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STUDII
STUDIES

CONSIDERATIONS ON THE DACIAN SILVER THESAURI. QUESTIONS AND ASSUMPTIONS

*Sever DUMITRAȘCU, Florin SFRENGEU**

Abstract: *The article discusses several hypotheses and questions regarding the Dacian silver thesauri, one of which refers to the possibility that they might have been part of the thaumaturgic outfit of the Dacian priests. The Dacian silver thesauri (1st century BC – 1st century AD) differ from the ancient sumptuous Geatish ones from the 4th – 3rd centuries BC, which were royal. We highlight the fact that the thesaurus of silver pieces from Židovar (the Serbian Banat), proves the mastery of the Celtic craftsmen in working the silver and, perhaps, the emergence of the polychrome style in Europe. The article discusses the contribution of the Celtic craftsmen in the silver pieces of the Dacian thesauri and their later dating. As a hypothesis we start by making the distinction between the Geatish and the Dacian religion and by emphasizing the role of the Dacian cup in the Dacians' rituals until the adopting of the Christianity.*

Keywords: *Dacian silver thesauri, the Dacian cup, the Geatish and the Dacian religion, Celtic craftsmen.*

A

The Dacian silver thesauri have always raised the interest of Romanian and foreign researchers. Their study had an undisputed master, namely the archaeologist Dorin Popescu. The inventory of the discoveries was published (over 150 discoveries) by researcher Liviu Mărghitan.

I. H. Crișan and Florin Medeleț's research conducted in Cugir put in the scientific circuit new data on Dacia's elite (we refer to the grave with gold pieces and a fight chariot?). In the midst of those discussions on the archaeological finds from Cugir, late Florin Medeleț told me that the *Dacian silver thesauri* belonged to the *thaumaturgic outfit (?) of the Dacian priests*. We rally to Florin Medeleț's opinion, our colleague and friend from Timișoara, for whose idea we bring him a respectful posthumous homage by these lines.

Newer discoveries of Dacian silver thesauri raised new questions about these pieces:

1. Silver is very *ductile*, as it is commonly known and the pieces included in the thesaurus from *Săcălășău*, Bihor County presented hammer bruises. Therefore they were worked (of course not all and not all parts) by *hammering*.

2. Nicolae Chidioșan published the inventory of a *workshop* specialized in working silver ornaments, a workshop found during the systematic excavation of

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Tășad, Bihor County, to whom we have to attach the thesaurus from Drăgești, Bihor County on the border of the same village.

3. The thesauri and their silver pieces had *healing* powers because silver provides NEGATIVE ionization and thus, unwittingly, the *Dacian priests* used them in a manner reminiscent of the silver pieces (*plates, bowls, cups, teaspoons*) from the inventory of the Christian churches, since the paleo-Christian period until today.

4. The silver pieces from the Dacian silver thesaurus *clearly differ* from the pieces of the silver thesauri in the Danubian area, which were sumptuous, royal and, of course, older than the Dacian ones (at Băiceni there is a gold thesaurus). D. Berciu named them *Geatish* thesaurus (TRACO – GEATS)¹, setting their role after the discovery from Agighiol. Subsequently, the Bulgarian colleagues introduced in the scientific circuit the discoveries from *SVESTARĪ* where under the *tumuli* were discovered tombs of stone slabs - with *dromos* and mortuary chambers (some with paintings on the walls - caryatids) and “caps – doors” of the interiors, sliding, actually large *limestone slabs*, adroitly carved. It seems another world.

We wonder whether or not we were dealing with the *Herodoteic* world (post Zalmoxis – Zamolsis memory), a world in the 4th- 3rd centuries BC. A world relatively different in terms of thinking from the Dacian world of the silver thesauri, (1st BC – 1st AD centuries). A world of *singled elite*-led communities (royal), with the “mythological” imaginary consisting of characters and animals (an epiphany? as my colleague I. Glodariu confessed me, even from Svestarî). We think of others:

- a) craftsmen (workshops);
- b) clients;
- c) owners. A world different from the later Geatish-Dacian world. At least in terms of civilization, culture, thought and *faith*. We are left to believe that they are *sumptuous* thesauri, different in nature from the Dacian ones, common in a world which, according to our hypothesis, was *agricultural* (agro - pastoral) not based on battles, raids, military actions (See also the *huge*, tribal thesaurus, from Rogozen).

B

In 2006, Serbian archaeologists M. Jevtič, M. Lazič and M. Sladič published a study on the silver piece thesaurus from *Židovar* (Serbian Banat), research conducted under the auspices of the University of Belgrade and the Museum of the History in Vârșat.² It was discovered by *systematic* excavations in the well-known settlement (tell, oppidum) in *Židovar*, which was researched years ago by Branco Gavela (consisting in the *crossbow brooches, chains, pendants*, a “casserole”, “razor blades” (for shaving?) and amber beads. *The silver box* (“*Small box for valuables*”) with FILIGREE ornaments is decorated with five *rubies* in the *cabochons*, and two more (in the attach piece).

¹ D. Berciu, *Arta traco-getică*, București, 1969, *passim*.

² M. Jevtič, M. Lazič, M. Sladič, *The Židovar Treasure*, Belgrad-Vârșat, 2006, *passim*, (with the following note „from the Settlement of *SCORDISCI*”).

So after reflection, it seems indubitable that SCORDISCI – the Scordisci craftsmen (Celts) from Židovar knew the POLICROM style. Pendants render stylized figures and animals.

The thesaurus proves the *great art* of the Celtic craftsmen (SCORDISCI) in silver processing and *moreover* it raises the question of emergence – as a hypothesis – of the POLICROM style in Europe long before the encounter between the European and the eastern world. It was clearly known – for example – that the *garnets* (of Indian origin) travelled through the South Asian world to reach the Roman Empire. POLICROM style was considered *specific* (the age and origin are not certain) for the old German world and the Huns (See J. Werner).

In our study we will make reference only to the *braided chains* also found in the Dacian thesauri. We want to stress that between the “world” of the sumptuous *Geatish thesauri* and the world of the priestly Dacian thesauri the CELTIC penetration is “interposed” (4th – 2nd centuries BC) in Eastern and South-eastern Europe, and, of course, in *Dacia*.

1. The craftsmanship of the Celtic craftsmen is indicated, among others, by the discovery from *Ciumești* (published by M. Rusu), a helmet with bird feathers (eagle feathers), similar to the image on the phalera from *Surcea*.

2. The findings from Bihor (the *torques* from Diosig, 4th century BC) and an *iron chain* (actually a small iron necklace) found in a Celtic dwelling from Biharea are likely to raise the issue above, the contribution of the Celtic craftsmen to the work of the pieces from the silver Dacian thesauri and their dating much later, in *another* Dacian world, different from the world of the sumptuous Dacian discoveries of type (4th – 3rd century BC), with a delay, if not of centuries, then of decades.

3. The same question is raised by the *apotropaic character* (?), of the Dacian thesauri, composed of “garments” – for the body: *brooches, simple or spiral bracelets* etc., all *aniconic*, without human or animal figures (of course there are exceptions: the board from *Cioara*, the discoveries from *Bălănești, Surcea?, Herăstrău*) and more recently the thesaurus from Lupu (Alba County) published by I. Glodariu and V. Moga. However, the discussion is to be conducted more carefully by experts that will work in the future on these concrete *interferences* of the Celts on the territory of Dacia between the Dacian and the Celts. We do not exclude, by any means the participation of the Dacian craftsmen in producing the silver pieces in the 150 thesauri from Dacia. We mention the treasure from *Săcălășău* - Bihor where the silver *hammering* is *unmistakable*.

C

In the elegant and massive catalog *Die Daker. Archäologie in Rumänien* (Mainz, 1980) there was published a material on a bowl from the Museum of Cluj, discovered at Costești (dated 1st BC), the Museum of Cluj, Inv. No. V 18 544, which was part of the exhibition in *Rome, Köln* and *Paris*, on which it was written:

„GRAPHITREICHER TON. VERDIKTER RAND, DURCH EINE BREITE EINSCHNÜRUNG ABGESETZT. KÖRPER VERZIERT MIT VERTIKALEN PARALLELEN SCHRAFFUREN, DIE UNTER DEM RAND

BEGINNEN. IN *DER ANTIKE ZERBROCHEN UND MIT EISENKRAMPEN WIEDERHERGESTELLT. SPUREN VON SEKUNDÄRBRAND*".³ A vessel of the same *Celtic* type, decorated with vertical grooves was found in the settlement from *FETELE ALBE* by H. Daicoviciu⁴.

The difference between the two vessels (a "jar"), of the same type is *essential*. The first vessel (Inv. No. V 18544) was broken in the old days, as was the second one, had been *REPAIRED*. Six holes were perforated, two by two, and the fragments were caught with three *IRON CRAMPS*. This unique case, indicates, hypothetically, that the vessel from Costești (where, in our opinion, many Celtic blacksmiths had worked!), was broken, but the Celts from the mountains, from the Dacian mountains, needed this vessel, of course, not for any kind of occupation, but for a particular practice, in our opinion, *SACRED*, ritual. This is what we see in the bowl of *Costești*. The discovery made us meditate at "its home" (in Paris), in Köln, in Cluj. How was it possible, for a *common* vessel to have been repaired in the *old times* with iron *cramps*! Later we realized the following:

1. Investigating several Celtic pottery workshops (with hundreds of pottery fragments; at *Andrid* there are 2-3 fragments!) at Biharea, we found not only *ovens* (with grill and two rooms, one for fire and one for burning), but also *maintenance pits* and the pits where there were preserved *molded clay, unburned pots* (only dry - fragmentary), *graphite and fundamental bone tools of Manching type* (Knochenstempel) for decorating *ceramics* (including *stampings*). *We have not found any fragment of a Dacian vessel.*

There is, in our opinion, an explanation: the Celts and the Dacians have worked their pottery alongside. There were interferences - as with the Greeks, Thracians, Romans, Bastarni -Germans, later the Goths, but there are also cases where they do not appear. In any case the Celts were not working ceramics at Costești, they would have modeled a *new* clay pot. The one repaired was not an ordinary one, but they were very fond of the specificity of their faith, we believe.

D

In his study *Dacia. A Millennium of History* C. Petolescu wrote clearly about:

1. *The Religion of the Geats* and
2. *The Religion of the Dacians*.⁵

Should we understand (?) that the first is in the 4th-3rd century, with thesauri of Agighiol, a "Herodoteic" religion and the second is a religion (of priest type, with *apotropaic, thaumaturgic equipments*, of silver) different from the first ones. This is possible given the different dating and the *difference*, the *DISTINCTION* in the morphological formula, expressed clearly by the nature of the component pieces.⁶

³ *Die Daker. Archäologie in Rumänien*, No 206, Mainz, 1980, p. 172, *without photograph!*

⁴ *Ibidem*, No 204, p. 171.

⁵ C. C. Petolescu, *Dacia. Un mileniu de istorie*, București, 2010, p. 59-69.

⁶ Cf also Vl. Georgiev, *Raporturile dintre limbile DACĂ, TRACĂ și FRIGIANĂ*, in *Studii Clasice*, II, 1960, p. 39-58.

1. Still I. I. Russu⁷ in *Limba traco-dacilor*, specify the “linguistic” difference between - DAVA and - PARA, for the last one, specified “missing in Dacia”, referring to the Dacian *fortified* settlements and those in Thrace and Moesia (See however on the south of the Danube - *CAPIDAVA*, *SUCIDAVA*, *SACIDAVA* in Dobrogea).

The Dacian *Davas* are *strongholds*, not only military and they cover throughout Dacia, the territory from the Middle Danube (Chotin near Bratislava) by the “Prut-Nistru area”, the case of Bradu, Răcățâu, Poiana Dava’s; nota bene: Bâta Doamnei is something else?). At Răcățâu, on the fortified height are *numerous potholes*, probably for different rituals (agro-pastoral, temporal, familiar - funeral etc). In the potholes from Răcățâu and the whole Dacian area were found numerous *DACIAN CUPS*. *Numerous*. What a pity that V. Capitanu had not published the Răcățâu’s monograph (v. Bradu - V. Ursache; Poiana - R. Vulpe, Silvia Teodor).

2. V. Vasiliev, I. Al. Aldea and H. Ciugudean, published in 1991⁸ a bowl from Teleac (vp 235, pl 39/5), a cup with a handle, in the middle of the wall, which was Hallstattian, early Dacian, but it wasn’t Dacian, as the one from 2nd B.C.-5th A.D. centuries. We are after the *Scythians*’s arrival, after the first Scythian wave, before 450 BC, but the *Dacian sacred* (?) cup it is not to be found among the discoveries. How is it possible not to have older items, of substrate, in terms of this type of vessel, so *DACIAN SPECIFIC*, with modeling (by hand, are rare those made on wheel!), typology, stylistic and spread over half a millennium on the whole area inhabited by Gaeto – Dacians to paleo christianity.

Along with the vessel- jar, the cup gives the *ETHNIC* attribution of the discovery to the *DACIANS* discoveries. As to us we argue - and on this occasion we thank P. Roman for this information, that the *oldest*(?) Dacian cup was found in Insula Banului and dates (after P. Roman) in the mid-second century BC. Where was “IT” before this date? What are its origins? *Certainly* Gaeto-Dacian! There are *tens, hundreds* throughout the area of Dacian discoveries from the *Danube* and the *Carpathians*.

3. The *IMPORTANCE* of this vessel (apparently modest, with one, two or three handles), handmade, along with vessel-jar, decorated with striations, wavy lines, girdles and alveolar girdles, stylistic *identical* in the Dacian cup case is given by, we argue, the following findings:

a) In the cemetery of Lipița (Lipicka Gorna) the Polish archaeologist M. Smiszko discovered Dacian cups and some “Bastarn” urns (with *human face*) in the cemetery investigated and published in the interwar period. I researched this material in the Museum of History of the city of *Krakow*, where the inventory is stored.

b) Near Lake Neusiedl, in Austria, in the *quade* discoveries group (of the pro-Roman’s partisans) a Dacian cup was found in a tomb, published by the American St. Foltiny.

c) Dacian cups were discovered in settlements and cemeteries of *Paračin* type (Serbia), researched by Draga A. Garašanin, also in the large centers with

⁷ I. I. Russu, *Limba traco-dacilor*, București, 1959, p. 73 s.v.

⁸ V. Vasiliev, I. Al. Aldea, H. Ciugudean, *Civilizația dacică timpurie în aria intracarpatică a României*, Cluj-Napoca, 1991, pl. 39/5.

standardized Roman pottery workshops at *Butovo*, *Hotnița* and *Pavlikene* (Bulgaria), researched by B. Soultov. He *showed* us pictures of *Dacian cups* from these potters' potholes, those who otherwise worked for the *Roman market*, the cups were for their own use. I couldn't go to Bulgaria (near Târnovo!) but B. Soultov came to Bucharest and showed me the pictures.

And these communities were formed out of Dacians *DEPORTED* from the south of the Danube, in the time of *Augustus*, *Claudius (?)* and *Nero*, in the time of ETHNIC CLEANING operated by the Romans between the Danube and Tisza and the north of the Danube (Oltenia ?, Wallachia, Moldova - Bessarabia).

d) The cups keep their "*life*" in Roman era to, until later time, when, we argue, those who *made them*, *used them* (as SACRED vessel), and put them in their graves, were *Christianized*. We remind you that in Roman era the cup was ALWAYS present, especially in Dacian cemeteries from the Roman era (but also in many settlements and *castris*!), at Sopor, Obreja, Locusteni at the Carps from Văleni and in "potholes' field" of Biharea.

Archaeologist Ion Ioniță from Iași published in 1995 a study of great importance to the issue raised by us, reason for us to bring him a *respectful and sincere tribute*: ELEMENTE CREȘTINE ÎN PRACTICA RITURILOR DE ÎNMORMÂNTARE DIN MOLDOVA ÎN SECOLELE IV-V E.N. (in *Din istoria Europei romane*, Oradea, 1995, pp. 253-262) where it is republished, among other, *grave no. 7 from Barboși* (previously published by S. Sanie and I.T. Dragomir), a CHRISTIAN inhumation tomb (with gold fibula, with the name INNOCENS incised on the arch), including among inventory parts a *DACIAN CUP* (cf. M- 96 Târgșor - also with Dacian cup). In the cup it was found *CHARCOAL* of (half) burned wood.

After the 5th century A.D. we do not know other discoveries of Dacian cups, but the *CHRISTIAN* discoveries are multiplying - in Moldavia to- (Mihălășeni, Botoșani, in the far north).

E

Generalization of ritual practices? the *Dacian cups* were used to encompass *this faith?* in all communities. The fact that the thesauri are hidden - PRIESTS are annihilated (?), the SANCTUARIES SYSTEMATICALLY destroyed - I. Glodariu's statement, did not mean the annihilation of this faith among popular community (?). The tradition *is preserved* in Roman and post Roman era. Only Christianity - we believe - will lead to the disappearance of the Dacian cup, namely of the rituals used by the Dacians. It remains for future research to bring new data in this regard or refute our hypothesis.

To conclude, still asking questions and only hypothetically, we would like to add that a distinction should be made between - the "two religions" after C. Petolescu, *Gaetish* and *Dacian*. The first "Herodoteic - Zalmoxian" with scholastic-bookish extensions to the Middle Ages and "up" to *Denmark, Poland and Sweden*, and the *Dacian* - "Strabonic" of Deceneu's, of a people (between the Balkans and northern Carpathians) of *peasants* and *shepherds*, who had carried the sacred faith with them and kept it stubbornly. Davas were *sacred places* (so ACROPOLE) not

only fortresses (at Răcățoiu the settlement covers a large area near the height -dava), in their state a *THEOCRATIC* state (Burebista - Decebalus - Pieporus!) where the peasants fiercely defended their *faith and identity* (v. Bodor András, slaves of *de natione DACIA, de natione DACUS*), even in the heart of Roman empire (ZIAI TIATI FIL(IAE) DACAE UXORI PIEPORI REGIS COISSTOBOCENSIS)⁹. Then, becoming CHRISTIANS (Latins - Daco-Romans) and then ROMANIAN they remained until the nineteenth and twentieth centuries a faithful and industrious people.

⁹ C. C. Petolescu, *op. cit.*, p. 297.

CONSIDERATIONS ON FINDINGS DISCOVERED ON FOUR ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES FROM BIHOR COUNTY

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Abstract: *The paper analyzes the main findings on the four archaeological sites in Bihor County, in the mentioned order. Thus, at the entrance in Lesiana cave in Șuncuiuș there were found two bronze deposits (the first, in 1988, composed of 110 pieces, and the second, in 1989, composed of 19 pieces). The archaeological site Tășad, known in the literature as Cetățaua, become after 1990, one of the most important archaeological school sites in the western part of Apuseni Mountains, is emphasized by some representative findings, namely the silver coin hoard of Dyrhachium and Apollonia type, the Dacian silver jewelery hoard discovered in 1976 - the first treasure of Dacian ornaments in Romania and the two metallurgical cult complexes, discovered in 1995 and respectively in 1996, located in the so-called "sacred precinct", important for the understanding of the technology in the early period of the Iron Age in Bihor. An important archaeological site in the northwest of our country is that of Biharea, to which archaeologist Sever Dumitrașcu dedicated a comprehensive monograph, as a result of several systematic excavations campaigns. We outline here the Dacian archaeological findings from the Roman period circumscribed to a settlement inhabited by free-Dacians, especially hand-made pottery and wheel-turned one, but also the imported pottery of Roman type. At Sânnicolau Român it was discovered in 1972, a precious hoard of silver Dacian coins originally composed of several pieces (over 100), of which there are preserved 24, corresponding to two distinct monetary types, namely to the type I Chereluș-Feniș and to the type II Medieșul Aurit, the latter divided into two groups, each with two variations. Chronologically speaking, the precious artifacts discovered belong to the transition period from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age (Br CD - Ha A1), but at the same time they are important Dacian discoveries in pre-Roman and Roman period.*

Keywords: *archaeological findings, Șuncuiuș, Tășad, Biharea, Sânicolau Român.*

This paper presents two sets of issues raised by the archaeological material discovered on four archaeological sites:

A. The transition period from Bronze Age to Iron Age (Br CD - Ha A1) and

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B. Dacian Findings of pre-Roman and Roman period

Șuncuiuș – Bronze Deposits

In Șuncuiuș there were discovered two bronze deposits at the entrance of Lesiana cave. The first was discovered accidentally by miners from Șuncuiuș Mining Company, on June 22, 1988, being published immediately (1989) by Sever Dumitrașcu and Ioan Crișan, archaeological discovery of great importance related to the 13th – 12th centuries B.C. The second deposit was discovered in the same cave, in a different surveying point in 1989, when the first finding was already published, being uncovered by the systematic archaeological excavations.

The first deposit weighted 4.370 kg and consisted of 110 pieces, of which 108 had been found fortuitously and two discovered by systematic surveys, plus three pieces found in a cultural layer presented extensively in a study of 102 pages. We mention below the published pieces that were recorded in the inventory registers the Museum of Oradea. In the study there are given the dimensions of all pieces, also boards with these pieces and there are presented numerous analogies.

Tools

1. Button sickles - 4 pieces, with button and ribbed edge;
2. Chisels - a handmade piece of round bar sharpened at both ends;
3. Socketed celts-hammers - a piece that can be attached to the shaft through a longitudinal hole;
4. Socketed celts with concave rim – a piece with slightly concave rim, an external handle-loop to be attached to the shaft, and a vague beak on the opposite side;

Weapons

5. Spearheads - 2 pieces, one leaf-shaped and other rhombic-shaped, both with tubular rod for fixation to the shaft and well-defined rib
6. Bracelets used for arm-guard - 2 pieces with decorated with incised geometric motifs;

Pieces of clothing (or/and of horse harness?)

7. Belts – one is preserved in one piece with clamping device and two side holes, probably for attaching the leather or some accessories;
8. Saltaleoni - 6 pieces, fragments of bronze wire;
9. Tutuli - 18 pieces with button and fastening loop;
10. Calciform pendants - 52 whole or fragmentary pieces, six-arm-shaped and tubular ones;
11. Phalerae - 2 pieces, a conical-shaped and the other calotte-shaped, both of the fastening loop;
12. Buttons - one small calotte-shaped with two mounting holes;
13. Footrings - a piece of a bar with rounded body section;
14. Bracelets made of bronze bar - 16 pieces, with thinned terminals, some of them joined, the others disjoined, decorated in various ways;
15. Bracelets made of bronze band - one “boat”-shaped piece with triangular terminals;

Other pieces

16. Ring, fastening ring? pendant?

During the systematic archaeological excavations, there were discovered around a hearth (fireplace) a number of other three bronze pieces (two needles and a needle tip) along with numerous fragments of pottery.

The deposit has particularly relevant analogies in the large smelting deposits from Aiud, Band, Dipșa, Gușterița II, Șpălnaca II and Uioara de Sus. It illustrates the history of the Thracian communities in the late Bronze Age and the beginning of the Iron Age, the high cultural level and the civilization of these communities in western Apuseni Mountains.

The bronze deposit no. 2 from Lesiana Cave from Șuncuiuș was discovered in the following year (1989), in the box no. 4, at 3 m from the south wall of the cave, in the filling of the pit. The pieces were revealed one by one, not at once, along with pottery fragments that were chronologically placed in the cultural horizons BrD – HaA1. Among the pottery fragments it was discovered a fragment of a portable oven, important by archaeological, cultural and historical point of view. This deposit is smaller and contains the following 19 pieces:

1. Calciform pendants - 8 pieces;
2. Saltaleoni - 9 pieces and a fragment;
3. Button - one piece.

All discovered pieces are recorded in the inventory registers of Cris County Museum and are represented in drawings. This bronze deposit was associated with portable ovens.

Tășad

The archaeological research from Tășad revealed the existence of several settlements from Neolithic and Eneolithic (Tisza culture) period, then the transition to the Bronze Age (Coțofeni culture), the first Iron Age, early Hallstatt period (cannelured pottery culture - Gava) and Dacian period (between 2nd BC – 1st AD centuries).

The first excavations started in 1969, and continued throughout the 70s of the last century, being conducted by Nicholas Chidioșan, archaeologist at the Cris County Museum. After 1990, the investigations were resumed by Professor Sever Dumitrașcu, the archaeological site from Tășad becoming a so-called school-site where numerous generations of students of the Faculty of History and Geography learned during their field work compulsory sessions. The archaeological site from Tășad is known as *Cetățaua*, being located about 3 km southeast of the village Tășad. The multimillennial settlement occupies the upper plateau of a hill located in the hilly region of Pădurea Craiului Mountains. In the northeast it is linked to Hill of Ursoi by a “saddle” that descends 50-60 meters from the height of *Cetățaua*, which rises about 120 meters from the surrounding valleys.

These attributes make the hill of *Cetățaua* a natural fortress with an excellent strategic position. The upper plateau of the hill covers an area of about two hectares. In the north-eastern part a quarter of this plateau is separated by a wave and a ditch that transverse the hill transversally in a narrower portion. The earthen wave is flanked on two sides by large boulders deposited here to prevent the sliding. The interior is filled with quarry stones and gravels trodden together with the earth taken out from the ditch. It seems that this barrier has fulfilled a separation

and not a defense role. During the Dacian period here were carried earthworks toward the northwestern part.

In order to show the importance of this archaeological site in the western part of the Apuseni Mountains, we present some archaeological discoveries. We mention first an incidental discovery of a hoard of silver coins coming from the towns along the Adriatic coast, Apollonia and Dyrhachium, made at the foothills on a path that led to the settlement of the *Cetățaua*, being recovered a number of 69 pieces.

The excavations made in 1976 revealed a large hoard of silver Dacian ornaments composed by the followings:

1. Silver fibula with four disc-shaped knobs attached to the foot, hammered from a single bar with a weight of 49.7 gr and a length of 8 cm.
2. Silver fibula with four disc-shaped knobs, being between them other three intermediary discs, attached to the foot, worked as the first one, with a weight of 51,3 gr and a length of 10.1 cm.
3. Bilateral spring of silver formed of 18 coils and a chord in front, with a length 8.5 cm and a width of 5.2 cm.
4. A spring of the same type from which it is preserved only 10 coils, with a length of 6 cm and width of 2.3 cm. The two springs had belonged to the mentioned fibulae.
5. Silver bracelet or collar made of thick wire, with a weight of 25.2 gr and a length of 7.3 cm, and the wire thickness of 5 mm.
6. Silver collar made of two distinct parts: a. a thick wire with round section that is tapering to the ends, ending in two hooks, strongly arched. b. a chain consists of 8 pieces of wire twisted into three having at the end a loop. The diameter of the collar has 20.4 cm and it has a weight of 46.7 gr.
7. Massive silver bar with square section, bent, with a length of 26 cm and a weight of 80.7 gr.
8. Massive silver bar segment with rectangular section, and length of 9 cm and weight of 46 gr.

We can notice that the discovered pieces reveal a cycle, a complete series of manufacturing, namely: raw material under its intermediate form - massive silver bar, then the product in progress represented by the bent and flattened bar and also the finished products: fibulae, necklaces and so on.

We notice that at the time of discovery, the hoard from Tășad was the first treasure of Dacian ornaments from Romania discovered through systematic archaeological excavations, which is particularly important because it could be made careful observations on the site and on the conditions of discovery, being discovered in a workshop that belonged to a silversmith. The hoard was dated in the period when the Dacian state of Burebista has been edified (the second half of the first century BC), the age of maximum flourish of the Dacian silver art.

Among the archaeological findings from 1978, we notice a complex of ritual pits from the early Iron Age period and a Dacian settlement containing a deposit of iron tools. Based on the ceramic inventory, consisting of numerous bowls of black colour on outside and brick-redish on the inside, and of other pottery fragments, the archaeological complex was dated at the beginning of the early Iron

Age (Ha A1), belonging to the community of cannellured pottery culture. The mentioned Dacian dwelling above had a rich inventory of which we mention the pieces that constitute the deposit of iron tools: an axe, a chisel, a fragment of lance and five sickles.

As we mentioned before, after 1990 archaeological research from Tășad was resumed by Professor Sever Dumitrașcu, involving students from the specialization History and Geography of the University of Oradea. The excavations revealed an important archaeological material belonging to different periods. The results of these researches were published as archaeological reports, or in some studies and articles. We present briefly the two metallurgical cult complexes, dating from the early Iron Age (Ha A1-A2), discovered in 1995 and 1996.

Situated in the "sacred precinct", area delimited by rest of the settlement by a ditch and an earthen wave, at about 10 m south of the them, in the two closed complexes the vestiges were deliberately and systematically deposited in two oval pits, at the depth of 1.20 -1.50 m below the present ground surface, pits made in the rock of the hill.

Complex no. 1 (1995). There were deposited together: an urn together with other two pots of which one covered the urn as a lid. All three were damaged and disturbed in the upper part of their level in ancient times, perhaps by the the Dacian level. Near the urn a pot was found, placed upside down, preserved in one piece, which proves that it was deliberately placed in this position, indicating a metallurgical cult. Two other pots were placed at the north-eastern and north-western part of the urn, a pot with fluted lip, filled with yellow lead minium and the second, a large pot fitted with handles, containing offerings (organic material).

Complex no. 2 (1996) is situated 5 meters south of the first. The pit was discovered at 0.30 m depth below the present ground surface and deepens up to 1.50 m. The urns were in the southern part, being a large biconical pot covered with another one, both heavily damaged by subsequent levels. The offering dishes were arranged to the east and south.

In the two complexes there were discovered also pots with traces of rings on the bottom, proving their modeling at the wheel. The two complexes from Tășad by the metallurgical cult, the using of graphite in the technology of ceramics, the knowledge of the modeling technology of using the wheel can be considered as first discoveries regarding the Early Iron Age in Bihor County.

Biharea

Discoveries belonging to free-Dacians of Roman period were found during systematic archaeological excavations of Biharea, an important archaeological site in North-Western Romania, where archaeologist Sever Dumitrașcu conducted research between 1973-1984 and 1998-2004. Archaeological research has revealed many artifacts belonging to several historical periods, from the Neolithic to the 13th century.

Findings of Roman period from Biharea have been published in several journals and also in the monograph of archaeological site Biharea. These archaeological findings, from many places of the site prove that at Biharea there was a settlement inhabited by free Dacians in Roman period. The attention is drawn by the 39 pits, probably tombs or cult complexes discovered along the five

campaigns (1976-1980) in the place named *Grădina SA-Baraj*, with numerous Dacian archaeological material. Analyzing the pottery from such complexes, it was found that its general structure is defined, in roughly equal proportions, of the two species: handmade pottery (vases, jars and cups) and wheel-turned gray and brick-reddish pottery (large pots and fruit bowls). This last type, especially the brick-reddish pottery, with new forms (bowl of Roman provincial type) indicates the evolution of Dacian pottery during the second and third centuries AD. The Roman influence, even if the imported pottery is poor, was notified in the Roman type of pottery that was imitated by free Dacians, who have mastered the new technology. Referring to the fine wheel-turned pottery (gray and brick-reddish) decorated with polished motifs, the archaeologist Sever Dumitrașcu states that it is “a kind of local native pottery from Roman period, which will be generalized and will be imposed in the later post Romans period.”

Dacian archaeological findings of Roman period from Biharea are part of the horizon called *Medieșul Aurit (Satu Mare County) - Biharea (Bihor County) - Sântana (Arad County)*. Sever Dumitrașcu, referring to the importance of the Dacian discoveries in the Roman period from the Crișul Repede-Barcău area, underlines their double meaning: “They contribute, first, to the knowledge of civilization and culture of the Dacians in the center of Crișana, through a long-term living of the Dacians in the same settlement (1st -3rd/ 4th centuries AD) underlining the possibilities of knowledge of the Dacians history in Crișana before and during Roman rule in Dacia and after leaving of the Roman authorities from the province.

Secondly, the Dacian discoveries from Biharea bring substantial contributions to the knowledge of local issues of Dacian material culture in Roman period, which, by their nature, reinforce the knowledge of the Dacian cultural unity in general, and of the Dacian-Roman culture. Like everywhere in the world of free Dacians of Roman period, from the Western, Northern and Eastern boundaries of the province of Dacia, the discoveries from Biharea allow, in the context of other researches, the knowledge of the integration process of free Dacians’ material culture in the context of the Dacian-Roman material culture, in the slower, but irreversible flux of process of takingover and gradual adoption by the Dacians of numerous elements of Roman material and spiritual culture in Crișana, a process that ends with Romanization of the free Dacians, with acquiring the Latin language itself. Aurelian withdrawal has created political conditions that favored the restoration of Dacian and Dacian-Roman unity, in the case of Crișana and Apuseni Mountains, of the unity of Dacians from Crișana with the Daco-Romans from the Apuseni Mountains.”

Part of the Dacian artifacts of Roman period discovered at Biharea was included in the famous exhibition *The Dacians*, along with other artifacts from Romanian museums. The exhibition organized under the auspices of the Ministry of Culture, by the Museum of History of Transylvania, Bucharest City Museum and the Museum of History and Art from Bacău, was exposed in the years 1978-1981 in the largest museums of Europe: France, Germany, England Belgium, Netherlands, Luxembourg, Bulgaria, Austria, Bulgaria and Poland, enjoying great success. Another exhibition, organized by Cris Country Museum, with artifacts from Biharea that illustrated the Dacian continuity in the Roman and post-Roman periods, entitled *Thracians and Dacians in North-Western Romania*, was opened in towns like: Oradea, Carei, Baia Mare, Sighetul Marmăției in 1980-1981.

Sânnicolau Român – The Dacian Silver Hoard

The Dacian silver Hoard consisting of 24 pieces was purchased in 1973 from the villagers Todor Oros and Ioan Miheș from Sânnicolau Român. It seems that it has been discovered in 1972, in the left side of the road Cefa – Berechiu – Sânnicolau Român at the edge of the garden of CAP in the place called „La Ier” and consisted initially from many more pieces (over 100), some lost and some seem to have reached some private collections. Further systematic excavations, conducted between 1982-1987, led to the discovery of four archaeological sites in the boundaries of this locality: „La Ier”, „Bereac”, „Pusta Petrichii” and „Coștei”, sites with several levels of living, from Neolithic to the Middle Ages.

The Dacian La Tène settlement from the village boundary is one of the few where there were discovered hoards of silver coins. Within the treasure there were two separate monetary: type I (Chereluș – Feniș) represented by one scyphate coin and type II (Medieșul Aurit) represented by 23 pieces. Type II was divided into two groups each with two variants (group II variant A with 3 pieces, variant B with 4 pieces, group III variant A one piece and variant B with 15 pieces). Al. Sășianu makes a detailed description of the coins in the mentioned groups and types. We present two such brief descriptions:

„Type I (Chereluș-Feniș)

Group I (No. 1)

Includes a single coin having on the obverse a profile to the right; eye removed, above it two parallel lines connected by transverse lines giving the impression of a ladder; above an inverted S, but incomplete, bordered by a row of pearls; aquiline nose, forming with the chin a semicircle, lips formed by two lines; a line beginning from the ear with a string of pearls suggest the beard; in front of the profile an element consists of three vertical lines and one transversal, which descends to the mid of the nose, under which a quadrilateral with one side removed; under the chin an arch with a globule at one end, around the head and neck a crown made by full and hollow leaves.

The reverse shows a horse galloping to the left, very schematized, the mouth slightly open, bird beak-shaped ended by globules; the ridge as a row of pearls, legs shown by broken lines united with globules; quadrangular-shaped hooves; at the top of the horse instead of the rider, a rectangle framed by a circle of pearls.

The coin weighs 7.1 grams and has a diameter of 27 mm.

Type II (Medieșul Aurit)

Group II. Version A (No. 2, 3, 4.)

The obverse side reveals a human profile overly stylized, to the right; a series of three semi-circles continued with dots suggests the beard, another string the forehead; two lumps, bumps, form the maxillary(?); the mouth cannot be distinguished; the eye, a point in an angle, in its opening two points probably render the lips; the nose does not appear, over the forehead a curved line under which is distinguished the S-shaped mark; the crown and the hair, showed by ovals, more elongated, formed by lines unjoined at the ends; (...)

The reverse shows a horse galloping to the left, with curved body, legs tucked under its womb, the front and rear hooves triangle-shaped, center hoof as a half-filled square; the horse's mouth in bird beak-shape (...).

The coins have a weight of 8.6, 8, 8, 8.4 g and a diameter of 23-24 mm.”

The hoard pieces were made by hammering method, some having internal molding structure. Coins of type II belong to the north-west area of Transylvania, reaching the area through trade, by circulation. The coins were assigned to the Dacians who were in the second half of the II century the political power in the area. It seems that the territory between the Mureș, Apuseni Mountains and Crișul Negru was inhabited by the the Geto-Dacian tribe of Predavens. Coins from the hoard of Medieșul Aurit type were attributed to the Costobocae. The overall style of the coins is undeniably belonging to the Geto-Dacians and they have been dated to the second half of the second century BC.

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DACIAN CUPS DISCOVERED IN TĂȘAD, BIHOR COUNTY, DURING THE EXCAVATION CAMPAIGN IN 2008*

*Doina LUPU***

Abstract: *In this study we can state that the Dacian cup is an identifier of Dacian culture. On dating it, I. H. Crișan assumed that it belongs to the full maturity phase of the Geto-Dacian civilization, following the chronology of the Ist BC - IInd AD centuries. Around the year 100 BC the Dacian cup with all its characteristics, is pervasive and it is found in many samples in all Geto-Dacian settlements, such as the one at Tășad, Bihor County. Two Dacian cups with handle were discovered in the archaeological site “Cetățaua” during the excavation campaign in 2008.*

Keywords: *Dacian cup, Tășad, discovery, „Cetățaua”, Dacian dwelling.*

Archaeological excavations carried out in settlements, cemeteries and fortifications, both Crișana and in other areas of Romania have revealed a rich archaeological inventory consisting of pots, tools, weapons, ornaments or monetary treasures.

Due to its utilitarian nature pottery is the most consistent part of this inventory¹. Although research on Geto-Dacian ceramics and implicitly Dacian cup are numerous, there are always new discoveries confirming its importance in determining the area inhabited by Dacians. Even if the degree of utility of modeling technique or innovation, certain vessels disappear, a form that has survived without suffering significant changes for three centuries is cup-rushlight² or Dacian cup.

We can affirm that the Dacian cup is an identifier of Dacian culture whose development depended largely on the evolution of knowledge in crafts such as pottery or metal. The attempt to reconstruct the dimensions of the Geto-Dacian civilization has always kept account the role of these crafts. As evidence there are traces of workshops, ovens and fragments or whole vessels, including the famous

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¹ Viorica Crișan, *Dacii din estul Transilvaniei*, Editura „Carpații Răsăriteni”, Sfântu Gheorghe, 2000, p. 119.

² *Ibidem*.

Dacian cup considered by all researchers as one of the basic ceramic forms in Dacian world³.

The characteristic of this type of vessel is the truncated shape with wide mouth, narrow base and slanted walls, with or without handles. On the vessels with handle, it starts below the rim and ends at the bottom; in some pieces the handle is still a continuation of the bottom for better stability⁴.

On dating it, I. H. Crișan assumed that it belongs to the full maturity phase of the Geto-Dacian civilization, following the chronology of the I BC-II AD centuries⁵. Previous findings have shown that the Dacian cup makes its appearance in the second century BC⁶. Even during the V-IV BC centuries, the repertoire of forms and decoration was still "poor"⁷ appear, handmade, two representative forms of Geto-Dacian ceramic: cup with handle or Dacian cup and "Fruit plate". The oldest known Dacian cup discovered at Schela Cladovei, near Turnu Severin, dates from the second century BC.

It should be mentioned that there are pieces, although a few, which differ from the usual type that I.H. Crisan classify them into four categories, namely: large Dacian cups provided with two or more handles; high body cup in the form of a funnel, the handle is placed in the middle or in the lower third of the vessel; cups with perforated bottom and cups made on the wheel⁸.

The fact is that around the year 100 BC the Dacian cup with all its characteristics, is pervasive and it is found in many samples in all Geto-Dacian settlements, such as the one at Tășad, Bihor County. The first excavations began here in 1969 and continued throughout the 70s of last century, being made by Nicolae Chidioșan, an archaeologist at the Bihor County Museum. After 1990 the researches have been restarted by Professor Sever Dumitrașcu.

The archaeological site is known as "Cetățaua" being located about 3 km southeast of the village Tășad in the Tășad valley, left tributary of Crișul Repede. The settlement is situated on a hill with steep slopes around being a natural fortress with an excellent strategic position due valleys surrounding the hill on three sides and height of 363 m⁹. In the Iron Age or perhaps in the Dacian era the indwelling has narrowed, the promontory being cut by a ditch mound, giving a part of the settlement terms for a fortified fortress¹⁰.

³ *Ibidem*, p. 122.

⁴ I. H. Crișan, *Ceramica daco-getică. Cu specială privire la Transilvania*, București, Editura Științifică, 1969, p. 151.

⁵ Idem, *Granița de nord-vest a Daciei*, in „Ephemeris Napocensis”, II, 1992, p. 32.

⁶ Idem, *Precizări în legătură cu cronologia ceștii dacice*, in „Drobeta”, III, 1977, p. 34-39.

⁷ Alexandru Vulpe, *Epoca bronzului*, în *Istoria Românilor*, vol. I, București, Editura Enciclopedică, p. 210.

⁸ I. H. Crișan, *Ceramica daco-getică. Cu specială privire la Transilvania*, București, Editura Științifică, 1969, p. 154-155.

⁹ Nicolae Chidioșan, *Raport asupra săpăturilor arheologice întreprinse în anul 1978 în satul Tășad, comuna Drăgești (jud. Bihor)*, in „Materiale și cercetări arheologice”, XIIIth annual reporting session, Bihor County Museum, Oradea, 1979, p. 85-89.

¹⁰ Sever Dumitrașcu, *Așezări fortificate și cetățui dacice în partea de vest a Munților Apuseni*, in „Crisia”, II, 1972, p. 129.

We present below two examples of Dacian cups discovered during excavations campaign in 2008, excavations carried out by a team consisting of archaeologist Professor Sever Dumitrașcu, Florin Sfrengu and Laura Ardelean, which we would like to thank for the material provided.

Description:

1. Dacian cup with handle (Fig. 1). Found in ditch n. 1 between 9 to 9.30 m, at a depth of 0.25 to 0.30 m. The inside diameter of the base is 5.5 cm and at the opening it is about 14 cm. The cup has a height of approx. 8 cm and the outside bottom of the cup measures approx. 10 cm. The piece preserved itself in good condition, representing a whole form. The paste is yellowish-reddish color, rough, handmade. The body has oblique walls and wide mouth opening. The bottom is flat, but it has a constriction made by pressing clay in the transition between the lower body and base cup. The thickness of the tapering wall of the rim 1 cm to 0.5 cm at the bottom. The rim is straight and the vessel has no decoration.

2. Dacian cup with handle and perforated bottom (Fig. 2), discovered in ditch 1, from 9 to 9.30 meters at a depth of 0.25 to 0.30 m. The vessel is approx. 10 cm tall and the diameter of the mouth is 19 cm. Inside, the base diameter is approx. 5 cm. The wall thickness is about 0.5 cm and the perforation has a diameter of 1 cm. Discovered collapsed with a part inside was made by hand, rough paste, yellowish-reddish. The opening of the cup is wide, rounded rim, the body has oblique walls, the bottom is flat, the handle is attached just below the lip and the bottom of the cup. The vessel has no decoration. Inside it has traces of smoke as it was most likely used as a scents ritual - censer.

We mention that the two specimens are in the collection of the Tășad school.

The discoveries made in the place called "Cetățaua" demonstrates the existence of several settlements from the neo-Eneolithic era (Tisza culture), then the transition to the Bronze Age (Coțofeni culture), the Iron Age, early Hallstatt (culture of grooved pottery - Gava) and Dacian period (II BC-I AD). The level of settlement in Hallstatt is followed by a Latène Dacian inhabitation. It lasts for the classic Dacian era and apparently it was inhabited until the early second century AD, and possibly after Trajan's wars, especially since Tășadul peak is located on the road from the strip of Crișul Negru and Crișul Repede, linking Beiuș and Holod hollows with the Dacians from the Oradea area¹¹.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 131.

Anexe



Fig. 1



Fig. 2

JERUSALEM, PLACE OF PILGRIMAGE DURING THE PERIOD OF THE CRUSADES

*Raul-Constantin TĂNASE**

Abstract: *Triggered in response to the Muslim conquest, the Crusades present a particular significance for the establishment of the frame within which the Latin and the Byzantines will interact during the centuries that followed the expansion of Islam. Right from the first holy expedition, the purposes and secular interests are obvious, and among the Crusaders we can distinguish two parties: one religiously motivated and the other politically motivated. Political interests will prevail over faith, and the Byzantine emperor was often willing to recognize the Pope's spiritual authority in the East in order to facilitate the restoration of its political dominance in the West. Finally, the secular point of view overcame completely the original idea of holy wars, as demonstrated by the Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204. The primary objective of the Crusades movement, the liberation of Jerusalem and of the Holy Sepulchre from the Muslim occupation, was one of the mobilizing elements of the Pope Urban's II sermon in 1095 at the Council of Clermont. Pilgrimage in the Holy City was assimilated with personal penitence, a way whereby the Christ's soldiers received the absolution and gained the heaven's happiness. This study aims to analyze the manner in which the pilgrimage to Jerusalem was inserted in the general context of the holy wars of Christianity and the significance of the Holy City in the individual and collective mentality of that period.*

Keywords: *Jerusalem, pilgrimage, Christians, crusade, penitence.*

The scientific literature, both Romanian and foreign, gave a privileged place to the reception and interpretation of the complex phenomenon of Crusades¹. The publication in various editions of the Latin and Byzantine chroniclers of this period, along with the studies dedicated to the subjects adjacent to the holy wars issues, both reveal the attention of which this topic enjoyed among researchers. In the Romanian space, notable contributions in this field belong to historians such as Nicolae Iorga, Nicolae Banescu, Stelian Brezeanu, Emanoil Babus, Florentina Cazan, Milan Sesan, Nicolae-Serban Tanașoca. In the on-line space, information about the religious wars of the Middle Age are found frequently, which is a

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¹ For a bibliography of the Crusades see: Hans Eberhard Mayer, *Bibliographie zur Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, Hanover, 1960; Joyce Mclellan, *Select Bibliography of the crusades*, in *Wisconsin History*, vol. VI, 511-664.

supplementary proof of the interest given to them². The situation is similar in the foreign space. The West was extremely prolific in the study of Christianity's holy expeditions. This acknowledgment is proven by the multitude of books, articles, studies dealing with this topic. Significant contributions in this regard have been made by researchers such as Louis Bréhier, Paul Lemere, A.A. Vasiliev, Hélène Ahrweiler, Charles Diehl, Georges Ostrogorsky, Jean Flori, Dagron Gilbert, Jean-Claude Cheynet, Paul Magdalino, Michael Angold, Michel Balard. The references enumerated are selective without exhaustive pretention. Although the analyzes consecrated to the problem of the holy expeditions debate a variety of themes, however, the subject on pilgrimage to Jerusalem as the goal of the crusade, is still at an early stage to approach in the autochthon area. The intention of this paper is to analyze the pilgrimage in the Holy City of Christianity in connection with the development of the Crusade movement, because the two elements are complementary realities.

The Crusade and the pilgrimage represent two connected concepts, both in the common and practice mentality, and in the conceptual experience of the XI-XII centuries; the modern and contemporary period included the crusade in the sphere of pilgrimage, the two notions differentiating progressively through their specific features³. For the Western Knights, the release of the Holy Sepulcher, the center of the mystical journey, entails a purifying role and aims at the restoration of the legacy of Jesus Christ. The expedition to Jerusalem⁴ was considered a form of the individual penitence⁵ and a way of God's worship⁶. The pilgrimage is creating a

²<http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/byzantium/alltexts.asp#CrusadeSources>; <http://pages.usherbrooke.ca/croisades/recherches.htm>; <http://remacle.org/>; <http://www.crusades-encyclopedia.com/tableofcontents.html> are just a few examples of websites dedicated to holy wars of the Middle Ages.

³ Franco Cardini, *L'histoire des croisades et des pèlerinages au Xxe siècle*, in *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, CXCVI, 2006, p. 360.

⁴ Jerusalem is the sacred place by excellence of Christians, where Christ was crucified and resurrected. It is the center of the world, where takes place the transition from earthly, mortal to the heavenly, eternal. He set the globe medieval center, symbolized by the arms of the cross placed on the dome of the Holy Sepulchre. And also symbolizing heaven, Jerusalem has eschatological significance, the place where Christ will come to the end of time. Michel Balard, *Les latins en Orient (X^e-XV^e siècle)*, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris, 2006, pp. 18-19. Jerusalem enjoyed a special appreciation in Western medieval mentality, playing a vital role in the emergence of the idea of empire in the West, which was seen as a revival of the kingdom of David, at the end of the eighth century. Since the fourth century, Western pilgrimages to Jerusalem and the Holy Land resulted from an adequate knowledge of the Holy City in the West; stories of pilgrims arrived in Jerusalem on relics, miracles and Saints triggered popular piety and desire for pilgrimage. Aryeh Grabois, *Charlemagne, Rome and Jerusalem*, in *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, LIX, 1981, p. 796.

⁵ Albert D'Aix, *Histoire des faits et gestes dans les régions d'outre mer, depuis l'année 1095 jusqu'à l'année 1120 de Jésus Christ*, vol. I, in: *Collection des Mémoires relatifs à l'histoire de France*, ed. F. Guizot, tome 20-21, Librairie Chez J.L.J.Brière, Paris, 1825, I, 2; Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana. History of the Journey to Jerusalem*, ed. Susan B. Edgington, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 2007, I, 2, p. 5; Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique du Royaume Franc de Jerusalem de 1095 à 1184*, tome premier, trad. de Geneviève et René Métails, Paris, 1999, I, XVII, p. 30. All historians emphasize the aspect

new life that marks a decisive crisis of the old man⁷. The personal fulfillment constituted the major goal of the mystical journey. If, in general, the pilgrims considered an act of virtue, some Church Fathers, such as St. Gregory of Nyssa, had a negative appreciation to his address, arguing that the man's spiritual relationship with the Christ can be obtained at any place and is not necessary a such travel, which for women and children could be dangerous. Another attraction of the Holy City was represented by the abundance of the saint relics present here, but, at the same time, the existence of the Saint Cross on which was crucified the Savior⁸. Discovered by the mother of the emperor Constantine the Great, it was divided in two: one part was sent to Constantinople, and another remained in Jerusalem. The part of the Holy City was taken by the Persians, and later it was recovered by Heraclius in the seventh century. The Holy Cross was kept in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, where the pilgrims have made substantial donations, and played an important role in the liturgical life. The settlers of the kingdom of Jerusalem have used it as an object of protection and auspiciousness in battles⁹. Thus, it has become a major means for the defense of the Holy Places, being carried in thirty-one battles taking place between 1099 and 1187. Foulcher of Chartres attributed to this the victory of the Christians from Jafa in 1102. After a period, when the relics were diffused worldwide, the Latin clergy of Palestine claimed that on the evening of Easter, when candles were extinguished, they were re-lightened by God Himself. Consequently, the crowds from the West went East to receive the holy light, with the belief that it had miraculous powers, healing various bodily and mental diseases¹⁰. There were built hospitals and charitable centers for the pilgrims from remote regions. The Muslims had organized a series of pilgrimages to Jerusalem. They worshiped the Holy City, the birthplace of the several prophets and the place of universal resurrection. Dying in Jerusalem meant for the Islamists dying in heaven.

Place charged with many symbolic and allegorical interpretations, Jerusalem is known in various forms rich in meaning: on the one hand, the heavenly Jerusalem, the paradise, the city of the peace, on the other hand, the terrestrial Jerusalem, the place where Jesus suffered death¹¹, the world and earthly paradise

of pilgrimage crusade. Jean Flori, *Pour une redéfinition de la croisade*, in *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, CLXXXVIII, 2004, p. 347; Franco Cardini, *op.cit.*, p. 360; Charles Mills, *The history of the crusades for the recovery and possession of the Holy Land*, vol. I, London: 1821, p. 5.

⁶ Albert D'Aix, *op.cit.*, III, p. 120.

⁷ Paul Alphandéry, Alphonse Dupront, *La Chrétienté et l'idée de Croisade*, Éditions Albin Michel, Paris, 1995, p. 11.

⁸ Jean Flori, *Les croisades. Origines, réalisations, institutions, déviations*, Editions Jean-Paul Gisserot, Paris, 2001, p. 11; Charles Mills, *op.cit.*, p. 9. Crusaders and pilgrims brought back with them the sacred relics of holy places and thus incurred a constant visual connection with the East and spiritual events of history. Jonathan Phillips, *The second crusade: Extending the frontiers of christendom*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London., 2007, p. 35.

⁹ Jonathan Phillips, *The crusades: 1095-1197*, Pearson Education, 2002, p. 118.

¹⁰ Charles Mills, *op.cit.*, p. 10.

¹¹ Danielle Régner-Bohler, ed., *Croisades et pèlerinages*, Éditions Robert Laffont, Paris, 1997, XX. Concerning the meanings of the heavenly and earthly Jerusalem see Alain

center¹². The terrestrial Jerusalem, the holy mountain, the city of God, remained for the Christians the focal point of spiritual life. To the Holiness of this place was added the wish to follow the footsteps of Jesus Christ. At the beginning of the eleventh century, for many Christians, the terrestrial Jerusalem remained as an imperfect copy of the celestial Jerusalem, the place where they wanted to die for gaining the eternal happiness¹³. The transformation of the telluric Jerusalem into heavenly Jerusalem is based on Eucharistic realism. This doctrine, which emphasizes the importance of the bodily existence, and therefore the humanity of Christ, confers legitimacy to all forms of piety, animated by the desire to find the tangible signs of the presence of the God on earth¹⁴. In the early era of the Christianity the pilgrimages were rare. The first Christian conception emphasized rather the Christ's universality and divinity than humanity, and the Romanic authorities didn't encourage the spiritual expeditions in Palestine. The sacred journeys were determined by the existence of material factors as diseases, epidemics, the danger of the battles. It is difficult to determine to what they were motivated by mystical ardor of the persons involved to find a place of refuge in order to contemplate and meet God. The departure in this mystical journey for healing a disease, for expiation of sins or to thank for the blessings received, became frequent reasons for visiting the Holy Places¹⁵. In the twelfth century, Christians knew exactly the cave in Bethlehem where the Savior was born; they wanted to see the Mount of Olives, the Garden of Gethsemane and the Ascension place¹⁶. The visiting of the Holy Places for prayer and for gaining spiritual recompenses was an integrating part of the Christian practice¹⁷. At the end of the seventh century, the pilgrimage was among the forms of the canonical penitence¹⁸. The Christ's soldiers were going to suffer for the Lord Jesus and to participate in His glory in the day of judgment¹⁹. They are both soldiers and pilgrims²⁰, and their

Demurger, *Croisades et croisés au Moyen Âge*, Éditions Flammarion, Paris, 2006, pp. 22-28; Jean Chevalier, Alain Gheerbrant, *Dictionnaire des symboles*, Robert Lafont/Jupiter, Paris, 1982, pp. 537-541.

¹² Jacques Le Goff, *Medieval Civilization 400-1500*, Blackwell, Oxford UK & Cambridge USA, 1988, p. 139.

¹³ Cécile Morrisson, *Les croisades*, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris, 1969, pp. 8-11.

¹⁴ Beate Schuster, *Comment comprendre les récits de la première croisade? À propos de 1099 – Jérusalem Conquise, de Guy Lobrichon*, in *Médiévales*, XXXIX, 2000, p. 158.

¹⁵ Edmond René Labande, *Recherches sur les pèlerins dans l'Europe des Xie et XIIIe siècles*, in *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, II, 1958, p. 163; Régner-Bohler, *Croisades et pèlerinages*, IX. The pilgrimage was popular and people visited the graves of saints for help, protection, healing and forgiveness because Saints were seen as mediators towards God and their relics in the crusaders' vision were closely related to the life of Christ and the Apostles. Jonathan Phillips, *The crusades: 1095-1197....*, p. 11.

¹⁶ Medieval Jerusalem was the holiest place of Christians that contained numerous places of pilgrimage. Adrian J. Boas, *Jerusalem in the Time of the Crusades. Society, landscape and art in the Holy City under Frankish rule*, Routledge, London and New York, 2001, p. 3.

¹⁷ Steven Runciman, *Histoire des croisades*, Éditions Dagorno, 2000, Paris, p. 52.

¹⁸ Paul Alphandéry, Alphonse Dupront, *op.cit.*, p. 10.

¹⁹ Stéphen de Goy, ed., *Mémoires de l'historien Pierre Tudebode sur son pèlerinage à Jérusalem*, Quimper, 1878, p. 54.

²⁰ Stéphen de Goy, *Mémoires de l'historien Pierre Tudebode....*, 110, 127, 129, 184, 288.

expedition imitates the pilgrimage of Charlemagne²¹. It must be distinguished within the First Crusade between the purpose of the mystical journey and its object: the Pope considered the holy war an expedition intended to help the Christians in the East accompanied by a series of spiritual advantages deriving from the visit to the Holy Sepulcher; the Pilgrims have focused on the second side of this incursion²². Pilgrimage to Jerusalem has experienced a revival after the improvement of the Caliph al-Hakim's policy regarding the Christians, who are readmitted with the right to freely visit the Holy Places²³, and by the conversion of the king of Hungary, which allowed in future the selection of the terrestrial route²⁴. According to the testimony of Raoul Glaber, the Holy Sepulcher was visited by people of different ages belonging to all social classes, these preferring to die there than to return to their belongings. Those who died there were participating to the Savior's glory sacrificed in those places. This power of the religious participation was very active in the collective memory of Christians in the eleventh century. The founding of monasteries for men and women in the Holy City, especially at the beginning of the Crusades, by the King Stephen of Hungary, is attesting the hope and the desire to remain and die in the Holy Land²⁵. Seeking the Jerusalem, the Christians were aware of going to the Promised Land. The pilgrimage in the Holy City represents a prefiguration of the journey to the heavenly Jerusalem, an act of piety linked with the salvation hope and with the afterlife.

Another dimension of the pilgrimage, next the religious one, is the economical dimension. The trade increases and the Italian states granted the right to build a church in Jerusalem where to officiate the religious service in the Latin rite. The Church was dedicated to the Virgin Mary and there were elevated two hospitals for women and men. For some believers, Jerusalem was the place where Christ was crucified and the place where He will make the judgment²⁶. The spirit of pilgrimage was changing into the spirit of the reconquest, of the crusade. The supreme desire of Christians has become not only the pious purpose of the travel, but also a desire to possess the object. In addition, the papacy, under the impulse of the Gregorian reform, saw these movements as an opportunity to increase his power: the imposition of the peace among the Christians in the West and the convocation of the Christendom under his authority to launch the fight against the Islam²⁷.

Pilgrimage implied a double preparation: material and spiritual. In terms of moral, the pilgrims were purifying themselves by correcting the evil committed, returning the goods unjustly acquired, making donations and, especially, confessing

²¹ Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, trad. de Carol Sweetenham (Robert the Monk's history of the first crusade), col. Crusade Texts in Translations 11, Ashgate, 2005, II.2, pp. 90-91.

²² Jean Richard, *Françs et Orientaux dans le monde des croisades*, Ashgate Variorum, 2003, p. 213.

²³ Bailly August, *Byzance*, Paris, 1939, p. 317.

²⁴ For pilgrimages undertaken in the East see Louis Bréhier, *Les Croisades*, Librairie Lecoffre J. Gabalda et Fils, Paris, 1928, pp. 10-15, 40-45.

²⁵ Paul Alphandéry, Alphonse Dupront, *op.cit.*, pp. 14-15.

²⁶ Charles Mills, *op.cit.*, p. 15.

²⁷ Jacques le Goff, *Le Moyen Age*, Bordas, Paris, 1962, p. 79.

their sins. In terms of material, the preparation has consisted in the choosing the specific clothes and carrying the cross. The Crusaders were wearing a tunic over the other clothes as a sign of their humility. For the expeditions to Jerusalem, they wore a white flag with a red cross²⁸. The Cross was representing the unity sign that provided a practical method of the recruitment and the reunion; preachers have found it an inexhaustible source of evangelical reference and exhortations. This was seen as a sign of salvation, and the symbol of the Christian armies²⁹. In other circumstances, the Holy Cross was used in a diplomatic context; parts of it were donated to ambassadors of the Holy Land or were sent to the Western personalities³⁰.

