The Work of the Transylvanian Scholar Simion Bărnuţiu

A True Portrayal of the European Conscience of His Time

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Introduction

Simion Bărnuțiu (1808–1864) was an important visionary politician in Transylvania and an outstanding scholar belonging to the generation of patriotic and revolutionary intellectuals of 1848, among which we mention George Barițiu, August Treboniu Laurian, Timotei Cipariu, Alexandru Papiu Ilarian, Avram Iancu, and others. As an exponent and promotor of national cultural development, particularly in the fields of philosophy and science, aiming to the enlighten the people, to end feudal injustices, the enslavement and the subjection of one people by another, as a revolutionist fighting for human and peoples' rights during the events of eighteen forty-eight, as the first professor of law and of the philosophy of law on the Romanian territory, S. Bărnuțiu has the merit of being a pioneer (in the Transylvanian area) in the history of juridical sciences, in political and juridical philosophy, in anthropology, empirical psychology, logics, pedagogy, language science, dialectology, being regarded as a school founder ("Bărnuțiu's School").

Politically, Bărnuţiu was in the front line of the 1848 revolution, as the main ideologist with democratic and humanist views, the leader of the Transylvanian revolutionaries (president of the Romanian National Committee). His work was preponderantly oral during that time (1842—1849), consisting of speeches such as the one delivered in the Blaj Cathedral on 2/14 May 1848, reiterated afterwards to the Romanians gathered on Câmpia Libertății (Freedom Plain).¹ For the rest of his life, Bărnuţiu wrote academic manuals, being tenured professor at the University of Iaşi, manuals such as "Romanian Public Law," Iaşi, 1867, 472 p.; "Public Natural Law," Iaşi, 1879, 391 p.; "Private Natural Law," Iaşi, The Printing House of the Romanian Tribune, 1868, 300 p.; "Pedagogy," Iaşi, 1870, 326 p.; "Empirical Psychology and Logics," Iaşi, 1871, 212 p.; "Natural Law," lithograph, 168 p.; "Ethics," lithograph, 90 p.; "Logics," lithograph, 88 p.; "Metaphysics," lithograph, 79 p.; "The Science of Virtue," lithograph, parts I and II, 175 p. He also published a large number of papers with humanist scientific content in the journals of the time.

Both his written and oral works are laden with new notions which were introduced in the Romanian philosophy and culture, Bărnuţiu being credited for expanding the philosophical vocabulary. He was the first teacher to give up Latin in teaching and to use Romanian instead, a language which he developed to the level required to express more nuanced ideas and the conceptual systems in the history of universal culture and, especially, in his contemporary Europe. An objective analyst appreciated that "the image of the most outstanding representative of a monumental generation, the one of the 1848 Romanian Revolution, emerges from his life and writings." In particular, Eugeniu Speranția highlighted his philosophical and scientific merits, claiming that Bărnuțiu should be considered as "the true precursor of all those who cherish nowadays the studies of juridical Philosophy in Romania."

Above all, Bărnuţiu was a most gifted thinker and man of culture, who identified and analyzed the economic and social-political issues of his century, especially those facing the Romanians and the other nationalities of the Habsburg Empire, finding solutions for them from the perspective of rationalist and humanist philosophy, of universal history and of the other sciences of this time. Throughout his entire life, his credo, his political beliefs consisted of acknowledging the primordial value of the natural law principles governing mankind, peoples, and communities, the corollary of which is the *Declaration of Human Rights* issued during the French Revolution of 1789 and then disseminated over a wider area in the European political and juridical culture. The rights of peoples, nationalities and other human communities emerge from and are substantiated on natural human rights. They have to triumph over the entire society and mankind in order to bring about the benefits of justice and civilization.

Bărnuţiu's life and work have been considered from various points of view, by several authors. Some put an emphasis on his practical work as a revolutionary political activist, a coryphaeus of the Transylvanian revolution, reaching the conclusion that Bărnuţiu's personality was focused on practical action, that he was "a specifically political human being." The quintessence of his concepts and political program are included in his remarkable speech held in Blaj in 1848, which expresses his beliefs. All these exerted a deciding influence on the Romanian public opinion and on the Transylvanian Romanians national conscience. Therefore, the main merits of the Transylvanian scholar must be searched in his oral works, in his remarkable speeches. Bărnuţiu is considered one of the greatest Romanian orators of the 19th century.

