

# TRANSYLVANIAN REVIEW

494956

Volume X, No. 3, Autumn, 2001



Romanian  
Cultural  
Foundation

Center for  
Transylvanian  
Studies

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# TRANSYLVANIAN REVIEW / REVUE DE TRANSYLVANIE

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Volume X  
No. 3  
Autumn, 2001

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## Transylvanian Review

continues the tradition of  
**Revue de Transylvanie**, founded  
by Silviu Dragomir, which was  
published in Cluj and then in Sibiu  
between 1934-1944.

**Transylvanian Review** is  
published 4 times a year by the  
**Center for Transylvanian Studies**  
and the **Romanian Cultural**  
**Foundation**.

Subscription rates for 1 year,  
4 issues, are (outside Romania):  
• individuals US\$ 50  
• institutions US\$ 60

Correspondence, manuscripts  
and books should be sent to:

**Transylvanian Review**  
**Centrul de Studii Transilvane**  
(Center for Transylvanian Studies)  
2, Năsăud st.  
3400, Cluj-Napoca  
Romania  
OP 1, POB 349

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## Desktop Publishing

Adrian Moldovanu

ISSN 1221-1249

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## P A R A D I G M S

# Aspects Regarding the Status of the Woman in the Transylvanian Romanian Village during the Modern Times

SORINA PAULA  
BOLOVAN

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*Girl, married woman,  
widow or divorcée, the  
“village woman” had to  
restrict her life to what the  
community and the family  
decided, quite often lacking  
the possibility to make her  
own choice, to have an  
initiative.*

---

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din Transilvania...” (The Family in the Romanian  
Village of Transylvania...), 1999.

**I**n the time of primitive caves, the male was led by primary drives, which he satisfied by possessing the woman. The creature with heavy bosom and large hips, weaker than her master, hindered in her walk by the fruit she was carrying or the burden of her own milk, used to live under man's protection. She was subordinated but did not suffer from this slavery, because man, like all the other animals, did not maltreat his woman, with the exception of ritualistic violence, when he kidnapped her. Certainly, a higher form of civilization was necessary for the woman to be beaten by her man. On such occasions, they say it's back to nature, but the tiger is not cruel to the female tiger, nor the lion to the female lion, nor the cock to the hen, and it is the cat in love that scratches the tomcat's nose<sup>1</sup>.

Beautiful or ugly, tall or short, thin or fat, queen or slave, goddess or witch, virgin or whore, woman has been the reason to be of all the legislators and moralists who have organized our society. In the course of time, they have taken great pains to carefully mould the status of the woman,



to set the community's norms of living according to what and how the woman should be. Fear or prudence? At what moment in time did man succeed to stand out and become the "supreme being" that would govern the world? What is that feminine mystery they are all afraid of and in the presence of which they all show caution? These are questions the poets, philosophers, historians, legislators and moralists have tried to answer since antiquity. It is certain that in most religions and civilizations, the world's evil was projected onto the human being, onto the woman, to be more precise. Pandora and Eve are the best known representations of supreme guilt, the best known symbols of evil spreading onto the earth. The masculine attitude towards the woman has always been ambivalent: woman, the embodiment of beauty but also of evil, of pleasure but also of sin. She stirred reactions ranging from ecstasy to agony. Far from solving the question of woman, of what she stands for, I think that the woman's attributes have to do with the faulty communication between the two. For instance, the dog and the cat are considered irreconcilable enemies, but their hostile reactions are the result of their different perceptions of reality. The cat wags her tail when angry, while the dog does the same when happy. They cannot get closer because each of them relates to his/her own manifestation. What does a cat feel when a dog's head turns towards her vigorously wagging his tail? What does the dog understand when the cat "slaps" his muzzle with her claws sticking out? Equally unanswered remain the questions regarding the relation between man and woman. Or they can be answered, but this usually tilts the scales on one side or the other.

As we can see, the topic invites to polemic, but my intention is not to get lost in theoretical arguments on the status of the woman in society. In the following I will try to sketch the picture of the woman in the Transylvanian Romanian village in the second half of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th. The period spans between two major events with deep implications on society: the Revolution of 1848 and World War I. These events brought about significant changes on an economic, social, cultural, and legal level, changes that also affected the individual and his daily life. My excursion is based on the research I have carried out these past several years. I have gathered the data from the parish records of births, deaths and marriages, certificates of dispensation, divorce papers, lay and ecclesiastic legislation.

As mediator between man and the divine power, the Church regulated the fundamental moments in man's life: birth, marriage, and death. Without betraying the Christian basis, the dogmas and canons of the various Churches have been harmonized with the momentary interests of the lay power. The State-Church union thus appeared, a "dualism" that endured in the course of centuries, not without dissensions or certain changes in terms of interference in the individual's life<sup>2</sup>. The state recognized the right of the Church to conclude and validate marriages, separations in terms of bed and meals, divorces according to the canon of every faith. The lay power reserved the right to have control over the civil and military status of the individual, the relations between spouses, heritage, guardianship, child and wife support, etc.<sup>3</sup> A review of the lay and religious legislation on marriage in effect with the Transylvanian Romanians in the second half of the 19th century allows us to draw several conclusions regarding the status of the woman as devised by the legislators of the time. Contracting a valid mar-

riage implied meeting certain conditions imposed by the lay and ecclesiastic legislation. First of all, the youth had to have the minimum age required for marriages. A dispensation could be obtained, but boys had to be over 14 and girls over 12. According to the General Civil Code, men were of age at 24 and women when they got married. The Code also suggested the optimum marriage age: 18 for men and 16 for women<sup>4</sup>. From the very beginning, girls were granted a not-at-all-easy status, and it is difficult to accept that a 12-year-old girl was mature enough from a psychological point of view to assume the responsibilities of a family, no matter how physically fit she may have been. Among the hundreds underage dispensations I have studied, most of them were for girls, and very few for boys. There is another aspect that is very difficult to check and analyze, but which seems to be confirmed by the data I have come across so far. Even if a girl concluded the marriage at 14, 15 or 16, from the text of the dispensation it transpires that she had been “living” with her future husband for some time. We can draw the conclusion that girls were forced to live with their future husbands until the age when a dispensation could not be refused by the ecclesiastic authorities. For instance, the underage dispensation request for Maria Budu of Giulești, aged 15, mentioned that *“the youths have had a love relation for two years.”*<sup>5</sup> Sometimes, this cohabitation could result in children. In this case, the dispensation was granted more easily. Such was the case of Vasilică Covalciucu, aged 17, and Maria Covalciucu of Lelești, who requested an underage dispensation for the bride and mentioned that she had already given birth to a “baby girl” at the Cluj hospital<sup>6</sup>. The religious authorities used to try to postpone the marriage when underage youth were involved, as revealed by the documents accompanying the underage dispensation requests. First, a medical certificate was needed to attest that the person was physically fit, then the parent’s approval, and that of the local priest who had to confirm that the bridegroom or the bride was prepared “morally” to meet the responsibilities of married life. Even when all the documents were present, the answers to the requests were accompanied by recommendations such as:

*“the priest should try to delay this marriage because the girl is too young to cope with the hardships of married life, but if unsuccessful, then the requested dispense should be granted.”*<sup>7</sup>

Despite all these efforts to postpone marriages when the girl was still underage, the girls’ average marriage age is below that of the boys. For instance: between 1850-1914, in the village of Ardeova, the boys’ average age on the first marriage was 24.3, and the girls’, 19.2; in Așchileul Mic, the average age for boys was 25.1, and for girls, 19.8; in Izvorul Crișului (Hungarian Reformed Parish), the average age for boys was 24.9, and for women, 20.6, etc. The fact that women married much younger was also a consequence of the local mentalities and traditions and even of the pressure put by the families. The idea that the young woman reach a certain age brings fear in the family that she will remain unmarried. The underage dispensation request for Ioana Brebanu of Chiuzbaia (who was not yet 16) says:

*“the groom is quite old and poor, and so is the bride, and this is why they cannot hope to marry anyone else.”*<sup>8</sup>

The examples could go on and on. The preconceived ideas of the community regarding the young women's age on the first marriage, the idea that a woman was too "old" to marry at 18, had deep consequences on the destiny of girls who had to put up with the unjust humiliations of the community. Woman was in the middle of life's hardships from a very young age: she kept the house, raised the children and tended the older members of the family. The man who was away working in the field all day long did not understand her physical and mental effort, and considered it only natural. Sometimes, when the parents were still strong, the young wife would go to work in the field too. Even if she was pregnant or still nursing her baby, she worked side by side with the men of the family in the field. When they returned home, she would take over some of the house's chores and help her mother or mother-in-law at home. The consequences of such an effort did not wait to show: miscarriages, dead infants, illnesses and even the death of the woman who had been subjected to efforts beyond her physical strength. Responsibilities were not shared equally; when returning from the field, the man would stop at the local pub, but the woman could not afford such a "pastime", except if she neglected her chores.

