Verbicioara*, în *SP*, 8, 2011, pl. II/1a, 1b

<sup>87</sup> I. Stângă, *Reprezentări plastice...*; C. Pătroi, *Reprezentări antropomorfe de lut din Oltenia, descoperite în arealul culturii eneolitice Sălcuța*, în *Drobeta*, XVIII, 2008, p. 5-22.

<sup>88</sup> C.-M. Lazarovici, *Semne și simboluri în cultura Cucuteni-Tripolie*, în *Cucuteni 120-Valori universale. Lucrările simpozionului național Iași, 30 sept. 2004* (N. Ursulescu, Gh. Lazarovici, coord.), Iași, 2006, p. 57-92.

<sup>89</sup> J. Chevalier, A. Gheerbrant, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 312.

<sup>90</sup> D. Monah, Gh. Dumitroaia, F. Monah, *Poduri-Dealul Ghindaru. O Troie în Subcarpații Moldovei*, în *BMA*, XIII, 2003, p. 34, 44-46, 107-111, 143-144.

<sup>91</sup> N. Ursulescu, F.-A. Tencariu, *Religie și magie magie la est de Carpați acum 7000 de ani. Tezaurul cu obiecte de cult de la Isaiia*, Iași, 2006, fig. 29, 32, 33.

<sup>92</sup> V. Chirica, M.-C. Văleanu, C.-V. Chirica, *op. cit.*, p. 165,166.

The anthropomorphic representations with the pots over their heads, as ways of the divine feminine personification, express another religious theme found in neo-eneolithic art, that of the **bearer of the oblation**<sup>93</sup>, who provides "the solidarity of dead people with fertility and agriculture"<sup>94</sup>. Since the oblation is used as a sign of gratitude addressed to divinity but also a substitute for the grounding sacrifice<sup>95</sup>, the vessel sanctifies the used content in the rituals which aims at the periodic regeneration of the natural forces. Such artistic representations have been identified in the area of the Gumelnița culture at Căscioarele<sup>96</sup>, Vidra<sup>97</sup>, Gumelnita<sup>98</sup>, Glina<sup>99</sup>, in the Cucuteni area, at Frumușica, Berești, Drăgușeni etc.<sup>100</sup> and it is almost impossible for us to determine whether the characters could be very simple worshipers or the embodied deity itself due to what some exhibits majestically displays.

On the occasion of various religious practices **a series of ritual dances** were practiced, where the whole community was caught by the returning frenzy to the Unique Human Being and the rediscovery of the originating unit<sup>101</sup>. Very sketchy, impersonal artistic representations made according to some very rigid canons are met at Nea Nikomedia, Argissa, Gradeșnica, Tell Azmak, Vinča, Gomolava<sup>102</sup>, in the Gumelnita area at Vitănești<sup>103</sup>, Ciolănești<sup>104</sup>, Vidra<sup>105</sup>. Similar examples occur in the Precucuteni art at Larga Jijia, Târpești<sup>106</sup> or Cucuteni-Frumușica<sup>107</sup>, Drăgușeni<sup>108</sup> (Fig. 2/2), Trușești<sup>109</sup> etc., in Hungary, at Kotacpart, Szegvár-Tüzköves, Tiszavasvári, Hagyköru) and Czech Republic (Strel, Kolesov, Nova Ves, etc.)<sup>110</sup> and they are evidence of practicing magic

<sup>93</sup> V. Voinea, *Gesturi și semnificații în arta gumelnițeană*, în *CCDJ*, XXII, 2005, p. 388-389

<sup>94</sup> M. Eliade, *Tratat...*, p. 276.

<sup>95</sup> N. Gavriluță, *Mentalități și ritualuri magico-religioase. Studii și eseuri de sociologie a sacrului*, Iași, 1998, p. 136.

<sup>96</sup> R.-R. Andreescu, *op. cit...*, Pl. 34/2.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibidem*, pl. III/3; Pl. 35

<sup>98</sup> S. Marinescu-Bîlcu, B. Ionescu, *Catalogul sculpturilor eneolitice din muzeul raional Oltenița*, Sibiu, 1967, pl. V/1a, 1b; pl. VI/1; R.-R. Andreescu, *op. cit.*, pl. III/5; Pl. 34/1.

<sup>99</sup> R.-R. Andreescu, *op. cit.*, pl. III/4; Pl. 34/3.

<sup>100</sup> A. Nițu, *Reprezentările feminine dorsale pe ceramica neo-eneolitică carpato-balcanică*, în *MemAnt*, II, 1970, p. 75-99; D. Monah, *Plastica antropomorfă...*, fig. 233, 234.

<sup>101</sup> J. Chevalier, A. Gheerbrant, *Dicționar...*, vol. I, p. 427.

<sup>102</sup> C. Schuster, *Câteva gânduri cu privire la dansatorii din Preistorie*, în *Buridava IX*, 2011, p. 37.

<sup>103</sup> R.-R. Andreescu, *op. cit...*, pl. 60/1-3, 5; R.-R. Andreescu, P. Mirea, Șt. Apope, *op. cit.*, fig. 12/1-2

<sup>104</sup> R.-R. Andreescu, *op. cit...*, pl. 60/7.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibidem*, pl. 12/7.

<sup>106</sup> S. Marinescu-Bîlcu, *Dansul ritual în reprezentările plastice neo-eneolitice din Moldova*, în *SCIVA* 25, 2, 1974, fig. 1/1a-1b; 3/2a-2b.

<sup>107</sup> Vl. Dumitrescu, *Arta culturii...*, p. 106, fig. 170.

<sup>108</sup> S. Marinescu-Bîlcu, *op. cit.*, p. 168-169; D. Monah, *op. cit.*, fig. 234.

<sup>109</sup> A. Nițu, *Reprezentări antropomorfe pe ceramica pe ceramica Gumelnița A*, în *Danubius II-III*, 1969, fig. 2/3, 4; D. Monah, *op. cit.*, 235/1; 255/2.

<sup>110</sup> C. Schuster, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

and religious rituals related to the cult of fertility. These anthropomorphized holders, known in the literature as "round dance", represent characters who participate in ritual dances or they are simply bearers of oblations<sup>111</sup>. The arrangement of deities in relation to the four cardinal directions, which correspond to the four seasons, in turn, reflect the existence of a cosmogony, used as an archetypal model in various circumstances connected with the religious life of the prehistoric communities.

We meet the custom of playing masks on the figurines in the southwestern part of the Balkan Peninsula, spread to the north of the Danube through the vinčiene communities, being used by neighboring groups<sup>112</sup>. In this respect, we mention the Ostrovul Banului artifact<sup>113</sup>, the Liubcova statue<sup>114</sup>, and the series of vinčieni idols discovered in the eponymous<sup>115</sup> site or in Banat<sup>116</sup>. The masked figurines discovered at Piscu Crăsani<sup>117</sup> or Vidra<sup>118</sup>, show traces of red and white paint which emphasizes the symbolic value of these representations. Associated to the rites of passage, the white color is the attribute of whom turns and changes the rendered being<sup>119</sup>. Symbolizing the principle of vitality, strength, power and brightness, red is the equivalent of full knowledge, privilege enjoyed only by the insiders, meaning the mask holders<sup>120</sup>.

Some communities as Vădastra type used such spare props, the masks figurines during some magic and religious manifestations which were discovered at Hotarani<sup>121</sup> or Slatina<sup>122</sup>. These masks figurines were remarked by the triangle shape face, with pointed end down. An exceptional achievement is

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<sup>111</sup> S. Marinescu-Bîlcu, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

<sup>112</sup> E. Comşa, *op. cit.*, p. 114-115; S. Hansen, *Neolitische Figuralplastik im südlichen Karpatenbecken*, în *Masken, Menschen, Rituale-Katalog zur Ausstellung* (W. Schier Hrsg.), Martin von Wagner-Museum der Universität Würzburg, 2005, p.19-25.

<sup>113</sup> P. Roman, V. Boroneanţ, *Locuirea neolitică din Ostrovul Banului de la Gura Văii*, în *Drobeta I*, 1974., pl. III/3.

<sup>114</sup> S.-A. Luca, I. Dragomir, *Date cu privire la o statueta inedită de la Liubcova-Ornița (jud. Caraş-Severin)*, în *Banatica*, IX, 1987, fig.2-4.

<sup>115</sup> M. M. Vasić, *Preistorijska Vinča*, I-III, Beograd, 1936; D. Srejović et alii, *Vinča u praistoriji i srednjem veku*, Beograd, 1984.

<sup>116</sup> Gh. Lazarovici, *Neoliticul...*, p. 87-101; F. Draşovean, *Cultura Vinča târzie (faza C) în Banat*, în *BHAB*, I, 1996, p. 61-64.

<sup>117</sup> M. Neagu, *O figurină descoperită în aşezarea Boian-Bolintineanu de la Piscu Crăsani*, în *SCIVA*, 33, 1982, 4, p. 430; idem, *Neoliticul mijlociu la Dunărea de Jos*, în *CCDJ*, XX, 2003, p. 127, p. 252, pl. LXXI/1.

<sup>118</sup> D. V. Rosetti, *Steinkupferzeitliche Plastik aus einem Wohnhugel bei Bukarest*, în *JPEK*, Berlin, XII, 1938, p. 32, pl. 12/5.

<sup>119</sup> I. Evseev, *Dicţionar...*, p. 259.

<sup>120</sup> J. Chevalier, A. Gheerbant, *Dicţionar...*, vol. III, p. 171-174.

<sup>121</sup> M. Nica, *Reprezentările antropomorfe în cultura Vădastra ...*, fig. 9/1; 10/1.

<sup>122</sup> M. Butoi, *Noi descoperiri arheologice...*, fig. 17.

the miniature human mask, of tapered shape (Hotarani –Vădastra phase II), with unequal eyes - one eye is oval, the other triangular. The nose is in the form of waves which end at the bottom with an opening indicating the mouth<sup>123</sup>.

Anthropomorphic representations have been identified in the cultural environment of Gumelnița, at Sultana<sup>124</sup> and Vidra<sup>125</sup>. Unlike the figurines from the Starčevo-Criș, Vinča, Boian cultures they have an oval mask, which implies a change in the means of the artistic expression, due to its contact with the neighboring areas. Much more surprising seems to be those artistic combinations where the anthropomorphic elements are combined with the zoomorphic ones. Therefore, the meaning and the functionality of this type of mask leaves room for interpretation, largely hypothetical. The artifacts discovered in the north-danubian area at Căscioarele<sup>126</sup>, Sultana, Vidra<sup>127</sup> or Drăgănești-Olt<sup>128</sup> and those identified in the south of the river at Goljamo-Delcevo<sup>129</sup> illustrates many mythical themes, which highlight the complexity of the symbolic spiritual life of these communities. The mask from Căscioarele is an anthrozoomorphic head that has a figurine over its head placed between the horns. This could be used in certain rituals related to the *Great Goddess* of fertility, while that from Drăgănești-Olt, embodiment of a horse head, suggests the role it plays in rites related to the initiation and the possession. Being the messenger of life and death, the horse appears as the archetypal image of the opposite's manifestation in a full unity, being very close to the uranian the chthonian world. As an animal of darkness, it symbolizes the infernal cratofanie and as a solar horse it becomes the perfect emblem of majesty and beauty<sup>130</sup>. However, the horse is associated to the water that it goes through, leading the souls of the deceased to the other realm and thus, it handles the transition from one level of existence to another. The horse masks embodied the spirits of the vegetation and the association with the rain gods illustrates the apotropaic character and the fertilizer valences with which they were endowed after some sacralization processes.

The covering of the statuettes face with masks and their ritualistic manipulation implies the existence of deities or some exceptional characters, celebrated in some religious processions, when the organizers would imitate the gestures of the worshiped person, avoiding thus the profane reality.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibidem*, fig. 6/2.

<sup>124</sup> D.V. Rosetti, *op. cit.*, pl. 13/13.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibidem*, pl.20/6.

<sup>126</sup> Vl. Dumitrescu, *Fragment de vase zoomorphe à statuette humaine sur la tête découvert à Căscioarele*, în *Godisnjak* 13, 1976, p. 97-104; R.-R. Andreescu, *op. cit.*, pl. 39/1, 1a; V/5

<sup>127</sup> D. V. Rosetti, *op. cit.*, pl. 27/1; 29/10; R.-R. Andreescu, *op. cit.*, pl. 39/2, 3.

<sup>128</sup> M. Nica, Tr. Zorzoliu, Cr. Fântâneau, B. Tănăsescu, *Cercetările arheologice în tell-ul gumelnițeano-sălcuțean de la Drăgănești-Olt, punctul "Corboaița"*. *Campania anului 1995*, în *CAANT*, II, 1997, fig. 3/1a-e; 7.

<sup>129</sup> H. Todorova, *Eneolit Bolgarii*, Sophia Press, 1979, pl. 77/a-d.

<sup>130</sup> J. Chevalier, A. Gheerbant, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 224-236.

Identification with the divinity supposed the return to the primordial times and “the recreation of the universe, allowing a regular resumption of a pure existence in a fresh, strong and fruitful world”<sup>131</sup>. The spirit of the ancestors who dwelt in the “inside” of the mask was redirected into the community service, the bearer becoming an agent who captures and manages the energy scattered in the invisible world. Between the mask and the bearer there are a number of mystical exchanges due to the captured force, so that the bearer will become the master from the protected.

The mask from Uivar<sup>132</sup> or the figurine from Gălățui-“Movila Berzei”<sup>133</sup> (Fig. 1/7) were modeled from clay mixed with chaff, highlighting the existence of a ritual custom which takes into account not only the regenerating valence of the earth but also the guarantee of the bond that it confers in relation to the spirits of the ancestors who last in space. This form of manifestation of the sacred in the iconography of the Neolithic art involves the compulsory character of the **prohibited image** of the Deity who can provide some explanations concerning the schematic treatment of the facial physiognomy, or its covering with a mask<sup>134</sup>.

The direct contact with the deity or the mere contemplation of the divine splendor, which can be fatal to ordinary people, enforces following some bans on sacred management in view of its contagious character. The profane must take into consideration the disastrous effects that the diffuse and indeterminate force produces instantly and, in a ritual framework, disguised with a mask, to capture and control it according to its personal interests or those who attend the ceremony. *The prohibited image* of the Deity as a representation of *the Great Goddess*, found in the Paleolithic and the Neolithic art, expresses an artistic attitude where the explicit lack of the face was complemented by other elements of femininity -ex. vulvae, or replaced with animal representations.

Along with this key figure, there were also **"the performers"** whose role was to enhance the emotion released during the procession through music and dance. Unlike the worshiper who lifted his arms to the sky in his trial to communicate with the Divine, the group of performers would use the expression of the mouth, through the power of suggestion of word and song<sup>135</sup> (Fig. 2/1)

The **Thinker** posture, reported in various cultural areas of the Far East to Europe<sup>136</sup>, is another cultic theme whose significance concerns the place and

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<sup>131</sup> M. Eliade, *Nostalgia originilor...*, p. 108.

<sup>132</sup> W. Schier, F. Drașovean, *Masca rituală descoperită în tell-ul neolitic de la Uivar (jud. Timiș)*, în *AnB*, SN, XII-XIII, 2004, fig. 1, 2.

<sup>133</sup> M. Neagu, *Neoliticul mijlociu...*, p. 248, pl. LXVII.

<sup>134</sup> C.-L. Rădoescu, *Hypostases et gestes religieux..*

<sup>135</sup> V. Voinea, *Gesturi și semnificații...*, p. 390, fig. 19, 20.

<sup>136</sup> S. Marinescu-Bîlcu, *À propos de la statuette de la statuette du type „Le penseur., de l’Attique et le problème de ses éventuelles relations avec celle de Cernavoda*, în *Dacia*, NS, XXIX, 1985, p. 119-123

the role of the individual in relation to the absolute greatness of the divine. It illustrates a meditative attitude, as it is in the representations from Șimnic (Cârcea III)<sup>137</sup>, Slatina (Vădastra II)<sup>138</sup>, those belonging to Gumelnița-Glina<sup>139</sup>, Căscioarele<sup>140</sup>, Vidra<sup>141</sup>, Sultana<sup>142</sup> etc., Precucuteni-Tîrpești<sup>143</sup>, Cucuteni-Drăgușeni-Suceava<sup>144</sup>, Hamangia<sup>145</sup>, or a defensive one suggested by the figurines with the arms crossed in Brăilița, Sultana (the Gumelnița culture)<sup>146</sup>, Koszyłowce (Cucuteni B)<sup>147</sup>. *The Thinker* theme fully proves its spiritual valences and contributes, along with other artistic types, to the reconstruction of the religious universe of the prehistoric man.

The female deity associations with the plant and animal world are other manifestations of the divine paradox. Signaled in the Paleolithic art, in a somewhat stylized form<sup>148</sup>, the goddess image which appears in the representations of the neo-eneolithic iconography with vegetable symbols reflects their consubstantiality. Thus, one of the most frequent epiphanies of *the Great Goddess* is related to the sacred tree, symbol of life and the inexhaustible fertility, but also of the cyclical character of the year regeneration<sup>149</sup>. As the center of the world- *axis mundi* and the base of the universe, this ideogram defines divinity which facilitates communication between Earth and Heaven and is sometimes represented as a column. Such representations as those of Căscioarele<sup>150</sup>, Greaca<sup>151</sup>, Trușești<sup>152</sup>, Isaiia<sup>153</sup>, Parța<sup>154</sup> may be considered substitutes of the Cosmic Tree - Life Tree and symbols of the world axis<sup>155</sup>.

The columns, falling at the gates or on the edge boundaries, mark the “cosmicized world borders” or, symbolically, the passage from the profane to

<sup>137</sup> M. Nica, *Semnificația câtorva reprezentări antropomorfe și zoomorfe descoperite în așezările neolitice din Oltenia*, în *Oltenia, Studii, culegeri, documente*, Craiova, 1998, fig. 1/1a-1b.

<sup>138</sup> M. Butoi, *op. cit.*, fig. 17; M. Nica, *op. cit.*, fig. 1/2a-2b.

<sup>139</sup> R.-R. Andreescu, *Plastica antropomorfă...*, pl. 7/7.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibidem*, pl. 31/2.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibidem*, pl. 37/5.

<sup>142</sup> S. Marinescu-Bîlcu, B. Ionescu, *op. cit.*, pl. IX-X; R.-R. Andreescu, *op. cit.*, Pl. VI/4.

<sup>143</sup> S. Marinescu-Bîlcu, *Cultura Precucuteni...*, fig. 73/7.

<sup>144</sup> D. Monah, *Plastica antropomorfă...*, fig. 169/3.

<sup>145</sup> D. Berciu, *Cultura Hamangia...*, fig. 1.

<sup>146</sup> R.-R. Andreescu, *op. cit.*, pl. 11/1; 31/3.

<sup>147</sup> D. Monah, *op. cit.*, fig. 222/4.

<sup>148</sup> V. Chrica, *Teme ale reprezentării...*, fig. 2/3-5.

<sup>149</sup> M. Eliade, *Tratat...*, p. 215.

<sup>150</sup> Vl. Dumitrescu, *Édifice destiné au culte découvert dans la couche Boian-Spanțov de la station tell de Căscioarele*, în *Dacia*, NS, XIV, 1970, p. 21; idem, *Arta preistorică...*, fig. 487.

<sup>151</sup> C.-M. Lazarovici, Gh. Lazarovici, *Arhitectura neoliticului...*, fig. IVc. 26.

<sup>152</sup> M. Petrescu-Dîmbovița, M. Florescu, A. C. Florescu, *Trușești...*

<sup>153</sup> N. Ursulescu, F.-A. Tencariu, *op. cit.*, pl. VIII/2, 3.

<sup>154</sup> Gh. Lazarovici, F. Drașovean, Z. Maxim, *Parța...*, fig. 165, 166, 170.

<sup>155</sup> M. Eliade, *Istoria credințelor...*, I, p. 42, 51; D. Monah, *op. cit.*, p. 33; Gh. Lazarovici, F. Drașovean, Z. Maxim, *op. cit.*, p. 209-211

the sacred. Evoking gratitude to the gods, these architectural elements with spiritual meanings express the divinity power in the human being and the human's power under the care of Providence<sup>156</sup>.

Evoking the verticality, the column can be assimilated to *the phallus*, its sexual connotations being emphasized by the presence of the cult vessels (in which the sacred liquor was stored) in the same ritual framework -Liubcova<sup>157</sup>, Isaiia<sup>158</sup>. *The Phalloi* discoveries from Grădiștea Coslogeni (Bolintineanu)<sup>159</sup>, Hotărani (Vădastra III) those belonging to the Hamangia<sup>160</sup>, Cucuteni<sup>161</sup> and Gumelnița cultures, indicate the existence of the orgiastic rituals dedicated to the generating power which is worshiped in the form of this symbol image (Fig. 2/5). Using such parts as mandatory elements of the participants' repertoire is indisputable and the references to the fecundity and the fertility cults are more than obvious.

The relations of the "Great Goddess" with various species of the animal world - fish, snakes, birds, bovines and equines, etc., reveals another posture of "the Great Mother", that of **Potnia Theron** - master and protector of these creatures, thanks to the cosmological and ritual functions that they perform. The association of the feminine goddess with the fish, suggested by the boulders hewn in stone from Lepenski Vir<sup>162</sup>, or that with the serpent<sup>163</sup> suggests the chthonian valences of "the Great Goddess" and reveals the strength and the complexity of the aquatic symbolism within the magical-religious manifestations. The ophidian presence in cosmogonic myths and legends<sup>164</sup> illustrates the universality of this archetypal and totalizer symbol, and the artistic neo-eneolithic captures the complexity of female fertility in a very suggestive way. The female representations from Cucuteni, those with the coiled reptile around their neck or around the waist<sup>165</sup>, the cult sanctuaries from Porodin, (Starčevo)<sup>166</sup>, or carved in stone, Hărman (Cucuteni A)<sup>167</sup>, the effigy of *the Snake Goddess* from Tell Azmak (Karanovo I)<sup>168</sup> vessel etc. are just

<sup>156</sup> I. Evseev, *op. cit.*, p. 44; J. Chevalier, A. Gheerbant, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 351.

<sup>157</sup> S.-A. Luca, *Contribuții la istoria artei neolitice. Plastica așezării de la Liubcova-Ornița (jud. Caraș-Severin)*, în *Banatica*, X, 1990, p. 6-44.

<sup>158</sup> N. Ursulescu, *Dovezi ale unei simbolistici a numerelor în cultura Precucuteni*, în *MemAntiq.*, XXII, 2001, fig. 3/3.

<sup>159</sup> M. Neagu, *op. cit.*, pl. LXX/1.

<sup>160</sup> D. Berciu, *Cultura Hamangia...*, p. 253, fig. 149/4; 266.

<sup>161</sup> Șt. Cucuș, *Săpăturile de la Văleni-Piatra Neamț (1974-1975)*, în *MemAntiq.*, VI-VIII, (1974-1976), 1981, fig. 24/1-4, 5; D. Monah, *op. cit.*, fig. 125/4-6; 165/1-6.

<sup>162</sup> M. Gimbutas, *The Goddesses...*, fig. 72-76.

<sup>163</sup> *Eadem*, p. 136-145.

<sup>164</sup> V. Kernbach, *Dicționar...*, p. 565.

<sup>165</sup> D. Monah, *op. cit.*, p. 74-77, fig. 22/1a-b; 97; 27/6; 47/1, 6; 63/5; 64/1.

<sup>166</sup> M. Gimbutas, *op. cit.*, fig. 52, 67.

<sup>167</sup> Vl. Dumitrescu, *Arta preistorică...*, fig. 272/3.

<sup>168</sup> M. Gimbutas, *op. cit.*, fig. 63, 64.

some examples which demonstrate this hierogamy widespread. The same fertilizer attributes of the serpent, associated with the deities' status, are found in the Greek and Roman art<sup>169</sup>, this time much more explicit, given the versatility of the symbol that can express not only the power of fertilization or the civilizing hero wisdom, but also the nefarious intelligence when it kidnaps the human immortality granted by god<sup>170</sup>.

The quality of the "Great Mother" of Potnia Theron, illustrated by the anthropo-zoomorphic mask which was discovered at Căscioarele (Gumelnița culture)<sup>171</sup>, or the hunting scenes on the vessels from Brânzeni, Žvanec, Costești IV (the Cucuteni culture)<sup>172</sup> where ithyphallic characters also appear, raise the issue of women's deity association with the male one. Even if the male character seems not to have the same status in the religious system, however, its presence in various poses together with the divine feminine deity reveal the polarity of the two entities. As part of the active *hieros gamos*, the male element is usually represented as passive, sometimes as an ithyphallic character<sup>173</sup>, but the bull stance, as shown in the Upper Paleolithic creations or in the sanctuary iconography from Çatal Hüyük, reflects the best the fecundation attitude of the divinity. The excessive schematization of the human image in the form of the anthropomorphic representations with "vertical axis"<sup>174</sup>, identified in the early Neolithic at Karanovo I<sup>175</sup>, on the boat from Ciolăneștii din Deal (the Gumelnița culture)<sup>176</sup> or in the cultural environment from Cucuteni -Trusești, Ghelăiești, Scânteia, Dumești<sup>177</sup> is another artistic way in which the idea of masculinity is personified. This kind of ithyphallic representations does not necessarily mean the existence of certain male deities, but the wide diffusion of the theme in the southeastern and central Europe and the many interpretations which took part - "the crouched image" of a woman giving birth<sup>178</sup>, or a bee<sup>179</sup>, proves once again the complex structure of the neo-eneolithic religion and various forms under which the sacred can manifest throughout the community.

The mating scenes of the deities, especially the representations of the divine marriage between *the Great Goddess* and the fertile bull, complete the painting of the religious themes reflected by the anthropomorphic art. The

<sup>169</sup> E. Neumann, *The Great Mother...*

<sup>170</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 599; M. Eliade, *Tratat...*, p. 139; 141-142

<sup>171</sup> R.-R. Andreescu, *op. cit.*, pl. 39/1, 1a.

<sup>172</sup> D. Monah, *op. cit.*, fig. 228/8; 232/9; 249/4.

<sup>173</sup> E. Comșa, *op. cit.*, fig. 16/3; D. Monah, *op. cit.*, fig. 140/3, 9.

<sup>174</sup> A. Nițu, *Reprezentări antropomorfe în decorul plastic...*

<sup>175</sup> M. Gimbutas, *The Language...*, fig. 28/1.

<sup>176</sup> Vl. Dumitrescu, *op. cit.*, fig. 231/4.

<sup>177</sup> D. Monah, *op. cit.*, fig. 238/5; 248/1; 243/3; 242/3.

<sup>178</sup> A. Nițu, *op. cit.*

<sup>179</sup> M. Gimbutas, *The Goddesses and Gods of Old Europe. Myths and Cult Images*, London, 1982, p. 184, fig. 144.

statuary group from Hotărani (Vădastra II)<sup>180</sup>, the two-headed statue from Rast<sup>181</sup>, the temple facade from Trușești (even if the sexual details are not specified)<sup>182</sup>, the representations from the supplies vessels from Trușești, Scânteia, Dumești (the Cucuteni culture)<sup>183</sup>, "the Lovers" from Gumelnița or the pairs from Glina, Sultana, Gumelnița (the Gumelnița culture)<sup>184</sup>, are just a few examples of a mythical pattern of deity which link together all the opposites. The fact that such a stance is signaled almost everywhere in the religious practice of the mankind and the tendency to imitate "the indiscriminate human being in whom all the forces are resorbed"<sup>185</sup> appear constantly in the orgiastic rituals and the androgenizing rites demonstrate the individual effort to recalibrate the revealed divine archetype and to achieve *the primordial totality*.

The position of *the Great Goddess* as the children's protector – Kourotrophos reveals another image, that of *the Great Mother* in the Neo-Eneolithic iconography. Such *kourotrophoi* representations were reported in Anatolia, at Hacilar and Kültepe<sup>186</sup> in Cyprus<sup>187</sup>, but also in the north of the Danube, at Rast<sup>188</sup> and Hotărani (Vădastra IV)<sup>189</sup>. Although the two-headed statues have been found not only to Hačilar<sup>190</sup>, Stara Zagora<sup>191</sup> or even Rast<sup>192</sup>, the fragment from Hotărani still remains an exceptional case for the Romanian neolithic art.

The same female couple, mother and daughter, appears on a found pottery fragment in Sălcuța - "Piscul Cornișorului"<sup>193</sup> in the artistic Cucuteni type creation and the statuary assemblies from Krinčki Koszylowce<sup>194</sup>, the representations from Costești, Brânzeni<sup>195</sup> or the throne of Lipcani<sup>196</sup> accredit the existence of a religious theme, well enough documented. The fact that this

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<sup>180</sup> M. Nica, *Reprezentările antropomorfe...*, fig. 6/1; 8/3.

<sup>181</sup> Vl. Dumitrescu, *op. cit.*, fig. 193; idem, *Plastica neolitică...*, pl. 18/90.

<sup>182</sup> M. Petrescu-Dîmbovița, M. Florescu, A. C. Florescu, *Trușești...*

<sup>183</sup> D. Monah, *Plastica antropomorfă...*, fig. 238/3; 239; 240/1; 241/1.

<sup>184</sup> R.-R. Andreescu, *op. cit.*, pl. IV; V/10-12.

<sup>185</sup> M. Eliade, *Tratat...*, p. 326.

<sup>186</sup> Vl. Dumitrescu, *Semnificația și originea unui tip de figurină feminină descoperită la Rast*, în *SCIV*, VII, 1956, fig. 3/6, 8.

<sup>187</sup> *Ibidem*, fig. 3/4, 5; D. R. Teocharis, *Neolithic Greece*, Athens, 1973, fig. 25; 56.

<sup>188</sup> Vl. Dumitrescu, *Plastica neolitică din așezarea de la Rast (jud. Dolj)*, în *AMN*, XXIV-XXV, 1987-1988, pl. 18/89.

<sup>189</sup> M. Nica, *op. cit.*, p. 52, fig. 11/1; 17/1.

<sup>190</sup> J. Mellaart, *Excavations at Hacilar*, Edinburgh, II, 1970, pl. CXLV; pl. CLI; pl. CLIII.

<sup>191</sup> M. Dimitrov, *Kostena coveska figurka of s. Lovec, Starozagorska*, în *Arheologija*, Sofia, I, 1962, p. 53, fig. 1; p. 54, fig. 2.

<sup>192</sup> Vl. Dumitrescu, *Arta preistorică...*, fig. 194.

<sup>193</sup> D. Berciu, *Contribuții...*, p. 335, fig. 155/1, 158/2.

<sup>194</sup> D. Monah, *op. cit.*, fig. 118/2; 222/4.

<sup>195</sup> *Ibidem*, fig. 244/12; 249/1, 3; 254/9.

<sup>196</sup> *Ibidem*, fig. 261/5; 262/1.

assembly knows a wide spreading in the Anatolian and Greek space could explain the genesis of the future divine couple- Demeter and Khore, whose symbolism, closely related to the rhythm of the vegetation cycle and the whole existence, is rooted in the southeastern European neo-eneolithic<sup>197</sup>. Demeter, goddess of fertility and the earth, together with her daughter Khore, god of hell, were invoked to ensure the alternation of life and death and the transposition of the initiate in a transcendental world. The fact that the mother and her saint daughter "personified the wheat in its double aspect; the seed wheat from the previous year and the ripe ears from the present one"<sup>198</sup>, this symbolic assimilation might explain the mixing gesture of the crushed cereal with the clay from which the statues were to be modeled, but also the idea of transubstantiation considering the requirement of the divinity auto sacrifice for which the plant species should become edible<sup>199</sup>.

The representation of the deity by a distinctive element, according to the *pars pro toto* principle, justifies **the divine leg** theme in the Neo-Eneolithic art, whose significance can reveal, besides the social aspects, some features of the spiritual life. The ritualistic use of the clay modeled legs as *ex-voto* dedicated to deity<sup>200</sup>, the amulets also dedicated to home protection<sup>201</sup> or the containers used for keeping the sacred liquid<sup>202</sup>, are a way to express the deity's connection with the earthly world. The symbolic significance of this organ of locomotion is related to the beginning and end of the movement, and the traces left by the foot become the image of the body manifestation and the signs of the earth domination. The social valences are translated by establishing certain rules of behavior based on symbolic duality of right / left leg, thus, the foot becoming the instrument of kinship through mother and the emblem of life<sup>203</sup>. In the north Danube area, the miniature pieces illustrating the human leg have been reported since the final stages of the Starčevo-Criș culture<sup>204</sup>, but also during the

<sup>197</sup> P. Lévêque, *Bêtes, dieux et hommes. L'imaginaire des premières religions*, Paris, 1985, p. 54-55; S. Marinescu-Bîlcu, *Unele probleme ale plasticii antropomorfe neo-eneolitice din România și relațiile ei cu Mediterana Orientală*, în *Pontica*, X, 1977, p. 42.

<sup>198</sup> J. Frazer, *Creanga de aur*, vol. III, București, 1980, p. 218.

<sup>199</sup> M. Eliade, *Yoga...*, p. 293.

<sup>200</sup> A. Nițu, *Despre reprezentarea piciorului divin în plastica neo-eneolitică carpato-dunăreană*, în *Apulum* III/1, 1947-1949, p. 124-127.

<sup>201</sup> M. Șimon, D. Șerbănescu, *Considerații privind reprezentarea simbolică a piciorului uman în aria culturii Gumelnița*, în *CCDJ* III-IV, 1987, p. 33.

<sup>202</sup> C. Schuster, *Despre reprezentări în lut ars ale piciorului uman din bronzul românesc*, în *AnB*, S.N., VII-VIII, 1999-2000, p. 266.

<sup>203</sup> C. E. Ștefan, *New data concerning the representation of human foot in the Gumelnita culture*, în *SP*, 7, 2010, p. 126-128; J. Chevalier, A. Gheerbant, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 89.

<sup>204</sup> M. Nica, *Nouvelles données sur le Néolithique ancien d'Oltenie*, în *Dacia*, NS, XXI, 1977, p. 28, fig. 12/3; Gh. Lazarovici, *Neoliticul...*, p. 90, pl. X/A 10; C. Tulugea, *Plastica Starčevo-Criș din așezarea neolitică de la Copăcelu, Râmnicu Vâlcea, județul Vâlcea*, în *Buridava*, VI, 2008, foto 15, 15a.

developed Eneolithic - the Gumelnița<sup>205</sup>, the Cucuteni<sup>206208</sup> cultures, as a result of the esoteric valences that they display according to the context.

The spiritual connotations of the Neo-Eneolithic art are related not only to magical-religious practices, but also to the ability of the artistic representations in order to give force on the symbolism which is emitted into the institutionalization process of the new faith. The manner in which the figures were shaped, the attitudes that they release etc., is nothing but an artistic expression of a way of manifesting the sacred through the communicative function of symbols.

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<sup>205</sup> C. E. Ștefan, *op. cit.*, fig. pl. II-IV

<sup>206</sup> D. Monah, *op. cit.*, fig. 168/3; 230.



**Fig. 1. Anthropomorphic figurines. Gumelnița culture.**

1= Sultana, MaluRoșu

(<http://clasate.cimec.ro/detaliu.asp?k=9C92902DA51A4B4E9459E37E6EA5FDC5>);

2= Măgureni, Movilă

(<http://clasate.cimec.ro/detaliu.asp?k=1E469990E5C64492995BF36AFA0F1305>);

3, 4, 6= Vitănești, Măgurice

(<http://clasate.cimec.ro/detaliu.asp?k=9E31006ABF7646C6B363A950FE640900>;

<http://clasate.cimec.ro/detaliu.asp?k=8295CBBA2C9F4D209A3C48FC57C0836A>;

<http://clasate.cimec.ro/detaliu.asp?k=924BD27E50474BE7AD6827D9EE94508E> );

5= Radovanu (<http://clasate.cimec.ro/detaliu.asp?k=8BC92B80ED0641639F5A12AC898CBDA9>).

**Boian culture.**

7= Gălățui, Movila Berzei

(<http://clasate.cimec.ro/detaliu.asp?k=2F784A42ED954E46A903065036EF4531>



1

2

3

4

5

6

**Fig. 2. Anthropomorphic representations. Gumelnița culture.**

1= Vidra (<http://clasate.cimec.ro/detalii.asp?k=08A6644403314DA3BC1AFE94B498D44C>);

3= Măgura Gumelnița

(<http://clasate.cimec.ro/detalii.asp?k=42EFD3CD42E74BBB8DB14E05A678221F>);

5 = Mănăstirea Sultana

(<http://clasate.cimec.ro/detalii.asp?k=4CCD9AC6B65547F28471A86D85669CB4>).

**Cucuteni culture.**

2= Drăgușeni

(<http://clasate.cimec.ro/detalii.asp?k=2CCC61D08267402DA73AE1C7D1E6B2D9>).

**Precucuteni culture.**

4, 6= Isaiia, Balta Popii; Traian, Dealul Fântânilor

(<http://clasate.cimec.ro/detalii.asp?k=4D92F7B1A0E04D359EA45D854328A673>;

<http://clasate.cimec.ro/detalii.asp?k=20DF5EA405234D4AA289F3955615611B> )

## "ACTS OF VIOLENCE" IN "GESTA HUNGARORUM", THE WORK OF ANONYMUS

*Florin SFRENGEU\**

**Abstract.** *This article presents and analyzes a series of excerpts from Gesta Hungarorum (The Deeds of the Hungarians), the work of Anonymus, where the violent nature of the Magyars' actions during their nomadic phase is captured in an extremely eloquent manner. The work of the Anonymous Notary is considered by most experts an important source for the understanding of the events and circumstances at the end of the first millennium and the beginning of the second century of the Christian era, not only on Hungarian newcomers in Central Europe but also on other populations in the area, who had suffered due to the actions of the first. They reiterated the discussion on the possible dating of Gesta Hungarorum during the time that followed the reign of Bela I (1060-1063) and on Anonymus's schooling, most likely done in Italy, as a series of clues present in the text shows that Anonymus knew best the northern part of Italy. Like other historians in Central and Western Europe Anonymus placed himself in the service of patriotic propaganda favorable to the national monarchies on their way to become. In their nomadic phase, the core values of the Hungarians were conquest and plunder, as Anonymus emphasized when he presented Árpád's successor, his son Zulta and the military leaders. Although they didn't spare anything in their devastating raids: no churches or bishops, nor nobles or commoners, according to the representatives of the Hungarian patriotic propaganda, the Hungarians formed a "chosen people", even before the Christianization, enjoying the grace and the divine guidance.*

**Keywords:** *violence, Hungarian, chronicle, Anonymus, patriotic propaganda, nomadism*

Even from the start we draw attention to a passage in Anonymus's work, *Gesta Hungarorum (The Deeds of the Hungarians)* where the violent nature of the Hungarians' actions taken during their nomadic phase is captured in an extremely eloquent manner: "For at that time in the minds of the Hungarians there was nothing else they wanted more but to occupy countries, to subdue peoples and to be engaged in warlike deeds. For at that time Hungarians

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enjoyed very much to suck human blood, like the leeches, and if they hadn't done so they wouldn't have left so many beautiful countries to their successors. What more can I say?"<sup>1</sup> The rhetorical question actually finds its answer in the work of the anonymous secretary, who describes in detail sometimes in many other passages the amount of violence characterizing the Hungarian incursions into Central and Western Europe.

*Gesta Hungarorum* (*The Deeds of the Hungarians*), the work of the Anonymous Notary, is considered by most scholars an important source for the understanding of the events and circumstances at the end of the first millennium and the beginning of the second century of the Christian era, not only on the Hungarian newcomers in Central Europe but also on other populations in the area, who had suffered due to the violent actions undertaken by the first. The Magister also known as P., the Notary, alleged by some historians to be the Notary of King Béla I (1060-1063) and by others that of Béla II (1131 - 1141) or Béla III (1172-1196), known today as Anonymus, formed, according to Stelian Brezeanu, in the twelfth century Paris, took as a model the Romanian *Gestas* which were in vogue in the French society of the time. He celebrates the deeds of the Hungarian kings and nobility, transforming the conquest of Pannonia and the prey campaigns led in the West and in the Balkans into the central episode of his narrative.<sup>2</sup>

Alexandru Madgearu reiterated at the beginning of the third millennium, the issue of the identity and timing of Anonymus's writing era, intensively discussed by historians. In conclusion the author leans towards dating the source around a period subsequent to the reign of Béla II, before the Bulgarian Renaissance, probably around the year 1150, stating also that other assumptions cannot be removed and so that it cannot be the case of a final dating<sup>3</sup>. Tudor Sălăgean has a different opinion on the possible dating of *Gesta Hungarorum*, setting it in the wake of the reign of Bela I (1060-1063) and during Anonymus's schooling, most likely done in Italy as a series of clues present in the text indicates that Anonymus knew the best the northern part of Italy. Ample references are provided at the description of the Hungarians' prey campaigns in Italy, regarding the political realities, towns and places such as Lombardy, Friuli, Padua, Vercelli, Susa, Torino and the plain of Lombardy<sup>4</sup>. More

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<sup>1</sup> *Faptele unguirilor (Gesta Hungarorum)*, by the anonymous Secretary of King Bela, in *Izvoarele istoriei românilor (Fontes Historiae Daco-Romanorum)*, vol I, translated by G. Popa-Lisseanu, Bucharest, 1934, edition and preface by I. Oprișan, Bucharest, 2010, chapter XLIV, p. 151-152 (hereinafter Anonymus, *Gesta Hungarorum*)

<sup>2</sup> Stelian Brezeanu, „Romani” și „Blachi” la Anonymus. *Istorie și ideologie politică*, in *Romanitatea orientală în Evul Mediu*, Bucharest, 1999 (hereinafter Stelian Brezeanu, „Romani” și „Blachi”), p. 138.

<sup>3</sup> Alexandru Madgearu, *Românii în opera Notarului Anonim*, Cluj-Napoca, 2001, p. 19-25.

<sup>4</sup> Tudor Sălăgean, *Țara lui Gelou: Contribuții la istoria Transilvaniei de Nord în secolele IX-XI*, Cluj-Napoca, 2006, p. 16-18.

recently, Alexandru Madgearu, during a presentation on the denomination of the Black Sea in the work of Anonymus, made some remarks on the possible dating of this work, placing it at the beginning of the thirteenth century<sup>5</sup>. However, as Ioan-Aurel Pop stated in a book published in 2011: "... the paper does not mention "principalities", but cities (*civitates*) Vladimir and Halici - with their unnamed leaders (*duces*) - which could have very well been the power centers of the Eastern Slavs and then gravitate (about 895) around Kievan Russia, created by the eighth and ninth centuries."<sup>6</sup>

Anonymus's work was partially preserved in a single manuscript of the mid-thirteenth century, nowadays preserved at the Hungarian National Library, being first published in 1746 by JG Schwandter and M. Bel, but mentioned for the first time in 1652, in a catalogue of the Imperial Library in Vienna.<sup>7</sup> The work of Anonymus is not fully preserved, as chapter 15 shows that the narrative also talked about the time of Andrew I (1046-1060), the text ending with the reign of Duke Géza, but also with reference to events contemporary with Stephen I. The work has the following structure: Chapters 1-11 include the description of the Hungarians' country of origin, their departure in Ruthenia and their fights with Ruthenians; Chapters 12-18 capture the conquest of the territory situated between the Danube and the river Tisza; Chapters 19-29 describe the battles with Menumorout, the Duke of Byhor and the conquest of Gelou's principality, Chapters 30-43 depict the fights with Salanus, with the Bohemians and with the Duke of Bulgaria, Chapters 44-45 describe the fights with Glad and the campaign in the south of the Danube, Chapters 46-50 capture

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<sup>5</sup> Alexandru Madgearu, "Denumirea Mării Negre în *Gesta Hungarorum* a Notarului Anonim", in *Ephemeris Napocensis*, XIX, 2009, p. 179. "Tudor Sălăgean's proposed demonstration is apparently convincing as concerns the dating, but does not take into account a *terminus post quem* which contradicts it: the mentioning of Russian principalities Vladimir (in Volhynia) and Halici, under the name of Lodomer and Galicia in Chapter XI :(...). Or it is known that state Halici was formed in 1141, when the city became the seat of Prince Vladimirko Volodarovich (1104-1152), who unified the principalities of Przemyśl, Zvenyhorod and Terebovlya. Between Hungary and the principality of Halici there were set some relations since the time of King Bela II (1131-1141). Later, Bela III tried to put his son Andrei as prince in Halici through the 1188-1189 campaign. After becoming a king Andrew II tried to impose Hungary's authority on this Russian state. In 1199 Prince Roman Mstislavich of Vladimir annexed the principality of Halici with the help of Poland, and after his death in 1205, King Andrew II of Hungary has assumed the title of King of Galicia and Lodomer. This title may be a criterion for dating *Gesta Hungarorum* right around that year (the author being the former notary of Bela III). Thus, the passage on Halici from *Gesta Hungarorum* shows that this text cannot be dated earlier than the middle of the twelfth century, the most likely possibility being the dating in the early years of the thirteenth century. "

<sup>6</sup> Ioan-Aurel Pop, „*Din mâinile valahilor schismatici...*” *România și puterea în Regatul Ungariei medievale (secolele XIII-XIV)*, Editura Litera, Bucharest, 2011, p. 81, footnote 192 (hereinafter Ioan-Aurel Pop, „*Din mâinile valahilor schismatici...*”).

<sup>7</sup> Stelian Brezeanu, „*Romani*” și „*Blachi*”, p. 137-138; Alexandru Madgearu, *România...*, p. 19-20.

the conquest of the territory situated in west of the Danube (Pannonia); Chapters 50-52 describe the resumption of the fights with Menemorout, Chapters 52-53 and 57 feature Árpád's descendants up to Géza, chapters 53-56 feature the campaigns in the West.

Discussions on the reliability of the facts reported in the chronicle, the time when the person who wrote it lived and who he was, started immediately after its printing. In 2006 Liviu Borcea made a survey of the views present in the German and Hungarian historiography regarding this literary source, views that varied "depending on how the discussions were taking place, the way in which historians, paleographers, linguists, ethnologists brought new arguments in favor of either opinion."<sup>8</sup> The most extensive work on Anonymus, with over 1300 pages, appeared in the early twentieth century (1902) and was written by Kubinyi Ferenc. The author states that all facts mentioned by Anonimus are true and that the writer of the Chronicle was the notary of King Bela I, if one takes into account the style, the toponymy and the onomastics. In 1937 the critical edition made by Imre Szentpétery with Dezső Pais's notes and edited by Emil Jakubovich was published, being considered as the best edition of Anonymus's Chronicle. After World War II the specialist in the historical geography of Hungary, György Gyorffy also dealt with this chronicle and he, basically always sought to decrease its credibility. According to the Hungarian expert everything, apart from the proper names and place names, is pure invention and also the realities of the year 1200 were placed by Anonymus in the ninth century. This view has broadened in recent decades in the Hungarian historiography.<sup>9</sup>

Researches up to this date on the work of the Anonymous Notary allowed specialists to draw several conclusions. Like other historians in Central and Western Europe, Anonymus placed himself in the service of patriotic propaganda, favorable to the national monarchies on their way to become. Some of its directions are: "1) Anti-imperial attitude as the Frank Eastern Empire, later Holy Roman Empire of German Nation, promoted an embedded political ideology, subduing nations and states, 2) the search for or, in absence of that, the creation and support of an illustrious ancient origin of the people concerned and even of the dynasty, 3) the invoking of the historical right of the state (kingdom, principality) concerned to rule over its own territory."<sup>10</sup> Towards the German emperors, who were never granted the official title of Imperator Romanorum, but that of imperator / rex Theutonicorum, Anonymus showed a clear dislike and the subjects of the German emperors were denominated by the ethnicon Theutonics, or by the gentilico-territorial name of

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<sup>8</sup> Liviu Borcea, *Bihorul medieval. Oameni, Așezări, Instituții*, Oradea, 2006, p. 22.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 27

<sup>10</sup> Ioan Aurel Pop, *Români și maghiarii în secolele IX-XIV. Geneza statului medieval în Transilvania*, IInd edition, Cluj-Napoca, 2003, p. 113-114.

the old tribe unions transformed into nations: the Allemanns, the Bavarians, the French, the Saxons.<sup>11</sup>

When the Hungarians entered the Tisza Plain, having gone from Galicia, as reported by Anonymus in Chapter XII, the local population obeyed willingly because of dread and fear, "because they had heard that the duke Almus descends from King Athila and although they used to be Duke Salanus's men they still, out of fear, served duke Almus all necessary food with honor, offering it as to their master. And such great fear and terror overwhelmed the people that they managed to ease the duke and the nobles as slaves did with their own masters."<sup>12</sup> Many other passages in the work hold information regarding the acts of violence of the Hungarian newcomers in Central Europe and the peoples living in the area. We stop to analyze a passage in the work of Anonymus, who emphasized in Chapter 50, titled suggestively: *On the Devastation of Pannonia*, the disaster suffered by the local communities during the "encounter" with Arpad and his soldiers, who: "And climbing up the mountain and admiring the beauty of Pannonia, they greatly rejoiced. Then, starting from there, they came to Raba and Rabucea and robbed the peoples and kingdoms of the slaves and of the Pannonians, occupying their provinces. They did however make frequent inroads in the Carinthian Moravian territories, where many thousands perished by their swords; they destroyed their cities, they took possession of their land and, to this day, with God's help, keep them in their power, in peace."<sup>13</sup>

In their nomadic phase, the Hungarian core values were conquest and plunder, as Anonymus emphasized when he presented Árpád's successor, his son Zulta and the military leaders, Lelu, Bulsuu- cruel man and Bonton: "All these were warriors and brave men in their hearts, whose sole mission was to enslave peoples to their Lord and to rob other people's countries. After saying their good-byes to Duke Zulta, they declared war to the Carinthian army. And through the Iulii Forum they came to the border of Lombardy, where they devastated the city of Padua in a terrible way by fire and killing, by sword and robberies. From here, even going in Lombardy, they started to cause many shortcomings. The inhabitants of the land coming together and trying to resist their violence and bestial rage, a large number of Lombardians died from the blows of the Hungarian arrows and very many bishops and commits were killed."<sup>14</sup> Although they didn't spare anything in their devastating raids: no

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<sup>11</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 114, footnote 5 indicating chapters 54-56.

<sup>12</sup> Anonymus, *Gesta Hungarorum*, chapter 12, p. 116-117.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibidem*, chapter 50, p. 158.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibidem*, chapter 53, p. 163. See also St. Brezeanu, *Începuturile românilor și maghiarilor în Transilvania. Tradiție savantă și memorie populară medievală*, in *Identități și solidarități medievale. Controverse istorice*, Bucharest, 2002 (hereinafter St. Brezeanu, *Începuturile românilor*), p. 166.

churches or bishops, nor nobles or commoners, according to the representatives of the Hungarian patriotic propaganda, the Hungarians formed a "chosen people", even before the Christianization, enjoying the grace and the divine guidance<sup>15</sup>. One also learns from Anonymus that Duke Álmos, Árpád's father, "although pagan he seemed to have in him the grace of the Holy Spirit" and Árpád, in all warlike enterprises benefited from the help of God, even against the two imperial nations of the time, the Germans and the Byzantines.<sup>16</sup>

Hungarians, having settled into their new home in 896, pounced on the peoples of the Central, West and South Eastern Europe, not randomly, but by taking advantage of their momentary weaknesses, sowing terror through their predatory incursions for more than half of century. Hungarians preferred to attack villages, monasteries and small towns, as they were not well aware of city siege tactics and the mobility of light cavalry allowed them to trigger surprising attacks. They also preferred rapid offensives and when meeting numerically superior armies they would avoid them, but they could not always do that. The battle of Lechfeld in 955, with all its categorical nature, however, was not a huge disaster for the warlike resources of the Hungarians, perhaps because King Otto I, concerned about subjecting the Slavs and acquiring the Imperial Crown, was not willing to launch a broad offensive against them.

The Western Latin historiography of 10<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> centuries provide us with documents that allow us to see from another perspective the way in which Hungarian raids and their violent actions were perceived<sup>17</sup>. But the most consistent data regarding the Hungarians in general are offered by the scholar Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos in the so-called *De administrando imperio*, completed around 950.<sup>18</sup> In comparison, the Oriental Arab and Persian sources, as well as the Slavic and Latin-Hungarian are imprecise and much poorer.<sup>19</sup>

The Western writers' information on Hungarians is quite confusing, as they sometimes don't distinguish them from other populations previously installed in the Pannonian area. Medieval Western chroniclers give Hungarians

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<sup>15</sup> St. Brezeanu, *Începuturile românilor*, p. 166

<sup>16</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>17</sup> L. Musset, *Invaziile. Al doilea asalt împotriva Europei creștine (secolele VII – XI)*, Bucharest, 2002 (hereinafter L. Musset, *Invaziile...*), p. 225.

<sup>18</sup> Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, ed. Gy. Moravcsik, R. J. H. Jenkins, Washington, 1967. In the series *Scriptores Byzantini VII*, the translation of this work by V. Grecu entitled *Carte de învățătură pentru fiul său Romanos* was issued, in 1971.

<sup>19</sup> V. Spinei, „Migrația ungarilor în spațiul carpato-dunărean și contactele lor cu românii în secolele IX-X” in *Arheologia Moldovei*, XIII, 1990, Iasi (hereinafter V. Spinei, *Migrația ungarilor...*), p.107-109; Idem, *Ungurii*, in *Marile migrații din estul și sud-estul Europei în secolele IX-XIII*, Iasi, 1999 (hereinafter V. Spinei, *Ungurii...*), p.15-19. There are presented not only the sources for the period before 896, but also the whole historiographical discussion caused by their interpretation.

the name of Huns and Avars, relating to Hungarians everything that the classical writers wrote about the Huns and Avars, creating a series of perpetual confusions.<sup>20</sup>

Liutprand of Cremona's work is a source of great value, allowing historians to assess the circumstances that led to a series of attacks in Italy, being also valuable for the assessment of certain expedition episodes in Germany.<sup>21</sup> Information of a certain magnitude is offered in the chronicle of Venetian Deacon John, written in the late tenth century and early eleventh century. The chronicler presented the events caused by the Hungarian attacks on Venice and on the surrounding areas. Benoit de Saint André from Mont Soracte wrote his chronicle around 968 and he is the only chronicler who speaks about the arrival of the Hungarians next to the walls of Rome.<sup>22</sup> The most important source for understanding the Hungarian incursions in Germany is Widukind of Corvey, who wrote his work<sup>23</sup> under Emperor Otto I. It is believed that he learned some of the information at the royal court of Saxe, we due to him the knowing of the means King Henry used to train the Saxons in the fights against the Hungarians. We also due to him a very detailed account of the Battle of Lechfeld, admirably integrated into Augsburg's siege story, done by Gerhard in *Vita sancti Udalrici*.<sup>24</sup>

Hartmann and Ekkehard of Saint-Gall<sup>25</sup> offered us a large number of details, captured first hand, on the people's behavior towards the imminent Hungarian attacks, on the desperate attempts to organize a defense in order to face the danger, on the way Hungarians were perceived, without a fixed sequence of events though. Adam of Bremen emphasized the entering of the Hungarians in the area up to his town, away from the main routes of attack.<sup>26</sup> Another contemporary with the events was Flodoard de Reims, on whom he wrote in the *Annales* and in his *Historia ecclesie Remensis*, works of great importance concerning the Hungarian incursions into Lorena and Burgundy, but also in Italy. We are provided with a large amount of information by the

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<sup>20</sup> G. Fasoli, „Points de vue sur le incursions hongroises en Europa auX-e siecle”, in *CCM*, II, 1959, p.17, a study that presents the conclusions of his book, entitled: *Le incursioni ungare in Europa nel secole X*, Firenze, 1945.

<sup>21</sup> G. Fasoli, *op. cit.*, p. 18; Liutprand, *Opera omnia*, ed. E. Duemmler (M. G. H. SS. in usum schol), Hanovre-Leipzig, 1915.

<sup>22</sup> G. Fasoli, *op. cit.*; Jean le Diacre, *Chronicon*, in *Cronache veneziane antichissime*, ed. G. Monticolo; Benoit du Mont-Soracte, *Chronicon*, ed. G. Zucchetti, FSI, Rome, 1920.

<sup>23</sup> Widukind de Corvey, *Rerum gestarum Saxoniarum libri tres* (M. G. H. SS. In usum schol), Hanovre-Leipzig, 1904.

<sup>24</sup> G. Fasoli, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

<sup>25</sup> Hartmann de Saint Gall, *Vita sancti Wiboradae* (M. G. H., SS., IV, 452-457); Ekkehard, *Casus Sancti Galli* (M. G. H., SS., IV,75-147); apud. G. Fasoli, *op. cit.*, p. 18-19.

<sup>26</sup> Adam de Breme, *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesie pontificum* (M.G.H., SS. in usum schol.), Hanovre, 1917); apud. G. Fasoli, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

chronicles of the German countries, of which the oldest and most reliable are: *Annales Alamannici*, *Annales Fuldenses*, *Annalles Sangallenses majores*, *Annales Augienses*, *Hildesheimense*, *Quedlimburgenses*, *Weissemburgenses*, *Wirzburgenses*, *Ottemburani*, *Benedictoburani*. Some cold, rigid pieces of information are summarized in other chronicles, such as the Frank ones or the ones from Burgundy and Lorene, we mention them here: *Gesta episcoporum Tullensium*, *Historia Francorum Senonensis*, *Gesta episcoporum Mettensium*, all published in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, *Scriptores* or *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarium ex Monumentis Germaniae Historicis recusii*.<sup>27</sup>

The texts of the chronicles mentioned above, belonging to the bishops and abbots who came face to face with the Hungarians are particularly important, them being: collections of miracles, stories about the displacement of relics, or about the rebuilding of churches and monasteries ruined or destroyed. Most times, abbots and bishops were forced to take care of the defense of the community entrusted to them by defending it against an invasion or incursion, giving some provisions that the public authorities were not able to assume. These facts are not so visible from simply reading a biography, but they become clearer only in the texts of the royal and imperial diplomas which authorize the bishops and abbots to build castles or repair the defensive walls of a city. Facing imminent danger, the bishops and abbots transported, as we find out, to safer places relics and treasures of the churches with the greatest care. On their return, the event was recorded, giving also some explanations regarding the facts which led to their hiding elsewhere.<sup>28</sup>

Hungarian raids mainly affected rural areas, especially remote monasteries offering a rich prey. The Hungarian cavalry started the raids each year in the spring, as soon as there was enough grass for horses, with an almost constant regularity. Over the years, these raids had gone ever further because nearby provinces provided less and less prey, and sometimes they had to spend the winter in enemy lands. Very few cities were besieged, as Hungarians had neither the time nor the necessary means, few cities being captured and apparently only one being destroyed, Concordia, near Aquileia.<sup>29</sup>

Western scholars have surrounded the Hungarians with a terrifying aura. According to a fantastic story from the time of Otto I, encountered in the work of Widukind of Corvey and also to other chroniclers, Charles the Great would have imprisoned the Hungarians in a place impossible to escape from, but Arnulf of Carinthia, in order to get their help against Svatopluk of Moravia, had

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<sup>27</sup> G. Fasoli, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>29</sup> L. Schiaparelli, *I diplomi di Ugo e di Lotario, di Berengario II e Adalberto*, FSI, Rome, 1924; apud. L. Musset, *Invaziile...*, p. 59.

unwisely released them.<sup>30</sup> The idea that the Hungarians couldn't have taken advantage of the Westerners' weaknesses without the help of traitors was widespread. King Berengar was accused by Flodoard that he instigated and led the expeditions from 922 and 924, and Benoît de Mont-Soracte accused a Roman clan, led by Marquis Pietro in relation with the raid in Tuscany from 928.<sup>31</sup> The custom is speak about Hungarians in an apocalyptic tone, their arrivals being announced by comets, miracles, meteors, they being blamed for many acts of violence. The vocabulary used for them includes all the names of the wicked barbarians: the Scythians, the Huns, the Avars.<sup>32</sup>

The Western Chronicles, as in the case of Anonymus's Chronicle, speak about many acts of violence and terror, but at the same time about mental revulsion against an enemy of a different race and a different color. The sudden appearance of the terrible knights with a "horrible look", their long arrows which never missed a target, their frightening battle cry (hui! hui!) predicted death or slavery for those who didn't coop up in time, terrorizing the residents of the occupied territories. Along with militias designated to stop the barbarians, the inhabitants locked themselves in the nearest towns or castles, they climbed to places difficult to reach and hid in the woods, without trying to resist, which particularly puzzles both chroniclers and readers.<sup>33</sup> The documentary list of monasteries destroyed or ruined is very long, including famous names such as: Kremsmünster, Benediktbeuren, Saint-Gall, Reichenau, Rheinau, Gandersheim, Remiremont, Luxeuil, Gembloux, Lobbes, Fulda, Lorsch, Nonantola, Monte Casino.<sup>34</sup>

The Hungarian Army of the ninth and tenth centuries was suitable only for plunder expeditions and acts of violence of all kinds, unable to occupy territories inhabited by sedentary people. "In fact, the Hungarians at that time, were not in any way, apart from Alföld, where they were semi-nomadic, a conquering or colonizing people, they had then no political organization and no guiding-idea that they could propose to their neighbors. Therefore, the conquering of neighboring territories and their inclusion in medieval Hungary were done later and gradually, especially after 1000, that is after the settling down, the Christianization and the partially feudalization of the Hungarians."<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Widukind de Corvey, *Chronica Saxorum*, ed. H. E. Lohmann and P. Hirsch (M. G. H. SS. in usum schol), Berlin, 1935, (German translation, P. Hirsch, *Geschichtschreiber der deutschen Vorzeit*, Leipzig, 1931); apud. L. Musset, *Invaziile...*, p. 60.

<sup>31</sup> Flodoard, *Annales*, ed. Ph. Lauer, Paris, 1906; Benoît du Mont-Soracte, *Chronicon*, ed. G. Zucchetti, FSI, Rome, 1920, apud. L. Musset, *Invaziile...*, n. 2 și 3, p. 60.

<sup>32</sup> G. Fasoli, *op. cit.*, p. 23-24.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 24.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 30.

<sup>35</sup> Ioan-Aurel Pop, „*Din mâinile valahilor schismatici...*”, p. 42.

## THE BISHOPS OF ORADEA AND THE POPES OF AVIGNON IN THE XIVth CENTURY

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***Abstract:** The aim of this study is to present the relations between the popes of Avignon and the bishops of Oradea in the XIVth century. The origins of the bishopric of Oradea are related to the personality of the king of Hungary, Ladislaus I the Saint (1078-1095). The bishopric of Oradea comprised the following archdeaconships: Bihor, Bekes, Homorog, Călata, Zeghalm, Coleșer. The first bishop of Oradea who shepherded in the XIVth century was Emeric (1297-1317). The internal documents do not mention whether the papacy played any role in his appointment. After Emeric's death, Ivánka came to the episcopal see of Oradea (1318-1329). He was the first bishop who had been a provost.. His appointment was the result of the choice made by the canons of the cathedral chapter. On October 8th 1325, pope John XXII reserved his right to appoint the bishops of Oradea and Győr. After Ivánka's death, the see of Oradea was taken by Andrew Báthori (1329-1345), being the last in the series of bishops elected by the chapter. Demetrius was appointed by pope Clement VI on July 15th 1345 and had the longest pontificate in the XIVth century (1345-1372). After the long period of time spent on the episcopal see of Oradea, a new bishop was appointed, namely Dominic Bebek (1373-1374), who was transferred here by the pope, from Cenad. The next bishop of Oradea, whose leadership overlapped with the Avignon period of papacy, was Emeric Czudar (1374-1377). He originated in a renowned family of medieval Hungary and was appointed bishop of Oradea by pope Gregory XI. The last bishop of Oradea whose shepherding coincided with the pontificate of a pope of Avignon was Ladislaus I Deméndi (1377-1382). He was the the personal doctor of king Louis I of Anjou.*

***Keywords:** bishop, pope, Oradea, Avignon, Hungary, diocese.*

**Oradea-an important religious centre. The beginnings of the bishoprics.** Oradea was in the Middle Ages, a notable political, economical and religious centre of the kingdom of Hungary. This was due to the strong bonds that it had with Ladislaus the Saint (1077-1095), one of the most important

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Arpadian monarchs who, at an unmentioned date, was buried in the episcopal cathedral. After the canonization of this king (1192), Oradea became an important centre of pilgrimage at European level.

The bishopric of Oradea played a fundamental role in historiography and it has only partially been clarified. Most of the times, it is said that the beginnings of this diocese are connected to the personality of king Ladislaus I the Saint<sup>1</sup>. This statement was made even in the Statutes of the chapter edited in the XIVth century. However, the beginnings are even older, descending to the XIth century. Thus, a document which attests the foundation of the collegial chapter St. Alban from Namur (1047) mentions *Leuduinus episcopus Bichariensis, genere Lothariensis*<sup>2</sup>. His entitling reveals that, initially, the episcopal seat was at Biharia, where a medieval citadel also existed. The first bishop of Oradea to whom an internal act makes reference was Sixtus, mentioned as bishop of Bihor in a document of 1111, according to which the hungarian king, Coloman the Book-lover was giving certain benefits to the monastery of Zobor<sup>3</sup> (nowadays Slovakia).

