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## History, Philosophy and Politics (10<sup>th</sup>–21<sup>th</sup> Centuries)

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Edited by  
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# The Paradigmatic Polyvalence of Romanian Historiography Past and Present—Themes, Authors, Orientations

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STOICA LASCU

## Introduction

**F**ROM THE very beginning, a retrospective view of Romanian historiography during the two decades of democratic regime in Romania<sup>1</sup> following the events of December 22, 1989 is faced with a number of issues, both methodological and ideational.<sup>2</sup> Consequently, diverse interpretations may be drawn. However, this weakness can be easily corrected, provided the researcher approaches his subject-matter *sine ira et studio*.

It is not my aim to give a general view of Romanian historiography today—we are fully aware of the complexity of such an approach. Rather, my purpose is to uncover, from a bibliographical perspective, its main dimensions, limited to the modern and contemporary periods. It is a task of a great professional responsibility, the more so as one cannot avoid making references at the time before December 22-nd, when outlining its historical context.

During the last half of century,<sup>3</sup> after the Second World War—when the country was under a totalitarian (single party) regime, Romanian historiography followed a path of evolution similar to that of the whole society. An objective and unbiased observer, free of political prejudice and resentments, which can only be damaging and counterproductive, since they distort realities, characters and attitudes, would certainly agree to such a remark.

It was a time when politics ruled<sup>4</sup> and, in the given historical context, it defined the content, the directions and the approaches of historiographic research,<sup>5</sup> yet neither exclusively, nor overwhelmingly. The excesses of the so-called ‘Nicolae Ceaușescu’s Age’,<sup>6</sup> in the ancient history field<sup>7</sup> are well-known. The de-politicization (again, we insist, *nota bene*, in the given political context)<sup>8</sup> and professionalization of this field, at the beginning of the seventh decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, resulted from the work of venerable and dedicated professors and researchers, but also of young ones, some of them becoming iconic figures of Romanian historical science.

## From the Stalinist Approach to History to 'National Openness,' in the '60s

**T**HE HISTORICAL circumstances which, at the end of the Second World War—when the Euro-Atlantic Powers and the Soviet Union divided, between themselves, the Continent into spheres of influence—, caused Romanian historiography's dephasing from national and European scientific values<sup>9</sup> and its alignment with Soviet political-ideological teachings,<sup>10</sup> are well-known. The Romanian historiography, just like the regime of Romania, had two great stages: the first phase, the one of total subordination to the USSR, from 1944 to 1964-1965, when the Romanian Communist Party and the regime that headed were under the direct and immediate control of the Soviet power. . The second one was the phase of the so-called "national communism." In fact, I should call it "nationalistic" because its rhetoric was a nationalistic one. But any communist regime is antinational in its essence, as it excludes the vast majority of the population from political participation. A nation is born when democracy is imposed, a people surges into the democratic phase, when it is wholly engaged in politics. That is why I believe that communist regimes are, by definition, antinational. Chronologically, this national phase can be fitted between 1964, "I will tell you at once why"—*was Professor Șerban Papacostea telling the students at the Școala de Vară de la Sighet / Sighet Summer School* —, and the end of communism, in 1989. In April 1964, there was the famous declaration of independence of the Communist Party against the world communism and the dictate of the Soviet Union.<sup>7</sup>

Historians who had risen to fame in monarchist Romania (both multi and single party) were deprived of their research, university or Academy positions.<sup>11</sup> In addition, many of them were thrown in prisons (the dignitaries of the 'Sighet Academy,' as the archaeologist and historian Sever Dumitrașcu said in the *Tribune* of Cluj-Napoca): Alexandru V. Boldur (1886-1982);<sup>12</sup> Aurel Decei (1905-1976);<sup>13</sup> Silviu Dragomir (1888-1962)<sup>14</sup> (imprisoned between 1949 and 1955); Vladimir Dumitrescu (1902-1991)<sup>15</sup> (imprisoned between 1950 and 1955); Onisifor Ghibu (1883-1972)<sup>16</sup> (imprisoned between 1956 and 1958); Constantin C. Giurescu (1901-1977)<sup>17</sup> (imprisoned between 1950 and 1955); Ion Hudița (1896-1982)<sup>18</sup> (imprisoned between 1947 and 1955, 1961-1962); Victor Jinga (1901-1980)<sup>19</sup> (imprisoned between 1949 and 1963); Alexandru Lapedatu (1876-1950)<sup>20</sup> (died in prison at Sighetu Marmăției); Ioan Lupaș (1880-1967);<sup>21</sup> Ștefan Manciu (1894-1985)<sup>22</sup> (imprisoned in 1948-1955, 1962-1964); Alexandru Marcu (1894-1955)<sup>23</sup> (died at Văcărești prison); Ștefan Meteș (1886-1977);<sup>24</sup> Vasile Netea (1912-1989);<sup>25</sup> Ion I. Nistor (1876-1962)<sup>26</sup> (imprisoned between 1950 and 1955); Petre P. Pănaiteșcu (1900-1967);<sup>27</sup> Victor Papacostea (1900-1962)<sup>28</sup> (imprisoned between 1950 and 1955, and between 1957 and 1958, respectively); Zenovie Păclișanu (1886-1957)<sup>29</sup> (died when arrested at the Ministry of Interior in Bucharest); Radu R. Rosetti (1877-1949);<sup>30</sup> Teofil Sauciu-Săveanu (1884-1971);<sup>31</sup> Victor Slăvescu

(1891-1977)<sup>32</sup> (imprisoned between 1950 and 1955); the tragic end of Professor Gheorghe I. Brătianu<sup>33</sup> is well known, too, to insist upon it. Young promising historians who had not made a name for themselves in the field yet, also suffered the rigors of a political regime<sup>34</sup> that deprived them of liberty (as, for example, Șerban Papacostea, whose ‘residence’ was, in 1950, the Danube-Black Sea Canal<sup>35</sup>), or future historians, who were kept behind bars for many years, such as Radu Ciuceanu<sup>36</sup> (between 1948 și 1963), Vasile Boroneanț (b. 1930) (who was given a 16 years sentence, most of which he spend in various prisons, between 1953 and 1963), Dan Amadeo Lăzărescu (1918-2002) (imprisoned between 1957 and 1964),<sup>37</sup> Gheorghe Popilian (b. 1926) (imprisoned in 1952, for many years), Șerban Rădulescu-Zoner<sup>38</sup> (between 1959 and 1962), or Alexandru Zub<sup>39</sup> and Mihalache Brudiu<sup>40</sup> (both between 1958 and 1964) (acad. Răzvan Theodorescu was ‘only’ expelled from Faculty,<sup>41</sup> Ioan Donat, Aurel H. Golimas, Nicolae Stoicescu (1924-1999),<sup>42</sup> Ioan D. Suci (1917-1982);<sup>43</sup> and others.

Institutionally, beginning with 1948<sup>44</sup>, a European research network, with known and valuable scientific contributions was destroyed, and history was ‘rewritten,’ according to the new political ideological commandments.<sup>45</sup>

Former research institutions or centers either disappeared or were forced to merge—yet some of them managed to reasearch at European standards. In Bucharest, the History Institute (the former Universal History Institute founded by Nicolae Iorga in 1937)—called, since 1965, «*Nicolae Iorga*» *History Institute* —, was added a new research center for modern and contemporary history, *The Communist Party History Institute* (later called the *Institute of Historical and Socio-Political Studies by the C.C. of P.C.R.*), as well as the Romanian-Russian Museum (closed in 1963). Archaeological activity received special attention and financial support from the authorities and it yielded remarkable scientific results. *The National Museum of Antiquity* (existing since 1834) was included, in 1948, in the network of the research institutes of the Academy of the Romanian People’s Republic. Later on, in 1956, it became part of the *Institute of Archaeology* (named «Vasile Pârvan» in 1992).

Successful historical research was also carried in two important cities and traditional university centres of the country. In Jassy, on the scaffold of the older “*A.D. Xenopol*” *Institute for the History of the Romanians* (founded in 1940 by Ion Minea,<sup>46</sup> as part of the Faculty of Letters and Philosophy; in 1943 it was renamed *The “A.D. Xenopol” Institute for National History*, and, in 1949, it was re-organized as a unit of the Jassy section of the PRR Academy, under the name of *The Institute for History and Philology*; in 1964, the History section became independent as *The “A.D. Xenopol” Institute for History and Archaeology* (so-called since 1965). In Cluj (Cluj-Napoca, since 1974), *The Institut for National History*, founded by King Ferdinand I in 1920, continued its fruitful activity, under the name *The Institut for History and Archaeology* (since 1949), also depending to the Cluj section of the PRR Academy.<sup>47</sup>

The 1960s—so special and decisive for the contemporary history of the country, because of the consequential political decisions taken of the party and state —,



marked an opening toward more dedicated scientific research of the past (especially of the first half of the twentieth century).

In this case, the institution pathway of the researcher and—since 1990—the Professor and member of the Romanian Academy, Alexandru Zub, is exemplary. It is not spectacular for the multitude of changes, but through the painful transformations of those times. In spite of them a remarkable productivity—scientific, editorial and metaphysical, too—was maintained. Thus he starts off as researcher at the Institute of History and Philology in Jassy. This year would mark the future of the future Romanian scholar, as the fresh History graduate was among the organizers—in times when celebrating true national heroes was forbidden — of Stephen the Great's celebration.<sup>48</sup> In 1964 his research activity was frozen because of the reclusion and would be resumed as a bibliographer at the «Mihai Eminescu» Central University Library Jassy; since 1968 his activity was continuously tied to the “A.D. *Xenopol*” *Institute of History and Archaeology* Jassy—renamed to only History since 1990—when he also became its director. (During 1990-2001 he was also a Professor at the “Al.I. Cuza” University in the old capital of the Moldavian voevods.)