Remarriages were accepted by the Orthodox and the Greek-Catholic Churches only under certain conditions. Widowers could remarry after a certain period of praying and fasting. Widows could remarry after "*a year of mourning*" and had to organize a requiem in order to be able to remarry. The woman could remarry earlier than a year only if she gave birth several months after the husband's death<sup>9</sup>. Remarriage was a phenomenon with deep social implications. It was influenced by the death rate, the mentality of the time, the local traditions, the biological particularities and the religious canons. In rural areas, men used to remarry sooner than women (widows or divorced). For instance, in the second half of the 19th century, 41 widowers aged 31-40 remarried in Izvorul Crișului, as compared to a much smaller number of widows. Similarly, in Așchileul Mic only 11 widows aged 31-40 remarried as compared to 18 remarried widowers<sup>10</sup>. Another important aspect gives us an idea of the widow's status within the community. It is the aspect of the search for a new partner, especially in the case of men, from among unmarried persons. Widowers preferred to remarry young unmarried women because the latter had no obligations to their children or the late husband's relatives, and were stronger and therefore could assume the responsibilities of the new home. In Așchileul Mic and Izvorul Crișului, the number of widowers who remarried unmarried women was larger than that of the women who took unmarried partners (11-4, 25-16, 53-16)<sup>11</sup>. It was more difficult for a widow to find an unmarried partner, and the exceptions I have identified make me believe that they had a material motivation. On 11 November 1872, Dănilă Drăgan of Monor, aged 28, married Anisia Drăgan, aged 48, one of the richest women in the village. In February 1861, Grigore Barna, 21, married Anuca Puiu of Monor, 34, a rich woman with a high standing within the community<sup>12</sup>. The good material situation of these widows attracted not so much the young men, but their families, which certainly were after the consolidation of their social and material standing within the village. The remarriage of widows and widowers also brought the problems related to the responsibilities to the family of the deceased, as these were links that were not buried with the dead. For this reason, such remarriages were avoided, and unmarried, obligation-free

persons were preferred. Widows were also avoided also because of their age; physically changed by life's hardships, they were no longer attractive to men, who preferred the good looks of younger women. The average age of the remarried individuals in Ardeova between 1882-1911 was 37.9 for men and 34.8 for women. In Așchileul Mic, between 1851-1914, the average age was 38.1 for men and 32.6 for women<sup>13</sup>. In Monor, between 1850-1900, it was 36.5 for men and 30.2 for women<sup>14</sup>. All rules have their exceptions, but they do not change the general picture. An exception is the case of the widow Pelaghia Corojan of Fodora, aged 60, who requested a dispensation in 1860 to remarry for the 5th time, because she was poor and her married daughters could not look after her. As the church forbade a fourth marriage and this was a dispensation request for the fifth, an investigation was made which revealed that the widow was in fact 70 and her daughters did not refuse to look after her. Efforts were made to prevent the marriage, but finally the dispensation was granted because they could not persuade the woman to give up the thought of getting married<sup>15</sup>. As could be clearly seen, the investigated rural communities were rather tolerant with regard to men's remarriages, but showed serious reserve when it came to women's remarriage. The written and the unwritten laws, the legislators and the moralists reserved for the woman or widow a much harsher, unforgiving and closely controlled status. If in India the wife used to be burnt alive on the funeral pyre with her dead husband, in the Transylvanian rural communities during the modern times, the woman's right to life was "buried" with the deceased husband. The widow had to fight the community, her and her husband's family in order to be able to remarry. Finding a new partner was made difficult by preconceived ideas, the family's attitude, and her own material and biological situation. The widowed woman remained isolated, marginalized by the community, harshly sanctioned if she did not live in mourning for the departed one, suspected that she wanted to waste the wealth gathered by her late husband and his family. Even after his death, the man still remained the supreme master. He was the one who set the rules for him and his wife, and those left behind had to defend what the male super-ego had established.

An analysis of the death rate according to gender revealed that the number of deceased men was higher than that of women in all 3 investigated villages: Ardeova, Așchileul Mic and Izvorul Crișului. However, there aren't great differences between genders in terms of death rate, which proves that the hardships of life took a heavy toll on men and women alike. There are nevertheless slightly higher female death values in the 16-60 age group: in Ardeova, between 1851-1914, 26% men as compared to 30.3% women; in Așchileul Mic, between 1851-1897, 31.7% men as compared to 36.9% women. Unlike men, women were also exposed to the complications that appear during birth or after. Exhausted physically and mentally during pregnancy, not spared at all, continuing to work hard at home or in the field, birth often proved fatal for women.

The death rate structure according to age groups confirms in these investigated villages too one of the great problems of traditional societies: the high child death rate (27.6% in Ardeova, 23.8% in Așchileul Mic, and 24.1% in Izvorul Crișului). What is worse is that almost 15% of the newborns never reached the age of 1<sup>16</sup>. The child's survival till one and after that depended to a great extent on the conditions in which the

mother lived, on her nourishment and health, care and hygiene, her genetic heritage. Once in this world, the infant needed special care, which they usually did not get. The mother, more or less restored, was supposed to take her place again within the family, resuming her daily chores, and being forced to neglect her child<sup>17</sup>. The objective or subjective circumstances that led to the child's death are blamed on the mother, of course. She is the target of all reproaches, silent or voiced, which adds one more sorrow to her burden of having to bury the child she gave birth to.

Working day and night to keep the house and raise the children, the woman did not have many moments of joy, peace or understanding. And if the ordeal of a day ended with a beating given by the drunk husband who had just returned from the local pub, this made her life all pain and fear. This would sometimes make her try to end such a marriage. The divorce, another aspect of the family life cycle, did not avoid the Transylvanian Romanian village either. The solution of the divorce was not easily accepted by the family or the community, and the status of divorced marginalized the individual. More often than not, a couple would put up with an unhappy life until their death for fear of "*what the village would say*." Even if the community knew about the quarrels, the beatings, the drunkenness, they tolerated them in order to avoid "*the shame of divorce*." However, the censorship of the community could not change one's mind, and if one decided to put an end to marriage it was because the end of pain was more important than a place in the community. It was easier to put up with shame in the face of the village than with the husband's beating!<sup>18</sup>

Divorces were requested by men and women alike, in somehow similar proportions. For instance, in 1875, of all 147 divorce requests registered with the Marital Tribunal of the Orthodox Metropolitan Bishopric in Sibiu, 67 (45.7%) were made by women and 80 (54.3%) by men; in 1879, 145 applications were recorded, out of which 77 (53.2%) were made by women and 68 (46.8%) by men; in 1880, out of 149 divorce applications, 76 (51.9%) were made by women and 73 (48.1%) by men<sup>19</sup>. Unhappy marriages were difficult to endure both by women and by men. Failures, dissatisfaction, lack of love, especially if the marriage was imposed, influenced the couple's life in a negative way. The peace of the home, the cooperation between the two partners in overcoming the difficulties turned into quarrels, drunkenness, verbal violence, etc. A gender analysis of the divorce applications revealed a balanced distribution between women and men. This represents a particularity of the Romanian society, because, for instance, in France divorce at that time had become a feminine institution: women represented more than 86%, sometimes up to 93% of the applicants<sup>20</sup>. The small number of divorce applications made by women could be explained by the community's attitude towards the woman in general and the divorced or widowed woman, in particular. The community marginalized the divorced woman whether she was guilty or not, and did not encourage this separation. On the other hand, the education girls received in the family played an important role: the woman had to be subdued, patient, had to obey her husband and follow him in whatever he did, good or bad. The man's attitude towards the woman was based on the saying "*beating is taken from heaven*." And what kind of man is he who does not beat his wife? A home where the woman is not given a thrashing is a home where the hen is singing, not the rooster. The woman needed much courage to get away from her status and face her husband, family and community.

Divorce was difficult to obtain. Numerous forms had to be filled in and an endless series of formalities had to be fulfilled until the trial began. The divorce reasons had to be solid, because they were investigated<sup>21</sup>. The most frequent motives that led to the separation of married couples were: beating, drunkenness, adultery, *“hatred and disgust,”* In most divorce applications, apart from one motive or another, there was also *“irrepressible and puzzled hatred and disgust.”* As hatred and disgust were the applicant’s feelings, they could not be considered motives for divorce. But these feelings are of paramount importance. Marriage is and must be based on love, and if love disappears and is replaced by hatred and disgust, then the marriage is not longer valid. This is why when a marriage was concluded, love between the two youths was invoked, and when people divorced, they invoked the feelings of hatred and disgust. There can be no relationship between spouses without love. There were situations when *“puzzled hatred and disgust”* were the only motive for divorce. Ana Bădilă of Avrîg married Zoil Popențiu in January 1871, then requested a divorce on 30 June 1871 for the above-mentioned reasons. Ana was forced to marry a man whom she had loathed since childhood.

*“She was advised by priests, who explained to her the sacredness of marriage, but everything to no avail; when advice was not enough, she was scolded and even put in chains and under arrest, but nothing could change her mind (‘better dead than alive with him’).”<sup>22</sup>*

She was granted the divorce on account that she had been forced to conclude this marriage. But few women had Ana’s courage to struggle against the community and the family. Many others endured an unhappy marriage for years on end before they took this decisive step, or suffered this ordeal until death. Iuliana Tecar of Nicula requested a divorce from her husband after 30 years of marriage<sup>23</sup>. The woman describes her life as follows:

*“At the beginning of our marriage we lived in harmony, but after many years, he started calling me names, and as he made no money from selling icons and funeral banners, I had to sell what my parents left me... He owes the bank 170 florins, which I had to start repaying by working for them as help, but when he heard that I was working he said that if anyone hires me he would set his house on fire... he beat me, he threatened he would beat me so hard that I won’t even be able to work to feed myself.”*

After 30 years of marriage, the woman, *“feeling abused”*, physically and mentally exhausted from her efforts to tend the house, their homestead and the savings of a lifetime, decided to put an end to her marriage. More than certain, she wanted to part with the one who wasted her savings, the one she sacrificed herself for and who gave her in return only beatings and insults.

