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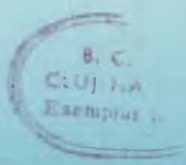
TRANSYLVANIAN REVIEW

Volume III
No. 3
Autumn, 1994



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ROMANIA



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Contents

<i>Ovidiu Bârlea: Romanian Folklore. A Tentative Synthesis</i>	3
<i>Mircea Zăciu: Transylvania's Significance in Romanian Literature</i>	19
<i>Ion Vlad: Splritual Universe. Sketches for a portrait</i>	28
<i>Pompiliu Teodor: Historiography at the University of Cluj (1919–1948). A Brief Outline. A Sketched Profile</i>	47
<i>Ana Dumitran: The Relationship Between Orthodoxy and Calvinism at Archpriest Office Level in 17th Century Transylvania</i>	55
<i>Eugen Glück: Contributions to the History of the Romanians in Hungary</i>	69
<i>Sorina & Ioan Bolovan: Contrbutions Regarding Transylvania's Ethnic and Religious Structure in 20th Century</i>	80
<i>Vasile Grunea: Data on the History of the Jewish Press in Transylvania</i>	97
<i>Kölö Károly: On the Life and Activity of Mihail Halici the Son in the Netherlands and England after 1674. View Points</i>	102
Book Reviews	115



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Romanian Folklore. A Tentative Synthesis

Ovidiu Bârlea*

The first question that rises when one embarks on a retrospective of folklore is that of its oldness. It is generally agreed that folklore is the first artistic product of a people and perhaps the only one before the appearance of the national cultivated literature, but a chronological estimate, as accurate as possible, is still to be done. The lack of reliable documents, then that impenetrable wall separating prehistory from the appearance of writing, thwart any attempt at a satisfactory chronological account. Writing the history of folklore is a daring enterprise, and the one who ventures to do it handles too many hypothetical constructions to be able to avoid the collapse of his edifice. The only fulcrum is the comparative analogy with the culture of the so-called primitive peoples, combined with the too few references in the oldest writings of antiquity. This leads to a too approximate division into periods, both regarding oldness and the forms into which the folk material materialized. Comparative researches have shown that the oldness of the three stages of the creative act – species, form, theme – can differ very much, despite the very

* Ovidiu Bârlea (1917–1990) was one of the most learned researchers of Romanian folk literature. His books are anchored in the great themes of contemporary ethnology and represent a first rate scientific work: *Antologie de proză populară epică*, (1966); *Poveștile lui Creangă*, (1967); *Metoda de cercetare a folclorului*, (1969); *Istoria folcloristicii românești*, (1974), etc. In 1981 and 1983, the two volumes of his treatise *Folclor românesc* were published.

In the remarkable synthesis chapter from the above-mentioned treatise, the first part of which we publish in the present issue of T. R., the great folklorist seeks for the deep Geto-Dacian roots of certain spiritual manifestations that have been preserved in Romanian folklore until today: dances with masks depicting plants and animals, the dance of the "călușari", the funeral rites customs and songs, various mythological creatures. He then points out the second layer of our traditional heritage – the Latin layer, emphasizing the importance of thorough comparative studies of the entire Romance world.

The careful investigation of the Latin influence on our folk poetry, from themes and composition to style and prosody, is based on a thorough knowledge of Romanian oral poetry, but also of the great anthologies of the other neo-Latin peoples. His conclusion is clear and straightforward: "Under unfavourable circumstances, Romanian folklore seems to have preserved its Latin characteristics even more than language, its structural archaism shaping once again the more conservative character of marginal areas, such as the Carpatho-Danubian Romance world as compared to the Western one".

The Byzantine influence is, according to Ovidiu Bârlea quite superficial, and the Slavic influence is not as important as it may seem at first sight.

In the second part of the study, Bârlea lays stress on the unity and organic character of Romanian folklore, on the importance of having it studied within the framework of the geographical historical method, in an attempt at pointing out the Romanians' ethnonogenesis and continuation in a space they have always inhabited. (Ioan Cuțeu).

tempting tendency to level everything out. Quite often, the theme – the elemental poetic nucleus – can be much older than the form in which it is collected in modern times. Also, not all forms of a species were generated simultaneously, in the epoch when the species in question developed their present characteristic themes and stylistic structure. The evaluation is rendered even more difficult by the two tendencies in the folklore tradition: the archaizing tendency, less easy to detect and therefore more insidious, and the modernizing one, tendencies which act in opposite directions, like two forces that somehow balance each other dialectically. Quite often, the precautions resulting from the above-mentioned aspects have a paralysing effect on the attempts at defining periods, when the researcher wants to avoid an accumulation of hypotheses. The golden mean proves to be the safest way, giving a barely visible hope that future assertions will be more plausible, since it is risky to speak of full certainty in this domain, like, for instance, in the case of material culture, where archaeological tools permit a much more exact division into periods.

From all the notable attempts, W. Wundt's stands out. He divided culture into four great periods beginning with prehistory: 1) *the age of primitive man*, 2) *the totemic age*, 3) *the age of heroes and gods* and 4) *the age of humanity*. This latter period begins with the setting up of the first states in Egypt and the Euphrates area, i.e. the historical era, while the third stage would correspond to protohistory. However, the facts he provides that would help in setting a hierarchy of the folklore material are insufficient, so one can actually establish only a prehistoric level, followed by an ancient level – corresponding to the Roman age in our case – and then the mediaeval and the modern ones, up to present times. However just, the phrase "folklore is the echo of the past, but also the voice of the present" is hardly true when one refers to the first stage.

We inherited the Thracian culture, therefore archaic folklore is implicitly a remainder of it, with all the natural additions and changes of the subsequent times. Taking into account the Thracophile mania that has taken root with unexpected firmness, this assertion seems fully plausible. Such attempts have been quite numerous lately, beginning with the legendary shepherd interpreted ostentatiously as a poetized echo of the earth the immortal Getae used to send to their heavenly master Zalmoxe. Even in some television programs assertions have been made that certain customs represent this or that aspect of the Thracian culture, especially the cult of animals with fabulous outgrowths, etc., etc. But when the plausibility of each assertion is put to the test, the whole construction proves to lack the necessary props, remaining purely an illusion.

Some have consolidated their construction using the support of Greek classical mythology, but its support is most of the times problematical. Besides the fact that one cannot equal Thracian mythology with Hellenic mythology, despite several – actually too few – links attested as such, researches have revealed that a gesture, a ritual may have many meanings, often conflicting ones. Likewise, a series of different actions may have the same meaning in different places or even in the same place at different times. As to the comparative analogy to Hellenic mythology, one shouldn't forget that we have been handed down only one variant and not the genuine one, but one that had been encoded and re-adjusted to the more advanced outlook of the first Greek writers. The fragmentation of the Greek people into so many tribes of different origin, that had developed in dissimilar circumstances, must have led to as many different versions. This is a result of the natural tendency of popular cultural products to get as diverse as the communities into which the population of an ethnic group is structured, because the creative impulse invariably leads to a change of the original unitary form. Levelling comes later, at least in the most important chapters of culture, with those states showing unification tendencies. The question is still valid with regard to the configuration of the Thracian spiritual culture that was spread on such a wide territory. Summing up the result in the study of folklore as well as the neighbouring sciences, especially the history of religions, we can state, with reasonable certainty, that the calendar customs involving masks – mostly animal masks – like *ursul*/the bear in Moldavia, *capra (brezaia)*/the goat in the rest of the country, or *cerbul*/the stag in South-Western Transylvania, continue various aspects of the Thracian culture. However, we cannot bring further evidence, except that we suppose they continue similar Geto-Dacian customs having to do with the vegetation growth and health protection, which were part of the Dionysian cult. The same far off origin is also traceable in the other folklore customs related to vegetation, like “*caloianul*” and “*lăzărelul*”, both based on the sacrifice of a god, whose death and revival is meant to insure good crops, then “*paparuda*”, which seems even older, probably of Indo-European origin, as revealed by the use of *similia similibus* as a magical basis. There is also “*călușarii*”, attested only among Romanians and among the Bulgarians influenced by the Romanians, which is a dance against wicked fairies and seems to be a Thracian, or anyway pre-Roman, heritage, mainly since the thematically related dance of the sword is attested not only among the old Germans, but also among the Thracians, as shown by Xenophon in *Anabasis*. The other related dance, the dance of the “*căiuți*” (little horses), is also old, according to certain authors dating as far back as the period

in European prehistory when horses were tamed. Many researchers have said that "hora" [a Romanian round dance] is of Thraco/Hellenic origin, as shown by its name which is related to the Greek *horós* (*cor* in Macedo-Romanian). Taking into account the simplicity of the dance, with its elementary round shape, attested also with peoples from the other continents, the assertion becomes fully plausible. Similarly, the continuity of certain costume items, like the "opinca" [a variety of peasant's sandal], the shirt – long, with the hem close to the knees – the fur cap, etc., is accepted. R. Vuia had the ingeniousness to take pictures of several peasants from Țara Hațegului in a posture similar to that of the Dacians in one of the metopes on Trajan's column: claiming mercy from the conqueror. By adjoining the two photos in his *Portul popular din Țara Hațegului/The Folklore Customs in Țara Hațegului*, pp. 32, 33, he confirmed the identity of the hoods, and also of the other items, as far as they can be perceived on the bas-relief in question. Recent researches seem to confirm also the existence of the "oprege" with fringes [a variety of homespun skirt] in the prehistorical statues in the South-West of the country, which can also be found in the costumes of the women from the mountain area of the Banat. The funeral customs also seem tributary to the Daco-Getic culture, although we cannot determine to what extent the view on the paths of the dead as shown by *The Song of Dawn* resembles the outlook of our predecessors in protohistory. But the planting of a funeral fir tree seems quite certainly to be the continuation of a custom of those times, although we cannot say whether it has the role of substitute attested by folklore, or has perhaps acquired other meanings besides the popular one in modern times. As to the characters in folk mythology, there is complete uncertainty. Generally, they are similar to those of the neighbouring or even of the more remote peoples in Europe, but we cannot determine whether the few specific details are of Thracian origin or not. Thus, Sâmpetru [Saint Peter] as a leader of the wolves is undoubtedly a pre-Christian heritage, and the presupposition that it is of Dacian origin comes by itself, since it is known that lycanthropy was widely spread among the Dacians. But if we take into account that a leader of the wolves is also attested among the Serbs, then among the Ukrainians and the Byelorussians, question marks begin to prevail, unless we admit that it is also an inheritance from the native Thraco-Illyrians, an assertion that needs solid proofs. All that can be plausibly maintained is that the old patron god of the wolves was replaced by Sâmpetru due to the strong Latin tradition in our area concerning the "vârhornic" of the apostles. In the case of the other peoples, there are other gods with lycanthropical prerogatives. Ioan Mușlea said that "Joimarița" is "one of the

very few, perhaps the only *Romanian demoniacal character* (*Cercetări*, II, 237), but this seems to hold good only for some of her prerogatives, for instance as an impersonation of the day of "Joimari" (Maundy Thursday) and as a patron, "moaşă", related to the "moşi" who were honoured with fire and food offerings. As a punisher of women who are lazy at spinning, she corresponds to Frau Werre in the Vogtland county (Germany), who tangles the hemp of the lazy maidens who have not finished spinning during the 12 nights (Christmas - Twelfth Night) (Bach, *D. Volkskunde*, 163). But the fact that Joimariţa has a relative in the Germanic pantheon pleads for its oldness, and it does not preclude a Thraco-Celtic, even Indo-European origin, preserved in the two attested versions, seemingly richer and more vigorous in the Carpatho-Danubian areas.

The Latin heritage can be detected more easily, due to the relatively great number of documentary sources. Following D. Cantemir, the adherents of the Latinist school, beginning with S. Micu, started unravelling them enthusiastically, but their mythological exaggerations of the Grimm brothers type, and the lack of a minimal critical judgement thwarted their efforts. A number of naive connections even raised a general laugh, compromising the few acceptable things that should have been taken over. The very fact that Romanian is a continuation of vulgar Latin gave credit to the assumption that during the obscure process of changing from one into the other, it also circulated cultural goods.

The assertions of the Latin school adherents failed to a great extent also due to the fact that they followed the strict filiation Roman-Romanian, without looking for a confirmation in the case of the other Romance peoples, as the philologists have done ever since Diez. The comparison with the Romance world gives a substantial basis when there is no attestation from ancient Latinity, and when it is corroborated with Romance documents, the assertion becomes completely well-grounded. This is what I. A. Candrea did when he proved that two of our beliefs are of Roman origin. The first refers to spinning with a distaff, which is considered to be of ill-omen, to cause harm, if a woman spins when going out in the fields, in a mill, or near a well. It was first attested in the case of the Romans by Pliny, and then with the Italians by Abruzzi (Italy). The other belief says that the burning of the voke will cause great pains to the one who defies the interdiction he will even be unable to die unless a joke is put under his head. This belief has been attested in France, then in Sicily and Abruzzi. It has not been attested with other peoples, but it can be inferred

that this is also a Latin heritage, even if it is not recorded by Latin writers, who only inventoried part of the folk culture.

So far as folk poetry is concerned, researches have not yet been made to distinguish what is specifically Roman, therefore of Latin origin, or whether we could also admit a multiple genesis. Such an investigation is rendered more difficult because the folk poetry of the other Romance peoples has been strongly influenced by cultivated poetry, which not only replaced archaic themes, but even modified its style. Only Sardinian poetry remained unaltered, preserving an archaic appearance as compared to the others, which are paralleled by cultivated poetry.

I.A. Candrea also cited a "matrix" spell of Marcellus Empiricus of Bordeaux, the doctor of Theodosius the Great, in parallel with a variant from Oltenia which is so similar that it has the accuracy of a translation:

Pastores te invenerunt,	Ciobănașii te aflară,
Sine manibus colligerunt,	Fără mâini te prinseră,
Sine foco coxerunt,	Fără foc te fripseră,
Sine dentibus comederunt.	Fără gură te mâncară.

(Candrea, *Folc. medieval*, VII)

(The shepherds found you,
They grabbed you with no hands,
They roasted you on no fire,
They ate you with no mouth.)

These verses are assigned to the so-called technique of the impossibilities, also to be found with other peoples, and the fact that a culinary impossibility, from catching to consumption, is to be narrated, may have generated similar images independently, due to a lack of other alternatives, which makes the possibility of polygenesis quite plausible.

The funeral custom of meeting the dawn with a song is attested only in the South-Western part of our country and on the coast of Andalusia, but there only in the case of dead children. This also seems to be a Roman, Mediterranean heritage, even if the themes, when studied comparatively, will show no relationship assignable to the ancient source.

From among the other customs during a year, the similarity between the Christmas carol of the "pitărași" ("Moș Ajun") and the Christmas carol of the Roman children cited a century ago by G. Dem. Teodorescu is remarkable,

which indicates somehow implicitly the source of the Romanian carol. At the same time, the Christmas carol itself can be considered a Latin heritage, confirmed by the name of the species, which was taken from the Slavs, then was re-borrowed by the Southern Romanians, since it was there that the form *colind* (*colindă*) was spread, while in the North the form *corindă* is still being used. This rhotacism confirms the Latin name *calendae*, the same way the refrain *Alerui Doamne* reproduces *Halleluiah Domine*, which is preserved only in the Christmas carols, while in the religious hymns the form *aleluia*, taken from the Slavs after the Christianing of the Bulgarians is the only one still in use.

Of the riddles, the one in the Sima collection mentioned by B.P. Hașdeu referring to rain, *Dumbră sumbră fără umbră* ("Gloomy grove with no shadow"), reproduces faithfully the Latin model *De imbre, ex umbra*, being nothing but its translation, with the repetition of the modernized form of the last part. One could admit that some of the proverbs cited for having corresponding Latin versions may also be a continuation of the latter, but the assertion is bound to be hesitating due to the easiness with which they circulate, and to the spreading of the Latin ones through so many translations and textbooks. Maybe some poetic themes or some isolated images in the other species, mainly in folk epic and lyric poetry, are a continuation of the model in Latin folk poetry, but for lack of documents, this assertion remains but a vague probability. Ancient texts preserved only a few fragments of Latin folk poetry, so one should look for help in the comparative research of Romance folk poetry, although the above-mentioned shortcoming considerably diminishes the chance of detecting the revealing proofs. If as far as details are concerned the gain is rather poor, the structural research of popular poetry proves much more fruitful, because Romanian popular versification closely reproduces the Latin one attested in the few fragments that have reached us. Thus, the octosyllabic line was frequently used in Rome, even by the cultivated circles of the empire, as proven by the poetic duel between the poet Florus and Emperor Hadrian. The first had insinuated:

Ego nolo Caesar esse
amblare per Britannos
latitare per...
Scythicas pati pruinas.

(I don't want to be an emperor
Wandering through Britain,
Hiding through...
Suffering the Scythian sleet.)

to which the emperor answered:

Ego nolo Florus esse,	(I don't want to be Florus,
amblare per tabernas,	Wandering through pubs,
latitare per popinas,	Hiding in inns,
culices pati rutundos	Suffering the bed bugs.)

(Baehrens, 373)

The hexasyllabic line also continues the Latin one, although it occurs less frequently with the other Romance peoples, being attested especially in late Latin poems (e.g. the song *Ave, maris stella*) or in religious poems:

... Respice flentem,	atque petentem,
Quaeso clientem,	te venerantem
te metuentem	quin et amantem!

(E. du Ménil, 141)

And yet, a fragment from a lullaby attests the presence of both metric schemes combined:

lalla, lalla, lalla	(la, la, la, la, la, la,
i, aut dormi, aut lacta	Sleep, or suck.)

(Baehrens, 34)

The presence of an initial *i* in the second line seems to indicate the existence of anacrusis, i.e. a support sound that is so frequent at the beginning of a line or stanza in the popular song.

Certainly, hexasyllabic and octosyllabic popular poems can also be identified in the poetry of other peoples, but it is doubtless that as far as Romanian folklore is concerned they continue the old Latin model promoted together with the language. Surprising is the highly accurate way in which the Romanian popular poetry has preserved – unaltered – the metric scheme inherited from the Romans. While the other European peoples, Romance or non-Romance, have adopted larger patterns (from 10, 12 to 16 syllables), Romanian folklore displays in its genuine popular songs only the 6 (5) - and 8 (7) -syllable line. The Albanians resemble us the most in this respect. Their

folklore, which is much more archaic than ours, displays hexa- and octosyllabic lines but their Northern epic songs also comprise decasyllabic lines, probably under the influence of the epic songs from Montenegro. The tetrasyllabic line (a more archaic form) occurs in our folklore only in children's songs and incidentally in certain lullabies. The rest of the tetrasyllabic lines recorded by researchers (especially by L. Galdi) are in fact just half lines resulting from inner rhyming, mainly cultivated in archaic species, and not an alternation of octosyllabic and tetrasyllabic lines. All this confirms once again the archaic structure of Romanian songs, which somehow accounts for the rustic character of the Latin that stood at the basis of Romanian, as shown by Ovid Densusianu in his time. The seeming metric simplicity of the sung line confers, in exchange, great unity to Romanian folk poetry, accompanied by an easiness in transposing "travelling" lines, contaminations and in changing several texts on the same melody and the other way round. This unitary structure also worked as an effective shield against infiltrations from cultivated poetry, so that only lines with such a metric structure and paired rhymes could be accepted.

The influence of Latin folk poetry went even deeper than that. It even affected certain ways of composing songs. The poetic technique labelled by R. Menéndez Pidal *parallelistic repetition* is quite frequent in our lyrical poetry, in the proportions mentioned before, and scarce in the other sung species:

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...Și-mi sunt mulți, ardi-i-ar <i>focu!</i>	Și mi-e mulți, ardi-i-ar <i>para!</i>
Mi-e mulți de nu-i mai ia <i>locu;</i>	Mi-e mulți de nu-i mai ia <i>țara...</i>

(Codin, *'Muscel*, 4)

Seldom, the parallelistic repetition affects 3 lines:

... Să cosască fân în <i>rouă</i> ,	Să cosască fân <i>costrene</i> ,
Frângă-i-se coasa-n <i>două</i> ,	Frângă-i-se <i>bucățele</i> ,
Să vină la alte <i>nouă</i> .	Să vină-n brațele <i>mele!</i>

(Hodoș, *p. pop.*, I. 184)

Béla Bartók called attention to the similarity with the Italian folk poems, attributing it to the same common source: Latin folk poetry. Indeed, the synonymical and enumerative parallelistic repetition is more frequent in the folk

poetry from Tuscany in the so-called *rispetti* and *stornelli*, than in our poetry. Like in Romanian folklore, such a repetition appears mainly at the end of songs, as a kind of literary arabesque meant to adorn it:

Quando di casa vostra fuora *andate*
L'aria e la terra di fior *seminate*;
Quando di casa vostra fuora *uscite*,
L'aria e la terra di bei fior *coprite*.

(Giannini, *C. p. toscani*, 137)

(When you go out of your house,
You sow the air and the earth with flowers,
When you go out of your house,
You cover the air and the earth with beautiful flowers.)

Comparative research detects parallelistic repetition in the case of other Romanice peoples too. In the Iberian Peninsula, Gallaecian folklore provides numerous examples, sometimes one after another:

Amigo, el que yo mas *gueria*
Venid a la luz del *dia*;
Amigo, el que yo mas *amaba*,
Venid a la luz del *alba*.
Venid a la luz del *dia*,
No traigáis *compania*;
Venid a la luz del *alba*,
No tragáis *compana*.

(Pidal, *La p. p. l. esp.*, 70)

(My friend, the one I wanted most,
Come in the light of day,
My friend, the one I loved most,
Come in the light of dawn.
Come in the light of day,
Don't bring along company;
Come in the light of dawn,
Don't bring along a lady friend.)

Sometimes, like in the Romanian and the Italian folklore, synonymy is reduced to simply inverting the words in the rhyme:

Levad' amigo que dormides as *manhanas frias*
 Toda' las aves do mundo d'amor *diziam*
 Levad' amigo que dormide las *frias manhanas*
 Toda' las aves duo mundo d'amor *cantavam*.

(Pidal, 15)

(Wake up, my friend, you who sleep in the cold mornings,
 All the birds in the world speak of love,
 Wake up, my friend, you who sleep in the morning cold,
 All the birds in the world sing of love.)

In French folklore it is attested more seldom, mainly in the eight (seven) syllable stanzas:

Si j'étais mort hier au *soir*
 Je m'en souviendrais bien *encore*;
 Si j'étais mort *cette nuit*,
 Je m'en souviendrais bien *aussi*.

(Vicaire, *Études*, 192)

(If I had died yesterday evening
 I would still remember her;
 If I had died tonight,
 Still I would remember her.)

It seems more frequent in children's folklore, which is generally more conservative, as revealed by the rounded forms:

La soupe à l'oignon (Onion soup
 C'est pour les *garçons*; Is for boys;
 La soupe à l'oseille Sorrel soup
 C'est pour les *demoiselles*. Is for young ladies.

(Roland, *Rimes*, 395)

Such a parallelistic repetition has not been recorded with other European peoples, except for the English mediaeval popular ballad, which seems to display more irregular forms far from the symmetry attested in Romance folklore. The presence of parallelistic repetition in the popular ballad of mediaeval England is nothing else than an echo of the powerful French influence. As it is well known, after the conquest of England by William the Conqueror following the battle of Hastings (1066), French became the language of the ruling class for over two centuries, leaving long-lasting imprints upon the English language. It may be assumed that the influence of French was accompanied by the influence of Latin poetry, where such a parallelistic repetition was cultivated even in religious songs. In the poems written in Spain during the 10th century in honour of King Don Sancho, Queen Dona Urraca and Prince Don Ramiro, the wishes are repeated for the king and the queen in lines 3 and 4, with the difference that the third line repeats the idea in the first line in another wording:

Salvator, Sancioni da victoriae palman.
 Sancta Maria, Urracam ancillam *respice* tuam.
 O Rex Coeli, Sancionis munia saepe fac fortia.
 Sancta Maria, Urracam *tuere* ancillam tuam...

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 (M. M. Pelayo, *Antologia*, I, 61)

(Saviour, give Sancho the crown of victory.
 Saint Mary, look after Urraca, your slave.
 Oh, king of heavens, make Sancho's walls stronger more often.
 Saint Mary, look at your slave, Urraca...)

The model originates in Latin folk poetry, as proved by the traces recorded in a few fragments. Among the lines assigned to the so-called *cantores Euphorionis* in the imperial epoch, there are cases when pairs of two lines repeat exactly the same words, except for the verbs expressing opposite situations, this making up a contrasting parallelistic repetition:

fortia neglecti *velebant* colla capilli
 et per neglectos *clarebant* colla capillos.

(The dishevelled lock covered the strong necks
 And through the dishevelled lock the necks were shining.)

a, quotiens umbra *porrexi* brachia mota,
a, quotiens umbra *reduxi* brachia mota!

(Baehrens, *Fragmenta*, 328)

(Oh, how often, in the dark, I have stretched out my open arms,
Oh, how often have I drawn back my open arms in the dark.)

This repetition in the next line had become so frequent that it was even used in a funerary epitaph in Tarragona (Spain), recorded in *Corpus inscriptionum latinarum*, repetition built upon the contrast given by the verbs *floruit-cadit*:

Aspice quam subito marcet quod *floruit* ante,
Aspice quam subito quod stetit ante *cadit*.

(M.M. Pelayo, *Antologia*, I, 40)

(Look how all of a sudden what bloomed before has withered now,
Look how all of a sudden what existed before has fallen now.)

This occurrence in the next line of a synonym or an antonym of the verb in the main clause may be regarded as the first form of parallelistic repetition, closely related to parallelism proper, where the idea is repeated with synonymous words. This procedure is somewhat older, dating as far back as the Babylonian epics and being widely spread.

Our non-ritual popular poetry, mainly the lyrical one, displays quite often the introductory line *frunză (foaie) verde de...*, sometimes within the very body of the song, in order to provide the necessary rhyme. Such a line, but functioning only as an introductory formula, can be found in the Italian lyrical poetry (*rispetti* and *stornelli*), invoking the species that offers the necessary rhyme for the second line at the very beginning of the song.

Unlike Romanian songs, where *frunză (foaie)* is more frequent, *floare* or the respective species (*trandafir, busuioc*, etc.) occurring less, the Italian songs invoke the flower the most frequently: *Fior di mortella? Voi siete il lume, ed io sono la farfalla...* (Giannini, *C. pe toscani*, 151: "Bilberry flower/ You are the candle and I am the butterfly"). Quite often the diminutive form is used,

according to metrical requirements: *Fiorin d'abeto/ E se me lo vuoi dar, bellino, un bacio...* (Giannini, 158: "Little fir tree flower/ Handsome, if you'd just give me a kiss..."). But *foglia* is not so often used: *Foglia di canno,/ La socerina mia l'è bona donna...* ("Reed leaf,/ My mother-in-law is a kind woman..."); *O foglia di basilico minuto...* ("Oh, tiny basil leaf...", Giannini, 172, 217).

In French folklore, such an introductory line has almost disappeared, occurring only marginally as the final formula of certain incantations:

Quand le bon seigneur fut né,
Tout le vin blanc s'est r'lavé,
Le vin rouge s'est refraîchi
Feuille de mai, feuille d'avril.

(Vicaire, *Études*, 65)

(When good Lord was born,
All white wine was cleared,
All red wine cooled down.
May leaf, April leaf.)

The mediaeval poetry may have preserved deeper traces, as attested by the Gallaecian lyrical poetry of minstrels in the 13th century:

Ay flores! ay flores do verde pyno,
Se sabedes novas de meu amigo...
Ay flores! ay flores do verde ramo
Se sabedes novas de meu amado...

(M.M. Pelayo, *Antologia*, I, 238)

(Oh, flowers, oh, green pine flowers,
If you have news of my friend...
Oh, flowers, oh, green bough flowers,
If you have news of my lover...)

Such ubiquity of the initial invocation of the leaf or flower in the Romance poetry indicates the continuation of the model cultivated by popular Latin

poetry. This certainty cannot be invalidated by the lack of attestation in the scarce fragments known today, because otherwise the occurrence of this line in Romanian folk poetry (isolated from the rest of the Romance world by the invasion of migratory peoples) could not be accounted for. The invocation of the leaf (flower) in Latin folk poetry could have had initially a ritualistic substratum, aiming at ensuring vegetation prosperity (mainly that of crops). Probably this was done during the spring sowing, accompanied by songs, as attested both with the Greeks and the Romans, the contact of the green leaf being believed to convey the revival force of vegetation, as recorded by the works of J.G. Frazer and Petru Caraman.

The metrical structure together with the two composition techniques unexpectedly reveal the Romance origin of the Romanian folk poetry. It seems that under extremely unfavourable historical conditions, Romanian folklore has preserved its Latin character even more than the language has. Its structural archaism confirms once again the more conservative character of lateral areas, such as the Carpathian-Danubian Roman world as compared to the Western one. Foreign influences have not altered its character. They only marginally affected detail peculiarities that were often ephemeral.

The Byzantine relationship was recorded in several segments of our folk culture. Barbu Slătineanu identified the Byzantine influence in South Carpathian ceramics, an influence which is absent in Transylvania, but present with a few exceptions in the Maramureş. H. Focillon had earlier called the attention upon the obvious similarity between the garb of the Byzantine princesses and the folk costumes in the Muscel area, especially the skirts with "alesături" (embroidery) displaying the heavy ornamentation meant to imitate metal brilliance. The Bulgarian scholar Sismanov re-iterated the observation that the Argeş-Muscel costumă used to be worn at the princely court, and was later lowered to the simple classes. The anthroponomy in Oltenia, Muntenia and especially Moldavia also reveals a significant Neo-Greek influence that penetrated the village world, which has not been properly studied yet.

As to folklore proper, the Byzantine contribution is superficial, being restricted to certain themes, most of them religious. Byzantium used to be assigned the role of relayer of Oriental elements, but this assertion can only rely on generalities. The early Slavonic influence had a somewhat similar character, while the Romance contribution (through the Carpathian-Danubian population) to the folk culture of the neighbouring Slavs has been assessed by specialists as having affected its major segments. Cultural loans that are to be expected among neighbouring peoples are re-elaborated, assimilated to their own

characteristic vision (according to already existing stylistic patterns) so that they become part of each people's patrimony. When the loan closely resembles the original, it means that it is still in an incipient stage and has not yet had time to change according to the national specific, as it usually occurs only in a peripheric area, restricted to a small part of the national community.

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Transylvania's Significance in Romanian Literature*

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Romanian literary history represented by Iorga, O. Densusianu, G. Bogdan-Duică, D. Popovici or Ion Breazu – to mention only those who dealt with this problem in special studies – often pondered over Transylvania's contribution to the development of our literature on the whole. A short study published by D. Popovici in 1943 actually had this title. In *Literatura Transilvaniei*, Ion Breazu presented the chapters of a synthesis he never finished. Literary critics have also dwelt upon “the Transylvanian phenomenon”, if we were only to mention a text occasioned by the impetuous appearance of O. Goga in Romanian poetry written by G. Ibrăileanu in his early years, the commentaries of Eugen Lovinescu who had been impressed by the special characteristics of a literature that transcended “modernism”, without being artistically more authentic though; or the commentaries of a philologist like Sextil Pușcariu, the reviews of the less known Ion Chinezu, and finally substantial passages from G. Călinescu's *Istoria...* and still many others.

It has been unanimously acknowledged that, beginning with the “Transylvanian School”, this Romanian province has brought an explosive energy to the nation's movement of ideas, and has also enriched certain literary chapters, like poetry or the novel. It has emphasized epic, social, ethnic and ethic aspects, all major categories necessary to a young literature often lured by mirages from far off that may take the form of the integration into European rhythms. Between “tradition” and “modernity”, a battle that has been fought at various times by different protagonists and yet is essentially the same, Transylvania has been assigned the fief of Tradition by long-term prejudice. It wanted to test the Transylvania's aesthetic conservatism and resistance to the new, in its fine forms. Paradoxically, the values of this province remain actual and sometimes very *modern*, while others, ostentatiously modern, did not pass

* (From *Order and Adventure*, Cluj, Dacia, 1973).

the test of time. Aren't Codru-Drăgușanu and Budai-Deleanu "modern" enough? Doesn't the – only apparently – absolute poetry of Octavian Goga still stir consciences? Who else, if not Liviu Rebreanu and Lucian Blaga, revolutionized the Romanian novel and poetry in the years immediately following World War I?

But the meanings Transylvania assumes in our national consciousness transcend the strictly aesthetic spheres.