A controversial issue is also represented by the name of the first bishop of the diocese of Oradea. The medieval chronicles, as well as some contemporary authors, consider that the first bishop of Oradea was Coloman the Book-lover, subsequently becoming king of Hungary (1095-1116). The Statutes of the chapter mention this fact unequivocally: *primus episcopus eiusdem ecclesie Waradiensis fuit Colomanus primogenitus Geyse Regis secundi, tempore scilicet sancti Regis Ladislat*<sup>4</sup>. The *Chronicon Pictum* tells about Coloman, namely that he was bishop of Oradea: *Iste Colomanus sicut quidam dicunt, fuit episcopus Waradiensis, sed quia fraters quos habebat, morte sunt preuenti, ideo summo pontifice cum eo dispensante regnare compellitur. Qui ab hunagris Cunes Calman appellatur. Eo quod libros habebat, in quibus horas*

<sup>1</sup> About the beginnings of the bishopric of Oradea see: Joannis de Thwroc, *Chronica Hungarorum* în *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum*, ed. Jonannis Georgii Schwandtner, Vindobonae, 1766, p. 165, 196; Bunyitay Vincze, *A váradi püspökség története alapításától a jelenkorig. I A váradi püspökök a püspökség alapításától 1566. évig*, Nagyvárad, 1883, p. 29-35 (hereinafter *A váradi püspökség története I*); Bunyitay Vincze, *A váradi káptalan legrégebb Statutumai*, Nagyvárad, 1886, p. 10 (hereinafter *A váradi káptalan*); *Cronica pictată de la Viena* in *Izvoarele istoriei românilor*, vol. XI, ed. Gheorghe Popa Lisseanu, București, 1937, p. 76, 83 (hereinafter *Cronica pictată*); Ștefan Pascu, *Voievodatul Transilvaniei*, vol. IV, Cluj-Napoca, 1989, p. 304; Ioan Aurel Pop, *România și Maghiarii în secolele IX-XIV*, Cluj-Napoca, 2003, p. 145; Liviu Borcea, *Bihorul medieval*, Oradea, 2005, *passim*; Simon de Keza, *Cronica Ungurilor*, în *Izvoarele istoriei românilor*, vol. IV, traducere de G. Popa-Lisseanu, 2010, p. 71.

<sup>2</sup> H. Bresslau, *Fundatio ecclesiae Sancti Albani Namucensis* în *Neues Archiv Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, VIII, 1883, p. 592.

<sup>3</sup> *Documente privind istoria României*, seria C Transilvania, veacul XI, XII, XIII, vol. I (1075-1250), București, 1951, p. 2 (hereinafter *DIR C*, XI, XII, XIII, I).

<sup>4</sup> *Documenta Romaniae Historica, seria C Transilvania*, vol. XIV, București, 2002, p. 688 (hereinafter *DRH C*, XIV).

*canonicas, ut episcopus persoluebat*<sup>5</sup>. This information was taken over in the XV<sup>th</sup> century by the historian Johannes of Thurocz, who relates that: *Colomanus, sicut quidam dicunt, fuit Episcopus Waradiensis*<sup>6</sup>. However, there is no document to attest any virtual pontificate of Coloman at Oradea, which is why we doubt the truthfulness of this statement.

Corroborating the two mentioned documents (from 1047 and 1111) with the information found in the chapter charters of Oradea (the XIV<sup>th</sup> century), as well as with the information existing in the medieval chronicles, we can deduce that in the XI<sup>th</sup> century there was in Biharia, a powerful fortified centre, former residence of a dukedom, an episcopal centre, which most probably was moved to a new location (at Oradea) during the times of king Ladislaus the Saint, which is why he is recorded as the founder<sup>7</sup>. In the XII<sup>th</sup> century, the collective mentality held the idea that Sixtus, mentioned in 1111, was the bishop of Biharia. From the perspective of the ecclesiastical geography, the territory of the bishopric of Oradea was taken from the bishopric of Eger. We found this statement on the fact that the archdeaconship of Pâncota, founded in the southern extremity of the territory canonically submitted to the bishop of Oradea, continued to be dependent on Eger, even in the XIV<sup>th</sup> century, which is attested by the register of papal tithes.

According to the registers of the papal tithes between 1332-1337, the bishopric of Oradea comprised six archdeaconships: Bihor, Bekes, Homorog, Călata, Zeghalm, Coleşer<sup>8</sup>. From the canonical point of view, the bishop of Oradea was the suffragan of the archbishop of Kalocsa<sup>9</sup>. Most probably, the king who was considered to be the founder, Ladislaus the Saint, assigned his own candidate in the position of bishop, according to the right of patronage<sup>10</sup>. Throughout the XII<sup>th</sup> century, this situation changed and the bishop was to be elected in the cathedral chapter. Thus, in 1156, Mihail is mentioned as *episcopus electus* of Oradea<sup>11</sup>. In the XIV<sup>th</sup> century, the means of electing the bishops was changed again, as the pope had the final word.

Between 1309-1377, due to a complex of events, which do not enter the focus of our study, the headquarters of the papacy was transferred from Rome to Avignon. The French popes made proof of a singular competence in the administration of the church, as their governing mechanisms were concentrated

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<sup>5</sup> Cronica pictată, p. 83.

<sup>6</sup> Joannis de Thwroc, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

<sup>7</sup> Kristó Gyula, *The Bishoprics of Saint Stephen, king of Hungary* în Violeta Barbu (edita), *In honorem Paul Cernovodeanu*, Bucureşti, 1998, p. 63.

<sup>8</sup> *Documente privind istoria României, seria C Transilvania*, veacul XIV, vol. III (1331-1340), Bucureşti, 1954, p. 41-121 (hereinafter DIR C, XIV, III).

<sup>9</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 253.

<sup>10</sup> Liviu Borcea, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 72; DIR C, XI, XII, XIII, I, p. 3.

on the individual person of the pontiff. One of the aspects which characterizes the Avignon papacy was the beneficial policy, namely the right of the sovereign pontiff to dispose of the minor and major ecclesiastical benefits. From the first category we can mention the episcopal office, the subject of our study. The process of centralization and concentration of the pope's appointing in certain ecclesiastical positions started effectively on the 27<sup>th</sup> of August 1265 through the decretal *Licet ecclesiarum* issued by Clement IV. This process was continued by John XXII, who is also regarded as the founder of the Avignon regime, and who issued two apostolic constitutions, namely *Ex debito* (September 15th, 1316) and *Execrabilis* (November 19th, 1317), through which he practically ensured the monopoly of the appointments in various ecclesiastical positions, secular or regular, major or sau minor ones<sup>12</sup>. This had consequences, even at the level of the diocese of Oradea, as shown further on.

Apart from the bishopric, during the Middle Ages, in Oradea there also existed a series of ecclesiastical establishments. Thus, from the times of king Stephen II (1116-1131) there is the convent on Oradea Hill (*de Promontorio Waradiensis*), a Premonstratensian monastery, found on the right banks of the Crișul Repede river. The first reference to this convent dates back to the year 1216, but two years before, one of its member had been in Rome. The historian A. A. Rusu enumerates, with regard to the 14th century, the following abbots of this convent: Martin (1301-1310, 1315-1316), Jacob (1310), Peter (1318), Jacob (1319-1326), Peter (1326-1328), John (1340-1370), Dominic (1371)<sup>13</sup>. This convent was dedicated to St. Archdeacon Stephen and it had quite large incomes coming from the customs and mines around the area of Beiuș. The convent from the Hill of Oradea functioned as an important place of certification (*loca credibilia*), but after 1340, its activity declines as a consequence of certain internal conflicts between the monks, being thus turned into collegial chapter<sup>14</sup>. Another monastery from Oradea was the one belonging to the order of the Augustinians, dedicated to St. Nicholas. This convent was found in the district of the Italians (Olosig) and was built around the year 1320<sup>15</sup>. In the fourth decade of the XIII<sup>th</sup> century, a Franciscan convent could also be found at Oradea, while bishop Andrew also founded a monastery for the

<sup>12</sup> Guillaume Mollat, *Les Papes d' Avignon (1305-1378)*, Paris, 1912, p. 386-399; Bernard Guillemain, *Les Papes d' Avignon 1309-1376*, Paris, 2000, p. 51-55; Jörg Erdmann, *Quod est in actis non est in mundo. Päpstliche Benefizialpolitik in sacrum imperium des 14. Jahrhunderts*, Tübingen, 2006, p. 35-42; Jean Favier, *Les Papes d' Avignon*, Paris, 2006, p. 224-259; Jorge Diaz Ibañez, *La provisión pontificia de beneficios eclesiásticos en el reino de Castilla durante el período avinonés. Estado de la investigación în Lusitania Sacra*, 22, 2010, p. 63-84.

<sup>13</sup> Adrian Andrei Rusu, (coord.), *Dicționarul mănăstirilor din Transilvania, Banat, Crișana și Maramureș*, Cluj-Napoca, 2000, p. 188.

<sup>14</sup> Francisc Pall, *Contribuții la problema locurilor de adevăritate din Transilvania medievală (sec. XIII-XIV) în Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie*, vol. II, 1957, p. 400.

<sup>15</sup> Adrian Andrei Rusu, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

order of the Clarisses (the feminine counterpart of the Franciscan order), about which we will discuss at large when presenting the activity of that very bishop.

For the period of time analysed here, namely the XIV<sup>th</sup> century, another two monasteries are known in Oradea: the monastery of the Beghines, attested in 1325 and founded by the cathedral chapter, as well as the monastery of the Paulines, dedicated to St. Jerome, attested in 1325 and founded by the noblemen of Fughiu<sup>16</sup>. On the territory of the bishopric of Oradea was also found the Benedictine convent from Sâniob, founded in the year 1084 by king Ladislaus the Saint with the aim of keeping the right hand of king Stephen I the Saint. Starting from the XIII<sup>th</sup> century, this convent functioned as well as a place of certification<sup>17</sup>. The monastery was refounded by king Stephen III (1162-1172), who decided that the abbot of Sâniob be subordinated only to the king and to the archbishop of Esztergom, a fact also confirmed by kings Bela IV and Charles Robert of Anjou<sup>18</sup>.

**The bishops of Oradea and the popes of Avignon.** The diocese of Oradea and its bishops played an active and major role in the history of Hungary<sup>19</sup>. The first bishop of Oradea, who shepherded in the XIV<sup>th</sup> century was **Emeric I** (1297-1317). He took part in the events that were at the basis of the coming to the government of Hungary of the Angevine dynasty, through the king Charles Robert. Even since the death of Ladislaus IV the Cuman (1290), the Holy See was in favour of the angevine dynasty, which was leading the kingdom of Naples, and which was the faithful ally of the papacy. However, at a first stage, the throne of Hungary came to Andrew III the Venetian (1290-1301). After the death of the archbishop of Esztergom, Lodomerius (January 1288), his successor, George, proved to be in favour of Charles Robert. The other bishops, among whom was also Emeric of Oradea, declared themselves, in the diet of 1298, in favour of the Italian king, Andrew the Venetian. In the diet of the following year at Rakos, the Hungarian bishops protested against the attitude and tendencies of archbishop George, through a document that bishop Emeric

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<sup>16</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 192.

<sup>17</sup> *Documente privind istoria României*, Introducere, vol. II, București, 1956, p. 246; Francisc Pall, *op. cit.*, p. 400.

<sup>18</sup> Adrian Andrei Rusu, *op. cit.*, p. 228.

<sup>19</sup> For the history of the bishopric of Oradea up to the 14<sup>th</sup> century and further information about the bishops of this diocese during this period of time, see: *Monumenta Ecclesiae Strigoniensis*, tomus secundus (1273-1321), Strigonii, 1882, p. 419-421 (hereinafter MES II); Rogerius, *Cântecul de Jale în Izvoarele istoriei românilor*, vol. V, ed. Gheorghe Popa Lisseanu, București, 1935, p. 76; Șerban Turcuș, *Sinodul general de la Buda (1279)*, Cluj-Napoca, 2001, p. 43; Șerban Turcuș, *Sfântul Scaun și românii în sec. XIII*, București, 2001, p. 129; Ioan Aurel Pop, Thomas Năgler (coordonatori), *Istoria Transilvaniei*, vol. I, Cluj-Napoca, 2003, *passim*; Tudor Sălăgean, *Transilvania în a doua jumătate a secolului al XIII-lea. Afirmarea regimului congregațional*, Cluj-Napoca, 2007, *passim*; Jakubinyi György *Romániai Katolikus, Erdélyi Protestáns és Izraelita Vallási Archontológia*, Kolozsvár, 2010, p. 90.

had to forward to the Holy See<sup>20</sup>. After the death of king Andrew, the last representative of the Arpadian dynasty (the 14<sup>th</sup> of January 1301), Emeric was part of the delegacy of the highly seen Hungarian hierarchs, who brought to the throne the son of the king of Bohemia, Vaclav, who was not sustained by the Holy See. However, Emeric subsequently changed his political standpoint, turning on the side of the Anjou dynasty, who had the papal support. In the year 1309, when Charles Robert was crowned king, Emeric was one of those who assisted the ceremony held at Buda by the archbishop Thomas of Esztergom<sup>21</sup>, in the presence of the papal legate, cardinal Gentile. Bishop Emeric of Oradea was equally involved in the life of the diocese, following the grievances of the workmen subdued to the bishopric. Thus, he reduced their taxation on products, but he imposed to them the maintenance of the bridges across the river Criș, as well as their duty to acquire food on the occasion of the visit of the royal family<sup>22</sup>. At the beginning of the XIV<sup>th</sup> century, bishop Emeric started the reconstruction of a church at Debrecen. The reconstruction of this church accounts for the fact that Emeric was related to the Kata clan, the rulers of the city at that time<sup>23</sup>. Emeric died in 1317, and was buried at Debrecen in his own foundation. He remained as a favourable figure throughout the chapter of Oradea, as its charters record Emeric as *a man with a worthy life, who gave us a third part of the incomes from the silver mines of Beiuș, ordering that these should be given as daily earnings*<sup>24</sup>.

After Emeric's death, **Ivánka** came to the episcopal see of Oradea (1318-1329). He was the first bishop coming from among the members of the chapter of Oradea<sup>25</sup>. Thus, between 1306-1313, Ivánka held the position of provost of the cathedral chapter of Oradea<sup>26</sup>. During the pontificate of Ivánka,

<sup>20</sup> The referred to letter was addressed to the Holy See on the 6th of July 1299. It is interesting to mention the title of the bishop of Oradea, who was mandated in this endeavour by the king, by the Hungarian church, as well as by the noblemen: *Emericus—Episcopus Varadiensis, Procurator nomine et mandato Domini Andree Illustris Regis Ungariae, Domini Johannis—Archiepiscopi Colocensis et Capituli eiusdem et omnium aliorum Praelatorum et Capitulum Cathedralium Ecclesiarum utriusque provinciae, scilicet Strigoniensis et Colocensis, nec non Baronum omnium et universorum Nobilium totius regni Hungariae*. MES II, p. 462; A váradi püspökség története I, p. 159-160;

<sup>21</sup> *Documente privind istoria României, seria C Transilvania*, veacul XIV, vol. I (1301-1320), București, 1953, p. 162 (hereinafter DIR C, XIV, I). On the 15<sup>th</sup> of June 1309 Emeric is attested as: *E. Varadiensi et J. Nitriensi episcopis eidem Strigon. Archiepiscopo assistentibus* cf. MES II, p. 600.

<sup>22</sup> A váradi püspökség története I, p. 162.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 163.

<sup>24</sup> DRH C, XIV, p. 739.

<sup>25</sup> A váradi püspökség története I, p. 167; Jakubinyi György, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

<sup>26</sup> Bunyitay Vincze, *A váradi püspökség története alapításától a jelenkorig*. Második Kötet. *Káptalanok, Monostorok. A püspökség alapításától 1566. évig*, Nagyvárad, 1883, p. 36 (hereinafter A váradi püspökség története II).

the first interfering of the Avignon papacy was registered in the diocese of Oradea. In 1320, pope John XXII appointed the first canon at Oradea, namely Michael, the son of count Choka<sup>27</sup>. On October 8, 1325 pope John XXII reserves the right to appoint the bishops of Oradea and Győr<sup>28</sup>. Through this document, the pope substituted himself to the cathedral chapter in electing the local bishop, while also asserting his supremacy at the level of the diocese of Oradea. The papal interferences were part of John's XXII vision of the beneficial policy, spreading up to the borders of the Christian world, where Hungary was located, geographically. The pope brought about in his reserve both the inferior ecclesiastical positions (canons), and the major ones (the position of bishop).

Ivánka was close to king Charles Robert of Anjou, who sent his illegitimate son, Coloman<sup>29</sup> to Oradea, in order to live aside the priests. Thus, in 1332, he is mentioned in the notable position of precentor of the chapter of Oradea<sup>30</sup>.

In the year 1320, Ivánka participates at the diet of Székesfehérvár, and on the 24<sup>th</sup> of January 1323, at Timișoara, together with the bishops Benedict of Cenad and Nicholas of Győr, he appoints Telegdi Csanád as bishop of Eger<sup>31</sup>. The second wife of Charles Robert, Beatrice of Luxembourg, who died on the 11<sup>th</sup> of November 1319, was buried under the altar dedicated to St. Vincent in the cathedral of Oradea<sup>32</sup>, during the times of bishop Ivánka. He was buried in the sacristy of the cathedral of Oradea, under the altar dedicated to St. Elizabeth, that he founded<sup>33</sup>. Ivánka left good memories for the chapter of Oradea, being considered as having accomplished many worthy deeds<sup>34</sup>.

Though it is not directly the subject of this study, we find it necessary to make some considerations regarding a notable ecclesiastical figure of Hungary in the XIVth century, who started his career at Oradea. During the pontificate of Ivánka, a figure that stood out at Oradea was the provost Telegdi

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<sup>27</sup> DIR C, XIV, I, p. 363-364.

<sup>28</sup> *Documente privind istoria României*, seria C Transilvania, veacul XIV, vol. II (1321-1330), București, 1953, p. 162-163 (în continuare DIR C, XIV, II).

<sup>29</sup> In the year 1334, pope John XXII ordered the bishops Andrew of Oradea and Jacob of Cenad to give Coloman the dispensation of age and illegitimate birth, in order for him to be able to hold any ecclesiastical dignity, including that of bishop cf. DIR C, XIV, III, p. 315. The same order was repeated on the 24<sup>th</sup> of June 1335 by pope Benedict XII to the same bishops of Oradea and Cenad cf. DIR C, XIV, III, p. 350. In the year 1336, Coloman, the illegitimate son of king Charles Robert, becomes bishop of Győr cf. Zombori István, *Magyarország és a Szentzsék. Kapcsolatának ezer éve*, Budapest, 1996, p. 62.

<sup>30</sup> DIR C, XIV, III, p. 54.

<sup>31</sup> *A váradi püspökség története I*, p. 168; *A váradi püspökség története II*, p. 40.

<sup>32</sup> Antonio Bonfini, *Rerum Hungaricum Decades Quatuor cum Dimidia*, ed. Johannes Sambuci, Francofurti, 1581, p. 318.

<sup>33</sup> *A váradi püspökség története I*, p. 169; *A váradi káptalan*, p. 71-72.

<sup>34</sup> DRH C, XIV, p. 739.

Csanád, who was to become bishop of Eger and archbishop of Esztergom. He was one of the close members of king Charles Robert's entourage, holding the positions of secretary-notary and count of the royal chapel. Telegdi Csanád founded at Oradea, in the church dedicated to Saint Mary, a collegial chapter (small chapter), made up of six canons, led by a provost. This act of foundation was made by the provost out of his own incomes, and on the 2nd of July 1320, pope John XXII sanctioned this initiative of the provost of Oradea, by granting certain privileges: *Johannes Episcopus—Cum—Chanadinus Prepositus Ecclesie Waradiensis, Secretarius Cancellarius et Comes Capelle—Caroli Regis Ungarie-, sicut ipse nobis exposuit, ---de hereditariis et aliis bonis suis, per eu rationabiliter acquisitis, in eadem ecclesia quinque altaria—fundaverit, sufficientibus eis dotibus assignatis et insuper in ecclesia b. Marie V. Waradiensis, que este filia eiusdem ecclesie Cathedralis, de bonis propriis sex Canonicos et septimum prepositum eorumdem institui inibi canonice procurarit, sufficientibus eisdem redditibus assignatis: Nos—omnibus vere penitentibus et confessis, qui ad dictas ecclesias—in patronorum earundem- et singulis- b. Virginis festivitibus et dedicationibus ipsarum ecclesiarum, Sexaginta dies; eis vero, qui per ipsarum festivitatum octavas- accesserint annuatim, Quadraginta dies de iniunctis eis penitentiis misericorditer relaxamus*<sup>35</sup>. We mention the fact that, right before receiving the position of provost, he used to be the precentor of the church of Oradea<sup>36</sup>.

The following bishop of Oradea was **Andrew Báthory** (1329-1345)<sup>37</sup>. He was the descendant of a branch of the Gutkeled clan. Andrew was the second of the four children of Bereck and the only one to become a priest<sup>38</sup>. The historian Tonk Sándor considers that bishop Andrew is one and the same person with *Andreas cantor Varadiensis* mentioned in 1292 as a student at the University of Bologna<sup>39</sup>. If this hypothesis were true, then Andrew would be the first bishop of Oradea with academic studies. Starting from 1325, Andrew was the provost of Buda and in 1329 he was consecrated bishop of Oradea, being the last in the series of bishops elected by the chapter (*Andreas Briccii de Bathor in episcopum electus et consecratus*<sup>40</sup>). Bishop Andrew was close to Charles Robert of Anjou, whom he served as his vice-chancellor<sup>41</sup>. In the summer of 1333, Andrew, together with the king, the archbishop of Esztergom, Telegdi Csanád and the bishop of Cenad, Giacomo of Piacenza, was part of the

<sup>35</sup> MES II, p. 778.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 468; A váradi püspökség története II, p. 36-40.

<sup>37</sup> Bossányi Árpád, *Regesta Supplicationum. A Pápai Kérvénykönyvek Magyar Vonatkozású Okmányai Avignoni Korszak*, I. Kötet, VI. Kelemen Pápa 1342-1352, Budapest, 1916, p. 300.

<sup>38</sup> A váradi püspökség története I, p. 171.

<sup>39</sup> Tonk Sándor, *Erdélyiek egyetemjárása a középkorban*, București, 1979, p. 201.

<sup>40</sup> A váradi káptalan, p. 18.

<sup>41</sup> Jakubinyi György, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

Hungarian delegacy at Naples on the occasion of Andrew of Anjou's engagement to Joanna, the niece of king Robert of Naples<sup>42</sup>. In the same year, at the king's request, pope John XXII charged bishop Andrew with a special duty: to crown Louis, Charles's son, in case the archbishop of Esztergom or, in his absence, the archbishop of Kalocsa, refused the procedure. This was an unusual act, but well-founded against the historical background of the country, as there were dissatisfactions among the clergy due to numerous blackmails and right infringements. This fact made the priests lay charges twice to the pope against the king<sup>43</sup>. During the times of Andrew, the papacy of Avignon submitted Hungary, and consequently the diocese of Oradea, to the payment of tithes over a period of six years consecutively. From the bishopric of Oradea, the papal collectors raised the sum of 1406 marks, out of which 600 were paid by bishop Andrew<sup>44</sup>.

Andrew had in view the building of a monastery for nuns at Oradea, as well as a church. For that, the bishop purchased in 1338 certain grounds in the city, placed in Venice street<sup>45</sup>. In 1340 the work of foundation of the bishop of Oradea came to an end, and Andrew confessed in an act that: *I have founded, although not entirely, a church made of stone in the toby of Venice, in the honour of blissful Anne, mother of the blessed Virgin. Then, considering that such a shelter is more suitable as a <place> of worship and rogation, I had a wooden monastery raised, for the sisters' or nuns's convent, following th rule of Saint Clair, from the order of friars minor*<sup>46</sup>. Andrew brought in his foundations nuns belonging to the tertiary order of the Franciscans, nuns who were coming from Bratislava. In the year 1351, the nuns discard the parson's interference, and in 1373 they had the monastery reconstructed, obtaining from pope Gregory XI rights for pilgrimage, of one hundred days each, over a period of ten years<sup>47</sup>.

The monastery was endowed with a series of possessions. In exchange for these donations, the nuns had to care for a widower or for a virgin<sup>48</sup>. St. Anne Monastery was endowed by bishop Andrew in 1341 with a place for the construction of a retiring room<sup>49</sup>. The initiatives of the bishop of Oradea also aimed at the episcopal cathedral, which he enlarged, adding the eastern part of

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<sup>42</sup> Antonio Bonfimi, *op. cit.*, p. 322; Joannis de Thwroc, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

<sup>43</sup> A váradi püspökség története I, p. 173.

<sup>44</sup> Camil Mureşan, G. S. Ardeleanu, *La politique fiscale de la papauté en Transylvanie au cours de la première moitié du XIV siècles* în Nouvelles etudes d'histoire, Bucureşti, 1955, p. 235.

<sup>45</sup> DIR C, XIV, III, p. 476; Jakó Zsigmond, *Philobiblon Transilvan*, Bucureşti, 1977, p. 25.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 550.

<sup>47</sup> Adrian Andrei Rusu, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

<sup>48</sup> DIR C, XIV, III, p. 552.

<sup>49</sup> *Documente privind istoria României, seria C Transilvania*, veacul XIV, vol. IV (1341-1350), Bucureşti, 1955, p. 41-42 (hereinafter DIR C, XIV, IV).

the sanctuary<sup>50</sup>. Andrew maintained close bounds with king Louis of Anjou. After the coronation of 1342, the Angevine monarch performed a pilgrimage to Oradea, at the tomb of Ladislaus I the Saint, on which occasion he made a generous donation for the church<sup>51</sup>. Moreover, the bishopric regained its right to two thirds of the duties gathered from the following counties: Bihar, Zarand and Bekes, rounded with the third third<sup>52</sup>. Bishop Andrew used the royal donation for the construction of a new church, which at his death had not yet been finalised<sup>53</sup>. The Statutes of the chapter of Oradea characterise Andrew's bishopric as follows: *at the beginning, with greedy eyes, he started to perturb the rights, both ours and the ones of the bishop, but then, while living in remorse, he admitted of them*<sup>54</sup>. From the quote above we can infer that bishop Andrew underwent a powerful conflict with the cathedral chapter, some of whose rights had been denied, but eventually the divergences between the two sides were found a solution. In the episcopal cathedral of Oradea, Andrew built the altar of St. Brice<sup>55</sup>.

Bishop **Demetrius of Futak** (nowadays Futog, Vojvodina, Serbia) led the eparchy of Oradea between 1345-1372. He is the only bishop of Oradea in the XIVth century whose act of nomination was preserved. Demetrius was appointed by pope Clement VI on the 15th of July 1345. The act of the papal decision represents a true affirmation of pontifical supremacy over the diocese of Oradea. The dignity of bishop had been confined to the papal reserve since 1325 by pope John XXII. Clement VI maintained this decision, which is confirmed in the act of nomination: *preserving ourselves for that custom particularly on the grounds of the decision, the nomination to this church*<sup>56</sup>. The French pontiff unequivocally stated that, with regard to the appointment of the bishop of Oradea, *nobody can interfere except for us*<sup>57</sup>. In the next part of the papal bull, he makes a brief description of the new bishop, Demetrius: *we cast the eyes of our minds on you, the provost of St. Peter's church from Old Buda, in th diocese of Vesprim, being ranged among the holy orders, worthy for your erudition, for the purity of your life, for your honest conduct, for your spiritual wisdom, and for the wordly mindfulness, as well as for the other virtues, as we learned from trustworthy sources*<sup>58</sup>. Considering this characterisation, the papal decision was as follows: *we name you-who, on the basis of what was mentioned*

<sup>50</sup> A váradi püspökség története I, p. 177.

<sup>51</sup> DIR C, XIV, IV, p. 112.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 113.

<sup>53</sup> A váradi püspökség története I, p. 178.

<sup>54</sup> DRH C, XIV, p. 739.

<sup>55</sup> A váradi káptalan, p. 73.

<sup>56</sup> DIR C, XIV, IV, p. 246.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibidem*.

*above, please us and our brethren-at that church of Oradea, and we place you in its charge as bishop and shepherd, totally consigning you the care and government of the church of Oradea, both in the spiritual and worldly issues*<sup>59</sup>.

On the basis of the papal document, we can state that the new bishop was a clergyman of career, being ranged at the priesthood level and presumably holding vast knowledge, which he may have acquired through academic studies. In the document of 1342, through which king Louis I reconfirmed the privileges of the bishopric of Oradea, Demetrius was characterised as being *the provost of Buda, our faithful chaplain and trustworthy man*<sup>60</sup>. The hierarch was thus close to the king, being a member of his close entourage.

Demetrius was the most important bishop of the diocese of Oradea in the XIVth century, having the longest pontificate, namely 27 years. According to the historian Bunyitay Vincze, bishop Demetrius originated in the German clan Hermann, who came from Nuremberg, together with queen Gisela, the wife of king Stephen I the Saint<sup>61</sup>. Demetrius's ecclesiastical career started at Buda where, in 1324, he is mentioned in the position of canon, and in 1331, in the vast process of collecting the papal incomes in Hungary, the future bishop was appointed in the position of subcollector of papal tithes in the diocese of Oradea<sup>62</sup>. Between 1332-1342, he held the position of canon of Oradea, and in 1339 he was appointed as canon of Zagreb<sup>63</sup>. Entering the royal entourage and standing out through his fidelity towards the Hungarian monarch, in 1341 Demetrius is rewarded by Charles Robert of Anjou with a financial donation. Demetrius's ascension was accelerated after the death of Charles Robert of Anjou. Thus, in 1342, Demetrius was the one who brought the news about the coronation of Louis of Anjou at Rome and presumably at Avignon as well. At his return, as a sign of gratefulness, the new king grants him the position of provost of Buda. According to tradition, after the coronation, king Louis also takes the pilgrimage to the tomb of Saint Ladislaus, at Oradea, donating on this occasion new domains to the bishopric of Oradea<sup>64</sup>.

On the other hand, Demetrius was a well-known figure at the papal court of Avignon. Thus, pope Clement VI rewarded provost Demetrius with various positions for the notable services that he did for the Curia: he is appointed canon of Zagreb, and after the death of bishop Andrew Bathory (1345) he is entitled as his successor. At the ecclesiastical level, Demetrius continued the construction of the cathedral which had remained unfinished at

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<sup>59</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 247.

<sup>60</sup> DIR C, XIV, IV, p. 113.

<sup>61</sup> A váradi püspökség története I, p. 182.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 184.

<sup>63</sup> Bossányi Árpád, *op. cit.*, p. 302; Jakubinyi György, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

<sup>64</sup> A váradi püspökség története I, p. 185.

his predecessor's death. In the cathedral, the bishop raised four altars, dedicated to the saints George, Catherine, Dorothea and Demetrius (the last one being raised in the chapel where the bishop was to be buried)<sup>65</sup>.

The bishop stayed close to the Hungarian royal court. Thus, he carried out a series of diplomatic missions for Louis I of Anjou, at the court of the voivode of Wallachia, Nicholas Alexander. Thus, in 1355, the king mentioned the diplomatic mission of the bishop of Oradea, on which occasion the latter was granted certain privileges: *Nos igitur eiusdem Venerabilis Patris, Domini Episcopi, multiplicia seruitiorum et obsequiorum genera, quae idem in diuersis nostris legationibus ad partes vltra marinas cum adhuc in minori esset constitutus officio, et dum recolendae memoriae Dominus rex Andreas, frater noster charissimus, in partibus Apuliae moraretur, ac demum post adeptum pontificale officium ad Alexandrum Bozorabi Wayuodam nostrum Transalpinum occasione pacis et concordiae inter nos et eundem tractandae*<sup>66</sup>.

In order to highlight Demetrius's diplomatic activity, we find it worth mentioning some issues. Thus, his first deputation to Wallachia took place at the end of 1345. It aimed at assuring king Louis of Anjou at least of the neutrality of the Wallachian voivode, Nicholas Alexander, against a political background when the political affairs were troubled by the assassination of the monarch's brother, Andrew, on the 18th of September 1345, at Aversa, Italy<sup>67</sup>. Another deputation of the bishop of Oradea most probably took place in 1355. The direct consequence of this diplomatic mission was the acceptance of the Hungarian suzerainty over Wallachia, as in the document addressed to the bishop of Oradea, the king makes reference to *Alexandrum Bozorabi Wayuodam nostrum Transalpinum*<sup>68</sup>. Bishop Demetrius decisively contributed to the normalization of the relations between Hungary and Wallachia, after the battle of Posada (1330), leading a series of deputations to voivode Nicholas Alexander who, in the first part of his government (before 1359), led a policy which aimed at approaching Angevine kingdom. The historian Liviu Borcea considers that in one of Demetrius's deputations to Wallachia also took part Ladislaus Opole, the future palatine of Hungary, who subsequently married Elizabeth, the Wallachian voivode's daughter<sup>69</sup>.

Bishop Demetrius also stood out as a Maecena of arts. Thus, in 1370 he ordered the skilled sculptors Martin and George from Cluj to build three bronze statues representing the three saints kings of Hungary: Saint Stephen, Saint

<sup>65</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 186.

<sup>66</sup> Eudoxiu Hurmuzaki, *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor* (ed. N. Densușianu), I, 2 București, 1890, p. 37-38; *Istoria militară a poporului român*, vol. II, București, 1986, p. 119.

<sup>67</sup> Maria Holban, *Din cronica relațiilor româno-ungare în secolele XIII-XIV*, București, 1981, p. 142.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 145.

<sup>69</sup> Liviu Borcea, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

Emeric and Saint Ladislaus, located in the northern square of the cathedral<sup>70</sup>. These statues were destroyed by the Turks in the year 1660, when Oradea was annexed to the Ottoman Empire<sup>71</sup>. The two craftsmen from Cluj, Martin and George, were the sons of painter Nicholas, and in 1373 they achieved, at the order of emperor Charles IV of Luxembourg, the statue called *St. George killing the dragon*, exhibited inside the royal castle in Prague<sup>72</sup>. In the year 1390, the two craftsmen made, still at Oradea, at the order of bishop John, an equestrian statue of king Ladislaus I the Saint, placed in front of the cathedral. This creation was, at its turn, destroyed by the Turks in 1660.

Demetrius's pontificate coincided with the great plague epidemic, known as the Black Death, which reaped numerous lives. The territory of the bishopric was greatly affected by the Black Death, which caused the depopulation of certain areas. Against this background there occurred a closeness between Demetrius and the Romanians, who were to be colonized in some regions detained by the bishop. Thus, on the 17th of July 1349, Demetrius was announcing his decision regarding the Romanian population: *wishing to endow, our land or estate called Ventere with vulgus, we have decided to give Voivode Peter, the son of Stanislaus, the judge of that village Ventere, this special mercifulness, so that he be able and have the right to keep a Romanian priest for as long as we considers it right, without any endowment or any other taxation, that we should be given, according to <our> ownership right*<sup>73</sup>. The Catholic bishop's relationship with the Romanians occurred at a time of crisis for the bishopric of Oradea, seriously affected by the plague, which caused the depopulation of certain areas. Demetrius agreed that on the territory of his bishopric a Romanian priest should function, an Orthodox one, who was to gather around him a community in order to reinhabit an episcopal possession. To this purpose, Demetrius exempts the Romanian priest from any taxation they owed, according to the patronage right of the bishop.

Demetrius was a character with strong connections both at political level, and at the ecclesiastical level. He knew how to ensure the protection of certain influential characters. Thus, on the 4<sup>th</sup> of December 1345, pope Clement VI approved a request of the bishop of Oradea, through which Demetrius wanted to gratify Bertrand, cardinal-priest of St. Mark Church from Rome, as well as former provost of Oradea, with a life annuity of 450 gold florins, for the

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<sup>70</sup> A váradi püspökség története I, p. 188; G. Arion, *Sculptura gotică din Transilvania*, Cluj-Napoca, 1974, p. 47; Marin Matei Popescu, *Sculptura medievală în piatră din Țările Române*, București, 1985, p. 12; Virgil Vătășianu, *Istoria artei feudale în Țările Române*, Cluj-Napoca, 2001, p. 319.

<sup>71</sup> *Istoria Românilor*, vol. IV *De la universalitatea creștină către Europa patriilor*, București, 2001, p. 741.

<sup>72</sup> Marin Matei Popescu, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

<sup>73</sup> DIR C, XIV, IV, p. 491.

defence of the rights of the diocese of Oradea at the papal court<sup>74</sup>. The bishop was hoping that, through this gesture, he could approach the former provost of Oradea, who could interfere by the French pontiff.

During Demetrius's pontificate, in the cathedral of Oradea were buried the wife of the Hungarian palatine, Ladislaus of Opole, the daughter of the Wallachian voivode, Nicholas Alexander<sup>75</sup>.

Bishop Demetrius of Oradea obtained in the year 1375 a series of ecclesiastical privileges from pope Innocent VI. The granting of these privileges is a sign of the respect that the bishop was held in at Avignon. Thus, the French pontiff allows the hierarch of Oradea to make his will, to designate two notaries, in order to allow 24 persons from Hungary to take a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The most important concession made by Innocent VI to the bishop was that the latter should be able to grant, together with the church of Oradea, ecclesiastical benefits, over a period of three years<sup>76</sup>. Through this stipulation, the pope delegated to the bishop a right that several popes disposed of during the 14th century. In January 1357, at bishop Demetrius's request, the pope approves of the appointment of priest Demetrius, the son of Paul from Oradea, in a canonry at Eger, as well as of Paul's, the son of Matthew, in a canonry at Pécs<sup>77</sup>. On the 5th of July 1350, one of bishop Demetrius's general vicars is attested in the person of Gregory, the lector of the church of Oradea<sup>78</sup>. In the last part of his life, bishop Demetrius fell ill with gout. This is mentioned in an exceptional document on the 6th of July 1366, through which the bishop of Oradea asks the pope's mercifulness to be forgiven for all sins by his confessor at the moment of his death. This act presents the state of health of the bishop of Oradea: who is continuously suffering of gout and of hands affliction (*continua egritudine podagre et chiragra laborans*)<sup>79</sup>.

Demetrius died on the 7th of December 1372, being buried in the cathedral of Oradea in the chapel raised by himself in the honour of Saint Demetrius<sup>80</sup>. For the posterity the image of the most important bishop of Oradea in the XIVth century remained stained, in spite of all his achievements. This fact accounts for the negative mentions about this hierarch, registered by the Statutes of the chapter of Oradea: *Huic successit Demetrius episcopus, qui dicto Andreas factus cupidior, nos lesit multipliciter in nostris iuribus, et alienavit plurimas possessiones et terras episcopatus Waradiensis per suam negligentiam. Hic anno Domini MCCC. septuagesimo secundo, die septima*

<sup>74</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 278; A váradi püspökség története I, p. 192-193.

<sup>75</sup> DRH C, XIV, p. 764.

<sup>76</sup> *Documenta Romaniae Historica, seria C Transilvania*, vol. XI, București, 1981, p. 68-69.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 70.

<sup>78</sup> DIR C, XIV, IV, p. 544.

<sup>79</sup> *Documenta Romaniae Historica, seria C Transilvania*, vol. XIII, București, 1994, p. 176.

<sup>80</sup> A váradi püspökség története I, p. 193.

*mensis Decembris obiit, obstinatus in malo, cum salutaribus monitis plurium ex nobis et etiam fratris sui uterini inductus, confiteri sacramentis corporis et sanguinis Domini ac extreme unctionis muniri noluerit*<sup>81</sup>. The historian Bunyitay Vincze considers that Demetrius's lack of popularity goes back to the times when he was assigned the collection of tithes, a fact which worsened after he was appointed in the position of bishop<sup>82</sup>. The real reason behind the conflict between the chapter and the bishop is revealed by a papal document issued on the 19<sup>th</sup> of March 1373 at Avignon by Gregory XI. The French pontiff orders the bishop of Transylvania, the abbot of Cluj-Mănăştur as well as the archdeacon of Târnava, to analyse the complaints of the chapter of Oradea, filed against the bishop there. The text in the papal act reveals that bishop Demetrius limited certain privileges that the chapter held: *the right to collect a fourth of the tithes coming from the harvests growing between the borders of the diocese of Oradea and another half of Suplac village, from the same diocese, along with the rights and the rest, as well as the right to make any kind of justice in the city of Oradea*<sup>83</sup>. The members of the chapter stated that the rights mentioned above were infringed for them by bishop Demetrius, and that the new bishop Dominic continues his predecessor's policy. Thus, the conflict between the bishop and the chapter had at stake a financial aspect and a jurisdictional one. According to the Statutes of the chapter, Demetrius founded in the cathedral of Oradea the altar of St. Catherine, the altar of St. Demetrius and he endowed the altar of St. Dorothea<sup>84</sup>.

After the long period of time spent by Demetrius in the episcopal see of Oradea, a new bishop was appointed in the person of **Dominic Bebek** (1373-1374), who was transferred here from Cenad. Dominic was coming from a family with five brothers, out of whom he was the penultimate; his younger brother, Nicholas, embraced the ecclesiastical career, reaching the position of archbishop of Kalocsa (1391-1419)<sup>85</sup>.

The beginnings of Dominic's ecclesiastical career are not known, but what is certain is that in 1349 he was the canon of Esztergom, and subsequently the canonic of Eger; moreover, pope Clement VI allowed him to hold both positions<sup>86</sup>. In the year 1360, he becomes bishop of Cenad. After bishop Demetrius's death, the chapter of Oradea elected him bishop, a desire embraced by the Holy See as well, acknowledging him in the new dignity on the 22nd of February 1373<sup>87</sup>.

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<sup>81</sup> A váradi káptalan, p. 18-19.

<sup>82</sup> A váradi püspökség története I, p. 194.

<sup>83</sup> DRH C, XIV, p. 341.

<sup>84</sup> A váradi káptalan, p. 75.

<sup>85</sup> A váradi püspökség története I, p. 195.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 196.

<sup>87</sup> See the preceding footnote.

At the beginning of his pontificate at Oradea, bishop Dominic found himself in an open conflict with the chapter, who reclaims him to the Holy See on the grounds that he did not approve of the restitution by its members of the rights usurped by his predecessor. During his brief leadership at Oradea, the Statutes of the chapter were compiled, an act of notable importance, being one of the few documents of the sort in Hungary preserved up to the present. The apparition of the Statutes can be accounted for the need of encoding the rights and privileges of the chapter and of the bishop in order to avoid the outburst of conflicts on this topic. Dominic raised the seventh chapel in the cathedral of Oradea, provided with an altar dedicated to the saint whose name he bore. In May 1374, Louis the Great visited Oradea again. It is not known whether the bishop was able to meet him personally, but what is sure is that he died on the 31st of October in the same year, being buried in the chapel that he had raised, where he had also founded the altar of St. Dominic<sup>88</sup>.

The following bishop of Oradea was **Emeric II Czudar** (1374-1377). He was a notable personality of medieval Hungary, originating in a renowned family. Emeric was born around 1345 at Bócs in Borsod county<sup>89</sup>. The future bishop of Oradea was the youngest son in the family, having another seven brothers (Peter, Michael, George, Simon, Nicholas, Stephen and John). He and one of his elder brothers, John, were the ones who embraced the religious career<sup>90</sup>. John Czudar was, between 1375-1403, provost at Székesfehérvár. Emeric Czudar had academic studies, being mentioned on the 18th of January 1371 in a papal document issued by the chancellery of Gregory XI as *magistrum in artibus*<sup>91</sup>. Emeric acquired this degree at the University of Prague<sup>92</sup>. It is undoubtable that Emeric had also studied canon law, most probably at an unmentioned Italian university<sup>93</sup>. In the document of his nomination as provost of Székesfehérvár, the following is mentioned about him: *qui ut asseritur in iure canonico studet*<sup>94</sup>. Emeric had a prodigious

<sup>88</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 199; A váradi káptalan, p. 75.

<sup>89</sup> The genealogy of the Czudars is presented by Wertner Mór, *Az Ónodi (Bólcsi, Szamosszegi) Czudar-ok Genealogiája* în *Turul. A Magyar Heraldikai és Genealogiai Társaság Közlönye*, Budapest, 1891, p. 141-145.

<sup>90</sup> *A váradi püspökség története I*, p. 201.

<sup>91</sup> *Monumenta Romana Episcopatus Vesprimiensis*, tomus II 1276-1415, Budapest, 1899, p. 204-205 (hereinafter MREV II).

<sup>92</sup> Tóth Péter, *A csanádi székeskáptalan kanonokjainak egyetemjárása a későközépkorban* în *Magyar Egyháztörténeti Vázlatok. Essays in church history in Hungary 2007/1-2*, Budapest, p. 44, 50.

<sup>93</sup> Veress, Endre, *Olasz Egyetemeken Járt Magyarországi Tanulók Anyakönyve és Iratai 1221-1864*, Budapest, 1941, p. 397; Fedeles Tamás, *Pécsi Kanonokok Egyetemplátogatása a Későközépkorban (1354-1526)* în *Magyar Egyháztörténeti Vázlatok Regnum Essays in Church History in Hungary*, 2005/ 1-2, Budapest, p. 68.

<sup>94</sup> MREV II, p. 205.

ecclesiastical career. Thus, the first ecclesiastical dignity that he held was that of archdeacon of Satu Mare, in the diocese of Transylvania, being mentioned in this position in 1366. This nomination occurred while king Louis I of Anjou was spending most of the year 1366 in Transylvania, accompanied by his close entourage, among whom was also Peter Czudar. It is most probable that Emeric's appointment was made after an intervention from the part of his elder brother<sup>95</sup>.

Emeric did not linger much as archdeacon of Satu Mare, as on the 24th of September 1367 he was appointed provost of Kalocsa, a dignity which was vacant due to the consecration of Ladislaus as bishop of Nitra<sup>96</sup>. In order to augment its incomes, the Holy See administered to him, on the 22nd of February 1369, a canon and a prebend in the cathedral chapter of Cenad<sup>97</sup>. Emeric held another two similar positions at Eger and Pécs.

On the 18th of January 1371, at the recommendation of king Louis I of Anjou, pope Gregory XI appoints Emeric Czudar as provost of Székesfehérvár (diocese of Veszprém). The papal document reveals that, at that time, Emeric was the chaplain of Louis of Hungary (*dilecto capellano suo*), who intervened for him by the pope, in order for him to be appointed in that ecclesiastical dignity. This position had nothing to do with the shepherding of the soul (*officium sine cura*). Emeric was supposed to give up his position as provost of Kalocsa and as canonic of Eger, while keeping the canonry of Pécs<sup>98</sup>. This papal act clearly points out that Emeric Czudar was part of the royal entourage, which facilitated his professional ascension. On the 25th of June 1374, he was given the position of curator in the church from Székesfehérvár<sup>99</sup>. The dignity of provost that he had formerly acquired was the highest in the chapter of a medieval church in Hungary, being surpassed in terms of importance and attributions only by the position of bishop.

In 1374 Emeric received a mission of major importance from the king of Hungary. Together with his brother, Peter, who had become the ban of Slavonia, with the bishop of Zagreb, Stephen Kanizsai and the diplomat Simon of Podio from Perugia, Emeric was sent by Louis I of Anjou to mediate the engagement of one of his daughters, Catherine, with the second born of the French king, Charles V the Wise, Louis, duke of Orléans. The document which attests the consent of Catherine's engagement (aged four) was also signed by Emeric, as witness in the castle on Lipari Island, near Sicily, on the 10th of August 1374<sup>100</sup>.

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<sup>95</sup> Temesváry János, *Erdély Középkori Püspökei. Levéltári Kutatásai Alapján*, Cluj-Kolozsvár, 1922, p. 216.

<sup>96</sup> DRH C, XIV, p. 310-311.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 311; Borovszky Samu, *Csanád vármegye története 1715-ig*, Budapest, 1896, p. 423.

<sup>98</sup> MREV II, p. 205.

<sup>99</sup> DRH C, XIV, p. 306.

<sup>100</sup> A váradi püspökség története I, p. 202; Temesváry János, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

After the end of this diplomatic mission, Emeric Czudar passed through Avignon, taking advantage of this occasion in order to pay his respect to pope Gregory XI. The pope welcomes him favourably, and on the 28th of August 1374 he donates him the archdeaconship of Újvár in the diocese of Eger, which had remained vacant after the death of cardinal Guillaume of La Jugié. Most probably, during this visit Emeric was given or at least was promised the position of bishop of Oradea, even if he was ranged only as subdeacon<sup>101</sup>. Thus, on the 18th of December 1374, at the age of only 30, Emeric was appointed bishop of Oradea<sup>102</sup>.

Emeric Czudar's taking over of the position of bishop of Oradea was done with difficulty because of the Hungarian king's opposition, Louis I, who had someone else in view for this dignity, hindering, in a first stage, his former chaplain from regaining his rights and refuses to offer the pope his support against certain rebellious vassals. The pope appealed to Elizabeth, the mother queen, to use her influence over the king in order to obtain the king's consent.

In the letter dating on the 23rd of July 1375, the pope expresses his regret that the king has been influenced by malevolent councillors and that he interferes with the church affairs, which do not regard him. In the letter dating on the 1st of November 1375, he reminds the queen that king Louis I is the regnant to whom he made most of his favours and the accomplishments of this was hindered only on well-grounded basis. The pope was of the opinion that a Catholic ruler could not expect that all ecclesiastical positions be donated according to his own will. If he satisfied all the conditions imposed by the Hungarian king, he should do the same with the other kings, which would lead to serious spiritual prejudices. Gregory XI asks the queen to appeal to her influence over the king, so that the latter should accept Emeric as bishop of Oradea<sup>103</sup>.

On the 1st of November 1375, pope Gregory XI addressed the legate from Hungary, Guillermo, the bishop of Senj, asking him to support the queen's endeavours, by trying to relent the king, considering that the pope's favourite was not a stranger, but the brother of king's most loyal servant, the ban of Slavonia, Peter Czudar<sup>104</sup>.

Eventually, the king was relented on his mother's insistence, so that Emeric was able to take over the bishopric of Oradea, while being replaced by

<sup>101</sup> Jakubinyi György, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

<sup>102</sup> Konrad Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi sive Sumorum Pontificum, S.R.E. Cardinalium Ecclesiarum Antistitum Series Ab Anno 1198 Usque Ad Annum 1431 Perducta E Documentis Tabularii Praesertim Vaticani Collecta, Digesta, Edita Per Conradum Eubel, Monasterii Sumptibus et Typis Librariae Regensbergianae*, 1913, p. 515.

<sup>103</sup> Fraknói Vilmos, *A Magyar Királyi Kegyúri Jog Szent Istvántól Mária Teréziáig*, Budapest, 1895, p. 68.

<sup>104</sup> *licet ipsi ecclesie non de persona extranea, sed ungara sed sibi fideli atque devota videlicet fratre sui fidelissimi servitoris dilecti filii nobilis viri Petri Zuder bani Sclavonie* cf. *Történelmi Tár*, Budapest 1892, p. 393.

his brother, John, in the position of provost of Székesfehérvár. No details have been preserved about Emeric's investiture in this position.

On the 9th of March 1375, pope Gregory XI charged bishop Emeric to analyse whether the appointment of Rudolf of John, a clergyman from the diocese of Esztergom, in a canonry from Cenad, had been made canonically<sup>105</sup>. This order points out the credit that the bishop of Oradea was given at Avignon.

Emeric was less preoccupied with the shepherding of the diocese of Oradea. The documents record the fact that Emeric stayed close to the king<sup>106</sup>. This fact also proves the reconciliation between the two characters. For the administration of the diocese, Emeric appointed a vicar in the person of Gregory, archdeacon and canon of Oradea. In a document of May 6th 1376, he was entitled as follows: *Gregorius arhidiaconus et canonicus <in ecclesia Wa> radiensi ac venerabilis in Christo patris et domini <do> mini Emerici, dei et apostolice sedis gracia episcopi locieiusdem vicarius in spiritualibus et tem <orali> bus generalis*<sup>107</sup>.

Subsequently, Emeric Czudar held the position of bishop of Eger (1377-1384) and that of bishop of Transylvania (1386-1389).

The last bishop of Oradea whose shepherding coincided with the pontificate of a pope of Avignon was **Ladislaus I Deméni** (1377-1382). According to Eubel, he was appointed on the 2nd of October 1377<sup>108</sup>, being transferred to Oradea from the position of bishop of Veszprém. The first document that mentions his new dignity of bishop of Oradea is that of January 25th 1378<sup>109</sup>. Ladislaus was close to the Hungarian royal court, having a notable ecclesiastical career, as he had held the positions of bishop of Nitra (1367-1372), as well as that of bishop of Veszprém (1372-1377)<sup>110</sup>. He originated in an Italian family, who had come to Hungary during the times of king Charles Robert of Anjou from the Kingdom of Naples<sup>111</sup>. Clear information about his family, as well as about the beginnings of his career, have not been preserved, but what is certain is that Ladislaus entered the court's entourage as the personal doctor of king Louis I of Anjou. Although there are no data to attest this, it is almost certain that the king had a word in the appointment of Ladislaus at Oradea. The profession of doctor was most probably acquired through academic studies, but certain data on this have not

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<sup>105</sup> DRH C, XIV, p. 538.

<sup>106</sup> For example on the 21<sup>st</sup> of June 1376, Emeric Czudar is mentioned as witness at Visegrad, in the treaty of alliance that Louis I concluded with the patriarch Marquard of Aquileia cf. *Documenta Romaniae Historica, seria C Transilvania*, vol. XV, București, 2006, p. 55 (hereinafter DRH C, XV).

<sup>107</sup> DRH C, XV, p. 39.

<sup>108</sup> Konrad Eubel, *op. cit.*, p. 515.

<sup>109</sup> *Ladislaus, premissa gratia, episcopus ecclesie Waradiensis* cf. DRH C, XV, p. 366.

<sup>110</sup> Diós István, *Magyar katolikus lexicon*, 2 köt., Budapest, 1993, p. 569-570.

<sup>111</sup> A váradi püspökség története I, p. 204.

been preserved. It is known that Ladislaus's family had received territorial donations in Hont county. Ladislaus is mentioned as the king's personal doctor even after his appointment as bishop of Oradea: on the 14th of July 1378, mentioned by the king in a privilege as *Ladizlao Waradiensi, physico nostro*<sup>112</sup>. Similar mentions also appear in 1379<sup>113</sup>. The fact that Ladislaus was close to the royal court is demonstrated in an act of April 6th 1380 through which queen Elizabeth, the mother of king Louis I of Anjou, designated him among his administrators<sup>114</sup>.

Details regarding the shepherding of Ladislaus at Oradea have not been preserved, but most probably he did not have the time to care for the souls of the faithful, as he had the important duty of caring for the king's physical health.

**Final considerations.** The analysis of the documentarian material and of the historiography regarding the history of the diocese of Oradea in the XIVth century entails a series of considerations. Thus, it is observed that the popes of Avignon substituted themselves to the cathedral chapter in choosing the bishop of the diocese, a process which started in 1325 by John XXII, who monopolized all appointments. However, the first nomination of a bishop of Oradea by a pope occurred only in 1345, when Clement VI appointed Demetrius. In the XIVth century, the episcopal dignity in Oradea was well established; thus, there were seven bishops, out of whom one, namely Emeric II, was transferred to another diocese (Eger). The leaders of the diocese of Oradea were part of the political-ecclesiastical history of medieval Hungary: Emeric I was involved in the events that led to the investiture of the Anjous to the throne of Hungary; also, Demetrius was several times the king's ambassador to the voivode of Wallachia, Nicholas Alexander; then Emeric II was a notable character of medieval Hungary, while Ladislaus was a royal doctor.

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<sup>112</sup> DRH C, XV, p. 457.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 598, 630, 645.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 724.

## VOIVODE IANCU DE HUNEDOARA AND HIS ATTEMPTS TO HELP THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE

*Ionel CHIRA\**

**Abstract.** *Contemporaries describe Iancu de Hunedoara as a "pillar of the Romanians", in his hypostasis of fearless fighter against Ottoman expansion, "man eager to fight, born for handling weapons and skilled in conducting wars ", and " like fish were created to beautify the waters, and deer the shady woods, so he was born to be illustrated in the craft of weapons and in the battle guidance "- said about Iancu de Hunedoara, the chroniclers Turoczi and Zoticos Parapondylos.*

*Andrei Pannonicus, brave fighter together with Iancu, liken him to Hercules, saying about him: "He treated with justice and friendship his army, which made him to be so loved, and because of this reason Iancu de Hunedoara, the exalted ruler of the Christians, shone among the leaders of the nations more than Alexander the Macedonian, Hannibal and Scipio the Africanus". And the common people, saw the glory of Iancu de Hunedoara as the glory of their country and of their own, and the lower nobility that fought under his command and for many times they won battles with him, worshiped him as a demigod.*

*Iancu de Hunedoara was the really medieval knight, within the high meaning of the word and as such, the fervently bearer of the sword of Christianity.*

*His fight was the fight of the peoples. His being was the great expression of this fight. It lifted him among one of the greatest figures, not only of the history of our peoples, but also of the Middle Ages in general.*

**Keywords:** *voievode, the Byzantine Empire, historical sources, Christian Crusade, Balkan States, Iancu de Hunedoara, Constantinople.*

One of the greatest people in our country's history, was Iancu de Hunedoara, "The White Knight of Wallachia" as he was known in the West.

The ascension of Iancu de Hunedoara up to the helm of the Hungarian kingdom was extremely mobilizing for the mentality of the gentry in general, and of the high nobility in particular. It demonstrated the chance of a military to overcome his primary social state under the conditions of bright feats.

Iancu de Hunedoara has raised to a decisive role in European history, both as regards the Romanian people and the Kingdom of Hungary. He included under

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his battle flags the Balkan Christian peoples in a common struggle against the Ottoman power, who threatened with their invasion. The fight was more important and more difficult as the Turkish giant was in its period of maximum impetuous growth, in the stage of its great conquest. Balkan countries had to fall one by one, the strip around Constantinople, the "cradle of civilization" and "the kingdom of the East"<sup>1</sup>, were always narrowed and the walls of the fortress were to collapse under the strikes of the conqueror, Mehmed the Second.

The Transylvanian hero was so mindful of the need to fight against the Ottoman tide, that to carry it, he had appeared able to overcome his interests and the interests of the class where he entered, to put everything on the line, to risk his life very often. Thus he appeared greander and incomparable in the eyes of the people and the masses, who cherish disinterest and courage above all, felt more attracted to him, followed his example of dedication and bravery. One of the merits of Iancu de Hunedoara, was also that, remaining a true Romanian, he defended with the same fiercely the interests of the Hungarian feudal kingdom, interests undermined by the Hungarian nobility itself.<sup>2</sup>

Romanians and Hungarians`s fight led by Iancu de Hunedoara was, in the end, successful, because they managed to defend the integrity of their state and its independence and, moreover, to stop for nearly three quarters of a century the Turkish permeation in Central Europe. All these were due to the Romanian-Hungarian alliance. However, he failed to save from the conquest also the city of Constantinople, which for centuries had been the whole focus of civilization, culture and Christian faith. This was the moment when the West seemed to be awaked from a long torpor.

If Iancu de Hunedoara was the last genuine crusader, who sought to give his whole life fighting against the Turks, is no less true that he was the first Romanian ruler who understood that the success of the struggle against the Turks is closely linked to the united action of the Wallachian.

Iancu tried throughout his activities to carry out this unity of action and to transform it into a feudal state unit. We consider that this is the significance of his interventions in Wallachia and Moldova in 1447 and 1448. If he failed, it was due both to internal causes, especially to the opposition of Wallachian and Moldavian boyars and external causes, Iancu not wanting to provoke the hostility of Poland, for Moldova and reaching to a compromise with the Ottoman Empire, for Wallachia .

Although he failed in this direction, he opened a path for many Romanian rulers and voievodes such as Stefan cel Mare and Petru Rares,

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<sup>1</sup> D. Prodan, *From the history of Transylvania. Studies and evocation*, Encyclopedic Publishing House, Bucharest, 1991, p. 264.

<sup>2</sup> E. Denize, *The relations of Iancu de Hunedoara with Alfons V*, p. 67, cited in Michael P. Dan, *An ensign in the fight against the Turks – Iancu de Hunedoara*, Military Publishing House, Bucharest, 1794.

without mentioning Mihai Viteazul who, for a few months, managed to turn into reality a dream for centuries of all Romanians.

After Mircea cel Batran, Iancu de Hunedoara was the second European personality that history has given to our people.

The most eloquent example of the contribution of a Romanian noble family in Transylvania in the life of the Hungarian state, an example with all its implications - becoming Catholic, learning the Hungarian language and Hungarian state interests, kinship with the Hungarian noble families – is offered by Corvin family. They gave for the Hungarian state, their biggest general, Iancu de Hunedoara.

Towards the end of the XIV century, increasingly troubled times threatened the fate of Wallachia and its inhabitants. After having defeated the Serbs and their allies in the battle of Kossovolpolje (1389), the Turks were much closer with the Danube border.

During the years 1394-1396, Wallachia was crossed by the Turkish armies and also by the Hungarian and those from Muntenia, had been given battles, had been committed ravages. Therefore, some families preferred to be displaced in Transylvania. The refuge of some boyars from Wallachia in Transylvania, is the starting point of one of the versions provided by the springs, on the family origin of Iancu de Hunedoara<sup>3</sup>. The latter had two brothers, one of them named also, Ioan - the documents also named him John the younger<sup>4</sup> - and, who, mortally wounded in the fighting in Muntenia, as we are said by a document from 1440, was buried inside the Catholic Cathedral in Alba Iulia – and another brother named Voicu.

In 1437, Iancu together with his brother, is committed to serve with a detachment of 50 "lances" for three months (October-December). Their pay of 1250 florins of gold, he will also be given by him, but instead, Sigismund pledge again his Choniatic district.

Regarding this period, the chronicler Laonic Chalcocondil tells a story, which shows the bravery and devotion of Iancu to the King Sigismund: *"Stepping out on the hunt, the prince of tribals and a wolf silhouetted against the ruler called out Iancu because he can, maybe, kill the wolf. But as the wolf had passed, he followed the beast with his all powers. The beast fell into a river and swimming, he also jumped into the water and his horse swimming, passed over the water and did not stop to follow it and finally he reached and killed the wolf, then skinned the beast from its skin returned to the ruler, crossing back over the river and taking in his hands the skin of the wolf said, "Master, it was done as you said, I killed the wolf and the skin is here in front of you, to serve for any reason you want to use it".<sup>5</sup>*

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<sup>3</sup> Camil Muresan, *Iancu de Hunedoara*, the second edition, Bucharest, 1968, p. 38.

<sup>4</sup> N. Iorga, *The Knights*, Vol. IV, cared by Stela Cheptea and Vasile Neamtu, Encyclopedic Publishing House, Bucharest, 1996, p. 35.

<sup>5</sup> L. Chalcocondil, *Historical exposures*, translated by V. Grecu, Romanian Academy Publishing House, Bucharest, 1958, p. 156.

In 1438 Iancu is *ban* of Severin, and in 1440 the brothers receive a significant donation from the county of Timisoara and Hunedoara.

Here is what we learn about this period in the chronicle of Chalcocondil: *"... the Turks often raided and plundered the country, despoiling and taking slaves from Peonia. After Iancu, arrived in the land of Transylvania, defeated the eunuch named Sabatin and the Turks who were with him, the Peons became, since then, more fearless and committed against the Turkish deeds worthy to remember. Because often, when they passed over Istru, the Turks made them damages and anywhere they met Turks who were many, though they were less than the Turks, easily defeated and routed them even before that those have come to fight."*<sup>6</sup>

In 1441, Iancu is called voievode of Transylvania and *comite* of Timisoara, as a reward for all services rendered to King Vladislav, the one who replaced Albert to the throne of Hungary.

A document from 1443 shows that *"when Iancu de Hunedoara passed in Serbia and Bulgaria and pursued the Turks to the border of Romania (Byzantine Empire), collecting large prey war, Căndestii din Rau de Mori, Ioan and Candea, the sons of Candea, and also Ladislau, Candres or Nicolae, sons of Ioan, the servants of Iancu ... were inseparable ... with the unwavering faith next to Iancu and with their blood, they committed valient deeds more wonderful than we can imagine"*.<sup>7</sup> In the early years, Iancu de Hunedoara, won his resounding victories only with Romanian and Hungarian soldiers, from Transylvania, Wallachia and Hungary. Because the idea of crusade was revived, the last great battles to stop the Ottoman advance and eventually the chase of the "pagans" from the Balkan Peninsula, together with the liberation of Constantinople from the Turkish sword, in the battles were also involved the contingents sent from other parts of Central Europe.<sup>8</sup>

Because he became voievode in Transylvania, Iancu de Hunedoara sought to strengthen his position through his family connections and by strengthening the material base of his administration. Also from this period of time, is dated the broader military organization that he will lead against the Turks. To lead this fight he used especially the army of mercenaries, which, if it was paid, followed him everywhere, while the feudal nobles refused to fight across the borders of the kingdom.

In the autumn, in 1441, he obtained a complete victory against the bey of Semendria who created anxiety among the people from the surroundings of

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<sup>6</sup> *Ibidem*, p.157

<sup>7</sup> C-tin Giurescu, Dinu C. Giurescu, *Brief The History of Romanians*, Scientific and Encyclopedic Publishing House, Bucharest, 1977, p. 11.

<sup>8</sup> St. Pascu, *The role of the knezes from Transylvania in the battle against Turks of Iancu de Hunedoara*, Cluj-Napoca, 1956, p. 47.

Belgrade and Sava river valley. The voievode has the pain of losing in this battle his younger brother, Ioan.<sup>9</sup>

He did not have too much time to let himself to be overwhelmed by sadness. His skill and courage became part of the country and the people who began to put their trust in him. These called him again to face some more threatening risks.

The Turks undertaken in the spring of 1442, an attack against Transylvania led by Mezid beg.

In August-September 1442, Iancu did not expected the enemy to come close, but he passed over the mountains and pursued him across the Danube. His goal is to ward off the Turks from Europe, freeing the oppressed peoples of the Balkans and Byzantium, thus ensuring the permanent peace and freedom of his country.<sup>10</sup>

Pope Eugene IV managed to get a frail success for Catholicism, in the Synod of Florence, held in 1439. The Byzantine Emperor and the representatives of the Orthodox Church who attended that Synod recognized, formally, the union with the Western Church. They were lead to this act by the hope of obtaining another aid against the Turks, encouraged by the recent victories of Iancu, the Pope tried to organize this "help" in favor of Byzantium. However, he sought to expand his real influence in the East.<sup>11</sup>

On February 2, 1444 Vladislav I, Iancu and the army were welcomed in a spirit of celebration at Buda. Soon, here arrived delegation from the Pope, the duke of Burgundy, the Genoese, the Venetians and the Byzantine Emperor Ioan Palaeologu, bringing greetings and praise to he winners. The coats of arms of 12 great nobles, participants in the struggle, were hung as a sign of honor, on the walls of the Virgin Mary Church in the city of Buda. Among them was the coat of arms of Iancu.<sup>12</sup>

The expedition in the winter of 1443-1444 has been called "the long campaign." This name was entirely justified for the time, given the continuous action, more than 6 months, time when he had six major victorious battles. Turks need to leave Serbia, the western part of Bulgaria and to fight hard to defend their roads to the capital.