Man or woman, when destined for an unhappy fate, one had nothing to lose and sometimes decided to defy their family, community, tradition and morals. The divorce was the way in which the individuals tried to free themselves from life’s suffering. It was an extreme solution determined by the despair of living together without love, understanding, inner peace. The prisoners of traditions and social circumstances, both the

woman and the man aspire to break from any constraint imposed from the outside, no matter the consequences.

In my brief presentation I have tried to point out several aspects of the life and status of the woman in the Transylvanian Romanian village of two centuries ago, without attempting to give a perfect, complete and definite picture of the phenomenon. The entire research carried out so far allows me to sketch and pinpoint a few aspects having to do with the status of the woman. Girl, married woman, widow or divorcee, the “village woman” had to restrict her life to what the community and the family decided, quite often lacking the possibility to make her own choice, to have an initiative. Her problems, needs and feelings had very little importance and were not taken into consideration. She, the woman, was supposed to be healthy, a little beautiful, hardworking, obedient, silent, and, not lastly, wealthy. A fragile, delicate creature – the so-called “fair sex” – the woman was destined for a hard life, in which the daily physical and mental effort was far beyond the limits of her fragility.



## Notes

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<sup>1</sup> MARCELLE TINAYRE, *Istoria iubirii*, Casa de Editură și Presă “Viața Românească”, 1992, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> SORINA PAULA BOLOVAN, *Familia în satul românesc din Transilvania. A doua jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea și începutul secolului XX*, Cluj-Napoca, 1999, p. 63.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 76.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 81, cf. Paragraph 17, Title 1 “On Marriage”, from “The Law of Catholic Marriages in the Austrian Empire”, cf. *Buletinul guvernului provincial pentru Marele Principat Transilvania*, 1856, p. 522; Andrei Șaguna said that “the good agreement should be achieved as follows: the girls, at the age prescribed by the imperial law” (22 for men, 15 for women), cf. ANDREI ȘAGUNA, *Cunoștințe folositoare despre treburile căsătoriei spre folosul preoșimii și al scaunelor protopopești*, Sibiu, 1854, p. 22.

<sup>5</sup> National Archives, Cluj County Branch, *Fond EGC Cluj-Gherla*, doc. 1850/22 October 1860 (hereafter NACCB, *Fond EGC Cluj-Gherla*).

<sup>6</sup> *Ibidem*, doc. 5303/7 June 1900.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibidem*, doc. 1855/24 February 1900.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibidem*, doc. 8768/24 September 1900.

<sup>9</sup> SORINA PAULA BOLOVAN, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 114.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>12</sup> EMILIA CISMAȘ, *Localitatea Monor în a doua jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea. Monografie demografică*, graduation paper, Cluj-Napoca, 1997, p. 52 sqq.

<sup>13</sup> SORINA PAULA BOLOVAN, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

<sup>14</sup> EMILIA CISMAȘ, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

<sup>15</sup> SORINA PAULA BOLOVAN, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 131 sq.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibidem*; the phenomenon is not restricted to the Romanian area; it is a general European one: “the exhaustion of the women who were forced to work hard in the field leads both to a diminishing of procreation, and to child death due to the slowing down of breast feeding or mothers’ carelessness”, in PIERRE CHAUNU, *Civilizația Europei în secolul luminilor*, vol. I, București, 1986, p. 172.

<sup>18</sup> SORINA PAULA BOLOVAN, *op. cit.*, p. 168.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>20</sup> M. PERROT, *Drame și conflicte familiale*, in *Istoria vieții private*, coord. by PH. ARIÈS, G. DUBY, vol. VII, București, 1997, p. 254.

<sup>21</sup> See SORINA PAULA BOLOVAN, *op. cit.*, Chapter V, *Familia și relațiile matrimoniale în satul românesc transilvănean în a doua jumătate a sec. al XIX-lea*, pp. 145-196.

<sup>22</sup> ANTONIE PLĂMĂDEALĂ, *Din vremea lui Șaguna. Însemnări după documente inedite privitoare la istoria mentalităților și a vieții culturale și bisericești din Transilvania*, in *Mitropolia Ardealului*, 31, 1986, no. 1, p. 97.

<sup>23</sup> NACCB Cluj, *Fond EGC Cluj-Gherla*, doc. 3683/29 April 1900; 4373/19 May 1900.



# Le mouvement féministe en Transylvanie dans la période de l'entre-deux-guerres

GHIZELA COSMA

---

*Le féminisme maternel promu en Transylvanie eut la tendance de préserver son identité. C'était un féminisme élitaire, dont l'idéologie pouvait se retrouver dans les articles de presse ou dans les discours de ses leaders, qui s'exprimèrent pratiquement dans les actions promues par les structures de l'Union des femmes roumaines.*

---

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A partir de la seconde moitié du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, les femmes commencèrent à manifester de plus en plus leur présence dans la vie de la société roumaine transylvaine. Sans être étrangère au courant européen qui renversait les mentalités traditionnelles relatives au rôle et à la place de la femme en société, cette tentative d'activer les femmes roumaines de Transylvanie fut marquée par les circonstances spécifiques de son apparition. Elle se refléta à long terme au niveau de l'idéologie féministe cristallisée dans cet espace. Cette étude se propose donc non seulement de présenter quelques aspects concernant l'organisation et l'idéologie du mouvement féministe en Transylvanie de l'entre-deux-guerres, mais aussi de mettre en évidence ses éléments spécifiques liés à l'expérience de l'avant-guerre.

Analysant l'évolution de l'idéologie féministe en Transylvanie, à partir de la seconde moitié du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle jusqu'au déclenchement de la Première Guerre mondiale, Simona Ştîger délimitait deux étapes dans l'affirmation d'une idéologie spécifique féministe, qui correspondaient au développement de la communauté roumaine du point de vue culturel et des mentalités. L'idée relative à l'éducation complexe de la femme constitua la première hypostase de l'idéolo-

gie féministe et elle fut assumée par les premières sociétés des femmes de Transylvanie, à partir de la *Reuniunea Femeilor Române* (Réunion des femmes roumaines), fondée à Braşov en 1850. Ainsi, le premier objectif formulé et réalisé par le mouvement féministe en Transylvanie fut l'organisation d'écoles pour les filles, domaine qui enregistra des progrès remarquables avant la fin du siècle<sup>1</sup>. Une deuxième étape dans l'évolution de l'idéologie féministe, localisée chronologiquement dans la dernière décennie du XIXe siècle et au début du XXe siècle, se caractérisa par un esprit plus dynamique, par des mutations liées aux transformations ayant eu lieu dans la pensée socio-politique roumaine et dans l'idéologie nationale. Le mouvement national incorpora la problématique féministe et l'idéologie du féminisme reconsidéra ses thèmes et son orientation générale. On remarque un engagement plus intense de l'activisme féministe dans la vie socio-politique et principalement dans le mouvement national. La problématique de l'émancipation de la femme acquit un fort caractère national, son idéologie servant directement le mouvement national, ce qui plaça sur un plan secondaire les idées relatives à l'émancipation sociale et politique de la femme, idées affirmées ailleurs par le mouvement féministe. En Transylvanie, l'idéologie féministe conditionnait l'émancipation de la femme de l'émancipation préalable de la nation, à laquelle le mouvement féministe était appelé à contribuer<sup>2</sup>.

Les sociétés des femmes constituèrent principalement le cadre d'organisation de l'activité des femmes qui, tout en promouvant les occupations patriarcales féminines et les valeurs traditionnelles roumaines, appuyaient le développement de l'enseignement national et subordonnaient leurs objectifs à ceux du mouvement national. Ainsi, l'activité des femmes dans des buts philanthropiques, éducatifs ou culturels, préserva en permanence sa dimension nationale dominante. Ce n'est pas par hasard que les animatrices de ces démarches furent principalement les épouses et les filles des personnalités qui s'étaient engagées dans le mouvement national<sup>3</sup>.

Après la guerre, nombre de ces femmes continuèrent leur activité, valorisant la force, l'autorité et le prestige gagnés dans la période antérieure. L'ancienne génération avait mis son empreinte sur le mouvement féministe de Transylvanie. Viora Ciordaş<sup>4</sup>, Elena Pop Hossu-Longin<sup>5</sup>, Catinca Bârseanu<sup>6</sup> etc. continuèrent à animer l'activité des réunions des femmes, jouissant d'une grande considération. Un autre personnage ayant eu une grande autorité a été Maria Baiulescu<sup>7</sup>. Dans sa qualité de présidente de la Réunion des femmes roumaines de Braşov, elle initia en 1911 la fédération des associations féministes de Transylvanie et la formation de la *Uniunea Generală a Femeilor Române din Transilvania şi Ungaria* (L'Union générale des femmes roumaines de Transylvanie et de Hongrie). En tant que présidente de la Réunion de Braşov (jusqu'en 1935 comme présidente active et par la suite comme présidente d'honneur) et de l'Union des femmes roumaines<sup>8</sup>, elle plaida pour la continuité, liant le mouvement féministe de Transylvanie à la tradition de l'avant-guerre<sup>9</sup>.