In what concerns the pilgrimage routes in the XI-XII centuries, these followed generally old Roman routes benefiting from an adequate infrastructure³¹. Charlemagne's route would have followed three main stages: from Saint-Denis to Hungary, from Hungary to Anatolia and from Anatolia to Jerusalem. In the First Crusade, shortly before the composition of the *Pilgrimage of Charlemagne*, Godfrey of Bouillon, direct descendant of Charlemagne, chose the route via Lorena, continues through Regensburg, Vienna and Hungary, then Belgrade, Sofia and Constantinople³².

Whether it was a penitential pilgrimage in which dominated the idea of following Jesus, or even the martyrdom idea, whether just war to retake the Holy Places, the *iter Ierosolimitanorum* constitutes a phenomenon that reveals a series of eschatological tensions³³. The chroniclers of the First Crusade didn't hesitate to interpret the events in a theological key, these being prefigured in the Old Testament³⁴. The physical encounter with the place where the Savior arose represents a constant of pilgrimage ever since Antiquity. The journey to Jerusalem is depicting Abraham leaving the Chaldean land. As the pilgrimage became a collective reality, the similarities with the Old Testament are obvious: pilgrims going to the Holy City are likened to Jews who were heading to the promised land.

²⁸ Régnier-Bohler, *Croisades et pèlerinages*, XXI. The cross is one of the four fundamental symbols of antiquity along to the center, circle and square. Christian tradition has substantially enriched the symbolism of the cross in this picture condensing suffering and salvation history taken by Jesus Christ. In Christianity the cross is associated with the second person of the Trinity. Jean Chevalier, Alain Gheerbrant, *Dictionnaire des symboles*, Robert Lafont/Jupiter, Paris, 1982, pp. 318-327.

²⁹ Paul Rousset, *Histoire d'une idéologie. La croisade*, Éditions L'Age d'Homme, Lausanne, 1983, p. 58.

³⁰ Jonathan Phillips, *The crusades: 1095-1197...*, p. 119.

³¹ Annalee C. Rejhon, *L'itinéraire de Saint-Denis à la Terre sainte dans le Pèlerinage de Charlemagne à Jerusalem et à Constantinople (British Library MS Royal 16.E.VIII)*, in *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, LXXXIII, 2005, p. 829.

³² Annalee C. Rejhon, *op.cit.*, pp. 830- 832.

³³ For the idea of Christian eschatology See also Jacques Le Goff, *Escatologia*, in *Enciclopedia Einaudi*, V, Turin, 1978, pp. 712-746; Christopher Tyerman, *The Invention of the Crusades*, Macmillan Press LTD, London, 1998, p. 10.

³⁴ André Vauchez, *Les composantes eschatologiques de l'idée de croisade*, in: *Le Concile de Clermont de 1095 et l'appel à la croisade*, Collection de l'École française de Rome, CCXXXVI, École Française de Rome, Palais Farnèse, 1997, p. 233.

The pilgrimage becomes a new exodus³⁵. The holy expedition represents a way of meeting the *parousia*, the fulfillment of times, constituting one of the most significant gestures by which the humanity is trying to come out from the historical time³⁶. The debt of the Jerusalem deliverance constituted a preliminary step, but the real objective of the soldiers of Christ was the theophany meeting associated to the promise of the second coming of the Savior (Luke XVII, 20-21), by which the people were entered into eternal life in God's presence. Under the influence of the Old Testament, the searching of collective salvation becomes gradually a popular enterprise. On the other hand, under the effect of Reconquista, took shape the concept of war for God; the fight for the deliverance of the Holy Sepulcher was rewardable and death brought the status of martyr. Also, the war was legitimized by the regaining from the infidels of the Holy Places, the legacy of Christ, which could only belong to Christianity³⁷. The texts of the first sacred expedition emphasize the theme of the divine election of the Crusader troops³⁸. The victory provides the salvation of the Christian knights, the possession of the holy land giving the right to eternal pilgrimage³⁹. The crusade became for its participants and for contemporaries the mark of the time achievement, marked by the meeting of all nations around the Jerusalem, the Holy City and the center of the world.

At the time of the holy expeditions triggering there is a climate of eschatological expectation, both in the Christian population and in the clergy; it is not a tense expectation of the end of the world but a mixture of beliefs and expectations maintained by the various circulating texts⁴⁰. Many Christians had lived a latent anxiety and, meditating on the Gospel, created a virtue of this agitation. The first chronicles insist on the idea of the poor people's election to inherit the divine kingdom, not the heavenly as the terrestrial one. Guillaume de Tyr describes the condition of Christians after the conquest of Jerusalem in 1070 and shows the signs foreshadowing the end of the world: the discords, disagreements, wars, natural disasters, famines and earthquakes⁴¹. The spiritual climate was biasing the inversion of the established social order, the eschatological expectation constituting an expression of the opposition between rich and poor, strong and weak. Participating in the first holy expedition was considered by some as an alternative to enter into religious life. The contemporaries perceived those who march to the Holy Land as a nomadic abbey; day and night were performed services and the soldiers were devoting to asceticism and brotherhood - as in the apostolic age, when all goods were in common - enduring the religious exile, temporal, which

³⁵ Paul Alphandéry, Alphonse Dupront, *op.cit.*, p. 22.

³⁶ Alphonse Dupront, *Du sacré. Croisades et pèlerinages. Images et langages*, Editions Gallimard, Paris, 1987, p. 290.

³⁷ Michel Balard, *Croisades et Orient latin (XI^e-XIV^e siècles)*, Armand Colin, Paris, 2001, p. 9.

³⁸ André Vauchez, *op.cit.*, p. 235. Alfred J. Andrea, *Innocent III, the fourth crusade and the coming Apocalypse*, in: *The Medieval Crusade*, ed. Susan J. Ridyard, The Boydell Press, Woodbridge, 2004, p. 97.

³⁹ Alphonse Dupront, *op.cit.*, pp. 254-255.

⁴⁰ Guibert de Nogent, *Geste de Dieu par les Francs. Histoire de la première croisade*, trad. de Monique-Cécile Garand, Brepols, 1998, II, 4, p. 81; André Vauchez, *op.cit.*, p. 238.

⁴¹ Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique du Royaume Franc....*, I, VIII, p. 15.

led to a monastic life and not a military one⁴². There is the belief that Christ's soldiers perform an act of the collective penitence, paying the debt to God for the sins committed, which was distinguished this operation from other holy wars⁴³. The second canon of the Council of Clermont indicates that the holy expedition was replacing any form of penitence for the Crusaders who made the trip to Jerusalem from pure devotion and not to gain fame and riches⁴⁴. Since the council of Piacenza (Plaisance) held in March 1095, Pope Urban II was assimilating the departure in pilgrimage to absolute penitence and was promising those who confessed their sins the joy of the heaven when they were dying while traveling⁴⁵. According to Peter Tudebode, the first crusaders accepted the martyrdom in Christ⁴⁶. In the vision of Guibert of Nogent, the barbarian and pagan attack were determining God to inspire the holy wars, which became the means by which the knights and sinners could earn the salvation⁴⁷. The penitential nature of the crusade is explained by the liturgical dimension of the events. The first athletes of Christ were beginning each new action fasting. In June 1099, they organized a procession around Jerusalem which was still occupied by Muslims. When in 1219 the siege of Damietta was not developing in favor of Christians, the clergy instituted three days of fasting with bread and water and decreed that, in every Saturday, the army to organize a procession on foot, singing psalms and prayers⁴⁸.

In the eleventh century, the Orient was known to Europeans from the stories of the pilgrims and merchants, who often did not go further than Constantinople and recounted what they had heard from the other traders or travelers, about a far and unknown world. It was a fairytale world, hidden in mystery, which was sliding into fantastic imaginary, in accordance with the European spiritual horizon of the eleventh century and the degree of the geographical knowledge of the people from that time⁴⁹. For this period are attested around 7000 pilgrimage to the Holy Land, many of them led by the respectable persons such archbishop of Mainz, Bamberg, Utrecht, Ratisbon⁵⁰. In 1026-1027, 700 Christians, led by a French abbot visited Palestine; also during that time Guillaume, Count of Angoulême, accompanied by several abbots from Western France and a large number of nobles, undertook a journey to Jerusalem. The most famous pilgrimage took place between the years 1064-1065, when over 7000 people under the guidance of Bishop of Bamberg – Gunther, visited Holy Places. The pilgrims passed through Constantinople and Asia Minor, and after several losses, they

⁴² Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The crusades, christianity and islam*, Columbia University Press, New York, 2008, p. 32.

⁴³ Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana...*, II, 6, p. 82.

⁴⁴ Pilgrimage and Crusade represented two complementary realities. See also Christopher Tyerman, *The Invention of the Crusades*, Macmillan Press LTD, London, 1998, p. 20.

⁴⁵ Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique du Royaume Franc...*, I, XIV-XV, pp. 26-27.

⁴⁶ Stéphen de Goy, *Mémoires de l'historien Pierre Tudebode...*, p. 54.

⁴⁷ Guibert de Nogent, *Geste de Dieu par les Francs...*, I, 1, p. 53.

⁴⁸ J. Riley-Smith, *The crusades, christianity...*, p. 34.

⁴⁹ Florentina Căzan, *Cruciadele. Momente de confluență între două civilizații și culturi*, Ed. Academiei Române, București, 1990, p. 38.

⁵⁰ For Western pilgrimages to the Holy Land, see Claude Cahen, *Orient et Occident au temps des Croisades*, Aubier, Paris, 2010, pp. 44-51.

arrived. Sources affirm that only 2 000 people returned from this mystical journey⁵¹. In 1035, Robert the Magnificent, Duke of Normandy, arrives in Orient with a large crowd of believers⁵². Around 1085, Count Robert I of Flanders, following the natural tendency of the time, wanted to expiate his sins following the penitential path of the pilgrimage. On his road back from Jerusalem to Europe, he visited the court of Constantinople. He promised Alexios 500 riders and didn't hesitate to entrust the Byzantine emperor of his help. After the conquest of Palestine by the Turks, began to appear bands of armed pilgrims to be able to defend against the new threats appeared. The Christians, who are often robbed by the bands of thieves, are solemnly received by the patriarch and are organizing a procession around the Holy Sepulcher, with lights and noise of bells⁵³. The religious devotion is pushing many of them to be baptized in the Jordan River and to kiss all the holy places that have been visited by Jesus Christ. The Western pilgrims had played a fundamental role in maintaining the interest of the Christians to the Holy Places. Returned to their country, they have systematically informed their countrymen about the sufferance and persecution endured by the believers in Jerusalem, considering a shame that followers of Christ should live in misery in place which was consecrated by His presence⁵⁴. It seems that Pope Sylvester II (999-1003) has planned a crusade, which resulted in only a few incursions of the Pisani on the coasts of Syria. One of the consequences of the Latin states creation in the East, as a result of the first holy expedition, was the growing number of pilgrims to the Holy Places, associated with the place where Jesus was sacrificed. Among the pilgrims were distinguished Western personalities: the King Eric of Denmark and his wife, the Count Henry of Portugal, Hugh - Count of Campagne, Pons - abbot of Cluny⁵⁵. The German pilgrim Theodoric was mentioning that the Latin were going there because those places were illuminated by the presence of Jesus and the Virgin Mary, and the patriarchs, prophets and apostles, had lived and suffered martyrdom there⁵⁶.

Although the pilgrimage to Jerusalem was an existing practice from early times of Christianity, the Crusades period marked the increasing of the journeys to the Holy Places of Christendom. The liberation of the Holy Sepulcher occupied by the Muslims had a purifying role, and the journey to Jerusalem was ensuring the forgiveness of the sins and the acquirement of the heavenly rewards by the pilgrims. The relics and Holy Cross were the special attractions for the believers who wanted to expiate their mistakes. The terrestrial Jerusalem, an imperfect copy of the heavenly Jerusalem, the place where the Savior was crucified and arose, represented a guarantee for the acquirement of spiritual merits attached to the idea of pilgrimage. The departure in travel for the diseases healing, for sins' expiation, avoiding conflicts or giving thanks for the blessings received, constituted common

⁵¹ A. A. Vasiliev, *Istoria Imperiului Bizantin*, trad. și note de Ionuț-Alexandru Tudorie, Vasile-Adrian Carabă, Sebastian-Laurențiu Nazăru, Ed. Polirom, Iași, 2010, pp. 392-393.

⁵² Paul Alphandéry, Alphonse Dupront, *op.cit.*, p. 43.

⁵³ Charles Mills, *op.cit.*, p. 16.

⁵⁴ Charles Mills, *op.cit.*, p. 23; A.A. Vasiliev, *op.cit.*, p. 393.

⁵⁵ Jonathan Phillips, *The second crusade: Extending the frontiers of christendom*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 2007, p. 34.

⁵⁶ Jonathan Phillips, *The crusades: 1095-1197.....*, pp. 115-119.

causes for the visiting of Holy Places. The death in the Holy City was equivalent to gaining heaven. Also, the eschatological waiting climate that dominated the era and the desire to participate in the second coming of the Messiah that was to happen in Jerusalem stimulated the believers masses to direct themselves to the Holy Land. Together religious motivations, some pilgrims were attracted by the possibilities of acquiring riches that were offered by Orient. The material preparation to leave in expedition was accompanied by the spiritual one, and the path usually followed the old Roman routes which was enjoying proper infrastructure. The pilgrimage to Jerusalem contributed to the increasing of the cultural, social and military exchange between the West and East, and to effective collaboration between the two Christian worlds against the Muslim enemy⁵⁷.

⁵⁷This article has benefited of financial support through the project "Path of academic excellence in doctoral and post-doctoral research - READ", Contract no. POSDRU/159/1.5/S/137926, project co-financed from the European Social Fund through the Sectorial Operational Programme Human Resources Development 2007-2013.

BALDWIN OF FLANDERS – THE FIRST LATIN EMPEROR OF CONSTANTINOPLE

*Ion Alexandru MIZGAN**

Abstract: *Baldwin I (approx. 1172-1205), the first Latin Emperor of Constantinople, was among the most prominent personalities of the Fourth Crusade. In 1200 Baldwin took the Cross, and after the conquest of Constantinople in 1204, supported by the Venetians, he became the first Latin Emperor of Constantinople, recognized as such by Pope Innocent III. In his capacity as emperor of Constantinople, in 1205 he came into conflict with Ioniță Kaloyan, King of the Romanian-Bulgarians in the known battle of Adrianople where Baldwin fell prisoner and was soon executed.*

Keywords: *Constantinople, Hagia Sophia, empire, Venice, emperor*

Baldwin I (approx. 1172-1205), the first Latin Emperor of Constantinople, was among the most prominent personalities of the Fourth Crusade. He was born around 1172 and was the son of Count Baldwin V of Hainaut and Countess Margaret I of Flanders¹. He married Marie de Champagne, daughter of Count Henry I of Champagne². When his mother Margaret died in 1194 Baldwin became count of Flanders, and at the death of his father in 1195 he inherited the County of Hainaut.

The taking of the Cross

Caught in the fever of the preparations for a new crusade on February 23, 1200, in Bruges, Count Baldwin of Flanders took the Cross. Baldwin was known as a pious and righteous man, generous to the poor and gracious to the clergy. His wife, Maria, the sister of Thibaut of Champagne, was also moved by the spirit of the Great Lent, of sacrifice, of Jesus Christ sacrifice, and she also assumed the burden of the crusade, along with her husband. After that, the two Baldwin brothers, Henry and Eustace and other Flemish nobles made an oath. Count Baldwin of Flanders, perhaps the most powerful of all vassals of the French King, was, at 28 years old a leader who had earned a reputation throughout Europe for his political acumen. Baldwin proved his military ability by the victory gained over Philip

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¹ Robert Lee Wolff, *Baldwin of Flanders and Hainaut, First Latin Emperor of Constantinople: His Life, Death and Resurrection, 1172-1225*, in „Speculum”, 27 (3)1952 p. 281.

² Theodore Evergates, *Aristocratic Women in Medieval France*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999, p. 127.

Augustus and showed to be a great diplomat, entering into an alliance with England, forcing Philip to accept the Treaty of Peronne³.

In the course of the Fourth Crusade, Count Baldwin of Flanders took a leading role as he was entrusted important missions during the battle for the conquest of Constantinople. Villehardouin depicts in his Chronicle how the crusading army was divided. Most industrious and experienced knights were under the command of Baldwin of Flanders, as he was entrusted the vanguard of the Crusading army.

Baldwin also attended all meetings and treaties concluded between the Venetians and the French. During the latest attack against Constantinople, the Crusade leaders met again to establish certain coordinates to help them in case they obtained a victory. Villehardouin informs us that in March 1204, the Crusaders signed a new agreement, this time between Doge Enrico Dandolo, on the one hand and Boniface of Montferrat, Baldwin of Flanders, Louis of Blois and Hugh of Saint Pol, on the other hand. All these leaders controlled most of Crusaders. The Treaty began with a commitment of both sides to launch a vigorous attack on Constantinople⁴. They agreed that if God helped them win the city, the entire catch would be brought together for a fair sharing. Since the Venetians lost 150,000 marks when young Alexios was assassinated, it was decided that three parts of the booty would return to Venetians and one part to the French Crusaders. Supplies were to be divided equally from the beginning. If the booty was to overcome the debts of Alexios IV to them, it was set for the booty to be divided equally between the French and Venetians, under the Treaty concluded between them in Venice⁵. The Treaty included the fall of Constantinople and the choice of a king. In this case, they decided that six French and six Venetians would decide the choice of a new king from among the French or the Venetians, who would be most suitable for this dignity⁶. The king chosen would receive a quarter of all gains and hold both palaces: the Grand Palace and Blacherne. The other three remaining quarters would be divided equally between the French and the Venetians. If the Emperor was French, the Venetians were entitled to church Saint Sophia and to the election of the patriarch and vice versa⁷. Also, twelve French Crusaders and twelve Venetians would be chosen to allocate imperial fiefs. The agreement was concluded provided that in March the following year, everyone was free to go where they wanted⁸.

³Donald E. Queller and Thomas F. Madden, *The Fourth Crusade. The Conquest of Constantinople*, Second Edition, with an essay on primary sources by Alfred J. Andrea, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1997, p. 5.

⁴A. A. Vasiliev, *Istoria Imperiului bizantin (History of the Byzantine Empire)*, translation by Ionuț-Alexandru Tudorie, Vasile-Adrian Carabă, Sebastian-Laurențiu Nazăru, introductory study by Ionuț-Alexandru Tudorie, Polirom Publishing House, Iași, 2010, p. 441.

⁵Donald E. Queller and Thomas F. Madden, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

⁶Joseph Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy: 1198-1400*, Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, New Jersey, p. 25.

⁷Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, volume III, *The Kingdom of Acre and the Later Crusades*, Cambridge at the University Press, London, 1954, p. 121.

⁸Goffroy de Villehardouin, *Cucerirea Constantinopolului (The Conquest of Constantinople)*, translation and notes by Tatiana Ana Fluiaru, edition coordinated and Foreword by Ovidiu Pecican, Limes Publishing House, Cluj, 2002, p. 110-111.

Also, the treaty stipulated that the king could not do business with any state while he was at war with Venice. Finally, they swore they would bring the booty together, that they would not use force against women and that they would not devastate any monastery or church⁹.

Emperor of Constantinople

After the conquest of Constantinople by the Crusaders another problem was the election of the new emperor in Constantinople. Boniface of Montferrat was one of the favorites to the throne. By marrying Margaret, widow of Isaac II, he belonged to the dynasty and was well known among the Greeks and took possession of the Grand Palace. A serious rival of the Marquis to the throne of Byzantium was Count Baldwin of Flanders, who had occupied the Blacherne palace. Following discussions on the subject, tensions arose between Western peoples. Under the agreement signed in March, the French and the Venetians had to delegate six voters each for the designation of the future king¹⁰. In a series of discussions, the supporters of Baldwin and Boniface had a fight for choosing their favorite person. Discussions were very heated, and their leaders suggested for the winner to give to the looser land in eastern Constantinople, Baldwin and Boniface agreeing to this proposal. Finally, both sides agreed to elect the members of the high clergy, saying they would be impartial. The six chosen by the French were Nivelon of Soissons, Garnier of Troyes, Conrad of Halberstad, Peter of Bethune, John of Acre and Peter of Locedio¹¹. Venetians had fewer discussions for the designation of their electors. Dandolo chose four men who swore on the holy relics that they would choose the best six electors. Shortly before the meeting of voters on May 9, Doge Enrico Dandolo suggested Crusade leaders such as Boniface and Baldwin to evacuate their residences, namely the imperial palaces where they lived. Both palaces were well fortified and the Doge wanted to ensure that the one who lost the election would not try to ignore the vote result by force of arms. After the imperial palaces were abandoned, the 12 voters gathered in the palace of Dandolo, who was probably the patriarchal palace. The twelve gathered in a rich chapel of the same patriarchal palace. The nobles waited near the palace, probably in the other wing of the patriarchal ensemble or in the Senate building. It unknown how long the meeting voters lasted or what was discussed during the process of election of the king. Venetian voters favored Baldwin of Flanders. They considered him to be an honest and conscientious man who had fulfilled his promises to Venice. Boniface, on the other hand, was a proponent of the Republic of Genoa, one of the rivals of Venice in Constantinople¹². Boniface's attachment to Angeli also worried the Venetians, who feared that he might become as evil as Isaac II and Alexius III. With six votes from the Venetians, Baldwin of Flanders only needed one vote from the French voters. Finally, Baldwin was elected unanimously, and around midnight the Bishop

⁹Donald E. Queller and Thomas F. Madden, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

¹⁰*Ibidem*, p. 200.

¹¹*Ibidem*, p. 201.

¹²*Ibidem*.

Nivelon of Soissons announced the election of Baldwin of Flanders. He was taken to the Grand Palace where they began preparations for his coronation¹³.

The event of the coronation of the Emperor in Byzantium had always been a great event. In this case, the leaders of the French and Venetian nobles rode in procession from the Grand Palace to the church of St. Sophia, where Baldwin was enthroned in a special way, as the Roman emperors, his crown consisting of many gems, as all his garments. Baldwin was accompanied in the procession by Louis of Blois, Hugh of Saint Paul and Boniface of Montferrat, who held the imperial crown which he had just lost in favor of Baldwin. The new king knelt before the altar, where he was anointed king after being crowned and blessed by the Crusade bishops who had proclaimed him emperor¹⁴. King Baldwin listened to the Mass in his throne and then left the United Church. In front of the church he sat on a white horse and went to the Grand Palace, where on a stately throne he received compliments of Western nobles and cheers from the Greeks. With this event, the Latin mastering of Constantinople began, which lasted until 1261 when Emperor Michael VIII Palaeologus would recapture the great city from the Latins¹⁵. The guilt and involvement of Pope Innocent I can be seen in the way he personally reacted to the conquest of Constantinople. His first reaction to the news of the conquest of the city was one of great joy and satisfaction. In various letters, including in the response to a letter that was sent by Emperor Baldwin, the first Latin Emperor of Constantinople, the Pope expressed his support for the crusade. He assured Baldwin of "*approval without restraint*" for the Crusaders' feat in Constantinople¹⁶.

The division of Byzantium

After the election of Baldwin I as Latin Emperor of Constantinople, the first concern of the Crusading Knights was to divide the conquered territories between the participants in this military expedition. For "Romania's" division, namely of conquered Byzantine territories, they took into account the conditions set by the barons of Fourth Crusade in March 1204. Constantinople was divided thus between Latin Emperor Baldwin and the Doge of Venice, Enrico Dandolo¹⁷. The King received five eighths and the Doge Dandolo the other three-eighths and Saint Sophia.

¹³ *Ibidem*, p. 202.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*.

¹⁵ Ion Alexandru Mizgan, *Recucerirea Constantinopolului de către bizantini în timpul împăratului Mihail al VIII-lea Paleologul (Re-conquest of Constantinople by the Byzantines under Emperor Michael VIII Palaeologus)*, în „Analele Universității din Oradea”, Series Istorie-Arheologie (History-Archeology), Tom XI, Oradea, 2001, p. 52-64.

¹⁶ Arhiepiscop Chrysostomos, *Relațiile dintre ortodocși și romano catolici de la Cruciada a IV-a la controversa isihastă (Relations between the Orthodox and Roman Catholics from the Fourth Crusade to the Hesychastic Controversy)*, translation by Raluca Popescu and Mihaela Precup, Vremea Publishing House, Bucharest, 2001, p. 50.

¹⁷ Even before this time Baldwin of Flanders collaborated with Doge Enrico Dandolo in various commercial business. A document from October 1202 stored at the State Archives of Venice (SAV) shows that Baldwin of Flanders engaged before Doge Enrico Dandolo that he would pay a sum of money for four Venetian nobles (SAV, MISCELANA, *Atti Diplomatici e privati*, busta 2, c. 58).

Also, Baldwin received the territory in southern Thrace and a small part of northwestern Asia Minor, adjoining the Bosphorus, the Sea of Marmara and Hellespont. Baldwin also recovered some of the Aegean islands such as: Lesbos, Chios, Samos etc.¹⁸. Moreover, Baldwin had to receive a quarter of the entire territory of the empire. Of the remaining three-quarters, half went to the Venetians and the rest was distributed among the knights as an imperial fief¹⁹.

Boniface of Montferrat received territories in Asia Minor, and after a disagreement with Baldwin, which could escalate into an armed conflict between Latinos he received Thessaloniki and the neighboring territories of Macedonia and the north of Thessaly which formed the kingdom of Thessalonica under the leadership of Boniface who was a vassal of the emperor of Constantinople²⁰. Boniface of Montferrat then turned to Athens, which he conquered²¹. Romanian historian George Murnu shows that a lot of Boniface's nobles received lands and cities, as his vassals. Wirich of Daun and Rolando of Piscia received Kitri, Pydna and Platamona cities, in the north of Thessaly. Count Berthold of Katzellenbogen received Velestino and the old Pherrae and Lombard noble Guglielmo acquired Larisa city. Brothers Albertino and Rolandino of Canassa received Thessaly Thebes and the surroundings of the Pagasetic Gulf²².

Venetians had ensured the best return of the division of the territories conquered by the Byzantines. The Republic of St. Mark would take possession of cities such as Dyrrachion and Ragusa on the Adriatic coast, and port towns Koroni and Modon in Peloponnese. Venice had established its new power by annexing the most important ports and islands. Venice received the Ionian Islands, Crete, the largest of the islands of the Archipelago with Euboea, Andros and Naxos, the most important port cities of the Hellespont and the Sea of Marmara: Gallipoli, Rhaedestos and Heraclea, and Adrianople within the imperial Thrace²³. As shown, of Constantinople Venice was entitled to three-eighths, the other five eighths remaining in the possession of emperor. Doge of Venice called himself "*Lord of a quarter of the Roman Empire*", and when the princes of France had to pay homage to the Emperor of Constantinople, the Doge was exempt from this oath, under the Treaty. This title was used by doges until the middle of the fourteenth century²⁴. Thus, the Republic of Venice created in the Orient a powerful colonial empire, the Venetians controlling the entire sea route of Venice in Constantinople²⁵. According to the treaty signed between the Venetians and French, Saint Sophia belonged to the Venetian clergy and a Venetian Thommaso Morossini was appointed to the

¹⁸ A. A. Vasiliev, *op. cit.*, p. 443.

¹⁹ Maria Georgescu, *Istoria Bizanțului (Byzantine History)*, Cetatea de Scaun Publishing House, Târgoviște, 2007, p. 197.

²⁰ A. A. Vasiliev, *op.cit.*, p. 433; Maria Georgescu, *op.cit.*, p. 197.

²¹ A. A. Vasiliev, *op. cit.*, p. 444.

²² George Murnu, *Studii istorice privitoare la trecutul românilor de peste Dunăre*, (Historical Studies about the History of Romanians over the Danube) edition coordinated and introductory study by Nicolae - Șerban Țoca, București, 1984, p. 130.

²³ Maria Georgescu, *op.cit.*, p. 197.

²⁴ A. A. Vasiliev, *op.cit.*, p. 443.

²⁵ Maria Georgescu, *op.cit.*, p. 197.

patriarchal throne and became head of the Latin church of the new empire created in Constantinople²⁶.

After conquering the big city, instead of the Byzantine Empire seven countries were established: the Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204-1261), three Greek states (Empire of Nicaea from 1204 to 1261, the Empire of Trebizond from 1204 to 1461, the Despotate of Epirus from 1204 to 1337) The Franc Despotate of Morea in the Peloponnese, with its capital at Mistra, the Latin Principality of Achaia and the one from Adrianople²⁷.

Count Baldwin of Flanders was crowned, as we have shown, as the first Latin Emperor of Constantinople under the name of *Baldwin I (1204-1205)*. Pope Innocent III recognized him shortly as Latin Emperor of Constantinople. Baldwin quickly replaced the imperial Byzantine system with a feudal system similar to the one from Western Europe and divided the possessions of the empire among his knights, who became local rulers of territories that used to belong until that time to the Byzantine nobles. Romanian Byzantinist Stelian Brezeanu said in a recent work dedicated to the Byzantine Empire: "*The Latin Conquest of Byzantine metropolis was followed by the implantation, by violence, of a Western pyramid-like society in the Greek area, from political institutions to social and economic infrastructure. On top of this pyramid was the Latin King and the Catholic patriarch, which ruled over a kingdom, over principalities, the barons and lords, and over a Latin ecclesiastical hierarchy; under this political and religious super-structure there was an infrastructure made up of the huge mass of dependent peasants, overwhelmingly Greek, subject to the legal order of conquerors*"²⁸.

Following the division of territories, Baldwin became ruler over territories of Peloponnese, Athens, Thessaloniki, Thebes and other parts of mainland Greece²⁹. Most historians of this period found that the new Latin Empire with its capital in Constantinople was not characterized by imperial hegemony as it was a rather confusing political creation, its territories being divided between the French and the Venetians, the Venetians gaining enormous economic power, controlling all waterways from Constantinople, while the French had proved in many ways powerless³⁰. Also, King Baldwin had to deal with the imposing figure of Boniface of Montferrat. After Baldwin was elected emperor of Constantinople, Boniface received territories in Asia Minor, aiming to acquire other territories, and eventually founding a Latin kingdom in Thessaloniki. Because many nobles depended on the military aid of Boniface to strengthen their positions, he included Athens, Thebes with the whole Thessaly and Macedonia under his jurisdiction. Also, Boniface

²⁶ A. A. Vasiliev, *op.cit.*, p. 443.

²⁷ Ioan Marin Mălinaș, *Regeste și Registre de la Constantinopol și Roma, din prima jumătate a sec. al XIII-lea, privitoare la primatul Vasile I și la împăratul Ioniță Caloian, din Târnovo (Registers of Constantinople and Rome in the first half of the 13th century, concerning the primacy Basil I and the emperor Ionita Kaloyan from Tarnovo)*, Oradea, 2000, p. 38.

²⁸ Stelian Brezeanu, *Istoria Imperiului bizantin (History of Byzantine Empire)*, Meronia Publishing House, Bucharest 2007, p. 307-308.

²⁹ Archbishop Chrysostomos, *op.cit.*, p. 94.

³⁰ George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, New Brunswick, New Jersey, Rutgers University Press, 1969, p. 423-424.

became a powerful threat to the prestige and actual political power of the Latin emperor of Constantinople³¹. The two Western chroniclers of the Fourth Crusade show in their writings the divergence between Baldwin and Boniface, published shortly after Baldwin's enthronement regarding Boniface's claims to receive Thessaloniki³².

At war with Ioniță Kaloyan

In addition to the fact that he exercised very little power over most areas of the empire, Baldwin clashed with Romanian-Bulgarian peoples, which was a fatal error for the Westerns. The incident that caused this conflict was the revolt of the Byzantine nobles in Thrace, to whom Latin conquerors promised that they would be able to keep possessions. Also, they were guaranteed the rights over feudal domains in exchange of the military service or of the fulfillment of military obligations. The Latins refused, however, to honor initial pledges. Exactly at the same time, Vlach-Bulgarian Tsar Ioniță Kaloyan, whose brothers Peter and Asan liberated much of the Balkans from the Byzantine domination in 1185, came into conflict with the Latin Empire³³. Ioniță Kaloyan, whose reign ended in 1207, briefly acknowledged the papacy, and was even crowned by the pope. Finally, he rejected papal domination and the Latins and returned to the Orthodox Church, offering shelter to Patriarch John X of Constantinople, after the great city was conquered by the Latins. So, when the rebellion in Thrace took place and the Byzantines asked for the help of Ioniță Kaloyan he offered it to them. Villehardouin records in his chronicle that alongside the Romanian and Bulgarians about 14,000 Cumans had participated in the fight³⁴. Baldwin himself led an army against the one led by Ioniță Kaloyan, but in the decisive battle of Adrianople in Thrace, from April 14, 1205 he was captured and later executed in captivity³⁵. Shortly after the disappearance of Latin emperor of Constantinople, he was appointed regent of Henry's Empire, brother of the Emperor Baldwin³⁶.

³¹ Archbishop Chrysostomos, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

³² Geoffroy de Villehardouin, *op. cit.*, p. 127-137; Robert de Clari, *Cei care au cucerit Constantinopolul (Those Who Conquered Constantinople)*, Edition by Tatiana-Ana Fluieraru and Ovidiu Pecican, translation by Tatiana-Ana Fluieraru, Limes Publishing House, Cluj-Napoca, 2005, p. 157-161.

³³ Maria Georgescu, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

³⁴ Geoffroy de Villehardouin, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

³⁵ Warren Treadgold, *O scurtă istorie a Bizanțului (A Short History of Byzantium)*, translation by Mirella Acsente, Artemis Publishing House, 2003, p. 227.

³⁶ Geoffroy de Villehardouin, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

PLEADINGS FOR THE HERMENEUTICS OF A TEXT: THE REGISTER OF ORADEA

*Sorin ȘIPOȘ**

Abstract: *Our analysis focused on describing the ritual preceding the fire trial by investigating and analyzing the words and gestures important in terms of their presence and religious, symbolic charge and, obviously, their degree of repeatability. Our main documentary source is the Register of Oradea. The judgment assumes that God the Father, Jesus Christ and the other saints of the Christian Church act on believers through messages, signs and events. A special ritual was needed to prepare the atmosphere, one that set the stage for carrying the red-hot iron.*

Somewhat naturally, one finds in the document a number of terms requesting divine help. Their frequency is rather high, as they are mentioned 27 times. The terms for invoking help and the frequency of the invocation are as follows: to bless – bless 12 times, condescend 3 times, to pray – we pray 9 times, to descend 3 times. Invocation is addressed to the hierarchy of the Christian Church as follows: God, Jesus Christ, Holy Spirit, Lord Jesus, Holy Trinity, God. They are invoked to take part in the act of judgement and are recorded 67 times in the text.

Of the 389 minutes of the judgements recorded in front of the Chapter of Oradea, in 272 cases it came to the hot iron trial, i.e. in 69,92 %. In other words, in most cases, those concerned finally decided to clarify the situation by resorting to the hot iron trial.

Keywords: *the Register of Oradea, Chapter, judgement, invocation, God*

Introduction

A lot has been written on the Register of Oradea, especially by the specialists in the history of law. An important contribution by a collective coordinated by historian Șerban Turcuș¹ has recently been published.

The toponym of Oradea (Varadinum) is recorded in a diploma of the Benedictine abbey of Zobor, being mentionem among the names of the hierarchs in the kingdom and of the Bishop Syxtus Varadiensis and the Count Saul de Bychar². King Coloman confirmed with his seal the recording of the villages and their borders with the monastery of Zobor. In other words, this was not a donation, but an authentication of an already existing possession, the king acknowledging the reality

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¹ Șerban Turcuș (coordinator), Adinel Dincă, Mihai Hasan, Victor Vizauer, *Antroponimia în Transilvania medievală (secolele XI-XIV). Evaluare statistică, evoluție, semnificații*, vol. I-II, Cluj-Napoca, 2011, 370 p.

² *Documente privind istoria României*, Seria C, Transilvania, vol. I (1075-1250), p. 2.

already in place. We must also specify that before that, in 1111, there was recorded a Sixtus Bichariensis³. King Ladislaus' sanctification on June 27, 1192 and bringing Saint Ladislaus' relics to Oradea, a bishopric seat, produced a real effervescence in the number of trials carried on in front of the chapter and, later, of King Ladislaus the Saint's tomb⁴.

The fire trial is an ancient, pre-Christian practice, also used after Christianization of the peoples in Europe. Ordeals or God's judgement were a common judicial procedure in the West since the early Middle Ages, with precedents in the Antiquity⁵. It is not the only pre-Christian practice that has crossed the centuries, being Christianized by the Church⁶. Court proceedings by hot iron trial (ordeals) were characteristic for Transylvanian Catholic chapters in the first half of the 13th century⁷. From the processes carried on before the chapter of the Church of Oradea, 389 minutes of such trials between 1208-1225 have been preserved⁸.

The related historiography described the way a judgement by fire trial went on. The fire trial was not always used. On the day fixed for hearing, the defendant appeared before the judge who investigated the charge, heard the witnesses and if not convinced of their validity, ordered the parties to appear before the Chapter of Oradea to undergo the trial⁹. In judgement, the defendant was obliged to carry in his hand over a distance of 9-12 steps a hot iron weighing from one to three pounds. i.e. between 0,5 kg and 1,5 kg¹⁰, as he was indicated, according to the rules prescribed in the chapter's order¹¹. Then the hand of the defendant was bound and a seal was applied on it to prevent any intervention on the wound¹². After a few days, between 3 and 8 days, the seal was broken and the defendant's hand was examined¹³. "If the culprit stood the full trial and did not get burnt", stated D. Mototolescu, "he was spared the accusation he had been charged with, if his hand was burnt, the

³ *Ibidem*.

⁴ *Istoria orașului Oradea*, coordonatori: Liviu Borcea și Gheorghe Gorun, Oradea, 1995, p. 85. For the way in which the conception about the sacrality of royal power during the kings Ladislaus I and Bela the 3rd developed in Hungary, see Gábor Klaniczay's study *L'image cavalière du saint roi au XIII^e siècle*, in *La Royauté sacrée dans le monde chrétien*. Publié sous la direction de Alain Boureau et Claudio Sergio Ingerflom, , 1992, p. 53-62.

⁵ For ordeals, see Dominic Barthélemy, *Moyen Age: le jugement de Dieu*, in *L'Histoire*, no 99, p. 30; Idem, *Diversité des ordalies médiévales*, in *Revue historique*, 280, 1588, p. 3-25, D. Mototolescu, *Ritus explorandi veritatis. Examinum ferri cadentis in Regestrum Varadiense: ordaliile*, Cluj, 1939, p. 34; Liviu Borcea, *Bihorul medieval. Oameni. Așezări. Instituții*, Oradea, 2005, p. 74. Ștefan Pascu, *Voievodatul Transilvaniei*, vol. IV, Cluj-Napoca, 1989, p. 234.

⁶ Dumitru D. Mototolescu, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

⁷ Ștefan Pascu, *op. cit.*, p. 234.

⁸ *Documente privind istoria României*, Seria C, Transilvania, vol. I (1075-1250), p. 37-147.

⁹ Dumitru D. Mototolescu, *op. cit.*, p. 21. Liviu Borcea, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

¹⁰ Ștefan Pascu, *op. cit.*, p. 235.

¹¹ Dumitru D. Mototolescu, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

¹² *Ibidem*, p. 30. Liviu Borcea, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

¹³ *Ibidem*; Ștefan Pascu, *op. cit.*, p. 234. Liviu Borcea, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

accusation remained valid and based on it, the judge sentenced him to civil damages or penal punishments, according to the law or custom in force¹⁴. This trial could be replaced by an oath at the tomb of King Ladislaus the Saint¹⁵.

We have to underline the fact that the spiritual preparation was at least as important as the actual carrying out of the trial. Why is that? Because we are dealing with a certain type of behaviour specific to the medieval man which helps us understand in depth his way of judgement. In parallel, we are also faced with the endeavour of the Church to Christianize certain practices that initially were not of Christian origin, but which proved difficult to change. Consequently, the Church preferred to accept and use them in its own interest.

II. Work methodology

Our analysis focuses on describing the ritual preceding the fire trial by investigating and analyzing the important terms and gestures from the perspective of their presence and symbolic religious load, and obviously of their degree of repeatability. The main documentary source is the Register of Oradea¹⁶. From a methodological perspective, we will describe how the process unfolded and, in parallel, we will analyze the significant words gestures in order to understand the medieval people's trust in this type of trial. It is that part of the prayer in which the priest invoked the divine forces to take part in the judgement and show by a divine sign the defendants' guilt or innocence. Our analysis is tributary to the philological suggestions of interpreting medieval texts and tracking the degree of repeatability of certain terms.

III. The fire trial ritual

The judgement assumes that God the Father, Jesus Christ and the other saints of the Catholic Church act upon the believers by messages, signs and events¹⁷. A special ritual was needed to prepare the atmosphere and the carrying of the red hot iron. We will try to retrace the way in which this ritual was carried out.

For various reasons, which can be easily guessed, the preparatory part of the ritual was not insisted upon. The studies on the fire trial published before 1947 contain only a very brief description of the preparatory part. The articles published during the Communist Regime also deal with it generally. In the studies appeared before the establishment of the Communist Regime, the focus was on the critical analysis of the information in the manuscript and on the way the judgement was carried out. From a methodological perspective, the specialist' questions on the religious motivation and symbolism did not constitute research directions for the historiography in the area of Central Europe. It was only later that appeared the

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 31; Ștefan Pascu, *op. cit.*, p. 235. Liviu Borcea, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

¹⁵ *La Royauté sacrée dans le monde chrétien*. Publié sous la direction de Alain Boureau et Claudio Sergio Ingerflom, sociales, 1992, p. 53-62. See also Anna Adamska, *Dieu, le Christ, la Vierge et l'Église dans les préambules polonais du Moyen Âge*, in *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*, année 1997, volume 155, No 155-2, p. 543-573.

¹⁶ *Documente privind istoria României*, Seria C, Transilvania, vol. I (1075-1250), p. 37-147.

¹⁷ Anna Adamska, *op. cit.*, p. 546; 557; 565.

methodological suggestions of the French School, through Marc Bloch, *The Royal Touch: Monarchy and Miracles in France and England*, or those in the investigations in history of religions and, then, in anthropology¹⁸. As for the researches during the Communist Regime, we know that historiographic interpretations obstinately avoided the religious factor.

The ritual began with the bishop blessing the new iron prepared for showing the righteous judgement: for this, the priest read two prayers to bless the iron¹⁹.

The iron was sprinkled with holy water, after which it was blessed by the bishop²⁰. Then came the blessing of the place where the fire had to be lit and blessed²¹, followed by the blessing of the fire²², the service of the red iron judgement²³ and the sacrament²⁴, and a prayer was uttered²⁵.

After the service, the priest went with the cross and the holy water together with the people to the place of the trial. There were uttered the seven Psalms and prayers upon the iron.²⁶ The iron was sprinkled with holy water. Another prayer and the sacrament of the person subjected to the fire trial followed²⁷.

¹⁸ See Raymond Aron, *Dimension de la conscience historique*, Paris, 1964, p. 32-48; 85-150; Henri-Irénée Marrou, *De la connaissance historique*, Paris, 1976, 64-91; 214-235; Paul Veyen, *Comment on écrit l'histoire. Essai d'épistémologie*, Paris, 1978, p. 9-344. Jean Maurice Bizière, Pierre Vayssièrè, *Histoire et historiens*, Paris, 1995, p. 179-240.

¹⁹ "Father, God Almighty and eternal, by calling Your Holy name and by the arrival of Your Son, one born, our Lord Jesus Christ, and by the gift of the Holy Spirit, to show Your just judgement, bless this iron to be sanctified and consecrated so that, by driving away any cunning of the devils, it may show your faithful the truth of Your righteous judgement, through our Lord Jesus etc." (*Documente privind istoria României*, Seria C, Transilvania, vol. I (1075-1250), p. 37).

²⁰ "May the blessing of God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit descend onto this iron to reveal the judgement of God. Amen." (*Ibidem*, p. 38.)

²¹ Bless this place, O Lord, by the calling of Your most Holy name, for the revelation of the righteous judgement, so that, driving away any deception of the devils, the truth of your judgement shall be revealed to your faithful, by < Jesus > Christ, our Lord. Amen. (*Ibidem*).

²² O, Holy Father, God eternal and almighty, < Though > who lives and reigns, bless this fire which we bless and sanctify in the name of Your son, our Lord Jesus Christ and < Your > Holy Spirit. (*Ibidem*.)

²³ *Ibidem*, p. 38-39.

²⁴ "Amen I say to you, all the things you ask when you pray believe that you will receive and they will be given to you. Then let the priest commune the accused or defendant with these words: May the body of our Lord Jesus Christ be unto thee for the revelation of the righteous judgement. Amen." (*Ibidem*, p. 38-39.)

²⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 39.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 39-40.

²⁷ "Amen I say to you, all the things you ask when you pray believe that you will receive and they will be given to you. Then let the priest commune the accused or defendant with these words: May the body of our Lord Jesus Christ be unto thee for the revelation of the righteous judgement. Amen." (*Ibidem*, p. 39.)

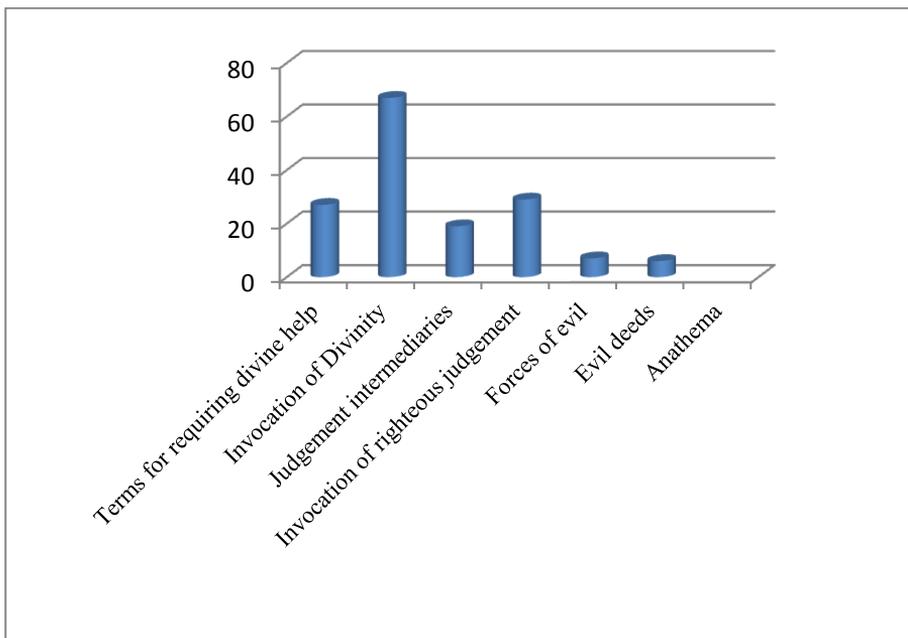
IV. Meaning of terms and gestures

What do we notice in the course of the ritual? The existence of actions meant to spiritually prepare the man, place and instruments used for the judgement. Which were the objects by which God would show the truth? The iron, the fire, the holy water.

The ceremony began by reading the prayer upon the iron. Then, the iron was sprinkled with holy water. The tool for the judgement had to be purified by prayer and all the bad things had to be eliminated by the holy water. But this wasn't enough! The place where the trial was held had also to be purified, and the iron had to be sprinkled again with holy water. The person subjected to the fire trial couldn't miss from the stages of the ritual. Most often it was the culprit. For this, (s)he had to be prepared spiritually, had to be clean, which could only be done through confession and holy communion.

In other words, the iron, the place and the person/persons subjected to the judgement had to be prepared. Fire has purifying power, and the holy water drives away the evil and the forces of darkness. Judgement was made through the iron, it was the instrument of judgement and it had to be purified. The same purifying force had to be exerted upon the person subjected to trial. (S)he had to be physically and spiritually clean for righteous judgement.

The analysis of the introductory part of the document also reveals us other aspects, namely that the language, the meaning of certain words are equally important. Somewhat naturally, we discover in the document a series of terms to require divine help. Their frequency is high enough, they are mentioned 27 times. The terms invoking the help and the frequency of the invocation are the following: to bless/bless 12 times, condescend 3 times, to pray/we pray to You/prayer 9 times, to descend 3 times.

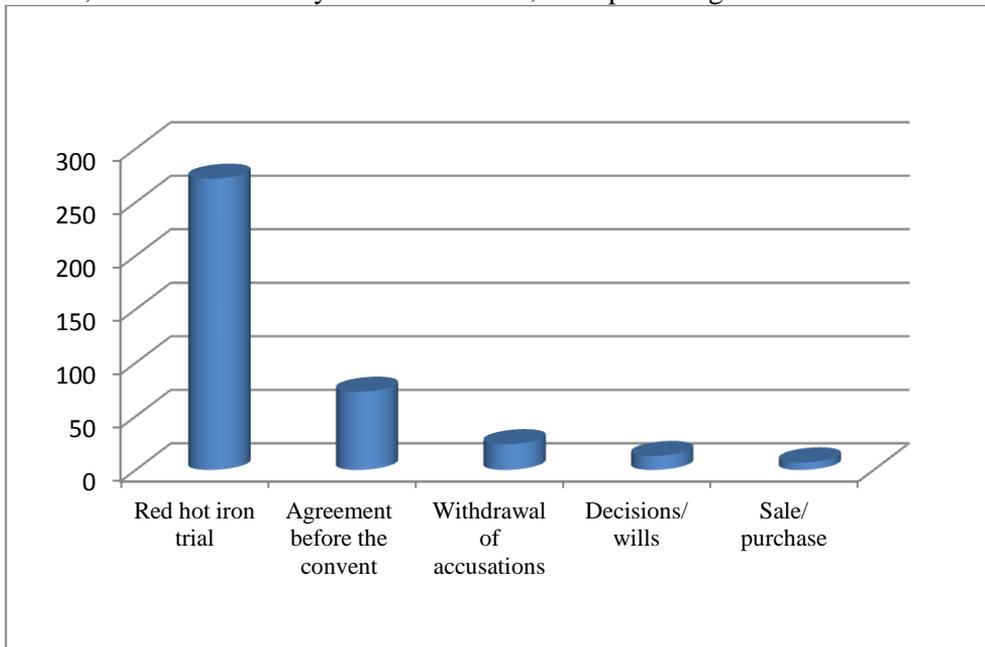


Invocation is addressed to the hierarchy of the Christian Church as follows: God, Jesus Christ, Holy Spirit, Lord Jesus, Holy Trinity, God²⁸. They are invoked to take part in the act of judgement and are recorded 67 times in the text.

If we take into account the frequency of documentary recording, the elements through which judgement was made follow, namely: the iron is recorded 19 times, under the following forms: new iron, red hot iron, iron, prepared iron. The document also mentions righteous judgement, 29 times, with its derivatives, namely: righteous judgement 14 times, justice 7 times, and truth 8 times. At the opposite pole, the document records 13 times the forces of evil, 4 times under the form of the devil, 3 times sorcery, witchcraft herbs, 6 times evil deeds, cunning, injustice, and anathema for those who do not profess the truth.

1. Frequency of terms recorded in the ritual of fire test

Another research topic is to establish how much the population of that period trusted this type of judgement. As stated in the study, the fire trial did not decide whether a person was declare guilty or not. The judge resorted to this type of judgement only if there wasn't sufficient evidence to accuse the defendant. Usually it was the accuser/accusers's word/words against that one/those of the accused. The fire trial was meant to establish who told the truth and who lied before the court. Consequently, of the 389 minutes of the judgements recorded before the Chapter of Oradea, 272 cases ended by red hot iron trial, i.e. a percentage of 69.92 %.



In other words, in most cases, those concerned decided to clarify their situation resorting to the red hot iron trial. In 73 cases the defendants reached an agreement before the convent, i.e. in 18.77 %, and in 24 cases the accusations were withdrawn, i.e. a percentage of 6.17 %. There are 13 more processes for wills and 7

²⁸ Anna Adamska, *op. cit.*, p. 572.

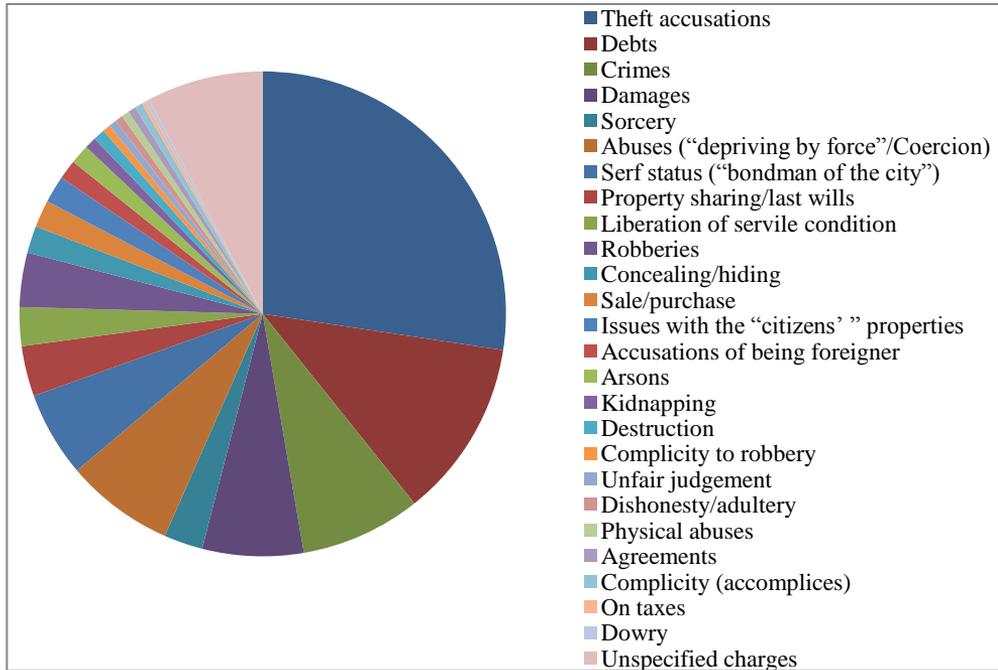
cases of sale, 5.14 %. That is to say that most defendants subjected themselves to the fire trial when the judges imposed it.

2. Manner of resolving cases in the *Register of Oradea*

Within the trials recorded in the *Register of Oradea* we have the following casuistry:

Nr.	Casuistry	No. of cases	%
1.	<i>Theft accusations</i>	106	27,25%
2.	<i>Debts</i>	46	11,82%
3.	<i>Crimes</i>	31	7,97%
4.	<i>Damages</i>	26	6,69%
5.	<i>Sorcery</i>	10	2,57%
6.	<i>Abuses (“depriving by force”)/Coercions</i>	28	7,20%
7.	<i>Serf status (“bondman of the city”)</i>	22	5,66%
8.	<i>Property sharing/last wills</i>	13	3,34%
9.	<i>Liberation of servile condition</i>	10	2,57%
10.	<i>Robberies</i>	14	3,60%
11.	<i>Concealing/hiding</i>	7	1,80%
12.	<i>Sale/purchase</i>	7	1,80%
13.	<i>Issues with the “citizens’ ” properties</i>	7	1,80%
14.	<i>Accusations of being foreigner</i>	5	1,28%
15.	<i>Arsons</i>	5	1,29%
16.	<i>Kidnapping</i>	3	0,77%
17.	<i>Destruction</i>	3	0,77%
18.	<i>Complicity to robbery</i>	2	0,51%
19.	<i>Unfair judgement</i>	2	0,51%
20.	<i>Dishonety/adultery</i>	2	0,51%
21.	<i>Physical abuses</i>	2	0,51%
22.	<i>Agreements</i>	2	0,51%
23.	<i>Run-away servants</i>	2	0,51%
24.	<i>Complicity (accomplices)</i>	2	0,51%
25.	<i>On taxes</i>	1	0,26%
26.	<i>Dowry</i>	1	0,26%
27.	<i>Unspecified charges</i>	30	7,71%
		Total - 389	100%

Most cases are related to penal deeds of which rogueries took a 27.25 %, followed by debts 11.82 %, crimes 7.97 %, abuses “depriving by force”, coercions 7.20 %, damages 6.69 %, robberies 3.60 % and sorcery 2.57 %. Then follow civil suits such as establishing the serf, “city bondman” status 5.66, property sharing/last wills 5.66 %, liberation of servile condition 2.57 % etc.



3. Casuistry of trials in the Register of Oradea

Conclusions:

1. Our analysis has focused on describing the ritual anticipating the fire test by investigating and analyzing the important terms and gestures, their religious, symbolic charge, and, obviously, the degree of their repeatability. Our main documentary source is the Register of Oradea.

2. The judgment assumes that God the Father, Jesus Christ and the other saints of the Christian Church act on believers through messages, signs and events. A special ritual was needed to prepare the atmosphere, one that set the stage for carrying the red-hot iron.

3. Somewhat naturally, one finds in the document a number of terms requesting divine help. Their frequency is rather high, as they are mentioned 27 times. The terms for invoking help and the frequency of invocation are as follows: to bless – bless 12 times, condescend 3 times, to pray – we pray You 9 times, to descend 3 times. Invocation is addressed to the hierarchy of the Christian Church as follows: God, Jesus Christ, Holy Spirit, Lord Jesus, Holy Trinity, God. They are invoked to take part in the act of judgement and are recorded 67 times in the text.

4. At the opposite pole, the document records 13 times the forces of evil, 4 times under the form of the devil, 3 times sorcery, witchcraft herbs, 6 times evil deeds, cunning, injustice, and anathema for those who do not profess the truth.

5. Of the 389 minutes of the judgements recorded in front of the Chapter of Oradea, in 272 cases it came to the hot iron trial, i.e. in 69.92 %. In other words, in most cases, those concerned finally decided to clarify the situation by resorting to the red hot iron trial.

THE THERESIAN REFORMISM AS A FACTOR OF CONFESSIONAL MOBILITY WITH THE ROMANIANS FROM TRANSYLVANIA AND PARTIUM (1740-1780)

*Florin-Alin OROS**

Abstract: *The Reformism initiated by empress Maria Theresa (1740-1780) will trigger ample changes within the Habsburg monarchy. The reforms, including the religious ones, focused on keeping the integrity of the Empire through the policies regarding the centralization, unification and modernization of the provinces belonging to the monarchy. As regards religion, the 40-year-old reign of Maria Theresa was characterized both by the modernization and the re-organization of clerical life. In this respect, the Empress had promulgated a series of decrees, rescripts and norms which brought under regulation of the religious relations among the inhabitants, including the Romanians.*

Keywords: *Theresian reformism, mobility, confessionalism, Romanians, modernization*

During the 18th century, profoundly influenced by the Enlightened ideas, spread all over the European region, the peasant population from Transylvania was a majority formed of serfs. Either Orthodox or Greek-Catholic, the Romanians of Transylvania had been subjected to an intense change imposed by the Habsburg state¹.

This particular century was influenced by the personality of two emperors, mother and son, Maria Theresa (1740-1780) and Joseph II (1780-1790) on whose period of time were promulgated reforms aiming at the preservation of the monarchy's integrity. Among these provinces were, of course, Hungary and Transylvania².

The confessional reforms of Maria Theresa

The reforms targeted various aspects of rural life, including the religious one. In this regard, the reign of Maria Theresa was characterized by a slow process of modernization and re-organization of the church life³. This process, continued by

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¹ Barbu Ștefănescu, *Între pâini*, Cluj-Napoca, Editura Academiei Române. Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 2012, p. 72.

² Mirela Popa Andrei, „Biserica ortodoxă din Transilvania în epoca reformismului austriac”, în vol. *În spiritul Europei Moderne. Administrația și profesiunile din Transilvania în perioada reformismului terezian și iozefin (1740-1790)*. Coordonatori: Remus Câmpeanu, Anca Câmpeanu, Cluj-Napoca, Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2009, p. 150.

³*Ibidem*, p. 152.

her son, had aimed at the decrease of the Catholic Church's influence on society, in all the provinces of the monarchy⁴. In order to carry out her reforms, Maria Theresa had issued a series of official documents – decrees, rescripts or norms, by means of which the religious relations within the Romanians were brought under regulation.

A first such document was the 1743 Imperial Rescript, which was an answer to the petitions sent by the bishop Ioan Inochentie Micu⁵. By the ten clauses of the rescript, the rights given to the Greek-Catholic clergy were thus ensured, as a result of the decrees issued by Maria Theresa's predecessors, Leopold I, Joseph I and Charles VI. By the respective rescript were set the taxes and various privileges for the Greek-Catholic clergy. They were also given land in order to build vicarages and churches. The Greek-Catholic priests were also given the same rights and privileges as the Roman-Catholic ones, starting from the stipulations set by the 1699 Leopoldine Diploma⁶.