Other exegetes saw in the structure of his personality a shy person, inclined to meditation, with a polyvalent creative activity in the field of knowledge and culture, enjoying of a huge prestige. Thus, he "must be appreciated as the most noticeable thinker of the Transylvanian Romanian during the Revolution of 1848," as Radu Pantazi wrote.⁵

In fact, the two views complete each other as, for the first part of his life (until 1850), the man of action, the Transylvanian patriot, expressed himself mostly in political life, as democratic-revolutionary patriot fighting for human and peoples' rights, capitalizing on European culture and the benefits of the civilization of his time. His work is predominantly oral, concretized in the famous speeches and manifestos. After receiving the title of Doctor in Juridical Sciences at the University of Pavia, Italy, in 1854, and becoming tenured professor at the University of Iaşi, Bărnuțiu drafted academic courses, published papers and studies, bringing remarkable contributions to the enrichment of philosophy, science, and culture, so that we can state that his monumental work is at the forefront of the knowledge existing in the mid-19th century in Romania, contributing to the development of national and European culture up to our times.

This paper analyzes the current relevance of his outlook on human beings, society and the world, ideas in which Bărnuţiu integrated the Romanian and European philosophy—as its spiritual reflex—, his contribution to the introduction of political-juridical philosophy in Romanian culture, the justification of his concept of social organization and development based on the promotion of fundamental natural human rights, which shows the universality and the European character of Bărnuţiu's discourse on the role of culture, of philosophy and of the sciences in improving humankind and social development.

The Outlook on World, Society and the Human Being

HE PHILOSOPHICAL training of the future Transylvanian scholar began with his studies at the Catholic High School of Carei, where he received education in the humanities, ethics, rhetoric, Greek and Roman culture, mythology and religion. His gradual learning of Latin, German, Hungarian and Italian eased his access to knowledge in various fields, specific for his time, and also to history and classical culture. He attended lectures in philosophy at Blaj during 1825–1826, further continued with the study of theology until 1829. He was very interested in the history of philosophy and culture, being deeply marked by classics such as Ovid, Tacitus, Livy, Plautus, Terence, Cicero, Horace, by the great thinkers from Plato to Hegel, from Aristotle to Kant, from Socrates to Montesquieu, from the Eleatic School to the School of Natural and Historical Law. He was mostly influenced by the works of the founders and promoters of the doctrine of natural law—Hugo Grotius, Puffendorf, J.J. Rousseau, Im. Kant, Fr. Karl Savigny, Thomas Payne, J. Bentham, Destut de Tracy, Benjamin Constant etc. As a convinced Kantian, he enriched his philosophical culture on society, mankind and history by studying the works of the German professors W. T. Krug, Gottfried Muller, and J. Beck.

The contact with the social and national injustices manifest in Transylvania and in the empires of his time impressed and revolted him most deeply during his entire life. The philosophy of natural law, his intimate attachment to the *Declaration of Human Rights* and to the principles of Kantian ethics helped him in defining his social and political philosophy, in finding the way to free and emancipate those who were enslaved economically, politically and spiritually by the feudal regimes, in laying the foundations of a future society at national, European scale and at the level of civilized humanity. His philosophical outlook is focused on the person; his outlook on human beings underlies his understanding of people and nation, of society and of the past and future historical evolution of mankind.

His philosophical works and writings were mostly published after his death. The contribution of the Transylvanian thinker to the evolution of Romanian philosophy and to the enrichment of the European one consists of personal ideas and interpretations, of persuasive demonstrations and valorizations from the perspective of rationalism and humanism in fields such as metaphysics, anthropology, nosology, political-juridical philosophy, logics, aesthetics, and pedagogy. For the purposes of this paper, we are interested in seeing which are specifically Bărnuţiu's philosophical principles underlying his outlook, his ideas on politics and law. Definitely, first of all, they emerged from his knowledge of the economic, social, and political life, of the institutions and of the evolution of the culture of his time. Bărnuţiu's outlook on the human beings, society and world,

the vast knowledge of the history of the specific philosophical ides, his European and universal mega-culture were also of assistance as pillars of his creative ideas.