In the early '60s, the new thematic and interpretative openness was a chance that many graduates in history did not hesitate to seize. They are the generation of historians known as *the 1961 graduates*: Constantin Botoran (1938-1999),<sup>49</sup> Radu Constantinescu,<sup>50</sup> Gheorghe Dumitrașcu,<sup>51</sup> Elena Georgescu, Tudor Mateescu (1933-1999),<sup>52</sup> Virgil Mihăilescu-Bârliba,<sup>53</sup> Georgeta Penelea/-Fillitti/, Zoe Petre,<sup>54</sup> Aurică Simion (1938-1984),<sup>55</sup> Mihai Sofronie, Rodica Tanțău (Bucharest; Alexandru Repan, also known as a great actor, or Gheorghe Gica, a highschool teacher); Gheorghe I. Bodea, Gelu Neamțu,<sup>56</sup> Simion Retegan (Cluj); or Gheorghe Buzatu (Jassy); *the 1962 graduates*: Constantin Bușe, Olga Cicanci, Anca Ghiață, Nicolae Isar, Gheorghe Neacșu, Mircea N. Popa (1940-1987),<sup>57</sup> George G. Potra, Ioan Scurtu, Gheorghe Zbucea (1940-2008)<sup>58</sup> (Bucharest), Sever Dumitrașcu,<sup>59</sup> Nicolae Edroiu, Viorel Faur, Liviu Maior, Thomas Năgler, Vasile Vesa (Cluj), Aurel Filimon, Ion Toderășcu, Dumitru Vitcu (Jassy); *the 1964 graduates*: Mircea Babeș, Victor H. Baumann, Marin Badea, Ion Calafățeanu, Zizi Covacef (Mișu), Cornel Greavu, Gergely László, Ion Mamina,<sup>60</sup> Corneliu Mirescu, Paul Rezeanu, Florea Tănăsescu (Bucharest); *the 1965 graduates*—Ion Alexandrescu, Adolf Armbruster,<sup>61</sup> Silvia Baraschi, Stelian Brezeanu, Vasile Budrică, Ion Bulei, Anca Ciobanu, Radu Ciobanu Vergatti, Mariana Marcu (Sulică), Horia C. Matei, Emil Moscalu,<sup>62</sup> Stelian Neagoe, Ioan Opriș, Grigore Arbore-Popescu,<sup>63</sup> Constantin Rezachevici, Aurelian Teodorescu,<sup>64</sup> Valeriu Stan,<sup>65</sup> Alexandra Ștefan (Kasargian), Simion Ștefan (Bucharest); Ioan Alexandru Aldea, Maria Bărbulescu (Muntean), Corneliu Bucur, Viorel Faur, Gheorghe Iancu, Carol Kacsó, Gheorghe Matei, Florin Medeleț, Corina Popa, Mircea Țoca<sup>66</sup> (Cluj-Napoca); Cătălina Andrei (Bloșiu), Stela Cheptea, Veniamin Ciobanu,<sup>67</sup> Constantin Iconomu,<sup>68</sup> Mihai Irimia,<sup>69</sup> Gheorghe Prisăcaru, Oltea Rășcanu (Gramaticu), Gemil Tahsin (Jassy). Well-structured scientific personalities and immensely talented, they took advantage of the political and ideological openness of 1964-1966, with beneficial reverberations in the sphere of scientific



research: ‘In the new context,’ says Professor Ioan Scurtu in an interview in 1999, ‘ou could attempt to write real history.’

This also meant that they could write about the history of pre-war political parties, and thus, political figures of the Romanian Kingdom were brought to public attention, their meritorious efforts recuperated their contribution, within the context as close as possible to historical reality. To this end, new bibliographical sources—indexed authors and forbidden books (beginning with Nicolae Iorga and Gheorghe I. Brătianu), but also archives, press, memoirs—which facilitated research and publishing.

An expression of the recognition of the value of Romanian historians and historiography by the international community of Clio’s servants was the organization in Romania, in 1980, of the *XV-th International Congress of Historical Sciences*<sup>70</sup>—to which the authorities awarded a special attention according to its international importance and echoes;<sup>71</sup> the organization and proceedings were also appreciated by the guests: “In Bucharest—wrote the great French historian Michel François (1906-1981)—we have made history advance by multiplying its occupations and research methods. It is a success due to flawless, unparalleled organization.”<sup>72</sup>

Historical research at a superior scientific level first took place in the thematic institutes of the Academy: “We have a special respect for the academicians, called «the immortals», because the old Academy, functioning from 1866 to 1948, was indeed the most prestigious cultural-scientific forum of the country. I would dare to say that during the years of communism—*rightfully explained, last year, Professor Ioan-Aurel Pop, the youngest member of the Romanian Academy, elected after 1989*—with the exception of the expulsions of the Stalinist era and other few similar episodes, the Academy maintained its verticality and especially it reunited (except for a few persons) personalities of the greatest value, from Călinescu and Agârbiceanu, to Andrei Oțetea and David Prodan.”

In republican Romania before December 1989—members, historians, of the supreme scientific forum were: Ladislau Banyai (1907-1981), corresponding member: 1974;<sup>73</sup> Mihai Berza (1907-1978), corresponding member: 1963;<sup>74</sup> Emil Condurachi (1912-1987), corresponding member: 1948, full member: 1955;<sup>75</sup> Petre Constantinescu-Iași (1892-1977), full member: 1948;<sup>76</sup> Constantin Daicoviciu (1898-1973), full member: 1955;<sup>77</sup> Constantin C. Giurescu (1901-1977), full member 1974; Vasile Maciu (1904-1981), corresponding member: 1963;<sup>78</sup> Constantin I. Moisil (1876-1958), honorary member: 1948;<sup>79</sup> Ion Nestor (1905-1974), corresponding member: 1955;<sup>80</sup> George Oprescu (1881-1969), corresponding member: 1938, full member: 1948;<sup>81</sup> Andrei Oțetea (1894-1977), corresponding member: 1955, full member: 1955;<sup>82</sup> Petre P. Panaitescu (1900-1967), corresponding member: 1934;<sup>83</sup> Ștefan Pascu (1914-1998), corresponding member: 1960, full member: 1974;<sup>84</sup> Dionisie M. Pippidi (1905-1993), corresponding member: 1963, full member: 1990;<sup>85</sup> David Prodan (1902-1992), corresponding member: 1948, full member: 1955;<sup>86</sup> Andrei Rădulescu (1880-1959), corresponding member: 1919, full member: 1920;<sup>87</sup> Mihai Roller (1908-1958), full member: 1948; Gheorghe Ștefan (1899-1980), corresponding member: 1952;<sup>88</sup> Ștefan Ștefănescu (b. 24 mai

1929), corresponding member: 1974, full member: 1992; Virgil Vătășianu (1902-1993), corresponding member: 1963, full member: 1974.<sup>89</sup>

Presidents of the *Historical Sciences and Archaeology Section* were: Petre Constantinescu-Iași (1948-1955), Constantin Daicoviciu (1955-1963), Andrei Oțetea (1963-1974), Ștefan Pascu (1974-1990).<sup>90</sup>

We owe this list of historians to one of them, a long-time employee of the “*Nicolae Iorga*” *History Institute*, a valuable medievalist, who settled in Canada, in the late ‘90s.<sup>91</sup> He ‘talks’—self-assuredly and with obvious *parti-pris*—about his own ‘brothers’: Iosif Adam, Vasile Arimia, Dolores Bancic, Iosif Adam, Vasile Arimia, Dolores Bancic, Dan Berindei, Mihai Berza, Gheorghe Bezviconi, Constantin Boos, Vasile Budrigă, Eliza Campus,<sup>92</sup> Barbu Cămpina, Nicolae Ceaușescu<sup>93</sup> (*sic!*), Sandor Csernatoni, Paul Cernovodeanu, Nicolae Ciachir, Emil Condurachi, Alexandru Constant, Miron Constantinescu, Petre Constantinescu-Iași, Florin Constantiniu, Valeria Costăchel,<sup>94</sup> Mihai Cotenescu, Ion Dascălu, Aurel Decei,<sup>95</sup> Lajos Demény, Corneliu Dima-Drăgan, Iosif-Constantin Drăgan,<sup>96</sup> Gheorghe Dumitrașcu, Dinu Dumitrescu, Ion Dumitriu-Snagov,<sup>97</sup> Alexandru Elian, Ion and Marin Florescu, Nicolae Fotino,<sup>98</sup> George Franga, Ionel Gal, Vlad Georgescu,<sup>99</sup> Gheorghe Gica, Constantin C. Giurescu (also Dinu C. Giurescu), Aurel Golimas, Alexandru Gonța, Mihai Gramatopol,<sup>100</sup> Radu Hâncu, Alexandru Herlea,<sup>101</sup> Sava Iancovici, Vladimir and Alexandru Iliescu, Ion Ilincioiu, Ghiță Ionescu, Matei Ionescu, Traian Ionescu, Gheorghe Iscru, Johann Koenig, Vasile Liveanu, Traian Lungu, Vasile Maciu, Ion Matei,<sup>102</sup> Vasile Matei, Emil Micu, Damaschin Mioc,<sup>103</sup> Sașa Mușat, Manole Neagoe, Vasile Netea<sup>104</sup>, Constantin Nicolaescu-Plopșor,<sup>105</sup> Ecaterina Opreșcu, Andrei Oțetea, Petre Panaitescu, Șerban Papacostea, Ștefan Pascu, Dionisie (also Andrei) Pippidi, Ion Popescu-Puțuri, Gheorghe (also George) Potra,<sup>106</sup> Nicolae Pușcașu, Ion Răduțiu, Alexandru Rădulescu, Constantin Rezachevici,<sup>107</sup> Mihai Roller, Ioan Roșca, Alexandru Sadoveanu (*sic!*), Paul Simionescu, Dan Simionescu,<sup>108</sup> Mihai Sofronie, Eugen Stănescu, Nicolae Stoicescu, Ioan /D./ Suci, Ion Suci, Dumitru Sultan, Ion Șendrulescu,<sup>109</sup> Liviu Ștefănescu, Ștefan Ștefănescu, Gemil Tahsin, Grigore Tănănescu, Tudor Teoteoi, Răzvan Theodorescu, Radu Theodoru, Traian Udrea, Aristide Varghida, Gheorghe Vasilescu, Alexandru Vianu, Mircea Voiculescu, Dan Zamfirescu, Gheorghe Zbucea, Zorin Zamfir.