Moreover, by the reduction of costs, in various parishes were allowed one priest and one or two chaplains, depending on the amount of parishioners of the respective parish. The Greek-Catholic communities were allowed to raise their own church provided that the authorities had been previously noted. It was also set the right of the sons of Romanian Greek-Catholic serfs to attend school and to not be hindered by the landlords. The Uniate Romanian nobles were allowed the right to jobs, just like other nobles in Transilvania⁷.

At the end of the document was mentioned the issue of the social relations between noblemen and peasants, by the special requests that „the serfs should not be exploited with too much work and thus fall into despair”, still specifying that „our benevolent thought is not intended to wrong the status quo of the three privileged nations”⁸.

Another document, among those issued by Maria Theresa, was the decree issued on July 22nd 1752, by which were stipulated the rights of the Orthodox and Greek-Catholic population in Hungary and annexed provinces, including Partium. By this document was acknowledged the fact that the inhabitants of these regions had been subjected to mistreat and ill will by the privileged inhabitants, thus appearing a hiatus between the two social categories, which was a threat to the unity of the monarchy itself.

That is why it was firmly stated that „the often mentioned people of Greek confession, who exist in a large amount in our kingdom of Hungary and the annexed parts should be endowed with the power of privileges (...), should not be burdened more than other Catholic inhabitants just because they might be of Greek confession.” It was also stated that the Orthodox members should not be hindered in their professing of their religion or be forced through violence to convert to Greek-Catholicism⁹. This document also required that the Orthodox members should not be discriminated by the local administrative institutions and the landlords as regards

⁴*Ibidem*.

⁵George Bariț, *Părți alese din istoria Transilvaniei*, Brașov, 1993, p. 716.

⁶*Ibidem*, p. 717-718.

⁷*Ibidem*, p. 718-720.

⁸*Ibidem*, p. 720.

⁹*Ibidem*, p. 727-728.

the chores and taxes they were supposed to pay. The Orthodox and Greek-Catholic priests should have been treated equally through the privileges they had been granted by the 1699 Leopoldine Diploma¹⁰.

At the end of the respective decree, empress Maria Theresa ordered that a project should be worked out regarding the establishment of schools and seminaries for the future education of Greek-Catholic priests. This endeavour was coming from the reason that these particular dwellers, either Orthodox or Greek-Catholic, as well as their priests, had been kept in an oppressive inability and ignorance, mainly when it came to the dogmatic aspects of their confession¹¹.

A third document was represented by the decree issued on August 22nd 1767 regarding the assignation of the vicarages. On one hand, it was stated that in those localities where there was a fourth Greek-Catholics of the total parishioners, the church was assigned to them. In this regard, the Orthodoxes were to ask for the permission of the authorities so they could raise their own chapels, provided that half of the church-goers were Orthodox. On the other hand, it was stipulated that in those localities with a third Orthodox members, while the Greek-Catholics were under a fourth, the church was therefore assigned to the Orthodox. In this situation, the Greek-Catholics were allowed to raise their own churches¹².

These decrees, and many others subsequently issued, would trigger significant changes in the religious sphere of the Romanian Orthodox and Greek-Catholics. They would gradually change the management of church life, not only of the Romanians in Transylvania, but also of those in Partium. Generally, through these reforms the state would take an active part in the life of its subjects in the various layers of their private life. Particularly, the state, through its secular or religious representatives, would gradually take control over the religious aspects of the Romanians of both religions¹³.

These reforms promulgated by empress Maria Theresa would lead to considerable changes for the Romanians within Bihor county. We can certainly state the idea that all these steps towards modernization, through imperial decisions, would later constitute a factor of confessional mobility with the Romanians of this county.

Confessional movements within Bihor county

A first notable such aspect would be given by Maria Theresa's wish to rearrange the management of the secular clergy depending on the new vision of the authorities regarding the relations between State and Church. This vision aimed at the conversion of the clergy from a spiritual guide to a moral and intellectual one, who should become a real magistrate, able to render the new requests of the imperial authorities to the Romanian population¹⁴.

¹⁰*Ibidem*, p. 728-729.

¹¹*Ibidem*, p. 729.

¹²*Ibidem*, p. 734-73.5

¹³Barbu Ștefănescu, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

¹⁴Greta Monica Miron, „Biserica greco-catolică din Transilvania în anii reformismului”, în vol. *În spiritul Europei Moderne. Administrația și confesiunile din Transilvania în perioada reformismului terezian și iozefin (1740-1790)*. Coordonatori: Remus Câmpeanu,

This strategy was based on an extremely worrying phenomenon where many a priests together with their parishioners, had converted from Greek-Catholicism to Orthodoxy. This phenomenon would grow in amplitude during the confessional movements triggered by monk Visarion Sarai between 1744-1746 in southern Transylvania¹⁵, and by the canonical visit of Sinesie Jivanovici, bishop of Arad, between 1753-1758¹⁶, and also the movement initiated by another monk, Sofronie of Cioara¹⁷, which, by spreading over a great deal of Transylvania between 1759-1761, would resound including in Partium.

The confessional movements within Bihor county of the 6th decade of the 18th century were due to the tripple jurisdiction upon the Orthodox and Greek-Catholic members. As the supreme comite, the Roman-Catholic bishop had jurisdiction over all inhabitants, regardless of their religion. Starting with 1748, the Roman-Catholic bishop would operate with a Uniate vicar bishop, Meletie Kovacs (1748-1775), who was supposed to care for the Greek-Catholic members within the county. Last, but not least, a third jurisdiction was that of the Orthodox bishop of Arad. After numerous requests addressed to the Court of Vienna, the bishop of Arad, Sinesie Jivanovici (1751-1768), would be granted the right to visit the Orthodox communities in Bihor¹⁸. Nevertheless, the Roman-Catholic bishop, Pavel Forgach (1748-1758), refused to allow the Orthodox bishop of Arad to visit the Orthodox parishes in Bihor county thus triggering ample confessional movements.

A previous event had been represented by the canonical visit of Meletie Kovacs in the Greek-Catholic Romanian communities of Bihor county. After having been consecrated as vicar bishop of the Uniate Romanians on December 11th 1748¹⁹, Meletie Kovacs would start the summer of 1750 with a canonical visit. Paid in order to strengthen the Greek-Catholic confession in the rural areas, this visit would last until December 1752²⁰.

It started in the county of Meliu, where Meletie Kovacs stopped in 17 localities whose parishioners re-asserted their affiliation to Greek-Catholicism. Visited were also the parishes of Beliu, Hășmaș, Nermiş, and Ucuriș²¹, most of them belonging to the present county of Arad. At that time however, administratively, they were part of of Bihor county.

Having concluded the visit in Beliu, Meletie Kovacs headed to the localities of Beiuș and Vașcău land, where he visited Colești, Câmp, Călugări, Fiziș,

Anca Câmpian, Cluj-Napoca, Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2009, p. 96-99.

¹⁵Silviu Dragomir, *Istoria desrobirei religioase a românilor din Ardeal în secolul al XVIII-lea*, Vol. I, ediție îngrijită de Sorin Șipoș, Editura Universității din Oradea, 2007, p. 215-217.

¹⁶Ovidiu Ghitta, *Nașterea unei biserici. Biserica greco-catolică din Sătmăș în primul ei secol de existență (1667-1761)*, Cluj-Napoca, Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2001, p. 297.

¹⁷David Prodan, *Supplex Libellus Valachorum*, București, Editura Științifică, 1967, p. 208-222.

¹⁸Mihai Săsăujan, „Criterii ale apartenenței confesionale (unit-neunit) în comitatul Bihor (1754-1758)”, în *Annales Universitatis Apulensis*, Series Historica, anul X, nr. 2, 2006, p. 114.

¹⁹Blaga Mihoc, *Biserică și societate în nord-vestul României*, Oradea, Editura Logos '94, 2003, p. 57.

²⁰*Ibidem*, p. 65.

²¹*Ibidem*, p. 69-71.

Hinchiriș, Mierag and Sohodol²². After returning for a short period of time to Oradea, he would then head to the northern region of the county, located on the valleys of rivers Barcău and Ier. A part of these localities are presently either on the Hungarian territory or in Satu Mare. Among the localities he had visited were Leta Mare, Pișcolt, Tarcea, Abrămuț or Ghenetea²³.

The last part of the visit took place between October and December 1752, being visited 64 localities in Holod and, again, Beiuș and Vașcău land. The vicar bishop visited Beiuș, Uileacul de Beiuș, Delani, Roșia, Mizieș, Buntești, Vașcău and Cărpinet²⁴, collecting data regarding the amount of Greek-Catholic parishioners under his jurisdiction.

One should also note that in some of the visited localities many priests had not acknowledged bishop's Meletie jurisdiction. As a result, they temporarily left their parishes when having learnt about the bishop's visit. In these localities the inhabitants asked to be placed under the religious jurisdiction of the Orthodox bishop of Arad. In the wake of these findings, these particular parishes were not mentioned in the official documents of the visit.

In these official documents, compiled starting with 1753 as a result of the canonical visit, Meletie Kovacs recorded the existence in Bihor county of 154 localities which had previously acknowledged his jurisdiction. Thus, they were accounted as Greek-Catholic. These parishes had 244 priests and were spread within nine vice-archdeaconries or archpriestships namely: Eriu, Beiuș, Beliu, Giriș, Vașcău, Chișirid, Crișul Repede, Pomezău and Tulca²⁵.

In 1753 started the confession movements within Bihor county. Shortly after the vicar bishop's visit, the Orthodox bishop of Arad, Sinesie Jivanovici, started a new one. In its wake, most of the villages with Romanian population in the county asked to be placed under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Arad. Shortly after that, the Roman-Catholic bishop of Oradea, Pavel Forgach, as well as the vicar Greek-Catholic bishop, Meletie Kovacs, expressed their wish that bishop Jivanovici should not be allowed to visit the Orthodox communities in the county, although they had been granted permission by the imperial authorities of Vienna. This opposition would trigger heated objections within the Orthodox communities, being the main reason behind these confessional convulsions.

In order to put an end to these tensions, in the summer of 1754, empress Maria Theresa approved the establishment of an Imperial Committee of Investigation which was to verify the total amount of Romanian parishioners, both Greek-Catholic and Orthodox. Moreover, the committee was to investigate the various complaints and accusations filed by the Orthodox bishop of Arad and those of the Roman-Catholic bishop to the Imperial Court of Vienna. This committee acted between 1754-1758, with a series of changes of its members, followed by its temporary interruption of its activity. During all this time, the committee was formed of both representatives of the Romanian Orthodox Christians and Greek-Catholics²⁶.

²²*Ibidem*, p. 71.

²³*Ibidem*, p. 71-80.

²⁴*Ibidem*, p. 82-87.

²⁵*Ibidem*, p. 88.

²⁶Mihai Săsăujan, *art. cit.*, p. 115.

A first result of the the committee's inquiry was to record the exact amount of Orthodox and Greek-Catholic members. Furthermore, through a set of questions for both the clergy and the inhabitants of Bihor county, the committee wished to know about their knowledge of spiritual matters and about their point of view of the Greek-Catholic religion²⁷.

After having reviewed approximately 32.500 Romanian Orthodox Christians, the committee registered 8.667 families with 14.420 children of Orthodox religion and only 255 families with 431 children of Greek-Catholic religion²⁸. The latter lived in the north-west of the county, mainly in Sântandrei, Leta Mare and Pocei, the last two being presently on the Hungarian territory.

On the other hand, taking into account the questions asked, the committee observed a very low level of religious knowledge. The conclusions regarding the Greek-Catholics were highly worrying. Most of them knew very little about spiritual matters. They did not know the four Florentine articles, thus not being able to make the distinction between the Orthodox and Greek-Catholic faiths²⁹.

Most of the answers were irrelevant, circumstantial or confused. One of the questions had referred to the parishioners' affiliation to any of the two bishops. A certain example is most relevant in this regard. During the investigation, the priest of Brădet was being questioned about his choice to affiliate to either the Orthodox bishop of Arad, or to the vicar Greek-Catholic bishop of Oradea. His answer was: „I shall see about it. In any case, it will be the one with whom the whole village agrees, otherwise I shall be banished”³⁰. The priest had to respect the parishioners' wish regarding the religious choice, as well as the affiliation to one of the two bishops. If not, the respective priest could have been banished from the community, as it had happened in many other cases. Some priests' refusal to accept the jurisdiction of the Orthodox bishop Sinesie Jivanovici would consequently trigger the threat of being banished from the community by the parishioners.

The reports and analyses of the committee highlighted a low amount of Greek-Catholic members. Moreover, they showed the deep religious ignorance with the Romanian Orthodox Christians. Because of that, the chairman of the investigation committee, Francisc Klobusiczky, archbishop of Kalocsa, suggested that the committee's activity should be postponed by approximately two or three years, during which time the Orthodox parishioners would have been converted back to Greek-Catholicism.

The investigation committee concluded that all the accusations against the Orthodox bishop of Arad were insubstantial. Yet, the chairman proposed that, in the future, Sinesie Jivanovici should not be allowed to visit the Orthodox communities in Bihor county. Still, the authorities of Vienna, represented by State Chancellor Kaunitz thought otherwise. They claimed that the bishop of Arad should be allowed to continue his canonical visits in the county since, as concluded by the investigation committee, he had never intended to extend his spiritual jurisdiction

²⁷*Ibidem*, p. 116.

²⁸Iudita Călușer, *Episcopia greco-catolică de Oradea*, Oradea, Editura Logos '94, 2000, p. 45.

²⁹Mihai Săsăușan, *art. cit.*, p. 116.

³⁰Gheorghe Lițiu, *Eșecul uniunii și reacția românilor ortodocși din Bihor în secolul al XVIII-lea*, în BOR, an. XCIII, nr. 9-10, 1975, p. 1114-1123.

upon the Greek-Catholics, as claimed by the Roman-Catholic bishop Pavel Forgach³¹.

Under these circumstances, by the Imperial Resolution issued on July 14th 1757, the bishop of Arad's jurisdiction was reinstated upon the Romanian Orthodox Christians in Bihor county. The document stated that „no one should prevent the bishop of Arad from exercising his jurisdiction upon his parishioners in this county and no one could imprison or mob another one”³². This document would mark the early gradual cessation of the religious convulsions in this region. Shortly after this, in 1759, the bishop of Arad was granted a new canonical visit in Bihor county, which took place between March and November. Thus, he visited a series of 275 localities, of the total amount of 332 which were part of the county at that time³³. 259 localities belonged to Orthodoxy and only 16 were Greek-Catholic.

Training and social status of priests. General viewpoints

All these confessional movements complicated the situation of the Greek-Catholic faith, including the one in Bihor county. The empress wished to encourage the Union by re-asserting the benefit of granting rights, privileges and immunity to the Greek-Catholic priests and parishioners, the same as for the Roman-Catholic members³⁴, by the rights which had been promised to them at the Union in 1701. The reformation of the Greek-Catholic clergy and the improvement of their life and culture were stringent objectives of the Imperial Court of Vienna. Only by having well educated priests with an adequate social status could be avoided other episodes of confessional transfer from Greek-Catholicism to Orthodoxy. On the contrary, the authorities were hoping to inveigle a great amount of Orthodox Christians to Greek-Catholicism in a very short period of time, without triggering intra-confessional tensions.

The situation emanated from the idea according to which state's prosperity was mainly depending by the well-being of its subjects. For this reason, the empress was responsible for their prosperity, largely influencing the authorities of Vienna into improving the life of the Romanian Greek-Catholic clergy³⁵. Only in this way the priests could become true „magistrates” of the imperial authorities.

This tendency to improve the life of the Greek-Catholic clergy, of its modernization by tax exemptions and privileges, faced the reticence of the Magyar nobility, be it Catholic or Protestant. For them it meant not only the gradual reduction of their power, but also equal rights and freedom for these Romanians, considered only tolerated, while the Magyar nobles were considered an official nation in this geographic area.

In another train of thoughts, the Theresian Reformism also marked the training of the Romanian Greek-Catholic priests³⁶. By sending the priest candidates

³¹Mihai Săsăujan, *art. cit.*, p. 123-126.

³²*Ibidem*, p. 126.

³³*Ibidem*.

³⁴Greta Monica Miron, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

³⁵*Ibidem*.

³⁶Keith Hitchins, *Mit și realitate în istoriografia românească*, București, Editura Enciclopedică, 1997, p. 13

to various schools and religious seminars, all over the empire and not only, their education improved substantially. They would later play an important part in the moral and cultural elevation of their parishioners. The priests' education represented a true reform, Maria Theresa's church policy being based on the necessity to reduce the clergy's ignorance in order to improve their social prestige among themselves and their parishioners, and also to strengthen Greek-Catholicism threatened by the confessional mobility phenomenon and by their return to Orthodoxy³⁷.

Still, from the initiation of the debate regarding the issue of educating Greek-Catholic priests to its establishment, the road was an extremely long one. Unfortunately, the changes undergone by the Romanian society, of elevation and a better education of the Romanian elite, Greek-Catholic priests, their training remained scarce³⁸.

On the other hand, the imperial policy regarding the Romanian Orthodox clergy broadly followed a similar trend. By starting from the close relation between state's prosperity and that of its subjects, the authorities aimed at its gradual modernization. Firstly, this meant granting privileges to the Orthodox elite, and maybe to the parishioners. With this intention, „the state wanted to convince its subjects, by all means necessary, that it represented the supreme authority, the only one capable to represent the inhabitants and to protect their interests”³⁹. This was best highlighted by the myth of the good emperor, from the reign of Joseph II.

According to the authorities in Vienna, all Romanians in Transylvania and the adjacent provinces, had been considered Uniate with the Church of Rome after 1701. After becoming the empress of the Habsburg empire, this situation would gradually change, the authorities in Vienna acknowledging and accepting the existence of a large amount of Romanian Orthodox Christians in these territories. Thus, as a result of the Enlightenment influence, Maria Theresa would agree that the authorities were to back off as regards the extension of some rights to the Orthodox Christians in Transylvania⁴⁰. This strategy mainly aimed at the Orthodox clergy, seen as a potential „magistrate” of the state, which should render the directions and expectations of the authorities in Vienna to the parishioners.

The first period of Maria Theresa's reign, more exactly the period between 1744-1761, was marked by the gradual evolution of the imperial confessional policy, from an aggressive attitude to one of relative religious toleration towards the Romanian Orthodox Christians⁴¹.

Under these circumstances, of total transparency towards Orthodoxy, empress Maria Theresa issued the decree of toleration on July 13th 1759. By this decree, the Romanian Orthodox Christians were granted the right to freely exercise their religion, the right to have their own faith. This toleration was however limited, in the sense that the Orthodox priests were strictly forbidden to attempt to convert Greek-Catholics to Orthodoxy. On the other hand, the Greek-Catholic clergy were

³⁷Greta Monica Miron, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

³⁸*Ibidem*, p. 100.

³⁹Barbu Ștefănescu, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

⁴⁰Mirela Popa Andrei, *op.cit.*, p. 153.

⁴¹*Ibidem*, p. 163.

allowed to use their rights in order to attempt proselytism⁴². More generous would later be the rights granted to the Romanian Orthodox Christians by the Edict of Toleration, promulgated by Joseph II, issued on October 25th 1781 for Hungary and November 8th 1781 for Transylvania⁴³.

Against the confessional convulsions, triggered by the movement initiated by monk Sofronie of Cioara, Maria Theresa agreed to appoint an Orthodox bishop for the Romanians in Transylvania. In this manner, starting from the decree of toleration issued two years before, Romanians benefited from public religious freedom, as a result of their right to have their own Orthodox bishop⁴⁴. In this context, on July 13th 1761, Dionisie Novacovici was appointed Orthodox bishop to all Romanians in Transylvania⁴⁵. The Romanians would thus have, for the first time since the establishment of the Habsburg reign, a new Orthodox hierarchy led by a bishop.

On the other hand, Bihor county, part of Partium, administratively separated from Transylvania, was not subordinate to the Orthodox bishop of Transylvania, but, as previously seen, would be under the careful jurisdiction of the Episcopacy of Arad, and through it, under the Serbain Mitropoly of Karlowitz⁴⁶.

We can assert that the Theresian reformism was an extremely important factor regarding the confessional mobility of the Romanians of Transylvania and Partium, just as the Josephin reformism, especially by the 1781 Edict of Toleration, would continue this phenomenon – religious, historical and demographic -, of confessional mobility with the Orthodox or Greek-Catholic Romanians. The reign of Maria Theresa (1740-1780), through the reforms, triggered an ample and vigorous process of confessional shift, from Orthodoxy to Greek-Catholicism and vice versa.

⁴²*Ibidem*, p. 156-157.

⁴³Ioan Horga, *Contribuții la cunoașterea iozefinismului provincial. Debutul episcopiei greco-catolice de Oradea (1777-1784)*, Editura Universității din Oradea, 2000, p. 156.

⁴⁴Mirela Popa Andrei, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

⁴⁵Keith Hitchins, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

⁴⁶Mihai Săsăujan, *art. cit.*, p. 114.

DATA ON THE ROMAN CATHOLIC SCHOOL FOR GIRLS BETWEEN 1771-1914 LED BY THE URSULINE NUNS

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Abstract. *The most important secondary school in Nagyvárad, the Ady Endre High-School is the successor of the Ursuline nunnery established on 10 June 1771 by the canon István Szentzy.*

The members of the order were always teachers as well. The functioning of the institution began with the elementary school led by the Ursulines, where they educated and taught only girls. Beginning with 1856 a training-school was established there and hundreds of teachers left after graduation, spreading the Christian faith and love. On 7 January 1859 the schools legally becoming public, the Ursuline nuns immediately started to organise a training-school institute, following the regulations issued in 1868 which permitted only classes running for three years.

In the years following 1910 the number of pupils decreased drastically in the Ursuline school. This is attributed to the restless period in the Balkan Peninsula, the upcoming war in the Balkans and obviously to the beginning of I World War.

Keywords: *Ursulines, school registers, archives, Roman Catholic institution, school for girls.*

The most important secondary school in Nagyvárad, the Ady Endre High-School is the successor of the Ursuline nunnery established on 10 June 1771 by the canon István Szentzy. The abbot bought a house on the present-day Main Street for the Ursuline nuns and endowed six members of the holy orders. This endowment was enlarged afterwards by the Latin service bishop, the members of the chapter and some worldly benefactors. In 1772 they built the wing to the north from the church. Three years later the church of the nunnery was consecrated – the Saint Ann church, and the corner wing to the south from it was also built. The Baroque style buildings and the church were modified to the Gothic style around 1858-1859. This is the style that persisted until nowadays. The newer eastern parts were built in the eclectic style¹.

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¹ Dukrét Géza, Péter I. Zoltán, *Nagyvárad, City Guide*, published by Transilvanian Carpathian Association, 1997, p. 39; Dr. Fleisz János, *The History of Nagyvárad in Numbers*, published by Literator, Nagyvárad, 2000, p.18; Dukrét Géza, Péter I. Zoltán, *Nagyvárad, City Guide*, published by Pártium & Bánság National Monument and Relic

At the middle of the XIXth century the convent was subject to major changes. In 1858 thanks to bishop Ferencz Szaniszló a new part of building on thirteen axis was added to the original nunnery. At the same time, the Baroque style convent and the main frontispiece of the church were rebuilt in the Romantic architectural style. The fourteen axis wing overlooking the Apáca street was built in 1877 with the support of László Györffy. The next changes were brought to the building in the first part of the XXth century, yet they are considered to be only minor ones. In 1905, the small square shaped convent windows on the Main Street, to the north from the church, were replaced with big, decorated shopwindows according to the plans of Ferenc Sztarill, architect born in Nagyvárad. This was due to the fact that on the ground floor of the building they intended to open shops. As a result, the basket-cove car entrance and the entrance door to the north of it were both walled up. The smaller entrance on Apáca street was enlarged in return and decorated with a shop-front in Neo-Gothic style also designed by Ferenc Szaniszló².

The members of the order were always teachers as well. The functioning of the institution began with the elementary school led by the Ursulines, where they educated and taught only girls. Beginning with 1856 a training-school was established there and hundreds of teachers left after graduation, spreading the Christian faith and love. On 7 January 1859 the schools legally becoming public, the Ursuline nuns immediately start to organise a training-school institute, following the regulations issued in 1868 which permitted only classes running for three years. In 1868 the Eötvös style epoch-making mass-teaching law was issued which – outrunning many western-European countries – made schooling compulsory and stated that all the parents or tutors were obliged to send their children to school between the age of 6-12. According to the first schooling law in our country the previous public schools had to be changed into primary schools covering six years of education. When the law was issued, only 48% of the children meant to attend school did it regularly. By 1872 this rate improved to 55%, then in 1896 already 79% and in 1913 almost 93% of the children attended school on a daily basis. The Eötvös style law gradually increased the number of pupils in the school after 1868³.

In order to apply the regulations of the schooling law huge sums of money were needed as long as only about 60% of the schoolchildren could be taught in the existing classrooms. Around 14 000 new classrooms were needed to assure a place in school for all the children between 6-12. Moreover, there were neither enough teachers nor suitable books available. During the presidency of József

Board, *The Királyhágómelléki Reformed Diocese and the Catholic Episcopate in Nagyvárad*, 2006, p. 68-69; Szántó János's study, *Saint Ladislaus' Town – Várad, Sketch of Local History*, published by Castrum, Sepsiszentgyörgy, 1992, p. 19; Dr. Borovszky Samu, *A Monography of Hungary, Bihar County and Nagyvárad*, the publisher of "The Counties and Towns of Hungary", Budapest, printed at Légrády Testvérek, 1901, p. 406.

² Péter I. Zoltán, *900 Years of History of Nagyvárad and Its Built Legacy*, Nagyvárad, 2005, p. 160-161.

³ Sipos Orbán, *The Public Education Issue in Bihar County*, <http://tortenelmunk.multiply.com>, *** *Hungary in the XXth Century, Education From the End of the Century to the Trianon Peace Treaty*, publisher Babits, Szekszárd, 1996-2000, <http://mek.niif.hu/02100/02185/html/1354.html>

Eötvös a massive program for school-books began. As a result important books and teaching aids were issued. These were used until the 1910s⁴.

I searched for documents belonging to the Catholic school for girls led by the Ursuline nuns in the town archives. The state institution which is being reorganised at the moment contains many school registers, the oldest ones dating back to 1861. In the 1861 – 1862 school-year the Ursuline Roman Catholic School for Girls had a Ist and a IInd form and in the following year it already had four classes.

The school registers mentioned contain very useful information for the researchers: the pupils' name, age, place and date of birth, address and the studied subjects. As it was a confessional school there were some compulsory subjects such as: teaching of the Bible, explanation of the gospels, religion, ethics. In order to learn and use the Hungarian language correctly there were several subjects taught: reading, grammar, spelling, speaking and creative writing. Latin, mathematics, calligraphy, music, gymnastics and drawing were also studied. The absences from the church services and classes were noted separately, just like the marks, the serial number and the observations. In the 1865 – 1866 school-year new subjects were introduced such as German and needlework⁵. In the 1869 – 1870 school-year French and sciences were introduced in the IIIrd and the IVth form. In the 1870 – 1871 school-year pupils learnt geography, history, biology and painting in the Vth and VIth form⁶.

In the 1881-1882 school-year the format of the classes was subject to changes in what the Ursuline Roman Catholic School was concerned, and in the senior classes the number of subjects increased, too. As an example let us have a look at the book of the VIth form and the studied subjects:

- religion and ethics,
- mother-tongue including speaking, understanding of meaning, writing, reading, grammar,
- German
- mathematics including algebra and geometry
- geography, history, civil laws and studies,
- biology including agriculture and gardening activities,
- arts including singing, drawing, calligraphy and needlework.

Obviously a separate column was reserved for the absences – also categorised as certified and uncertified – and observations. We have exact information about the number of pupils: thus, in the above mentioned school-year there were 48 girls in the Ist form, 52 in the IInd, 42 in the IIIrd, 41 in the IVth, 21 in the Vth and 13 girls in the graduating VIth form. The internal school for girls had fewer pupils, their number fluctuating between 14 and 25: in the Ist form – 14, the IInd form – 15, the IIIrd form – 25, the IVth form 18, the Vth form – 19 and in the VIth form – 13 girls attended school⁷. The pupils were graded with qualifications before

⁴ *** *Hungary in the XXth Century, Education From the End of the Century to the Trianon Peace Treaty*, publisher Babits, Szekszárd, 1996-2000, <http://mek.nif.hu/02100/02185/html/1354.html>

⁵ AN-SJBh, *Documents of the Ursuline Roman Catholic School for Girls*, pack 1, p. 30-37.

⁶ Idem, pack 5, p. 59.

⁷ Idem, pack 8, p. 1-20.

1883 and afterward with marks. In the 1890 school register new subjects were introduced such as geography of the homeland⁸.

At the beginning of the XXth century the layout of the school books changed again, each pupil being introduced on a different page, whereas before all of them appeared in a table. It was the first time when the school took note if the pupil spoke other languages at a first-language level. Many Hungarian girls spoke German at such a high level, or girls of German or Romanian origin spoke Hungarian at first-language level⁹.

In these books the absents were written separately and quite often the reason of the absence was also mentioned. Most of them were due to illness, change of residence or even death of the pupil. The offsprings of wealthy families would often be introduced in the books as private pupils, but they also had to sit the exams at the end of the year.

Even though we speak of a Roman Catholic institution where the teachers were mainly nuns or monks, it did not mean that it was open only for Roman Catholic pupils. There were students of other nationalities in almost each year (beside Hungarians there were many German, Romanian or Slovak pupils) and their confession also differentiated them: among the Roman Catholics there were Greek Catholic, Evangelistic, Israelitish, Orthodox, Helvetian, Augustine, Unitarian and Reformed girls studying in the school. We could well make a separate table with the confession of the students. As an example, let us have a look at the pupils' nationality and religion. The attachment contains the number of students of the public school in several school-years. (anex).

This short study does not intend to present all the data at hand about the Ursuline Roman School for Girls in Nagyvárad led by the nuns, but tries to give an insight into the number of pupils and the studied subjects between 1861-1914 (archives, pack 19), with the help of the documents in the archives. However, the researched documents give us the possibility to draw conclusions: if we study the attached table we can notice that in this school for girls there were more students in the second term of the school-year than in the first. The explanation is that the hard winters and the many illnesses associated with this cold period prevented the girls from attending school.

As its name mirrors it, the Ursuline convent school had an internal section as well. After becoming a public school on 7 January 1859, the number of pupils increased considerably but the school kept its parallel classes in the convent and in the public school. The attachment shows that we have not found any documents in the archives for the years 1863-1864, 1866-1867, 1868-1869, 1877-1881, and there were years when there are no school-books available for the public school (1896-1898).

There is a great deal of information regarding the nuns leading the institution. In 1874 the leader of the order was Mária Pesnonella, owner of the Gold Canon Cross of Merit in the Ursuline order, the headmaster was László Paluday, religion teacher Gusztáv Medgyesy, primary school teachers Mária Nejcomuczeva,

⁸ Idem, pack 10, p. 4.

⁹ Idem, pack 13, p. 1-183.

Mária Orsolya, Mária Rozália, Mária Ladislai, Mária Antonia, Mária Augustina, Mária Angela and Mária Innocentia¹⁰.

In the years following 1910 the number of pupils decreased drastically in the Ursuline school. This is attributed to the restless period in the Balkan Peninsula, the upcoming war in the Balkans and obviously to the beginning of I World War. The hard times did not halt the activity of the public school in the convent. The school register from the year 1917-1918 is a proof of the love and faith of the teaching staff. They continued teaching in those years full of political changes, offering their pupils an outstanding education. That is why students came here from all the corners of Hungary (Pest, Beregszász, Csíkszereda, Pécs, Békéscsaba, Miskolc).

During the war period between 1917 – 1918 there were not big changes in the board of teachers.

Mellau István - headmaster

1. Koncz M. Antónia – Hungarian grammar, history
2. Orosz M. Emília – mathematics, biology
3. Sztarill M. Seraphina - mathematics, biology
4. Viola M. Viktória - mathematics
5. Grabits Kálmán – Hungarian, Latin
6. Haller Amália – drawing
7. Herczog Mária – Hungarian grammar, history, gymnastics
8. Hunya S. Augustina – primary school teacher
9. Dr Hunyadi Mária – geography, history
10. Kürti István – music, singing
11. Marász M. Felicitas –primary school teacher
12. Nagy Aranka – Hungarian history
13. Peiser Károlyné – geography
14. Papp Béla – religion teacher, priest
15. Dr. Roskopf Béla – doctor

The pupils belonging to other confessions were taught religion by the following vicars: Sulyok István - Dan and Kiss Károly - Reformed priest

1. Dr. Ládor Gábor - Orthodox religion teacher
2. Singer Jakab - Israelitish religion teacher¹¹.

There are still many resources for the researchers to discover and consider in the archives in Nagyvárád, but the study of the town newspapers is also a must for a clearer picture.

¹⁰ Idem, pack 6, p. 102, 112.

¹¹ *** Keepsake Album – Alumni Meeting Nagyvárád 1993, Imprimeria de Vest, Nagyvárád, 1993, p. 18-19.

Progress and default log. Under the leadership of Oradea Ursula five public schools 1861-1914

	public elementary principal study hall	I class	II class	III class	IV class	V class	VI class	internal school	III class	IV class	V class	VI class	higher girls' school	II class																			
1861-1862	127		72																														
1862-1863	10		14	26	8																												
1863-1864																																	
1864-1865	58	141	24	11																													
1865-1866	124	180	57	55	46	40	41	38																									
1866-1867																																	
1867-1868	70	70	58	66																													
1868-1869																																	
1869-1870	64	110	60	66	48	50	31	32	27	30																							
1870-1871	55	111	44	44	52	44	44	44	28	28	are	13	13	16	20	20	23	23															
1871-1872	70	110	52	57	44	50	43	46	30	30	are	13	17	9	9	39	38	24	24														
1872-1873	74	109	43	53	48	56	49	49	34	34	are	6	6	12	12	40	40	32	32	are													
1873-1874	80	130	50	60	59	57	50	52	31	31	are	11	11	13	13	27	24	14															
1874-1875	91	128	54	58	56	57	47	47	27	30	14	15	6	6	13	13	31	31	14	15	13	13	are										
1875-1876	69	94	46	49	50	51	43	46	27	27	19	19	8	13	7	7	18	24	18	18	15	15	16	16									
1876-1877	83	120	42	51	48	48	43	43	23	25	16	17	7	7	7	7	15	15	18	18	11	11	11	11									
1877-1878																																	
1878-1879																																	
1879-1880																																	
1880-1881																																	
1881-1882	48		52	42		41	21	13	15	14	15	32	18	19																			
1882-1883	42		41	47	35	22	15	12	12	25	18	16	18	16																			
1883-1884	34		46	35	25	20	11	11	8	6	35	31	20	11																			
1884-1885	42		38	36	34	19	12	8	13	24	18	15	20	15																			
1885-1886	24		37	28	32	15	15	15	16	10	25	21	25	6																			
1886-1887	40		46	42	30	26	8	19	17	18	24	24	18	24																			
1887-1888	24		49	38	37	18	18	14	14	20	14	19	18	18																			

Data on the Roman Catholic School for Girls...

1889-1890	41	46	49	32	22	23	12	12	24	18	15	15	13	13	
1890-1891	23	42	38	40			13	17	16	14					
1891-1892	57	49	39	34			10	20	23	10					
1892-1893	47	50	38	25											
1893-1894	31	53	44	28			22	16	28	19					
1894-1895	35	61	51	47											
1895-1896	42	58	58	52			27	27	26	12					
1896-1897							23	20	24	23					
1897-1898							17	22	27	20					
1898-1899	68	47	54	46			15	23	27	21					
1899-1900	72	61	58	46	37	23	19	20	22	20					
1900-1901	64	46	58	58	44	21	24	25	19	17					
1901-1902	82	48	49	65	40	37	26	21	29	22					
1902-1903	72	47	52	48	65	35	31	23	21	27					
1903-1904	59	73	47	48	37	49	25	26	33	20					
1904-1905	39	47	68	41	35	34	20	29	31	26					
1905-1906	37	44	60	54	35	27	18	15	34	24					
1906-1907	37	45	52	55	35	25	23	18	20	23					
1907-1908	42	39	43	45	42	32									
1908-1909	43 M 3	40 M 3	41 m 3	38 m 3	24		18	31	16	20					
							V.VI classes are								
1909-1910	31	41	38	42	27		12	24	32	24					
1910-1911	26	30	47	39			24	14	25	30					
1911-1912	21	22	27	28			17	26	21	23					
								I-II classes are							
1912-1913	15	16	20	26			30		24 M 2	25					
1913-1914	11	20	21	25			26	19	21	24					

		statistics																		
years	I semester class	religion roman catholic	greek catholic	lutheran	helvete	jewish	minority			romanian	romanian catholic	II semester roman catholic	greek catholic	lutheran	helvete	jewish	hungarian	german	slovensh	romanian
							hungarian	german	slovensh											
1862-1863	I class	10					10				9									
	II class	13		1			14				13			1						
	III class	23	1	2			22	2	1	1	20	1		2						1
	IV class	8					7	1			8									8
1869-1870	I class	13	1				10	2	1	20	1									2
	II class	13	1				10	3	1	14										2
	III class	22	1	21			21	1		24	1									2
	IV class	24					23	1		26										26
1870-1871	I class	13					13			13										13
	II class	15	1	1			12	3		15				1						12
	III class	17		2			17	2	1	17	1			2						17
	IV class	23					23			23										23
1874-1875	I class	6									12									1
	II class	12		1						6										
	III class	28	1			2				28	1									2
	IV class	11	1			2				12	1									2
1875-1876	V-VI class	10					2			10										2
	I class	3	1			4	2	5	1	8	1									3
	II class	7					7			7										7
	III class	17	1				17			22				1						18
1876-1877	IV class	15		1		2	15	3		15				1						15
	V class	14				1	12	2		13										12
	VI class	10				6	11	5		11										5
	I class	6				1	3	4	6	74	11			6						29
1876-1877	II class	6				1	5	2	1	51	1		4							19
	III class	13	1			1	13	1	2	22	2		1							23
	IV class	18				14	4	4	4	26	5		2							10
	V class	10				1	8	3	1	7	1		1							16
1876-1877	VI class	11					8	3	1	4			2							10
																				5

AN-SJBh, *Documents of the Ursuline Roman Catholic School for Girls*, pack 1, f. 1-29; pack 2, f. 1-13; pack 3, f. 1-55; pack 4, f. 1-7; pack 5, f. 1-133; pack 6, f. 1-155; pack 7 f. 1-64; pack 8, f.1-119; pack 9 ,f.1-112; pack 10, f. 1-113; pack 11,f. 1-89; pack 12, f. 1-136; pack 13, f. 1-183; pack 14, f. 1-139; pack 15, f. 1-165; pack 16, f. 1-148; pack 17, f. 1-113; pack 18, f. 1-97; pack 19, f. 1-129;

THE PERIODICAL *TRIBUNA POPORULUI* ON THE BRITISH MILITARY INTERVENTION DURING THE SECOND PHASE OF THE ANGLO-BOER WAR (FEBRUARY–NOVEMBER 1900)

*Daciana ERZSE**

Abstract. *The present paper aims at presenting the British military intervention during the second phase of the Anglo-Boer war using information that was published in the periodical “Tribuna poporului” at that time. The entire world was following the course of the war and Romania made no exception. Following the trend, the periodical “Tribuna poporului” was abreast with the events and its pages abound in articles, some of them true to reality while some of them were distorted by the British generals so as not to cause unrest among the British population.*

Keywords: *Anglo-Boer war, Transvaal, Orange Free State, British army, guerrilla war*

In the second phase of the Anglo-Boer war, the inability to defeat the Boers led to the replacement of General Buller with General Frederick Roberts as commander-in-chief. Following his order, Commander John D. P. French with substantial reinforcements launched the counter-offensive to relieve the garrisons of Kimberley (15 February) and Ladysmith (28 February), thus making General Piet Cronje and 4,000 of his troops surrender and weakening the Boers fighting force. While withdrawing, the Boer troops destroyed the bridges and means of communication between the towns of Ladysmith and Glencoe and blew up the gold mines in the area, causing enormous damage and slowing the advancing British troops¹. These new victories did not alter the belief that the world had in the Boers' victory. The Boers who participated in the siege of Mafeking rushed to aid General Joubert, who was with his troops in northern Orange and who soon had small clashes with the English army. Were he to have lost, the Boers in the Orange Free State would have been determined to cross the border into Transvaal and fight until the last drop of blood². Meanwhile, the population of Cape Colony started a mutiny against the British and whole Afrikaner troops joined the Boer forces in the Orange Free State.

The South African republics were willing to fight to the end if England continued the war. However, high government officials felt that England should start reconciliation talks because its prestige in the world had been achieved as a result of recent military victories. Therefore, Presidents Kruger and Steyn decided

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¹ *Tribuna poporului*, 1900, nr. 25, p. 3; nr. 38, p. 2.

² *Ibidem*, nr. 37, p. 2

to send a telegram to that effect to Lord Joseph Chamberlain, in which to state that maintaining the independence of the two republics was a sine qua non condition. The English Government agreed to make peace on condition that the two presidents to be dismissed, their parties to give up power and the army to lay down their weapons. Instead, the Boers had the right to maintain all possessions under British rule³. Under these circumstances, the presidents of the two Boer countries ordered to continue the war.

The Boer troops led by General Cronje seized several positions occupied by the British during the battles carried out at Paardeberg and Koodoosrand. The Boers had to deal with a fierce battle with the British who tried to besiege Cronje's camp. Casualties were significant on both sides. Cronje asked for a 24-hour truce so that he could bury the Boers killed at Paardeberg; however, having misunderstood that he wanted to surrender, the British notified him to go to the British camp; Cronje responded with gunfire. On 27 February, as he was not getting any help during an eight-day-battle, General Cronje was forced to surrender with all his troops consisting of 3,600 Boers, and they were all taken to Capstadt. 2,000 Boers lost their lives during the fight. The British managed to capture 5-6 canons, the rest being immersed in the river Modder at Cronje's order⁴. Although this victory caused great joy in England, the British concern was not over, because Joubert's army was to confront the British one. Cronje was praised for his bravery of holding up Roberts' army consisting of 50,000 people for a whole week. Roberts and Kitchener were the only British generals who had not been defeated by the Boers until that moment⁵.

General Cronje's surrender was seen as a change in the Boers' tactics. It was believed that the Boers would abandon all those positions that the English could besiege and that they would retreat to their country. By the end of February 1900, England had sent over 150,000 people to war since its outburst, thus making impossible for the Boers to prevent the British troops from entering their territories. The Boers had the advantage that their country was a mountainous area with many ravines, the roads were few and the rail lines went through areas that were easy to defend. While the Boers could be considered true guerrillas – they were accustomed to the climate, rode their horses, knew the country very well, they were good marksmen, they were tireless, carrying their own food and water, had good leaders - the British were demanding, their good generals had been injured or killed and could not do without a map in a mountainous region. British losses totalled 16,472 officers and men⁶.

On 1 March 1900, the Boers left Ladysmith following the troops led by general Roberts that were advancing towards Bloemfontein, the capital of the Orange Free State. The Boers left all British provinces, General Joubert concentrating his army of 50,000 people near the city of Bloemfontein⁷.

³ *Ibidem*, nr. 41, p. 3

⁴ *Ibidem*, nr. 28, p. 2; , nr.29, p. 3; nr. 32, p. 2-3; nr. 33, p. 2.

⁵ *Ibidem*, nr.36, p. 2.

⁶ *Ibidem*, nr. 33, p. 2; nr. 40, p. 3.

⁷ *Ibidem*, nr. 33, p. 2.

On March 9, the English army was again defeated at Mafeking and Dordrecht. British casualties amounted to 70 and the Boers took weapons and ammunition and cut off communication lines between Kimberley and Capstadt⁸. The same day, the representatives of foreign powers in Pretoria were summoned to a meeting, during which they were asked to intervene with their governments to stop the bloodshed. On this occasion, the conditions for reconciliation of the English government were discussed: “*presidents Kruger and Steyn to be removed from their positions, their parties to give up power, current representative bodies to be dissolved and the whole army to lay down their weapons. In return, the Boers can maintain, under English rule, all possessions in addition to ensuring full equality-entitlements*”⁹. The two presidents decided to continue the war, the Boers being determined to make the British pay dearly for every step they made on the territory of the two free states. They also intended not to let the British arrive in Pretoria and they declared that they would submit their weapons over their dead bodies¹⁰.

On 10 March, the army led by Lord Robertson defeated the Boer army at Driefontein¹¹ and, on 13 March, it captured Bloemfontein, the capital of the Orange Free State (on 28 May the province was annexed and renamed the Orange River Colony), without encountering any resistance from the Boers, most of their armies being concentrated elsewhere, and seized the whole territory until May. General Cronje was deported to the island of St. Helena, where he would remain until the war ended¹². During the besiege of Bloemfontein, General Roberts committed a series of illegal acts of revolting brutality: he seized the goods belonging to the residents of Orange, judged people who were guilty of nothing but fighting for their country, and he dismissed the president of Orange. The United States offered to intervene for peace, but England refused this intervention, proving its disregard for the opinion of the entire world or for the international law¹³.

Although Lord Roberts went on winning victory after victory, the war changed. The Boers seemed less and less willing to defend their cities. All Boer troops withdrew north of Orange, on the way to Johannesburg without Roberts’ troops being able to hinder their unification. The Boers were very well organized and, therefore, they could withstand the British army for a long time; now that they were under unified leadership, Kruger proclaimed the annexation of Orange to the republic presided over by him¹⁴.

According to “*The Times*” newspaper, the strategic movements of the Boer army led by Kruger himself, were superior to those led by General Roberts, so that they delayed the British troops advancing towards Kroonstad, Pretoria, where there was a large number of invincible Boer troops and reinforcements. On March 17, the city Victoriawest was occupied by indigenous inhabitants and the British fled to Capstadt. The Boers destroyed railroads and communication lines in several

⁸ *Ibidem.*, nr. 39, p. 5; nr. 40, p. 3; nr 41, p. 3.

⁹ *Ibidem.*, p. 3. Citation translated by the author.

¹⁰ *Ibidem.*, nr. 43, p. 7.

¹¹ *Ibidem.*, nr 41, p. 3.

¹² *Ibidem.*, nr. 44; p. 3.

¹³ *Ibidem.*, nr. 51, p. 2.

¹⁴ *Ibidem.*, nr. 45; p. 3.

provinces so that the British army could not be able to use them¹⁵. On March 22, after a long struggle, the English led by General Gatacre were defeated by the Boers at Kronstadt and many soldiers were taken prisoners. After the occupation of Kronstadt, the Boers withdrew, carrying all wagons and ammunitions with them. The food for people and cattle was burned. On 26 March, 400 Boers were able to reoccupy the city Griquatown and capture "*the loyal inhabitants of the city*"¹⁶. The same day, the army of Lord Methuen, who had been on its way to release Mafeking, was defeated by the Boers at Lobatsi¹⁷.

Following the recent victories, the Boers planned the union of Transvaal with Orange Free State, under the leadership of Kruger, as the president and Steyn, as the army commander-in-chief¹⁸. In addition, they were working hard on strengthening Pretoria, digging deep trenches and gathering ammunition and food supplies for the country to be ready in case of a prolonged siege. Commander Steyn urged the Boers to join the troops; otherwise they would be considered traitors of the motherland¹⁹.

Towards the end of March, Mafeking was under siege, Lord Roberts being unable to send more military troops for its release. Only two British troops were fighting for its release, one from the north, another from the south²⁰.

The Boers seized the small towns of Griquatown (on March 26) and Papkuel (on March 27) and the rebels were forced to join the Boers in Transvaal. However, the British troops sent there or to Bradford failed to banish the Boers²¹. It was only at the end of March that the British army finally managed to defeat the small Boer army in the fight near Karice, which lasted for only three hours²².

On April 2, the Boers attacked the troops under General Broadwood. Taken by surprise near Bloemfontein, the British were unable to defend themselves. The commander ordered that most of the army to withdraw, and he stayed behind to oversee the withdrawal. After walking for 4 hours, near Modder River, the British were surrounded by the Boers who had been waiting for them, being forced to surrender again. Trying to withdraw, 250 British were taken prisoners and all their guns were captured. The Boer generals' plans of surrounding the British army and cutting the communication lines between them and Kimberley, came true the next day, when General Roberts' army was surrounded on three sides by the Boer armies from Bloemfontein to Bradford: the generals Delarey and Devet in the area of Vinburg; the troops led by general Lubbet between Jacobsdal, Bultfontein and Paardeberg; near Bloemfontein, the Boers seized the establishments that supplied water to the city, leaving the British in danger of being unable to supply drinking water²³. The success was due to the fact that the Boer army took possession of

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, nr. 46; p. 3.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, nr. 51; p. 3, *Press*, volume LVII, nr 10616, Canterbury, 28 March 1900, p. 5.

¹⁷ *Tribuna poporului*, 1900, nr. 49; p. 3.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, nr. 48; p. 3.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, nr. 50, p. 2.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, nr. 51, p. 2; nr. 51, p. 3.

²¹ *Ibidem*, nr. 51, p. 3; nr. 52, p. 3; nr. 55, p. 3.

²² *Ibidem*, nr. 55, p. 3.

²³ *Ibidem*, nr. 56, p. 3; nr. 57, p. 3.

secret documents containing plans for British attacks on the cities of Bloemfontein, Brandtford, Vynburg, Ventersburg and Kroonstadt; however, the Boers also captured a chest that contained statements made by some Boers in Orange in which they expressed the desire to abandon the war against the British. The Boers signatories of statements were summoned to the main camp of the Boers, where they were explained that the statements given to the British were not valid because they were forcibly taken from them²⁴.

The defeats on March 31 and April 2 and the Boers' excellent strategic moves kept the British army in place. They could not advance towards Pretoria, as there were Boer troops and reinforcements in Kronstadt that could hardly be overcome²⁵.

On 9 April, Roberts' troops were caught on their way, on a road of 160 kilometres, from Sanna to Jagersfontein. Roberts' spearhead was surrounded by the Boers under the command of General Banks, thereby completely blocking the British advance. The Boers, led by General De Wett, caught the British by surprise again near Modder where part of the artillery was destroyed and the rest captured. In addition, all ammunition was confiscated from the British by the Boers. Thus, the English army was blocked in Bloemfontein without any ammunition, enough food and water, without cattle or winter clothing and many British soldiers were getting sick. The situation was even more desperate as the Boers destroyed the railways, thus blocking the possible assistance needed in the Cape Colony²⁶. Due to the lack of winter clothes, Roberts could not take any action with his soldiers. Moreover, he estimated that he needed 2.5 million soldiers to defeat the Boers²⁷.

After the military occupation of Mafeking by the Boer army on April 10²⁸, the British were defeated at Smithfield, then at Bloemfontein (which was bombed relentlessly by the Boers to prevent General Roberts from sending troops to help) and near the city Kroonstadt (which was proclaimed the provisional capital of Orange)²⁹. At Merkatfontein, the Boers led by General De Wett defeated the British; six hundred Englishmen were killed and nine hundred captured along with 12 wagons; the rest fled to Bloemfontein. Among the Boers, only 5 died and 9 were injured³⁰.

In Pretoria, a new legion consisting of Italians, French, Dutch, Germans and Irish, equipped with spears, was set up in order to assist the Boers. In south-western provinces, especially in Swellendam and Caledon, the behaviour of the Dutch was causing problems to the British and it was believed that they were waiting for the right moment to rebel³¹.

The Boer military attack on the army led by General Brabant at Wepener lasted for six weeks, until the end of April. The British army consisted of about 2-3.000 soldiers, the number of Boers being unknown. The Boer army continually

²⁴ *Ibidem*, nr. 59, p. 2.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, nr. 58, p. 2.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, nr. 60, p. 3, nr. 61, p. 2-3.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, nr. 67, p. 2.

²⁸ *Ibidem*, nr. 61, p. 2-3.

²⁹ *Ibidem*, nr. 61, p. 2-3; nr. 62, p. 2.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, nr. 62, p. 2; *The Times*, 1900, nr. 54, p. 1; *Los Angeles Herald*, 11 aprilie 1900, p. 2.

³¹ *Tribuna poporului*, 1900, nr. 62, p. 2; nr. 63, p. 3.

increasing, it managed to capture 500 oxen, many horses and mules. Commander Frohmann banished all the British who came to the aid of the beleaguered. A body of army consisting of 2,000 Boers marched to Springfontein from Smithfield, located between Wepener and Springfontein³². The British under the command of Gatacre, who had come to liberate Wepener, were attacked by Boers at Wetsdorp, but the latter ones were forced to flee after a fierce battle and great losses³³. On the other hand, Lord Roberts sent half the troops in Bloemfontein - 30,000 soldiers - to release Wepener, to besiege the Boers, to defeat them and advance towards Transavaal. The British troops, divided into five divisions, prevented the siege of the city Wepener by the Boers, who withdrew while the British troops were approaching³⁴. In fact, the purpose of a part of the Boer army was to retain the British in one place, while they reinforced their positions elsewhere. When this was done, the Boers withdrew. They ceded Wepener because they could not measure forces with the British there³⁵.

During their withdrawal from Wetsdrop and Bloemfontein, the Boers stopped at Tabanchu where they caused great damage to the British troops. The British, led by generals French and Hamilton, struggled to seize Tabanchu from the Boers, but they retreated in the mountains around the village Houtnek, in the province of Morocco, where they occupied strategic positions, being able to gather a large military force if needed. Thus, on the one hand, they rejected Roberts' plan to advance towards Pretoria and, on the other hand, they used the British inability to operate in the south again³⁶.

There were fights between the artilleries of both sides in Bloemfontein on 1 May, which shows that General Roberts was approaching Kronstad. As a result, the Boers led by General Botha left Kronstad and concentrated their troops across the Vaal River, on the border with Transavaal, with favourable strategic positions. The city of Brandfort, located halfway to Kronstad, was seized without the Boers trying to defend it. Instead, the Boers were seeking to block the advancing troops led by Generals Hamilton, Rundle and Brabant that were heading to Kronstadt. On 12 May General Roberts entered with his troops in the former capital of Orange, Kronstadt, the new residence of the state being Heilbron. The Boers did not fight back, concentrating their forces at Vaal River, between the hills. The Boers withdrew from Kronstadt, taking with them all the ammunition and burning the cattle food they could not carry³⁷.

Meanwhile, the city of Mafeking was bombed continuously by the Boers, while the typhus was raging among the British residents and soldiers³⁸. The Boers burned down the district inhabited by the indigenous, deserting it completely. Thus,

³² *Ibidem*, nr. 63, p. 3, *The Times*, 1900, nr. 54, p. 1.

³³ *Tribuna poporului*, 1900, nr. 68, p. 1-2.

³⁴ *Ibidem*, nr. 69, p. 2.

³⁵ *Ibidem*, nr. 70, p. 2-3; nr. 89, p. 7.

³⁶ *Ibidem*, nr. 74, p. 7; nr. 75, p. 3.

³⁷ *Ibidem*, nr. 82, p. 2.

³⁸ *Ibidem*, nr. 73, p. 3; nr. 78, p. 2-3, nr. 80, p. 3.

the import of food over Delagoa Bay was stopped, which mostly affected the British prisoners, being the last food to be distributed from Transvaal³⁹.

President Steyn declared that the residents of Orange Free State, regardless of their nationality, would fight to the last drop of blood under the command of the Boers and that the British should not be expected to make peace with them. The two republics were still united by the same spirit of solidarity⁴⁰.

After mid-May, the British continued to be defeated in Kraplan (under the leadership of General Barton), at Nebtu, Halbron and Witwatersrand. In Witwatersrand, the Boers, under Botha's command, rejected the British attack and occupied their positions, causing them heavy losses⁴¹. The governments of Transvaal and Orange were considering new projects for the peace; in Pretoria a conference was held between Presidents Kruger and Steyn, as they were working on a new proposal for England's government in order to conclude peace⁴².

The arrival of 221,000 British soldiers in the two Boer republics, ten times more than the overall numbers of the Boer army, left no alternative for the Boers but to surrender, giving the impression to the world that the war was about to end. While President Kruger wanted to continue fighting, Steyn supported the peace. After General Roberts entered Johannesburg without encountering resistance from the Boers and without much loss, Orange Free State was officially annexed to the British Empire. In this context, President Kruger notified Roberts that Transvaal colony was ready to surrender if he himself was permitted to remain in the country; however, Roberts wanted the unconditional surrender and annexation of Transvaal to the British Empire⁴³.

Daily Mail published the news received from Lourenco-Marquez, the capital of Mozambique, according to which the Boer commander Krause gave in Johannesburg to Lord Roberts and Pretoria, the capital of Transvaal, surrendered to the British without resistance on 30 May. The first thing General Roberts did was to liberate the British prisoners. President Kruger left Pretoria before the arrival of the British. It seems that the British were quick to announce their victory in Transvaal, Pretoria being still under the dominion of the Boers who did not want to give in too easily. The Transvaalian Government moved residence to Middleburg, between the mountains, where they brought together all forces, about 20,000 people for one last shot. And Kruger, the president of Orange, who had stated that he would never obey the British rule, was still at Middlesburg. After 2 June 1900, fierce fighting occurred at Glasfontein, Vinterrdburg, Harrysmith, Kronstadt and Lindenburg⁴⁴.

On June 4, General Roberts made the statement that Johannesburg was officially handed in (previous news were, therefore, expectations), after fighting around the city. During the same day, the Boer troops attacked the British at Kronstadt and Lindenburg⁴⁵.

³⁹ *Ibidem*, nr. 83, p. 3.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, nr. 81, p. 3; nr. 82, p. 2.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, nr. 85, p. 2; nr. 89, p. 2; nr. 91, p. 3; nr. 94, p. 3.

⁴² *Ibidem*, nr. 86, p. 3.

⁴³ *Ibidem*, nr. 93, p. 2-3; nr. 94, p. 3.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, nr. 94, p. 3; nr. 95, p. 3; nr. 96, p. 3; nr. 97, p. 3.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, nr. 97, p. 3.

On June 5, the council of war decided not to have the capital defended and the army to retreat in the mountains. Therefore, Kruger decided to leave Pretoria and Commander Botha asked for a truce to determine the conditions of surrender, but Roberts called for the unconditional surrender of Pretoria. In these circumstances, Botha declared that he would not defend the city, trusting that the British would spare the women, children and the citizens' possessions⁴⁶.

The Boers left Pretoria and retreated into the mountains, where they were well housed. Considering that they had nothing to lose, they wanted to continue the war until the last drop of blood, and felt that as long as there were 500 Boers under arms, the war would not be terminated. Lydenburg was the first place in which they retreated and defended against enemy positions⁴⁷.

In the Orange Free State, now considered a British and pacified territory, well organized guerrilla struggles occurred, to which British troops were powerless. Thus, the British generals Braban and Warren lost battles with the Boers, and suffered significant losses; General Buller also fell into the Boers' snare; the Boers called a truce for three days and met General Botha for the application to be fulfilled; finally the British had to evacuate Utrecht and withdraw from Mount-Prospecte⁴⁸.

After mid-June, the series of defeats suffered by the British army continued with the battles at Frostefabriken, Donkersneck and Bloemfontein⁴⁹, but the British, led by General Knos, were able to repel the Boer attacks on their garrison near Zand Rivier, Orange. The new government of Cape Colony was established, having Gordon-Sprigg as the president and the capital of Orange Free State now became the city of Bethlehem⁵⁰.

General De Wett's troops from Orange (6000 Boers) were joined by the 2,500 soldiers in General Botha's army and several small bands consisting of 1,500 Boers. Although Kruger chose Lydenburg as the place for Boers' residence, that was not their last refuge, but Magatoland, which was an ideal place to retreat, with two outputs; moreover, the whole region was a series of fortresses crossed by rich vegetation. To get access there, the English army had to make huge expenses to organize transportation; a portion of the road was practicable, yet in an 80-mile route it was impossible for an army to move. They also had to cross Magato mountains, where there was only one straight road, which, besides the fact that it was guarded by a fort built recently, it was very rough and rocky. In fact, the Boers relied on the assumption that if British troops settled in the valley before climbing the mountain, they could be decimated with rifles by the Boers⁵¹.

On June 26, near the town of Heilbron (the capital of Orange Free State from 13 March 1900 until the occupation of Bloemfontein, a few weeks later), the Boers captured 50 wagons full of ammunition and supplies, guarded by 150 British soldiers, and managed to chase the British who came to help. The Boers also

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, nr. 99, p. 3.

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, nr. 100, p. 2.

⁴⁸ *Idem*.

⁴⁹ *Tribuna popurului*, 1900, nr. 104, p. 3; nr. 105, p. 3.

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, nr. 108, p. 1-2.