On April 15, 1444, Vladislav made a solemn vow that in that year he will start with his army "toward Greece and Romania." At this point, the double political game of the Polish-Hungarian King Vladislav, take a more pronounced feature: on the one hand he continued the military preparations, but at the same time, he was negotiating with the Turks. Through these negotiations, Vladislav

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<sup>9</sup> Camil Muresan, *Iancu de Hunedoara*,..., p. 25.

<sup>10</sup> Academician P. Constantinescu, Acad. E. Condurachi, Acad. A. Otetea, *The History of Romania*, Volume II, Romanian Academy Publishing House, Bucharest, p. 437.

<sup>11</sup> N. Iorga, *The history of Balkan states in the modern era*, Valenii de Munte, 1913, p. 53.

<sup>12</sup> Camil Muresan, *Iancu de Hunedoara*,...,p.94.

sought to deceive the Sultan, to create him a sense of security regarding the West and to make him to commit his major forces in Anatolia, against the Emir of Caramania. On 12 June 1444, a deputation sent by Vladislav, sign a peace treaty with the Sultan for 10 years.<sup>13</sup>

At this time the Western powers thought at the profits they will have from the fight that would be engaged: providing a little help, to seize new possessions in the Balkans, while the brunt of the campaign were to be taken by the people of Hungary, Romania, Serbia, Albania and Bulgaria. Venice hoped to conquer Thessaloniki and Gallipoli, Iannina, Arghyrocastron and Valona; the King Alfons of Aragon hoped to obtain Athens and Patras.

All these calculations were under the coat of the "aid" offered by the Western states to Byzantium for the "restoration of the empire", to "chase the infidels" and for the "triumph of the Christian faith." Promises were large: Pope said that he will send 38 galleys, Venetians said 12, Aragon 10, Burgundy 6, Milan 8 and grand master of the Ioaniti fro Rhodes, 2 galleys. Eventually were gathered about 8-10 Italian galleys, 4-5 Burgundian and two from Ragusa.

Meanwhile also in Hungary continued the preparations. The delegate of the Pope Cesarini, exposed a plan for the King that seeks to shorten the path traversed through the enemy territory, to be protected from the prolonged harassment of the Turks and to avoid passes of the mountains, that proved to be so difficult in the previous battles.

The delay and reduced aid promised from the West, the extremely favorable peace offer from the Sultan, determined Vladislav to accept the ratification of the treaty with the Turks and to sign it. Iancu was among the supporters of peace, realizing how tired the people were, what exertions were the last fights. By July 30 to 31 came the news that long-promised and delayed fleet had left from Venice to the straits. If the fleet managed to block the straits, this meant that the Turks will not bring their army in Europe and the way to Constantinople became a walk.<sup>14</sup>

Razgrad, Jeni-Bazar localities and Sumla were occupied. The winning of the Petret city was done also with great effort of the soldiers from Wallachia. In the first week of November the Oriahovo city is conquered. Greeks from that areas handed over to the Hungarian king the keys from four cities nearby, the advancing of the Hungarian army aroused panic among the Turks from Europe. The wealthy merchants from Adrianople and Gallipoli ran to Asia Minor up to Brussa. Iancu continued his way to Varna, where he arrived on November 9. Here came the alarming news that the Sultan, whom they believed him in Asia Minor, had managed to cross the straits and hurried with all the army, being at a distance of a few days to

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<sup>13</sup> Michael P. Dan, *An ensign in the fight against the Turks....*, p. 63; see Fr. Pali, *Ciriaco d'Ancona e la erodata contro i Turciti*, Valenii de Munte, 1937, pp. 21-24.

<sup>14</sup> F. Cardini, *Europe and Islam – The history of disagreement*, translated by Dragos Cojocaru, Polirom, 2002, p. 56.

go. He sent the Grand Vizier Halil Pasha to occupy the European shore of the Bosphorus. The commander of the Burgundian galleys and the one of the papal fleet, hastily demanded from the Byzantines, land troops to attack the Grand Vizier. The Byzantines did not fulfill their demand; they sent them only two galleys to reinforce the fleet. In two days and three nights, the Ottoman army managed to escape from the fleet of the Westerners, on the European shore. They went to Adrianople and in six days arrived at Varna. The chronicler L. Chalcocondil describes the way of the Ottoman army to Varna: "*However, ranging from Peon army, he sat overnight the camp, where on the eve had stood the Peons, and again over the day he went and encamped in the resting place of Peons, where they had the camp. He made this four consecutive days, noting the crowd of the enemies and their attitude towards him, if in all things they are full of fear, that, over some time, little, they will be discouraged, or they go to war with boldness and without fear; and he also observe how many supplies they have in the camp. All these four consecutive days, were reckoned by Amurat, going after them*".<sup>15</sup>

On the night of 9 to November 10, the Turkish camp fires could be seen, heating the horizon from west and south. King Vladislav` situation was serious. He had with himself about 15-16000 troops and in front of him stood the whole army of the Sultan.<sup>16</sup>

After the defeat at Varna, it was felt more and more that the Turks were going to first neutralize the Byzantine Empire edges, then to assault Constantinople. It would have happened sooner if he would not have had difficulties with the two warriors: Iancu de Hunedoara, voievode of Transylvania and general governor of the Kingdom of Hungary and Gheorge Skanderbeg Castriotul (1443-1468), the national hero of the Albanians.<sup>17</sup>

Bravery and military and political skills, and also the desperate situation of Hungary after the disaster at Varna and the undisputed authority he had in regions at East of the Tisza, provided for Iancu his election, by the lower nobility, as governor of Hungary (June 6, 1446), but he also added for himself the title of "voievode of the Vallachia", and the Prince of Moldavia Bogdan II, considered him a "father" of his own. Iancu de Hunedoara was indeed not only the ruler of Hungary, but also the ruler of the three Romanian countries united in a true federation with one name, Wallachia.

After his election as governor of Hungary, acclamated by the diet, Iancu managed to establish an aristocratic regime of order and authority, in terms of a balance between the factors of the political power in the kingdom. Socio-economic, political and religious measures taken or inspired by him were less the results of a

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<sup>15</sup> L. Chalcocondil, *Historical exposures ...*, p. 195.

<sup>16</sup> Camil Muresan, *Iancu de Hunedoara,...*, p.106.

<sup>17</sup> Priest Prof. Ioan Ramureanu, Priest Prof. Milan Sesan, Priest Prof. Teodor Bodogae, *The Universal Ecclesiastical History*, Volume II, the Publishing House of the Mission Bible Institute of the Romanian Orthodox Church, Bucharest, 1993, p. 127.

clear and coherent political view, but the necessary elements to achieve the objectives of his struggle against the Turks, we encounter *mutantis mutandis* to other sovereigns of the same age major goal as Stephen the Great or even successor, King Matthias: liquidation of the internal anarchy, stimulating the development of cities and trade, supporting the middle class and lower nobility, limiting abuses, refreshing social elite with element from the lower class, among the soldiers.<sup>18</sup>

The truce, with all its compromise nature, which involved the recognition of failure, even partial, of the lengthy struggle led by Iancu, did not mean a defeat. In his turn, also the Sultan was nailed to the old positions. The treaty was strengthened by Mehmed II, for his father, the old Murad II, died in February 1451. This treaty gave to the Sultan the required time to prepare for the fulfillment of his grand plan to conquer Constantinople.

In the course of some internal intrigues, occurred an event which deep shook all Europe: in 29 May 1453, the Turks led by Mehmed II, managed to conquer Constantinople.

After that, since the winter of 1451-1452, they had started their hostilities against the Byzantines circling and blocking the capital, in the spring of 1453 they directly beleaguered, on April 6. It was natural that, in front of the supreme danger, Basileus Constantine XII, to look to turn his eyes for help on all sides and especially to the famous leader of the struggle against the Turks, Iancu de Hunedoara.

In the autumn of 1452, messengers<sup>19</sup> of Iancu had gone on the sea to Constantinople, providing for the Byzantine fighters, troops for aid, with the mandatory requirement to use the port of Selimvria or Mesembria<sup>20</sup>. For a moment, the Byzantines rejected their offer on the ground that they intended to defend their own cities, on their own. Eventually, however, it seems at the beginning of 1453, under the pressure of danger, the king consented to give in secret, to Iancu, Mesembria as a feud. After this, it seems, that a new deputation from Iancu went into the camp of the Sultan, requesting him to stop the siege of Constantinople, threatening him that otherwise, the treaty from the last year will be canceled.<sup>21</sup>

It was said that the project of Iancu to save Constantinople could not be achieved because of the rapid events, Mesembria being conquered in February or March by the Turks and the Byzantine capital fell under their assault on 29 May 1453.

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<sup>18</sup> St. Pascu, C-tin Cihodaru, Konrad G. Gundisch, *Relations between the Wallachians*, vol. I, Romanian Academy Publishing House, Bucharest, 1977, p. 86.

<sup>19</sup> Sending the messengers was shown on a historical poem, well informed, of Ubertino Puscolo, about the conquest of Constantinople. It says that the messengers were sent also by the King of Hungary and by Iancu, while Ladislau V was not considered, because within the autumn of 1452, he did not take over the power, yet.

<sup>20</sup> Today Nessebar, at about 60 km south from Varna.

<sup>21</sup> N. Iorga, *History of Romanians*, Volume II, Bucharest, 1962, p. 653.

It was also said that this project was thwarted by "the stubborn pride and prejudices regarding the West", the Byzantines were unable to give up even when they were in extreme danger,<sup>22</sup> allusion to their initial hesitation regarding Iancu's offer and to their stubbornness in "schism" expressed by the famous adage, that says, they would have preferred the Turkish turban, instead of the Latin tiara.<sup>23</sup>

In addition, Byzantium no longer has a fleet, and the Italian maritime republics,<sup>24</sup> only concerned with their commercial interests, maintained a cautious attitude, avoiding the possibility of a military conflict with the Turks. Neither Alfons the fifth, the powerful and ambitious king of Aragon and Naples, who had a considerable fleet, did not seem willing to give, directly or indirectly, aid for Byzantium.

All these circumstances seriously hampered the chances of success for Iancu de Hunedoara and despite of his intentions and hopes of some of his contemporaries, would not allowed him at the time, to organize forces, strong enough, for a military intervention in favor of Byzantium.<sup>25</sup>

Therefore, after the start of the siege of Constantinople, in April, Iancu, as A. Ducas reports this time, denounced the Hungarian-Turkish treaty of truce, for the reason that he, no longer being the governor of Hungary, was not able to keep his contracted commitments.

In fact, as is shown by the documents,<sup>26</sup> the Hungarian-Turkish truce remained in force until near its expiration, in 1454, when, in the spring, the old Brancovici instructed by his "son" Iancu, initiated negotiations to renew it, but this goal has not been reached .

Sultan Mehmet II, with the desire to strengthen his strategic position, builds a strong fortress on the Bosphorus shore (that is, *Rumeli Hisar*, designed to close the passage through the strait for the Christian vessels). This provoked the protest of the Byzantine Emperor Constantine XII, who sent messengers to the Sultan. He answered them, among other things: *"In the place where reach my strength can not reach any hope or the desire of your king. This time, I allow you to go back. But if, from now on, will come messengers to say the words that you told me, I'll skin them alive!"*<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 659.

<sup>23</sup> A. Ducas, *The Turkish-Byzantine History* (1341-1462), critical edition of V. Grecu, Bucharest, 1958, XXXVII, 13, p. 328, apud E. Francés, *La féodalité byzantine et la conquête turque*, in *Studia et acta orientalia*, t. IV, Bucharest, 1962, pp. 76-78.

<sup>24</sup> Venice and Genoa.

<sup>25</sup> G. Ostrogorsky, *Histoire de l'État Byzantine*, Paris, 1956, p. 590.

<sup>26</sup> The cited letter of Oswald [Wenzel], May 15, 1454; *Brancovich` letter to Ladislau de Gara, the Palatine of Hungary*, Smederevo, May 31, 1454 (*Codex diplomaticus comitum Zichy. Ed. P. Luckesics, t.XII, Budapest, 1931, pp .237-239. apud Fr. Pall, The mastery of Iancu de Hunedoara over the Chile .....*, p. 633).

<sup>27</sup> A. Decei, *The history of the Ottoman Empire*, Scientific and Encyclopedic Publishing House, Bucharest, 1978, p. 98.

In the last weeks of the siege of Constantinople, Ladislaus V, required from the Sultan, through a deputation, to make peace with Byzantium, and if it will be on the contrary, he threatened him with a war from Hungary. Mehmet II did not give importance to his requirement, and to the possible denunciation of the armistice in 1451 from Hungary, which was not done.<sup>28</sup>

In the decisive phase of the siege, Mehmed II made an audacious maneuver. He landed several war ships over the little peninsula between Bosphorus and the Golden Horn, bypassing the obstacles of the Byzantines. The latter, blocked the entrance to the Golden Horn with a thick chain<sup>29</sup>, stretched between Byzantium itself and the foundation of the Genoese walls, Galata, in both places being a fort with soldiers. Thus, the Ottoman vessels reached exactly in the front of Constantinople.

Weakening and collapse of the Byzantine Empire, also due to the errors committed by the Paleologos kings, eased the conquests of the Turks, which were stretched, one by one, in the Asian and European territories of Byzantium. By the mid of the fifteenth century, remained only a shadow of the once famous Empire, with Constantinople in full decay. It was not too difficult for the young and ambitious sultan Mehmed II and his army of 250.000 men and 300 ships, to conquer Constantinople after 53 days of siege (May 29, 1453).

The internal contradictions, unfavorable international situation, especially the lack of interest of the Western powers, and so on, despite the intentions of the glorious army commander Iancu de Hunedoara, all these, did not permit him to organize an action able to save the Byzantine capital.

Emperor Constantine XI Dragases, whose voice remained unheard by those whose he asked for help, died, defending with the sword in his hand the last remnant of the once brilliant Empire. Mehmed II moved his residence in his new conquest. Through the mastery of Constantinople, the capital of the Roman Empire, Mehmed considered himself as being the only legitimate heir of the Roman Empire. Giancomo de Languschi told about him that he would have said, *"the world Empire must be one, with one faith and one leadership. To place this unity there is no better place than Constantinople"*<sup>30</sup>

Thus Constantinople was ruled by the Turks. From *"the courts of Constantine the Great, Mehmed II began to trumpet his threats to the four corners of the Christian world. The Old thrones trembled because of this blow caused by the Sultan sword"*.<sup>31</sup>

In Europe, the astonishment and fear caused by the news of the fall of Byzantium, paralyzed any action. There were plans for a new crusade, to

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<sup>28</sup> Camil Muresan, *Iancu de Hunedoara....*, p.180.

<sup>29</sup> Some parts of this liberator chain are preserved, in a stately pile, at the Military Museum in Istanbul

<sup>30</sup> Franz Babinger, *Mahomed der Eroberer und seine Zeit*, Munich, 1953, pp. 212-213.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibidem*.

recapture Constantinople, but all were failed. On the contrary, some states did not stop to flatter the triumphantly Sultan, choosing to enter into negotiations with the Turks. On August 1, 1453 also Brancovici's messengers hurried to visit the dreaded one winner, in the new capital, bringing him the increased tribute.

The conquest of Constantinople threatened again the European nations. The Turks could not be driven out of Europe, on the contrary, further attacks were expected from them. Hungarian feudal lords, who were not suited neither to defend or to totally lose their country, stopped their overt actions against Iancu de Hunedoara, realizing that they will need him. Iancu received a prolongation of his quality of the ultimate master of the kingdom.

After this important conquest, the Turkish offensive is becoming more impetuous, Wallachia having to face other and other tests. The bravery of some people from the low class, under the leading of some skilled fighters, managed to stave off for a while, the offensive.

A century and a half of an uninterrupted Ottoman history, of development and enhancement, together with the same time of Byzantine history in an irreparable breakdown and restriction, imposed the year 1453 as a milestone year not only between the two Empires - the old, rundown and the new, shiny - but between two great Ages of Romanian history. Installing of the Turks in Rumelia, through the occupation of the countries up to the Danube, and also the explosive force of the Ottoman state, favored by the helpless weakening of Byzantium, which was no longer a goal in the future and was just an obstacle between the two continents, Asia and Europe, made necessary the occupancy of this geographic, strategic, political and economic point, whereof Napoleon said that alone is worth as an Empire.<sup>32</sup>

The political reality from the middle of the fifteenth century was that the Christian powers from the West no longer had anything in common with the idea of crusade and the rivalries between them, intensified by the process of transition from feudalism to the modern world, were more important than the fight against the Turks.

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<sup>32</sup> A. Mustafa Mahomed, *Turkish History*, Scientific and Encyclopedic Publishing House, Bucharest, 1976, p. 119 .

# MENTALITY AND ECONOMIC ACTION AT LARGE LAND PROPERTY OWNERS IN THE 18<sup>TH</sup> AND THE FIRST HALF OF THE 19<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY CRIȘANA

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**Abstract.** *This paper tries to capture how the big landowners in Crișana have adapted their domain activity to the requirements of the reformist policy promoted by the Court of Vienna in economic terms. Based on several examples they showed a number of issues related to the mentality, attitude and way of economic action to which the landowners have resorted to highlight the potential of the field and how to subordinate the activities undertaken, increasingly visible, to the requirements of the exchange economy.*

**Keywords:** *domain economics, economic mentality, Crișana, 18<sup>th</sup> Century, first half of 19<sup>th</sup> Century*

The reform measures imposed by the Court of Vienna beginning with the 18<sup>th</sup> Century, with the desire to catch up the advance to the European powers<sup>1</sup>, most often in the form of the state controlling<sup>2</sup> of “top down”, in almost all spheres of the society activity (political, economic, social, religious, etc.), will have a major impact also on the landowners in Crișana. The implementation of the reform measures initiated by the State authorities in Crișana will be much enhanced by the benevolent attitude of the big landowners (Diocese and Roman-Catholic Church Capitle in Oradea, Károlyi family, Csáky family, Greek-Catholic Diocese of Oradea, Duke of Modena<sup>3</sup>, etc.) to the Court of Vienna. For many reasons (loyalty, gratitude for the recovery or acquisition of new territories, interest, etc.) will conform, in gratitude, early, to the

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<sup>1</sup> Pierre Chaunu, *Civilizația Europei în secolul luminilor*, vol. I, Bucharest, 1986, p. 275

<sup>2</sup> Erich Zöllner, *Istoria Austriei*, vol. I, Encyclopedic Publishing House, Bucharest, 1997, p. 342-343

<sup>3</sup> The Roman Catholic Church ruled during this period almost half of the villages of Bihor County (its Central and South part), Count Karolyi Sandor, the “Austrians’ man” during and after the peace from Satu Mare in 1711, had large areas of land in the County Sătmăr, Duke of Modena, had areas covering much of the Southern Crișana and Csáky family, had large properties in the Northern half of Crișana. Ioan Goman, *Politică statală, economie domeniială și dezvoltare rurală. Meșteșuguri și industrii țărănești din Crișana*, University of Oradea Publishing House, Muzeul Țării Crișurilor Publishing House, Oradea, 2011 (further Ioan Goman, *Politică statală...*), p. 160

directions of politic action of the central powers, and consistently putting in application the reform measures (in economy, social, religious, etc.). Many of the measures of reform character, which elsewhere would cause a fierce opposition, here they will be applied very early (on the Roman Catholic Diocese domain, the first regulation of the urbarial relations, urged by the imperial authorities, will be completed in 1751)<sup>4</sup>. A goal supported economically, through measures of mercantile color (especially in the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century) and physiocrat whose purpose will be the modernization of the feudal domain, the main framework for conducting the economic life in this period. A master more open, more receptive to new, interested in any source of income, in any way he could harness the natural potential available, who relate his economic initiatives based on demand and supply was the “model” the State authorities waited for from the landowners. For a long time the noble preoccupation with the domain production was one for forecast, reducing it mostly to the care for insurance of needs. It is important for him to secure those necessities (maintaining the comfort, abundance of consumption) that keep giving him the social prestige. Gradually, as the need for money increases, the noble starts to put more value on his possessions, to worry more and more about the possibilities to value the available potential, to find new ways to get money. In other words, he tries, constrained by needs, to make the domain economy more efficient. One way of thinking, the putting into practice of which, will make the transition from *sufficiency*, given by an economic mentality concerned with the ensuring of their own needs, to *efficiency*, given by an economic thought concerned with the maximizing of the profits<sup>5</sup>.

It is true that the changes that occur are not very spectacular, since they present here the measures of productivity growth and of market-economy orientation together with those of maintenance of the old feudal realities (exploitation of the subjects, preservation of the feudal rights, etc.). But, it can be determined a number of issues that highlight the changes that occur during this period, as in the most of the 18<sup>th</sup> century the mercantile origin measures prevail (care of goods for reduce the maintenance costs, recovery of any own resources to reduce the costs, etc.). In the second half of the century, the measures with physiocrat character are becoming more evident (increasing the productive areas, adoption of new animal breeds and plant varieties, new working methods, etc.). As for in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century we also meet measures with some liberal touch (stimulate of the competition environment

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<sup>4</sup> Gheorghe Gorun, *Reformismul austriac și violențele sociale din Europa Centrală 1750-1800*, Muzeul Țării Crișurilor Publishing House, Oradea, 1998, p. 104

<sup>5</sup> Ioan Goman, *Demersuri de eficientizare a activității manufacturiere pe domeniilor marilor proprietari de pământ din Crișana în secolul al XVIII-lea și în prima jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea*, in *Comitatul Bihor în timpul trecător. Fragmente din istoria comitatului Bihor*, Debrecen, 2011 (further Ioan Goman, *Demersuri de eficientizare...*), p. 144

through payments depending on performance, more open to the units with an obvious commercial character, etc.). These steps eventually capture the way the master understood to adapt him to the economic policy of the state authorities and to the main economic currents of the time. They take measures to restore and maintain the serfs on the estates, but also to sow the lands with certain crops with high commercial value (wheat, grape-vine, etc.), measures to collect and increase the taxes, but also to efficiency the work (productive varieties and races, qualified staff, etc.), measures to increase the serf obligations, but also to increase the productivity through new capabilities (vineyard and orchard plantations, manufactures, inns, pubs, mills, etc.) or working methods (sowing at optimum time, use of drugs to treat diseases, the simultaneous production - in case of manufactures - just of one type of objects, etc.).

Among the most visible changes in the domain economy in Crișana of this period, they also include those related to the range of *industrial* character activities. Since early, in the spirit of the mercantile ideas inspired by the state authorities, the landowners will seek to value as large a part of the natural resources at their disposal (iron ore, wood, sand, etc.). For the period we do refer to (the 18<sup>th</sup> century and the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century) in Crișana can be identified as operating on these areas for a longer or shorter time, a number of 122 industrial establishments, of which 35 will be more important (14 in the ecclesiastical fields: 9 on the Roman Catholic Episcopate, 2 on that of the Capitle, 3 on that of the Greek Catholic Diocese and 21 on the profane fields), of which 12 manufactures (3 of iron, 3 of glass, 5 of beer, 1 of cloth) will work even since the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century (some in the first decades of this)<sup>6</sup>.

Apart from all these, one thing is clear, in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century and especially during the first half of the following, the land master's economic priorities were quite different from those in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century. His thinking and action way of him changes<sup>7</sup>. In 1756 for example, on the field of the Csáky family in Marghita, they put the question of building a special place for storing grain (a "house" - hold), because, it being held in unfriendly places, could "not

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<sup>6</sup> In the field of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Oradea, by far the most important economic enterprise in our area, will be in operation in the period of beginning 8 manufactures: 3 of iron - at Vașcău (under production in 1721), Pocioveliște (established in 1738) and Drăgănești (1741), one of glass - at Hășmaș (1739), one of cloth - at Finiș (1738), 3 of beer - at Seleuș (1721), at Beiuș (1721) and Beliu (1738); that of the Roman Catholic Capitle of Oradea: 2 manufactures of beer - in Oradea (founded in 1702) and Rontău (1714); that of the Károly family: 2 manufactures of glass - at Solduba (founded in 1722) and Ardud (1747), this without taking into account the other smaller enterprises (board mills, potash processing small workshops, brick processing small workshops, lime kiln, cloth mill machines, etc.). Ioan Goman, *Demersuri de valorificare a resurselor naturale din Crișana în secolul al XVIII-lea și în prima jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea*, in *Biharea*, XXXVII, 2010, Oradea, 2011, p. 33-73

<sup>7</sup> Idem, *Politică statală...*, p. 190

be sold” on market “because that was smelly”, they grow pure-bred “Swiss” cows (for which they will bring also a Swiss keeper). Among the officials who dealt with the proper administration of this area, in 1792 was also mentioned an “engineer”; in 1793 during an outbreak, the domain pigs whose growth was concentrated mainly in the Berekböszörmeny provisional would be treated with drugs. In addition, they plant mulberry trees for silkworm rearing; they construct new economic objectives (mills, pubs etc.)<sup>8</sup>. In the field of the Roman Catholic Diocese even since the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, the employment of foreign artisans (blacksmiths, glass blowers, brewers, etc.) for the master’s manufactures was almost a habit. In the second half of the century, among the ministers we meet, according to the booking of payments, a diverse and well skilled personnel (doctor, geometrician – “geometra”, forest inspector, etc.)<sup>9</sup>. The mercantile spirit leaves its mark not only on the efficiency measures of the economic activity, but also on the cost reduction. At the blacksmith of Vașcău, even since the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century, they produced iron, and from the slag remaining after the production process (in March 8, 1757, for beating the 130 centenarians of thin iron resulted from slag, they used to pay 130 Rhineland florins<sup>10</sup>). At the glass processing small workshops of Hașmaș, they began to use, since 1745, the glass shards<sup>11</sup> as raw material in the production process, they also made efforts for recovery of some recyclable products (in 1806, to remove the nails from the old shingle, those from Biharea had undertaken 35 days and half of robot<sup>12</sup>). They moved the older production units to areas with easy access routes near the fairs (as it happens with the glass processing small workshop, which moves in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century from Hășmaș to Beliu). They pass to the adoption of “modern” working methods and techniques, to increase the production capacity (in 1824, for the needs of the glass processing small workshop from Beliu, they bought from Reșița two boilers worth of 595 florins and 57 kreutzers<sup>13</sup>). and to equip with machinery, including for processing of the agricultural products (in 1834, they bought a

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<sup>8</sup> Papp Klára, *A Bihari Csáky birtokok gazdálkodása a XVIII. Században*, in *Hajdú-Bihar Megyei Levéltár Évkönyv*, XXIX, Debrecen, 2002-2003 (further Papp Klára, *A Bihari Csáky birtokok...*), p. 53-66

<sup>9</sup> Ioan Goman, *Demersuri de eficientizare a activității manufacturiere...*, p. 147; Idem, *Politică statală...*, p. 190-191

<sup>10</sup> National Archives of Romania - Bihor County Direction, *Fond Episcopia romano-catolică din Oradea, Acte economice*, inv. 246 (further AN-DJBh, *Fond Episcopia romano-catolică...*), role 638, d. 3740, f. 66

<sup>11</sup> In 1745, they purchased for this purpose from Timișoara 8 maje (unit of weight) of broken glass for which was paid 8 florins. Veronica Covaci, *Manufactura de sticlă din Beliu în prima jumătate a secolului al XVIII-lea*, in *Crisia*, III, Oradea, 1973 (further Veronica Covaci, *Manufactura de sticlă din Beliu în prima jumătate...*), p. 223

<sup>12</sup> AN-DJBh, *Fond Episcopia romano-catolică...*, d. 2045, f. 230

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, role 630, d. 3709, f. 312

potato and beet cutter<sup>14</sup>). They take measures to expand the cultivated areas by grubbing (a work often included in the robot<sup>15</sup>) or hydro-ameliorative works (in 1846, they are questioning the digging of a long channel of 8000 fathoms in the abandoned land (praedium) Kis Rabe, because the channel made in 1821 was clogged, and the Barcău River had to flow freely in this area<sup>16</sup>). New areas are planted with grapevines and fruit trees (only in March 1837, in the domain orchard of Comănești they planted 490 saplings<sup>17</sup>), etc. In a bid to get more money, putting into use (lease) of certain rights or sale of goods was made by auction (as it will happen with the sale of some wood in the provisional of Tinca in 1832<sup>18</sup> or with two meadows of Barmod in 1840, distributed in this way to 61 people for 590 forints and 6 kreutzers<sup>19</sup>). The livestock also begins to be intensively on areas and species of animals, leading to true “specialized” centers in their growth: pigs in the hundred of Beliu (where in 1837 were 2970 heads), sheep in the hundred of Livada Mică (in whose records in 1832, there were in all 5865 “Spanish sheep” and 3034 “Hungarian sheep”<sup>20</sup>). For feeding the actual animals, they attempt to recover also other sources that the fields dispose of. In 1840, they proposed that in addition to the prune distillery of the hundred of Săldăbagiu Mic to build a stable for animals where raise oxen or pigs fed on the large quantities of distiller’s wash from here<sup>21</sup>. They start to use the wage labor more often instead of that of serfs at the domain prune distillery of Săldăbagiu Mic, in 1840, instead of the serfs they undertake six “săptămânaroși” (week workers) paid with 10 kreutzers per day<sup>22</sup>. The situation was similar also on the domain of the Roman Catholic Diocese Capitle. The pigs growth focuses in Prepozitura Mare (economic office), at Gurbediu (in 1810 there were in all 784 red pigs and 824 “mangalitza” breed pigs<sup>23</sup>), and the cattle and sheep in the “raționistat” (economic office) Szent-Péterszeg (in 1843 will be 5319 sheep and 465 cattle<sup>24</sup>). In 1843, came the issue of expansion the agricultural areas from alodia by putting on of the lands in the low productivity

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid*, d. 103, f. 412-415

<sup>15</sup> As it happens in 1795 with the villages in the hundred Ucuriș and Hășmaș of the domain Beliu or in 1829 related to certain villages in the hundred Lăzăreni of the domain Oradea. *Ibid*, d. 1659, f. 126-127; d. 1262, f. 6-9

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid*, d. 3590, role 587, f. 36-38

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid*, d. 1686, f. 368

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid*, d. 518, f. 187

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid*, role 333, d. 3287, f. 460-461

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid*, d. 1284, f. 1-2

<sup>21</sup> Petru Bona, *Situația economică a țăranilor români pe domeniul episcopiei romano-catolice de Oradea (1800-1848)*, Western Printing Factory Publishing House, Oradea, 1997, p. 118

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid*, p. 119-120

<sup>23</sup> Romanian National Archives – Bihor County Direction, *Fond Capitulul Episcopiei romano-catolice din Oradea, Acta miscellanea*, inv. 241 (further AN-DJBh, *Fond Capitulul..., Acta miscellanea*), role 230, d. 155, f. 21

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid*, *Actele ședințelor economice*, role 372, fascicle V, no. 905, f. 9

orchards and of the hilly grazing grounds, which were to be sown for this purpose with rape, alfalfa and barley. For a more effective recovery, they proposed the partition of the pastures into several parcels, as for 100 cattle, which, through an alternative use, could provide a more rational exploitation of this potential<sup>25</sup>. To meet the needs within the domain properties begin to be assimilated (especially during the Napoleonic Wars when the import possibilities will be limited) new crops used for seasoning (case of saffron - *Crocus sativus* - of which in 1810, in the garden domain property of Tépe were obtained 37 ¼ pounds<sup>26</sup>), food (case of opium - of which in 1843, were obtained from *alodia* 176 seed Justus<sup>27</sup>) or technical crops (as it happens with the tare - *Vicia sativa*, of which in 1832, in the hundred of Livada Mică were obtained 89 measure for cereals (as of Bratislava)<sup>28</sup>, with rape - *rapistrum*, of which in the abandoned land (praedium) Régény of the provisional of Oradea, in 1837, they seeded 12 acres, culture present in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century at Sântion, too, on the Frimont Béla Nobleman's fields<sup>29</sup>.

A comprehensive modernization action takes place also on the areas in the Southern Crișana, purchased from state by individuals. Came into the possession of some wealthy and often long commercial experience people, many of them were merchants or acquiring some money by trade, the here from areas will be profiled even since the beginning on the production of goods. The new owners, accustomed to the exchange rules, try mostly to find rapid measures to rationalize and streamline the domain production. In order to enhance the trade with agricultural products, they make serious inquiries about the adoption of some new breed animals (sheep and pigs in particular), move to the cattle growth in stalls, to new systems of culture, to the cultivation of some forage crops (alfalfa, clover, and vetch) and more. In the field of the Archduke Joseph of Habsburg from Chișineu Criș, one of the most modern, they perform sewage and diking works, bring new breed animals (Siementhal cattle, "mangalitză" breed pigs); wageworkers and specialists do use farm machinery leading to a considerable increase of the production, and some of this work. The products obtained here arrived in Hungary, Austria, Germany (animals), Pest and Bratislava (wool). For a proper care and increase of the domain production, they employed professionals (geometricians, agronomists, engineers) and many wageworkers. The Atzél family, on its domain of Șicula and Ineu, had only for the administration from Șicula 93 permanent employees, and, at Bocsig, on

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<sup>25</sup> Veronica Covaci, *Relațiile agrare din Bihor în deceniile premergătoare revoluției de la 1848*, in *Aleșd 1904-1979*, Oradea, 1979 (further *Relațiile agrare...*), p. 157

<sup>26</sup> AN-DJBh, *Fond Capitlul...*, *Acta miscellanea*, role 230, d., 155, f. 62

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid*, *Actele ședințelor economice*, role 370, fascicle I, no. 117, f. 14

<sup>28</sup> *Idem*, *Fond Episcopia romano-catolică...*, d. 1284, f. 3-4

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid*, role 220, d. 2909, f. 229; Fényes Elek, *Magyarország geographiai szótára*, Pesta, 1851, vol. IV, p. 100-103

another particular area, 84 persons. The results of these measures are commensurate with the efforts. The revenues of the Sebiş domain, for example, owned by the Königsegg family will be in proportion of 80% assured of the allodium production of goods<sup>30</sup>.

On the noble areas, such approaches begin to step up to the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>31</sup>. The economic measures that lead to a production of goods will occur primarily on the large noble landowners. Perhaps the best example of this case is given by the domain of the Wesselényi family from Jibou, where, in addition to the growing concerns for the silkworm<sup>32</sup> and thoroughbred horses<sup>33</sup>, early they introduce the sowing and threshing machines and the improved plows brought directly from Vienna<sup>34</sup>. This attitude toward the new is not random if we consider that the Baron Nicolae Wesselényi is the main mentor of a noble reformist current around 1830. It provided the gradual redemption by peasants of the land and serfs' obligations, the amounts obtained in this way by the nobleman were to be used by him for the modernization of exploitation (wage labor, performing means of work) of the worked lands for his own<sup>35</sup>.

Under the pressure of the modernization measures imposed by the state authorities and the ever increasing financial needs, the master's care to the "commercial potential" of the held properties increases. The actions enterprise are thinking of money, and the products obtained acquire a more increasingly merchandise character. The market is not any more neglected, the contrary, it

<sup>30</sup> Géza Kovách, *Stăpânirea habsburgică și destrămarea feudalismului*, in *Aradul – permanență în istoria patriei*, Arad, 1978, p. 176-177; Idem, *Situația țărănimii din comitatul Arad și lupta ei împotriva exploatării în prima jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea*, in *Studii și articole de istorie*, XVI, Bucharest, 1970, p. 50-51

<sup>31</sup> Liviu Botezan, *Aspecte ale vânzării forței de muncă de către iobagii transilvăneni la începutul veacului al XIX-lea oglindite în conscripția czirákyană (I)*, in *Acta Musei Napocensis*, XVI, 1979, p. 337; Idem, *Tendențe de deposedare a iobagilor din Transilvania de posesiunile lor individuale reflectate în actele conscripției czirákyene*, in *Sub semnul lui Clio. Omagiu acad. prof. Ștefan Pascu*, Cluj Napoca, 1974, p. 153-160

<sup>32</sup> Idem, *Tendențe ale gospodăriei nobiliare din Transilvania de a introduce plante tehnice și de ameliorare a soiurilor de pomi fructiferi și viță de vie în perioada 1785-1820*, in *Ialomița, Slobozia*, (further Liviu Botezan, *Tendențe ale gospodăriei...*), 1983, p. 252

<sup>33</sup> The here from stud is famous all over Europe. An epidemic of 1816, which will drastically affect the stud, will make of the 350 horses existing remain only 50 horses. Liviu Botezan, Maria Roșca Rosen, *Contribuții la studiul organizării locurilor curiale pe moșiile nobiliare din comitatele transilvănene (1785-1820)*, in *Acta Musei Napocensis*, III, Cluj-Napoca, 1966, p. 253

<sup>34</sup> Ladislau Gyémánt, *Modernizarea instrumentarului economic și mentalitate nobiliară în Transilvania (sec. XVIII-XIX)*, in *Convergențe europene – Istorie și societate în epoca modernă*, Cluj-Napoca, 1993, p. 100

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 103

becomes a “working tool”, a “barometer” for measuring the efficiency<sup>36</sup>. It is true that a good time, this will be done following the feudal methods (using the work of serfs, renting rights and goods, imposing taxes, etc.), because then, the concern about the efficiency and production, the ways that they can be increased to be increasingly more present, in time becoming almost a commonplace.

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<sup>36</sup> Ioan Goman, *Aspecte privind adaptarea la economia de schimb a marilor proprietari de pământ din Crișana în secolul al XVIII-lea și în prima jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea*, in *Crisia*, XLI, Oradea, 2011 (further *Aspecte privind adaptarea la economia de schimb...*), p. 156

**THE FATE OF A BOOK: SILVIU DRAGOMIR, *STUDIES AND DOCUMENTS ON THE ROMANIAN REVOLUTION IN TRANSYLVANIA IN 1848-1849, VOLUME VI***

Sorin Şipoş

**The Fate of a Book: Silviu Dragomir, *Studies and Documents on the Romanian Revolution in Transylvania in 1848-1849, volume VI***

**Abstract:** The investigation of the national phenomenon, especially of the Revolution of 1848, has a special place in historian Silviu Dragomir's work. The national movement of 1848-1849 is chronologically the last theme he investigated. However, he is considered by most commentators as the specialist on the Revolution of 1848.

Silviu Dragomir had written in a first draft, before being arrested, the volume VI of *Studii și documente privitoare la revoluția românilor din Transilvania în anii 1848-1849. Revoluția. Eroii. Împăratul și românii*. This volume though requires some clarifications, following documents developments. A first question to be elucidated is the one regarding the interval when the author wrote the paper. Then, whether he had taken some steps towards the publishing of the volume before being arrested. The manuscript of volume VI, currently kept in the Romanian Academy Library, provides some information. He continued the work in a sustained rhythm, given the accelerated changing political circumstances and he probably completed it at the beginning of 1947. By analyzing the political life of the country, Silviu Dragomir realized that the communist regime may at any time arrest him and prohibit the publication of the works that were not following the party's guiding line. In both cases, the work was to remain in manuscript.

Undoubtedly, the above example fits into a pattern regarding the evolution of Romanian historiography after 1947. In this case, the volumes of documents prepared by Silviu Dragomir were published without any problem in the period up to the coming into power of the communist regime in Romania. Volume VI of the collection of *Studii și documente* hasn't been published to this date. Restoring historian Dragomir's path and laboratory gives us much information about the political interference in the historical research, about the topics and subjects permitted or prohibited by the political regime, about the consistency and perseverance of some historians who believed in their mission to investigate the past without hatred and bias.

**Key work:** Silviu Dragomir, *Studies and Documents on the Romanian Revolution in Transylvania in 1848-1849*, Avram Iancu, manuscript of volume VI of *Studii și documente*, Revolution of 1848

The investigation of the national phenomenon, especially of the Revolution of 1848, has a special place in historian Silviu Dragomir's work. The national movement of 1848-1849 is chronologically the last theme he investigated. However, he is considered by most commentators as the specialist on the Revolution of 1848<sup>1</sup>. For most, wrote Professor Pompiliu Teodor, this is practically, the remaining image, better fixed by the posthumously published monograph on Avram Iancu. Behind the monograph lies a rich and impressive bibliography, an extensive chapter of historiography that he built over time, with patience and passion<sup>2</sup>.

In 1944, Silviu Dragomir succeeded in publishing under the auspices and with the support of the Romanian Academy, the first volume of *Studii și documente privitoare la Revoluția românilor din Transilvania în anii 1848-1849* (*Studies and Documents on the Romanian Revolution in Transylvania in 1848-1849*). He long intended to gather the documents regarding the events of 1848-1849 in an extensive work. Even in 1924, while in a research visit to the archives in Vienna for the monograph on Avram Iancu, he noted the existence of a large number of unpublished sources talking about the events of 1848-1849 in Transylvania. In the same year, Silviu Dragomir expressed his desire to gather and publish the documents from 1848 concerning the Romanians<sup>3</sup>. In the

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<sup>1</sup> Vasile Maciu, *Prefață* for Silviu Dragomir, *Avram Iancu*, București, 1965, p. 6-10; Eugeniu Sperantia, *Figuri universitare: Silviu Dragomir*, in *Steaua*, XVII, 1966, no. 11, p. 46; Pompiliu Teodor, *Silviu Dragomir*, in *Enciclopedia istoriografiei românești*, București, 1978, p. 129; Idem, *Silviu Dragomir, istoric al unității naționale*, in *Tribuna*, XXVII, 1983, no. 47, p. 6; Idem, *Silviu Dragomir*, in *Tribuna*, XXXII, no. 10, 1988, p. 8; Idem, *Silviu Dragomir, istoric al revoluției din 1848*, in Silviu Dragomir, *Studii privind istoria revoluției române de la 1848*. Edition, introduction, notes, coments by Pompiliu Teodor, Cluj-Napoca, 1989, p. 7; Idem, *Silviu Dragomir*, in *Transylvanian Review*, volume VII, 1998, no. 3, p. 64-65; Nicolae Stoicescu, *100 de ani de la nașterea istoricului Silviu Dragomir (1888-1962)*, in *Revista de istorie*, tome 41, 1988, no. 5, p. 530; Acațiu Egyed, *Silviu Dragomir și cercetarea revoluției din Transilvania de la 1848-1849*, in *Memoriile Secției de Științe Istorice*, Series IV, tome XIII, București, 1991, p. 11-18; Ștefan Pascu, *Silviu Dragomir – portret spiritual*, in *Ibidem*, p. 9; Mircea Păcurariu, *O sută de ani de la nașterea istoricului Silviu Dragomir (1888-1962)*, in *Mitropolia Ardealului*, XXXIII, 1988, no. 2, p. 118-119; Nicolae Bocșan, *Silviu Dragomir – istoric al revoluției din 1848*, in *Revue de Transylvanie* (Romanian edition), Cluj-Napoca, 1991, p. 152-153; Idem, *Silviu Dragomir*, in *Transylvanian Review*, Volume V, 1996, No. 4, p. 46-51; Silviu Dragomir, *Banatul românesc*. Introductive study by Nicolae Bocșan, Timișoara, 1999, p. 7-13.

<sup>2</sup> Pompiliu Teodor, *Silviu Dragomir, istoric al revoluției din 1848*, in *loc. cit.*, p. 14-15.

<sup>3</sup> "I will seek to acquire them for my collection of documents that I will publish this year in the publications of the Romanian Academy"(Silviu Dragomir, *Pe urmele lui Avram Iancu. În loc de Prefață la o carte*, in *Societatea de Mâine*, I, 1924, p. 390).

following years, the new projects that he undertook determined him to delay the publication of the volumes of documents. The postponing proved to be beneficial in this case. During the elapsed time, the historian did not abandon the project. On the contrary, he also published between 1924-1944 numerous works on the revolution, thus making use of the reference materials found in the country's archives and abroad. We mention that in his work on Ioan Buteanu<sup>4</sup> he published in the annexes the documents discovered in the archives of Vienna, the documents in the Mikó archive from the Transylvanian Museum in Cluj and also Buteanu's correspondence with Iancu and Axente Sever, from the Museum of Deva. Shortly thereafter, he also published the correspondence of the Transylvanian teachers from the principalities, accompanying it with a few pages of comments<sup>5</sup>.

The preparation work for the monographs devoted to the Romanian leaders of the revolution put the specialist in touch with new documentary sources, mostly unpublished, increasing yearly the gathered material. As a result of the support received from the Romanian Academy, the most prestigious scientific institution, the first volume of the collection of documents was published in Sibiu in 1944, a year that was a turning point for Romania. According to reports the first volume, as well as the following two of *Studii și documente privitoare la revoluția românilor din Transilvania* were ready for printing since 1938<sup>6</sup>.

The second volume of *Studii și documente...*, published in the autumn of 1944 comprises documents from the collections of the Romanian Academy, of ASTRA and of the Transylvanian Museum<sup>7</sup>. On this basis, we can investigate, the author shows, the atmosphere in the mountains, the struggles and concerns of Iancu, Buteanu, Axente and others. Finally, the third volume in the series, published after the war, in 1946, contains some of the documents gathered from the State Archives in Budapest, the Hungarian government presidential fund,

<sup>4</sup> Silviu Dragomir, *Ioan Buteanu prefectul Zarandului în anii 1848-49*, București, 1928.

<sup>5</sup> Silviu Dragomir, *Din corespondența dascălilor ardeleni în anul 1848*, in *Omagiu lui Ion Bianu din partea*

*colegilor și foștilor săi elevi*, București, 1927, p. 155-170. Silviu Dragomir, *Nicolae Bălcescu în Ardeal*, in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Națională*, V, 1928-1930, Cluj, 1931, p. 1-34.

<sup>6</sup> "I then meet in the evening Silviu Dragomir with whom I walk. He thought P.P. Panaitescu wasn't likely to be elected as an active member, especially since he joined the Iron Guard. He spoke to me about the publishing of the Transylvanian documents regarding the year 1848. He was given funding from the Academy to publish a volume; he had material ready to be printed for other two". (Radu R. Rosetti, *Pagini de jurnal*. Edition by Cristian Popișteanu, Marian Ștefan, Ioana Ursu, București, 1993, p. 39-40).

<sup>7</sup> *Studii și documente privitoare la revoluția românilor din Transilvania în anii 1848-1849. Documente din colecțiile Academiei Române, Asociațiunii transilvane și ale Muzeului Ardelean*. Published by Silviu Dragomir, in collaboration with Prof. Eugen Hulea and Prof. Lazăr Nichi, vol. II, Sibiu, 1944.

actually from the Kossuth fund<sup>8</sup>. According to Professor Pompiliu Teodor, the historian's intentions aspired to the making of a fourth volume, which he resumed after 1956, when he was employed at the Institute of History and Archaeology in Cluj. This volume, with the collaboration of Ileana Bozac and Pompiliu Teodor, was completed, but after the historian's death the project was abandoned in favour of the collection designed by a larger team, originally directed by Victor Chereșteșiu<sup>9</sup>. We must point out that the fourth volume of the *Studii și documente...* collection, like the monograph on Avram Iancu and the sixth volume of the same collection was completed since the beginning of 1947<sup>10</sup>. The regime change in Romania prompted Silviu Dragomir to refrain from publishing the fourth volume of the synthesis on the history of the revolution, namely the fifth volume. Silviu Dragomir's arrest in 1949 postponed the publication of the last volume of documents, as well as that of the sixth volume and the monograph on Avram Iancu. After being released from prison, he tried to publish his work on Avram Iancu and the sixth volume of *Studii și documente...* According to Professor Pompiliu Teodor after the historian's death the publishing of the fourth volume was abandoned. The sixth volume of *Studii și documente...*, although made ready for printing by the author, remained in the manuscript form.

There are some questions to be answered in order to retrace the steps that led to the development of the first volume of the synthesis. When did the author intend to develop a comprehensive work on the revolution? What caused him to postpone the publication of the fourth volume of *Studii și documente...* in favour of the fifth volume, which inaugurated, according to his own statement "more extensive series of studies on the Romanian Revolution"? As stated earlier, enthusiastic about the documentary material in the archives of Vienna, he had planned since 1924, to prepare the drafting of some volumes of documents and studies on the revolution. The work behind the publishing of the Transylvanian revolutionaries' biographies helped familiarize him with the issue of the revolution. The studies published later, especially in the volume *La Transilvania*, inform us that Silviu Dragomir started working on the first part of the synthesis. Development was done over time, the author probably started working consistently since 1938 because of the identity of the introductory chapters with the material published in the collective volume *La Transilvania*. We have to deal here with hard work, over a long period of time, as new

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<sup>8</sup> *Studii și documente privitoare la revoluția românilor din Transilvania în anii 1848-1849. Documente din Arhivele Statului (Budapesta), Arhiva Kossuth 1848-49.* Published by Silviu Dragomir, vol. III, Cluj, 1946.

<sup>9</sup> Pompiliu Teodor, *Silviu Dragomir, istoric al revoluției din 1848*, in *loc. cit.*, p. 24.

<sup>10</sup> "The manuscript of the fourth volume might be given to the Academy, to complete the documentary material in my publication" (*Testamentul istoricului Silviu Dragomir din 23 ianuarie 1949*, in Enescu's family Archive).

documents completed the overall picture of the revolution events. A thorough researcher, Silviu Dragomir sought to gather as much material as possible, delaying every year the synthesis's publication. Even at the time of the publication of the first part of the fifth volume in 1946, he deplored the fact that he failed to obtain the National Committee's correspondence seized by the authorities, an important element in the historical restitution<sup>11</sup>. However, aware of the importance and vastness of the documentary material, forming the basis of his book, the author concluded that "this material can not essentially change opinion about the way in which the idea of fight for freedom appeared and evolved to the Romanians in Transylvania"<sup>12</sup>.

In the last decade of his life, Silviu Dragomir, like most Romanian intellectuals, did not enjoy the much needed tranquillity for the preparation and writing of his scientific papers. For over two years he was Minister of Minorities in the governances during the reign of Carol II. What followed were territorial amputations, triggering nationwide suffering, the university refuge in Sibiu, Romania entering the war, and in August 1944 the beginning of the communists' coming to power with the support of the Soviet troops. In such an unfavourable context, the first two volumes of the collection appeared in 1944, and the third only in 1946, so at a pace too slow compared to the political changes taking place in Romania. Starting with the fall of 1944, a policy of arrests and purges among those who had proven to be enemies of the Soviet communism began in the country. Extremely attentive to the developments in the domestic and international political life, Silviu Dragomir noted that every month that went by the freedom and safety of people were reduced. If in 1945 there were hopes for a return to a democratic regime, in 1946 the direction Romania was headed became clear for most Romanians. It became increasingly difficult for authors, especially for historians to publish their studies.

In a more and more unfavourable political context, Silviu Dragomir decided to publish the exegetic volume, which, under normal conditions, he intended to publish, at the end of the collection. Delaying the publication of the first volume of synthesis would have lead eventually to the banning of the communist authorities. The course followed by the events in Romania, the unfortunate experience that the historian had gone through, proved his fears to be right. Aware of the major changes announced by the communists in historiography, Silviu Dragomir wrote in the pages addressed to his readers that: "Given the circumstances in which we publish this study, we perfectly realize that some of our interpretations will not meet consensus. We are ready to receive the observations made in good faith and suggestions based on a

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<sup>11</sup> Silviu Dragomir, *Studii și documente privitoare la revoluția românilor din Transilvania în anii 1848-1849. Istoria revoluției*. First Part, vol. V, Cluj, f.a., p. IV.

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

judicious review of the news."<sup>13</sup> In other words, the historian reasserts his views on the revolution expressed in previous works and his commitment to the interwar historiography and to criticism, which were in an increasingly obvious opposition to the official historiographical discourse promoted by the new communist power.

The first volume of the *Istoria revoluției* was, apparently, to be followed, according to Professor Teodor Pompiliu by a second one, in a first version in 1946 or immediately in 1947-1948<sup>14</sup>. In fact, Silviu Dragomir had written in a first draft, before being arrested, the volume VI of *Studii și documente privitoare la revoluția românilor din Transilvania în anii 1848-1849. Revoluția. Eroii. Împăratul și românii*. This volume though requires some clarifications, following documents developments. A first question to be elucidated is the one regarding the interval when the author wrote the paper. Then, whether he had taken some steps towards the publishing of the volume before being arrested. The manuscript of volume VI, currently kept in the Romanian Academy Library, provides some information. At the bottom of the title page it appears 1947<sup>15</sup> as the date of its completion. On the next page of the manuscript, which contains the table of contents, Silviu Dragomir noted the following "These two sheets will not be published. They serve to guide the censor!"<sup>16</sup> We know, from the will made by the author in January 1949 that the drafting work on volume VI lasted two years<sup>17</sup>. Given that the work was completed in 1947, we assume that the author started writing it, most likely in 1945. He continued the work in a sustained rhythm, given the accelerated changing political circumstances and he probably completed it at the beginning of 1947. The fact that on the title page of the manuscript paper it appears 1947 makes us think that it was to be published that year. Although the text was not typed, it seems that the author intended to submit it to the publisher for publication. His note is very clear in this respect: every page would be published apart from the two sheets that were to go to the censor. What caused Silviu Dragomir, a scrupulous historian, to submit his work for publication, given the fact that it was written by hand and that there were many phrases in the text which he modified? The reason must, probably, be sought in the growing pressure on democracy in general and especially on the cultural life created by the political changes in Romania in 1945 and 1947. By analyzing the political life of the country, Silviu Dragomir

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<sup>13</sup> *Ibidem*, p. III-IV.

<sup>14</sup> Pompiliu Teodor, *Silviu Dragomir, istoric al revoluției din 1848*, in *loc. cit.*, p. 32

<sup>15</sup> Silviu Dragomir, *Studii și documente privitoare la revoluția românilor din Transilvania în anii 1848-1849. Revoluția. Eroii. Împăratul și românii*, Cluj, 1947, in Romanian Academy Library, Section manuscripts, *Fondul Silviu Dragomir*.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>17</sup> „Vol. VI manuscript represents a great value. I worked for two years writing it.“ (*Testamentul istoricului Silviu Dragomir din 23 ianuarie 1949*, in Enescu Family Archive).

realized that the communist regime may at any time arrest him and prohibit the publication of the works that were not following the party's guiding line. In both cases, the work was to remain in manuscript. As a consequence, the author had to hasten the publication of volume VI, before the political changes in Romania could prevent this process. We are not aware whether the manuscript reached the publishing house and the communist censor. But we have evidence that the historian had the intention to publish it. It should be noted that the sixth volume had not been published to this day.<sup>18</sup>

After the death of Flora Dragomir, Florica Enescu, one of the historian's nieces, "donated to the Institute of History and Archaeology in Cluj the remaining books from the library of my uncle, with the sole condition to be kept together under the reference Silviu Dragomir Fund"<sup>19</sup>. The donation was made as a result of Mrs. Florica Enescu's discussions with Professor Ștefan Pascu, director of the Institute of History and Archaeology in Cluj, sometime between September 6 and 9, 1970. The discussion was also attended by Tudor Drăganu, a person close to Dragomir family and therefore to niece Florica. At the meeting of Professor Ștefan Pascu and Mrs. Enescu it was also decided the fate of the manuscript of volume VI of *Studii și documente...* Here's what Mrs. Florica Enescu, Silviu Dragomir's granddaughter wrote in this regard: "Following the discussion with Prof. Pascal and based on his recommendation, I handed the manuscript *Revoluția din 1848* to Mr. Teodor Pompiliu to finish it for publication. The contract with the Academy Publishing House was to be completed in October [1970, n.n.]"<sup>20</sup>. The contract was not completed in October nor the following year. In this situation, Florica Enescu asked Prof. Pompiliu Teodor to return the manuscript, "which was not the subject of the donation to the Institute of History in Cluj"<sup>21</sup>. In the letter, Professor Silviu Dragomir's niece hoped that "the publication [of the manuscript, n.n.] is only postponed"<sup>22</sup>. Through Law Professor Tudor Drăganu, empowered by Dragomir family heirs to represent their interests<sup>23</sup>, Florica Enescu then offered the

<sup>18</sup> There is a last version of the manuscript paper entitled *Revoluția* in the possession of the late academician Pompiliu Teodor. It seems that the Professor had prepared it for publishing. See Pompiliu Teodor, *Silviu Dragomir istoric al revoluției din 1848*, in *loc. cit.*, p. 32.

<sup>19</sup> *Scrisoare adresată de Florica Enescu directorului Institutului de Istorie din Cluj din 18 aprilie 1994*, in Enescu Family Archive.

<sup>20</sup> *Scrisoarea doamnei avocat Florica Enescu către Tudor Drăganu, București, 22 martie 1971*, in Enescu Family Archive.

<sup>21</sup> *Scrisoarea domnei Florica Enescu către profesorul Pompiliu Teodor din 14 mai 1971*, in Enescu Family Archive.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>23</sup> "Dear Tudorel, the friendship that you've shown me in the fall, when you have assisted me in the discussion I had with Prof. Pascal, encourages me to ask for your help again. [...] My request is this: to accept to be the family representative for taking the manuscript. After obtaining the manuscript, it would remain with you until any of us will come by car to Cluj and

manuscript to be purchased by the RSR Academy Library, the Cluj-Napoca Branch<sup>24</sup>. Dragomir family heirs' intention to offer for sale the manuscript of volume VI of *Studii și documente...* to the R.S.R. Academy Library, the Cluj-Napoca Branch did not materialize in the end. The members of the evaluation committee felt that some parts of the manuscript had already been published, and the rest of the text would not have been up-to-date. Consequently, the amount of money offered to the Dragomir family heirs for the manuscript was reduced compared to their financial claims<sup>25</sup>. The members of the Committee were right only in one respect, when they decided on the manuscript, meaning that a part of the text was indeed published in the monograph of *Avram Iancu*. The next argument used by the Commission related to the novelty in the manuscript, the fact that it wouldn't be up-to-date, proved that in only a decade from the Professor's passing into eternity his work was no longer actual. We believe, however, that a book can be scientific and honestly written even without being in synchrony with the political context.

This is when the period spent in Cluj while writing the manuscript of volume VI ended, because shortly with the help of Professor Tudor Drăganu, the work reached Dragomir family heirs in Bucharest. Then, Stela Savu, the only living sister of Flora Dragomir (Eugenia, the other sister, had died during the year 1971), made an offer to sell to the Board of documents and manuscripts procurement from the Academy of RSR, in 1972 in the following terms: "As heir of my sister Flora, [wife of, n.n.] Professor Silviu Dragomir, who died in Cluj on 6 September 1970, I offer the original manuscript of volume VI of *Istoria revoluției românilor din Transilvania în anii 1848-1849* to be purchased, a work written by my brother-in-law, Professor Silviu Dragomir.

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crossing Cluj to take it, so that you wouldn't bother with its transportation, being bulky" (*Scrisoarea doamnei avocat Florica Enescu către Tudor Drăganu, București, 22 martie 1971*, in Enescu Family Archive).

<sup>24</sup> "I went to comrade. I. Domșa director at RS Academy Library Romania. He told me that he is able to buy the manuscripts for the library, but the operation will not be completed sooner than a month or a month and a half when he will have the planning of the available amounts. Until then he asks you to make an offer, in which to give the main characteristics of the two manuscripts (number of pages, content etc.). Following the acceptance of the offer, a committee to evaluate the manuscripts must be established". (*Scrisoarea profesorului Tudor Drăganu către Florica Enescu, Cluj, la 27 decembrie 1971*, in Enescu Family Archive).

<sup>25</sup> "A few days ago I phoned Mr. Domșa, to check what the situation with the manuscripts was. He told me to come over because he already had the expert commission's opinion. He also said that the experts are of the opinion that the value of the manuscript was reduced because a large part of it had already been published, and another part was not up-to-date. Mr. Domșa said he had written down on a paper the commission's opinions and he asked me to stop by his place to take it and forward it to you. [...] I think it will be necessary to pick up the manuscript and bring it to you on one occasion in Bucharest, as Mr. Domșa told me on the phone that the amount they could provide for the manuscript is very small " (*Scrisoarea profesorului Tudor Drăganu adresată doamnei Florica Enescu, Cluj, la 4 iunie 1972*, in Enescu Family Archive).

I mention that some of the previous volumes were published during the lifetime of Professor Silviu Dragomir, some posthumously, but all volumes were published under the aegis of the Romanian Academy"<sup>26</sup>. We don't know the financial claims of the Dragomir family heirs, not even whether the Academy Library in Bucharest asked for the opinion of experts to establish the historical and historiographical value of the volume. We only know that the manuscript was purchased and it is currently at the Academy Library in Bucharest – at the Department of manuscripts, the A 2093 quota. The sale was confirmed by Mrs. Florica Enescu.<sup>27</sup>

According to Professor Teodor Pompiliu's assessments, confirmed also by some unpublished documentary sources, after his release from prison, Silviu Dragomir worked on the text of volume VI, in parallel with the drafting of the monograph on Avram Iancu<sup>28</sup>. In this sense, the most experienced analyst of Silviu Dragomir's work wrote: "The history of this first volume of *Istoria revoluției* was to be followed by a second one, apparently written in the first form in 1946 or immediately in 1947-1948. [...] The writing we refer to got lost after the death of the Professor's wife, so that the only copy that survived was a typed version, which can be considered final, containing today some chapters and subchapters, but some are fragmentary. Fortunately a text remained, which is the most complete version available to us."<sup>29</sup> We note that together with the manuscript completed by Silviu Dragomir around 1947, Professor Teodor Pompiliu speaks of yet another version - the typed version on which the historian of the revolution was working before his death, the one which can be considered final. From the version mentioned above, Pompiliu Teodor published few fragments in recent years, accompanied by critical notes<sup>30</sup>, making relevant considerations on the typed version of the volume<sup>31</sup>.

Having the completed manuscript version of Silviu Dragomir and the considerations made by Professor Teodor Pompiliu we intend to make a brief

<sup>26</sup> *Oferța înaintată de doamna Savu Stela Președintelui Academiei R.S.R. pentru achiziționarea manuscrisului volumului VI din Studii și Documente*, in Enescu Family Archive.

<sup>27</sup> "Since you have expressed your regret that the manuscript was lost with the death of the Professor's wife, allow me to inform you that the manuscript was handed for a price to the Romanian Academy by my aunt, Mrs. Stella Savu, the sister of Mrs. Dragomir" (*Scrisoarea Doamnei Florica Enescu către Profesorul Pompiliu Teodor*, in Enescu Family Archive).

<sup>28</sup> Pompiliu Teodor, *Silviu Dragomir, istoric al revoluției din 1848*, in *loc. cit.*, p. 32.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 32-33.

<sup>30</sup> An excerpt of chapter *Legiunile și prefectii* was published by Pompiliu Teodor in *Magazin istoric*, no. 5, May 1988, p. 13-15. The full text of the chapter mentioned above was, later on, published by Pompiliu Teodor in *Silviu Dragomir, Studii privind istoria revoluției române de la 1848*, p. 186-213. Chapter VI, titled *Comitetul națiunii române*, was published by the exegete of Silviu Dragomir's work, in translation, with the title *Le Comité de la nation roumaine*, in *Transylvanian Review*, volume VII, 1998, no. 3, p. 64-75.

<sup>31</sup> Silviu Dragomir, *Studii privind istoria revoluției române de la 1848*, p. 32-35.

description of the paper's contents. The author has structured the sixth volume in three parts, entitled: *Revoluția*<sup>32</sup>. *Eroii*<sup>33</sup>. *Împăratul și românii*<sup>34</sup>. It should be noted that the second part of the sixth volume called *Eroii*, a genuine tribute to the leaders, as well as to the peasants participating to the revolution and to the civil war, was "melted" by Silviu Dragomir into the Avram Iancu monograph, after his release from prison. Evidence of this is the similarity between the chapters of volume VI, called *Revoluția. Eroii. Împăratul și românii*<sup>35</sup>, as it was conceived in 1947, and the work *Avram Iancu* published in 1965<sup>36</sup>. The same happened with the final subsections of *Împăratul și românii*. The remaining

<sup>32</sup> *Revoluția*:

Chap. I: Forța împotriva forței; Cauzele mișcării țărănești; Rezistența poporului; Grănicerii români și colonelul Urban; A treia adunare de la Blaj

Chap. II: Reorganizarea comitetului; Episcopii români; Sașii și românii; Guvernul și săcuii

Chap. III: Cei dintâi martiri; Potopul răzbunării

Chap. IV: Furtuna din nordul Ardealului; Răscoala din județul Aradului (și din Bihor); Românii din Banat și revoluția

Chap. V: Legiunile și perfecții; Război civil

Chap. VI: Comitetul națiunii române; Lăncerii după victorie

Chap. VII: Adunarea de la 28 decembrie; Intrigi; Emigranții munteni în Ardeal

Chap. VIII: Generalul Bem în Ardeal; Românii și intervenția armatei rusești; Gloatele din nou în luptă; Zarandul și Hunedoara; Luptele cu săcuii; Moartea lui Constantin Romanul

Cap. IX: Ultimele zile ale comitetului; Împrăștierea comitetului

<sup>33</sup> *Eroii*:

Chap. I: Stăpânirea ungurească în Ardeal; Cetatea din munți; Buteanu și Zarandul; Românii din Banat împotriva Voievodinei

Chap. II: Misiunea lui Ioan Dragoș; Iancu și Hatvány; Drama lui Dragoș; Înfrângerea lui Hatvány; Moartea lui Buteanu

Chap. III: Iancu și Kemény Farcaș; Prefectul Simion Balint; Axente; Fântânele

Chap. IV: Să piară cine nu se supune; Iancu și Kossuth; Bălcescu, Iancu și Kossuth

<sup>34</sup> *Împăratul și românii*:

Chap. I: Politica Vienei față de români; Memoriul din 25 februarie 1849

Chap. II: Românii din Banat și sârbii; Bucovinenii și ardelenii; Emigranții din Muntenia

Chap. III: Sfârșitul epopeei; Epilog

<sup>35</sup> The part entitled *Eroii* had the following contents: chapter I: Stăpânirea ungurească în Ardeal; Cetatea din munți; Buteanu și Zarandul; chapter II: Românii din Banat împotriva Voievodinei; Misiunea lui Ioan Dragoș; Iancu și Hatvani; Drama lui Dragoș; Înfrângerea lui Hatvani; Moartea lui Buteanu; chapter III: Iancu și Kemény Farcaș; Prefectul Simion Balint; Axente; Fântânele; chapter IV: Să piară cine nu se supune; Iancu și Kossuth; Bălcescu, Iancu și Kossuth, 29 iulie 1849. Cf. volumule VI of *Studii și documente privitoare la revoluția românilor din Transilvania în anii 1848-1849, Revoluția. Eroii. Împăratul și românii*, Cluj, 1947 (in the Romanian Academy Library, Section manuscripts, *Fondul Silviu Dragomir*).