## Continuity and new thematic approaches in Romanian post-communist historiography

**T**HE DAYS of the 1989 December Revolution also enenerated strong feelings among the “Servants of Clio,” and some of them actively participated in the events—Adrian V. Rădulescu,<sup>110</sup> Gheorghe Dumitrașcu and Nicolae A. Cușa (in Constantza); Ionel Șt. Alexandru, Ionel Cădea and Valeriu Sârbu (in Brăila); Emil Păunescu (in Giurgiu); Mihai Iacobescu (in Suceava); Ion Solcanu

(in Jassy); professor N. Mischie (in Târgu Jiu); Petre Țurlea (Ploiești); Gheorghe Bonduc (in Tulcea); etc.

In Bucharest, under the impulse of the events, in which researchers Tahsin Gemil and Ion Bulei were directly involved, a group of historians elaborated and made public, on 25 December, *The Declaration of the Historians Committee of Free Romania*. The appeal which began with a quote by N. Iorga—"Victory never comes to bowed heads!"—did not produce immediate practical results, since it was produced under the spur of the moment. Historians from Bucharest, Cluj-Napoca and Jassy, of different ages, life-experiences and diverse political orientations—David Prodan, D.M. Pippidi, H. Stahl, Jako Sigismund, Șerban Papacostea, Pompiliu Teodor, Viorica Moisuc, Andrei Pippidi, Ștefan Andreescu, Octavian Iliescu, Ștefan Gorovei, Alexandru Zub—placed their signatures on the document.

In 1990, the *Section of Historical and Archaeological Sciences* of The Romanian Academy elected new members—full, corresponding or honorary—thus acknowledging their scientific work: Cornelia Bodea (1916-2010), Dinu C. Giurescu (b. 1927), Alexandru Elian (1910-1998), Valentin Al. Georgescu (1998-1995), Dinu C. Giurescu (b. 1927), Maria Holban (1901-1991), Camil Mureșanu (b. 1927), Șerban Papacostea (b. 1928), Gheorghe Platon (1926-2006), Pompiliu Teodor (1930-2001). In the following years, other new members were elected (Zsigmond Pál Jakó /1916-2008/, honorary member, elected in 1996; Ion Barnea /1913-2004/, honorary member, elected in 1999).

Today the list includes the following: Mihai Bărbulescu (corresponding member, 2010), Dan Berindei (full member 1992 /corresponding member 1991/), Florin Constantiniu (full member 2006 /corresponding member 1999), Nicolae Edroiu (corresponding member 1999), Dinu C. Giurescu (full member 2001 /corresponding member 1990), Camil Bujor Mureșanu (full member 2000 /corresponding member 1990/), Paul Helmut Niedermaier (corresponding member 2001), Șerban Papacostea (corresponding member 1990), Mircea Păcurariu (corresponding member 1997), Mircea Petrescu-Dîmbovița (full member 1996 /corresponding member 1991/), Ioan-Aurel Pop (full member 2010 /corresponding member 2001/), Dumitru Protase (honorary member 2003), Victor Spinei (corresponding member 2001), Ștefan Ștefănescu (1992 /corresponding member 1974/), Gabriel Ștrempel (honorary member 1993), Răzvan Theodorescu (2000 /corresponding member 1993/), Alexandru Vulpe (2009 /corresponding member 1996/), Alexandru Zub (2004 /corresponding member: 1991/).

Foreign historians (honorary members)—Gabriel de Broglie (France) (2007), Héléne Carrère d'Encausse (2007), François Chamoux (France) (1991), Alain Decaux (France) (1990), Keith Hitchins (U.S.A.) (1991), Rolf Hachmann (Germany) (1993), Jean Leclant (France) (1992), Guillermo Morón (Venezuela) (1992), Alexandru Moșanu (Rep. of Moldova) (1992), Geo Pistarino (Italy) (1992).

In time, historiography also undertook "institutional reorganization."<sup>111</sup> Besides the existing history institutes (and archaeology ones), new research centers emerged.

Some of them obtained very good results in researching the twentieth century Romanian history—the Transylvanian Studies Center (founded in 1991, since 2007 it has been integrated into the Romanian Academy Cluj Division, lead by academician Ioan-Aurel Pop, which specifies that it is “actually founded—through its strong core—in 1934, surrounding the «Revue de Transylvanie» periodical and *de jure* in 1942, in the University of Cluj, then a refugee in Sibiu”);<sup>112</sup> The Center of European History and Civilisation (founded in 1992, within the Romanian Academy Jassy Division, lead by professor Gheorghe Buzatu and researcher Stela Cheptea); *The National Institute for the Study of Totalitarianism* (founded under the Romanian Academy in April 1993, lead by Radu Ciuceanu); *The Institute for Oral History* (founded in 1997 within the Babeş-Bolyai Cluj-Napoca University, at the initiative of Professors Pompiliu Teodor and Doru Radoslav); *The Romanian Institute for Recent History Foundation* (set up in 2000 by Ceon Stork—Dutch Ambassador to Bucharest from 1987 to 1993, with important role in the de/structuration of the Romanian civil society); *The Romanian Revolution of December 1989 Institute* (founded in 2004, scientifically lead by Professor Ioan Scurtu, and since the autumn of 2009 by Professor Ion Calafeteanu); *The Institute for the Investigation of Communist Crimes* (founded in December 2005, lead by researcher Marius Oprea; reorganized in 2009 under the name the Institute for the Investigation of the Crimes of Communism and the Memory of Romanian Exile); research activities also take place within the National Council for the Study of Securitate Archives (founded in 1999) etc. Abroad, a number of historians have been appointed to lead Romanian cultural institutes; Professors Ion Bulei and Ioan-Aurel Pop—*Istituto Romeno di Cultura e Ricerca Umanistica*, Venice; Professor Ion Calafeteanu and archaeologist Mihai Bărbulescu—*Accademia di Romania*, Rome; Professor Mihai Maxim—the *Romen Kültür Merkezi “Dimitrie Cantemir”*, Istanbul.

Since many years, the historical research activity has also been rejuvenated in the Academy of Romanian Scientists;<sup>113</sup> today, its historian members are: full founding members: Ioan Scurtu (president of the Historical Sciences and Archaeology Section), Răzvan Theodorescu; honorary member: Florin Constantiniu; full members: Vasile Boroneanț, Ștefan Sorin Gorovei, Ion Solcanu, Dan Zamfirescu; corresponding members: Constantin Bușe, Gheorghe Buzatu, Nicolae Ciobanu, Constantin Ucrain, Florian Tucă (the last three—members of the Military Sciences Section), Radu Ștefan Vergatti; associate members: Gheorghe Cristache, Horia Dumitrescu, Elena Florescu, Corneliu-Mihail Lungu, George G. Potra.

The network of faculties has also diversified. Besides the traditional ones—in Bucharest, Jassy and Cluj-Napoca—the History divisions of the former Pedagogical Institutes were revived (in Constanța, Oradea, Pitești, Sibiu, Suceava, Timișoara, Târgu-Mureș); divisions were founded in the old universities (Craiova) or in the new ones (Alba-Iulia, Galați, Arad); history faculties were also founded in private universities—“Dimitrie Cantemir”, “Hyperion”, “Spiru Haret” (in Bucharest). Within county museums, a research network was structured—focusing mainly on Antiquity

and Middle Ages archaeology—, which produced some valuable results. Of them, the *Museum of Vrancea* (managed by the historian Horia Dumitrescu), or the *Museum of Brăila* (led by true professionals, the medievalist Ionel Căndea and the archaeologist Valeriu Sârbu)—have become, through their scientific, editorial and national-cultural activities, true landmarks of contemporary Romanian historical science.

The great political, social and cultural transformations after two post-communist decades also forced ‘Clio’s Servants’ to redefine their positions. The view its members shared during the totalitarian regime vanished, and now divisions among them became manifest, as the old professional animosities, vanities and egos<sup>114</sup> deepened and the divergent (if not totally opposite) political and mental-cultural options and considerations only enhanced. There was, in fact, some communication, scientifically speaking, among historians from the main university and research centers (the names of the participants in tributary editions testify to this).