⁵¹ *Ibidem*, nr. 108, p. 3.

attacked a British regiment, killing 35 soldiers and taking the rest prisoners⁵². The same day, the Boers, under the leadership of De Wett, attacked a convoy that was heading towards the garrison in Lindley. Although the Boers captured 400 soldiers and 26 wagons, the British managed to arrive at Lindley⁵³.

On July 12, the Boers captured the garrison at Nitrals Neck, located 18 miles from Pretoria, though strongly strengthened by the British. The aid sent by General Roberts arrived on time, but the whole garrison was defeated and most of Scottish troops became prisoners in the hands of the Boers and the majority of horses were shot⁵⁴. Meanwhile, other British troops were attacked in Derdeport, north of Pretoria, where the British finally withdrew. Krugersdorp, about 18 miles northwest of Johannesburg, was also attacked, but the Boers were rejected. The attacks on the British positions close to Pretoria are significant for the inaccuracies of the information received by the British population regarding the activities that were carried out by the two colonies.

The American Government and President McKinley, taking into account the stipulations of The Hague declaration, decided it would be better not to meddle between the two belligerents, considering that they had done everything possible, and they should maintain their position of neutrality. On the other hand, the leaders of the Boer army felt that "*Europe was standing indifferent in the face of the crimes committed by the British*". Because they failed to obtain the intervention of the great powers in the matter of war, the Boers sent a memorandum to the Paris Peace Congress with a request to establish a commission to intervene in solving the problem⁵⁵.

Amid the evolution of the war in China, the news arriving in our country on the Anglo-Boer war became increasingly rare. In early August, the telegrams sent from Transvaal to London show that some groups of Boers surrendered to the British; and from Pretoria it was heard that General Botha and President Kruger had issued a proclamation that all damages caused by the British would be compensated for, provided that the owners of destroyed houses or assets continued to be involved in the war⁵⁶. Moreover, President Kruger encouraged the Boers not to lay down their arms and to disobey the British, believing that it was better to die than to be sent to St. Helena Island⁵⁷.

The Boer Generals Botha, Mayer and Schalk Burger met at Macadodorp together with the whole artillery. On 25 August, 20,000 Boers had enough food and ammunition to continue fighting. General Botha had an army of 5,000 people on the west of Machadodrop and 2,000 Boers at Dalmanatha, who were working on strengthening their positions. There were also some Boers north of Belfast, with guns. President Kruger was with his army at Druckwatter. The Transvaal Boers were also willing to continue guerrilla warfare. Although the number of Boers was

⁵² *Ibidem*, nr. 113, p. 7.

⁵³ *Ibidem*, nr. 115, p. 2; nr. 135, p. 3.

⁵⁴ *Ibidem*, nr. 123, p. 3.

⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, nr. 118, p. 2, nr. 127, p. 7, nr. 131, p. 3.

⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, nr. 139, p. 3.

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, nr. 150, p. 2.

lower than that of British soldiers (215,000), the latter could not crush the two republics into submission⁵⁸.

When Transvaal was annexed on 1 September 1900, for many it seemed that the war was finally over. However, some Boers refused to surrender, choosing to pursue a guerrilla war. The months of September and October were marked by a series of victories for the Boers. Thus, many Boer troops, equipped with guns, attacked the town of Ladybrand, Orange. The British soldiers found themselves forced to burn all the ammunition so that it did not reach the hands of the Boers. On 5 September, De Wett's army attacked the railroad near Kronstadt and took 19 wagons with food and 25 wagons of ammunition from the British. Following the battle of Ravikor between Colonel Plummer's army and the Boer troops, both belligerents suffered great losses. The Boers' plan of destroying the aqueducts in Johannesburg failed. It was reported from Durban that the British infantry and cavalry troops fell into the hands of the Boers on September 6. Four days later, on the south of Kliprivier, the Boers destroyed and captured a railroad train. On 18 September, the Boers blew up the bridge at Kaapmuiden, besieged the British garrison at Renke and destroyed 300 wagons of ammunition. On September 22, they destroyed the bridge over the Komati River, disrupting train running. The Boers, whose number amounted to 12,000, continued to fight with a rare enthusiasm, especially since President Steyn and Reiz, the State Secretary of Transvaal, were fighting side by side. Their goal was to break all communication paths linking the British troops. Once they had destroyed many big guns so as not to fall into the hands of the British, the Boer Generals Botha and Viljoen withdrew to Mount Limpopo where they met De Wett, Steyn and Delarey, being determined to fight till the end⁵⁹.

On September 28, President Kruger went to Europe to ask for the intervention of the Great Powers so that the Boers would be granted full autonomy under British sovereignty⁶⁰. The Irish declared their support for the Boers, thus manifesting their hatred against the English. The Irish political parties sent a telegram to President Kruger in Port Said, expressing their hope that the Boers would manage to persuade the foreign nations and their governments on the rightfulness of their cause. Kruger was well received in France, where a demonstration against the British was organized during which the French chanted "*Down with the British! Throw them into the sea!*"⁶¹.

On 1 October, the Boers bombed Buller's army near Krugersport. A troop of 200 horsemen went to capture the Boer guns, but before they arrived, the Boers had gathered everything and disappeared. On October 4, the Boers attacked a convoy of 21 wagons of ammunition and only 12 Englishmen escaped alive. The Boers derailed a train near Pom, where there were three British battalions, many of their soldiers dying or being injured. The battalion of volunteers that came to help the British attacked a group of Boers near Baldfontein thinking they would catch

⁵⁸ *Ibidem*, nr. 150, p. 2; nr. 151, p. 3.

⁵⁹ *Ibidem*, nr. 158, p. 3; nr. 159, p. 7; nr. 190, p. 3; nr. 167, p. 3; nr. 169, p. 3; nr. 171, p. 3; nr. 172, p. 2.

⁶⁰ *Ibidem*, nr. 163, p. 2; nr. 167, p. 3.

⁶¹ *Ibidem*, nr. 208, p. 2; nr. 211, p. 3.

them off guard. The Boers were, however, tougher than they had thought, and the British were forced to withdraw. The British army also suffered heavy losses at Kaapmuiden, on the bridge over Krokodilrivier, where the Boers caused a train derailment; 3 people were killed, one officer and 15 soldiers were seriously injured and 40 cattle were killed. When the English General Paget together with 18 soldiers and Captain Steward with 40 soldiers went to the place of tragedy, the Boers fired at them. In the exchange of shots between the two camps, the British had substantial losses. On October 16 during the battle of Jagersfontein between the Boers and the British, both the armies suffered great casualties: 9 British soldiers were killed and two seriously injured, while many more Boers died or were injured. For several days, Lord Methuen and Colonel Douglas fought against the Boer troops led by Delarey and Lenner. On 24 October, near Hoopstaad, the British fought a fierce battle with the Boers under the command of Lutroit, Viljoen, Potgieter and Devilliers. The British lost the battle despite their two cannons, which the Boers bombed until the British abandoned them. The city of Vycksburg and its surroundings were now in the hands of the Boers, under the command of Germanus Stein; they robbed the shops in this city and mocked the English flag. They also took all the British ammunition and weapons, which were left while the British were drawing off⁶².

In the following days, numerous British soldiers and officers lost their lives or were injured in the clashes with the Boers. General French, on his way from Karolina to Bethel encountered the Boers' resistance. 36 British soldiers or officers died. In Zeerust, the Boers attacked Methuen's ammunition wagons, killing an officer and several soldiers and wounding one officer and eight soldiers. General Barton's troops were attacked at Frederikstadt, where two officers and soldiers were taken prisoner, and there were several dead or wounded⁶³.

On October 27, the government in Kapstadt declared the annexation of Transvaal to the British Empire. President Kruger, who had become a fugitive in Europe, was asking for help in vain. After capturing the two capitals, many British observers felt the war had ended. General Roberts returned to London, being appointed the supreme commander of the English army.

⁶² *Ibidem*, nr. 177, p. 2; nr. 180, p. 3; nr. 183, p. 3; nr. 189, p. 3; nr. 194, p. 3; nr. 201, p. 2.

⁶³ *Ibidem*, nr. 192, p. 7.

HISTORICAL REFERENCES ON THE RESCUE OF THE JEWS FROM HUNGARY AND NORTHERN TRANSYLVANIA (1944) IN WORKS PUBLISHED IN 1985

*Antonio FAUR**

Abstract. *The author analyses the main works published in Romania in 1985 mentioning comments, remarks and documentary information on the actions of rescuing from certain death several Jews from Hungary and Northern Transylvania in the spring and summer of the year 1944. The action involved some connections for illegal crossings of the border between Hungary and Romania. They were Romanian inhabitants of villages lying close to the border. Besides notes mentioning the importance of such actions of human solidarity, the works make general references of great importance, so that the year 1985 shows continuity and contains progressive elements needed for a scientific work within the framework of this historical issue.*

Keywords: *Northern Transylvania, Jews rescue, 1985, Oliver Lustig, R.L. Braham.*

For over a decade, we have been concerned with researching and assessing from a historical point of view historical works including memorialist testimonies and interpretations concerning the actions of saving the Jews from Hungary and Northern Transylvania (in the year 1944) by helping them to illegally cross the border from Hungary to Romania¹.

Ion Calafeteanu's work on *Poziția autorităților românești față de situația evreilor din Transilvania de Nord (martie-august 1944)/Position of the Romanian Authorities Regarding the Situation of the Jews in Northern Transylvania (March-August 1944)*² was published in the year 1985. The work is based on documents

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¹See Antonio Faur, "Problematika salvării evreilor din Transilvania de Nord și Ungaria (1944). Percepții istoriografice (1944-1946)", in *Crisia*, 2011, pp. 255-261; Idem, „Reflectarea în memorialistică (1946-1976) a activităților de salvare de la moarte a evreilor din Ungaria și Transilvania de Nord (1944)", in *Analele Banatului Fascicola Istorie-Arheologie*, XIX, 2011, pp. 523-527; Idem, „Problematika salvării de la moarte (în anul 1944) a evreilor din Ungaria și Transilvania de Nord, în perioada 1980-1984", in memorial volumul *Seminatores in Artium Liberalium Agro. Studia in honorem memoriam Barbu Ștefănescu*, Editura Academiei Române, Centrul de Studii Transilvane, Cluj-Napoca, 2014, pp. 499-504.

²*Anale de Istorie*, 1985, no. 1, pp. 102-111.

belonging to the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (most of them very new) and makes an important contribution to knowing the way in which the Romanian Government acted on the matter mentioned in the title of this paper. As Ion Calafeteanu points out, “the special interest of the Romanian authorities in the Jews’ situation in Horthyst Hungary may be better understood if we compare it to the Romanian – Hungarian relations at the time, if we consider that the anti-Semite policy of the Horthyst Government hit the Jewish population in Northern Romania, a region taken due to the Dictate of Vienna..., a Romanian territory that the Romanian Government could not avoid being interested in”.

A memo sent by the Romanian Special Intelligence Unit stated that the “passage of the Jewish refugees from Hungary to Romania *has been so far strongly supported*”³ (underl. – A/N) by the Romanian inhabitants and by the Romanian local authorities.

We have to mention that at least two historiographic sources appeared the same year. We firstly refer to a *reply* (published by Oliver Lustig in *România literară*⁴ referring to the comments of a foreign author to his book entitled *Dicționar de lagăr*⁵/*Camp Dictionary* published in 5000 copies in Hungarian at Dacia Publishing House in Cluj-Napoca.

In his intervention⁶, E. Féher Pál does not agree to the following fragment in O. Lustig’s book: “Himmler, with Eichmann’s help and the support of the whole S.S. and Gestapo made sure that all Europe, from the West to the East and from the North to the South – France and Belgium, the Netherlands and Greece, Czechoslovakia and Poland, Norway and Italy – would be thoroughly searched. *Yet, there was an exception: Horthyst Hungary. It was not rummaged. Here, the Gestapo did not have to haunt the Jews and waste their time with arresting them, with rummaging cities and villages, as they did in other countries. The Horthysts, the police and the gendarmerie gathered each and every Jew according to the charts recorded with the police and put them... in transition ghettos, then embarked them on cattle waggons and turned them in to the S.S. at the northern border of the country. Waggons would not be opened and the engine would not change. Only the Horthyst policemen were replaced with the S.S. and the train went on to Birkenau-Auschwitz*”⁷ (underl.-A/N).

A highly illuminating quotation from a document elaborated in Budapest (on the 19th of June 1944) is rendered as a counterargument to E. Féher Pál’s assertions. The document spread in official and particular circles in Switzerland. It is as follows: “... the whole Jewish community in Hungary is sentenced to death.

³*Ibidem*, p. 109.

⁴ Oliver Lustig, „Excepție?... Da, a fost excepție!” in *România literară*, 1985, no. 45, p. 8.

⁵The first edition of the book was published in 1982 (see Oliver Lustig’s *Dicționar de lagăr*⁵, Editura Cartea Românească, București, 1982). The book explains for the first time phrases used in the death camps in Auschwitz and Birkenau, phrases that have remained in the memory of the victims.

⁶ E. Féher Pál’s text was published in the Budapest periodical *Népszabadság* (of the Hungarian Workers’ Nationalist Party representing the official point of view of the power in Hungary) dated 10 July 1985.

⁷ Oliver Lustig, „Excepție...?”, p. 8.

There is no way out, no place to hide, we wait for our fate. There is no way to hide in a neighbouring country. *The only country that can be considered is Romania, yet the Hungarians fiercely guard the Hungarian – Romanian border, so that passing it is almost impossible.*⁸ (underl.-A/N)

These were the convictions of the authors of the document from which we have quoted the terrible words above warning countries worldwide that Jews in Hungary were trapped in an iron circle from which they could hardly escape only to Romania.

We have to mention that documents (coming from the Romanian archives⁹) attesting the illegal crossing from Hungary to Romania of thousands of Jews in the summer of 1944 have been recently discovered.

Oliver Lustig's reply to the way in which one of his contemporaries in Budapest understood to show some historical aspects of the Holocaust in Hungary can be considered as an *initial polemic act* paving the way to future contradictions on the topic. It has not been exhausted to this day, which urges us to consider that we deal with an important and controversial historical reality.

The book on *Teroarea horthysto-fascistă în nord-vestul României (septembrie-octombrie 1944)/The Horthyst-Fascist Terror in North-Western Romania (September-October 1944)*¹⁰ published in 1985 covers the tragedy of the Jews in Northern Transylvania in several pages¹¹ (pp251-279). The first lines of the chapter quotes the assertions of the well-known American historian (of Jewish origin) R.L. Braham published in one of his books (edited in 1983). In his opinion, Jews in the area “were *destroyed at an unprecedented rate through the most relentless deportation and the most cruel program of massacrations ever encountered during the war*”¹² (underl.-A/N).

In his book on Horthyst terror, we have to notice some pieces of information less considered, such as the article in the newspaper *Ellenzek* (dated 4 May 1944) bearing the significant title *Jews from Oradea Tried to Escape to Romania*¹³. We also have to investigate a statement that, if confirmed, might be an

⁸*Ibidem*. Apud *Vádirat a nácizmusellen*, Budapest, 1958, vol. 2, p. 253.

⁹ Antonio Faur, *România – „poartă deschisă” pentru salvarea evreilor (aprilie-august 1944) din Ungaria și Transilvania de Nord. Contribuții documentare*, Editura Universității din Oradea, Oradea, 2010, pp. 55-403

¹⁰ Editura Politică, București, 1985, (coord. Mihai Fătu and Mircea Mușat). Oliver Lustig is one of the chapter authors and we may owe the chapter dedicated to the Jews to him.

¹¹ Undoubtedly, images referring to the Jews and their synagogues presented in the book are expressive (see: pp. 255, 256, 260-262, 265-271).

¹² Randolph Braham, *Genocide and Reward*, Boston, Haga-Dordrecht-Lancaster, 1983, p. 691

¹³ Apud *Teroarea horthysto-fascistă...*, p. 268. The *Final Report* of the International Commission for the Study of the Holocaust (p. 351) comprises some surprising statements, such as: „Horthyst Hungary's anti-Semite policy is carefully approached” (in the book on *Teroarea horthysto-fascistă...*), or: “the participation of Hungary is largely debated” (*Ibidem*), which is not true. A more accurate image can be drawn from the perspective of the works on the Holocaust published in 1985-2010. They have broadened the knowledge in the field, so that we can state that the work on *Teroarea horthysto-fascistă* (mainly focusing on the suffering of the Romanian inhabitants in Northern Transylvania during the four years of Horthyst domination over this Romanian territory) has brief comments on

important historiographic source: “Until 20 June 1944, in Oradea only, 960 people were sued (and condemned to hard fines and committed) for the [fact] that they supported the Jewish population” (underl.-A/N)¹⁴. It is thus possible to identify such forms of human solidarity.

Referring to the “days of commitment into ghettos and the deportation of the Jews to the Hitlerite extermination camps”, the author of the fragment dedicated to the Jews in the abovementioned book notices that there were “acts of helping, saving, hiding, sheltering, and *crossing of several Jews*”¹⁵ (children, women, and men), thus saving them from imminent death in the Nazi death camps. *An overwhelming majority of “these highly humanitarian actions came from the Romanian population that expressed their solidarity and offered their support against the Horthyst police and gendarmerie”*¹⁶ (underl.-A/N).

After forty years of silence, when few truths were revealed on the Holocaust and on the actions to save the Jews, such as BélaKatona’s (in 1946) and Dr. Mihai Marina’ (in 1976) evocations, there is a major impact and increase of scientific and publishing concerns in the field. Consequently, we can consider that the works we refer to have completed a chapter in the historiography of the matter that cannot be ignored.

Most contributors are scientific and political Jewish personalities in the country and abroad. Their participation to these events in the Romanian public life has accredited the idea that time has come to unveil the truth on the victims of the Holocaust (1940-1944) in Northern Transylvania and on the operations of salvation (from certain death) of some of them by illegally crossing the border to Romania.

the issue that are based on previous texts (signed by BélaKatona, Mihai Marina, Abraham Iacob, and R. L. Braham) and some documentary sources (see page 271).

¹⁴ Arhivele Naționale-Serviciul Județean Bihor, *fond Primăria Municipiului Oradea*, dos. 419/1944, f. 119, *Ellenzek* (21 June 1944), *Teroarea horthysto-fascistă...*, p. 269.

¹⁵ See examples at pp. 268-269 and 272-278 (*Ibidem*).

¹⁶ *Ibidem*.

ASPECTS REGARDING THE COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA PERFORMED IN FAVOUR OF THE ZONING OF THE ROMANIAN TERRITORY (1950)

*Lucian ROPA**

Abstract: *The communist leadership of Romania has administratively reorganized the national territory in 1950. The Soviet model has been introduced in the administrative-territorial organization of Romania, through which the traditional administrative units (counties, plăși –subdivision of a county) had been replaced with administrative units specific to the Soviet Union: regions and districts.*

In order for the new administrative-territorial organization to be accepted by the population, P.C.R. leaders demanded for a propaganda campaign to be conducted, which aimed to favour the new organization through press and radio as well as through direct meetings of the party activists and the inhabitants.

At a central level a propaganda plan was created for the months preceding the adoption of the Law of Zoning, in which there were provided the tasks for the press, radio and the stirrers' training. This plan was followed and applied, thus being able to notice the way in which a new reality was created through a system of actions and messages.

The media campaign was coordinated by Scânteia publication (the official newspaper of the Communist Party, which published feature articles, that were subsequently taken over by the provincial newspapers. There were published dozen of feature articles, reports, feuilletons, letters of working people and caricatures, in which there were presented the advantages of the new administrative establishment as well as the adherence of all the inhabitants to zoning.

The propaganda in favour of the zoning of the Romanian territory continued even after its adoption in September 1950, but at a lower intensity, since it was considered that the people had already accepted the new administrative reality.

Keywords: *propaganda campaign, administrative zoning, sovietisation, censorship, communist press, Scânteia.*

Although they had announced their intention to completely change the administrative establishment of the country right from their takeover, in March 1945, the communist leadership did not reform the Law of the administrative

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establishment until September 1950, preferring until then to thoroughly settle at the leadership of the country and to take the power in the territory¹.

The Communist Regime was not yet ready for the action of transforming Romania, that is why the laws of administrative establishment of Romania provided by the Antonescu Regime will remain in effect until 1950, by doing this the Antonescu Regime did nothing but to annul the law of the administrative establishment from 1938 and to recall into effect the law from 1925.²

After taking over the central and local government in the country, during 1948-1950, the top forums of the Romanian Worker's Party (P.M.R.) have decided it was time to fundamentally change the administrative-territorial organization of Romania. This is why, the discussions about the zoning of the Romanian People's Republic (R.P.R.) had already started in January 1949, a time when the People's Law was also debated, and, in this regard, the Soviet advisers help was asked³. Despite the fact that there were some voices against this reorganization, the Law No. 5 of September 6, 1950, was imposed to the economical-administrative districting of the R.P.R. territory, which foresaw the cancellation of the traditional territorial-administrative units (counties and their subdivisions) as well as the creation of new administrative units: regions and districts. Although it is clear that the 'region' and the 'district', as territorial-administrative units, had been taken over by the Soviet model, we do not have yet the documentary evidence that the order to change the counties with the regions and districts came from Moscow⁴.

According to the Law of Zoning 58 counties were abolished (as well as 424 subdivisions of these counties and 6.276 rural and urban villages), all these were being replaced by 28 regions, made out of 177 districts, 148 cities and 4.052 villages⁵.

The sovietisation of our country is obvious if we are to analyze the names of the new regions, as it is easy to notice that 7 regions have been called in a Soviet-style, (Baia-Mare, Bârlad, București, Galați, Rodna, Stalin, Timișoara) by city residence region, trying in this way to break the historical tradition.⁶ Also, two of the districts of Bucharest were called Stalin and Lenin, as a sign of appreciation for the two Soviet leaders, and the city Brașov will take Stalin's name in August 1950⁷.

This law introduced new territorial-administrative units, which were alien to the tradition of the Romanian people and which the inhabitants accepted as such. Romanian rulers were not interested in this aspect, they were completely submitted to Moscow, this standing out during the adoption of the law, when Miron

¹ Cristina Păiușan, Ion Narcis Dorin, Mihai Retegan, *Regimul comunist din România. O cronologie politică (1945 – 1989)*, București, Editura Tritonic, 2002, p. 57.

² Ioan Silviu Nistor, *Comuna și Județul. Evoluția istorică*, Cluj-Napoca, Editura Dacia, 2000, p. 66.

³ Lucian Ropa, „Introducerea modelului sovietic în organizarea administrativ-teritorială a României (1950-1968)”, în *Cele Trei Crișuri*, nr. 1-6, 2010, p. 42.

⁴ Academia Română, *Istoria Românilor*, vol.X, București, Editura Enciclopedică, 2013, p. 105.

⁵ *Legea nr. 5 pentru raionarea administrativ-economică a teritoriului Republicii Populare Române*, în Buletinul Oficial al R.P.R., nr. 77 din 8 septembrie 1950, p. 857.

⁶ Mircea Dulcă, „Regiunile” în sistemul administrativ-teritorial românesc (1950 – 1968)”, în *Cele Trei Crișuri*, Oradea, nr.8-9, august-septembrie 2005, p. 93.

⁷ *Decretul nr. 211 privind schimbarea numelui orașului Brașov în acela de orașul Stalin, din 22 august 1950*, în Buletinul Oficial al Republicii Populare Române, p. 811.

Constantinescu stated this was achieved: 'on the strength of the study of the Soviet material, the Soviet doctrine and the support accorded by the Soviet counsellors'⁸.

Through this law it was created the desired desideratum – the increasing control of the Party in the territory. The party activists led the local government, in this way politics from the centre was fairly applied in the territory. In addition, population control was much tighter than before, the prosecution authorities could act effectively in district centres. The economic efficiency of the law of districting was insignificant, otherwise this aspect related to the economic development through a territorial reorganization was strongly emphasized by the party propaganda only to persuade the people to accept the new territorial organization, not even the party officials were convinced of the economic benefits of the new law.

As it was the natural order of things for P.M.R. to trigger a propaganda campaign when planning to bring major changes at the national level, alike did things happened with the administrative-territorial reorganization in 1950. It acutely imposed that the party leader convincingly explain to people the advantages of the districting due to the fact that the inhabitants of the country were familiar with the traditional administrative establishment and with the local institutions implemented after the creation of the Great Romania. The majority of the population, composed of peasants, was accustomed to work with the state authorities according to the old administrative system, whereas now, after the administrative-territorial reform in 1950, everything will change regarding the relationship between the citizen and the local authority of the state.

Even if the Romanian had expressed their opposition, they would not have succeeded to prevent the adoption and implementation of the administrative-territorial reorganization, due to the fact that the exclusive party had full power in the territory and had quick and effective means to combat any possible opposition. Still it was hoped that through hard work supported by the propaganda, the citizens would accept the new administrative realities, even though they were of Soviet import.

By analyzing several publications of the time, we can emphasize the following approaches regarding the way in which the propaganda was made in the press for the division into districts of the national territory:

- between July 25- August 10, 1950, an intense media campaign was made in favour of the expected administrative-territorial reform, which was carefully monitored in Bucharest. *Scânteia* published background articles which were then reproduced in local publications.

- between August 11- August 28, 1950, the articles promoting the division into districts of the Romanian territory were numerically reduced both in central and local publications (this had probably happened as a consequence of no longer monitoring the propaganda action from the centre, considering that the objectives had been achieved);

- between August 29 and the end of September 1950, it had published intensely in favour of the Law of Zoning. We can define here two small periods regarding the way the newspapers wrote: until September 10, 1950 background articles mostly appeared (their density being quite high, almost an article in each

⁸ Nicoleta Ionescu-Gură, *Stalinizarea României. Republica Populară Română: 1948-1950. Transformări instituționale*, Ed. All, București, 2005, p. 174.

number of *Scânteia*); from September 10, 1950 until the end of it a lot of serials were published, letters of the workers related to the division into districts as well as reports, just in order to emphasize the people adherence towards the administrative reorganization, which was already implemented.

It was considered that the people were already persuaded by the advantages of zoning the territory, as a result of the publication of the background articles in the previous period. However nothing was said about the possible resistances or critics, which, according to the archival information existed and were subtly expressed as proposals for territorial changes, after applying the Law of Zoning in September 1950 and until the end of the year.

The way in which the propaganda was accomplished in favour of this law, under the coordination of the Department of Propaganda and Agitation, was complex and efficient. We can also notice this pattern in the propaganda held in favour of the Deputies Election Law as Members of the People's Representatives, law that passed two days away from the Law of Zoning, as well as in other communist initiatives.

The action to support Romanian's administrative-territorial reorganization started in July 25, 1950, with the advent of the background article related to the division into districts of the Romanian territory in *Scânteia*. In this article was published The C.C. Judgement of P.M.R. and of the Council of Ministers regarding the economic-administrative division into districts of R.P.R. The text informed the public that the zoning of the territory will be made based on the Committee project for the economical-administrative zoning of the R.P.R. territory, a project which is the result of the studies made by the Committee as well as based on the proposals made in the conferences that were held with the county administrative bodies⁹. In this way it is explained to the general public that the administrative-territorial reorganization will be carried out as a result of specialized studies and with territorial support.

A propaganda plan was elaborated at a central level for the period July, 25–August, 10, 1950, in which tasks for the press, radio and the training of the agitators were provided. Thus, on July, 25, 1950 a meeting with the responsible editors of the newspapers in the capital was held and they were given guidance related to the zoning. On July, 28-29, 1950, were summoned those responsible for propaganda and agitation from the county committees of the Party into 6 centres where they were given guidance on how to train and prepare the agitators.

In these gatherings were also given directives for the provincial press, for the newspapers editors in the territory and the provincial agitators developed a thesis used to train them. Starting from July 3, 1950, the counties began training the agitators with the zoning issue, and till August 5, 1950, in some counties (Dolj, Muscel, etc.) the training was already finished, moving further to train the editorial staff of the wall papers¹⁰.

By analysing the way in which the propaganda was made, had reached to the conclusion that the central press had made its duty by publishing "innumerable

⁹ *Scânteia*, 25 iulie 1950, nr. 1792, p. 1.

¹⁰ Arhivele Naționale Istorice Centrale (în continuare A.N.I.C.), *fond C.C. al P.C.R. - Cancelarie*, dos. 29/1950, f. 23.

reports, feuilletons and letters from working people related to the zoning”¹¹. For example, in *România Liberă* were published: background articles, ten reports and feuilletons, four caricatures; in *Universul* appeared two background articles, ten reports, feuilletons and a caricature; in *Scânteia Tineretului*: one background article, three reports and two caricatures¹².

The vigilance of those responsible for the propaganda can be totally proved in that they have accounted all the articles published in the central press between July 25 – August 9, 1950

(15 background articles, 63 reports and feuilletons, 11 caricatures and 6 letters), as well as those that appeared in the provincial press (some newspapers such as *Viața Nouă*, in Galați, *Lupta Ardealului* in Cluj, *Luptătorul Bănățean*, in Timișoara, *Înainte*, in Craiova, *Drum Nou*, in Brașov, not only did they reproduced the background article in *Scânteia*, but they had also published a couple of articles, containing suggestive headings, such as: ”Let’s support with all out powers the zoning”, ”Zoning helps us step on the road of wealth and happiness”, etc)¹³.

Regarding the broadcasting, 15 news, commentaries and letters were sent, among which 4 in the ”Village Hour” and the ”Community Centre Hour”. A background article, entitled ”Let’s conduct a large political mass agitation to support the zoning of the country” was published in the *Carnetul Agitatorului*, no. 70, and an article related to the zoning was to come in *Îndrumătorul Cultural*, which was then established to be read during the artistic manifestations from the Community Centre around the country¹⁴.

The publication *Crișana* in Bihor joined the same category leading the communist press which led a sustained campaign in favour of the zoning. Thereby, after reproducing the article from *Scânteia* on July 25, 1950 related to the decision of the party and state organs regarding the economical-administrative zoning of the country, in the number of July 27, 1950, the article ”Let’s support the zoning” appeared on its front page (which was also taken from *Scânteia*, the number from July 27, 1950) where numerous pro zoning arguments were brought. Among these one says that the old administrative division is a survival of the bourgeois-landlord regime, taken from the time of feudalism and the other argument is the one which considered that the old administrative division was chaotic and irrational, being ”tailored according to the robbery interests of the parasitic classes”¹⁵.

The series of articles from *Crișana* continued with an article published on August 9, 1950, entitled ”The old administrative division was made against the interests of the working people”¹⁶ (in the article it is presented the situation of the mining workers from Derna-Tătăruș, who lived in the surrounding villages, placed in three plăși –subdivisions of a county: Sălard, Aleșd and Marghita, this being seen

¹¹ *Ibidem*.

¹² *Ibidem*, f. 24.

¹³ *Ibidem*.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*.

¹⁵ *Crișana*, 27 iulie 1950, nr. 174, p. 1.

¹⁶ *Idem*, 9 august 1950, nr. 185, p. 2.

as a conspiracy of the capitalists against the workers), and latter one with the one from August 10, 1950- "Let's make "a plasă"(subdivision of a county)!¹⁷"

In the following numbers of the publication other articles were published too, in order to support the zoning, but their frequency had decreased compared to the period July 25- August 10, 1950, which was monitored by the centre.

After ending the surveillance of the propaganda action led by the press, the number of articles related to the zoning of the territory had decreased. By the end of August 1950, in *Scânteia* were published only three articles regarding the zoning, and in the local newspaper *Crișana* only two articles (one of which, entitled "The way in which a U.R.S.S. district works", offered information about the successful administrative work of the zoning organs¹⁸).

Since the last days of August 1950, taking into consideration the fact that the moment of adopting the Law of Zoning by the Great National Assembly was approaching, had increased the frequency of articles in the press.

Scânteia published on August 30, 1950, the article "The zoning will remove many difficulties put in the way of working peasantry in the past"¹⁹, on September 1, was published the article "What use will bring the new grouping of the villages"²⁰, latter on at least one article per day was published, until September 8, 1950, with the publication of the article " The Grand National Assembly voted unanimously the bill for the economical-administrative zoning of the R.P.R. territory", which lets us know that the bill was widely debated in the Committee of Local and State Administration, that admitted it, there upon the superior legislative body of the state adopted it once with the People's Council Law²¹. The Law of Zoning was also published in the local newspapers. *Crișana* exposed the law on September 9, 1950, together with Teohari Georgescu exposure on the law²².

Since the adoption of the new law, during September 1950 appeared some articles in which the benefits of the new administrative-territorial reorganization were eulogized. In terms of content, the letters addressed by the working people predominated, in which the whole nation was favourably expressing towards the zoning of the territory. In *Scânteia*, the articles in which the working people expressed their enthusiasm and adherence towards the Law of Zoning abound. To quote some of them: "To speak properly, the enemy is not fond of the zoning", written by Tina Pop, worker at Giurgiu Brewery, " We were really delighted by the Law of Zoning" written by Nicolae Crișan, driver at "Rata" Main Workshops in Cluj,²³ " Our district, named after our comrade Stalin, will be a thousand times more beautiful than before"²⁴, written by Constantin Băltărețu, team leader at "Scânteia House" site etc.

¹⁷ Idem, 10 august 1950, nr. 186, p. 3.

¹⁸ Idem, 20 august 1950, nr. 195, p. 3.

¹⁹ *Scânteia*, 30 august 1950, nr. 1823, p. 2.

²⁰ Idem, 1 septembrie 1950, nr. 1825, p. 3.

²¹ Idem, 8 septembrie 1950, nr. 1831, p. 1.

²² *Crișana*, 8 septembrie 1950, nr. 211, p. 1-3.

²³ *Scânteia*, 10 septembrie 1950, nr.1833, p. 2.

²⁴ Idem, 11 septembrie 1950, nr. 1834, p. 3.

It can also be noticed from these headlines what good experts the Romanian communists had become. They took care so that in the pages of *Scântea* appeared articles signed by representatives of all social classes, which came from various regions of the country. In this way it was intended to communicate the message that the whole nation was in favour of this administrative reorganization.

In *Crișana* newspaper in Bihor articles related to the zoning appeared regularly until the beginning of October 1950, being touched many aspects of this administrative reorganization. The cohabiting minorities were not forgotten, so in the number of October 1st, 1950, in the article "The Slovak population in Bihor region has opened broad prospects of development"²⁵, the Slovaks in the region declared their commitment towards the zoning of the territory, as their villages were incorporated into one administrative unit (Aleșd District) compared with the previous situation when they were part of three subdivisions of the county. It was considered that starting from now they had perspectives of political and cultural development, while before, through the old administrative division, the bourgeois governments hit into the interests of the cohabiting nationalities²⁶.

All the propaganda carried out in favour of the Law of Zoning, both before and after its adoption, was meant to make the people receptive to the new changes. However, the people could neither resist nor protest; otherwise it was not persuasion the technique used by the communist, but force²⁷.

²⁵ *Crișana*, 1 octombrie 1950, nr. 239, p. 2.

²⁶ In Romania before 1950 the Hungarians from the the Székelys area were living in three counties (Three Chairs, Odorhei and Ciuc) in which they had a share of over 80% (http://ro.wikipedia.org/wiki/Judetele_interbelice_ale_Regatului_Romaniei, consulted on 25th November 2013, 20 o'clock). After the administrative-territorial reform in 1950, they were in the structure of Stalin and Mureș regions, where they no longer had such a high percentage; due to the fact they were introduced in these two regions with a Romanian majority. Although the Hungarian People's Republic was considered to be a friendly state and was based on a non-interference in the internal affairs of other states, some circles in Budapest criticized the consequences of the administrative reorganization in September 1950 for the Hungarians from the Székelys area. Vasile Luca was worried that "the enemy elements in Hungary wanted to abolish the Szeklers and to romanize them", this is why he wanted to prove that the Szeklers "were not spread in other areas, instead they would be put together in a place to form a majority from a national point of view". (A.N.I.C., *fond C.C. al P.C.R. - Cancelarie*, dos. 53/1950, f. 6).

²⁷ Lucian Ropa, *Contribuții la cunoașterea modificărilor administrative din județul Bihor în perioada 1944-1968*, Oradea, Editura Primus, 2009, p. 64.

ROMANIAN - HUNGARIAN POLITICAL AND DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS. DIPLOMATIC TENSIONS REGARDING THE HUNGARIAN SITUATION IN TRANSYLVANIA (1948- 1952)

*Claudia TISE**

Abstract: *Beginning with the year 1948, the Romanian- Hungarian diplomatic relations evolved according to the political direction imposed from Moscow. Two years after the conclusion of the Peace Treaty in Paris, the interethnic issue in Transylvania and the revision of the border with Hungary in favour of Romania were keeping the Romanian- Hungarian diplomatic tensions on. The problem of Transylvania and of the Hungarian minority in the country remained sore points in the relations with Hungary. These were continually speculated upon by Moscow. As a result, between 1948- 1952, the Romanian-Hungarian external relations were characterised by two main aspects. Aware of the Hungarian pressure and of the nationalist dangers in Transylvania, Gheorghiu- Dej kept criticizing to Moscow the Hungarian nationalism and the support it received from Budapest .pose of keeping an as efficient control as possible in Romania and Hungary. In reality, behind the facade of official meetings, the tense diplomatic relations remained unresolved. Between 1984- 1952, the diplomatic relations were characterized by compromises and political explorations, marked by reciprocal political and diplomatic lack of trust between Hungary and Romania. The minority issue permanently led Hungary to think that there was an “iron curtain separating the two countries”, between itself and Romania.*

Keywords: *diplomatic tensions, issue of Transylvania’s, Soviet model, bilateral political, economic and cultural agreements*

Beginning with the year 1948, the Romanian- Hungarian diplomatic relations evolved according to the political direction imposed from Moscow. Two years after the conclusion of the Peace Treaty in Paris, the interethnic issue in Transylvania and the revision of the border with Hungary in Romania’s interest were keeping the Romanian- Hungarian diplomatic tensions on. The problem of Transylvania and of the Hungarian minority in the country remained sore points in the relations with Hungary. These were continually speculated upon by Moscow, with the purpose of keeping an as efficient control as possible in Romania and

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Hungary¹. The internal and the external conjunction of the two countries was of such nature that the direct reopening of the issue of Transylvania's status became impossible, under the circumstances of the Soviet Union pursuing a certain political and diplomatic stability in the region. Hungary had always regarded the loss of North-Western Transylvania as a political injustice and a dictate of the Great Powers. Moscow settled these issues straight, imposing the resolution of the Hungarian problem following the Soviet model². In Hungary, when Rákosi came to power, the nationalist members in the former Horthy and Szálasi governments were eliminated from public and political active life. The only available options these people had were political anonymity, to go and live abroad or to enter the Communist Party. Some were arrested, others embraced the new political doctrine willingly, and others continued to pursue their nationalist activity illegally³. Although their activity was well known by the Hungarian secret services, following personal political aims periodically, the Hungarian authorities ignored these elements, using them to establish strong links with the Hungarian intellectuals from Romania. As a result, the tensioned Romanian- Hungarian relations also had as a pretext the tolerance of these tendencies by the authorities in Budapest. They would contradict the statements of the Hungarian party that Hungary had no territorial demands from Romania⁴. Every time the government in Budapest raised the Hungarian issue in Transylvania to Stalin, the leader in Kremlin avoided giving a straight solution to the problem, looking for a way to make use of the dispute between the two neighbouring countries. As a result, the Hungarian government was left with the illusion of the possibility of getting the support of Moscow for the revision of the borders with Romania. The Soviet model for solving national problems was imposed upon the Romanian state, in order to avoid a territorial dispute in the region. Stalin gave the two countries the illusion of a freedom of decision regarding their external problems while controlling them through a permanent military occupation or through the RESC (Reciprocal Economical Support Council) or through the Warsaw Pact⁵.

As a result, between 1948- 1952, the Romanian- Hungarian external relations were characterised by two main aspects. Aware of the Hungarian pressure and of the nationalist dangers in Transylvania, Gheorghiu- Dej kept criticizing to Moscow the Hungarian nationalism and the support it received from Budapest. Through the measures imposed between 1948- 1952, he tried to prove that he was

¹ Lipsey Ildikó, „35 éve alakult az erdélyi Magyar Autonóm Tartomány, 1952-1968 (The autonomous Hungarian Region has been made up for 35 years).

² Baráth Magdolna, „Rákosi és Andropov beszélgetése a magyar-román viszonyról, (The discussion between Rakosi and Andropov about the evolution of Hungarian- Romanian relations), in *Kritika*, Budapest, 1989, pp. 32-33 1952-1968)”, in *Kritika*, Budapest, no.9, 1987, pp. 6-9.

³ Nagy Miklós, *Magyar-román kapcsolatok 1945-1948* (Hungarian- Romanian relations, 1945-1948), Ed. ELTE, Budapest, 1987, pp. 7- 320.

⁴ Baráth Magdolna, „Rákosi és Andropov beszélgetése a magyar-román viszonyról, (The discussion between Rakosi and Andropov about the evolution of Hungarian- Romanian relations), in *Kritika*, Budapest, 1989, pp. 32-33.

⁵ Köteles Pál, *Az erdélyi kérdés és a második világháborút követő illúziók (The Transylvanian issue and the illusions following WWII)*, in 1989, Budapest, no. I, pp. 33-39.

able to solve the existent nationalist issues. The diplomatic tensions during this period were nurtured by the involvement of Budapest in supporting the Hungarian nationalism in Romania. At Moscow's request, an important role in the evolution of the Romanian- Hungarian relations was played by the Stalinist propaganda regarding the "good feelings and the friendship among peoples". The party propaganda in the Romanian media solved the national problem granting and acknowledging national rights to all minorities in the country. The good feelings between Romanians and Hungarians were also made popular through the conclusion of bilateral political, economic and cultural agreements⁶. The animosities between the two states, regarding the issue of visas, the forced repatriations, the problem of the role played by the Hungarian Consulate in Cluj for the Hungarian population in Transylvania and the issue of the reparations regarding the CASEG (The Centre for the Administration and the Supervision of Enemy Goods) were openly left aside⁷.

In reality, behind the facade of official meetings, the tense diplomatic relations remained unresolved. Between 1944- 1952, the diplomatic relations were characterized by compromises and political explorations, marked by reciprocal political and diplomatic lack of trust between Hungary and Romania. The minority issue permanently led Hungary to think that there was an "iron curtain separating the two countries", between it and Romania⁸. The Romanian secret services fulfilled their duty fully, closely monitoring the Hungarian issue in Transylvania. Thus, there were permanent reports about the tight links between the representatives of the government in Budapest and a part of the Hungarian intellectuals in Transylvania: Bányai Lajos, Takács Lajos, Juhász Lajos, Kacsó Sándor and Sóos Ferecz. It was noticed that these links became more frequent between 1950- 1952⁹. The fact that the government in Budapest was supporting the Hungarian minority in Romania, following a policy similar to the one in the territories lost to Czechoslovakia and to other neighbouring countries, became certainty. After 1948, the consulate in Cluj facilitated the links between Hungarian citizens and their relatives in Hungary. Under the slogan "a Kis Haza" ("Small Home"), Budapest promoted the necessity of maintaining Hungarian national unity, placing the "Transylvanian problem" before other political interests. Advantage was taken of the cultural Romanian- Hungarian treaties, which allowed the diffusion of Hungarian literature, media and textbooks for teaching in Hungarian in Romania. Part of these materials contained nationalist elements and triggered such manifestations in Transylvania¹⁰. The discontents of the Romanian party were communicated directly to both Rákosi and, subsequently to Kádár. They mostly regarded the fact that Budapest had continually ignored the nationalist actions in the government and failed to condemn the anti-Romanian spirit cultivated among

⁶ See the article and the review signed by Ștefan Voicu, *Resolutions and decisions of the Central Committee of the Romanian Labour Party*, in *Scântea*, 29th March 1951, pp. 2-3.

⁷ Balogh Edgár, *Férfimunka. Emlékirat, 1945-1955 (A man's business. Memoirs, 1945-1955)*, Ed. Magvető, Budapest, 1986, pp. 4- 413.

⁸ A.N.I.C, Bucharest, *Fund: CC of RCP (Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party)*, *External relations*, file 25/1947, f. 27.

⁹ *Ibidem*, f. 28.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, f. 30.

Hungarian citizens. Unhappy, Romanian authorities advised Hungarian ambassadors to look for more credible sources of information, so as to be also presented with the efforts of the Romanian government to ensure the rights of the Hungarians living in Romania. As an answer to these open accusations, Rákosi thought that an anti-Hungarian, nationalist and chauvinistic trend had emerged in the Romanian government, and it affected the Hungarian population in Transylvania¹¹.

Hungary took advantage of the bilateral Romanian- Hungarian treaties, trying to influence the spirit of the Hungarian people in Romania politically. The government in Budapest kept accusing the Romanian authorities of not granting sufficient national and cultural rights to the Hungarians in Romania, warning them that, in order to reach its goals, it would not hesitate to seek international support. This happened after 1950, when the problem of the Hungarian minority was made internationally popular, even through the Hungarian immigration in the Western Europe, as Hungary would complain about the way in which Hungarians were being treated in Romania and about the evolution of the Romanian- Hungarian relations. The dispute deepened, especially since Gheorghiu- Dej, then Ceaușescu, considered that, through the laws adopted in 1948 and the increase in the cultural autonomy of the Hungarians in Transylvania beginning with 1950- 1952, enough rights were provided for the ceasing of the anti- Romanian manifestations. The Constitution of 1948 and the review of the Nationalities' Status on 8th April 1951 were invoked, both legal measures that ensured an expansion of the cultural and national rights for the Hungarians in Romania. From their point of view, the national issue of the Hungarian minority had been resolved, and any other demand of the Hungarian government in this regard meant a violation of the diplomatic agreements and a Hungarian interference in Romania's internal affairs¹².

Motivating that Hungary could not remain indifferent to the aspirations of the Hungarian minority in Transylvania, the Rákosi government tried to develop the national spirit, the trust and the affection towards the "home country". It made the promise to permanently support the interests and the political aspirations of the Hungarian intellectuals in Transylvania¹³.

In response to these open intentions expressed by Hungarian authorities, the government in Bucharest underlined all the time that, through the creation of the Hungarian Autonomous Region, the Hungarian minority in the Székely Land benefited from a real administrative and cultural autonomy. Besides the access to education in their mother tongue, a Hungarian Consulate was allowed to function in Cluj which, by facilitating visas, supported the travel of the Hungarian citizens across the border. The Romanian- Hungarian cultural treaties after 1948 facilitated the diffusion of Hungarian press, literature and cinema productions in Romania. The way in which the authorities in Budapest took advantage of these bilateral cultural treaties in order to proliferate the revisionist current in Transylvania, making use of the Hungarian press, books and textbooks, but also in order to

¹¹ Iosif Ardeleanu, *A nemzetiségi kérdés alapelvei Romániában (The national policy in Romania)*, Ed. Științifică, Bucharest, 1951, p. 76.

¹² A.N.I.C, Bucharest, *Fund: CC of RCP, Chancellery*, file 83/1950, f. 1-2.

¹³ Idem, *Fund: CC of RCP, External relations*, file 12/1947, f. 1-19.

support the irredentist activity of the Roman - Catholic and Reformed Church in Transylvania, has been proven¹⁴.

The diplomatic tensions among the two states had, thus, multiple causes, which led to complex Romanian- Hungarian relations. The diplomatic dissensions emerged either from the interethnic tensions tacitly supported by Budapest through different means, or from the exaggeration of the protective role assumed by Hungary towards the Hungarian minority in Romania. Although the idea of a cultural autonomy in the Székely Land was saluted by Hungarian authorities, some Transylvanian Hungarian intellectuals kept on complaining about the lack of cultural rights in Romania. The new region allowed the irredentist currents to spread the idea that the autonomy of the Székely Land was only the first step towards the creation of a completely Hungarian region in Transylvania. These false hopes triggered new discontent among other minorities who wanted a similar autonomy to that of the Hungarians in the country. Consequently, the Central Bureau of the CC of RLP (Central Committee of the Romanian Labour Party) had to deal with a delicate situation regarding the danger of a difficult to control political precedent in the Autonomous Hungarian Region. As a result, analyzing closely the nationalist movements in the country and the interference of the Hungarian State in supporting them, it adopted a new national political orientation. Through the administrative periodic revisions in the districts, between 1950- 1952, it tried to create communities with mixed populations, especially in the predominantly Hungarian regions. These revisions were not convenient for the Rákosi government and were bitterly criticized¹⁵.

The measures taken by the Romanian authorities regarding the Hungarian minority in Transylvania caught the attention of the radio station “Free Europe”. Romania was described as a state that did not respect the political and national rights of the Hungarian minority. Both Gheorghiu- Dej and Ceaușescu (after 1965) suspected the involvement of Budapest in the denigration of Romania’s policy and the incriminations kept the tension on in the Romanian- Hungarian relations¹⁶. Beside Budapest’s attitude, we must also keep in mind the general policy of the western states, trying to find the breaks and weaknesses of the socialist world to be propagandistically exploited with the aim of undermining the world communist system.

The accounts of the Romanian Foreign Office emphasize the diplomatic hardships that marked the activity between the two states. The Romanian ambassadors in Budapest faced an antipathy and an anti- Romanian attitude that allowed them to identify an “old spirit” in the way of thinking of some Hungarian political circles about Romania. Despite all the directives from Moscow, the Hungarian Communist Party, ignoring the nationalist anti- Romanian manifestations in Hungary and following again irredentist issues, was overwhelmed by political reality. Rákosi understood that after 1946 these claims were no longer

¹⁴ Idem, *Fund: CC of RCP, Chancellery*, file 49/1952, f. 67-71; f. 77; f. 82.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, f. 84-82; f. 127.

¹⁶ Biró Fazekas Gáspár, *A romániai magyarság és a roman igazságszolgáltatás 1965-1987 (The Hungarians in Romania and the justice of the Romanian Authorities, 1965-1987)*, Ed. Kézirat, Budapest, 1965, pp. 4-167.

realistic. Despite all these facts, he played the nationalist card, hoping to consolidate his internal political power, otherwise insecure without Soviet support.

Thus, it is difficult to understand why, contrary to Soviet ideology which confuted nationalist manifestations, despite having dissolved the old political parties, Rákosi accepted people with a nationalist thinking in the Communist nomenclature and ignored the actions of the Hungarian reactionary circles (even though they were acting against the law). Even more, he did not conceal from the Romanian representatives the fact that the Hungarian public opinion was anti-Romanian and allowed the promotion of this nationalism in a press and a culture that should have been censored in a Communist regime. Although Budapest refused to admit it, the Romanian Secret Services took notice to Gheorghiu-Dej of the existence of Hungarian espionage networks in Transylvania and proved the support given by the Hungarian government to the Hungarian nationalist movements in Romania. After 1948, a series of illegal organizations activated on the Transylvanian territory, with the support of the Hungarian authorities, supporting the chauvinistic nationalism and giving false hopes to the Hungarian intellectuals in Transylvania. These tendencies became more obvious after the revolution of 1956. The continuous diplomatic reproaches, made more or less officially by Gheorghiu-Dej to Rákosi and later to Kádár, regarding their lack of attitude towards the anti-Romanian attitude, were also real. All these political discussions put pressure on the Romanian- Hungarian relations of that time. There were continuous statements that troubled the Romanian authorities, bringing back into discussion the same topic regarding Transylvania. The interest shown by Hungary for the Hungarian minority was perceived by Bucharest as an involvement in the country's internal affairs. Starting from this situation, any other discussions continually involved a risk of degenerating and thus sustained diplomatic tensions¹⁷.

In its turn, the Romanian government took interest in the way of life of the Romanian population in Hungary. Trying to avoid supporting anti- Hungarian nationalism, it realized that, after 1948, the Romanians in Hungary did not have similar political and cultural rights to those of the Hungarians in Romania. Despite this, unwilling to reopen the discussions, Gheorghiu-Dej did not want to get openly involved in the improvement of the Romanians' life in Hungary. Only in 1950 did the lack of Romanian written press determine Romanian authorities to send a cultural press attaché to solve the situation. The Romanian ambassadors were advised not to get involved in conflicting situations with the Hungarian government and to accept to take part only in the official events organized by the Romanian community in Hungary.

In the evolution of the external Romanian- Hungarian relations, the diplomatic tensions were caused by the political suspicion between the two governments. The Hungarian public opinion was reserved about the policy of the Romanian government regarding the Hungarian minority. This suspicion was motivated by a lack of correct information of the population about the external relations between the two states. Gheorghiu-Dej blamed Rákosi of political

¹⁷ Bárdi Nándor, *Autonóm magyarok? Székelyföld változása az ötvenes években (Hungarian autonomy? The changes in the Székely Land in the last five years)*, Ed. Pro-Print, Miercurea Ciuc, 2005, pp.5-683.

duplicity. The irredentist tendencies of the Hungarian government proved that the ghost of nationalism had not vanished at the simple Soviet request. The fact that these tensions could not evolve into an open conflict was due to the external political conditions that did not favour such manifestations¹⁸. Additionally, the Romanian side always yielded to acceptable requests from Budapest, in the hope of preserving good neighbouring relations with Hungary¹⁹. The strain on the Romanian- Hungarian relations was also caused by the continuous statements made by Rákosi after 1949, regarding Hungary's interest for the Hungarian citizens in Romania. Gheorghiu- Dej directly accused him of supporting the ethnic controversies in Transylvania through the law that granted Hungarian citizenship. At the same time, he suspected Rákosi of trying to obtain from Moscow the revision of the borders, thus supporting the irredentist movement. The Hungarian authorities were also accused of offering information with the purpose of increasing chauvinist- nationalist actions through diplomatic correspondence. A closer collaboration between the two Foreign Offices, for a reciprocally advantageous exchange of information, was the forwarded solution for the resolution of the external political controversies²⁰.

The diplomatic disagreements were also present during some official meetings between the representatives of the Hungarian government and the Political Bureau of the RLP. On 6th January 1949, in a confidential letter addressed to Gheorghiu- Dej, Rákosi Mátyás outlined a series of dissatisfactions of the Hungarian government towards the policy of the Romanian authorities. When Rákosi openly reaffirmed his interest for the Hungarian minority in Romania, he was certain of Moscow's support for his demands. A series of yet unresolved issues was underlined, issues that had led to colder Romanian- Hungarian relations. Rákosi reproached the censorship of some literary and cinematographic works with a Hungarian nationalist character by the Romanian authorities. There were protests against the censorship and the ban on some Hungarian publications with a nationalist content from Hungary in Romania²¹. Gheorghiu- Dej was asked to set things right in order to avoid new anti-Romanian nationalist manifestations both in Hungary and Transylvania. The letter confirmed the information held by the Romanian Secret Services, who warned the party's political leadership about these manifestations. Analyzing Rákosi's point of view, Gheorghiu- Dej understood two things. First of all, he realized that all the irredentist- nationalist manifestations in Transylvania had a direct support from the Rákosi government. Secondly, he understood that Moscow's mediation in this issue was purely formal, and Romania had to manage on its own to stop the proliferation of the Hungarian extremism in Transylvania.

During the meeting of PCU and the RLP in Bucharest, on 19th February 1949, Rákosi's letter was carefully debated. Gheorghiu- Dej showed discontentment with his correspondent's tone and claims. At this meeting, the Hungarian

¹⁸ *Ibidem*.

¹⁹ Lavinia Betea, *Unfinished dialogues. Corneliu Mănescu talking to Lavinia Betea*, Ed. Polirom, Iași, 2001, p. 74.

²⁰ A.N.I.C, Bucharest, *Fund: CC of RCP, External relations*, file. 2/1948, f. 31-32.

²¹ Idem, *Fund: CC of RCP, Chancellery*, file. 111/1949, f. 54-58.

commission was made of: Rákosi, Mátyás, Rajk László and Gerö Ernő. They were received by the following PMR representatives: Gheorghiu- Dej, Ana Pauker, Vasile Luca, Iosif Chișinevschi and Alexandru Moghioroș. The discussions proceeded from Vasile Luca's controversial conference in 1949, during a meeting with the professors and the students at the universities in Cluj. Vasile Luca condemned the nationalist manifestations in Transylvania, hinting at the Hungarian support for these trends. He criticized Budapest's irredentist- nationalist attitude and its promotion through different means and forms in Transylvania. Vasile Luca revealed the nationalist activity of some professors at the "Bolyai" University and their connection to some circles in Hungary. Rákosi's answer was propagandistic. He said that, although Budapest was interested in the faith of the Hungarians in Romania, it did not want to interfere in the internal affairs of the RLP. He underlined the fact that, although it would continually seek a peaceful diplomatic agreement with Romania, the Hungarian government would always unconditionally support the Hungarian minority in Transylvania. During the meeting of 19th February 1949 in Bucharest, Rákosi clearly stated the way in which he perceived the "Transylvanian issue". Regarding the nationalist manifestations and the external Romanian- Hungarian conflicts, the Hungarian leader declared to Gheorghiu- Dej: "we did not come to interfere in the affairs of the RCP but, on the other hand, what happens to the Hungarians is not closer to us than what happens to the Romanians. We did not write you anything during the last three years but now, when we can see signs, it is not only our wish, but also our duty, to let you know. Consequently, we did. Maybe you are just more sensitive and we have a thicker skin..."²²

Another topic was the superior education reform in Romania, on 26th October 1948. The law allowed university education in the mother tongue. Based on the bilateral cultural conventions, the textbooks and some professors were brought from Hungary. The nationalist attitude during some of the lectures determined the Romanian authorities to censor them and to arrest or banish the teachers accused of such manifestations²³. The protests of the Hungarian government against the measures imposed by the Romanian authorities were immediately felt diplomatically.

During the following diplomatic discussions, the Romanian representatives blamed Budapest for having tolerated the anti- Romanian spirit and the irredentist attitude. With the help of the Hungarian legislation, of the Consulates in Cluj, Timișoara and Brașov, of the Hungarian Office for Commerce, there was a possibility of developing an espionage network in Romania, masked by diplomatic and economical activities. The continuous links of the Hungarian diplomats with the members of the HPU (Hungarian Popular Union) and the use of the obtained information from them to discredit Romania to the Soviets and other neighbouring states caused discontent. All these actions aimed at a lack of political stability in the country. After 1949, Budapest urged its diplomats to re-establish the links with the Hungarian intellectuals in the HPU, trying to find useful people to the Hungarian interests²⁴.

²² *Ibidem*, file 17/1949, f. 1-69.

²³ A.N.-D.J. Mureș, *Fund: The Regional Committee of the RCP*, file. 475/1948, f. 4-12.

²⁴ Traian Valentin Poncea, Aurel Rogoian, *quoted works*, p. 133-142.

Between 1948- 1949, Romanian authorities closely observed the reorganization of Hungary's Secret Services (A.V.O.), led by Gábor Péter. Since the beginning, it had informative structures specialized for Romania, employing Romanian citizens of ethnical Hungarian origins. Many illegal nationalist organizations were secretly financed by A.V.O. („Álam Védelmi Osztály – Hungarian Secret Services)²⁵. Some of them tried to unite Transylvania with Hungary and to expel the Romanian government. After 1950, Moscow explicitly asked Rákosi's government to give up the irredentist claims towards Romania. As a result, all the external undermining activities carried out by A.V.O. were left to the Hungarian communities in the western states²⁶.

Hungarian emigration was used to undermine the interests of the Romanian state, transforming the minority issue in the country into an international one. Although the documents of the Ministry of Internal Affairs are evasive in this respect, it is obvious that, during that time, the Romanian authorities were very familiar with the hidden intentions of the Rákosi government. The Soviet Union confirmed to Gheorghiu- Dej the pressure from Budapest to revise the borders²⁷.

In this diplomatic context, the reserve of the Romanian party leadership regarding Rákosi's „good intentions” towards Romania is easily understandable. Trying to obtain the elimination of visas and free circulation across the border for the Hungarian citizens, Rákosi admitted the possibility of the existence of the nationalist- irredentist movement.

Although Rákosi promised not to interfere in Romania's internal affairs, Gheorghiu- Dej was bothered by his demanding tone. He reminded the Hungarian leader that national problems should be approached according to the Marxist-Leninist ideology, according to which provocative tendencies were out of place and the interference of a state in the internal and external matters of another state was not allowed. Gheorghiu- Dej warned Rákosi that Romania approached its minority issue according to the Soviet model, with respect to the national, political and cultural rights of the minorities in general. He refused to eliminate the restrictions at the border with Hungary, an issue that was to be readdressed during the following years (1950- 1956)²⁸.

During the meeting in February 1949, Rákosi invoked the fact that the Romanians' national rights were respected in Hungary. The following years, the representatives of the Romanian government discovered a series of faults with respect to the cultural and national rights of the Romanians in Hungary. In 1950, Aurel Mălnășan, the Romanian ambassador in Budapest, noticed the lack of

²⁵ Álam Védelmi Osztály (Hungarian Secret Services) was led by Gábor Péter, one of Rákosi's old exile comrades. After using him to consolidate his political power, Rákosi sacrificed him in 1953 making him responsible for the Hungarian terror regime during the stalinist period. A.V.O was an institution of political repression, unconditionally subdued to Rákosi's regime's political interests. The organization model was taken from the Soviets - n.n.