Pendant les premières années de l'après-guerre, on enregistra quelques tendances intégratives au niveau des différentes sociétés des femmes qui avaient leurs sièges centraux dans l'Ancien Royaume, suite à la création de plusieurs filiales en Transylvanie. Ainsi, la *Societatea pentru Ocrotirea Orfanilor de Război* (Société pour la protection des orphelins de guerre), fondée à Jassy par Olga Sturdza, constitua des comités régionaux à Sibiu, ensuite à Cluj, et des comités départementaux et communaux dans toute la Tran-

sylvanie. En 1920, cette société avait déjà des filiales dans tout le pays et l'Etat commença à subventionner son activité<sup>10</sup>. D'autres démarches ne jouirent pas d'un succès similaire. Une action d'ampleur envisagée par les féministes de l'Ancien Royaume fut la création de la *Asociația Cercurilor de Gospodine* (Association des cercles des bonnes ménagères). Valentina Focșa proposa aux féministes de Jassy, et par la suite à celles de Bucarest, un projet et un programme d'action, ce qui eut pour résultat la création à Bucarest, le 3 avril 1920, d'un comité d'initiative présidé par Simona Lahovary, ayant Valentina Focșa comme secrétaire. Cette association luttait pour l'épanouissement de la femme en tant que femme, mère et ménagère. Elle eut 75 filiales, fondées principalement de 1923 à 1926. Parmi les filiales créées en Transylvanie, assez peu nombreuses, nous mentionnons celles d'Arad et de Brașov. La filiale de Timișoara, dirigée par Sofia Imbroane, patronnait une école de ménage qui formait les femmes pour la vie de famille<sup>11</sup>. Le processus d'extension de l'Association des cercles des bonnes ménagères en Transylvanie et au Banat, suite à la création de filiales, fut assez timide, en raison du fait que les réunions des femmes créées en Transylvanie avant la guerre déployaient déjà une activité centrée principalement sur les mêmes objectifs, qui polarisaient l'énergie de leurs animatrices.

Une grande partie de ces sociétés de Transylvanie eurent un caractère confessionnel. Simona Știger signalait l'existence avant la guerre de 88 sociétés de femmes, dont 44 avaient un caractère confessionnel, le reste affirmant des objectifs dans le domaine culturel et de l'assistance sociale<sup>12</sup>. Après la guerre, les sociétés des femmes gréco-catholiques continuèrent leur activité, tout en subissant un processus de réorganisation et d'adaptation aux nouvelles réalités historiques. Parallèlement, on remarqua la constitution des sociétés des femmes orthodoxes, comme filiales de la *Societatea Ortodoxă Națională a Femeilor Române* (Société nationale orthodoxe des femmes roumaines). Celle-ci avait, en 1923-1924, 28 filiales dans l'Ancien Royaume, outre celles de Cluj, Arad, Târgu-Mureș, Sibiu, Sebeșul Săsesc<sup>13</sup>. A Cluj, par exemple, les femmes orthodoxes s'étaient séparées de la *Reuniunea "Sfânta Maria"* (Réunion de la "Sainte Marie") des femmes gréco-catholiques, qui était la seule société des femmes roumaines de Cluj et la plus ancienne avant 1918<sup>14</sup>. Une autre réunion féminine gréco-catholique, avec une tradition plus longue, fut celle de Blaj: en 1926 elle fêta son 56e anniversaire et connut après la guerre un processus de réorganisation<sup>15</sup>. Les Réunions marianes qui fonctionnaient dans différentes localités transylvaines, préservèrent un caractère exclusivement uniato, limitant leur activité au domaines religieux et philanthropique. Leur but était de collecter des fonds pour la construction et l'embellissement des églises, le développement de la vie ecclésiastique et de la foi par des habitudes de dévotion et des conférences religieuses, la réalisation d'actions de charité<sup>16</sup>.

**A** côté des sociétés confessionnelles il y avait des sociétés philanthropiques et culturelles. La fédération constituée en 1911, qui réunissait une grande partie de ces sociétés, se renforça pendant l'entre-deux-guerres, suite à l'apparition de nouvelles sociétés fondées selon le modèle traditionnel – telles que celles de Baia Mare ou Satu Mare – et à l'attraction de quelques sociétés féminines de l'Ancien Royaume. L'*Union des femmes roumaines* (nouvelle dénomination adoptée après la guerre) dépassa de la sorte le cadre régional. La *Federația Societăților Feminine din Iași* (Fédération des sociétés fé-

minines de Jassy) et la *Societatea Doamnelor din Bucovina* (Société des femmes de Bucovine) se rallièrent à l'Union lors du Congrès de Baia Mare de 1924 et d'autres sociétés des femmes de Valachie suivirent cet exemple lors du Congrès de Timișoara de 1925<sup>17</sup>. L'Union des femmes roumaines continua tout de même à représenter principalement une fédération des anciennes réunions des femmes roumaines de Transylvanie, réactivées après la guerre.

Le discours professé par leurs leaders exprime peut-être le mieux le spécifique du féminisme qu'on y pratiquait. La nation représentait la valeur suprême qu'on devait défendre et consolider et à laquelle la femme devait subordonner son destin, en tant que mère et épouse, compagne de vie et éducatrice. C'était principalement par sa famille que la femme pouvait rendre service à sa nation – d'où un véritable culte de la famille et de la maternité développé dans le cadre du mouvement féministe de Transylvanie. La conception sur le rôle et la place de la femme dans la société roumaine était de la sorte fort marquée par le discours pratiqué avant la guerre. Pendant la III<sup>e</sup> décennie, pour soutenir le problème de l'"autorisation" de la femme on accentuait l'importance de ses rôles traditionnels dans la vie de la communauté<sup>18</sup>.

Dans l'Ancien Royaume, les féministes exaltaient l'idéal de femme émancipée, indépendante du point de vue économique et personnel, égale en tout avec l'homme, et insistaient sur les changements que la famille devait subir, conformément aux lois de l'évolution, pour essayer d'adapter le rôle de la femme aux exigences de la vie moderne. Le fait que la femme était sortie de son foyer et se manifestait à l'extérieur était considéré comme une réalité palpable, qui avait besoin, pour se manifester librement, de lois à même d'assurer l'égalité civile et politique entre l'homme et la femme<sup>19</sup>. En Transylvanie, les féministes étaient assez réticentes en ce qui concerne le changement des dimensions traditionnelles de l'existence de la femme, le travail de la femme à l'extérieur de son foyer n'étant accepté que dans la mesure où il ne mettait pas en danger la solidité de l'édifice familial<sup>20</sup>. Elles plaidaient surtout en faveur de l'activisme féminin dans le domaine culturel et charitable. Les appels visaient principalement une action à niveau élitaire, concentrée sur les problèmes des femmes pauvres, des paysannes et des femmes vivant dans les quartiers de la périphérie des villes. Les discours et les articles de Maria Baiulescu<sup>21</sup> sont édifiants pour la conception d'une telle mobilisation des femmes.

Le problème relatif à l'octroi de droits politiques à la femme suscita une véritable polémique. L'Union des femmes roumaines ne réagit pas aux décisions qui reportaient le droit de vote promis aux femmes à Alba-Iulia en 1918 et ne se montra pas disposée à embrasser tout de suite le programme maximaliste des féministes de l'Ancien Royaume, qui exigeaient des solutions immédiates aux revendications d'émancipation<sup>22</sup>. La tentative d'extension des sociétés suffragantes de l'Ancien Royaume par la création de filiales fut accueillie avec réserve pendant les premières années de l'après-guerre. Dans une adresse rédigée après la constitution de la filiale de Brașov de la *Asociația pentru Emanciparea Civilă și Politică a Femeii* (Association pour l'émancipation civile et politique de la femme), Maria Baiulescu exprimait sa décision de ne pas participer aux luttes politiques<sup>23</sup>. Alors que les féministes de l'Ancien Royaume, par l'intermédiaire de la presse, des conférences et des pétitions, faisaient preuve d'une activité sans précédent pour appuyer les revendications d'émancipation, les leaders des réunions de Transylvanie plaidaient pour la mo-

deration, pour l'émancipation graduelle par la voie des réformes<sup>24</sup>. Le féminisme radical promu dans l'Ancien Royaume était généralement considéré comme s'étant inspiré des mouvements similaires occidentaux, sans avoir aucun lien avec notre passé, ne respectant donc pas la tradition et la continuité, qui auraient conféré à ce mouvement un sens évolutif, en conformité avec les exigences du temps et de l'endroit<sup>25</sup>.

Par leurs articles publiés en *Transilvania*, *Societatea de mâine* ou *Gazeta Transilvanici*, Maria Baiulescu, Elena Pop Hossu-Longin, Viora Ciordaș, Constanța Hodoș etc. délimitaient clairement leur attitude de celle des féministes de l'Ancien Royaume. La revue *Lumina femeii*, qui entre 1920 et 1921 s'était transformée en une véritable tribune de promotion de ce point de vue, grâce aux articles de Sanda I. Mateiu, Elena Cădariu ou Valeria Tulbure, se voulait l'initiatrice d'une Ligue pour l'émancipation progressive de la femme. Se prononçant contre le vote intégral, universel et obligatoire pour les femmes, cette ligue se proposait de promouvoir la participation de la femme à la vie d'Etat seulement dans la mesure où ce fait ne porterait pas atteinte aux autres obligations de la femme, de bonne ménagère et mère. Dans l'article qui définissait le programme de la future association, l'on demandait des réformes graduelles, "*basées sur la culture et la moralité personnelles, afin de nous donner le temps nécessaire à préparer la masse féminine en vue des futures réformes*"<sup>26</sup>. Dans la sphère culturelle et sociale, montrait Elena Cădariu, il y avait plusieurs directions d'action pour le progrès de la femme. Rendre la femme consciente du "*droit de disposer d'elle-même*", l'accepter dans différentes fonctions à une rétribution égale avec celle de l'homme, lutter contre la double morale (une pour l'homme et une autre pour la femme) et contre la prostitution étaient des objectifs possibles, subordonnés à ce but<sup>27</sup>. Il fallait rendre la paysanne consciente, affirmait Valeria Tulbure, de ses obligations de mère et de maîtresse de la maison. C'était l'unique manière de la transformer en un élément précieux dans la vie de l'Etat<sup>28</sup>.