<sup>36</sup> The work dedicated to Avram Iancu, chapters IV-VIII, resembles up to identity the part entitled *Eroii*. „Chapter IV: Prietenul fățarnic; Victoria nobilimii maghiare; Cetatea din munți; chapter V: Misiunea deputatului Dragoș; Iancu și Hatvani; Drama lui Dragoș; Înfrângerea lui Hatvani; Moartea lui Buteanu; chapter VI: Iancu și Kemény Farkas; Fântânele; Oastea moșilor și comandanții ei; chapter VII: Iancu și Kossuth; Bălcescu, Iancu și Kossuth; Sfârșitul revoluției ungare“ (Silviu Dragomir, *Avram Iancu*, p. 303).

subsections were, indeed, published by Silviu Dragomir, in a primary version, in volume I of *Studii și documente...*<sup>37</sup>. In this situation, we will focus on the first part, *Revoluția*, divided into nine chapters, the same number and name like in the typed version, drafted before 1962 and analyzed by Academician Pompiliu Teodor<sup>38</sup>. In the second volume devoted to the history of revolution, the specialist analyzes the events in Transylvania, Banat and the western parts, from August 1848 until March 1849 when General Bem conquered Transylvania, except for the Apuseni Mountains area and when the Romanian National Committee ceased its activity. Researching the events held during August in Transylvania, the historian tried to clarify the onset of the revolutionary movement among Romanians and its immediate causes. August was the moment when Romanians changed their attitude towards authorities. "But the unfairness of the executions, the leaders' persecution and the dissolution of the committee unravelled the true target of the government: the scattering of any attempt of political life of the Romanians in Transylvania. The natural reaction of the Romanian masses occurs beyond the logic of the events as the only solution left untried."<sup>39</sup> According to the author, the Romanians' harsh reaction occurred in response to the aggression of the Hungarian authorities. The aggressive policy triggered what the historian called a "natural reaction of the Romanian mass that occurs beyond the logic of events." Silviu Dragomir wished to clarify the fact that the movement of Romanians from Transylvania, which started in late August, differed from the last century horiads. "High rank Hungarian officials didn't understand that Romanians did not want to repeat the horiad, but they wanted to force the government to give them an answer to their political claims decently presented, but despised by the Transylvanian oligarchy."<sup>40</sup> The revolution is an act of *conscious resistance of the Romanians*, peasants, guards, intellectuals, etc., led by Bărnuțiu, *directed against the abuse of state officials*. The movement started during the protests for the release of the National Committee members, arrested by the Hungarian authorities. The pressure made by the Romanian peasants around Sibiu and, later, by the border guards led to the release of Laurian and Bălășescu. "But this resistance in front of the country's legal authority means *the beginning of the revolution* [our underlining]. The first instance victory, a kind of assault on the Bastille, was the starting point of the great political actions that would be pursued by the Romanians in Transylvania for a year in their search of freedom and

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<sup>37</sup> Silviu Dragomir, *Studii și documente privitoare la revoluția românilor din Transilvania în anii 1848-1849*, I, p. XX-LV.

<sup>38</sup> Idem, *Studii privind istoria revoluției române de la 1848*, p. 32-35.

<sup>39</sup> Idem, *Studii și documente privitoare la revoluția românilor din Transilvania. Revoluția*, vol. VI, Chapter I. 1. *Forța împotriva forței*, p. 1.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibidem*, Chapter I. 3. *Colonelul Urban și românii*, p. 13.

recognition of their nationality."<sup>41</sup> Not incidentally, Silviu Dragomir entitled the first section of the paper *Forța împotriva forței (Force against Force)*: intending to emphasize that Romanians' reaction was triggered as a result of the aggression carried out by the Hungarian authorities. The repression policy is attributed to the "Hungarian oligarchy in Transylvania."<sup>42</sup> The repressive measures ordered by the Hungarian authorities and the recruitment among Romanians and Hungarians, which culminated in the incident at Luna, created a hostile mood in the population of Transylvania. This was the state of mind when the third meeting in Blaj was organized. Knowing the state of mind in the rural world, the peasants' behaviour during social movements, Silviu Dragomir rejected the idea that the rural population was spontaneously heading to Blaj "mass movement is too large and shows so clearly its guidance to Câmpia Libertății, that we must suppose a well organized guidance."<sup>43</sup> The decisions of the Romanians' leaders at Blaj are *revolutionary*. Still, the historian wanted to emphasize the fact that the leaders' decision to support the imperial policy was not the best solution. Without trying to exculpate the Romanian leaders for their mistakes, Silviu Dragomir put the decision into account of subjective factors such as "the weakening of the National Committee" as well as of objective ones, such as "the total lack of understanding of the elementary needs of the Romanian people by the Hungarian policy".<sup>44</sup> In the same time, he does not hesitate to criticize the lack of responsibility for the decision to approach the Imperials, as the leaders did not prepare the Romanians for this. Most of them, except the young, rejected up to that point the idea of an armed resistance of the Romanians, and the committee remained for a long time in a passive attitude towards the events about to burst. Moreover, the Romanians in Hungary acted in a different manner from those in Transylvania. Silviu Dragomir shows that there were significant concerns about their political future.

The author examines, in Chapter II, the consequences of the decisions taken at Blaj on the nations of Transylvania. Consequently, he analyzes the consequences of the Romanian National Committee reorganization and the attitude of the Romanian bishops towards the decisions from Blaj. Aware that they had an impact on other nations in Transylvania he discusses the Romanians' relations with the Saxons, and the relations between the Hungarian government and the Széklers. It is extremely relevant for the understanding of the Romanians behaviour in the revolution the fact that Silviu Dragomir captures the different attitudes of the two Romanian bishops against the decisions taken at Blaj. While Andrei Șaguna urged his parishioners to support

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<sup>41</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 7.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibidem*, Chapter I. 2. *Rezistența se întinde. Vărsarea de sânge de la Luna*, p. 2-3.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibidem*, Chapter I. 4. *A treia adunare de la Blaj*, p. 1.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 16.

General Puchner, Bishop Lemeny asked his subjects to support Hungary.<sup>45</sup> In response to the pro-Hungarian attitude promoted by Bishop Lemeny, Bărnăuțiu published a reply in the Transilvanian press naming the responsables for the tense situation in Transylvania<sup>46</sup>. Silviu Dragomir believed that the manifesto was addressed primarily to Baron Vay and was meant to justify the Romanians revolution to the contemporaries and to the posterity<sup>47</sup>.

"In this manner, the civil war in Transylvania was prepared, the oligarchy has a great deal of responsibility because it was thought that it can save the situation by triggering fierce anger between the two peoples, the Széklers and the Romanians."<sup>48</sup> In chapters III and IV, the historian examines the development of the Imperials and the Romanians' war against the Hungarians and the Széklers and the emergence of the first revolution victims, namely Vasile Pop and Alexandru Bătrâneanu, caused by the mistakes of the Romanian leaders. The hardness of the military confrontations determined the historian to conclude that "the revolution in its blind rush doesn't usually distinguish between guilty and innocent. This was also the tragedy of Transylvania in October 1848."<sup>49</sup> An important chapter in the economy of the paper is Chapter V, *Legiunile și prefectii; Război civil*, describing the actions taken by the Romanian leaders, with the support of the population, to put into practice the decisions taken at Blaj. Featuring numerous documentary sources, the historian reconstructs the main tension points, the failures caused by the lack of ammunition and leaders' ignorance and the repression on one side and the other. Prefects and tribunes took a double task: to defend the oppressed and tortured people and to fight for achieving the ideal of freedom by risking their life<sup>50</sup>. Without the help offered by the Romanian legions to the Imperials, the author thinks, it would have been impossible for them to complete so quickly the campaign in Transylvania.<sup>51</sup> Chapter VI analyzes the organization and the role of the Romanian Nation Council in the administrative and military leadership of the Romanians in Transylvania, the relations with the Imperials and the revolutionaries of Muntenia. Especially after the defeat of the Hungarian armed resistance, the Romanians' leaders, aware that the enemy would return, tried to strengthen their institutions. What will be done from now on, the author concludes, is entirely the work of the Committee and its prefects.<sup>52</sup> The last three chapters are devoted to the analysis of the Assembly

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<sup>45</sup> *Ibidem*, Chapter II. 2. *Episcopii români*, p. 5-7.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 10.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibidem*, 4. *Guvernul și săcuii*, p. 9.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibidem*, Chapter III. 2. *Potopul răzbunării*, p. 2.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibidem*, Chapter IV. 1. *Legiunile și prefectii*, p. 40.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibidem*, Chapter V. 2. *Război civil*, p. 21.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibidem*, Chapter VI. 2. *Lăncerii după victorie*, p. 2.

on December 28 in Sibiu, to the role played by Transylvanian migrants from Muntenia, to General Bem's offensive in Transylvania, to the involvement of the Romanian leaders in the calling of the Russian troops in Transylvania, to the resistance against the Hungarians offensive, to the extent to which the Austrian commanders handled the arming of the Romanian troops, to the last days of the committee. Even though the work was not completed, we still have an insight into the manner in which the author understood the deployment of the events in August 1848 until March 1849. The paper, considers Professor Pompiliu Teodor allowed us to understand Silviu Dragomir's way of thinking at the end of his career, when he wrote the monograph on Avram Iancu in new historical circumstances and in the context of a new methodological vision.<sup>53</sup>

Undoubtedly, the above example fits into a pattern regarding the evolution of Romanian historiography after 1947. In this case, the volumes of documents prepared by Silviu Dragomir were published without any problem in the period up to the coming into power of the communist regime in Romania. Volume VI of the collection of *Studii și documente* hasn't been published to this date. Restoring historian Dragomir's path and laboratory gives us much information about the political interference in the historical research, about the topics and subjects permitted or prohibited by the political regime, about the consistency and perseverance of some historians who believed in their mission to investigate the past without hatred and bias.

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<sup>53</sup> Pompiliu Teodor, *Silviu Dragomir, istoric al revoluției din 1848*, in *loc. cit.*, p. 35.

## THE VIDONI FAMILY IN DEBRECEN (1884-1950)\*

*Blasko BARBARA\*\**

**Abstract.** *Besides founding and managing its salami factory in Debrecen the Vidoni family also played an important role in the town's life. Its members did not only take an active part in the establishment of the Pro-Italian Monti Circle (Circolo Monti Amici dell'Italia) but also in the events regularly organized by the Circle. Consequently, the more than six-decade-long presence of the Vidoni family in Debrecen influenced the town's life not only in an economic sense. Being local citizens they took part in the public life of the town and were much admired and honoured by the community.*

*The related sources found in the archives reveal the hitherto less known details of Italian-Hungarian relations in general and the connections between Italy and Debrecen in particular. The sources provide a substantial amount of datum about the operation of the local salami factory of the Vidoni Brothers and Co. Company and also about the features of other, non-business related activities of the family. The majority of the documents used in this study can be found in the Archives of Hajdú-Bihar County, in the National Archives of Hungary and in the National Research Institute of Meat Production. Based on these we can determine the role this hitherto undeservedly forgotten Italian family of Debrecen and the factory they founded here played in the everyday life of the town and also how they integrated into the local community.*

*Undoubtedly the family's most outstanding accomplishment is the foundation of the country's third most important salami factory in Debrecen. Besides raising the reputation of the economy of the neighbouring regions and the fame of the local meat packaging industry, the factory also made Debrecen's name well-known on an international level. The activity of the family and the factory can provide crucial additional information to the local history of Debrecen but at the same time it can also be seen as a significant element in the history of Italian-Hungarian relations.*

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**Key words:** *Vidoni Family, Debrecen, factory, Hungarian-Italian cultural and social relations, Monti Circle.*

## Introduction

The Vidoni Family came to Hungary in the middle of the 1880s from Sornico di Artegna, which can be found in the environs of Udine in the region Friuli in Northern Italy, and settled down in Debrecen where the meat packing industry had already had a vivid tradition. This is where they founded their salami factory and they also played a very important role in the social life of the town. Since they were well-to-do citizens of Debrecen with a substantial amount of wealth they ranked high in the social hierarchy. Owing to the profitability of the family's plant they belonged to the higher stratum of the middle bourgeoisie.<sup>1</sup> Their children attended the local business college and since they were the members of a pro-Italian cultural association they often appeared at various events organized in the town.<sup>2</sup> They possessed several properties in Debrecen; most of these were fit not only to live in but also to carry on small-scale business activities. According to the valuation of the documents found in the local branch of the Hungarian National Bank,<sup>3</sup> the family did not only own the plant and some houses next to it, but also another house in Fazekas street, 49 acres of land and the so-called Vidoni mansion in Vámospércs.<sup>4</sup> They tried to accumulate capital in those businesses which were related to their main business activity, but they also invested in such projects that could be used to support the production of their factory. Such investments were the estate in Haláp covering 50 acres of plough land and meadow (the latter was leased out), and the former Lónyai-estate in Micskepuszta stretching over 1,000 acres.<sup>5</sup>

## The Vidoni Salami Factory

The documents of the local branch of the Hungarian General Credit Bank<sup>6</sup> provide a brief historical overview of the factory, which was founded in 1886 as a co-partnership. The deed of foundation was issued in a town called Gemona del Friuli on November 8. According to this document the founders of

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<sup>1</sup> Timár Lajos: *Vidéki városalakók*. Magvető, Bp., 1993. p. 93.

<sup>2</sup> National Archives of Hungary, Archives of Hajdú-Bihar County (=MNL HBML) XV. 22/d 1. *Monti Kör iratai 1931–44*.

<sup>3</sup> National Archives of Hungary, National Archives (=MNL OL) Z19 31.d. A debreceni főköntézet hitelinformációi (1924–44). *Vidoni Testvérek és Társuk*.

<sup>4</sup> Dr. Virágh Zsolt: *Magyar kastélylexikon. Hajdú-Bihar megye kastélyai és kúriái, Fo-Rom Invest*, Budapest, 2003. [http://www.kastelylexikon.hu/family\\_hajdu.pdf](http://www.kastelylexikon.hu/family_hajdu.pdf) [downloaded: 2010-11-30]

<sup>5</sup> Bornyai József, Dr.: *A debreceni szalámigyártásról 1867-től 1948-ig*. 1977. p. 24. (Unmarked document of the National Research Institute of Meat Production = OHKI)

<sup>6</sup> MNL OL Z58 1155.t. 252. cs. 6 September 1947.

the Vidoni Brothers and Co. (*Fratelli Vidoni e Compagni*<sup>7</sup>) were Giovanni B. Vidoni, Eugenio Vidoni, Giovanni Vidoni, Giovanni Fab(b)ro and Osvaldo Moro. The foundation of the salami factory was supported by the mayor of Debrecen, Imre Simonffy as well, and on September 4, 1886 a weekly newspaper entitled Debreczen-Nagyváradí Értésítő informed its readers about this event.<sup>8</sup> Following its establishment the factory was built on two adjacent parcels at 5-9 Domb Street and at 6-10 Monti ezredes Street.<sup>9</sup>

The sons of the Vidoni factory's founders took over the management of the plant in 1911. Under the leadership of the second generation Vidoni's production reached its peak providing 20% of domestic salami production. This meant that they were the third largest salami producers while Pick and Herz, which were founded not too long before Vidoni, had 40% of the market share respectively.<sup>10</sup> Vidoni produced salami for export in large quantities and transported most of its products to Austria,<sup>11</sup> but a significant amount of their merchandize was sold in Italy, former Bohemia, Switzerland, Poland and England. Furthermore, it is worthy of note that they also exported overseas.<sup>12</sup> In 1926, similarly to Pick, the Vidoni brothers opened a branch factory in Himberg near Vienna which later played a leading role in the Austrian salami industry. The Vidoni family and the Vidoni brand enjoyed a high reputation in Austria as well; their name and the concept of salami, so to speak, became synonyms.

### Closing down the Factory

In January, 1939 in the course of wartime preparations the plant was listed in the second level of the anti-aircraft defence system.<sup>13</sup> At this time the

<sup>7</sup> On February 10, 1897, after the resignation of the two silent partners, they changed the company's name to Vidoni Brothers and Partner. MNL HBML VII. 4/d. 96. d. (20.028) 1890/589 *Végzés cégbejegyzésről*.

<sup>8</sup> *Debreczen-Nagyváradí Értésítő. Társadalmi és vegyes tartalmu hetilap.* 4 September 1886. See also: *Debreczeni Ellenőr.* 5 September 1886.: „New salami factory in Debreczen. According to D. N. É. rich salami producers from Udine plan to found a large salami factory in our town. The factory, which by any means has a great future ahead, will be headed by the Vidoni brothers who have a good reputation. ” And: Korompai Gáborné: A Debreczeni Ellenőr helyi vonatkozású közleményei a lap első korszakában 1874–1890. In: *Hajdú-Bihar Megyei Levéltár Évkönyve (=HBMLÉ) XIII.* (szerk. Gazdag István) Debrecen, 1986. p. 137.

<sup>9</sup> MNL OL Z58 1155. t. 252. cs. 6 September 1947.

<sup>10</sup> Tráser Ferenc, dr.: A logisztikai szerepkör jelentőségének vizsgálata Szeged példáján. PhD dolgozat. Szeged, 2003. p. 64. [phd.okm.gov.hu/disszertaciok/ertekezések/2003/de\\_1037.pdf](http://phd.okm.gov.hu/disszertaciok/ertekezések/2003/de_1037.pdf) [downloaded: 2010-10-14]

<sup>11</sup> Szilágyi Dezső: 500 éves a szervezett debreceni húsipar. 1978. p. 34. (Unmaked document of OHKI.)

<sup>12</sup> Hajdúvármegye és Debrecen szabad királyi város adattára. Debrecen, 1937. p. 258., and: MNL OL Z58 1155. t. 252. cs. 6 September 1947.

<sup>13</sup> MNL HBML IV. B. 1406/b.

plant faced production problems due to decreasing employment possibilities. The situation was aggravated when the plant in Himberg was closed down in 1940 after the Nazis declared salami a luxury product.<sup>14</sup> The Hungarian Royal Ministry of Public Supply issued a departmental order on September 5, 1941 which banned salami production in Hungary and declared the factory a defence plant. Consequently, 40-45 workers were exempted from military service.<sup>15</sup> Out of necessity and also because of business interest Giovanni Vidoni applied for a licence in 1942 to engage in a beer and wine wholesale business.<sup>16</sup> Although his licence was granted he did not manage to actually start his business. In the autumn of 1944 25% of the factory was damaged in the war, reparation costs amounted to 30-35 thousand forint.<sup>17</sup> Because of this the Vidoni brothers started to negotiate with the Hungarian General Credit Bank which proposed the idea of setting up a partnership where each party would have controlled a 50 per cent interest, but after all the new business did not start up.<sup>18</sup>

In November, 1944 the plant temporarily stopped its production but they continued to produce cold-cuts for the Soviet army until the spring of 1945. During the hyperinflation period production stopped completely and started again only in the autumn of 1946. At that time altogether 80 people worked in the plant but two months later it ceased to work again for want of floating capital. After this the Alföldi Savings Bank, the creditor of the company, appointed an administrator to aid the Vidonis and as a result the output of production decreased substantially.<sup>19</sup> At the beginning of March, 1948 the plant was nationalized and Kálmán Kovács was appointed as the new director. Since the owners were foreign citizens they got back the factory two months later, but due to lack of capital production did not start again. Officially the company was closed down on July 4, 1950. After the Vidonis were compensated they left the country.<sup>20</sup> In 1951 the machines and equipment of the factory were allocated to the Slaughterhouse and Meat Packaging Company of Debrecen; the buildings of the plant were used by a newly established clothing factory.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Blasoni, Mario: Le vicende di due famiglie attraverso l'Europa. Marini Vidoni cent'anni da raccontare. In: *Friuli nel Mondo*. Luglio, 2008. p. 16.

<sup>15</sup> Borny: p. 23.

<sup>16</sup> MNL HBML VII. 4/d.

<sup>17</sup> MNL OL Z58 1155. t. 252. cs. 6 September 1947.

<sup>18</sup> The factory owners were ready to offer their plant, which would have been fifty per cent of the new company's capital, while the Bank would have guaranteed the other fifty per cent in money. MNL OL Z58 1155. t. 252. cs. 3 September 1947.

<sup>19</sup> Borny: p. 24.

<sup>20</sup> Baranyi Béla: A gazdaság helyreállításának első lépései Debrecenben és Hajdú-Bihar megyében 1944-45-ben in: *HBMLÉ X.* (ed. Gazdag István) Debrecen, 1983. p. 10.

<sup>21</sup> MNL HBML VII. 4/d. 96. d. 1095/1950. *Végzés*; and Borny: p. 24.

## The Social Engagement of the Vidoni Family: The Pro-Italian Monti Circle

The idea of founding the Monti Circle in Debrecen was proposed by two teacher trainees majoring in Italian who studied in Italy, Dr Ferenc Tassy and Sándor Kornya. Among many others Rinaldo Vidoni, son of “the well-known salami factory owner”<sup>22</sup> and Endre Csobán, director of the local archives both encouraged this initiative.<sup>23</sup> A smaller company came together twice a week in the English Queen Restaurant to read and discuss Italian publications and to converse in Italian.<sup>24</sup> Soon several other members of the large Vidoni family, for example Giovanni B. Vidoni, Luigi and Giovanni Vidoni, and later some Italian-speaking citizens of Debrecen joined the group as well. Two Italian citizens, Giovanni Terranova and Gino Cuchetti were elected as honorary members of the Circle because they did a lot to nourish the friendship between Italians and Hungarians. On Terranova’s initiative the pro-Hungarian associations in Italy formed a group called *Amici dell’Ungheria*, while the youth clubs clogged together and joined the *Gruppi Giovanili*.<sup>25</sup> As the chairman of these associations Terranova brought fifty Italian university students to Debrecen to attend the local summer university in 1931 and this way he contributed to the success and the survival of the event which has been organized annually since 1927.

Accepting the proposal of Rinaldo Vidoni the Circle decided to name their association after Colonel Alessandro Monti, a heroic soldier who played a significant role in the history of Italian-Hungarian relations.<sup>26</sup> The Circle was founded on June 18, 1932 under the leadership of Endre Csobán, director of the archives.<sup>27</sup> Giovanni B. Vidoni became co-chairman, Giovanni Vidoni was one of their deputy chairmans and Rinaldo Vidoni, accountant was appointed as their secretary. In the list containing the names of the members of the committee we can also come across the name of Alajos Vidoni, factory owner. According to the register of the association<sup>28</sup> the seat of the nationwide organization was the Town Hall of Debrecen (at 20 Ferenc József Street) and its

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<sup>22</sup> MNL HBML XXIII. 107/b 1.

<sup>23</sup> MNL HBML X. 301.14. d., and MNL HBML XV. 22/d 1. *Monti Kör iratai 1931–44*.

<sup>24</sup> MNL HBML XV. 22/d 1. *Monti Kör iratai 1931–44*.

<sup>25</sup> MNL HBML XV. 22/d.1.1.28., and Pete: pp. 111–112.

<sup>26</sup> The constitution, which was consented to at the statutory meeting, emphasizes the notable events of „the glorious Italian-Hungarian past”, commemorating Monti’s efforts to organize the Italian legion and also the heroic deeds of Hungarian soldiers who fought for Italy. MNL HBML XV. 22/d.1. *Monti Kör. Alapszabályok, beszámolók, határozatok, jegyzőkönyvek 1932–43*.

<sup>27</sup> The number of its members was 92, which fell to 86 by 1938 and even further to 79 by 1943. Debrecen város egyesületi katasztere 1833-2001 között. In: *Hajdú-Bihar Megyei Levéltári Közlemények* 28. szám. Szerk.: Radics Kálmán, Debrecen, 2002. p. 96.

<sup>28</sup> MNL HBML XV. 22/d.1. (1932-43.)

official languages were Hungarian and Italian. The following inscription can be read on their seal: “*Olaszbarátok Monti Köre Circolo Monti Amici dell’Italia Debrecen 1929*”. The Circle had a shield-shaped badge in which we can see the Hungarian Holy Crown on a green background and the Star of Savoya appears under the Crown as well.

The association aimed at improving Hungarian-Italian cultural and social relations, cultivating the friendship between the two nations and expanding the use of Italian language.<sup>29</sup> In the academic year of 1933/34 they submitted a memorandum to the Royal Hungarian Ministry of Religion and Education in which they suggested the introduction of Italian as a subject in secondary schools.<sup>30</sup> After October 25, 1936 the local branch of the Italian Cultural Institute led by Renato Fleri along with the Monti Circle provided the opportunity for 400 people to get acquainted with Italian language and literature by organizing regular language courses. Under the leadership of Dr Ferenc Tassy 20 Italian university students arrived at Debrecen in 1929 to attend the Summer University.<sup>31</sup>

They maintained a lively relationship with Italy, corresponded with several dignities and organized school trips to Italy so that students could get to know the country.<sup>32</sup> The Vidoni family also grasped these opportunities to visit their parental home in Sornico di Artegn. In the same year Tassy set out on a field trip to Brescia where he garlanded the statue of Monti in honour of the hero of both nations. Furthermore they regularly organized lectures, readings, theatre performances, concerts, exhibitions and art shows. Such dignities appeared and even performed on these occasions as the lord lieutenant of the county and the mayor of Debrecen. The performance of Eugenio Vidoni, pianist and the dance of Emma Vidoni added to the glory of some of these events.<sup>33</sup>

## Summary

The documents of the Monti Circle clearly show that the Vidoni family played a significant role in the social and cultural life of Debrecen as well. Its members did not only take an active part in the establishment of the Pro-Italian Monti Circle (*Circolo Monti Amici dell’Italia*) but also in the events regularly organized by the Circle. Therefore the almost seven-decade-long presence of the Vidoni family influenced the life of Debrecen not only in an economic sense, although it is beyond doubt that their factory was not negligible in terms of national economy either. By exporting their goods they also spread the fame

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<sup>29</sup> MNL HBML X. 301.320.

<sup>30</sup> MNL HBML XV. 22/d. 1. 1. 46-47., 97. és XV. 22/d. 1. 2. 399., illetve Pete: p. 114.

<sup>31</sup> MNL HBML XV. 22/d. 1. 54. és 57., illetve Pete: p. 110.

<sup>32</sup> Pete: p. 113.

<sup>33</sup> MNL HBML X. 301.14. d.

of the excellent quality of Debrecen's meat products. Besides providing some crucial additional information to the local history of Debrecen, I believe that the activity of the factory and the family is an important link between Debrecen and Friuli and as such it should deservedly become a significant element of Italian-Hungarian relations.

## **SOME CONSIDERATIONS REGARDING THE EARLY PHASE OF THE ANGLO-BOER WAR (OCTOBER 1899 - FEBRUARY 1900)**

*Daciana ERZSE\**

***Abstract.** The present paper aims to present the causes of the Anglo-Boer war as well some of the references regarding its first phase as they were published in the periodicals from Banat and Crișana at the time. The Anglo-Boer War was the first significant event of the twentieth century and the first major guerrilla warfare of the modern age. It also represented the final step made by Britain to subjugate and control the whole of South Africa and seize its resources for the benefit of the British Empire. The two Boer countries, Transvaal and Orange Free State, declared war to the British Empire to prevent the two countries from being attached to other territories of the kingdom in South Africa, to maintain cultural and political control of the Boer republics against the pressure of British immigrants.*

***Keywords:** Anglo-Boer war, Transvaal, British army, South Africa*

At the end of the nineteenth century, European countries were making significant efforts to expand the boundaries and sphere of influence over the nations. Great Britain, with a thriving industry and an unsurpassed naval force was at the zenith of its power, wealth and prestige, which brought considerable advantages in the colonization efforts made at that time. Much of the land in Africa was under British control and the imperialist desire to take over more and more territories represented the dominant force of the British foreign policy. Furthermore, after the First Boer War (1880-1881), the British government had not given up the ambition to unify South Africa under the dominion of the British Empire. The two Boer republics, the Orange Free State and Transvaal, wanted to remain independent. Alfred Milner, the British High Commissioner for South Africa wanted to found and lead a confederation made up of British colonies from Cape to Cairo in order to dominate the African continent.

A number of factors caused the outbreak of the Anglo-Boer war. These include different political ideologies of imperialism and republicanism, the

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discovery of gold in the Witwatersrand mines, tensions between political leaders, Jameson raid and the right to vote denied to the British “foreigners”.

A large numbers of Boers, mostly farmers and shepherds, left the Cape Colony to escape the British control and establish their own country under its government. As the Boers moved north along the Vaal River towards Transvaal, they found the richest gold deposits in the Witwatersrand, Transvaal in 1886. This new source of wealth and the dominant imperialist fervour marked the scene of the war between the British and the Boers.

With the discovery of gold mines, South Africa became the single largest gold producing country in the world, which meant a significant development of independent Boer governments. Transvaal Republic began to have a higher share in the international financial world due to the importance of gold in the international monetary system. It became a potentially political and economic threat to British supremacy in South Africa.

Great Britain was the centre of industry and international trade at that time and needed a constant supply of gold to maintain this position. The gold companies were, thus, created with local and international investment. Thousands of the white and coloured people of South Africa were employed in mines until 1890. An increasingly number of immigrants began to work in mines as well and soon outnumbered the Boers, although they were seen as a minority in Transvaal. In order to maintain control over the gold mines, Transvaal government limited the voting rights of the immigrants. Only those who had been in the country for 14 years or more had the right to vote. In addition, the government strongly charged the gold industry, which resulted in pressure from immigrants and British mine owners to overthrow the Boer government. It disregarded the fact that, with the emergence of new comers, the country's industry had changed from one of the poorest into one of the richest in the world (per capita)<sup>1</sup>. Despite all the prosperity they brought, most foreigners had not been granted political rights or provided with a dominant role in formulating state policy; they were not allowed to vote, could not have large sums of money and they could not decide the amount of money paid to the top officials. The sums spent for education were different for immigrant children and the Boers'. They had no rights in the administrative, legal and medical field.

Jameson's raid had exacerbated the situation, so that, in 1896, the republics of Transvaal and Orange Free State signed a military alliance to protect their independence. The Boers, already settled down in some of these colonies, were dissatisfied with British raids. This dissatisfaction was more obvious in the Transvaal republic, which was part of Great Britain from 1877 to 1881, under the leadership of the anti-British president Paul Kruger. The two

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<sup>1</sup> Arthur Conan Doyle, *The Great Boer War*, Undershaw, Hindhead, September 1902, p. 16

Boer republics maintained their desire for independence and were a hindrance to the British Empire.

As a result, British troops were sent to South Africa to strengthen the existing ones in the Cape Colony, Natal and Free Orange State. Thus the military power to conquer the Boer nations by force was becoming stronger. Peter Krueger, the president of Transvaal, could not give up the independence of the country and could not accept that the British subjects had the right to vote in Transvaal. In his opinion, this would have meant recognizing British sovereignty<sup>2</sup>.

On the other hand, the autonomy of Transvaal did not please the imperialist party in England, led by Joseph Chamberlain, the Minister of Colonies, who was seeking a pretext for the annexation of Transvaal to the British Empire<sup>3</sup>. In September 1899, Joseph Chamberlain sent an ultimatum to the Boers, demanding full equality for the foreign mineworkers<sup>4</sup> living in Transvaal. The Conservative Party was unhappy that they were not allowed to vote until seven years after their establishment in Transvaal.

In a meeting with Paul Kruger (the President of the Transvaal Republic) and Martinus Theunis Steyn (President of the Orange Free State) in Bloemfontein, Milner reiterated Chamberlain's demand for the voting right granted to the British who had settled in their territory for at least 5 years.

Although subsequently Kruger agreed with Milner's proposal, it came too late since the conflict worsened and in October 9, President Kruger sent an ultimatum, the refusal being considered as an act of war. He demanded that all disputes between the two states be settled by arbitration; that the British troops be withdrawn from the borders of the republics within 48 hours; and the troops bound for South Africa by ship should not disembark. The decision made by the Boer leaders to defy the global superpower was not taken lightly. Ignoring the ultimatum, the British maintained their positions so that war was declared on October 11, 1899. England was not entirely in favour of this war, many of its inhabitants considering it a mistake<sup>5</sup>.

When the war began in October 1899, British commanders were confident in winning the conflict by Christmas. However, the war became the longest, the most costly and controversial war fought by the United Kingdom from 1815 to 1914. When the representatives of the two republics voted, on 31 May 1902, the acceptance of the terms of peace, they were proud of the

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<sup>2</sup> *German Diplomatic Documents, 1871-1914*, selected and translated by E.T.S. Dugdale, Volume III, "The Growing Antagonism, 1898-1910", Harper & Brothers, New York, 1930, pp. 84

<sup>3</sup> *Tribuna poporului*, 1899, nr. 184, p. 2

<sup>4</sup> Uitlanders or outlanders was the name given to expatriate migrant workers during the initial exploitation of the Witwatersrand gold fields

<sup>5</sup> *Tribuna poporului*, 1899, nr. 184, p. 2

efficient war fought by the “ignorant farmers”<sup>6</sup> against the army of the greatest empire in the world.

At the beginning of the hostilities it is estimated that there were 7,000 British troops preparing to fight in South Africa. An equal number of troops were to be sent from India and England until the middle of October. British colonies around the world would also aid Great Britain. Australia, New Zealand and Canada would send a significant number of troops, horses and mules. These animals became increasingly important to the final stages of the war when Boer forces were spreading to control vast African savannas. There were also 27 ships meant to supply British troops throughout the war. By the end of the war, Britain spent over £ 220 billion.

The Boers possessed about 35 thousand troops prepared for battle, but once the war began, the number rose to 55,000. They started the battle knowing that all their aspirations as a young nation depended on their ability to defeat British troops at any cost.

During the first phase of the war (October 1899 – February 1900), the Boer forces, better equipped by Germany and more numerous than the British ones available at that time<sup>7</sup>, won impressive victories. Boer armies attacked on two fronts: into the British colony of Natal from the South African Republics and into the northern Cape Colony from the Orange Free State. Starting from 3 October, the Boers crossed the border between Transvaal and the British province of Natal, they forced the British soldiers to flee<sup>8</sup> and began gathering troops on the borders of the two provinces, being helped by the Germans, French, Belgians, Norwegians, Swedes, Danes, Dutch and Africans in Cape Colony, which were joined by 100 British who swore allegiance to the Transvaal republic<sup>9</sup>. The Boers conquered Glencoe on October 20, Dundee on 21, Elandslaagie on 22 and Riedfontein on 23. Between 28 and 30 October, the English armies were defeated several times: Mafeking, in the Cape Colony was seized; Kimberley, Natal and Ladysmith were besieged although reinforcements were sent under the command of Sir Redvers Buller from Great Britain. Meanwhile, the Transvaal Boers joined those of Orange and besieged the Cape Colony, where the Dutch also rebelled<sup>10</sup>. The Boers captured and blew up trains and interrupted telegraph communication between Mafeking and the English colony of Rhodesia<sup>11</sup>.

News of the defeats suffered by the British army produced feelings of fear both among political circles and the British people. In order to get 8 million

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<sup>6</sup> Winston Churchill, *The Boer War*, New York W W Norton & Co, 1989, p 32

<sup>7</sup> *German Diplomatic Documents, 1871-1914*, p. 82-105.

<sup>8</sup> *Tribuna poporului*, 1899, nr. 183, p. 3

<sup>9</sup> *ibidem*, nr. 189, p. 2

<sup>10</sup> *ibidem*, nr. 201, p. 3; 1900, nr. 5, p. 2

<sup>11</sup> *ibidem*, nr. 191, p. 3; nr. 193, p. 3

pounds from the British government for the army, news was fabricated that the Boers were defeated in the city of Elandslaagte in Natal. According to the same news, the battle was fierce with considerable casualties on both sides<sup>12</sup>. The number of British soldiers wounded, killed or captured by the Boers was not revealed by the British newspapers; however, real information was provided by State Secretary Willem Leyds, the Transvaal representative in Europe.

Deterrence was great in the British camp. Troops could not advance because the Boers had destroyed all the bridges, railways and roads. Until that time, there were 3,000 dead British soldiers, 3,000 wounded ones and as many prisoners. The survivors were starving and General Buller was going to resign for failure to fulfil the war plan due to the impressive tactics of the Boers. What is more, the inhabitants of the Cape Colony were waiting for a signal to rebel<sup>13</sup>.

Both republics, especially after the fall of the cities of Ladysmith, Mafeking and Kimberley were determined to impose harsh conditions of peace on the British, insisting that the latter should give up rights of possession over the republics, to cede territories and pay war expenses. If Britain had not accepted the conditions, all the Boers in Cape Colony would have revolted against the British<sup>14</sup>. This happened on December 6, when 20,000 inhabitants of the colony rebelled, forcing the British army to concentrate forces to quell the uprising<sup>15</sup>.

In the besieged cities, food supplies were depleted, dirt was unbearable and the streets became more and more dangerous as a result of constant bombardment. It was believed that the Boers would intensify the bombing that is why people were encouraged to spend twelve hours daily in the mines. Although the bombings did not happen, it did not diminish the civilians' suffering at all. Mid-December proved to be difficult for the British army. During the period known as the "black week" (10 to 15 December 1899), the British suffered a series of devastating losses at Stormberg, Magersfontein and Colenso. During these battles, the British lost almost 3,000 troops and suffered the humiliation of being defeated by a disorganized group of farmers. These Boers - considered by the British in South Africa as dirty "coward bastards", an inferior nation - could defeat the trained British troops and slapped the British selfishness and sense of superiority.

The British government felt the need for a drastic change in terms of military personnel, mobilization of troops and weapons modernization<sup>16</sup> to cope and overcome numerically the Boer troops. In mid-January, General Buller was

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<sup>12</sup> *ibidem*, nr. 198, p. 3; nr. 199, p. 2, nr. 200, p. 3

<sup>13</sup> *ibidem*, nr. 221, p. 3

<sup>14</sup> *ibidem*, nr. 227, p. 2

<sup>15</sup> *ibidem*, nr. 226, p. 2

<sup>16</sup> The British weapons were much more outdated in comparison to those of the Boers which used them to win battles when they were outnumbered by the British troops .

replaced by Field Marshal Lord Frederick Sleigh Roberts, 1<sup>st</sup> Baron of Kandahar, who brought with him General Lord Horatio Herbert Kitchener as his chief of staff. At the end of the year, the Boers occupied the cities of Dordrecht, Steinsburg and Maraisburg; 20,000 Dutch rebelled and sided with the Boers<sup>17</sup>.

Apparently, one of the reasons why the Boers defeated the British army at that time was the introduction of smokeless gunpowder and the repeating rifle, which allowed the Boers to attack the advancing troops, while hidden at a distance. Good knowledge of the South African land and the tactics of the enemy stunned and frustrated the British throughout the conflict. General Joubert, the commander-in-chief of the Transvaal forces, testified that as early as 1886 during the Jameson raid, he was anticipating a war with the British, and so he prepared Transvaal for this circumstance. He had bought guns and had hidden them so that when British spies entered the arsenals, they saw nothing but old materials<sup>18</sup>.

In the early 1900s the Boers had an army of 70,000 men and had ammunition for the following 5 years due to the fact that Pretoria was manufacturing cannon balls continuously<sup>19</sup>. In addition, the British periodical “*Truth*” published an article asserting the fact that Arthur Chamberlain, the brother of the Colonial Secretary and the president of the company Kynoch Ammunition was providing weapons for the Boer army<sup>20</sup>.

On 8 January 1900, the British army began to advance towards Ladysmith under the command of General Buller. They were aware of the fact that if they had managed to relieve Ladysmith and head for the Free Orange State, they would have met with great difficulties due to the rocky terrain and especially due the fact that it was defended by Generals Cronje and Joubert. The Boers allowed the British army to cross the Tugela River into Natal where they were badly beaten by the Boers at Spioen Kop, located 38 miles from Ladysmith, as well as at Vaal Kranz. Few Englishmen managed to escape and cross the river on the opposite bank. The Boers proved not only that they had the best weapons but also they knew how to fight with courage and wisdom. For three days, from January 22 to 24, they rejected British attacks several times. Three correspondents from the papers *The Standard*, *The Daily Mail* and *The Morning Post* were killed during these attacks. This defeat brought about the surrender of Ladysmith, the British being unable to take into account a possible defeat of the Boers in the region. All these victories of the Boers strengthened their belief in a close victory and even the President of the Orange

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<sup>17</sup> *Tribuna poporului*, 1899, nr. 228, p. 2

<sup>18</sup> *ibidem*, nr. 228, p. 1-2

<sup>19</sup> *ibidem*, 1900, nr. 2, p. 2

<sup>20</sup> *ibidem*, nr 7, p. 1-2

Free State wandered around the Boer camps, praising and encouraging the Boer soldiers<sup>21</sup>.

The British War Office decided to send immediate reinforcements. Newspapers in England published the news that the British army had won a small victory at Spioen Kop, although the truth was that more than 800 British were killed or injured during the fight and that the Boers had captured 17 cannons and a large part of the British army. The political circles in England were increasingly hoping for ceasefire. News coming from the battle front was altered not to create panic among the British population<sup>22</sup>.

The Supreme War Council in London asked General Roberts to order the army withdrawal from Ladysmith and Lieutenant General George S. White to surrender so that all troops could start a new campaign. Increasingly bad news was coming from the other battlefields, the British troops suffering defeat after defeat and being forced to withdraw across the Tugela River. Growing losses among the English army led to the belief that the war was almost lost. The general public considered General Buller liable for the fate of the war, and the British wanted him sued also because he had not sent any news regarding the losses on the battlefield and the British had to give credence to reports published in the Boer press<sup>23</sup>. Despite all the defeats, the political parties in Britain wanted the war to continue until the recapture of all of the territories that had originally belonged to England. To this end, it was reintroduced an old military law calling upon all unmarried men aged 18-30 years<sup>24</sup>.

On 4 February 1900 the Boers concentrated impressive forces at Colesberg and devastated all the roads leading from the Cape Colony to Bloemfontein so that to hinder Roberts's troops, which were to attack the south of Orange Free State<sup>25</sup>. On 5 February, the Boer troops defeated the British ones at Besters and Colesberg where, besides the English soldiers, Boers captured large calibre guns and two carts laden with arms and ammunition. The Boers continued to bomb the British camp continuously in order to prevent them from passing through their territories<sup>26</sup>.

On 12 February, General Buller announced that he had made plans for one last attempt to reconquer the city of Ladysmith, although it had no hope in this regard. As Boers surrounded Ladysmith and opened fire on the town, Lieutenant General White ordered a major sortie against the British artillery positions. 140 men were killed and more than 1,000 were captured during the Siege of Ladysmith that would last for several months.

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<sup>21</sup> *ibidem*, nr. 2, p. 3; nr. 7, p. 1; nr. 8, p. 3; nr. 10, p. 3; nr. 11, p. 1

<sup>22</sup> *ibidem*, nr. 9, p. 2; nr. 10, p. 3

<sup>23</sup> *ibidem*, nr. 12, p. 3; nr. 13, p. 2

<sup>24</sup> *ibidem*, p. 3

<sup>25</sup> *ibidem*, nr. 16, p. 3

<sup>26</sup> *ibidem*, nr. 18, p. 3

In all these three months, the Boer won 18 victories while the British only one, and therefore insignificant, in Elandslaagte, which lay between Ladysmith and Dundee. The British troops attacked to clear the line of communications to Dundee. Over 10,000 British soldiers were killed; more than 40 guns and numerous supplies were captured by the Boers. However, for fear that the Boers should attack their main position, Sir George White ordered the retreat from Elandslaagte. While leaving, the detachment from Dundee broke all the bridges between Glencoe and Ladysmith and blew up mines, causing great damage to the British<sup>27</sup>.

But what mattered most were not the casualties but the fact that a small people without an army beat the troops of the largest and strongest nation in the world and shamed famous generals. These first months of the war were widely popular throughout the world raising sympathy and admiration for the courage and heroism of the Boers.

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<sup>27</sup> *ibidem*, nr. 38, p. 2

## PORTRAIT OF KING FERDINAND I REFLECTED IN THE WRITINGS OF SOME CONTEMPORARIES

*Radu ROMÎNAȘU\**

**Abstract.** *Some saw King Ferdinand I shy, clumsy, sluggish, taciturn, solitary, incapable of action, political yielding, etc. Others, in contrast, showed his qualities in their writings: intelligent, cultivated, with a special artistic sense and especially a lover of the Romanian people. Indeed, King Ferdinand I, wearing in his soul the sin of denial of the faith and of his homeland, was the greatest King of the Romanians. He was King of all the Romanians turning his sentiment against the German native. A descendant of an ancient family of princely, he engaged in a war in the summer of 1916, on the side of the Triple Entente against the Central Powers, also his country of origin, got on to realize the Great Union of 1918, the secular dream of the Romanians.*

**Key words:** *King Ferdinand, memoirs, portrait, World War I, Great Romania*

Referring to the historians and biographers who dedicate a part of their writings to the life and work of King Ferdinand I of Romania, the distinguished historian from Cluj, Ioan Lupaș states that they must be guided by increased attention in such a manner that the sense of piety not to obscure nor to reduce the historical truth and objectivity.

According to the same historian, King Ferdinand personality was complex. Thus, his intimate features would be deciphered only after a significant distancing from the era in which he lived, when archival sources would be able to reveal the truth, alongside with official and private correspondence and personal memories<sup>1</sup>.

For the Romanian society of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, King Ferdinand I was the head of the State turning his sentiment of German native. A descendant of an ancient family of princely, Hohenzollern, he engaged in a war in the summer of 1916, on the side of the Triple Entente against the Central Powers, also his country of origin, got on to realize the Great Union of 1918, the secular dream of all the generations of Romanians. Thereby he received the name of the

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<sup>1</sup> Ioan Lupaș, *Regele Ferdinand I*, în *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Națională Cluj*, 1926-1927, p. 9

“Unifier” and the “Loyal” Ferdinand that have remained in the collective memory.

The historical information is lapidary when it comes to King Ferdinand as a person, about his psychological - moral structure, about the great upheaval that have tried his soul, pointing out a tragic conscience. Specific information about these matters have circulated in epoch, some pure fables, the things gaining a certain contour by means of some memoir writings, as well as those of Queen Mary, I. G. Duca and Constantin Argetoianu, all published posthumously, to tens of years after the disappearance of King. A single evocation dates since his death (1927), namely, a focused and enlightening portrait physical and psycho-moral done and published by Martha Bibescu in French, under the title *Une victime royale: Ferdinand de Roumanie (1927)*, which has benefited also from a Romanian-language translation by Maria Brăescu: *Un sacrificiu regal: Ferdinand al României, (A Royal Sacrifice: Ferdinand of Romania)*, published at the Company Publishing House, Bucharest, 2000, 122 p<sup>2</sup>.

The King’s wife, the intelligent and active Queen Mary, saw Ferdinand, generally, in dark colors: cloddish, apathetic, taciturn, solitary, devoid of the spirit of action and the vocation of power. She remembered that her husband „was of a hard self-consciousness, laughing more than usual, to hide it. He never knew to be really a master”<sup>3</sup>. Instead, Ferdinand was “the most faithful follower of his uncle, the most patient and listener heir of him”, and for the Romanian people “was like a closed book, no one knew what he felt”<sup>4</sup>. He was an indecisive and pusillanimous character, image contradicted by I. G. Duca. In the same way, also Constantin Argetoianu described him, who added new negative traits: abulic<sup>5</sup> from birth, shy, with bouts of impulsive, with no head of strategist and none of his nature fit with the war<sup>6</sup>. However, he recognizes qualities, too: intelligence, culture, and the artistic taste<sup>7</sup>. The great shy was – according to the political man - a „sawed off” and, due to the circumstances in which he was placed, a tragic character<sup>8</sup>, a matter shared also by Martha Bibescu. In addition, the writer Ioan Slavici saw him in the same negative image, writing about King Ferdinand I that he would have had as close advisers

<sup>2</sup> Al. Săndulescu, *Drama unui rege*, în *România literară*, 2006, nr. 43, p. 20

<sup>3</sup> Maria, Regina României, *Povestea vieții mele*, Edition III, vol. I, Moldova Publishing House, Iași, 1990, p. 216

<sup>4</sup> *Ibidem*, vol. II, Attended Edition and notes by Ioana Cracă, Eminescu Publishing House, Bucharest, 1991, p. 397

<sup>5</sup> A symptom, which lies in the decrease or loss of will, the inability to move on to action.

<sup>6</sup> Constantin Argetoianu, *Pentru cei de mâine. Amintiri din vremea celor de ieri*, Edition by Stelian Neagoe, vol. III, Humanitas Publishing House, Bucharest, 1992, p. 115

<sup>7</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 117

<sup>8</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 113

only the „lying, evil speaking and stupidity”<sup>9</sup>. The hostile attitude of the writer from Transylvania towards the King arises from the different vision of the two about the way the destiny of Romania should progress after the outbreak of the “Great War”. Slavici was for neutrality, but if there had been a series of Russian successes, and then he would consider opportune the entry of Romania into the war on the side of the Central Powers. It was clear a vision total different from that of the Royal House and of the majority of the Romanian public opinion. Accordingly, following the entry of Romania in the world conflict with the Entente, Slavici was arrested on the grounds of espionage in the favor of the block of the “centralists” and his manuscripts were confiscated.

Such characterizations have created in epoch a very wrong impression that the King would have been devoid of will and initiative. For the malicious people the King was only the „poor Friz”, „old Teacă”, the „kibitzer” with big ears, dispensed from the head, such image being a permanent subject of gossip and cheap entertainment<sup>10</sup>.

His mother’s spiritual qualities persisted in the character of Ferdinand. His gentle sentimentality, deep religiosity, timidity and delicacy remained throughout his life a fadeless legacy<sup>11</sup>.

Martha Bibescu met Ferdinand since her childhood and she was close to him all her life. By then, Ferdinand was a handsome young man. Unluckily, he soon began to be severely ill by typhoid fever, that they thought he would die. The people, next to the Church, was called to pray for the health of the Heir to the throne. It has been noted in the discussion even the problem of the regency. However, gradually, the Prince got well, remaining with an appearance marked by illness: pale, aged, with the face stuff up to the big ears, with a beard that did not take advantage of him, to the dismay of the children in the Royal Entourage, including Martha<sup>12</sup>. King Ferdinand he leaves beard „as to resemble our ancient princes, who are all painted with a beard on the walls of the churches”<sup>13</sup>. In addition, this evocative of the personality of the King observes his shyness as a dominant trait. Unlike the other memorialists, she insists in her analysis, decoding his deeper psychological domains and the mode of manifestation. She defines him metaphorically: „this friend of the shadow and silence, who wanted to be as deleted”<sup>14</sup>. An inner being, King Ferdinand experienced his presence in

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<sup>9</sup> *Gazeta Bucureștilor* in March 11, 1917

<sup>10</sup> Sterie Diamandi, *Galeria oamenilor politici*, Gera Publishing House, Bucharest, 1991, p. 3-4; Ioan Scurtu, *Istoria românilor în timpul celor patru regi (1866-1947)*, vol. II, *Ferdinand I*, Encyclopaedic Publishing House, Bucharest, 2001, p. 10

<sup>11</sup> Ioan Lupaș, *op. cit.*, p. 11

<sup>12</sup> Al. Săndulescu *op. cit.*, p. 20; Martha Bibescu, *Un sacrificiu regal: Ferdinand al României, urmat de cuvântări și documente ale regelui Ferdinand*, translation by Maria Brăescu, Compania Publishing House, Bucharest, 2000, p. 14-16

<sup>13</sup> Martha Bibescu, *Un sacrificiu regal...*, p. 16

<sup>14</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 19

society as a torment: "Therefore he did not enter into a room other than obliquely, as if his left shoulder would have excused for what his right shoulder was forced to do"<sup>15</sup>. The shyness what you could see on his face and in his gestures, forced the King to blink frequently and crook his mouth<sup>16</sup>, so „his clumsiness, his faltering walk will be made on account of the drink"<sup>17</sup>, Martha Bibescu noted. Constantin Argetoianu was of the same opinion. If, after having had the disease, in which he agonized between life and death, his physique, with the sunken cheeks and early wrinkles, made him old, his hands, instead, blotted some physical defects. „He had, observes with finesse Martha Bibescu, the most beautiful hands in the world. Long, spiritualized, tied - like the flowers to the stalk ...; you could see them wandering as a dreamer on the sword handles (...).But those guileless hands, in fact, were made rather to raise the chalice only to wield the weapons. Closed, they were reminding the blooms<sup>18</sup> of a Gothic cathedral; together they received the chalice; separately they accepted the nails<sup>19</sup>". Here is an initial suggestion coming from the author of the idea of sacrifice unconditionally embraced by King Ferdinand. This little poem of the hands is also reminding a page of the *Memoirs* of I. G. Duca, where the author, declares unto the significance of the index finger of King Carol I, his uncle, that expressed the authority<sup>20</sup>.

Prince Ferdinand was also a clumsy equestrian. At a parade of the troops in front of King Carol, Martha Bibescu, remembers him as inspector general of the Cavalry, when failed to execute a simple maneuver and „the horse slips and somersaults on the ground, dragging the rider, too"<sup>21</sup>. Of course, the scene put Ferdinand in an embarrassing situation. In compensation, they depicted the Prince as a learned man, with a passion for Botany, in the domain of which his knowledge and observations were approaching to erudition. However, even here, evidence of excessive modesty. He did not stand to wear his science, but rather to hide it. An excellent Latin knower was a true polyglot<sup>22</sup>.

The Transylvania review called him "the botanist Sovereign" who "burned with longing for flowers" and who always wanted to be among alpine flowers. Many times the king found his refuge in "the kingdom of flowers" especially when his heart felt "very tired"<sup>23</sup>.

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<sup>15</sup> *Ibidem*

<sup>16</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 22

<sup>17</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 26

<sup>18</sup> High roof, pyramid or cone-shaped, used, especially in the Middle Ages, at the monumental buildings of the churches.

<sup>19</sup> Martha Bibescu, *op. cit.*, p. 27

<sup>20</sup> Al. Săndulescu, *op.cit.*, p. 20; G. Duca, *Memorii*, vol. III, Machiavelli Publishing House, Bucharest, 1992-1994, p. 85

<sup>21</sup> Martha Bibescu, *op. cit.*, p. 25

<sup>22</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 28; Al. Săndulescu, *op. cit.*, p. 20

<sup>23</sup> Ioan Lupaș, *op. cit.*, p. 10

Aside from the modern languages, spoken in the family frame even since childhood, German, French, English, he has acquired the Romanian language from Professor Vasile Păun, a teacher at the famous „Sfântul Sava” High school in Bucharest. Ferdinand had assimilated quickly the „beautiful Romanian language”, which has allowed him the „close knowledge of the popular literature, traditions, habits, but mostly of the rich history of the Romanian people”<sup>24</sup>. He also knew the ancient Greek, easily deciphering the inscriptions on the monuments at Histria, knew the Hebrew, and Russian, reading Tolstoi and Dostoevsky’s original<sup>25</sup>. Sidewalks, he used to comment upon erudite topics on the most varied questions ranging from the mysteries of the Egyptian pyramids up to the scientific name of a flower<sup>26</sup>.

His literary information was quite extensive, since in a conversation with the Ambassador of France, Martha Bibescu relates that Ferdinand would have talked him „about the merits of the Japanese lyric poetry in comparison with the Chinese lyric poetry”<sup>27</sup>.

Although he was a bit talkative, reserved and solitary, the King was able to capture the dialogue partner, having a solid general education. In turn, the speeches that he by self composed were valued in epoch for their literary style and artistic form. I. G. Duca reminded that the King „kept himself up to date with all manifestations of the cogitation and human genius, continuously read the most varied books and the most diverse literature”<sup>28</sup>. Constantin Argetoianu appreciated that „Nobody excelled him in bibliography, in Heraldry and in the tact with knowing to choose a cigarette”<sup>29</sup>. The King was also a great music lover, an admirer of Wagner’s music, encouraging the talented young artists devoid of material possibilities<sup>30</sup>. His true passions remained, however, numismatics philately and botany.

We believe that Ferdinand’s drama has been an ethnic one regarding his German origin, as Prince Heir and Romanian King; they put him in a position to pass it in the second plan, the public, even to disown it, and especially a religious one that asked him a true sacrifice. „Of this Catholic improver, Martha Bibescu notes, the reason of State will make, six times in turn a perjury, for he would have six children. Married to a Protestant Princess, he had to swear in front of the altar, on the wedding day, that he would raise his children in the Catholic faith (...) He did not keep first the sworn at the baptism of his son,

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<sup>24</sup> \*\*\**Cuvântări de Ferdinand I, Regele României, 1899-1922*, Bucharest, 1922, p. 9-10

<sup>25</sup> Martha Bibescu, *op. cit.*, p. 28-29

<sup>26</sup> Ioan Scurtu, *op. cit.*, p. 11

<sup>27</sup> Martha Bibescu, *op. cit.*, p. 29

<sup>28</sup> I. G. Duca, *op.cit.*, p. 138

<sup>29</sup> Constantin Argetoianu, *op. cit.*, p. 113

<sup>30</sup> Robert Scheffer, *Orient regal - cinci ani la curtea României*, Saeculum Publishing House, Bucharest, 1997, p. 77

Carol”<sup>31</sup>. The Vatican summoned him for non-compliance with the Covenant, but baptizing in the Orthodox Church also their second child, Elizabeth, he excommunicated him. „From now on, his soul will carry, at every birth, the bereavement of his faith. He knows that he has committed a mortal sin”<sup>32</sup>.

Therefore, „in the midst of a numerous family, composed of a Protestant wife and Orthodox children, he will live in a terrible solitude, separated from them by the triple wall of education, religion and nationality”<sup>33</sup>. Ferdinand believed him intrinsic a renegade as against the country of origin and the Hohenzollern family. When he swore by King in the Parliament, would have burst into crying<sup>34</sup>. In addition to the emotional charge of the moment, they added also the great responsibility of Romania’s recovery about the King was completely aware. Moreover, Nicolae Iorga argued, „one cannot start a reign in the heaviest conditions than Ferdinand I ... Inside, the physical problem, so difficult, was to discharge the peasantry from an unparalleled economic bondage among the peoples of the whole Europe. Next to her, and so significant, the moral issue to correct the society, ... to descend the wicked, to bring up the good people, remove the busybodies, ... to call to responsible places those who bring with them a conscience ... And at borders, the European war, the anger of the soldiers, all the passions of the unbound conquests of violence, brutality ... ”<sup>35</sup>.

Romania’s entry into the war against Germany decided Wilhelm II to withdraw the order of his House that he led. Then they deleted it from the old card to the dynasty. „At Sigmaringen, the family has flown the black, as if it has died”<sup>36</sup>. All these, related extensively and with psychological penetration by Martha Bibescu, are a series of unpublished information that light some lesser-known aspect of the personal drama of King Ferdinand.

However, we appreciate that they do not see the idea of the sacrifice shown in the memory writings also through its beneficial consequences of the utmost importance for the historical destiny of the Romanian nation. The King had a dignity and a real devotion to the land that was meant to lead. Without ignore his inner drama, I. G. Duca manages to put him better, on the occasion of the Council of Crown on 14/27 August 1916. „After harrowing days and nights, Ferdinand contrived to defeat his natural inclinations of a German Prince in the favor of his duties of a Romanian King who has embraced with his whole being our national ideal, pledging himself to the action alongside the

<sup>31</sup> Martha Bibescu, *op. cit.*, p. 34

<sup>32</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 34-35

<sup>33</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 36

<sup>34</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 42; Al. Săndulescu, *op. cit.*, p. 20

<sup>35</sup> Nicolae Iorga, *Regele Ferdinand. Cu prilejul întronării*, „Porțile Orientului” Publishing House, Iași, 1996, p. 58

<sup>36</sup> Martha Bibescu, *op. cit.*, p. 46; Al. Săndulescu, *op. cit.*, p. 20

allies. The speech of a perfect clarity and unwavering determination, pronounced in Romanian shocked them all<sup>37</sup>. Moreover, the King confessed the same I. G. Duca: „I'm a constitutional King, therefore, if the country thinks that its interests dictate to go against the Central Powers, not within me will find a hindrance in achieving its national ideal”<sup>38</sup>.

In the verbal duel with P. P. Carp who endangered the King that in case when Russia will win the war, he will no longer accept the Hohenzollern dynasty on the Romanian throne, Ferdinand replied him firmly. Howsoever he would have played the political role of the head of State, an undeniable patriotic vibration permeates his words, reproduced by I. G. Duca: „Earlier you were also wrong, Mr. Carp, when you spoke about the interests of the dynasty. I do not know the interests of the dynasty, I only know the interests of the country. In my conscience, these two interests overlap. If I decided to do this austere step, it is because after a mature prudence I have reached the deep and unflinching belief that it answered to the true aspirations of the nation whose liability I conduct now. The dynasty will follow the fate of the country, winning or losing with it because above all, you know, Mr. Carp, my dynasty is Romanian. You did wrong when you called it foreign, German. No, it is Romanian!”<sup>39</sup>.

On the occasion of the Crown Council in 1916 he said the following words: "I am sure I will win, because I began by beating myself."<sup>40</sup>

A similar proof also C. Argetoianu deposits, who was not an admirer of the King. He describes the atmosphere in the Crown Council, precursory to the painful Peace from Buftea-București, in the following terms: „... The King was so excited that he hardly could speak, and on the end he broke into tears and started crying”<sup>41</sup>. This reaction proved to everyone present that the King “was deeply affected by his mauled country”<sup>42</sup>.

The king remained steadfast in the vortex of the hardest trials, never hesitating to the step taken for national reunification. Moreover, Ferdinand I never forgot what he promised in front of the national representation: that he would be a good Romanian.

According to these considerations, we appreciate that King Ferdinand I, was, indeed, the greatest King of the Romanians.

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<sup>37</sup> I. G. Duca, *op. cit.*, p. 77; Al. Săndulescu, *op. cit.*, p. 20

<sup>38</sup> I. G. Duca, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 85

<sup>39</sup> *Ibidem*, vol. III, p. 90; Al. Săndulescu, *op. cit.*, p. 20

<sup>40</sup> Ioan Lupaș, *op. cit.*, p. 17

<sup>41</sup> Al. Săndulescu, *op. cit.*, p. 20; Constantin Argetoianu, *op. cit.*, 104;

<sup>42</sup> Al Săndulescu, *op. cit.*, 20

## **IOSIF LISSAI - EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR (GENERAL) OF THE BANK “ALBINA” IN SIBIU IN A TRANSITIONAL PERIOD (1915-1920)**

*Mihai D. DRECIN\**

***Abstract.** Iosif Lissai, an official of the Bank “Albina” as early as 1881, becomes executive director (general) in 1915. He will be in this position until 1920.*

*It is a very tough period for the Bank, in fact the transition from the Austria-Hungary Empire to the Kingdom of the Great Romania.*

*His loyalty to the Bank led to less legal actions, sanctioned by law.*

*His death in 1921 ends the pattern of the Austrian-Hungarian officer, opening that of the Romanian official of the contemporary era.*

***Keywords:** Bank “Albina” in Sibiu, Iosif Lissai, executive director, (1915-1920), loyalty or particular interest, purge from function.*

Iosif Lissai (b.? - d.1921) is the fourth executive director of the Bank “Albina”, following Visarion Roman (1872-1885), Ioan Gh. Ioan (June 1 – December 18, 1885) and Partenie Cosma (1886-1916).

So far, we have not managed to find in the archives and the press of time, his date of birth, ethnic origin and his professional antecedents until to employment among officials of the Bank “Albina” (“albiniști” – our note).

Since April 1, 1881, we find him as the Chief Accountant of the Bank<sup>1</sup>. It is the first archival information found in the Bank Fund “Albina” in Sibiu, where his name is entered. The nomination in this function assumed that Lissai had a serious experience in the field, since in the “Internal Classification of Functions” of the Bank the Chief Accountant was the second character as importance in the bank, after the Executive Director, followed immediately by the head of the Legal Department (Legal Service-our note). The three: Executive Director, Chief Accountant and the Chief of the Legal Department were the first officials of any credit banks.

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<sup>1</sup>National Archives - Sibiu County Service, *Fond: Banca Albina*, vol. 22, 5 March 1921, conclus no.78 (further on: N.A.-Sb.C.S., *F.B.A.*, 22, 5.03.1921, c.78)

In the difficult years of World War I, we find him in the function of interim executive director since August 1915<sup>2</sup>. His name sounding German or Hungarian was, perhaps, a guarantee for the Bank loyalty to the Austrian-Hungary and Germany.

In the autumn of 1916, when the Romanian-Austrian-Hungarian-German front approached to Sibiu, Lissai "stayed in Sibiu – made real public services for the people in the place (locality – our note), so not only for our clientele (of the Bank "Albina" - our note) but also for the other institutes in Sibiu, paying deposits for all institutions (banks - our note) in the place and the pensions of the public officials"<sup>3</sup>.