Being under the direct influence of Kant's and Savigny's philosophy, of other modern and contemporary thinkers, Bărnuţiu created his own concept and realistic attitude towards the world and the society as a whole, focused on the individual and on an individual's major issues as a reflection of the social-historical and cultural contexts. The thinker claims that such a conception is to be formulated in a specific philosophical language, by way of precise and clearly defined concepts, used according to the laws of logics and to the criteria of truth.

The philosopher claims that the outside world (the "mundus," as he called it) has always existed, and that there was no supernatural force behind it, that such a world is endless, and it is presented to us in order to know it as reality. The category of "reality" is "in front of the other categories which all relate to it." The "nature," as statusquo of the *mundus*, is expressed by endless events and occasions which occur according to inherent laws, due to the causes. The succession of natural events is called the *course* (the evolution, our note) *of nature*, while the uniformity of this action is *natural order*. If we think that there are events or actions against the law of nature and dependent on a being above nature—these are called supernatural. However, nature must be explained by itself. According to this concept, the philosopher shall do the same when analyzing social and political life, the evolution of the State and of the law, considering them as objective realities of a specific nature.

The basis of the Transylvanian philosopher's socio-political and scientific thinking is the philosophical outlook on the being, society and a highly civilized mankind. The philosopher states the existence of the tight links between mind and the, between the body and the soul from the perspective of anthropology, of the history of the European culture and civilization, of the psychological notions of his time. Bărnuţiu wrote: "there is no doubt that the body and the soul are in a relationship, as the Ego's internal and external determinations correspond with the greatest accuracy." The ego—"the natural unity of the human being," implies the mortal effect of the soul. That is why the learnings on the human being are the propaedeutic both for general philosophy and for any branch of philosophy, as well as for special science. And as the human nature consists of body and soul, each of its parts is to be studied by specific sciences: the first one—by anatomy and physiology, the second—by psychology.

The essence of a person consists in the capacity to know itself and determine itself, to constantly improve, and thus to dominate its own nature, its initial status. Man is a being able to know the world and itself, to discover, to create by using its psychical faculties on the sensorial and rational knowledge. The truth is in general the purpose of knowledge, and in particular of the scientific one.

As individual and perfectible beings during their entire life, the human beings can live only in society, in relation with each other, with the institutions, with the State, and mostly with their social and natural environment. Thus, the human is a social being who joins the world according to the laws of nature, having itself a specific nature, based on which it is going to improve, to be educated and to integrate into society. The permanent and progressive perfectibility of man in relation with the intended ideal is the attribute of the human being, taken as part of nature, as an organic whole, as purpose and

means at the same time.¹¹ Man is perfectible because it has the capacity to train itself "according to some superior goals, which itself sets; just the opposite for the other beings: nature gave them a field of action established by instinct and a very limited perfection."¹²

Promoting the Fundamental Human Rights —The Core of Political-Juridical Philosophy

The Transylvanian scholar claims with arguments and persuasively that the human being, as part of nature, has by itself a specific nature, it has instincts, biological needs, necessities, and natural aspirations, dependent on its nature. As society members, as social beings, men are endowed with "simple, natural rights which pre-exist positive law, they are primordial and superior in relation to the will of the ruling bodies." Quite legitimately, the members of society claim compliance with their natural rights. The juridical norms, the entire system of positive law, have legitimacy only in compliance with the natural law of mankind and of nations. In this regard, the philosopher writes that natural law or the system of rational law "is the foundation for public law and for the entire political science." ¹³

Civilized mankind in its entirety, the supreme court of the human reason, claim that the natural rights are complied with as a necessity and at universal level, in order to achieve justice, social peace, general welfare for each and all persons—individuals, human communities, nations. Mankind's natural rights serve everywhere for orientation, for guidance for politicians, for the legal bodies, for all who take decisions. There are no admissible facts, behaviors and realities opposite to natural law, meaning despotism, slavery, colonialism, social and national inequity of all kind, rule based of the "right of force" and not on the force of what is right, the denationalization of any ethnicity, etc. In this regard, in his famous manifesto called "A Shameful Bargaining and an Unjust Law," in response to the political decisions of the Hungarian aristocracy to generalize Hungarian in all State institutions, including in the Romanian schools, and, in doing so, to create a great nation with one language and one culture, thus denationalizing the Romanians in Transylvania, the patriotic militant Bărnuțiu claims that "each man or people, or human being, has the right to live in this world and consider itself as a person (jus subsistentiae personalis), to use its body strengths, its hands and feet, to earn some outer wealth and the powers of the soul, the meaning, the word, and so on, to earn inner wealth: knowledge in all kinds of sciences, in the arts, in foreign languages and of his mother tongue (jus libertatis personalis), and these rights are not more adequate for one than for another, or granted to one people more than to the other, but, in this regard, all persons and peoples are just as one, as from the beginning we are all alike and none has the privilege to kill another or to prevent another to act in order to achieve happiness according to the law (jus aequalitatis penalis)... everyone has, by law, the duty to leave the other in peace, not only to let the other live as long as it is given, but also to work free and within one's purpose, to gain some wealth, without which one could not live at all or would live more of an animal than a human life."14 It results from this text which is his attitude concerning the need to respect the fundamental rights