In our older culture, Transylvania was considered for quite a long time a *branch* of the Romanian world, felt and referred to as such by the chroniclers and by our first historians. All Romanians were branches of the same tree, scattered in the Maramureș, in Transylvania, in Moldavia, "and all have come from Rome", said Ureche. They are united not only by a common genesis, but also by their religion (Varlaam) or by the synchronism of historical developments – "they settled at the same time", said Miron Costin – also by their *continuity* in these regions, since they have inhabited "Dacia ceaselessly", as the sweet prince Căntemir so beautifully phrased the historical truth. "All these have sprung and flown from the same fountain" argued High Stewart Constantin Cantacuzino, and it was him who also added, referring to the Transylvanian Romanians, that "they are even more true-born", a statement following the line of the 18th century scholars who considered Transylvania of utmost significance. Province of the genesis, of the settlers, of ethnic authenticity, of numerical supremacy (revealed by Samuil Micu), a branch that has never been cut off the thick trunk of our nation, if it is not indeed the very trunk. An uninterrupted circulation – from the settlers until later, against all obstacles, over the snow covered peaks of the Carpathians, over the transitory borders – united the provinces in an ideal whole, even before the political whole was achieved. This idea is to be found with many writers of the 19th century, but it was expressed more clearly by Mihail Kogălniceanu in a speech he delivered in 1886: "For centuries there has been a continuous movement of the Romanians on the two sides of the Carpathians. This communication has never ceased. The Romanian ideal has always animated those who came to us as well as those who went to them."

Therefore, no wonder that while the modern Romanian nation is being built, its literature appeals to Transylvania in an attempt to engage its forces under the same banner of unity. Transylvania is no longer just the birthplace of the Romanians. It is also a birthplace of culture: the first religious translations were done in Northern Transylvania; it was also there that the treasures of our folk poetry were first recorded: the theme of "the shepherd who lost his sheep"

(attested here as early as the 16th century), the theme of the “plundered sheepfold”, of the Winged Spirit, of the famous ballad of “Miorița”, which had an amazing circulation both in the South and in the North of the province (Țara Lăpușului for instance). A ballad like “Toma Alimoș” – so well-known in other provinces – was first recorded in South-Western Transylvania in 1831, and some of the ballads collected by Alecsandri had been recorded much earlier in a Maramureș village. Our folklorists have made lately some most significant discoveries in this respect.

The first printed books originate here. In the language of Coresi we recognized the substance of the Wallachian language, grafted on the one used in Țara Bârsei, therefore a harmonious fusion of a scattered but never estranged language. All the fundamental books of our old culture – up to around 1634 – were published in Transylvania. Later, whatever was written, was written for the whole Romanian world, since the ideal was to gather all under the banner of union. This is clearly shown by the title and program of “Dacia literară” and other publications.

Transylvania is the place of refuge of those incendiary articles that could not be printed in Iași or Bucharest; of the ideals of the 1848 revolution, which were discussed in Brașov or on Câmpia Libertății (The Plain of Liberty); finally, the refuge of the revolution, when Bălcescu was hopind to re-light its fire from the flame still burning in Iancu's mountains.

Therefore, Transylvania acquires the meaning of *birthplace* of Romanians. A Moldavian, Alecu Russo says it in his *Meditations*, expressing a thought shared by the whole generation of 1848: “Transylvania is the birthplace of Romania, we should therefore raise our altars in its mountains.”

He thus justified the grave meaning of the word. In fact, the whole Transylvanian Renaissance movement, the bitter struggle started by Samuil Micu, Petru Maior and Gheorghe Șincai was a justification. And also a justification was Mihai's legendary dream, recalled in majestic but still clumsy stanzas by Heliade, but perhaps even better in Bălcescu's moving vision, which includes the magnificent description of Transylvania seen as an Eden of dream. Birthplace of a sometimes foolish dream, sanctioned by Russo and Maiorescu in its aberrant forms. The dream had to be rectified to the parameters of positive reality, had to be brought back on earth.

But with Eminescu, Transylvania regains its legendary dimensions and also its right to legend. It is the “little Rome” of erudition and austerity, but also the wooded region where Toma Nour's romantic soul quenches his thirst for freedom; it is the heart of the legend, with titanesque appearances in

Mureșanu and *Horia*; at other times, it is the serene space of a native Arcadia, like in *Sarmis* and *Miradoniz*. It is also the *justification of the legend*, the only one that can give the endangered nation the power to survive. The allusion is very clear in a article from "Timpul" (1878): "Eighteen centuries have passed since Latin life was sown in the land where we now live, despite the convulsions we have known", writes Eminescu. "This life goes on and on, growing not because those who co-founded it were numerous and strong, but because anyone of the few was proud of his predecessors' work. Ever since there was a Romanian soul in the world, Romanians have been proud to be Romanians, and even when the world looked at them scornfully, they still sang their *doine* and, conscious of their powers, they looked around proudly. The seed that gave birth to this people is noble and the people will disappear only when Romanians themselves will forget the nobleness of their nation."

Eminescu was thus meeting in time with a very modern French poet, La Tour du Pin, who wrote somewhere a similar thought:

"When a country breaks with legend
It is bound to die of cold"

(Prelude)

With Delavrancea, dream is re-enthroned in his romantic heroes. Rares-Morning Star dreams feverishly: "I climbed up Mount Ceahlău and looked around, and I cried listening, just like in a dream, to the sorrow of this people that is scattered under three different crowns. Oh! I have dreamt! Let my descendants dream too!"

Transylvania is now – together with the Carpathians – the supporting pillar of the temple arch that had to be built. It is given the power of regeneration, like in a fragment from Duiliu Zamfirescu's novel *Îndreptări* (*Amendments*), in which the hero is pondering the way Eminescu did: "Throughout the old province of Dacia, where Romanians felt they were the natives, as if they had grown off the very heart of the land, like the oak, they could not live! They, the real masters, whose blood had enriched the soil, whose ancestors have filled the graves for thousands of years."

Cipariu, Bălcescu, Ion Ghica, C. Negri, Andrei Mureșanu, then Goga and Iorga did not think differently.

After the Union of 1918, scores of writers headed for Transylvania, willing to give post-war literature, which was confused by experimentalism, a new orientation and a new force. It is the activity of G. M. Zamfirescu in Satu-Mare, that of Cezar Petrescu, Gib. I. Mihăescu, Adrian Maniu and Lucian Blaga at the Cluj based "Gândirea", of the groups around Sextil Pușcariu's

"Cultura", V. Papilian's "Darul vremii" of the groups from "Gând românesc", "Abecedar", "Pagini literare", and so on. Between the two world wars, Transylvania knew a cultural effervescence worthy of its great traditions, without excluding but, on the contrary, permitting the Hungarian and Saxon letters to assert themselves to a large extent through numerous literary circles, reviews, publishing houses and also through several interesting poets and prose writers. And it was only fair to be so. It was where Ady had cried that Goga took refuge and then slept the sleep of the just. Blaga was asked to come and display his daring thoughts on Romanian philosophy at the "Alma Mater Napocensis." Here the rebellious poetry of Aron Cotruș and Mihai Beniuc was moulded, also the stern and at the same time gentle-like-September-Light prose of Ion Agârbiceanu and the new accents in the writings of Pavel Dan and V. Papilian etc. Rebreanu had started here. And when in the name of important innovations an estrangement from the national values occurred Transylvania claimed – if only through Lucian Blaga – its ancient right to the status of birthplace of culture.

Actually, in time it had produced distinctive values, rather stern, but nevertheless revealing a strong personality.

However, it has been said that Transylvania did not have the necessary time to indulge in the true enjoyment of art. Its spirit, permanently required by the need of defence, permanently assailed by the dangers of estrangement through more subtle forms or through brutal denationalization was too much trained for action (Iancu), public thinking (Bărnăuțiu), historical philosophy conceived as a tool used in proving its historical existence (Samuil Micu, Petru Maior, Șincai, Cipariu, Laurian). Even theology was taken down from the sacerdotal pulpit to be employed in lay objectives, like political education, the acquiring of rights, emancipation. The first image of Transylvania is therefore a wistful, cultural one, in agreement with the corpus of ideas pertaining to the "enlightenment." However, when its literary genius broke out in Budai-Deleanu's Homerism (nowdays it would be called "anti-Homerism" or "anti-epic"), in Codru-Drăgușanu's epistolary zest, in Coșbuc's, Iosif's and Goga's "Georgicon", Rebreanu's telluric force or in Blaga's great evening elegy – its ability to feel artistically and to touch with the verb the dimensions of existence with all its disquieting questions was revealed.

What kind of elements come into this synthesis and what in particular distinguishes it from the other genius, the cis-Carpathian one, is a matter that needs long study, but which Lucian Blaga pondered over. He compared, impersonally, the features of his own work with those of Tudor Arghezi's.

Although barely sketched in a letter, as an answer to some critical questions, Blaga's words also depict something of the overall confrontation: "In their trade, one starts from the whole, the other from the detail. One from the substance, the other from the accident. One has a sense of the whole, and uses mainly vision (words flow from it), the other has a sense of detail and lays stress mainly on words (with the graphicalness and savour resulting from words). One has a dominant sentiment of necessity, the other, of the play. One aims at great simplicity, the other, at the intricate, at the richness of details finally leading to a loss of the guiding line. One has a sense of architecture (see mainly his great dramas, and his philosophy), the other has the equally important ability of strongly emphasising picturesque reality, although lacking the hierarchically arranged accents of a wide overall vision". (This fragment is from a letter to Melania Livadă in 1947).

This is, I think, a new aspect of Transylvanian significance: the *constructive* gift of its artists. "He has a sense of architecture", says Blaga about himself, using deliberately the 3rd person, as if he were a representative of an aesthetic community. To build up a history, to build up a philology, then a national epos, a "Georgicon" of the Romanian village, an appropriate architecture for the modern novel, an appropriate philosophy for these regions, to create even the space to manifest itself, hasn't this province always had a sense of culture, of art?

And all architecture, all construction is also conscious, and therefore it also means assuming responsibilities, re-making the myth of Manole at a historical level, but refusing the sacrifice of the other and willingly accepting one's own sacrifice! Thus, Inochentie Micu, Gh. Șincai, Lucian Blaga and Avram Iancu walled themselves in their own work to self-oblivion, to the point where they became identical. Blaga was by turns Manole and Iancu, one echoing the other in time, the way the sound of those who had cried on the Plain of Liberty in 1848 "We want to unite with the Country" was answered on 1 December 1918, on Horea's Plain, by the heart with one thousand beats of the peasants and scholars who assumed the responsibility of the Act. From myth to history and then again to myth – Lucian Blaga knew the way too well as he had lived intensively what Pierre Emmanuel has called "une situation mythique". A young student at Vienna, he mingled with the crowd at Alba Iulia that memorable winter day, sharing all that "was being achieved by the will of destiny", with a new "historical conscience".

And when Blaga speaks of *conscience*, it is what calls to my mind Pierre Emmanuel: the famous French poet and philosopher phrases in a wonderful

meditation the following significant thoughts: "The conscience of mankind's destiny: when it goes beyond reason, in order to invest man in its entirety, charges him with an unexpected force that contradicts the implacable and forces his way into liberty. The paradox of conscience is that the man of destiny is also the man of liberty: the solitary man is the consciousness of his species; he moves mankind away from its fate and enables it to shape its own future; and when mankind gains conscience in a man, it tends to rule through him, overthrowing fate. Thus, a mythical situation is born: one man becomes the setting of a formidable contradiction between the innate weight of destiny and the ascendent force of conscience, between the evolution of mankind and the will to create which instigates conscience against its innate limitations".

All Transylvanian writers have known this "paradox of conscience" in the form of national oppression, when species awareness, respectively ethnic consciousness, aroused them against all obstacles in the way of their free self-realization.

As a matter of fact, historical consciousness seems to me to be the characteristic component of the Transylvanian spirit. More than once, in connection with it have been also mentioned its ethnicism and militantism, a tendency toward Benedictine reasoning, whence the subordination of the aesthetic to history, ethics, culture, etc. Do these come from the cultural education, do they come from the rural strata where all Transylvanian writers originate, remaining afterwards peasant-scholars for all their lives? One shouldn't ignore their permanent connection with the West either, their refusal of the "Balkan" spirit, which they considered inferior and harmful for art, the refusal of the city as a form of oppression (since the city was considered "alien") but the identification with the entire Romanian space, the adhesion to a higher form of urbanization, the dream of a library-fortress, a place of scholarly education and achievement. Is it by sheer chance that Ovid Densusianu, the descendant of an old family of Transylvanian scholars, praises *this* kind of city, the center of culture, engineering, science and civilization? The city – we shouldn't forget this – is for the Romanian villager the place where he sent his child to school and, despite the feeling of "uprooting" (historically accountable) and its literature so widely spread among the Transylvanians, the respect for the citadel-city of learning is no weaker. The idea of education, so difficult to gain first as an elementary right to quench one's thirst for knowledge, and which took shape in the "enlightened" atmosphere of the 18th century and in the heat of the nation's need to better itself by all means, is so deeply rooted, the need for education so profound that literature (and the literary ideology) cannot

avoid it. "The art of these [Transylvanian] authors", says Rebreanu at a certain point, "is never a mere play on words, sounds or intentions. The Transylvanian writer, perhaps more than the ones elsewhere, feels himself eternally tied to the land and consider his art a form of apostolate. That is why this literature mirrors more strongly the soul of the people, with its yearnings, joys and hopes".

Where do all these features come from? Perhaps from historical determinations, surely from certain specific moral strata, also shaped by history since historical consciousness is always their center. This was noted by Alecu Russo in his *Meditations*: "More than anything else, Transylvanians are tied to their land, they hardly travel; they love to have their bones resting in the land of their forefathers, and this gives them great strength".

It is what arouses Eminescu's admiration, Caragiale's sentimentality, with special effusions reserved for Transylvanians (mainly in his correspondence), that go beyond the caricature of Rostogan; it is what finally altered Maiorescu's aesthetic creed under the pressure of Goga's lyrical flow, the way not long before it had altered Bălcescu's revolutionary outlook, upsetting the relation between *liberty* and *nationality* he had initially stated. In a letter to Ion Ghica written on 21 January 1849, obsessed by his Transylvanian experience and by the confrontations to which his ideas had been subjected there, he makes the following remark: "In my opinion, the issue of nationality is more important than freedom. A people can do nothing with freedom unless it exists as a nation. Freedom can be easily regained if lost, while nationality cannot. That is why I believe that in our country's present situation, we should aim more at preserving our so much threatened nationality, and to ask for so much freedom as is necessary to develop our nation".

Isn't the meaning of the ratio ethnic/aesthetic, for whose fusion Transylvanian literature has often been criticized, also included here?

The reason for its interventions can be found in the counterbalancing character of Transylvanian literature. In the time of the Arcadian fashion imposed by Conachi, Asachi, etc., it founded the epic poem, a deep philosophical and social meditation; at other times, it restored the balance in poetry then strongly influenced by skeptic-deceptionsit epigonism by counterpoising George Coşbuc, who aerated and braced the lyric space. Securely anchored in its autochthonism, it refused the transient propositions of exorcism or Balkanism, as well as any kind of hermetism, its aim being quite on the contrary – the continuous purification of the verse and an extension not a restriction of the audience, up to a complete identification of the poet with those from among whom he rose and to whom he was addressing: "I am a soul off the

soul of my people"; the testamentary value of this line has never been, could never have been questioned.

Through all these, far from breaking loose, Transylvania becomes even more a part of Romanian literature as a whole. All its spiritual life is oriented towards the movements across the mountains, in an attempt to flow its clear and fresh mountain streams into the common river. It tends to give these movements a special, genuine accent which demonstrates their oldness and their identical genesis, also their continuity and spiritual unity. Its constant aspiration is confluence. Transylvania's waters flow through the fertile plains into the Danube and then into the Sea after crossing the Carpathians; its spirit follows the same course...

Therefore, literature is not only "carmen saeculare", but also "carmen terrarum", the song in which all forms, all aspects, all colours, the whole variety of a nation's soul blend in a common harmony. At the same time, literature is an answer to destiny. And we, Romanians, whose history is a long series of trials, to whom fate has spoken aloud, we deserve an answer! Hölderlin's Hyperion, brother to Eminescu's Morning Star, says so: "He to whom destiny has spoken out rightly, has the right to address destiny out rightly too!"

Spiritual Universe. Sketches for a Portrait

Ion Vlad
University of Cluj

Inscription

Our older or more recent representations of Cluj cannot preclude its autumns. In our images of the City, sentimental images or others, more solemn and more discreet, built up in the course of many years, Cluj is the season when students show up. As a matter of fact, any discussion about a town where memories necessarily include impressions on the student years, would be impossible.

The City always has a certain movement which is felt in its hours and seasons: it is a time for holiday and for coming back; autumn, when schools re-open. I think no other image could describe more accurately and more naturally one of the dimensions of the City: the university autumn changes the town's rhythms, gives it a different air and a fresh beauty, overwhelming and elegiac just for our generation, who once lived those superb and memorable days...

170 years ago, Dinicu Golescu stopped in Cluj and admired "*most of all the greatness of its schools*". He was not mistaken in his eulogy of the lights shed by Transylvanian schools.

Almost ten years ago, I was reading contemporary Romanian literature with a group of students in letters as part of a course in the theory of literature, and the recent contact with the new series of students reminded me of older seasons of the University. I should perhaps begin by citing Lucian Blaga's verse: "*I lapse into memories, it's been so long*", and then I revive the hours of the seminars and lectures of Ion Breazu; more than four decades ago, professor Ion Breazu was teaching us how to read and *re-read* the pages of the 1848 generation or challenged us, not without a wise and kind smile, in feverish seminars or in controversial disputes on Caragiale. Or, perhaps, protected by Ion Breazu's smile, let us remember the nights with *O scrisoare pierdută!* What a waste of energy on the part of D. St. Petruțiu, the collaborator of

professor N. Pârvu from Timișoara, he himself an actor in I.L. Caragiale's comedy, besides Eta Boeriu and several others, not revealed in these notes

In the seminar room of the Romanian Literature Department and in the library reading room, where autumn could also begin with students' practical jokes, D. Popovici's disciples were reading. They were: Romul Munteanu, Aurel Martin and George Munteanu, who later left Cluj, protected by the close presence of professors D. Popovici and Ion Breazu. Can we really look at this past without mentioning the Museum of the Romanian Language or Ștefan Pașca, who taught the history of the Romanian language (Dumitru Micu remembers Cluj and the examination hours in his book *Periplu*: "Cluj", says Dumitru Micu, the professor of today, "which I carry inside wherever destiny takes me.").

Who would have thought at that time, attending professor D. Popovici's courses, that in the always stern teacher a writer was hidden, moreover, one that was fond of the language of comedy. And still, *Regele din Propontide*, "an approximately historical comedy in four acts", belongs to this incisive, exact and lucid spirit.

One afternoon I heard D. Șt. Petruțiu, a scholar so fond of the students' theater and a former collaborator of V. I. Popa, reading a fragment (or the entire text?) of Lucian Blaga's *Anton Pann*. We were the guests of Ion Breazu, his good and lasting friend. Lucian Blaga had dedicated to him a poem from the cycle *Lauda somnului* years before. That was no longer the "theater in the amphitheater" D. Șt. Petruțiu had dreamt of, but a re-encounter after so many years with Blaga's work...

*My whole life I have voiced thoughts
and I have sung songs,
searching for my worthiness in them*

These are lines written by the poet, and I transcribe them because, recalling professor Ion Breazu, I have also thought of another of his friends: Pavel Dan. This prose writer does not belong only to the Plain; he is one of the strongest voices of Romanian realism. In his *Diary* we find a short note: "This rainy morning I threw all my works in the Someș River and then I cried". It is dated November 22, 1927 and we ask ourselves what terrible torments consumed the author of *Urcan bătrînul*, and what frightful moments he must have lived! This is what he wrote to Ion Breazu from the Viennese clinic where he had been hospitalized: "But I have lived such a bitter and tormented life that I'm

horrified even at the thought that someone might have to start it from the beginning". The writer, born in a village in the Transylvanian Plain, bears the tragic signs of the time and of his own origin. Professor Ion Breazu's assistant in the '50s would later keep his promise by publishing a book on the writer of the Plain. I dedicated it to Ion Breazu in 1986.

At certain hours – favouring dream, poetry and encounters with the youthfulness of today's City – the winged dragon of Ana Lupaş floats over this town. Her poems – since she weaves poems out of colours and shadows – remind us of other students: Ana Blandiana and Ioan Alexandru were for some time among the philologists here, then left for the capital city, taking with them the promise of poetry and of the "Hymns".

I have heard more than once the high-pitched voice of the poet Emil Isac, participating in scholarly meetings or in literary soirées. The poet had written these lines long before:

*Seven sorrows weep in your courtyard.
Sorrows grow in the old walnut tree while it tells us of Iancu.*

In a study written more than four decades ago, Ion Breazu reviewed Transylvanian prose and poetry, not forgetting that, in terms of value, Transylvanian literature is well-defined in relation with the literature of the entire country. In his study *Literatura română contemporană a Transilvaniei* he commented not only upon the work of Lucian Blaga and Pavel Dan, but also upon the prose of Ion Agârbiceanu and Ion Vlasie. The latter, as is well known, gave Cluj the group statue representing the serfs that rose in rebellion in 1784; Cluj was for Ion Vlasie a grave witness, and we can re-read stern or sometimes affectionate pages on the Cluj of a long time ago. *Am plecat din sat, Drum spre oameni* and *O singură iubire* are reference works for the writer's image of Cluj. We shouldn't forget Cezar Petrescu and the years he spent together with Gib I. Mihăescu in Cluj, shortly after the Great Union.

Pavel Dan, Ion Vlasie and many others gathered one evening every week in the house of professor Victor Papilian, at the literary circle presided by the writer-professor.

When 170 years ago Dinicu Golescu made a halt in old Napoca, on his way to the cities in Central and Western Europe, the City of Cluj had – at least according to the data recorded by the Wallachian boyar – almost 14,000 inhabitants... "Cluju" had impressed this traveller who was then only at the

beginning of his journey because “In this town there are beautiful big houses”; the city was also admired because “the greatness of its schools” was something for which this enlightened scholar had a respect he showed over and over again. The traveller’s eye did not ignore the contrastive aspects which were also significant in terms of social order: a wealthy and haughty nobility, while Dinicu Golescu notes – the simple people “were not happy”. This charming book, *Însemnare a călătoriei mele*, which contains evidence on the third decade of the last century, seems to us to be in many respects a *prologue* to the history of the City that has entered our cultural conscience.

Travelling in the province of Transylvania, Dinicu Golescu could not notice the more serious contrasts; they existed beyond the real and the imaginary walls of the City, where the Romanian serfs and the Hungarian peasants were living on the noblemen’s estates. And, perhaps, in the present-day spectacle of the city, the traces and the evidence of yesterday’s City are much less visible. Later on, more stately and vainer edifices – like the Empire itself, revealed in the overwhelming works of Musil – were built, but they are without taste and ostentatious to our contemporary eyes. History was not written with these buildings dating back at the end of the last century, but by the restless years of the Enlightenment, by the uprising of Horca, Cluşca and Crişan, which brought terror in the hearts of those hidden behind the walls, by the hopes of the 1848 Revolution and by dancu’s shadow, by the days of the trial of the Memorandum movement leaders, and by the celebration of the Union of 1918. Cluj houses preserve for our steps the traces that speak of the gloomy 1940, the year of the Vienna dictate.

Cities have their emblematic marks and they preserve them so that no one will forget or confuse them. Cluj has its own marks. They write a history of culture and of the progressive traditions of thinking; famous predecessors and reserved teachers, writers and historians, philologists with access to old and new cultures can speak to today’s man. Certainly, the intellectual biography of Cluj is a territory with much wider horizons and sources than it would seem at first sight or perhaps than it could be noticed; Cluj exists in a wider historical and cultural space in which it is integrated. This is the only way it can be explained. I thought of the Romanian amateurs, students in the city schools, who (probably) attended Matei Millo’s performances here in Cluj, in 1870, and of the echoes of this tour when the text by Vasile Alecsandri was heard in Romanian. And I understood the steps taken by the same youths so fond of the theater, who organized an amateur theater company and toured the towns with

Romanian performances. In fact, it was in Cluj that the foundations of the Hungarian theater as a stable institution to be later developed were laid in 1792.

The City has been close to the sorrows of the Western Carpathians for quite a while. That was why the poet Emil Isac wrote many decades ago about "the mountain children in the streets of Cluj". "Numerous children, orphaned, hungry, pale, shy and sad..." The City is close – in a "geography" set for ever in our hungry-for-history memory – to that matchless and singular *Transylvanian Plain*, a literary territory no less moving than that of Liviu Rebreanu. The university where Pavel Dan studied letters witnessed the lectures of a great scholar and man: Vasile Bogrea, the learned philologist, the man of good taste and great moral strength in the face of illness. In the university halls on Kogălniceanu street there lectured Sextil Pușcariu, the linguist and author of a remarkable history of old Romanian literature, Gh. Bogdan-Duică, a professor of literary history, D. Popovici, the author of that remarkable book on the age of the Enlightenment, and professor Ion Breazu, an expert in Transylvanian literature.

But maybe leafing through literary reviews we could reconstitute an intellectual history that comes closer to *now and today*. In the period when it had its offices based in Cluj, the literary magazine *Gîndirea* (1921) hosted the signatures of Lucian Blaga, Cezar Petrescu and Gib Mihăescu (the two novelists had come to Cluj after the Union, willing, as ex-service men, to help in building up Romanian literature; in Cezar Petrescu's fiction Cluj scenery is also present), Tudor Arghezi, Ion Vineu, Perpessiciu, Camil Petrescu, Ion Agârbiceanu and Victor Ion Popa. There were, as it is well known, other publications too, but certainly no one was as consistent in its attitudes as *Societatea de mîine* (1924), the literary magazine edited by Ion Clopoșel, where one can read articles signed by Vasile Bogrea, Tudor Vianu, Octavian Goga, Ștefan Bezdechi (a remarkable Latin scholar), Zaharia Stancu and Mihai Beniuc or Miron Radu Paraschivescu, the poet and journalist who was asked to direct *Almanahul literar* (1949), a magazine later known under its new title *Steaua*. Later on, Ion Chinezu, a reserved professor but a man of remarkable honesty, founded *Gînd românesc* (1933) where Pavel Dan published some of his tragic fiction, and where we come across the work of the professor doctor Victor Papillian, the literature and philosophical writings of Lucian Blaga, the fiction of Ion Vlasiu, the sculptor and memoirist in whose work inter-war Cluj holds an important place. It was also in Ion Chinezu's review that C. Daicoviciu, the historian and rector of the University of contemporary Cluj signed several

contributions, alongside professors Al. Dima and D. D. Roșca, or doctor Iuliu Hațieganu, the professor who left an indelible mark on academic Cluj.

Progressive intellectual values expressed in Romanian or Hungarian intermingled in Cluj. The literary magazine *Korunk* appeared in the years after World War I. The *Korunk* of Gáál Gábor and of today has entered the history of the city and of the country, while an older publication, *Érdélyi Helikon*, reminds us of the fiction writer Kuncz Aladár, known to the Romanian readers in translation. The literary magazines of the present-day City, *Tribuna*, *Steaua*, *Helikon*, are also evidence of a more recent history – but still history – so full of facts and meanings, related to the development of the Romanian society of today. We call to mind the city and go back to those who, in 1919, opened the National Theater and later the Romanian Opera House, to all those who, together, represent the city with its intellectual biography. We wander through the streets of Cluj guided by their footsteps: Andrei Mureșanu, Ion Agârbiceanu's street; uphill, on a quiet street: Lucian Blaga's house.

The intellectual City has been dominated by democratic scholars, by people who were devoted to their country and their national culture. It was a youthful city, and it still is *now* and *here*, a city of youthfulness. It is the City of young silhouettes and of exams, of today's professors and of the linden trees in front of the University, the city of editorial offices and of theater and opera stages, of Philharmonic orchestra posters and of the quiet reading rooms of the University Central Library, of the History Museum and of *our imaginary museum*, where Time and Space make up the polyphony of today's City!

A Cultural Space

In the diachronic and morphological study of literary forms, *models* act as an important reference term and the notion that the writer develops under the action of previous experiences and under the often decisive influence of certain works has long been the subject of serious research. How exactly does the writer make his choices; what are the factors that co-operate in the dialectics of certain relations involved in the act of creation; where do various initiatives with an important say in the literary atmosphere proper appear and how do they interfere? These are all matters of major interest for the real history of a literature and for the history of certain literary structures. The writer appears in a space governed by acknowledged authors, and works with a moulding potential work upon him, having enough resources to establish a literary climate and

energies contrary to the writer's specific structure, to his mental patterns, in one word, contrary to his option.

Archetypal themes, the contact with works of growing authority and pre-eminence, with famous predecessors, certain frames of mind, preconceived ideas and habits co-operate in giving the new writer a model or several models for the re-interpretation of such imaginary worlds as those seen by his predecessors. It is widely known that the writer acts, in the last analysis, like a reader and his readings cannot ignore the literary atmosphere and the nature of his predecessors' approach. In the *Preface* to his *Istoria literaturii române de la origini pînă în prezent* G. Călinescu related tradition to the process of evolution and therefore to the historical character of the creative phenomenon, and defined it as "organical advancing following its own rules". We share this opinion with the author because the organic/organicity expresses very accurately and at the same time in a suggestive way the idea of process, of the dynamics of a literature based on the spirituality of a people, on its cultural, political and moral history.

As revealed by the inner history of his work, Liviu Rebreanu developed in an intellectual and literary atmosphere with specific and marked moulding characteristics. As it is only natural, circumscribing and carefully estimating a space designating a certain political, intellectual and moral geography governed by various determining factors does not represent in itself a domain pertaining to literary and cultural creation. An analysis based on the criterion of literary "regionalism" is acceptable only if it provides arguments that consolidate valuable aesthetic judgment or favours value-revealing analysis. Otherwise, recommendations shift inevitably towards cultural provincialism, which is so inoperative in the critical analysis of a literary reality. In the case of the writers originating in the Transylvanian cultural space, critics have constantly emphasized the historically justified attraction for the region beyond the Carpathians. And what can be more eloquent from this point of view than the magazine *Tribuna* published in Sibiu, where the principle of the organic links with Romania became an essential criterion that made it possible to import ideas that were active at that time in Romania? Revolving round the supreme models of Romanian literature, reading the significant works written at home, following the suggestions made by "Junimea" which had an overwhelming shaping influence in Transylvania, writers were governed by national realities that were characteristic for a province dominated by the empire, where the statute of nationalities was so important for the creative work, for its mission.

for the social and moral structure of an addressee consisting of an absolute majority of peasants.

Historical circumstances, the nature of the political relations, the exponential value of the intelligentsia of peasant origin, the concentration of Romanian population in rural areas, the appearance of a conscience that cannot be separated from the peasant condition, the cultivation of an *ethos* moulded in the same intellectual space, the strongly felt feeling of a community that asserts its moral values, myths, creative products, history, tragic destiny, all pertaining to the same history, are the terms of a universe that was converted into literature by several of its representatives. As their role in the development of certain literary forms has been defined as decisive by the history of literature (Ioan Slavici, George Coșbuc, Liviu Rebreanu, Lucian Blaga), it is not surprising that, in Romanian culture, the place held by Transylvania as the matrix-territory of Romanian modern culture is underlined. Certainly, we would be mistaken if we were to overemphasize a historical and intellectual reality as well as the appearance of such important writers as those we have just mentioned. Liviu Rebreanu, Lucian Blaga, Ion Agârbiceanu and Pavel Dan belong organically to the Romanian culture seen as a whole, not to a geographical area that can be reduced to one historical province. However, it is no less true that the literary space discovered by Transylvania's writers acts by virtue of a set of organic laws, and it is not the mere transference of themes and characters or of a certain ethnographic-folk atmosphere that characterizes their works. Transylvania's pre-eminence as a privileged place of birth and development of a superior kind of literature was emphasized more than once, and perhaps the most convincing wording of such a judgment belongs to G. Călinescu: "As a conclusion, I prove that Romanian literature has its headquarters mainly in occupied Transylvania (Coșbuc, Rebreanu etc.), on the sides of the mountains, by the borders (Slavici), that the territory of its birth is exactly what is denied us. This is the very truth. I will have a small map with our literary geography, and I will put the authors, like philologists do, on the map". This is a fragment from a letter sent to Al. Rosetti, dated September 23, 1940, when G. Călinescu was feverishly working on his *Istorie a literaturii...* We could perhaps skip other pages suggested to various men of culture by the proclamation of Transylvania's historical role. But in the case of G. Călinescu we have, as it is well known, an acknowledged concept, superior to the stereotype assertions of Transylvanian literary historians.

It is certain today that the constants of this literature of such astonishing vitality are: the relations between writers and a peasant community which was

viable and rich in spiritual and moral values; the return to folk artistic products; the conspicuousness of social meanings and the ethical finality of the literary message; the cultivation of a peasant world seen from a classical, balanced perspective; communication in accordance with aesthetic criteria that draw the lines of popular realism, a concept established by T. Maiorescu in his meditations on "the popular novel" (see *Literatura română și străinătatea*, 1882); the emphasizing of the great symbols of myths and fairy-tales, the tragical vocation of an epos inspired by the dimensions of a world under the sign of the inexorable, of destiny.