According to other sources, Lissai will occupy the Supreme function in the Bank in the period 1914-1920<sup>4</sup>. What is certain is that after Partenie Cosma's letter sent from Călimănești, on 10 December 1915, responding to a request of the Board of Administration to return to the post, the old executive director requests officially the retirement and Iosif Lissai is reconfirmed as the provisional executive director on 18 December<sup>5</sup>. It seems that the provisionality in the highest post as official in the Bank shall cease on April 12, 1917, when they will elect him as a director-general<sup>6</sup>. The name is new, replacing that of executive director being used still in the inter-war period, until 1948, for the first official of the Bank.

The Directorate period of Iosif Lissai is one very tough for the Bank. There are the years of World War I; of the issue of Transylvania under the terror of the Hungarian army, either "white" or "Russian";<sup>7</sup> in the end, the

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<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*, XIX, 16 VIII 1915, c. 124. Partenie Cosma, executive-director on post, taken refuge in Romania, at his villa in Calimanesti, constructed in 1911-1912, knowing of sources from Bucharest that if Romania Kingdom will enter the war on the Entente side, all the leaders of the Romanians in Transylvania will be arrested by the Hungarian authorities. Being in 82 years of age could not withstand such treatment. As a result, in the spring of 1915 will require prolonged leave, finally accepting retirement on 1 January 1916. During this period, they had nominated an alternate executive director to lead the institution.

<sup>3</sup> *Raport la a 44-a Adunare Generală a Institutului de credit și economii „Albina”*, Sibiu, 12 May 1917

<sup>4</sup> "Taking into account the natural continuity, the Board of Directors of <Albina> elected Chief Executive, the oldest superior official of Institute, Mr. Iosif Lissai, a former Chief Accountant of the Bank-a few decades, one of the most conscientious and most devoted servants. But it was still made in 1914, when war circumstances would not let to start a new era in the life of the Institute". Cf. Vasile Vlaicu, "Albina on the anniversary of the 50 years of its existence (1872-1922)", in *Revista Economică* (Cluj), year XXIV, 9 March 1922, p. 111.

<sup>5</sup> N.A.. – Sb.C.S., *F B.A.*, XIX, 4 XII 1915, c. 227; XIX, 18 XII 1915, c.244.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibidem*, XX, 12 April 1917, conclus 83.

<sup>7</sup> From the vast literature on this subject, which appeared in the interwar period and after 1990, including: General G.D. Mărdărescu, Campaign to un-enslave Transylvania and occupy Budapest(1918-190), Bucharest, 1921; Gheorghe I. Brătianu, *Ațiunea politică și militară a României în lumina corespondenței diplomatice a lui Ion I.C. Brătianu*, Cartea Românească Publishing House, Bucharest, 1939; Dumitru Preda, Vasile Alexandrescu, Costică Prodan, *În*

beginning of integration of Transylvania in the realities of the Great Romania through employment in the legislation of the Kingdom, in the major reforms of paramount importance (agricultural, monetary, financial, electoral, legal, administrative, electoral, educational, etc.) The Bank's engagement in the national banking system, conducted by the National Bank of Romania, the development of the types of business in a State with a political system that encouraged to roam free, the national interests, demanded a huge amount of energy and skills to adapt to the political and economic realities in a rapidly changing.

In terms of the evolution of the banking business, we keep a massive drop in most operations (July 1914-June 1915), which influences the amount of net profit and equities/action that decreases to half or one quarter of the prewar values. Fall the applications for loans and deposits to fruition, the clientele was marked by increasingly unpredictable political situation, preferring not to make investments and to "hoarded" savings at home, an old formula, known and considered more secure. The very good agricultural production in the summer and autumn of 1915 allows the borrowers to sell their products, increasingly sought to supply the military and big cities, at rising prices. As a result, the debtor peasants will pay their rates on earlier loans, and the Bank scores an "abundance of cash" which will allow it to pay the re-discount and credit on security of personal property at the big banks in Vienna and Budapest.

The year 1916 marks the entry of Romania into the war and the advance of the Romanian army in the Southern Transylvania. In the following years, 1917-1918, the military confrontations involving Austria-Hungary deplete economically the dualistic empire, the Pyrus type victories on some fronts, particularly the defeats, reflected in the economic sector, including the banking sector. In this context, the Bank "Albina" records fluctuations at the level of the type of operations practiced. If the depositions to fruition and current account loans will have a slight increase, the rest of operations stagnate or even regress in value. The positive balances of the Central in Sibiu (1914-1915), intertwine with the negative balances of the other subsidiaries. If in the years 1917-1918 they record profits at the Central and subsidiaries, the fact is explained by the increase of inflation, which allows the peasant borrowers to pay easier their debts made since before the outbreak of the war.

The evolution of the Romanian-Austrian-Hungarian front in August-October 1916, determines the Hungarian authorities to compel the Bank "Albina" to evacuate its Central and subsidiaries from Braşov, Dumbrăveni and Mediaş to Budapest and that of Târnăveni to Oradea. They will return from

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*apărarea României Mari. Campania armatei române din 1918-1919*, Encyclopaedic Publishing House, Bucharesti, 1994; Ioan Țepelea, *1919 – o campanie pentru liniştea Europei*, Dacia Publishing House, Cluj-Napoca, 1995.

"exile" in mid-December 1916, after the Romanian Army will withdraw from the Southern Transylvania.

As early as the autumn of 1915, a number of officials from the Bank "Albina" ("albiniști" – our note) will be charged with espionage activities in the favor of Romania and will flee across the Carpathians. Their number increases with the withdrawal of the Romanian troops from Brașov in the autumn of 1916. The archival documents record 18 officials, coming mostly from the Central in Sibiu and the Subsidiary from Brașov. Regimented in the combat units of the Romanian Army they will fight against the troops of the Central Powers which will occupy Oltenia, Muntenia and Dobrogea, will participate in the fighting in the South of Moldavia, or will be enrolled in the political activities of the Romanian Government retreated to Iași (the case of Octavian Goga).

During the years of World War I, though obliged to subscribe to the seven loans of war launched by the political authorities in Vienna and Budapest no less 3.800.000 k, and the depositors 5.603.400 k, the Bank "Albina" has fulfilled its mission of a national institution of the Romanians. Thus, it gave re-discounts to some Romanian banks and credit unions became bankrupt, accepts the successive delays in paying some rates for many borrowers, votes for the considerable sums for "cultural and charitable purposes"<sup>8</sup>.

Regarded as an institution that supported the Romanian nationalism, in the period 29 November 1915 to 9 November 1918 the Bank "Albina", from the Central in Sibiu to subsidiaries, is put under the Hungarian Police control. Its representatives have the right to verify the entire correspondence, the officials' activity, to attend the meetings of the Central Board in Sibiu<sup>9</sup>.

In the spring of 1918, the Bank's management felt the "winds of change". The evolution on main fronts of world war was at the expense of the Central Powers. The hidden thought of the Romanians in Transylvania was the Union with Romania. In the perspective of this future that was considered close, the management of the Bank "Albina" launches in May 1918, a contest for drawing up some studies on its prospects and of the Banking Union "Solidarity" ("Solidaritatea" – our note). The maturity of the presentation of materials was at six months after the launch of the contest<sup>10</sup>. The Director of the Lugoj Branch rejects the accusations of the local Mayor who suspects that the institution carries out Romania-national activity<sup>11</sup>. Of course, the protest of the Director was a formal one, but it had to disguise a policy that the Bank "Albina" took from its beginnings. At the request of the officials who withdrew

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<sup>8</sup> See a more detailed treatment of the evolution of the Bank between 1914-1918, in: Mihai D. Drecin, "Bank <Albina> in Sibiu in the years of World War I (1914-1918)", in *Lucrări Științifice* (Oradea), series B, History, 1977, p.76-84

<sup>9</sup> N. A.– Sb.C.S., *F.B.A.*, XXI, 9 III 1918, meeting IV

<sup>10</sup> *Ibidem*, 18 V 1918, c. 98

<sup>11</sup> *Ibidem*, 7 IX 1918, c. 142

in 1915-1916, in Romania, to those followers who have died in the meantime, gradually, in stages, between September to December 1918, Sibiu cancels its decision of 7 December 1916 through which excluded those active and retired officers from the financial rights<sup>12</sup>. The widows and orphans of the former officials who have expressed the Romanian national feelings in 1915-1916 were calculated and paid retroactively the pensions of survivors, and the officials in life were reframed into the Bank, taking into consideration the continuous length of service<sup>13</sup>. Gradually, between October and early November 1918, the representatives of the Hungarian Police in the offices of the Bank “Albina” either conscript on their own initiative (see at Sibiu), or are forced to retire (see Braşov and Lugoj subsidiaries)<sup>14</sup>. On 6 November 1918 “is made available to the National Organization (the Romanian National Party – our note) for the public safety, on behalf of the guard (Romanian national - our note) an aid in a sum of 10,000 k, from which they will make payments”<sup>15</sup>.

The acceleration of the national demonstrations of the Bank “Albina” in spring-autumn of 1918 was done with the direct involvement of the Director general Iosif Lissai. At the same time, he ensured the technical functioning of the institution, the offices remaining open for clientele, regardless of its ethnicity, to pay off the “1.000 k/month, except in exceptional cases for salaries, purchases of realities (various movable and immovable goods – our note) and payments”. For these banking operations, there was a balance of almost 700,000 k and an available over 1,300,000 k cash vouchers from the Austrian-Hungarian Bank<sup>16</sup>.

The local administrative authorities, seeing the evolution of the military and political realities in the region, are calling on the Romanian institutions and personalities for collaboration, maintaining the Bank’s operation, serving the local communities with credits. Thus, the Executive Director - Iosif Lissai is invited to be part of the leadership of the Sibiu City, Magistrate, respectively, by then consisting only of the Saxons and Hungarians<sup>17</sup>.

After December 1, 1918, by establishing at Sibiu the Dirigent Council and General Counsel of the Romanian Nation, the provisional Government and Parliament of Transylvania, the town on Cibin takes a genuine capital allure of the Romanians in Transylvania<sup>18</sup>.

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<sup>12</sup> *Ibidem*, 14 IX 1918, c.158

<sup>13</sup> *Ibidem*, 9 XII 1918, c.66

<sup>14</sup> *Ibidem*, 23 X 1918, c.168; 6 XI 1918, c.184

<sup>15</sup> *Ibidem*, 6 XI 1918, c.183

<sup>16</sup> *Ibidem*, c.182

<sup>17</sup> *Ibidem*, c.185

<sup>18</sup> Dr. Ilie Beu, writes from Sibiu on 31 December 1918, among others, on a visiting card, to Dr. Tiberiu Brediceanu in Braşov: “Let’s see, how it changed the world here; Sometimes it seems that we are in a small capital city “. Cf. National Archives-Braşov County Service, *Fond:145*, package 49-52, file 52, 1918, f.113.

Under these conditions, the Bank "Albina" becomes a genuine National Bank of the province by opening for the Dirigent Council a creditor current account, without claiming interest. The Bank will approve financial aid to cultural and national meetings to prepare the meeting of the Romanian Army at the entrance of the communes and cities of Transylvania<sup>19</sup>.

Moreover, since December 1918 until the spring of 1920, a number of senior officials of the Bank "Albina" ("albiniști" – our note), economists and lawyers recognized for their professional value, will occupy positions of technicians in the domains (the ministries-our note) of the Dirigent Council. It is the case of Dr. Tiberiu Brediceanu, Octavian Russu, Constantin Popp, Dominic Rațiu, Ioan I. Lapedatu, etc.<sup>20</sup>

For the outstanding services to the interests of the Bank and its clients in the tumultuous years of the world war, the last meeting of the Central Board for the year 1919 brings the director-general Iosif Lissai a genuine homage and decides to raise his wage<sup>21</sup>.

As Transylvania – in the large sense of the word, i.e. together with the Banat, Crișana and Maramureș, frames administrative and political in the Great Romania, the Bank "Albina" sets its face definitive towards Bucharest, breaking gradually the banking ties with Budapest. In a State of all Romanians, in which the law was no more adversary for it, the Bank "Albina" involves in new types of business, in addition to those considered traditional till then. The loans for agriculture, primarily for the half back peasantry are filled with those oriented to river banking and drainage, draining, timber, trade, mining, industry, stock subscriptions to a number of banks in the Old Kingdom and other new ones set up in Transylvania, for the nationalization of the former industrial sites with Austrian-Hungarian and German capital from province.

In this context, even since June 1919 the question is that of the future status of the Austrian-Hungarian currency, koroana (k.)<sup>22</sup>, its gradual replacement with the Romanian national currency – the Leu of the National Bank of Romania. The Bank "Albina" will be part of a Consortium (Union - our note), together with representatives of the "Ungarische Allgemeine Creditbank" in Oradea and "Bodenkreditanstalt" in Sibiu, which were to be involved in changing the currency in Transylvania. The representatives of the Bank "Albina" in this consortium will be the General-Director Iosif Lissai and Ion I. Lapedatu, members of the Administrative Board<sup>23</sup>.

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<sup>19</sup> Mihai D. Drecin, *Banca „Albina” din Sibiu, instituție națională a românilor transilvăneni (1871-1918)*, Dacia Publishing House, Cluj-Napoca, 1982, p.214-215

<sup>20</sup> N.A. – Sb.C.S., *F.B.A.*, XXI, 13 II 1919, c.27; 11 III 1919, c.40 a); 23 IV 1919, c.105, 1 VI 1919, c.196, 29 X 1919, c.481.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibidem*, 28 XII 1918, c.210.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibidem*, 5 VI 1919, c.140

<sup>23</sup> See the whole history in *Ibidem*, 31 I 1920, c.73

In early October 1919, Iosif Lissai brings from Vienna, with the approval of the Finance Resort of the Dirigent Council, “Apart from the white tickets, cash vouchers and in the giro bills also amounts of kor. (korons - our note) 2,500,000 from Wiener Verein Bank, Vienna, for a financial business, which amount Wiener Verein Bank in accordance with the letter of 7 October has been passed in our account (of the Bank “Albina” - our note). This number was aggravated (commandeered, seized-our note) from the military Security and put under sequester, featuring research”<sup>24</sup>.

From this moment, the General-Director Lissai bespeaks the attention of the Romanian Troops Command from Transylvania with the headquarters in Sibiu. Against him start research on charges of putting into circulation of fake stamped korons. In order to avoid the entering on the currency market of Transylvania of the Hungarian and Russian currency printed in larger quantities, which would have led to a galloping inflation in the Great Romania space, the Government in Bucharest decided to stamp the existing foreign coin in the new provinces entered into the Kingdom of Romania. Consequently, the dissemination of the unstamped korons and rubles was considered an infraction, punished as such by law.

Being sentenced to four months in prison and ordered to pay a fine of 2,000 k<sup>25</sup>, his place at the head of the Bank is taken by a “Council” made up of Ioan Vătășan – Chief Accountant in function, as President, Constantin Popp – Head of Lichidatura, Ioan Rebeaga - Chief Cashier and Dr. Octavian Russu – Legal Expert<sup>26</sup>.

Even though the Bank’s management “decrees disciplinary research against the General-Director”<sup>27</sup>, involves in helping him through a multitude of types and actions. The legal expert Dr. Octavian Russu, Nicolae Comșa, Dr. Lucian Borcia, Ion I. Lapedatu, Andrei Bârseanu – members of the Board of Directors, Dr. Ilie Beu - Chairman of the Board, between January and December 1920, intercede with the military and political factors of primary importance of the country in order to remove the accusations brought to the broken General-Director and implicit the Bank “Albina”. It’s about the Romanian Army command in Sibiu – the generals Mărdărescu, Boeriu and Panaitescu, the Upper Bench in Bucharest, the Dirigent Council - the resort of Finances in Cluj – the Ministry of Finance, the Headquarters of the Romanian Army, National Customs, and the Prime Minister in Bucharest. Among the leading politicians of the time who are sensitized by the case of “Lissai – Albina” remember: Gen. Alexandru Averescu, Constantin Argetoianu, Take Ionescu, Octavian Goga, Octav Tăslăuanu, F. Gheorghiu, etc.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> *Ibidem*, XXII, 23 I 1920, c.49.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibidem*, 27 I 1920, c.63

<sup>26</sup> *Ibidem*, c. 63/g

<sup>27</sup> *Ibidem*, c. 63/e

<sup>28</sup> *Ibidem*, 11 XII 1920, c.674. See here, condensed presented, the whole history of the case.

Throughout this tense period, even suspended from the post of general-director, Iosif Lissai will continue to work in the Bank, as a simple servant, with all the rights derived from the age of service and salary<sup>29</sup>. It was a sample of a defensive tradition already image of the Bank “Albina” and its officials, what was practiced at the level of the Central Board and the Board of Directors, even when hovering a certain suspicion on the work and conduct of a civil servant.

Iosif Lissai had been living for a year and half under a continuous pressure – thing that was evident for him. Once at the beginning of 1921, he shall submit the application for retirement with effect from May 1, 1921. In the meeting of the Administrative Council of 5 March 1921 the general-director Ioan Vătășan announces the death of Iosif Lissai, aged 69, after serving as “skillfully and conscientiousness of the Institute for 40 years”<sup>30</sup>.

Through the demise of the life of Iosif Lissai ends the stage in which the executive-directors in function were the true rulers of the Bank “Albina”. In the era of the Great Romania even since 1918/1919, the indisputably leader of the institution, with all his officials headed by the executive-director (general), will be the Chairman of the Board of Directors<sup>31</sup>. This change in the pyramid of the decision makers at the level of a limited-liability company stock is explained by the “weight” and the role vastly superior of the shareholders, interested to scrutinize closely the institution that brought them substantial annual revenue. On the other hand, the employment of the Bank “Albina” in the national banking system conducted from Bucharest called for a revision of its Statutes, in order to be adapted to a growing economy, the state supporting the assertion of the labor and Romanian intelligence unlike the Austrian-Hungarian era.

x            x  
                  x

In conclusion, Iosif Lissai was a loyal servant of the Bank”Albina”.

Leading the institution in a very tense period, he had an important role in the maintenance in activity of the Bank. The accusations that they have retrieved by the military Safety of the Romanian Army, as doing illegal traffic with Austrian-Hungarian currency on personal interest, not come true through the documents. If bringing in Sibiu of 2,500,000 k. from Vienna, in October

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<sup>29</sup> *Ibidem*, 25 VI 1920, c.357; 6 XI 1920, c.619.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibidem*, 5 III 1921, c.78

<sup>31</sup> Since the autumn of 1920, the National Bank of Romania introduces the post of “administrator-delegate”, which replaces the previous of Chairman of Board of Directors. The motivation had the following wording: “taking into account the exercise of a more intensive (intense-our note) from the Board”. – Cf. *Ibidem.*, XXII, 6 XI 1920, c.620, 621

1919, was done in the interest of and with the approval of the Board of Directors of the Bank “Albina” means that Iosif Lissai risked and sacrificed himself for the shareholders of the Bank.

The economic arrangements in the Central Europe, at the level of the former Austrian-Hungarian Empire, from the former economic and political elite and the new elites of the national States arising from their ruins, were processing into a dizzying and unpredictability rhythm. As each sought not to lose too much (the Austrian-Hungarian and German capital), while the national Polish, Czech, Slovak, Croatian, Slovenian, Bosnian-Herzegovina, Serbian capital desired to win as much as possible – could occur also people sacrificed for the national capital interests. We believe that Iosif Lissai was part of these losers. The fact that the new management of the Bank “Albina” defended him subsequently is explained by its heavy conscience to a loyal servant for the interests of the institution. Sometimes the “loyalty” is expensive paid, through degradation in post, stress and extinction of life. “Case of Iosif Lissai”, we think that fits into this scenario.

## GENERAL INFORMATION PERIODICALS PUBLISHED IN MARAMUREȘ IN THE INTERWAR PERIOD

*Maria ROȘAN (MEZE)<sup>1</sup>*

***Abstract.** The intense publishing activity characterizing, as a general feature, the spiritual Romanian interwar time, is remarkable in the historical Maramureș area. Romanian intellectuals in the region have made countless efforts to quench the thirst of the people of Maramureș for the written Romanian language by editing, until World War II, over 30 highly diverse publications.*

*In this study, we wish to analyze general information periodicals published in Maramureș in the period between the two world wars.*

*The development and strengthening of this kind of press proved to be an extremely difficult challenge for the cultural people of Maramureș. Since the Romanian society did not have the money necessary to support such publications, the Romanian state did not subsidize them, and local government bodies, with rare exceptions, were not interested in helping them, most strayed from the path originally mapped, serving political interests, a compromise needed to ensure a lasting appearance. Nevertheless, with one exception, general information periodicals had an ephemeral life. The lasting success recorded by *The Maramureș Front* occurred, on the one hand, because of a young generation of intellectuals grouped around it, trained in the united Romania, with another culture and vision, and on the other hand, because of an increase in responsiveness and adherence of Maramureș society to the phenomenon of modern information.*

***Keywords:** Maramureș, inter-wars, newspaper, information*

The interwar period saw a remarkable expansion of Romanian press thanks to the creative atmosphere manifested among intellectuals in Greater Romania. While in 1918 national statistics showed that there were 16 periodicals, starting with 1919 there were 754 periodicals, which began a pronounced and permanent ascent, reaching its peak in 1935: 2351 periodicals<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>2</sup> Nicolae Dascălu, „Evoluția statistică a presei în România interbelică” [*The statistical evolution of the press in interwar Romania*], in *The History Magazine*, Bucharest, Romanian

An unprecedented publishing boom was observed in Transylvania where, after the Great Union of 1918, the Romanian press, which had escaped the dark national and political persecution, entered into a period of adjustment to the new conditions, of searching for new directions and guidelines. Emanoil Bucuța, the first to establish a more accurate statistic in this regard, indicated, for the year 1929, 559 periodicals, of which 234 Romanian, 192 Hungarian, 67 German and 64 in several languages, in which Romanian prevailed<sup>3</sup>.

An integrant part of the Transylvanian press, the press in historical Maramureș presents many similarities with it. As throughout Transylvania, between the wars, here we find a variety of publications that included in their substance the main forms of periodicity, i.e. from the weekly independent paper with information, culture, or party oriented, to monthly cultural and literary magazines, yearbooks, calendars, official and administrative publications. It should be made clear that even though the debut of Romanian press in Maramureș was made relatively late compared to other counties on the north-western limit of the country, through a harmonious cooperation of Romanian scholars in Maramureș with "valuable elements" acclimatized in these lands, lost time was recovered. Until World War II more than 30 publications had thus been edited.

This study focuses on the investigation of general information periodicals published in Maramureș in the interwar period, segment insufficiently investigated until now<sup>4</sup>.

By bringing to light a unique documentary material we intend to fill an informational void that would provide new prospects for local bibliographic research and also make a small contribution to the completion and refinement of our national press.

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Academy Publishing House, 1981, no. 7, p. 1258; Ioan Georgescu, *La presse périodique en Roumanie*, Blaj, „Sfânta Unire” Publishing House, 1936, p. 147.

<sup>3</sup> Emanoil Bucuța, “Statistica publicațiilor periodice din Transilvania” [*Statistics of periodicals in Transylvania*], in *Transilvania, Banatul, Crișana și Maramureșul*, Iași, Tipografia Moldova Publishing House, 2011, p. 1292-1304.

<sup>4</sup> Until this study, references (for information or brief presentation) on general information periodicals published in Maramureș in the interwar period were made by: Gheorghe Andrei Latiș, *Maramureș and Satu Mare lands* (manuscript), Volume IV, 1983 Mircea Popa, "Aspects of Maramureș cultural press in the interwar period" in *Maramureș – hearth of millenary history*, Cluj-Napoca, Dragoș-Vodă Publishing House, vol II, 1997; Idem, *Insights into the Romanian media*, Cluj-Napoca, Eikon Publishing House, 2009; Idem, *Panoramic journalism: Press yesterday and today*, Cluj-Napoca, Eikon Publishing House, 2011; Varga Rozalia, *School and society in the interwar historical Maramureș*, Cluj-Napoca, 1999 (PhD paper); Csoma Gheorghe, *Baia Mare – 670: Arches over time: The history of Baia Mare between 1918-1944*, Baia Mare, Helvetica Press, vol II, 2000; Marchiș Adrian, *From the history of Romanian Press – „Graiul Maramureșului”*, Sighet, 1932-1940, Cluj Napoca, „Dragoș Vodă” Pro Maramureș Cultural Society Publishing House, 2002; Bîltiu Pamfil, *A history of culture in Maramureș*, Baia Mare, Maria Montessori Publishing House, 2003.

The first independent weekly paper from Maramureş, *People's Tribune*, is linked with the name of Constantin Ionescu-Olt, a personality that has contributed significantly to the spiritual progress of Maramureş in the first decade between the wars. Brought to Maramureş from Oltenia in 1919 by Emil Bran (priest) and Mihai Condruş (prefect), young C. Ionescu-Olt joined the new spirit of spiritual and cultural emancipation and began a relentless journalistic activity, putting up his talent, along with a number of other local patriotic intellectuals, in the service of enlightenment ideas in this area of the country<sup>5</sup>.

The *People's Tribune* was first issued at the end of 1923 as a weekly independent paper, in Satu-Mare not Sighet, actually being a continuation of the *Free Tribune*, founded by Gh. V. Botez in Satu-Mare, who, after editing the first three issues (in November 1923), went to the capital to continue his studies, stopping its release. Realizing the importance of an "independent newspaper, with no political color, to defend justice, honor and loyalty, whipping old-fashioned political practices throughout the country"<sup>6</sup>, a few friends of Anton Davidescu (close friend with Gh. V. Botez and collaborator at the *Free Tribune*), including Constantin Ionescu-Olt, decided to continue the periodical of Gh. V. Botez. However, after editing only 3 issues, disagreements appeared between the founder and the new managing board<sup>7</sup>.

Therefore, on December 16, 1923, the *Tribune of the People* appeared in Satu Mare, clearly stating on its first page Year I, no. 4<sup>8</sup>, director and editor: Constantin Ionescu-Olt. The editorial office and the administration were located at the Şimon and Vescan printing house, 5 Gh. Lazăr Street. Its printing was done in a 4-page format (41x29 cm), the cost of an issue being 2 lei. Starting with the 6<sup>th</sup> issue (December 30, 1923), the periodical was moved to Gutenberg printing house (Fried Ignac) in Sighet, where it was edited and in the second year it came out in a single issue (January 1924), in a new format, smaller (31x22 cm), on 2 columns and easy-to-read<sup>9</sup>.

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<sup>5</sup> Săluc Horvat, „Constantin Ionescu-Olt, promoter and leader in the Romanian press in Maramureş”, in *Studies and articles*, Baia Mare, 1981, p. 296.

<sup>6</sup> *People's Tribune*, 1923, no. 4, p. 1.

<sup>7</sup> During the discussion between Gh. V. Botez and Constantin Ionescu-Olt regarding the property of the periodical, Gh. V. Botez put one condition, namely editing it in the spirit of the principles of Nicolae Iorga, the nationalist-democratic spirit. Failure to meet this goal determines Gh. V. Botez to request, through a letter to the new board, the sum of 10,000 lei for selling the newspaper ownership.

<sup>8</sup> The *Free Tribune* had a total of six issues (3 under the direction of Gh. V. Botez and 3 under the direction of Constantin Ionescu-Olt), but the new committee, with changing the name of the newspaper to *People's Tribune*, resumed the numbering when its property was established.

<sup>9</sup> *Romanian periodicals: (newspapers, gazettes, magazines). Volume 3: Alphabetical catalog: 1919-1924*, Bucharest, Romanian Academy Publishing House, 1987, p. 972. At the end of 1925, Constantin Ionescu-Olt edits the paper *The future of Maramureş*, as a follow up on *People's Tribune*, its first issue, dated December 31, 1925, being numbered Year II, no. 7.

In its short existence, the *People's Tribune*, although it was made available to those who wanted to collaborate with articles relating to customs matters, financial, economic and trade subjects, besides the *News* heading containing information of general interest in the two counties, approached a narrow topic, which was due to the unilateral concerns of the editors which endorsed most of the materials inserted into its pages. However, the paper was written in an energetic tone that wanted to warn people on the various illegalities committed in state institutions and intervened with the state authorities to solve some of these general problems in society. As an example, we mention the following titles: *The guardian in internal affairs, War orphans.... die of hunger, Prefect of Maramureș, to Mr. Prefect, Customary of Satu Mare, Sighet post office Anarchy*. Articles such as *Illegalities in Sighet Safety, Sighet Safety crooks pack their luggage*, signed by Constantin Ionescu-Olt discovered illegal actions committed by the former head of public security in Sighet, Lazăr Teodorescu, who, following the initiation of an investigation, was dismissed.

The rapid disappearance of the *People's Tribune* from the local cultural landscape is related to the policy adopted by the board, which, true to the motto "by ourselves", tried unsuccessfully to ensure its existence only through subscriptions and advertisements, without obtaining subsidies.

Another "weekly newspaper of propaganda and information" was the *Maramureș Courier* [*Curierul Maramureșan*] that appeared on June 16, 1925 under the direction of teacher Marin Albu. The editorial office and the administration were in Vișeu de Sus, and its printing was initially done at the Șimon & Vescan printing press in Satu-Mare; then (starting with issue no. 5 of 1925), at the Gutenberg printing press (Fried Ignac) Sighetul-Marmației. From August 30, 1925, when no. 11 was published, the paper went into the responsibility of editors Alex. Alexandrescu (official at the Chamber of Agriculture) and Radu Băjenaru (teacher in Câmpulung near Tisa), establishing its headquarters in the Cultural Palace, in the building of Maramureș County School Inspectorate, King Ferdinand Street, Sighetul Marmației. An issue consisting of 4 pages (42x28 cm) cost 3 lei, 200 lei a subscription<sup>10</sup>.

The formulation of the newspaper's objectives, stated by the editors in the *Foreword*, was made from the sad reality of the situation in the county: "Maramureș (...) with a mostly Romanian population, no one sees it, no one hears it crying in pain. In the twentieth century, thousands of children, grandchildren of Bogdan, remain illiterate (...). Living in this illiteracy, it is natural for darkness to make room for alcoholism, with its ravages. Hence, the

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<sup>10</sup> *Romanian periodicals: (newspapers, gazettes, magazines). Volume 4: Alphabetical catalog: 1925-1930*, Bucharest, Romanian Academy Publishing House, 2003, p. 280. The publication's founder, teacher Marin Albu, was transferred on September 1, 1925 from the Lower Crafts School in Vișeu de Sus to Roșiorii de Vede, Teleorman County.

worst consequences and race degeneration. Lack of education of conscience in religious terms makes thousands of villagers to wander away from the religion of Jesus Christ. Romanians are called to a new, free life (...) and sit casually or persecuted by the abnormal illegalities that convert ink into poison”<sup>11</sup>.

Aiming to be the echo of public opinion and social needs, the *Maramureș Courier* “will fight for the revival of Maramureș, will continue unceasingly to resonate into the capital of Greater Romania the pain of people in Maramureș and give its all in order to help the progress of the people”<sup>12</sup>.

So, broadly speaking, the publication’s purpose was common with those of the *People’s Tribune*. A detail worth mentioning on the genesis of the *Maramureș Courier*, knowing the failures of other similar periodicals, is that Marin Albu was in conflict with school authorities and some local intellectuals, among which Augustin Zăgreanu (school subrevizor), Pompei Bujor (Director of "Bogdan Vodă" civil school), Gabriel Iuga (Director of *Astra’s* Vișeu department)<sup>13</sup> and Vasile Filipciuc. Therefore, the paper had more the appearance of personal revenge, its four pages being studded with materials that were intended “to make known to the public the thieves pretending to be intellectuals”. As example we present the following titles, signed by Marin Albu: *The alarming situation of primary education in Vișeu de Sus – Maramureș*, *Maramureș control of primary education*, *The situation of the "Bogdan Vodă" school in Vișeu de Sus*, *Immoral understanding at Vișeu de Sus for Maramureș Romanian authorities*.

On the other hand, Marin Albu was the one who championed, through the publication, for closer ties and the creation of harmony between brothers of

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<sup>11</sup> *Maramureș Courier*, 1925, no. 1. p. 1.

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

<sup>13</sup> Marin Albu, in a material, presented the object and development of his conflict as: “The shameless immorality of these acts occurred with the establishment of a cultural center in Vișeu [...]. Everyone who has seen the proportion of its cultural actions in 1923 has eloquently seen that “Astra”, and the one running it, were eclipsed. The incentive that reigned among the youth in this cultural action probably gave food for thought to Mr. Iuga and this gave rise to the *immoral triumvirate*. Elements that worked at the center were mostly members of the teaching staff in primary and civil schools [...] The shock occurs, for the undersigned, in 1923, when in a more than barbarous manner I was removed from a position with the confirmation from inspector Simon Gocan [...] In order to satisfy their taste even more, Simon Gocan has an order that the undersigned cannot be part of the primary body of Maramureș, leaving me to knock on the doors of the ministry to have justice. So it was, and our witnesses are the documents signed by these hideous men [...] Simion Gocan, in order to assist these sinners [...] lies shamelessly at the "Prince Charles" Cultural Foundation in Bucharest saying that the undersigned, asking a position in the cultural center, have insulted Mr. Prime Minister Ionel Brătianu during his visit through Vișeu in 1922 when I made a welcome speech! Anyone can imagine the situation that was created in the community center [...] In vain I inquired and put down in my memoir the importance of the center in Maramureș. All my insistence remained fruitless, leaving my soul with the saddest impression of carelessness. But the fight did not stop here” (*Maramureș Courier*, 1925, no. 7, p. 4).

the same blood considering that “it is the duty of the present (...) that apostles of Romania whole, by sincere love and perfect solidarity in all actions (...) to fight evil (internal and external n.n.) and embody true love and brotherhood”<sup>14</sup>.

What should also be emphasized is the special interest with which the board of the periodical aimed Hungarian revisionist propaganda. The article titled *Hungarian campaign against Romania* stated that, on a map representing Hungary in the borders set by the Treaty of Trianon, the legend read the following words: “No! No! Never!” This map, with its legend, was then “reproduced in all sorts of symbols on the cover of books, posters, commercials and the packaging box of chocolates, on commemorative medals, medallions offered to ladies by knights of Pusta. The formula was even applied on some postal stamps with the haunting and satanic words “No! No! Never!”<sup>15</sup>. In terms of foreign propaganda it stated that “We received a brochure titled *Magyarország Térkép (Budapest 1925)*, which includes two maps: one of Europe and one of Central Europe (...) In Central Europe, Romania’s boundaries stop at the Carpathians; Transylvania is part of Hungary and over Transylvania the word *Magyarország* is written”<sup>16</sup>.

Since the editing board published all articles received, within the limits of time and space available, the periodical provided readers with various materials focused on current issues in Maramureș (the situation of primary education, the ravages of alcohol, the county's economic realities, the consequences of land reform, cultural events, etc.), promotion of the Lower Crafts School in Vișeu de Sus, by popularizing both curricular and extracurricular activities of the institution and by explaining the role of vocational schools, “where children learn to read and are taught a craft”<sup>17</sup> and various tips for peasants. The most faithful collaborator of the newspaper was Alex. Alexandrescu, and among the casual we encounter names such as Francis I. Deac (chief agronomist at the Agricultural Chamber), Al. Thierna, M. Steliu, Soare M. Duca, Ion Pașcu, V. Șeuleanu (priest in Borșa), Constantin I. Eremia (reserve officer).

The information heading was also diverse (name changed from one issue to another): it included school news, cultural, agricultural, financial, economic, sports information, etc., initially from across the country, then just from within the county.

The editors’ desperate attempts to ensure the *Maramureș Courier*’s appearance only from subscriptions were not successful. The last issue printed (no. 14 of September 20, 1925) could not be sent due to lack of material means<sup>18</sup>. Below is a transcript of one of the editors’ queries: “How, when we

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<sup>14</sup> *Maramureș Courier*, 1925, no. 7, p. 1.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibidem*, 1925, nr. 8, p. 1.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibidem*, 1925, nr. 6, p. 1.

<sup>18</sup> The *Maramureș Courier* was also spread in Basarabia, Cluj, Olt.

are a full majority in this county, would it not be a shame and a sign of ignorance if we were not able to maintain the issue of two papers, while the majority has five?"<sup>19</sup>.

The periodical *Maramureș Lands* [*Plaiuri maramureșene*] had an appearance just as brief. Its first issue came out from under the presses of the Association's Printing House for Culture of the Romanian People from Maramureș, on May 24, 1929. The director of the publication was Constantin Ionescu-Olt, and the editorial office and the administration were at 3 Iosif Man Street. In 1930, when the editor in chief was the priest Iuliu Ardelean, the editorial office was in Moisei, and the printing was done at the Patria printing press in Satu Mare, 24 Michael the Brave Street.

From the subtitle we learn that *Maramureș Lands* wanted to be an "independent weekly gazette", but it was not issued on a constant basis: between May 24 to August 9, 1929 12 issues were published in a 43X28 cm format, and between January 1 to February 1, 1930 another 3 issues were published (46x32 cm)<sup>20</sup>.

Although a thematic diversification was initially attempted, its columns included, along with articles with political, social, religious, educational, and historical and literary content edited by priest Iuliu Ardelean, slanderous articles addressed to nationals Gabriel Iuga (prefect), Vasile Kindriș (senator), Vasile Filipciuc (MP) and those around them dominated the four pages of the periodical. We note that Vasile Filipciuc sued Iuliu Ardelean because of this and the latter was fined by the Sighet Court with the amount of 1500 lei<sup>21</sup>. This position, and the insertion of pro liberal electoral exhortations, determined the members of the National Peasant party to include the periodical among the political papers.

The *Maramureș Echo* [*Ecoul Maramureșului*] fits right in this registry of ephemeral appearances; it was published in Sighet, in the period 1934-1935, as an "independent newspaper of information and Romanian culture", having Dr. Alexandru Filipciuc (teacher) as director and editor. The editorial office was at 37 Vasile Alecsandri Street, and the administration at the Maramureș Association Printing Press, where it was edited in a large four-page format. One cost 2 lei and the subscription was differentiated: 50 lei for ploughmen, 100 for intellectuals, 300 lei for institutions and authorities. Since Year II, no. 8 appeared weekly under the direction of a (unnamed) committee, the editorial office being at 25 Union Square<sup>22</sup>.

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<sup>19</sup> *Maramureș Courier*, 1925, no. 11, p. 1.

<sup>20</sup> *Romanian periodicals: (newspapers, gazettes, magazines). Volume 4: Alphabetical catalog 1925-1930*, Bucharest, Romanian Academy Publishing House, 2003, p. 731.

<sup>21</sup> *Maramureș Lands*, 1930, no. 30, p. 2.

<sup>22</sup> Since no. 8, at the express desire of the Diocese of Baia Mare, Prof. Dr. Alexandru Filipciuc gave up his position as director and editor of the newspaper, while remaining member of the editorial committee.

Compositionally, the *Maramureș Echo* newspaper aligned with other periodicals appearing at the same time in the capital of Maramureș. Throughout the entire duration of issue, the front page was reserved for background material, short news and speeches to various administrative, economic, cultural problems of the county, which were usually continued on the second page. The third page was titled the *Villagers' Gazette* and the fourth was solely for *News from the county, from Romania and abroad* and the *Editorial mail*, occasionally containing different ads.

From the circle of loyal collaborators we can mention Vasile Postelnicu, Ion Lucescu Grigore Câmpeanu, N. Zuker and Dimitrie Danciu, as the editors wanted “the public mind to receive the echo as such not the people writing it”<sup>23</sup>. Therefore, most of the materials were unsigned, or signed with initials and pseudonyms.

The *Maramureș Echo* had its debut on December 22, 1934 without a program-article. Its purpose was explained, in detail, to the readers in the 1<sup>st</sup> issue in January 1935: “After 16 years since the union we are the 16<sup>th</sup> Romanian newspaper to appear on this land. So far 13 Romanian newspapers have stopped being published, the reason being that most of them did not serve the general interests of the county, but stayed in the service of purely private and fleeting interests (...) This is why public opinion has always requested the establishment of an advertising body that is (...) an objective recorder and commentator of all events and movements in the county - independent of any political, religious and social class trend - the determined backbone of a higher Romanian political system, the apostle of peace and understanding among intellectuals, the builder of spiritual ties between the cultivated and the peasant classes, the enlightener of villages by spreading the true Romanian culture and the fanatical defender of all the interests of this part of the country.

This is the goal of the public opinion in Maramureș that the *Maramureș Echo* wants to accomplish. Precisely because we want to serve the general interests of the county and the interests of the public, our action (...) is based solely on the material and moral support of our readers and the giving hand of people, which we ask for help”<sup>24</sup>.

Broadly, the periodical fulfilled the points established in its program, informing readers on specific aspects of the social, cultural, economic and administrative life of the county. However, to better understand the angle from which it was drawn, it should be noted that its director, Dr. Alexandru Filipciuc, member of the National Peasant Party in the period 1928-1931, along with other political colleagues, in November 1933, moves closer to the National Liberal Party, becoming, during the liberal government, deputy mayor of the town of Sighet, then mayor<sup>25</sup>.

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<sup>23</sup> *Maramureș Echo*, 1935, no. 5, p. 4.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibidem*, 1935, no. 1, p. 1.

<sup>25</sup> Vasile Iuga, *Important people in Maramureș: Dictionary 1700-2010*, Cluj-Napoca, „Dragoș Vodă” Pro Maramureș Cultural Society Publishing House, 2011, p. 427.

Therefore, the *Maramureş Echo* newspaper also served party interests by inserting propaganda articles such as *The internal loan paid off*, *The conference in Cluj*, *A year of supply of the county*, in which they praised the actions of the government and other higher authorities, or royalist propaganda (*May 10*, *The great demonstration of former volunteers in Maramureş*, *Restoration Day at Borşa* etc). The mayor or prefect's work was also not neglected, materials *Sighet in front of a grand rebuilding*, *Modernization of Vişeu*, *Administrative* etc. illustrating their commitment to serve the citizens. On the other hand, we must take note of the increased attention given to the turmoil within the National Peasant Party, promptly quoting and commenting the central conflict between *manişti* and *vaidişti*. It is not surprising, therefore, that in 1935, the *Mamureş Echo* appeared with the financial support obtained from the county Prefecture<sup>26</sup>.

Economically, comments focused on highlighting the economic importance of Maramureş, to finally address the central government in a cry of despair (“*Save Maramureş!*”) as “in no other part of the country is life so difficult, nowhere else does hunger ravage the population so”<sup>27</sup>.

An important component of the *Maramureş Echo* newspaper was the heading *Villagers' Gazette* (which over time changed its name to *Villagers' Echo*), heading mainly intended for the rural intelligentsia, “as they have a duty to spread them in peasant circles by applying them in practice in their own household, and through speech”<sup>28</sup>. They tried to address as many interesting and useful issues, combining household with agricultural knowledge in the section *The life of plants* and *Animal husbandry*, consistently endorsed by V. Golubenco Ion Lucescu, N. Zucker, Mr. Grigore and the veterinary in Vişeu de Sus.

Aiming to make its own contribution to the cultural and social education of the Romanians from Maramureş, the paper published materials such as *Speeches from a conference of Mistral*, *Archbishop Vasile of Blaj*, *Books in the villages* or *Peasant high schools*. The literary field is illustrated, in each issue, by poems signed by Ermin, Ion Lucescu, the most important literary event held by it being the collaboration with poet Dimitrie Danciu with about 15 poems. Under the title *Bessarabian literature*, the poem *Our language* by Al. Mateevici<sup>29</sup> was replicated, and the materials *Respect our language*, *Respect your language and speak Romanian*, *Romanians should bear Romanian* wanted to instill a national sentiment among readers. Growing this feeling was absolutely necessary, if we consider an incentive identified in a material

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<sup>26</sup> *Maramureş Echo*, 1935, no. 8, p. 4.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibidem*, 1935, nr. 18, p. 2.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>29</sup> Mircea Popa, “Aspects of the Maramures cultural press in the interwar period”, în *Maramureş – hearth of millenary history*, Cluj-Napoca, „Dragoş-Vodă” Publishing House, Vol. II, 1997, p. 336.

containing various tips for marriage, particularly illustrating the sense of belonging that Romanians from Maramureș portrayed after almost two decades since the Great Union: “Let us not make flags out of handkerchiefs and stains that give color to red, white and green, it is the mark of our Hungarian yoke. You have to understand, after 16 years of holy union, that in our dear country, the national colors are red, yellow and blue... red is the blood spilled in battle, yellow is the wealth of the country and blue is our clear sky, from where our benevolent God watches over us; our leaders must understand as well, and it would not hurt if the mayor or chief of the gendarmes, through beautiful words, would remove the colors of the Hungarian flag. Our soul and our heart beat together with the joy and pain of our country, so let us decorate ourselves with our beautiful flag”<sup>30</sup>. Our national consciousness therefore needed strengthening.

The *Maramureș Echo* was received with interest and sympathy among both intellectuals and peasants, but after only seven months, through an editorial ad, readers were informed that “the editors and collaborators we have recruited - with few exceptions – from the middle of secondary and primary teachers, go on vacation. We are forced to suspend our activities during the summer months and will resume them only in September”<sup>31</sup>. But, for reasons undisclosed to the public, the periodical was never revived.

The same thoughts, i.e. to give the Romanian population a publication that was objective and without political coloring, animated brothers Mihai and Alexandru Marina, when they decided to capitalize on their experience and financial resources to edit the first Romanian newspaper in the county, which they called *The Maramureș Front*. Please note that, at the time, Maramureș had a weekly gazette, but young literates felt that it was “too little for a county with a mostly Romanian population in which the Hungarian language has two daily newspapers, in addition to the weekly ones”<sup>32</sup>.

While the name of Dr. Mihai Marina was quite popular in the Maramureș press, the same cannot be said about his brother, Alexandru Marina, who had begun his career in journalism at several newspapers in Bucharest, where he attended the Faculty of Letters and Philology and, having returned to his homeland, continued to be a correspondent for Maramureș of the the newspapers *Current* and *Romania*. He was the one who dealt with the actual management of the new publication<sup>33</sup>.

The seriousness that he showed in his effort to edit *The Maramureș Front* contributed to the almost daily issue of the newspaper in the period November 15, 1935 - August 31, 1940. The daily paper had its editorial office

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<sup>30</sup> *Maramureș Echo*, 1935, no. 2, p. 3.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibidem*, 1935, no. 24, p. 1.

<sup>32</sup> *The Maramureș Front*, 1935, no. 1, p. 1.

<sup>33</sup> Mihai Marina, Maramureș between the two world wars, (manuscript, notebook 16), p. 220-221.

and its administration in Sighet, 25 Union Square, then at 3 Gen. Averescu Street and later at 11 Union Square<sup>34</sup>. The printing was performed at the printing press belonging to the Association for Culture of the Romanian People from Maramureș. It had a 2 page format, an issue was 1 leu and a monthly subscription 30 lei.

*The Maramureș Front* maintained its information-type nature and format throughout its existence, but the content and the graphics were adjusted “on the fly” to public expectations: the front page was for editorials and debates on pressing issues of the day, notes about the latest political, economic cultural, social, administrative issues, local or national, the *Mischief* heading (the only “pokes”, jokes, found in its columns), and the second page was for local *News*, *Last minute* issues emerging in the international arena, ads and advertisements.

Regarding the collaborators, we see that they were already known to readers in Maramureș: Mihai Marina, Victor Marina, I. Dermer, Ștefan Tătaru, Mihai Bologa, L. Sângeozan, Mihai P. David, Octavia Corodian etc.

As expected, the debut issue from November 15, 1935 contained explanations for the public from its management, on the purpose and aspirations of the new Romanian publication in Maramureș. Among the objectives expressed we note the following: “We want to be the informants of the public, the reflex of everyone’s consciousness. We will inform society and ensure social control. *The Maramureș Front* will be a permanently open register for all happenings and opinions tending to galvanize the feeble pulse of social life”<sup>35</sup>. So these clear, simple, but very comprehensive targets, by gradually hiring the best pens in the Press Association and by presenting information with origins at news agencies like RADOR, Reuters, Transkontinent Press, were easily achieved.

Through a rich content of ideas and varied themes, connected to the events of the day, *The Maramureș Front* quickly made a mark on local media. The examination of administrative or cultural issues, the county's health status, causes for prices and measures against speculation, the plight of workers and craftsmen from Maramureș etc. and weekly surveys conducted by Alexandru Marina in various public institutions in the county, some transformed into real “media campaigns”, aroused a keen interest among Romanians from Maramureș.

Gradually, the eternal problems of Maramureș were woven together in the newspaper pages with new ones created by the circumstances of the moment: the lack of firewood, which was felt more acutely, as a consequence of

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<sup>34</sup>*The Maramureș Front*, in total, had 1264 issues and had its offices at the following addresses: 25 Union Square - from no.1 to no. 230 and from no. 587 (March 4, 1938) to no. 1109; 3 Gen. Averescu Street – from no. 231 (October 25, 1936) to no. 586; 11 Union Square (Kahan entrance) – from no. 1110 (February 11, 1940) to no. 1264 (August 31, 1940).

<sup>35</sup> *The Maramureș Front*, 1935, nr. 1, p. 1.

massive theft of wood from forests in the county, the isolation of Maramureș due to the occupation of Carpathian Ruthenia by the Hungarian in March 1939, anti-revisionism, supplying the population, concentrations, religious differences, helping Czech, German and Polish refugees etc.

From this comprehensive framework we remember the position of the paper regarding denominational misunderstandings in the county. Calling them extremely damaging to society in Maramureș, it bluntly criticized the divisive confessionalism that enslaved souls and supported the need for spiritual brotherhood between Romanians of the same blood, considering that in that difficult context, Romanian unity was the strongest line of defense<sup>36</sup>. For this reason, *The Maramureș Front* rallied to the feverish movement of re-building the nation which began in the capital of the “Voivodes’ Land” at the time, fighting in its columns to delete foreign cultural vestiges that still existed in Sighet.

Having the firm conviction that the Romanization and enlightenment of the city was still an unsolved problem and understanding the contribution of theater in supporting and developing the national sentiment, the periodical strongly advocated, for the duration of issue, in favor of setting up a Romanian theater and the construction of a suitable hall for theatrical performances. However, it soon became an echo of all Romanian cultural events in the county, by promoting conferences, performances, exhibitions, school celebrations, balls etc.

In obtaining the moral adhesion and material support of readers another aspect was also important, i.e. the periodical’s constant attempt to provide objective information, avoiding biased comments, attitude adopted including towards political news. In this category, we must stress the attention it gave to the Bolshevik propaganda and its attempts to expose those suspected of subversion. For example, we reproduce the following excerpt from the article ironically titled “*News from the Bolshevik Heaven*”: “A freckled Jew, Ana Pauker, came from Russia to bring in the country the seed of Bolshevism. Under an alias, she spun a real spider’s web in order to undermine the state’s interest and filled the country of spies, paid with good money, plucked from the poor peasants of Russia”<sup>37</sup>. This earnest persistence to enlighten the public on the goals of left extremism (communist) recorded some good results: “Intellectuals from Vișeu de Sus, revolted by the campaign that the newspaper *Morning [Dimineața]* was conducting in its columns, purchased all copies and a large number of peasants headed toward the center crucifix before which they burned all the copies”<sup>38</sup>.

Obviously, with the imposition of a state of emergency and censorship of the press, following the establishment of the dictatorship of Charles, the daily

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<sup>36</sup> *Ibidem*, 1940, no. 1151, p. 1.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibidem*, 1936, no. 84, p. 1.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibidem*, 1936, no. 117, p. 1.

paper's thematic area was restricted considerably, leaving room for propaganda for the regime and for promoting the cult personality of Charles II. As adherents of the young "mass party", important names in local politics were made popular during this period, such as the Dr. Vasile Ilea and Flaviu Jurca (former prefects), Dr. Iulius Hodor (former mayor), Dr. Arthur Anderco etc.

Another task that the periodical's management successfully fulfilled was meeting the growing demands of people towards the ongoing events on the world stage, while the major newspapers in the capital arrived late and with difficulty. *The Maramureş Front* was the only publication in the county that provided the freshest international information from renowned news agencies.

All this, combined with the sensationalism it cultivated by recording and commenting daily murders, suicides, disappearances and thefts committed in the county, forest offenses or "spicy" trials pending at the Sighet Court, contributed towards generating a continuous attention from the Maramureş public, which enabled its survival without subsidies from the authorities or other material aid until August 31, 1940, when Alexandru Marina fled to Bucharest<sup>39</sup>. Written in a balanced tone, without lending itself to polemics and attacks, the daily newspaper *Maramureş Front* functioned as a platform for discussing all local issues, an echo of pain in Maramureş.

Ephemeral or sustainable, objective or serving political interests, generally written by different cultural people, general information periodicals that appeared in Maramureş in the period between the two world wars satisfied the need for a plurality of voices and opinions, and by exercising social control contributed to the progress of society in Maramureş.

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<sup>39</sup> Mihai Marina, *op. cit.*, (manuscript, notebook 16), p. 221.

## THE ROMANIAN - ENGLISH RELATIONS SINCE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ROYAL DICTATORSHIP UNTIL THE MUNICH PACT

*Monica POP\**

***Abstract.** The work is based, in particular, on numerous and important Romanian and English diplomatic and political documents, published or unpublished, to be found in the Archive of the Foreign Affairs Ministry of Romania and in the Central Historical Archive, which refers to the foreign policy of Romania and Great Britain, to the political-diplomatic relations between them.*

*In terms of the political relations historiography of Romania and England, there is, basically, until now, nor in the Romanian historiography and, as far as is known, neither in the English one, a monograph specifically devoted to this theme setting out the essential aspects of the Romanian-English political relations in the interwar period. However, the Romanian historian Valeriu FL. Dobrinescu approaches the stage since 1919, but only until 1933, in his work dedicated to the Romanian-British relations, **Romanian-English Relations (1914-1933)**, and the historian Gheorghe Pașcalău addresses the same concern for the next period, 1933-1939, in his work entitled **Romania and Great Britain; political and diplomatic relations, 1933-1939**.*

***Keywords:** Romanian-English, relations, interwar period, political, documents*

The establishment of Carol's authoritarian regime made a good impression both both in the leading circles and the public opinion in England<sup>1</sup>.

The English press has enshrined on 11 February 1938, long articles on this event, commenting favorably the replacement of Goga Government replaced with the Patriarch Miron Cristea's Government.

The English evening newspapers have published, almost entirely, the proclamation of King Carol II, which showed what causes led to his decision to set up a personal authoritarian regime. In a base article on February 12, the

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<sup>1</sup> The National Archives of Romania, Bucharest, *Fond Microfilme Anglia*, roll 282, vol. 2385; *Universul*, 15 February 1938

*Daily Telegraph* boast the ability of King Carol II and hatred him success in his new endeavors, and the *Times* published an article as favorable to the King and the new Government. The English press has continued, and in the coming days to deal with the changes in Romania, the common note to all the items being the confidence that the Romanian Government will know to lead the country during the critical period of appeasement of the spirits<sup>2</sup>.

A good impression produced in England, also the statements about the foreign policy of Romania, made to the press on 16 February 1938, by Gh. Tătărescu, an ad-interim Minister of Foreign Affairs, in which, inter alia, they said: "The ceaseless efforts of Great Britain in order to guarantee peace and to safeguard the rights stipulated by treaties put us naturally in the line of its policy. A large development in all areas of the English-Romanian relations will be one of our head concerns". All the English papers published these statements on 17 February. *News Chronicle* noted with satisfaction that Romania remains next to Great Britain<sup>3</sup>.

With all the good greeting given to the new regime in Romania, the campaign against the anti-Semitic measures promoted by Goga-Cuza circles continued in England, also after the dismissal of Goga Government. Thus, on 16 February 1938, a lawmaker asked Eden, in the House of Commons, to point out if after the change of Government in Romania, the British Government will draw again the attention of the Romanian Government on the persecutions directed against the Jewish minority in Romania. Answering to this question, Eden said: "We have already informed you that the Great British Minister in Bucharest, according to the instructions that I have given him, reminded the previous Minister of Foreign Affairs of Romania the interest that the British Government has always given to the minorities' treaty, whose signatory is. The British Government will continue to maintain this interest and I am convinced that its attitude is clear enough for the new Romanian Government"<sup>4</sup>.

Eden's resignation has worried the Romanian Government, which was unable to consider in its Minister's opinion in London. After that, it meant the beginning of a new period of total unselfishness of England as the Central Europe. It also meant the cessation of the resistance against the German expansion, a further weakening of the Society of Nations, a retreat in the selfish policy to defend the pure and Imperial English interests, a great diplomatic victory for Italy, and in particular, for Germany. Instead of Eden, they appointed Lord Halifax, who was a great friend of Hitler's Germany. Trying to mitigate the bad impression produced in Romania by Eden's resignation, the English Ambassador in Turkey, Percy Loraine, sought to persuade N. Petrescu-

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<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*, Fond *Presa externă*, file 991, f. 37, 41, 105, 135; file 866, f. 48; *Buletine*, file 9, f. 61

<sup>3</sup> *Ibidem*, *Presa internă*, file 379, f. 138-139; *Presa externă*, file 591, f. 33-35

<sup>4</sup> *Ibidem*, *Presa externă*, file 991, f. 56; file 866, f. 49

Comnen, an under-Secretary of State at the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs with whom he had a talk on 27 February 1938, in Ankara, that the Romanian Government had no reason to pity too much about the change of the Foreign Minister of England<sup>5</sup>.

At the Conference on March 13, 1938, which took place at the Royal Palace in Bucharest, attended by King Carol II, Armand Călinescu and Gheorghe Tătărescu, Armand Călinescu proposed, among other things, externally, to postpone the intended visit of the King in England, considered inappropriate at the time. The King has endorsed this proposal. As a result, on 15 March, the Marshal of the Royal Court noticed that taking into account the international situation, King Carol II decided that his visit to London, intended for 22 March, to be postponed to a later date. An identical statement was given on 15 March, also in London, at Buckingham Palace. Generally, in the English press, they commented favorably the postponement of the visit of the King of Romania in London, which appreciated it as a sign of wisdom from a sovereign who considered imperative to remain at his command at a time when the international situation created a double effort from the leaders of European States for peacekeeping. In addition, the Bucharest news relating to the postponement of the visit of the King has produced no surprise in the diplomatic circles in London, given the seriousness of the events in the Central Europe<sup>6</sup>.

After the invasion of Czechoslovakia, the Romanian Government, concerned about its fate, knew the English Government's position, which has been reduced to supporting the Hitler's claims against Czechoslovakia, position that has negatively affected the Romanian-English relations.

The English public opinion has received with satisfaction the news about the measures taken by the Romanian Government in April 1938, to control the rise of the Iron Guard. The British newspapers the *Times*, the *Manchester Guardian*, *News Chronicle*, *Daily Telegraph*, *Evening Standard*, the *Daily Herald* and *Star* of 19 April 1938 have commented favorably the repressing of the Iron Guard and the arrest of some of its leaders, dedicating these events in Romania long capital articles, full of eulogies to the King Carol II and the Romanian Government<sup>7</sup>. Such measures taken counter the legionnaires, known for their orientation to the Reich III, have fostered the trends favorable to intensify the British-Romanian trade that had begun to unfold after the annexation of Austria among financial circles in the City.

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<sup>5</sup> The State Archives, Bucharest, Fond 71, England, vol. 8, telegram no. 44, signed by Grigorcea, London, 21 February., 1938

<sup>6</sup> *Timpul*, 17 and 21 martie 1938; Fond M.P.N., *Presa externă*, file 942, f. 6, 11-13

<sup>7</sup> State Archives, Bucharest. Fond 71, England, vol. 40, telegram no. 117, signed by Grigorcea, London, 19 April 1938; *Timpul*, 22 April 1938

In early May, the former Minister of Finance, Mackena, the President of Miland Bank and one of the most important characters of the economy of England, declared to a Romanian important personality being in London, in passing, "We are ready to give Romania the largest economic support"<sup>8</sup>. However, towards the end of June 1938, in the favorable attitude of the English official circles as the issue to intensify the Romanian-English economic cooperation, an entirely unexpected change has intervened. Thus, when Grigorcea went to the *Foreign Office* to communicate that the Romanian Government would see with good eyes that an English economic delegation to come to Bucharest during the month of July, the political Director replied: "The delegation could not come during the month of July, but only in the autumn. The Government has set up an inter-ministerial commission, which would need first to study the problem and develop a detailed plan. Otherwise, it would have not been good to have too high expectations on this issue"<sup>9</sup>.

Given that the English Government was in no hurry to take measures to tie the economic relations with the countries of the South-Eastern Europe in general, and with Romania, in particular, the English economic delegation, Leith Ross, the chief economic adviser of the British Government did, not lead which came to Bucharest at the end of August 1938, anymore. It was led by Lee, and never discussed the question of intensifying the British-Romanian economic cooperation relations, as plans during Tătărescu's visit to London, but limited to negotiations aimed the modifying the agreement of the British-Romanian payments in vigor<sup>10</sup>. On 7 September 1938, the newspaper the *Financial Times* publishes the news from its correspondent in Bucharest that a British mission, headed by Lord Lloyd and having among its members Sir Frederick Leith Ross and Ronald Strong, will arrive in Romania, with the aim of finding a means for a closer economic cooperation between Romania and Great Britain.

The *Daily Telegraph* published a similar story from its correspondent in Bucharest<sup>11</sup>. In fact, the news about sending an English economic mission of utmost importance in Bucharest, chaired by Lord Lloyd and with the participation of Sir Leith Ross was, as Grigorcea<sup>12</sup> said, inaccurate information, the English government did not intent to send Leith Ross before answering the German-Czechoslovak conflict. Since the launch of the news item about Leith Ross's journey was badly seen by the Chamberlein Government, which did not want to indispose Germany. Grigorcea asked Comnen to dispose the *Daily*

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<sup>8</sup> *Ibidem*, telegram no. 135, signed by Grigorcea, London, 9 May 1938

<sup>9</sup> *Ibidem*, vol. 40, telegram no. 194, signed by Grigorcea, London, 7 July, 1938

<sup>10</sup> *Argus*, 24 August 1938

<sup>11</sup> The National Archives of Romania, Bucharest, *Fond 71, Anglia*, vol. 40, telegram, 1066, signed by Traian, London, 7 September 1938

<sup>12</sup> *Ibidem*, vol. 9 bis, telegram, no. 238, signed by Grigorcea, London, 8 September 1938

*Telegraph* newspaper's representative in Bucharest, who, apart from this news, released also other news inaccurate and regrettable, as that about the near arrival of Tătărescu in London to prepare the official visit of King Carol and for another mission of extreme importance. They asked him where from he had those information, and invited him in a discreet manner, to stop spreading such absurd news and lacking in tact, which constrained the Romanian Legation to lose a precious time with the disclaimers.

On the evening of 28 September 1938, Michael Palairret, called temporarily the Head of the Commission of England in Bucharest took over the post to the Romanian Foreign Minister, according to the instructions received, a personal message from Lord Halifax. In the message, the British Foreign Minister showed that he had read with great interest the reports he had received from his colleagues in connection with the discussions that he had with Comnen. Further, he emphasized the decision of sending Sir Michael Palairret. Sir knew personally the people of the Romanian State during his previous mission in Romania, so they should interpret this decision as a testimony to the desire of the British Government to do all it could during of that critical period passed through by the two countries to maintain the contact and collaboration most closely with the Romanian Government. It also reveals that "what concerning the opinion the Majesty's Government, is of great importance, in this conjuncture, as those States which are interested in the future of the Southeastern Europe to consult with each other if necessary"<sup>13</sup>. Therefore, he continued, the British Government would consult with the Romanian Government "at all the points of mutual interest for the two countries, which may occur"<sup>14</sup>, hoping that the Romanian Government, in its turn, would be also ready to consult it at all points where he would believe that it could be useful. At the end of the message, he added that the statute of the nationalities enacted by the Romanian Government has made a very good impression in England. In addition, the British ruling circles still hoped that the European situation would allow King Carol II to make postponed his visit to Britain, which would contribute to strengthen the friendly relations between the two countries.

In a telegram of 1 October 1938, Grigorcea made the following observations in relation to the Munich agreement and the British-German declaration: "The achievement of the agreement is due to the firm attitude of England only. More important than the agreement is the Chamberlain-Hitler yesterday's declaration. The British Prime Minister attaches to this statement great importance. Chamberlain had done so, his previous desire to be closer to Germany that I reported relentlessly for more than a year. They cannot know, yet, to what extent, he slaughters the Danube basin, but, as far as I know him, I think he

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<sup>13</sup> *Ibidem*

<sup>14</sup> *Ibidem*

sacrificed so much. In the newly created situation, France stands out in any case weak, and Russia completely removed from the European game”<sup>15</sup>.

The ruling circles in Bucharest gave, after 1918, a special attention to amplify the political and diplomatic, the economic and cultural relations with the Great Powers, including England, this being, incidentally, one of the constants of the Romania’s foreign policy. *The Anglo-Romanian Society* in whose leadership well-known personalities of the British political, cultural and ecclesiastical life played an important role in promoting the bilateral relations, in the knowledge by the English nation of the aspirations towards the Romanians’ unity.

The Anglo-Romanian relations since 1922 had as main objective the economic and financial issues. N. Titulescu’s credentials as a Minister in the capital of England had opened an important stage in the history of the relations between London and Bucharest. Romania has pursued, during this period, with great attention the evolution of the Britain’s foreign policy and its position towards the major events of the international life. Faithful to its traditional policy, and quarreled with the influence of French in the Southeastern Europe, Great Britain has accorded less attention to its political relations with Romania. The diplomacy of Bucharest understood that England was not “vital interested”<sup>16</sup> in the Center and Eastern Europe issues.

The visit from May 1924 of the Romanian Royal family in England, as well as the contacts of I. G. Duca with the representatives of the *Foreign Office* since 1924 to 1926, are important moments of the British-Romanian political relations in that period. The trip ended with a “perfect success”<sup>17</sup>, an opinion shared, unanimously, also by the English press.