of individuals and peoples. The political-juridical philosophy, his contribution to the development of the sciences of public and private law, relies on the strong belief that human rights must be complied with by anyone, anytime, at universal scale.

The form of State which Barnuţiu opts for, with historical and philosophical arguments, is the *Republic*, resulted from the citizens' agreement, from the social pact they concluded and from the need of continuous adjustment of the State and the legal institutional structure according to people's general will. The initial pact (social agreement) is subjected to changes each time the people so demand. The relations between individuals, between individuals and society, between citizens and the State may be harmonious and peaceful, due to the fact that the power (*potestas*) belongs to the people and works in their favor, according to the laws. The State powers must be separated and cooperate with each other in order to achieve the State purposes, common welfare and justice. The law means "the rule by which a rational harmony is to be set between the external freedoms for all mankind." The supreme principle of law is defined, in the wake of Kant, as follows: "Just is everything that is not against the greatest freedom, as much as possible." The influence of Kantian thought and of the organic and historical ideas of the school of natural law is quite obvious here.

The society, the State, the institutions could also emerge in other ways than by concluding a legitimate social contract, in violation of the principles of human nature and reason. Throughout history, many States emerged artificially, through terror and violence, through the use of force by the great powers, through various ingenious plots to usurp people's power etc. All kind of despotic, oligarchic, aristocratic, tyrannical States have emerged, and their purposes and laws were in opposition to the natural human and peoples' rights, to the reasoning and civilized humanity. Such States cannot achieve the real rational purposes, legitimate in the idea of State; they breach the fundamental rights, thus demeaning humanity and human dignity. Their power is artificial, against human nature and happiness, it is separate from the peoples' will, being used in the interest of the power holders, of the power to enslave, to dominate the many. Just the opposite for the republic, which is the State passing the laws (positive law) according to the principles of the social contract, by consulting the people; it is the State which achieves the idea of justice, it is a legitimate state under the rule of law, governed by the power of the law. The main and natural body of the political power (of the potestas—as S.B. wrote) is the majority of civil society members, and "this is created and it is incumbent to it by the pact of the union itself." ¹⁷

The purpose of the republican State is triple: 1. The establishment of the required institutions to implement the law of justice—positive law; 2. Ensuring the security of its members and of the State as a whole; 3. Stimulating the development of the industry, economy, sciences, education, morality, religion and of other human interests.

Bărnuţiu's option is for democracy, for a State guaranteeing the right to life and security for its members, for the prosperity for all its citizens, the equal entitlement to property and enlightenment for all the members of society without discrimination. The Transylvanian philosopher claims that justice completes the idea of law in the sense that it means "behavior according to the law." The establishment of the social and national justice requires that power must not become an artificial tool of the State, but to remain the province of the people. Distancing power from the people and its confiscation by despots, tyrants or oligarchs is the main factor preventing the State from

complying with natural law, morality and human values. The Republic is the only State corresponding to morality and humanity. The citizens living in it are subject to the pact of the universal union and will (consensus omnium), only in order to achieve the purposes of the State. ¹⁹ Such a democratic State is not possible in the feudal system, which is a society organized against nature, it is unjust, based on servitude, social and national exploitation, on hereditary inequity, a society with two social ranks—the people deprived of potestate (power) and the dominant class of the feudal nobility. The universal and rational principles of human nature, such as those guaranteeing existence, the right to life, to property, the people's freedom and equality before the law are constantly violated—which is against the "court of humanity," as the Transylvanian scholar claims with arguments. The fundamental rights of individuals and peoples are, at the same time, the rights of humanity and mankind, they are rights emerging from the concept of human being, of human reason, being universally available and inalienable. The State able to guarantee such rights—the Republic—does not rely on the "law of force" but on the "force of the law," it is the rule of law, and not the despotic, monolithic State—which means "pluralism of interests, submitted to a unitary framework of juridical nature" 20—as P. Pandrea pertinently noticed. Thus, the Transylvanian thinker voiced the natural fundamental aspirations of a people, enslaved and exploited by another, and outlined the political strategy of its liberation and emancipation, and issued the required legal framework for ending the status quo in Transylvania and for changing, at historical level, the status quo according to a new legal system built on the universal respect of fundamental human and peoples' rights.