Ion Breazu, the literary historian known for his detailed studies combining literary geography and the comparative approach, and who had a keen interest in the organical links between the writers of the Romanian provinces, defined very accurately the invariants of such an interpretation (see "Temeiurile populare ale literaturii române din Transilvania. Povestitori ardeleni pînă la 1918". "Literatura română contemporană a Transilvaniei", in *Literatura Transilvaniei*, Casa Școalelor, 1944), and there is no point in mentioning them except in short. Celebrating the essential manifestations of the peasant world and extracting the elements of a peasant ethos – whence a vision shaken by tragedy and by the nature of the conflict in which destiny is involved – the Transylvanian writers' realism aspires to the epos and to recovering entirely a world whose transcendence is attractive in the case of Liviu Rebreanu, but even more so in that of Pavel Dan, the writer most adequately equipped to write in the spirit of the mythical or magical realism of the 20th century. Consonances gradually accumulate programmatic pathos and the role of the village is theorized from the perspective of an assumed existential experience. *Elogiul satului românesc* by Lucian Blaga and *Lauda țăranului român* were meant to be a confession paralleled by a philosophical perspective. The two speeches delivered in the assembly hall of the Romanian Academy share many common themes and, leaving aside the philosophical dimension of Lucian Blaga's text, where the village is seen as the carrier of the Romanian stylistic matrix, we decode a very similar outlook. The village is an entire universe, its cosmic dimension preserving the unchanging characteristics of a people, while extensions into the myth, fairy-tale or legend represent the supreme target of the writer's eye.

Liviu Rebreanu appears thus following a literary experience consolidated by Ioan Slavici and by a contemporary, Ion Agârbiceanu, while Pavel Dan will synthesize in a superior artistic form – though not finished – a prose tempted by the epic, by the interpretation of the world, by the access to the great symbols

of existence. Beginning with his first short stories, gathered in a volume in 1881, Ioan Slavici creates under the sign of the ethic, of popular realism, of illustrative reflection, although we should mention this – thesism is not unknown to the author of the short stories *Popa Tanda*, *Scormon*, *La crucea din sat*, *Gura satului*, *Pădureanca*. This kind of realism does not lack tension and a tragic register, full of meanings and interested in the movement of powerful forces. This is the case of the short story *Moara cu noroc* and of the novel *Mara*, a major work of Romanian realism, conceived as the history of a destiny seen in its most intimate stages and mechanism. (It was again G. Călinescu who considered *Ion* a novel that has as its predecessor the novel *Mara*, a work in which a consuming ambition is submitted to a superior analytical scrutiny). Stories like *Glasul inimii*, *Ofilire*, *Răzuiala*, *Cântecul iubirii* as well as others that foretell the superior characteristics of future novels: *Proștii*, *Nevasta*, *Talerii*, *Dintele*, *Hora morții*, *Catastorfa* and *Ițic Ștrul*, *dezertor* relate to the work of his forerunner.

From his debut in 1902, Ion Agârbiceanu constantly professed a realism of tormented and overwhelmed lives, depicting people defeated by ineluctable forces. Beginning with the volumes *De la țară* and *În întuneric*, containing stories and “physiologies” in the tradition of classic realism, like *Vârvoara*, *Vâlva băilor*, *Fefelega*, *Fișpanul*, *Luminița*, *Bunica Iova* and ending with *Arhanghelii*, *Stana*, *Popa Man*, *Jandarmul*, *Răbojul lui Sfântu Petru*, *Sectarii*, Ion Agârbiceanu cultivates a study actuated by moral significance, communicated by objectifying and justifying on an artistic level – the conveyed meanings

Liviu Rebreanu’s poetics asserts a work governed by great meanings resulting from the analytical approach and from the conflicts that are epically presented. This is also what we find, due to subject consonance, in the work of Ion Agârbiceanu, where his great short stories and satiric prose, as well as a Balzacian novel, like *Arhanghelii*, record another voice in the same literary landscape and in a neighbouring territory of creation. By derogation of the principle of tradition, we should emphasize the interferences in the Transylvanian literary landscape also by mentioning a successor. Certainly, Pavel Dan is not far from the epic poetry of the novel *Ion*, of the short stories and fragments dealing with Transylvanian rural or city “intelligentsia”, or from the satirical verb of certain short stories or of the novel *Gorila*. But, beyond these, the two writers are related in their attitude towards the act of writing. “Writings is for me – says Liviu Rebreanu – a difficult work. A matter of conscience. I carry in me this conscience of writing which I’ll never give

up". We find Pavel Dan's belief in the moral and aesthetic value of writing in his moving confessions. Beyond the tragic biography of the writer of the Transylvanian Plain, an identical creed and an ambitious project for an epos-novel symbolically place him within the evolution of the Romanian literature according to his own space and vocation (Liviu Rebreanu's intention – recorded in *Jurnal II* – to write an epos of the *Dead Souls* – or *Don Quixote*-type, including in *Păcală și Tândală*, the title of the would-be impressive construction, all strata of his previous works, quite significantly parallels Pavel Dan's intention to write a narrative series entitled *Ospățul dracului*). Therefore, the history of this territory exists under the sign of the great realism, of the world spectacle, and of the tragic air that foretold the unique voice of Pavel Dan.

Lucian Blaga and the Spatial Horizon

Meditation on time and space is based with Lucian Blaga on a twofold perspective: the historicity of phenomena and of the acts of a conscience deeply involved in solving meanings and the search for proofs of culture and of the intellect through an ontological and cognitive approach. History and culture, and the latter's forms, including – implicitly – the forms of literary creation, are raised for discussion according to the concept and criteria of such an original and fertile philosophy of culture.

Writing about the "temporal horizon" of conscience and associating it with the "spatial horizon", Lucian Blaga establishes, not only in *Trilogia culturii*, which we refer to now, a conceptual system meant to project the philosophical discourse and confirm the reasons of creation, of confession and of the Poet's existence. The work itself provides the arguments for a vision governed by the spatio-temporal co-ordinates of a world looking for the most eloquent representations of a universe enlightened and set in order by the sense of history and of an essential "topos".

A theme for poetry and a leit motif of memory, *the space of childhood and adolescence* has many connotations, leading to various equivalences, amazing connections and thrilling poetry. In *Hronicul și cântecul vârstelor*, Lucian Blaga recalls a territory and, at the same time, sketches the horizons of a mythical and wonderful world, a world guarded by the Mountain and by the contour of the hills. It is a matrix area which can be found in various stages of his poetry: "My horizon towards the East was bordered by the Hillside with its vineyards and red steeps, some bizarre geological formations like the

architecture in a fairy tale, or like some Egyptian temples, with columns of flint and fire. Farther on, up the river, towards the South, the blue Mountains showed, and down the river, towards the North, there were other mountains: the Western Carpathians, in whose distance I could discern two peaks. Two peaks: one vaulted, the other one pointed. I have never found out the name of these two gods that guarded my childhood. I knew the Mureș Valley was to the West, because rough and cold mist came from there in autumn. All around me, at the far end of my view, *there was – from my viewpoint = a boundary, the boundary of the world*” (italics mine, I.V.). We should notice, beyond all deliberate elements, his constant returning to the universe of childhood, an age/time of a world where the tale or the story is meant to change, or transfigured into stories – miraculous or not – the space dominated by the silhouettes of the mountains, themselves a possible realm of fairy tale and of epos in general, dominated also by waters and by the unmistakable signs of a landscape which is close to, intimate and organically linked to time. Therefore, a *chronotopos* including both horizons names and extends polysemically the world, “the boundary of the world”, the thirst for the infinite and for stories. It is again in the *Hronic* that the memoirist will establish the natural and necessary relation with the horizon of the imaginary or, in other words, of the stories: “From the tone my Mother used when she told me of things, I felt however that the Western Carpathians could be a boundary, the boundary of the world *and that beyond them there was only the story*” (italics mine, I.V.).

The whole *Hronic* – a book of memories and nostalgias, of songs scraped together of secret sounds, whispers, childhood voices, and of its seasons, seasons that are lived intensely and profoundly – is the transfiguration of a world and its projection into a new and solemn dimension. That is why the constituent elements of nature enter into relations that are shaken by a sense of time and space. They bring back to mind “the red, hieratic steeps of the Hillside” and the Mountain (“The Mountain was the height and the depth”). It is the very *Muntele vrăjit*, the poem known from the volume *La cumpăna apelor*; the place and the sign, the magic and the passing towards the meaningful myth, they all belong to the “spatial horizon” of a conscience that has entered a unique and secret communion.

The obsessive reconstruction of the sign-myth, sign-symbol or sign-allegory systems, the enunciation through them of new themes that make up “philosophy”, the pre-eminence of ideas and the presentation of old myths of the world define Lucian Blaga’s work and attitude.

In his fascinating work *Ființa istorică*, the philosopher tries, among other things, to sketch a typology of the spirit of those worlds with an essential significance in the development of world culture and civilization. Defining the "Egyptian spirit", for instance, Blaga noticed as a dominant feature its abstract-geometric character, "with a tendency to schematically reduce everything to the essential"; on the other hand, in the Babylonian mythology he discovers an inclination towards "the temporal-periodical aspects of the world and of life", while the Persians had "a Keen sense of historical facts., of the "historical dimension of reality". Certainly, differentiations – whether effective or not, convincing or not – recommend taxonomic principles, and mainly criteria that are worth taking into account regarding thinking, analytical or generalizing capabilities, as well as depicting the essence of world representations. It is significant for us that the *appeal to mythology* becomes decisive in Blaga's commentaries, and we should notice the principles of temporality and periodicity which can be found, as it is known too well, in the great epics of the world. We can only draw conclusions together with the author of *Ființa istorică*, when he refers to "enormous epics" like *Ghilgamesh* and *Mahabharata*. As we have just mentioned these works, we should stress the fact that Lucian Blaga cites texts that are revealing above all for a universe that is seen as a whole, as a mythical-historical vision of the genesis, of the fundamental values of a community that does not reject a keen and profound sense of history, and of the relationships under the sign of time and space.

These "strange constellations of thoughts" (*Trilogia culturii*), i.e. the myths, are an essential factor in Lucian Blaga's meditations on culture and its forms. In the last analysis, his reflections on "the Mioritic space" seen as the "matrix-space" of a community, including, as it is well known, the sense of destiny ("characteristic of the Romanian popular soul"), are closely related to the writer's and the philosopher's view on myths. They are transfigurations of history, of mentalities, of a world's universe, of experience, of the life forms, etc., and we should remember these ideas from *Trilogia culturii*: "The mythical spirit creates its revealing vision from elements that pertain to the vitalistic vision of man. This experience involves living beings, things with a living mask, that react organically and which are given a vital interest. This experience involves a world of events in which man participates enthusiastically and actively even when he is just a spectator (...). This experience is interwoven with lyrical, epic and dramatic elements". Finally, the same essential works, i.e. the myths, are defined as "*creations* with a revealing intention and the first great manifestation of a culture". Therefore, the

relationship we have mentioned before finds its reasoning in the reflections of the philosopher who is attracted by the meanings of the myths, by their sources and by the metonymical equivalences characteristic of these possible "histories" in the forms of the literary discourse.

Converted into stories and "histories", becoming, in other words, representations of a world's imagination and its projections into the imaginary, myths are texts, and they can be unravelled with the help of a code. We can now understand the moving and thrilling eulogy of Mihail Sadoveanu in an article published in 1960 entitled *Patriarhul pădurilor*: "Almost the only thing that I had taken with me, says Lucian Blaga recalling to mind the years he spent in the Iberian Peninsula, *like the heart of a fairy tale*, and the only one that there, near the Gulf of the Tagus, replaced groves, Romanian soil, forests, shepherds, foresters, wild beasts, magic wind, were the books of Mihail Sadoveanu. As early as those days, or perhaps even earlier, Mihail Sadoveanu was for me the Patriarch of the Woods". The lights of the organic and of the superorganic incorporated by Sadoveanu are so much in consonance with Blaga's outlook on time and space, on duration, periods of time, and on the unfolding of the world in a matchless space (see *Isvoade*, Minerva, 1972).

Along such co-ordinates, Lucian Blaga's *village* is a fundamental experience. In fact, he says it in the reception speech at the Romanian Academy and *Elogiul satului românesc* has as a premise the following assertion: "The village lives inside me in a most exciting way, like a living experience", in "the center of existence", passing into the myth, while childhood appears as the main landmark for his being within the horizon of the village world (see also *Trilogia culturii*, E. L. U., 1969, pp. 265-267). This is the leit motif of certain poems pertaining to various stages of his literary work, and we shall only mention *Sufletul satului* or 9 mai 1985, the poem of an elegiac calling: "Village of mine, carrying the sound of tear drops in your name...".

The Epic Dimension of History

In the *Preface* to the vast documentary structure dealing with such a memorable event as the amazing uprising of the serfs in 1784 (*Răscoala lui Horea*, Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1979), professor David Prodan warns his readers of the (possible) difficulties caused by the structure of the book: "I should warn you that the book is not an easy, comfortable reading. The uprising, like any mass outbreak, is tempestuous, intricate, an agglomeration, an overlapping - in time and space - of great and small events, individual and

collective. Once the barriers are broken, the elements rush like waters overflowing: agitated, along wide, indefinite river beds. They settle in an elemental way, in a vague and unruly stream which is difficult to tame in order to become «pleasant» when read”. Let us notice that the author’s clarifications are addressed to a reader who is willing to take the historian’s book for possible memoirs (“easy, comfortable reading”; a text described as “pleasant”, etc.) or, perhaps more exactly, for a “romance” roughly inspired from history.

The same fragment is relevant as preliminary discourse, as it prepares the attitude of a reader (it seems he refers this time to a specialized, high-standard, “universal” reader) for whom history is – or should tend to be – the equivalent of such events like the uprising led by Horea. The term suggests the dimensions and the duration, the players of this huge performance (“... [the uprising] is tempestuous, intricate, an agglomeration, an overlapping in time and space of great and small events, individual and collective”). As it can be seen, these are actually the usual terms of any commentary on a possible epic construction of huge dimensions. But reading the text of the “Preface” further on, we come across another fragment, which is more revealing for the *epic consciousness*, if we may call it this way. It is present in the architectural vision governing this book of a historian who is captivated by the idea of an immense edifice based on narration and the functions of narration, where the narrator/narrators, events, history as evolution and scenario, as story and epic time, order and space are all the indispensable components of such a composition. Let us see what D. Prodan says: “In order to be as veridical as possible, I used a special method. I let the actors, the events, the very uprising *narrate itself* (italics mine, I.V.), confess itself, in its own creeds, intentions, texts, and language”. There is no doubt that the historian adopts the solutions of the “impersonal”, objective narrator, treating the document as a text and as an equivalent of events converted into verbal events (text).

Certainly, one might say, for instance, that these are just “narratological” speculations. However, it is beyond doubt that the author of the wonderful work *Răscoala lui Horea* is aware of the epic vocation of history as a document, as destinies, conflicts, events, multiple references, and that he acts exactly as G. Călinescu had requested in his memorable essay *Istoria literară ca știință inefabilă și sinteză epică*. Let us recall that the essay in question is first reviewing the postulates and the directions of a “philosophy” of history, not overlooking the famous and old Aristotelian parallel between “poetry” and history; it is not the simple history of events that is convincing, emphasized G. Călinescu, and the document is meant to shed light and to create a system on

which the future *epic synthesis* can be based. Therefore, a vast epic scenario develops, the epic atmosphere being eloquently substantiated by the document, by its interpretation, by multiple connections, suggesting the rhythm and structure of an epos.

The re-publication of his previous work *Supplex Libellus Valachorum* (Enlarged, annotated edition, Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1984), re-confirms the great qualities of this wonderful scholar, a historian who was genuine and thorough in everything he published, a conscience that remained undisturbed by whims and circumstances that had been hostile to this Man more than once. The publication in 1993 of his *Memoirs* (Editura Enciclopedică) reveals to a reader thrilled by the sweetness of remembrance the matchless sounds of the village, the taste for story of the historian D. Prodan. *Supplex Libellus* is written in the spirit of the same precepts and we should only mention the importance of the *document*, the way it annexes other and other *con-textual* references, setting the *past* going from the perspective of the *present-day* researcher. The meticulousness, the accuracy, the insertion of a new document, the correlations and correspondences created and stimulated by the favourable placing of the document, etc. are the main terms of the resulting “epic synthesis”. We should mention the aspects related to how the Enlightenment was *received*, the instruments that helped spread this current in Moldavia, Wallachia and Transylvania, the detailed study of a variety of circumstances, and hence, the differences in the very complex process of reception. D. Prodan does modern research when he appeals to doctrinary aspects, to the ideology of the Enlightenment and its implications in the 18th and 19th centuries. Arguments are verified carefully and presented clearly, in a balanced way that refuses... the petty style of minor and unconvincing journalism. We should mention, from the viewpoint of the history of culture and literature, the pages dealing with the Enlightenment, the “Transylvanian School”, the memorandum of Aron Budai, I. Budai-Deleanu’s brother, the interventions of the Brașov merchants, and so on. Endowing the document with life and getting ready the space where the reader assumes the role of a passionate interpreter excited by the document, D. Prodan writes not only a book on this “representative document”, but on “the history of the birth of the Romanian nation”. It is a thrilling understanding of the evolution, of the preceding moments as well as of the reasons that account for the frequent subsequent references to the theses and the “rhetoric” of a text which is “governed by history”; as the author of the book emphasizes very well, “...[Supplex Libellus] is referred to, is appealed to for help in various

circumstances, it is now the weapon ready at hand, we sense its power in Simion Bărnuțiu's speech in the Cathedral of Blaj, in the 1848 Revolution: we sense it also in the Diet of 1863-1864. The Memorandum is – a hundred years later – its direct successor". We should stress, along the same line, that D. Prodan does not refer solely to one document, but to its meaning in the course of time, with the indestructible terms of the genesis, the extension of the characteristics of a nation that has embarked upon the extraordinary struggle of asserting itself, of having its rights acknowledged and respected. It is only natural that in D. Prodan's dialectic outlook the social, cultural, ideological factors are viewed in their interaction and this is beyond doubt the image of a long history in which the Enlightenment, the "Transylvanian School" and the uprising led by Horea are viewed as part of a system and depending on the characteristic of the national struggle.

"*Supplex Libellus* is indeed governed by history", D. Prodan points out, which means the document of 1791 was present *in history* (following a series of important and profound acts of the Romanian people, after Mihai Viteazul and after the efforts of those scholars enlightened by the belief in the past of the Romanians, in their language and values, after the irrepressible acts of certain scholars who were overwhelmed by the revelation of historical documents), and he documented his main themes mostly with the work of the 18th century historian. In other words, the memorandum itself opens new pages in a tumultuous history, endowing those events with life and projecting the future endeavours of the whole nation. Moving and tumultuous, the text becomes the symbol of history, its rousing and disturbing message.

Admitting that *Supplex Libellus Valachorum* is a construction with an epic air, achieving in all its constituent parts the (inner) dimension and the (necessary) rhythm of an epos, also admitting that this work can be read – not only with an effort of imagination – as a huge narrative discourse, let us point out its themes. They could in fact be viewed as real chapters dominated by well-defined events and their protagonists. The scenario challenges the imagination and we are ready to turn into visual metaphors and narrative situations such themes as: the diet convened at Cluj in 1790-1791; the new memorandum of March 1792; the polemic with I. C. Eder; various moments related to Nicolaus Olahus, Mihai Viteazul and the meaning of the Union as seen by the Wallachian prince; the consequences of the union with Rome; Josephinism; the uprising led by Horea; the Enlightenment as a state of mind, as a pluralistic approach, as a field of ideological and intellectual interferences, etc. We should therefore emphasize that themes like the above-mentioned ones

as well as others enter a system of relationships characteristic of an epic text, stimulating imagination and inviting the reader to re-create events through their protagonists and through the atmosphere of potentially epic situations.

D. Prodan has the vocation of a writer, of a prose writer obsessed with the themes meant to put together and support the epic structure. He summarizes the memorandum and does so from the viewpoint of a possible narrator who is involved in the epic scenario, and also suggests other connections of the recalled moments; a syntax related to that of the story operates with an ordering effect in the evolution of certain stages (Transylvania after the death of Joseph II, the enthusiasm of the Saxon noblemen and representatives when some of the measures taken by the monarch were abolished). The historian even speaks of real “displays” of reactions caused by the emperor’s death; he coins such phrases as “the time of the harmonious world of Horea”; he checks, as an objective narrator, the (epic) development of the revolt led by Sofronie (“they embarked on the way leading to the uprising led by Horea”). Finally, literary reasons are not lacking, and the “documentary” insertion of the “literary” text would correspond, at length, to the literary use of the genuine document for its induced combined effect (see Lev Tolstoy and Stendhal). We refer to fragments from the versified chronicle *Plângerea Sfintei Mănăstiri a Silvașului* and to the importance of Mihai Viteazul’s entering Transylvania.

However, the favorite formula in *Supplex Libellus* is that of “summarizing” the document, and stylistically speaking, we could identify here not simply by extrapolating narrative techniques the voice of a gifted narrator, capable of enlivening and enlightening the movement of the text. I think the pages on Inochentie Micu are the closest to the idea of an epic synthesis and to the narrative dimension. We have here a moving scenario in terms of suggestions, epic connotations and virtualities, whence an extraordinary novel, the story of a tragic destiny, would come out. It is no surprise that D. Prodan deals with it in a whole separate chapter. Inochentie Micu’s portrait becomes more lively, like in a *Bildungsroman*, living tragically the great themes of his people’s struggle, a people that had been ignored, wronged, and subjected to all vicissitudes. It is the destiny of a scholar and a fighter inspired by the pages of Dimitrie Cantemir’s *Hronicul...*, citing facts, people, theses, passing from meditations on time to real facts. We (epically) see D. Prodan’s hero troubled by long waiting in Vienna; suspected, rejected, cross-examined; leaving for Rome – a terrible passing to the torments of the exile, undesirable, poor, lonely, awfully lonely, threatened, blackmailed. “He proved to be”, says D. Prodan, “the leader of a people he was meant to lead in

the struggle for its own goals (...). He was bound to fall. It was his very rightfulness that was to destroy him”.

This is how this vast narrative ends. It is history and epic projection. The revelation of these co-ordinates pertaining to literature and to the poetics of an “epic synthesis” does not question the historian’s work, quite on the contrary, it sheds light on it, giving it brilliance. And *Supplex Libellus* is a brilliant book.

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Historiography at the University of Cluj (1919–1948). A Brief Outline

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Three quarters of a century of historiography at the university of Cluj represent a considerable period of time in the context of Romanian historical research. Thanks to the place it holds in Romanian civilization, the intra-Carpathian area has conferred historical writings special characteristics that have stimulated the re-construction of the past of a region situated somewhere between the Western and the Eastern world. Due to the province's unusually complex history, Transylvanian realities – characterized by ethnic and religious diversity, but also by permanence of Romanian unity – have enriched historiography with reconstructions marked by the phenomena of alterity. Historical circumstances going deep into the past have conferred Romanian historiography direction lines and tendencies revealing a strong self-awareness that has become manifest in the guise of militant attitudes¹. In this respect, the tradition of Transylvanian historiography defines the role assigned to history in the struggle for national assertion, as well as its anticipatory effects in the field of politics, which resulted in the foundation of a historical school under whose influence national desiderata have been fulfilled². As a matter of fact, historical works have been the preliminaries of the various political achievements, whence the permanent reference to the past in the mental structure of the generation which laid the foundations of the national state in 1918.

The founding of the Romanian University of Cluj in 1919 was a turning point for historical writing, which, however, was induced by national and international historiographical antecedents. Simultaneously with the opening of

¹ Alex. Lapedatu, *Istoriografia română în legătură cu desfășurarea vieții politice a neamului românesc de peste Carpați*, in "Academia Română. Discursuri de recepție", LV, București, 1923, p. 5-38; P. Teodor, *Neue richtungen in der Rumänischen Geschichtsschreibung der 30er Jahre des 20 Jahrhunderts*, in "Nouvelles Études de l'histoire", vol.VII, București, 1985, p. 73-90.

² Șt. Pascu, *L'École historique de Cluj pendant l'entre-deux-guerres*, in "Études d'historiographie. Sous la direction de Lucian Boia", Bucarest, 1985, p. 217-224; for the landscape of inter-war historiography, see: Al. Zub, *Istorie și istorici în România interbelică*, Iași, 1989, passim.

the university, the foundations of the Transylvanian historical schools were also laid, in an effort to organize historical higher education and to promote historical research at the new university and throughout the province. The materialization in Cluj of new lines of research under these new circumstances influenced the course of national historiography due to the results of the research carried out at the university and in various newly founded institutes. These disseminated productive ideas that contributed to the assertion of a new generation.

Following the way paved by the critical school of the Romanian Academy, historiography dealing with Transylvania played a major part in promoting historical knowledge from the very beginning. Achieving a fast institutionalization of historical research, a host of great professors from Transylvania or of Transylvanian origin, together with great historians from the universities of Bucharest and Iași founded schools of national and world history, which bestowed a new impulse and new dimensions on the study of the past.

Obviously, a mere outline, limited to the years 1919–1948, cannot include the numerous aspects of Cluj historiography, the process of institutional structuring, the evolution of research along several decades. What we can try to do even within such a limited framework is to lay stress on the new direction lines traced out by the heads of these schools and their influence on Romanian historiography. From the very beginning, the University of Cluj took upon itself the role of objectively researching the past in all respects³. Fully aware of the imperatives of a research which needed to be organized, and in the spirit of the ideas expressed by European historiography and raised to the rank of fundamental principle by Sextil Pușcariu, the first Dean of the University, Ioan Lupăș, invoked in his opening speech the aid of the state “in founding an institute of national history”⁴, on which he was certain the development of a new historiography in accordance with modern requirements depended. Conscious of the level of the historiography on Transylvania, the staff at the Faculty of Letters and Philosophy, who were also active in the field of historical and literary research, carried out in a course of just several years an extraordinary work, founding several new institutes that were to provide investigation tools. In fact, in a university that was re-organized and revived in

³ P. Teodor, *Die Entwicklung des Historischen Denkens in der Rumänischen Geschichtschreibung*, Cluj, 1972, p. XLIII - XLIV.

⁴ I. Lupăș, *Factorii istorici ai vieții naționale românești*, in “Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Națională”, 1921/22, Cluj, 1923, p. 25.

the spirit of European models, new institutes meant to cover the fields of national and world history, as well as classical, Slavonic and Byzantine studies, were systematically and perseveringly founded. Sharing interdisciplinary beliefs, the university promoted the idea of a dialogue between history and philology – taken from the positivist experience of the German school – and of the necessity of relating national history to the neighbouring area and to the general European historical phenomena. The quickness in organizing, structuring and putting this program into practice was possible due to circumstances that can be explained by the developments – characteristic of Romanian culture – in national historiography which had achieved at the beginning of this century a *(summum)* in terms of historical knowledge and research.

Pondering over the level achieved by Romanian historiography, Alexandru Lapedatu remarked with good reason the progress of Wallachian historiography, which made both Romanian history and historiography known to the world. “It is also in terms of quality that Romanian historiography has made great progress, so it equals foreign historiographies in this respect too... The new, strictly scientific methods of Western researchers are now familiar not only to those of us who studied in Wallachian universities, where – mostly at professor Onciul’s school – almost all those who, through their works, have got an honourable place in the more recent Romanian historiography have been trained”⁵. Recalling the work of Nicolae Iorga, the holder of the chair of ancient Romanian history remarked that the great historian had acquainted foreign historiography with the sources and the Romanian historical literature, the way our national historiography is, as we have mentioned, not only on the same level with foreign historiographies, but also connected to them”⁶. Due to the young generation of historians, Ioan Lupaș, Silviu Dragomir, Augustin Bunea and Ion Sârbu, at the beginning of this century, Transylvanian historiography, in connection with the Romanian Academy, reached professional standards comparable to those in Romania. Thus, at the beginnings of the historical higher education, the University of Cluj put forward the idea of historiographic continuity, which achieved integration before the political integration. We could say today that it was a union before the union, which allowed for both a progress in the systematic study of Transylvanian history, and the promotion of new approaches related to the sensibility of European historiography. The

⁵ Alex. Lapedatu, *Nouă împrejurări de dezvoltare ale istoriografiei naționale*, in “Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Națională”, 1921/22, p. 10.

⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 10-11.

organizing of historical higher education was seen as a continuation of the tradition in Romanian universities, and in relation with European historiography, which asked for a renewal of knowledge and its use according to a program. In 1919, at the opening of the history courses, Alexandru Lapedatu and Ioan Lupaș sketched the guiding lines of historical research on Transylvania. In *Nouă împrejurări de dezvoltare ale istoriografiei naționale*/New Circumstances in the Development of National Historiography, Alexandru Lapedatu stated the main priorities in investigating: to collect and publish the sources as a continuation of the program initiated by the Romanian Academy, to deal with cultural history, institutional history, to study Romanian life by reconstructing the national and political organizations, to study the relations with Wallachia and Moldavia. The guiding principle of the historical school just taking shape at that time was one so often stated by Nicolae Iorga: Romanian unity before the organization of the mediaeval states. It was from here that the organic outlook on our national past, in which "Transylvanian history, from the Romanian perspective, cannot be seen independently any longer, but, like in the case of Bessarabia and Bukovina, organically and initially related to that of the Romanian Principalities"⁷. This is also the explanation of the considerations made by Ioan Lupaș, who, meditating on the same occasion on the historical factors of Romanian national life, documented the legitimacy of the Great Union. This organic, integrating outlook directed historical research towards the history of the Middle Ages, when a specific, original civilization materialized. This was able to give a characteristic colouring to the cultural trends in our history, defining its distinct character. The program of the future researches states the necessity to investigate the nationalities' past "according to their civilizing role"⁸, and to the truth. In fact, in his reception speech on Romanian transylvanian historiography at the "Romanian Academy", Alexandru Lapedatu dealt with the same idea, revealing the contact between Transylvanian historiographies. His plea hinted at historiographical communication⁹, first between the historians in Romania and those in Transylvania, and secondly, between Romanian historians and those of the nationalities. In his opinion, the way to a new historiography was to be preceded by the critical examination of historical works in connection with Transylvania's political life, which influenced its evolution and militant

⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 14.

⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 18.

⁹ Alex. Lapedatu, *Istoriografia română ardeleană în legătură cu dezvoltarea vieții politice a neamului românesc de peste Carpați*, p. 29-30.

character. Although the purpose of history remains focused on the idea of legitimizing the present, the historical conception of these scholars proposes a reconstruction with a view to recovering the Romanian Transylvanian past in the spirit of the truth. Thus, although the landmarks of Romanticism endure in the form of references to Herder or Mancini, in their historical discourse we come across another scale of values pertaining to positivism and to the critical spirit. The references to Leopold von Ranke or Fustel de Coulanges are relevant for the new sensibility, which at the beginning of the inter-war period was under the influence of Nicolae Iorga, who had designed a new perspective on history around 1900¹⁰.

The study of Transylvanian history in connection with the general Romanian history and the specific political circumstances led, thanks to these very reasons, to the study of world history. In the time when Constantin Marinescu was its director, the newly founded “Institute of World History”¹¹ achieved significant results along the line proposed by Iorga, i.e. the study of our national history from the perspective of general history. Besides the two institutes of national and world history, the process of institutionalization incorporated also old history in the “Institute of Classical Studies”, which helped in defining a new stage in Romanian ancient historiography. By the complementary setting up of the “Committee for Historical Monuments. Transylvania and the Banat Branch” and of the permanent relations with the “Museum of the Romanian Language”, Transylvanian historiography led to an ample movement of renewal which included the museum network, the archives and the “Astra” society. The university, through the Faculty of Letters and Philosophy with its departments, stimulated a coherent research, centered around the idea of reconstructing the Transylvanian past seen as part of Romanian history and at the same time in connection with a series of internal and external interdependences.

Our attempt to evaluate the historiography at the University of Cluj up to 1944 points out as a general characteristic the connection between the syllabus and historical research proper. The institutional specific features – lecturing desk/research institute – was reflected in the sketching of distinct fields covering ancient, mediaeval and modern history as far as Romanian history was concerned, and – adjacently – universal history, dealing mainly with general

¹⁰ P. Teodor, *Istorici și probleme istorice*, Oradea, 1993, p. 3–23.

¹¹ Idem, *Din istoria Institutului (și seminarului) de istorie universală. Un omagiu profesorului Constantin Marinescu*. Conceput de Francisc Pall, în “Anuarul Institutului de istorie”, Cluj-Napoca, 1982, p. 9–34.

mediaeval history, within the framework of which the theme of the late crusade, the history of Byzantium and South-East European history stand out. Resuming the tradition set up by Iorga, the institute of world history begins the study of the relations between the Romanian area and Western Europe World history, and especially Slavic studies aroused an increased interest thanks to Silviu Dragomir who opened new lines of research in the field of the Balkan Roman world and of the relations between Romanians and Russians, and thanks to Mihail Dan – of the Western Slavs.