The fact that the Servants of Clio, researchers or professors, have no national representative body partly explains the relative lack of cohesion of the group. The respectable *Romanian Historical Sciences Society* (S.Ș.I.R.)<sup>115</sup> (founded in 1949, in the context of the times, as the Society of Historical and Philological Sciences and Folklore; an independent institution since 1968—Petre Constantinescu-Iași /1968-1977/, Ștefan Pascu /1977-1991/, Nichita Adăniloaic /1991-1998/, Ioan Scurtu /1998-to date—have served as its chairpersons), is still a viable institution (its year-book *Studii și articole de istorie* remaining one of the most important Romanian specialty reviews). The activity of its local divisions, in half of Romania’s counties, was carried on by a few enthusiastic historians, animated by the necessity of continuing a remarkable tradition and the wish to transform the organization into an important contributor to cultural and scientific life nationwide. In 2003, a new body was set up, *The Association of History Teachers from Romania*—APIR-Clio, affiliated (just like S.Ș.I.R.) to *The European Association of History Educators* (EUROCLIO) (chairman: Vlad Nistor /2003-2005/, Mihai Manea /2005-/-), with the proclaimed objective of invigorating the activity in the field and of competing with the RHSS. However, the results of its work so far have been inconclusive, perhaps because the new body does not have national representation. In 1990, Bucharest students lay the foundations of a their own scientific-professional organization, *The “Erasmus” Society of Historical Studies* (with the laudable yearly *Erasmus* magazine). In 1990, in Timișoara, Professor Radu Păiușan founded, the *Association of Banat Historians* (and edited the *Clio* Magazine, between 1992 and 1994). In Jassy, in April 2003, a group of young historians organized themselves as the *Romanian Society of Historical Studies* (SSIR); in Cluj-Napoca, *The Association of Young Historians in Transilvania and Banat* was established, about the same time, together with other similar organizations (including many with a thematic approach).

A different state of mind, a totally new understanding of the role of historical sciences that would make them capable to react to the challenges of the globalized contemporary world<sup>116</sup>, has been developing, at Vălenii de Munte, for about



a decade. On August 19, 2000, “*N. Iorga*” *Club of Historians* was founded there, an informal and scientific event, placed under the historical, national and cultural precepts of the great Romanian historian. Not only does the club have the merit of arguing for the contemporaneity of Iorga’s works<sup>117</sup>—which sadly have not been fully re-edited, as the institute in Bucharest, which bears his name, does not even keep an up-to-date bibliography of this spiritual father of the Romanian people—it has also printed a series of studies and articles about his life and writings. Thanks to the efforts and coordination of Constantine Bușe and Constantin Găucan (a gifted doctor, with a degree in History, too), under the title *N. Iorga. Studii și documente*, no less than 10 volumes<sup>118</sup> have been published till now, collecting contributions from different generations of historians, such as: Ion Agrigoroaiei (with 8 studies and articles), Florin Anghel (2), B. Apăvăloaie, Vartan Arachelian (5), Constantin Ardeleanu (2), Cezar Avram (2), Ion Șt. Baicu, Diana Barbu, Lazăr Băciucu, Dan Berindei (3), Ion Bitoleanu (2), Ioan Bocioacă (3), Cornelia Bodea, Dan Bodea, Viorica Budăi-Damaschin, Ion Bulei (3), Constantin Burac (4), Daniela Bușă (5), Constantin Bușe (6), Gheorghe Buzatu (13), Ion Calafeteanu (2), Eliza Campus, Ecaterina Căpățână, Ileana Căzan (2), Ionel Căndea (5), Stela Cheptea (7), Ioan Chiper, Ileana Cioarec, Nicolae Ciobanu (8), Veniamin Ciobanu, Dincă Ciobotea, Valentin Ciorbea, Marusia Cîrstea (4), Mariana Cojoc, Virgil Coman, Ion Constantin (3), Florin Constantiniu, Laurențiu Constantiniu, Valeria Costăchel /postmortem/, Gelu Culicea, Victor Crăciun, Tatiana Cruceanu, Viorel Cruceanu (2), Nicolae Dascălu, Eugen Denize (3), Vasile Diacon, Doru Dina, Cezar Dobre, Lavinia-Dacia Dumitrașcu, Horia Dumitrescu (7), Ion Giurcă, Aurelia Grosu, Constantin Hlihor (3), Vlad Hogeș, Mihai Iacobescu (2), Mihail E. Ionescu, Constantin Iordan, Sergiu Iosipescu, Nicolae Isar (5), Ion Ivașcu (5), Kopi Kyçyku, Stoica Lascu (8), Ioan Lăcustă (2), Corneliu-Mihail Lungu (6), Liviu Maior, Șerban Marin, Paul Matiu, Silviu Miloiu, Cezar Măță, Mariana Mihăilescu (3), Stelian Mândruț (5), Viorica Moisuc (2), Constantin Moraru, Marian Moșneagu (2), Tudor Nedelcea, Marian Nencescu, Sorin Oane, Ștefan Olteanu (2), Mihai Oprițescu (2), Daniela Osiac, Vladimir Osiac, Petre Otu (3), Adrian T. Pascu (2), Andrei Păunescu, Diana Păunoiu, Aurel Pentelescu (6), Radu Petrescu, Sime Piroțici (3), Ioan-Aurel Pop, Bogdan Popa, Gavriil Preda (5), Dan Prodan (2), Roxana Radu, Mihai-Sorin Rădulescu (3), Valeriu Râpeanu (5), Jipa Rotaru (6), Dorina N. Rusu (6), Cristian Sandache, Gheorghe Sbârnă (4), Georgiana-Margareta Scurtu (2), Ioan Scurtu (8), Alin Spânu (7), Alex M. Stoenescu, Mircea Suci, Dumitru Șandru, Ionica Șerban (2), Florin N. Șinca (3), Marian Ștefan, Barbu Ștefănescu, Ștefan Ștefănescu (2), Gheorghe A. Știrbăț, Nicolae-Șerban Tanașoca, Mircea Tănase, Bogdan-Alexandru Teodor, Mihaela Teodor, Răzvan Theodorescu (4), Raluca Tomi, Liviu Țăranu, Iolanda Țighilui (3), Ecaterina Țânțăreanu (2), Petre Țurlea (12), Mihai Ungheanu (4), Marcel Varga, Ion Zarzără, Gheorghe Zbucea (8), Alexandru Zub.

Starting with 1990, the themes of historiographic research have further diversified, as the almost unrestricted access to archives brought to light unknown aspects

of contemporary Romanian history (world history, too): political parties and leaders, the monarchy, the Eastern Campaign of the Romanian Army, the controversial and complex personality of Marshal Ion Antonescu,<sup>119</sup> especially due to the devotion and efforts of Professor Gheorghe Buzatu<sup>120</sup>—in the vortex<sup>121</sup> World War II—, Bessarabia<sup>122</sup> and Bucovina, Southern Dobrudja (Cadrlater),<sup>123</sup> the Romanians abroad (until 1989, the Aromanians had been almost completely forgotten<sup>124</sup>), “the history of communism”<sup>125</sup> (especially of its political and repressive-intelligence institutions<sup>126</sup> and of the “Ceaușescu Era”<sup>127</sup>), and its gullag system, censorship<sup>128</sup> etc. It also stimulated new interpretations (for example: the “demythization”<sup>129</sup> of Professor Lucian Boia,<sup>130</sup> multiple reinterpretations, some controversial,<sup>131</sup> in Professor Neagu Djuvara’s view<sup>132</sup>) etc.<sup>133</sup>

The major achievement of post-1989 historiography has been the elaboration and publication, by the *Historical and Archaeological Sciences Section* of The Romanian Academy (its first chairman was Dan Berindei, who was followed by Alexandru Zub, and since 2009, by Alexandru Vulpe) of the new treaty of the *Istoria Românilor*,<sup>134</sup> the most precious dream of Romanian historians, since the fall of the totalitarian regime<sup>135</sup>. Despite criticism and observations<sup>136</sup>—some of them right, as they concern its thematic unity, while others express personal bias, or professional egotism—, the nine volumes that have been printed so far, demonstrate, beyond doubt, the high level scientific historical research has reached in this country.

Researchers, who began their activity before 1989, successfully continue their work while new generations of Clio’s Servants are formed in new research centers (such as the *Sighet Summer School*, which has published several volumes of studies).

The approached subjects, just like until the present, are represented by a multitude of titles (and not only, it is true, at a real scientific level; besides scientifically trained historians there are also dilettantes): local history (especially under the form of monographs,<sup>137</sup>) of the press, the Church, of military history, economic history, the history of the national minorities etc.; memoir writing is especially developing, and very useful dictionaries of local personalities are being edited etc.

A considerable development is also noted in the research and works regarding the historical regions; the apparition of *The History of Transylvania* synthesis is a remarkable achievement of today’s Romanian historiography: “We have found in Transylvania, we, the authors of this volume—*showed, not long ago, the Academician Ioan-Aurel Pop*—a message of tolerance. Transylvania was always inhabited by different populations, different religions and different confessions. In the same time, we wanted to send a message to today’s Romania, because Transylvania represents 40% of its surface and population. It is also an extremely important economic, social and not only demographic base. And we would like to prove that Transylvania is part of a modern Romania, in which the national problem, if not entirely solved, is in an European phase. We strive to live well together. If politicians intervene to create problems, we want to show that the common people is wise enough to continue living together and from this perspective, Romania, through Transylvania, is a modern European country.”