The trade relations with England were governed by the principles laid down on the occasion in connection with the exchange of notes on 11 and 12 May 1923, between H. Dering and I. G. Duca, a provisional agreement based on the most-favored-nation clause and the new Treaty of Commerce and Navigation concluded on 6 August 1930.

Our trade balance towards England, until 1929, was passive. However, since 1930 until 1933, the balance account becomes active.

In the English literature, if there is, as far as they know, no work to address the issue of the Romanian-English relations in the interwar years, there is instead a series of works<sup>18</sup> dedicated to the interwar foreign policy of Great Britain.

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<sup>15</sup> *Ibidem*, telegram 265, signed by Grigorcea, London, 1 October 1938

<sup>16</sup> Valeriu Fl. Dobrinescu, *op. cit.*, p. 152

<sup>17</sup> *Ibidem*

<sup>18</sup> E. H. Carr, *British Foreign Policy from 1918 to 1939*, London, 1940; M.R.D. Foot, *British Foreign Policy since 1898*, London, 1956; G. P. Gooch, *British Foreign Policy 1919-1939*, London, 1968; C. L. Mowat, *Britain between the Wars, 1918-1940*, London, 1955; P.S.

Related to the topic being discussed, it is worthy of being remembered, also the work of René Albrecht Carrié<sup>19</sup>, *A Diplomatic History since the Congress of Vienna*, a paper that presents the general problem of the international relations in the interwar period.

Due to the fact that Romania and England have adopted opposing attitudes towards the issue of the revising the treaties, the Romanian-English political relations have experienced some moments of cold in their evolution, although they were generally good in the interwar years, especially at the level of the Governments.

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Northedge, *The Troubled Giant: Britain among the Great Powers, 1916-1939*, London, 1966; P. A. Reynolds, *British Foreign Policy in the Interwar Years*, London, 1954, A. J. P. Taylor, *English History 1914-1945*, Oxford, 1965

<sup>19</sup> René Albrecht Carrié, *A Diplomatic History since the Congress of Vienna*, London, 1958

# UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTARY TESTIMONIES ABOUT THE JEWS FROM HUNGARY AND NORTHERN TRANSYLVANIA CROSSING THE BORDER INTO ROMANIA (IN THE SUMMER OF 1944)

*Antonio FAUR\**

*Abstract.* The author has used unpublished documentary sources, bringing into the scientific circuit the reports and information on the Jews, given by the Romanian prefects in the south of Bihor County, that was part of Romanian administration during the years of the Second World War. They refer to the situation of the Jews in the northern part of the county, which remained under Hungarian administration, where a series of extreme anti-Semite measures were taken, such as the establishment of two ghettos in Oradea. The documents also pay close attention to the phenomenon of clandestine border crossing by the Jews. In this respect, it is spoken about the creation of pathways of illegal crossings over the border from Hungary into Romania by the Jewish people. Both ordinary citizens and the authorities, such as Mihai Marina, the General Consul of Romania, got involved in the risky action to rescue the Jews.

**Key words:** documents, rescue, Bihor County, Mihai Marina, Jews.

The issue of saving the Jews from Hungary and Northern Transylvania during April-August 1944 (in April the authorities of the Horthyst state began to take steps to admit the Jews into ghettos, about which many Jews found out only then; some of them started to cross the border fraudulently into Romania until 23 August 1944, when Romania came out of the alliance with the Axis and the anti-Jewish measures taken by Antonescu government were automatically cancelled), by their crossing the border into Romania represented, during the last decades, a priority of regional historical research<sup>1</sup>, achieving a

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<sup>1</sup> We are specifically referring to the research regarding the “pathways” from Bihor County of “fraudulently” crossing the border, many of them being identified under documentary aspect (see Antonio Faur, *România – poartă deschisă pentru salvarea evreilor (aprilie-august 1944) din Ungaria și Transilvania de Nord*, Editura Universității din Oradea, Oradea, 2010, p. 15-23, 33-37, 43-48; Idem, *Teodor Popoviciu, salvatorul de la moarte sigură a sute de evrei (1944)*, Editura Universității din Oradea, Oradea, 2010, p. 9-17, 26-96; Idem, *Un deceniu din existența*

significant chapter of our historiography. Moreover, an expert in this phenomenon expressed the following conviction in 1987: “*We will find a historian to deepen every detail in order to tell this extraordinary epic because of which 4.000 Jews <sup>2</sup>(our underl.-A.F.) were saved from deportation*” (to the death camps in Poland – n.n).

In the same year, the famous historian Oliver Lustig, a victim of the Holocaust, was evoking - in his book suggestively entitled, *Bloody Diary* - a relevant case, that of Nora Diamantstein that ended her statement with these words worthy of attention: “... I cannot forget the kindness shown by so many Romanians who have tried to snatch us from the misfortune we were to face. It would be difficult to enumerate their names – the note of the same witness – since they were countless”<sup>3</sup>. Of course, from our point of view, researchers should lean more efficiently upon the existing documents in the internal archives and memoir texts written by some Jews from Northern Transylvania (from April to July 1944) to identify a large number of Jews who tried to escape from the place where they were “hunted” by the Hungarian authorities, across the border from Hungary to Romania, where they remained alive.

Some Jews, concerned about the application of the so-called “final solution”, took their destiny into their own hands and acted to convince their countrymen to do anything to get out alive (to hide and, finally, to flee to Romania). Zsolt Bela, a publicist from Oradea (who was also imprisoned along with his entire family in the ghetto of Oradea, where nearly 30,000 Jews from the town on Crișul Repede River and from the northern of Bihor County were gathered) emphasized the true fact that there were some brave Jews who, “by defying any danger, were travelling with false documents, dressed in Hungarian gala clothes and even in military uniform. They were going from ghetto to ghetto, *trying to awaken their peers to reality, urging them to escape, to hide, to flee to Romania*<sup>4</sup>” (our underline-A.F.). Therefore, such daring cases were reported, along with many others, by intimidated people who could not believe that the Hungarian authorities would treat them with such harshness and contempt, proving to be an effective tool in implementing the Nazi plan to eliminate the Jewish element from Europe.

From the many reflections on the real state of things and the dilemmas the victims of the Holocaust lived, we reproduce the one formulated by the above mentioned author: “We were worrying, each of us struggling to find solutions to ensure the salvation of the entire family.

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*evreilor bihoreni (1942-1952). Contribuții istoriografice și documentare*, Editura Mega Cluj-Napoca, 2012, p.91-105

<sup>2</sup> Gh. I. Bodea, *Tragedia evreilor din nordul Transilvaniei*, Editura Hiperion, Cluj-Napoca, 2001, p. 343

<sup>3</sup> Oliver Lustig, *Jurnal însângerat*, Editura Militară, 1987, p. 220

<sup>4</sup> Oliver Lustig, *op. cit.*, 194

But to hide, to run, and to try to cross the border illegally with the entire family seems absurd.

How to hide, how to flee into the woods with babies who can barely stand up, with a suffering mother, or with a baby brother?

You could have done that by yourself.

In any case the chances of success were much higher. But how to leave your mother alone without any help? And who will take care of the little ones? How could you run like a coward, just to save yourself? Could you live alone without knowing anything about your family abandoned in danger of death?

To sneak into the darkness of the night, risking to be caught by the Horthyst and brought back to the ghetto yet *managing to set foot outside in Romania, to act as a saved person* (our underline-A.F.) or to stand by your people and share the destiny with them, trying to protect them ...?”<sup>5</sup>

Randolph L. Braham, the American historian and professor, a native of Northern Transylvania, became conspicuous, over the decades, as a remarkable specialist, a real authority on the Holocaust issue in Hungary. He is the author of numerous books and studies about it, the editor of papers (on this subject) printed in the U.S., Hungary and Romania. Naturally, therein he referred to the Jews from Northern Transylvania, which were mostly confined into ghettos or included into forced labour detachments, true means of physical destruction of the younger Jews. He also had in mind the actions to save the Jews of Hungary and Northern Transylvania, which crossed the border illegally from Hungary into Romania.

In 1989 Randolph L. Braham noted that “the rescue of the Jews of Hungary” represented “a particular aspect of the Jewish issue in Romania”<sup>6</sup>, being the first to make an interpretation of this kind. Moreover, in March 1944, when, “the Nazi measures to exterminate the Jews were introduced in Hungary”, Romania - he thought – “became”, as he had mentioned “in one of his books”, *a true oasis for thousands of hunted Jews who were rushed into the gas chambers and crematoria in Auschwitz*”<sup>7</sup> (our underline-A.F.).

The American historian returns, in a conclusive manner, to the issue in question, about which he states: “The Romanians did everything they could to help as many Hungarian Jews as possible cross the border. Once in Romania, they were not subjected to unreasonable constraints. *Thousands of Hungarian Jews illegally crossed the border into Romania, since the time Hungary began*

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<sup>5</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 219

<sup>6</sup> *Magazin istoric*, 1989, nr. 3, p. 36-37

<sup>7</sup> *Ibidem*. Although Hitler’s authorities “pressured the Romanians to take measures to prevent such an exodus”, the Romanian authorities gave “confidential instructions” to the local subordinate institutions (especially to the gendarmerie) not to block the crossing of the Jews from Hungary and Northern Transylvania over the border in Romania. According to Randolph Braham, this is due to the “traditional humanity” of the Romanian people (*Ibidem*).

*their massive deportation. Most of them settled down in Bucharest, Arad and Timișoara*”<sup>8</sup> (our underline-A.F.).

The previous year, the essayist Ion Ianoși, was recalling some aspects of the topic in question in an autobiographical book, by submitting a direct and impressive testimony: “In 1944 the Horthyst gendarmes took part in the deportation of all Jews to the extermination camps. Among them there were families close to the ones of my grandparents’ and my parents’. Funny thing is that, the border being very near and the mountain paths well known to everybody, they could easily reach through Neruja, the forest at the end of the logging, to Nerej village in Vrancea County ... However, they did not realise the seriousness of the imminent danger. Nearly all of them perished”<sup>9</sup>.

To get to know the local dramatic realities in the spring and summer of 1944 (i.e. those that happened in Bihor County, divided in two administrations, Romanian in the south and Hungarian in the north), we will refer to unpublished documents or little known ones in order to find out about the mood and experience lived by the Jewish people and the measures taken by the Horthyst authorities against them. Valuable sources of information on these facts and events are undoubtedly the reports of the prefects about everything that was considered important from the perspective of the Romanian authorities in the south of Bihor County.

In the chapter on “minority population” of such a document (for April), the prefect, Lt. Col. Alexandru Popp, noted that “the approach of the Russian front is considered by the Jews as a way to ease their situation. [It] is not shown [openly], but they are glad the German forces were defeated”. Simultaneously, other information is recorded, this time on the Jews from Beiuș who had relatives in Hungary and, as such, “were very saddened by the news they got there” (during April), meaning that the Hungarian government “were placing severe restrictions on Jews”<sup>10</sup>, which proved an anti-Semitic policy aggression unknown before, which, moreover, would develop into a climax by applying the “final solution” to the Jewish issue. The Jews in Beiuș, during their discussions, concluded that “the sweetest regime applied to the Jews in Europe was still the one in Romania”<sup>11</sup>.

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<sup>8</sup> *Ibidem*. In another part, R.L. Braham concluded that: “Romania provided shelter for the Jewish refugees from the neighbouring countries, including many thousands of Jewish refugees from Hungary” (Gh. I. Bodea, *op. cit.*, p. 351)

<sup>9</sup> Ion Ianoși, *Internaționala mea. Cronica unei vieți*, Editura Polirom, Iași, 2012, p. 17. His grandparents, who lived in Brașov and had their “own” houses, decided “in full agreement to remain in place. The reason: they will be able to redeem their lives here, not in Hungary. His intuition was correct and saving” (*Ibidem*).

<sup>10</sup> Arhivele Naționale-Serviciul Județean Bihor (în continuare A.N.S.J.Bh.), fond *Legiunea de Jandarmi Bihor* (în continuare Leg.Jd. Bh.), Cabinetul Prefectului, dos. 45/1944, f. 377

<sup>11</sup> *Ibidem*

In the informative *Report* of May 1944, the same prefect referred to the new situation created by the Hungarian authorities to the Jews of Oradea, where two ghettos “were established, one for the Jews living in [the] municipality [Oradea] and one for the ones in the county”<sup>12</sup> (our underline-A.F.). The document further signals the immediate consequences of the organization of Oradea ghettos, where “restrictions” and “internal rules” were introduced to sanction an atmosphere of terror in this world of isolation. As a natural reaction to such an anti-Semitic attitude, “many Jews are hiding in the woods, while others are trying to cross the border into Romania. Polish Jews come together with them to Hungary”<sup>13</sup> (our underline-A.F.). Regarding the latter ones, we have accurate documentary information. In the *informative note* no. 38 from April 28, 1944, Sergeant P. Bejenaru (chief of the gendarmes in Ginta) reported that four Jews were caught while crossing “illegally” the border from Hungary to Romania the same day. One of them (Krakovska Jan, a former “Polish subject” aged 34 years) “was coming” from Budapest<sup>14</sup>.

The information “gathered in the field” by the agent no. 245 (namely Ioan Cătănoiu<sup>15</sup>, a gendarmerie sergeant) are interesting under a documentary aspect. In his *Report* (from 24 May 1944), he asserted that “the population of Sântelec commune”, situated near the border (on Romanian territory), effectively contributed to the Jews’ actions to fraudulently cross the border into Romania. They “made a main occupation out of *favouring the clandestine crossing the border*, as well as mediating the discussions held at the border”<sup>16</sup> (our underline-A.F.) Therefore, it is about an authentic path, of crossing over the border in the area of the respective village, which operated during the month of May with obvious results. The aforementioned agent also stated that “on the stretch of border between the commune of Mierlău and Hotar, in Bihor County, there are the most illegal crossings over the border ... *Even the Jews coming from Hungary enter Romania through this boundary sector*”<sup>17</sup> (our underline - A.F.).

The Commander of Gendarmerie Legion in Bihor, Lt. Col. Ștefan Rusu, taking note of this situation, ordered the Gendarmerie Section in Ceica to take urgent measures such as:

1. To organise “frequent watches” on the “exodus” itineraries of the Jewish refugees;

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<sup>12</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 1121

<sup>13</sup> *Ibidem*, 1123

<sup>14</sup> Antonio Faur, *România – poartă deschisă pentru salvarea evreilor (aprilie-august 1944)...*, p. 87-88

<sup>15</sup> *Ibidem*, p.112

<sup>16</sup> A.N.-S.J.Bh. fond *Legiunea de Jandarmi Bihor*, Inv. 32, dos. 45/1945, f. 1073

<sup>17</sup> *Ibidem*

2. The Gendarmerie stations to “patrol” as “often” as possible in the areas near the border;

3. The forests in the area, where refugees “might hide”, should be considered (for “patrol”)<sup>18</sup>.

It was believed that, by adopting such “measures”, the intensity of clandestine crossing the border (from Hungary and Northern Transylvania in Romania) of the persecuted Jews would be higher in the morning, which did not happen. For example, on May 27, 1944, the same agent (No. 245) was given a “searching order”, with the mission to “trail” a group of 15 Jews, who were handed over to ¼ Border Guard Battalion in Beiuș to be crossed over the border into Hungary. The previously mentioned agent informed that “there are suspicions that the Jews coming into the country illegally” are “*led to Arad by certain interested people who also obtain various documents for them*”<sup>19</sup> (our underline - A.F.). Those suspicions were truly founded, so it was ordered to get information about the people who were in contact with the Jewish refugees, who took them to the border (i.e. who the smugglers were) and after that, from the border in Hidișel to Arad”<sup>20</sup>. After all, they were requesting more precise information on the illegal crossing “paths” of the border and, of course, the people who participated in these actions to rescue the Jews and those accompanying them in Romania, from their entry to Arad, where there was a real *centre* that was taking them (by a well-organized Jewish group, headed by Joachim Schreiber, the Prime Rabbi of the Orthodox Community in Arad<sup>21</sup>). This centre was similar to that in Turda, from another important “route” to rescue the Jews in Cluj area, which is better known due to the emergence of memoirs that contain some assessments, sometimes controversial, about how clandestine crossings took place over the border from Hungary and Northern Transylvania into Romania.

Another gendarme (with no. 246), identified by us in the person of Vasile Mureșan<sup>22</sup>, investigated the activities of the border guards at the Frontier Picket of Borșa commune. He found out that they had committed “all sorts of abuses” (they left the border picket and place of residence without the approval of their commander, they offered Hungarian money to be bought by the residents of the village, they “facilitated” conversations across the border), leading to intolerable situations: “In the house of the individual Gherghel Gavril from Borșa there is a refugee woman (which could only be Jewish – our note), *who, in many occasions, spoke and sent clandestine letters across the border* (our underline – A.F.) with the help of the soldier Stupariu”<sup>23</sup>.

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<sup>18</sup> *Ibidem*

<sup>19</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 1102

<sup>20</sup> *Ibidem*

<sup>21</sup> Antonio Faur, *op. cit.*, p. 236-237

<sup>22</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 112

<sup>23</sup> A.N.-S.J.Bh. fond *Legiunea de Jandarmi Bihor*, Inv. 32, dos. 45/1945, f. 1058-1059

From the agent's research (conducted by a specialist in "gathering" information, therefore they have full credibility, especially since they provided the names of those mentioned in the stories) it follows that in the border area, near the commune Borşa, they managed – with the support of local people, of the Romanian border guards and some Jewish refugees – to establish a pathway to rescue Jews from Hungary and Northern Transylvania, along with many others, which the historical researchers of these issues have not yet discovered, although they are of real interest for historiography. The moment most of them will be revealed, then one can argue that the border between Hungary and Romania has been relatively easy to cross (despite all the measures taken by the authorities on both sides of it and by the Nazi occupiers); it was rather pierced by numerous local rescue pathways that had a vital significance for all the Jews who were helped to cross clandestinely ("fraudulently" as stated in the documents) the border into Romania.

In a "search order" (from 3 June 1944), issued by the commander of the Gendarmerie Legion of Bihor to agent 245 (sergeant John Cătănoiu), it is mentioned precisely the anti-Semitic policies of the Hungarian authorities and the Jews' reaction to it: "*Following the measures taken against the Jews living in Hungary ..., some of them enter the country illegally and are led to Arad (our underline – A.F.), where they are provided with various documents by the Jewish community*"<sup>24</sup>. It also establishes an urgent "mission" for the above mentioned agent, who was to conduct "investigations" in three communes (Ginta, Tinca and Holod) to "*gather information*" so necessary to catch "*the Jews entering the country illegally, and [who] are taken to Arad by some interested people*"<sup>25</sup>.

The behaviour of the guards from Şauaieu Picket is presented in an informative note (from June 26, 1944). Lately they have been walking dressed "in the best clothes, taken from the Jews who crossed the border illegally in the country"<sup>26</sup>, without being "caught" and turned in to the gendarmes in the commune. It is worth noting that this information is associated with others, strengthening our claims about the existence of active channels in the efforts to rescue the Jews from Şauaieu village, which were also "crossed" by other Jews with the help of Dr. Mihai Marina, the General Consul of Romania (Oradea)<sup>27</sup>.

In the informative *Report* for June 1944, the Prefect of Bihor County makes a brief reference to the fate of Jews in Oradea: "*On 3 May 1944, all the Jews in Oradea were gathered in a ghetto and after three weeks they got on*

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<sup>24</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 1776. They again asked for information about the "guides" who "facilitated" the Jews' crossing the border into Romania and about the inhabitants who "led" them to Arad.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibidem*

<sup>26</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 1782

<sup>27</sup> Antonio Faur, *op. cit.*, p. 46-47

*trains and transported to an unknown place ...*"<sup>28</sup> (our underline- A.F.). The word had come out, therefore, about the organization of the central ghetto of Oradea (in which almost 30,000 Jewish inhabitants were concentrated) and also about their deportation by the Horthyst authorities. Oradea town was depopulated of the largest number of the Jews in Northern Transylvania by this Horthyst action, thus leading to a human tragedy which has no term of comparison throughout history. Not even the Mongol invasion of 1241, which destroyed almost all local edifices, managed to eliminate such a large number of people. Therefore, the deportation of the Jews from Oradea was the most barbaric act in the history of the town, due to the collaboration of the Horthyst authorities with the Nazis, which we ought not to forget.

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<sup>28</sup>A.N.-S.J.Bh. fond *Legiunea de Jandarmi Bihor*, Inv. 32, dos. 45/1945, f. 2123

# THE SOVIET BLOC POLICY OF NEUTRALIZING NATO IN THE BALKANS IN THE 1950s

*Penka PEEVA\**

***Abstract:** The basic purpose of this paper was to investigate the Soviet Bloc policy in the 1950s, which was directed against US and NATO initiatives to create military alliances in the Balkans. A set of archival documents, published diplomatic records, newspapers and secondary sources on Soviet foreign policy and events in the Balkans had been researched and analyzed to reveal details of the complicated interaction between the Super Powers – the USSR and the USA, and their moves in connection with the struggle for predominance in the Balkans. The results of the study indicated that Moscow successfully counteracted the US policy of detaching socialist Yugoslavia from the Soviet orbit and binding it with NATO engagements. Yet, it failed when attempted to deploy the same strategy toward Greece and Turkey by binding them with cooperation engagements with the other Balkan countries and consequently pulling them away from NATO.*

***Keywords:** Cold War, the Balkans, cooperation initiatives, 1950s*

## **Introduction**

After the World War II the Balkans turned into a miniature projection of the global rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union. The dividing line between the two spheres of influence emerging after the Second World War placed the Balkan countries in opposing camps. Bulgaria, Rumania and Albania belonged to the Soviet bloc, Greece and Turkey – to the Western bloc, Yugoslavia followed its own road of development, trying to stay aside from either bloc. Each superpower tried to assure its predominance in the Balkans, taking advantage of favorable circumstances and opportunities. The American Wedge strategy, which appeared to be successful at a certain period of time, met the resourceful and active moves of Soviet leadership, which strengthened Soviet positions in the Balkans, temporarily endangered after the rift with Yugoslavia. In its turn, the Soviet Union attempted to apply the same strategy to draw Greece and Turkey away from NATO by binding them with cooperation agreements with the other Balkan countries.

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The purpose of this article is to investigate the cooperation initiatives in the Balkans, sponsored by the Soviet Union in the second half of the 1950s as a counteraction to the US Wedge strategy. The analysis of the events was built against the background of Cold War realities and the complicated relations between the two Super Powers. This essay looks into the Soviet strategy in the Balkans and examines the basic motives of the Soviet party leadership. It also attempts to give an assessment of the Soviet regional strategy and its impact on neutralizing NATO expansion in the region. The main statement is that the geopolitical interests and planning of the Great Powers defined the framework within which the domestic political developments and the foreign policy orientation of the Balkan countries were predetermined.

### **NATO advance in the Balkans and Soviet counteraction**

In 1954, in Bled (Yugoslavia), Communist Yugoslavia, the Greek Monarchy and the Turkish Republic signed a 20-year 'Treaty of Alliance, Political Cooperation and Mutual Assistance,' based on collective security against possible aggression from the Soviet satellites – Bulgaria, Romania and Albania. This was a peculiar alliance, according to the foreign political annalists, as these countries had a different political and social system, and historically speaking, it was difficult to say that they had ever been good friends and allies.

Yet, the alliance came into existence and one of the main factors for it, apart from the security considerations of the Balkan countries, was the Soviet-Yugoslav discord in 1948 when Yugoslavia was isolated from the East European communist bloc with all political and economical relations terminated. The United States took advantage of this opportunity as it was a long-expected chance to detach a communist country from the Soviet bloc periphery and by applying its Wedge strategy to gain predominance in the Balkans. Thus, with the US approval and encouragement the alliance was created. Avoiding military and political commitments Washington succeeded in binding a socialist state to two NATO members, hoping to breach the Soviet bloc and to provoke its disintegration. For the time being American Wedge strategy started working successfully.<sup>1</sup>

The Soviet leadership did not stay indifferent to NATO advance in the Balkans. Analyzing the event as a direct danger to the integrity of the Soviet bloc Moscow initiated a series of moves to counteract the American plans. These moves coincided with important changes of the Soviet conduct and reevaluation of Stalin's foreign policy after his death.

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<sup>1</sup> Penka Peeva, *Containing the Enemy: American Strategy in the Balkans (1952-1955)*, *Analele Universității Din Oradea, Istorie – Arheologie*, TOM XXII, p. 147.

On Mar 15 1953, just a few days after the death of Stalin, the new Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR Georgi Malenkov, in a short statement before the Supreme Council of the USSR on the Soviet foreign policy, initiated his “Peace offensive”. He declared that there could not be any dispute or issue which could not be resolved peacefully by a mutual agreement between the concerned countries, including the United States.<sup>2</sup> This statement was followed by a series of gestures to the Western countries on questions of disagreement and sources of tension between the East and the West. These gestures and suggestions were accompanied by a noticeable change in the public speeches concerning the United States. The hostile propaganda campaign in the Soviet press, styled “I hate America”, was limited; the visible marks off the Stalin’s regime created the impression of a new soft policy and Malenkov’s image appeared surprisingly as not so much a “Stalin’s make”.<sup>3</sup>

### **Soviet-Yugoslav rapprochement**

In the light of these changes a new approach to the events in the Balkans was formulated in order to neutralize the expanding American influence there.

Firstly, the Soviet leadership took steps to normalize its relations with Yugoslavia and, indeed, between the spring of 1953 and July 1955 there could be seen a sharp change in the Soviet attitude to Yugoslavia. The Russian historian Andrei Edemskii published two documents, which illustrated the radical change of opinion of the Soviet party leadership between the spring and autumn of 1953. This change opened the door to Soviet-Yugoslav rapprochement. A top-secret inter-party document, dated May 27, 1953, prepared by the Head of the IV European Sector of the Foreign Ministry Zimianin and addressed to Vyacheslav Molotov, read as follows: “The internal policy of the Tito clique, after breaking with the USSR and peoples’ democratic countries, aimed at restoring capitalism in Yugoslavia, at the liquidation of all the democratic accomplishments of the Yugoslav people, and at the fascistization of the state and army personnel. In foreign policy, the efforts of the ruling circles of Yugoslavia aim at broadening economic and political ties with capitalist states, first and foremost with the USA and England. This has made Yugoslavia dependent on them and has drawn it [Yugoslavia] into aggressive blocs organized by the Anglo-American imperialists....” The second document illustrates the radical change of opinion reached at the 31 May 1954 Presidium meeting in which the need to foil the “anti-Soviet plans of

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<sup>2</sup> *Pravda*, 15 March 1953.

<sup>3</sup> Penka Peeva, *Aizenhauer, Studenata voina I mirnata alternative (Eisenhower, Cold War and Peace Alternative)*, Burgas, 2008, ISBN 978-954-8422-57-4, pp. 63-64.

the Anglo-American imperialists and to use all means to strengthen our influence over the Yugoslav people” prevailed. On October 21, 1954, Zimianin wrote: “...it seems appropriate to put forward measures for the further development of Soviet-Yugoslav relations that would force the Yugoslav government to come closer to the USSR and the peoples’ democracies.”<sup>4</sup>

Likely, the Soviet historian Ar.Ulunjan published an inter-party document, which demonstrated the new features in the approach to the Balkan problem. This document included a review of the broadcast, carried out by the illegal CPG radio-station “Free Greece” in Romania and read as follows: “...Commenting on the aggressive military pact Athens-Belgrade-Ankara, the radio station stated on February 26 that ‘the feverish hurry of American and local bandits produces concern among people’s mass who closely observe the war threat.’ We consider this statement is not right. These statements disseminate military psychosis and military hysteria.”

The reassessment of the Soviet foreign policy resulted in the steps taken by Moscow to normalize its relations with Yugoslavia. For the first time since 1948, on 29 April 1953 Soviet Foreign Minister Vyacheslav Molotov and the Yugoslav chargé d’affaires in Moscow, Dragoje Djuric had met. Although very short and formal the meeting put the beginning of a new line in the relations between the two countries – a dialogue opened.<sup>5</sup> The issue of the diplomatic relations with Yugoslavia was raised by Lavrentii Beria, who took the initiative by discussing this problem with Nikita Khrushchev on June 25, 1953. This discussion ended with the decision, proposed by V. Molotov, “to establish such relations with Yugoslavia as with the other bourgeois countries, connected with North-Atlantic aggressive block – ambassadors, official telegrams, business meetings, etc.”<sup>6</sup> On July 31, 1953, the ambassador of USSR to Yugoslavia V. Valkov presented his letters of credence to the Prime Minister of Yugoslavia Tito.

Secondly, Moscow demanded that Bulgaria and Albania normalize their relations with their neighbor. As a result Bulgaria signed an agreement with Yugoslavia regarding the transit movements and crossings through the frontier zone. On December 22, 1953 Yugoslavia and Albania reestablished diplomatic relations.

Meanwhile, Moscow improved its relations with Greece and Turkey by exchanging ambassadors with Greece in July 1953 and stating statement that Moscow had decided to give up discussions on territorial issues and the Straits.<sup>7</sup> The trade and cultural connections were activated.

Yet, these active Soviet moves could not stop the developing of the friendship agreement between Yugoslavia, Turkey and Greece into a firm

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<sup>4</sup> Edemskii, A. “The Turn in Soviet-Yugoslav Relations 1953-1955” In – *CWIHP*, Bulletin 10, p.138

<sup>55</sup> “New Evidence from the Former Yugoslav Archives,” *CWIHP*, bul.12/13, p.315

<sup>6</sup> *Centralno-vostochnaja Evropa vo vtoroi polovine XX veka*. T.I, (Moskva: Nauka, 2000), s.281

<sup>7</sup> Ulunjan, A. *Balkanii: gorjachii mir holodnoi vojni. Grecia I Turcia mezhdu Zapadom I Vostokom. 1945-1960 gg.* Moskva, 2001.

military pact. Although the diplomatic and intelligence services paid special attention to the preparations of the alliance, it was not in Moscow's power to prevent it. The Soviet initiatives remained isolated and the Soviet propaganda continued to brand Yugoslavia as a 'traitor and enemy.'

Since May 1954 Yugoslavia had been engaged in final negotiations with Greece and Turkey regarding the creation of the Balkan Pact. The formal signing of the pact was scheduled for 17 July, in Bled, Yugoslavia. If this happened, the signing of the Balkan pact would push Yugoslavia closer to NATO, something which the new Soviet leadership could not accept. Khrushchev decided to take the lead and to turn to Tito directly.

The first contact between the leaders of Yugoslavia and the USSR since the brake-up of the relations between the two countries in 1948 was made in the summer of 1954 in utmost secrecy. The communication was initiated by N. Khrushchev with his first letter on June 22, 1954. According to the Yugoslav historian S. Rajak, "It is highly possible that the motive behind it was to prevent a closer military alliance of Yugoslavia and the West, ahead of the planned signing of the Balkan Pact in July 1954... Moreover, the impending signing of the Balkan Pact was probably the necessary catalyst that ensured support for new tactics towards Yugoslavia even from staunchest conservatives and "anti-Yugoslavs" within the CPSU Politburo."<sup>8</sup>

Khrushchev's letter came unexpected in Belgrade. For six years, since 1948, Yugoslavia had developed its own strategic policy and positions in the Balkans. The mistrust towards the Soviets was deep and hard to overcome. Besides, the crisis over Trieste required Yugoslavia's close cooperation with the West in order to counter Italy's actions. For this reason, Tito chose not to respond personally to the Soviet leader. He chose Yugoslav Deputy Prime Minister Edvard Kardelj to inform Khrushchev in mid-July via the Soviet ambassador in Belgrade that Yugoslavia had accepted the initiative favorably, but was in no position to respond for the time being. As an excuse, Kardelj cited considerations arising from the Trieste crisis and the effect a possible breach of secrecy of Yugoslav-Soviet dialogue might have on its outcome. Tito's full response came almost three months later, in his first letter to Khrushchev on 11 August, after the signing of the Balkan Pact.<sup>9</sup> This exchange prepared the ground for Khrushchev's visit in Belgrade in May 1955.

In December 1954 and January 1955 Tito visited India and Burma and initiated a policy which later was labeled the 'policy of nonalignment.' In October 1954, Khrushchev and Bulganin visited Peking, and during that visit Mao decided to establish diplomatic relations with Belgrade. This took place in January 1955.

Meanwhile the American, British, French, Greek and Turkish Ambassadors in Belgrade were informed by the Yugoslav Foreign Minister that

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<sup>8</sup> "New Evidence from the Former Yugoslav Archives," *CWIHP*, bul.12/13, p.315

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 320.

the Yugoslav Government welcomed the visit of Soviet Prime-minister. "Whatever usefulness the meeting may have, Yugoslav policy is clear and is based as stated before on postulates of full equality of rights and non-interference. Yugoslav Government will not support any "destructive efforts" of USSR and meeting will provide opportunity to probe Soviet intentions. Yugoslav Government thinks it may be possible to settle certain practical questions of normalization in course of this meeting and if such is case it will be most helpful. If Soviet Government does not exhibit sincerity, then Yugoslav Government will be able to judge its intentions with more clarity. Therefore Yugoslav Government will believe it is useful to have meeting and thinks the conference is in full accord with all other efforts and negotiations now underway or impending to achieve a relaxation of tensions."<sup>10</sup>

Before the departure of the Soviet delegation to Yugoslavia the issue of the normalization of relations with Yugoslavia was discussed in the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party. As Khrushchev remembered, "there were suggestions, that the Yugoslav comrades should be invited in Moscow for discussions. But I objected, knowing that the Yugoslavs won't come. Wasn't it us who broke up with the Yugoslavs?"<sup>11</sup>

On May 26 1955, the First Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Nikita Khrushchev arrived in Belgrade for an official reconciliation with Tito. He was accompanied by the Prime Minister Nikolai Bulganin, as well as by Anastas Mikoyan, Dmitri Shepilov and Andrei Gromyko. On his arrival at the Belgrade airport on 26 May 1955, Khrushchev stated: "On our part, we definitely disassociate ourselves from the provocative role played in the relations between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union by the now-exposed enemies of the people -- Beria, Abakumov and others. We have thoroughly studied the materials on which were based the grave accusations and insults lodged at that time against the leaders of Yugoslavia. The facts show that these materials were fabricated by the enemies of the people, despicable agents of imperialism who deceitfully wormed their way into the ranks of our Party."<sup>12</sup>

This was a sensational statement with which Khrushchev apologized to Yugoslavia and personally to Tito, for the unjust accusations.

After long discussions, on 2 June 1955 a declaration of the governments of the USSR and Yugoslavia was signed. In it, the two countries agreed to foster rapprochement in political, economic, cultural and informational areas and that each country would respect the independence and independent policies of the other. Generally speaking, the declaration recognized Tito's position that each communist

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<sup>10</sup> Telegram from the Embassy in Yugoslavia to the Department of State, Belgrade, May 13, 1955. *FRUS, 1955-1957. Central and southeastern Europe*. Volume XXVI (1955-1957), p. 650.

<sup>11</sup> Memuary Nikity Sergeevicha Hrushcheva (Memoirs of Nikita Sergeevich Khrushchev), in – *Voprosy Istorii*, 1994, No.3, s. 82.

<sup>12</sup> *Borba*, (Belgrade), 27 May 1955.

country had the right to choose its own road to socialism.<sup>13</sup> In order to create favorable conditions for widening of the economic relations with Yugoslavia, the Soviet government canceled Yugoslavia's debt. The total sum of the debt, according to the Soviet statistics, was 528 000 000 rubles.<sup>14</sup>

The Belgrade declaration had an immediate impact on Yugoslavia's neighbors Albania and Bulgaria. In June 1955, after the Belgrade meeting, Khrushchev sent a letter to the CC of the BCP and Todor Zhivkov in which the latter was informed about the Belgrade meeting.<sup>15</sup> At a party meeting in June 1955 Bulgarian Communist leader Vulko Chervenkov said: "This meeting has a great international significance. Forty divisions, comrades, are neutralized; the Americans can not rely any more on the Yugoslav divisions."<sup>16</sup>

As a consequence, in the second half of 1955 the relations between Yugoslavia and the two Balkan countries – Albania and Bulgaria, gradually normalized. Albania ceased the intelligence work against Yugoslavia. A large part of the troops, situated at the borders, was withdrawn. The members of the Yugoslav mission in Tirana were allowed to travel freely in the country. The diplomatic relations between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia were gradually regulated. Belgrade stopped the discriminating restrictions toward the Bulgarian officials.<sup>17</sup>

The visit of Yugoslav President Tito in Moscow on June 20, 1956 was the culmination of the Soviet-Yugoslav rapprochement. Khrushchev and Tito signed a declaration in Moscow on 20 June 1956 which, along with the Belgrade Declaration of 2 June 1955, put the stamp of approval on major principles concerning the independence of Communist nations: 1) The equality and independence of Communist states; 2) Non-interference in the domestic affairs of other states; 3) The doctrine of "various roads to socialism."

This was the most complete evidence of Moscow's theoretical acceptance of 'National Communism' theory.

### **Easy rivals and difficult allies**

The upheaval in Poland and especially the revolution in Hungary at the end of October 1956 shook the foundations of Soviet – Yugoslav relations. There followed several months of polemics, primarily in the press, between the

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<sup>13</sup> *Borba*, 3 June 1955.

<sup>14</sup> *Centralno-vostochnaja Evropa vo vtoroi polovine XX veka*. T.I, (Moskva: Nauka, 2000), s.282.

<sup>15</sup> *CDA-Bulgaria* (Centralen Durzhaven Arhiv, Bulgaria), fond (f.)1-B, arhivna edinitsa (a.e.) 169, list (l.)1-17.

<sup>16</sup> *CDA*, F. 1-B, R. 7, a.e. 1764, l. 7

<sup>17</sup> *Centralno-vostochnaja Evropa vo vtoroi polovine XX veka*. T.I, (Moskva: Nauka, 2000), p. 282. Grigorova, J. *Balkanskata politika na socialisticheska Bulgaria 1944-1970* (Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo, 1985), p. 268-269.

two countries. These arguments revealed more clearly the underlying differences between Moscow and Belgrade which had been aggravated by the upheavals in Eastern Europe.

In a series of newspaper editorials and high-level statements during the winter of 1956-1957, the Soviet leadership spelled out its policies toward the bloc and Yugoslavia. Moscow elaborated a formula which recognized both the principles of unity among socialist countries and “national variations,” but it gave greater emphasis to the former aim. *Pravda* denied that the USSR demanded submission from anyone and it asserted that the mistakes in the relations with the satellites had been corrected. But unity remained the strongest theme in the Soviet argument.<sup>18</sup> Moscow emphasized the leading role of the USSR in the bloc.<sup>19</sup> The few references to “national road” were in critical terms. In January 1957 Khrushchev called it a divisive tool used by the enemies of the working class. He warned that the legitimate variations in socialism in different countries must not be given priority and could not invalidate the “basic law of the “Socialist Revolution.” The communiqué, signed in Budapest on January 6, 1957, by leaders of the USSR, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Bulgaria, warned that the “false slogan of the so-called ‘national communism’” was being used by imperialists to undermine the international Communist unity. *Pravda* criticized some aspects of the “Yugoslav road,” particularly its dependence on Western aid, which Moscow claimed was an unstable basis on which to “build socialism.”

The Hungarian revolt split the USSR and Yugoslavia and caused the first break-down in their relations. The Soviet leadership obviously thought it necessary to discredit Yugoslavia and to isolate it from the East European satellites. The governmental relations cooled and in February 1957 promised Soviet loans were indefinitely postponed.

This rift was followed by attempts for new reconciliation. In August 1957 Tito and Khrushchev met in Rumania. How much agreement resulted from this meeting was not clear, as the meeting was held in utmost secrecy. The press statement following it was vague, shedding no light on the outcome of the talks. The Italian Communist paper *L'Unita* said that the two leaders discussed Yugoslavia's relations with the socialist camp.

The event that followed the Bucharest meeting alluded to the one of the possible directions of the talks. In the end of September 1957 Rumanian Prime-Minister Chivu Stoica invited Rumania's five neighbors – Bulgaria, Albania, Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey – to a conference to form a Balkan nonaggression alliance.<sup>20</sup> The “Stoica Plan” was defined by the West as an

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<sup>18</sup> *Pravda*, 23 November 1956; 18 December 1956;

<sup>19</sup> *Pravda*, 11 March 1957.

<sup>20</sup> This proposal came soon after a series of Soviet-inspired proposals for the reduction of East-West tension. The Poles proposed banning nuclear weapons from all nations bordering on the

instrument to implement the Soviet intentions to create a neutral line from the North of Europe to the Mediterranean. That is why it was considered as “Soviet in content” and rejected by Greece and Turkey as an attempt to draw them away from NATO.<sup>21</sup>

Bulgaria and Albania immediately accepted the invitation.<sup>22</sup> Tito called the proposal ‘very useful,’ but did not immediately accept.<sup>23</sup> He indicated that he wanted to consult with Greece and Turkey, his partners in the dormant anti-Kremlin Balkan pact. Most probably the proposal came as no surprise to him, and must have grown out of Tito's meeting with Khrushchev in Romania in August 1957.

What did Khrushchev and Tito have in mind? On the one hand Tito had long dreamed of a Balkan federation dominated by Yugoslavia. On the other hand Khrushchev would like to revive the moribund Balkan pact, hoping thereby to loosen the ties of Greece and Turkey to NATO. Greece and Turkey were expected to say no, and to reaffirm their loyalty to NATO. Since they were themselves in conflict over Cyprus, and each in its own way a little out of sorts with its Western partners, neither really minded getting a chance to show the West that someone else was bidding for its favor. Proposing a grouping in which Tito would be obviously the leading figure, was a chance for Khrushchev to satisfy the Yugoslav leader without running the risk of having him to set up a rival power center to Moscow.<sup>24</sup>

This short-lasting interest in reviving the Balkan Pact and including it into a larger Balkan grouping under Moscow's surveillance soon disappeared. The Cyprus conflict was the one of the reasons. Greece and Turkey rejected the proposal, the Greeks cautioning that it was inopportune for the time being.

The other reason was the deterioration of the Soviet-Yugoslav relations. The slight thaw between Belgrade and Moscow after the Hungarian revolt was interrupted again. The attempts for renewal of the Soviet-Yugoslav rapprochement in the second half of 1957 were undermined by Tito's refusal to attend the November conference in Moscow (aimed at solidifying the unity of

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Baltic except the Soviet Union and closing the sea to ships of all non-Baltic states and made a related proposal for a nuclear-free zone in Central Europe.

<sup>21</sup> Oral Sander, *The Balkan Cooperation in Perspective*, *The Turkish Yearbook of International Relations*, vol VII, 1966, 113-114; A Romanian Foreign Ministry document which was given to the Soviets in the summer of 1957 suggested that the Stoica proposal aimed at loosening Greece's and Turkey's bonds with NATO, at the definite neutralization of the tripartite Balkan pact of 1953-1954, and even at the mobilization of the “democratic forces” within the Western countries if they rejected the proposal. See: Evanthis Hatzivassiliou, *Greece and the Cold War: Frontline State, 1952-1967*, Routledge, 2006, pp.94-95.

<sup>22</sup> *Rabotnichesko delo*, September 17, 1957, p.1.

<sup>23</sup> *The New York Times*. September 18, 1957, p.6.

<sup>24</sup> The Stoica's proposal appeared in *Scanteia*, (Romania), September 17, 1957. For comments see: *Time*, September 30, 1957.

the bloc) and the Yugoslav decision not to participate in the 12-party declaration or to sign it. From the November 1957 conference in Moscow until the Yugoslav party platform was published in mid-March 1958, Soviet-Yugoslav relations appeared to be at a stand-still. There were no major steps toward improving relations, such as high-level visits or publicly announced agreements. On the other hand there were no outbursts of polemics. The Soviet press and radio simply ignored Yugoslavia.

The controversy intensified in May 1958, during the Yugoslav party congress. On June 3, 1958, in a speech to the Bulgarian party congress Khrushchev broke his curiously long silence on the Yugoslav dispute and for the first time attacked the Yugoslav regime. Later, Soviet attacks became more and more intense and embittered as Moscow extended the party dispute into the area of intra-bloc state relations.

Thus, the second break (in 1958) resulted from a complete lack of understanding between two sides that once had been united but which, as a result of Stalin's policy, were torn apart to such an extent that only the complete victory of one over the other could establish a new 'unity.'

Meanwhile the Soviet general policy of neutralizing the further increase in NATO's strength in the Mediterranean continued. The Rumanian initiatives for creation of a Balkan non-aggression pact went on backed by the Bulgarians and Albanians, and by the Soviet Union. But not long afterwards Bloc relations with Yugoslavia took a serious turn for the worse when the Seventh Yugoslav Party Congress in April 1958 approved its highly controversial revisionist program. Relations with Greece and Turkey also became increasingly acrimonious because of the decision of the Athens and Ankara governments to install NATO rocket bases on their territories.

It was probably this decision, however, which prompted Bucharest's second big move in the Balkans. In June 1959 Stoica reissued his invitation to a Balkan summit conference to discuss the setting-up of a zone of peace in the area with a ban on rocket bases and nuclear weapons.<sup>25</sup> This new proposal came immediately after Khrushchev's visit to Albania in May and early June 1959, where he delivered a series of broadsides against the Greeks and the Turks for their decisions on the rocket bases. Khrushchev promptly welcomed the renewed Rumanian initiative and Albania and Bulgaria warmly greeted it.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> "Declaration of the Romanian Government," *Scanteia*, (Romania), 7 June 1959.

<sup>26</sup> These proposals of Stoica's are regarded by some as evidence of Rumania's rigid adherence to Soviet policies. The fact that Stoica's 1957 plan was presented at the same time as the Rapacki and Gomulka proposals and the fact that Khrushchev's denunciation of foreign missile bases preceded the revival of Stoica's proposal in 1959 would indicate that this was true. Others, who see the roots of Rumania's independent foreign policy reaching back to the late 1950s, explain that although the Stoica proposals "did serve Russia's political purposes of the moment," they "also provided the Rumanians with an instrument for establishing their political respectability

Tito repeated his acceptance of the proposal in principle although he declared that such a meeting in itself would not remove the danger of nuclear warfare in the area. Greece rejected the proposal and Turkey apparently ignored it.<sup>27</sup> It was this Greek and Turkish refusal which produced a tremendous propaganda barrage headed by the Soviet Union, who now began calling for an atom free zone in the Adriatic as well, an obvious move against the building of rocket bases in Italy.

After the failures of the Rumanian attempts, the running was taken up by the Bulgarians, with Greece becoming more and more the main target. In August 1959 Sofia proposed a non-aggression pact with Athens which was rejected (it was not until 1964 that normalization of Bulgarian-Greek relations was achieved, but no non-aggression pact was signed either then or later).<sup>28</sup> Later the Bulgarians stepped up their offer by proposing "the transformation of the Balkans into the first region to implement the idea of general and complete disarmament." In December 1959 a Bulgarian Committee on Balkan Understanding and Co-operation was set up, and on December 25 the First Secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party Todor Zhivkov proposed a "decisive reduction in the armed forces" of the Balkan countries.

Such proposals were obvious attempts to play on Greek public opinion over the head of the Greek government. It is difficult to say how successful they were. But in view of the strong left wing in Greece, with its hard Communist core, and the growing anger with Britain and the West over Cyprus, it is quite possible that these moves did make some impression. As for the Greek government, it continued resolutely to look the other way.

On 7 March 1960, the Bulgarian Prime-minister Anton Yugov made "concrete suggestions" regarding trade and economic co-operation and scientific-technological collaboration among the Balkan states, and regarding the negotiation of bilateral non-aggression pacts. Apparently by then the idea of multilateral undertakings had been dropped in favor of bilateral ones, which seemed easier to achieve. In September 1960 the issue of reduction of forces was again raised by Bulgaria in rather dramatic form at the session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, where Zhivkov called for "the transformation of the Balkans into the first region to implement the idea of general and complete disarmament." The significance of Zhivkov's proposal lay not in its boldness or sincerity – for in reality it was tied, to and was an extension of the Soviet policy of 'complete disarmament' then being bandied

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and for assuming a prominent role in enunciation of bloc policies." See: Stephen Fischer-Galati, *The New Rumania* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1967), p. 69.

<sup>27</sup> Evanthis Hatzivassiliou, Security and the European option. *Greek Foreign Policy 1952-1962, Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 30, iss. 1 (1995), p. 189; Oral Sander, op.cit., p. 115

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., Greece rejected the Bulgarian offer pointing out that the similar Metaxas-Kioseivanov pact of 1938 had not prevented Bulgaria from invading Greece three years later.

about by Khrushchev – but in the fact that it broke the united approach which was being pursued at the time by the Warsaw Pact allies in the Balkans. No similar proposal was made by Rumania, and Albania. It had been obvious for some time that a serious rift was developing between Albania and the Soviet Union, but the Hoxha regime's outraged response in October 1960 to the Bulgarian disarmament proposal was the first public denunciation by the Albanians of a move made by the Soviets or their allies. This evidence of Albanian defection was probably the main reason why Communist diplomatic efforts in the Balkans were discontinued.<sup>29</sup> The lack of response which the Bulgarian proposals evoked marked the end of any real attempts at Balkan co-operation for a number of years.

### **Conclusion**

Being an object of rivalry between the USSR and US in their struggle for predominance, the Balkans proved difficult to control. On the one hand the United States took efforts to detach communist Yugoslavia from the Soviet orbit and unite her with two NATO countries, thus making her an ideological example of a model of independent development on the bordering line between the Eastern and the Western bloc. To certain extent this helped Yugoslavia to keep her independent stand and to take maximum advantage of the situation, although the effort to create an alliance with Turkey and Greece ended in failure as the Balkan Pact remained a dead letter. On the other hand, Soviet active moves in accord with the Soviet “Peace offensive” and the parting off the Stalin’s policy prevented the expansion of the American influence on the Balkans. Moscow succeeded in improving its relations with Belgrade by accepting the willful conduct of the headstrong ally, and thus preventing the revival of the Balkan Pact. But the Soviet-Yugoslav rapprochement proved non-stable, as did the other Moscow’s initiatives to strengthen the connections between the communist states in the Balkans and to draw Greece and Turkey away from NATO. Each of the Balkan states was to different extent, due to lack of confidence, much more a rival than an ally to its neighboring countries. Thus, in the 1950s the superpowers’ attempts to break the *status quo* by detaching satellites from the opposing bloc resulted in failure.

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<sup>29</sup> In 1961 all East European states withdrew their ambassadors from Tirana after Khrushchev denounced the Albanians at the 22nd CPSU Congress.

## EXCLUSIONS FROM THE ROMANIAN LABOUR PARTY IN THE YEARS 1951-1952. THE CASE OF ALEȘD RAION COMMITTEE, REGION CRIȘANA

*Ion ZAINEA\**

***Abstract:** The purging campaign from the year 1952, unfolded under the mark of offensive against the kulaks. According to the directions of the CC of RLP, within the base organizations it was handled strengthening of party life and the discovery/ unmasking and removal of “spiteful, exploiting, kulak elements”. The party organizations within Aleșd raion committee proceeded also to the exclusion of those who have harmed the party’s activity. The reasons of the exclusions were numerous and various: from losing the party member card, fee non-payment, non-participation in organization’s gatherings or in the election of party’s ruling body, deviation from the party’s line or the proletarian line; from connections with the kulaks, sabotage of the collecting plan, spiteful attitude towards GAC, party or government or undermining the base organization, unfulfilling the party tasks, a trendy accusation being that of “sneaking in the party in order to hide the past” (kulak, legionary, horthyst gendarme or member of any subversive organization), but also to undermine it from the interior.*

***Keywords:** party, organization, purging, kulak, enemy*

As a result of check-ups of RLP members, in the years 1951-1952 it moved on towards the exclusion from the party of those considered unworthy of this. The exclusions were made on the basis of the criteria received from the RLP leadership. The first targeted were „exploiting elements”(the kulaks, profiteers, traders, bosses), then the ones „with activity in fascist cells”, those elements that „have participated in plundering and crimes against the soviet nation”, but also for „spiteful activity after 23<sup>rd</sup> of August 1944”, „moral decay” and „severe deviation from the party’s line”; there were added chauvinistic, anti-sovietic elements, right wing social-democrats, considered to be „breakers of the working classes’ unity”

The dismissal of 192.000 members<sup>1</sup>, announced on 23<sup>rd</sup> of June 1950, had as result the strengthening of the proletarian contingent, not by recruitment

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from this sector, but by removing „the strangers” and „hostile” elements. „The enemy” was sought everywhere, even in the RLP leadership. The conviction of Lucrețiu Pătrășcanu has the significance of a strengthening of Gheorghiu-Dej’s authority and an alignment of Bucharest to Moscow<sup>2</sup>.

But it wasn’t enough. In a session in Moscow, in 1951, Stalin warned Dej that in all popular democracies had been found and arrested international titoist agents of sinonism, and that only in Romania hasn’t been done anything<sup>3</sup>. As a result, in May 1952, the Muscovite „fractional group” Ana Pauker–Vasile Luca–Teohari Georgescu was excluded from the party. Vasile Luca was accused of sabotaging the monetary reform, undermining development of individual and collective home economics and protecting capitalist trade. Ana Pauker was criticised because she encouraged Luca and Georgescu’s right deviations, while Georgescu’s reconciliatory attitude marked „an oportunist rightist spirit”, and he hadn’t taken any measures against the speculators, all three living „in an aristocratic mire”, ruptured from the mass<sup>4</sup>.

Regarding these exclusions in Crișana regional, in a previous study we handled the base organisations of Oradea Town Committee. We propose that, hereinafter, to follow the unfolding of this phenomenon at the level of raion committees, respectively the one from Aleșd.

From the raion RLB Office was excluded Rocșka Iuliu, worker by profession and of Magyar nationality. The reasons of his exclusion were presented by the secretary of the organisation in the session of 9<sup>th</sup> October 1951. He had chauvinist-nationalist out-bursts after the Vienna dictate, had taken part in fascist and irredentist organisations, helping in exposing and expelling some romanian partisans. Moreover, he had the vice of drinking, was a gambler and a brawler, vices that he continued having also after his co-opting in raion office in 1950. Although Rocșka Iuliu denied all allegations, the raion Committee confirmed his exclusion in the session of 10<sup>th</sup> May 1951<sup>5</sup>.

In the session of 15<sup>th</sup> July 1951 of base Organisation C.F.R. Tileagd, was revoked from party membership Olasz Ioan. The reasons of his exclusions were more: did not participate in sessions, did not pay the quota, kept contact with kulaks. From the same organisation was excluded, one month later, Bulzan

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<sup>1</sup> Stephen Fischer-Galați, *România în secolul al XX-lea*, Editura Institutului European, București, 1998, p. 146

<sup>2</sup> One of the main counts against Pătrășcanu are similar to those formulated in Moscow against Tito. Pătrășcanu was accused of chauvinism, supporting of burgeois elements from villages and plot with the agents from abroad. Ioan Scurtu, Gh. Buzatu, *Istoria Românilor în secolul XX*, Editura Paideea, București, 1999, p. 560

<sup>3</sup> Catérine Durandine, *Istoria Românilor*, Institutul European, Iași, 19..., p. 284

<sup>4</sup> Cristina Păiușan, Narcis Dorin Ioan, Mihai Retegan, *Regimul comunist din România. O cronologie politică (1945-1989)*, Editura Tritonic, București, 2002, p. 77

<sup>5</sup> Arhivele Naționale – Serviciul Județean Bihor (în continuare ANSJBH), fond *Comitetul județean Bihor al PMR*, dos. 25/1952, f. 52-54

Mihai, for spiteful attitude towards the party, materialized in the refusal to take party work ,not participating in sessions. It had been tried his „disentanglement” by the party activists, but without results. Both exclusions had been confirmed by raion Committee, in the session of 29<sup>th</sup> of January 1952<sup>6</sup>

From the base organisation Tilecuş, in the session of 7<sup>th</sup> December 1951, were excluded from the party Indrieş Nicolae, Baciş Florian and Baciş Ioan, all middle romanian peasants. They had kulak relatives, by whom they were influenced, hadn't turned in the quotas due to the Romanian state, didn't participate in sessions. The exclusions were confirmed by raion Committee on 1<sup>st</sup> of February 1952<sup>7</sup>.

The members of the base Organisation from Commune of Urvind voted, in the session of 5<sup>th</sup> January 1952, the exclusion from the party of Olasz Stefan, plower of Magyar ethnicity, because he returned the party card with the argument that his wife threatened him with divorce if he remained member<sup>8</sup>. From the same organisation was excluded, on 19<sup>th</sup> April 1952, Varga Ştefan, middle peasant, of Magyar nationality, who had been „discovered” by the bureau of the organisation as kulak, because he has a caldron for boiling „ţuică”, he exploited therefore the poor. He was accused also of undermining party's work, he divulged its secrets, and his father, pentecostal priest, had been arrested for propaganda against the regime. The raion committee confirmed the decision of base organisation on 24<sup>th</sup> June 1952<sup>9</sup>.

In the base Organisation of „Refractara” Factory Aleşd, in the session from 1<sup>st</sup> February 1952, was handled the attitude of some party members towards the decisions of the government and the party related to the distribution of cards and decrease of the administrative personell (Circular Nr. 72 of CC of RLP). It had been stated that Barabas Alexandru, Toderaş Teodor, Lup Petru, Abrudan Nicolae and Bonisz Ludovic had spiteful manifestations, being influenced by the „class enemies”. They all got „vote of censor with warning”<sup>10</sup>. In the session of the organisation from 15<sup>th</sup> August 1952 was excluded from the party Holmaier Adalbert, magyar clerk, because as a lawyer „laboured in the cause of capitalists, kulaks, exploiting the working class ”, but it was discovered that in the past he took part in a fascist organisation. Confirmation of his exclusion was carried into effect by raion Committee on 23<sup>rd</sup> October 1952<sup>11</sup>.

From the base Organisation I.P.E.I.L. Tileagd were excluded, in the session of 1<sup>st</sup> February 1952, Kovacs Francisc, magyar, Sturz Vasile and Luca

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<sup>6</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 121-125

<sup>7</sup> *Ibidem*, dos. 26/1952, f. 6, 7, 9, 10, 25, 28

<sup>8</sup> *Ibidem*, dos. 25/1952, f. 67-68

<sup>9</sup> *Ibidem*, dos. 28/1952, f. 106-107

<sup>10</sup> *Ibidem*, dos. 26/1952, f. 171-176

<sup>11</sup> *Ibidem*, dos. 33/1952, f. 68

Petru, both Romanian peasants, because they did not participate in the election of party governing bodies. Exclusions have been confirmed by the raion Committee on 12<sup>th</sup> February 1952<sup>12</sup>.

In the session of 4<sup>th</sup> February 1952, of Aleşd base Organisation were discussed the exclusions of Szabo Iului, small magyar craftsman, Moţan Florian, worker of Romanian nationality and Moţan Sofia, housewife, because they did not pay the quotas, and refused the party tasks and did not participate in the election of the party governing bodies. The three exclusions were confirmed by the raion Committee on 6<sup>th</sup> March 1952<sup>13</sup>. From the same organisation was excluded, in the session of 21<sup>st</sup> June 1952, Kovacs Alexandru, small magyar craftsman, who was declared kulak, because he had a pub and he married the daughter of an exploiter. Other two exclusions took place on 3<sup>rd</sup> July 1952, as a result of processing the party document related to kulaks, on which occasion was revoked from membership Kiraly Iosif, small craftsman, of Magyar ethnicity, and of Petruş Gheorghe, poor peasant, Romanian, discovered kulaks and enriched through exploitation. None of them considered the exclusion fair<sup>14</sup>.

The base Organisation of chalk Factory „Bihorul” executed two exclusions. On 16<sup>th</sup> February 1952, was excluded Bolojan Florian, worker, Romanian nationality, for the following reasons: chauvinistic behaviour, spiteful manifestations towards the party leaders in 1946, when he dressed as a bride and shouted that „now Ana Pauker marries Petru Groza”, it was Iului Maniu’s „ratter” and took part in the legionary movement. The other excluded member was Strenperg Margareta. Housewife, of Magyar nationality. She was discovered as being kulak, and her husband was at that time the director of the chalk Factory. Both exclusions had been confirmed by the raion Committee, on 28<sup>th</sup> February, respectively 18<sup>th</sup> August 1952<sup>15</sup>.

In the base Organisation from the commune of Telechiu, in the session of 26<sup>th</sup> February 1952, was discussed the exclusion of Fekete Ştefan, poor peasant, of Magyar nationality, on the assumption that he undermined party work and manifested against the decisions of the government. 7 members voted for exclusion and 4 abstained. The raion Committee confirmed the exclusion on 6<sup>th</sup> March<sup>16</sup>.

One single exclusion was effectuated also in the base organisation Uileacul de Cris. In the session of 24<sup>th</sup> February 1952 was analyzed the case of Jakob Emerich, of Magyar ethnicity, excluded for not taking part in the sessions of the organisation, but also because he committed multiple thefts for which he

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<sup>12</sup> *Ibidem*, dos. 26/1952, f. 36-42, 46-47

<sup>13</sup> *Ibidem*, dos. 27/1952, f. 83-86, 89-90

<sup>14</sup> *Ibidem*, dos. 31/1952, f. 67-69, 38-41

<sup>15</sup> *Ibidem*, dos. 26, f. 236-239; dos. 31, f. 102-106

<sup>16</sup> *Ibidem*, dos. 27, f. 87-88

was arrested. The confirmation was made on 28<sup>th</sup> February 1952. Other four members of the organisation were sanctioned with „vote of censure” for losing the member card. It is about Tolodi Kalman, Lucaci Ladislau, Matis Rusalin and Szabo Josif, all poor peasants, of Magyar ethnicity<sup>17</sup>.

On 9<sup>th</sup> March 1952, in the base organisation Borozel was discussed the exclusion of Ardelean Ștefan, poor peasant, who did not participate in the organisation sessions and did not pay the quotas. The exclusion was confirmed by the raion Committee on 25<sup>th</sup> March 1952. Members of the base organisation from Borod excluded in the session of 18<sup>th</sup> July 1952, Buhus Alexandru, who was declared kulak because he married the daughter of a kulak. Because it might have looked insufficient, it was also shown that he manifested against founding collective home economics. Exclusion was confirmed on 16<sup>th</sup> August<sup>18</sup>. Also from Borod base organisation was excluded, on 28<sup>th</sup> September 1952, Venter Petru, middle peasant, secretary of the organisation, because „he drank privy with kulaks”, to whom he divulges the secrets of the party and declared that will not enroll in CHE. Although he denied that accusations, the confirmation took place on 23<sup>rd</sup> October 1952<sup>19</sup>. Another organisation secretary excluded was Secară Florian, from the base organisation Subpiatra, who was accused of stealing from the poor peasants, partying with the kulaks, abuse of power and dictatorial behaviour<sup>20</sup>.

In the meeting of 21<sup>st</sup> July, the base organisation Cauciucul Nou excluded from the party Kovacs Ioan, poor peasant, of Magyar ethnicity, who had a hostile attitude towards the party and towards the regime, and during the magyar occupation helped the horthyst army stop the advancement of the Red Army. It was discovered that even 1945 he collaborated with „reaction and kulaks” in order to undermine the party`s work<sup>21</sup>.

The base organisation from Cetea discussed, in the session of 29<sup>th</sup> July, the exculsion of Stanciu Peter, kulak, of Romanian nationality, showing that he had a cauldron for boiling „tuica”, with which he explioted and manifested spiteful against the party and the government. The raion Committee confirmed the exclusion on 16<sup>th</sup> August 1952<sup>22</sup>. The base organisation from Șuncuiu „discovered” as kulak and excluded from the party Groza Florian, in the session of 12<sup>th</sup> July 1952, and the one from Bulz excluded Sărăcuț Ioan, because he manifested spitefully against the members of party and declared that „he doesn`t agree with Ana Pauker being revoked of functions.”<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> *Ibidem*, dos. 26, f. 233-234; dos. 34, f. 40-47

<sup>18</sup> *Ibidem*, dos. 34, f. 69-71; dos. 31, f. 44-47

<sup>19</sup> *Ibidem*, dos. 33, f. 52-53

<sup>20</sup> *Ibidem*, dos. 38, f. 108-110

<sup>21</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 126-128

<sup>22</sup> *Ibidem*, dos. 31, f. 41-43

<sup>23</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 73-81

From the base organisation of Topa de Criş village was excluded, in the session of 20<sup>th</sup> July 1952, Bodea Florian, middle peasant, on the grounds that in the year 1945, together with his father-in-law, beat three soviet soldiers, was member of a baptist religious sect, divulged to the kulaks party secrets. Confirmation was decided on 18<sup>th</sup> August<sup>24</sup>.

More numerous, but also more strict, the party organisation from Negreni commune, in the session of 3<sup>rd</sup> August 1952, excluded seven members. Five of them, respectively Tripon Andrei, Sabău Petru, Man Vasile, Bolba Josif and Ungur Ioan had been unmasked as kulaks and exploiter elements, because they had licence for a peasant's sandals shop, respectively manufactured peasant's sandals which they sold in the fair with a high price, looking to cheat the poor peasantry<sup>25</sup>. The other two, Gabrian Petru and Ungur Vasile were also discovered as kulaks, because they were threshing machine owners, with which they exploited the poor peasantry, having, moreover, spiteful manifestations towards the party. All seven exclusions were confirmed by the Alesd raion Committee in 16<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> August 1952.

From the base organisation Dobricioneşti was excluded, in the session of 6<sup>th</sup> August 1952, Haragoş Florian, unmasked as kulak as he had a mill and an engine. Moreover, he did not participate in assemblies and did not pay the quotas. The exclusion was confirmed by the raion Committee on 17<sup>th</sup> August<sup>26</sup>. It also confirmed four more exclusions on October 23<sup>rd</sup>. One of those was Fetea Ioan, excluded on the date of 11<sup>th</sup> September 1952 from the base organisation of Țigăneștii de Criş, on the ground that he divulged party secrets to the kulaks.