As for the relations between peoples, nations and the other human communities, Bărnuţiu states the same principles of political thought. He believes that these, as subjects of international law, must enjoy freedom, independence, sovereignty and self-determination. Peace on the European continent and in the whole world, as well as each people's prosperity may only be guaranteed if everyone involved respects the natural rights of existence for each human being, each nation, or people.

Given such a philosophical, rationalist and humanist vision on society and governance, on the human being and its rights, and also given his active involvement in their pursuit, A. Plămădeală considers that Bărnuțiu was the soul of the Transylvanian movement around the year 1848 and the "Romanian conscience of his time." In addition to this idea, the eminent professor from Cluj, D.D. Roşca, emphasizes the scholar's intellectual and ideological horizon of "European magnitude," highlighting that "nevertheless, history has proven that the one who anticipated with his outlook the progress of the time in the world and on the Romanian territory was "Bărnuțiu, the idealist." 22

Culture—The Path for Mankind and Peoples' Emancipation

Status Tating the existence of a nation, building civilization in the way intended by the people in order to be happy, require that alongside the achievement of a status quo according to natural and historic rights, a nation should develop its culture, science, language, institutions and promote them (academies, universities, all levels of schools, cultural facilities, the means of spreading culture, science, the arts). Culture is

what enlightens the people, taking them out of the darkness of ignorance and bringing them to the heights of civilization—such as it is seen in the Western European countries. In this regard, the Transylvanian scholar wrote that "a people without science and culture is like a toddler expecting everything from someone else. Let's not repent, let's not blame the faith, but we should start to evolve once and for all. And let's all get united in thinking, as unity is the hidden secret of the century, now revealed."²³

Culture, either literary, artistic, scientific, or the people's language, is endless. The same holds true for the improvement of individuals or people. Their rise to a higher level of science is a continuous work, leading to the increase of their strengths from one day to another. Science means increased power for those assimilating and applying it. And the path chosen by a people or by an ethnicity for the development of culture and science is different from one to another, depending on the level of freedom, of sovereignty appropriate to the natural rights.²⁴ Even if the means required for the development of culture, for the emancipation of a people may be the same, the path is different; thus, just a few of the peoples have reached the peaks of civilization, claims Bărnuţiu.

A people's life, its culture, science, nationality, freedom and language are organically correlated. The alienation, the separation of any from the others is not possible without jeopardizing the whole which they are part of. Similarly, the development of one causes corresponding changes in all of the others, and thus "value produces culture, culture produces freedom, and freedom without existence and national honor is not possible." The freedom of a nation cannot be anything else but national, the nationality evolves alongside its language and culture, its economy and science, its education and means of cultural emancipation, in total consonance with the claims of humanity.

The culture of a people "is the measure of its happiness and security." The enlight-ened peoples of today, noticed Bărnuţiu, know very well that "the light of the sciences and the arts must become a common asset for the entire nation." The means of disseminating culture in the life of these nations are "the schools and national institutes for sciences and arts, and the means of disseminating culture in our species can be found in universities... but just because culture is the biggest power on Earth and it is a new fortress of national unity, the entire nation has to jointly strive towards elevating these edifices."

The flourishing status of contemporary mankind, the inventions and the discoveries in sciences and the arts, industry and trade, bloomed in the light of the sciences, Bărnuţiu states. That is why our nation must develop cultural edifices and institutions: an Academy, universities, schools, theatres, libraries, institutions of culture and art. The scholar explains that a nation without the required cultural, scientific and educational means cannot advance to happiness; it will remain ignorant, lacking power as "science means power." That nation shall remain submissive and "feeble," and its relations with the enlightened nations is as the "relation between the slave and the master." The highest wish and the patriotic impetus expressed by Bărnuţiu regard the elevation of the Romanian nation economically, industrially, commercially, raising it to the level of the cultured European nations, making the country progress so that both Romanians and Europe become better... He thus urges the others: "Awaken from your slumber, my nation, as the sun is up and shines for you to see ... Turn on the beacon of science before the night falls upon the ocean, for it could become scarier and you shall not get away!