In the inter-war period, the very basis of Transylvanian Romanian mediaeval studies was set around the “Institute of National History” by Ioan Lupaş with his studies on the Principality of Transylvania, which were later enlarged upon by Ioan Moga, and, in the post-war period, by Ştefan Pascu. With these studies, as well as other, adjacent ones, the desideratum of 1919 i.e. the study of the Romanian political and social organizations was met. In this respect, Silviu Dragomir’s investigation of the Slavic-Romanian traces brought about a new understanding of the Romanian mediaeval history. To this we should add Aurel Decei’s study of the Eastern sources, which shed light on the realities at the beginning of the Middle Ages from a different perspective. Simultaneously, the mediaevalists’ researches included the problem of the relations between the Romanian principalities, in which Ioan Lupaş was an expert, a real pathfinder for the Middle Ages and modern times. Social historical studies gradually developed at the “Institute of National History” especially with David Prodan¹² who sketched – against the background of the feudal society – a new line of research, which was to cover the social dynamics of the great peasant uprisings. Having as a starting point the romantic historiography of the 19th century and Ioan Lupaş’ studies on Romanian villages, the new researches would go on with the uprising led by Horea and the question of historical disputes. However, historical research essentially had in view the concept of the Romanians’ role in the history of Transylvania, the role of the great masses of peasants, mostly Romanian, who were at the basis of transylvanian history.

As far as the problems of the village are concerned, the history of the religious movement was also defined. Silviu Dragomir, Ioan Lupaş and others would seriously deal with it in the spirit of the religious orientation of Transylvanian historiography. Of the university historians, Ioan Lupaş resumed the issue of the national political movements of the 18th and 19th centuries,

¹² P. Teodor, *Istoricul David Prodan*, in “Stat, societate, naţiune”. Interpretări istorice, Cluj-Napoca, 1982, p.9–34.

continuing a traditional line of research which would reach unexpected proportions in the post-war period, in David Prodan's "Supplex Libellus Valachorum" (1948). This project was achieved by studying the history of the church, following the tradition of the 19th century along the lines defined by Augustin Bunea and Nicolae Iorga at the beginning of this century. Although too deeply religious at times, this line of research was to become extremely popular due to the new sources introduced in historiographical circulation, and also in terms of interpretation.

The defining contribution of the Transylvanian Romanian historiography was, undoubtedly, devoted to Romanian unity and it reached the highest point with *Istoria Unirii românilor*/"The History of the Union of Romanians" by Ioan Lupaș, who perfected the ideas he expressed in his opening speech on the factors of Romanian unity. This vision was the source of the ample investigation of the Romanian political activity in the 19th century, between "Supplex..." and "The Great Union", which focused on the 1948 revolution, the re-establishing of the metropolitan seat, the organizing of the national parties and the Memorandum.

It was in Cluj that the foundations of the studies on the history of the international political relations were laid as a constituent part of Romanian history, studies that defined the themes of Central-European history. Dwelling upon this historiography from the perspective of the future post-war developments and of present-day researches, Ioan Moga's observations occasioned by the celebration of 25 years of activity of the Institute of National History turned out to be true: "The institute broke new ground for Romanian historiography in terms of Transylvanian history, it established the main stages in its evolution, cleared up the character and tendencies of these epochs and solved many historical problems of a general or of a local, Transylvanian character, thus enriching the heritage of Romanian historiography with essential contributions"¹³. We can now assert that in 1944, when an epoch – fruitful as far as research was concerned – ended, Transylvanian historiography had reached a European level in terms of value. Towards the end of this stage a new generation of historians made itself known. They were trained in the atmosphere of the European schools of history, which pushed the boundaries of knowledge towards virgin land. This new team of historians went in their works beyond regional history, elaborating studies that deal with the history of the Romanians as a whole.

¹³ I. Moga, *Contribuția membrilor Institutului de istorie națională la istoriografia română în primul sfert de veac (1920–1945)*, in "Anuarul Institutului de istorie națională", X, 1945, p. 631.

From this level of knowledge, in the short span of time between 1944 and 1948, new attempts at reconstructing the Transylvanian past materialized for a while, from the perspective of the history of the depth, of the great anonymous crowds, and also from the perspective of European history. Once the course in Transylvanian history re-opened in 1946, Ioan Moga's¹⁴ considerations re-asserted the solidarity with the inter-war historical school, while with David Prodan the European character of the Romanian political concepts of the 18th century was revived. Although the dogmatism of the years 1948-1960 threatened to diminish the quality of historiography due to the deliberate use of misinterpretation and fraud, under different political circumstances, the historiographical dialogue on an international level was resumed and historiography re-launched – through the university professors – the project of its beginnings, which laid the foundation of a school of mediaeval and modern history. The generations that followed, integrated in the general course of Romanian historiography, revived – through a host of young historians – the inter-war tradition and resumed the interrupted relations with world historiography. All these difficult years, the historians at the university and in the institutes showed a tendency towards integrating the transylvanian's contribution to a common civilization.

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¹⁴ Idem, "Câteva considerații privitoare la cercetarea istoriei Transilvaniei", in Ioan Moga, *Scrisori istorice, 1926-1946*, Cluj, 1973, p. 15-33.

The Relationship Between Orthodoxy and Calvinism at Archpriest Office Level in 17th Century Transylvania

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Although institutions have been referred to most frequently when it came to proving Calvinization or the failure of the Calvinization policy carried out by the Transylvanian Romanian Church, historians have preferred to treat this subject only in isolated chapters of larger studies, instead of dealing with it in monographs, because of the scarcity of documents. Attempts at accomplishing this task are canon Al. Grama's *Instituțiile calvinești...* (The Calvinist Institutions...)¹ and metropolitan bishop A. Șaguna's *Compendiul de drept canonic...* (Compendium of Canonical Law...)². To these we should add Petru Maior's *Protopopadichia* (The Archpriesthood)³, the first systematic study of archpriesthood. However, we note from the very beginning one essential characteristic of each of these works: Grama embarked first of all on proving the Calvinistic influence on the Romanian Church, while Șaguna is less concerned with the history of these institutions in Transylvania, and he follows Maior's ideas, who writes from the viewpoint of the archpriest who has been offended by the interventions of a hated bishop.

Two points have been formulated concerning the origin of the archpriest districts, and they were mentioned in the above-mentioned works: Petru Maior, and then Șaguna prove that the Transylvanian archpriests are the followers of the ancient horepiscopi and have the same prerogatives, emphasized beginning with the 16th –17th centuries by the abolition of subordinate bishoprics, which entitled them to rights that are canonically the bishop's⁴; Grama, although he does not totally deny the convention of the horepiscopi into archpriest, thinks

¹ Alexandru Grama, *Instituțiile calvinești în biserica românească din Ardeal. Fazele lor în trecut și valoarea lor în prezent*, Blaj, 1895.

² Andrei Șaguna, *Compendiul de dreptul canonic al unei sântei sobornicești și apostolești biserici*, Sibiu, 1868.

³ Petru Maior, *Protopopadichia, adică puterea, drepturile sau privilegiile protopopilor celor românești din Ardeal*. Arătate de protopop Petru Maior de la Reghin. Anul Domnului 1795. Parts of the manuscript, now at the State Archives in Cluj-Napoca, are published by Grigore Silași in "Sionul românesc", Budapest, 1865–1866.

⁴ Șaguna, *op. cit.*, p. III.

that the archpriest office existed in Transylvania only after the victory of the Reformation, when it was also introduced into the Romanian Church, therefore the Orthodox archpriests being given the same prerogatives as the Calvinist ones in the endeavour to Calvinize the hierarchy as well as the Orthodox believers⁵.

Indeed, the oldest document mentioned by Grama, and which refers to this institution is the confirmation letter of 4 December 1628, through which metropolitan bishop Ghenadie Bradi assigns archbishop Ioan of Hunedoara. It says: "Seeing in his hand letters from other bishops before us, we too have given him a letter". Therefore, this institution is older, but since there is no document earlier than 16th century, we could draw the conclusion that the archpriests appeared in the Romanian Church simultaneously with the Reformation. From the view point of document preservation, Grama's theory is very vulnerable. When such documents were found, they attested the existence of archpriests as early as 1360 and certainly the institution was much older because it was not related to the recently acknowledged bishopric of Ungrovlahia (Hungaro-Wallachia). Therefore, it must have been recognized by episcopal instances existing before 1359 and not necessarily from beyond the Carpathians⁶.

Consequently, the institution of archpriesthood existed long before the Reformation. The question is whether, once Reformation was accepted in Transylvania, those changes the author of *The Calvinist Institutions...* speaks about did or did not occur.

Thus, the Transylvanian archpriests were elected by the representatives of the people and by the clergy in the respective district. They were then confirmed in the great synod and the bishop gave them the letter of confirmation that allowed them to take their office. The same sequence was followed in the case of the Calvinist archpriests. In the Orthodox Church, archpriests are appointed directly by the bishops, without further ado. From this point of view, the Calvinist influence is undeniable and easy to explain: it occurred because the Calvinist superintendent supervised the Romanian Church, because the prince or his bishop appointed the candidates directly, after they had made a Calvinist confession of faith. From the confirmation letter given archpriest Ioan de Hunedoara by Ghenadie Bradi it does not result that the former had been elected by a diocesan synod, but that he had been given

⁵ Grama, *op. cit.*, p.337–338.

⁶ A.A. Rusu, *Preoți români din districtul Hațegului*, in "Mitropolia Banatului", no. 10–12, 1982, p. 645–653; Silviu Dragomir, *Cei mai vechi protopopi români*, in "Revista teologică", no. 19–20, 1911.

several "letters" by the previous bishops; consequently, the rule that the archpriest should be elected by the synod of this diocese cannot be older than the fourth decade of the 17th century, when the Calvinization of the Romanians was resumed on a large scale. The same Ioan of Hunedoara would ask for a letter of confirmation from bishop Simion Ștefan, which shows that the Transylvanian archpriests considered themselves sanctioned by the decision of the bishop, not of the synods. This results quite clearly from the confirmation document of bishop Ioan of Crăciunel, who "came to us [i.e. Prince Gh. Rakoczi I] with a humble request, explaining that since he does not have a letter of confirmation for his office, *according to present regulations* (italics mine), the bishop *might interfere with his activity quite often* (italics mine), separating the villages from one another..."⁷. So, this Calvinist archpriest had no letter of confirmation and feared that, unable to document his office, he might be inconvenienced in his practice, since simple election by the district synod was not enough according to Calvinist regulations.

So far as the canonical prerogatives of the archpriests are concerned, all three above-mentioned authors agree they were the same for Transylvanian archpriests too. To these, we should add other special prerogatives mentioned by Maior and used tendentiously by Grama, but which Șaguna does not hint at.

One of these could be the archpriests' right to grant the ordained priest a parish in his diocese, which canonically can be done only by the bishop. In order to prove the existence of this right, Grama refers to two articles of the 1675 synod presided by Sava Brancovici:

"No archpriest should accept a priest for the people, unless the latter brings a letter from his former archpriest, stating his behaviour".

"No priest should be employed without the archpriest's knowledge. And the one who does so should be stopped from practising"⁸.

The first article is indeed questionable: it is clear that it refers only to the priests moving from one parish to another, not to the newly ordained. In this case, the bishop renounces his prerogative to supervise strictly all the priests under his jurisdiction, either because he cannot do it, due to the interdiction or to the increasing difficulty of the canonical visits, or because the priests find it difficult to go to the bishop and ask permission to move. Surely, these explanations are no excuse for the canonical unlawfulness unnoticed by the contemporaries due to difficult communication, not necessarily a result of the Calvinist influence.

⁷ Ioan Lupaș, *Documente istorice transilvane*, vol. I, Cluj, 1940, p. 240.

⁸ Timotei Cipariu, *Acte și fragmente latine românești*, Blaj, 1855, p. 150.

As to the second article, we think it refers to something else, not to supervising the ordaining of the respective priest.

Grama finds a statement regarding the same prerogative of the archpriests to decide according to their own will on the parishes under their jurisdiction in the second canon of the great synod of 1700: "The deacon who wants to take holy orders should go first to the archpriest to ask for a letter of recommendation, and with a letter from a true father confessor;... and the archpriest should provide him with a parish...". The last words can only be the natural conclusion of the beginning of the sentence: the deacon needed a letter from the archpriest in order to be ordained, consequently the archpriest need a new priest and knew beforehand where he would appoint the newly ordained priest; therefore, he would tell him what parish he should ask to be appointed to.

The same synod of 1700 also decided: "The priests coming from abroad should not be accepted unless they have a letter of recommendation from their bishop". Grama thought that the archpriests almost took an unfair advantage from their right to confer parishes by giving them to foreigners, and therefore the synod decided to straighten up this matter. But as early as 1600, the diet of Lészfalva forbade the priests from Wallachia and Moldavia to come into Transylvania, and in 1653 the Approbatae said: "The Wallachian priests coming from abroad should be compelled to appear before the archpriest, and the latter themselves or through their bishops should be made to bring them for questioning by the officials of the respective counties, districts or nearby towns..."⁹. Through that article, the bishop only wanted to make everybody abide by the laws of the country and to make sure the new-comers were indeed priests.

After providing these proofs supporting the existence of the non-canonical right of the archpriests to give parishes, Grama mentions that in the synod of 1627 Dosoftei forbade the priests to move from one church to another without letting him know. Therefore, this Calvinist influence didn't occur earlier than the 17th century either. However, the strongest proof in this respect referred to by Grama is Petru Maior's statement in *Protopopadichia*: "The never broken rule was that the archpriests should give people to the priests coming from other parishes as well as to those in his own parishes". Taking into account that Maior himself was an archpriest and therefore he could put into practice such a prerogative, his statement remains unquestionable. The only problem is that the

⁹ V. Șotropa, I. Floca, A. Herlea, *Vechile legislații transilvane*, in "Mitropolia Ardealului", no. 7-9, 1976, p. 471.

Calvinist influence in question, which is still debatable at the end of the 17th century, i.e. when the Romanian Church was under the influence of the Hungarian superintendent, may have been adopted after 1700 by the Romanian archpriests as an established rule, which they could use to oppose the bishops that had united with Rome – something Maior should not be suspected of since he confessed it repeatedly of his own will.

Another prerogative, related to the above-mentioned one, as well as to another non-canonical right of the priests – is that of moving the priests from one parish to another within the same diocese. This right is not mentioned in 16th and 17th century documents, neither in legislation or in practice. The indisputable argument in proving the Calvinist influence is again Maior; we therefore consider it is useless to dwell up on this matter any longer.

The third non-canonical right of the archpriests was to participate with active and decisive votes in the proceedings of the great synod, a fact that was recorded in all historical documents regarding this institution, which say that decisions were taken “with the permission and advice of all archpriests”. If this prerogative of the archpriests is not canonical, at least it has a logical explanation, since it is a metropolitan bishopric with no subordinate dioceses.

The Romanian archpriests in Transylvania were also actively voting in the synods gathered in order to elect the metropolitan bishop. The first information in this respect is given by the collection of laws *Approbatæ Constitutiones*, from which we learn that on 21 October 1579 the diet decided that “the Romanian Christian priests are free to appoint as bishop whoever they want from among themselves because the bishop they had died, but the newly-elected bishop should be however confirmed by His Majesty”¹⁰. This decree was at the basis of the following replacements of bishops. It seems that until then they were appointed by the voivode, then by the prince on his own initiative or at the suggestion of other persons (the Wallachian or Moldavian princes or important persons in the Transylvanian hierarchy). Grama thinks that, since at that time there existed Calvinist Romanians, the respective article does not refer to the election of the Orthodox bishops¹¹. But it is he himself who then mentions a decree of the same diet which says: “although the Romanian nation within the fatherland is not even one of the [recognized] nations nor is its religion one of the accepted ones, still... until they are accepted... they should petition the prince for such a bishop, whom the

¹⁰ Ștefan Meteș, *Istoria bisericii și a vieții religioase a românilor din Transilvania și Ungaria*, Sibiu, 1935, p. 90.

¹¹ Grama, *op. cit.*, p. 283.

Romanian priests recognize as fit by common agreement; if the princes think the one they have chosen suitable, they should confirm him and also impose conditions on him regarding the faith in God, in the welfare of the country, and in other necessary things". As can be easily noticed, this article does nothing but confirm the first one. Therefore, beginning with that year, the manner in which Romanian Orthodox bishops were elected was officialized. In support of this assertion we can mention another decision of the diet held on 26 April 1577, which remarked that numerous Romanians had turned to Calvinism and, *as their superintendent had died*, they could elect another one¹². So, the Romanian superintendent Pavel Tordasi died in 1577, not in 1579, when Mihail Tordasi, who has mentioned as late as 1582, was in office. The bishop who died in 1579 could only be the *Orthodox* bishop Hristofor II¹³.

The book of synodical decrees issued around 1680 also specifies the following regarding this non-canonical right of the archpriests: "The election of our Romanian bishop is done here in Transylvania with the emperor's generous consent, since we have been granted permission by the emperors long gone. When need be, all the archpriests and also other priests should gather, and select him by the will of the whole synod, all joining in one word, and if the emperor also finds him worthy, he will confirm him as a bishop according to *Probata Constitutionis*, title eight, article one"¹⁴. We could also mention the confirmation diplomas given to the metropolitan bishops, dated 10 October 1643, 1680 and 1692¹⁵, that mention the election formalities.

Therefore, the future metropolitan bishop was elected by a synod of the archpriests and of the representatives of the priests, and was then confirmed by the prince. But was this manner of appointing a metropolitan bishop canonical? Şaguna says that "the metropolitan bishop is elected by the representatives of the clergy and of the people in the subordinate dioceses of the bishopric... then confirmation from the emperor is asked"¹⁶. "The bishop is ordained by two or three bishops"¹⁷ and is confirmed by the metropolitan bishop¹⁸. Grama adds: "The metropolitan bishop was elected the same way, except that the patriarch

¹² George Bariţiu, *Părţi alese din istoria Transilvaniei*, vol. I, Braşov, 1889, p. 131.

¹³ Mircea Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii româneşti din Transilvania, Crişana, Banat şi Maramureş*, Cluj, 1992, p. 131.

¹⁴ Mihai Colotello, *Zaonicul Sfântului ierarh Sava Brancovici*, in "Biserica Ortodoxă Română", no. 7-8, 1961, p. 758.

¹⁵ Grama, *op.cit.*, p. 283.

¹⁶ Şaguna, *op.cit.*, p.111.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 122.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 252.

had the right to name the metropolitan bishop, and in some place, the *president* (italics mine) of the synod¹⁹.

We are not concerned in this study with the issue of the people's participation in electing the metropolitan bishop. Thus, from the canonical law of the Orthodox Church it results that in order to appoint a bishop or a metropolitan bishop the acceptance of the *clergy* in the diocese was needed, also the presence of two or three bishops for the ordaining and the confirmation by higher authorities: spiritual (the metropolitan bishop of Hungaro-Wallachia) and temporal (the Transylvanian prince). Consequently, the existence of the subordinate bishops is not compulsory, as they could be replaced by archpriests²⁰. Regarding this situation, Maior noticed that the Transylvanian archpriests were more important than the ancient *horepiscopi*. But since they were only lifelong bishops and the synods they took part in also gathered many full bishops, their active vote was not necessary. The situation was different in 17th century Transylvania, in a metropolitan bishopric with no subordinate dioceses, which geographically overlapped with the territory of a state ruled by a nation that was different from the one in its jurisdiction, and whose rulers were very sensitive to any relations of the "tolerated" subjects with their brothers in the neighbouring countries, especially since Calvinist proselytism became state policy. Consequently, this church had to solve its own problems. It could not wait until the Wallachian exarchate sent them a new "canonically elected" bishop to replace the dead one. Surely, the way of electing them had to adjust to the Calvinist legislation, because before the Reformation bishops were appointed by the political authority of the state, not elected by an ecclesiastic instance, but all metropolitan bishops remained Orthodox, the election at home being followed by the ordaining in the religion of the believers they would shepherd.

Another episcopal right of the Transylvanian archpriests was that of trying and dismissing the metropolitan bishop. Three synods having such a purpose were held during the 17th century. But two of them were simple formalities, as they had been imposed – indeed like their very sentences – by the princes and the Calvinist superintendents, and therefore we cannot say that the synods that dismissed the patriarchs of Constantinople or other Orthodox bishops by the order of the head of the state were more canonical than those held in Transylvania. However, the archpriests seem to be aware they have these rights:

¹⁹ Grama, *op. cit.*, p. 324.

²⁰ Samuil Micu, *Istoria bisericească a episcopiei românești din Ardeal*, Library of the Romanian Academy, Cluj, *Ms. rom.* 439, p. 72–88.

the third trial synod takes place at their request. But those who converse and preside it, and also decide the sentence are persons that had accepted *officially and of their own will* the Calvinist religion, although they had been initially Orthodox. The sentence and the manner in which they passed it were beyond the judgement of the great majority of Transylvanian archpriests, who, a few month later, said were satisfied with their bishop, the same one the renegades had forced to resign²¹. We therefore think that this right attributed to the Transylvanian archpriests was in fact an abuse of the authorities and of the new converts who were only too willing to prove the sincerity of their new faith.

Transylvanian archpriests could also form a first judicial instance²². This right is sanctioned in *Approbatae* and in the documents of the synods of 1675 and 1700. Thus, if a lay person wanted to sue a priest, he had to adress his archpriest; the priests who did something wrong were first tried by their archpriest, then the case would go to the bishop. The most important matters in which archpriests had a say were marriage and divorce. Perhaps the fact that they could keep better track of these matters than the bishop was not the least important of the reasons. Marriage and divorce represented one of the major points in the Calvinization program, being mentioned in all confirmations given to the Calvinized archpriests. However, it seems that the bishops did not quite like the archpriests' right to judge – which did not exist in the Eastern Church – and especially the chapter referring to marriage. That is why, immediately after the Calvinist pressure weakened, they tried to undermine it. Thus, the synod presided by Atanasie Anghel in 1700 decided that if a lay person wanted to sue the priest, he or she should go “to the archpriest in the forum or to the bishop” – therefore they had the freedom to decide to whom they should appeal first. Another article of the same synod said: “The archpriests should divorce the couple with the bishop's knowledge” – therefore they kept the jurisdiction referring to marriages to themselves, but all such decisions had to be confirmed by the bishop.

Another right, resulting from the previous one, is the archpreists' ability to give exemptions from several impediments to marriage – which in the Orthodox Church no bishop can do.

The last episcopal right mentioned by Grama and for which he has a truly solid explanation is the fact that within the Romanian Transylvanian Church archpriests were considered next in rank to the bishop, as there were no intermediate positions between them and the bishop. Being a metropolitan

²¹ N. Dobrescu, *Fragmente privitoare la istoria bisericii românilor*, Budapest, 1904, p. 57.

²² Grama, *op. cit.*, p. 337–338.

bishopric with no subordinate bishoprics, we think should be no argument about it.

Therefore the following rights of the archpriest remain non-canonical and Calvinized: the right to give parishes, if it is in the period of time we deal with, the right to form first stage judicial instances and the right to give exemptions for marriage. Without minimizing the Calvinist influence, we however think that the institution of archpriesthood had a solid canonical basis in the Transylvanian Romanian Church and that the Calvinist varnish could not change its essence, the deviations from the Eastern right resulting more from the special circumstances in which the Transylvanian metropolitan church functioned than from Calvinist proselytism.

We still have to establish the locations of the archpriests' seats in the 17th century. From superintendent Geleji's letter of 4 March 1643 to Prince Gh. Rakoczi I we know there were 20 of them, but no specification was made whether the number referred only to Transylvania or also to the archpriest seats in the other regions under the jurisdiction of the metropolitan bishop at Bălgrad. Since we do not know the exact dates when they were founded, we cannot be sure whether the archpriest seats we are going to enumerate were functioning in 1643, because their number increased in time, up to 50 in 1700.

Thus, we think that in 1643 the following archpriest seats were operating:

1. The archpriest seat of *Galați*, mentioned in Geleji's letter²³ and also in a note at the end of Ioan of Crăciunel's confirmation diploma²⁴. We suppose it is the Galați in Țara Hațegului, because most of the other archpriest seats were in the same area: Hațeg – Hunedoara – Alba-Iulia – Făgăraș.
2. The archpriest seat of *Hunedoara*, also mentioned in the letter of 4 March 1643, but whose existence is first attested in the letter of confirmation received by the archpriest Ioan from Ghenadie Bradi on 4 December 1628. From it we can also draw the conclusion that the seat was much older, because Ioan had letters of confirmation from previous bishops too.
3. The archpriest seat of *Crăciunel* – known from archpriest Ioan's confirmation diploma of 27 June 1648.
4. The archpriest seat of *Armeni* – mentioned also in Ioan of Crăciunel's diploma, in the report of the synod assembled for the trial of metropolitan bishop Ioasaf²⁵, and in the book of synodical decrees of 1680²⁶.

²³ Lupaș, *op. cit.*, p. 221.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 240.

²⁵ Dobrescu, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

²⁶ Grama, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

5. The archpriest seat of *Cireşov* – mentioned in Ioan of Crăciunel's diploma.
6. The archpriest seat of *Peterhaza* – mentioned in the same diploma. The place can be identified as a village near Salonta²⁷.
7. The archpriest seat of *Ilia* – recorded in the above-mentioned document and in the metropolitan bishop Simion Ştefan's confirmation diploma.
8. The archpriest seat of *Hateş* – known from the diploma of 11 January 1644 in which Rakoczi I granted a noble title to archpriest Petru, who is also mentioned on 1 January the same year as a *pastor ecclesiae orthodoxae valachicae Hazakiensis*²⁸.
9. The archpriest seat of *Alba-Iulia* – mentioned in the document of 7 July 1647, through which the prince was taking archpriest Neacşu, who had been in office for 12 years, under his protection²⁹, and in the book of synodical decrees of 1680³⁰.
10. The archpriest seat of *Alămor* – which is taken out of metropolitan Simion Ştefan's jurisdiction through his confirmation diploma of 10 October 1643³¹.
- 11, 12, 13. The archpriest seats in the Făgăraş area, mentioned in the letter of 4 March 1643, however without being located. We presume that one of them was located in *Făgăraş*, because in the document of the union of the Transylvanian Church with the Rome dated 7 October 1698 there is an archpriest who signs "Aron of Făgăraş"³². Another one was at *Ţichindeal*, where an archpriest was confirmed on 8 July 1647³³. The last one was at *Berevoi*, the archpriest here being given the jurisdiction over the entire Făgăraş area on 21 May 1647³⁴.
14. The archpriest seat of *Orăştie* – also taken out of metropolitan Simion Ştefan's jurisdiction in 1643.

For the period of time around 1643 we can also presume the existence of an archpriest seat at *Bistriţa* – whose priests took part in the synods of the Romanian Reformed bishops in the 16th century, and also of the archpriests seats of *Gurghiu* and *Chioar*. The three districts were mentioned as separate

²⁷ Coriolan Suciu, *Dicţionar al localităţilor din Transilvania*, Bucureşti, 1970, p. 386.

²⁸ Z. Păclişanu, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

²⁹ *Ibidem*.

³⁰ Grama, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

³¹ Păclişanu, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

³² Dragomir, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

³³ Păclişanu, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

³⁴ Lupaş, *op. cit.*, p. 237.

entities among the other territories under the jurisdiction of the bishopric of Vad.

It is also quite likely that *Lugoj* and *Caransebeș* were among the 20 archpriests seats, since they were separate entities. However, they had accepted Calvinism.

When the Maramureș entered the jurisdiction of Alba-Iulia, the four “ierașuri” of *Lăpuș*, *Moisei* and *Vișeu* were added.

Beginning with the middle of the 17th century the following archpriest districts were founded: the district of *Zarand*, called “of the Criș rivers” in the documents, given to archpriest district Petru Csucsy on 15 December 1648³⁵; the archpriest district of *Șcheii Brașovului*, mentioned in the record of Ioasaf’s trial; the archpriest district of *Daia*, mentioned in the same official record and also in the book of synodical decrees³⁶; the archpriest district of *Vinț* – present in both above-mentioned documents, in Sava Brancovici’s trial, as well as in the prefaces of the books printed on the initiative and under the patronage of the Calvinists; the archpriest districts of *Săcădate*, *Mohu*, *Sas-Uifalău* and *Corabia*, all mentioned in the record of metropolitan Oiasaf’s trial.

It is also in this period that the archpriest districts of *Bistra* and *Silvaș* were functioning, the first one because in the diploma given by Simion Ștefan confirming the ordaining of Petru Partenie, a certain bishop of Bistra is mentioned – surely, this cannot be the Transylvanian town, but is quite possible that the man who wrote the document mistook it for this town, where, perhaps, there was an important archpriest seat; as to *Silvaș*, since it is mentioned as one of the former metropolitan seats, it is possible that later on it became the seat of “the bishop’s copy”, instead of the bishop himself.

As we have already said, the number of archpriest districts grew larger and larger. However, it is quite likely that some of them changed and then disappeared, being replaced by others. It is also possible that the location of the archpriest seats changed, depending on the person holding the office, who probably could not or did not have to move to the former location of the seat. As Șincai confesses: “55 archpriests... who should have signed along with Atanasie” the document of the union on 12 December 1700 “could be found everywhere”³⁷.

In order to reconstruct the diagram of the archpriest seats existing in 1700–1701, we have used three documents signed by several archpriests on 1

³⁵ Păclișanu, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

³⁶ Grama, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

³⁷ Gh. Șincai, *Hronicul românilor și al mai multor neamuri*, vol. III, 1700, in *Opere*, Bucharest, 1967.

June 1697, 7 October 1698 and 7 January 1701, and also the protocol of the metropolitan church of 1701, copied by Samuil Micu in his *Istoria bisericească a episcopiei românești din Ardeal* (*The Ecclesiastical History of the Romanian Bishopric in Transylvania*). We should mention that to the first two, which were forged, older lists signatures had been added³⁸. We notice that the archpriests of Galați, Crăciunel, Peterhaza, Cireșov and Alămor are mentioned in none of these four documents. They may have disappeared either before 1695–1696, when the oldest of the lists – an incomplete one – annexed to the document of 1 June 1697 was probably compiled (therefore the above-mentioned archpriest seats could still have been mentioned), or between 1696–1701, when none of the documents mentioned them.

From the document dated 10 June 1697 we learn of three more archpriest districts that no longer appear in the other three lists, and which must have disappeared between 1695/6–1701: *Vizogna* (Ocna Sibiului), *Țagul Mare* and *Poșaga*. They were probably founded in the second half of the 17th century, except that Vizogna probably functioned before, since it is from here that Melchior Balassa chose his favourite, Gheorghe, whom he appointed bishop instead of Sava I of Geoagiu-Lancrăm.

The following 8 archpriest districts on the first list are also mentioned in the other documents. Among them there is the district of Orăștie, known as early as the first half of the century.

42 archpriests sign the document of 7 October 1698, out of which 7 are known from the previous list: *Bistra*, *Șieuș*, *Geomal*, *Săcal*, *Uifalău*, *Nimigea* and *Silvaș*. From among the older archpriest districts we should mention *Hațeg*, *Hunedoara*, *The Criș Rivers*, *Vinț*, *Ilia*, *Daia*, *Armeni*, *Lăpuș*, *Țchindeal* and *Făgăraș*. It is possible that one of the archpriests spelled incorrectly the name of the place he came from – Făraș instead of Făgăraș, therefore this was the third archpriest district in this area, with the seat at Berivoi, which is still mentioned in 1701. Here too there are several archpriest districts we shall no longer find in the following documents: *Cășei*, *Cornia* and *Cheța*. The Romanian name of the archpriest seat at position 35 was erased, and it cannot be identified from the Latin inscription, Alviuc, since the one who did it spelled incorrectly most of the other names of places.

The other archpriest seats, *Hăpârța*, *Călian*, *Săoraș*, *Călata*, *Chioar*, *Colun*, *Săliște*, *Gurghiu*, *Berghiș*, *Lepindea*, *Sânmihai*, *Ohaba* and *Cugir*, are mentioned in the other documents too.

³⁸ Dragomir, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

On 7 January 1702, 35 archpriests put their signatures. Of the old archpriest districts of the 17th century, Braşov appears; also, the following districts are mentioned for the first time: *Lemâi, Vărădia, Singer, Sintul, Calbor, Avrig, Chizdia* and *Sâncrai*.

Of the old districts, Alba-Iulia appears in the protocol signed the very same year, and also, for the first time, *Viştea, Chiuleşti, Râuşor, Sărvad, Şimleu, Băsăşti, Turda, Lazuri, Vidroşeg, Pădur, Nitoi* and *Bacai*. As it can be easily noticed, some of the names are almost impossible to identify. The protocol is signed by 52 Transylvanian archpriests, 3 from the Maramureş (again hard to identify), 2 from the Sighet area, and those from Bihor and Sătmăr, whom S. Micu does not copy, since at the time when he was writing they were no longer under Transylvanian jurisdiction.

It can be noticed that the map of the archpriest districts changed quite a number of times in the second half of the century. Certainly, this does not mean that the new names that appeared in 1698 and in 1701 had all become archpriest districts in the short span of time between the dates of the documents. The number of archpriests is never complete. The places having strange names in the last document may be incorrect spellings of certain names in the previous documents. There remains the question (which will probably never find an answer): when were all these archpriest districts founded, when did they disappear, and what villages were under their jurisdiction?