Besides continuing approaching the subjects of their affirmation, some historians redirect their research to recent history—such as Professor Dinu C. Giurescu, member of the Romanian Academy, renowned medievalist and historian of the Romanian civilization. Coming back to his country—after having relocated to the United States in 1987—, since 1990 he has begun researching the contemporary period, given the unrestricted access to the post-Second World War archival funds. The results of his very exact scientific endeavor has been the publishing in the last 20 years of many volumes—focused on Romanian politics between 1945-1947—volumes that represent monuments of documented exactness and methodological novelty for today’s historiography (including two monographs published in the well-known and competitive *East European Monographs*, initiated and coordinated by the reputed North American professor of Romanian origin Stephen Fischer-Galați<sup>138</sup>). It is the case, he would argue not long ago, of “A rereading, a rethinking of what is unpleasant. There are many issues in our contemporary, but also ancient history, that must be thought over again. Our credibility as historians in the universal context is tied to this critical position. And to this is also added—*he would continue the listing of a true program of contemporary research*—the subjects appreciated today by the world’s historiography. For example: the mental of the state, the status of women in certain ages, what the Romanians thought about the others. What the Romanians thought about the Armenians, the Jews, the Hungarians. Demography studies, approaching age and gender categories etc.”

The same vision of “rethinking” is expressed by Professor Lucian Boia,<sup>139</sup> who “tries to propose—*as he would state in an interview*—an intelligent history,” in the same time expressing that “I don’t know what history will become. We, the historians, can barely begin to know something about the past. How are we supposed to talk about his future? Of course it is normal that we state our opinions about it, but, mostly often, we are wrong. Still I get the feeling that history does not have the same importance for community life that it had in the XIXth century, when national identities were constructed and when it mattered a lot. It might be that the future world would bring an eclipse of history; still, not a total eclipse, because people will always be interested in history;”<sup>140</sup> on a different occasion, he draws attention to the trap of falling into historical imitation, when he is also urging for a clear history of the Romanian in European context, showing that “Romania is behind the West. Others remained behind not because they were meant to, but because Western Europe has gone forward too quickly. This difference has a long history and it would be a mistake to blame it all on communism. Communism took advantage of this difference, and it is true, made this historical delay increase by bringing solutions that were not modernizing. *It is not fair to say that Romania is now behind Western Europe because of communism. Romania was already behind* (emphasis mine). Communism found a fertile playground.”<sup>141</sup>

Recently, Professor Bogdan Murgescu, the younger /born 5 April 1963/ department colleague of Professor Boia, has published in the same ideation endeavor a

massive /526 pages/ and well documented tome: “The purpose of this book is not to add another futurist projection to the already existing ones and also not that of proposing an unfaultable strategy for surpassing underdevelopment. It is a lot more modest.

Starting from the observations of different economists, historians, sociologist and political scientists that “history matters,” I proposed answering a few *questions*: what is the genesis of the delays existing in today’s Europe? How did the economic differences between Romania and the other European countries appear? Were there moments when surpassing these delays was possible? Why did these initiatives fail? Were there comparable initiatives in other European countries? Did they succeed? Why? How? How can historical experience help in elaborating efficient politics for the today’s times?”<sup>142</sup> It is a volume that through its approaches and suggestions, urges the specialists—historians, economists, political scientists—to reflection and debates.

Other well recognized historians also affirm their scientific creed, based on rationality and truth, and unhindered by the seduction of the liberty of expression. For Professor Gheorghe Buzatu, for example, it is tied to a massive effort conditioned by certain professional-scientific and conscience standards:

*After the events of 1989, the historians—in an absurd manner—were blamed for a lot of things and were asked, just like in the past, to make “everything.” Nobody considered that they are at nobody’s orders. They were not, with the known exceptions, not even before 1989, not to mention today, when there is freedom and no censorship! We must remember that today, in the computers’ age—he would state in an interview—it is no longer difficult to write books from other books, compilations, but it is absolutely required to reach original work, to contributions in the field of history, the only ones facing time, therefore allowing us to conclude that the history in a library can only appear under a pretty face. The rest is work, which is related to the unseen and unforeseen side of things, known only to creators, so let us admit that only work brings beauty to any library, starting with the personal one and finishing with the Library of Alexandria or with the Library of Congress in Washington D.C.!’ And he also pleads for constancy and coherence, for respecting certain principles by the researchers that write History, such as the ratio between the perennial character of historical truth and the perishable politics: ‘We cannot ignore that on 12 December 2005 appeared the famous Appeal of some reputed French specialists in the study of the past, significantly entitled, *The Freedom for History*. This fundamental documents for the start of our century and millennium, when history is too often confounded with politics, and the dogmas of “political correctness” are simply ransacking in treating the times and biographies of the ones—after the expression of Nicolae Iorga—“which were,” we shall remember this memorable excerpt, for all and in all: “The historian does not accept dogmas, does not respect any interdiction, knows no taboos. They could be uncomfortable. . In a free state, neither the Parliament nor the Law cannot define historical truth. The policy of the state, animated by the best intentions, is not the policy of history.”’<sup>143</sup>*

A comprehensive presentation of Romanian historiography in the last two decades proves to be problematic.<sup>144</sup> Rather, I'll (sau I shall) construct a selective picture of the period by referring only to those authors, to whom their colleagues and friends have edited and published homage volumes, when reaching a "respectable age" (60, 65, 70, 75. . . but also 50, 45!), as a sign of their appreciation and esteem (such volumes rarely<sup>145</sup> appeared in socialist Romania; in the 80's, the "cult of the leader" almost completely stifled such initiatives, except for few notable situations<sup>146</sup>).

What follows is a merely idiosyncratic catalog: Dinu Adameșteanu (25 March 1913-2004) (1996, Cluj-Napoca); Ion Agrigoroaiei (b. 30 December 1936) (2002, Jassy); Petre Alexandrescu (3 January 1930-18 July 2009) (2000); Dorin Alicu (2009, Cluj-Napoca); Ioan Andrițoiu (24 December 1940-2008) (2005, Alba Iulia); Iulian Antonescu (26 July 1932-1991) (2002, *In memoriam*); Ion Șt. Baicu (b. 8 October 1934) (2004, Ploiești); Constantin Bălan (8 May 1928-2005) (2009: *In memoriam*); Mihai Bărbulescu (b. 29 September 1947) (2007); Ligia Bârzu (b. 25 October 1930-2003) (1997); Doina Benea (b. 8 June 1944) (2004, Timișoara); Dan Berindei (b. 3 November 1923) (2001, Focșani; 2003); Nicolae Bocșan (b. 24 September 1947) (2007—three volumes: Cluj-Napoca /2/, Timișoara); Cornelia Bodea (8 April 1916-2010) (2001, Jassy; 2006); Leonid Boicu (1 May 1931-1997) (1996, Jassy); Stelian Brezeanu (b. 24 September 1942) (2002); Constantin Bușe (b. 27 September 1939) (2000; 2004, Focșani; 2009); Gheorghe Buzatu (b. 6 June 1939) (1999, 2009 /vol. I-II—Focșani; 2009, Craiova); Ion Calafeteanu (b. 3 October) (2010; two volumes: Târgoviște, Constanța); Ioan Caproșu (b. 26 August 1934) (2002, Jassy); Nicolae Gh. Căzan (4 March 1931-1992) (2000: *In memoriam*); Ionel Căndea (b. 25 February 1949) (2009, Brăila); Virgil Căndea (27 April 1927-2007) (2002 /vol. I-II/); Paul Cernovodeanu (11 February 1927-2006) (1998); Nicolae Chidioșan (8 January 1936-1988) (2003, Oradea: *In memoriam*); Ioan Chiper (b. 17 September 1936) (2006); Vasile Ciubăncan (n. 1926) (2006, Cluj-Napoca); Radu Ciuceanu (b. 16 April 1928) (2003); Ioan Ciupercă (b. 19 May 1940) (2007, Jassy); Nicolae Conovici (1948-2005) (2008, Călărași); Florin Constantiniu (b. 8 April 1933) (2003, Focșani); Florea Costea (b. 5 June 1937) (2007, Brașov); Vasile Cristian (5 June 1936-2006) (2001, Jassy); Elek Csetri (11 April 1924-2010) (2004, Cluj-Napoca); Lajos Démény (b. 22 October 1926) (2001); Petre Diaconu (6 October 1924-2007) (2004, Brăila); Valeriu Florin Dobrinescu (25 April 1943-2003) (2003, Focșani /2 volumes/; 2006 /2 volumes: *In memoriam*); Sever Dumitrașcu (b. 6 June 1937) (2001, Oradea); Horia Dumitrescu (b. 24 August 1949) (2009, Iași/Focșani); Nicolae V. Dură (b. 9 August 2006, Constantza); Alexandru Duțu (2 September 1928-1999) (1999: *In memoriam*; 2000: *In memoriam*); Nicolae Edroiu (b. 7 December 1939) (2003, 2009, Cluj-Napoca); Alexandru Elian (27 October 1910-1998) (2008, Timișoara: *In memoriam*); Viorel Faur (b. 1941) (2001, 2006, Oradea); Constantin C. Giurescu (26 October 1901-1977) (2001, Craiova; *Centenar*); Dinu C. Giurescu (b. 15 February 1927) (1998); Ioan Glodariu (b. 1 February 1940) (2001, Cluj-Napoca); Mihail Guboglu (4 November 1911-1989) (2007, Brăila: *In memoriam*); Nicolae Gudea (b. 17 Oc-