Remember that nations rule with science, as science is power and one knows that, since the beginning of the world, the mighty reigned over the weak..."³⁰

When he urged his disciples to learn sciences and when addressing the nation, by science Bărnuțiu meant the ensemble of knowledge and concrete applications, genuine ones "on the essence of things and on their mutual relations." As products of the soul's faculty of "thinking," scientific ideas are true. "Truth consists in: a. The consonance of our knowledge with the object; b. The consonance of our works with the initial reason of all things or with our destination." The products of knowledge which are not in accordance with the object are considered as "wanderings," and they are false. In the same way, the knowledge we get by accident, from hearsay, is often false, unjustified. Wisdom, philosophy, moral conduct are possible only on the basis of scientific knowledge. Bărnuțiu claims that "no one can be a wise man or a philosopher if he does not behave well, besides the sciences and the knowledge of the being, of God."

So understood, the sciences are those that lead the individual in gathering more power to satisfy the needs and wishes, in having more freedom, happiness and justice. Culture, science and philosophy increase an individual's capacity to grow, to constantly improve, to identify his place, his role and meaning in society and in the world. Through science and philosophy, a person defines itself and evolves from individuality to universality. The path of the human and national emancipation is reason, humanism and the "faculty to determine *its will by freedom.*" ³³

Instead of Conclusions

B ÅRNUŢIU'S PHILOSOPHICAL and scientific work, his revolutionary and didactic activity are related to the context of the mid-19th century European culture and to the Romanian events of eighteen forty-eight. The Transylvanian thinker was an erudite exponent of the European trend of humanist and rationalist ideas, being influenced by Kantian philosophy and by the principles formulated by the outstanding representatives of the School of Natural and Historic Law, which he capitalized in his works, in the analysis of the political, social, economic and national matters pertaining to Transylvania, from feudal injustice, the persistence of serfdom, the repressive actions of the political regime, the Romanians' forced alienation from their ethnicity, to the problems caused by the economic, industrial, scientific and educational underdevelopment.

Bărnuţiu has the merit of having associated to his criticism of the existing State and law, of the status quo of the Transylvanian society of his times, a project of legal system, of democratic state organization—the Republic, inspired by the *Declaration of Human Rights*, widely circulated in the European area after the French revolution of 1789. His political speeches, especially the *Speech in the Blaj Cathedral*—1848, deeply marked the history of the Romanians, thus remaining in the memory of Transylvanians as a sort of *Magna Charta Libertatum*.

Being inspired by the history of culture, of the European one in particular, S. Bărnuţiu's philosophical and scientific work left its mark on the evolution of Romanian culture and on its integration in the advanced European one. With his work, vision and ideas, the Transylvanian scholar went beyond his generation, opening a broad horizon for

the next generations, up to our times. D.D. Roşca wrote: the world of Bărnuţiu's ideas "succeed, indeed, to change the path of history; a world of ideas which for a long time had also been the creative power of wonderful Romanian history." Just as eulogistic, on the occasion of the commemoration of 50 years since his passing, Vasile Goldiş considered that Bărnuţiu's work gave a clear shape to "our awakened national consciousness," to "our risen dignity," becoming synonymous to "our national existence as such." A brilliant thinker, the memory of the Transylvanian scholar would endure for many generations, facing eternity. Nicolae Iorga thought the Bărnuţiu's ideas shall endure and "that is why the stature of Bărnuţ does not diminish over time and the memory of him did not fade after the generation of his disciples."

In 2018, when we mark 210 years since the birth of the illustrious Transylvanian thinker, we may find out that the philosophical-juridical ideas and Bărnuţiu's vision on the world, society and human beings are still fully relevant, practically proving the anticipatory potential and the European magnitude of the historic changes of the present and the future.