One thing is sure: most of the districts in the first half of the 17th century were founded or strengthened by the Calvinists. This does not mean that all those who brought the institution of archpriesthood among the Romanians were Calvinists. As it could be noticed, even some of the archpriest districts founded by the Calvinists disappeared, to be later replaced by others. Consequently, the archpriest districts that appeared in the middle of the 17th century, out of which a great number were initiated by the Calvinists or by the Calvinized, overlapped or replaced previous archpriest district structures, certainly primitive ones, of which we don't even know whether they covered the whole territory under the jurisdiction of Transylvania's Metropolitan Church. However, we do know that this structure existed in Southern Transylvania, where in fact the first Calvinist archpriest districts were founded. Another reason why we think the structure of the archpriest districts was not imposed by the Calvinists is the fact that their structure in the case of the Romanians was very different from the structure in the Hungarian Church, where the archpriest districts covered wide areas, unchanged until nowadays, while with the Romanians their jurisdiction covered

only about 20 villages and their shape changed continuously, being present mainly in areas with a strong Romanian population.

We could even say that the organizing of new archpriest districts in 17th century Transylvania, an initiative of the metropolitan bishop in most of the cases – since the number of the archpriest districts founded by the authorities or confirmed by them on condition that they accepted Calvinism was very small as compared to the others, on which there is no such information – was a means of opposing Calvinization. This was done, whenever and wherever there was such an opportunity, by dividing the archpriest districts led by Calvinist Romanians into several structures of which we have very little and quite late information. This may be a fairly conclusive sign that these “Calvinized” archpriest districts abandoned their wish for Calvinization, because this could not have been left unrecorded.

As a conclusion, we can say that, despite the appearance of a Calvinist influence, Transylvanian archpriest districts are based on the Eastern canonical right, any deviations from it resulting, in the most significant of the cases, from the special circumstances in which the Transylvanian bishopric functioned, as a metropolitan bishopric with no subordinate dioceses, and not under pressure from the Calvinist institutions or out of a desire to imitate them.

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Contributions to the History of the Romanians in Hungary

Eugen Glück
Arad

The history of the Romanians on the present territory of Hungary is related to a great extent – like in the case of all those living abroad – to the history of the church. The research carried out in church archives has yielded important data about life in the 19 Orthodox and Greek-Catholic parishes of the Romanians in Leta-Mare, Pocei, Bedeu and so on.

There have been some praiseworthy efforts towards the study of the history of the Romanians in Hungary, like for instance Teodor Misaros's *On the History of Romanian Orthodox Communities in the Republic of Hungary*, Budapest, 1990. Subsequent researches have completed the already known data, among which the information about the Romanian Orthodox communities on the contemporary territory under the jurisdiction of the consistory of Arad (1792–1848).

As everybody knows, the Orthodox diocese of Arad, that had been re-organized at the beginning of the 18th century, was included in the system of Illyrian privileges which had at the head the metropolitan church of Carlovitz. In 1864, the Serbian and the Romanian Orthodox churches separated, and the metropolitan church of Sibiu was created. The Arad diocese, which had mainly Romanian parishioners, became dependent on Sibiu. But the separation of the parishes with mixed population, as well as the disputes concerning the ownership of the monasteries lasted for decades.

So far as the organization of the diocese of Arad is concerned, we should mention that it included six counties. In order to facilitate the church administration, its territory was divided, in keeping with the demands expressed at the congress held in Timișoara (1790), between two consistories, which were collective deliberative organisms consisting of assessors, clergymen, and a few laymen. The episcopal jurisdiction had remained unchanged, the bishop also presiding the meetings of the consistory of Arad. In Oradea, the meetings were presided by the local archpriest, who had approximately the position of vicar. The consistory of Arad had in its jurisdiction the parishes of Cenadul-Unguresc,

Bătania, Chitighaz, Bichis, Bichisciaba, Hodmezövásárhely and Szentes. The parish of Karczag had a special place as it legally belonged to Oradea, but the community there generally preferred to keep in touch with the diocesan center in Arad.

The leaders of the above-mentioned parishes were also in the church's decision-making structures. Thus, at the Illyrian congress of 1837, attorney Gheorghe Brădean, assessor of the courts in Torontal and Cenad was also a delegate¹. Father Davidovici from Hodmezövásárhely was assessor of the consistory in Arad². But father Ștefan Drăgan from Cenadul-Unguresc was rejected (1832), the consistory considering his merits were not sufficient³.

The decisions of the consistory in Arad included in the official reports amount to 20,000 posicions (1792 - 1848), without the "presidential" decisions of the bishop. During the vacations (1815-1829, 1830-1835) the administrators seldom used this right.

After the destructions caused by the Turkish rule and by the "liberation" wars (1783-1799), the communities around Giula, the only parish that survived continuously, gradually organized themselves. Despite legal and financial difficulties, most of them built churches made of solid materials up to the end of the century. Still, the first parish to have a stone church was again Giula (1762). The problem of the landowner's plot on which it was built was solved – the church got the right to use it free of charge – only in 1792, through the letter exchange between the Wenkheim family and bishop Avacumovici. In 1801 the church was destroyed by fire. After repeted appeals (1804, 1806, 1807) the landowner expanded the church plot⁴. Raising the money for the re-building of the church was very difficult. In 1802, the bishop was asked to intervene in order to get the authorization for a public collection⁵. A loan of 10,000 fl. and the re-spreading out of the debt to the seminary's fund were also necessary. The building was over only in 1824, and the last payments were made in 1829.

A delegation of the community asked bishop Putnik, the diocesan administrator, to dedicate the church. As the parishioners had joined the movement for the appointment of a Romanian bishop in Arad, he declined the

¹ The Archives of the Romanian Orthodox Diocese of Arad, Protocollum consistorialis 246/1837. All footnotes being taken from the same source, we shall only mention the number and the year.

² 118/1832.

³ 78, 119/1832.

⁴ 3/19-1792, 3/24-1804, 1/1806, 63/1807, 103/1813, 258, 351, 304/1823; Teodor Misaroș, *Din istoria comunităților ortodoxe-române din R. Ungară. Cărțile "Dunărea"*, Tankönyvkiadó, Budapest, 1990, p. 124-131.

⁵ 3/7-1802

request⁶. But he authorized archimandrite Maxim Manuilovici from Oradea accepted to lead the ceremony⁷.

In Bătania, Romanians and Serbians built a church made of solid materials. It is now owned by the latter. Because of the lack of materials, it was only in 1818 that they could hire painter Sabbas Petrovici from Timisoara, who was given 4,600 fl., to paint the images on the iconostasis. In 1819, they also hired painter Ignatie Voinovici. The sculptures were contracted by Ioan Bantko from Arad, who was also hired for 2,000 fl. in Cenadul-Unguresc in 1826. The icons here were done by Miliutin Bendracici though⁸. The church in Cenadul-Unguresc was built in 1808 and restored in 1845 (it is now owned by the Romanian Orthodox parish⁹. The church in Hodmezövásárhely (now owned by the Serbian community) was restored in 1846¹⁰.

In the period we deal with there were initiatives to create new parishes. In 1806, believers from The Small Romanian Town in Giula started taking the necessary steps to have their own parish, saying that the church under construction was too far from them. They asked at least for a chaplain¹¹. Their endeavours were successful in 1819, when chaplain Teodor Ilovici was appointed there. Next year they demanded that Sunday mass should be held in the school or in any other suitable building. They asked the landowner to provide a plot for the church, and a piece of land for the future priest. Following insistent appeals, they were given permission to have mass in the school building in winter and in bad weather¹². A chapel was set up, and they asked permission to dedicate it¹³. A few years later they started building the church, but had problems with the rectory. In 1833, the chapelain was left without a house, and the main parish stopped paying his salary. They succeeded in getting a parish priest, Gheorghe Precup, only in 1835. He was followed by Dumitru Iacob in 1841¹⁴. The founding of the Bichisciaba parish began in 1819. Mihai Ardelean, the priest in Bichis, reported that there were 400 believers in Bichisciaba and in Berini who wanted to turn to the Uniate church. The consistory sent a delegation with the mission to stop them. The villagers

⁶ 304/1825, 210/1826, 169/1827, 20/1828, 169/1829.

⁷ 115/1824.

⁸ 420/1818, 15/1819, 87, 1826, 147, 171/1827, 218/1830.

⁹ 237/1845; T. Misaroş, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

¹⁰ 305/1846.

¹¹ 92/1806, 50/1807.

¹² 178/1819, 152, 197, 251, 298/1820.

¹³ 116, 132, 154/1834.

¹⁴ 46/1833, 154/1834, 258, 259, 333/1835, 20/1836, 29/1839, 41/1841.

complained of not having permanent religious assistance. The committee, which did not have a mandate, only promised to hand over their demands and arranged that one of the priests in Chitighaz be at the disposal of the believers in Bichisciaba¹⁵. Finally, the archpriest in Siria was authorized to sign the contract that ensured the existence of the Bichisciaba parish¹⁶. That very same year, father Andrei Maki was appointed there, and he reported that there were a thousand parishioners. However, they were too poor to be able to support the priest. After two years, the landowner finally refused to grant land for the church and for the school, and also for the priest¹⁷. In 1828, he complained of being very poor and asked to be transferred to the Covăsinti parish (Arad county) where he died in 1830¹⁸.

In 1833, the new priest, Nicolae Vasarhan, and the trustee, Alexandru Fitsovici, were authorized by the Provisional Council to start a public subscription¹⁹. This had some good results as some of the donors were of a different religion. Of the 1691 fl. collected, 593 were left, while the rest were used to pay the expenses of the journeys occasioned by this action. In its turn, the consistory of 1847 entrusted the archpriest in Chisiney-Cris to also register the parishioners in smaller parishes and make them pay the cult tax²⁰. The building of the church began towards the end of the fourth decade, and was continued intermittently. Still, the welfare standard of the priest improved, as the landowner gave him 22 "iugăr" (1 "iugăr" = aprox. 0.5775 hectare) of land²¹.

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One of the major problems was shepherding in smaller parishes. In 1703, father Mihai Ghiba from Bichis requested that Mihai Ralja should be ordained for this purpose. Considerable problems arose in this matter too. Thus, the Provisional Council exempted the believers in Szarvas of certain obligations because they were not in the Bichis parish records²². From a resolution issued in 1819, we find out that chaplain Petru Popovici from Otlaca (now Grăniceri) had served the believers in Aletea and the neighbouring mansions for ten years.

¹⁵ 24, 84/1819; Gheorghe Ciuhandu, *Propaganda catolică maghiară de la Macău*, Arad, 1926, p. 8; T. Misaroş, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

¹⁶ 98, 228/1820.

¹⁷ 93, 165/1821, 116/1823.

¹⁸ 18, 199, 249/1828, 175/1829, 110, 201/1830.

¹⁹ 67/1834, 47, 288/1835, 108/1836, 262/1847; Gheorghe Ciuhandu, *Episcopii Samuil Vulcan şi Gherasim Raţ*, Arad, 1935, p. 290.

²⁰ 129/1839, 140/1840.

²¹ 29/1841, 132, 268/1845.

²² 51/1793, 92/1794.

In 1828, the priest in Bichis was appointed to shepherd the believers in Vésztő and Endrőd²³. When the prison in Macău was built, there was a request for an Orthodox chapel inside²⁴. Because of poverty, the parishes were generally forced to resort to subscriptions, otherwise the building would go on for too many years, like in the case of Micherechi²⁵.

The parochial system was defined in Maria Tereza's urbarium which stipulated that at least 100 houses were needed for a church unit. In order to prevent supernumerary ordainings, priests and parishes were registered periodically, like in 1831 for instance²⁶. The marking of parishes within villages was done by archpriests. Thus, the jurisdictions of the two priests in Chitighaz were established in 1814. In 1825, a fourth parish was claimed in Bătania, due to the number of houses. The chaplains had 25-30 houses of the parish patrimony. For example, in 1830, chaplain Sinesie Petrovici of Bătania had 30 houses²⁷.

In those times there were no standards regarding the recruiting of the clergy. Until the opening of the seminary in Arad, there had been no organized theological education in the dioceses. The consistory used to request the candidate to have graduated from an Orthodox school, to know the language of the parishioners, and also Hungarian and German if possible. He would then practice beside an authoritative priest. Then he would take a theoretical and practical exam in front of the consistory. Going to a higher school ensured priority to the candidates. This way, the graduates of the "preparandia" in Arad were welcomed in 1812. From the characterization of Dimitrie Şipoş from Chitighaz (1819) we find out that he was a teacher and that besides Romanian he knew Hungarian too. Ilie Leposan said he knew Hungarian and German and that he had a time of probation as a teacher in Giulia (1819). Young Moise Suciu, who had studied at the University of Pesta, was authorized to prepare the exam preceding his ordaining at home. Among the first graduates of the seminary in Arad was also George Georgevici from Bătania²⁸.

According to the canon, the right to appoint the priests belonged to the bishop. The lack of a retiring system generated by the poor state of the church led to expedients. Therefore, in Giulia, Bătania, Chitighaz and Cenadul-

²³ 136/1819, 177, 205/1828.

²⁴ 322/1836.

²⁵ 402/1836, 260/1844, 175/1845.

²⁶ 146/1831.

²⁷ 27/1814, 66, 86/1825, 126/1830.

²⁸ 74, 149/1819, 267/1823, 205/1829; Teodor Botiş, *Istoria şcoalei normale (Preparandiei) şi Institutului teologic ortodox-român din Arad*, Arad, 1922, p. 678.

Unguresc there was the tradition to inherit the position, and this phenomenon was stopped completely, despite a certain opposition, only towards the end of the century. For instance, father Pavel Georgevici from Giula asked that his son Atanasie should be ordained for the Hodmezövásárhely parish. In fact he was making preparations to retire, and to be followed by his son. Chaplain Suciu protested though, saying he had been waiting longer, which convinced the bishop to give him a parish in Giula in 1817²⁹. Atanasie's turn came only later, and he worked until 1835 when he became incapable to practice for health reasons. In the meanwhile, father Suciu needed help too. Therefore, chaplain Ilovici, who had lost his position in The Small Romanian Town in Giula, was appointed to help them until Suciu's son could be ordained³⁰. The landowner interfered, pretending that father Georgevici's due revenues should be maintained³¹. It was only in 1838 that the parish received a worthy titular priest, Simion Bica, who later became archpriest in Beliu³². The demands of Pavel Georgevici, the son of Atanasie, were declined because of his inadequate conduct³³. Similar problems occurred in Chitighaz too³⁴. Here, however, the increase in the number of Orthodox houses to 378 in 1827 should have justified the founding of a new parish. The initiative was thwarted by the opposition of the landowner and of the existing priests³⁵.

In Bătania, the parishes were inherited by three traditional families. In 1816, Georgevici family said that their members had been serving for 98 years³⁶. In 1818, The Boldijar family presented a genealogy containing 17 priests³⁷. The Petrovici family documented similar rights³⁸. One of the parishes in Cenadul-Unguresc was inherited in the Popovici family³⁹.

The provisions of the Illyrian privileges favoured the Serbian elements at all levels in the church hierarchy. Thus, in Bătania and Cenadul-Unguresc, the

²⁹ 87/1800, 25, 29/1814, 34, 62/1819.

³⁰ 80, 145/1835.

³¹ 82, 57/1838, 127, 175, 269/1839, 137/1840.

³² 94, 148/1841, 185/1847, 52/1848.

³³ 107/1846, 174, 324/1847, 117, 224, 355/1848.

³⁴ 34/1797, 36/1798, 52/1800, 102/1806, 275/1828, 58, 314, 351/1833, 100/1841.

³⁵ 243/1825, 44, 109, 155, 159/1827, 99/1829, 103/1838, 187/1839, 151/1842.

³⁶ 155/1810, 232, 289/1816, 357, 425/1818, 92/1821, 116, 117, 153/1819, 280/1831, 2, 73, 207/1832, 98/1845.

³⁷ 90/1817, 320, 322, 356, 401/1818, 116/1819, 109, 113, 161, 322/1821, 321/1824, 64/1845, 340/1846, 190/1848.

³⁸ 69/1837, 9, 126, 131/1841.

³⁹ 48/1804, 393/1847; Vasile Popeangă, *Mărturii privind lupta românilor din părțile Aradului pentru păstrarea ființei naționale prin educație și cultură (1784–1918)*, Arad, 1981, p. 47–48.

priests' families were Serbian. The Romanians' reaction against this situation broke out for the first time in Cenadul-Unguresc. In 1797, they imposed Ioan Drăgan as chaplain and then as a priest. In 1821, he was followed by his son Ștefan, who also had a higher education⁴⁰.

A special situation appeared in the Greek parishes, which were dominated mainly by Macedonian-Romanians. The much better welfare standard of the priests in these parishes did not impose family solutions in case of old age or disablement. On the other hand, the parishioners, including Macedonian-Romanians, attended liturgy in Greek, which made finding the priests even more difficult. Also, these parishioners had an important say in the decision of the bishop concerning the appointment of the priest.

In 1786, the construction of the monumental church in Szentes came to an end. Georgias Fakoni was a priest there, while Constantinos Panteleion was teaching in school. After the priest left (1802), the parish was vacant for five years, then a monk, Neophitos Gizis, came and served there until 1816⁴¹. The demand for a liturgy in Greek persisted, which made the task of finding a suitable titular priest even more difficult. First, priest Aron Georgevici of Agria was invited, then the metropolitan arranged for father Teodor Cioc of Ungvar to come (1816). However, being called back to his former parish, he left Szentes. Finally, between 1817 and 1830 Gheorghe Rotici, from the Arad diocese was brought⁴². However, he came into conflict with the 36 Greek families, mainly because he tried to answer the needs of the ever more numerous Romanians in the parish. The dispute became acute in the time of Simion Iephtimovici (1830-1838)⁴³. Finally, the parish was given to Moise Grozescu, former consistorial notary in Arad (1838) who tactfully calmed things down⁴⁴.

In 1803, the parish in Karczag was given to Mihai Ralya, a former chaplain in Bichis. After a short time, he moved to Gyöngös. The position changed hands quickly. After monk Barlamus Maximovici of the Bezdin monastery near Arad left, he was followed by Ioan Kondy (1836-1845)⁴⁵. This priest, who originally came from the diocese of Arad, was also checked by the

⁴⁰ 114/1821, 28/1828.

⁴¹ 35/1800, 3/8-1802, 97/1807, 80, 93, 205, 228/1815, 118/1808, 11, 26/1816, 359/1817; Gheorghe Ciuhandu, *Românii din Câmpia Aradului de acum două veacuri*, Arad, 1940, p. 74.

⁴² 18, 23, 124, 185/1816, 111, 158/1817, 25, 57/1831, 184/1846.

⁴³ 160/1818, 40/1820, 233/1821, 40, 80, 171/1824, 259, 289, 290/1825, 331/1826, 245/1828, 247/1832, 294, 335/1836, 164/1837, 245/1838.

⁴⁴ 19/1845, 212, 219, 243/1846, 293/1847.

⁴⁵ 82/1803, 73, 74/1804, 1/1805, 3/16-1806, 88/1810, 127/1827, 361/1818, 311/1825, 141/1826, 248, 269/1828.

rich Greek who, in 1841, ceased to pay him, and then even closed the church, which led to the intervention of the state authorities⁴⁶.

The bishop accused "the fiskleness of the greeks in Karczag" and after Kondy left (1845) conditioned the appointment of a new priest on the existence of a contract having clear stipulations, including the priest's salary. The commitments made by the delegates in Arad were refuted by the community. As a result, bishop Rat canceled Gheorghe Ionutas's appointment, the position remaining vacant for the next few years⁴⁷. In Hódmezővásárhely the priest was given a plot by the landowner, and the clergymen were delegated by the diocese⁴⁸.

At the end of the 18th century the Romanian parishioners in the parishes we deal with became more nationally conscious. In Giula, turning to Romanian as the sole liturgical language happened with no problems at all. In Bichiscsaba, Romanian had been the language of the divine service from the very beginning. However, in mixed parishes the situation of the Romanians was unfavourable. In Cenadul-Unguresc – as we have already shown – where Romanians were the majority, they requested that one of the priests should be Romanian. After priest Gedosici fell incurably ill, Romanians forced the consistory to ignore the claims of his son, and advertize this job for a competition (1796). Of the two candidates, Ioan Drăgan was preferred because he had a "better education"⁴⁹. From then on, divine service was held alternatively in Romanian and Slavonic. Romanians also requested a change in the composition of the parochial committee, which led to fierce disputes⁵⁰. The situation calmed down only during the revolution of 1848-1849, when the Romanians were led by father Lutai⁵¹.

In 1807, the Romanians in Bichis, where they were the majority, started protesting against the "Greek" domination. In 1812, they carried out their claims regarding the leadership of the community and the management of the parish funds. In 1823, father Ardelean started celebrating liturgy alternatively in Romanian and Greek⁵².

⁴⁶ 55, 232/1830, 343/1836.

⁴⁷ 140, 285/1841, 426/1842, 305/1844, 12, 104, 238, 246/1845, 48/1846, 314/1847.

⁴⁸ 192, 206/1832, 92/1804, 75/1811, 164, 190, 228, 266/1817, 232/1822, 3/12–1793.

⁴⁹ 36/1796, 281/1826; Gh. Ciuhandu, *Episcopii...*, p. 346.

⁵⁰ 24, 25, 26, 14, 42, 143, 215, 282/1832, 207, 281/1831, 42, 157/1840, 58/1846.

⁵¹ 389/1847, 343, 344/1848.

⁵² 54/1807, 77/1812, 166, 346, 349, 372/1823.

In 1795, the Greeks in Hodmezövásárhely tried to drive father Marcovici away. The consistory declined their request, saying that the majority of the believers were Romanian, and that after 11 years in service he could not be accused of not knowing Greek. His successor, a Serbian priest named Cervencovici caused discontentment. Finally, in 1823, the parochial committee was reorganized: 6 of its 12 members were Romanian, the others were Serbs and Greek⁵³.

In Szentes, reading of the gospel in Romanian was introduced as part of the greek liturgy at an unknown date. At the request of the Romanians, who were the majority, in 1832, father Iephtimovici started celebrating liturgy in their language too. The Greek caused a scandal at the first liturgy in Romanian. The administrator of the diocese said he was unable to solve this dispute until the titular of the diocese was appointed. He decided that the liturgy should be held in Greek, but the gospel should be read in Romanian too. He agreed that all ceremonies for Romanians (weddings, burials etc.) could take place in their native tongue⁵⁴. In Bățania, the agreements were made peacefully in all domains⁵⁵.

At the beginning of the 19th century, an outstanding event was the Romanians' claim that the bishop of Arad should be appointed according to the ethnic realities of the diocese. Leader of this movement was Moise Nicoară, a native of Giula, who sent a petition to the emperor (1814-1815). The claim was also documented with data regarding the abuses of the foreign bishop⁵⁶. The movement was also supported by "the Romanian community in Giula-Maghiară" which deputed Moise Nicoară on 24 September, 1815⁵⁷. In 1827, just before achieving what they were striving for, the priests in Chitighaz, Bichis, and Bichisciaba promised to help pay the debts occasioned by this national action. We should mention that when bishop Nestor Ioanovici took office (1829), he was celebrated by the Romanians in the above-mentioned parishes too, and a student, Moise Suciu, even published a booklet on this occasion. However, his activity was short, as on 9 February, 1830, the

⁵³ 19/1795, 12, 29, 41, 108, 154/1823, 108/1820, 122/1841,.

⁵⁴ 232/1830, 260/1832.

⁵⁵ 294/1846.

⁵⁶ Most of Moise Nicoară's documents are at the Library of the Romanian Academy in Bucharest. They were partially published by Cornelia Bodea, *Moise Nicoară (1784-1861), f.l. (1940), p. 65-66, Annexes 40, 45, 47, 88-89.*

⁵⁷ 117, 194/1827, 15/1828.

consistory had to make arrangements for his burial⁵⁸. His successor, Gherasim Rat, also a Romanian, could get the episcopal office only after another period of struggle (1835-1850).

Another aspect of the problem was the status of the Orthodox church within the state. As is well known, it had been accepted since 1790, its official recognition meaning also the right of the bishops to attend the Hungarian diet *ex officio*. On the other hand, opposing tendencies become stronger mainly after 1820. Thus, the county of Bichis proposed the use of Hungarian as a liturgical language. The consistory replied that in the area under its jurisdiction the liturgical languages were Romanian and Greek, Slavonic respectively. Indeed, until the revolution of 1848-1849 there were no changes except so far as the Greeks were concerned. Starting with the year 1791, Greek religious books were translated into Hungarian, one of the promoters being Demeter Karapacs from Giula, then from Pest (1795, 1814). Bichis county proposed the use of Hungarian in records too. The consistory replied that the diet was competent to decide in this matter⁵⁹. As a result of subsequent legislative measures, Hungarian began to be used in records, like, for instance, in Cenad county (1845). In 1837, the same county urged the consistory to use Hungarian in its correspondence. It was only in 1848 that the consistory accepted to adopt a bilingual correspondence, in Latin and Hungarian, from a subsequent date onwards⁶⁰.

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The documents also provide information about social problems, like, for instance, marriage and divorce, both of them within the province of the church. However, the competence of the church was restricted by certain state regulations. Church and state officials agreed on the need to put an end to early marriages was concerned. In 1800, the priests in Chitighaz had to resign for having defied the existing regulations⁶¹. Efforts were made in general to reinforce discipline among the clergy, one of the most serious sanctions being to repent in the monastery of Hodos-Bodrog⁶². In some cases, the priest was

⁵⁸ 43, 215, 233/1830; Gheorghe Ciuhandu, *Viața lui Nestor Ioanovici, episcopul Aradului (1767-1830)*, Arad, 1929.

⁵⁹ 209/1832.

⁶⁰ 184/1837, 2/1846, 4/1848; G. Ciuhandu, *Episcopii...*, p. 28.

⁶¹ 222/1792, 91/1799, 39/1800, 318, 341/1818; Ardelean Iosif Ioan, *Monografia comunei Chitighaz* Arad, 1893, p. 15.

⁶² 27, 72, 146, 226, 253/1839.

suspended, as happened in Bichis (1837)⁶³. However, bishop Rat pardoned father Ilovici from Giula, because he was the injured person (1840)⁶⁴.

A most serious problem was that of the church income. The bishop was supported by the believers, who paid taxes which were very difficult to gather. Thus, in 1839, Cenad county was several years behind with its taxes, which made the authorities interfere⁶⁵. The income of the parochial clergy came from three sources. According to Maria Tereza's urbarium, every priest had a whole serf's plot. The rule was followed in Bătania, Chitighaz, Cenadul-Unguresc and Hódmezővásárhely. In Bichisciaba, as we have shown, the plot was granted late and only partially. In 1826, the priest in Bichis asked that his plot be completed. The situation here became even more complicated in 1846 when an old and disabled priest with no income was transferred there on account of the income derived from the plot⁶⁶. In Giula, difficulties arose when a second parish was founded.

Parochial income was supplemented by "imposts" which were paid by the parishioners in kind, and by taxes on individual services. The amount of the latter was established by the state, and was not brought up to date for decades, which led to arguments, like in Bătania (1832, 1833) and Giula (1846)⁶⁷. The main income of the priests in Szentes and Karczag was the salary, which was covered by the shares gathered from the parishioners.

In the period before the revolution of 1848 - 1849, there was an even stronger tendency of the laymen to take part in the decisions of the church. The actions in Cenadul-Unguresc and Hódmezővásárhely, along with the national claims, also aimed at an increase in the lay influence. In 1847, the laymen in Giula (The Great Romanian Town) requested the formation of a committee besides the two trustees⁶⁸.

The above-mentioned information will help clear up the history of the Romanians in Hungary.

⁶³ 255/1832, 236/1837, 258, 280/1827, 4/1829, 224/1826, 27, 36, 89, 153, 180/1828; Gh. Ciuhandu, *Episcopii...*, p. 295-296.

⁶⁴ 79, 159/1840.

⁶⁵ 28/1839.

⁶⁶ 54, 83/1846.

⁶⁷ 90/1814, 196/1817, 167/1826, 210, 221/1829, 29/1832, 151/1846, 277, 383/1847.

⁶⁸ 46, 61, 90/1794, 68/1795, 33, 35/1796, 80/1811, 303, 323, 339/1818, 74, 198/1819, 30, 144/1820, 76, 83, 133/1827, 76/1829, 4, 155/1835, 62, 89, 247/1841.

Contributions Regarding Transylvania's Ethnic and Religious Structure in 20th Century

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The 20th century has been one of the most dynamic and complex stages in the history of Central and South-Eastern Europe. First of all, this period has been under the sign of two world wars and of the geo-political changes that followed. Then again, both the setting up of the totalitarian regimes after 1945 and the collapse of the communist block at the end of the ninth decade have given the historical evolution of the states in this area a distinctive feature. Under such circumstances, significant changes have affected the geographical distribution of the population, and mainly its ethnic and religious composition.

Within the rather narrow limits of this study we shall try to sketch some of the most important aspects in the evolution of the ethno-religious structures in 20th century Transylvania. We should mention that we use the wide meaning of the term Transylvania, which refers to a larger area including the Banat, Crişana, Maramureş and the former Great Principality of Transylvania. In order to investigate demographic dynamics and the ethnic and religious composition, we chose from among the censuses carried out by Hungarian and then by Romanian authorities those which we considered the most relevant: 1900, 1930, 1956, 1977 and 1992.

First, we should make a brief presentation of the political administrative history of Transylvania between 1900–1992. As it is widely known, the province was part of the multinational Austro-Hungarian empire till 1918. At the end of World War I, when the dualist monarchy broke down, the Romanians – who were the majority in the province – put the principle of national self-determination into operation at Alba Iulia on 1 December. The 1288 elected representatives of all Transylvanian Romanians present at Alba Iulia decided on the complete union of Transylvania with Romania. The peace

During the period when this study was being prepared, Ioan Bolovan was invited in Great Britain by the British Association for Central and Eastern Europe and the British Academy. The authors express their gratitude to Mr. Alan Brooke Turner, Mr. Peter Brown and Dr. Dennis Deletant for their generous help.

conference in Paris, the treaty of Trianon in 1920 sanctioned on an international level a political reality which corrected the centuries of suffering and injustice endured by the Romanians after Transylvania was conquered by the Magyar kingdom at the beginning of the Middle Ages. Between the two world wars, Transylvania integrated normally into the unitary Romanian state¹, whose legislation allowed the full economical, political and cultural assertion of all minorities.

The ascent of the fascist states in the fourth decade represented a serious danger for the security and integrity of the new national states in the South-East and the Center of the continent. In the summer of 1940, in Vienna, the representatives of Germany and Italy forced Romania to cede North-Western Transylvania to Hungary. This dictate was imposed despite ethnic realities, as Romanians represented 49.2% of the entire population, while Magyars represented only 38.1%². In the fall of 1944, the Romanian army fighting together with the allied Russian army against Germany liberated North-Western Transylvania. Later, the territory became again part of Romania, a reality that was sanctioned by the peace treaty signed in Paris in 1947. Since then, the entire Transylvanian territory has been part of the Romanian state, which is a logical and normal state of things due to the fact that over two thirds of the province's population is Romanian (see table no. 2).

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Table no. 1. The Evolution of Population in Transylvania between 1900–1992

Year	Number of people	Population size as compared to:		Period	Real growth	
		1900	previous census		Number	Percent
1900	4,872,021	100%	–	–	–	–
1930	5,548,363	113.9%	113.9%	1901-1930	676,342	13.9%
1956	6,232,312	127.9%	112.3%	1931-1956	683,949	12.3%
1977	7,500,223	153.9%	120.3%	1957-1977	1,267,911	20.3%
1992	7,709,944	158.8%	102.8%	1978-1992	209,721	2.8%
			-	1900-1992	2,837,923	58.8%

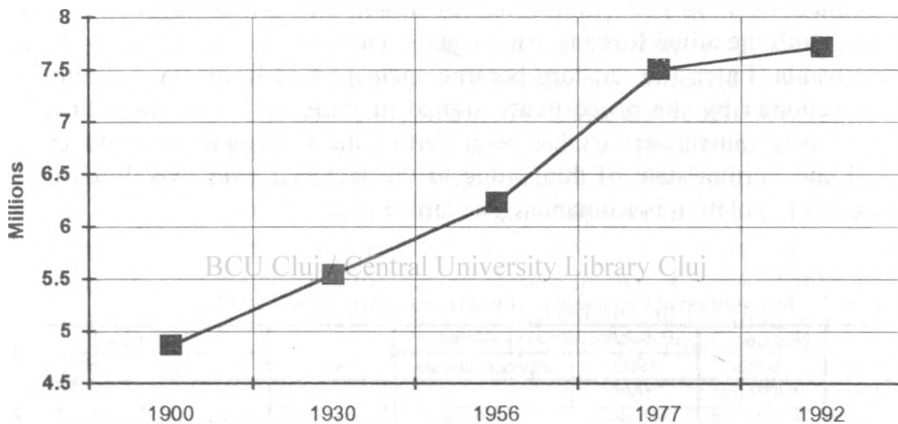
Sources: I. Adam, I. Pușcas, *Izvoare de demografie istorică*, vol. II, sec. al XIX-lea – 1914, *Transilvania*, București, 1987, *Recensământul general al populației României din 29 decembrie 1930*, București, vol. II, 1938, *Recensământul populației din 21 februarie 1956. Rezultate generale*, București, 1959, *Recensământul populației și locuințelor din 7 ianuarie 1992. Rezultate preliminare*, București, 1992.