In 19<sup>th</sup> September 1952, the base organisation from Bratca Mining Enterprise excluded from the party the secretary of the organisation, Secan Vasile. It was decided that he did not deserve to occupy the position of responsibility because he undermined the organisation, did not keep the sessions regularly, had spiteful manifestations towards the party and divulged to the kulaks its secrets<sup>27</sup>.

On 20<sup>th</sup> September 1962, in the session of the base organisation from Bălnaca locality it was proposed the exclusion of Teacă Alexandru, elementary teacher, because in the position as schoolmaster he had a spiteful behaviour towards the party, was the author of a fascist brochure, did not participate in sessions, did not pay the quotas, did not have any activity on cultural line, manifested against the USSR<sup>28</sup>.

Harsani Ștefan, agriculturalist, of Magyar nationality, was excluded from the base organisation „Mobila”(Furniture) Tileagd, in the session of 16<sup>th</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 25-26

<sup>25</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 48-49, 83-86, 97-99; dos. 27, f. 95-96

<sup>26</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 65-66

<sup>27</sup> *Ibidem*, dos. 32, f. 81; dos. 33, f. 63

<sup>28</sup> *Ibidem*, dos. 33, f. 54-57

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October 1952. It was considered that in the position as secretary of these organisations had spiteful manifestations towards the government, manifested an anti-Semitic attitude and declared that he did not want to be „the ratter for this regime, waiting fot the americans to come”<sup>29</sup>.

District Committee Aleşd, confirmed that on the date of 30<sup>th</sup> October 1952, the exclusion brought into effect by the base organisation Tinăud, which, in the session of 28<sup>th</sup> October, excluded from the party Tap Teodor, poor peasant, on the follwing grounds: did not attend the organisation sessions, did not pay the quotas, he attached to kulak elements and was arrested and convicted to six months in prison because he possessed a hidden weapon<sup>30</sup>.

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<sup>29</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 51

<sup>30</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 89-90

# AMERICA'S JAZZ AMBASSADORS: MISSIONS TO USSR – 1962 AND 1971

*Mihail ILIEV\**

***Abstract.** The complexity of the Cold War led the United States to pursue an unusual form of diplomacy in order to ensure a favorable climate for the development of bilateral relations with the Soviet Union. Cultural exchanges have proven to be a safe and effective channel of communication between the parties. In the mid-50 the U.S. Department of State has initiated an extensive program which sought to promote American culture through international tours of the most popular jazz artists. The first important jazz musician who received permission in 1962 to hold a six-week tour in the USSR was Benny Goodman. In the next decade, another famous performer, Duke Ellington, crossed the Atlantic for a similar tour. The main purpose of this paper is to analyze the significance and importance of jazz music in American foreign policy. This subject is approached from both perspectives – Soviet and American historiographies, revealing similarities and differences, continuities and discontinuities in researching this phenomenon.*

**Key words:** cultural diplomacy, Cold war, cultural exchanges, jazz, Benny Goodman, Duke Ellington

## 1. Introduction

This paper will seek to identify the role played by U.S. jazz diplomacy in the Soviet Union during the Cold War. The research aims to identify elements that may suggest whether jazz diplomacy was an attempt to improve the image of American culture in the world and especially in the USSR, a response to Soviet propaganda or, as some Russians scholars argue, an instrument of soft power used to „deprave” the „socialist youth”<sup>1</sup>. At the same time the analysis will look into the reasons which determined the U.S. officials to choose jazz as a channel of communication with the people behind the Iron Curtain.

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<sup>1</sup> Pravda, *Stilyazhnij obraz zhizni molodezhi v SSSR byl formoj sociokulturnogo protesta*, in *Kievskaja pravda*, January 29, 2012, accessed May 10, 2013, <http://kpravda.com/stilyazhnij-obraz-zhizni-molodezhi-v-sssr-by-l-formoj-sociokulturnogo-protesta>.

Methodically, the paper is divided into three main sections. The first part contains a discussion of the main goals of U.S. cultural diplomacy in comparison with similar initiatives taken by the Soviets. The other two sections are devoted to presenting and analyzing two U.S. jazz tours in the USSR. These tours were carried out in the 1960s and 1970s. Special attention is given to the analysis of the impact that the tours produced among the Soviet listeners, and to the personal impressions of the artists involved in these events.

## 2. Two approaches to cultural diplomacy

Western scholars, especially the American ones, have repeatedly stressed the importance of jazz in U.S. foreign cultural policy. This music is seen by many as an expression of American culture, one of the main and authentic American cultural products<sup>2</sup>. Jazz was considered the music of freedom; it promoted improvisation, the synthesis of various cultural influences, racial integration and eventual recognition of the individual working group of the framework<sup>3</sup>.

Soviet historiography never paid real attention to the issues regarding the cultural cooperation between the USA and the USSR. The term „cultural diplomacy” did not exist in the work of the authors from the Soviet Union. Regarding cultural cooperation, the official position of the Soviet government is marked by key words or concepts as: „peaceful coexistence”, „disinterested and voluntary assistance”, „creative cultural collaboration” and „peaceful competition”<sup>4</sup>. On the other hand, in the rhetoric of U.S. officials, we find apparently similar concepts: „international understanding” and „freedom”<sup>5</sup>. The perception of these words was different in both camps. Invoking the same concepts, parties could reach diametrically opposed results.

The communist party's attitude on the cultural cooperation can be distinguished in the works that approach problems of international relations, in books focused on issues of propaganda, ideology, public opinion, or those related to the history of Soviet intelligence. Relevant in this regard are studies

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<sup>2</sup> Lisa E. Davenport, *Jazz diplomacy: promoting America in the Cold War era*, University Press of Mississippi Jackson, 2009, p. 60

<sup>3</sup>Jenny Mayo, *Jazzing up America's image abroad; U.S. musical heritage seen as diplomatic, cultural asset*, *The Washington Times*, April 11, 2008, accessed May 12, 2013, [http://www.meridian.org/jazzambassadors/press/Wash%20Times\\_Jazzing\\_up\\_americas\\_image\\_04-11-08.pdf](http://www.meridian.org/jazzambassadors/press/Wash%20Times_Jazzing_up_americas_image_04-11-08.pdf)

<sup>4</sup> G. A. Mozhaev, *From the history of international cultural relation: the USSR's cultural relation as a means of promoting peace and friendship between nations*, 1962, p. 3-15, UNESCO database document (WS/1161.127), accessed May 12, 2013, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0018/001846/184694eb.pdf>

<sup>5</sup> Lisa E. Davenport, *op. cit.*, p. 31-37

coordinated and published in 1986 by the former foreign minister of the USSR, Andrei Gromyko. The study approached Soviet-American relationships from the perspective of the „USSR struggle” for disarmament and non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. The cultural aspects of these relationships were invoked only as a counterpoise to various accusations against the USA<sup>6</sup>. After the USSR collapsed, studies of Russian authors on the same topic do not make a clear link between jazz and U.S. foreign policy. Although the influence of American jazz on the development of Russian jazz is not denied, Russian scholars insist more on the idea that Russian jazz grew in a hostile environment (disliked by the authorities) which gave it a distinct, original form<sup>7</sup>.

After Stalin's death in 1953, the new Kremlin leader Nikita Sergejevich Khrushchev began the process of De-Stalinization. In his famous speech held on February 25<sup>th</sup>, 1956, at the Twentieth Party Congress of the Soviet Union Communist Party, Khrushchev openly avowed the despotism and the cult of personality instituted by Stalin, as well as the crimes committed by him. At the same time, in his speech he advocated for a return to the communist orthodoxy, to the Marxist-Leninism principles<sup>8</sup>. In this way, the new Soviet government attempted to overcome the tense atmosphere from inside and outside the country created by Stalin in the last years of his rule. Years in which Moscow was more focused on strengthening its position in the sphere of influence gained after World War II. This atmosphere was characterized, as some Westerners authors argue, by rudeness, secrecy, bluster and violence<sup>9</sup>.

However, Stalin's attitude towards cultural exchanges was not always the one described above. In 1925 he created the All-Union Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries; an institution whose purposes were the popularization of Soviet culture abroad and the unification of friendly foreign forces within the realm of culture, in order to prevent a military intervention in the USSR<sup>10</sup>. As seen in the previous section of this paper, the inexistence of official diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and the United States,

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<sup>6</sup> A. A. Gromyko and B. N. Ponomareva, *Istorija vnešnej politiki SSSR: 1917-1985. Tom vtoroj 1945-1985 gg.*, Iz. Nauka, Moscow, 1986, p. 378. See also O. M. Borodina and A. M. Denisov, *Razvitie svjazej meždu SSSR i SŠA v oblasti kultury:1965-1975: naučno-vspomogatelnyj ukazatel literatury*, Vsesojuznaja gosudarstvennaja biblioteka inostrannoju literatury, Moscow, 1976, p. 3-14.

<sup>7</sup> Vladimir Fejertag, *Istorija džazovogo ispolnitel'stva v Rossii*, Skifija, Sankt-Peterburg, 2010, p. 167-191

<sup>8</sup> N. S. Khrushchev, *Secret Speech Delivered by First Party Secretary at the Twentieth Party Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, February 25, 1956*, from the *Congressional Record: Proceedings and Debates of the 84th Congress, 2nd Session* (May 22, 1956 - June 11, 1956), C11, Part 7 (June 4, 1956), 9389-9403, accessed May 14, 2013, <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1956khrushchev-secret1.html>

<sup>9</sup> Frederick C. Barghoorn, *op. cit.*, p. 17-18

<sup>10</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 17

during the period 1919 - 1933 did not endanger their economic and cultural exchanges.

In February 1926, the first American Negro jazz band performed in the USSR. The „Jazz Kings” sextet led by Frank Winters included the musician Sidney Bechet, a remarkable jazz saxophonist and clarinetist, and gave concerts in Moscow, Kharkov, Odessa and Kiev. Having recorded a keen interest from the audience, in Kiev the tour was extended for another two weeks. In March of the same year, another jazz orchestra toured the Soviet Union. The „Chocolate Kiddies” band led by Sam Wooding enjoyed a warm welcome from the Soviet public. It should be noted that band repertoire included songs written by Duke Ellington, an artist less-known at that time, but who after more than four decades will perform with great success in the Soviet Union. A Soviet jazz saxophonist Anatolij Mihajlovich Kotljarskij attended one of these concerts. Remembering these events he said: „It was a kind of musical anesthesia! [...] I returned home singing tunes that I heard and dancing on the road.” Russian researcher Vladimir Fejertag noted that these tours had significantly influenced the evolution of Soviet jazz<sup>11</sup>.

Stalin's death marked the beginning of a less strained period in Soviet-American relations. Of course this does not mean that after 1953 crises, tensions and mutual suspicions between the two superpowers have stopped. Nevertheless, they could establish official ties in areas they had neglected until then.

The USSR signed the first cultural agreements with countries of the socialist camp. On April 7<sup>th</sup>, 1956, Moscow had signed the first long-term agreement of this type with Romania, followed by other similar agreements with Mongolia, The German Democratic Republic, Bulgaria, Albania, etc. The term of the agreement for the socialist countries located on the European continent was five years and it could be extended automatically for another five years if the signatory parties had no objections. In the case of the Asian socialist countries with which USSR had no major disputes, cultural agreements were signed for ten years and they could be automatically extended for another ten years if the signatory parties had no objections (case of Mongolia, The Democratic People's Republic of Korea). The first Western country that had benefited from such agreement was Norway (October 12<sup>th</sup>, 1956), followed by Belgium (October 25<sup>th</sup>, 1956). With the majority of „bourgeois” countries, the Soviet Union signed agreements for short periods of time, usually for two years (with the Federal Republic of Germany, the U.S.) or simply did not specify their duration (France, the United Kingdom)<sup>12</sup>.

According to the Soviet authorities, the cultural exchange policy of the state was based on five principles:

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<sup>11</sup> Vladimir Fejertag, *op. cit.*, p. 43-46

<sup>12</sup> G. A. Mozhaev, *op. cit.*, p. 15-21

1. The principle of mutual respect for national sovereignty
2. The principle of equality and reciprocity
3. The principle of mutual advantage
4. The principle of non-interference in internal affairs
5. The principle of universality

Official position of the Soviet government was formulated in this way:

„The approach of the Soviet Union and the other socialist States to the question of cultural relation is based on the international exchange of the national cultural achievements, both material and spiritual, of all countries on an equal and mutually advantageous footing with a view to strengthening peace and friendship between peoples by the development of national cultures and the enrichment of the store of world culture.”<sup>13</sup>

The U.S. entered relatively late in the realm of cultural diplomacy. France was the first Western nation which since the late nineteenth century has institutionalized cultural exchanges promoting the spread of the French language and culture abroad. It was followed by Britain, which created the British Council in 1934. The U.S. government does not create a similar structure until 1938. In that year the Division of Cultural Relations was formed in the Department of State. Until this date the cultural exchanges of the country were administered by private organizations and foundations such as the Institute of International Education. The American governmental structures which began to manage cultural exchanges were constantly faced with insufficient funding. Their situation has started to improve after the adoption of the Fulbright Act in 1946 and the Smith-Mundt Act of 1948. Despite this, the funding remained a problem throughout the entire existence of these structures<sup>14</sup>. In 1954, President Eisenhower obtained the Congress' approval of the President's Special Program for Cultural Presentation. The program had involved financing the tours of American artists all over the world. It was designed as a response to similar initiatives promoted by the Soviet and also target improvement of the U.S. image in the world<sup>15</sup>. 1957 marked some changes in the administrative structures of the USA which managed cultural relations with other states. The East-West Contacts Staff was instituted in the Department of State. A year later the Soviets also reorganized their old All-Union Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries in a new entity called the State Committee for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries. These movements reveal a change in attitude between the two countries<sup>16</sup>.

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<sup>13</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 2

<sup>14</sup> Frederick C. Barghoorn, *op. cit.*, p. 3-6

<sup>15</sup> Harvey G. Cohen, *Duke Ellington's America*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago/London, 2010, p. 414

<sup>16</sup> Frederick C. Barghoorn, *op. cit.*, p. 7

These structures have facilitated the signing of the first cultural agreements between the USA and the USSR. An agreement for collaboration in the scientific, technological, educational and cultural fields for 1958-1959 was signed by the USSR and the USA in Washington, on January 27<sup>th</sup>, 1958. The accord was titled „Agreement between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on Exchanges in the Cultural, Technical, and Educational Fields”. Yale Richmond noted that the scope of this agreement was much wider and it provided exchanges in agriculture, medicine and public health, science and technology, youth, athletics, scholarly research, culture, radio and television, exhibitions, motion pictures, publications, government, and tourism. This agreement is also known as the Lacy-Zarubin Agreement, as it was named after its two chief negotiators, William S. B. Lacy, President Eisenhower's Special Assistant on East-West Exchanges, and Georgi Z. Zarubin, the Soviet Ambassador to the United States. It is an interesting fact that this act was an executive agreement rather than a treaty. Thereby it did not require ratification by the U.S. Senate, which helped avoid the challenges of McCarthyism<sup>17</sup>.

On November 21<sup>st</sup> 1959 another similar agreement was signed in Moscow between the parties. The pact was valid for a period of two years. After its expiry, on March 8<sup>th</sup> 1962, the Soviet Union and the USA signed a third agreement for cooperation in the fields mentioned above. In this thirty-three-page pact, it was specified that the American jazz musician Benny Goodman can perform a six-week tour accompanied by a big band in the USSR; also, according to the principle of equity and mutuality stressed by the Communist authorities, a comparable tour of the Ukrainian Dance Ensemble shall take place on USA territory<sup>18</sup>.

### **3. Benny Goodman's tour of the USSR in 1962**

The early 60s were marked by an increase of tensions between the two superpowers. In 1960, an American U-2 aircraft which had an espionage mission was shot down over Soviet territory. The incident was followed by the failure in April 1961 of the U.S. invasion in the Bay of Pigs. Through this intervention the Americans tried to eliminate from governance the Cuban leader Fidel Castro. These facts have determined the decision of the communist premier Nikita Khrushchev to send Soviet nuclear missiles in Cuba, action which triggered the Cuban missile crisis. Another event that had generated

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<sup>17</sup> Yale Richmond, *Cultural Exchange and the Cold War: raising the iron curtain*, Pennsylvania State University Press, Philadelphia, 2003, p.15

<sup>18</sup> Ross Firestone, *Swing, swing, swing: the life & times of Benny Goodman*, W.W. Norton & Company, New York, 1994, p. 408

tensions between the USSR and the USA was the decision of the East German government, under the influence of the Kremlin, to close the Berlin border in August, 1961. At the same time, the construction of the Berlin Wall began<sup>19</sup>. In order to deflect public attention from these major issues and disguise Moscow brinkmanship, the Soviet government shows an unprecedented openness for cultural exchanges. The Soviet delegations participated in the various scientific and cultural manifestations in Western countries. Soviet filmmakers attended the Cannes and Venice film festivals. Bolshoi theater troupe had performed in Paris, in June 1961. Simultaneously, a famous American jazz musician, Benny Goodman<sup>20</sup> and his band gave thirty-two concerts in the Soviet Union<sup>21</sup>.

Benny Goodman showed a constant interest to visit the Soviet Union. Several personal attempts at being granted permission to travel there with the band were not successful. Only in 1962 an opportunity arose. George Avakian, Armenian American record producer, the person who facilitated this tour, noted that Benny Goodman “was wildly excited. The tour was very important to him, and he had a full understanding of its historical significance.”<sup>22</sup>

The band<sup>23</sup> gave its premiere performance on May 30, the evening of Benny Goodman fifty-third birthday. The Soviet Army Sport Palace was crowded of high-ranking Communist officials. The KGB, always worried about

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<sup>19</sup> <http://library.thinkquest.org/10826/timeline.htm>, accessed May 16, 2013

<sup>20</sup> Benny Goodman was born on May 30<sup>th</sup> 1909 in Chicago. His parents, David Goodman and Dora Rezinsky were part of the first great wave of Eastern European Jews that landed upon the American shore in the closing decades of the nineteenth century. The father of the future artist was a poor tailor from Warsaw. His mother was from Kaunas (Lithuania), both then under the rule of the Russian Empire, and like the five million other Jews living under Russian domination, their families had long endured the crippling oppression and enforced poverty. This historical background explains much of the artist's attitude and behavior during the band's tour in the USSR.

When he was just a 10-year-old boy, Benny Goodman started to study music. He played with his first pit band at the age of 11, and became a member of the American Federation of Musicians when he was 14. His career evolves rapidly, and he soon becomes a popular musician. He was the first white leader of a racially mixed band. Benny Goodman is considered one of the most influent jazz musicians in the history. According to some musicologists, “he opened a new era in popular music. He brought jazz to a new level of recognition.” <http://www.swingtime.ru/swingcentral/p/bg.html>, accessed May 17, 2013. See also Ross Firestone, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

<sup>21</sup> Vladislav Zubok, *Zhivago's children: the last Russian intelligentsia*, Harvard University Press/ Belknap, Cambridge, 2009, p. 197

<sup>22</sup> Ross Firestone, *op. cit.*, p. 408

<sup>23</sup> Consisting of: Benny Goodman, clarinetist; Joe Newman, Jimmy Maxwell, John Frosk, Joe Wilder, trumpeters; Willie Dennis, Wayne Andre, Jimmy Knepper, trombonists; Jerry Dodgion, flutist; Phil Woods, alto saxophonist; Zoot Sims, Tommy Newsom, tenor saxophonists; Gene Allen, baritone saxophonist; John Bunch, Teddy Wilson, pianists; Turk Van Lake, guitarist; Bill Crow, string bassist; Mel Lewis, drummer; and Vic Feldman, vibraphonist. In D. Russell Connor, *Benny Goodman: listen to his legacy*, Scarecrow Press: Institute of Jazz Studies, Metuchen, N.J./ London: 1988, p. 240.

“capitalist provocations”, has blocked public sale of tickets, so only a handful of tickets went to the Moscow's jazz fans; several thousand tickets were distributed among „ideologically tested” blue collars through the Party committees<sup>24</sup>. The Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev was present at the concert, but during the intermission he left, saying: „I don't dance myself, so I don't understand these things too well, but I enjoyed it.”<sup>25</sup> It seems that the presence of the communist premier intimidated the public, which had refrained from expressing its emotions, giving the artists polite applauses. The next two concerts in Moscow had a greater impact. Hundreds of enthusiastic fans fervently applauded the performances of the jazz musicians. The reviews in the Soviet media were favorable. The Soviet journal „Sovietskaya Kultura” wrote that Benny Goodman is a „genuine poet of the clarinet, who enlarges the expressive possibilities of the instrument to literally impossible limits” and his band is formed by virtuosos<sup>26</sup>. Concerts followed in other cities: Sochi, Tbilisi, Tashkent, Leningrad and Kiev.

In Sochi the band had experienced an incident that fully characterizes a totalitarian state. The American writer Donald Russell Connor noted that during this tour the Department of State had bought copies of his book „BG - off the record: a bio-discography of Benny Goodman” for free distribution to the Soviet public. Before the first concert in Sochi, trumpeter Joe Newman gave a copy of this book to a Russian named Valentin. Immediately after this gesture two husky plainclothesmen had appeared and Valentin was arrested. Annoyed, Joe Newman asked a witness “What are they going to do with him?” He received a baleful answer: „We'll be lucky if we ever see him again.” The incident was widely commented by the American press of that time<sup>27</sup>. In Leningrad, Soviet authorities had applied the same tactics regarding the tickets. However, a large number of young people could attend the sole concert that was given in that town. Someone remembers: „The old jazzman, facing the frozen front rows, grew furious, the music spiked. The stunned audience reluctantly began to give in to the unfathomable power of the musician. Heavily made-up mouths opened in enthusiastic gasps, feet began to stomp, and awkwardly out of sync, beefy hands began to clap. The audience gave up its smug imperviousness, lost self-control, shrieked.”<sup>28</sup> Concerning this show Benny Goodman said: „It was like the Paramount in the old days.”<sup>29</sup>

Despite these successes, things were not going very well inside the band. Frequent quarrels between band members, exacerbated by poor food,

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<sup>24</sup> <http://jazz.ru/eng/default.htm>, accessed May 17, 2013

<sup>25</sup> Ross Firestone, *op. cit.*, p. 411

<sup>26</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 413

<sup>27</sup> D. Russell Connor, *op. cit.*, p. 241

<sup>28</sup> Vladislav Zubok, *op. cit.*, p. 197-198

<sup>29</sup> Ross Firestone, *op. cit.*, p. 414

bouts of dysentery, language barriers, Benny Goodman's behavior, characterized by some authors as mystifying and self-defeating, generated „musical sabotage” during concerts. Artists no longer wanted to play well their musical scores. Because of these misunderstandings, even Benny Goodman's wife, as a sign of protest, left her husband in USSR and flew to New York.

„Benny was always a little unpredictable to begin with”, said his brother, Irving, „but he became very unpredictable in the Soviet Union. [...] In the Soviet Union he was truly not himself at all. Sometimes it got bad he would stand on the stage with his tongue hanging out of his mouth and saliva running down his chin like somebody in an institution. I really felt sorry for him.”<sup>30</sup> Another member of the band, Bill Crow, noted, „With such a good band, we couldn't understand why Benny didn't just let us play. [...] We were proud of the band, and couldn't understand why Benny didn't seem to feel that way too.”<sup>31</sup>

However, the band concerts had over 180,000 spectators<sup>32</sup>. The tour lasted until July 8<sup>th</sup> 1962<sup>33</sup>.

An incident occurred during this tour. It is known by jazz historians as Benny Goodman's „debate” with Nikita Khrushchev. The Kremlin leader attended American Embassy's July Fourth reception. At this event the Benny Goodman band was also invited. During a friendly discussion about the merits of jazz and modern art, the communist premier said to Benny Goodman: „I am not a jazz fan. I like real music. I don't understand jazz. I don't mean just yours. I don't understand our own.” The American musician tried to explain to the high official that it takes time to understand and get used to such music. Khrushchev answer was laconic: „Good music should appeal at once; it shouldn't take time.” In the end both of them concluded that they like Mozart<sup>34</sup>.

#### **4. „We've been waiting for you for centuries!”. Duke Ellington in the USSR (1971)**

In the 1970s the international context and the relationship between the superpowers remained evenly complicated. Under a new leader, Leonid Brezhnev, the Soviet Union entered in a period of internal economic stagnation. Furthermore, the invasion of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Union and its Warsaw Pact allies (with the exception of Romania) in 1968 seriously affected the image of the USSR in the world. As a result, relations between the USSR

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<sup>30</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 412

<sup>31</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 413

<sup>32</sup> Vladislav Zubok, *op. cit.*, p. 197

<sup>33</sup> D. Russell Connor, *op. cit.*, p. 241

<sup>34</sup> Ross Firestone, *op. cit.*, p. 415-416

and the U.S. froze for six months. One of the consequences of this freeze was the cancellation in 1970 of the Bolshoi Ballet American tour<sup>35</sup>. In the U.S., President Richard Nixon was faced with growing opposition against the Vietnam War. The U.S. government did not want to strain relationships with the USSR and China; they tried to establish a period of *détente* with these two great powers. Also during this period, negotiations for a bilateral treaty between the USSR and the U.S. on the issue of armament control begin. The treaty signed in 1972 was known as the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT I). Having in mind these coordinates, we can understand better the significance of Duke Ellington tour in the USSR in 1971.

Duke Ellington was born on the 29<sup>th</sup> April 1899 in Washington. His Afro-American origins did not obstruct his efforts of becoming a famous artist. This fact gave his activities a special aspect. His entire career can be considered a continuous promotion of equity and racial tolerance. For these merits, Duke Ellington received in April 1968 the highest civilian award in the United States - Presidential Medal of Freedom. The award brought more fame and world notoriety for the artist. This fact facilitated his access in the Soviet Union. It is interesting that Duke Ellington's candidacy was rejected by the Soviet part during the jazz tours negotiations in 1962, he was cataloged as „too intellectual” and the Soviet people „wouldn't like him”. His pronounced anti-communism stance was also well known. But on this occasion, the international context on the one hand and good personal relations with President Richard Nixon on the other hand, made it possible that Duke Ellington and his band tour in the USSR<sup>36</sup>. For their services, the band received 19,000 U.S. dollars per week, which, according to some estimates would be equivalent to 100,000 today's U.S. dollars. <sup>Also,</sup> Goskontsert (the Soviet state entertainment agency) earned good money from these concerts<sup>37</sup>.

The band performed 22 concerts in five locales for 33 days, attended by 126,000 spectators. Duke Ellington performed in Leningrad, Minsk, Kiev, Rostov and Moscow. He was impressed by the culture and by the Russian public. He wrote: „The audiences are incredibly responsive to everything we do, and musicians come from all the Soviet republics, from Latvia, we are told, from Mongolia and Siberia.”<sup>38</sup> The Soviet authority's behavior was similar to the one exhibited in the 1960s. On the one hand, they maintained a friendly attitude in newspaper articles, and on the other hand they restricted the access and free expression of jazz fans.

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<sup>35</sup> Harvey G. Cohen, *Visions of Freedom: Duke Ellington in the Soviet Union*, 2011, p. 2, accessed May 18, 2013, <http://www.kcl.ac.uk/artshums/depts/cmci/people/papers/cohen/ellington.pdf>

<sup>36</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 7

<sup>37</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 5

<sup>38</sup> Edward Kennedy Ellington, *Music is my mistress*, Doubleday, Garden City, N.Y., 1973, p. 370

At the airport in Moscow, the American artists were welcomed by few tens of excited fans. One of them shouted to Duke Ellington: „We've been waiting for you for centuries!” Touched by such attitudes, the artist said: „These are guys who've been listening to what we've been doing for a long time, so you feel like it's all the same family, the same tribe.”<sup>39</sup> Indeed the Voice of America had broadcasted jazz music for many years over the Iron Curtain, thus familiarizing the Soviet audience with music and consequently with the Western culture. The band had enjoyed a similar reception in Leningrad – city where, according Duke Ellington's memoirs, they were welcomed „by a big band that marches across the airfield toward us playing Dixieland jazz, with trombones sliding, clarinets smearing off, and all the musicians blowing in the traditional manner.”<sup>40</sup>

Once again concerts given by the American musicians had sparked an intense admiration from the Soviet public. This music had inspired ideas of freedom and this fact worried the communist authorities. Jazz could produce reactions that the authorities could no longer control. The immediate reaction jazz could produce could be uncontrollable. In this regard, Lisa Davenport had observed that the jazz promoted by the American government on the international arena had created a paradox „the cultural expression of one of the nation's most oppressed minorities came to symbolize the cultural superiority of American democracy.”<sup>41</sup>

## Conclusions

This paper described and analyzed the approach to cultural issues in the diplomatic relations between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. These relationships were investigated in the light of two American jazz musicians' tours which took place in 1962 and 1971 in the Soviet Union. This fact allows us to draw certain conclusions concerning the cultural relations of this period between the two superpowers, and also entitles us to assess the role of jazz in American foreign policy.

Jazz musician's tours did not make major changes in the paradigm of Soviet-American relations. They had not modified the rigid bureaucratic structures of these superpowers and obviously did not cause the collapse of the Iron Curtain. Rather those tours showed the real level and condition of these relationships, like a genuine barometer.

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<sup>39</sup> Harvey G. Cohen, *Duke Ellington's America*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago/London, 2010, p. 545

<sup>40</sup> Edward Kennedy Ellington, *op. cit.*, p. 364

<sup>41</sup> Lisa E. Davenport, *op. cit.*, p. 5

However, during these tours, a clear break could be seen in the USSR, between the ruling communist elite and the ordinary Soviet citizens. The Communist elite perceived these concerts as a threat, an attempt to undermine the communist ideology and party influence. This perception had finally determined the Soviet government to take all necessary actions to diminish the impact of the American jazz musicians' tours. Ordinary Soviet citizens saturated of official propaganda and cultural products approved and heavily promoted by the Communist Party, were eager for unusual cultural experiences. Their enthusiasm, the way in which they met the artists and fought to get a ticket to the concerts, indicates the sincere desire of the Soviet citizens to have access, view and listen something other than creations conceived in terms of socialist realism. To a certain extent the attitude of Soviet citizens can be seen as a form of protest against the ruling communist elite.

The idea of using jazz in foreign policy was opportune for the American government. Finding themselves in the face of more intense Soviet foreign cultural initiatives, which could not be counteracted by means of classical diplomacy, the State Department gave the green light to jazz, organizing, during two decades, hundreds of jazz concerts in dozens of countries. It is remarkable how quickly this idea was put into practice and developed in a short period of time. The American musicians had total freedom to choose the songs that were played. They were not subjected to any form of pressure from the American government. They were well paid and benefited from certain advantages. In the countries where they performed they were free to act as they thought and to tell what they considered proper.

Furthermore, they helped improve communication between the parties (especially with the Soviets). Their music carried out the spirit of freedom, ripping off the Iron Curtain and the ideological boundaries of societies with authoritarian regimes. They put at the disposal of the soviet public the real American culture, educating a generation of men in other values. At the same time, their music became the international language of spiritual independence.

# CONSIDERATIONS ON THE MISSION OF THE HISTORIAN IN THE MINDS OF AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS

*Mihaela GOMAN\**

**Abstract.** *In this study we tried, based on the careful study of his work, Roman History, to highlight the concept of Ammianus Marcellinus on the mission of the historian that to tell the truth, to be objective and to behave with more critical spirit in presentation of the historical facts. If Tacitus had wanted to write the history “sine ira et studio” (“without hatred and without bias”), Ammianus tried to tell the truth.*

**Keywords:** *Ammianus Marcellinus, Roman History, historian, concept, historical truth*

The last great Roman historian of the 4<sup>th</sup> century A.D. *Ammianus Marcellinus* was. Although of Greek origin (of Antioch in Syria) he exposes, in Latin, the Roman Empire history in the period of 96-378 in 31 books, of which they have kept those relating to the period 353-378 and is the subject of the 18 books<sup>1</sup>. There are 25 years of *Roman history* alive, lived by the author as a witness (military and passenger). He also was an active participant in events that were to decide the fate of the largest empire known by the antiquity.

Our communication is not the subject of the presentation of the events that took place in the Roman Empire in the quarter-century included in the work of Ammianus Marcellinus. Rather, it tries to follow the sources and the methods used that the interpretation given to them. As long as his work is of certain historical value, but also with remarkable literary qualities it left one of universal historiography reference.

A careful analysis of his work shows that they have drawn it up based on Greek and Latin literary sources state that the author has known them and used, if necessary, always in line with the aim (historians like Herodotus, Thucydides, Sallustius, Titus Livius, Tacitus; poets like Homer and Virgilius; philosophers like Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, scientists as

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<sup>1</sup> Ammianus Marcellinus, *Istorie romană* (Studiu introductiv, traducere și indice prof. David Popescu), p. 10

Considerations on the Mission of the Historian in the Minds of Ammianus Marcellinus  
Ptolemaeus, Eratosthenes, Hecataeus and others). We think we can say without fear of mistake, that Ammianus' *History* is at the same time, a truly interdisciplinary synthesis as long as it is dotted with numerous digressions not only historically, but also in other sciences (including geography specially).

Stated and rightly that Ammianus Marcellinus was influenced (as a way to expose) largely by Publius Cornelius Tacitus<sup>2</sup>, whose work he continued it. This is clear from the way in which Ammianus understood to be objective and impartial in rendering events. If Tacitus has proposed to write the history of the first century of the Roman Empire "sine ira et studio" ("without hatred and without bias"), Ammianus tried to tell the *truth*. This statement repeated, leads us to the note that Ammianus fully understood his mission as a historian - servant of historical truth, proving as his predecessors, a serious and thorough historical conception. To stress this we discuss the actual text of his work (book, chapter and paragraph):

***Book XIV: Chapter 6, paragraph 2 (p. 56):***

"And since I think it likely that foreigners who may read this account (if, indeed, any such should meet with it) are likely to wonder how it is that, when my history has reached the point of narrating what was done at Rome, nothing is spoken of but seditions, and shops, and cheapness, and other similarly inconsiderable matters, I will briefly touch upon the causes of this, *never intentionally departing from the strict truth...*".

***Book XV: Chapter 1, paragraph 1 (p. 81):***

"Having investigated the *truth* to the best of our power we have hitherto related all the transactions which either our age permitted us to witness, or which we could learn from careful examination of those who were concerned in them, in the order in which the several events took place. The remaining facts, which the succeeding books will set forth, we will, as far as our talent permits, explain with the greatest accuracy, without fearing those who may be inclined to cavil at our work as too long; for brevity is only to be praised when, while it puts an end to unreasonable delays, it suppresses nothing which is well authenticated..."

***Book XXII: Chapter 8, paragraph 1 (p. 296):***

"The time is now appropriate, in my opinion, since in treating of this mighty prince we are come to speak of these districts, to explain *perspicuously* what we have learnt by our own eyesight or by reading, about the frontiers of Thrace and the situation of the Black Sea..."

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<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 22

***Book XXIII: Chapter 6, paragraph 1 (p. 337):***

“Our history here leads us to a digression explanatory of the situation of Persia. Those who describe different nations, though, have already dilated upon it but few of them have given a correct account; if my story should be a little longer, it will contribute to a better knowledge of the country. For whoever affects excessive conciseness while speaking of things but little known, does not so much consider how to explain matters intelligibly, as how much he may omit..”

***Book XXVI: Chapter 1, paragraph 1 (p. 407-408):***

“Having narrated with exceeding care the series of transactions in my own immediate recollection, it is necessary now to quit the track of notorious events, in order to avoid the dangers often found in connection with truth; and also to avoid exposing ourselves to unreasonable critics of our work, who would make an outcry as if they had been personally injured, if anything should be passed over which the emperor has said at dinner, if any cause should be overlooked for which the common soldiers were assembled round their standards, or if there were not inserted a mention of every insignificant fort, however little such things ought to have room in a varied description of different districts. Or if the name of every one who filled the office of urban praetor be not given, and many other things quite impertinent to the proper idea of a history, which duly touches on prominent occurrences, and does not stoop to investigate petty details or secret motives, which any one who wishes to know may as well hope to be able to count those little indivisible bodies flying through space, which we call atoms...”

***Book XXVII: Chapter 9, paragraph 3 (p. 454-455):***

“I will explain with *great diligence* the complete series of all the transactions which took place in those regions, the death of Ruricius the governor, and of his lieutenants, and all the other mournful events which took place, when the *proper opportunity arrives...*”

***Book XXIX: Chapter 1, paragraph 15 (p. 500):***

“And because that man who knowingly passes over facts appears to be an equally unfaithful historian with him who invents circumstances which never happened, we do not deny (what, in fact, is quite undoubted) that the safety of Valens had often before been attacked by secret machinations, and was now in the greatest possible danger. And that a sword, as one may say, was presented to his throat by the officers of the army, and only averted by Fate, which was reserving him for lamentable misfortunes in Thrace...”

**Book XXXI: Chapter 16, paragraph 9 (p. 596):**

“Thus have I, a Greek by birth, and formerly a soldier, related all the events from the accession of Nerva to the death of Valens, to the best of my abilities; professing above all things to tell the *truth*, which, as I believe, I have never knowingly perverted, either by silence or by falsehood. Let better men in the flower of their age, and of eminent accomplishments, relate the subsequent events. However, if it should please them to undertake the task, I warn them to sharpen their tongues to a loftier style...”

Thus of the 18 books preserved in 8 of them the “care” of the author poster for “truth” remains constant and is repeated at the beginning, either along or at the end of the book. It is like a red vein crossing Ammianus’ work from end to end and that kept awake the conscience of humble servant of the historical truth.

Here, therefore, that in his conception the historian's mission is to tell the truth, to be objective and prove more critical in the presentation of the historical facts. In his sense, the historian must address not only to the mind but also to the heart, not only to instruct, but also to convince and to urge the action. On the other hand, the historical work must be at the same time a work of art, with remarkable literary qualities. Offering memorable examples of the past, the historian is of the view that the human society can change for the better, hence the side of morality (ethics), and civic of the history, starting with the phrase “*Historia magistra vitae*”.

Although he aware of some shortcomings of his work, that is without being a writer of profession and without knowing Latin in the family, Marcellinus Ammianus makes in full the proof of these “flaws” in the composition and style of each book. Although he could still write a history of Greece, which he considered superior to the Roman civilization, yet he wrote a history of the ancient Rome in Latin, which he learned as a true self. His work, of certain historical value, identifies him in the universal historiography landscape.

It is a real and sincere plea for a great historian and writer of the Latin literature, for the historical truth as humanly possible.

“The historic source remains essential *raw material* for any research of the past, because is part of the core of the *profession of historian* (...) and of the deep content of the discipline called *history*”, said in a recent paper the academician Professor Ioan - Aurel Pop<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>3</sup> Ioan – Aurel Pop, *Din mâinile valahilor schismatici. Românii și puterea în Regatul Ungariei medievale (sec. XIII-XIV)*, Editura Litera, București, 2011, p. 7

## ROMANIANS' HISTORIOGRAPHY IN HUNGARY ABOUT THE BEGINNINGS OF THE ROMANIAN COMMUNITY IN THE TRIANON HUNGARY

*Gabriel MOISA\**

*Abstract.* Beyond the directions and trends professed by the Romanian researchers in Hungary remains the manner how they write the history. Subject of time, they have close views to the general trend of the Hungarian historiography. Thus, for example, when talking about their minorities beginnings in nowadays Hungary they start as early approach to the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

*But sometimes, but not all, especially taking advantage of the post-communist openings, they write the history according to their beliefs. We learn as about the phenomenon of ethnic assimilation that the Romanians in Hungary are subject to, one extremely stressed beginning with the 60s of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, or how about the Trianon Treaty of Peace is perceived by them.*

*Related to this latter aspect is interesting the way how the Trianon is discussed, for the Romanians in Hungary receiving specific connotations. Remaining outside the Romanian state has made that moment to mean for them, from a certain perspective, what it meant for Hungarians.*

**Keywords:** Historiography, Romanians, Hungary, Trianon, Hungarians

*“Whether we like it or not, Romanians history cannot begin with the year 894 AD, or Hungarians St. Stephen’s coronation”<sup>1</sup>.* This phrase belongs to the researcher Mihaela Bucin, being inserted in a study on the need for the honest research of the past of the Romanian community in Hungary.

In the absence of some archaeologists coming from the Romanian community in Hungary to pursue the issue of a possible presence of some Dacian-Roman, Romanic and Romanian elements in the area inhabited today by the Romanians in Hungary, the majority views of the Romanian researchers here supports the idea that their ancestors were “colonized” in those areas as early at the late 16<sup>th</sup> century, as in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries to be based then

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<sup>1</sup> Mihaela Bucin, *Avem nevoie de istorie?*, in *Conviețuirea (Együttélés)*, year 2, no. 4, 1998 – year 3, no. 1, 1999, Seghedin, 1999, p. 80-82

most of the communities. However they believe that the Romanians in Hungary are “*native to these places*”<sup>2</sup>. The Romanian historiography has generally a different view, arguing that many historical sources and archaeological discoveries speak about the presence of some Dacian-Roman, Romanic and later, Romanian elements in the Crisis area since before the arrival of the Hungarians in the Pannonian plain<sup>3</sup>.

In the absence of some archaeological, but also documentary searches, older than the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the Romanian authors in Hungary start to rebuild the history of the Romanian community, but only in this century. Basically, the earliest documents used by researchers are created by the Romanian Orthodox parishes. But they are not older than the 18<sup>th</sup> century, according to their words. As beginning of each Romanian community in Hungary is considered that moment when the parish documents are talking about the parish setting up. The classic examples of this view are the works of Elena Csobai on the Romanians in Bichișciaba<sup>4</sup>, Aletea<sup>5</sup>, Ciorvaș<sup>6</sup>, Giula<sup>7</sup>, Veherd<sup>8</sup>, Cenadul Unguresc,<sup>9</sup> Bedeu, Micherechi<sup>10</sup> and Bichiș<sup>11</sup>, but others, too, such as the summaries of the Romanians history in Hungary: Gheorghe Petrușan, Emilia Martin and Mihai Cozma, *The Romanians in Hungary*, editor responsible Ioan Ciotea, Elena Csobai, *The History of the Romanians in the Nowadays Hungary*, discussing issues related to the history of the Romanian communities in Hungary.

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<sup>2</sup> Teodor Misaroș, *Din istora comunităților bisericești ortodoxe române din R.P.Ungară*, Giula, 2002, p. 13-14; Gheorghe Petrușan, Emilia Martin, Mihai Cozma, *Românii din Ungaria*, Editura Press Publica, Budapesta, 2000, p.3, etc.

<sup>3</sup> C.C. Giurescu, Dinu C. Giurescu, *Istoria românilor din cele mai vechi timpuri până astăzi*, Editura Albatros, București, 1975, p. 155; Ștefan Pascu, *Contribuțiuni documentare la istoria românilor în sec. XIII și XIV*, Sibiu, 1944, p. 8-9; Radu Popa, *Zur kirchlichen Organization der Rumänien in Nordsiebenbürgen im Lichte der patriarchalischen Privilegiums von 1391*, în *Ostkirchliche Studien*, 24, 1975, 4, p. 317; Șerban Papacostea, *Românii în secolul al XIII-lea între cruciată și Imperiul Mongol*, Editura Enciclopedică, București, 1993, p. 59-60

<sup>4</sup> Elena Munteanu Csobai, *Aspecte din istoricul românimii din Bichișciaba (metodologia cercetării românimii din Bichișciaba)*, in *Symposium*, I, Giula, 1991, p. 35-39

<sup>5</sup> Elena Csobai, *Românii din Aletea*, in *Idem*, V, Giula, 1996, p. 112-119

<sup>6</sup> *Idem*, *Românii din Ciorvaș*, in *Idem*, VI, Giula, 1997, p. 76-90

<sup>7</sup> *Idem*, *Aspecte din istoria românilor din Giula*, in *Idem*, VIII, Giula, 1999, p. 65-74; *Idem*, *Comunitatea română din Giula germană în secolul al XIX-lea*, in *Idem*, XIV, Giula, 2005, p. 68-85; *Idem*, *Comunitățile românești din Giula în perioada interbelică*, in *Idem*, XV, Giula 2006, p. 89-100

<sup>8</sup> *Idem*, *Comunitatea românească din Veherd*, in *Idem*, IX, Giula, 2000, p. 92-105

<sup>9</sup> *Idem*, *Comunitatea românească din Cenadul Unguresc*, in *Idem*, X, Giula, 2001, p. 108-114; *Idem*, *Comunitatea românească din Cenadul Unguresc între cele două Războaie mondiale (1910-1945)*, in *Idem*, XI, Giula, 2002, p. 95-108

<sup>10</sup> *Idem*, *Comunitatea românească din Bedeu și Micherechi pe baza cercetărilor demografice*, in *Idem*, XIII, Giula, 2004, p. 107-113

<sup>11</sup> *Idem*, *Aspecte din istoria comunității ortodoxe române din Bichiș*, in *Idem*, XVIII, Giula 2009, p. 90-99

Elena Csobai reiterates her point of view according to the earliest Romanian colonists settled down in and Giula and Bedeu, being of Orthodox religion<sup>12</sup>. The same views are also embraced by Gheorghe Petrușan in the historic part that he signed in *The Romanians in Hungary*. Both Elena Csobai and Gheorghe Petrușan are the adepts of the two-step colonization of the Romanians in the Eastern sides of the nowadays Hungary. The first stage begins in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century and lasts for a century, and the second stage begins, they say, in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and extends to just around World War II, when by “swarming” a part of the Romanian residents in neighboring areas formed Otlaca Pustă and Cserekert<sup>13</sup>. It is a view widely embraced also by the Hungarian historiography, the so-called origin of the Romanian settlers being a controversial topic, too. Most authors take easily the phrase “we are living in Hungary for almost 300 years”. Nobody, practically, reflected on this historiographical *context*. Professor Mihai Cozma reported this inert state of things referring to the mechanical assumption of this theory<sup>14</sup>. For him this finding is too little thought, simply false, the result of an error. According to his opinion, the statement is completely mantled in a brume “*the denser, the never specified the other country where it is considered that we have moved from to the places today. It would be impossible, because – the historical data convince us - that all Hungary was the country we came from here*”<sup>15</sup>. The error, according to Mihai Cozma’s opinion, comes from the misinterpretation of the population movements from the mountainous area of Crișana towards the area of Tisza, under well-known historical conditions and already defined - a space where already a Romanian population was. This displacement has occurred, says the author, from Hungary to Hungary, therefore no question of migration from one state to another. Thus, he said “*for our ancestors did not mean a real integration in another state. Way can not be taken seriously when it is about our places of origin, as, for example, no the Romanian in Wallachia, fugitive over the mountains, in Transylvania, was not considered once originating from Turkey, only for that the Romanian Country (his) was under Ottoman occupation. We were and we are Romanians from Hungary in all respects*”<sup>16</sup>. Mihai Cozma carries out here a very subtle logical argument of the theory of the Romanian continuity in the Transylvanian area.

However, some researchers, referring to a series of chance archaeological discoveries and documentary information suggest that on the

<sup>12</sup> Idem, *Instituțiile purtătoare a identității românilor din Ungaria în perioada dintre cele două războaie mondiale*, in *Lumina*, '90-93, p. 7

<sup>13</sup> Idem, *Instituțiile purtătoare a identității românilor din Ungaria în perioada dintre cele două războaie mondiale*, in *Ibidem*, p. 7

<sup>14</sup> Mihai Cozma, *De când trăim în Ungaria? (Reflecție asupra unei erori)*, in Idem, *Giula*, 1994, p. 22

<sup>15</sup> *Ibidem*

<sup>16</sup> *Ibidem*

nowadays territory of Hungary, the Romanians' presence can be already documented in the Arpad's times. Teodor Misaroș, for instance, in his doctoral thesis entitled *Of the History of the Romanian Orthodox Church Communities in Hungary*, published in two editions, 1990 and 2002, speaks about the vestiges of a Byzantine church, in Giula, dating from 1295<sup>17</sup>, concluding that those who raised this church could only be the Orthodox Romanians. The same Teodor Misaroș showed data over-taken from the conscription of Giula area in 1525 where many Romanian families<sup>18</sup> were recorded, while the Giula borough was beleaguered by the Ottomans in 1566, Romanian locals also attended to defend it<sup>19</sup>. The information on Romanian multiply in the decades that followed, in 1651 being reported even an Orthodox bishop named Sofronie, the so-called "metropolitan of the boroughs Lipova and Giula"<sup>20</sup>.

Teodor Misaroș's volume provides new and new information, especially documentary, about the Romanians' early presence in the Eastern current area of Hungary, outlining clearly the view that beginning with the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the number of the Romanians has increased considerably by the colonization of a large number of Romanians in the area of the Crișul Alb River, where they settled down definitively<sup>21</sup>.

Very interesting, Teodor Misaroș brought in the support of his suggestions the opinions of some Hungarian historians as Hunfalvi Pál, who argued that even in 1404, the villages Vitha, Keresztúr, Csernetfalva and Zvalt-puszta were donated by the King Sigismund to Bolya and his sons, populating these abandoned parts with Romanians, which settled down on these lands changing including the names of some localities as Keresztúr in Crîstor<sup>22</sup>.

Thus, Teodor Misaroș brought evidences including archaeological and documentary which could suggest the presence of the Romanians in the Eastern Hungary even earlier than the data officially accepted by the Hungarian historiography and favorable *wise*, nolens volens by the Romanian scientists. Perhaps precisely because of this, the work could not see the light of print until 1990 when the freedom of speech has created this opportunity.

Late 90s of last century have brought new historiographical talks on the "*dismounting of Hungary*" on the occasion of celebrating the mille-centenary in Hungary.

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<sup>17</sup> Eugen Glück, *Contribuții la istoria comunităților românești din Ungaria*, în *Revista istorică*, 1994, no. 5-6, p. 479; Teodor Misaroș, *Din istoria comunităților bisericesti ortodoxe române din R.P. Ungară*, Budapesta, 1990, p. 122

<sup>18</sup> Eugen Glück, *Contribuții la istoria comunităților românești din Ungaria*, în *Revista istorică*, 1994, no. 5-6, p. 479

<sup>19</sup> Eugen Arădeanul, *Giula în atenția Europei*, în *Calendarul românesc*, 1992, p. 132-134

<sup>20</sup> Eugen Arădeanul, Lucian Emandi, Teodor Bodogae, *Mănăstirea Hodoș-Bodrog*, Arad, 1980, p. 48

<sup>21</sup> Teodor Misaroș, *Din istoria comunităților bisericesti ortodoxe române din Ungaria*, 2nd Edition reviewed, Budapesta, 2002, p. 18

<sup>22</sup> Hunfalvi Pál, *Az oláhok története (Istoria valahilor)*, Budapest, 1894, vol. II, p. 57-58

Even in the first issue of *Conviețuirea*, the late Mihai Cozma opened an exciting bracket on the colonization of Hungary and the “Romanian problem”<sup>23</sup>. The study raises questions rather than to discuss them since Mihail Cosma does nothing but to sit in mirror the Romanian and Hungarian historiography in the issue “Anonymus”, being known that the Hungarian historiography does not recognize the veracity of those written by the anonymous notary in opposite with the Romanians presence in Transylvania at the moment of the Hungarian colonization in 896, at the same time accepting the information about Hungarians. Providing the reader with the information of “Anonymus” about the realities in Crișana and Transylvania and the antagonistic views of the two historiographies, Mihai Cozma permits the reader to formulate his own opinions, not before to iterate that the Hungarian historians continue to reject categorically the idea that the Hungarians should have met at the moment of the Hungarians’ “*dismounting*”, besides Slavs, Bulgarians, Moravians, Avars, and Romanians<sup>24</sup>.

Gheorghe Santău, a prominent member of the Romanian intellectual elite in the postwar Hungary, on his turn, initiates a discussion on the seniority of the Romanians in Crișana, including in the Eastern Hungary, and on the Hungarians “*dismounting*”<sup>25</sup>. Formed at the University of Cluj in the ‘40s, Gheorghe Santău, is trenchant in his findings related to the Romanians presence in Crișana. Based on the data provided by early medieval chronicles, he considers that at the moment of the Hungarians’ arrival, the Romanians were living here with the Slavic tribes. Alongside the information of the historiographers’ works, in supporting his views, Gheorghe Santău uses also the toponymy<sup>26</sup>. He points including the fact that some Hungarian historians claimed that the Romanians were in the parts of the nowadays Eastern Hungary when the Hungarians came. Unlike the other Romanian scientists from Hungary, Gheorghe Santău believes that even after the Ottoman Empire conquest of Hungary, the Romanians continued to live in the plain of Tisza, this fact being confirmed by the remarks in the official registers and the notes regarding the villages in the Eastern Hungary<sup>27</sup>. Gheorghe Santău has an original perspective also on the Romanians alleged massive colonization beginning with the 18<sup>th</sup> century in the Eastern parts of the nowadays Hungary. He believes that this colonization was not massive and was made entirely by chance, unlike Banat, where this phenomenon was conducted under the state

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<sup>23</sup> Mihai Cozma, *Descălecatul Ungariei și „problema românească”*, in *Conviețuirea (Együtélés)*, year 1, no. 1, Seghedin, 1997, p. 14-19

<sup>24</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 14

<sup>25</sup> Gheorghe Santău, *Vechimea și starea românilor în Crișana*, in *Simpozion*, VIII, Giula, 1999, p. 75-111

<sup>26</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 77

<sup>27</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 85-86

close control. Moreover, he believes that at that time the whole plain between the Mureş, Crisis and Someş Rivers was populated mainly by Romanians and only towards the Tisza River Hungarian communities numerically smaller appeared<sup>28</sup>. That after two centuries, this area is predominantly Hungarian, and the Romanians are reduced only to a few scattered communities, is due to a Hungarian policy of denationalization of the Romanians and of a systematic colonization of the Hungarians between the years 1800-1910<sup>29</sup>.

In conclusion we can say that the majority of the Romanian researchers in Hungary, in the absence of some systematic archaeological and documentary investigation, consider the beginnings of the Romanian communities in the nowadays Hungary somewhere in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Without taking into account that this is also a point of view dominant in the Hungarian historiography, it must be said that the arguments offered by the Romanian scientists from Hungary, as there is no older evidence, nor archaeological and nor documentary belong to the historian's logic and instrumentation who cannot pronounce for an opinion or other without arguments. Even they recognize this and support the need for research in those directions that could make arguments in the favor of the Romanians' presence before the Hungarians' arrival. The problem is that this is unlikely to happen because there is no Romanian of Hungary to conduct such research. No cultural or educational institution in Hungary has employed any Romanian ethnic to make these scientific approaches, and whether this would form in a university in Romania it would remain without employment option. The wishes expressed over time by the leadership of the *Research Institute of the Romanians in Hungary* to be budgeted 5-6 positions for Romanian researchers to investigate aspects of the history of this community were doomed to failure. Basically, thus any attempt of a young Romanian willing to be formed as a historian in a university in Romania, as subsequently to return to research the history of the ethnic he's belonging to, is doomed to failure. The potential youth who would form as historians in Hungary would be and even are tributary to the dominants of the Hungarian historiography regarding the Romanian community in Hungary. The views expressed by Gheorghe Santău and Teodor Misaroş belong to some researchers trained in Romania, the first at Cluj and the second at Bucharest.

The brave opinions expressed by Gheorghe Santău and Teodor Misaroş saw the light of print under specific circumstances. Teodor Misaroş was passed into nonexistence when his work was published, before 1989 this being impossible, and Gheorghe Santău was already retired when the occurrence of study, came practically under any pressure, under the "lectureship of the

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<sup>28</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 89

<sup>29</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 97-98

*Hungarian historians*”<sup>30</sup>, so without to jeopardize his careers or, at best “*to be tolerated, but also marginalized*”<sup>31</sup>.

Until these goals are not achieved, the Romanian community in Hungary has *established* its beginnings at the earliest in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century and early 18<sup>th</sup> century. The question remains whether in future will be one to study the beginnings, and especially, who’s beginnings.

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<sup>30</sup> Gheorghe Petrușan, *O schiță a istoriei românilor din Ungaria*, în *Simpozion*, VI, 1997, p. 91-92

<sup>31</sup> *Ibidem*

RECENZII

BOOK REVIEWS



**Bodo Edith, *Lumea rurală din Bihor după reglementarea urbarială tereziană (1771-1820)*** Editura Universității din Oradea, Oradea, 2011

Lumea rurală a devenit, de o bună perioadă de timp, un obiect de studiu aflat destul de constant în atenția istoricilor români, fapt justificat de multitudinea de oportunități pe care o astfel de investigație o deschide și prin predominarea ei cantitativă, categorică chiar, în raport cu lumea urbană, până inclusiv în debutul secolului trecut.

Pe acest trend țărănimea bihoreană a beneficiat și ea în ultima vreme de o atenție aparte, trecutul ei fiind investigat sub multiple aspecte, începând de la cel al tehnicii agricole și a ritmului de lucru, continuând cu reacția ei în fața introducerii unor noi plante agricole, ori în sens mai larg a presiunii modernizatoare venite dinspre autoritățile habsburgice, cu evoluția raporturilor și obligațiilor dintre aceasta și stăpânii domeniilor, Biserică sau autoritățile centrale, cu impactul marilor calamități asupra echilibrului ei existențial etc.

Lucrarea supusă atenției noastre în rândurile de față se înscrie în acest vast efort de întregire a istoriei ruralității aferente spațiului bihorean, autoarea ei, lect. univ. dr. Bodo Edith, propunându-și să-și cantoneze atenția în mod special asupra intervalului din imediata posterioritate a reglementării urbariale tereziene din 1767 și, mai cu seamă, a impactului acesteia asupra vieții țărănimii.

În mod paradoxal, demersul – esențial pentru înțelegerea istoriei Bihorului din a doua jumătate a secolului al XVIII-lea și a primelor decenii ale celui următor - a fost îngreunat, după cum ține să sublinieze și autoarea încă din primele rânduri, de cantitatea uriașă de informații de arhivă și a celor provenind din surse bibliografice, care a pus serioase probleme de extragere a datelor cele mai relevante, de ordonare a materialului brut, de așezare și de integrare a acestuia într-o structură logică și liniară.

După *Cuvântul înainte* (p. 5-9) semnat de prof. univ. dr. Barbu Ștefănescu și după o scurtă *Introducere* (p. 11-12) se face o succintă inventariere a principalelor contribuții convergente cu tema aleasă spre cercetare aparținând istoriografiei române și maghiare (*Istoriografia problemei*, p. 13-16) subliniindu-se faptul că, în frevente cazuri, punctele de vedere ale acestora asupra perioadei avute în vedere au fost diferite sau chiar contradictorii.

Considerând reglementarea tereziană drept „o verigă al unui lung șir de încercări de a îmbunătăți viața iobagilor și a jelerilor din Partium și nu numai” (p. 11), Bodo Edith ne propune o abordare a lumii rurale bihorene într-o

perspectivă temporală mult mai largă, ce își are punctul de plecare în eforturile de reconquistă austriacă în dauna Imperiului Otoman, competitorul său pentru supremație în spațiul sud-est european și în încorporarea Transilvaniei în Imperiul Habsburgic. Capitolul II al lucrării (*Recuperarea teritorială spre Răsărit și noile probleme ce se pun statului habsburgic*, p. 17-30) își propune, în consecință, o fixare sumară a momentelor care au marcat integrarea spațiului transilvănean în noul imperiu danubian, precum și o inventariere a provocărilor pe care acest lucru l-a ridicat forurilor conducătoare habsburgice (mozaicarea etnică și confesională, pauperizarea țăranimii și diminuarea capacității acesteia de a mai susține statul etc). Mulțumindu-se în a puncta principalele etape în acest lung proces de încorporare a lumii transilvănene în structura noului stat, capitolul are rolul de a identifica debutul conștientizării de către habsburgi a necesității unor ample măsuri de reformă menite a face utilă pentru Imperiu populația provinciei, contribuind în plus și la mărirea ariei de adresabilitate a lucrării.

Tot în sensul înțelegerii nevoii accentuate de bani pe care statul habsburgic o resimțea sunt consacrate și considerațiile de la începutul capitolului III ce poartă titlul *Problema modernizării forțate a statului austriac*, discursul concentrându-se pe implicațiile relativ multiple pe care implementarea principiilor subsumate cameralismului le va avea asupra economiei comitatului Bihor, materializate prin ridicarea unor manufacturi de fier, sticlă, bere, hârtie, postav etc. În acest context, ne asigură în continuare autoarea, a survenit și conturarea tot mai deplină, în mintea responsabililor de destinele imperiului habsburgic, a ideii că, în condițiile în care tentativele de supunere a nobilimii la fel de fel de impozite sunt practic nule, atenția trebuie îndreptată asupra țăranimii astfel încât aceasta să poată fi transformată, în virtutea ponderii ei numerice, în principalul segment contribuabil. Reglementările urbariale parțiale și globale trebuiesc privite în consecință drept dovezi ale străduințelor de ameliorare a vieții acestei categorii de populație, vizibile mai ales în timpul domniei Mariei Tereza despre care autoarea afirmă că „a fost primul monarh habsburgic care a oferit țăranilor sau împuterniciților acestora posibilitatea de a-și prezenta doleanțele în fața persoanei sale” (p. 41) și a succesorului acesteia, Iosif al II-lea.

Reglementării propriu-zise, considerată ca reprezentând punctul maxim „al politicii tereziene de protecție a țăranimii” (p. 47-48), îi e consacrat capitolul IV, discuția pornind de la greutățile legate de elaborarea acesteia. Se trece apoi la inventarierea celor 9 puncte ale Urbariului, analiza fiecăruia în parte oferindu-i lui Bodo Edith ocazia identificării și apoi a creionării cu acuratețe a elementelor modernizatoare în cuprinsul lor, precum interzicerea unor serii de obligații sau taxe percepute până atunci în mod abuziv, oprirea pedepselor în bani sau a celor fizice și convertirea lor în zile de robotă manuală, oferirea prilejului de a putea apela la instanțele superioare de judecată pentru diferite

pricini etc. Desigur, un demers de o astfel de amploare nu se putea derula fără întâmpinarea unor întregi serii de piedici și dificultăți care au îngreunat și șicanat aplicarea reglementării; cu toate acestea scopul principal al elaborării și aplicării ei va fi în cele din urmă atins, prevederile menite a proteja, a ușura sau a avantaja populația rurală permițându-i o serie de mărunte acumulări care îi vor îmbunătăți în final viața de zi cu zi și statutul general.

Un consistent număr de pagini e consacrat apoi evoluției agriculturii bihorene cu începere din imediata posterioritate a reglementării tereziene. Aplicarea acesteia, observă cu justețe autoarea, a coincis cu o perioadă în care spațiul bihoran, asemeni restului continentului european în întregime, sa, a cunoscut o importantă creștere demografică, excelent surprinsă în economia lucrării de față prin intermediul - mai cu seamă -, a instrumentelor specifice istoriei cantitative (tabele, grafice). În urma analizei lor o concluzie se desprinde cu claritate: în pofida unor accidente demografice datorate mai cu seamă unor calamități (foamete, epidemii) trendul a fost în permanență ascendent. Creșterea suprafețelor agricole a fost în această situație cea mai la îndemână soluție pentru sporirea masei alimentare necesară a-i hrăni pe cei care „și-au câștigat atunci dreptul la viață”. Apare mai mult decât firească în acest sens insistența asupra sesiilor cu cele două componente de bază ale sale (intravilanul și extravilanul). Necesitatea obținerii unei cantități sporite de hrană, dar și progresele înregistrate de agricultură la modul general (adoptarea unor tehnici noi de cultură, a unor plante noi, sporirea și perfecționarea instrumentelor și utilajelor agricole) vor avea ca și consecință introducerea tot mai largă a sistemului cu trei câmpuri care va duce la creșterea productivității. Discuția se cantonează apoi asupra prediilor sensul general al acesteia fiind continuat cu cel al studiului de caz (prediul Holodului). Analizând datele și informațiile avute la îndemână autoarea observă o creștere însemnată a numărului contractelor de arendare a unor astfel de terenuri încheiate între stăpânii domeniali și comunitate sau între țărani în mod individual, interesul pentru ele fiind generat îndeosebi de obligațiile simțitor mai reduse față de cele percepute după sesii (p. 122-123).

Un mare număr de date cantitative, prezentate iarăși – pentru a nu îngreuna excesiv lectura – sub formă de tabele și grafice a stat la baza subcapitolului vizând sistemul robotei. În condițiile în care încă din debutul secolului al XVIII-lea tendința a fost constantă în sensul creșterii numărului zilelor consacrate ei, e evident faptul că acest lucru s-a răsfrânt negativ asupra vieții țăranilor, dar și a evoluției agriculturii, la modul general. Conscrierile urbariale de după aplicarea reglementării avute de Bodo Edith la îndemână oferă un tablou destul de interesant în care, la modul general primează robota prestată manual, existând însă și excepții (îndeosebi în zonele montane unde suprafețele arabile erau mici, iar numărul animalelor mai mare). Implicațiile benefice ale reglementării tereziene se vor resimți însă și în acest domeniu una

din modalitățile relativ bine surprinsă documentar fiind aceea a răscumpărării acesteia (statutată în cap. 9 al Urbariului, pct. 3) care va avea ca și consecință o simplificare a relațiilor dintre stăpâni și țărani, fapt care va prilejui implementarea în mentalul acestora din urmă a unei noi percepții a timpului în sensul creșterii interesului pentru valorificarea oportună a celui consacrat propriei gospodării. Intenții bune a avut reglementarea și față de capitolul căraușiiilor, chiar dacă rezultatele nu au fost totdeauna notabile. Demersul a avut la bază în primul rând numeroasele plângeri anterioare ale iobagilor în legătură cu abuzurile săvârșite cu prilejul lor, dar și poziția de frunte pe care animalele au deținut-o în sistemul de valori a lumii rurale transilvănene în toată această perioadă. Interesul aparte acordat acestora e perceptibil atât la nivelul economiei domeniiale cât și a celei țărănești îmbrăcând forma introducerii unor rase superioare, a sporirii numărului de cai în detrimentul boilor în ideea utilizării mai bune a timpului etc.