Notes

- 1. His famous speeches are kept, as lithographs, at the Library of the Romanian Academy and at the State Archives.
- Chindriş, Ioan, Simion Bărnuțiu. National Sovereignty and European Integration, Cluj-Napoca, 1999, p.7.
- 3. Speranția, Eugen, *Introducere în Filosofia Dreptului*, second edition, Tipografia "Cartea Românească" din Cluj, Sibiu, 1944, p. 262.
- Pandrea, Petre, Filosofia politico-juridică a lui Simion Bărnuțiu, Bucharest: România Press, 2007, p.158.
- 5. Pantazi, Radu, Simion Bărnuțiu. Opera și gândirea, Bucharest: Editura Științifică, 1967, p. 254.
- 6. The most important of Barnutiu's speeches: "O tocmeală de ruşine și o lege nedreaptă," Blaj, February 1842; "Săborul cel mare al Episcopiei Făgărașului," Blaj, December 1842; The Proclamation of 24/25 March 1848; "Manifestul românilor transilvăneni"; "Discursul de la 2/14 mai 1848, rostit în Catedrala din Blaj."
- 7. Bărnuțiu, Simion, "Metafizica," lithograph, Library of the Romanian Academy, II, 11665, p.13.
- 8. Ibid., p. 64.
- 9. Ibid., p.
- 10. Ibid., pp. 56–57.
- 11. Ibid., p. 66.
- 12. Ibid., p. 65.
- 13. Bărnuțiu Simion, Dreptulu naturale publicu, Iași: Tipariulu Tribunei Române, 1870, p. 1.
- 14. Bărnuțiu, Simion, "O tocmeală de ruşine şi o lege nedreaptă," in Chindriş, Ioan, Simion Bărnuțiu. Suveranitate naținală și integrare europeană, Cluj-Napoca, 1998, p.46.
- 15. Bărnuțiu Simion, Dreptulu naturale publicu, Iași, 1870, p. 102.
- 16. Ibid., p. 7.
- 17. Ibid., p. 25.
- 18. Bărnuțiu, Simion, Dreptulu publicu alu românilor, Iași, 1867, p. 2.

- 19. Bărnuțiu, Simion, Dreptulu naturalu publicu, p. 90.
- Pandrea, Petre, Filosofia politico-juridică a lui Simion Bărnuțiu, Bucharest, România Press, 2007, p. 156.
- 21. Plămădeală, Antonie, "Simion Bărnuțiu în epocă și în vecii vecilor," in Plămădeală, Antonie, *Dascăli de cuget și simțire românească*, Editura Institutului Biblic și de Misiune al Bisericii Ortodoxe Române, Bucharest, 1981, p. 317.
- 22. Roșca, D.D., "Europeanul Bărnuțiu," in *Oameni și climate*, Cluj: Editura Dacia, 1971, p.
- 23. See "Speech' by Bărnuțiu in front of the assembly dedicated to the development and improvement of the literary and scientific culture," in Chindriş, I., Simion Bărnuțiu. Suveranitate națională și integrare europeană, Cluj-Napoca: Imprimeria "Ardealul" Cluj, 1998, p. 69.
- 24. Ibid., p. 50.
- 25. Bărnuțiu, S., "Discursul de la Blaj," in op. cit., p. 85.
- 26. Ibid., p. 98.
- 27. Ibid., p. 96.
- 28. Bărnuţiu, Simion, "Cuvântul unui student despre necesitatea unei academii la români," in Chindriş, I., op. cit., p. 141.
- 29. Ibid., p. 142.
- 30. Ibid., pp. 143-144.
- 31. Bărnuțiu, Simion, Psihologie empirică, p. 4.
- 32. 2 Ibid., p. 5.
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Abstract

The Work of the Transylvanian Scholar Simion Bărnuţiu—A True Portrayal of the European Conscience of His Time

The author analyses in this paper the connections between S. Bărnuţiu's general outlook on the human being, mankind and world, and its influence on the substantiation of his own philosophy on law and on the principle of natural-historical law in Romanian culture. He emphasizes that Bărnuţiu's philosophy and in fact his entire work are focused on the issue of the human being, approached in a rationalist perspective and within the values of the European culture of the 19th century. Being inspired by classical culture, by the universal history of philosophy and by contemporary European culture, the Transylvanian philosopher brought a polyvalent contribution to the guidance and the development of the Romanian culture in line with the European one.

Keywords

humanistic philosophy, Bărnuțiu, human rights, Romanian culture of the eighteen forty-eight generation