Ayant une telle motivation idéologique, l'activité des réunions des femmes s'adressait généralement au monde des villages et de la périphérie des villes. Par l'intermédiaire des réunions des femmes et en collaboration avec l'ASTRA (L'Association transylvaine pour la culture et la littérature du peuple roumain), l'on créa des commissions de propagande appuyées par les membres de la province – prêtres, secrétaires et instituteurs des communes. On organisait des conférences pour les paysannes, sur des thèmes d'éducation morale et esthétique. On donnait des conseils en ce qui concerne les soins aux enfants et la formation du goût esthétique vestimentaire<sup>29</sup>. On lisait des poésies, on présentait des danses locales, de petites pièces de théâtre, écrites parfois par les membres des réunions des femmes. Nous mentionnons en ce sens les pièces scolaires écrites par Elena Aciu<sup>30</sup>. Une activité similaire était dirigée vers les périphéries des villes qui se trouvaient en plein processus d'expansion, suite à la migration de la population villageoise. Pour suivre l'intégration urbaine de cette population – provenue pour la plupart des villages roumaines des environs –, les réunions des femmes créaient par leurs actions de véritables écoles de perfectionnement et de civisme. A Cluj, par exemple, ce rôle fut assumé par la Réunion de la Sainte Marie des femmes gréco-catholiques, le Cercle des associations des femmes chrétiennes ou le Cercle pour la protection de la femme et de l'enfant. Le Cercle des associations des femmes chrétiennes organisait des conférences dans la salle de la préfecture, adressées aux femmes de la fabrique de tabac. Celles-ci pouvaient participer

à des cours de soir d'alphabétisation. On leur parlait des soins aux enfants, du ménage<sup>31</sup>. Le but du *Cercle pour la protection de la femme et de l'enfant* était d'aider les ouvrières à élever leurs enfants et à développer leur niveau culturel et moral, d'assurer par le travail l'existence des femmes pauvres, de soigner les enfants orphelins et abandonnés<sup>32</sup>. A Oradea l'on organisa une école dominicale, afin d'enseigner aux filles venues des villages à lire et à écrire, à faire le ménage, à avoir une bonne conduite<sup>33</sup>. Ces démarches continuèrent pendant tout l'entre-deux-guerres. En 1937, à Deva, l'on fonda l'association *Femeia Satelor* (La femme des villages), qui avait pour but d'organiser des conférences et des cours de ménage paysan. Nous mentionnons aussi la parution de la revue *Femeia satelor* (La femme des villages), sous la direction de Maria Pârvulescu<sup>34</sup>.

D'ailleurs, une forme d'implication des femmes dans l'éducation du peuple fut leur activité de publicistes, reflétée dans les articles publiés dans différents almanachs, calendriers, revues religieuses ou pédagogiques, diffusés dans le milieu des villages. Maria Baiulescu, Viora Ciordaș, Maria Pârvulescu se remarquèrent aussi par une riche activité dans le domaine de la littérature et du journalisme. On éditait des livres destinés à servir aux paysannes et non seulement. Des volumes tels que *Bucătăria gospodinei de la sate* (La cuisine de la paysanne), signé par Ana Victor Lazăr, *Mâncări de post (100 de rețete)* (Plats pour le carême: 100 recettes) ou *Bucătăria sâtenței* (La cuisine de la villageoise), rédigés par Maria Pârvulescu, visaient l'enseignement de la conduite alimentaire dans le milieu rural. S'y ajouta l'élaboration de manuels pour les écoles professionnelles des filles et les écoles de ménage, Valeria Tulbure, par exemple, faisant connaissance en Suisse avec le type français d'école de ménage et d'industrie ménagère, déploya une activité méritoire à Sibiu et Oradea en vue du développement des écoles professionnelles des filles. Elle publia dans ce but les volumes *Educațiunea fetelor* (L'éducation des filles) et *Chimia alimentară* (La chimie alimentaire), manuel pour les écoles de ménage<sup>35</sup>. C'était une forme d'implication des femmes dans l'éducation des jeunes filles, dans les conditions où, après 1918, l'Etat assumait la tâche de subventionner les écoles qui avaient été fondées et soutenues avant la guerre par les réunions des femmes.

Un autre aspect de l'activité des réunions des femmes fut celle philanthropique. On recueillait des fonds afin d'ouvrir et de subventionner des orphelinats, asiles de vieux, internats, foyers pour les enfants. Un tel foyer d'enfants, à 60 places, fonctionnait à Satu Mare<sup>36</sup>, à Baia Mare il y avait un orphelinat<sup>37</sup>, à Timișoara un internat<sup>38</sup> etc. A Cluj, le Cercle pour la protection de la femme et de l'enfant organisa des cours pour la formation du personnel nécessaire dans les institutions qui s'occupaient de la protection de l'enfant. Les élèves et les étudiants pauvres étaient aidés avec de l'argent et des vêtements. Les veuves et les malades recevaient également des aidés. A l'occasion des différentes fêtes, l'on organisait des collectes d'argent, vêtements et aliments destinés aux pauvres<sup>39</sup>.

Les fonds alloués aux actions charitables provenaient de donations ou des collectes réalisées lors des bals, fêtes, réveillons. Ces réunions n'étaient pas qu'une occasion d'amusement ou de récoltes de fonds pour des actions de charité, mais également un moyen de communication, de manifestation de la solidarité des élites de la communauté. Dans les villes plus petites, ces occasions réunissaient les élites urbaines et rurales des environs,

ce qui révèle l'existence d'un phénomène de communication qui avait caractérisé la société transylvaine. Ces élites formaient d'ailleurs le public qui participait aux veillées littéraires, aux soirées musicales ou aux conférences soutenues par les membres de l'extension universitaire, par des hommes politiques et des personnalités de la vie ecclésiastiques, ou même par les membres des réunions des femmes ou des associations culturelles.

Afin de promouvoir et préserver les valeurs traditionnelles roumaines, les femmes prêtaient une attention toute particulière au costume national. Avant la guerre déjà, il avait été transformé, en Transylvanie, en moyen d'expression du sentiment d'appartenance nationale<sup>40</sup>. Après la guerre, pour donner un exemple aux femmes attirées de plus en plus par les vêtements de la ville, le costume national était habillé lors des fêtes ou des moments importants dans la vie de la communauté locale. Pendant la période de l'entre-deux-guerres, ce costume était un élément présent dans la garde-robe de chaque femme. Pour la réalisation des costumes nationaux et la promotion de l'industrie ménagère traditionnelle, les réunions des femmes de Transylvanie ont appuyé, selon le modèle des sociétés *Munca* (Le travail) et *Furnica* (La fourmi) de l'Ancien Royaume, des ateliers de tissage et couture<sup>41</sup>. L'atelier d'Orăștie avait été fondé avant la guerre et fut réorganisé en 1920, de tels ateliers fonctionnant aussi dans d'autres villes transylvaines<sup>42</sup>. Les femmes se considéraient responsables de préserver et de mettre en valeur tout le patrimoine existant dans la langue, les coutumes, le costume national, le travail à la main, les danses populaires. Les nombreuses fêtes qu'elles organisaient se transformaient en autant d'occasions d'exprimer ce credo. Les femmes des prêtres et les institutrices des villages aidaient à la découverte et à la transformation en collection de différents objets d'art populaire, qui étaient périodiquement présentés à des expositions<sup>43</sup>.

La récolte des fonds pour la construction d'églises et de monuments et pour l'entretien de ceux existant déjà, la participation à des manifestations culturelles se réalisaient fréquemment en collaboration avec différentes sociétés culturelles, dont l'ASTRA était la plus importante. Plus encore, la participation des femmes aux activités de l'ASTRA s'exprima par la création, lors de l'Assemblée générale de Sibiu, du 4-5 décembre 1927, de la section féminine, la 11<sup>e</sup> existant déjà à l'ASTRA, ce qui exprimait la tendance de joindre l'activité de l'ASTRA à celle de l'Union des femmes roumaines. Parmi les membres de cette section nous mentionnons Maria Baiulescu, Constanța Bogdan-Duică, Maria Popescu Bogdan, Catinca Bârseanu<sup>44</sup>.