²⁶ Ernest Volkman, *The spies. Secret agents who changed the course of history*, Ed. Albatros, Bucharest, 1996, pp. 410-411.

²⁷ Traian Bara, Cristian Troncotă, *A short history of the revisionist Hungarian irredentism*, Ed. M.I, Bucharest, 1998, p. 67.

²⁸ A.N.I.C, Bucharest, *Fund: CC of RCP, Chancellery*, file. 17/1949, f. 1-69.

Romanian press, and a cultural and press attaché was appointed to solve the problem. In addition, in 1950, he avoided to accept the unofficial invitations to Romanian cultural events in Hungary, thus trying to avoid the Hungarian nationalist speculations regarding Romania's excessive interest in the Romanian minority in Hungary²⁹. On 15th August 1951, Aurel Mălnășan was giving the Romanian Foreign Office a warning regarding the potential nationalist danger represented by some Hungarian films received based on the cultural Romanian- Hungarian Convention. He was also the one to spot the existence of anti- Romanian nationalist tendencies in some members of the Rákosi government. On 15th August 1951, Mălnășan was writing: „we continually notice that the Transylvanian issue did not cease yet and it did not disappear from the conscience of many leaders either”³⁰.

The estrangement in the Romanian- Hungarian diplomatic relations arose in a context in which the evolution of the external relations also depended on the Soviet interests. During the respective period, the Soviet Union could not afford an amplification of these tensions. Consequently, it advised the governments in the two countries to give up on old rivalries and, applying the Soviet example, to try to get closer externally. Neither Rákosi nor Gheorghiu- Dej risked totally ignoring the advice from Moscow. As a result, despite all discussions and tensions, Romania and Hungary slowly became closer, through bilateral treaties and official formal visits. The Romanian government strove to treat Hungary as fairly as possible and to conclude alliances that would support its interests. It approached carefully the Romanian- Hungarian disputes, trying not to provide plausible reasons for their escalation. Yet, Romanian representatives continually met the Hungarian leaders' cold and distant attitude³¹.

Hungary showed interest in Romania's internal political changes between 1950- 1952. The revised Constitution of 1950 made Rákosi label it as a „Stalinist Constitution”, even though it was granting more rights to the Hungarian minority. He seemed to forget that his own regime was a Stalinist one and that he personally reported to Stalin any internal or external political decisions. He was interested in the Romanian Labour Party's internal political fights, observing the way in which Gheorghiu- Dej gradually got rid of his political rivals, through periodical purging and Stalinist trials³².

On the 31st July 1952, Miron Constantinescu and Chivu Stoicaru were received in Budapest by Rákosi Mátyás. During this meeting, the Hungarian leader took interest in the monetary reform in Romania. During the entire year, the meetings of the representatives of the two governments intensified, and the topic of the debates was the internal political changes in Romania³³.

The Hungarian government asked for tighter links with the leaders of HPU in Romania. In 1952, the Hungarian ambassador frequently met Juhász Lajos, Kacsó Sándor and Sóos Ferencz.

²⁹ A.M.A.E, Bucharest, *Fund: Hungary 1951-1952*, file. 17/1951, f. 26-27.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, f. 29-32.

³¹ *Ibidem*, f. 29-32.

³¹ *Ibidem*, file. 18/1951, f. 86.

³² *Ibidem*, file. 20/1952, f. 61, 113.

³³ *Ibidem*, file 19/1952, f. 104-105, 152.

In the summer of 1952, the Hungarian representative in Bucharest expressed his discontent with the Romanian authorities who, talking about the Hungarians in Romania, used the collocation “national minority” instead of “cohabitant nationality”. It was noticed that Hungarian intellectuals spoke more and more about an “independent Hungarian culture”. On the other hand, Hungarian authorities did not miss the HPU leaders’ slight change in attitude. During the meetings of February 1952, between the representatives of the Hungarian Legation and the HPU leaders, they noticed that Juhász, Kacsó and Sóos only presented the official party line regarding minorities. The three leaders underlined RLP’s tolerant policy towards minorities. Advocating that the authorities had solved the national issue using a peculiar formula, which made use of both the Soviet and the Romanian experience, they tried to persuade the representatives of the Hungarian government that there was an end to the interethnic conflicts in Romania. The conclusions of the secret report sent by the counsellor of the Hungarian Legation to Budapest, on 29th February 1952, showed that the HPU leaders had either “lost contact with reality” or started to believe in the communist propaganda of the Romanian authorities. One thing was correctly observed: the HPU leaders had mechanically executed some directives received from the CC of the RLP. The Hungarian counsellor was not aware of the fact that, following the monitoring of these meetings, the three HPU leaders (Hungarian Popular Union) were forced to perform self- criticism before the party. In order to keep their political positions, they probably accepted a double game with the Hungarian authorities, presenting the version desired by the authorities regarding the national issue in the country³⁴.

Preoccupied with the consolidation of his own internal political power, Gheroghiu- Dej supported the idea of solving the Romanian- Hungarian differences. He considered that, through the establishment of the Autonomous Hungarian Region, the administrative reform of 1952 had been the real solution for solving the nationalist issues.

The Hungarian Government showed interest in this autonomy. Yet, the enlarged cultural autonomy in the Székely Land caused new interethnic discussions. Under the protection of cultural agreements, the circulation of the Hungarian books, press and movies increased in Romania. The Transylvanian population had access to Hungarian radio station shows. Against this background, the Hungarian programs with nationalist tones continued to spread much easier. Hungary kept its interest in the Hungarian minority in Romania, thus proving that, no matter how much freedom it would get, their demands would keep growing, aiming at later attaching Transylvania to Hungary or at the possibility of territorial autonomy in Romania³⁵.

Stalin’s death, in 1953, brought important changes throughout the territory of Soviet influence. Both Gheorghiu- Dej and Rákosi were worried about the shift in power in Moscow. Following the process of ending Stalinism imposed by Hruscirov, Rákosi understood that he had lost Soviet support; still he refused to abandon the

³⁴ Andreea Andreescu, Lucian Năstasă, Andreea Varga, quoted works, vol. I, doc. 204 on 29th February 1952 and doc. 205 on 25th June 1952, pp. 725-730.

³⁵ Csorba Csaba, „Magyar nyelvű újságok és folyóiratok a szomszédos szocialista országokban (Hungarian magazines and newspapers in the socialist neighbouring states)”, in *Valóság (The Truth)*, Budapest, no. 11, 1971, pp. 77-84.

Stalinist model of government. On the other hand, the Romanian leader refused this process claiming he had ended Stalinism even since 1952, when he expelled the faction of Ana Pauker, Vasile Luca and Teohari Georgescu from the party.

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THE EVOLUTION OF THE SOCIALIST SECTOR OF BIHOR COUNTY'S AGRICULTURE BETWEEN 1949-1962 REFLECTED IN THE LOCAL MEDIA

*Mircea PEREȘ**

Abstract: *In the first phase of the presentation I tried to outline the regional context in which the collectivization of Bihor County's agriculture has begun. I fixed the beginning of this proces starting with the decree no. 83/1949.*

The next phase was to present the appearance of the state farms, their characteristics, a lot of data and information to stress the fact that these kinds of farms were the vital center of the regional agriculture.

The third phase, which is the most important, covers the very large area of the collective farms. I followed the most important aspects and I presented the final statistics of what represented this kind of soviet imitations in our economy.

The conclusions were centered more on the emotional and sensible aspects of the process in our county.

Keywords: *communist state, agriculture, peasantry, state farms, collective farms.*

Due to the demographic weight of the peasantry and the predominance of this economic sector compared to other sectors in the first phase of communism, the agriculture's cooperativisation process benefited from increased interests from historians, on both central and regional level.

I was forced to navigate through a sea of agrarian or administrative data and informations artificially and propogandistically inflated to outline the new regime in a more favorable image.

Decree no.83/1949 is considered the beginning of the process of collectivization of agriculture. Although the official purpouse was the expropriation of those estates larger than 50 hectares, it's real objective was the annihilation of the wealthier classes by destroying it's economic base and by social fracture of the rural world's unity. In Bihor county 80 properties were expropriated, with a total area of 417260 hectares¹.

Except it's introduction, I only noticed a few reactions regarding the hidden effects of the decree, the permutations of the population or the subsequent riots.

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¹ *Crișana*, (Oradea), year V, 1949, no. 68, March 25th, p.2, *Six state agricultural households will be established on the former estates.*

Between March 1949 – January 1950 we observed an “explosion” of articles in which the kulaks are demonized. In all small rural districts, especially in the plains they were incriminated for various reasons, from negative influence over poorer peasants and ending with their intentional damage of their own threshing machines, injustice towards their employees, speculate or withholding of significant quantities of grain. At a close look we notice the red wire that connects the decree to the enhancement of the articles, the newspapers being nothing else but attitudinal handling vectors of the rural world.

The first stage of the process of agricultural cooperatization, which precedes both collective farms and agricultural associations, is structurally related to this decree, resulting six new state farms at: Batar, Chiraleu, Tamaseu, Avram Iancu, Ciuhoi and Holod. They came in the completing of four previous, appeared prior to 1949².

With the six state farms, and their integration into the agricultural state fund, we also talk on regional level about the first category of socialist agricultural units. Inspired by the soviet state farms, they were strategically placed in the plains of Bihor county, enjoying a high soil fertility and represented the party’s vanguard in its initiative to transform the socio-economic base of the village. From a conceptual perspective, the role of state farms was very complex. On one hand, it wanted to be pennant representatives of the social agricultural sector, and on the other hand had a real strong position for regional agriculture.

Their role was to provide seeds for agricultural associations and collective farms in the region, to be an example in applying soviet cultivation methods (such as the state agriculture farms, from Sacueni and Avram Iancu), or dealing with specialization in livestock breeds (as in the Ciuhoi state agriculturare farm), briefly to trace the direction of agricultural development in the region³.

Following the state agriculture farms business in the region, for the period 1949-1955, we noticed a number of common elements, but also differences. They were organized in sections spread across multiple locations. Each ward was organized in working groups, and during sowing and harvesting campaigns, in labor brigades.

But the interesting part is the actual activity of these state agriculture farms. In 1950, 1951, and 1952 I found many articles in which their activity was criticized, especially that of two of them: state agriculture farm Holod and state agriculture farm Batar.

Between 1950-1955, with outstanding results, appear state farm Avram Iancu, state farm Ciuhoi and state farm Chiraleu. They almost always fulfill their plan ahead of time and plan to achieve a rate over 100%, making themselves conspicuous by the use of a high degree of mechanization in agricultural tasks and are always on the first places regarding the haulm productivity per hectare. This data should be viewed with great restraint because, obviously, we are more or less dealing with an artificial swelling of the data by the machinery of the communist press.

² *Ibidem.*

³ Idem, (Oradea), year V, 1949, no. 154, July 5th, p. 2, *At the Ciuhoi state farm, individual contests and time-basedwork organization must become leading concerns.*

Productivity figures of state farms between the years 1957-1962 has been relatively constant at their upper limit, with a slight increase as we get closer to the R.M.P's C.C plenary in April 1962. Three years later, in an article entitled "state farms in the region have finished threshing" we find that overall the region had a productivity of 2073 kg wheat and 4800 kg ha corn grain per hectare. Best results are obtained by state farm Sacauenii and state farm Valea lui Mihai, which achieved an average of 2600 kg grain per hectare⁴.

When concluding the process of collectivization in Oradea region, we find that the state farms are vital centers that maintain the socialist agriculture functioning. Although exceeded in quantity by the collective farms and agricultural associations established in each village in Bihor, state farms are socialist agricultural units that tone both in the working methods and innovation, as well as in productivity, exceeding the plan of degree of mechanization.

The following two categories of socialist agricultural units are those which were the main weight in both numerically and in mining areas are considered agricultural structures that were based on partial or complete combination of farming stock at the disposal of peasant families.

The two modules of implementing the marxist-leninist conception in agriculture are not a new concept, nor a prospect of agricultural development designed by Gheorghiu Dej or someone on his team; they are nothing but imitation of soviet collective farms and agricultural associations. We speak here about the collective farms and the companionships.

Given that in the 13 fateful years the collectivization process implementation took at national level, but also in our region, and during which dozens of collective farms and agricultural associations were established, almost not existing any village with no collective farms or association, it's practically impossible for me that, in just a few pages, to follow the evolution of something as complex as collective farms are. That is why I will tackle the collective farms and agricultural associations question by following a vertical trajectory and the main elements that define the two forms of agricultural cooperativization, and not follow a horizontal path, leaning upon each agricultural association of collective farms, because there were many localities which, in the late 50's, had three or four agricultural associations, each with its own component, history and achievements.

An interesting aspect is the connection between the two and the communist authorities. From what I have seen, communists saw companionships as transitional agricultural formulations and in no way final ones. Collective farms were the final form of agricultural organization. Companionships were on the agricultural plan as "fellow travelers", like on the political aspect were the Plowmen's Front and Socialist Party's left wing. It would fall within the concept of shared work, but the ownership of land and tools was still condoned. As in the case of the two political organizations mentioned above, the swan song of companionships was their absorption in the nearest collective farms in the final stage of the collectivization process. I will present only two such concrete cases, the formula being identical for the absorption of all companionships in the region. On January 31, 1960, in the

⁴ Idem, (Oradea), year XI, 1956, no. 111, May 5th, p.1, *For the continuous increase of state farms profitability.*

village Chesereu, the two local companionships joined the “Ady Endre” collective farm, the latter increasing its effectives to 603 families and 1500 ha⁵. A second case is the village Cadea, Ciocaia township, where the 46 families with 121 ha of the “The 30th of December” were joined by another 363 families with 761 ha, the collective farms having a total of 409 families with 882 ha.

As when I followed the evolution of the state agricultural farms during 1949-1962, we also shared the thirteen years concerning collective farms during 1949-1957 and 1957-1962, to have a roughly rational segmentation of the 13 years of collectivization. Between the two periods there are also differences of pace and methods.

If at the end of 1955 the region of Oradea had 194 cooperative agricultural units, with 17156 families and 44752 ha area of land, at the end of 1957, there were 511 cooperative agricultural units, with an increase 73%, comprising 45029 families with an area of 100587 ha. Therefore, it is about 162% increase in the number of families and 124 land area. 106 other new cooperative agricultural units were found just in 1957, with an area of 17379 families and 39079 ha. At regional level, 14 communes and villages and completely cooperativized, 2 being completely collectivized⁶.

In April 1962, in Oradea region, 480 collective farms are mentioned, working together 440706 ha of land. The collective farms from Vaida, Santion, Cauaceu, Biharia and Gepis harvested an average of 2000 kg grain per hectare and a total of 25 collective agricultural farms obtained average maize production of over 3000 kg⁷.

There were 13 long and heavy years, during which the Bihor county's peasantry was simply annihilated as socio-economical force. Unfortunately, these seizures and trials through which the rural country was forced to go, do not appear in the local press, only what the regime accepted and did not consider unfavorable managing to see the press. And if they appeared in the press, their acts are minimized, if not demonized, and we are informed from the start who are the villains and how the state party and those who serve it are positioned on the good side.

But fortunately, today, in the ultra contemporary era, reason, moral logic and emotional one are allowed, even if retroactively, the correct repositioning of values in society and former players and on both sides of the fence occupy their rightful place in the annals of history and in our collective memory.

⁵ Idem, (Oradea), year XV, 1960, no. 26, February 2nd, p. 3, *From companionship to collective farm*.

⁶ Idem, (Oradea), year XII, 1957, no. 259, November 3rd, p.1 *The socialist sector of agriculture is growing*.

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EXCLUSIONS FROM THE ROMANIAN WORKERS' PARTY IN THE YEARS 1951-1952. THE CASES OF MARGHITA AND SĂCUIENI DISTRICT COMMITTEES, CRIȘANA REGION

*Ion ZAINEA**

Abstract: *Following the verification of party's members between the years 1951-1952, based on the criteria received from the board of PMR, was passed to the exclusion of those considered unworthy for this quality. From the party's organizations of the District Committees of Marghita and Săcuieni over 65 exclusions were performed, mostly in 1952. The reasons can be grouped into several categories: kulak or links to them, the bourgeois attitude, hostile behavior to the regime (expressed in events against the goscoluri, against the currency reform, quotas, the system cards), deviations from the party's line or undermining this, the lack of vigilance; few have declined their quality of membership of the party, including by non-paying the dues. Those excluded were peasants, workers, craftsmen, traders, teachers, housewives, some presidents of the People's Councils, the party's activists. As ethnic groups, they were Romanian, Hungarian, and Hebrew.*

Keywords: *checks, exclusions, kulak, fascist, enemy.*

Following the verification of the PRM members, in the years 1951-1952, those considered unworthy of this quality were excluded from the party. The exclusions were made based on criteria send by the leaders of PMR. The first targets were the „exploiting elements” (the kulaks, the speculators, the merchants, the patrons), then those with „activity into the fascist organizations”, elements that „participated in the robberies and in the crimes against the Soviet people”, but also for „hostile activity” after August 23, 1944, „moral decayed” and with „serious deviations from the party's line”.

We have presented in other articles the exclusions from the Municipal Committee of Oradea¹, from the District Committees of Oradea² and Alesd³. We continue with the Districts of Marghita and Sacuieni. From the District Committee of Marghita, that is the basic organization of the party Chislaz, was excluded in the assembly of August 8, 1951, Juca Teodor, a middle class peasant, the former secretary of the organization. The exclusion was motivated by the proof that he

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¹ *Analele Universității Oradea*, the series Istorie-Arheologie, tom XXI, 2011, p. 158-167.

² *Crisia*, Oradea, nr. XLII, 2012, p.153-158.

³ *Analele Universității Oradea*, the series Istorie-Arheologie, tom XXIII, 2013, p. 165-171.

showed bad faith at the election of the ruling organs of the party, he drank the fee charged, he did not recognize the loss of his membership card, he kept in touch with the kulaks, to whom, when he was drunk, he divulged the party's secrets⁴. The same organization, in the meeting on June 25, 1952, discussed the exclusion of the teacher Filimon Pavel, because he neglected the enlightenment of the masses, had bourgeois attitudes, being influenced by the wealthy, through his wife, daughter of the kulaks. The Marghita District Committee confirmed the exclusion on August 19, 1952⁵.

On November 1, 1951, the basic organization G.A.C. Fegernic expelled from the party Budacs Iosif, a middle class peasant, of Slovak nationality, because he didn't take part to the meetings of the organization, attending, however, the church, and also for the lack of vigilance, because he lost his membership card. The Basic Organization Gos. Col. Balc discussed at the briefing of December 20, 1951, the exclusion of Farcas Iuliana, because she deviated from the party's line, not taking part at the election of the ruling organs⁶.

During the meeting of January 9, 1952, of the basis organization from the village Sacalasăul Nou, discussed the exclusion of Konyevalik Stefan, a Slovak laborer, a former mayor. He admitted that he was the mayor of the village under the Antonescu regime, he had acquired for himself from the common goods of the people when he was the manager of the Cooperative, and that he had a dictatorial behavior. On February 23, the district had confirmed his exclusion from the party⁷.

In the assembly of January 30, 1952, the members of the basis organization from the town of Marghita discussed the exclusion of four other members, Borsi Ioan, his wife, Bagosi Gheorghe and Ratoti Balaj George, who did not take part at the elections of the party's leaders and who felt under the influence of the class' enemy. The four exclusions were confirmed on March 13.

On February 7, 1952, the basic organization from the village Suiug decided the exclusion of Biroas Ioan, the president of the People's Council, for the following reasons: he had a hostile attitude towards the monetary reform, he had no activity as the President of the People's Council, he compromised himself in front of the masses, and appearing often intoxicated. The confirmation of the exclusion was made on March 7.

In the date of February 9, 1952, at the meeting of the basic organization of Cuzap, it was decided the exclusion of Petrut Floare, being accused of having participated at the Baptist reunions, instead of participating at the election of the party's rulers. Pelac Ioan was also excluded during the meeting of February 14, 1952, from the basic organization of Iteu, for the same reason, not taking part at the election of the ruling party. The exclusion from the party of Costache Gheorghe was decided in the meeting of February 14, 1952, from the basic organization of Boianul Mare, because he had a hostile attitude towards the party, he put obstacles to

⁴ The National Archives- The Service of Bihor (from now on AN-SJBh), Fund Comitetul județean Bihor al PCR, folder 26/1952, f. 4-5.

⁵ AN-SJBh, *Fond Comitetul județean Bihor al PCR*, folder 31/1952, f. 109-110.

⁶ *Ibidem*, folder 27/1952, f. 18-20 și 51-52.

⁷ *Ibidem*, folder 26/1952, f. 177-179.

the activity of the organization and he had thought to get rich. The three exclusions were processed and approved by the Office District of Marghita on March 8, 1952⁸.

On April 3, 1952, the basic organization of the village Balc expelled from the party Grosz Lajos, with Hebrew nationality, who had left in Israel⁹. The basic organization of the village Patal performed on June 24, 1952, other two exclusions. The first was Borzas Gheorghe, who did not take part in the election of the ruling party. The second, concerned the exclusion of Soter Vasile, expelled because of his kulak origins and because he was the organizer of the irredentist and fascist movement. The confirmation of the two exclusions occurred on 8 July.

On June 20, 1952, the basic organization of Chiraleu excluded Ciordas Nicolae, accused of disclosing secrets to the party's enemy, the exclusion was being validated in the meeting of 10 July, by the District Committee. Also in June 20, 1952, the basic organization of the village Chet decided the exclusion of Oresan Valeriu, who, although appreciated for his work for the party, had made the mistake of marrying into a wealthy family; Luczi Coloman was also eliminated because he missed the election of the ruling party. The two exclusions were confirmed on July 5. In the same day, the district reviewed its decision of 25 June of the basic organization of Popesti, where the party decided to exclude Grosz Aladar because he had a boiler for tuica (i.e. the Romanian brandy) and hid past of verification exploiter¹⁰.

The basic organization SMT Marghita, in the assembly of July 1, 1952, processed the situation of two members of the party and decided to exclude them. One of them was the kulak Iancsek Andrei, considered a hostile element, which owned a thresher and regreted the former regime. The second one was Bogdan Iosif, the organization's secretary, accused for kepping in touch with some kulak elements, who had a hostile attitude towards the democratic regime and who tried to escape from the party's burden. Their exclusions were confirmed on August 4, 1952¹¹.

On July 1, 1952, at the meeting of basic organization CSC Marghita, was decided the exclusion of Spitz Iosif and of Urai Zoltan, the two were exposed as exploiters. The district committee has reviewed and confirmed their exclusion, on August 8. The basic organization URCC Marghita, in the meeting of July 17, 1952, decided to exclude from the party Ostreicher Alexander, a Jew merchant, who was discovered to be a great exploiter and who tended to emigrate to Palestine. The organization's decision was confirmed on August 19 by the District Committee. In the meeting of the basic organization of Marghita, held on 28 July 1952, was processed Geza Kardos's situation, removed from the party on the reason he had declaired to the citizens of Chet that at the head of the party are some bandits. In addition, he kept in touch with the kulaks, making himself guilty of appeasement attitude. The Marghita's District Committee, in its meeting of August 18, confirmed his exclusion¹².

Over 20 organizations belonging to the Sacuieni District Committee proceeded the same, with the exclusion of the members of the party. The first was

⁸ *Ibidem*, folder 27/1952, f. 55-57, 122-128, 154-155, 165-170.

⁹ *Ibidem*, folder 34/1952, f. 54.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, folder 29/1952, f. 7-8, 44-47, 55-56, 177-179.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, folder 30/1952, f. 94-101, 117-119.

¹² *Ibidem*, folder 31/1952, f. 93-96, 107-108.

the basic organization of Vasad, where at the meeting of December 29, 1951, Boros Vasile, a poor peasant, on the ground that he did not attend the meeting, did not pay the fee and lost the party's membership card. The District Committee confirmed the elimination on January 3, 1952¹³. From the same organization, was excluded the farmen Dersidan Vasile, accused of exploiting the poor through his pub and his butcher, and for having slipped into the party with the intent to cause work disruption. The twelve „comrades” enrolled in the discussions, in the assembly of August 16, 1952, labeled him kulak. The District Committee of Sacuieni confirmed his exclusion on August 29. The organization of Vasad made other discharges, without letting to much information, since in December 29, 1951 the party had 41 members, and in August 16, 1952, there remained only 36¹⁴.

At the meeting of January 12, 1952, the basic organization of Tarcea processed the exclusion of three of its members. They were Barna Francis, Szilagy Etelca and Buciumany Ioan, all Hungarians, because they haven't pay the fee, they haven't participated at the election of the staff of the party, and they have lost their membership cards¹⁵. From the same organization, were excluded at the meeting of August 10, 1952, Szasz Ioan and Erdei Simon. It was said about the two that were under the influence of the kulaks, to whom they divulged the secrets of the party¹⁶. At the same meeting Biloiu Paraschiv was also eliminated on the grounds that he was a sergeant major in the so-called „bourgeois army”, had protected the wealthy from tax collections and had disclosed the secrets of the party. The Tarcea organization has expelled in the meeting of December 7, 1952, Bodo Ludovic, the argument being that he sought to deceive the poor peasants and he divulged the party's secrets to the kulaks. Exclusions were confirmed by the District Committee of Sacuieni on December 28, 1952¹⁷.

The party's organization GAC Sacuieni made several exclusions. The first was in January 14, 1952, when it was excluded Batuz Elizabeta, a Hungarian worker, which continuously led a work to undermine the party, refused to attend the meetings and didn't pay the dues. The District Committee confirmed the exclusion of the February 13, 1952¹⁸. In the reunion of 19 February 1952, the organization excluded Iaverek Iosif, a simple farmer. The members requested his deletion for failing to attend the briefings, for declaring against GAC, for being a kulak element. The confirmation of his exclusion came from the District Committee on March 7, 1952¹⁹. But the exclusions from the organization didn't stop there. During the meeting on July 7, 1952 was excluded Orban Iuliana, for hostile attitudes and manifestations towards the party and the GAC²⁰, and during the meeting of September 11, 1952, it was the turn of Malai Etelca to leave the party; she was a Hungarian housewife, and was being accused of

¹³ *Ibidem*, folder 25/1952, f. 5-6.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, folder 31/1952, f. 192-194.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, folder 25/1952, f. 84-87, 103-104.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, folder 31/1952, f. 185-188.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, folder 33/1952, f. 123-124, 170-171.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, folder 26/1952, f. 48-49.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, folder 27/1952, f. 116-117.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, folder 29/1952, f. 125.

negligence and indifference towards the quality of the party's membership, losing, moreover, her membership card²¹.

The basic organization of Cherecheu had first excluded from its members Nyeki Iosif, during the reunion of 18 January 1952, who lost his card, did not pay the fee, did not activate on the party's line²². At the meeting that took place on February 29, 1952, was processed the exclusion of Koncz Estera from the party, because she did not participate to the election of the staff, has not pay the dues, provided to the wealthy information about the party. The District Committee confirmed the decision of the basic organization, on March 7, 1952²³.

During the assembly of January 18, 1952, of the basic organization from the village Chesereu, was processed the „unhealthy” situation of Muncaci Sigismund, the former President of the People's Council, accused of stealing the wealth of the village, keeping in touch with the kulaks, and not leading the fight with the class' enemies. The members of the organisation have decided the exclusion, and the prohibition to hold other positions. At the same meeting, was also dismissed Herman Pavel, who had lost his membership card. Exclusions were confirmed by the district on January 24²⁴. On February 15, was processed the removal of Chis Elisabeta, who stated in writing that she does no longer want to be a member of the party. Her exclusion was validated by the district committee on 6 March 1952. The exclusions from the organization of Chesereu did not stop there. At the meeting of February 19, 1952, was eliminated Sas Carol, for his connections with the kulaks and for a hostile attitude towards the party; the exclusion was confirmed on March 5, from the district²⁵. On October 26, from the organization were discharged Bekersi Margareta, because she was disclosing the party's secrets to the kulaks and undermined the Gos Col Stefan Nicholae, who said he does not want to be a member of the party and will no longer attend the meetings, and Kiss Joseph, who starting with his enrollment proved to be an enemy, defending the interests of the wealthy and praising the past. The three exclusions were confirmed by the District Committee on November 18, 1952²⁶.

The Basic Organization SMT Sacuieni has expelled some of its three members. At the meeting of January 21, 1952, was debated Kisfalusi Iosif's deviation towards the party, whose membership card disappeared from his jacket in 1950, while playing football. Since he had recognized his lack of vigilance, the office organization proposed to be sanctioned only through the vote of censure, judgment that the District Bureau was agreed with²⁷. At the assembly on June 2, 1952, was excluded Karmazsin Francis, on the ground that in the past he has worked at a rich man from Sacuieni (called grof), and after his release, he slipped into the party, being friend with the enemy. On June 24, the District Committee

²¹ *Ibidem*, folder 33/1952, f. 148-149.

²² *Ibidem*, folder 25/1952, f. 105.

²³ *Ibidem*, folder 27/1952, f. 141-142.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, folder 25/1952, f. 107-112.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, folder 27/1952, f. 72-73, 151-152.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, folder 33/1952, f. 106-115.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, folder 26/1952, f. 52-53.

confirmed his exclusion²⁸, as well as that of Temasciuc Mircea, a former policeman, for hostile manifestation, proven by marrying a wealthy woman from the kulak and having kulak friends with whom he spent the day of May the 1st²⁹.

The main organization in Diosig processed the situation of four members. At the discussion of January 21, 1952, Karaszegi Martin was expelled from the party because he opposed to the presentation of the quotas and he was not present at the election of the ruling people of the party. At the same meeting, Hegysi Victor, a Hungarian teacher, escaped only with the sanction of "written reprimand" because of his lack of vigilance when he had lost his card. The District Committee confirmed the organization's decisions on 10 and 13 February 1952³⁰. At the meeting of February 25, 1952 from the organization was excluded Gazdag Iozsefne for spiteful behavior and failure in completing the party's demands³¹, and on July 25 Hajdu Iuliu, accused of hostile attitudes, because he blocked the smooth course of the organization and was keeping in touch with kulaks³².

The basic organization of Sacuieni, in the meeting of January 24, 1952, excluded from the party Fodor Alexandru, a Hungarian farmer, who said he no longer wants to be a member, was not present at the election of the staff, and did not pay the fee. At the same moment was excluded Zaori Iosif, for missing from the elections and for having misconduct with the membership card. The two exclusions were confirmed by the district, in March 7, 1952³³. During the organization's meeting of June 26, 1952, has been excluded Olah Arpad for opportunistic attitude, entered the party for personal interests, exploited annually with the thrasher machine 20 "comrades" and divulged the party's secrets to the kulaks. The confirmation was made on July 22³⁴.

The Basic Organization GAC Codlea excluded from its ranks, in the meeting of February 5, 1952, Varga Andrei, for reading storybooks with a contrary character to the development of the society and manifested against the monetary reform. The confirmation took place on 13 February. Reunited also on 5 February, the party's organization Arovit from Valea lui Mihai, expelled Endre Schleifer, a carpenter of Hebrew nationality, and Borbely Agneta, a Hungarian worker, both for hostile attitudes, undermining the organization, the latter one also for opposing The Council of Ministers' Decision about cards. The District Committee confirmed the two exclusions on February 13, 1952³⁵.

On February 8, 1952, at the meeting of the basic organization of Adoni, was discussed the exclusion of Sipos Francisc, a farmer and that of Zsofi Iuliu, a ploughman, both of Hungarian origins, because they have not paid the dues, did not

²⁸ *Ibidem*, folder 29/1952, f. 135-138.

²⁹ *Ibidem*, folder 31/1952, f. 21-22.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, folder 26/1952, f. 54-58.

³¹ *Ibidem*, folder 27/1952, f. 135-136.

³² *Ibidem*, folder 31/1952, f. 13-18.

³³ *Ibidem*, folder 27/1952, f. 114-115, 143-144.

³⁴ *Ibidem*, folder 29/1952, f. 120-130.

³⁵ *Ibidem*, folder 26/1952, f. 94-97, 103-104.

attend the meetings, and stated in writing that they do not want to be the party's members. The district office confirmed their exclusion on March 9, 1952.³⁶

In its turns, the basic organization PRM Sacuieni discussed in several meetings, the situation of its members. On 13 May, was analyzed the „unjust” behavior of Nagy Daniel, a Hungarian locksmith, showing that he kept in touch with the kulaks excluded from the GAC, compromising the party's activists in front of the citizens, saying they are false and capable of deceiving people. In addition, he sold gasoline to the kulaks and he threatened the Hebrew wives. His exclusion was approved by the District Committee³⁷. On 21 October, from the Party's ranks of Sacuieni has been excluded Perge Alexandru, a Hungarian miller, because he was trying to encourage the chauvinism in the collective farms, refused to accomplish the task of the party to work in the village Otomani, holding contact with the enemy. This was confirmed by the District Committee on November 14, 1952³⁸.

Among the party's members belonging to the District Committee of Sacuieni, without knowing the organization, was also excluded Gyori Ileana, a Hungarian housewife, for hostile conduct towards the regime, and for that she was disclosing the party's secrets to the kulaks. The exclusion was confirmed by the District on September 13, 1952³⁹.

From the party's organizations of The District Committees of Marghita and Sacuieni were performed over 65 exclusions, mostly in 1952. The reasons can be grouped into several categories: kulak or links to them, the bourgeois attitude, hostile behavior to the regime (expressed in events against the goscoluri, against the currency reform, quotas, the system cards), deviations from the party's line or undermining this, the lack of vigilance; few have declined their quality of membership of the party, including by non-paying the dues. Those excluded were peasants, workers, craftsmen, traders, teachers, housewives, some presidents of the People's Councils, the party's activists. As ethnic groups, they were Romanian, Hungarian, Hebrew.

³⁶ *Ibidem*, folder 27/1952, f. 175-176.

³⁷ *Ibidem*, folder 28/1952, f. 247-250.

³⁸ *Ibidem*, folder 33/1952, f. 104-105.

³⁹ *Ibidem*, folder 32/1952, f. 68-72.

IDEOLOGY AND POLITICS IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA. GHEORGHE I. BRĂȚIANU OR ABOUT A USEFUL “ENEMY OF THE PEOPLE”

Gabriel MOISA*

Abstract: *Gheorghe I. Brătianu was one of Romania's greatest historians. He brought an essential contribution to the connection of the Romanian historiography to the European one and world trends of the historical writing, especially to what the School of Annals is and has been. Gheorghe I. Brătianu's political and historiographical destiny under the communist regime was a very interesting one since he was approached by the ideological regime, both as a politician and as a historian, according the regime's interests. If as politician he was mentioned at the index for the entire communist period due to his liberal- brătienist past that could not be forgotten as the liberals were the communists' enemies, as historian he caught the regime's attention in well defined moments mainly caused by his work that made references to Bessarabia and that stated Romania's right over this historical province.*

Keywords: *Gheorghe I. Brătianu, Romania, Historiography, Ideology, Politics*

In the morning of 23 September, 1944 newsagents' were selling the new edition of the communist paper *Scînteia* (*The Sparkle*), legal only since 24 August, 1944. On the front page, on the most visible spot, they published an unsigned editorial, shocking through its violent language, whose main topic was politician Gheorghe I. Brătianu. The article was entitled *Schimbarea la față a d-lui Gheorghe I. Brătianu* (*Mr. Gheorghe I. Brătianu's Transfiguration*). This was the first episode of a very long series of attacks addressed to Gheorghe I. Brătianu meant to alter the truth on the historian and politician: “*One of the greatest joys brought to us on 23 August, 1944 was the discovery that Mr. Brătianu is a democrat! Moreover, a few days later the same Gheorghe I. Brătianu started to give us lectures on the true democracy. It is time for this pathetic and still ridiculous show to stop! The Romanian working class is very familiar with Mr. Gheorghe I. Brătianu's past of aligning Romania's foreign politics to that of Germany, to that of Europe's and our country's plunderers and invaders. Killinger's ill-fated speech delivered at “The Romanian-German Association”, - The awards and decorations received by Mr. Gheorghe I. Brătianu from Hitler for his services, - The role of anti-Soviet instigator that he played for years in the Parliament, - His intense participation at the treacherous and foolish war of the nation's interests against the USSR. – All these have not been forgotten by our working class and by the entire people, Mr. Gheorghe I. Brătianu! – this person does not belong to the Block of Democratic Parties, but to the clique he himself has joined, next to the Hitlerists and members*

of the Iron Guard.”¹ The text marked the beginning of a shameful propaganda against Gheorghe I. Brătianu that ended tragically for him in April, 1953 when he died in prison in Sighet.

Gheorghe I. Brătianu was one of Romania’s greatest historians. He brought an essential contribution to connect the Romanian historiography to the European and world trends of the historical writing, especially to what the School of Annals is and has been. Contemporary with March Bloch and Fernand Braudel, Ferdinand Lot and Charles Diehl’s student, Gheorghe I. Brătianu is, most likely, the best known Romanian historian follower of this historiographical school.² His work *Marea Neagră De la origini până la cucerirea otomană*³ (*The Black Sea. From Origins to the Ottoman Conquest*) is representative from this point of view. This is an excellent volume published posthumously, the equivalent of Fernand Braudel’s *Mediterrana și lumea mediteraneană în epoca lui Filip al II-lea*⁴ (*The Mediterranean Sea and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*) for the space of the Black Sea.

Gheorghe I. Brătianu’s historiographical work is much ampler. His arrest at the age of 50 prevented him from writing directly influencing his scientific production. Practically, Gheorghe I. Brătianu could no longer produce any scientific paper beginning with the night of 7-8 May, 1950 when he was arrested and sent to prison. He died in prison in Sighet sometime between 23 April and 27 April, 1953. The circumstances of his death are still not clear.

Gheorghe I. Brătianu’s political and historiographical destiny under the communist regime was a very interesting one since he was approached by the ideological regime, both as a politician and as a historian, according the regime’s interests. If as politician he was mentioned at the index for the entire communist period due to his liberal- brătienist past that could not be forgotten as the liberals were the communists’ enemies, as historian he called the regime’s attention in well

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¹ „Schimbarea la față a d-lui Gheorghe I. Brătianu”, in *Scînteia*, 23 September, 1944, year I, no. 3, p. 1.

² Gheorghe I. Brătianu was born on 3 February, in Ruginoasa, Iasi County. He was the son of the great Romanian politician Ion I.C.Brătianu (Ionel). He graduated from the National High school of Iasi, then from the Faculty of Law from the Al. I. Cuza University and from the Faculty of Letters from Paris. In 1923 he got his PhD in philosophy at the University of Kishinev and in 1929 in letters at Paris (1929). Between 1923 and 1940 he was professor at the Faculty of Letters and History from Iasi, then, from 1940 till 1947, at that from Bucharest. He succeeded N. Iorga at the chair of world history. N.Iorga was assassinated on 27 November, 1940 by representatives of the Iron Guard. Between 1940-1941 he was dean of the Faculty of Letters and Philosophy from Bucharest. During the period from Iași (1935-1940), he was president of the Institute of General History of the Al. I. Cuza University, and in Bucharest president of the Nicolae Iorga Institute of World History (1941-1947).

³ Gh. I. Brătianu, *Marea Neagră. De la origini până la cucerirea otomană*, vol. I-II. The book was published in several editions.

⁴ Fernand Braudel, *Mediterrana și lumea mediteraneană în epoca lui Filip al II-lea*, Bucharest, 1986, vol.1-6.

defined moments mainly caused by his work that made references to Bessarabia and that stated Romania's right over this historical province.

Practically, the name of historian Gheorghe I. Brătianu was mentioned in Romania only in negative terms before 1978. Leonte Răutu, one of the major ideologists of communist Romania, began to harshly accuse him in 1949. He was guilty of being cosmopolite, a very severe accusation in the first years of the communist regime. He was also classified as a "hitlerist who has forgotten Romania's history, preferring to deal with the English and Chinese history"⁵. The '50s are full of abuse against him under the circumstances of a Stalinist historiographical monopoly held by Mihail Roller, the leader of the Romanian historiography in those years. He was the only one appointed by the regime to classify the Romanian historians. In the mid '60s, Ștefan Voicu, editor-in-chief of *Lupta de Clasă (The Class Fight)*, accused the same Brătianu considering him, together with Iuliu Maniu, former political leader of the National Peasants' Party, Ion Antonescu's and Adolf Hitler's⁶ accomplice. Ion Antonescu was the leader of the Romanian state between 1940 and 1944.

The first positive statements to his address are made in the '70s in an atmosphere slightly relaxed from an ideological point of view when the Romanian historiography received new political guidelines that also referred to the Romanian-Soviet historiographical disputes. In 1978, the paper *Enciclopedia istoriografiei românești (The Encyclopaedia of The Romanian Historiography)* mentioned Gheorghe I. Brătianu among the prestigious Romanian historians and considered him the founder of "a historiographical school that prepared many leading historians"⁷. After decades of silence, the Romanian historiography was reassessing the historian since the ideology and the political regime needed him because of his works on Bessarabia and because of the political context within the Communist Bloc. Other two studies signed by Lucian Boia, *Gheorghe I. Brătianu (1898-1953)*⁸ and *L'historiographie roumaine et l'école de Annales. Quelques interférences*⁹ (*The Romanian Historiography and the School of Annals. Certain Interferences*), opened new perspectives on the Romanian historian.

Around the year of 1980, several historians were already resorting to Brătianu's work on the Romanian ethnogenesis and on the Genovese colonies from the shore of the Black Sea. The first historian to mention Brătianu's historiographical work on Bessarabia was researcher Alexandra Zub from Iași, in 1980. The same year was marked by the publication of the first post-war edition of Brătianu's work entitled *Tradiția istorică despre întemeierea statelor românești*¹⁰

⁵ Leonte Răutu, *Împotriva cosmopolitismului și obiectivismului în științele sociale*, Bucharest, 1949, p. 30.

⁶ Ștefan Voicu, "Pagini de luptă a Partidului Comunist Român împotriva fascismului, pentru independență și suveranitate națională (1934-1940)", in *Lupta de Clasă*, no. 6, 1966, p. 68.

⁷ *Enciclopedia istoriografiei românești*, Bucharest, 1978, p. 78.

⁸ Lucian Boia, "Gheorghe I. Brătianu (1898-1953)", in *Studii și Articole de Istorie*, Bucharest, 1978, p. 169-173

⁹ Idem, *L'historiographie roumaine et l'école de Annales. Quelques interférences*, in *Analele Universității București*, Bucharest, 1979, p. 31-40.

¹⁰ Gh. I. Brătianu, *Tradiția istorică despre întemeierea statelor românești*, Bucharest, 1980.

(*The Historical Tradition on the Setting up of the Romanian States*), a fundamental book for the understanding of the setting up of the Romanian medieval states.

In the same year, historian and literary critic Valeriu Râpeanu went even further and tried Brătianu's timid political re-evaluation. In the foreword of the above mentioned volume, Valeriu Râpeanu avoided the inappropriate appellatives that had been addressed to Brătianu in the post-war years and even tempered his inter-war political activity. Valeriu Râpeanu was the first Romanian historian who denied the agreement between political leader Gheorghe I. Brătianu and Corneliu Zelea Codreanu, head of the Iron Guard, a Fascist political party. This represented a clear signal that the situation was changing for Gheorghe I. Brătianu. After decades of being called "fascist", "hitlerist" and "hungry for power" by the Romanian historiography and consequently, unworthy of being called a historian, Valeriu Râpeanu was now shocking with his statements on Brătianu. Thus, according to him, Brătianu was a "*man of a high moral integrity, he did not try to go in his social life, scientific and university career through his political activity. His ideology, characterized by a large humanist attraction, showed no affinity to that of the chauvinistic, racist and mystical currents that he explicitly and implicitly rejected in his work through his conception*"¹¹.

Tradiția istorică despre întemeierea statelor românești (The Historical Tradition on the Setting up of the Romanian States) was printed on the occasion of the 15th International Congress of Historical Sciences and presented to the worldwide historians. The anti-Soviet signal was pretty clear from this point of view and the intention was to introduce the present foreign historians to the new Romanian historical and historiographical path.

Once the access to Gheorghe I. Brătianu allowed, he benefited of several approaches, even in the cultural media of the time. In an article on the book that appeared in *Cronica (The Chronicle)* from Iași, historian Ștefan Gorovei openly stated that the Romanian scholar was one of Romania's most important historians as well as the brightest historian that activated in the period between the two World Wars¹². In the same period, university professor Emil Condurachi praised the historian Gheorghe I. Brătianu in *Contemporanul*¹³ (*The Contemporary*), while Ion Zamfirescu, in *România Liberă*¹⁴ (*The Free Romania*) made references to the innovative research methods used by the great Romanian historian. Nicolae Șerban Tanașoca's study called *Reconsiderarea operei lui Gheorghe I. Brătianu*¹⁵ (*The Reassessment of Gheorghe I. Brătianu's Work*) was an evident signal for Gheorghe I. Brătianu's rehabilitation as historian. The study was published by the prestigious

¹¹ Ștefan Gorovei, "Un eveniment (nu numai) editorial", in *Cronica*, year XV, no. 39 (765), 26 September, 1980, p. 2.

¹² *Ibidem*.

¹³ Emil Condurachi, "Considerații istorice fundamentale", in *Contemporanul*, no. 35 (1764), 29 August, 1980, p. 4.

¹⁴ Ion Zamfirescu, "Tradiție și adevăr istoric", in *România Liberă*, 2nd edition, 11 December, 1980, p. 1.

¹⁵ Nicolae Șerban Tanașoca, "Reconsiderarea operei lui Gheorghe I. Brătianu", in *Transilvania*, 17 December, 1980, p. 13-14.

magazine *Transilvania (Transylvania)* from Sibiu. It was a very ample study that presented the historian's main historiographical preoccupations.

The '80s brought the most important contributions to Brătianu's reassessment as historian. Among the first ones who brought their contributions was the well-known historian Pompiliu Teodor from Cluj. Through his contributions, *Gh.I. Brătianu-istoricul. I. Dimensiunile operei (Gh. I. Brătianu – The Historian. I. The dimension of his Work)* and *Gh.I. Brătianu-istoricul.II.Concepție și metodă istorică (Gh.I. Brătianu – The Historian. II .Historical Concept and Method)*, Pompiliu Teodor sketched Gheorghe I. Brătianu's main fields of activity as well as his historical concept. He was presented to the young generation in a completely different light, as he had never been introduced before¹⁶. Professor Teodor's efforts were carried on by historian Alexandru Zub from Iași in the last year of the communist regime who even mentioned Brătianu's notes on Bessarabia¹⁷.

This was only one side of Gheorghe I. Brătianu's reassessment. In the last years of the communist regime when the Romanian-Soviet disputes were more than evident and Nicolae Ceaușescu's relationship with Mikhail Gorbachev was more than cold, Brătianu's rehabilitation by means of re-publishing his works on Bessarabia represented a major ideological and historiographical goal thanks to his opinions on this historical province. It is very interesting that all editions from Gheorghe I. Brătianu, except for *Tradiția istorică despre întemeierea statelor românești (The Historical Tradition on the Setting up of the Romanian States)* published in 1980, were printed after the last meeting between Ceaușescu and Gorbachev on 25-26 May, 1987 when the Romanian political leader realized that he no longer had Mikhail Gorbachev's support. A few days before Mikhail Gorbachev's arrival to Romania, Victor Spinei published a study in the monthly historical magazine called *Magazin istoric (The Historical Journal)*, publication that had the approval of the propaganda. The study was entitled *Istorie la Marea cea Mare*¹⁸ (*History at The Great Sea*) and made frequent references to Gheorghe I. Brătianu's statements and work on the Black Sea and on the Romanians' role in the development of this area that contradicted Russia's dominating demands on the area of the Black Sea. Victor Spinei was also a remarkable specialist in Early Romanian Middle Age. That is why his statements rendered the interpretation more valuable and the Soviet propaganda, which was closely supervising Romania, must have registered the text and implicitly Ceaușescu's message for Gorbachev. In fact, this meeting at the highest level was marked by several tension moments between Ceaușescu and Gorbachev as well as between Elena Ceaușescu and Raisa Gorbachova.

Other fundamental works written by Gheorghe I. Brătianu were re-published in the period 1988-1989. None of these works had been printed before in communist Romania. These were the years when the communist horizon was growing

¹⁶ Pompiliu Teodor, "Gh. I. Brătianu - istoricul. I. Dimensiunile operei", in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie Iași*, 1983, p. 233-247; Idem, "Gh. I. Brătianu-istoricul. II. Concepție și metodă istorică", in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie Iași*, 1988, p. 233-245; Idem, "Gh. I. Brătianu și spiritul "Analelor". Analogii, sincronisme și convergențe", in *Confluente istoriografice românești și europene*, Iași, 1988, p. 25-47.

¹⁷ Al Zub, *Istorie și istorici în România interbelică*, Iași, 1989, 324 p.

¹⁸ Victor Spinei, "Istorie la Marea cea Mare", in *Magazin istoric*, no. 4, 1987, p. 28.

narrower. The Romanian-Soviet disputes on the path that had to be followed in order to keep up the communist “order” became more and more evident and the ideological dispute was often carried unprepared. It was not an accident that in 1988 they re-printed the volume entitled *O enigmă și un miracol istoric: poporul roman*¹⁹ (*An Enigma and a Historical Miracle: The Romanian People*), an extremely serious and documented pleading against the immigrationist theory, on the Romanians’ south-Danubian origin and on the Romanians’ continuity in the present area inhabited since the early Middle Ages. The volume was meant as a scientific response to the Soviet historiography that asserted the idea that the Romanians settled down in this space after the Slavs’ arrival on the Carpathian basin. The appeal to Gheorghe I. Brătianu proved one more time that in times of war, be it even a historiographical one, all valid fighters were accepted, be they former “enemies of the people” such as Gheorghe I. Brătianu. In the context of 1988, Brătianu became a “friend of the people” as long as this was useful from an ideological point of view. The volume *O enigmă și un miracol istoric: poporul roman* (*An enigma and a Historical Miracle: The Romanian People*) also answered the Hungarian historiographical theories on the same immigrationist concept, concept that became quite common in the second half of the ‘80s especially after the publication of *The History of Transylvania (Erdelyi Tortenete /Istoria Transilvaniei)* in 1985, at Budapest. But the volume was mainly addressed to the Soviets.

Marea Neagră. De la origini până la cucerirea otomană (*The Black Sea. From Origins to the Ottoman Conquest*) was also published in 1988. The book also brought arguments in favour of the presence of the Greek, Latin, Italian and Romanian civilizations in the basin of the Black Sea before the Russians could extend their domination in the region. The book appeared in a period when the Soviets were considering the Black Sea an internal sea of the Soviet Union. We should reflect upon Victor Spinei’s introductory study which was very courageous since it referred to the context when Gheorghe I. Brătianu could no longer write. His statements are quite obvious from this point of view. According to Victor Spinei, it was only “*fate that did not want Gheorghe I. Brătianu (1898-1953), as it did not want Vasile Pârvan either, to reach old age of and to fully use his scholarly skills*”²⁰. The only difference was that fate had different connotations for the two great Romanian historians. Vasile Pârvan died in 1927 due to a badly treated appendicitis, but, in Gheorghe I. Brătianu’s case we are talking about an assassination that took place in prison at Sighet in 1953. Moreover, according to Victor Spinei, Brătianu’s intellectual ability diminished due to his “*involvement in his last years of live in different public and cultural activities of major importance and in special events that bring him closer this time to C.C. Giurescu, Petre P. Panaitescu, V. Papacostea, I.I. Nistor, I. Lupaș, Al. Lapedatu, S. Dragomir, Z.*

¹⁹ Gheorghe I. Brătianu, *O enigmă și un miracol istoric: poporul roman*, Bucharest, 1988, 218 p.; The first edition of the paper appeared in French in 1937. Later in 1940, after Romania lost Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina to the USSR (the Soviet ultimatum of 28 June, 1940), the book was also published in Bucharest, in Romanian. After the war, the events from Eastern Europe sent the book into oblivion.

²⁰ Victor Spinei, “Geneza sintezei lui Gheorghe I. Brătianu despre spațiul pontic”, in Gh. I. Brătianu, *Marea Neagră. De la origini până la cucerirea otomană*, vol. I, Bucharest, 1988, p. 5.

Pâclișanu, T. Sauciuc Săveanu, E. Lăzărescu, Al. Marcu and to many other contemporaries of his"²¹. The special life situations for Gheorghe I. Brătianu as well as for those above mentioned represented the fact the years spent in prison. All mentioned historians were imprisoned at Sighet where the Romanian political and cultural elite of the inter-war period was practically exterminated. The fact that these "special events" and the historians' names were even mentioned meant a huge achievement since the Romanian historians were perfectly aware of the realities. But all these were also happening due to the irreparable deterioration of the Romanian-Soviet relationships during the last years of the communist regime that climaxed with Nicolae Ceaușescu's denunciation of the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact at the last Congress of the Romanian Communist Party (November, 1989) when he asked its revision, relying one more time on the nationalist argument. The reference to the years of Stalinist communism of Soviet type was evident. The prison from Sighet functioned from 1950 till 1955 and the Soviets were considered as the main guilty ones of the evolution of the Romanian historiography in the '50s. Victor Spinei said that the last years of the 5th decade and the first years of the 6th decade of the last century were marked by the imposing of certain judgements that were not common to the Romanian spirit. Consequently, even the volume *Marea Neagră. De la origini până la cucerirea otomană (The Black Sea. From Origins to the Ottoman Conquest)* appeared under abnormal circumstances due to "the ordeal endured by Gheorghe Brătianu in the months he was conceiving *The Black Sea*"²². The ordeal meant house arrest, during the period he was conceiving the volume, and also the years spent in prison at Sighet (1950-1953), beginning with his arrest on the night of 7-8 May, 1950. In fact, the volume was published posthumously, and in Romania it was printed only in 1988.

Gheorghe I. Brătianu's reassessment reached its climax in the same year of 1988 when, to mark 90 years since his birth, the same Victor Spinei coordinated an anniversary volume entitled *Confluente istoriografice românești și europene: 90 de ani de la nașterea istoricului Gheorghe I. Brătianu*²³ (*Romanian and European Historiographical Confluences: 90 years since Gheorghe I. Brătianu's Birth*). Many important Romanian historians published studies and articles in this volume. The volume represented Brătianu's full reassessment in the Romanian academic community since it was known fact that homage volumes were extremely rare in communist Romania and they were dedicated almost exclusively to those historians that, in one way or another, belonged to the circle of power. Belonging to a different world, Gheorghe I. Brătianu was sent directly to the fore of the Romanian historiography.

²¹ *Ibidem.*

²² *Ibidem*, p. 47.

²³ *Confluente istoriografice românești și europene: 90 de ani de la nașterea istoricului Gheorghe I. Brătianu* Iași, 1988, 548 p. (coordinator Victor Spinei).

A FEW HISTORIOGRAPHICAL CONSIDERATIONS WITH REGARD TO THE CONDITION OF JEWS FROM HUNGARY AND ROMANIA IN FRONT OF COMMUNISM

Anca OLTEAN*

Abstract: *The Jews of Romania and Hungary had to bear a lot of difficulties after the setting of communist regimes. This paper intends to present the Jewish minority rather as a victim of communism than a beneficiary. The communism was not favorable for their community and religious life, some Jewish elites were imprisoned and, also, the Zionist leaders. The memories presented here come up with a contribution of leaders of the community, but also of victims of the regime in the Romanian case. A view of ensemble of the Jewish minority in Romania and Hungary in the first years of communism is also drawn by this paper, based on the contemporary valuable historical writings.*

Keywords: *Jews, minority, Romania, Hungary, communism*

In the article of Miklós Konrád¹ it is asserted that, after their emancipation from 1867, the Jews from Hungary ceased to exist as an independent entity. They accepted the emancipation in the Hungarian society from the wish of not suffering anymore because they are Jews. In the opinion of the author, it is well known the fact that the Jews from Hungary played an important role in economy, and Hungarian nationalism from the period of dualism could not be of antisemitic nuances². It took place a few minor incidents, but, in general, the role of the Jews was considered as being positive. In the same time, the author asserts that it was about an interest of the Jewry to integrate itself in the new state. On the other hand, the Jews had no interest to appear as *corpus separatum* because the integrationist tendencies of the Hungarian state which were advantageous for them. The emancipation offered to the Jews equal rights with the Hungarians, the only difference residing in religion³. Also, under religious report, it existed differences between the Orthodox Jews and the Neologues. The Orthodox faction rejected the integration in Hungarian society. They cultivated their traditions without getting involved in the political life and thus they did not constitute a danger for the Hungarian state: "Administration tolerated the fact that the Orthodox Jews refused

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¹ Miklós Konrád, "Jews and politics in Hungary in the dualist era, 1867- 1914", in *East European Jewish Affairs*, 39: 2, 167- 186, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13501670903016282>, accessed on 09/07/2010.

² *Ibidem*, p. 167.

³ *Ibidem*, p. 168.

to follow laws and decrees. In spite of the law that established the obligation of primary education, a lot of Jews very Orthodox from the counties from North- East preferred to send their children to illegal primary schools, *the heders*, in which, in contrast with the ones acknowledged there were taught in part laic subject matters. After all, in spite of a decree from 1884, which asked that the rabbis to be Hungarian citizens, and the law from 1895 foreseen that the education had to take place in Hungary, a number of Orthodox rabbis did not fulfill these conditions. But the political authorities were doing nothing to put into force these regulations⁴.

Table 1. The Jews and the Hungarian state 1867- 2000⁵

Regime	Habsbourg rule 1867- 1919	Horthy – Nazism rule 1920- 1945	Communism 1945- 1990	Post- communist rule 1990-
National state and the Jews	The Jews as a religion	The Jews as foreigners	De-iudaization and suprimation of particularisms	Jewish Diversity, religious, ethnic, cultural diversity
The dimension of the politics of government	Civil rights in turn of cultural maghiarization - social contract	Official anti-Semitism Hungarian particularism	Universalism	Pluralism
Effects on the Jews	Inclusion	Exclusion	A new start for survivors, but also the isolation from the Jewish past, of Israel and the outside world	Inclusion and elections.

In the study of Leonard Mars⁶, it was asserted that, today, there are about 100 000 of Jews in Hungary, most of them settled in Budapest⁷. After the end of communist regime, the life of the Jews from Hungary came back to normality, being characterized by a bright effervescence.

For the Hungarian Jews and for the ones from North-West of Transilvania, the coming of Red Army was a moment of liberation which put an end to deportations. In Romania and Hungary, the inhabitants feared of Soviet occupation. The different perception of Soviet occupant determined the fact that the Jews did not resent the communism as a yoke, at least at the beginning⁸. Raphael Patai shows that, in contrast with the Nazi genocide, the communist view with regard to the

⁴ *Ibidem*, p.171.

⁵ The table was detailed in Leonard Mars, *op.cit.*, p.229.

⁶ Leonard Mars, "Is there a Religious Revival among Hungarian Jews today?" in *Journal of Contemporary Religion*, 16: 2, 227-238, <http://dx.doi.org.10.1080/13537900120040681>, accessed in July 9, 2010.

⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 227.

⁸ Raphael Patai, *The Jews of Hungary. History, culture, psychology*, Wayne State University Press, Detroit, 1996, p. 617.

Jews was more permissive and non – violent. The Hungarian communists tried to assimilate the Jews, to make them faithful servants of Hungarian state, to give up to their Jewry, to those particular elements that separated the Jews from the Hungarians. If the Jews suffered more in the communist period, it can be explained by the fact that among them there were more bourgeois elements than among the Hungarians⁹. The Jewish life almost did not survive in Hungary after the war. The Hungarian Jews were often discriminated, the rebel ones or their economic and cultural elites were deported¹⁰, their emigration was prohibited or their community and religious life was destroyed¹¹. In the view of the communists, the Jewish question was a product of capitalism and had no utility in the communist society. The communism tried to level cultural differences, to dominate the national minorities.

On the other side, the cosmopolitan spirit of the Jews and their wish to keep the connection with other Jews from Israel and other countries of the free world were forbidden. The creation of Israel was perceived with enough reticence by the Hungarian communists and the situation became more hostile after the exacerbation of Stalinist anti-Semitism in Eastern Europe. As in Romania¹², also in Hungary, the Zionist leaders were persecuted.

In the study of John Kosa¹³ it is asserted that it had been existed a significant number of Jewish refugees after the war, and, after the year 1950, the Hungarian communists opposed to any emigration. After the Revolution of 1956, the boundaries opened only for a short time.

The Hungarian Jews that came from deportation were around of 160 000 – 190 000¹⁴. The returned Jews chose the emancipation in the new Hungarian state.

⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 618.

¹⁰ Nicholas Bauquet et François Bocholier (dir), *Le communisme et des élites en Europe Centrale*, Presses Universitaires de France, 2006, p. 25 shows the condition of interwar elites during the communism and the persecutions of whose victims they were. The interwar period time elites were the subject of the persecution of communist parties from Eastern Europe.

¹¹ Raphael Patai shows that the number of Hungarian Jews after Holocaust was 100 000. Gyurgyák János, *A zsidókérdés Magyarországon (The Jewish Problem in Hungary)*, Osiris Kiadó, Budapest, 2001, p. 581 shows that, after the census of 1946, the number of Jews on the territory of Hungary was of 165. 330 of Jews, but he considers that the data are not complete because many Jews did not declared themselves as Jews, at least in the Province. The same author send us the data of the census of 1949 which registrated 133, 862 of Hungarian citizens of Jewish religion among whom, says the author, 101. 259 lived in Budapest.

¹² Şitnovitzer Şlomo describes in his *memmories, Documentul autentic sau amintiri din închisorile comuniste din România (The Authentic Document or memmories from the Communist Prisons from Romania)*, Tel Aviv, 2003, the sufferings by which he passed through when, at the end of the Stalinist years, he is put into prison and detained in prisons as a Zionist. Even if the Jews were allowed the emigration in Israel, the Zionist leaders who fought for this were imprisoned. The same was the situation in Hungary.

¹³ John Kosa, “A century of Hungarian Emigration, 1850 – 1950”, in *American Slavic and East European Review*, vol.16, No.4 (dec. 1957), pp. 501- 514, published by the The American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3000776>, accessed in 09/07/2010.

¹⁴ Fejto Ferenc, *Magyarság, zsidóság (Hungarians, Jews)*, Budapest, 2000, p. 282.

They were attracted by the universalism and proletarian solidarity, promoted by communists. It is hard to understand why the Hungarian Jews were decided to collaborate with the Hungarians to the edification of socialist state, why they tried to assimilate when they suffered so much¹⁵. Maybe, because the installation of communism, meant for them the separation from an older past where the Jews were persecuted.

Stephen J. Roth¹⁶ shows that in Hungary, after the war, it was implemented the material compensation of the Jews that suffered as a consequence of the Holocaust. The legislative basis, shows Roth, was the decree 200/ 1945 M.E. from March 17, 1945 which stipulated that the confiscations from the Fascist period were discriminatory and declared null the deprivations of rights. Still, the agricultural propriety and horticultural propriety was not given back if it entered under the provisions of Agrarian reform legislation and of the nationalization of the land. (Decree 600/ 1945 from March 15, 1945, Law VI from 1945). But also other goods could not be recuperated, such as mobile goods, equipments, the stocks of Jewish factories, the shops were destroyed, the money deposits lost their value as a consequence of the inflation, and the goods taken over by the Nazis were never given back. At November 15, 1946, it was created a National Jewish Fund of Rehabilitation that inherited the proprieties of the Jews that died in Holocaust that did not enter under the provisions of the above mentioned laws¹⁷.

In Hungary, after the war, the Jewish elements who survived, together with the communists who came out of illegality, put the basis of the new political regime. Initially, the number of Hungarian communists was very small 2000- 2500 of members¹⁸. The Communist Party had to divide the power with the other political parties (Social – democrats, Peasants Party- the intellectuality wing, etc). The Soviet occupation had dramatic consequences and was even more severe since the Soviets had numerous victims in the fight with Hungarians who were allies of Germany until the end of the war. In front of the nationalization of industry or of the agrarian reform, nobody protested¹⁹. The new system needed new personnel, trained in the field of education. The Jews were more cults than the Hungarians and

¹⁵ Assimilation had as a finality also to approach the Hungarian culture. There were several writers of Jewish origin who became important names in Hungarian culture. Thus we recall Kertész Imre, Konrád Gyorgy, Nádas Péter. During the communist times, the majority of Hungarian Jewry had the tendency to hide their Jewish origin, wanted to be considered the same as Hungarians, not to exist no reason of discrimination or of difference of ethnical nature.

¹⁶ Stephen J. Roth, "Indemnification of Hungarian victims of Nazism: an Overview", in Randolph L. Braham and Attila Pók (Ed.), *The Holocaust in Hungary. Fifty years later*, Columbia University Press, 1997, p. 733-753.

¹⁷ Sources from Jewish Community of Oradea informed us that also in Romania it was created a Fund of Jewish Property administered by Jewish Community of Romania. For example, a great part of the houses of the deceased were administered by this fund, but it also had existed exceptions.

¹⁸ Fejto Ferenc, *op.cit.*, p.276.

¹⁹ Idem, *Behind the rape of Hungary*, David McKay, New York, 1957, p. 7.

corresponded for the jobs from state administration²⁰. Moreover, they were new elements, uncompromised by the fascist regime and did correspond also from this point of view²¹. The Jews were also most interested in the elimination of Fascism and in democratization. The perspective of involvement in communism offered a shelter to the Jews, after the shock they suffered after the annulment of private propriety. The Hungarian Jewry took part more than the local inhabitants in the organs of administration and of governance that belonged to the Communists²².

The wealthy Jewry suffered to the same extent as the Hungarian bourgeoisie²³. They were deported, their goods were taken over by the state, a lot of them suffered in political prisons and lost their civil rights for a considerable time, etc. This is why when we want to evaluate the role played by the Jews in the communist system, we do not have to lose sight of the Jews that were oppressed by the Communists. In order to be accepted by the Hungarian society, many Jews passed to Christianity.

The Jews who chose not to emancipate in the Hungarian state were few. The most important form of the refusal of integration in the Hungarian Communist State, was Zionism. But the number of the Jews who choose to emigrate was smaller in Hungary, than in Romania²⁴. The emigration was possible, mainly after 1945, and, for a short time. Also, only for a few years, in Hungary, the Zionist movement enjoyed liberty of action. In 1949, it was produced a radical change of the Hungarian state towards the Zionism and the Zionist organizations were abolished. The Zionist leaders were arrested. Zionism was condemned after a press campaign²⁵. These events were coming on the fond of a change in the attitude of the USSR towards the Jews which reverberated in all communist space. Thus, in 1948, when the state of Israel was constituted, the Soviet Union was the first state whom acknowledged it. But

²⁰ *Ibidem*. It is shown that many Jews who survived to Holocaust and were integrated in Security Services became the most important tyrants and loyal oppressors of communist governments, what made some contemporaries to consider that it was about a revenge of Jews on non-Jews.

²¹ *Ibidem*, p. 283.

²² *Ibidem*.

²³ Kovács András, "Zsidóság az 1945. A zsidókérdés a mai Magyar társadalomban" ("The Jewry in 1945. The Jewish problem and the Hungarian problem of today" in vol. *1100 Eves Együttélés (1100 of years of common life)*, 2001, p. 14 shows that in the total of the population from Hungary, sent to Gulag, the Jews represented 30%.

²⁴ The Zionist movement activated in Hungary and during the Holocaust when it was succeeded the saving of some Jews. Fejto Ferenc, *op.cit.*, p.287, asserts that, during 1945-1947, left Hungary 28 103 Jews. When it ceased its existence (13 III, 1949), the communists considered its members as the fascists of Szalasi and arrested them. (Kovács András, *Viata laolaltă de 1100 de ani*, p. 15). Also in Hungary, as in Romania, they took place anti- Zionist trials. Raphael Patai, *op.cit.*, shows that between 1945- 1947 left Hungary between one third and a quarter from the Hungarian Jews which survived in Hungary, 28 000 in Israel and together with the ones emigrated in Western Europe and overseas, a total of 56 000 of Jews. Gyurgyák János, *op.cit.*, p. 586 shows that between 1945 and 1947 approximatively 60 000 of Jews chose the path of emigration.

²⁵ Gyurgyák, *op.cit.*, p. 588. Also in Romania the Zionists were persecuted by the communist state during with the year 1949. In the whole communist block the antisemite politics of Stalin reverberated in the last years of his life.

when it became obvious the pro-western attitude of Israel, Soviet Union changed its politics. Starting with 1948, anti- Zionist manifestations took place in Poland and Romania. In Hungary, the anti- Zionist propaganda was sustained by the press. The Slanski trial from Czechoslovakia and the white gown affair from Soviet Union, marked in communist block the pick of anti-Semite politics.

The ones who looked for integration and emancipation, had hoped that the Communist Party could level the discriminations to which they were submitted in the previous epochs and during the Holocaust. The Jews realized later the mistake of making a pact with the Stalinism. They tried to integrate to the mass of overall population and never declared their Jewish origin. Gyurgyák János calls this phenomenon ‘negative assimilation’. The Jewish kids were never told about their origin. A great part of the Jewry started to abandon the Stalinism, thus in 1956 we find the Jews of both sides of the barricade²⁶.

In the period 1944 - 1949, in Hungary it was produced Sovietization²⁷. Stalin succeeded to make from Hungary, Romania, Poland, Czechoslovakia or Bulgaria some vassal states. In Hungary, the Sovietization was gradually introduced. A lot of Jews had important functions in Communist Party (Gerö Ernő, Révai József, Farkas Mihály, Rákosi Mátyás).

At December 2, 1944, it was constituted the Front of National Liberation formed from: Party of Smaller Agrarian Owners, Social Democratic Party, Bourgeois – Democratic Party and Communist Hungarian Party. The National Provisional Assembly empowered the Provisional Council with the signing of the armistice to January 20, 1945. In this period, they take the first measures against the Fascists politicians and of organizations of right wing. They were annulled anti-Jewish laws. It was created the Political Police (AVO) with a repressive role, lead by a Jew, Péter Gábor²⁸. In Pécs, local population invaded the centre of Jewish community which they had considered responsible of country’s communization. In 1945, in Hungary they took place elections which were won by the Party of Smaller Agrarian Owners. This party represented the interests of the middle class and of the peasants. Until the next elections, in 1949, the opposition parties were thrown out from the political scene. The communists encouraged the creation of opposition parties in order to divide the political life and to undermine, thus, the Party of Small Peasants which enjoyed the most popular sympathy. In 1948, the workers parties got united, creating Hungarian Communist Party. Communism was introduced in Hungary initially by concessions made to the class of electors (the prove is the Agrarian reform from 1945)²⁹. This aspect generated the sympathy of Occidentals

²⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 590.

²⁷ Romcsics Ignác, *Magyarország története. A XX Században (The history of Hungary. XX Century)*, Osiris Kiadó, Budapest, 2005, p. 273.

²⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 281, shows that during the years 1945- 1950 almost 60 000 of people arrived in front of the appeal courts.

²⁹ The architect of the agrarian reform was Nagy Imre, important character of the Revolution of 1956. The agrarian reform from 1945 made an advantage to small agricultors, 400 000 of peasants without land taking advantage of it. 200 000 of peasants received problem in plus. This reform came from the tactic of communist Party of not neglecting the peasants wishes. But, starting with the year 1948, shows Ferenc Fejto, *Behind...*, p. 14, the agricultors were encouraged to angrenate in agricultural cooperatives of production.

towards the Hungarian communist regime. But, after 1948, Stalin interferes in Hungarian politics subordinating Hungary to his interests. In the same time with the affirmation of Tito, it started in Hungary the campaign against the political opponents of Rakosi who were criticized for their adhesion to *Titoism*. Such a process was the process of László Rajk³⁰. Ulterior, on the fond of the pressure coming from USSR, Hungary abolished the treaty of assistance with Iugoslavia. The campaign against *Titoism* was sustained by press and radio.

In short time, the communists took over the whole power. First secretary of Communist Party became Rákosi Mátyás, a Jew instructed after the model of Stalin at Moscow. In 1949, it was created the Popular Front of Hungarian Liberation whose president was, at the beginning, Rákosi. In the summer of the year 1949, the communists took over the power.

Hungary regained its sovereignty, after the signing of the Treaty of Paris. On the territory of Hungary, there had remained 50 000 of Russian soldiers. The Soviet influence in Hungary was accelerated. The economic production of Hungary in the first years of communism decreased under the level it had before the First World War. The inflation of the year 1946 from Hungary conduced to the poverty of the population.

Jewish commercials who activated on black market of Budapest, saved the population of Budapest of hungriness³¹. Still, anti – Semitism increased in the context of general poverty. Thus, in 1946 in the localities of Kunmadaras and Miskolc, it took place anti-Semite manifestations³². The guilty persons were arrested. Once with the improvement of economic situation, they were not more anti-Semite manifestations, but the anti – Semitism remained in the mental of Hungarians.

In the period 1948- 1949, the factories were nationalized in Hungary. The properties detained of the Jews made no exceptions. In 1948, the government took the decision of the collectivization of agriculture. In time, religion was excluded from school education. The Jewish schools entered in the propriety of the state. After 1950, the Jews had just one High- School in the whole Hungary³³.

In the time of the dictatorship of Rákosi, the dependence of Hungary of the Soviet Union was total. The political pluralism was restrained and, in time, it was demolished. In the pick of the party hierarchy was Rákosi Mátyás, prime secretary

³⁰ Francois Fejto offers details about the process of Laszlo Rajk. This lasted only a few days and registered on the line of show trials lead by Rusia from the years 1930. The process opened at September 16 1949. In the Court room were several workers. Rajk acknowledged all the accusations that it was brought to him, including the accusation of titoism. He and three more persons were sentenced to death. Ulterior, Laszlo Rajk and the rest of the accused will be rehabilitated. Among the methods of intimidation there was also the physical torture. Rajk told that if he did not acknowledged the accusations that were brought to him, the wife and the few months kid will be killed.

³¹ Romcsics Ignac, *op.cit.*, p. 308.

³² Raphael Patai, *op.cit.*, shows that in May 1946, it took place a antisemite action in the locality Kunmadaras. The Jews were accused of ritual murder. Two Jews were killed, and 18 ingered. At Miskolc it took place another antisemite action where the communist leader Mátyás Rákosi asked the death of Jewish commerciants which activated on black marked.

³³ Romcsics Ignác, *op.cit.*, p. 327.

of the party. Political important body, the Political Committee was lead in 1950 by a *troika* formed from the Jews (Rákosi, Gero, Farkas). Rakosi accepted at the end of the years 1940, the cult of personality in the most pure Stalinist manner.

The punishment of political rivals was achieved with the support of AVO (Committee for the State Safety), a repressive organism, which depended by the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Initially AVO has a target the punishment of criminals of war, but, later, it had in view the opponents of communization. Centralized economy was introduced in Hungary with the stimulation of “contests of production”, between workers that put an accent more on quantity and not of quality. In the period 1950- 1954 the five years plan was applied. In agriculture the main objective was the close up of the process of collectivization. The agricultural cooperatives did not bring the expected results, because of the lack of the specialists and because of week mechanization of the works.

On cultural plan the unique party took the monopoly. The political press which belonged to the other political formations was liquidated until 1949. The schools, printing houses, cinemas and the other cultural institutions were nationalized. The activity of church was more restrained. Religion was firstly facultative, later eliminated from education³⁴. The press, the radio, the printing houses, the cinema received propagandistic tasks, contributing to the edification of socialist state. There were also eliminated the last Jewish reminiscences from culture.

After the death of Stalin, in March 1953, it started a fight between its political collaborators (Beria, Molotov, Malenkov, Bulganin, Hruščiov). After a severe confrontation between Malenkov and Hruščiov, the last took the power. Rakosi was criticized to Moscow because he did not submit to the new political directions launched by Soviet leadership. He was accused by excessive industrialization, increasing of army potential, forced collectivization, decrease of standards livings, fabricated processes of the political adversaries, the fact that he built a cult of personality of Stalinist type³⁵. He was criticized because he maintained in leadership posts too many Jews³⁶.

Henry Gleitman and Joseph J. Greenbaum³⁷ asserted that the purpose of their study is the analysis of the answers of the emigrants of Hungarian origin in United States with regard to the Revolution of 1956. Some questions examined to what extent, the interviewed make prove of ethnocentric attitudes, as for instance the anti –Semitism, having in view the recent history of Hungary. The interviewed must to be questioned concerning a few affirmations: “I believe that almost all the Jews fought on the side of revolution”, “I condemn firmly the behavior of most

³⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 359.

³⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 377.

³⁶ This criticism came in the continuation of the antisemite politics promoted by Stalin in the last years of his life. In URSS it took place the *white gowns affairs*, and in Czechoslovakia Slanski trial. Both events had as protagonists the Jews. In Hungary, the leader of AVO, Peter Gabor, of Jewish origin, was arrested.

³⁷ Henry Gleitman and Joseph J. Greenbaum, “Attitudes and personality patterns of Hungarian Refugees” in *The public opinion quaterly*, vol. 25, no.3 (autumn, 1961), pp. 351 -365, published by Oxford University Press on behalf of the American Association for Public Opinion Research; <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2746364>, accessed on 09/ 07/2010.

Jews during the years 1945- 1948”, “I condemn briefly the behavior of most Hungarian Jews during the years 1948- 1956”, “A lot of Jews were against the communism as almost all the others”. According to the survey, the trust of Hungarian ethnics emigrated in United States in Jews was high, + 80. The most Hungarian refugees bypassed the problem of anti-Semitism.

William A. Bomberger and Gail E. Makinen³⁸ talk about the period after the Second World War when inflation was very high in Hungary. In his research, the author was helped by the professor Zrinyi by the Georgetown University, Aladar Szegedy – Maszak (the Hungarian minister in United States between the years 1945- 1946) and the professor William Fellner. The period of hyperinflation in Hungary was comprised between July 1945 and August 1946 when the prices rise with a factor of 3×10^{25} . The economic crises by which Hungary passed after the war, was due to the fact that Hungary was a destroyed zone after the war. It have been existed a great material and alimentary scarcity. The Jews had an important role in supply, fact that generated new waves of anti-Semitism which finished sometimes with pogroms.

An important Hungarian historian, Raphael Patai³⁹ reflects the main coordinates of the existence of the Jews in Hungary. He dedicates a space also to postwar history of the Jews in Hungary in which he draws the directing lines of their activity in communist period.

Thus, for the period that followed to the end of the war, Patai approaches the problem of Jewish emigration from Hungary. This problem was an important one, because the Hungarian Jews had a lot of sufferings to bear as a consequence to fascism and of collaboration of Hungary with the Axis. In spite of this aspect, Patai underlines that the number of Jewish emigrants from Hungary remained small in comparison with the Jewish emigration from neighboring countries⁴⁰.

Patai estimates that the Jewish population from Hungary was between 150 000 and 200 000 in 1945. Among these, he considers, that 56. 000 of Jews emigrated during the years 1945- 1947⁴¹. Two thirds from the Jews who survived to the war decided to remain in Hungary.

Another important aspect underlined by Patai was that, after 1950, emigration was stopped by communist dictatorship. The creation of the state of Israel was ignored by Hungarian communists.

Another problem existent in Hungary in 1945 is the discussions that existed in Hungary around the Jewish problem and of Holocaust, respectively the public declaration of Jewish sufferings and affirmation of Hungarian responsibility. Between the years 1945 and 1948, the problem of the Jews and of the genocide directed against the Jews made the subject of a public debate in Hungary, debate reflected by the articles, pamphlets and books published on this topic. In the period

³⁸ William A. Bomberger and Gail E. Makinen, „The Hungarian Hyperinflation and Stabilisation of 1945- 1946”, in *The Journal of Political Economy*, vol.91, No.5, (oct, 1983), p. 801- 824, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1837370>, accessed 09/07/2010.

³⁹ Raphael Patai, *The Jews of Hungary. History, culture, psychology*, Wayne State University Press, Detroit, 1996.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 613.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*.

1948- 1958, the Hungarian government prohibited the publication of books on this topic⁴². Moreover, the communists did not acknowledged that the Holocaust was directed against the particular group of Jews, but considered that it was about a persecution of fascists against non – fascists. This aspect is reflected also in the view of Romanian communists.

Also in Hungary, like in Romania, it had been existed Zionist leaders that militated for the emigration in Israel.

In both countries, these persons were persecuted and put into prison. Patai mentions the process Rajk that determined also a lot of victims from the Jews and that was followed by the persecution of Zionists leaders⁴³. Also, during these years, to the Hungarian Jews it was prohibited the maintenance of the connections with the Jews from outside.

Patai tried to explain which were the reasons that caused Jewish' adhesion to Communism. Thus he gives an explanation that many authors consider important, namely that the Jews received the Russians as liberators not as enemies as the Hungarian ethnics⁴⁴.

Although they had the feeling that they are different, the Jews did not reject the integration in the Hungarian society. A lot of survivors that were Jews oriented towards communism. Another motivation of the adherence of Jews to communism, underlined by Patai, is the fact that these (the communists) considered bypassed the Jewish problem and the anti-Semitism. Moreover, they considered that the communist regime was incompatible with anti- Semitism, while Capitalism favored its proliferation⁴⁵.

More than the Christians, shows the author, they occupied the newly created jobs. The persecution of bourgeoisie, did not exclude the Jewish bourgeoisie that were quite a few and were also deported⁴⁶.

In the same time, in the first years after the war, Hungarian anti-Semitism found new possibilities of expression. They had been existed problems with the restitution of Jewish houses, occupied by Hungarians, during the Fascist period, and who did not want to give them back.

It was carried out a campaign against Jewish sellers that, shows Patai, culminated with anti-Jewish manifestations like the ones directed against Jewish sellers from Miskolc. Anti- Semite manifestations took place also to Diósgyor where the miners were involved in manifestations against sellers on black market, mainly Jews⁴⁷.

Anti-Semitism was increased by the fact that it existed important leaders of Communist Party of Jewish origin right immediately after the end of war such as Mátyás Rákosi, Erno Gero, Josef Revai, Zoltan Vass.

The author Raphael Patai remarks himself through his objectivity but also by the understanding of the psychological and social motivations of the Jewry to

⁴² *Ibidem*, p. 615.

⁴³ *Ibidem*, p. 616.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 624.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 625.

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 626.

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*.

integrate and to accept communism. The picture of Jewish society, after the war, achieved by Patai is a complex one, detailed that that keep reviewed all the important details utilized in the field concerning the faith of Jewry after the war. It is a good psychologist and a fine observer of the Jewish world.

In what concerns the situation of Jewish minority in Romania⁴⁸, after the war, after the setting of communism, the chief rabbi of Romania, Moses Rosen, confirms the existence of community life and religion during the whole communist period⁴⁹. Although the activity of the synagogues and of Jewish community was not so intense as after the war, they continued to exist, inclusively represented by people involved in the Judaic cult, whom, at a certain moment, the rabbi stops them from emigration because they were needed in the country. It had been existed a lot of believers that continued to go to the Sinagogue, although the Security infiltrated also here its sources of information, because “Jewish streets” had to be conquered.

A current practice of the communist power was the use of forced labor. In the camps of work from the whole country they were 80 000 of persons at the beginning of the years '50 from which 40 000 were exploited for the construction of the channel Danube – Black Sea: “Independent of its purpose, the project needed the biggest mobilization of forces from work camps in Romania, in which they were concentrated political prisoners from all the categories of society. People with superior education were working hand in hand with peasants who lost their land, Orthodox priests and united with Zionist leaders, Serbians from Banat, with Sași from Transylvania, all being victims of the infringement of human rights that went along with the program of the Romanian regime of political and economic revolution”⁵⁰. At this Channel, they have been working also Zionist leaders, while the Jews suspected of Zionism that were free, were haunted, put under trial and persecuted.

Table. The table from below shows us the number of Jewish population from Romania before and after the war⁵¹.

Region	1939	1941	1942	1947
Romania				
Present boundaries	478.042	466.128	427.296	428.312
Oltenia	3. 523	2.841	2.484	3.406
Muntenia	94.216	114. 470	108.761	163.144
Moldova	160.330	135.730	121.131	150.651
Dobrogea (without Southern Dobrogea)	3.185	2. 885	2.239	3.279
Southern Bucovina	23.844	18.140	179	17.388
Transylvania (without Northern Transylvania)	18.929	15.720	15. 122	15.847
Nord of Transylvania	148. 294	151.125	152.228	44.706
Banat	14.043	14.626	14.009	15.963

⁴⁸ See the article of Daniel Chirot, *Social Change in Communist Romania, Social Forces*, vol.57, No.2, Special Issue (Dec, 1978), p. 457- 499, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/ 25 77 678>.

⁴⁹ Moses Rosen, *Primejdii, incercari, miracole*, Editura Hasefer, 1990, p. 16- 340.

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, p.115.

⁵¹ The table is taken over from Peter Meyer, Bernard D. Weinryb, Eugene Duschinsky, Nicolas Sylvain, *The Jews in the Soviet Satellites*, Syracuse University Press, 1953, p.516.

Region	1939	1941	1942	1947
Crișana	11.678	10.591	10.497	13.928

After the Political Act from August 23, 1944, the Jewry hoped to the Restoration of civil rights, restitution of the proprieties they had before the war and the possibility to accede to professions that they could not practice anymore in the period of the authoritarian regime during 1938- 1940 and Antonescian regime during 1940 – 1944: “An official decree from December 14, 1944 abolished <<racial laws>> adopted anterior. But, the decree restoring the full citizenship of Romanian Jews, failed in the establishment of the status of the Jews, refugees from the annexed territories. Only, after a lot of delays and continuous negotiations, an agreement was achieved at the end of 1946, between Romanian Ministry of Justice (then secretary of Romanian Communist Party, Lucrețiu Pătrășcanu) and the leaders of Jewish communities in order to guarantee the citizenship of the refugees that, in 1938, had not the necessary papers in order to qualify for it”⁵². Also, the restitutions of the Jews of their fortunes was achieved with difficulty and not integrally⁵³. In the same time, the Jews re-entered in the possession of their jobs from the public and private sector. Only the deportees and the refugees had to accept modest jobs.

Radu Ioanid shows that it is wrong to consider that the number of Communist Jews in Romania was high, showing that in 1923, from a total of 1655 of Communist members, only 364 were Jews and that represented 22.6%⁵⁴. Also, Ioanid shows that in February 1946, the Jews represented only 5.3% from the party members⁵⁵.

As in Hungary, the Jews from Romania had particular reasons to adhere to communism. In 1945, the option for communism meant an open attitude against the fascism, of which the Jews feared the most. Most Jews could not feel animosity towards Red Army or the Russians because they were the factors that freed them from the authoritarian regime of Ion Antonescu. A lot of Jews, traumatized by the horrors of Holocaust, became important personalities of Communist Party or, moreover, they aggregated in Romanian Security, terrorizing themselves the political opponents of the communism.

⁵² Peter Meyer, Bernard D. Weinryb, Eugene Duschinsky, Nicholas Sylvain, *op.cit.*, p. 518.

⁵³ *Ibidem, op.cit.*, p.518 shows that a decree from December 14, 1944 established the next aspects, that all the propriety that belonged previously to the Jews and that is now detained by the state or in the possession of a buyer is regarded as belonging to the titular owner that was deprived from his propriety and returns to him without an additional legal procedure. The right of use of Jewish land is annulled at the promulgation of this decree. The author quotes another paragraph of the law that introduces limitations of Jewish propriety. Namely, the Jews can not return to their former places if the buildings are occupied by factories, artisan business and if the Jewish owners did not lived there before deportation.

⁵⁴ Radu Ioanid, *Răscumpărarea evreilor. Istoria acordurilor secrete dintre România și Israel*, Editura Polirom, 2005, p. 75.

⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 76.

Table. This table shows the number of people aggregated in the service of Romanian Security at its creation, in 1948, grouped on ethnicities⁵⁶:

Ethnic	Number/ percent of people aggregated in Security
Romanians	3.334 (83.9%)
Jews	338 (8.5%)
Hungarians	247 (6.2%)
Russians	24 (0.6%)
Iugoslavians	13 (0.3%)
Others	17 (0.4%)
Total	3.973

In 1949, the Romanian Communists started a brutal campaign against the Zionist leaders. What was interesting, it was the fact that, although in the period that we study a big number of Jews emigrated in Israel, Zionist leaders, which tried to convince the Jewish population with the view of emigration and to accelerate the rhythm of emigration, were imprisoned, put under trial and tortured starting with the year 1949⁵⁷. From 1949 until 1959 they were brought into the court around 250 of persons. The campaign is restarted in 1954, also Stalin died in 1953. Radu Ioanid illustrates very well this tendency of PCR to allow the emigration, but to oppose to Zionism.

The faith of Romanian and Hungarian Jews was far from good. With the exception of a minority, they were rather victims of communism than beneficiaries. The ones from Romania had emigrated to a larger extent, while in Hungary a lot of the Jews assimilated. We can conclude that, in Romania, the Communist regime was more permissive with the Jews.

We will signal a few memories that bring new information about the condition of Romanian Jews in the communist period, after the setting of communism in the Romanian state. Thus, Moses Rosen, in the work *Primejdii, încercări, miracole. Povestea vieții șef – rabinului Dr. Moses Rosen*⁵⁸, describes his own life. Moses Rosen was chief rabbi of Romania during the communist times. The Journal covers also, the period that interests us, 1945- 1953. In his memories, he details his fight of mediator between the communist power and the large masses of Jews with the view of the facilitation of the emigration of Romanian Jews in Israel. The rabbi disposes by a special power of persuasion in front of communism, trying to convince them that the emigration of Romanian Jewry in Israel is a necessity. He plays a dangerous role, risking in every moment his liberty. The rabbi tries to stop the local Jewish leaders which were practicing the Judaic cult, to live

⁵⁶ The table is taken over by Radu Ioanid, *Răscumpărarea evreilor. Istoria acordurilor secrete dintre România și Israel*, (The ransom of the Jews. The history of secret bargaining between Romania and Israel), Editura Polirom, 2005, p. 76.

⁵⁷ Teodor Wexler, "Procesele sioniștilor" (The Zionists Trials) in Romulus Rusan (ed), *Anii 1954- 1960. Fluxurile și refluxurile stalinismului*, p. 380. shows that the anti- Zionist movements started since 1948.

⁵⁸ Moses Rosen, *Primejdii, încercări, miracole. Povestea șef-rabinului Dr. Moses Rosen*, (*Dangers, tryings, miracles. The story of chief rabbi Moses Rosen*), Bucharest, Editura Hasefer, 1991.

out of the country in order to remain home and to ensure the religious service to the ones who did not want to leave.

Carol Buium Beniamini, in the work *Un sionist în vremea lui Antonescu și după aceea*⁵⁹, describes his activity as Zionist. The author was Zionist in the most tensioned period for the Jews, before and after the Second World War in the framework of Zionist organisation Haşomer Hazair. A part of the Jewry believed, with naivety, to the communist ideas, while the majority tried to emigrate in their historical country, by making alya. Haşomer Hazair was one of the several Zionist movement appeared after the war.

The *Memories* of Carol Buium Beniamini had a foreword written by professor PhD Solomon Vaimberg who describes the situation in which he knew the author after the war, after the re-creation of the organization Haşomer Hazair. In the same time, dr. Solomon Vaimberg makes a portrait of the situation of Jewry in the postwar Romania that aspired, in spite of the existent difficulties, to emigrate in Israel: “For the regime, the Jews had become a minority hardly to assimilate who did not fit nor by social origin among the privileged categories of the new leadership. The ones who tried to request alya were brutally sanctioned by loosing their jobs, elimination from schools and faculties, exclusion from political life and civil life, as a rule. Disimulated discriminated – as “Zionists” or not dissimulated as a consequence of the brutally called measures for improvement of national ethnic composition, marginalized as “small- bourgeois”, pushed towards the status of second rank citizens, the Jews confronted with frustration even from the perspective from their promotion in their specific fields of activity”⁶⁰. Solomon Vaimberg considers that the Jews were not among the preferred categories of the communist regime, but among the ones persecuted by this regime. In what concerns Carol Buium Beniamini, he was detained together with other Zionists from the movement Haşomer Hazair in the prisons from Malmaison, Jilava and Văcăreşti in the period of antonescian regime (14 March 1942- august 1944). The leaders of the Zionist movement, once freed, contributed to the re-creation of Zionist organisations after the war: Haşomer Hazair, Bnei Avoda and Mişmar. In a period when the movement of resistance against fascism was reduced in Romania, the organisation Haşomer Hazair played an important role. The author was a member of the organization Haşomer Hazair since 13 years old.

Carol Buium Beniamini shows the main directions of action of the Youth members of the organisation by describing his personal experience: “As a lot of other young people, girls and boys, at the adolescence years what retained our attention as members of the youth organization was the sincere friendship, the joy of life, the songs, the dances and the trips; the youth ambience; the discussions about <<platonic love>> and the respect of the ten tasks of the movement Haşomer Hazair. In the same time, we listened to conferences, *sihot* in our language, about Freud and Adler who tried to get inside the secrets on consciousness and unconsciousness, the secrets of human soul. We discussed and commented the problems of the evolution and of the revolutions which constituted the base of

⁵⁹ Carol Buium Beniamini, *Un sionist în vremea lui Antonescu și după aceea*, Bucharest, Hasefer 1999.

⁶⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 14.

dialectic development of the society and of history – from the French Revolution and until our days. We tried to get inside of the profundity of the philosophy and of the historical determinism, talking with passion about the role of personality in history. We made an immense endeavour to explain and to interpret the existence and the development of the Jewish people during two thousand years of history of the diaspora [...]. We created also the synthesis between Zionism and socialism, whose culminant point must be the achievement of a society based on equality and fraternity, deprived of the exploitation of the man by the man: this ideal society was for us the chibutz, built by us, in the country of our people, Israel⁶¹”.

In his memories, Carol Buium Beniamini furnishes also a few documents that accuse of communist orientation the members of the movement Haşomer Hazair. The movement Haşomer Hazair organized several summer camps in the post-war period with the purpose of educating Zionist Youth with the view of emigration: “The summer camp in the year 1945 was in Tazlău, Neamţ county; a series of wooden cabans – that served or where built to serve to the German army-suited us as shelter. The war ended before the finishing of cabbans constructions. In the year 1946, the summer camp took place near Reghin, in Transylvania, in one of the palaces almost in ruin, of a Hungarian nobleman, the owner of a huge farm. The house was built in the midst of a beautiful park, having enough space to host a few, hundreds of young people şomrim”.

In the year 1947, the Youth movement Haşomer Hazair together with the sister movements – Bnei Avoda and Mişmar knew an impressive development. In May 1947, it was foreseen the participation of over one thousand young people and adults. It had been necessary thus to find a sufficiently large place to include all participants⁶². Finally, the author emigrated illegally in Israel.

Şlomo Şitnovitzer, in his writing *Documentul autentic sau amintiri din închisorile comuniste din România*⁶³, describes the years he spent as a Zionist prisoner in the prisons from Romania “at Jilava, at Malmaison, at Piteşti, at Caransebeş, at Rahova”⁶⁴. His arrestment happened in 1950, during a trip to Buşteni, when a few men of the Security took him to Bucharest in order to make some investigations. Captured in prison, he describes the atmosphere from there asserting that the purpose of the investigations was “to force, with any price, the accused to acknowledge his blames, namely the fact that he acted against state order, and, moreover, he was a spy [...]”. During the investigations, the officer also tried a psychological pressure on the accused, explaining to him that he was not an ordinary accused, but “the main leader of the important organization Bethar which had a severe military discipline being enough that me, the authoritarian and all mighty leader of this movement to push a button to make the thousands of members of this organization to start a <<a revolution against the state order>>⁶⁵. About the Security investigations the author asserts that their extreme form was to send the

⁶¹ *Ibidem*, p. 20.

⁶² *Ibidem*, p. 129.

⁶³ Şlomo Şitnovitzer, *Documentul autentic sau amintiri din închisorile comuniste din România*, Tel Aviv, 2003.

⁶⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 10.

⁶⁵ *Ibidem*, p.18-19.

accused in the caves of Security, terrifying rooms. In fact, the novel, a diary of the years spent into prisons, says that: “There were times when the investigations were stopped as said the authorities, when they did not succeed to come out of you not only what they would have liked, but not even a part; and this after a period of months and months. Then, they send you back in the Security caves with the slogan “you are going to stay there until you will die”. And they live you there a certain time with the hope that the time will pass and you will get tired and finally you will be decided to talk. It was a sort of punishment coming from the authorities, because formally everybody wanted to put an end to this sufferance, to be judged and send to prison where life was still a little more bearable”⁶⁶. But not all the days were so terrifying. The prison was also a good way to socialize and to talk with the colleagues.

In the work *Speranțe în întuneric. Memorii*, it is shown that Valentin Saxone (Jew) was deprived by his right to exert his profession of lawyer to 20 April 1948, fact that the author explains by “the reasons that it was pursued the suppression of the right of fascist elements to practice this profession no more – and in consequence they were deprived of the right to be lawyers all the ones that were not wanted by the communist regime, all the ones that were not regimented or they did not work – as I said- under the guise of <<long way comrades>>⁶⁷. Ulterior he found that he was followed by a member of Security, who approached his family in this sense. He was suspended from profession for 10 years. The author dedicated a chapter to his activity after August 23, 1944. King Mihai annulled the discriminatory measures existent during the Antonescian regime. The author is one of the initiators of the Club “Idea” which grouped several intellectuals who wanted to get into contact with the Christian population and to combat fascism and anti-Semitism. But the activity of “Idea” Club was short, because at the end of 1947 the Communist Party prohibited the activity of political organizations with cultural character. Another chapter is dedicated to Popular Romanian Party and to the elections from 1946 when, together with a friend, Petre Ghiață militated for the creation to Popular Peasants Party that became Popular Romanian Party not to be confunded with National Party of Peasants whose leaders were Iuliu Maniu and Ion Mihalache, among these two political formations being also differentiations of ideological nature. For several times Valentin Saxone was accused of “bourgeois origin”, and from 1962 he is detained to Jilava under the accusation that he fought against the Socialist Revolution and he was also a Spy.

These *memories* presented about the Jews captured in communist prisons reveal the difficulty of the survival of Jewish Community and its leaders and members during communist times when aspirations as emigration to Israel were considered as crimes against the communist state of Romania. In the presentation “Judaism means the connection with the past, present and future”⁶⁸ from the site of the Federation of Jewish Communities from Romania, there are accentuated the last

⁶⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 43.

⁶⁷ Valentin Saxone, *Speranțe în întuneric. Memorii* (text îngrijit de Liana Saxone Horodi) (*Hopes in the darkness. Memmories*), Editura Viitorul Românesc, Bucharest, 2004, p.13-14.

⁶⁸ See the site of Jewish Federation of Communities from Romania, www.jewishfed.ro, accessed in September 10, 2014.

70 years of life of Jewish Community of Romania in which this Community confronted with the Holocaust, Fascism, communism.

From 800 000 of Jews shows the survey, 400 000 of Jews survived in the whole Romania to Holocaust and from these 90% emigrated to Israel during the whole communist period. It is obvious that the Jews did not identify with the party and communist state.

With very few members, local Jewish Communities of Romania continue their activity. Presently, the great rabbi of Jewish Communities from Romania is the rabbi Menachem Hacohen.

In the report of the Council of Leadership concerning the activity of Jewish Federation from the period May 2013 – March 2014, the Jewish Community of Romania tried to survive in the context generated by the economic crises in Romania. The Jewish Community was concerned with: preservation of patrimony, programs of education and social assistance, religious life, Judaic education, international relations.

An important objective of the Federation of Jewish Communities of Oradea was to take attitude against anti-Semitism or against the denials of Holocaust.

Jewish Community of Romania was financially supported by the international organization JOINT. Presently, the number of the members of Jewish Communities of Romania is 7350 from which 4285 are the Jews according to a census of 2013. Presently the Jewish Community in Romania has four rabbis: in Bucharest, in Oradea, in Iași and in Brașov. The Jewish Community in Romania has a Printing House, HASEFER and a journal, *Realitatea evreiască*.

The president of the Federation of Jewish Community of Oradea, is engineer Felix Kopellman, the community being the second in the country as a number of members and having around 700 members.

ABOUT PRESS CENSORSHIP DURING THE COMMUNISM. INTERVIEW WITH JOURNALIST TRAIAN BRĂȚIANU, FROM *ROMÂNIA LIBERĂ*

*Carmen UNGUR-BREHOI**

Abstract: *My presentation consists of an interview with the journalist Traian Brățianu, who worked during the communism at the central newspaper România liberă. His testimony is very important for me and for the media world because he describes the way censorship acted in the 60s and in the 70s in Bucharest, subject that interests me, because this is the topic of my doctoral thesis. This interview will be included later in my PhD paper under the title "The press and publications' censorship in Romania during the communism. The Directorship of the Central Presswork's activity, institution of the Press and Print General Directorship (1965-1977)", coordinated by the academic Ion Zainea, from the University of Oradea.*

The Directorship of the Central Presswork's was an organism that regarded the censorship of the newspapers and of the publications. It was an important part of a greater structure - the Press and Print General Directorship, which prohibited many things in all the fields of the communist life: arts, cinema, prints...

The main techniques of the Directorship of the Central Presswork were control, manipulation, propaganda, and deceit. The personnel was formed of censors or readers, persons that were involved in the media process; they dictated the themes of the articles, their structure, the persons that could appear in the writings or not, the texts (they cut or added information) and the photographs.

What Traian Brățianu says about the Directorship of the Central Presswork is what he lived as a journalist who worked during and with the Romanian communist censorship.

Keywords: *censorship, journalist, communism, prohibition, România liberă*

Traian Brățianu¹ is a Romania journalist, that worked at many national newspapers and magazines, during the communism and nowadays. For many years

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he worked at *România liberă*, where he faced press censorship imposed by the state and represented by The Press and Print General Directorship.

Under this name it operated the communist censorship institution that performed in all the fields-literature, arts, media, cinema, architecture... and in almost all the cities of Romania (helped by groups of local censors).

The organism that regards the censorship of the newspapers and of the publications was a part of The Press and Print General Directorship, which was The Directorship of The Central Presswork². Its main working techniques were control, manipulation, propaganda, deceit. The personnel was formed of censors or readers, persons that were involved in the media process; they dictated the themes of the articles, their structure, the persons that could appear in the writings or not, the texts (they cut or added information) and the photographs.

1. In what period did you work at *Romania libera*³? on what position were you there?

At the newspaper *Romania libera* I worked for more periods. The first one was between 1964-1966 when, as a student, I made my practice and I worked on the social and cultural area. I continued to collaborate with them in the years 1970-1976 at their publication *Novâi Vic*, which regarded the community of the Russians from Danube Delta. In the period 2006-2008 I was the editor of the social section and in charge with the Tourism Supplement of *Romania libera*, *The East Edition*.

2. What was your educational studies to become a journalist?

I graduated the Faculty of Philosophy of The University of Bucharest (1961-1966), the special course for journalism of The University Centre Bucharest (1963-1966) and The Post-graduate Course of Journalism from the Faculty of Journalism of The Academy "Ștefan Gheorghiu"⁴ (1972-1973).

intamplator" (1998), "Recurs la politica" (2000), "Scriitura si genurile presei", "Proteste vesele" (2003), "Pravalia cu umor" (2010), "Politica si societate in Dobrogea" (2010).

² This interview is a part of my doctoral dissertation, entitled The press and publications' censorship in Romania during the communism. *The Directorship of the Central Presswork's activity, institution of The Press and Print General Directorship (1965-1977)*, coordinated by the academic Ion Zainea, from the University of Oradea. The innovation of my research is based on the study of 65 folders from the fund The Press and Print Committee (1944-1977), from the National Historical Archives of Romania, all confidential documents, undiscovered most of them. My project regards the history of the unit that controlled the media in the capital of the country, the activities that supervised, the personnel-the group of censors, their activists' folders, the relations with other communist institutions and organisms of the party, "The Job Specification Book", which contained the duties to accomplish by the readers, their working methods, their benefits, the connection between the censorship and the journalism.

³ *Romania libera* was the most monitored central newspaper, after *Scinteia*. It appears in 1877 and during the communism, it was a very important quotidian, as circulation and as information.

⁴ The Academy "Ștefan Gheorghiu" was a special school, that transformed in university, for the partizans of PCR. Here was the only place where could be prepared the future journalists, which were representing the official information of the state. The students of this faculty were adults with high roles in the Party. This school gave them the chance to advance, at all levels. After 1989, their diplomas were equalated with those of Law

3. Being a journalist was a special profession⁵ in those times?

Yes and no. Yes, because all the institution had to offer all the information I demanded. And no, because not all that information could be used. Și da și nu. Da, pentru că toate instituțiile erau obligate să ofere informațiile necesare realizării textelor jurnalistice. Nu, pentru că nu toate informațiile puteau fi folosite.

4. How did the censorship work during those times? What can you tell me about The Directorship of the Central Presswork, structure of the The Press and Print General Directorship⁶?

The censorship of Romanian media started in 1945, with the Law 102, published in Monitorul Oficial from February, 12 1945; this was the first stage for the prohibition of the right to expression. In 1948 began the nationalisation of the publishing houses, of the printing houses, of the paper factories, that brought benefits to the communists. In 1949 appeared The Press and Print General Directorship, that had the role to write and to send to the media the official information of the Cabinet Council, which acted after the PCR's politics. This had structures in each editorial office, and their members were known by the journalists, because, every night (we are talking about the quaterdays) and occasionally (for other publications) they worked together with the teams in duty. The personnel of The Press and Print General Directorship had clear and special orders about what is prohibited to appear in the newspapers, and every mistake had as a result the exclusion from the page. of the phrases, articles and even of a whole edition. In 1957 it was created an office near the Cabinet Council, managed by one of the directors of Agerpres and formed by the same detachedlies from Agerpres and The Press and Print General Directorship, with the function to „filter” the governments' official information, that were about to get to the public. The development of the censorship continued with the controlled acces to the profession of journalist, by preparing the youth to attend the high-end Party's School “A. A. Jdanov” and then The Academy “Ștefan Gheorghiu”. The total control of the PCR grew after 1974, when it was adopted by The Grand National Assembly the Press' Law from the Socialist Republic of Romania, which stated “... the press, the radio and the TV have to facilitate permanently, unmodified, the conception of the Party

⁵ Being a journalist or a censor was something big-these were great and important jobs, respected by the others, were professions that brought many privileges, although the price to pay was high-the lack of freedom, of individual action, of a fearless work, the lack of an ideal. The journalist couldn't write what they wanted to, they couldn't respect the reality because they wrote for the communist party, not for the public. The censors were the men of the state, that didn't let any transparency to be seen, but who made the „possible enemy” pay if the rules weren't respected. Between mass media and the members of this Directorate was a very strong connection, and a continuous colaberation. Even nowadays, when this censorship doesn't exist, its effect can still be observed.

⁶ The Directorship of the Central Presswork, structure of the The Press and Print General Directorship, had a political activity which regarded the mediatic control. It controlled the content of the newspapers, of magazines and all the other prints. The censors were activists faithfull to Moscow, from the top of the communist governance, that coordinated a small number of agents. This Directorship was ruled by a director, two chief-service, many readers and typists .

about the world and about life, to defend firmly the foreign conceptions, idealist, retrogressive...” In 1977, The Decree 425 states the abolition of The Press and Print General Directorship, and its members were moved to publications, in leading positions. The censorship was thou not finished, it survived and it was operated by the directors and the chief-editors (which were involved in the communist movement), and by the editorial board and the master of the sections. It appeared the self-censorship, of the majority of the experienced journalists, who knew what they ere not supposed to write.

5. Have you ever been controlled? If yes, how, when...

Yes. When I used statistic datum or when I wrote critics about the „favorite” characters, of my chief⁷.

6. Did censorship act the same for a journalist, an editor or a work mate?

Censorship worked the same for all the employees of the newspapers and those of the magazines, so the same for journalists and work mates.

7. How did censors acted? Were they imposing their ideas? Were they redoubtable persons?

They read all the articles and if they found some saying, a number that was not „on the Party’s direction”, they eliminated them. Of course they imposed their ideas, but the censors were not being scary people, because, normally we knew how to do things.

8. Do you remember the names of the censors from *Romania libera*?

No. I only remember the name of two censors from the publication *Dobrogea Noua*-Clara Giuvelechian and Eugen Vasiliu, both dead for many years now.

9. How did you know which were the dispositions of the censors, what you could write and what you couldn’t?

The dispositions were presented to us by our chief, that was involved within the PCR.

10. Was *Scinteia*⁸ less controlled than the other newspapers or was it a model for the central media?

The *Scinteia* newspaper was a model for the whole romanian press, not only for that in the capital. From *Scinteia* started the indications, the strategies, the

⁷ Censorship acted against everything: “ideas, texts or materials, if not directly hostile, at least confused, in a weard form”, against the communist ideology. The problematic articles were called by the readers „inconvenient”, „negative”, „calumnious”.

⁸ *Scinteia* was the official voice of the Communist Party of Romania. It was the barometer of policy changes, and the main medium through which the regime indicated its aims. *Scinteia* was accompanied by a youth version, one edited by the Union of Communist Youth (a branch of the Party) called *Scinteia Tineretului*. In the printery Combinatul Poligrafic "Casa Scântei", functioned the newspapers, but this institution was the main place for the Directorship of the Central Presswork.

journalistics motion, all were then sources for the other publications. An obvious example-the banning from newspapers in the 80's of one of the best -Victor Barladeanu.

11. Do you remember materials of your colleagues that were banned or had to be rewritten?

The number of the rejected or rewritten materials was high enough, and not only because of their content, but also of the form of the materials.

12. Do you remember of controlled journalists, forbidden?

I shall give two examples from the newspaper *Romania libera*: Petre Mihai Bacanu and Anton Uncu, journalists that not only were forbidden, but also convicted and imprisoned. The first one became after the events of December '89, the first director of *Romania libera*.

13. Can we speak about a „free press” in the 60s-70s?

The media was never and it will never be free, objective, because its products are of some people that have thoughts, feelings that influence the media through subjectivism. It can be at least impartial. Returning to the 60s, the 70s, we can say that after Nicolae Ceausescu became the leader, it started a sort of a period of freedom, which faded little by little, until 1989, when all the media served the couple Nicolae and Elena Ceausescu.

14. Did you manage to defeat the censorship or did you respected it to continue to be published?

Sometimes we manage to „kid” it, but in general, we knew what we were allowed and what we weren't allowed to write.

15. How would you characterize the mediatic control in the 60s? What about the '70s⁹?

I can't say it was a great difference between the censorship of the 60s and that of the '70s. It depends about the way the censors made it.

16. How would you characterize the central press of that period?

To characterize the central press of 1960-1970 I must go to the art. 29 From the Constitution of RSR, adopted in 1965: “the freedom of word, of press, of

⁹ In the 60s the censorship was not so strongly felt by the media, because were the first years under Ceausescu. In the 70s started to feel the change, because the situation changed dramatically. In 1971, Ceausescu delivered a speech before the Executive Committee of the PCR, known as the July Theses, which contained seventeen proposals and heralded the beginning of a "mini cultural revolution" in Romania, launching a Neo-Stalinist offensive against cultural autonomy, reaffirming an ideological basis for literature and media. The newspapers were to become an instrument for political-ideological propaganda and hardline measures, controlled by a very strong institution The Directorship of the Central Presswork, part of the bigger corpus, The Press and Print General Directorship.

meetings (...) cannot be use in purposes against the socialist structure and against the interests of those who work”. Even so, the workers of the censorship were a bit tolerated, if they approved the play “Rinocerii” of Eugen Ionescu, a harsh critique of the dictatorial systems. And now, some numbers that show the power of the Romania press. In 1969-1970 there were 4000 journalists in all the country, 627 journals and magazines, with a circulation of 11.000.000 pieces. As a general characteristic: what journals wrote, was in general true. Only that we couldn’t write about all that happened in the Romanian society. The reason: the existence of censorship.

HERTA MÜLLER. HISTORY TOLD THROUGH EKPHRASIS*

Roxana IVAȘCA**

Abstract: *This article looks at the way in which the communist regime and its effects on the German minority, particularly the Swabians in Banat, are reflected through ekphrastic passages in Herta Müller's prose as well as the documentary information retrievable in her texts. Significant in this respect, photos from the writer's personal archive, objects with artistic value described in ekphrastic passages become ways to insert historical snapshots in her texts, fragments of real and painful experiences in the past of her family and friends until their final departure from the country and even afterwards.*

Keywords: *Herta Müller, history, ekphrasis, communism, German minority.*

A voice, a theme, a generation

Resisting classification and labelling of any kind, Herta Müller stands before her public and critics as a strong, feminine voice talking about trauma, life under dictatorship in Romania, the brutal practices of the *Securitate*, the constant feeling of fear and threat, the dysfunctional family pattern, Germans' deportation in the Soviet Union labour camps, the guilt of having a former Nazi SS soldier as a father, migration and the challenges of settling down in the country she had always seen as her own but where she was still perceived as being different, a bit of an outsider.

In her fictional revisiting of the memory of life spent under the Romanian communist regime, recalling the story of her family who lost everything they possessed because of the communists, she also encompasses a page in the history of Romania, seen through the eyes of a young ethnic German girl and then woman. Her autobiographical approach to the theme of life spent under dictatorship and the mechanisms behind communism, as well as to the theme of migration, places her in an elite companion of a "new wave of writers from Eastern Europe and former Yugoslavia who have settled in the German-speaking countries since the fall of communism or just before, and, in the case of former Yugoslavia, since the break-

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up of that country, and are writing in German. These are migrant writers in the double sense that they have migrated and that they write of that experience, though, like Turkish-German writers, they are also not contained by the term. They include well established names like the ethnic Germans from Romania, Herta Müller and Richard Wagner, and younger writers who have come to prominence more recently, such as the Hungarian, Terézia Mora, the Russian, Wladimir Kaminer, and the Bulgarian, Ilija Trojanow”¹.

These otherwise solitary voices seem to bear the signs of a new generation of writers who use their biography as a raw material for their prose and a warning against the crimes and abuses taking place right next to their Westerner readers, marking a new direction in the contemporary German literature, an “eastern turn” according to Brigid Haines “this new body of German-language prose literature has a transitory unity deriving from its – often autobiographically based – thematic concern with the communist period in the eastern bloc, and its aftermath. Yet in all other ways, and this is my second point, these texts resist containment and collective treatment, and indeed overlap and intersect productively with, other kinds of contemporary literature, in German or otherwise. Just as Adelson has observed a ‘Turkish turn’ in German culture, so it is now possible to discern a complementary ‘eastern turn’ in German (understood as German – language) literature”².

“I write what life does”

The “referential function” of Herta Müller’s books although evident and acknowledged by all her critics is not the only facet of her writing, as Lyn Marven pointed out, emphasizing that “the link between life and writing in Herta Müller’s texts is complex and by no means straightforwardly autobiographical”³. Significant in this respect is the fragment from *Kann Literatur Zeugnis ablegen?*, a 2002 autobiographically-based essay of Herta Müller which Lyn Marven selected as the starting point of her article⁴: “Books about difficult times are often read as testimony. My books are also necessarily about difficult times, about amputated lives in a dictatorship, about the everyday life of a German minority – cowering away from the outside world but inwardly autocratic – and their subsequent disappearance through emigration to Germany. For many people my books are therefore testimony. But I don’t feel I’m bearing witness when I write. I learned writing through silence and keeping silent. That’s where it began”, a passage where the writer reinforces the idea that she writes out of an inner necessity to maintain sanity in evil times when everything seems to be upside down, distorted and also to revisit and better understand her own, traumatic existence and, while she is doing that, she is also writing about historical facts, like the realities in communist Romania or the life of the German minority in Banat.

¹Brigid Haines, “The Eastern Turn in Contemporary German, Swiss and Austrian Literature” in *Debatte: Journal of Contemporary Central and Eastern Europe*, vol. 16, no. 2, p. 136.

²Idem, p. 137-138.

³Lyn Marven, “Lifewriting: Herta Müller’s journey”, 15 October, 2009, article published on <https://www.opendemocracy.net/article/germany/lifewriting-herta-muller-s-journey>.

⁴I use here the English translation of this fragment, provided by the author of the article.

Her lecture at the Boston University on May 12, 2012, a cultural event organized by the Center for the Study of Europe, entitled *Landscape of the Dispossessed: Reading and Conversation with Nobel Laureate Herta Müller* with the subtitle *Can Literature Bear Witness?*, sheds more light on the way she understands her writing (not as a chronicle of life under communism, nor as literature, but a little bit of both, I might add). Her answers to the series of questions about the circumstances of her beginnings as a writer are more than eloquent. She evokes the period when she was still working as a translator in a factory in Timișoara and subjected to constant harassment by the *Securitate*, which led her to lose her office and forced her to continue working on a staircase: “In that staircase time, that was the time when I began to write my first book so that I don’t lose myself. Of course, I didn’t think that I was writing literature. Even to this day, I don’t think I write literature. I write what life does. And I have to somehow bring that together with language”⁵.

There’s a mixed and carefully planned dosage of reality and aesthetics, historical facts and fiction in her works, which the author herself depicts as “autofiction”, using a Georges-Arthur Goldschmidt’s term. The subtlety and polymorphism of Müller’s poetic language present in all her novels and short stories is both puzzling and challenging at first glance, but it also holds evidence of the overlapping and collision of two very different mentalities and linguistic patterns: the German, more rigid and straightforward, exact frame, enriched with its Hapsburg-like dialect spoken in the village of her childhood (more inclined towards dream and solitude) and the Romanian, plural, multi-semantic one. This linguistic interdependence resulting in strange word combinations, invented words and lyrical, poetic language which generate her unique way of understanding and relating to the world around her, determines Dirk Weissmann to include her in the literary plurilinguism phenomenon, pointing out that it was the German writer who emphasized the crucial role played by the linguistic alterity in her writing⁶.

Ekphrasis – the words behind image

This article problematizes the artistic technique used by the writer in order to transpose fragments of personal, real-life experience and historical facts concerning the small German community in the Romanian Banat into her literature by means of ekphrasis.

⁵ *Landscape of the Dispossessed: Reading and Conversation with Nobel Laureate Herta Müller. Can Literature Bear Witness?*, organized by the Center for the Study of Europe and held at Boston University on May 12, 2012, accessed on: <http://www.bu.edu/european/2012/05/20/can-literature-bear-witness-a-conversation-with-herta-muller/>, the quotation reproduces the English translation provided by Philip Boehm during the discussions. 01 November 2014.

⁶ Dirk Weissmann, “Au delà de la langue maternelle: le monolinguisme face à l’altérité linguistique, ou la dimension plurilingue chez Herta Müller”, p.158, on: https://www.academia.edu/5044953/In_jeder_Sprache_sitzen_andere_Augen_la_langue_maternelle_face_%C3%A0_l_alt%C3%A9rit%C3%A9_linguistique_ou_la_dimension_plurilingue_chez_Herta_M%C3%BCller, 04 October 2014.

The term ekphrasis is used here as defined by Tom Mitchell, Grant F. Scott, and James Heffernan, namely as “the verbal representation of visual representation”⁷, a definition currently accepted by most experts. As shown by Mitchell the “classical” definition of ekphrasis as a poetic mode “giving voice to a mute art object”, or offering “a rhetorical description of a work of art”⁸ proved to be restrictive in today’s visual world, giving way to “a more general application that includes any ‘set description intended to bring person, place, picture, etc. before the mind’s eye’”⁹.

There are three types of images in Herta Müller’s prose which are subjected to ekphrastic interpretation, there are these apparently common objects holding some sort of artistic value, like the infamous “Key of Heaven”, the chess game made by hand by her grandfather, Leopold’s handkerchief and the case of his gramophone which he uses as a suitcase and all of them gain a completely new meaning when treated in ekphrasis as they add the author’s comments and feelings towards a certain situation or reality, reflecting in the same time fragments of history.

Then there are those photographs from Müller’s personal archive comprising essential moments of her family life and stories in the past of some of her family members, which prove to be relevant also for setting a specific time frame (the communist era) and for a better understanding of the mentality and background of the German minority.

The third category consists in the photographs made by Herta’s friend, an amateur photographer, which echoe the same solitude, feeling of dispossession and fear that she experiences.

Ekphrasis is used in Herta Müller’s prose as a writing strategy and a reading grid, and sometimes (like in her first book) as a pretext, a way of leading, orienting the reader toward the subliminal message, designed to help emerge the unspeakable, the unbearable truth, bypassing a double kind of censorship, one generated by the strictness and the prejudices of the German community from Nitzkydorf and the other by the state. Significant in this sense is the writer’s story about the censorship’s interventions in the Romanian edition of *Niederungen*, her first book, with a later Romanian translation as *Ținuturile joase*: “In my first book about the childhood lived in a village of the Swabian Banat, the Romanian Publishing House censored besides many other things even the word *suitcase*. Which had become disturbing since the emigration of the German minority was considered taboo”¹⁰(m.t.).

⁷ Cited by Peter Wagner in “Introduction: Ekphrasis, Iconotexts, and Intermediality – the State(s) of the Art(s)” in *Icons, Texts, Iconotexts: Essays on Ekphrasis and Intermediality*, ed. by Peter Wagner, Berlin, New York, de Gruyter, 1996, p. 10.