¹ Regarding the events related to the union of Transylvania with Romania and its integration into the Romanian national state, see *Transylvanian Review*, vol. II, no. 3, 1993, pp. 5–62.

² S. Manuilă, *Studies on the Historical Demography of Romania*, edited by Sorina and Ioan Bolovan, Cluj-Napoca, 1992, p. 144.

In the period of time we deal with, province population dynamics was generally ascending, yet with different growth rates between the censuses we refer to (see table and graphic no. 1). First, there is a relatively slight evolution between 1900 and 1930. Such a state of things originates in a very complex social, political and economical context. At the beginning of the 20th century, the mostly agrarian Transylvanian society could not absorb into the industry the rural population surplus resulted from the “demographic explosion” of the sixth and seventh decade of the 19th century. Demographic growth diminished significantly till 1914, in parallel with an increase in the emigration rate, especially to the United States of America. World War I, whose various

**Graphic no 1. Transylvanian
Population Dynamics between 1900–1992**



consequences were felt until the beginning of the third decade, led to cessation and even a regress of the population growth³. Human potential was restored only after the land reform, one of the most advanced and liberal in Central and South-Eastern Europe. Between 1900–1930, population increased only by 676,342 people, i.e. a growth of 13.9%. In fact, a similar phenomenon (a

³ I. Bolovan, “On the Demographic Situation in Transylvania between 1850–1910”, in *Transylvanian Review*, vol. III, no. 1, Spring 1994 pp. 87–88; Natalia Giurgiu, “Evoluția populației din Transilvania între recensămintele din 1910 și 1930”, în *Studii de istorie a economiei și gândirii economice românești*, Cluj-Napoca, 1979, p. 14.

general reduced number of marriages and also reduced fertility) was noticed in other countries in the same area in the first decades of the 20th century⁴.

Table no. 2. Transylvania's ethnic structure between 1900–1992

Ethnic	1900		1930		1956		1977		1992	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Romanians	2,682,435	55.1	3,207,880	57.8	4,051,603	65.0	5,203,846	69.4	5,671,224	73.5
Hungarians	1,436,896	29.5	1,353,276	24.4	1,558,631	25.0	1,691,048	22.6	1,598,938	20.7
Germans	582,027	11.9	543,852	9.8	368,255	5.9	347,896	4.6	108,933	1.4
Jews	–	–	176,699	3.2	43,814	0.7	7,830	0.1	2,806	–
Gipsies	–	–	109,156	2.0	78,362	1.3	123,028	1.6	205,462	2.7
Others	170,663	3.5	155,500	2.8	131,647	2.1	126,555	1.7	122,581	1.6
Total	4,872,021	100.0	5,548,363	100.0	6,232,312	100.0	7,500,223	100.0	7,709,944	100.0

Sources: I. I. Adam, I. Pușcaș, *Izvoare de demografie...*; *Recensământul general al populației României din 29 decembrie 1930*; *Recensământul populației din 21 februarie 1956*; *Recensământul populației și locuințelor din 7 ianuarie 1992*.

Between 1931–1956, the population growth was similar to that in the previous period: 683,949 people, i.e. a growth of 12.3%. Now too, population dynamics was influenced negatively by the human and material losses during World War II. Certainly, there were other factors – by no means negligible – that reduced the population growth rhythm between 1930–1956. The first years of this period covered the greatest world economic crisis, which affected seriously the Transylvanian demographic realities. Also, the coming of the communist regime at the end of the war, the collectivization process after 1949 and so on resulted in discontinuities of the demographic growth⁵.

The next chronological interval, 1957–1977, had the highest growth rate in the whole period we deal with. There was a real growth of 1,267,911 people, i.e. a growth of 20.3% (see table no. 1). The causes of this dynamic evolution lie first of all in the geographical stability of this area, no longer disturbed by long and devastating conflagrations. Internally, after the plenary session of the Central Committee in November 1958, the communist regime imposed again the Stalinist economic model, which led to an intense growth of the industry and, consequently, led to more jobs⁶. Thus, the general progress of Romanian economy up to around 1970, as shown by various indicators, favoured demographic growth. Certainly, in accounting for the higher growth rate between 1957–1977, we should also mention the “explosion” of births after 1966, when Ceaușescu prohibited procured abortions. The immediate result of

⁴ N. Botev, “Nuptiality in the Course of the Demographic Transition: The experience of the Balkan Countries”, in *Population Studies*, 44, 1, 1990, p. 108.

⁵ V. Georgescu, *Istoria românilor de la origini până în zilele noastre*, 3rd edition, Bucharest, 1992, p. 256, 259.

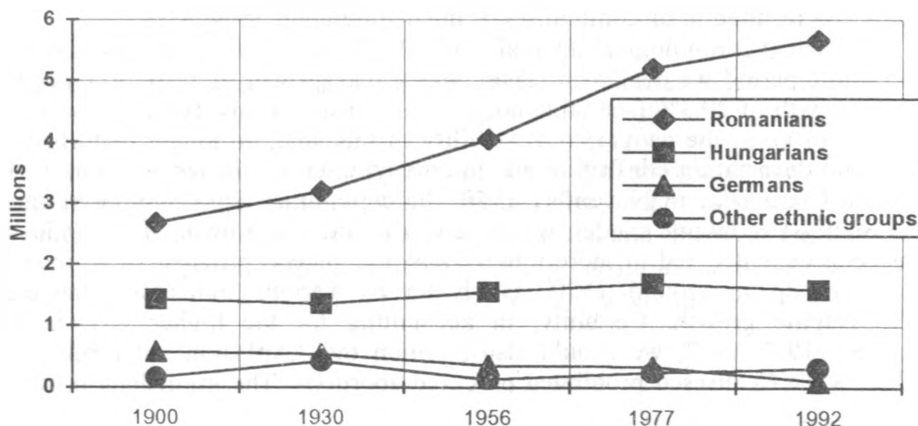
⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 257

this aberrant demographic policy resulted in a gross birth rate of 14.3‰ in 1966, and as high as 27.4‰ in 1967 in entire Romania. However, in a short while, there was a tendency to return to previous values, the gross birth rate being of 19.5‰ in 1976⁷.

The period between the censuses of 1977 and 1992 had the lowest growth rate in the entire period of time we deal with (see table no. 1). There was a real growth of only 209,721 people, i.e. a growth of 2.8% (in fact, in Romania as a whole, the growth between 1978–1992 was 5.6%). The dramatic diminishing of the Romanian populations's living standard in the ninth decade greatly influenced, we believe, the normal demographic evolution⁸. The use of ration cards for the main foods beginning with 1981, the program of "reasonable nourishment", the higher inflation rate, the lack of social protection, etc., all led to the diminishing of the birth rate despite the pro-life policy of the Communist Party. In this period, there is also a tendency in families of all social strata to have only one child. We shouldn't overlook the effects of constant emigration either, since between 1977 and 1992 this phenomenon increased ceaselessly. After the fall of Ceaușescu's regime in December 1989, emigration persisted, political reasons being replaced by economical ones.

Therefore, for over a century, between 1901–1992, Transylvania's real growth was 2,837,923 people, i.e. a growth of 58.8%. Certainly, the factors that influenced, positively or negatively, the province's population dynamics

Graphic no 2. The Evolution of Transylvania's Ethnic Structure
between 1900–1992.



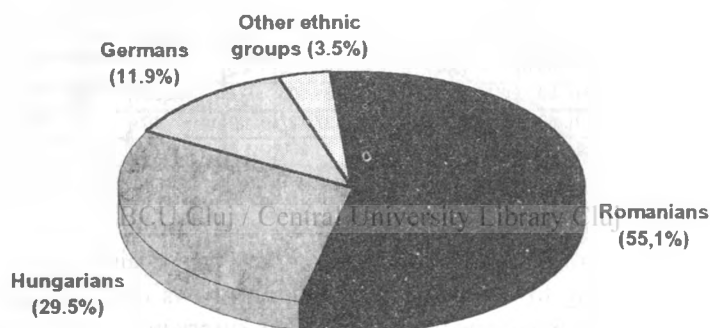
⁷ Vi. Trebici, *Demografia*, București, 1979, p. 231.

⁸ V. Georgescu, *op. cit.*, p. 290.

are more numerous and more complex than shown by us here. An extensive investigation is needed in this respect.

An analysis of table no. 2 leads to the reconstitution of Transylvania's ethnic structure between 1900–1992, and also of the changes in the proportions of the province's main ethnic groups. As it results from graphic and table no 2, only Romanians had an ascending line in the entire period (both numerically and in percentages). The number and the percentage of Hungarians varied between 1900–1992, with slightly higher values between the two world wars, but also with an obvious tendency of regress as compared to the rest of the population after World War II. The number of Germans and Jews has decreased constantly, while the number of Gypsies has been fluctuating.

Graphic no 3. Transylvania's Ethnic Structure in 1900



The census in 1900 was carried out by Hungarian authorities in a period when the policy of national assimilation reached its peak in the territories under Budapest rule⁹. Under these circumstances, the official data on Transylvania published by Hungarian authorities disagree with the ethnic realities in the province¹⁰. The officials used as a criterion of defining ethnic group affiliation the language spoken most frequently by each individual. Thus, most of the

⁹ L. Maior, "Dualism and the National Problem", in *Transylvanian Review*, vol. II, no. 3, 1993, p. 67.

¹⁰ *A Magyar Korona országainak 1900. Évi népszámlálás, első rész*, in *Magyar statisztikai közlemények. Új sorozát*, 1 kötet, Budapest, 1902.

Jews, Gypsies, Armenians, etc., were registered as speakers of Hungarian, and therefore Hungarians. It is consequently easy to explain the 29.5% Hungarians in Transylvania, because of the biased way of carrying out the census (in 1880, Hungarians represented 25.2%, and such a natural growth in just 20 years wouldn't have been possible)¹¹. Romanians, 55.1% of the province population, represented numerically and in percentages the majority, although they were quasi-excluded from political life by the Hungarian government. The Germans represented 11.9% of the population total, the 3.8% that was left consisted of other ethnic groups (Ruthenians, Serbs, Croats, Czechs, Slovaks, etc.).

Table no. 3. The Ethnic Structure of the Transylvanian Rural and Urban Population

Year	Area	Romanians		Hungarians		Germans		Jews		Other	
		Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
1900	Rural	2,578,487	60.2	893,083	22.9	481,380	11.2	99,839	2.3	143,104	3.4
	Urban	103,948	17.7	294,229	50.2	100,647	17.1	56,745	10.2	27,559	4.8
1930	Rural	2,871,124	62.6	988,268	21.5	416,916	9.1	78,286	1.8	231,396	5.0
	Urban	336,756	34.9	365,008	37.9	126,936	13.2	100,413	10.4	33,260	3.6
1956	Rural	2,789,412	68.6	919,483	22.6	186,750	4.6	3,783	0.1	167,831	4.1
	Urban	1,262,191	58.3	639,148	29.5	181,505	8.4	40,031	1.8	42,178	2.0
1992	Rural	2,208,113	69.9	704,872	22.3	37,727	1.2	103	—	205,755	6.5
	Urban	3,463,111	76.0	894,066	19.6	71,206	1.6	2,703	0.06	122,288	2.7

Sources: 11 Adam, I. Pușcaș, *Izvoare de demografie...*, *Recensământul general al populației României din 29 decembrie 1930*; *Recensământul populației din 21 februarie 1956*; *Recensământul populației și locuitorilor din 7 ianuarie 1992*.

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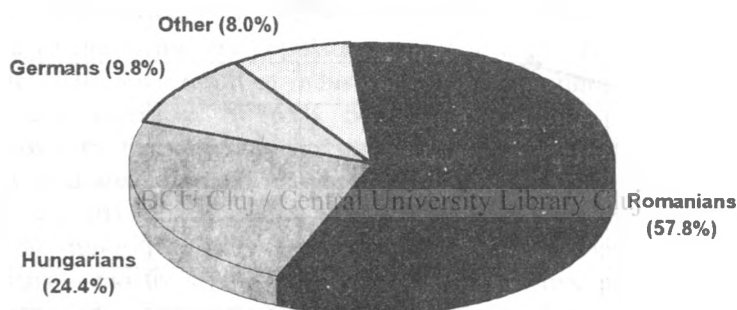
As it results from table no. 3, the distribution of the main ethnic groups in Transylvania according to areas (urban and rural) shows obvious inequalities. The small number of Romanians in urban areas is surprising: only 17.7% of the entire urban population, while Hungarians represented 50.2%. The explanation of this state of things lies in the Transylvanian Romanian's status in previous centuries. Thus, up to the end of the 18th century, Romanians were forbidden to settle in towns¹². Actually, after the revolution of 1848–1849, the last political and economic barriers that stopped Romanians from settling in Transylvanian towns were removed. In the second half of the 19th century, after feudal relations were abolished, but mainly after 1880, there was a clear tendency of the rural population to migrate towards towns, which were at that time at the beginning of the industrialization process. As a result, a numerical increase of the Romanian population in urban areas was noticed (mainly in small towns), although they still represented a disproportionately low percentage as compared

¹¹ I. Bolovan, "On the Demographic Situation..."

¹² The State Archives, Bucharest, Sabin Manuilă Personal Fund, XII/60, 1.2.

to their total number in Transylvania. For instance, in towns like Lugoj, Caransebeș, Brașov, Turda, Bistrița, Baia Mare and so on, Romanians represented between 20% and 50%, while in Satu Mare, Carei, Oradea, Târgu Mureș, Cluj, Arad, Timișoara and so on, they represented under 20%, and sometimes even under 10%¹³. We should mention that peasants were somehow reluctant at that time to let their sons study in towns or work in factories, for fear they might become denationalized and alienated in a strange environment¹⁴. In fact, towns were considered at that time “strongholds” of forced magyarization, which emphasized the reluctance of the Romanian rural population to migrate to town.

Graphic no 4. Transylvania's Ethnic Structure in 1930



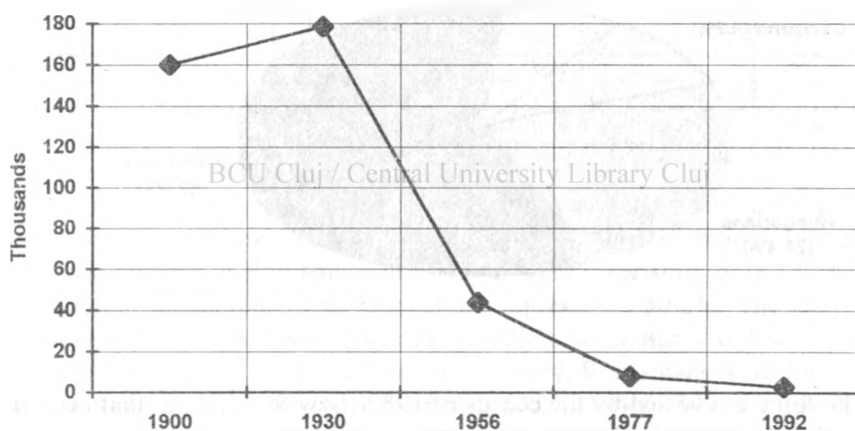
The figures revealed by the census of 1930 show the changes that occurred in the ethnic structure of the Transylvanian population after the union with Romania in 1918 (see table no. 2 and graphic no. 4). An increase of the Romanian population to 57.8% of the entire population between 1900–1930 is only natural, and it shows a normal evolution. The decrease of the Magyar population ratio by almost 5% was not the result of a brutal and direct

¹³ *A Magyar országainak 1900...*

¹⁴ I. Russu-Șirianu, *Românii din statul ungar (statistică, etnografie)*, published by the author, 1904, p. 255.

intervention of the Romanian authorities, as certain studies try to suggest¹⁵. There were numerous causes for this decrease, but we shall enumerate only two of the most important: the ethnic groups as well as all those who were registered in 1900 as Magyars – because they had declared they used Hungarian most frequently – underwent a process of national identity revigoration after the union of Transylvania with Romania. The case of the Swabians in the Satu Mare area is quite famous, also of the Jews, Armenians, Slovaks, and so on¹⁶. On the other hand, a great part of the military officers and of the administration – consisting mostly of Hungarians – left Transylvania after 1918. They were accompanied by that part of the civilian population whose interests were closely linked to the Hungarian state. Thus, the number of Magyars who repatriated to Hungary between 1918–1924 was as high as around 200,000 people¹⁷.

Graphic no 5. The Evolution of the Transylvanian Jewish Population between 1900–1992



¹⁵ Sándor Biró, *The Nationalities Problem in Transylvania 1867–1940. A Social History of the Romanian Minority under Hungarian Rule 1867–1918 and of the Hungarian Minority under Romanian Rule 1918–1940*, New York, 1992, p. 431; Elemér Illyés, *National Minorities in Romania. Change in Transylvania*, New York, 1982, p. 58–59.

¹⁶ S. Manuilă, "Evoluția demografică a orașelor și minoritățile etnice din Transilvania", in *Arhiva pentru știința și reforma socială*, VIII, 1929, no. 1–3, p. 129.

¹⁷ Idem, "Structure et évolution de la population rurale", in *Studies on the Historical Demography...*, p. 115; E. Illyés, *National Minorities...*, p. 23.

The German population decreased from 11.9% in 1900 to 9.8% in 1930. The diminution of the German population is not characteristic only for the inter-war period. It can be noticed in Transylvania as early as the last decades of the 19th century. The dissolving of guilds, the economic decline of the Saxons at that time, and also these massive emigration led to the decline of the German population¹⁸, a decline that went on, as we can see, even after the union of Transylvania with Romania. The Jews were another important minority. In 1930, they represented 3.2%. We should say that they increased in number between 1900–1930, as shown by graphic no. 5 (although in 1900 Hungarian authorities did not register the Jews as a separate ethnic group, we could estimate their number using as a criterion the Mosaic religion). From among other ethnic groups, we should also mention the Gypsies, who represented 2%. The remaining 2.8% were Slovaks, Czechs, Poles, Serbs, Armenians, Croats, etc.

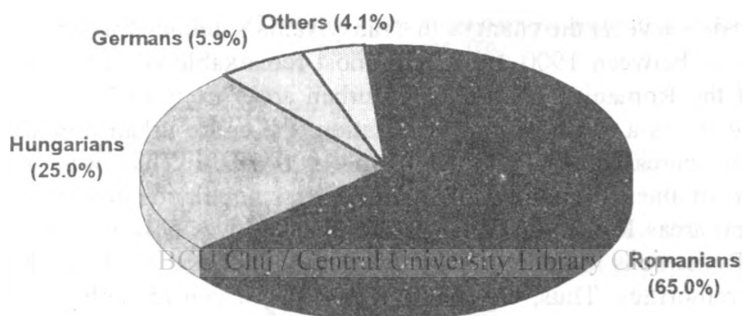
Table no. 3 reveals the changes in Transylvania's ethnic structure in urban and rural areas between 1900–1930. The most remarkable is undoubtedly the doubling of the Romanian population in urban areas from 17.7% in 1900 to 34.9% in 1930. As a result of industrialization, the entire urban population in Transylvania increased by 65% between 1900–1930. This was a direct consequence of the emigration of the extra rural population towards towns. Since in rural areas Romanians were predominant, it was only natural that the number of Romanians migrating from villages to towns should be higher than that of the minorities. Thus, especially after 1918, a considerable number of Romanians – mostly young, with a high reproductive potential – settled in urban areas. The census of 1930 revealed that around 54% of the population of Cluj came either from Cluj County or from the rest of Transylvania. We cannot deny that after the Union there was a certain tendency towards emigration from the old [Romanian] kingdom to Transylvania. The setting up of the Romanian administration after 1918 implied bringing an adequate number of civil servants and military officers (as well as their families). They had to cover all domains of public activity in the province. We should mention that Transylvanian Romanians could not develop their own administrative and military élite during the dualist regime, and most Hungarian civil servants did not take the oath of

¹⁸ In Bistrița, Târnava Mare, Sibiu and Brașov areas, the percentage of Saxons went down from 33% in 1880 to 31.5% in 1900; likewise, in the main Transylvanian towns the percentage of Saxons went down from 49.9% to 41.7% between 1880–1900. According to S. Manuilă, "Evoluția demografică a orașelor...", p. 199. Also, between 1899–1913, Germans represented 22.8% of the Transylvanian emigrants, which is well over their percentage of the entire province population. Acc. to I. Bolovan, "On the Demographic Situation...", p. 88.

loyalty to the Romanian state, sabotaging the new Romanian administration. Thus, 5250 people from over the Carpathians were recorded in Cluj in 1930¹⁹.

If the weight of the Hungarian population in rural areas decreased very little between 1900–1930, a substantial diminishing was however recorded in urban areas (see table no. 3). Many of the Magyars repatriated to Hungary after 1918 were former civil servants in the town administrations. The spectacular growth of the Romanian urban population by massive immigration from the rural areas led to the diminution of the weight of the Hungarian urban population, which was not counterbalanced by a significant immigration of the Magyars from rural Transylvania.

Graphic no. 6. Transylvania's Ethnic Structure in 1956



World War II and the setting up of the communist regime led to substantial changes in Transylvania's ethnic structure (see table no. 2). First, the Romanian population increased up to 65% of the entire province population. This growth would seem unnatural if we didn't take into account the proportional decrease in the weight of the German and Jewish population. They were replaced after the war by numerous immigrants from Moldavia, where living conditions worsened considerably at that time (drought, famine, etc.). The new-comers from over the mountains settled either in the plain

¹⁹ S. Manuilă, "Les problèmes démographiques en Transylvanie", in *Studies on the Historical demography...*, p. 37.

regions of Western Transylvania and the Banat, or in the towns, which were at that time in a full forced industrialization process (Braşov is significant in this respect). In fact, the statistics regarding the natural movement of the Transylvanian population during the fourth decade reveal the greatest natural surplus among the Romanian population. The vitality analysis according to nationality showed that the Romanian population increased annually by 0.2% over its proportion with the ethnic structure of the country²⁰.

The Hungarian population growth rate was poor between 1931–1956, leading to a ratio of 25% of the entire province population. Besides the poor birth rate of this ethnic group in the inter-war period, between 1944–1945 part of the Magyar population in Transylvania emigrated to Hungary. They were mostly those who had collaborated between 1940–1944 with Horthyst authorities in Northern Transylvania and were responsible for atrocities against the Romanians, but also some of the land owners expropriated by the land reform of 1945.

Certainly, the greatest demographic deficit was recorded by the German population: from 543,852 in 1930 to 368,255 in 1956 (see table no. 2 and graphic no. 6). Besides the gradual diminishing, noticeable since the end of the 19th century, there are several social and political factors responsible for the 5.9% of the entire population the Germans represented in 1956. The voluntary enlisting of tens of thousands of young Transylvanian Saxons and Swabians in Hitler's army during the war, the retreat – following Berlin orders – of part of the German civilian population from Ukraine and Romania into German territory in parallel with the advance of the Red Army in 1944, the deportation by the communist officials in Bucharest of around 40,000 Swabians from the Banat to the Bărăgan Plain in 1951, and so on, are just a few of the causes that led to the numerical and percentage diminishing of the German population in Transylvania²¹.

The diminishing of the Transylvanian Jewish population between 1930–1956 was also dramatic (see graphic no. 5 too). Thus, the census of 1956 recorded 43,814 Jews, i.e. 0.7% of the entire population. As it is well known, the Jews in Northern Transylvanian (under Hungarian rule after the Vienna dictate) were deported by the Szalasi government to the German camps after March 1944. Some of them were subjected to the final solution of the Nazis. It has been estimated by those entitled to do so that around 90,295 Jews from the

²⁰ D. Şandru, *Populaţia rurală a României între cele două războaie mondiale*, Iaşi, 1980, p. 57.

²¹ Z. A. B. Zeman, *The Making and Breaking of Communist Europe*, Oxford and Cambridge Massachusetts, 1991, p. 211–212; E. Illyés, *National Minorities...*, p. 25.

territory incorporated by Hungary were killed or died in camps. In Southern Transylvania, as well as in *all other territories under the authority of the Romanian state*, the number of Jews who lost their lives did not exceed 15,000, which made Dr. W. Filderman (former President of the Jewish Community in Romania) say: "... no other country that has at any time been subject to Nazi domination can show so large a proportion of survivors as does Romania"²². On the other hand, the massive emigrations towards the state of Israel after 1948 led to an accentuated diminishing of the Jewish population in Romania, Transylvania included²³.

So far as the ethnic distribution of urban and rural population is concerned, essential changes have been recorded only in the ethnic structure of towns (see table no. 3). As a result of the continuous industrialization process, urban population increased considerably through constant immigration from rural areas, both in Transylvania and in the Romanian provinces over the mountains. The increase of the Romanian urban population up to 58.3% was only normal since Romanians were predominant in rural areas. The rural population afflux towards towns is generally accepted as a natural side of urbanization and industrialization, and therefore the increase of the Romanian population in urban areas was the result of a natural process²⁴. However, the idea of a "Romanianization" of Transylvanian towns by state policy was also suggested, implying that rural ethnic minorities were prevented from emigrating to towns, and that discriminating measures regarding the allocation of housing facilities and jobs were taken²⁵. Such an interpretation does not reflect social-political realities in post-war Romania, and especially Transylvania. As recent researches show, most of the Romanian Communist Party and the state administration cadres in Transylvania were Hungarian and Jewish in the first decades of the communist regime. Thus, out of 377 *underground communists* in inter-war Cluj, 248 were Magyars, 69 Jews and 60 Romanians. After the setting up of the communist regime, 241 of the 377 we have mentioned "took up political career within the party, the administration,

²² Apud S. Manuilă, W. Filderman, *The Jewish Population in Romania during World War II*, The Romanian Cultural Foundation, Iași, 1994, p. 58; M. Carmilly-Weinberger, "The Tragedy of Transylvanian Jewry", in *Memorial Volume for the Jews of Cluj-Kolozsvár*, edited by Moshe Carmilly-Weinberger, New York, 1988, pp. 287 sqq.

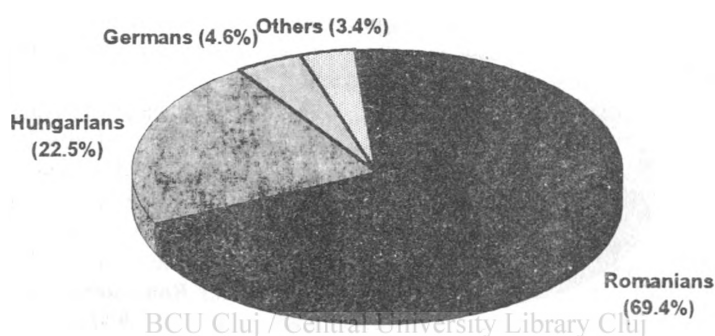
²³ E. Illyés, *National Minorities...*, p. 27.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 59.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, G. D. Satmarescu, "The Changing Demographic Structure of the Population of Transylvania", in *East European Quarterly*, vol. VIII, no. 4, January 1975, p. 433.

the Ministry of Internal Affairs, etc., or had executive positions”²⁶. And these cadres, who were present almost exclusively in urban areas, did not take punitive measures against the Hungarian minority. Quite on the contrary, they sometimes favoured it to the prejudice of the predominant Romanian population (further studies are to research the ethnic structures of the communist élite, in order to have a clearer understanding of the social, political and cultural realities in post-war Transylvania).

Graphic no. 7. Transylvania's Ethnic Structure in 1977



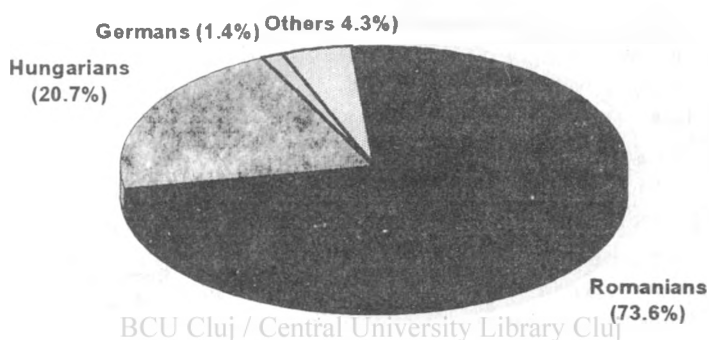
The 1977 census recorded an increase of the Romanian population in Transylvania, paralleled by a proportional decrease of the other ethnic groups (see table no. 1 and graphic no. 7). Thus, in 1977 Romanians represented 69.4% of the province population. Although the number of Hungarians increased between 1956–1977, their weight within the entire province population went down to 22.6%. The German population was constantly declining, but not so drastically as in the preceding period or the one to come (the German population represented 4.6% in 1977). We should mention the fact that in 1977 43.6% of the Romanians were living in urban areas, and so did 43% of the Hungarians²⁷.

²⁶ L. Țirău, "Dezvoltarea structurilor de putere ale PCR în județul Cluj, 1945–1946", in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Cluj-Napoca*, XXXII, 1993, p. 281.

²⁷ Vi. Trebici, "Romania's Ethnic Demography", in *Romanian Journal of Sociology*, vol. II, 1991, no. 1–2, p. 77.

The census of 1992, the first one after the fall of the communist regime, reveals the ethnic and religious composition of the Transylvanian population after several decades of totalitarian regime, which also influenced the demographic evolution. Romanians came to 73.5% of the entire population. This percentage has objective, natural causes, but one cannot overlook the consequences of Ceaușescu's policy of social and national homogenization he insistently carried out for the last few decades²⁸. While other ethnic groups were diminishing in number or in percentages, they were replaced by

Graphic no. 8. Transylvania's Ethnic Structure in 1992



immigrants from over the mountains. It would seem that the state co-ordinated this income of population from Moldavia and Oltenia towards Transylvania. In reality, material interests prevailed, and they periodically attracted masses of people from the extra-Carpathian provinces into Transylvania. The idea that authorities gave the latter priority in terms of jobs, housing and other facilities to the prejudice of Transylvanian ethnic minorities is not acceptable²⁹. A thorough analysis of this matter needs to be made, and assertions like the one we have just mentioned can be made only if historical reality confirms such a global discrimination and not just isolated cases.

The migration of the German population to Germany and Austria was particularly extensive. Thus, from 347,896 people in 1977 (4.6%),

²⁸ V. Georgescu, *op. cit.*, p. 317; E. Illyés, *National Minorities...*, p. 59.

²⁹ G. D. Salmarescu, "The Changing Demographic...", p. 433.

Transylvanian Germans went down to only 108,933 (1.4%) in 1992. The 1978 unwritten agreement between the German chancellor Schmidt and Ceaușescu was the starting point for increasing the number of German emigrants in exchange for certain sums of money. From around 10,000 people annually in 1977, the number of Germans emigrants went up to 16,000 in 1984. The emigration of the German population was also encouraged by the associations of the Transylvanian Saxons and Swabians from abroad, which drew general attention to the danger that the Germans in Romania may lose their identity³⁰. Therefore, they favoured the idea of emigration. After the fall of the communist regime in Romania in December 1989, tens of thousands of Hungarians left Transylvania and settled in Hungary, where they were given housing and jobs. This explains to a great extent the diminishing of the Transylvanian Hungarian population between 1977–1992. However, we should take into account the general low birth rate in the province, especially of the Hungarian minority, which led to the numerical decline of this ethnic group.

Transylvania's religious structure in the 20th century underwent very few significant changes. First, after the communist government banned the Uniate (Greek-Catholic) Church, in 1948, the number of people who declared themselves of this religion was very small in 1992: 2.7% (see table no. 4). After the events in 1989, which also led to the re-officialization of the Greek-Catholic Church, most of the former Greek-Catholic (including their descendants) declared themselves Orthodox in 1992. Also, the percentage diminution of the Lutheran, Protestant and Mosaic religions is related to the decrease of the German, Hungarian and Jewish population between 1900–1992. At the same time, a constant percentage increase in other religions – mainly Neo-Protestant (Baptist, Pentecostal etc.) – has been noticed (from 0.1 to 5.1%).