tober 1941) (2001, Cluj-Napoca); Gustav Gündisch (15 September 1907-1996) (2007, Cislădie: *In memoriam*); Ladislau Gyémánt (b. 12 September 1947) (2007, Cluj-Napoca); Vladimir Iliescu (b. 8 August 1926) (2006, Galați); István Imreh (12 September 1919-2003) (1999, Cluj-Napoca); Gheorghe I. Ioniță (24 April 1937-2004) (2007: *In memoriam*); Ion Ioniță (b. 8 January 1936) (2006); Zsigmond Pál Jákó (2 September 1916-2008) (1996, Cluj-Napoca); András Kiss (b. 5 October 1922) (2003, Cluj-Napoca); Deszö László (12 July 1904-1973) (2004, Cluj-Napoca: *In memoriam 1904-2004*); Gheorghe Lazarovici (b. 13 September 1943) (2004, Timișoara); Sabin Adrian Luca (b. 18 May 1959 *[sic!]*) (2004, Cluj-Napoca); András Magyar (b. 17 November 1927) (2002, Cluj-Napoca); Liviu Maior (b. 2 October 1940) (2002, 2005, Cluj-Napoca); Ilie Manole (b. 21 January 1947) (2007, Ploiești); Radu Manolescu (28 July 1929-2005) (1996, 2006: *In memoriam*); Silvia Marinescu-Bîlcu (b. 1 January 1935) (2005); Mihai Maxim (b. 9 November 1943) (2004); Iacob Mârza (b. 18 August 1946) (2006, Alba Iulia); Florin Medeleț (24 April 1943-2005) (2004, Timișoara); Vasile I. Mocanu (13 March 1928-2010) (2007); Dan Monah (b. 11 February 1944) (2009); Ioan Munteanu (b. 31 October 1938) (2003, Timișoara); Camil Mureșanu (b. 20 April 1927) (1998, Cluj-Napoca; 2007—two volumes: Cluj-Napoca, Bucharest); Thomas Nögler (b. 30 January 1939) (2009, Alba Iulia); Petre Ș. Năsturel (b. 1 April 1923) (2003, Brăila); Stelian Neagoe (b. 11 November 1943) (2003); Ion Nestor (25 August 1905-1974) (2005, Buzău: *In memoriam*); Gernot Nussbächer (b. 22 August 1939); Ioan Opreș (b. 9 June 1942) (2007) (2004, Brașov); Vladimir Osiac (b. 1 October 1941) (2006, Craiova); Șerban Papacostea (b. 25 June 1928) (1998, 2008, Brăila); Cornelia Papacostea-Danielopolu (8 June 1927-1998) (1999: *In memoriam*); Mircea Păcurariu (b. 30 July 1932) (2002, Cluj-Napoca); Mircea Petrescu-Dîmbovița (b. 21 May 1915) (2005, Jassy); Ioan Piso (b. 24 August 1944) (2004, Cluj-Napoca); Gheorghe Platon (26 February 1926-2006) (1998, Jassy); Radu Popa (32 July 1933-1993) (2003, Cluj-Napoca: *In memoriam*); Emilian Popescu (b. 20 February 1928) (2003, Jassy); Gheorghe Popilian (b. 28 October 1926) (2006, Craiova); Cristian Popișteanu (25 December 1932-1999) (2000: *In memoriam*); Marius Porumb (b. 9 October 1943) (2003, Cluj-Napoca); David Prodan (13 March 1902-1992) (1995, Cluj-Napoca: *In memoriam*); Dumitru Protase (b. 1 October 1926) (1995, Oradea; 2006, Cluj-Napoca); Doru Radosav (5 November 1950) (2010, Cluj-Napoca); Aurel Răduțiu (b. 21 July 1934) (2006, Cluj-Napoca); Viorel Roman (b. 20 March 1942) (2002); Jipa Rotaru (b. 28 April 1941) (2001, Constantza); Aurelian Sacerdoțeanu (20 December 1904-1976) (1997, 2004, Râmnicu Sărat: *In memoriam*); Ioan Saizu (b. 11 January 1931) (2001, Jassy); Silviu Sanie (b. 2 July 1936) (2006); Ioan Scurtu (b. 27 November 1940) (2000, Focșani; 2010, Jassy/Focșani); Gavrilă Simion (18 November 1928-2010) (2000, Tulcea); Valeriu Sârbu (b. 25 February 1950) (2010, Brăila); Ion I. Solcanu (b. 19 October 1943) (2008, Jassy); Victor Spinei (b. 26 October 1943) (2008, Brăila); Ion Stanciu (b. 2 October 1945) (2005, Târgoviște); Alexandru Suceveanu (b. 11 March 1940) (2010); I.D. Ștefănescu (16 July 1886-1981) (1997, Jassy: *In memori-*



am); Ștefan Ștefănescu (b. 24 May 1929) (2000, 2009—Brăila); Marcel Știrban (b. 26 August 1932) (2002, Târgu Mureș); Gabriel Ștrempel (b. 8 September 1926) (2006, Satu Mare); Gemil Tahsin (b. 21 September 1943) (2003, Constantza); Pompiliu Teodor (13 July 1930-2001) (2000, 2003, Cluj-Napoca: *In memoriam*); Răzvan Theodorescu (b. 22 May 1939) (2004, 2009); Ion Toderașcu (b. 9 September 1938) (2004, Jassy); Dumitru Tudor (22 May 1908-1982) (2001, Timișoara: *In memoriam*); Lucia Țeposu Marinescu (b. 6 September 1935) (2005); Nicolae Ursulescu (b. 2 April 1943) (2009, Jassy); Virgil Vătășianu (1 March 1902-1993) (2002, Oradea; 2002, Cluj-Napoca: both, *In memoriam*); Vasile Vesa (b. 7 May 1939) (2000, Cluj-Napoca); Dumitru Vitcu (2 March 1940) (2010, Jassy); Alexandru Vulpe (16 June 1931) (2003, Baia Mare); Gheorghe Zbucnea (3 November 1940-2008) (2009: *In memoriam*); Alexandru Zub (b. 12 October 1934) (1994, 2005, Jassy; 2009, Bucharest/Brăila). (It is also important that specialized magazines often refer, in their articles, to the activity of present-day Romanian historians).

The fertile historiographic activity of the last two decades is illustrated by a valuable scientific instrument named *The Historical Bibliography of Romania*, edited by a group of historians in Cluj-Napoca—where there is an experienced historical school, Ioachim Crăciun (1898-1971)<sup>147</sup> being its most distinguished representative—, and published every 5 years, since 1970<sup>148</sup>. The dynamics of post- and pre-1989 references is illustrative—7.701 (1944-1969), 9.920 (1969-1974), 9.986 (1974-1979), 12.909 (1979-1984), 10.584 (1984-1989), 11.550 (1989-1994), 19.159 (1994-1999), 31.457 (1999-2004), 11.575 (2004-2006), 9.759 (2007-2008. Part I), 15.819 (2007-2008. Part II) (we must however point out that some entries are somewhat “fantastic,” in the sense that, based on the freedom of expression, they show a false scientific prowess, or refer to already published material, while important books and articles are not included in the list).

## Conclusions

**R**OMANIA'S RETURN to a democratic multi-party system, after the events of 1989<sup>149</sup>—which happened mostly because of the external pressure, as there was no largely popular dissident movement—has positively influenced historiography.

In the last two decades, as in other segments of society, there have been no dramatic fractures in the space of Romanian historiography, except for the understandable institutional adjustments and personal frictions, until then repressed, which, in the new liberal system, manifested themselves more or less forcefully (depending on the personality attributes of the respective opponents, otherwise colleagues ...) For all this, the servants of history writing continued to prove their worth by publishing important scientific works, but also by approaching new subjects.

In the last two decades Romanian historiography has diversified thematically, mainly by the publication of a significant number of works dealing with the history of the country, under socialism. New generations of historians and researchers have appeared, most of them showing passion and honesty in their undivided service to Clio. The institutes and research centers network has expanded; nowadays, museums and history departments play a more significant role in research; more and more scientific or cultural publications come out. On the other hand, too ambitious Servants of Clio have launched allegations against their fellow historians, in the mass-media, and in individual publications. Although ostensibly based on a professional approach, these acts have seriously damaged the reliability of history writing among less informed readers. Unfortunately, educational policies, the meager place that history today occupies within pre-university education curriculum, and the setting up of a PhD system, which proves inadequate to true and honest scientific research, have had their share in marginalizing history. □