⁸ Jean Hagstrum, *The Sister Arts: The Tradition of Literary Pictorialism and English Poetry from Dryden to Gray*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1958, p.18.

⁹ W.J.T. Mitchell, “Ekphrasis and the Other” in *Picture Theory*, University of Chicago Press, 1994, accessed on <http://www.rc.umd.edu/editions/shelley/medusa/mitchell.html>, 01 November 2014.

¹⁰ Herta Müller, *In jeder Sprache sitzen andere Augen in Der König verneigt sich und tötet*, München Wien, Carl Hanser Verlag, 2003, p. 31.

In times of state supervision, culture finds itself exiled by censorship to an underground life and put in a position to use a coded language - the only mediator of a real dialogue – an encryption translated by metaphors, allegory, parable, and, sometimes, ekphrasis: “If the authoritarian discourse of power, proclaimed in the crude wooden language by all its institutions, accredits a nonexistent, fictionalized reality (which nobody lives, no one sees, but on which all must testify), then literature gives up its own nature, its fictional condition, and recommends itself - subversively - as a discourse of truth. It assumes so (when it exits the formal cadence and refuses to legitimize the power’s phantasmagoria) the role of the demystifier.”¹¹(m.t.)

In her books, Herta Müller recounts not only the traumatic history of her family, although this theme is recurrent, crossing her work like a leitmotif, but she also provides, even if unintentionally or as a secondary theme, a radiograph of the Romanian society eviscerated under dictatorship, the intimidation tactics of the *Securitate* (which she has to deal with when she refuses to become an informant, consequently losing her position as a translator in a factory in Timișoara and then being kicked out of all schools and kindergartens where she tried to work afterwards), the tense climate marked by continuous, constant fear, the German local customs, the image and the moral portrayal of the Swabian and even a kind of dysfunctional family pattern, which seems to characterize the people from her native village, where men were former SS soldiers, who learnt to face reality by drinking their lives away and submissive women who stuck to being housewives and mothers.

Here is how Müller describes 1945 and its devastating impact on ethnic Germans from Romania: “When in the summer of 1944 the Red Army had already advanced deep into Romania, the fascist dictator Antonescu was arrested and executed. Romania capitulated, declaring war completely by surprise to the Nazi Germany which was by then its ally. In January 1945, the Soviet general Vinogradov addressed the Romanian government on behalf of Stalin, asking that all Germans living in Romania should be handed over to <rebuild> the Soviet Union destroyed in the war. All men and women between seventeen and forty-five years of age were deported to forced labour in the Soviet camps.

My mother had also been in a labour camp for five years.

Because it reminded of the fascist past of Romania, the subject of deportation was taboo. About the years spent in the gulag there was no talking but privately, in the family and only with those very close who had been deported themselves. And even then only allusively. These furtive discussions have accompanied my childhood. I didn’t understand their meaning, but I felt the fright in them”¹²(m.t.).

This painful episode in the history of the German minority in Romania is evoked and commented by Herta Müller from the perspective of a personal experience of one of her family members, her mother, to which add the stories of the former deportees from her native village, Nitzkydorf and the memories of her

¹¹ Sanda Cordoș, *Literatura între revoluție și reacțiune*, Cluj-Napoca, Editura Apostrof, 2002, p. 169.

¹² Herta Müller, ”Nachwort” in *Atemschaudel*, München, Carl Hanser Verlag, 2009, p. 299.

good friend, Oskar Pastior, who was also deported in a Soviet camp. She began to collect these notes in 2001, according to her saying, bearing in mind the idea of writing a book together with her older friend, but his death put an end to this project, and so the notes and documentation undertaken by the two were later used by Herta Müller in her novel *Atemschaukel*, published in 2009, with a Romanian edition in 2010 (*Leagănul respirației*).

In *Der König verneigt sich und tötet (Regele se-nclină și ucide)* the theme of the German population deportation in the Soviet labour camps is first introduced through an ekphrasis. Starting from a photo of her mother from that period, which captures her in a weakened state, reduced almost to a shadow of herself with her head completely shaved and holding an emaciated cat in her hands, the writer recounts the precarious state this young woman was reduced to, her daily struggle for survival and the humiliating regime to which she had been subjected to “(...) only a few years before, she had been deported to forced labour in the Soviet Union. Five years did she spend in the camp of the king who kills, and in these five years, she had always been on a verge to starve to death. She got there at nineteen, wearing long ponytails like any peasant girl. The reasons why they shaved your head alternated, mother remembered. There were two, but she was always in for it, regardless of which. Either the lice were the reason, or the fact that she had stolen from the field a few potatoes or fodder beet so that she wouldn’t starve. As it happened sometimes, her head had already been shaved because of lice and, moreover, they caught her stealing. Then, the guards really regretted that someone with a shaved head could not be shaved again, unlike a beat back, which you can always beat again”¹³(m.t.). The striking difference between the fresh image of a young peasant girl that her mother was before her deportation (which the reader is invited to imagine) and this mutilated image inserted in the text and the story it drags out are meant not only to shock the reader but also to forcibly submerge him in the reality of a Russian labour camp, a world of abuse, intense suffering and death which left deep engraved scars on the hearts and faces of the survivors, as observed by Anna Porter in another photograph of Müller’s mother made public in the Herta Müller exhibition from Berlin’s Literaturhaus on September 17, 2010: “There is a strange photograph of Katharina Müller – tiny like her daughter – looking fearfully at the camera as if she was expecting to be hit”¹⁴.

As for Müller’s father, his presence in her prose is mediated at first by several photographs, being the centre of the most powerful image in her first book, *Niederungen* which opens up the first scene like in a “film noire” showing him laying in a coffin, with dozens of pictures behind him, marking in chronological order the different stages of his life – from the baby with pear-shaped head to the groom half covered in flowers, to the man working his land and wearing runes on his jacket or to the truck driver, his face all harsh. But all these pictures fail in revealing the truth about this man who had many crimes on his conscience, they alienated the truth by hiding his shameful past as a former Nazi soldier who

¹³ Idem, *Der König verneigt sich und tötet* in *Der König verneigt sich und tötet*, München Wien, Carl Hanser Verlag, 2003, pp.71-72.

¹⁴ Anna Porter, “The Lonely Passion of Herta Müller” in *Queen’s Quaterly*, 2010, accessed on <http://www.annaporter.ca/articles/the-lonely-passion-of-herta-muller/>, 23 October 2014.

returned from war with several decorations, which determine the narrator to say “In all those photos father looked as if he didn’t know what to do. But father always knew what he was to do further on. That’s why all those photos were lying. In the room it started to feel cold from all those lying photos and all those lying faces”¹⁵(m.t.).

We discern in this case, the double nature of ekphrasis as theorized by Peter Wagner: “Ekphrasis has a Janus face: as a form of mimesis, it stages a paradoxical performance, promising to give voice to the allegedly silent image even while attempting to overcome the power of the image by transforming and inscribing it”¹⁶.

Herta’s photograph as a young girl with a crooked loop in her hair is another pretext for diving back in the tense atmosphere of her family home, where every feast led to family drama, a drunk father, a disappointed mother, conflicts which ended in crying and despair – all “documented” in the way her mother braided her hair, and mirrored in each childhood picture, thus testifying their unhealthy family dynamic.

Another blow which told on the German minority in Romania and affected her family a lot was the one generated by the agrarian reform adopted in 1945, as shown in the *History of the Romanians*, Volume X in 2013 “the agrarian reform in March 1945 made a number of 47 650 heads of households from the rural German population in the counties of Timis-Torontal, Arad, Sibiu, Târnava Mare and Târnava Mica to be expropriated, which led to a worsening of their economic situation, being followed later by deportation in the Bărăgan area, thus creating a state of dissatisfaction”¹⁷(m.t.).

References to this disastrous moment for the novelist’s family are ingeniously inserted through an ekphrastic passage, where a central place is occupied by the so-called “Key of Heaven”, a kind of instrument of divine Providence, terrorizing her as a child “Since I can remember, in my parents’ home, on the wall of a room we used to cross there hung a monstrous key. It was made of black lacquered wood with gilt edges. In a time when I had just learnt to walk, the key measured from my toes to my neck. It was called the Key of Heaven. Not its form, but the luster of its matter had something of a coffin or a key-shaped altar”¹⁸(m.t.), the origin of this object is as surprising as revealing “The Key of Heaven was a gift to my grandfather from the Chamber of Commerce in Vienna. He had been until the Second World War a grain merchant doing business in Vienna. He told me that he didn’t know too well what he had received it for. And when I asked how was it that the Key became so important in our house, since he no longer remembered what he had received for, he replied: <At the time I received it, it was

¹⁵ Herta Müller, *Die Grabrede in Niederungen*, München, Carl Hanser Verlag, 2010, p. 8.

¹⁶ Peter Wagner in “Introduction: Ekphrasis, Iconotexts, and Intermediality – the State(s) of the Art(s)” in *Icons, Texts, Iconotexts: Essays on Ekphrasis and Intermediality*, ed. by Peter Wagner, Berlin, New York, de Gruyter, 1996, p. 13.

¹⁷ Constantin Moraru, „Minoritățile naționale din România în perioada 1948-1989” in *Istoria românilor*, vol.X, *România în anii 1948-1989*, Dinu C.Giurescu (coord.), Editura Enciclopedică, București, 2013, p. 1015.

¹⁸ Herta Müller, *Wenn etwas in der Luft liegt, ist es meist nichts Gutes* in *Der König verneigt sich und tötet*, München Wien, Carl Hanser Verlag, 2003, p. 190.

not a Key of Heaven, but a key of the grains. It became the Key of Heaven from the moment a neighbour, drunk after a game of cards and wanting to go home, saw it hanging on the wall and exclaimed: << Oh my, but that's the Key of Heaven! >> Initially, the key was therefore a key <<of the grains >>, probably offered for a very good harvest – my grandfather added>”¹⁹ (m.t.).

This anodyne, rather ugly decorative object, which was at one time a sign of recognition of her grandfather's success as a grain merchant coagulates in Herta Müller's text the divine significance her family had given it and the community had accepted, and so providing an insight to the superstition cluttered mentality of this isolated minority. It is as if deprived by its primarily functionality and meaning because of the state's intrusion, the key becomes the token of another type of superior power, more legitimate, the divine power, as controlling as the other one though. This minority creates this way a parallel order, a Swabian, nationalist one, the only psychological defence system left for them (the Nazi songs still sang after the war, the arrogance and superiority – they all provided this enclave with a sense of belonging, of identity).

As usually with Herta Müller, there's always something more than meets the eye. The objects are double-sided, one side, the surface one, reflects their ordinary, pragmatic functionality – the Key of Heaven is just a wooden key, the chess game is just something made out of boredom during the long days in the prison camp and also as a sign of gratitude for the barber who saved grandfather's hair, the handkerchief is just a practical object which can be used when one is sick or hurt or in need of a string, the case of the gramophone is just a protection cover and pictures are just images of people and places. But there is also a hidden side, carrying an emotional burden, painful memories, operating like an open gallery of historical snapshots, and that's how we can explain why almost all passages of ekphrasis are followed by an analepse.

Her favourite technique is to mirror the object with the horrible truth which lies behind it. And that's exactly what she did with the Key of Heaven, accompanying its description with the story of her grandfather's ruin, by capturing the major discrepancy between her grandfather's social status and wealth before the onset of the socialism and the abject poverty to which he is condemned by the new regime: “Socialism dispossessed him of everything he had – land, agricultural machinery, his bank accounts, and gold bullion. Even the house and the yard with outbuildings now belonged to the State. They granted him permission to live with his wife, daughter and his son-in law only in two rooms. All others were used as the GAC's barn, filled to the maximum, floor-to-ceiling with wheat, barley and corn. (...) Once the socialism completed the dispossession of the <exploiting class>, my grandfather – once a grain merchant known even in Vienna – was left broke, so poor that he didn't even have enough money to pay for the barber. They didn't leave him but his receipts, which he had ordered previously and which would have left him for another ten years in the grain trade – and they filled a big box”²⁰ (m.t.).

¹⁹ Idem, p. 193.

²⁰ Herta Müller, *Wenn wir schweigen, warden wir un-angenehm – wenn wir reden, werden wir lächerlich* in *Der König verneigt sich und tötet*, München Wien, Carl Hanser Verlag, 2003, p. 91-92.

The game of chess which was Herta's grandfather's favourite spare time occupation also carries a real story with it. The pawns, now all crooked and discoloured, were made by hand by her grandfather while he was still in a prison camp and they are copies of the pawns he made as a thank you gesture for the barber who saved his hair. The chess figurines do not hold much artistic value (they could be attributed only a naïve art value, at most), but they are important because of the significance they have been invested with as the game became a get away, taking the player back to his much wanted home and later on away from the unbearable reality.

One of the most dramatic events in the narrator's life, the death of a good friend of hers, who remained in Romania and wrote postcards to Berlin, even after she had been labelled "enemy of the state" is also inserted through an ekphrasis – the description of the last photo she had received from her friend, depicting a street on which they used to walk on and which showed her the "danger in which my friend lived and that my legs had carried me away from there. And it showed me a closeness forcibly broken, the confiscated spontaneity of our relationship, because we could not write anything plainly and I was searching, rereading, the corners of each word to discover what he meant"²¹(m.t.).

Her friend's death, which happened in very suspicious circumstances, the authorities closing the case as a suicide and refusing autopsy, despite testimony from the neighbours who heard loud noises and voices quarrelling, is recounted in the following terms "On Labour Day, a dictator mad about persecution and monumental construction got rid of a construction engineer. (...)Neighbours say today that they heard several voices roaring in the night. Nobody went to help. Autopsy was denied, the king did not accept anyone looking into his cards. The official view is recorded on the certificate of death: suicide."²²(m.t.)

Those other photographs taken by her friend while he was working in a slaughterhouse showing the workers drinking and sharing cups of fresh blood from the animals they had just slaughtered reveal the grotesque and the "cannibalism" propelled in a society kept under strict state control. The terrifying looks on their faces emphasize the animalization they have been reduced to as every part of their life was decided for them by the Party: from the scarce food they could eat to the thoughts they were allowed to think and to their sexual life. Their state reminds us of the Latin dictum "*Homo homini lupus est*" unveiling the way inter-human relations got distorted under communism, depriving them of any kind of dignity.

Of extreme deprivation and hope there was no hope, speak other two objects holding symbolic value: the pigskin suitcase, in fact the protection case of Leo Auberg's gramophone and the pure white handkerchief he gets from a Russian woman. The first is an object completely transformed as it is reinvested with a different utilitarian function – to carry all the earthly possessions of this seventeen year old boy, his home and safety included, while the second object with its "painful beauty" will become the constant reminder of his grandmother's words "YOU WILL COME BACK", the only thing keeping him alive during those

²¹ Herta Müller, *Der König verneigt sich und tötet* in *Der König verneigt sich und tötet*, München Wien, Carl Hanser Verlag, 2003, pp. 59-60.

²² Idem, p. 60.

horrendous five years in the Soviet camp, an “anchor” taking him home and helping him keep his sanity. The handkerchief is also a token of a repressed affection, allowing itself to come out only in small gestures, like in the question Herta’s mother kept on asking her as a child, its value is given by its multitask use, transforming it into a “micro-survival tool and at the same time the metonym for a much larger strategy of survival”²³.

In the death-photo of her uncle Matz, former SS, the handkerchief is reworked from memory, coagulating a conflicting interpretation – for young Herta the white piece of cloth sheltering the human remains and resembling, “a child’s handkerchief”, is just an almost illegible picture of a dead Nazi who happened to be her uncle, as for her grandmother, the picture shows the son she had lost to the evil city and it also revives the memory of a young man still alive, not yet perverted, the son she had before the uniform.

Encapsulating history

The passages of ekphrasis from Herta Müller’s books capture in several snapshots, recalling photographic clichés, an entire reality, a dense historical fragment, so it is with the photo of soldier Ilie, which gives us information not so much about the person it illustrates but on the place he comes from, a place where people are dying almost daily, shot to death while trying to cross the Danube and out of this place of isolation, as the portrait of the dictator, which accompanies each publication and is multiplied endlessly in offices and on the faces of countless other smaller dictators, factory managers and *Securitate* officers, leaving its mark even on children, the novelist discovering in the kindergarten children of Party nomenclatura, whom she was not allowed to contradict or punish, future dictators in miniature.

The numerous correspondences between historical realities and their literary representations in Herta Müller’s works, as seen encapsulated in the fragments of ekphrasis, legitimizes a conclusion like the one expressed in *Die Tageszeitung* after her winning of the Nobel Prize, which emphasizes the “referential function” of her literature, to use Lyn Marven’s term but also its universal value: “at its core this is not a prize for German-language literature, but rather for a literature that uncompromisingly translates historical reality into language”²⁴.

To reinforce the idea of the historical relevance of Herta Müller’s prose one can resort to Cristina Petrescu’s point that “the concept of *eccezionale normale* [normal exception], developed by the Italian school of microhistory, can best describe Müller’s ‘Romanian period.’ According to proponents of this school, [...] a small-scale analysis focusing on an individual atypical for his time and culture allows for

²³ Allan Stoekl, *Herta Müller: Writing and Betrayal* in *Herta Müller: Politics and Aesthetics*, edited by Bettina Brandt and Valentina Glajar, University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln and London, 2013, p. 15, on <https://www.questia.com/read/122780502/herta-muller-politics-and-aesthetics>, accessed on 01 November 2014.

²⁴ Apud Anna Porter, “The Lonely Passion of Herta Müller” in *Queen’s Quaterly*, 2010, accessed on <http://www.annaporter.ca/articles/the-lonely-passion-of-herta-muller/>, 23 October 2014.

large-scale assumptions precisely because the exceptionality of such an individual reveals normal social practices or cultural belief systems otherwise obscured”²⁵.

Ekphrasis plays a major role in Herta Müller’s prose, forcing the emergence to the surface of the text of a series of thoughts, ideas, memories and feelings which otherwise could not have found a verbal expression, in this respect having almost a therapeutic effect, a kind of “antidote against trauma” by transposing it into fiction, the latter providing the necessary distance for the reworking of the “immediate experience”. Through ekphrasis, history finds a way to be restored – this is how it is told the story of a family almost broken down by the communist regime, the story of a woman who had to leave her home to save her life and sanity, of a minority held responsible for Hitler’s crimes and paying this stigma in lives and also the story of a dictator who played God and of an institution which made it its mission to inflict terror in the lives of innocent men and women.

²⁵ Cristina Petrescu, *When Dictatorships Fail to Deprive of Dignity: Herta Müller’s ‘Romanian Period’* in *Herta Müller: Politics and Aesthetics*, edited by Bettina Brandt and Valentina Glajar, University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln and London, 2013, p. 58 accessed on <https://www.questia.com/read/122780502/herta-m-ller-politics-and-aesthetics>, 01 November 2014.

ASPECTS FROM THE INFORMATIVE TRACKING OF HISTORIAN STEFAN METES

*Gheorghe Viorel DAT**

Abstract: *Stefan Metes resigns from his position as State Secretary, after the mandate submission of the Iorga government, retreating in Cluj, in the position of director of the State Archives until 1947, when he will be forced to retire, by the decision of the Ministry of National Education. Due to adverse political experience in the Iorga government, he withdraws permanently from the political life.*

The friendship and loyalty with his mentor, Nicolae Iorga, with whom he was linked for his entire life, brought him cultural, historical and political benefits, as well as his subsequent conviction to five years of prison, because of his function as State Secretary in the Ministry of Interior and Public Education.

The investigation file of historian Stefan Metes, along with numerous other examples, clearly prove how the political authorities of the communist state sought to eliminate by any cost, the intellectual and political elite, through their abusive and long conviction to prison.

The great number of informative notes and documents existed to justify the abuses made by the political system, by arresting those concerned and by their later conviction. Stefan Metes, along with other dignitaries, remained at Sighet until July 5, 1955, when he was released, although he was never officially condemned. Although Stefan Metes, after the release from the prison of Sighet, lived almost isolated, being more concerned about historical writings, the actions of The Securitate against him never ceased, until his death in 1977, because he was being considered "a hostile element and an opponent of the regime".

Keywords: *Stefan Metes, the Securitate, informative tracking, clerkly history, investigation.*

Carrying out an intense research of the historical documents, Stefan Metes revealed important works relating the clerkly history, highly valuable for the posterity. As a leader of The Archives of Cluj, he endeavored to gather material from the entire Transylvania, a true documentary wealth, presented through his remarkable publishing activity.

The major changes in the life of the Romanian people after 1918 brought also a change in the life of the young historian Stephen Metes, opening new perspectives of work and affirmation. Thus, in 1919 he was elected deputy of the county of Hunedoara, in the first parliament of Romania, as a whole. At the suggestion of Nicolae Iorga, through The Royal Decree 2083 of June 17, 1931,

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Stefan Metes was appointed State Undersecretary at The Ministry of Interior, led by Constantin Argetoianu¹.

From January 13, the president of the Council of Ministers, Nicolae Iorga, through his Journal number 21, decided the detachment of the historian Stefan Metes, from the ministry of Interior to that of Public Instruction and Cults².

After taking control of the main state institutions as well as of the entire society, in 1947 the communist regime of Romania triggers a new affront to impose the new political culture, after the Soviet model, strictly controlled and run by the party. The new regime was expected to an increase of the opposition in various fields, and so was created a tool to match, The Securitate (state security), the most powerful surveillance and repression apparatus³.

“The enemies of the people” must have been identified and then removed from the public life and politics. From the biographical sheet prepared by the Regional Directorate of the People’s Security Cluj we remember that Stefan Metes was “part of the distinguished figures of the bourgeois-landlords, he has published several historical and religious works with nationalist content and is a hostile element for the regime”⁴.

Because of his position towards the new regime, the historian Stefan Metes was forced to retire on September 1, 1947 from the position of director of the State Archives of Cluj⁵ although he was only 61 years old⁶. The aim was to create a new intelligentsia „with healthy origins”, traced among the workers and the peasants; new disciplines were introduced into the academic programs, such as the bases of Marxism-Leninism, the dialectical materialism and the political economy; new textbooks were printed, according to the new line, schoolbooks were actually translations of the Soviet textbooks⁷.

The intellectual elites practically lived under the constant threat of arrest. The communist regime sought to create an atmosphere of terror for the intellectuals, leading both to eliminate any hostile attitudes and especially to accept or to adhere to the new power. For new regime was much more important to attract the cultural

¹Arhivele Naționale Direcția Județeană Cluj (The National Archives-The Direction of Cluj, i.e. A.N.-D.J.Cj), *fund Stefan Metes*, file 1, p. 24; The document of The Prime Minister, no. 3040, from June 1931; Constantin Argetoianu, *Pentru cei de maine. Amintiri din vremea celor de ieri*, The Stelian Neagoe Edition, Bucharest, 1997, p. 361.

² Arhiva Consiliului Național pentru Studiarea Arhivelor Securității (The Archive of the National Council for The Study of The Security’s Archives, i.e. A.C.N.S.A.S.), *fund Penal*, file 15341, p. 100.

³C.N.S.A.S., *Securitatea: structuri-cadre: obiective si metode , vol.I (1948-1967)*, coord.: Florica Dobre, Florian Banu, Theodor Barbulescu, Camelia Ivan Duica, Liviu Taranu, Bucharest, Enciclopedica Publishing House, 2006, p. 20-21.

⁴A.C.N.S.A.S, *fund Penal*, file 15341, p. 70.

⁵A.N.-D.J.Cj., *fund Stefan Metes*, file 2. P. 2; The Decision of The Ministry of National Education, no. 293371 from 1947.

⁶*Monitorul Oficial*, 1947, no. 275, p. 10487 part I. The reason for retiring: „he was retired because of his old age on September 1, according to the Article 74, The Civil Servants’ Statute”.

⁷Florin Müller, *Politica si istoriografie in Romania (1948-1964)*, Cluj-Napoca, Nereamia Napocae Publishing House, 2003, p. 98.

elites than to eliminate them; the intellectuals subservient to the power had a great number of advantages: a huge circulation of their written works, were properly remunerated, an intense popularization through all means, were invested in important state positions⁸.

The great scientific work of Ștefan Metes, characterized in numerous studies and published books, was an important argument for his election as a corresponding member of the Romanian Academy in 1919, when he just turned 32⁹. Among other distinguished Romanian intellectuals, he was a part of the Romanian Academy until 1948, when the Communist-Stalinist authorities started an unprecedented attack on this institution, being removed from this high scientific assembly¹⁰.

Tracking the intellectuals was very hard to accomplish according to the plan for the operative workers in the Securitate, because of their very poor cultural level, while the majority of the officers, even the superiors, graduated only the primary classes¹¹.

Due to his hostile position towards the communist regime, on June 18, 1948, the General Directorate of The State Security directs to The Safety Inspectorate of Cluj to take „discreet measures for tracking the work of professor Ștefan Metes, reporting the first results until the day of June 25, 1948”¹².

The general inspector Patriciu from Securitate Cluj, no. 2160, sends all the investigation made, to the General Directorate of The State Security, Service I, Office 3/M, Information Department, reporting that „after the investigations made so far regarding the so-called Ștefan Metes, we determined the following: from the politically point of view, from the information collected results that he was the State Undersecretary in the Iorga Government, thereafter he hasn't made politics. Currently he is not employed in any democratic political party, refraining from any political demonstrations. We continue the supervision and any data we get, we will report it”¹³.

As a result of his position towards the new regime is put under surveillance by the Securitate. The agents of Securitate were directed near Ștefan Metes to follow his activity.

The informant of Securitate „Ciobanu John” through the informative note from November 22, 1949, reports the meetings that the historian Ștefan Metes had, as well as the people around him¹⁴.

⁸*Ibidem*, p. 199-200.

⁹Pr.prof.dr. Mircea Pacurariu, „Ștefan Metes la a 85 aniversare”, in *Mitropolia Ardealului*, (Sibiu), XVII, 1972, no. 1-2, p. 9.

¹⁰Petru Popescu-Gogan, Claudiu Ilie-Voiculescu, *Desfintarea Academiei Romane și infiintarea R.P.Romane*, Romulus Rusan Publishing House, Bucharest, 1998, p. 487-506.

¹¹A.C.N.S.A.S, *fund Documentar*, file 114, p. 45.

¹²Idem, *fund Penal*, file 1534, p. 83, signed by the director Negrean and the chief-service Vatafu, from Serv. I, Bir.3/ M no. 16400.S.

¹³*Ibidem*, f. 85, the radiogram sent by Insp. Gen. Patriciu with Insp.Popescu took place on July 25, between the hours 11.50-12.26, registered at the Direction of Information, no. 028313, July 28, 1948.

¹⁴Idem, *fund Informativ*, file 3885, p. 44.

Another informative note is given by the same „Ciobanu John” on February 4, 1950 which stated that: „Stefan Metes has a huge library with banned books”¹⁵.

Following the informative notes sub-lieutenant Vasile Urcan from Securitate (The General Directorate of People's Security), writes two accounts about the historian Stefan Metes, showing his ties with relatives from abroad, the possession of prohibited materials and requires actions against the historian Stefan Metes¹⁶.

In the bases of these reports, The General Directorate of People's Security addresses to The Military Prosecutor of Cluj to issue the search warrant for the historian's house Stefan Metes. The Military Prosecutor of Cluj issues the search warrant no. 1798 of the historian's house, signed on May 5, 1950, by the prosecutor Mag Constantin Popescu from The Military Court of Cluj, ”in order to find material that interests The People's Security”¹⁷.

After the search conducted by the Securitate's organs, the historian Stefan Metes is raised by the investigative organs and imprisoned in The Penitentiary of Sighet. In Romania there have been numerous cases of abusive arrests. In this way, the Communist-Stalinist regime arrested and transferred from other prisons in the country, on 5 and 6 May 1950, around 83 ministers, state secretaries, governors of The National Bank of Romania, that were considered in general ”dangerous, and had to be isolated and then physically liquidated”¹⁸.

According to the informative note of February 16, 1951 from the individual investigation file number 8833, prepared by the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MAI) unit 10267¹⁹, Stefan Metes was retained during the operations of 5-6 May 1950 and imprisoned at the prison of Sighet ”as one who served the state under the Iorga-Argetoianu government”²⁰. It has to be noted that although Stefan Metes was at Sighet since 5-6 of May 1950, along with other 83 Romanian intellectuals and politicians brought in 6-7 of May 1950, they were detained without any written order in this purpose. It was only on August 1, 1951, that by The Decision of The M.A.I. no. 334²¹, signed by the Deputy Minister, general lieutenant Gheorghe Pintilie, 89 former officials were sent in a work unit for 24 months. The employment colony of the former officials was actually the prison of Sighet, called coded „The Danube”²².

By this decision, for the historian Stefan Metes were made all the forms of administrative internment for 24 months; the punishment was then increased for an additional period of 60 months, by The Decision 559/1953, until August 1, 1958²³.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 47.

¹⁶ A.C.N.S.A.S, *fund Penal*, file 15341, p. 71

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 65.

¹⁸ Sorin Sipos, *Silviu Dragomir-the historian*, Fundatia Culturala Romana, Cluj-Napoca, 2002, p.76; Andrea Dobes, Ioan Ciupea, *Decapitarea elitelor. Metode, mijloace, mod de actiune*, in *Memoria inchisorii Sighet*, Editor Romulus Rusan, Bucharest, 1999, p.177.

¹⁹ A.C.N.S.A.S, *fund Penal*, file 15341, p.1; U.M.10267-the unity that created the personal file of Stefan Metes.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 3.

²¹ *Ibidem*, p. 2.

²² Claudiu Secasiu, *Noaptea demnitarilor. Contributii privind distrugerea elitei politice romanesti*, in *Analele Sighet*, no. 6, p. 263.

²³ A.C.N.S.A.S, *fund Penal*, file 15341, p. 2.

The transfer of other political prisoners in Sighet, from other prisons in the country, was done according to an order sent by colonel Gabriel Birtas, the head of the Direction I, Internal Information to the regional directorates²⁴.

Ștefan Metes along with other dignitaries remained at Sighet until July 5, 1955, when it took place the political amnesties; he was released²⁵, according to HCM 40/139/955²⁶, although he was never officially condemned. All the persons in this lot, that were detained at Sighet, had been imprisoned without a trial, based on a simple decision of The Securitate. After the release from prison, the historian Ștefan Metes went in an almost complete isolation, his ties resumed only to some former inmates from detention (Silviu Dragomir, Ilie Lazar, Ioan Lupas).

Although Ștefan Metes was released, he was still pursued by The Securitate, through MAI, The Service „C”, from August 4, 1957, who sent a letter to The Regional Directorate of Cluj with an extract from the investigation file no. 8833 regarding Ștefan Metes - „to be taken in evidence on the goal or on the problem, according to the Directive of records”, because about the historian Ștefan Metes „we own unquestionable materials”²⁷.

The Ministry of Internal Affairs (MAI), The Division III, sent a letter dated March 6, 1962 to The Regional Directorate of Cluj with the aim „to be identified and verified in your records the so-called Ștefan Metes, because he appears as a liaison of an element performed by us, and the results to be submitted to us urgently”²⁸.

The Ministry of Internal Affairs (MAI), The Service III Cluj investigates the historian Ștefan Metes from official sources (from The Militie’s evidences, i.e. the former Police) and from the persons „M. D. and C. A”, who were „trustful persons”. They spoke about the historian Ștefan Metes „that at home is known as a solitary man, lives an isolated life and has no ties with the neighbours”²⁹.

According to the informative note written by captain Pop Alexandru of August 18, 1965, the agent (source) of The Securitate, with a conspiratorial name „Boscu Valer”, was trained and directed near Ștefan Metes „to discuss issues, without challenges, that would allow to establish his connections, the position, the attitude towards work and society, as well as any possible events regarding the Communist regime”³⁰.

Another concern of The Securitate, following the informative notes made by Mr. Cabulea Traian, was to verify if Ștefan Metes and Gavrilă Crisan³¹ were “taking any action to combat those written in our press about the visit of the party

²⁴ Claudiu Secasiu, *op. cit.* p. 249.

²⁵ A.N.-D.J.Cj. *fund Ștefan Metes*, file 2, p. 22; Biletul de eliberare din Penitenciar nr. 195, issued by the Prison’s Service.

²⁶ A.C.N.S.A.S *fund Informativ*, file 3885, p. 1.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 1-3; The Ministry of Internal Affairs (M.A.I.), The Service „C” , No. 34/0064717 from August, 4, 1957.

²⁸ *Ibidem*, p.8; Direction III 312 /RV/ no. 387019, from March, 6, 1962.

²⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 6.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 9.

³¹ Former officer of the Romanian Army, Fost ofițer al Armatei Române, war veteran, friend with Ștefan Metes, former member of the PNT.

leaders in the region of Hunedoara and what kind of action was it. Also to determine how they commented the decree concerning the divorce³².

Although Stefan Metes, after the release from prison of Sighet, lived almost isolated being more concerned about the historical writings, The Securitate's actions³³ against him didn't stop, because he was considered "a hostile element and an opponent of the regime".

From the informative notes prepared by the officers of The Securitate, we find out that they were always concerned about the historical activity of Stefan Metes, in order to identify "their contents and if he tried to sneak into them hostile ideas"³⁴.

In parallel to this action of combustion science, the Communists launched the fight against „the espionage”, seeing in each intellectually a potential spy, especially in those who studied abroad and in those who had connections with others coming from abroad, or the correspondence carriers with relatives and friends living abroad³⁵.

The Securitate's informant "Dan Gheorghe", makes a home visit on August 2, 1966 to the historian Stefan Metes, with the desire to find out his historical concerns about his book *The Romanian emigration from Transylvania in the XIII-XX centuries*, in course of issue. Here he was received by his wife Sofia Metes, who spoke about "the deficiencies regarding the process of publication and that Stefan will never consent to modify something in the text of the work or to introduce another text because it is not suiting the ideology of the nowadays' policy, he would better give up printing the paper³⁶.

After several home visits at the historian Stefan Metes, the informant "Dan Gheorghe", following the meetings he had with mr. Cabulea Traian in different locations (at the "Joseph house", at „Doina house"), informs the latter one about all the historical events and concerns of Stefan Metes, and also about his encounters with various people in his entourage³⁷.

From the informative notes given by the informants of Securitate "Ciobanu Ion", "Boscu Valer", "Dan Gheorghe", "William Beker" and the reports of mr. Cabulea Traian, Rotaru Ion, Nicolae Plesita, capt. Pop Alexandru, ss. Mitea, as well as from the notes of investigation upon the historian Stefan Metes, he was considered "a hostile element to the communist regime"³⁸, and so the actions of informative tracking of the Securitate didn't cease until his death, in 1977.

³² A.C.N.S.A.S, *fund Informativ*, file 3885, p. 1.1

³³ The general Directorate of People's Security (DGSP) established by The Decree no. 221 of August 28, 1948; Dennis Deletant, *Romania sub regimul comunist*, Bucharesti, 1997, p. 74; Marius Oprea, *Banalitatea raului. O istorie a Securitatii în documente. 1949-1989*, Polirom Publishing House, Iasi, 2002, p. 64.

³⁴ A.C.N.S.A.S, *fund Informativ*, file 3885, p.14-15.

³⁵ Mihai Serban, *De la Serviciul Special de Informatii la Securitatea Poporului. 1944-1948*, Bucharest, 2009.

³⁶ A.C.N.S.A.S, *fund Informativ*, file 3885, p. 16-17.

³⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 11.

³⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 39.

THE ROLE OF “ORAL HISTORY” OPTIONAL COURSE IN PROMOTING THE LOCAL ETHNOGRAPHIC HERITAGE

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Abstract: *The “Oral History” optional course records the life memories and feelings of those types of people hidden from the history and gives us a more vivid picture of our past; helps those hidden from history to make themselves heard, and helps those interested in their past to record crucial personal experiences for their families and communities at a given time. If history foregrounds historical sources, oral history foregrounds the actor, it is a way of rethinking the past, of restoring an event or a historical fact in the individual or collective memory, and thus it is a way not to forget about these things. Thus, it is a way to pass on facts or little things which can not find a place in the national history but are very important for the local history. Therefore, regarding the transmission of customs and traditions that usually was done and it is still done by word of mouth, in our opinion, oral history holds the most important place. Through the Oral History optional course we can increase students’ motivation to study history and especially improves knowledge about national historical events by integrating local history, more easily understood by students because of the contact with those who have experienced the event or were witnesses of the national or universal history, and can discover and promote local values, traditions and local history.*

Keywords: *Oral History, Local History, interview, patrimony, local values*

Oral History deals with problems of the dynamics of collective memory, individual memory and identity (individual and collective) in the process of remembering, considering, first, that what one interviewee remembers is as important as what actually happened¹. As Professor Doru Radosav said²: “The role of memory in historical research acquired in Romania in the past ten year an ever increasing importance. If history foregrounds historical sources, oral history foregrounds the actor, the witness, the individual character or group who lived and perpetuated this past in the personal or collective memory. Oral history does not need to search, analyze and interpret historical sources, to provide connections between different sources in order to explain a phenomenon or historical process. It

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¹ “What informants believe is indeed a historical fact (that is, the fact that they believe it), as much as what really happened. (Alessandro Portelli, *The death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories: form and meaning in oral history* Albany: 1991, p. 50).

² Radosav Doru, *Notes from course, Cluj Napoca, 2013.*

is based on the event itself, the phenomenon as it was lived and perceived by witnesses. That is why oral history is "a method of research and an extensive way to think about the past."³

Oral history is a relatively new branch of history, a branch that according to the American professional literature has approximately the following definitions: [oral history] records the life memories and feelings of those types of people hidden from the history and gives us a more vivid picture of our past; helps those hidden from history to make themselves heard, and helps those interested in their past to record crucial personal experiences for their families and communities at a given time; is a kind of living history through unique experiences; it is new and fascinating because it is interactive; it is the shared history: a rare opportunity to speak with history really face to face; it is an extension of storytelling art, and in this sense, each of us has an oral history, a story of our journey through life⁴.

All these make us state that oral history is a way of rethinking the past, of restoring an event or an historical fact in the individual or collective memory, and thus it is a way not to forget about these things. Thus, it is a way to pass on facts or little things, that can not find a place in the national history but are very important to the local history. Therefore, regarding the transmission of customs and traditions that usually was done and it is still done by word of mouth, in our opinion, oral history holds the most important place.

The optional called "Oral History. Live History. Told History" conceived by teachers from pre-university schools in Cluj Napoca in collaboration with the Institute of Oral History, Babes Bolyai University of Cluj Napoca was approved by the Minister's order no.5909/28.09.2012. This optional subject is very useful in history teaching because through it the student is faced with the challenge of creating the historical sources needed in historical research and to draft historical narrative. It is an optional course that involves almost all subject areas: mathematics and science through the appropriate use of data, and respect for truth; Language and communication through practicing communicative competence in the mother tongue, Man and Society through operation with the historical source, through creating sources and historical narratives but also through direct interaction with the actors or witnesses of historical events, and of course, the curriculum Advice and Guidance, an area of knowledge that not only provides relevant content items for psychology and sociology, but also learning approaches that extend the traditional methodological list⁵.

This optional increases students motivation to study history and especially improves knowledge about national historical events by integrating local history, more easily understood by students because of the contact with those who have experienced the event or were witnesses of the national or universal history. When designing their optional lessons, the history teachers, integrated data, information, events, cases referring to local community and its history into their content.

³ Michael Gordon and Lu Ann Jones, Oral History: Introduction, p. 579 in "The Journal of AmericanHistory," 85: 2, 1998, p. 579 -580.

⁴<http://historymatters.gmu.edu/mse/oral/>; http://www.dohistory.org/on_your_own/toolkit/oralHistory.html; <http://www.army.mil/cmhpg/books/oral.htm>.

⁵ Curricula for optional oral history: History History Told Live.

Students and teachers collected these data through interviews. It is very important to arouse students' interest and curiosity to local history and thus facilitate their acquisition of knowledge of history by integrating personal and collective memory in the course of events. In this way students are aware that their family, their community are part of that history that they learn.

We considered an opportunity that we were allowed to achieve this optional for V to VIII forms for identifying and promoting Luncoara's customs and traditions, the history of the village as far as they can be identified and orally transmitted.

Thus at the beginning of the year, we planned with students our research themes within the optional such as: customs and traditions, dialect, religious life, old school, childhood, remarkable events which we have integrated in the project called "Luncoara between history and memory. 800 years of documentary existence", as this year marks 800 years of documentary existence of this village. For realizing this project students have combined the study of written history, the antiquarian documents and the study of history books with Oral History to find information about the native village from the ancient, medieval and some of the modern era, to supplement the written data with testimonies of local people who participated in or witnessed or heard about events, such as The First World War, the Hortyst domination, The Second World War, about the Jewish deportations, collectivisation and Communism.

The project had the following structure:

- The Project Argument

The moment we decided to launch such a project was when we heard, during the History class, a very interesting testimony of a student, about the World War II when we discussed the Holocaust. For students, the involvement in the oral history project led to a better knowledge of their families and then, the discovery of new aspects of the place where they lived. The celebration of the 800 years of Luncoara village triggered us to highlight the history of the village.

- Objectives of the Project –

- Local community knowledge of the past, traditions, customs, old and new professions, stories about the history of school and village.

- Encouraging pupils in detecting and finding people who can give information about life in the past, about old documents or about some unpublished or unknown photos.

- Awareness of the need to preserve and carry on the traditions and customs of the local community

- using modern technologies to obtain information on a given topic

- the Project Curriculum Integration: Man and Society

- Resources:

a) human-students, teachers and retired teachers, locals and others born here but presently living elsewhere;

b) materials – voice recorder, audio cassettes, camera, notebook

- Observation and interviewing methods and techniques: observation, conversation, storytelling, the interview itself.

- Duration: September 2013-May 2014

- Deployment

Preparation:

1. The study of materials that can be sources for research: monographs, articles, books, documents, objects, photographs.

2. Identifying people to interview, getting in contact with them and conducting preliminary discussions. Interviewed persons: the village priest, grandparents, older people in the village, retired teachers of the school, the people who were born here and have information about the village even if presently they live elsewhere.

-Students who conducted interviews: 8th form students.

3. Practicing the techniques of observation and interviewing: students have tried to use certain types of questions about the target objectives: age, habits, traditions, activities, professions, the participation in certain major event of the national history, stories about people in the village or about the village itself.

Students also gathered materials such as objects and photographs to illustrate the information collected.

4. Equipment Preparation: students conducted interviews with a tape recorder that I owned personally and by the aid of mobile phones.

- The interview was based on questions such as: Where and when were you born? Did you grow up here? What information do you have about the age of the settlement and families in this village? Do you know the story of this village or its people? What were the inhabitants' occupations? What crafts did the inhabitants practiced? How did the ancient inhabitants of the village use to organize their weddings, funerals or baptisms? What traditions related to important holidays such as Easter, Christmas, New Year do you know? What other habits are or used to be in our village? When was the school in the village built? Where did you learn in the early years? Who were your teachers? How was the educational process carried out? What was your teaching material? Do you know people who participated in historical events such as World War I or World War II? What do you know about collectivization? How was the communist regime perceived? Were there people who have shown forms of resistance against the regime? Were they punished for this?

- Skills developed by students:

flexible and critical-thinking; analysis and synthesis; mother tongue communication, introduction and use of modern technical tools in making presentations.

- Assessment of students: Based on a portfolio comprising interview guides; notes; articles; stories; photos. The final result is a book entitled "Luncșoara between history and memory. 800 years of documentary existence".

We believe that through this research and through this project, the students experienced a part of local history, they learned information about historical events studied during the History classes, such as the two world wars, the Holocaust, the collectivization, Communism and resistance to the regime.

But the most important benefit of achieving this optional subject and this project is that students have discovered things that they didn't know, customs, traditions or games that today are no longer practised, recipes for dishes they never knew, legends and fascinating stories about the village. Even more important is that all these facts were sent from the oldest people to these students, who, at their turn, would know and send forward the local ethnographic heritage.

HISTORY BETWEEN FAILURE AND HOPE. REFLECTIONS ON THE CHRISTIAN ASPECT OF HISTORY

*Radu ROMÎNAȘU**

Abstract: *No matter how fascinating history is, life is dominated by entropy and leads to the graveyard. It always ends up in the tomb. Hence, the tragedy of history unable to solve in itself the fate of humankind and implicitly the issue of time. Therefore, the real and deep sense of history is to lead man to meta-history, the only one having access beyond grave and death. Only the transcendental exit may bring an efficient solution, its burst into meta-history through the fundamental idea of Christianity: the revival of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, and his conquest over the ruthless spectre of death. Paradoxically, together with culture, history lives well only at times of crisis. This is because an identity crisis arises, when returns and re-interpretations are needed. It is a conflict with reality, with life that has to become functional in order to be saved. So, if there is a crisis, then it has to be used positively. In other words, history may represent a way to another world where real life exists. If history only has an immediate and telluric meaning by excellence, it would be completely absurd and devoid of all perspective.*

Keywords: *history, God, Christianity, time, change.*

The concurrence of the topic is motivated by the fundamental changes occurring nowadays, considering the perception of historical time requiring the explanation of historical phenomena and processes from a Christian perspective.

Why failure?

Due to at least four detectable causes in both the “historian’s workshop” and in the Romanian society.

1. **Self-despair** (we see ourselves as small, marginal, unable to do something well and thorough, some writing and behaving as if perpetually persecuted by history).

Consequently, we delimit ourselves from historians that are desperate because of the unworthiness of the present and understand to forcefully extend it over the whole Romanian past until they contest identity foundations out of sickly excess. In other words, they molest the dead while disgusted by the abjection of the people around them and wish to denigrate the alive. They retroactively put the

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blame on the entire history of the Romanians and all great founding figures of national culture, as they are all guilty of having the “identity obsession”.

2. **Inability or refusal of responsible awareness.** (Somebody else is always to blame for the spiritual, political and economic stagnation we are in. We are never to blame, others are. We all wish for a change, but it should not start with us, with ourselves. The others have to change, yet not us).

3. **Refusal to learn from history,** the quip of the German philosopher Hegel is more relevant than ever: “the only thing we learn from history is that we learn nothing from history”.

4. **Lack of morality and honour.** Because of this major shortcoming, history has been subject to dramatic aggression and false ideas spreading a memory of the fake, to compromising knowledge and purging hierarchy and direction.

All of the above are some of the signs leading to bleak previsions. It is as if we reached a dead end of our historical future. If we do not “come to our senses”, just like the prodigal son in the well-known evangelic parable, this people might turn into vulgus, a mob, then into a ruin. I therefore believe that we are all responsible and will account for in front of the whole Romanian nation.

The serious danger is not only shown by the fact that we may disappear from history, but we really risk deserving this fate.

Nevertheless, beyond the immanence of the people, there is a transcendence of the nation connected to God. When I say “people”, I mean an updated hypostasis of the nation, sometimes good, some other times bad, depending on the virtues or weaknesses freely exerted by each living person. By “nation”, I understand both historical and cross-historical community of all past, present and future generations ontologically subsumed to the same identity “pattern” of divine origin with an intricate structural dynamics whose final assessment is tied to the eschatological mystery in hidden relation with personal destiny.

Even degenerated, the nation’s “face” still lives in us, just like sin has not obliterated, but distorted the “face” of God in ourselves from a Christian point of view on the ontological level of panhuman condition. Men have gone “out” of their senses on all levels of their existence, but God provides them with the opportunity to “come back” to their senses.

Why hope?

Because change for the better is not a pretentious philosophy. Fundamental things have always been essentially simple for humankind. They all understand them, but we have complicated them out of vanity and hatred throughout history.

Here are a few simple ideas bringing hope in history (life) and historical writing (historiography – as a second game)¹. They are suggested by Acad. Ioan Aurel Pop and have recently been published in a history journal:

1. To do our duty when called (at chair and scientific research institutes).

¹ Nicolae Iorga saw history as a practical application in life. The distinguished scholar considered that „history as a discourse is not worth it”. See Nicolae Iorga, *Generalități cu privire la studiile istorice*, Ediția a IV-a, Iași, 1999, p. 156. Moreover, his own existence intended to be a „history of ideas” he used to grasp the meaning of his epoch. See N. Iorga, *O viață de om așa cum a fost*, 1972, p. 23.

2. Not to do everything, but what we have to and our background allows us to.
3. To be professors with all our soul.
4. To have the feeling of community and solidarity.
5. To leave pride and admit when we are wrong.
6. To lend a helping hand to the ones in need or suffering.
7. To be just and honest and particularly good and generous, with serene and beautiful spirit².

In our turn, we suggest further debate ideas with the aim to identify together a way out of the stagnation we are fighting:

- To initiate youth together with other educating institutions to fields other than the ones we are “here” and “now” for³.

- To perceive historical time as a great professor from which we can learn how to reach immortality. It is a book wide open to our eyes to have the opportunity to see in it what we were and what we are and to grasp present from the past and the past from the present. History helps us understand life by knowing it⁴.

- To promote greater models of the past; man cannot live without models, as man is an iconic being. Let us leave new generations with worthy thoughts and examples, as at the Great Judgement of history and of the world – this “public exam”, the only one to develop in the spirit of absolute justice – the “honest” Judge will analyse personal contribution for the prosperity of our nation⁵.

- Let us open the perspective of the Absolute to our pupils/students through moral values, as it has the ability to strengthen human connections since each person feels as osmotically belonging to the same whole.

- If making history means understanding yourself and the world around⁶, then we should not ignore vertical exercises, that is the relation with Divinity, as time is not just a form of matter existence, but also the vertical axis on which the culture of the spirit evolves and is structured⁷. Matter in itself does not explain anything. It merely stands for the seat of phenomena serving as a basis for their expression. Therefore, a person devoid of inner ascendant movement is below human dignity⁸.

- Let us eliminate from the teaching-learning didactic act the method of taming and consider the mystical method based on moral aspiration⁹.

² Ioan Aurel Pop, *Cultura națională și specificul național*, in *Magazin istoric*, 2013, no. 9, p. 7.

³ N. Berdiaev, *Sensul istoriei*, Editura Polirom, Iași, 1996, p. 39.

⁴ Iustin Popovici, *Omul și Dumnezeu-Om: abisurile și culmile filosofiei*, introductory study and translation by pr. prof. Ioan Ică and deac. Ioan I. Ică jr., Editura Sophia, Cartea Ortodoxă, București, 2010, p. 83; Teodor M. Popescu, *Biserica și cultura*, Editura Institutului Biblic și de Misiune al Bisericii Ortodoxe Române, București, 1996, pp. 57-58.

⁵ Richard Thoma Betts, Viaceslav Marcenko, *Duhovnicul familiei împărărești, ierarhul Theofan al Poltavei Noul Zăvorât*, notes and translation from Russian by Adrian and Enia Tănăsescu-Vlas, Editura Cartea Ortodoxă, București, 2006, p. 172.

⁶ Paul Ricœur, *Memoria, istoria, uitarea*, Editura Amarcord, Timișoara, 2001, p. 279.

⁷ Dan Cruțeru, *Diacronismul culturii*, Editura Meridiane, București, 1984, p. 5.

⁸ Teofan Zăvorâtul, *Viața duhovnicească și cum o putem dobândi*, translation from English by Grațiela Lungu Constantinescu, Ediția a II-a, Iași, 2006, p. 69.

⁹ Constantin C. Pavel, *Tragedia omului în cultura modernă*, Editura Anastasia, București, 1997, p. 20.

There has been long pondering on History from ancient times from both philosophical and theological points of view. The first and best known major attempt of Christian theology of history, the root leading to most Christian “discourses” on the meaning of history particularly in post-Mediaeval West belonged to Saint Augustine and was expressed in the work on *De Civitate Dei* (*The City of God*) elaborated in 412-426.

History – that is the fall of man from Paradise – is depicted as a mostly spiritual fight between two antagonistic powers embodied by *Civitas Dei* and *Civitas terrena*. The former stands for God’s order (guarded by Abel’s spiritual followers) and the latter for the earthly order (served by the spiritual followers of Cain the assassin). Throughout history, the two “cities” coexist and are divided into different doses to separate for good at the end of time, after the Great Judgement.

“The City of God” based on truth will prevail forever over the earth founded on vanity. In the centre of history, in the antechamber of redemption (the exit from the vicious circle of history) is the embodiment of Jesus Christ and His messianic work. The Son of God is the conqueror of death and of devouring time. His resurrection is the beginning of the end of history, the so-called “Eighth Day”.

The whole work of Saint Augustine pursues to justify the presence of God in history. It is not a God as perceived by Hegel, a God in history, it is a God of history.

Once Christianity appears, time is defined by the central, unique and unrepeatable event of history: the embodiment of Jesus Christ, event that makes a clear cut delimitation between two stages: the one awaiting “the time to come”, that is the moment chosen by God to turn into a human and the time marking the beginning of people’s adoration by communicating divine precepts with the help of the Word originating in the body¹⁰.

Certainly, seen in itself, historical time is implacable as a result of the fall of our forerunners from divine grace. Once the forbidden fruit tasted, we all fell under the tyranny of unmerciful “Chronos”, we all “became history”. Therefore, the Christian thinker Petre Țuțea was entitled to consider the dialogue between Eve and the devil snake as the beginning of history¹¹. The consequence was that “everything inserted in the time we live is not in the general meaning of the word”¹².

Moreover, in the multilateral discussion in social everyday life, we often hear the assertion that time, this memory of humanity, has compressed and is no longer as in past decades. In other words, time “is no longer patient with us” (Marin Preda), or “is out of joint” (according to William Shakespeare).

Thus, History is conceived, according to Christian ideas, as finite and unrepeatable, penetrated by divine grace and led by a transcendent aim, representing “an earthly interlude between two heavenly eternities”, as Lucian Blaga points out in his work *Ființa istorică/Historical Being*,¹³.

Yet history should not be perceived from a simplistic perspective in a fatal ascendant linearity. Paul Evdokimov warns us: “Historical matter proves to be very

¹⁰ <http://www.rostonline.org/blog/razvan/2008/07/sensul-cretin-al-istoriei.html> (accessed on 12.12.2010).

¹¹ Petre Țuțea, *322 de vorbe memorabile ale lui Petre Țuțea*, Editura Humanitas, București, p. 17.

¹² M. I. Marrou, *Teologia istoriei*, Institutul European, Iași, 1996, p. 46.

¹³ Lucian Blaga, *Ființa istorică*, Editura Dacia, Cluj-Napoca, 1997, p. 58.

complex [...]. There is no progress in straight line [...]. Rhythm has been disrupted even in recent times; historians discover a progress in regress in parallel with the walk ahead”¹⁴.

In its becoming where historical and meta-historical, divine and human, individual and collective, elements mingle, history is a mystery irreducible to rational charts. The same Evdokimov says: “God opposed ordered succession and progressive order through inner dynamics of redemption to the regressive succession of the fall. Thus, history is a dialectics of God’s initiatives and man’s answers, the interaction of the two Adam, the dialogue of the two ‘sons’. The last synthesis of ascendant and descendent movements is already given by Christ and He already has the key to the meaning of history”¹⁵.

Despite its corrupt nature as an interval of sin and death, history can be perceived through what we could name axiological dynamics of love. “Two loves built two cities: one is the love of God leading to self-oblivion, the other is the love of oneself leading to God’s oblivion”¹⁶. “The new Jerusalem, that is the heavenly Jerusalem” according to John’s vision (cf. *Apocalypse*, chapter 21), the Kingdom of God will first and foremost be based on the fulfilment of man’s “resemblance” to God through the love opening to the other, a love reaching sacrifice. It is *man’s glorification through love* even here, within history (“forever”), for the time we have been given. Man can only go beyond history (that is “forever”) only in this state¹⁷.

At this historical time vital to our becoming, as it is an “introduction to eternity”¹⁸, God’s Words call man to His love. Therefore, life and its historical time stand for the environment where the God – man love relation develops only to the extent in which man responds to divine call, since such love reaching its plenitude imposes a response from the one it is meant for. Thus, another definition of history could be the time span between the moment man is called to respond and the moment they acquire divine love.

Yet, the same divine love can become an unbearable torment for those rejecting, lowering, or ignoring it. It is the inner torment of a great *hindered love* – an eternal consequence of a failed chance in history.

No matter how fascinating history – life with reasons for all viewpoints may be, yet it is dominated by entropy and ends each phase (however spectacular) in cemetery. Each and every time, it ends up in the grave¹⁹, hence the tragedy of history unable to solve the fate of humanity and implicitly the issue of time in itself. More and more often, it is devoid of all substance. Consequently, man is no longer able to enjoy the ephemeral duration of existence. Hence, the real and deep meaning of history is to lead man to meta-history, the only having access beyond death and grave. Only transcendental exit may lead to an efficient solution of history, its burst

¹⁴ Paul Evdokimov, *Ortodoxia*, translation into Romanian by Dr. Irineu Ioan Popa, Editura Institutului Biblic și de Misiune al Bisericii Ortodoxe Române, București, 1996, pp. 342-343.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 345-346.

¹⁶ Sfântul Augustin, *De Civitate Dei*, XIV, 28.

¹⁷ <http://www.rostonline.org/blog/razvan/2008/07/sensul-cretin-al-istoriei.html> (accessed on 12.12.2010).

¹⁸ Iustin Popovici, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

¹⁹ Alexandru Mironescu, *Imponderabilul istoric*, in *Credința*, 1937 on 27 April, p. 2.

into meta-history through the fundamental idea of Christianity: Resurrection of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, and His triumph on the merciless spectre of death. Limited in itself, history can break boundaries through meta-history²⁰. There is an antinomy between Christianity and history: each states a truth of a different nature: religious truth is absolute, while historical truth is relative. Religious truth belongs to a sphere that history cannot penetrate. It is a sphere of a supra-historic world accessible to man only through faith. Therefore, belief is against historicism that reduces and explains everything through history. Christianity attempts to glorify and eternalise history, while history tries to naturalise and humanise Christianity²¹. Crisis can be overcome through metaphysics, arts and particularly through religion. With their help, man has the opportunity to become free from the stiff and oppressed world and have free way to mystery and absolute²². Paradoxically, history, just like culture, lives well only at times of crisis. This is because an identity crisis bursts out and returns, reinterpretations, etc., are required. It is a conflict with reality, with a life that has to become functional, in order to be saved. Thus, if there is a crisis, then we should use it as an increasing one. In other words, history may represent a way to another world filled with real life. If history had an immediate and telluric meaning, it should be completely absurd and devoid of perspective²³. According to Mircea Eliade, man has the opportunity to live in a perpetual present totally different from the evanescent present of historical time devouring humanity between “was” and “will be” through fate. In his opinion, sacred time is much more important than events occurring between the coordinates of historical time. There is an escape from time, as the great Romanian thinker and philosopher maintains²⁴.

Thus Christian precepts provide humans with the opportunity to live in the ambiguity of profane history bearing within the belief in a holy history “whose ‘meaning’ they perceive with the help of suggestions coming from personal history, where they can figure out the link between guilt and redemption. In this case, the Christian meaning of history is the hope that profane history also belongs to this meaning that holy history develops, the meaning that eventually there is only one *single* history, and that any history is ultimately holy”²⁵.

Due to the Christian conception about world and life, history has the possibility to save itself standing out for the environment that has given man the opportunity to pursue their glorification. The urge *be a man!* suggests a simple aim as compared to the maxim *be God!* Here is the paragon aim of humanity, in Nicolae Velimirovici’s opinion.

²⁰ <http://www.rostonline.org/blog/razvan/2008/07/sensul-cretin-al-istoriei.html> (accessed on 12.12.2010)

²¹ Teodor M. Popescu, *op.cit.*, pp. 58-62.

²² N. Bagdasar, *Din problemele culturii europene*, Editura Fundației Intelligentia, București, 1998, p. 57

²³ N. Berdiaev, *op.cit.*, p. 189, 197.

²⁴ Mircea Eliade, *Noaptea de Sânziene*, vol. II, Editura Litera, București, 2010, p. 299.

²⁵ Paul Ricœur, *Istorie și adevăr*, traducere și prefață Elisabeta Niculescu, Editura Anastasia, București, 1996, p. 108.

In conclusion, from a Christian perspective, history is not a neutral field, it is the framework within which *iconomy of redemption* develops. Freely and responsibly, man builds their own fate within the community they belong to (Saint Paul warns us that each of us will be judged “in our own group”, that is our own nation). We leave this world – the history carrying us all – in the condition we acquired: either “good” or “bad”. According to the British historian Toynbee, history comprises “human spirits rising to the Creator or to the opposite direction, according to freedom”²⁶.

Anyway, Jesus Christ suggests (cf. *Matthew* 25, 31-46) that our deeds will be evaluated at the Great Judgement. It will objectively analyse if we have known Christian virtues not only on an abstract level, but also on the concrete level leading to materialisations in our historical life.