Comme un acte de solidarité revendiqué par les féministes de l'Ancien Royaume et dans le but d'empêcher une généralisation du statut civil discriminatoire de la femme en Roumanie par l'adoption du nouveau Code civil, l'Union des femmes roumaines inclut finalement, en 1925, dans ses statuts le problème du vote et accepta d'appuyer les droits civils de la femme. Dans un article publié dans *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, intitulé *Cuvânt de pregătire pentru femeile române în legătură cu noua lege pentru unificarea administrativă* (Propos de préparation pour les femmes roumaines en ce qui concerne la nouvelle loi d'unification administrative), l'Union annonçait sa décision de continuer, à côté de son activité éducative, culturelle et d'assistance sociale, celle de formation civique et d'émancipation politique de la femme. C'était un appel adressé aux femmes d'adhérer aux organisations des femmes, pour former des comités à même de décider des personnes devant être cooptées dans les conseils. De tels comités allaient être organisés également dans les villes où les femmes pouvaient être coopter de manière facultative, afin de désigner

des représentantes et d'insister auprès des conseillers pour la mise en pratique de cette stipulation facultative. C'était un appel à l'action adressé aux femmes<sup>45</sup>.

Après avoir obtenu le droit de vote dans les élections locales, les réunions des femmes se préoccupèrent de l'initiation de leurs membres dans l'exercice de ces droits<sup>46</sup>. Le triage des personnes à droit de vote se réalisait à l'aide des statistiques effectuées par les femmes, par secteurs, villes etc. A Braşov, Elena Baiulescu, Elena Săbădeanu, Maria Popescu Bogdan confirmèrent le fait que leurs anciennes élèves avaient bien fini leurs études à l'école professionnelle. A Cluj, les femmes les plus actives furent Livia Boilă, Constanţa Bogdan-Duică, Olivia Deleu, Elena Bratu. Des conférences furent organisées dans toutes les localités de la Transylvanie, afin d'aider les femmes à comprendre les droits qu'elles avaient obtenus et les responsabilités qui leur incombaient<sup>47</sup>.

**L**a loi de 1929 fut le premier pas dans la direction d'obtention de droits politiques entiers<sup>48</sup>. Elle remit en discussion la manière dont la femme allait s'intégrer dans la vie politique roumaine. Alexandrina Cantacuzène, le leader du Conseil National des femmes roumaines, constitua en 1929 le *Gruparea Femeilor Române* (Groupement des femmes roumaines). L'idée de base professée par cette organisation a été la possibilité de la femme, en tant que personne entraînée dans la vie politique, mais non engagée dans les partis politiques, de trouver une solution à la crise politique de Roumanie. Cependant les féministes de Transylvanie, à côté de quelques-unes de l'Ancien Royaume, avaient une autre opinion. Ainsi lors du Congrès de 1930 des associations féministes, l'Union des femmes roumaines, qui comprenait à ce moment-là 100 associations affiliées, s'exprima, par l'intermédiaire de Maria Baiulescu, contre l'isolement des femmes en une organisation politique séparée des partis politiques existants. La résolution adoptée par le Congrès concernait l'entrée de la femme dans la vie politique dans les mêmes conditions que les hommes, tout en préservant la liberté de disposer de son propre vote. La femme devait s'encadrer dans les partis politiques existant, l'idée d'un parti politique pour les femmes étant rejetée. Ce courant s'avéra dominant, le Groupement des femmes roumaines abandonnant lui-même le point de vue autour duquel il s'était formé<sup>49</sup>.

Adhérant à l'idée d'émancipation politique et civile de la femme, l'Union des femmes roumaines essaya d'incorporer ces idées à sa vision féministe, à sa propre stratégie. Ainsi, évaluant le pas réalisé en 1929, Maria Baiulescu, dans un article publié dans *Societatea de mâine*, y voyait le résultat d'une évolution, du progrès de la femme et non pas l'effet d'une attitude revendicative. Dans l'Ancien Royaume, considérait-elle, la femme avait fait des progrès dans le domaine de l'éducation et de la profession, tandis que dans les provinces l'émancipation de la femme était de nature politique<sup>50</sup>.

Ainsi, le féminisme maternel promu en Transylvanie eut la tendance de préserver son identité. C'était un féminisme élitare, dont l'idéologie pouvait se retrouver dans les articles de presse ou dans les discours de ses leaders, qui s'exprimèrent pratiquement dans les actions promues par les structures de l'Union des femmes roumaines. Il donna expression à la manière par laquelle les femmes provenues de la bourgeoisie petite et moyenne de Transylvanie avaient compris leur implication dans la vie de la société, leur rôle social et politique.





## Notes

<sup>1</sup> SIMONA ȘTIGER, *Ideologia mișcării feministe românești din Transilvania între educație și emancipare*, dans *Acta Musei Napocensis*, an XXIV-XXV, 1987-1988, Cluj-Napoca, 1992, pp. 1144-1145.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 1149-1151.

<sup>3</sup> IDEM, *Mișcarea feministă din Transilvania. Constituirea și evoluția reuniunilor de femei*, dans *Crisia*, an XIX, 1989, Oradea, p. 451.

<sup>4</sup> Viora Ciordaș, la femme du dr. Ioan Ciordaș – le leader du mouvement d'émancipation nationale des Roumains du Bihor. Elle figura parmi les initiatrices de la Réunion des femmes roumaines de Beiuș et la présidente de cette réunion. (*Anuarul Reuniunii Femeilor Române din Beiuș și Jur*, 27 nov. 1918-22 febr. 1920, Beiuș, 1920.)

<sup>5</sup> Elena Pop Hossu-Longin a été la fille de Gheorghe Pop de Băsești, la femme de Francisc Hossu-Longin, avocat et publiciste. Elle fut l'une des plus dévouées représentantes du féminisme roumain de Transylvanie et la fondatrice de la Réunion des femmes de Sălaj, qui a été l'une des réunions les plus actives. Après son départ de Sălaj, elle activa à Hunedoara, contribuant à l'organisation de la réunion des femmes, de l'atelier de tissage et couture d'Orăștie. Elle a été membre de l'ASTRA, l'Union des femmes roumaines, Réunion des femmes chrétiennes, Groupement des femmes roumaines. (L. GREGARIU, *Elena Pop Hossu-Longin (1862-1940)*, dans *Transilvania*, an 71, no. 5-6, sept.-déc. 1940, pp. 164-166.)

<sup>6</sup> Catinca Bârseanu, la femme d'Andrei Bârseanu, professeur et directeur du lycée des garçons, président de l'ASTRA, à Sibiu. Il devint président de la Réunion des femmes roumaines de Sibiu en 1916 et coordonna cette réunion jusqu'en 1935 (LUCIA COSMA, *Catinca Bârseanu (necrolog)*, dans *Transilvania*, an 73, no. 6, Sibiu, 1942, pp. 232-233).

<sup>7</sup> Maria Baiulescu, fille de Bartolomeu Baiulescu, figure prestigieuse de l'Eglise et de l'Ecole roumaines, dont la femme, Elena Baiulescu fut la collaboratrice de la Réunion des femmes roumaines et, à l'époque du *Mémorandum*, présidente du "comité politique" des femmes roumaines de Brașov. Maria Baiulescu devint en 1906 membre du comité de la Réunion des femmes roumaines de Brașov et, à partir de 1907, présidente. En 1913 elle initia la fondation de l'Union générale des femmes roumaines de Transylvanie et de Hongrie (*Gazeta Transilvaniei*, an LXXXIX, no. 1, 93, 8 sept., Brașov, 1926, pp. 2-3).

<sup>8</sup> Après la guerre, l'Union générale des femmes roumaines de Transylvanie et de Hongrie prit le nom de l'Union des femmes roumaines.

<sup>9</sup> PARASCHIVA CÂNCEA, *Mișcarea pentru emanciparea femeii în România 1848-1948*, București, 1976, p. 88.

<sup>10</sup> *Lumina femeii*, an I, no. 1, Cluj, 1920, p. 29.

<sup>11</sup> *Asociația Cercurilor de Gospodine. Darea de seamă a activității Comitetului Central și filialelor sale de la 1920-1940*, București, 1940, pp. 35-36.

<sup>12</sup> SIMONA ȘTIGER, *op. cit.*, dans *loc. cit.*, pp. 449-450.

<sup>13</sup> *Societatea Ortodoxă Națională a Femeilor Române. Darea de seamă a Comitetului Central nov. 1923-nov. 1924*, București, 1926, p. 49.

<sup>14</sup> *Reuniunea "Sfânta Maria" a femeilor române greco-catolice din Cluj. Almanah publicat din prilejul jubileului de XXV de ani de la întemeiere, 1902-1927*, Cluj, 1928, pp. 2-3.

<sup>15</sup> *Anuarul Reuniunii Femeilor Române greco-catolice din Blaj*, Blaj, 1925, p. 3; ȘT. MANCIULEA, *Reuniunea Femeilor Române din Blaj*, Blaj, 1941, pp. 8-9.

<sup>16</sup> NICOLAE BRÂNZEU, *Despre reuniunile mariane ale femeilor. Îndemnuri*, Lugoj, 1927.

<sup>17</sup> *Raport al Comitetului Reuniunii Femeilor Române din Brașov cu Anuarul Școlii Profesionale pe anii în gestiune 1919-1920, 1920-1921, 1921-1922*, Brașov, 1923, p. 11.

<sup>18</sup> MARIA BUCUR, *In Praise of Wellborn Mothers: On the Development of Eugenicist Gender Roles in Interwar Romania*, dans *East European Politics and Societies*, vol. 9, no. 1, Winter 1995, p. 132.