## Notes

1. Already evaluations and research has been initiated in this respect: C. Mureșanu, "Evoluție și revoluție în istoriografia contemporană," in *Memoriile Secției de Științe Istorice și Arheologie*, XVII, 1992: 165-170; Florin-Alexandru Platon, "Fețele lui Ianus. Istoriografia română la sfârșit și început de secol," in *Anuarul Institutului de Cercetări Socio-Umane "Gh. Șinca". Târgu Mureș*, III-IV, 2000-2001: 7-23; Nicolae Boșșan, Stelian Mândruț, "L'istoriographie roumaine en 1999. Directions et tendances," in Gheorghe Platon, Veniamin Ciobanu (eds.), *Idées politiques et mentalités en Pologne et en Roumanie entre l'Orient et l'Occident (XVIII<sup>e</sup>-XX<sup>e</sup> siècles)*. Colloque de la Commission d'Historiens Roumains et Polonais, Bucarest 25-26 septembre 2001. Sous la rédaction de l'acad... et de ... (Cluj-Napoca: Presses Universitaires de Cluj, 2002): 171-17; Bogdan Murgescu, "The Romanian Historiography in the 1990's," in *The Romanian Journal of the Society and Politics*, III, no. 1, 2003: 30-59; Dan Berindei, "Starea istoriografiei române," in *Memoriile Secției de Științe Istorice și Arheologie*, XXIX-XXX, 2004-2005: 17-26; Gabriel Moisa, *Direcții și tendințe în istoriografia românească. 1989-2006* (Oradea: Editura Universității din Oradea, 2007) 218 p.; Nicolae Edroiu, "Istoriografia română în anii 2004-2006 (direcții de cercetare și principalele rezultate)," in Nicolae Edroiu, Milan Krajčovič (eds.), *Academia Română – Academia Slovacă de Științe. Solidaritatea mișcărilor naționale în Europa Centrală și de Sud-Est. 1895-1906. Reuniunea a VII-a a Comisiei Mixte Româno-Slovace de Istorie (Arad-Nădlac, 22-26 mai 2006)* (Cluj-Napoca, Argonaut, 2008): 175-184; etc.
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- “Gânduri răzlețe despre istoriografie în epoca post-totalitară,” in *Xenopoliana*, II, no. 1-4, 1994: 93-95; Gheorghe Buzatu, *Perspective comunitare europene în domeniul istoriei: restituirea ori rescrierea trecutului*, in Gheorghe Vartic (ed.), *Interferențe. geopolitică-Istorie. Historia, Quo Vadis?* (Bucharest: Editura Militară, 1999): 120-144; Bogdan Murgescu, *A fi istoric în anul 2000* (Bucharest: ALL Educațional coll. *Esențial*, 2000) 136 pp.; Gheorghe Platon, *L’Historiographie roumaine dans le contexte de la mondialisation*, in Gheorghe Platon, Vasile Ciobanu (eds.), *op. cit.*, pp. 159-170; Ovidiu Pecican, *Ce istorie scriem* (Bucharest: Ideea Europeană, 2006) 250 p.; Neagu Djuvara, *Există istorie adevărată? Despre “relativitatea generală” a istoriei. Eseu de epistemologie*. II ed. (Bucharest: Humanitas, 2006) 156 p.; Alexandru Zub, *Continuitatea și înnoire în discursul istoric*, in Dumitru Țicu, Ionel Cădea (eds.), *România în Europa medievală (între Orientul bizantin și Occidentul latin). Studii în onoarea profesorului Victor Spinei*. (Brăila: Muzeul Brăilei-Editura Istros, 2008): 53-62; Florin Constantiniu, “Împotriva caporalizării istoriei,” in *Istorie și civilizație*, I, no. 3, December 2009: 4-9; etc.
3. Șerban Papacostea, “Captive Clio. Romanian Historiography under Communist Rule,” in *European History Quarterly*, vol. 26, no. 2, 1996, p. 181-208; Alexandru Zub, “O jumătate de secol de istoriografie românească. Bilanț provizoriu și perspective,” in Violeta Barbu (ed.), *In Honorem Paul Cernovodeanu* (Bucharest: Kriterion, 1998): 339-351; Ioan Scurtu, “Evoluția istoriografiei românești în a doua jumătate a secolului XX. Problematica istoriei contemporane,” in *Analele Universității “Spiru Haret”. Istorie*, II, 1999: 39-53; Alexandru Zub, *Orizont închis. Istoriografia română sub comunism* (Jassy: Institutul European, 2000) 200 p.; Gabriel Moisa, “Despre manipularea istoriografiei în comunism,” in Idem (ed.), *Studii de istoriografie românească* (Cluj-Napoca: Dacia, 2008): 95-158; etc.
  4. Radu Florescu, “Istorie militară sau militarie în istorie” in *România liberă*, XLVII, no. 14.044 (new series, no. 10), 4 January 1990: 2; Marcela Vultur, “Istoriografia română în deceniul 1948-1958,” in *Istoria Astăzi Cluj-Napoca*, I, no. 11, 1993: 137-140; Andi Mihalache, “Ideologie și politică în istoriografia română (1948-1965),” in *Analele Institutului de Istorie “A.D. Xenopol”*, XXXVI, 1999: 45-65; Florin Müller, “Politică, ideologie și istoriografie în anii ‘50-’60,” in Constantin Bușe, Ileana Căzan (eds.), *Istorie și societate. Culegere de studii de istorie modernă și contemporană In memoriam Gh. Nicolae Căzan* (Bucharest: Editura Universității din București, 2000): 100-123; Idem, *Politică și istoriografie în România (1948-1964)* (Cluj-Napoca, Neramia Napocae, 2003) 364 p.; Andi Mihalache, *Istorie și practici discursive în România “democrat-populară”* (Bucharest: Albatros, 2003) 306 p.; Alexandru Zub, “Istoriografia română între comandă totalitară și imperativul științific,” in Alexander Rubel, Cătălin Turliuc (eds.), *Totalitarism: ideologie și realitate socială în România și RDG. Totalitarismus: Ideologie und soziale Wirklichkeit in Rumänien und in der DDR* (Jassy: Editura Universității “Al.I. Cuza,” 2006): 151-162; etc.
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113. The Academy of Romanian Scientists is the only legatar of the Romanian Academy of Sciences (1936-1948) and to the Association of Romanian Scientist established by HCM in 1956 and which changed its name from Association of Romanian Scientists to Academy of Romanian Scientists in 1996.
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115. Nichita Adăniloae, *Monografia Societății de Științe Istorice din România* (Bucharest: no publisher, 2009) 444 p.
116. Florian Tănăsescu, Pamfil Nichițelea, "Istoria, încotro?," in *Alternative*, I, no. 19-20, 1990: 29-30; Ioan Ciupercă, "Șansa scrierii istoriei contemporane," in *Analele Științifice ale Universității "Al.I. Cuza"*. *Istorie*, XXXVII-XXXVIII, 1991-1992: 245-352; András Magyar, "Az objektív és szubjektív tényező szerepe a történelmi hűség rekonstruálásában," in *Korunk*, new series, VI, no. 4, 1995: 103-106; Florin Constantiniu, "Dificultățile istoricului în perioada de tranziție," in Cristian Troncotă, Doru Bratu (eds.), *Istoriografia în tranziție* (Institutul Național de Informații. *Sesiunea de comunicări științifice. 15-16 martie 1996*) (Bucharest: Ed. I.N.I., 1996): 9-12; Andrei Pippidi, "Pseudoreforma istoriografiei românești," in *Xenopoliana*, VI, no. 3-4, 1998: 118-127; Nicolae Ciobanu,

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127. „A quick look at the literature of the communist period in Romania—historiographical, politological, belletristic, etc.—shows that the attention of the authors first focused on the so-called ‘Nicolae Ceaușescu era’ and mostly on its final phase. The fact should surprise anyone: people are usually more interested in recent history; they want to know



- what happened during their lifetime, to decipher the unknown events which they witnessed and, maybe, they were influenced by. Their children, listening to the tales of their parents are also acquainted with what happened in the near past and also want to know which facts separate them. Thus parents and children are attracted to recent history. In light of these simple observations, the interest in Ceaușescu's regime in its final years is understandable. What we find odd is the presentation of the years 1965-1989 as the darkest period—by some authors, even apocalyptic—of the communist phase. A person with elementary knowledge of Romanian contemporary history knows that, during Gheorghiu-Dej, and in the last years of Stalinism in Romania, a policy of repression and terror was implemented, according to the 'Soviet model' of socialism, imposed by Stalin to the Eastern European countries, in the influence sphere of the Soviet Union"Florin Constantiniu, "O ciudățenie și explicațiile ei," in Sorin Liviu Damean, Marusia Cîrstea (eds.), *Politică, diplomatie și război. Profesorul Gheorghe Buzatu la 70 de ani* (Craiova, Universitaria, 2009): 558.
128. Ion Zainea, *Cenzura istoriei, istoria cenzurată. Documente. 1966-1972* (Oradea, Editura Universității, 2006) 322 p.; Virgil Coman, Nicoleta Grigore, *Tomis. Cenzurat Necenzurat. Mărturii documentare (1967-1977)*. (Constanța, Tomis, 2007) 134 p.; etc.
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  133. Iolanda Țighilui, "O direcție majoră a investigației istorice: mentalitățile," in *Revista istorică*, new series, I, no. 4, 1990: 411-412; Nelu Zugravu, "O nouă direcție istoriografică: studiul 'religiei popoarelor,'" in *Europa XXI*, III-IV, 1994-1995: 87-101; Dorin Dărăban, "Repere metodologice. Istoria imediată-istoria orală între teoria și metoda istorică," in *Studii și comunicări Muzeul Județean Satu Mare*, XIII, 1996: 249-255; Alexandru Zub, "O nouă temă în istoriografia română: elitele," in *Xenopoliana*, IV, no. 14, 1996: 49-55; Victoria Isabela Corduneanu, "Oral history as a method for historical research," in *Acta Musei Napocensis*, XXXV-XXXVI 2, 1998-1999: 239-245; Alexandru Zub, "Despre studiul alterității la români," in Alexandru Zub, Lucian Nastasă, *Identitate Alteritate în spațiul cultural românesc*. (Jassy, Editura Universității "Al.I. Cuza", 1996): 389-408; Ecaterina Lung, "O nouă paradigmă istoriografică: istoria culturală," in *Studii și Materiale de Istorie Modernă*, XX, 2007: 43-60; Idem, "Aspecte ale modernizării istoriografice: Istoria mentalităților în România," in Ioan Bolovan, Sorina Paula Bolovan (eds.), *Schimbare și devenire în istoria României*. Cluj-Napoca, 21-24 mai 2007 (Cluj-Napoca: Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 2008): 353-370; Irina Gavrila, "Informatica și istoria. Explorarea bazelor de date istorice pe internet în România," in *Revista istorică*, new series, XIX, no. 1-2, 2008: 177-189; etc.