Aplicarea prevederilor reglementării urbariale tereziene a avut apoi, desigur, importante consecințe și asupra vieții sociale a lumii bihorene din intervalul supus atenției, analizate în capitolul VI („Mutații în plan social după reglementarea urbarială tereziană”). Evident, o asemenea discuție nu putea lăsa în afara ei problematica iobagilor și a jelerilor, „masa cea mai numeroasă din societatea comitatului”. Dacă în cazul celor dintâi lucrurile sunt mai clare în cel al celorlora din urmă acestea sunt mai dificil de înțeles întrucât „Înainte de reglementarea urbarială, criteriile după care cineva era considerat jeler difereau foarte mult de la caz la caz” (p. 188), fapt pentru care autoarea insistă asupra accepțiunii diverse a respectivului termen în paralel cu urmărirea evoluției numerice a celor două categorii ale țărânimii bihorene la nivel de provizorate și domenii. Atenția se îndreaptă apoi spre nobilii armaliști, remarcându-se diversitatea denumirilor sub care aceștia apar consemnați în documente, pentru ca apoi accentul să fie cantonat asupra statutului, provenienței și obligațiilor acestora.

Interesante ni se par apoi concluziile formulate în urma analizei instituțiilor sătești, atenția fiind focalizată asupra judeului și notarului. Creșterea interesului statului și stăpânului domenial pentru cunoașterea capacității de plată a supușilor și a posibilității îndeplinirii obligațiilor trasate o îndreptățește pe Bodo Edith să remarce schimbarea statutului funcției de jude, dintruna râvnită în una asupra căreia apăsa o dublă presiune, celei amintită mai sus adăugându-i-se cea venită din partea comunității care ar dori ca aceasta să-i apere și să le promoveze interesul. Precizările legate de condițiile numirii în funcție a celor două categorii sunt fericit completate de numeroase exemple care vin să sublinieze elasticitatea existentă în acest sens ori multitudinea de situații care eludau normele stabilite.

Efectele induse de implementarea reglementării tereziene în lumea bihoreană de la cumpăna secolelor XVIII-XIX și-au pus amprenta și asupra

mentalităților, sondării elementelor de noutate perceptibile în amintitul domeniu fiindu-i consacrat ultimul capitol („Sensibilități și mentalități țărănești”). Desigur, într-o mare măsură încă, lumea rurală continuă să fie profund atașată principiilor creștine. Agresată de fel de fel de factori aceasta continua să găsească încă în domeniul spiritualului panaceul necesar depășirii fobiilor, feluritelor dificultăți ori provocări etc. Sistemul acesta de gândire începe însă să fie în acest interval tot mai fisurat de o multitudine de elemente. Un bun exemplu pe care autoarea ni-l oferă în acest sens este cel al sărbătorilor, timpul sacru, gestionat până atunci de Biserică, începând să fie din ce în ce mai aprig disputat cu autoritățile statului și cu cele senioriale, ambele vizând o creștere a celui acordat de supuși lor sau dezvoltării gospodăriilor acestora.

Captivante și cu subtilitate reliefate ni se par apoi observațiile referitoare la contribuția indirectă a aplicării reglementării tereziene asupra capitolului sensibilităților. Marcând debutul unui proces mai accentuat de ameliorare generală a stării materiale a populației rurale, prevederile ei au condus în final la o creștere demografică, coroborarea celor două fațete traducându-se faptic, între altele, și prin generarea condițiilor pentru un vast program de construcții ori restaurare de edificii bisericesti, dar și prin creșterea gradului de acces la meserii, a anulării unor vechi restricții care se opuneau emancipării mentale. Benefică și plină de consecințe pentru întreaga societate transilvăneană s-a dovedit apoi politica din domeniul învățământului, măsurile luate în acest sens în imediata posterioritate a aplicării reglementării urbariale pe lângă faptul că au încercat să răspundă nevoii statului de a asigura o educație conformă stării sociale a fiecărui elev, au grăbit și ele instaurarea deplină a modernității.

Partea finală grupează o listă de anexe, prezentarea bibliografiei și a fondurilor arhivistice utilizate, rezumatul în limba engleză și un *Index* de nume de persoane și localități care înlesnesc utilizarea cărții ca instrument de lucru pentru toți cei interesați de abordări asemănătoare.

Valorificând o mare varietate de surse lucrarea supusă atenției noastre în rândurile de față rămâne meritorie din mai multe motive. Celor amintite până aici le putem adăuga altele legate de utilizarea a numeroase surse aparținând istoriografiei maghiare, ea însăși destul de aplecată asupra investigării realităților bihorene/transilvănene, de capacitatea ordonării unui volum mare de informație brută, de cursivitatea expunerii etc. Contribuind la creșterea gradului de înțelegere a vieții populației rurale din spațiul și intervalul asumat, opul de față va putea servi, în opinia noastră, nu doar ca un instrument de lucru în abordări menite a aduce lumină în acest domeniu, ci și ca punct de plecare în altele menite a sonda din diverse unghiuri ruralitatea.

***Ioan CIORBA***

**Antonio Faur, *Un deceniu din existența evreilor bihoreni (1942- 1952). Contribuții istoriografice și documentare*, Cluj – Napoca, Editura Mega, 2012, ISBN 978-606-543-263-5.**

The book written by Antonio Faur, *Un deceniu din existența evreilor bihoreni (1942-1952). Contribuții istoriografice și documentare/ A decade from the existence of the Jews from Bihor. Historiographical and documentary contributions* brings in the scientific world new unpublished data about the condition of the Jews from Oradea during the times of Holocaust and its aftermath.

At the beginning of the book the author makes the overall portrait of the Jewry of Romania after the Holocaust, consulting in this sense historical sources from the local Archives from Oradea, remarking that although antisemite feelings continued to exist, the majority of the Romanian population was not antisemite. The book describes many cases when the Romanian nationals saved the Jews from deportation.

One of the chapters of this study has as topic the testimony of a survivor of German camps during the Second World War. The author took an interview to Varodi Iudith from Oradea, a survivor of the concentration camps from Auschwitz-Birkenau. She married Weiss Adalbert in 1948 and she worked for 30 years at the „Plastor“ Factory from Oradea. She gave this interview to Antonio Faur at his request but also from her belief that the Jews were always a very loyal and hardworking people who did not like to discriminate other people and who were victims of Holocaust. Because of anti-Jewish legislation, in spite of the fact that she entered the third at the Commercial High School, she could not attend the school because she was a Jew. She joined a “Jiglity” a Zsidogymnasium and although away from Cluj, she succeeded to go to graduation exam and to obtain the graduation Diploma. Later on, she was interned together with her family in the ghetto from Dej. Her mother was beaten because she did not want to reveal the places where there were hidden the „treasures“ of the family. There were kept more than 100 people in a train wagon on their way to Auschwitz. At Auschwitz they were put to hard labour. Their guardians were called *kapo* and were part of other nationalities than German. After Auschwitz, she was deported to Buchenwald, commando Tauscha, in Germany, near Leipzig. She survived to hard labour and then she arrived in Timișoara and then she settled in Oradea, together with her husband.

Another chapter has the title *The report of the general consul from Oradea about the situation of Jewry from Northern Transylvania (1944)*. Antonio Faur mentioned that a chapter of this report was published in the

review *Magazin istoric*. He also reveals another source which he had for this chapter, namely the work of Katona Béla, Vârâd a viharban (Oradea in the storm). From the report, it results that there was a network to save the Jews from the North- West of Transylvania which involved the existence of a guide, a connection with an important man from Oradea, a crossing point at the frontier, and the transport on the territory of Romania.

The Ghettoization of the Jews of Oradea was also shown by Eva Heyman in her diary, another source of the author. The international Red Cross was informed about the condition of Jews from Oradea from the general consul Mihai Marina. The consul Mihai Marina procured data about the Jews found in ghettos from Northern Transylvania. In the same time, the consul Mihai Marina elaborated a report about the tragic end of Jews deported to Auschwitz. The university professor Vespasian Pella, the Romanian ambassador to Switzerland passed through Oradea, in his way to Switzerland, handing in this report to International Red Cross.

Another chapter has the title *Contribution of the General Consul from Oradea, Mihai Marina, and of his collaborators to the saving from death of some Jews*. The author quotes a fragment from the work *Final Report* that established the contribution of Romania to Holocaust that says that the cases when Romanians saved Jews from the death were insufficiently researched. Another source the author quotes are the words of Elie Wiesel, a Jew from Transylvania who received the Nobel Prize, that acknowledge the Romanians's help to the actions of saving the Jews. Randolph Braham, an important historian who studied the condition of Hungarian Jews, is also quoted by Antonio Faur who mentions the Romanian state as an oasis for the escaped Jews from Hungary. Once arrived in Romania, the escaped Jews went to Arad, Timisoara and Bucharest. The author tries to establish consul Mihai Marina's contribution to the salvation of Jews. Mihai Marina had an excellent reputation and he had an important role in the promotion of the interests of Romania in North-West of Transylvania, and a part of Hungary. For the transportation of Jews there were utilized three cars: the consul's, the vice-consul Anghel Lupescu's and Ion Romaşcanu's. In different locations, the escaped Jews were waited by trusty persons who crossed them the boundary to Romania.

Another chapter is entitled *The contribution of the lawyer Aurel Socol to the saving of some Jews from Cluj ( April – July 1944)*. The author mentions the sources of documentation referring to the lawyer Aurel Socol. One of them is an article in *Tribuna*, no.34 from 1990 written by Gheorghe I. Bodea. There followed several articles in *Tribuna* under the coordination of Augustin Buzura who was the intellectual product of the interwar university of Cluj, a student at the Faculty of Law, University King Ferdinand from Cluj-Napoca. After the war, he was deported to communist prisons. In his memories, Aurel Socol mentions that after the occupation of Hungary by Fascist Germany, the Jews from Hungary

had lost their occupations and were obliged to wear the yellow star. He used the help of a guide, Vasile Crișan, who had to cross the frontier from Hungary to Romania together with the Jews. He required some money for his services. In the summer of 1944, a group of Jews organized by Aurel Socol was caught when trying to cross the frontier. Aurel Socol assumed his responsibility and he was, in consequence, sent to Hungarian prisons where he was severely brutalized.

Another chapter has the title *Final considerations referring to the ways of clandestine passing of frontier of the Jews from Hungary in Romania (May – August 1944)*. The deportation to German and Polish concentration camps started in March 1944. The new government of Döme Sztojaj, organized ghettos on the territory of Transylvania and Hungary. The ghetto from Oradea was the second after the one from Budapest comprising 35 000 of Jews. Most Jews that rezided in the ghettos were not aware about their future deportation and treatment. Antonio Faur has data about clandestine ways of evadation from the area of Romanian – Hungarian frontier in Bihor county. Together with the Jews from Transylvania and Hungary, Jews from Germany, Poland, Czech Republic passed the frontier in this area. They really believed that their salvation is in Romania and from Romania they emigrated to Palestine. The conclusion of the author based on documents shows that although there were cases when the Jews didn't have to pay for being crossed the frontier, in most cases they had to pay. Antonio Faur describes the way in which the border was crossed: "The way of crossing the border had two components: one in Oradea and the other on the other side of the frontier, in Romania. These were in a tight communication for avoiding the failures. The general consul Mihai Marina had, of course, the great responsibility to prepare "the passing" over the boundary, in the places where there was less control by the Hungarian soldiers. Sometimes he avoided Băile Felix as point of frontier connected with Romania, because it was a space very well surveilled. The village of Șuaieu was situated in the proximity of the railway train Oradea- Holod- Beiuș and it was an optimal place for the organization of an efficient network of clandestine passing of some Jews in Romania where they were waited by guides, or they actioned on their own, assuming the risk to be caught by militaries". (Faur, 2012: 100).

The author analyses in a chapter of the book the presence of Jews in the Public Library of the city of Oradea in the year 1944. One of the fascist initiatives was the elimination of the books written by Jewish authors from the local library and the identification of Jewish readers whom were forbidden the access to the library. Antonio Faur shows that the director of Public library of Oradea elaborated a list with Jewish readers with the purpose of forbidding Jewish access to library. In the end of this work, the author attached this table with readers of Jewish origin from 1944.

Another chapter of the work concerns the contribution of the researcher Ioan Chira at the reinterpretation of some aspects from the tragic history of the

Jewish Communities from Oradea. Dr. Ioan Chira, twenty years after the Holocaust elaborated *The genocide of the Jews of Bihor during the Hungarian occupation (September 1940 – October 1944)*, a very rigorous study with good references, based on works published abroad, but also on National Archives Branch from Bihor County. Ioan Chira presents the evolution of Jewish problem from Hungary during the years 1920 and 1944 and also the Jewish sufferings from Oradea and Bihor County during the years 1941- 1944.

A chapter has the title *New documentary sources referring to the sufferings of Jewish survivors of the ghettos, concentration camps, battalions of workers that came back in Oradea after the war*. Using inedited archival sources, the author draws a picture of the post-war Jews situation after their return from Holocaust. He uses the declarations of some returned Jews that were entitled to governmental pensions after the return from Holocaust: survivors, orphans of both parents, widows, injured persons. After their return from Holocaust, the author shows that they had a precarious material situation and they were ill because of the harsh conditions from deportation times. The Jewish Democratic Committee brought the Jewry under communist control. As an annex to the book, the author adds a list with Jewish persons that applied for pensions they were entitled to according to Law no. 82/ 1<sup>st</sup> April 1948 with the stipulation of their infirmity and a description of the circumstances on which they got the infirmity.

Antonio Faur completes his work with some unpublished documents concerning the deported Jews (in the year 1944) from the North of Bihor County. Authorities after the war wanted to have lists with the Jews who were persecuted, valuable witnesses of what happened in the past. Thus the author adds a nominal table with the deported Jews from the village of Sălard, Bihor County, a nominal table with the inhabitants from labor camps or politically imprisoned; a table with the Romanian and Jewish inhabitants which were sent out of the country and also other tables concerning the situation of Jewry from Holocaust years.

The author reveals data about an important document (from the year 1952) about the Jews of Oradea, namely a list achieved in 1952 with the Jewish inhabitants of Oradea in which there is mentioned the number of the Jews and their residence. The document was discovered by the author in the local archives.

The present book written by Antonio Faur brings an important contribution to the history of the Jews from Bihor County in the very storm of Holocaust. His book is welcome in Romania, a country where the Jewish problems during the Holocaust were for so long wrongly interpreted or ignored.

**Anca OLTEAN**

**Joseph S.Nye, Jr. , *Viitorul puterii***, traducere Ramona Lupu, Editura Polirom, București, 2012, 328 p.

A spune că puterea este un concept cardinal în cadrul științei politice este deja un truism. Fascinația noastră față de putere- fie că suntem simpli privitori, sociologi sau oameni de stat- provine dintr-o neplăcere inerentă condiției umane: vulnerabilitatea. Destinul speciei a stat mereu sub imperativul slăbiciunilor și nevoilor precum și a ambițiilor, de multe ori nemăsurate. Istoria înseși este cronometrată în funcție de fizionomia pe care puterea a căpătat-o de-a lungul erelor: puterea oamenilor de a se pune la adăpost de adversități; a câtorva de a-și asuma deciziile; a majorității de a îndeplini ordinele; a tuturor de a menține ce a fost câștigat prin eforturi. Discuția despre tipologia regimurilor, de la Aristotel până astăzi a vizat modul cum puterea este acuplată cu legitimitatea, cum decizia este negociată între instituții și societate.

Dacă puterea rămâne o preocupare perenă a științei politice, citirea formelor sale în fiecare context nu este deloc ușoară.

Pentru a face dreptate între dilemele mai sus exprimate, lucrarea didactică lui Joseph Nye are două scopuri: a) sa prezinte un mod de înțelegere a relațiilor internaționale în secolul XXI; b) să cugete la viitorul Statelor Unite în rândul marilor puteri.

Într-un fel se poate spune că lucrarea fostului decan de la Harvard este victima propriului său succes. În 1977, Putere și interdependență, opusul clasic al lui Joseph Nye și Robert Keohane lansa conceptul de putere blândă- soft power. Spre deosebire de realității care predominau în domeniu la acea vreme, Nye& Keohane atrag atenția că sub plafonul rivalității sovieto-americane zace o veritabilă lume nouă care pulsează sub semnul interdependenței. În locul unui peisaj în care guvernele dețin totul și epuizează dinamica internațională, națiunile și oamenii formează clipă de clipă o societate transnațională. Acestea fiind spuse modelarea spațiului politic nu se mai poate realiza doar cu ajutorul forței brute, a potențialei distrugerii mutual asigurate ci prin instrumentul normelor, instituțiilor, culturii, valorilor împărtășite. Puterea blândă sau puterea cooptivă se referă la abilitatea unui actor, în speță a unui stat (dar nu numai) de a organiza agenda, de a-i face pe ceilalți să îl urmeze fără de spectrul amenințării, al coerciției. Cu timpul, și mai ales odată cu sfârșitul Războiului Rece, noțiunea de putere blândă și-a găsit utilitatea. Consolidarea Uniunii Europene a fost considerată o exemplificare a ideii de putere blândă/ideatică și o infirmare a scenariilor realiste care prevedeau o nouă balanță a puterii pe bătrânul continent. Din păcate noțiunea de soft power a fost înecatată în propriile conotații, tot mai mult ajungând să însemne aproape orice. Nye consideră că se impune o serie de considerații metodologice.

### A. Redefiniții

Ca orice monedă curentă, noțiunea de putere este folosită de toată lumea astfel încât decantarea unei definiții general acceptabile este foarte grea.

Una dintre definițiile clasice și extrem de influente aparține lui Robert Dahl. Acesta definește puterea drept abilitatea lui A de a-l constrânge pe B să facă ceea ce B nu ar face din proprie inițiativă. La scurt timp, în anii '60 Peter Bachrach și Morton Baratz l-au criticat pe Dahl că pune prea mult accent pe coerciție și prea puțin pe stabilirea agendei. A exercita puterea nu înseamnă numai a aplica metode brutale precum un infractor care pătrundă într-o locuință. La nivel colectiv instituțiile exercită putere/influență modelând preferințele oamenilor; socializându-i să se racordeze la anumite valori.

A treia definiția folosită de Nye este cea a lui Steven Lukes din anii 1970. Pentru Lukes, similar cu Bachrach și Baratz puterea nu înseamnă doar coerciție și posibilitatea de a controla și modela nevoile cuiva. Exemplu: hipnoza impusă de mass-media constă în a convinge publicul să adopte o anumită ierarhie a nevoilor să cumpere anumite produse etc. [pp.28-30; 111]

Relația dintre puterea blândă și cea dură nu este separată de un zid, nu este una de specie ci se așează pe un continuum [p.37]:

### **Impunere → Coerciție/ Amenințare/ Sancțiune ← Cooptare**

Două observații derivă de aici:

1. Prima se referă la faptul că puterea este contextuală. Ceea ce merge într-un loc poate să nu dea nici un rezultat în altul. Puterea blândă/dură precum și instrumentele folosite (diplomatice, economice, culturale etc) trebuie folosite chibzuit și atent la mediu.

2. Cea de-a doua observație, încă mai importantă decât prima se referă la faptul că dihotomia putere dură/putere blândă nu se suprapune peste diferitele instrumente folosite: militar, politic, economic, cultural etc. Deși echivalăm puterea dură cu forța militară iar pe cea blândă o situăm în zona cultural-economică, realitatea este mai alambicată. Fiecare instrument poate fi folosit în serviciul puterii blânde sau al celei dure. Spre exemplu forța militară poate fi preambulul unor dividende pașnice (avem exemplul Statelor Unite care au câștigat al doilea război mondial predominant prin forța armelor dar și-au impus dominația asupra lumii occidentale cu ajutorul vitalității economice și al culturii populare.) Iarăși, performanța economică poate ajuta un stat să fie curtat de vecini; dar în același timp sancțiunile economice pot fi un instrument mult mai benign și mai ieftin pentru a îngenunchea un rival. Criza petrolului din 1973 ori șantajul aplicat astăzi de Rusia unor țări europene sunt forme dure ale instrumentarului economic. Tensiunea ce separă de mai bine de doi ani Iranul de Occident permite explorarea eficienței embargoului de către diplomația euro-atlantică. Inversând episodul anilor '70 Vestul este cel care acum apelează la

economie pentru a nega Teheranului cel mai prețios atu de până acum: hidrocarburanții. Bruxelles-ul și Washingtonul, înțelegând că o intervenție militară ar fi cel puțin exorbitantă, preferă să modeleze non-violent mediul internațional pentru a-l izola pe președintele Ahmadinejad de clienți fideli asemenea Chinei, Indiei ori Rusiei.

Demersul nu se oprește aici. Răspunzând neajunsurile și sintetizând criticile Joseph Nye aduce un nou blazon: puterea inteligentă/smart power. Ce este puterea inteligentă?- în principiu o combinație între cele două mai sus menționate [p.13]; un vade mecum al înțelepciunii. Dacă până acum noțiunea puterii sublinia inegalitatea și ierarhia, de acum încolo ea trebuie să aibă în vedere armonia: între cei care o posedă și cei care o delegează, între furnizori și beneficiari, între scopurile dorite și consecințele acestora:

*”O narațiune a puterii inteligente pentru secolul XXI nu se referă la maximizarea puterii sau menținerea hegemoniei, ci la găsirea unor căi pentru a combina resursele astfel încât să rezulte strategii de succes în noul context al difuziei puterii și <afirmării celorlalți>.” [p.229]*

### **B. Primus inter-pares**

Poziția americană din lume în ultima jumătate de secol a fost percepută de către cetățenii săi (dar nu numai) prin două tentații: aceea a declinului și aceea a hibrisului. Sfârșitul războiului Rece și încheierea rivalității cu Rusia sovietică nu a permis un respiro analiștilor americani care se vedeau angrenați într-un nou pericol: acela al ascensiunii nipone. Dar vremea anilor '90 i-a adus indispensabile națiuni nu vreo cursă hegemonică ci poziționarea față de un sistem internațional în care multitudinea problemelor păreau să indice mai degrabă colapsul unor state decât conturarea altor imperii. Astăzi, când globalizarea și regionalizarea merg mână în mână forța americană se vede constelată de ridicarea unor noi actori statali: BRICS-ul. Numele data de Goldman Sachs în 2001 înmănușează dinamica economică a Chinei, Rusiei, Indiei și Braziliei în drumul spre dezvoltare. Am folosit cuvântul constelare și nu cel de rivalitate pentru a exprima mai bine spiritul argumentației lui Nye. O gândire tip joc de sumă nulă în care totul se reduce la confruntare nu ar fi, cel puțin pentru americani un exemplu de putere inteligentă: *”În acest sens, puterea devine un joc de sumă pozitivă. Nu este suficient să gândim în termeni de **putere asupra altora**. Trebuie să gândim și în termenii de putere de a **îndeplini obiective, care presupune **putere împreună cu alții****.” [p.15]*

Enumerând un pomelnic de avantaje și dezavantaje ale marilor puteri din sistem: SUA, UE, China, Brazilia, Rusia, India și Japonia, gânditorul american atrage atenția asupra faptului că fermentul internațional aduce cu sine un grad de interdependență care face improbabilă, cel puțin în viitorul imediat, un război hegemonic cu ecou în scrierile lui Tucidide. Mai mult, relațiile internaționale seamănă cu un joc de șah pe mai multe niveluri → distribuția de putere între guverne fiind doar o parte a totalului.

Pentru a-și putea menține un loc central în tot ceea ce se întâmplă Joseph Nye are cinci recomandări de făcut politicii externe americane: 1) definirea clară a obiectivelor; 2) inventarierea resurselor disponibile și stabilirea modului cum acest inventar se schimbă odată cu contextul; 3) evaluarea modului în care puterea americană poate avea un impact în funcție de contextul cultural; 4) după toate cele de mai sus, o diplomatie inteligentă trebuie să hotărască ce instrumente ale puterii (economic, militar etc) au fezabilitate într-un loc sau altul; 5) stabilirea unor limite clare ale angajamentului internațional. [pp.240-257]

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Chiar dacă în ultima sa lucrare Joseph Nye îmbunătățește scrierile sale deja consacrate, există posibilitatea unor completări.<sup>1</sup> În rândurile de față voi aduce trei observații:

I. Una din criticile majore care se pot aduce noțiunii de putere seducătoare/cooptivă în formula acceptată până acum ține de americanocentrism. Nye și cei pe care i-a influențat gândesc inspirat de victoria culturală a Statelor Unite după 1945 sau 1991. Dar într-o asemenea logică puterea blândă nu poate explica ascensiunea economică a Chinei din ultimii 30 de ani.<sup>2</sup> În mod cert prosperitatea chineză nu s-a clădit pe achiziționarea de noi teritorii. Made in China ca emblemă a fost făcut posibil de investițiile străine, de disponibilitatea capitalului străin de a se reloca în Orientul Extrem → și acest lucru a fost posibil ca urmare a mâinii de lucru substanțiale, ieftine precum și a unei culturi a obedienței.

Având în minte exemplul chinez pute introduce două tipuri de putere blândă: centripetă și centrifugă. Puterea cooptivă centripetă este cea care îi seduce pe ceilalți să vină spre tine- și aici China alături de alte state în curs de dezvoltare par să exceleze.

Puterea blândă centrifugă ar fi aceea definită în sensul consacrat. Aici un stat precum China mai are de lucru. Institutele Confucius mai au de lucru până la a promova dialectul mandarin drept noua lingua franca.

<sup>1</sup> Pentru o critica a lui Nye vezi și Pinar Bilgi, Berivan Eliş, Hard Power, Soft Power, Toward a More Realistic Power Analysis, *Insight Turkey*, Vol, 10, No.2, 2008, pp.5-20

<sup>2</sup> Joseph S. Nye, "The Rise of China's Soft Power", *Wall Street Journal Asia* December 29, 2005, [http://belfercenter.hks.harvard.edu/publication/1499/rise\\_of\\_chinas\\_soft\\_power.html](http://belfercenter.hks.harvard.edu/publication/1499/rise_of_chinas_soft_power.html)

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Soft power with Chinese characteristics, *Global Times*, April 7, 2013, <http://www.globaltimes.cn/content/773180.shtml#.UWsOzqI0x20>

Can China Do Soft Power?, *The Atlantic*, Apr. 11, 2013, <http://www.theatlantic.com/china/archive/2013/04/can-china-do-soft-power/274916/>

<sup>3</sup> Autorul își amintește că mai mulți autori americani, printre care Terry Nardin sau Niall Ferguson i-au răspuns pe mail că Beijingul nu prezintă putere blândă. Ferguson a invocat modul precar în care sunt tratați locuitorii africani de către firmele chineze ce investesc în zonă.

II. Un alt exemplu de soft power asupra căruia putem reflecta este contra-simbolizarea. Cuvântul este adus în discuție de către Zbigniew Brzezinski.<sup>3</sup> Acesta arată cum critica Occidentului se realizează tocmai acele valori pe care acesta pretinde că le întruchipează: libertate individuală, toleranță, prosperitate, știință etc. Avem un exemplu aici în comportamentul Rusiei și Chinei care au dat veto-uri față de anumite acțiuni politice susținute de SUA, Franța sau Marea Britanie: Moscova și Beijingul au obiectat împotriva sancțiunilor față de Siria invocând principiul respectării suveranității- principiu pe care naționalismul european modern s-a clădit..

III. Într-o lume în care anglobalizarea este primită cu sentimente amestecate, contradictorii, numeroase mișcări anti-sistemice s-au clădit pe acest *odio a occidente*, după cum suna în spaniolă o lucrare de-a lui Jan Ziegler.<sup>4</sup> Anti-americanismul poate fi înțeles ca o formă de soft power când cimentează alianțe. Flirturile dintre regimul populist-stângist al lui Hugo Chavez și teocrația republicană a lui Ahmadinejad nu au avut la baza numai posesiunea de petrol ci și resentimentul față de Washington.<sup>5</sup>

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Ceea ce recomandă cartea lui Joseph Nye Jr. cititorului constă în calitatea ce lipsește altor lucrări: anume aceea de a fi un manual care să aibă totuși un fir roșu. Dacă alte manuale, fie ele străine sau românești reprezintă compedii/antologii de școli, autori și perspective, Viitorul puterii reușește să redea un schelet de înțelegere a orizontului temporal care se profilează peste curiozitățile noastre. Experiența sa duală: academică și practică în administrațiile Jimmy Carter și Bill Clinton l-a învățat că esența și volumul unei expuneri trebuie să coincidă, altfel cititorul va începe să uite înainte de a începe să priceapă.

***Silviu PETRE***

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<sup>3</sup> Zbigniew Brzezinski, *Marea dilemă. A domina sau a conduce*, Editura Scripta, București, 2005, pp.150-163

<sup>4</sup> Jan Ziegler, *El odio a Occidente*, Península, 2010

<sup>5</sup> Jon Kelly, Hugo Chavez and the era of anti-American bogeymen, 7 March 2013, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/magazine-20977849>

Hugo Chavez funeral draws US foes to Caracas, *The Telegraph*, 08 Mar 2013

Eduardo J. Gómez, Ahmadinejad's hug and the future of Chavez's alliance, *CNN*, March 13, 2013

În aceeași linie am putea vorbi despre influența pe care Iranul a început să o exercite în Irakul postSaddam via comunitatea șiiită și a dorinței noilor elite de la Bagdad de a se autonomiza de Statele Unite și de a-și croi un stil propriu.

Geoffrey Kemp, Iran and Iraq: The Shia Connection, Soft Power, and the Nuclear Factor, United States Institute for Peace, November 2005, <http://www.usip.org/publications/iran-and-iraq-shia-connection-soft-power-and-nuclear-factor>

IN MEMORIAM



## IN MEMORIAM BARBU ȘTEFĂNESCU

Sorin Șipos

Anul care s-a scurs de la moartea neașteptată a colegului nostru a fost un prilej de meditație și de reflecție pentru toți cei care l-au cunoscut cu privire la rolul istoricului și al profesorului de istorie în societate și, în mod special, a destinului pe care Barbu Ștefănescu l-a avut în această lume. O primă constatare pe care o facem este că dispariția profesorului Barbu Ștefănescu a lăsat un gol imens și ireparabil; probabil că vor trece mulți ani până când cineva va reuși, prin talent și muncă susținută, prin intuiție și dragoste pentru lumea țărănească, prin documentarea clasică dar și prin modernitatea discursului istoric, să se ridice la calitatea cercetărilor realizate de istoricul Barbu Ștefănescu. Dar activitatea istoriografică a lui Barbu Ștefănescu ni se dezvăluie mult mai clar dacă ținem cont și de momentele principale din biografia sa. Acestea din urmă ni-l arată pe istoricul Barbu Ștefănescu într-o legătură firească și indestructibilă cu lumea din care provenea, cu lumea satului hațegan, locul de baștină, și cu cea a Crișanei, regiune care l-a adoptat și pe care a studiat-o cu asiduitate și profesionalism.

Barbu Ștefănescu s-a născut în 5 iulie 1953 în localitatea Ohaba de sub Piatră, în Țara Hațegului, din județul Hunedoara. A urmat studiile gimnaziale în comuna natală, iar liceul la Hațeg. Pasionat de istorie din copilărie, fascinat de poveștile batrânilor din sat participanți la Primul Război Mondial și la cel de-Al Doilea Război Mondial, în special de moșul Ștefănescu, un foarte talentat povestitor și personaj care a colindat țara și Europa, tânărul Barbu a ales Oradea ca locul în care să urmeze studiile universitare. La Oradea, în 1963, regimul comunist înființase Institutul Pedagogic de 3 ani de rang universitar, iar din anul 1964, pe lângă specializările care funcționau - filologie, fizică, matematică -, s-a înființat și istorie-geografie. Astfel, în 1972, Barbu Ștefănescu se înscrie la specializarea istorie-geografie pe care o va absolvi ca șef de promoție în 1975. A avut profesori formați în atmosfera universitară clujeană, dintre care unii, peste ani, i-au devenit și colegi la viitoarea Universitate din Oradea. Îi amintim aici doar pe câțiva dintre cei de care Barbu Ștefănescu a fost mai apropiat, anume pe istoricii Sever Dumitrașcu, Ion Bratu, Mihai Drecin, Pavel Teodor, Ileana Șuta, pe geografii Ignatie Berindei, Pop Grigore, Gheorghe Măhăra, Nicolae Josan și Florian Bențe. Anii de studenție petrecuți la Oradea au fost adesea amintiți mai târziu în numeroasele discuții evocatoare despre profesorii, colegii, despre cursurile și practicile desfășurate în perioada studenției. Dar, mai presus de toate, Barbu Ștefănescu era mândru de dubla

specializare absolvită, de relația specială dintre istorie și geografie, fapt care l-a ajutat enorm în cercetările viitoare, după cum chiar el mărturisea adesea.

După finalizarea studiilor universitare, Barbu Ștefănescu a fost angajat la Muzeul Țării Crișurilor ca și restaurator în 1975. În paralel, și-a continuat și completat studiile de istorie la Universitatea Babeș-Bolyai între anii 1975-1979. În anul 1979 a devenit muzeograf, iar din anul 1980 a fost numit șeful secției de etnografie de la Muzeul Țării Crișurilor. Activitatea desfășurată la muzeul din Oradea a reprezentat o etapă importantă, fundamentală chiar, în formarea sa ca specialist. Deși a debutat cu articole științifice privind Unirea din 1918 în Oradea și Bihor, Barbu Ștefănescu și-a concentrat, mai apoi, interesul asupra lumii rurale din Crișana, asupra satului românesc, a tehnicilor agricole și a activităților din gospodăria satului bihorean, a mobilierului țărănesc din Crișana. Studiile publicate în acei ani îmbinau cercetarea bibliografică cu investigații de arhive dar, foarte important, și cu cercetările de teren. Ele erau rezultatul unor cercetări complexe, iar concluziile la care a ajuns autorul sunt valabile și astăzi.

După anul 1989, în România s-au produs numeroase schimbări politice și ideologice. Acestea au avut efecte și asupra organizării învățământului superior. La Oradea, în 1990, s-a înființat Universitatea Tehnică care, din anul 1991, a devenit Universitatea din Oradea. Au fost reînființate o serie de specializări desființate de regimul communist în anii '80, printre care și istoria-geografia. Fostele cadre didactice care activaseră la Institutul Pedagogic au revenit la Universitatea din Oradea. Alături de aceștia a fost angajat și Barbu Ștefănescu. A rămas însă atașat de Muzeul Țării Crișurilor, de colegii din secția de etnografie, de cercetările de teren care-l mențineau în legătură cu lumea satului bihorean. În plus, între anii 1990-1994, a fost ales director al Muzeului Țării Crișurilor, iar din 1994 și până în 2007 a condus secția de etnografie a muzeului.

În 1996 devine conferențiar, iar din anul 1998 profesor universitar. Din anul 2000 obține și dreptul de a conduce doctorat în istorie, fapt care-i permite să creeze o adevărată școală de cercetare a istoriei lumii rurale, a mentalității țărănești, a raporturilor sociale în Crișana și în Transilvania. Dacă formarea sa ca specialist s-a datorat în bună măsură activității desfășurate la muzeu, venirea la universitate ca lector, în anul 1994, coincide cu afirmarea științifică în plan național și implicit cu recunoașterea sa ca unul dintre cei mai mari specialiști din țară în cercetarea lumii rurale, în multiplele sale fațete. Prin venirea la universitate, la specializarea istorie-geografie, viața lui Barbu Ștefănescu s-a împlinit profund. Aici s-a dedicat formării tinerilor specialiști, și-a făcut cunoscute preocupările și cercetările interdisciplinare și a parcurs, într-un timp scurt, toate treptele și gradele didactice și administrative. Teza sa de doctorat *Tehnică agricolă și ritm de muncă în gospodăria țărănească din Crișana (sec. al XVIII-lea și începutul sec. al XIX-lea)* publicată în anul 1995, l-a impus

printre specialiștii de primă mărime în istoria țărănimii din România. Lucrarea era rezultatul unor documentări și acumulări bibliografice de câteva decenii în privința tehnicii de lucru din lumea țărănească. Probabil că dacă ar fi rămas doar la această sintagmă ar fi rămas o lucrare bună printre multe altele care s-au scris, până la momentul respectiv, despre acest subiect. Barbu Ștefănescu a considerat că nu putea să investigheze doar dimensiunea tehnică. „Această acțiune“ – scria autorul – „este una umană, ce presupune gândire, sensibilitate, omul acționează nu doar asupra pământului, ci și asupra forțelor exterioare acreditate cu puterea de influențare a acțiunilor sale“<sup>1</sup>. În consecință, urmând sugestiile istoricilor francezi de la Școala Analelor, autorul a considerat că trebuia să aibă în vedere ciclul anotimpurilor, fundamental pentru comunitățile agro-pastorale. Doar într-o asemenea interdependență investigarea muncilor țărănești îl determina pe istoric să investigheze viața de zi cu zi a acestei comunități. Dacă tehnica agricolă a cunoscut schimbări ne semnificative până în secolul al XVIII-lea, în schimb ritmul de lucru, succesiunea anotimpurilor era ceea ce determina momentele principale din viața țaranului. Îngrășarea pământului, aratul, semănatul, îngrijirea culturilor, recoltatul și depozitarea roadelor pământului ritmău viața de zi cu zi a țaranului. Orice alte activități se subsumau celor mai sus amintite. În plus, autorul surprinde, având la dispoziție numeroase tipuri de documente, atitudinea comunităților rurale din Crișana confruntate cu epidemii, calamități naturale, cu războaie și cu foametea generată de aceste evenimente sau de foametea apărută între vechea și noua recoltă, din așa numita „perioadă de sudură”.

Au urmat numeroase alte contribuții fundamentale dintre care amintim: *Ruperea tăcerii*, Oradea, 1998, *Sociabilitate rurală, violență și ritual*, Oradea, 2004, *Lumea rurală din vestul României între Medieval și Modern*, Oradea, 2006, *Le monde rural de l'ouest de la Transylvanie*, Cluj-Napoca, 2007, *Între pâini*, Cluj-Napoca, 2012. Deși lumea țărănească a rămas actorul principal, istoricul a alternat sursele documentare utilizate, iar temele investigate fiind în pas cu cercetările românești și europene. În *Ruperea tăcerii* autorul dă glas anchetelor oficiale ale autorităților printre țărani români din zona Beiușului. Lumea țărănească, așa cum bine a surprins autorul, ni se dezvăluie cu mare greutate. Este o lume tăcută, care doar în situații excepționale – răscoale, revolte, anchete – intră în atenția autorităților. Sunt cei despre care Iorga scria la începutul secolului al XX-lea că ar trebui să stea în atenția specialiștilor, pentru a avea o imagine corectă despre societatea românească. Barbu Ștefănescu supune analizei critice procesele verbale ale comisiei constituite în comitatul Bihor pentru rezolvarea plângerilor urbariale înaintate de către locuitorii domeniului Beiuș în 1818. Autorul recitește documentul, dar într-o altă grilă, și-

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<sup>1</sup> Barbu Ștefănescu, *Tehnică agricolă și ritm de muncă în gospodăria țărănească din Crișana (sec. al XVIII-lea și începutul sec. al XIX-lea)*, vol. I, Oradea, 1995, p. 11.

l supune unor interpretări moderne pe linia Școlii Analelor. Pentru o prezentare corectă, autorul rămâne ancorat în realitatea imediată și pozitivistă a documentului la care se raportează în permanență<sup>2</sup>. Răspunsurile țăranilor sunt adesea neutre, impersonale, sunt pline de inadvertențe, predomină incertitudinea, lipsesc situațiile certe și clare. Explicația istoricului pentru aceste situații este că „țăranul trăiește ancorat nu în istorie ci în tradiție: pentru el au relevanță faptele repetate, adică fenomenele, nu evenimentele, pe care memoria sa le reține doar parțial și deformat”<sup>3</sup>. În plus, țăranii nu doresc să se expună, ei rămân până la urmă cu stăpânii, acum anchetați, sunt prudenți, știu că celor slabi nu li face dreptate.

În *Sociabilitate rurală, violență și ritual*<sup>4</sup>, Barbu Ștefănescu se folosește de însemnările de pe cărțile de cult<sup>5</sup> pentru a surprinde violența lumii rurale, dar și mecanismele prin care se aducea pace în comunitate. Cu alte cuvinte, autorul și-a propus să pătrundă în intimitatea lumii țărănești, să-i releve situațiile excepționale, dar și mijloacele prin care se putea aduce liniștea, pacea și prosperitatea în comunitățile țărănești din Transilvania sec. XVII-XIX. Dar situațiile excepționale pentru țăran sunt tocmai cele care perturbă activitatea cotidiană a comunității. Alcoolismul, violența, moartea, epidemiile toate contribuie la distrugerea echilibrului și a liniștii din comunitate. Ele sunt generate de persoane sau de situații excepționale. În consecință, pentru a readuce liniștea în comunitate exista practica darului, în cazul de față, a cărții de cult pentru ca prin ofrandă și prin rugăciune să fie rezolvate problemele din comunitate.

Cu *Lumea rurală din vestul României între Medieval și Modern*<sup>6</sup> autorul revine la mai vechile sale preocupări istoriografice la care s-au adăugat noi direcții de cercetare asupra lumii țărănești. Lucrarea s-a dorit a fi o monografie complexă a lumii rurale din vestul României la trecerea dintre medieval și modern. Autorul investighează atât rolul cadrului natural în evoluția comunității rurale, cât și impactul politico-economic al integrării Transilvaniei în cadrul Imperiului Habsburgic. Nu în ultimă instanță, Barbu Ștefănescu dezvoltă și trei teme care s-au regăsit într-o formă și în lucrările anterior prezentate, anume: impactul creșterii demografice, condiția iobăgească și orizontul spiritual, cultural și mental la nivelul lumii rurale. Fără nicio îndoială, lucrarea *Între pâini*<sup>7</sup> reprezintă cartea sa fundamentală, corolarul activității sale științifice.

<sup>2</sup> Barbu Ștefănescu, Bodo Edit, *Ruperea tăcerii*, Oradea, 1998, p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 265.

<sup>4</sup> Barbu Ștefănescu, *Sociabilitate rurală, violență și ritual. Cartea în practicile oblativ de răscumpărare a păcii comunitare. Transilvania, sec. XVII-XIX*, Oradea, 2004, 624p.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 13.

<sup>6</sup> Idem, *Lumea rurală din vestul României între Medieval și Modern*, Ediția a II-a, Oradea, 2006, 289p.

<sup>7</sup> Idem, *Între pâini*, Cluj-Napoca, 2012, 645p.

Gândită cu mulți ani înainte, dar nefinalizată din cauza repetatei constatări că cercetarea nu era destul de lămuritoare<sup>8</sup>, lucrarea surprinde destinul lumii țărănești, amenințată de flagelul foametei, într-o perioadă, sugestiv, denumită *între pâini*. Era perioada cea mai dificilă pentru țăran, din așa numitul ciclu al vieții rurale, deoarece cuprindea intervalul dintre vechea recoltă, deja epuizată, și noua recoltă, care abia fusese însămânțată. În consecință, foametea era răspândită, uneori chiar generalizată și ducea, adesea, la moarte. Or, situațiile excepționale generează, adesea, comportamente atipice și bulversează ritmul vieții cotidiene din comunitate. Pâinea este hrană pentru trup dar și pentru spirit, ea este prezentă în riturile calendarului anual și are conotații benefice<sup>9</sup>, iar absența ei riscă să rupă relația dintre țăran și divinitate.

Temele investigate de Barbu Ștefănescu continuă, la modul general, preocupările școlii istorice clujene, în speciale cele promovate de David Prodan, dar cultivă și deschid noi perspective asupra lumii țărănești prin temele investigate, metodologia de lucru și prin sursele documentare folosite. Cu trecerea anilor, cu maturizarea autorului, remarcăm că discursul său istoriografic este mai modern, se apropie tot mai mult de istoria mentalităților, sursele documentare fiind mai diverse, iar prin documentul scris încercă să pătrundă în mentalul lumii țărănești. Istoricul Barbu Ștefănescu a încurajat interdisciplinaritatea de fond, de substanță și nu pe cea de formă, de suprafață. Era atent la sugestiile metodologice venite dinspre alte istoriografii, în special dinspre istoriografia franceză. Consecința a fost că direcțiile de cercetare și metodele utilizate au evoluat în timp. Dacă la începutul carierei putem să identificăm existența unor metode de cercetare pe relația dintre istorie, geografie, etnografie și etnologie spre finalul carierei predomină relația dintre istorie, filologie, etnologie, teologie și psihologie. Nu putem să uităm remarcile elogioase ale colegilor filologi italieni pentru comunicarea sa *Însemnări olografe de pe cărțile bisericești – puterea de informare asupra sensibilității lumii rurale* prezentată la simpozionul *Interpretazioni del documento storico. Valore documentario e dimensioni letterarie del testo storico* desfășurat la Padova, în anul 2009<sup>10</sup>.

Credem că orientarea sa pentru cercetarea lumii țărănești s-a datorat în bună măsură și originii sale. Fără îndoială, ascendența sa țărănească, contactul permanent cu satul hațegan, a făcut ca cercetările sale asupra lumii țărănești să sporească în profunzime, permițându-i să înțeleagă mult mai ușor și mai corect gândurile și răspunsurile țăranilor supuși anchetelor de funcționarii imperiali. Deși a iubit lumea țărănească, nu a idealizat-o și nu a făcut un cult pentru satul

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<sup>8</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 8.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 9-10.

<sup>10</sup> *Idem*, *Însemnări olografe de pe cărțile bisericești – puterea de informare asupra sensibilității lumii rurale* în *Interpretazioni del documento storico. Valore documentario e dimensioni letterarie* a cura di Dan Octavian Cepraga e Sorin Șipoș, Oradea, 2010, p. 141-163.

românească. A înțeles că în timp, lumea țărănească, este sortită dispariției, asemenea vechilor meșteșuguri din Țara Beiușului pe care le-a cercetat în anii comunismului, dar și în primii ani ai democrației. Tocmai pentru a conserva ceea ce se mai putea din lumea rurală, a pregătit tineri cercetători, a creat o școală în adevăratul sens al cuvântului, pentru a conserva și a studia lumea rurală românească. Într-una din lucrările științifice, prezentată la o sesiune de comunicări internațională, autorul remarca fragilitatea acestei lumi și, prin comparație cu ceea ce s-a întâmplat cu satul din Europa Occidentală, anticipa că satul românesc tradițional va dispărea în scurt timp<sup>11</sup>.

În concluzie, putem să afirmăm că cercetările sale s-au impus în istoriografia română datorită sursele documentare introduse în circuitul științific, a interpretărilor moderne și a apelului continuu la interdisciplinaritate, prin recitirea surselor documentare în acord cu noile sugestii metodologice venite dinspre istoriografia franceză și prin investigarea unor teme care i-a permis să reconstituie cât mai fidel lumea țărănească.

Credem că tenacitatea și puterea sa de muncă, arătate de-a lungul anilor, își trăgeau seva din această lume rurală, de asemenea și interesul față de istorie și de trecutul național. Școala l-a învățat că trebuie să-ți iubești și să-ți respecti înaintașii. Universitatea și muzeul i-au arătat cum trebuie să fie realizată o cercetare serioasă și onestă, iar Dumnezeu l-a înzestrat cu talent, intuiție și har!

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<sup>11</sup> Idem, *La Romania rurale nell'Europa urbana. Considerazioni intorno a un paradiso*, în *Nazionalità e autodeterminazione in Europa Centrale: il caso romeno*. A cura di Francesco Leoncini e Sorin Șipoș, București, 2013, p. 181-187.

## THE CHRONIC OF THE HISTORY DEPARTMENT SCIENTIFIC ACTIVITY IN THE ACADEMIC YEAR 2012

In the academic year, 2012 the members of the Department of History issued at **publishers recognized CNCS**, the following **books**: Sorin Şipoş (coordinator), *The Villages on the Upper Bistra Valley. History and Society*, University of Oradea Publishing House, 2012; Florin Sfrengeu, Éva Gyulai, Sorin Şipoş, Delia Radu (coordinators), *History and Archaeology in Central Europe. New Historiographical Interpretations*, University of Oradea Publishing House, Oradea, 2012, 203p; Antonio Faur, *Formation history research center for Jewish history "Eva Heyman"*, University of Oradea Publishing House, 2012; Antonio Faur (coordinator end editor), *The Monograph Research in Central Europe (1990-2010)*, Romanian Academy Center for Transylvanian Studies, Cluj-Napoca, 2012, 285p.; Barbu Ştefănescu, Ioan Goman (coordinators), *Cultural interactions. Studia in honorem Aurel Chiriac Sexagenarii*, Muzeul "Ţării Crişurilor" Publishing House, Oradea, 2012, 722 p.; Antonio Faur, *A Decade of Jewish existence in Bihor Country(1942-1952).Contributions historiographical and documentary*, "Mega" Publishing House, Cluj-Napoca, 2012, 278 p.; Antonio Faur (coordinator end editor), *Jewish History Centres and Research Institutions in Europe*, University of Oradea Publishing House, 2012; Gabriel Moisa, *History, Ideology and Politics in Communist Romania 1948-1989*, ELTE Eötvös Kiadó, Budapest, 2012; Ion Zainea (coordinator), *Institutions and places, people and deeds of Roumanian history* (scientific session of doctoral work in history, the VII Edition, Muzeul "Ţării Crişurilor" Publishing House Oradea, 2012; Sorin Şipoş, Gabriel Moisa, Florin Sfrengeu, Mircea Brie, Ion Gumenâi, *The Historian's Atelier. Sources, Methods, Interpretations*, Romanian Academy Center for Transylvanian Studies Cluj-Napoca, 2012, 278p.; Gabriel Moisa, Marius Kramer, *Anti-communist structures in western Romania. Adrian Mihuş Group*, "Mega" Publishing House, Cluj-Napoca, 2012; Gabriel Moisa, *Ploughmen's Front in Crisana-Maramures Regional (1945-1953)*, University of Oradea Publishing House, Muzeul "Ţării Crişurilor" Publishing House Oradea, 2012; Ioan-Aurel Pop, Sorin Şipoş, *Silviu Dragomir et le dossier de Diplôme des chevaliers de St. Jean*, Romanian Academy Center for Transylvanian Studies, Cluj-Napoca, 2012; Idem, *Silviu Dragomir. 50 Years since his Passing into Eternity*, Romanian Academy Center for Transylvanian Studies, Deva and Hunedoara Bishopric Publisher, Cluj-Napoca – Deva, 2012; Sorin Şipoş, Edition neat and introductory study the books Silviu Dragomir,

*Vlachs of northern Balkan Peninsula in the Middle Ages*, Romanian Academy Center for Transylvanian Studies, Cluj-Napoca, 2012; Sorin Şipoş, Edition neat and introductory study the books Silviu Dragomir, *History of the Roumanians in Transylvania religious freedom in the 18th Century*, Romanian Academy Center for Transylvanian Studies, Cluj-Napoca, 2012; 548p; Sorin Şipoş, Dan Octavian Cepraga, Edition neat and introductory study the books *Carols of Bihar gathered from Voivozi and Cuzap*, Romanian Academy Center for Transylvanian Studies, Cluj-Napoca, 2012.

In addition, they have written **chapters of books to publishers CNCS**: Florin Sfrengu, *Historical Interpretations of Archaeological Discoveries between the 8<sup>th</sup> and the 11<sup>th</sup> Centuries in North-Western Romania*, in vol. *The Historian's Atelier. Sources, Methods, Interpretations*, (Sorin Şipoş, Gabriel Moisa, Mircea Brie, Florin Sfrengu, Ion Gumenâi - coordinators) Romanian Academy Center for Transylvanian Studies, Cluj-Napoca, 2012, p. 15-28. In the same volume, also the following colleagues published: Bodo Edith, *Economic acts Roman Catholic Diocese of Oradea, source for economic and social history of Bihor County*, p. 197-202; Antonio Faur, *Study on Different Interpretations in Works Focusing on the Actions to Save the Jews from Hungary and Northern Transylvania in 1944*, p. 91-98; Gabriel Moisa, *Politique et histoire dans l'historiographie roumaine postcommuniste. Quelques considerations*, p. 99-106; Sorin Şipoş, *A forgotten Minority: the Morlachs of Dalmatia in a Memorandum of Colonel Antoine Zulatti (1806)*, p. 212-226; Laura Ardelean, Mihaela Cioca, *Some Aspects Regarding the Provenance of the Society of Archaeology and History from Oradea and Bihor County's Collection Reflected in Documents*, p. 237-243; Radu Romînaşu, *For a Systematic Research of the History of the Romanian Cultural-Religious Meetings in the Interwar Period. Case of Bihor County*, p. 149-155; Florin Sfrengu, *Prehistoric and Ancient Archaeological Discoveries of the Bistra Valley (Bihor County). Archaeological Contributions to a Monograph*, in Antonio Faur (coordinator and editor), *The Monograph Research in Central Europe (1990-2010)*, Romanian Academy, Center for Transylvanian Studies, Cluj-Napoca, 2012, p. 215-231. In the same volume, also the following colleagues published: Viorel Faur, *Points of View on Recent Monographs (Since 1995 and 2007) on Oradea*, p. 13-23; Sever Dumitraşcu, *Monograph of the "Roman Dacia" in Brussels*, p. 37-60; Mihai Drecin, *Reflections on Writing the Monographs of the Credit Institutions with Romanian Capital in the Late 19<sup>th</sup> – Early 20<sup>th</sup> Century Transylvania*, p. 61-71; Antonio Faur, *Considerations on the Monographs of Some Settlements in Bihor County (1941). Case Study: Budureasa commune*, p. 232-245; Sorin Şipoş, *Silviu Dragomir – Historiographical Landmarks*, p. 171-188; Laura Ardelean, Mihaela Cioca, *The Ferenczi Family from Cluj in the Service of Archaeology. Monographical Contribution*, p. 195-211 Aurel Chiriac, *Monographs of the Bihor Villages after*

1990, *between Wish and Scientific Value*, p. 72-79; Mihaela Goman, *Considerations on the Monographic Research (1990-2010) of Several Personalities. Study of Case: the Historian Constantin Daicoviciu*, p. 189-194; Gabriel Moisa, *Transylvania between Local and Regional History in tfe Years of Ceausescu Regime*, p. 103-117; Radu Romînaşu, *Brief History of the Monographic Movement in Bihor County (1990-2010). Study of Case: the Romanian Cultural Joins in the Period 1849-1940*, p. 117-127; Florin Sfrengu, *Bistra Valley from prehistory to the 7<sup>th</sup> century A.D.*, in vol. *The Villages on the Upper Bistra Valley. History and Society. Monographic account*, Sorin Şipoş (coordinator), "Mega" Publishing House, Cluj-Napoca, 2012, p.16-29; Idem, *Bistra Valley in Romanian ancient times (8<sup>th</sup> - 11<sup>th</sup> centuries) and at the beginnings if Middle Ages (12<sup>th</sup> - 14<sup>th</sup> centuries)*, p. 30-38. In the same volume, also the following colleagues published: Bodo Edith, *The Bistra Valley in the 17<sup>th</sup> century*; Sorin Şipoş, *The Upper Bistra Valley – between Local and Regional (13<sup>th</sup> century – beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century)*, p. 31-44; Radu Romînaşu, *Its Involvement in the Major Social and Political Events of Bihor County (1711-1919)* , p. 51-74; Gabriel Moisa, *The Interbellic and Postwar Periods*, p. 77-109; Mihaela Goman, *History and Literature. Lucian Blaga about Grădiştea Muncelului*, în vol. *Cultural interactions. Studia in honorem Aurel Chiriac Sexagenarii*, (Barbu Ştefănescu, Ioan Goman - coordonators) Muzeul "Țării Crişurilor" Publishing House, Oradea, 2012, p. 97-103. In the same volume, also the following colleagues published: Sorin Şipoş, *The villages of the Bistra Upper Valley between local and regional (14<sup>th</sup> -17<sup>th</sup> centuries)*, p. 127-139; Florin Sfrengu, *Historical and archaeological testimonies of Khazar population in northwestern Romania*, p. 63-69; Antonio Faur, *Incursion into historiography saving the Jews (1944) in Transylvania and Hungary (1997-2001)*, p. 245-253; Gabriel Moisa, *Hungary's revisionist actions in Bihor county in the 1939-1940*, p. 253-261; Bodo Edith, *The states in Bihor after the therezian urbarial regulation. Case study: The estate of Holod*, p. 139-147; Laura Ardelean, *Scientific relations between archaeologist Sandor Ferenczi and scientist Vasile Pârvan*, p. 93-97 Radu Romînaşu, *Aspects of the activity of Romanian and Hungarian cultural meetings in Bihor (1852-1918)*, p. 195-209; Ion Zainea, *Aspects of communist censorship (1969-1970/71). Censorship of publications*, in vol. *Censorship in Romania* (coordinator Ilie Rad), Tribuna Publishing House, Cluj-Napoca, 2012, p. 391-406; Idem, *The role of bank and bank credit in the rural economy of interwar Romania. Case Study: Bihor County*, in vol. *Regional Economy: urban and rural situations* (coordinators: Iosif Marin Balog, Rudolf Gräf, Ioan Lumperdean), Cluj University Press, Cluj-Napoca, 2012, p. 435-448; Idem, *The Literary creation as an endurance form in Romania during commnunist - cnown cases of censorship (1966-1971)*, în vol. *Remembrance in time* (editors: Elena Helerea, Gabriela Mailat, Florentin Olteanu,) „Transilvania” University Press of Brasov,

2012, p. 179-187; Gabriel Moisa, Ion Zainea, *Kádár et Ceausescu. Réunions tendues (1985)*, in vol. *Chi era János Kádár?*, (editors: Papo A., Nemeth G, Rosselli A.), Carocci Editore, Roma, p. 98-117; Sorin Şipoş, *The Destiny of the Historian Silviu Dragomir in Communist Romania (1947-1950)*, in vol. *Silviu Dragomir. 50 Years since his Passing into Eternity*, Romanian Academy Center for Transylvanian Studies, Deva and Hunedoara Bishopric Publisher, Cluj-Napoca – Deva, 2012, p. 33-79; Ioan-Aurel Pop, Sorin Şipoş, *Foreword*, in vol. *Silviu Dragomir. 50 Years since his Passing into Eternity*, Romanian Academy Center for Transylvanian Studies, Deva and Hunedoara Bishopric Publisher, Cluj-Napoca – Deva, 2012, p. 9-18; Sorin Şipoş, *Testimonies on the Eastern Borders of Europe Noted by the French Officer Lazovski at the End of the Eighteenth Century*, in vol. *Multa e Varia. Studi offeriti a Maria Marcella Ferracioli e Gianfranco Girauda*, *Biblion edizioni*, 2012, vol. I, p. 523-546; Idem, *A Forgotten Minority: the Morlacs from Dalmatian in a Memoir of Colonel Antoine Zulatti (1806)*, în vol. *Mehedinţi, History, Culture and Spirituality*, „Universitaria” Publishing House, „Didahia” Publishing House, Drobeta-Turnu Severin, 2012, p. 320-336.

The teachers of the Department published in 2012 a series of studies and articles in journals recognized **CNCS, rated ISI, B, B + and CNCS index BDI**. Ioan-Aurel Pop, Sorin Şipoş, *Un Unpublished Study by the Historian Silviu Dragomir in Transylvanian Review*, XXI, no. 4, 2012, p. 65-76 – **ISI**; Antonio Faur, *Organization of Rescue Actions (in 1944) of Jews From Hungary and Northern Transylvania. Historiographic Contributions (1990–1994)* in *Analele Banatului*, New series, History and Archaeology, XX, 2012, p. 246-255 (**CNCS - B**), Florin Sfrengu, *Archaeologist and Professor Sever Dumitraşcu at the Age of 75. Aspects on His Scientific Activity in Crisia*, 2012, p. 191-196 (**CNCS index BDI**), Ion Zainea, *Exclusions From The Romanian Labour Party In The Year 1952 The Case Of Oradea Raional Committee*, in *Crisia*, 2012, p. 153-158, (**CNCS Index BDI**), Ion Zainea, Gabriel Moisa, *Aspects of cotidian life in Oradea interwar. “Periphery” and “peripheral”*, in *Historia Urbana*, 2012, p 279-289, (**CNCS-B**), Gabriel Moisa, *Electoral Practices and Behaviour in Western Romania During the Elections Of November 19th, 1946*, in *Romanian Journal of Political Geography*, XIV, no. 1, p. 51-60, (**CNCS Index BDI**), Gabriel Moisa, *Utilisation des Institution Museale comme des Instruments de L’éducation Ideologique a la Jeunesse Dans Les Premieres Annees de la Ceausescu Regime*, in *Crisia*, 2012, p. 175-181, (**CNCS Index BDI**), Gabriel Moisa, *Electoral Practices in a Changing World: Study Case of the Patriots’ Union Organization. Bihor County Organization (1945–1947)*, in *Analele Banatului*, New series, History and Archaeology, XX, 2012, p. 379-382 (**CNCS - B**).

The articles listed **CNCS Index BDI** (each of the members of the department has published one article) were included in the Yearbook of the

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Department of History - *Annals of the University of Oradea, History-Archaeology Fascicle*, which benefits of a site (<http://www.anale-istorie-oradea.ro/>).

The lecturer Monica Pop, specialist in Philology - English Language and Literature, translates most of the articles.

That same year, the Department of History organized a series of sessions and scientific local and national conveyances: *Scientific Session of Ph.D.-s in History at the University of Oradea*, Oradea, the VII Edition, April 2012 (principal organizer Professor Ph.D Ioan Zainea; *The National Session of the Students in History under the title " Science, history, civilization"*, Oradea, 11-12 May 2012 (principal organizers: „Gh. Șincai” History Students Association – Oradea and History Department); *Annual Scientific Session of the Department of History - University of Oradea*, the XXII Edition, May 25, 2012 (principal organizer Professor Ph.D Antonio Faur, all the members of the department presented papers on the sections: Ancient History and Archeology, Middle Age History, Modern and Contemporary History); Symposium *A genius method: Constantin Brăiloiu. Folklore – (and)historical source*, organized by the Cultural Foundation „Munții Apuseni”, Oradea, 9 June 2012 (main organizers: Professor Ph.D Sever Dumitrașcu, lecturer Ph.D. Florin Sfrengeu); National Symposium *Mehedinți, History, Culture, Spirituality*, the V Edition, Severin, 4-8 June, 2012 (principal organizer for University of Oradea, Professor Ph.D Sorin Șipoș).

The department was also involved in organizing of for **International Scientific** Sessions: International Conference for Historians and Archaeologists of Miskolc and Oradea Universities, 13–14 January 2012, Miskolc, Ungaria (principal organizer lecturer Ph.D. Florin Sfrengeu, lecturer Ph.D Mihaela Goman, assistant Ph.D Laura Ardelean; from the Department of History participated with papers: Sorin Șipoș, Antonio Faur, Bodo Edih, Florin Sfrengeu, Mihaela Goman, Laura Ardelean, Radu Romînașu); International Symposium *Power and political imaginary in Europe: historical roots, anthropological models, literary representations*, Oradea-Padova, the IV Edition, 7-10 November 2012 (principal organizer Professor Ph.D Sorin Șipoș; from the Department of History participated with papers: Sever Dumitrașcu, Aurel Chiriac, Ion Zainea, Sorin Șipoș, Gabriel Moisa, Antonio Faur, Bodo Edith, Florin Sfrengeu, Laura Ardelean); International Conference *Adria-Danubia I Festival di Storia e Cultura*, Trieste, 22-24 November, 2012 (participated with paper Professor Ph.D Sorin Șipoș); International Conference *Discourse, Practice and Message The violence in South Eastern Europe*, Chișinău, 14-15 December 2012 (from the Department of History participated with papers: Sorin Șipoș, Gabriel Moisa, Florin Sfrengeu); International Conference *Jewish History Centres and Research Institutions in Europe*, Oradea, 2012 (principal organizer Professor Ph.D Antonio Faur; have

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participated: Viorel Faur, Antonio Faur, Radu Romînaşu; International Symposium *Work, money, banks, culture and politics (sec. XVIII-2012)*, the XI Edition, Oradea, 26-28 October 2012 (principal organizer Professor Ph.D Mihai D. Drecin); have participated: Mihai D. Drecin, Ion Zainea and Gabriel Moisa; International Symposium *The Academician Silviu Dragomir (1888-1962) - 50 years since his Passing into Eternity*, Deva, 10-11 February 2012 (principal organizer of History Department Oradea, Professor Ph.D Sorin Şipoş).

The Department of History has publicly brought out the following Ph.D. theses during 2012: Simina Ioana Goia (Balint), *Gheorghe Sofronie. Contributions to a monograph*, Diana Iancu, *Ioan Ciordaş (1877-1919). Biography and political activity, cultural and professional*, Diana Cârmaciu, *The academic Gheorghe I. Leon. Historical monograph*, Ioan Mircea Ghitea, *Bishop martyr Ph.D Nicolae Popoviciu (1903-1960). Historical monograph*, Sabina Horvath, *Traditional diet of Bihor in the XVIII, XIX and beginning XX Century*, Marian Trandafir, *Petre Diaconu – life and work*, Iustin Florin Flavius Ardelean, *Ineu ethnographic area. From the history of ethno-cultural realities of the area*, Eleonora Iacinta Chiriac, *Mask. Metamorphosis of the ritual object theater piece function*, Raluca Ciomaga, *History of Bihor rural architecture in the XVIII-XX Century*, Alexandru Maghiar, *From the history of popular technical installations in Bihor*.

Also, Professors Sever Dumitraşcu, Viorel Faur, Barbu Ştefănescu, Mihai D. Drecin, Ioan Horga, Sorin Şipoş, Aurel Chiriac, Ioan Godea, Ion Zainea and Gabriel Moisa were invited, as referees, when bringing out several doctoral theses in prestigious university centers in the country.

**Radu ROMÎNAŞU**