²⁶ Arnold J. Toynbee, *Studiu asupra istoriei*, vol. VII-X, Editura Humanitas, București, 1997, p. 473.

RECENZII

BOOK REVIEWS

**Carol Iancu, *The Jews of Hârlău: the history of a community*,
Editura Universităţii „Alexandru Ioan Cuza”, 2013**

The Romanian historiography concerning the history of the Jews living in this area is enriched every year by the emergence of new works, studies, articles and books. Among the latest publications, a monographic work on the history of a Jewish minority in Hârlău, a town in Botosani County, came into our notice today. Thus, we are dealing with a monographic work written by an author born in this community, Professor Carol Iancu at “Paul Valery” University in Montpellier.

One can say that there is a temptation for the historians to investigate the past of their birth place, as a duty of conscience, as a response to a challenge, to the nostalgia felt when looking back to the place where you started your life. Hence the inner need to reconstruct the history of your native place, feeling that you have fulfilled *a duty of conscience*. This subtle, hard to define relation, the charm of the native place urged the author to write and even played an important role in the choice of his profession, that of a historian, according to a confession made at the beginning of the book:

“If there is a relationship between the destiny of a life and the homeland, I can say that my commitment in the field of history was determined by the environment in Hârlău, where historical memories meet the dilemmas of cohabitation. This unique meeting between the Romanian culture, on the one hand, and the Jewish one, on the other hand, this microcosm of Hârlău in the days of yore, where Romanian, Jewish, German, Lipovani Gypsies and other nations lived and cohabited together in harmony, undoubtedly created the right conditions for the spiritual development of an entire generation, and for me the essence of juvenile impulses summarized by three words: work, will, perseverance! I have not forgotten the most valuable asset, that genuine humanism, which I received - for life - in the town of my childhood ...This is what I owe to my parents, school and high school in Hârlău”.

Professor Carol Iancu at the University of Montpellier (France) was determined to write this book starting, first of all, from these considerations. The monograph entitled *The Jews of Hârlău. The History of a Community* was published in 2013 at “Al. I. Cuza” University Publishing House in Iaşi, in **Historica** Collection (which is coordinated by Prof Alexandru-Florin Platon, PhD) while **Dagesh** Series is coordinated by Prof. Alexandru-Florin Platon, PhD and Prof. Carol Iancu, PhD. It was written “... *in a scientific spirit and I tried to be consistent with the principle of sine ira et studio*”. The inherent subjectivity was considerably limited by the professional Carol Iancu.

The researcher’s method was a classical one, used in writing monographs based on the search, selection and analysis of the most important documents starting from the earliest documentary proof of the existence of the Jewish community in the Moldovan town of Hârlău. He used published and unpublished original documents, periodical articles, and general and special papers on the subject in question.

We consider it useful, for assessing the novelty brought into the scientific circuit, to indicate the *original archival sources* used by the author. They come from: the Archives of the Alliance Israelite Universelle (AIU) in Paris, the funds 1. Romania; 2 France; a) Series D: Foreign Affairs (The Central Zionist Archives); the Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People, Yad Vashem Archives), Jerusalem; the Archives of the Diaspora Research Institute), the National Archives of Romania. Iași and Botoșani County Departments; Archive of the Centre for the Study of Jewish History in Romania; the archives of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum; private archives; published sources; newspapers and periodicals; papers on the Jews in Moldova, Hârlău and on the town of Hârlău.

Completing the archival information, to this was also added the information provided by *oral history*, by the interviews that the author had taken to several fellow countrymen for over 30 years, the mail with his relatives and friends met in Israel, Romania and other parts, the media and the images. And not lastly, the fact that he was, up to a certain point, one of the *witnesses and participants* in the life of the community, during childhood and adolescence, which allows the author to make an *opinion* as close to the reality of the Jewish life in Hârlău town. Here is how he describes the harmonious multiethnic environment of Hârlău in the introduction of the book:

“Since my childhood I could grasp the issue of the relations between the Christians and the Jews, with a rich cultural and religious life, although diminished by the pressures of a totalitarian regime, the good understanding within the community, the accommodation, but also the tensions and moments of intolerance, which are topics that can be found in various of my books on the history of the Romanian Jews and contemporary Romania”.

The book is structured as follows: 13 chapters, documentary appendices, illustrations, the sources used, tables, name and place index, etc.

We believe it is necessary to say a few words about the history of the community. It lasted for 269 years, from 1742 (the date the existence of a stable Jewish community in Hârlău was first mentioned) to 2011, the year when the research ended. Nowadays about 16 Jews, members of the community in Hârlău, live, the rest being scattered worldwide, including North America, where there is one of their associations (in New York City). We are dealing with a well-organized community and willing to perpetuate the memory in time. The community, the basic cell of Jewish existence throughout medieval Europe, was already important numerically and economically at the early nineteenth century.

Everyday life is reflected, though less obviously, by the Jews' occupations, their specific religious rituals that ordered the life of a truly religious community, which had, at one time, six synagogues at approximately 2,500 Jews.

The demographics speaks for itself about peak moments in the numerical evolution of the Jewish community in Hârlău. It was rapid in the nineteenth century, so that, from a total of 300 in 1803, it reached 1,369 in 1860 (39.3% of the town population), 2,254 in 1886 (56.6%) and 2,718 in 1899 (59%). The increasing birth rate and low mortality, much lower than that of their Christian neighbours, made the Jews represent almost 60% of the town population in the eve of the nineteenth century, “which is demonstrated by the fact that the Great Synagogue, which still exists today, could have already been built between 1812 and 1814”. A series of

documents testify the demographic progress and the economic dynamism of the Jewish inhabitants of Hârlău, proven by the amount of taxes collected to the state treasury from the Jewish residents.

It should be noted that, since the beginning, the Jews have played an important role in the modernization of Moldavia, in its submission to the capitalist path: “Stressing the economic role of the Jews, the historian George Plato concludes: *“Being enterprising and active, the Jewish traders and craftsmen have specialized themselves in fields necessary for the development process”*, becoming known as very talented tradesmen and craftsmen who brought profit to the country.

Unfortunately, in the early twentieth century, the community was affected numerically by the emigration to Palestine. It was a *“veritable exodus of the Jews from Romania, caused by severe economic crisis as well as the discriminatory legislation”*

During World War I, the Jews from Romania fought on the frontline among the Romanian army personnel, although they were not yet recognized as citizens (with equal rights) of the country. They proved to be good fighters, in most cases some of them paying with their lives for the ideals of creating Greater Romania. Among them are the author’s grandfathers, maternal and paternal ones, one of them finding his death in the famous battle of Mărășești, being a genuine war hero of his country (*“My maternal grandfather, Herșcu Moscovici, a native of Bucecea, was one of the many heroes of Mărășești, whose name is in the list of the dead published by the Official Gazette”*). The injustice of not receiving the Romanian citizenship was undone after World War I, granting Romanian citizenship being among the favourite research topics of the author whose work we are presenting today.

The cultural, political and religious life of the Jews of Hârlău continued, following the general patterns of the Romanian society, which was in full process of modernization, of asserting its identity, including through cultural or political associations, especially those of the Transylvanian Romanians. Thus, soon the Jews established their own cultural, political and sporting associations in Hârlău, which, together with music and the plays of some itinerant theatrical groups, gave substance to a thriving cultural life.

Representatives of the Jews in all the historical provinces of Greater Romania entered the Romanian Parliament, as MPs and senators, carrying out a tireless activity to defend the rights of the Romanian Jews.

The economic activity of the Jews in town is recorded in a special chapter. They owned the hotel, restaurants, auditoriums for itinerant theatres, factories of all kinds, inns, pubs, several mills, and even a bank. This ranked the Jews among the wealthiest citizens of the town, with important social positions, but we must mention that not all the Jews were landlords, merchants, craftsmen, bankers or industrialists. The number of the poor Jews was higher than that of the rich ones and they had been forgotten neither by their countrymen nor by the American Joint.

The following statement, regarding the important economic role played by the Jews in developing and raising the living standards of the area or the country, summarizes well their contribution: *“Only beehives could be compared to the work of Jews in this small town”*.

If the almost tercentenary cohabitation moments of the Jews with the Romanians in this Moldovan town were good, a fact attested by the economic development and population growth, in the final part of this period, amid spreading anti-Semitism throughout Europe and in Romania, the rights of Jews began to be violated, especially beginning with the year 1940.

The Jews of Hârlău, like the other Romanian inhabitants were subjected to forced labour, being forbidden to wear the military uniform any longer. The legionary phenomenon, with its excesses, negatively marked the existence of the community, subjecting it to various abuses, violence and lootings. Even after their removal from power, the Jews' situation did not improve much. They were not admitted as combatants, being forced to force labour or compensations for exemptions instead. The attitudes towards the Jews during the war were hostile or ignoring.

However, we notice that the Jews of Hârlău were able to escape deportation to Transnistria, with a few exceptions.

The process of their impoverishment became more striking when the Communists came to power after the 1945. The Jews' dispossession of their property, on the one hand, and the creation of Israel in 1948, on the other hand, made the phenomenon of immigration to Israel spread, a thing that most of them desired.

Thus, the community greatly weakened, from a demographic point of view, reaching to fewer than 20 people in 2000.

However, the memory of their birthplace led to the organization of major events regarding the history of the community in Hârlău. Thus, a symposium entitled "*The Jews in the Area of Hârlău: History, Economics, Culture*" took place in the hall of the Children's Club in Hârlău on 22 September 2011.

The book also saves the names of 4,000 Jews found in all types of documents. Therefore, it can be considered as a source for further demographic and onomatological research for the Jewish population in Moldavia.

The author's conclusion is commendable for the balanced spirit specific to a professional historian: "As for the relations between the Jews and the Christians, apart from periods of tension and violence and the tragedy of the Shoah, we are witnessing a relatively satisfactory coexistence in Hârlău, the solution of living together being based on the idea of tolerance and common interests. From this point of view, Hârlău was a privileged place, yet not unique".

In conclusion, we assert that we are dealing with a complex work, which was based on all the sources that have been available to the author. Their analysis was dominated by rational and scientific spirit that characterizes Carol Iancu's history books and writings. The passion that had motivated the author did not affect, like in the case of monographs, his careful concern for finding the truth beyond all prejudices and stereotypes.

Antonio FAUR

Antonio FAUR, Implicarea diplomatului român dr. Mihai Marina în acțiunile de salvare a evreilor din Transilvania de nord și Ungaria (1944), Oradea, Editura Muzeului Țării Crișurilor, 2014, ISBN 978-973-7621-63-4

Antonio Faur, Professor of History at the Faculty of History, International Relations, Political Sciences and Communication Sciences within the University of Oradea, has recently published a significant book for the history of the Jews in North-Western Transylvania: *Implicarea diplomatului român dr. Mihai Marina în acțiunile de salvare a evreilor din Transilvania de Nord și Ungaria (1944)* (*The Involvement of the Romanian diplomat Dr. Mihai Marina in the Actions to Rescue the Jews from Northern Transylvania and Hungary (1944)*). His concern for the history of the Romanian Jews is not new, as he published another interesting book in 2012 entitled *A Decade in the Existence of the Jews in Bihor County (1942-1952)*. (*Historiographical and Documentary Contributions*), which was also the subject of our review¹.

In his publications concerning the fate of the Jews from North-Western Transylvania under Hungarian occupation during the years 1940 – 1944, Antonio Faur tried to defend the idea that, although the faith of the Jews in this region was tragic, their majority being deported to concentration camps in Germany and Poland, there was always a benevolent category of Romanians who protected the Jews from Transylvania and helped a few of them to escape in Romania where the regime was not leading towards their annihilation. Sometimes, even the authorities were involved in giving the Jews a helping hand to escape, and this was the story of Mihai Marina, the Romanian consul to Oradea. He got involved in these escapes, also convincing members of the Consulate to help the Jews, thus becoming a hero in the history of the brave Romanians who shared tolerance and support for the Jewish community, saving humanity by their actions. Another idea accredited by the author is that, for the Jews who escaped the Hungarian occupation, Romania was a genuine oasis where their lives were not threatened and their survival was possible until the end of the war. And this reality, underlined by the author, happened in spite of the fact that Romania was fighting in the war on the side of Germany, in the East, against the Soviet Union. Therefore, if the reality outlined by the author proves to be true, despite the fact that there was also an anti-Jewish legislation in Romania during the years 1940-1944, the situation was still bearable for the Jewish minority.

The author Antonio Faur tries to convince his readers about the truth of his story, namely that the Romanian ethnics helped the North-Western Transylvanian Jews to escape into Romania and, in this regard, he quotes other works that

¹ See Anca Oltean (book review of) 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 in *Annals of the University of Oradea, History-Archaeology Series*, Tom XXIII, 2013, p. 202- 205.

acknowledge this idea. Thus, he quotes the work entitled *Final Report*, a genuine collective work that analyses the Romanian attitudes and policies towards the Jews during the Holocaust, a work that urges for the idea that these “actions of salvation” made by Romanian ethnics be researched further. Moreover, Antonio Faur quotes the words of the well known Nobel Prize winner of Jewish origin coming from Transylvania, Elie Wiesel, who shows his gratitude to these brave Romanians who, by their actions, saved a number of Jews from certain death. Last but not least, Antonio Faur quotes Randolph Braham, a well known historian specialized in the *History of the Jews* and in the *Holocaust*, who refers to Romania as to “an oasis” where the Jews from the North-West of Transylvania tried to escape the opposition of the Hungarian authorities.

Using these opinions as starting points, Antonio Faur considers that it is important to look into the activity of the General Consulate in Oradea and to have a close look at the activity of the General Consul, Mihai Marina and his contribution to the actions of saving the Jews by crossing them the frontier in anonymous places. Focusing on the activity of the consul Mihai Marina, Antonio Faur reveals that the consul graduated Law at the University of Cluj, was awarded his most important distinction, the title of doctor, and that he had a 10-year-experience as an employee of the Ministry of Internal Affairs in several institutions in Transylvania. On July 9, 1941, he was appointed as Consul of Romania to Oradea, proving to be a very active political personality, cooperating not only with the Romanian inhabitants of the city but also with the Jews, with the upper classes and the peasants alike. His diplomatic efforts for the well being of Romanian and Jewish population were acknowledged by the general Ion Rășcanu, the mayor of Bucharest, and also by the Romanian minister to Bucharest, Eugen Filotti. With the consent of the Legation of Romania to Budapest, the Romanian consulate in Oradea was given the order of General Consulate (1943), and the consul Mihai Marina received the title of General Consul in 1943. The same year, Mihai Marina received the title of First Class General Consul.

In order to establish the merit of the Romanian diplomats in the actions to save the Romanian Jews of Oradea, the author Antonio Faur provides the name of the employees at the General Consulate of Romania in Oradea, that were: Anghel Lupescu (vice-consul), Ion Isaiu (law expert and vice-consul), Ion Romașcanu (vice-consul and officer in diplomatic field), Mihai Bologa (vice-consul), Alexandru Olteanu (vice-consul), Vasile Hossu (vice-consul), Rupert Gamber (secretary), Geta Cănciulescu (secretary), Tinuca Sabău (secretary), Steinkolar (secretary), Mihai Hotea (administrator) and Mihai Mihai (administrator). Antonio Faur urges that these secret operations of crossing the Jews over the border from Oradea into Romania to be known in detail in order to constitute a genuine evidence data base. The fact that many members of the Legation were, in fact, tenants of the Jewish families in the city stands as a proof that the General Consulate in Oradea had good relations with the Jews of Oradea before ghettoization and deportation. Seeing the communism in perspective and as a counter force to fascism, the general consul Dr. Mihai Marina had a good relationship with Ludovic Schwartz, one of the leaders of the communist movement in Oradea. Dr. Marina even offered to support his crossing the border into Romania, but, because of his communist mission, Ludovic Schwartz refused the proposal.

The author offers details about how these illegal border crossings took place. Thus, three cars were used, the ones belonging to the council, the vice-consuls Anghel Lupescu and Ion Romaşcanu. The Jews were transported with these cars to secure places where they were expected by people of confidence and they were crossed the borders.

Not all the authors believe the idea that Romanian people were natural friends of the Jews, trying to rescue them from Nazi and Hungarian extermination. Antonio Faur gives the example of Zoltán Tibori Szabó, a Hungarian publicist from Cluj-Napoca, that asserts that the contribution of the Romanian peasants and intellectuals to saving certain Jews from death is a doubtful fact that has not been confirmed by any another sources.

In order to reply to Zoltán Tibori Szabó, Antonio Faur brings to light genuine scientific sources that confirm the willingness of the Romanians to help the Jews. These testimonies add value to the data brought by the General Consul Mihai Marina, thus confirming their existence. The first source presented by Antonio Faur is Katona Béla who wrote in a memoirist book about the situation of Oradea in 1944. In this book he acknowledged that the Romanian consul of Oradea and almost all members of the consulate tried to cross a considerable number of Jews over the border, sometimes using the consul's car. The second proof, that the General Consul Mihai Marina and the other members of the consulate were helping the Jews to escape in Romania, was provided by Miksa Kupfer, an important Jewish doctor from Oradea who was saved by the consul Mihai Marina and who consequently wrote a statement on September 2, 1946. Thus, he confessed that during the period when the Jews of Oradea were deported to ghettos, he and his family were saved by the consul Mihai Marina and his men. In his generous actions, the consul did not claim any money or jewelleries from the rescued Jews. As far as Kupfer family is concerned, Antonio Faur comes with other evidence. Thus it seems that the group of Jews which included Miksa Kupfer was caught by authorities while illegally trying to cross the border. The group consisted of Miksa Kupfer, his wife Elisabeth born Czeizler, their son Rafael aged 14 and Rozalia, his mother, aged 76 as well as Alexandru Balint (with his wife Iuliana, born Fogel, aged 39). It seems that the consul arranged the group to escape in Şauaieu and they took a train to Arad, where they were caught by the authorities. The Martial Court condemned them to imprisonment in the Political Camp in Târgu Jiu from which they were liberated after August 23, 1944. For medical grounds, two members of Kupfer family were not sent to the Military Court in Timișoara, namely Rozalia Kupfer and Rafael Kupfer. Rozalia Kupfer was not confined in the political camp for medical grounds. The author brings forward this evidence in order to prove to Zoltán Tibori Szabó that there were voices that acknowledged the contribution of the consul to the salvation of the Jews.

Another topic tackled by Antonio Faur is *The Report of the Romanian General Council of Oradea about the Stuation of the Jews from Northern Transylvania (1944)*. During the communist times, as Antonio Faur asserts, the consul Mihai Marina published a report in the review *Magazin istoric* concerning the salvation of a number of Jews by himself and the other employees of the Romanian Consulate in Oradea. In the summer of 1944, the Jewish inhabitants of

Oradea were gathered together in the two ghettos of Oradea, the bigger of them being the second largest one in Hungary and Northern Transylvania. With regard to the attitude of the consul Mihai Marina concerning the anti-Jewish legislation in Hungary and North-Western Transylvania, the memorialist Katona Béla wrote that the consul protested against the obligation imposed for the Jews to wear the yellow star, stating that although collaboration with fascism was obvious in Romania, such obligation had never been imposed. The author also added other proofs regarding Mihai Marina's benevolent and favourable to the Jews character. Moreover, in his report, Mihai Marina talked about the ghettoization of the Jews in Oradea as a reality achieved "with dramatic consequences". A testimony of the Holocaust was the journal kept by Eva Heyman, a 13-year-old little girl from Oradea, coming from a bourgeois Jewish family, who died during deportation to Auschwitz².

The consul organized a strategy to save the Jews in the days of deportation and many Romanian families hid Jews in their houses. In the summer of 1944, the consul conceived a report which was sent to the International Red Cross in Geneva, informing them on the situation of the Jewish population on the territory of Hungary. The consul tried to gather data about the ghettos organized by the local authorities in Northern Transylvania. Therefore, members of the consulate were sent to different localities in Transylvania: Ion Isaiu (in Cluj and Năsăud), Ion Romaşcan (in the territory inhabited by the Székely), Mihai Bologa (in Sighet and Satu Mare), Vasile Hossu (Sălaj and Someş) and Alexandru Olteanu (near Mureş). Thus he found out that 150,000 of Jews were confined in the ghettos in Transylvania. As a consequence of the report written by the consul Mihai Marina, a neutral commission was constituted comprising representatives of the International Red Cross from Switzerland, Portugal and Spain. They established the following rules to be implemented for the Jews of Budapest: 1. Jewish children, younger than 14, to be taken care of by their parents, 2. the establishment in Budapest of protected houses where the final solution would not be applied³.

After 23 August 1944 when King Mihai proclaimed the breach of alliance between Romania and the Germans, the Hungarian militaries occupied the building of General Consulate of Romania in Oradea and the members of the Consulate were, in consequence, arrested⁴. After 30 of days of sequestration in the Consulate, they were deported to a camp in Budapest.

Another chapter refers to *Memoir reflections (1946- 1976) on the Actions to Save the Jews from Hungary and Northern Transylvania from Death (1944)*. In this section, Antonio Faur tries to identify the main writers who wrote about the activities to save the Jews from Hungary and Northern Transylvania from death in the year 1944 as they were reflected in the historical writings in the first years after the instauration of communism. A first work mentioned by the author belongs to David Arnold Finkelstein with his book *Rază de lumină în noaptea groazei*

² See the the Journal of Eva Heyman, *J'ai vécu si peu .Journal du ghetto d'Oradea*. (Préface de Carol Iancu, traduit du hongrois par Jean – Léon Muller), Editions des Syrtes, 2013.

³ Antonio Faur, *Implicarea diplomatului român dr. Mihai Marina în acțiunile de salvare a evreilor din Transilvania de Nord și Ungaria (1944)*, Editura Muzeului Țării Crișurilor, Oradea, 2014, p. 54.

⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 55.

(*Sunshine in the Night of Terror*). Not only Antonio Faur noticed this book but also the publicist Zoltán Tibori Szabó who considered it “a very good documentary source”, remarking both its exaggerations and its authenticity. A.D. Finkelstein established good relations with the Romanian authorities, asserting that there were a lot of people in Romania belonging to public authorities who helped the escaped Jews from Cluj and Turda after their arrival in Romania. Antonio Faur also states that the author of the foreword of the book written by A.D. Finkelstein, Adler József, shared the opinion that the Romanian people were very willing to help the Jews who crossed the border from Hungary to Romania. A. D. Finkelstein offers details about the Jews’ escape on their way from Cluj to Turda⁵. As Antonio Faur says, the main actions regarding the salvation of the Jews were concentrated in the city of Turda. The Jews continued to gather in Turda with the purpose of escaping to Romania and, among them, there were also Jews from Poland and Hungary. Furthermore, the author A.D. Finkelstein wrote about certain situations of the Jews who individually, with their family or in groups succeeded to escape to Romania.

A last writing referring to the benevolence of the Romanians towards the escaped Jews belongs to the consul Mihai Marina. Being a remembrance of the events happening in Oradea in the summer of 1944, the text dates back to the year 1976 and has a foreword written by Ion Lăcustă. Ion Lăcustă writes about the good intentions of the Romanians towards the Jews who were oppressed by the Nazis. On the other hand, the consul Mihai Marina asserted that, in spite of the fact that he was an employee of the Antonescu regime, he felt obliged to help the Jews from Oradea and Transylvania. Thus he made public his effort to save the Jews while he was a General Consul in Oradea during the years 1941- 1944.

Having a very good documentation, Antonio Faur tries to study aspects that are less known to the public, such as the generous characters of the consul Mihai Marina and other Romanians, be them diplomats or not, who saved many Jews from Oradea and neighbourhood areas from deportation. It happened in an era when Romania had to acknowledge some faults such as the state policy towards its Jews, the existence of anti – Jewish legislation during the years 1940-1944, the pogroms of the time, the persecution of the Zionists and the Jews by Iron Guards, and, in some cases, even deportation to Transnistria. This book tries to reveal a drop of the humanity shown by certain Romanians in the storm of the Holocaust.

Anca OLTEAN

⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 63.

“IL PATTO RIBBENTROP-MOLOTOV L’ITALIA E L’EUROPA (1939-1941). ATTI DEL CONVEGNO (ROMA, 31 MAGGIO – 1 GIUGNO 2012)”, A CURA DI ALBERTO BASCIANI, ANTONIO MACCHIA, VALENTINE SOMMELLA, ROMA, ARACNE, 2013, pp. 450.
75 YEARS SINCE THE SIGNING OF THE MOLOTOV-RIBBENTROP PACT (AUGUST 23, 1939)

It's been 75 years since the signing in Moscow of the Nonaggression Pact between the Soviet Union and Germany (August 23, 1939), defined by historians as "the act of brigandage of the century"¹. The Nonaggression Pact of August 23, 1939, carries the title the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact, called this way after the document signers, the German and the Soviet Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Joachim von Ribbentrop and Vyacheslav Molotov. Signed on the night of August 24, 1939, in the presence of Stalin, it seemed, at first, according to the part that was made public, a nonaggression Treaty that was peculiar for that time and situation. Accompanied by a secret additional protocol, by which Germany and the Soviet Union delimited their spheres of influence in Europe, from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea, these documents affected in a decisive manner the situation of the Eastern Europe, creating a situation of an unprecedented severity for Romania. As for the Prut-Nistru territory, the consequences of the Pact led to the Soviet June 28 - July 3 military operations, in 1940, and the annexation of Bassarabia and Northern Bukovina to the Soviet Union.

The Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact has profoundly influenced the course of the European and world history of the twentieth century. The Secret Additional Protocol was condemned by the international community. After the fall of the Berlin Wall, the international and the national historiography has finally crossed the t's while approaching the 1940 events, which took place in the Prut-Transnistrian area, condemning the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact and its consequences because of the fate of some territories in the Eastern Europe too. Numerous studies have been written on this Treaty and its consequences which attempted at investigating both a treaty signed between two great powers of a contradictory nature from the ideological point of view and the short and long-term implications in the international geopolitics². The Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact was also condemned by the historians and the society of the Republic of Moldova through the International

¹ According to the French press of that time, the Treaty was described by an inspired formula as the „Thermopylae of the European civilization”.

² Among the first documents and studies published on this topic in the Soviet space are those of the Lithuanian historians: TSRS-VOKIETIJA 1939-1941. TSRS ir Vokietijos santykių dokumentinė medžiaga 1939 m. rugsėjo – 1941 m. birželio mėn. USSR-Germany 1939-1941. Documents and materials upon the Soviet-German relations as of September 1939 to June 1941, Vilnius, „Mokslas”, 1989.

Conference entitled "Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact and its Consequences for Bassarabia" held in Chisinau, on June 26-28, 1991, organized by the Presidium of the Moldovan Parliament, during which scientists from 17 countries put forward their points of view. The main report of the Conference was put forward by the University Professor Alexander Mosanu, who held the position of the Speaker of the Parliament at that time. He showed that on June 28, 1940, the USSR occupied Bassarabia and Northern Bucovina by force, against the will of the population of these lands. The annexation of the Romanian territories was followed by an equally dramatic action – the dismantling of Bassarabia and the incorporation of Hotin, Cetatea Alba (Akkerman) and Ismail counties first into the USSR and, then, into Ukraine³. Note the following fact: the condemnation of the Pact and the Secret Additional Protocol served as the basis of the text of the Declaration of Independence of the Republic of Moldova.

After about 20 years, a range of issues have been reviewed by renowned scholars from several countries, experts concerning this issue, at the International Conference held in May-June 2012, in Rome, the materials of which make up the volume *Il Patto Ribbentrop-Molotov l'Italia e l'Europa (1939-1941). Atti del convegno (Roma, 31 maggio – 1 giugno 2012), a cura di Alberto Basciani, Antonio Macchia, Valentine Sommella, Roma, Aracne, 2013, pp. 450. ISBN 978-88-548-6412-2*. As those in charge of the edition announce it in the afterword: "Although a large number of studies and materials were published to date, however, the exigency for deepening the research of the respective matter is felt, which, following the substantial core of the Pact, in fact, in their political and diplomatic evolution, gave form and substance to its consequences." Indeed, the Nazi-Soviet agreement of September 1939 cannot be fully understood unless it is subjected to a rigorous analysis, including in terms of its consequences.

The volume includes a *Preface* signed by those who took care of the edition, a relevant, due to the in-depth analysis, *Introduction*, signed by the historian Luigi Vittorio Ferraris, 23 scientific studies and researches signed by renowned historians from Italy, France, Poland, Romania, Finland, Lithuania, some *General Information* about the authors and an *Index of names*. The need for publishing the studies concerning the Pact, as it is announced in the *Preface*, is also dictated by the fact that: "Recalling the events that took place over about seven decades ago, it is now more than necessary to study the depth of the relations between Germany which became once again a leader in a common Europe, and a Russia that is still imperial, but one that Europe still needs, although overcome by various problems: territorial, demographic and economic ones". The Italian historians try to interpret the position of Italy from a point of view that is different from the previous historiography. The studies inserted in the volume insist with a frank voice in front of the whole Europe referring not only to the diplomatic profiles woven around that historic treaty and its secret additional protocol, which has left a bleeding wound in the flesh of some peoples in Europe, victims of that Pact, but also on many other current matters of great significance. The researches

³ See Gh. COJOCARU, *The scientific and political message of the International Conference entitled "The Molotov- Ribbentrop Pact and its consequences for Bassarabia"*. (Chisinau, June 26-28, 1991), in: Destin Romanesc, Chisinau-Bucuresti, no. 3, 2001, p. 142.

that were conducted and published in the volume lead to a bitter revealing of the political inability to foresee the effects of one's own actions to avoid disasters. The findings of many of the studies are formulated in the form of delicate warnings related to the future of Europe.

The Volume is opened by the research of the renowned modernist Eugenio di Rienzi, professor at the "La Sapienza" University in Rome, "*Il Patto Molotov-Ribbentrop, 1939-1941. Una rilettura geopolitica*" (*The Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, 1939-1941. A geopolitical reinterpretation*) that emphasizes the fact that the treaty signatories wished to prefigure a new geopolitical map of Europe, a situation that was meant to last less than two years. Although the signing of the Pact has brought satisfaction to the parties for the moment, it has announced from the start that Hitler's goal could not be slowed by a simple treaty. It was not credible that it would have been possible to have a Russian-German duo in the context of the new Eurasian continental geopolitics or any other world order based on an ambiguous attraction of totally opposite associates with certain perverse similarities from the ideological point of view (even with inclinations taken over from the Italian fascism). The historian, based both on a range of documents and on a thorough synchronic-diachronic research of the events, attempts at clarifying Hitler's plans at that time, until Germany has kept hope that it could neutralize the United Kingdom through a "compromise peace".

Emilio Gin, a researcher at the University of Salerno, specialized in the issues of the fascist Italy, highlights through its study *Il Patto Molotov-Ribbentrop, l'Italia e il Giappone (Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, Italy and Japan)* the weakness of the fascist foreign policy that was confronted in a traumatic way by a treaty that opened new visions upon the Germans' intentions, until talking about a treason of the Italian ally. A familiar with the foreign diplomatic archives of Italy, Gin brings into discussion, based on the consular reports, an analysis of the totalitarian diplomacy.

The relations between the USSR and Germany in the period of 1939-1941 were dwelt upon by the historian Ettore Cinelli, lecturer at the University of Pisa, in the report *La cinica alleanza. I rapporti tra URSS e Germania nel 1939-1941 (The cynical alliance. Relations between the USSR and Germany from 1939 to 1941)*. Specialized in the history of the Soviet Russia, the author examines in his approach the psychological similarities of Stalin and Hitler, highlighting one of the major differences of the totalitarian titans: the first was focusing on building a social system based on the idea of the equality of the new people, playing unscrupulously in the foreign policy on several fronts (through the realism of Litvinov), while the other was delirious on the issue of the absurd prevalence of a race that was considered the chosen one. Angelantonio Rosato brings into discussion several issues in the study of *Le relazioni dell'Italia fascista con l'Unione Sovietica dal 1939 al 1941 alla luce dei Documenti diplomatici italiani (The relations between the Fascist Italy and the Soviet Union from 1939 to 1941 in the light of the Italian diplomatic documents)*. Following the analysis of the diplomatic documents, it is contested that the policy of the USSR in 1940 was influenced by several factors. The author presents several arguments, but, in parallel, he criticizes fiercely the Italian diplomacy, which has intervened in the political situation of the time by

actions that were almost singular, framed by shallowness and weakness. Valentina Somella, research scientist at the University of Perugia, brings into discussion the relations between Italy and Ireland in the context of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact in terms of two "neutralities" (Italy, Ireland and the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact. The perspectives of two "neutrals") highlighting the harmful orientation of Ireland in its neutrality policy. The role of the French Communist Party, of the relations between France and Italy, as well as other aspects of the "backroom diplomacy" during the 1939-1941 period, is presented by Stéphane Courtois, senior researcher at CNRS Paris, specialized in the history of the Communist International and the Communist French Party (PCF).

The author analyzes in the study carrying the title "*Le pacte Molotov-Ribbentrop et le PCF. Dissolution, trahison, collaboration, désillusions août 1939 - juin 1941*" (*The Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact and the PCF. Dissolution, treason, collaboration, disillusionment. August 1939 - June 1941*) several issues, including the lack of the political vision in that period, starting with France and ending with many other countries previously pledged to defend each other by signing defence and aid treaties. The most tragic aspect of the Pact consequences, the war and the mass killings, was invoked by Alessandro Vitale from the Study University of Milan in his research. The study carrying the title *Protocolli segreti e "democidio": i due volti di un patto, specchio del Novecento* (*The secret protocols and "human crimes": the two sides of a pact, a mirror of the twentieth century*) throws into bold relief the Pact that becomes a mirror revealing the horrors of a horrible century, bringing into question the actions of both the Soviet NKVD and the Nazi Gestapo. Marek Kornat, research scientist at the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of Poland, brings into discussion the issue of Poland and the Soviet Union during the period (September 1938-September 1939). The relationship between Poland and the Third Reich is interpreted in a unique way, in terms of some new documents, by Sandra Cavallucci, from the University of Florence, in the study entitled *La Polonia e il Terzo Reich (Poland and the Third Reich)* which points out that the situation of Poland was such that the country had no choice but to undergo a Nazi Germany or a Soviet Russia. Any attempt to create a balance between the two forces was virtually impossible. Irena Vaišvilaitė, the Lithuanian ambassador at the Holy See, presents the situation and the contribution of the diplomatic representation of the Republic of Lithuania in Rome from July to August 1940. She points out the fact that the USSR annexed Lithuania by a brutal ultimatum on June 15, 1940, while the Lithuanian SSR was officially created by Moscow on October 3, 1940. The refugee Government was able to carry out political activities in Rome during the July-August 1940 period. The results were small, but the study of the diplomatic archives from Rome opens many parentheses as concerning issues related to that troubled period for the Baltic countries⁴. The situation of Finland is

⁴ The following fact should be mentioned: according to the published German documents, on August 23, 1939, the Eastern territory of Poland, Finland Estonia and Latvia were to enter into the USSR's sphere of influence, while Lithuania was part of the German sphere of influence. However, it was stipulated in the Secret Additional Protocol that Lithuania passed into the Soviet sphere of influence in exchange for some territories in Poland. The

presented by Pirkko Kanervo, from the University of Turku, while the issue of Italy and Finland in front of the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact is underlined by Massimo Longo Adorno, from the University of Messina, both having common points when it comes to the interpretation of the fact that if compared to Poland, Finland had a geopolitical advantage, the indomitable courage of which should be acknowledged with admiration. The cost of that courage was extremely high, but it did not go up to destruction, because "in the European geopolitical architecture Finland was not wearing the fault of a central position."

The situation of the Balkans was brought into discussion by Giuliano Caroli, a professor at the "Niccolò Cusano" University in Rome, in the study „*L'Italia nei Balcani dopo il patto russo-tedesco. Contraddizioni e impotenza nei rapporti tra Roma e Bucarest*” (*Italy in the Balkans after the Russian-German Pact. Contradictions and impossibilities in the relationship between Rome and Bucharest*), with emphasis on the issue of the relations between Rome and Bucharest. The historian analyzes carefully the policy of Italy and Germany in the Balkans, showing that Germany was not interested in parity with Italy since it emphasized its own objectives of dominance in this geopolitical space. The idea is pursued by Alberto Basciani’s study, research scientist at the University of Roma TRE, who raises the issue of *Romania within the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact* and who stresses that the country has paid enormously for the implementation of the agreement. The author states the following fact: the consequences of that pact did not come unexpectedly. Despite all the security measures taken over through the ability of the Romanian diplomats from the interwar period: the Small Alliance, the Balkan Alliance etc., the Germans’ plans were too large for Romania, which was the key to the control of most of the southern basin of the Danube, but more than that, it meant the access to the richest natural resources of the entire South-East Europe, starting with the precious crude-oil extracted from the oil fields of Muntenia (Wallachia). Following strong pressure, in March 1939, Romania was obliged to sign an economic treaty with Germany, by which it became economically subordinated to the Reich. In the context of the issue of Romania and Bucharest-Rome, Bucharest-Berlin, Bucharest – Moscow relations, the author examines as well the issue of Bassarabia, which became part of the Great Romania in 1918, but which was not forgotten by Moscow and the Comintern people. The author notes the following fact: "there are few regions in Europe such as that Romanian province framed between the rivers of Prut and Nistru in which the violence and insecurity have constituted an unbroken chain between the First and the Second World War". Despite all the promises made by France and Britain to maintain the independence of Romania - its integrity, however, could not be maintained, Romania lost Bassarabia, Northern Bucovina, and, then, the Northern Transylvania, Hertzsa County and meridional Dobrogea (the Quadrilateral). The manner in which the Pact events were elucidated in the Romanian press of that time, the reactions to them, the way the events were interpreted in terms of the political spectrum (even veiledly in those days), are described by Emanuela Costantini, research scientist at the

parts of Lithuania left for Germany were later bought by USSR with dollars, gold and ferrous metals.

University of Perugia, in the study entitled „*La stampa rumena e il pato Ribbentrop-Molotov*” (*The Romanian press and the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact*), which stirs and reveals the hidden reflections of the relevant figures of that time: Stelian Popescu in "Universul", Pamfil Seicariu in "Curentul", Nae Ionescu in "Cuvantul" or Nichifor Crainic in "Gandirea" etc. The suite of the researches dedicated to the subject of Romania in the Nazi-Soviet Pact is ended by the study carrying the title „*La questione romena preliminare della guerra all'est*” (*The preliminary Romanian issue of the war in the East*), written by David Zaffi, specialized in the history of the Eastern Europe. Being a familiar with the Russian and Romanian historiography, of the archives and memoirs of the diplomats of that time (especially of the writings of G.Gafencu), the author, tributary to the personality and strategic thinking of the great Romanian diplomat, reassess, in the light of the foreign observer, the truths announced by Gafencu long before the signing of the pact, raw truths, some that are valid today too, rediscovering in the great diplomat an excellent observer and analyst of the foreign policy. The study is captivating due to its objective presentation of the opinions of the great diplomats of that time, which allows for the reconstruction of the historiographic situation of the issue. The author's reflections, which pass through the logs of the great interwar diplomats, point out the idea that the Germans and the Soviets measured the viability of the agreement signed between them on the Romanian territory. Thus, the historian sees in this case the stresses the crucial importance of the Romanian stage noting that if the German-Soviet Pact could not stand there, it had to fall everywhere.

The volume ends with some other researches on topics that evoke the role of the Catholic Church, in general, and the Holy See, in particular, in front of the dictatorship (Antonio Macchia, Stefano Caprio). Federico Argentieri from the John Cabot University completes the volume with a study of historiographic analysis, which at first glance may seem a thorough insight into the international historiography of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact issue, *de facto*, however, it is more a focused reflection on the legacy of four authors; each of them carrying an important symbolic value: Angelo Tasca, one of the founders of the Communist Party of Italy in 1921; Margarete Buber-Neumann, a person who was comfortable for the post-war Europe, which looked at the concentrationist systems of both the Stalin's USSR and the Hitler's Germany; Mario Toscano, hit by the Mussolini's racial laws, who became essentially a good historian of the diplomacy; and Gustaw Herling, set in Italy during the Cold War, after having become aware of the Soviet Gulag. All four figures were linked to both regimes. Good connoisseurs of the system, they have revealed interesting moments for the specialists in the topics of the totalitarian regimes.

Throughout the entire work, the ideas and arguments launched by the authors are presented as interesting materials for the national and the international historiography. All studies arouse curiosity and will be solicited not only by those specialized in the fields of history, international relations, political science etc., but also for all those who are interested in this topic. Most of the authors of the studied inserted in the volume foresee the tragic irresponsibility of the great powers, including Italy, in August 1939. However, due to the variety of the topics dwelt

upon, the volume represents a source of exceptional quality and relevant findings that would help the current political classes to avoid repeating the mistakes of the past. A wider and deeper framework would have been given to this volume the participation of the Russian historiography and a more active participation of the Romanian one both into the conference debates and in inserting its opinions into the print format of the volume.

Silvia CORLĂTEANU-GRANCIUC

THE CHRONIC OF THE HISTORY DEPARTMENT SCIENTIFIC ACTIVITY IN THE ACADEMIC YEAR 2013

In the academic year, 2013 the members of the Department of History issued at **publishers recognized CNCS**, the following **books**: *Nazionalità e Autodeterminazione in Europe Centrale: Il Caso Romeno*, Francesco Leoncini, Sorin Şipoş (coordinators), Quaderni Della Casa Romena di Venezia, IX, 2012, Romanian Cultural Institute, Bucureşti, 2013, 230p.; *Ethnicity, Confession and Intercultural Dialogue at the European Union Eastern Border*, coordonatori Mircea Brie, Ioan Horga, Sorin Şipoş (coordinators), Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013, 517p.; Antonio Faur (coordinator) *In honorem Blaga Mihoc. Culture. Society. Church*, Muzeul “Țării Crişurilor” Publishing House”, Oradea, 2013, 386 p.; Antonio Faur, Dumitru Țicu (editors), *Central European Historical Realities The Jewish Contribution to Urban Development. Banat As a Border Region (14th–18th Centuries)*, *Transylvanian Review*, Vol. XXII, Supplement No. 4, 2013, Publication indexed and abstracted in the Thomson Reuters Social Sciences Citation Indexed® and in Arts & Humanities Citation Index®, and included in EBSCO’s and ELSEVIER’s products; Gabriel Moisa, *Clio in the Sign of Idealization*, “Mega” Publishing House, Cluj-Napoca, 2013, 304 p.; Gabriel Moisa (coordinator), *The Culture and History of the Romanians in Hungary*, Romanian Academy Center for Transylvanian Studies, Cluj-Napoca, 2013, 350 p.; Gabriel Moisa, Sorin Şipoş, Igor Şarov, *History Status of the Historians in the Contemporaneity*, “Mega” Publishing House, Cluj-Napoca, 2013, 414 p.; Ion Zainea (coordinator), *History - Traditions - Destiny* (Scientific session of doctoral work in history, eighth edition, University of Oradea Publishing House, Oradea, 2013, 285 p;

In addition, they have written **chapters of books to publishers CNCS**: Stelian Nistor, Sorin Şipoş, *Historical and Geographical Considerations about the Slovak Communities in the Village of Upper Bistra Valley, Bihor County in Ethnicity, Confession and Intercultural Dialogue at the European Union Eastern Border*, Mircea Brie, Ioan Horga, Sorin Şipoş (coordinators), Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013, p. 184-193; Antonio Faur, *A Unique Comment of the Publisher and Scholar Mihai Marina about the Situation of the Romanians in the Northern Transylvania*, in vol. *In honorem Blaga Mihoc. Culture. Society. Church*, Muzeul “Țării Crişurilor” Publishing House”, Oradea, 2013, p. 295-307; Bodo Edith, *A Sketch of Peasantry Mentalities and Sensibilities from Bihor County during 18th Century*, in vol. *The values of the rural world. Historical and historiographic perspectives*, “Accent” Publishing House, Cluj-Napoca; Sorin Şipoş, *A Forgotten Minority: the Morlacs from Dalmatian in a Memoir of Colonel Antoine Zulatti (1806)*, in vol. *Mehedinţi, History, Culture and Spirituality*, „Universitaria” Publishing House, „Didahia” Publishing House, V Edition, Drobeta Turnu-Severin, 2013, p. 320-336; Sorin Şipoş, *Storia, retorica e ideologia nazionale*, in vol. *Nazionalità e Autodeterminazione in Europe Centrale: Il Caso Romeno*, Francesco Leoncini, Sorin Şipoş (coordinators), Quaderni Della Casa Romena di Venezia, IX, 2012, Romanian Cultural Institute, Bucureşti, 2013, p. 57-68; Mihaela Goman,

Data Regarding the Archaeological Building Yards Being in the Coordination of the Institute of History and Archaeology, in Cluj in the Annual 1972, in vol. *History Status of the Historians in the Contemporaneity*, Gabriel Moisa, Sorin Șipoș, Igor Șarov (coordinators), “Mega” Publishing House, Cluj-Napoca, 2013, p. 307-318. In the same volume also published following: Gabriel Moisa, *In the Time of the Re-evaluation: History of Romania (the Romanians) between 1965-1989*, p. 39-52, Ion Zainea, *History and Censorship in the Communist Romania. An Analysis of the Institution of Censorship on the Historical Writing of the Period 1966-1977*, p. 206-216, Sorin Șipoș, *Pleadings for the Hermeneutics of a Text: the Register of Oradea*, p. 326-334, Sever Dumitrașcu, *30 Years with Hadrian Daicoviciu*, p. 286-287, Florin Sfrengeu, *Some Aspects on the Archaeologist Sever Dumitrașcu s Contribution to the History of Crișana in the 1st Milleniun A.D.*, p. 287-297, Laura Ardelean, *Ștefan Ferenczi Archaeologist Contributions to the Knowledge of the Roman Limes*, p. 289-306. Gabriel Moisa, *Local History, a Miniature of the National History? Notes on the “Thematic framework for the County museums of history”, since 1985*, in vol. *The Recent History Otherwise. Cultural Perspectives*, Andi Mihalache, Adrian Cioflâncă (coordinators), University of Iași Publishing House, Iași, 2013, p. 465-481; Gabriel Moisa, *The Romanian Independence War (1877-1878) in the Communist Romanian Historiographical Discourse*, in vol. *Eastern Question, Imperial Diplomacy and Nationalism in the Balkans (1815-1918)*, Gita Yovcheva, Penka Peeva (Editors), Printing House „Rota Pечат“, Burgas, 2013, p. 47-61; Gabriel Moisa, *Characters of the Anti-communist Resistance in the Vest of Romania (1949-1956): Orthodox Priest Ioan Crișan in Agrașu Mare, Arad County*, in vol. *In Honorem Vasile Dobrescu. Society and Culture in the Modern Era*, “Astra” Museum Publishing House, Sibiu, 2013, p. 325-331; Gabriel Moisa, *In the Time of the Re-evaluation: Gheorghe I. Brătianu or about a Useful “Enemy of the People”*, in vol. *Permanencies of History. Professor Corneliu Mihail Lungu at 70 Years*, “Cetatea de Scaun” Publishing House, Târgoviște, 2013, p. 432-447; Gabriel Moisa, *Between Medieval and Modern (18th-19th Centuries). The Positions of Another Transition. Case Study: Village Varviz (Bihar County)*, in vol. *The Values of the Rural World. Historical and Historiographic Perspectives*, Barbu Ștefănescu, Toader Nicoară (coordinators), “Accent” Publishing House, Cluj-Napoca, 2013, p. 210-223; Gabriel Moisa, *Adrian Mihuț Group in the Testimonies of Contemporaries*, in vol. *Pitești Experiment-Detention Anti-Communist Literature, Memoria Cultural Foundation, Pitești*, 2013, p. 462-470; Gabriel Moisa, *Romanian-Hungarian Political Relations in the 80s of the Last Century or about a Dialogue of the “Deaf”*, in vol. *The Romanians in the European History*, vol. I., “Cetatea de Scaun” Publishing House, Târgoviște, 2013, Marusia Cârstea, Sorin Liviu Damean (coordinators), p. 477-489; Gabriel Moisa, *Ethnic Segregation at the Romanian-Hungarian Border at the Dawn of the Cold War*, in *Proceedings in Advanced Research in Scientific Areas, 1st Virtual International Conference on Advanced Research in Scientific Areas (ARSA-2012)*, Slovakia, Publishing Institution of the University of Zilina, 3-7 decembrie, 2012, p.1210-1213; Ion Zainea, *The historians and the Communist Censorship (1966-1977)*, in vol. *Individual and Collective Destinies in Communism*, Cosmin Budeancă, Florentin Olteanu (coordinators), Iași, Polirom Publishing House, 2013,

p. 306-319; Ion Zainea, Carmen Ungur-Brehoi, *Press and Censorship in Communism. Central Media Printing Direction*, in vol. *The Cultural Elite and Press*, Răduț Bîlbiie, Mihaela Teodor (coordinators), Military Publishing House, București, 2013, p. 375-388; Ion Zainea, *Conference and Declaration from Oradea in Memoirs. Comparative Overview*, in vol. *Permanencies of History. Professor Corneliu Mihail Lungu at 70 Years*, Sorin Liviu Damean, Marusi Cîrstea, Mihaela Damean, Lucian Dindirică (coordinators), "Cetatea de Scaun" Publishing House, Târgoviște, 2013, p. 342-346; Ion Zainea, *Culture and Censorship. An Analysis of the Institution of Censorship on the Way in Which the Romanian Publications Promoted the So-called "Realistic" Literature, from November 1971 to November 1972*, in vol. *Studies on Literature, Discourse and Multicultural Dialogue*, Iulian Boldea (coordinator), "Arhipelag" Publishing House, XXI, Târgu Mureș, 2013, p. 17-27 (volume indexed ISI Weeb of Science la Thomson Reuters); Radu Romînașu, *Stati d'animo della popolazione romena della Transilvania alla vigilia della Prima Guerra Mondiale*, in vol. *La viam della Guerra. Il mondo adriatico-danubiano alla vigilia della Grande Guerra*, coordonators Gizella Nemeth, Adriano Papo, Luglio Editore, San Dorligo della Valle, Trieste, 2013, p. 165-174; Radu Romînașu, *Some considerations about the interwar work of the General Association of the United Romanians (A.G.R.U.) in Bihor*, in vol. *In Honorem Blaga Mihoc. Culture. Society. Church*, Antonio Faur (coordinator), Muzeul "Țării Crișurilor" Publishing House", Oradea, 2013, p. 247-258; Radu Romînașu, *Historical time and our own inner crisis*, in vol. *Education and Faith toward a Reunification of the Values*, Alexandru Stoica, Alina Stoica (coordinators), Marna Publishing House, Bergamo, Italia, 2013, p. 57-65.

The teachers of the Department published in 2013 a series of studies and articles in journals recognized **CNCS, rated ISI, B, B + and CNCS index BDI**. Sorin Șipoș, *History and Politics. About the Interrogation of Oprea Miclăuș Moses Grinding at Vienna in 1752 in Pontes*, no. 6-7, 2013, Chișinău; Stelian Nistor, Sorin Șipoș, *Historical and Geographical Considerations about the Slovak Communities in the Village of Upper Bistra Valley, Bihor County in Ethnicity, Confession and Intercultural Dialogue at the European Union Eastern Border*, Mircea Brie, Ioan Horga, Sorin Șipoș (coordinators), Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013, p. 184-193; Antonio Faur, *Ionel I. C. Brătianu's First Contacts with Bihor County in Cetatea Bihariei*, 2013, p. 81-85 (**CNCS index BDI**); Gabriel Moisa, *The Anti-communist Organization Led by Adrian Mihuș*, in *Crisia*, 2013, p. 163-183 (**CNCS Index BDI**); Gabriel Moisa, Ion Zainea, *The Post-revolutionary Historiography about the City of Oradea: Themes, Research Directions, Achievements*, in *Historia Urbana*, 2013, p. 175-193 (**CNCS Index BDI: CEEOL, SCOPUS, B**); Gabriel Moisa, *Integration Difficulties or the Consequences of Ideological Extremism: Oradea 1927*, in *The Romanian Journal of Political Geography*, an XV, no. 1, 2013, p. 56-65 (**CNCS Index BDI**); Ion Zainea, Gabriel Moisa, *Post-revolutionary Historiography on Oradea*, in *Historia Urbana*, tom XXI, 2013, Romanian Academy Publishing House, p. 61-70; Radu Romînașu, *Aspects of the Interwar Activity of the Hebrew Women Association in Oradea in Transylvanian Review*, vol. XXII, Supplement, no. 4, 2013, p. 44-49 (**CNCS, categoria ISI**).

Each of the members of the department has published one article were included in the Yearbook of the Department of History - *Annals of the University of Oradea, History-Archaeology Series*, (CNCS Index BDI) which benefits of a site (<http://www.anale-istorie-oradea.ro/>).

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 VIII Edition, April 2013 (principal organizer Professor Ph.D Ioan Zainea; *The Symposium of 95 Years after the Great Union. Ion I. C. Brătianu the Romanian Unified Founder*, December 2013, (principal organizer Professor Ph.D Ioan Zainea); *The National Session of the Students in History under the Title " Science, History, Civilization"*, Oradea, May 2013 (principal organizers: „Gh. Șincai” History Students Association – Oradea and History Department); *Annual Scientific Session of the Department of History - University of Oradea*, the XXIII Edition, May 25, 2013 (principal organizer Lecturer Ph.D Florin Sfrengeu, all the members of the department presented papers on the sections: Ancient History and Archeology, Middle Age History, Modern and Contemporary History); Symposium Mircea Vulcănescu. Genius and martyr”, organized by the Cultural Foundation „Munții Apuseni”, Oradea, June 2013 (main organizers: Professor Ph.D Sever Dumitrașcu, lecturer Ph.D. Florin Sfrengeu); *The Congress of the National History of Press*, 6th Edition, organized by the Romanian Association of the History of the Press, in partnership with the University of Bucharest, the National Museum of Romanian Literature, the Military Writers Society, Bucharest, April 2013, (participated with a paper Ion Zainea); The National Symposium of Ethnography and Folklore with *Traditional Culture Theme in the Epoch of Globalization*, organized by the municipality of Alba Iulia, Alba County Council, National Museum of Unification Alba Iulia - the Association of Art and Craft Traditions Alba, August 2013 (participated with a paper Ion Zainea); The Session of Scientific with the theme *Culture and Society in the Transylvanian Area (II)*, organized by the Museum of Mures County, the Society of Transylvanian Studies Sibiu, September 2013 (participated with a paper Ion Zainea); The Session with the theme *Monument – Tradition and Future*, organized by the National Museum Complex “Moldova” of Iasi, Directorate for Culture, Cults and National Cultural Heritage, the National Institute of the Historical Monuments, Romanian Academy-the History of the Cities, Romanian Academy, Iași Branch-Centre for History and European Civilization, October 2013 (participated with a paper Ion Zainea); National Symposium *The Romanian on the History of Europe*, Craiova, October 2013 (participated with a paper Gabriel Moisa).

In addition, Professor Sorin Șipoș was noted by organizing the following academic and cultural moments: the Academic Manifestation by which the University of Oradea awarded the title of HONORARY DOCTORATE Prof. Lorenzo Renzi from the University of Padua, Italy; the Conference “Management of the Scientific Publications”, 22 January 2013 at the University of Oradea Library; presentation of the volume “The Historian’s Atelier. Sources, Methods, Interpretations”, coordinators: Sorin Șipoș, Gabriel Moisa, Mircea Brie, Florin Sfrengeu, Ion Gumenâi, Romanian Academy Center for Transylvanian Studies Publishing House, Cluj-Napoca 2012, at the Faculty of History and Philosophy of

the State University of the Moldavia Republic, 1 March 2013, at the host University in Chisinau; launch of the book *Între pâini* written by Professor Barbu Ștefănescu in March 27, 2013; The scientific manifestation “95 years after the Union of Bessarabia with Romania”, in March 27, 2013; The exhibition 50 years of continuous higher education in Oradea at the University Library, in April 24, 2013; the Scientific manifestation “50 Years of Continuous Higher Education in Oradea”. May 28, 2013, in the Aula Magna of the University of Oradea; “Latin American Film Week” during which the scholarly community received the visit of His Excellency, Claudio Perez Paladino, the Ambassador of Argentina Republic in Romania; the Symposium “Romanian-Slovak dialogue: the culture of the Slovaks in Romania, part of the Romanian culture”, November 15, 2013, where Ján Gábor argued a conference in the Conference Room of the University Library .

The department was also involved in organizing of for **International Scientific Sessions**: The Scientific Symposium *Oradea-900 years of Historical Becoming*, October 2013; from the Department of History participated with papers: Sorin Șipoș, Antonio Faur, Gabriel Moisa, Florin Sfrengeu, Mihai D. Drecin, Sever Dumitrașcu, Ion Zainea, Laura Ardelean, Radu Romînașu; International Symposium *From Periphery to Center. The Image of Europe at the Eastern Border of Europe* (principal organizer Ph.D Professor Sorin Șipoș; from the Department of History participated with papers: Sorin Șipoș, Antonio Faur, Gabriel Moisa, Florin Sfrengeu, Mihai D. Drecin, Sever Dumitrașcu, Ion Zainea, Mihaela Goman, Bodo Edith, Laura Ardelean, Radu Romînașu), Oradea, June 2013; The International Scientific Session *Contribution of the Historic Maramureș to the History of the Romanians*, October 2013 (main organizers: Professor Ph.D Mihai D. Drecin, Professor Ph.D Ion Zainea, Ph. D. Associate professor Gabriel Moisa; participated with papers: Mihai D. Drecin, Ion Zainea, Sorin Șipoș, Gabriel Mosa); International Conference *History Status of the Historians in the Contemporaneity*, October 2013 (principal organizer Ph.D Associate professor Gabriel Moisa; from the Department of History participated with papers: Sorin Șipoș, Gabriel Moisa, Florin Sfrengeu, Mihai D. Drecin, Sever Dumitrașcu, Ion Zainea, Laura Ardelean, Radu Romînașu); International Symposium *Work, Money, Banks, Culture and Politics (XVIIIth century -2013)*, the XII Edition, Oradea, October 2013 (principal organizer Professor Ph.D Mihai D. Drecin); have participated: Mihai D. Drecin, Ion Zainea and Gabriel Moisa; *Kossuth-Bălcescu Colloquium*, Szeged, July 2013 (participated with papers Gabriel Moisa, Radu Romînașu); The International Symposium *Violence in Southeastern Europe. Discourse, Practice and Message*, Chișinău, December 2013; have participated: Sorin Șipoș; International Symposium *Confession, Honest and Gratitude*, Drobeta Turnu-Severin, Juny 2013; have participated: Sorin Șipoș; The International Symposium *Stalinization and Destalinization. Institutional Developments and Social Impact*, 8th Edition organized by the Anti-communist Resistance Memorial in Făgăraș-Sâmbăta de Sus, July 2013 (participated with papers Gabriel Moisa, Ion Zainea), *The Symposium of the Self-Management of the Romanians from Seghedin (Szeged) and of the Romanian-Language Department of the University of Szeged*, Szeged, February 2013 (participated with a paper Gabriel Moisa); *Pitești Experiment. Reeducation through Torture. Anti-communist Prison Literature, 13th edition*, Pitești, October,

2013 (participated with a paper Gabriel Moisa); The International Symposium of the *Research Institute of the Romanians in Hungary*, Giula, November 2013 (participated with a paper Gabriel Moisa).

The Department of History has publicly brought out the following Ph.D. theses during 2013: Anca Oltean, *History of the Jews in Romania and Hungary (1945-1953). Romanian and Hungarian Historiography*, Bogdan Oproiu, *Culture and Society in the Interwar Period. Satu Mare County*, Marius Mezsar, *The Agrarian Reform in 1921. A history of Agriculture in Arad (1918-1941)*, Florin N. Ardelean, *Associative Cultural Movement in Banat and Crisana the Early Twentieth Century (1900-1918)*, Vasile Cristian Cabău, *Agriculture in the Apuseni Mountains and Poiana Rusca (the Eighteenth Century - the First Half of the Twentieth Century)*, Ion Alexandru Mizgan, *Fourth Crusade (11202-1204) and Its Consequences in the Byzantine Empire and Romanian People*, Constantin Demeter, *Romanian School in Rome in 80 Original Documents*, Cristina Pușcaș, *The Communist Prison Camp System. Case Study: Prison Oradea (1945-1977)*.

Also, Professors Sever Dumitrașcu, Viorel Faur, Mihai D. Drecin, Ioan Godea, Ioan Horga, Sorin Șipoș, Aurel Chiriac, Antonio Faur, Ion Zăinea and Gabriel Moisa were invited, as referees, when bringing out several doctoral theses in prestigious university centers in the country.

Radu ROMÎNAȘU