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138. Stoica Lascu, "Profesorul Stephen Fischer-Galați—eminent reprezentant de origine română al istoriografiei nord-americane," in *Ex Ponto*, VII, no. 3 (24), July-September 2009: 185-194.
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141. Cristian Pătrășcănoiu, "Istoricul Lucian Boia, despre UE ca proiect imperialist. 'Occidentul a fost și încă este cea mai eficientă dintre lumi.' Interviu," in *Cotidianul*, 22 November 2007: 24.
142. Bogdan Murgescu, *România și Europa. Acumularea decalajelor economice (1500-2010)* (Jassy: Polirom coll. *Historia*, 2010): 16.
143. Noticing that even after the launching of this *Appeal*, the state's authorities are trying, in different parts of the world, to legally mute the free exercise of scientists in the field of History, many European historians (Jacques Le Goff, Hélène Carrère d'Encausse Paris, Timothy Garton Ash Oxford, Carlo Ginzburg Bologna, José Gotovich Bruxelles, Eric Hobsbawm Londra, Guy Zelis Louvain and others) have launched in Blois (France), on 10 October 2008, a new *Appeal*, where among others it is restated: „History must not be the slave of actuality, nor must it be written under the dictate of concurring memories. In a free state, no political authority is entitled to define historical truth and to restrict the freedom of the historian under the threat of legal sanctions” —*apud* Luigi Cajani ("La Sapienza" University in Rome), "Adevărul istoric îl stabilesc istoricii," in *Magazin istoric*, new series, XLIII, no. 3 (504), March 2009: 7.
144. The old and valuable *Enciclopedia istoriografiei românești* (ed.: Ștefan Ștefănescu) from 1978 has not been updated. Then, 926 historians were counted (starting with the chroniclers and ending with Nicolae Ceaușescu); also Victor Spinei, *Reprezentanți de seamă ai istoriografiei și filologiei românești și mondiale* (Brăila: Editura Istros-Muzeul Brăilei, 1996) 416 p.; Spiridon I. Cristocea, *Argeș. Dicționar de istorici* (Pitești: Muzeul Județean Argeș, 2003) 356 p.

- Many years ago, a well-known historian from Bucharest ventured to print a number of un-commented bio-bibliographical files; the 33 historians—extracted from a “highly selective” list were, in fact, his own friends and colleagues – Nichita Adăniloae, Dan Berindei, Cornelia Bodea, Lucian Boia, Ion Bulei, Gheorghe Buzatu, Ion Calafeteanu, Eliza Campus, Paul Cernovodeanu, Ioan Chiper, Florin Constantiniu, Eugen Denize, Valeriu Florin Dobrinescu, Nicolae Edroiu, Titu Georgescu, Dinu C. Giurescu, Damian Hurezeanu, Anastasie Iordache, Gheorghe Iscru, Ion Mamina, Camil Mureșanu, Manole Neagoe, Stelian Neagoe, Ion M. Oprea, Șerban Papacostea, Gheorghe Platon, Constantin Rezachevici, Ioan Scurtu, Apostol Stan, Marin C. Stănescu, Dumitru Șandru, Ștefan Ștefănescu, Alexandru Zub; Stelian Neagoe, *Istorici români de azi*. (Bucharest, Machiavelli coll. *Istorie & Politică* ), 2003 228 p.
145. During the 60's, only: xxx *Omagiu lui C. Daicoviciu cu prilejul împlinirii a 60 de ani* Bucharest, Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Române, 1960) 578 p.; xxx *Omagiu lui P. Constantinescu-Iași cu ocazia împlinirii a 70 de ani* Bucharest, Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Române, 1965) XXIII + 724 p. In 1978, at Caransebeș a symposium was organized by historians and archaeologists of Banat, *In memoriam Constantin Daicoviciu*—the proceedings 436 p.; Sever Dumitrașcu, Florin Sfrengu, *Constantin Daicoviciu. O biografie* (Oradea, Editura Universității, 2008) 144 p.
- In the 70's: *Sub semnul lui Clío*. Homage to 60 years from birth of acad. Ștefan Pascu Cluj, 1974) 638 p.; xxx *Ștefan Meteș la 85 de ani*. (Cluj: no publisher, 1977) 580 p. During the 70's and 80's, inside the History Department of the Faculty of History-Philosophy ('Babeș-Bolyai' University in Cluj-Napoca) only the *Bibliography of Works* could be published – for: Mihail P. Dan (1976), Ștefan Imreh (1979), Iosif Kovács (1979), Francisc Pall (1978), Ștefan Pascu (1979, 1984), David Prodan (1977, 1984), I.I. Russu (1982), Virgil Vătășianu (1979).
146. Only in Iași, Professor Constantin Cihodaru (1907-1994) could be offered homage by his fellow historians; *Profesorului Constantin Cihodaru la a 75-a aniversare* (Jassy: Universitatea “Al.I. Cuza”, 1983); Ion Toderașcu, Ion Agrigoroaiei (eds.), *Omagiu Cihodaru Constantin. Istorie și civilizație. Culegere de studii. Profesorului C. Cihodaru la a 80-a aniversare* (Jassy: Universitatea “Al.I. Cuza”, 1988) 666 p.; also Professor Ilie Grămadă (1911-1985)—Ion Solcanu (ed.), *Profesorul Ilie Grămadă la 70 ani* (Jassy: Universitatea “Al.I. Cuza”, 1984).
- Conversely, in Bucharest, when a representative of the scientific establishment of the times, the archaeologist Emil Condurachi (1912-1987), Professor, member of the Romanian Academy, has turned 70 (1982)—the anniversary could only be marked by articles published in specialized reviews.
147. See Nicolae Edroiu, *Școala bibliografică din Cluj; contribuția lui Ioachim Crăciun (1898-1971)*, in xxx *In Honorem Gabriel Ștrempel* (Satu Mare, Editura Muzeului Sătmărean, 2006): 230-236; Idem, *Ioachim Crăciun și bibliologia românească. Studiu și bibliografia operei de...* (Cluj-Napoca, Philobiblon, 1994) 110 p.
148. *Bibliografia istorică a României. I. Bibliografie selectivă. 1944-1969* (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1970) 386 p.; in *Foreword*, acad. Constantin Daicoviciu, “the director of the History and Archaeology Institute in Cluj” of the Academy of Social and Political Sciences of the Socialist Romanian Republic, showed: “With this first volume, the press of the Academy of the Socialist Republic Romania launches the national important collection, *Bibliographia Historica Romaniae* which would encompass the *whole* (emphasis mine) Romanian historical literature, from the first writings

- up to date”; *the first Editors Committee* is formed by Ștefan Pascu, Ioachim Crăciun, Bujor Surdu; authors: Ioachim Crăciun, Gheorghe Hristodol, Marcel Știrban, Ludovic Báthory, Gheorghe Iancu, Gelu Neamțu, Gheorghe Dumitrașcu; the last volumes are coordinated by the not less gifted historian and bibliographer Stelian Mândruș.
149. Bogdan Murgescu, “Alternative istoriografice cu privire la Revoluția Română din Decembrie 1989,” in *Caietele Revoluției*, no. 1 (3), 2006, p. 49-53; Stelian Mândruș, “Revoluția din decembrie 1989 în istoriografia română și străină. Bibliografie selectivă (1990-2005),” in *Memorial 1989. Buletin științific și de informare* Timișoara, no. 1, 2007: 119-154; Ioan Scurtu, *Revoluția Română din Decembrie 1989 în context internațional* (Institutul Revoluției Române din Decembrie 1989) (Bucharest: Redacția Publicațiilor din Străinătate, 2009) 412 p. + 42 pl.; Dan Berindei, “Căderea comunismului—miracol sau fenomen inexorabil?,” in *Arhivele Totalitarismului*, XVII, no. 64-65 (3-4), 2009; Ionel Șt. Alexandru, “România în 1989: istorie și istoriografie,” in Stela Cheptea (ed.), *op. cit.*: 183-196; Ion Calafeteanu, “Revoluția Română—evoluții programatice. Acum 20 de ani,” in *Istorie și civilizație*, I, no. 3, December 2009: 4-9; Zoe Petre, “Adevăr istoric, adevăr juridic, adevăr,” in *Historia*, X, no. 97, January 2010: 14; etc.

### Abstract

#### The Paradigmatic Polyvalence of Romanian Historiography Past and Present—Themes, Authors, Orientations

After the Second World War and during the last half of century, the Romanian historiography has gone through transformations similar to those of the Romanian society as a whole. It is a period during which, it is true, in this historical context, politics have dictated in a considerable manner—but not overwhelmingly and exclusively—, in outlining the directions and the content of the thematic approaches of historiography. Romania’s return, after the events of December 1989, to the democratic multiparty system has also positively influenced historiography. Practically, there is no fracture in its evolution: besides recognized historians, new researchers stand out; new research centers are created; new subjects are approached thanks to the opening of the Archives (especially regarding socialist Romania); a real ‘boom’ of published books happens and Romanian historians participate intensively to international specialty meetings.

### Keywords

Bibliography, Historiography, Romanian Academy, Romanian historians, N. Iorga