<sup>19</sup> CALYPSO C. BOTEZ, *Drepturile femeii în Constituția viitoare*, dans *Constituția din 1923 în dezbaterile contemporanilor*, București, 1990, pp. 124-142; IDEM, *Problema feminismului. O sistematizare a elementelor ei*, dans *Arhiva pentru știința și reforma socială*, an II, no. 1-3, april-oct., București, 1920, pp. 28-84.

<sup>20</sup> En ce sens, Elena Pop Hossu-Longin soulignait dans un article: “J’admets que l’esprit du temps réclame ses droits sur tous les terrains, mais je considère comme un grand malheur pour un jeune peuple, en pleine formation, si nous secouons le sanctuaire familial et essayons de faire sortir la mère et l’épouse roumaine dans les arènes des luttes sociales et politiques”. Elle continuait: “Même les carrières purement scientifiques et artistiques doivent être réservées uniquement aux talents extraordinaires et non pas à ceux médiocres. Car si nous suivons le chemin sur lequel nous nous sommes engagés, quand d’une manière presque malade nos filles se bousculent vers des carrières indépendantes, un de ces jours, si l’on admet aussi facilement, on aura un prolétariat féminin et les foyers familiaux resteront déserts, au détriment incalculable de l’Etat et de la nation”. En guise de conclusion elle tenait à souligner: “On a besoin de mères et épouses cultivées et pieuses, de ménagères laborieuses et éclairées, qui élèvent et dirigent les pas des générations futures pour le développement de la patrie unie, d’épouses qui partagent, comme les vraies compagnes de vie, la peine avec les hommes très éprouvés et épuisés de notre temps”. (ELENA POP HOSSU-LONGIN, *In chestia feminină*, dans *Transilvania*, an LI, no. 11, nov. 1920, Sibiu, pp. 900-901.)

<sup>21</sup> ELENA BAIULESCU, *Un manifest pentru colaborarea femeilor române*, dans *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, an LXXXVII, no. 1, 25 juin, Braşov, 1924, p. 3; IDEM, *Rolul biopolitic al femeii române*, dans *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, an XC, no. 40, 10 avril 1927, pp. 1-2; IDEM, *Familia fămnescă*, dans *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, an XCII, no. 60, 16 juin 1929, p. 2; IDEM, *Problema feminină*, dans *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, an XCIV, no. 113, 1 nov. 1931, p. 1.

<sup>22</sup> A la suite d’une tournée à rôle de propagande effectué en Transylvanie, Valentina Focşa, le leader de la filiale de la Société pour l’émancipation politique et civile de la femme de Piatra-Neamţ et directrice de la revue *Acţiunea feministă* (L’Action féministe) publiée par cette filiale, affirmait: “Ce que je retiens de ma mission est que le féminisme roumain ne trouvera pas en Transylvanie pour longtemps de terrain favorable à un mouvement dans le sens réel de ce mot. L’unification de la loi civile, qui mettrait la femme transylvaine dans une situation civile inférieure à celle actuelle – elle jouit à présent d’une situation civile supérieure à celle de chez nous (l’Ancien Royaume – n.n.) – serait peut-être capable de produire une perturbation plus manifeste. Sur le terrain pratique des réformes sociales, elle rencontrera toujours des éléments de tout premier ordre et prêts à se consacrer à une idée de travail...” (*Lumina femeii*, an II, no. 4, Cluj, 1921, p. 115.)

<sup>23</sup> Elle soulignait en ce sens: “Ce comité, vu les troubles existant dans les principes politiques de Transylvanie, ne peut avoir une activité prononcée et attend que la constitution vienne avec des éclaircissements quant à notre sort. La Transylvanie est à présent un foyer de passions politiques et électorales et il vaut mieux que la femme ne s’y mélange pas pour l’instant”. (Bibliothèque départementale de Braşov, fonds Maria Baiulescu – *correspondenţă*, doc. no. 5, 2003 – *Cioria unei adrese redactată de Maria Baiulescu în problema mişcării feministe*/Le brouillon d’une adresse rédigée par Maria Baiulescu relative au problème du mouvement féministe.)

<sup>24</sup> Par conséquent, le mouvement des femmes n’était pas conçu comme un mouvement contestataire qui impose à la femme une attitude combative: “Les droits qui lui reviennent – montrait Viora Ciordaş – ne seront conquis ni par des luttes dégénératives, ni par un renversement ostentatoire ou caché de l’ordre social; elle n’accélérera pas de manière forcée le déroulement inévitable des événements favorables à sa libération définitive de l’esclavage moral et intellectuel qui l’avait enchaînée pendant des siècles entiers”. (VIOARA CIORDAŞ, *Cuvânt de deschidere al Adunării Generale din 21 iulie 1921*, dans *Anuarul al II-lea al Reuniunii Femeilor Române*, 22 febr. 1920-12 iul. 1921, 12 iul. 1921-28 mai 1922, Beiuş, 1922.)

<sup>25</sup> O mişcare necesară în legătură cu emanciparea femeii, dans *Lumina femeii*, an II, no. 9, Cluj, 1921, p. 329.

<sup>26</sup> *Lumina femeii*, an II, no. 9, Cluj, 1921, pp. 343, 347.

<sup>27</sup> ELENA CADARIU, *Femeia prezentului*, dans *Lumina femeii*, an II, no. 6-7, Cluj, 1921, pp. 264-266.

<sup>28</sup> VALERIA TULBURE, *Cum înţeleg emanciparea femeii*, dans *Lumina femeii*, an I, no. 3, Cluj, 1920, p. 96.

<sup>29</sup> *Lumina femeii*, an II, no. 4, Cluj, 1921, p. 151; *Revista femeilor române*, an I, no. 5-8, Câmpeni-Turda, 1938, p. 31; ŞT. MANCIULEA, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-39.

<sup>30</sup> CORNEL GRAD, DORU E. GORON, *Din istoricul instituţiilor culturale naţionale sălăjene – Reuniunea Femeilor Române Sălăjene*, dans *Acta Musei Porolissensis*, an VIII, Zalău, 1984, pp. 667-668.

<sup>31</sup> *Lumina femeii*, an I, no. 2, Cluj, 1920, p. 73.

<sup>32</sup> *Lumina femeii*, an I, no. 3, Cluj, 1920, p. 96.

<sup>33</sup> *Revista femeilor române*, an I, no. 5-8, Câmpeni-Turda, 1938, p. 31.

<sup>34</sup> *Femeia satelor*, an III, no. 3, Deva, 1937, pp. 10-11.

<sup>35</sup> *Lumina femeii*, an II, no. 9, Cluj, 1921, p. 345.

<sup>36</sup> *Revista femeilor române*, an I, no. 5-8, Câmpeni-Turda, 1938, p. 31.

<sup>37</sup> *Lumina femeii*, an II, no. 4, Cluj, 1921, p. 151.

<sup>38</sup> *Femeia satelor*, an II, no. 1, Deva, 1936, p. 9.

<sup>39</sup> *Lumina femeii*, an I, no. 10, Cluj, 1920, pp. 32-33.

<sup>40</sup> ȘT. MANCIULEA, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

<sup>41</sup> ELENA POP HOSSU-LONGIN, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-25.

<sup>42</sup> *Lumina femeii*, an I, no. 3, Cluj, 1920, p. 112.

<sup>43</sup> CORNEL GRAD, DORU E. GORON, *op. cit.*, p. 666; *Lumina femeii*, an II, no. 4, Cluj, 1921, p. 151; *Anuarul Reuniunii Femeilor Române din Beiuș și Jur, 1926-1927*, Beiuș, 1927, pp. 11-13; *Femeia satelor*, an II, no. 1, Deva, 1936, p. 9.

<sup>44</sup> *Astra în anii de după război 1918-1928*, Sibiu, 1930, p. 5; PAMFIL MATEI, *Astra 1861-1950*, Cluj-Napoca, 1986, pp. 166-169.

<sup>45</sup> *Uniunea Femeilor Române din România către femeile române, cuvânt de pregătire pentru femeile române în legătură cu noua lege pentru unificare administrativă*, dans *Gazeta Transilvania*, an LXXXVIII, no. 1, Brașov, 1925, p. 3.

<sup>46</sup> "La Loi de 1929 donnait droit de vote aux femmes qui remplissaient, outre les conditions prévues par la loi électorale, d'une des conditions suivantes: avoir fini le cycle inférieur secondaire ou professionnel; être fonctionnaire à l'Etat, au département ou à la commune; être veuve de guerre; être décorée pour son activité pendant la guerre; avoir fait partie, au moment de promulgation de cette loi, de la direction des sociétés à personnalité juridique – ayant des buts de revendications sociales, propagande culturelle ou assistance sociale." (*Enciclopedia României*, vol. I, București, 1936-1938, p. 237.)

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<sup>47</sup> *Transilvania*, an 61, no. 7-10, Sibiu, 1930, p. 120.

<sup>48</sup> "En 1919, par le décret loi du 22 mai, les femmes furent admises dans les commission intérimaires dans les chefs-lieu de département et en 1925 la loi stipula la cooptation de deux à sept femmes dans les conseils des villes. En 1929 les femmes reçurent le droit de vote dans les élections communales et départementales et en 1938 elles reçurent des droits politiques entiers." (*Enciclopedia României*, vol. I, București, 1936-1938.)

<sup>49</sup> PARASCHIVA CÂNCEA, *op. cit.*, pp. 130-132.