Table no. 4. Transylvania's religious structure between 1900–1992

Religion	1900		1930		1992	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Orthodox	1,701,234	34.9	1,932,356	34.8	5,358,798	69.5
Greek-Catholic	1,145,576	23.5	1,385,445	25.1	209,174	2.7
Roman-Catholic	915,493	18.8	947,351	17.0	842,259	10.9
Protestant	631,306	13	696,320	12.6	794,632	10.3
Lutheran	251,494	5.2	274,415	4.9	36,249	0.5
Unitarian	64,988	1.3	68,330	1.2	75,846	1.0
Mosaic	159,584	3.2	192,833	3.5	2,857	–
Other religions	2,346	0.1	51,313	0.9	390,129	5.1
Total:	4,872,021	100.0	5,548,363	100.0	7,709,944	100.0

Sources: I. I. Adam, I. Pușcaș, *Izvoare de demografie...*; *Recensământul general al populației României din 29 decembrie 1930*; *Recensământul populației și locuințelor din 7 ianuarie 1992*.

³⁰ Ela Cosma, "Die ansiedlung der Siebenbürger Sachsen: der anfang einer sterbenden geschichte", in *Transylvanian Review*, vol. III, no. 1, Spring 1994, p.73–74.

As a conclusion, we should say that the first thing to be noted is the preponderance of the Romanians in Transylvania. In fact, this made the union of Transylvania with Romania in 1918 possible. During the entire 20th century, the Romanian population has constantly increased, while the weight of the ethnic minorities has decreased. They have been replaced, mainly during the industrialization era of the communist regime, by immigrants from over the mountains. The change of the ethnic character of Transylvanian towns after the Union was part of a natural demographic process, not the result of a discriminating policy aimed at the national minorities in the province. Obviously, we should also accept the possible impact of the “homogenizing aberrations” of the last communist decades, which, however, were not the causes, but enhanced the natural demographic tendencies.

BCU Cluj / Central University Library Cluj

Data on the History of the Jewish Press in Transylvania

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The Jewish press in Transylvania is one century old, but it is difficult to trace and date it accurately. The history of the Jewish population in this part of Europe experienced the Holocaust, and therefore many newspaper collections and community archives have been destroyed. We consequently believe that no research in this field can be exhaustive from the very beginning for possible omissions.

The city of Alba Iulia could be regarded as the cradle of the Jewish press in Transylvania. It is here that in 1883 Josif Altman published in German *Siebenbürger Israelit Organ für Synagoge, Haus und Schule* (The Transylvanian Jewish Organ for Synagogues, Homes, and Schools), which was a weekly magazine of the Jewish population in Transylvania. This publication, dealing with religious, social and pedagogical issues, only lasted for a few months. Noteworthy was also the publication, again in German, of an annual at Arad in 1860, but this was not followed by other publications.

Still, the very cradle of the Jewish press in Transylvania was Sighetul Marmăției. The Jewish population in this town highly increased its number during the second half of the last century, so that large masses of Orthodox Jews were living here, many of whom were supporters of the Chassidic current with its Teitelbaumian extremis.

In 1874, Abraham Güntzler founded the weekly *Hator* (The Dove), which was published in Hebrew and may be regarded as the first Jewish periodical in Transylvania. The fact that “the holy language”, the language of the Torah, was being used for daily, profane purposes was an extremely courageous, revolutionary act for the Maramureș of that time. The magazine focused on presenting internal and external events, with comments, and on publishing the knowledge required for the conservation of the Hebrew language. Hers-Leb Gottlieb was one of the magazine’s contributors. He was a well-known poet both at home and abroad, also a famous “marselic”, i.e. wedding animator. This personality, who later became a legendary character, was trained as a Rabbi, but for forty years he used his courageous and sarcastic pen in the fight against aberrant conservatism and for better future. In its fourth year of publication,

Hator was forced to move its office to Colomea and then Cracow. From there, issues were also sent to Sighetul Marmăției.

Starting with September 1878, Hers-Leb Gottlieb edited a new weekly entitled *Hashemesh* (The Sun), at Sighetul Marmăției. Its aim was to acquaint its readers, who knew Hebrew and had studied "iesiva" (a rabbinic system of education), with another world, the world beyond the walls, on the one hand, and to bring the Jews living here closer to the far-fetching aspirations of their Western and Eastern coreligionists.

After only one year and a half, the Chief Rabbi of Sighetul Marmăției, Hanania iom Tov Lipa Teitelbaum, got tired of the "destructive activity" of his former disciple. He was mainly upset by the impact this publication had upon young people. As head of the most conservative Chassidism, he forbade the printing house to publish *Hashemesh*. According to the Rabbi, the publication provided inadequate education to the young people, influencing them to give up their religion. Hers-Leb Gottlieb had no other choice but to move to Colomea, a centre for Jewish Enlightenment at that time.

The publication had a more and more powerful effect upon the young people. It continued to reach Sighetul Marmăției under the Aramic title *Ha-Harsa* (The Sun). The title was often changed in order to avoid taxes. Many Jewish writers from Lvov, i.e. Colomea, contributed to this paper. The magazine was published in Colomea for three years. For family reasons, the editor had to move back to Sighetul Marmăției. There he found out that the major cause for the excommunication of his magazine by the Rabbi of Sighet, i.e. the "herem", was the use of the sacred language for profane purposes, so he decided to use from then on the Yiddish language (a mixture of Mediaeval German, Hebrew and Slavonic elements), which was the mother tongue of most of the Maramureș Jews. In 1887, he published *Allgemeine Jüdische Zeitung* (The Jewish Paper), and starting with 1883, the weekly *Jüdische Volkszeitung* (the Popular Jewish Paper). They were depicting realities of everyday life, foreign events, and were bringing news from the wide world closer to the narrow Jewish street. After the spreading of Herzl's Zionism in a form adequate for the situation in Sighetul Marmăției, Hers-Leb Gottlieb tried to propagate the new ideas regarding the return to the old-new Homeland. But once again the local Rabbi forbade typographer and president of the Jewish community Abraham Kaufman to print *Jüdische Volkszeitung*. However, Hers-Leb Gottlieb the journalist could not be easily defeated. He continued to publish 12 more issues of *Jewische Volksblatt* (Popular Jewish Pages). He even tried in 1896 to publish a monthly magazine, *Die Wahrheit* (The Truth) (2 issues), in which he

promoted more openly the Zionist ideal. He also published a Zionist weekly, *Cin Zeitung* (The Zion Paper) urging for Zionist activity. It seems that the paper was published between 1904–1906 and that the printing house had been donated by Theodor Herzl. Gottlieb himself paginated, printed and distributed the paper. It was him again who initiated the publication of a Jewish-Hungarian paper *Ahava Sion* (The Love for Zion), in 1908, this being an official publication of the Zionist circles. The Hungarian editor was Eliahu Blank.

But this legendary Gottlieb is not the only personality in the history of the Jewish press in Sighetul Marmatiei. Between 1892–1893, Zvi Heller edited the weekly *Szigether Zeitung* (The Sighet Paper), and after the editor's untimely death, his brother, Leb Zeev Hakohen Heller, published in Yiddish another paper entitled *Jüdische Presse* (The Jewish Press) with a supplement in Hebrew. The latter paper ceased to appear in 1896. Between 1910–1912, *Jüdisches Blatt* (The Jewish Paper) was published in Yiddish with a supplement in Hungarian. The magazine also had several columns written in Hebrew. *Maramaroscher Jüdische Zeitung* (The Maramureș Jewish Paper) was published between 1910–1911, and *Jüdische Volkszeitung* (The Popular Jewish Paper) between 1910–1914. This latter paper concluded the Austro-Hungarian period in the History of the Jewish press in Transylvania.

Under the new historical conditions following 1918, the Jewish press in Romania continued to be published at Sighetu Marmatiei. The weekly *Jüdische Zeitung* (The Jewish Paper) was published in December 1921, but only lasted for 12 issues. Nevertheless, it was the first Yiddish publication in Transylvania in the re-united Romania. In 1928, another weekly was published, *Jüdische Volkszeitung* (The Popular Jewish Paper), which was to play an important part in the parliamentary elections of 1928. The following year it was banned, but it re-appeared as *Jüdische Presse* (The Jewish Press). It was printed in Seini and lasted until 1933.

In May 1933, J.D. Israel and A.M. Hirsch edited the first literary magazine in Sighetu Marmatiei *Oifgang* (The Ascension), which was also distributed abroad and was banned in 1938. It is this magazine that made Sighetu Marmatiei an important Yiddish literary center. It had collaborators in New York, Poland, Chișinău, Cernăuți, South America, and was offered exchange copies by the most important Yiddish publications. We shall mention a few of the names promoting Yiddish writing: Schalom Asch, Zalman Reizen, S. Bikel, Itig Manger, Jacob Sternberg, Samuel Niger. Some ephemeral magazines were also published during the 30's: *Darkenu* (Our Way), *Barissia*. The popular newspaper *Marmaroszi Hirlep* (The Maramureș Paper) published in Hungarian

appeared between 1934–1938. It was an independent paper of Zionist orientation, although it did not state this.

In 1940, attempts were made to resume Yiddish publication with *Der Stern* (The Star) and *Young Marmarosh*.

The years following world War II, *Hed Hagalil* (The Echo) and *Sabbaton* (The Sabbath) were also published. In 1947, the Jewish Democratic Committee of Sighetul Marmarășiei, which was against emigration, edited *Inzer Leben* (Our Life) for sever months. The history of the Jewish press in Sighetul Marmarășiei seems to end with it.

Once the national unity of the center of the Jewish press in Transylvania. even before that data, in 1887, Adolf Werheim tried to publish *Allgemeine Jüdische Zeitung* (The Jewish Paper), but the paper was not viable. At the end of the last century, an Yiddish paper entitled *Kol Mavaser* (The Herald) was regularly printed between 1898–1907. Then, in the summer of 1910, *Érdelyi Zsidó Lapok* (The Transylvanian Jewish Paper) was published, consisting of 8 issues of Zionist orientation.

But the publication that proved to be most important in 22 years was *Uj kelet* (The New Sunrise), in which Dr. Marton Ernő, former member of the Parliament, was editor-in-chief. It first appeared as a weekly for almost 2 years, and became a daily paper in 1920. It was a weekly for almost 2 years, and became a daily paper in 1920. It was an organ for asserting the identity of the Jewish people, fighting for the rights of the Romanian Jews, spreading the ideas regarding the return to their ancient homeland (which needed to be recreated), also spreading Jewish culture, literature and thinking. It was a paper that stated: "We have been and will stay Jews". Its consistently democratic and militant attitude accounts for the many attacks it received. On 8 November 1922, its headquarters were destroyed. It still continued to publish its issues until September 1940, when the Horthyist occupation forces, as a reward for the fact that a Jewish paper had appeared in Hungarian at Cluj for 22 years, banned it. The last editorial was written by the Rabbi and historian Moshe Carmilly Weinberger (former Chief Rabbi of Cluj). The paper did not focus only on the Jewish national revival, but was consistently promoting democracy. Some of the most important personalities in the country and abroad contributed to this paper, which reflected the political and economic life all over Romania.

Under the new conditions of the popular democracy following 1945, a new paper entitled *Egység* (Unity) was published in Hungarian at Cluj between 1945–1950, and under the title *Uj út* between 1950–1953. It was the organ of the Jewish Democratic Committee and had a pro-communist, anti-Zionist

orientation, propagating the beneficent effects of socialism in solving Jewish problems. Despite its official orientation, it partly depicted the Jewish life in Romania.

Other Jewish papers were published at Oradea, Arad, Timișoara, Dej, Vișeu, Târgu-Mureș and Satu Mare.

These data have been published with a view to inciting the interest of young researchers for the toilsome task of documentation in this field. We think that the history of the Jewish press is part of the general history of Romanian press and that it represents a significant chapter.

- We have used data published by Kálmán Kahan (New York), "On the History of the Jewish Press in Transylvania", in *Memorial Volume for the Jews of Cluj*, edited by dr. Moshe Carmilly-Weinberger, formerly Chief Rabbi of Cluj, professor of Jewish Studies at Yeshiva University, New York, 1970.

On the Life and Activity of Mihail Halici the Son in the Netherlands and England after 1674. View Points

Kölö Károly
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Over two decades have elapsed since, at the request of the Institute of Linguistics and Literary History in Cluj, I was preparing for print a study by Musnai László, a work of fundamental importance that was to be published in the collection entitled *Studii de istorie literară și folclor/Studies of Literary History and Folklore*. As compared to the article by the same author *Uj adatok Halici Mihály életéhez es hagyatékához/New Data on the Life and Legacy of Mihail Halici*, published in *Nyelvés Irodalomtudományi Közlemények*, IV, 1960, this Romanian version provided new information, namely: a) between 1679-1685, Mihail Halici the Son studied law at the University of Leyden; b) he not only met Bethlen Mihály in London in 1694, but in a manuscript now at the British Museum there is an authographic Magyar version of the Lord's prayer which, according to the note in English at the end of the text, Mihail Halici the Son himself included in 1712 in his University Library Cluj.

Although researches in the history of Romanian culture show a growing interest in this former student of Papai Páriz Ferenc, who travelled abroad, articles and notes on Mihail Halici published in the last two decades² have enriched the information on his life and activity very little. These are good reasons to sketch at least, with the help of the information we have, the line that should be followed by the researches on Mihail Halici the Son.

¹ E. D. Tappe, "A contribution to the Biography of Mihail Halici", in *Revue des Études roumaines*, Paris, VII-VIII, 1961, pp. 403-405.

² George Ivașcu, *Istoria literaturii române*, vol. , Bucharest, 1969, pp. 238-239; Hajós József, "Ipoteze despre poziția ideologică a lui M. Halici fiul", in *Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai*, Philosophia, 1974, pp. 113-114; Alexandru Piru, *Literatura română veche*, 2nd edition, [Bucharest], 1962, p. 83. The author states, without indicating any source, that Mihail Halici the Son studied at the university in Altdorf near Nürnberg. The most recent research is that of Dr. Maria Ursuțiu: the compilation of the Halici library catalogue on the basis of the books scattered up to present day in different Cluj public collections. She also works at reconstituting the Halici library (its beginnings, the origin of its books, the fate of the library after his leaving Transylvania). M. Ursuțiu has presented the partial results of her endeavours at the ASTRA jubilee session (Sibiu, September 1986) and at the Cluj Academic Days, acc. to M. Ursuțiu, "Din nou despre biblioteca Halici" (1974), in *Biblioteca și cercetarea*, XII, Cluj-Napoca, 1988, pp. 268-289.

I. The Years at Leyden

In revealing the period of time Mihail Halici spent at Leyden, a very useful tool is provided by the volume published to celebrate three hundred years since the founding of this university of European fame. The volume, entitled *Album studiosorum Academiae Lugduno-Batavae MDLXXV–MDCCCLXXV* Hagae 1875 (hereafter: the Album), provides a complete chronological list of the teaching staff and the students registered at the four faculties of the University of Leyden.

1. Since, according to the regulations of the university, the school year began when the new rector took up his duties, that is on 1 February, but students could register or interrupt their studies at any time during the school year, the number of English and Scottish as well as Transylvanian fellow students of Mihail Halici between 1 February 1679 – 1 February 1685 was as follows:

Rectore Carlo Drelingcurtio (February 1679 – February 1680)

English and Scottish		Transylvanian	
Faculty of Law	4	Faculty of Philosophy	1
Faculty of Medicine	10		
Faculty of Mathematics	1		
Total:	15	Total:	1

Michael Halicius Valachus 26 [years old] Fac. of Law 31 III 1679 (acc. to Album, col. 627).

Rectore Friderico Spanhemio (February 1680 – February 1681)

English and Scottish		Transylvanian	
Faculty of Law	11	Faculty of Philosophy	1
Faculty of Medicine	13	Faculty of Theology	3
Faculty of Philosophy	1		
Faculty of Theology	1		
Total:	26	Total:	4

Michael Halicius Valachus 28 Fac. of Law 30.I 1681 (acc. to Album col. 642).

Rectore Johanne Voetio (February 1681 – February 1682)

Since Mihail Halici's name is not included in the Album this school year, we assume he did not register.

Rectora Theodoro Ryckio (February 1682 – February 1683)

English and Scottish		Transylvanian	
Faculty of Law	10	Faculty of Medicine	1
Faculty of Medicine	15	Faculty of Philosophy	1
Faculty of Philosophy	2	Faculty of Theology	1
Total:	27	Total:	3

Michael Halicius Valachus de Caransebes in Banatu quondam Severiensi [no faculty mentioned], 25 II 1682 (acc. to Album, col. 650)

Rectore Antonio Husio (February 1683 – February 1684)

English and Scottish		Transylvanian	
Faculty of Law	1	No students from this region registered	-
Faculty of Medicine	1		
Total:	2		

Michael Halicius Valachus 30 Fac. of Law 20 III 1683 (acc. to Album, col. 659).

Note: The unbelievably small number of registered "students" can be explained by the fact that many of them did not mention their nationality, and the Latinized versions of their names make it extremely difficult to state their nationality.

Rectore Luca Schacht (February 1684 – February 1685)

English and Scottish		Transylvanian	
Faculty of Law	23	Faculty of Theology	3
Faculty of Medicine	15		
Faculty of Philosophy	2		
Faculty of Theology	4		
Total:	44	Total:	3

Michael Halicius 30 Fac. of Law 6 III 1684 (acc. to Album, col. 666).

If to the above-mentioned data we add the eight law students, ten medical students and two philosophy students registered in the academic year 1681–1682, when the name of Mihail Halici is not mentioned in the Album, it results that during his studies at Leyden he had 134 English and Scottish fellow students, out of which 57 studied law, 64 medicine, 2 mathematics, 6 philosophy, and 5 theology, while there were also 3 who did not mention the faculty. From these lists it also results that the only one who registered three years in succession was Thomas Neale, who studied first Mathematics, and then law for two successive years, while Josephus Anderson studied medicine for two years.

As far as Thomas Neale is concerned, we should note that after interrupting his studies at Leyden for one year (between 30 January 1681 and 25 February 1682), Mihail Halici the Son registered the very same day as Thomas Neale from London, who, on his first matriculation on 25 February 1682, declared he was 13 years old and wanted to study Mathematics. The next academic year they registered the same day, on 20 March 1683, when "Thomas Neale Londinensis", aged 14, became also a law student. The same happens for a third time, on 6 March, when – due to a writing or printing mistake – the English Thomas Neale is written down as being aged 20³.

We have therefore good reason to assume that, while in London, Mihail Halici the Son, a traveller to foreign universities, was employed as instructor – "ephorus", as it was named in those times – by the well-known family Neale, and next school year he returned to Leyden with his student. Although the monumental biographical encyclopaedia *Dictionary of National Biography* mentions for this period only the name of a certain Daniel Neale (1678–1743) who studied at Leyden between 1699–1700, this does not preclude the possibility that Mihail Halici the Son had an instructor-disciple relationship with another member of the Neale family, who disappeared in anonymity, since, as it results from *Album studiosorum Academiae Lugduno-Batavae*, they were inseparable for three years.

Our theory is based on the possibility that Mihail Halici the Son met at Leyden young English and Scottish intellectuals who were attracted across the sea to the Netherlands mainly by the European fame of the Faculties of Law and Medicine of the Academy, where the professors of medicine combined, even in those times, lectures and bedside instruction⁴, and law was taught in the spirit of those bourgeois liberties for whose armed defence the city had been rewarded with the university⁵. England, which had embarked upon the road of the bourgeois revolution, needed such new jurists too.

2. Mihail Halici the Son's fellow students from Transylvania were – excepting three students studying philosophy and medicine – all theologians, a

³ Mihail Halici the Son himself is also responsible for such inaccuracies. Thus, although his father mentioned that he was born on 19 October 1643, when he first registered at Leyden he said he was 26; acc. to Nicolae Drăganu, "Mihail Halici. Contribuție la istoria culturală românească din sec.XVII", Cluj, 1926, abstract from *Dacoromania*, IV, 1924–26.

⁴ Regarding the attraction exerted by Leyden, and the fact that the academy there was considered a symbol of liberty, see Henk G. van de Graaf, *A Németalföldi akadémiák és az Erdélyi preotestantizmus a XVIII. században 1690–1795*, [Cluj-Napoca], 1979, p. 38; Pápai Páriz Ferenc, *Békeszózat magamnak, másoknak* Published with an introductory study and notes by Nagy Géza, Bucharest, 1977, p. 25, 30, 32.

⁵ Guiliemus Du Rieu, *Praefatic, Album studiosorum Academiae Lugduno-Batavae MDLXXV–MDCCCLXXV*, Hagae Comitum MDCCCLXXV, V.

sign that, despite the disapproval of the religious authorities and the repressive measures of the state authorities, Descaters' ideas were spreading more and more⁶. Unfortunately, until now we have no indication that he had relations with his fellow countrymen, although we can say he nearly lived under the same roof with many future outstanding personalities of the Transylvanian scientific life. For instance, between 1680–1681 Szatmárnémeti Samuel and Szatmári Pap János were studying theology at Leyden⁷, and Köleséri Sámuel, philosophy⁸; in the academic year 1682–1683, Dimién Pál from Cluj registered; after travelling in England, he would graduate from Medicine at Leyden on 14 March 1689⁹.

Therefore, everything leads to the idea that Mihail Halici the Son was at that time faithful to his oath – known from Misztótfalusi Kis Miklós's work *Mentség/Justification* (paragr. 17) – according to which he would avoid Hungarians like poison¹⁰.

Although recent research by Jakó Zsigmond and Nagy Géza seems to confirm Musnai László's theory according to which Mihail Halici the Son was suspended from Bethlen College in Aiud following his conflict with the young aristocrats¹¹, he did not participate in editing the poetry anthology printed at Leyden in memory of Kovásznai Péter Junior, who had died as a traveller (*Avitternae Nominis Memoriae egregii... D. Petri Kovasznai*, the Old Hungarian Bibliography, III/2, 3051).

3. Despite appearances, he may have kept a connection with his native regions, and this would be the Amsterdam studio of Misztótfalusi Kis Miklós. His former schoolmate from Aiud, a participant at one time in the debates organized by Dési Márton, now a famous man abroad, not only helped financially those who asked him, but also used his wide network of business connections to pave the way for his fellow countrymen abroad¹². In this

⁶ Jakó Zsigmond, *Erdélyi féniks. Misztótfalusi Kis Miklós öröksége*, Bucharest, 1974, pp. 11–12.

⁷ Herepei János, *Adattár XVII. századi szellemi mozgalmaink történetéhez*, III, Budapest–Szeged, 1971, pp. 194–195, pp. 203–204.

⁸ Jakó Zsigmond, "A XVIII század eleji román művelődési élet és a korai német felvilágosodás kapcsolatai Köleséri Sámuel levelezésének tükrében", in *Nyelv-és Irodalomtudományi Közlemények*, 1969, p. 55 and the following.

⁹ Herepei János, *op. cit.*, III, p. 516.

¹⁰ The obscure points regarding Mihail Halici the Son explain perhaps the opinion of Bán Imre, the editor of *Mentség* (Szépirodalmi Kiadó, Budapest, 1952), that the phrase in question may be "a rare saying", since it is not present in the Hungarian proverb collection the closer in time to Tótfalusi, i.e. *Selectiona adagia...* by Kis-Viczay Péter, Bardejov, 1713; *op. cit.*, p. 165, note 67 by Bán Imre.

¹¹ Jakó Zsigmond, *Erdélyi féniks*, pp. 41–42; Pápai Páriz Ferenc, *op. cit.*, p. 51 and the following, p. 531, note 88.

¹² Herepei János, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

respect, it is enough to mention one of Mihail Halici the Son's London acquaintances, the painter Bogdány Jákab, who – according to one of Misztótfalusi Kis Miklós's letters recently published – was recommended by the latter, nicknamed "the Transylvanian Phoenix", to the English financial aristocracy in 1688, when he crossed the sea to try his chance in England.

The letter in question makes a reference that could be a landmark in researching the London life of Mihail Halici the Son. It is a mandate Misztótfalusi Kis Miklós gave to Bogdány Jakab in order to recover the post expenses for his previous letter from Mezölaki P. János, his London agent. The man who had been once a student at Sárospatak studied at Franeker and Groningen between 1665–1666, and then left on a study journey to England, to Cambridge and Oxford (1667). But, the very same year, on 26 May, he was again in Amsterdam, in the entourage of old Comenius who wrote eight memorable lines with an already shaking hand ("senili, manu sua") in the traveler's album of this young man who worshiped him. Gál István, a remarkable expert in English-Hungarian cultural relations, does not preclude the possibility that, as a former disciple of Comenius at Sárospatak, Mezölaki P. János accompanied him on his journey to England that year. An error may have appeared in the article in question, since the literature says nothing of this visit to England of "the teacher of the peoples"; he only followed closely the development of the Anglo-Dutch peace negotiations at Breda in 1667, and, in order to give more authority to his diplomatic efforts, he published in London, in 1668, his work *Via lucis*, dedicated to the Royal Society, in memory of his scientific projects he had sketched as early as 1641–1642, while in London¹³.

In his turn, after visiting again the Dutch universities, Mezölaki P. János returned to England, and the only information we have so far on his visit on the continent is that he participated in a dispute chaired by Franc at Utrecht. The information gathered by Herepei János leads to the idea that his tour in the summer of 1667 was done with the sole purpose of contacting travellers on their way home, who could take with them copies of the more recent books of Comenius for his Transylvanians followers. Bethlen Miklós's son provides information on Mezölaki's death in his London notes of his traveller's diary, which is also useful in the investigations regarding Mihail Halici the Son.

¹³ Milada Blekastad, *Comenius. Versuch eines Umrisses von Leben. Werk und Schicksal des Jan Amos Komensky*, Oslo-Praha, [1969], p. 654–659; Franz Hofmann, *Jan Amos Comenius Lehrer der Nationen*, Leipzig-Jena-Berlin, [1975], p. 66–68.

(N.B. However, this reference should be verified, as the final word belongs to the critical edition of this journal)¹⁴.

The figure of Mezölaki P. János may be interesting for the researchers of Halici for two reasons. One is that, in Mihail Halici the Son's library, which he donated according to his will (1674) to the school in Orăştie, the 1639 London edition of Comenius's *Pansophiae Prodomus* has the authors dedication. The copy in question was given as a gift by Comenius himself on 17 June 1642 to a certain Johannes Zilizi. According to Dr. Musnai László, an enthusiast researcher of the relationship between Transylvanian Calvinism and the Romanians, the first owner of the book was one of the young Moravians thirsting for education who were attracted to Alba Iulia by the reputation of Bethlen College. Later, the book became the property of Medgyesi István, also a student at Leyden and a traveller in England, the brother of Medgyesi Pál, who was a close friend of Comenius. Then there is an ownership note by a certain "Paulus Kalvai", of whom neither Herepei, nor his index for the 17th century says anything precise¹⁵.

As far as the second reason is concerned, no matter whether the theory saying that the two Transylvanian travellers met in London is true or not, Mezölaki P. János's album gives an almost complete list of the English personalities, among whom the possible patrons, benefactors and visionaries who supported Mihail Halici may also be present¹⁶.

Misztótfalusi's letter also suggests other useful ideas for research. For instance, the letter was procured by the British Museum as part of the Harley collection. And, as is well known, Edward Harley, Count of Oxford (1689-1741), an enthusiast book and art collector, was Bogdány Jakab's patron for the longest period of time in his later period. Therefore, Gál István suggests – fully justified – that the painter himself offered the letter for sale. That is why we do not think it is by chance that the last known original manuscript by Mihail

¹⁴ Gál István, "Bogdány Jakab angliai pályakezdete – Misztótfalusi Kis Miklós mint a művész pártfogója", in *Művészet* (Budapest), 1971, no. 7, p. 9; Herepei János, *op. cit.*, III, p. 408-409. I have not yet access to this volume, edited by Jankovics József, a researcher at the Institute for the History of Hungarian literature of the József Attila University in Szeged.

¹⁵ I. Slizinski, "Din activitatea fraţilor cehi în Polonia", in *Romanoslavica*, VIII, [1963], p. 475; Dr. Musnai László's reply letter, Aiud, 11 January 1967. Hajós József sensed the decisive role of this important philosophical work in the ideological development of Mihail Halici, but, due to the erroneous theory that the young Romanian came into conflict with the Aiud Hungarians because of his friendship with the Saxons it considers "Johannes Zilizi" a Saxon, acc. to *loc. cit.*, p.119.

¹⁶ Gál István, "Tótfalusi Kis Miklós angliai összeköttetéseinek nyomában – Mezölaki János angliai ismeretségei", in *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, 1971, p.339-341. The author publishes in a note both the list of the English persons who signed the volume *Album amicorum* and of the Hungarians who had been in England between 1660-1670.

Halici, i.e. the Hungarian version of *The Lord's Prayer* in the multi-lingual manuscript initially drawn up by antiquarian Humphrey Wanley ("The Lord's Prayer in Hungarian Language"), is also present in the Harley collection. The importance of this manuscript is greater due to the fact that Thomas Grainger, an employee of the East Indies Society, from whom the antiquarian got the Hungarian version of the Lord's Prayer, may appear from the darkness of oblivion as another possible acquaintance of Mihail Halici the Son¹⁷. Therefore, the Harley collection, whose catalogue in two ample volumes was published as early as the 18th century (1759-1763), while the smaller books were included in a separate cycle, may reveal other documents regarding Mihail Halici the Son.

II. The Years in England

At the present stage of research we think we should review all the Transylvanian intellectuals known by name who travelled or even settled in England in the time of Mihail Halici the Son.

Kapusi Juhász Sámuel registered at Leyden on 9 May 1685, but during the very same year he left for London. He returned home with a great library and taught first at Sárospatak and then at Alba Iulia, where the college of Sárospatak temporarily took refuge. Back home, he became one of the most sincere followers of Misztótfalusi Kis Miklós. Their close relationship is proved by the fact that the artist, physically down and out due to the persecutions he had been subjected to, made Kapusi Juhász his executor.

Frank Adám, the son of the homonymous preacher of the Saxon Unitarian community in Cluj, settled for good. He became – as a typographer – the most important anti-Trinitarian editor in Europe. Misztótfalusi Kis Miklós considered him a reliable person from the time he was in Amsterdam, and he continued to do business with him. And, as Hajós József has emphasized recently, resuming an older theory of Nicolae Drăganu, Mihail Halici the Son had good, warm relations with the Saxons as early as his school days¹⁸.

III. The City of Leyden – An European Cultural Center

If we want to go on with our researches, we should analyse the lacunose information on Mihail Halici the Son's university years at Leyden. In his time,

¹⁷ Paul Cernovodeanu, "Contactele umanistului Mihail Halici cu literatura engleză", in *Orizont*, 1969, no. 12, p. 74-76; Idem, "Scientific and Cultural Contacts between England and the Romanian lands (1650-1720)", in *Rumanian Studies. An International Annual of the Humanities and Social Sciences*, vol. II, 1971-1972, Leiden, 1973, p. 89.

¹⁸ Hajós József, *loc. cit.*, p. 199; Herpei János, *op. cit.*, III, p. 430, 433-434.

the attendance at the Faculty of Law rivaled the attendance at the Faculty of Medicine, which was usually frequented the most. Here are a few statistical data: between 4 February 1679 and 12 January 1680, the Faculty of Law had 145 ordinary students; between 14 February 1680 and 24 January 1681, 139 students were registered; between February and 5 September 1681 (we have considered this period of time) there were 65 students, that is a total of 349 students, to which we should add 33 more English and Scottish students we have put on separate lists in order to have a clearer picture.

As far as age is concerned, most of the students were under 30, but there are also cases like Dr. Henrik Cappeln, aged 41, who registered on 29 July 1679, or Henricus Buirdelius from Hamburg, aged 50, who registered on 18 May 1679.

Therefore, Mihail Halici the Son wouldn't have been too mature as compared to his fellow students even according to his father's biographical note discovered by Nicolae Drăganu on the copy of *Csecsemő keresztyén (The Christian Baby)* by Kereszturi Pál that was later in the possession of the college in Orăștie.

In fact, the opinion that Mihail Halici the Son was the first Transylvanian jurist who studied at Leyden is not correct either. Enyedi R. Gáspár, the brother of Doctor in Medicine Enyedi Sámuel, who had also been his professor, registered at Leyden on 29 August 1659, after the legal disputes held under the presidency of the professors from Utrecht and Franeker. After graduating from the law school in Leyden, he was "iuris utriusque doctor" in England to the end of his days¹⁹.

A review of Mihail Halici the Son's professors at Leyden may provide new footing for future research, since in any of the disputes held under their presidency and published, his name may be mentioned as a participant or as the author of the poem dedicated to the participants in the dispute.

Joh. Frid. Boeckelmann (18 April 1632– 23 October 1681), professor of Roman and public law, taught at Leyden since 1670, and was Rector Magnificus in the academic year 1675-1676 (acc. to Album, XX-XXI).

Boeckelmann's successor, Philipp Reinhard Vittrarius (28 February 1647 – 30 July 1720) was a young professor, almost Halici's age. In 1682 he was given a chair at Leyden, and was so highly appreciated that during his career he was appointed head of the Academy three times (1693-1694, 1702-1703, 1713-1714 - acc. to Album, XXI). He was the author of numerous widely known law

¹⁹ Herepei János, *op. cit.*, p. 398-400.

textbooks, out of which the Library of the Romanian Academy in Cluj (the former Reformed College of Cluj fund) has the following: *Institutiones iuris naturae et gentium. At methodum Hug. Grotii conscriptae et auctae a Joh. Jac. Vitrario*, the 1734 revised edition (R. 117189), *Universum ius civile privatum*, Leyden 1697 (R. 115971) and *Institutiones iuris publici romano-germanici* new edition, Nürnberg-Leipzig, 1727 (R. 116388).

Johannes Voetius (3 October 1674 – 11 September 1713), born in Utrecht, professor of Roman and civil law, took his doctorate with his father, Paul Voetius. His university career began at Harnborn, but in 1674 he was already a professor at Utrecht, and in 1680 was invited at Leyden. The next academic year he became Rector Magnificus, a position he will be given again twice (1686-1687, 1709-1710 - acc. to Album, XII). According to Chr. Gottl. Jöcher's *Allgemeine Gelehrten-Lexikon* whence we have taken the professors' biographical data, in 1687 he refused the Utrecht offer, despite the 2,000 guildens (Dutch florins) annually he was promised.

Antonius Matthaei (1633 – 25 August 1710), a professor of applied law, and a scholar of tireless diligence, changed his chair in Utrecht for one in Leyden only after repeated invitations from the curators. He was Rector Magnificus between 1678-1679.

In the above-mentioned library fund, the following books by him can be found: *Commentarium ad Lib. XLVII, et XLVIII. Dig. de criminibus*, edit. noviss Köln 1727 (R. 116759); *De nobilitate, de advocatis ecclesiae de comitatu Hollandiae et diocessi Ultrajectina*, Amsterdam and Leyden 1686 (R. 116679); regarding this work we should mention that Matthaei was also an expert in the mediaeval history of the Netherlands); *Orationes quarum pleraeque continent argumentum iuridicum*, Utrecht, 1654 (R. 116623); *Analecta Veteris aevi seu vetera aliquot monumenta...*, Leyden, 1698 (R. 80355).

Sibertus Coeman (13 June 1643 – 28 September 1679) was a young jurist from Amsterdam, who had studied philosophy and law at Leyden in 1661 and 1662 (acc. to Album, XXI, col. 490, 500). The branch of law he was teaching is not mentioned.

Even a brief presentation of the teaching staff justifies quite enough Mihail Halici the Son's decision to resist the temptations of other universities in the Netherlands (for instance, Utrecht offered free registration for Transylvanians). He remained in Leyden for years as the student of a group of professors in full creative force, who showed their friendship for this student of almost their age and with a wide knowledge.

Besides, his option may have been influenced also by the teachers in Aiud who had graduated at Leyden; also by his schoolmate Pápai Páriz Ferenc's project of crowning his doctorate at Basel by a long study trip abroad, where he wanted to visit Paris and, one by one, the Dutch universities, especially Leyden, where his father, Pápai Páriz Imre, had once studied. An echo of this project, that had probably been discussed at home or by correspondence, is the line "Oh, Paris, Leyden, when Francis reaches you, accept him"²⁰ in the poem *Carmen primo et unigenitum* by Mihail Halici.

Also, the fact that life in Leyden was relatively cheap may have greatly mattered. For instance, Owári János, who registered on 29 July 1682, rented, together with a fellow student, two rooms in Pitterskertgraf Square, in the house of the shoemaker Sakenect, for 100 florins a year²¹. However, we have no information that, before the two stipends given at the request of Pápai Páriz Ferenc and Bethlen Miklós, the former students from Aiud had any facilities of payment at Leyden, where the disciples from Staten College were given a certain sum of money to buy books. Yet, even the poorest students could easily buy their necessary bibliographies at the sales organized to dispose of the books of deceased professors or of other learned men²².

IV. Conclusions

1. Mihail Halici the Son went to England as early as 1680, after his first year at Leyden, returning only with his pupil Thomas Neale. Our supposition is also based on the recent study by Kathona Géza, which shows that most of the Transylvanian students educated in England during the 17th century, had attended Dutch universities, mainly Franeker and Leyden. It is rather difficult to document this, since the English universities of those times did not have

²⁰ Pápai Páriz Ferenc, *op. cit.*, p. 15-16, 40-41.

²¹ Pettkő Béla, "Egy érdekes emlékkönyv a XVII. századból", in *Történelmi Tár*, 1882, p. 505. On the other hand, G. Henk van de Graaf's researches document exactly the opposite, i.e. that Leyden was in fact the most expensive Dutch university town, and yet, the fame of the scientific life here also attracted poor students, as well as noblemen and their accompanying tutors; acc. to *op. cit.*, p. 38.

²² Hendrik [Henk] van de Graaf, "Az erdélyi teológusok és a Staten College XVIII. századi kapcsolatainak néhány vonatkozása", in *Reformatus Szemle* (Cluj-Napoca), 1969, p. 266-267, 271, 273. Timotei Cipariu's library (now at the Library of the Romanian Academy, Cluj-Napoca) also includes such a catalogue, entitled *Bibliotheca Heinsiana sive Catalogus librorum aquos [...] collegit vir illustris Nicolaus Heinsius Dan. Fil. [...] cuius Bibliothecae publicam faciet auctionem Lugduni Batavorum Johannes de Vivie bibliopola [...] Lug.Batav. 1682 (B. 4213)*.

registers of students, and therefore we must rely on information provided by traveller's albums and the registers on the continent²³.

2. Mihail Halici the Son, unlike most of the travellers, settled in England for good in 1685. According to the date of the Hungarian text of the Lord's Prayer in the Harley collection, in 1712 he was still living, but he must have died not long afterwards, since Pápai Páriz Ferenc Junior who had left Leyden at the end of May 1715, accompanied by Ajtai András, in order to get support from the English brotherly churches to re-build the college in Aiud which was destroyed by the imperial army that set Aiud on fire following the order of general Bussy de Rebutin, did not find him alive. Pápai Páriz requested dedication texts, "souvenirs", from all Transylvanians in England at that time. The text were put into his traveller's album, now in the Library of the Academy of Science of the Hungarian republic, and we can hardly believe that he avoided his father's old friend. He also does not mention Mihail Halici in his reports sent to Count Teleki Sándor, general curator, although he provides valuable information even on Tobias Stranovius, the son-in-law of the same Bogdány Jakáb, who was on friendly terms with Mihail Halici. From this correspondence, it results that the Saxon painter went to England accompanied by the English diplomat William Paget. In 1703 (according to other sources, in 1702), returning from Constantinople, this famous expert in Eastern European matters went home passing through Transylvania. He also stopped at Aiud, where reverent Chishull, his official priest, had a long talk with Pápai Páriz Ferenc Senior²⁴.

We therefore wonder whether the traces of Mihail Halici the Son's activity in England should not be sought among the direct assistants of the above-mentioned diplomat, as, thanks to his wide knowledge in terms of languages and also on the local characteristic circumstances, the Romanian jurist from Caransebeş could do good services to the British foreign policy authorities

²³ Kathona Géza, "Pótlások az 1711-ig Angliában tanult magyar diákok névsorához", in *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, 1976, p. 92-93.

²⁴ Gergely Pál, *Páriz Pápai-Album a Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvtárában*, Budapest, 1961. Although Pápai Páriz Ferenc Jr. went to England in 1715, his memoirs mention this country only the following year, acc. to Janakovics József, "A Pápai Páriz Ferenc család angol kapcsolatainak történetéhez I. Ifjú londoni levelei", in *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis de Attila József nominatae - Acta Historiae Litterarum Hungaricarum*, XII, 1972, p. 139, 143, 147, re-published in *Peregrinuslevelek 1711-1750. Külföldön tanuló diákok levelei Teleki Sándornak*, Szeged, 1980, letters no. 27-31. Valuable information on the Transylvanian-English relations in those times can be found in the three letters to Pápai Páriz Ferenc the younger, and respectively those written by him, in the Harley collection. For us, it is significant that these letters - like "The Lord's Prayer" copied by Mihail Halici - were bought by the collector on 31 July 1717 from the same Humphrey Wanley. Acc. to Gál István, "Erdélyi levelek a British Museumban", in *Acta Univ Szeged [..]*, X-XI, 1971, p. 157-161.

more and more interested in the political and economic situation in the Near East.

We are firmly convinced that, although he chose emigration, Mihail Halici the Son did not immerse himself in the darkness of anonymity, and that systematic, step by step investigations would shed light on his activity, this valuable page in the history of Transylvanian-Dutch, and respectively Romanian-English relations²⁵.

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²⁵ The direction suggested by the recent developments in Romanian historical sciences, acc. to Paul Cernovodeanu, "Transylvanian Evidences about England [of] the Later Stuarts (1660-1714)", in *Rumanian Studies - An International Annual of the Humanities and Social Sciences*, III, Leiden, 1976, p. 92-107.

Sir Hans Sloane (1660-1753), an English doctor, is another significant example of England's interest at that time in the language and culture of the peoples of South-Eastern Europe. This descendant of Isaac Newton, and president of the Royal Society promptly answered Köleséri Sámuel's request, documenting his theory of 1725, when on the basis of the Welsh version of the Lord's Prayer, he suggested that this old Celtic language is related to Romanian; see Gömöri György, "Ifj. Köleséri Sámuel levelei Sir Hans Sloanehez", in *Magyar könyvszemle*, 1989, p. 283-287.

Book Reviews

Sabin Manuilă, Wilhelm Filderman, *The Jewish Population in Romania during World War II. (Populația evreiască din România în timpul celui de-al doilea război mondial), The Romanian Cultural Foundation, Iași, 1994, 62 p. (Romanian Civilization Studies no. 1, edited by Kurt W. Treptow)*

The paper presented by S. Manuilă and W. Filderman at the World Congress of the International Statistics Institute in Stockholm, Sweden, held between 8–15 august 1957, was not widely known in the scientific world, although it was published at that time in a shorter version in English and Romanian. Many of the historians dealing with World War II and the Holocaust for the last decades have ignored the present study. Still, it is the most thorough analysis in this field, that can provide an accurate image of the changes in the number and distribution of the Jewish population in Romania during World War II. The re-publication of this study both in English and Romanian by Kurt W. Treptow and Larry Watts, the latter also signing a highly documented preface, is a praiseworthy initiative that provides specialists with a work of reference in this field.

S. Manuilă and W. Filderman were two outstanding personalities of the scientific and public life in Romania between the two wars. The former, Director of the Central Institute of Statistics (1935–1947), was the most important demographer and statistician of his time, a corresponding member of the Romanian Academy and other scientific institutions at home and abroad. Since he was regarded as undesirable by the communist regime, and in order to avoid being arrested and sent to a detention camp, S. Manuilă left Romania at the beginning of 1948. Living in New York, he continued to serve his people's interests by activating in the Romanian National Committee in exile, keeping up his reputation and appreciation in the international scientific world.

W. Filderman was the President of the Federation of Jewish Communities in Romania, an outstanding fighter for the rights of the Jewish people at the time when this ethnic group had an extremely difficult fate. Due to his honesty, firm character and reluctance to compromise he would shortly have an open conflict with the regime's leaders. The fight the communist authorities in

Bucharest started against the leading figures of „the historical opposition“ (i.e. the representatives of the Peasants' National Party and in the Liberal National Party) was also sided by a campaign against the „historical“ leaders of the Jewish population, who would not comply with the official policy of the Communist Party. Under these circumstances, both Wilhelm Filderman and Alexandru Safran, the chief Rabbi were exiled.

S. Manuilă and W. Filderman's study is based on a comparative analysis of the number of Jews in the Romanian provinces, as shown by censuses carried out in 1930, 1948 and 1956. Noteworthy is the numerical decline of this population (from 756,930 in 1930 to 144,198 in 1956). The main cause of such a decrease was the successive change of borders: the takeover by Soviet Russia of Basarabia, Northern Bucovina and Herța in June 1940, territories that would remain part of that country at the end of the war; besides, North-Western Transylvania was temporarily occupied by Hungary (September 1940 – October 1944), while Southern Dobroudja (Cadrilater) was taken for good by Bulgaria in September 1940. All this influenced the Jewish population living in these regions. In fact, 57.1% of the Jews recorded in 1930 in Romania would lose their contact with the Romanian state during the war. According to the results of this study, around 15,000 Jews from the territories belonging to Romania died: 3,000 during the time when the Iron Guard was associated to governing (September 1940 – January 1941); 3,000–4,000 Jews were victims of the military retaliation in Iași (June 1941), and up to 10,000 disappeared while being transported and deported from Transylvania. In the territories taken over by the Russians, the losses amounted to 103,919 persons, while in Northern Transylvania ruled by Hungary, 90,295 Jews perished mainly after March 1944. Mention should be made that S. Manuilă played an important part in protecting the Jewish population from Romania by asking I. Antonescu for a larger number of staff than required for the activity of the Central Institute of Statistics, and thus stopping several thousands of Jews from being deported.

The historical reality, also confirmed by the conclusions of the present study, is that „no other country that has at any time been subject to Nazi domination can show so large a proportion of survivors as does Romania“ (p. 59). We hope that specialists will not elude again S. Manuilă and W. Filderman's paper in their future research, so that the reconstruction of the Holocaust in each country and the assigning of responsibilities could be done as true-to-life as possible.

The present edition, achieved at a high professional standard by Kurt W. Treptow and Larry Watts, throws light upon demographic and political issues of utmost significance for Romania's history during World War II and the setting up of the communist regime.

Ioan Bolovan

Vasile Goldiș, Corespondență (1888–1934). Scrisori trimise (Correspondence (1888–1934). Sent letters), Cluj, Ed. Dacia, 1992, vol. I, col. „Testimonia”, 312 p. + illustrations, edition by Gheorghe Șora, foreword by acad. prof. Ștefan Pascu

In a field in which we are waiting for great contributions, especially from now on – we are referring to the contemporary history of Romania – restorations have a well established importance. On their way to comprehensive synthesis, the authors insisted on partial studies, biographies of protagonists, and even publication of documents. Otherwise, the basis of their generalizations would have been weak. The historian from Timișoara, Gheorghe Șora, knows this preoccupied all his life by the serene face (even enigmatical) of Vasile Goldiș – one of the main leaders of the Romanian national movement in Transylvania at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century artisan of the Great Union in 1918 – the editor of our days revealed other books centered on this personality too. We are talking about the edition Vasile Goldiș, *Scrisori sociale și literare* (Social-political and literary writings) (1976) and the study *Vasile Goldiș militant pentru desăvârșirea idealului național* (Vasile Goldiș militant for the achievement of the national ideal) (1980), both published by the publishing house „Facla”, in Timișoara. We are not concerned with the contributions of little extent owed to the same hardworking scholar, stored by special cultural magazines. Due to the present epistolary collection, the arguments necessary to judge Goldiș, the man, correctly have become more numerous. We have a bunch – of course, incomplete, as long as a lot of letters of the journalist from Arad are lost or haven’t been discovered – of correspondence that gathers, according to customs, the addresses and in chronological order, particular messages (of friendship and consideration), public messages (printed in the newspaper „Românul” at the date they were written); we have letters that will interest the history of journalism and others with an echo in the political life. All together reveal a world, a lot of relations and subtle hierarchy of interests; from them, we can detach an image of the Romanian political and cultural life at the beginning of this century. It’s a pity that the edition doesn’t provide more substantial details concerning Goldiș’s first wife; Gheorghe Șora only mentions her quality, the fact she was a piano player and a painter, without giving her name or the circumstances in which her marriage with Goldiș was produced or, later, the divorce. The problem would be interesting, as it would give a complete image of the militant who, being a great Romanian patriot,

didn't find unfit to marry a Hungarian artist (native of, if we are not mistaken Lipova, district Arad). Even through this little detail, Vasile Goldiș reveals himself more complex than at first sight. It is obvious that his civic attitude was the result of a constant effort self-evident, in an atmosphere where things were never simple and in a ardent climate, imbued with prejudices from either side. His letters confess, frequently, more about a strategy of jovial dissimulation (see the repeated protestations of love to N. Iorga as an answer to his nationalistic intransigence towards Emil Isac, for example) subordinated completely to the constructive purpose the director of the newspaper „Românul“ followed methodically. The tone is sometimes exaggeratedly calm, suspiciously traditionalistic, for a man whose political labour and modernity of views weren't easier to surpass. Even for such precious conclusions, the volume brought out by the “Dacia” publishing-house is a fundamental one. It proves, by this illustrious example, what meant the Romanian militant nationalism at the beginning of this century, as a political (and cultural) programme built with ambition in spite of any unfavourable circumstances, despising discriminations, refusing ethnical or racial alteration; having therefore the necessary openness towards the Europe of unchauvinistic and unracial democracies to come.

Ovidiu Pecican

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Jean Nouzille, La Transylvanie. Terre de contacts et de conflits, Strasbourg, 1993, 255 p.

Ce livre de synthèse constitue une réussite scientifique, une réelle contribution à la connaissance de l'histoire de la Transylvanie, depuis l'antiquité jusqu' nos jours. L'auteur utilise et maîtrise une vaste bibliographie roumaine, hongroise et internationale pour chaque période de l'histoire de la Transylvanie et ses habitants.

La compétence professionnelle solide l'aide à saisir toujours l'essentiel dans une problématique qui est à la fois vraiment complexe et compliquée. C'est par cette voie que Jean Nouzille arrive aux conclusions les plus justes et les plus véridiques.

Depuis le temps anciens ce territoire habité par les Daces a été ravagé par différentes peuplades d'origine celtique, iranienne, germanique etc.

L'auteur présente avec une remarquable impartialité – au point de vue scientifique – les opinions des historiens roumains et hongrois sur la continuité

ou discontinuité de vie des Roumains au Nord du Danube après la retraite romaine. L'auteur avoue que le but essentiel de celles-ci a été d'affirmer – depuis le XVIII^{ème} siècle jusqu'à nos jours – que les premiers habitants de la Transylvanie ont été soit les Roumains soit les Hongrois, au moment de la conquête hongroise de la Transylvanie. Mais, après une interprétation pertinente des sources et des bibliographies et une comparaison avec les situations des autres peuples néolatins de l'époque qui n'ont pas été des migrants, l'auteur conclut que les Roumains ont habité la Transylvanie et ils ont été conquis en plusieurs étapes par les Hongrois et par leur Royaume fortifié et bien encadré dans l'Europe par le catholicisme et par la féodalité du type occidental.

L'auteur présente aussi le processus de dégradation de la situation socio-économique et politique des Roumains conquis pendant les périodes du Voievodat encadré dans le Royaume de Hongrie (jusqu'à 1541) et du Principauté de la Transylvanie (1541–1688) se trouvant sous la suzeraineté ottomane. Il explique les causes de cette dégradation et souligne le fait que les Roumains de Transylvanie – qui ont aidé la formation de l'État de Moldavie et du Pays des Roumains – ont réussi à conserver leur ethnie et leur langue par l'orthodoxie et grâce à l'appui reçu de la part de leurs frères d'au-delà des Carpates.

L'auteur a reconstitué scientifiquement la situation politique des Roumains de Transylvanie sous la domination des Habsbourg (1688–1867). Il a souligné que même durant cette période historique les principaux oppresseurs des Roumains ont été les "status et ordines" transylvains, c'est-à-dire les trois "nations" politiques, les Hongrois, les Szeklers et les Saxons et les quatre religions reconnues le catholicisme, le calvinisme, l'unitarisme, le luthéranisme.

Quelquefois les mesures adoptées par des despotes éclairés comme Joseph II, ont créé des avantages pour les Roumains mais ils sont habituellement retombés sous le joug du système "trois + quatre". Le livre affirme le rôle de l'Eglise Uniate dans l'apparition et le développement de la conscience nationale moderne des Roumains de Transylvanie et souligne la portée nationale des actions politiques d'Inochentie Micu-Klein et du Supplex de 1791. Dans cette partie du livre, l'auteur démontre que les principaux conflits sociaux et nationaux de Transylvanie se sont déroulés, entre les Roumains et les Hongrois. La preuve essentielle en a été les événements de 1784 et 1848.

Le conflit essentiel entre les Roumains et les Hongrois a été prolongé sous le compromis austro-hongrois (1867–1918) quand la Transylvanie est devenue partie intégrante du soi-disant État national hongrois, qui était en réalité

multinational et polyglote et les Roumains de Transylvanie sont tombés en 1867 dans une situation humiliante.

Le refus des programmes nationaux roumains qui ont proposé la fédéralisation ethnique de l'Autriche-Hongrie – y compris celui d'Aurel C. Popovici – a fortifié l'irréductibilisme des Roumains de la Transylvanie. Ceux-ci ont trouvé un appui substantiel en Roumanie, centre politique de leurs espérances dans la lutte pour la liberté et l'unité nationales.

L'auteur a saisi et révélé les causes de l'entrée de la Roumanie dans la première Guerre Mondiale, déterminée par la nécessité de réaliser l'union de la Transylvanie et de la Bucovine avec le royaume roumain. Basé sur des statistiques contemporaines, surtout hongroises, il s'avoue être défenseur du principe de l'autodétermination nationale, en vertu duquel la majorité ethnique roumaine a voté l'union de la Transylvanie avec la Roumanie.

Mais la Hongrie de l'entre – deux-guerres n'avait reconnu ni le vote roumain du 1-er Décembre 1918, ni le Traité de Trianon du 4 Juin 1920, et c'est pour cette raison qu'elle s'était jetée dans les rangs des Etats révisionnistes, coté de l'Allemagne et de l'Italie. Nouzille a fait une analyse sérieuse des causes de la tension politique qui s'était installée de roulé entre la Roumanie et la Hongrie cause de la Transylvanie entre 1918 et 1940. Il a affirmé aussi que pendant la Seconde Guerre Mondiale la Roumanie avait fait des efforts militaires et diplomatiques pour regagner le Nord de la Transylvanie, qui se sont achevés, par le coup d'Etat du 23 août 1944, l'Armistice avec les Nations Unies en septembre 1944 et le Traité de Paris du mois de février 1947. L'auteur a présenté aussi les massacres commis par les Hongrois dans le Nord de la Transylvanie durant les années 1940–1941, mais aussi ceux commis par les Roumains en 1944 en soulignant que les premiers ont été plus graves. Il a suivi son sujet en analysant les relations entre la Roumanie et la Hongrie durant les régimes communistes totalitaires et particulièrement la détérioration des ceux-ci dans les dernières années de la dictature de Ceaușescu.

Après une courte espérance que les relations entre les deux pays voisins deviendraient plus calmes après 1989, sont survenu les événements de Târgu Mureș de 1990 qui ont à nouveau troublé les rapports entre les deux peuples. Mais Nouzille considère que dans les deux dernières années la situation s'est améliorée et estime que la Roumanie ne deviendra pas la deuxième Yougoslavie. Parmi les mesures prise par la Roumanie pour apaiser le conflit remarquées et soulignées par l'auteur, est la création du Conseil national des minorités laquelle l'U.D.M.R. a répondu par la marginalisation de l'aile radicale de

Lászlo Tökes, qui a revendiqué l'autonomie territoriale pour 1,6 million d'individus (7,1% d'une population qui compte 22.700.000 habitants).

Quelques dirigeants de l'U.D.M.R. ont reconnu que l'enseignement en hongrois s'est beaucoup amélioré. Le rapport du Groupe libéral démocrate et réformateur du Conseil de l'Europe a constaté que la Roumanie a fait beaucoup pour ses minorités. Les Hongrois sont représentés au Parlement par douze sénateurs et vingt-sept députés. Le rapport a constaté aussi que les revendications des Hongrois et des autres minorités ne sont pas toujours justifiées.

L'admission de la Roumanie au sein du Conseil des Ministres par le Conseil de l'Europe – affirme Nouzille – en 1993 a réduit la tension entre la Roumanie et la Hongrie et a entraîné un apaisement de la politique des révisionnistes Hongrois qui veulent provoquer un conflit de guerre dans la région.

L'auteur reconnaît que le but de l'ouvrage est de réaffirmer solennellement l'inviolabilité des „frontières des Etats européens dans le respect du droit raisonnable des minorités“. C'est pour cette raison que nous estimons nous-même le livre *La Transylvanie. Terre de contacts et de conflits* – comme un oeuvre très importante et très actuelle qui propose une ambiance pacifique et amiable pour bâtir l'Europe Nouvelle de nos temps et de ceux qui viennent.

BCU Cluj / Central University Library Cluj *Dumitru Suciu*

Ars Transilvaniae, III, 1993

In the context of Romanian publishing of the last four years (which sometimes has risked inflation), cultural and scholarly publications experienced a special kind of dynamics, against the general background leading to the revival of those fields affected by the demolishing zeal of the preceding period. This context made it possible to republish old titles as well as to bring out new ones, all trying to draw the experts' attention through the quality of their scientific approach, not just by filling gaps.

Ars Transilvaniae, the review of the Institute of Archaeology and Art History in Cluj is, in this respect, such a successful attempt. As a new publication, it meets the need for dialogue of the specialists in the art of the Middle Ages and the beginning of modern times. The review asserts itself through the high quality of the contributions and of the editorial staff. They

generally opt for issues centered on a given subject, which is dealt with at a high scientific level (favoured by its annual publication too).

This is also the case of the last issue (III, 1993), dealing with Mediaeval Moldavian art, Romanian and European baroque, and including a rich *Fontes* section.

Some of the most substantial studies of the volume dwell upon the painting originating in the 16th century Moldavian School. We find here a convincing plea for the virtues of art history in reconstructing a past world, when its specific tools are paralleled by the quality of interpretations. This assertion is substantiated by Maria Ileana Sabados who, by comparatively studying iconography and the style of the 16th century Moldavian painting (frescoes, paintings on wood, miniatures), comes to the conclusion that there is a unity in their conception and manifestation. Constanța Costea, in an attempt at reconstructing the atmosphere at the monastery of Sucevița during the reign of the Movilă family, depicts an orientation with learned origins in the paintings there, while Marius Porumb makes the approach complete by identifying – due to the presence in Transylvania of icons belonging to the same school – cultural and religious links between the Romanians on both sides of the Carpathians.

The studies dealing with the period between the 17th and the 18th century center on cultural interferences. We should mention in this respect those signed by Peter Volk and Nicolae Sabău, in which aspects of Western and Central European (Bavarian and Transylvanian) Baroque are contrasted. The results of these investigations make the latter say (referring to 18th century Transylvania) that it was “an epoch which, at least from the point of view of fine arts, can be related to Europe’s modern history”.

Also interesting is an article by Olimpia Tudoran, who tries to provide a “legitimate paternity” to four paintings in the Brukenthal collection (Sibiu) which she assigns to Johan Carl Loth nicknamed Carlotto, an artist who was born in Munich and worked in Venice in the middle of the 17th century.

Special mention should be made of the contributors to the *Fontes* section, who exemplarily illustrate the value of the historian’s work in discovering new information: Adrian Andrei Rusu with contributions referring to the Franciscan monastery in Hațeg, Kovács András dealing with Magna Curia from Deva, Susana Andea and Avram Andea with new data on the churches in Geoagiu de Sus, and Stelian Mândruț with documents on the university career of Coriolan Petran in Vienna.

Finally, we should mention the exceptional graphic quality of *Ars Transilvaniae* (in fact essential for an art history publication), which rounds off the qualities that make it a remarkable publication.

Maria Ghitta

Peter Svork, Zrod Republiky (Dobové dokumenty spomeinky a stanoviská 1914–1918)/ The Birth of the Republic. Documents of the Time and Points of View 1914–1918, Kosice, "Slovo", 1991, 135 pages.

In the present international context of changing European political geography, a new historiographical orientation takes shape, which is interested in the inner mechanism of state formation (on the background of the events in 1918) and disintegration (following the political changes of 1989). The most significant examples are the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and Czecho-Slovakia.

It is the events of 1918 that the Slovak historian Peter Svork deals with in his book *The Birth of the Republic*, that was conceived and written as a collection of documents and testimonies contemporary with the event. The book opens with a *Preface* (pp.7–11) in which the author provides a brief history of the Czecho-Slovakian political relationships since World War I: common students' meetings, cultural societies, national meetings and congresses, co-operations within the Austro-Hungarian parliamentary system, and so on. The different state variants suggested by Czech and Slovakian politicians on the eve of the breaking up of the Austro-Hungarian Empire are interesting: an Austro-Hungarian Slavic federal monarchy, a Czech kingdom dependent on the Czarist Empire (the group of the Czech lawyer and journalist Karel Kramer), a Polish-Slovakian state (the Slovakian emigrants in the U.S.A.). However, the most realistic solution won, i.e. the Czecho-Slovakian federal republic, a choice supported by the great artisans of Czecho-Slovakia in 1918: T. G. Masaryk, M.R. Stefanik and Ed. Benes.

In fact, the value of the book lies in the its documentary part, *Documents . Memories and Points of View* (pp.13–130), where 30 documents are included, beginning with T. G. Masaryk, *The World Revolution (A Chronological Review of the International Recognition of the Czecho-Slovakian Revolution)* and K. Sodola, *Journal I*, and ending with I. Gessay, *Our American Agreement* and T. G. Masaryk, *On the Founding of Our Republic*. All documents are accompanied by notes on various political personalities and historical events. The volume also has a *selective bibliography* (pp.131–132)

including mainly the inter-war editions whence Peter Svork selected the 30 documents.

The book reveals that the emigrants to the U.S.A., France, England and, last but not least, Russia played a very important part in the founding of the Czecho-Slovakian state. In each of these countries, Czech and Slovakian National Committees existed, and they helped in creating a favourable atmosphere regarding the Czecho-Slovakian cause by popularizing it (among the political factors and public opinion) in the respective countries. The resolutions and statements of these national committees are also included in professor Peter Svork's volume.

The emigrants in Russia are a special case, 200,000 Czech and Slovaks living there as political refugees and deserters from the Austro-Hungarian army. Under the circumstances of a pan-slavism encouraged also by the Czarist officials, the National Czecho-Slovakian Council gained great importance. Due to the victory of the Bolshevik revolution and the political chaos that followed, the group of Czechs and Slovaks were no longer given importance in Russia, mainly as the Soviets had signed a separate peace with the Central Powers.

Another important element in the genesis of the Czecho-Slovakian state was the existence in the countries of the Entente of powerful detachments of Czech and Slovakian volunteers, ready to fight against the Austro-Hungarian and German armies. The detachments (several regiments!) consisted of immigrants (mostly from the U.S. and France) and deserters from the Austro-Hungarian army (mainly in Russia and Italy). The diplomatic efforts of the Czech and Slovakian politicians around the Allied governments in order to get recognition for these armed forces are also revealed by documents present in the collection edited by Peter Svork.

Special emphasis is laid on T. G. Masaryk (the first president of the Czecho-Slovakian Republic), the author of a chronological account of the international recognition of the Czecho-Slovakian movement for independence, and of an essay on the name of the future state. Along the same line, *Slovakia's Proclamation of Independence from Hungary. The Proclamation of Independence of the [Czecho-Slovakian] National Committee. The Proclamation of the Slovakian Nation*, all issued in October 1918 are also included, and so are the famous *14 Issues* presented by the American president T. W. Wilson to the U. S. Congress in January 1918.

Peter Svork's book includes, in fact, the most important documents of the Czecho-Slovakian movement for independence, of the proclamation, and of the efforts to get international recognition. One can therefore notice easily common

elements which are characteristic for the similar movement that took place in the Romanian geopolitical area, that resulted in the formation of the Romanian unitary state (the activity of the Romanian emigrants, the parliamentary movement of the Romanian Transylvanians in Budapest, the intense local national activity in Transylvania, the organizing of Romanian volunteer detachments abroad etc).

Radu Mârza

***Istoria României. Pagini Transilvane.* Coordinated by Dan Berindei, Cluj-Napoca, 1994, 383 p.**

Quite significantly entitled *Istoria României. Pagini Transilvane*, the volume published in Cluj under the aegis of the Center for Transylvanian Studies and the Romanian Cultural Foundation includes 15 studies on various aspects of Transylvanian history. Irrespective of the historical epoch they depict, the authors have tried - quite successfully, I should say - to reveal the ethnic, intellectual and cultural affiliation of Transylvania to the Romanian space, as well as the vicissitudes Transylvanian Romanians have always had to face until international circumstances allowed them to achieve the Great Union.

In his study, "Observații privitoare la structura etnică și confesională a Ungariei și Transilvaniei medievale/Observations on the Ethnic and Religious Structure of Mediaeval Hungary and Transylvania", Ioan Aurel Pop makes an analysis of the ethnic and religious structure of Hungary and Transylvania in the 9th-14th centuries, and recalls the main stages in the penetration of Romanian territories by the Magyars and by Catholicism. Transylvania is, even at this early stage, a most interesting example of civilisations overlapping, the attempts of the hegemonic stratum to Magyarize and Catholicize the Orthodox Romanians coming up against the stubborn resistance of the latter, who also rose to defend their own institutions and traditional values. In the second study of the volume, also inscribed within the co-ordinates of the Middle Ages, professor N. Edroiu depicts the political, social and cultural importance of the Transylvanian estates of the Wallachian and Moldavian princes.

In the context of the common efforts of the three Romanian principalities during the anti-Ottoman crusades, Wallachian and Moldavian princes owned several estates in Transylvania for four centuries. They were given by the

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