<sup>50</sup> *Societatea de mâine*, an VI, no. 11, Cluj, 1929, p. 183.

# Popular Images of Femininity in Transylvanian Sources from the Beginning of the 19th Century

SORIN MITU

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*The consciousness of the sin, of guilt, characteristic for the Catholic and medieval mentality is often absent from the Romanian traditional sensibility, while the divinity, far from being an obstacle in the way of love, looks at it with an amused and indulgent eye.*

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**I**n 1819, Vasile Gergely of Ciocotiș, a Romanian intellectual from the Maramureș area, remarked that Transylvanians were at that time "left without the good old traditions, which the entire nation has given up."<sup>1</sup> Stoica of Hațeg, a native of the Banat, found an explanation of this new spirit of the time several years later: "the reason is people, perverted by *liberté, égalité* [...] with no God and no faith."<sup>2</sup> The two observers caught in their written pages the defining emblem of their time: change. For, at the divide between the 18th and the 19th centuries, the Transylvanian Romanian society was going through fundamental changes. The signs of the new emerged timidly or came forth spectacularly on the level of the social and economic structures, of institutions, technological evolution, public conscience, culture and ideology. But the changes with the greatest impact on human destiny operated on another level: that of the concrete existence of individuals, of everyday life, in the sphere of mentalities, conduct, sentiments and imaginary. It is the rhythms of private, daily life that were changing at that point.

In order to depict a few instances of this process, it is necessary to probe along the vertical axis of human existence up to the

level of daily gestures, sentiments and sensibility, and along the horizontal axis of society, on the level of micro-groups, village, family and individual. What sources are we to study to revive this world of village communities, currently known as *"the silent world"* from the historian's point of view?<sup>3</sup>

There are, first of all, cultural elements that spread into the village world: religious – especially homiletic – literature, primers, catechisms and elementary textbooks, followed by calendars, popular books – "educational" or "of wisdom". We then have the interventions of the lay or ecclesiastic officials in the universe of the traditional community, the various regulations directly addressed to the village world. A second category of sources includes those diverse historical sources mainly with a narrative character (accounts, memoirs, correspondence) that record either the isolated remarks of certain contemporaries, or their own life experience: the memoirs of the rural intellectuals. Thirdly, we can get acquainted in a rather detailed manner with what the village world produces mainly through the samples of datable folklore, recorded and put on paper in the period under investigation. This type of analysis is perhaps the most reliable, because it puts us in almost direct contact with a genuine rural piece of evidence, much less filtered through the distorting screen of the urban that records it.

Once we have gone so deep, let us stop for a while in the world of feeling. Starting from the assumption that love, as a biological, mental and moral permanence of human existence always takes a cultural form, which can be assigned to the civilization model of a historical community, we could ask ourselves – legitimately from the viewpoint of scientific exigency – how did Transylvanian peasants love at the beginning of the modern times?

Love begins with looking, so the first element which a folklore sample offers us is the physical ideal of femininity. In a song collected and published in 1768, for instance, the loved woman is *"beautiful and large-hipped"*<sup>4</sup> or has a *"pretty and plump body [...] with roundish hips"*.<sup>5</sup> On first sight, this extremely concrete image would suggest a preference for a Rubensian type of beauty, in agreement with the rural feminine ideal handed down until present days in the phrase: *"white, fat and beautiful."* However, the viewpoint of the epoch does not seem in the least exclusive, and quite often one image is contradicted by another: *"she's neither too tall, nor too short/ straight-bodied and slim."*<sup>6</sup> Moreover, the preference for the small and slender type and equally for the plump type are sometimes merged in one contradictory image: *"tall and sturdy lass/ looks like she can pass through a ring."*<sup>7</sup>

If on this aspect opinions remain divided, as far as the second element of the female portrait – complexion – things are clear: it must necessarily be as light as possible. Without exception, in all the texts of the time I have studied, the woman has *"snow-white skin"* or is *"white like mother-of-pearl."*<sup>8</sup> Certainly, the anthropological variety of the Transylvanian village and mainly the village woman tanned by sun and wind contradicted flagrantly such a marmoreal model. This is perhaps the very reason why it imposed itself, by contrast, as a seldom encountered ideal.

In general, the body holds little place in the economy of the folkloric portrait, which was limited to bearing, waist and breasts, the latter, with the role to trigger the erotic feeling: *"I fill myself with love/ when I look at her breasts."*<sup>9</sup> But, despite a few sensual touches,

the folkloric portrait is not preponderantly tactile, but visual. Attention is focused on the face, in an erotic of looking where the eyes concentrate the entire feminine charm: "*her eyes are black, there are/ no eyes more beautiful under the sun*"<sup>10</sup> (with the reserve that [in the Romanian original] the type of rhyme and the topic of the first sentence suggest a cultivated influence on this folk verse published in 1838). Usually, the mouth is not sensual, but "small" and contoured in delicate lines, with "*thin lips*."<sup>11</sup> The skin is obviously white, but the cheeks must always be blushed by contrast, suggesting the excitement of meeting, candor and purity.

As we can see, the physical image of the woman in the rural mentality implies a refined and complex perception, going from sensual corporeality to spiritualization, and the abstraction of the material woman into symbol. Certainly, we should not forget that the specific means of making this portrait, that is the rules of folkloric construction, also leave their mark in the sense that they fashion an ideal image. From a historical point of view, it is important that this rural traditional image helped in crystallizing two other female models characteristic to modern mentality and to a level of higher, urban education.

The first is the one created by Ioan Barac at the beginning of the 19th century in an Anacreontic manner that heralded pre-romanticism, in which the woman appears in a pre-Raphaelite halo of sweet sensuality: "*when gently she walks, her hair shines in the air*"<sup>12</sup>, and her eyes "*are full of longing/ like twinkling stars*."<sup>13</sup> The subsequent model, proposed by the romantic mentality would carry on this process of spiritualization of the female character, making a fetish of her look, absence, her leaving and even death, in an unfulfilled, Platonic type of relationship<sup>14</sup>. The distant roots of this image, like so many others of Transylvanian romanticism, are in the popular mentality.

Things become more complex when we approach the moral outlook on love of the rural sensibility at the beginning of the modern times. Even only in terms of traditional mentality, without mentioning the changes brought about by the influence of the city and the impact of modernity, the norms are difficult to tell, because they change continually in the area between the "official" Christian morals and the folk ethos. In the Orthodox ethics, whose precepts spread weekly from the pulpit marked deeply the people's minds, faithfulness was the defining element of the love between man and woman, conceived of within the boundaries of strict monogamy. "*Să nu râvnești la muiearea de-aproapelui tău*" ("*Do not covet your fellow man's woman*") read Șincai's version of the ninth command in his *Catechism* (1783)<sup>15</sup>.

Moreover, marked by the idea of the original sin, the Christian morals considered physical, earthly love a guilty relationship, susceptible of being replaced by an ascetic spiritualization, not very far from what would be the Platonic ideal of romantic love. Thus, in the 1807 edition of *The Best of Gifts* (a best-seller of Romanian folk culture) "*the evil and sly love, that is when a man loves a woman for lust*"<sup>16</sup> is fiercely stigmatized in good medieval tradition. Although, the same text admits later on, "*most people do this*."<sup>17</sup>

Indeed, most people adjusted their conduct according to a moral guide that was different from that of the village traditional mentality. Its version from the beginning of the modern times seems, on a first reading, to be in agreement with the Christian canonical morals. The ideal of faithfulness is present here too: "*Sweetheart with dewy eyes/ don't keep*

*two lovers/ keep just one/ with whom you're married.*"<sup>18</sup> Because "*he who loves and walks on the other/ let God punish him.*"<sup>19</sup>

But the sentimental range of rural mentality is in fact much wider. Free love holds a privileged place, in an atmosphere of relaxed hedonism. Formulas such as "*come on, beauty, let's make love/ forget about marriage*"<sup>20</sup>; or, "*I love, my beauty loves/ our house goes waste*"<sup>21</sup>, are significant for this relaxed atmosphere. Marital infidelity generates an entire savory folklore, which attests its frequency and tries to legitimate it from a moral point of view. The woman openly confesses that "*for fear of my husband/ I have broken the bed frame/ with the village lads*", and even justifies her attitude: "*the true wife/ is free to make love/ to one or another/ if she loathes her husband.*"<sup>22</sup>

How does so much frivolity get on with the rigors of Christian morals? Sometimes, the villager solves this tension through infinite candor: "*Last night I went to women*" he confesses, but "*May God Almighty forgive me. Because I kissed them,/ God will take me to heaven.*"<sup>23</sup> In this case he succeeds to blend in an indeed extremely personal outlook the official precepts of the Orthodox Church and the sentimental exuberance characteristic of the traditional mentality.

On other occasions, however, hedonism is harshly sanctioned, as suggested by the well-known verse: "*my friend, you and I/ will never see heaven.*"<sup>24</sup> Quite significantly, man chooses his earthly status, at the cost of losing Paradise. This dramatic alternative remains however an extreme solution. The consciousness of the sin, of guilt, characteristic for the Catholic and medieval mentality is often absent from the Romanian traditional sensibility, while the divinity, far from being an obstacle in the way of love, looks at it with an amused and indulgent eye. When the consciousness of guilt and damnation does appear, it is not expressed in terrifying forms, man does not implore forgiveness and does not look for expiation. Losing heaven, the consequence of living a life of pleasures, is accepted with grave serenity – in extreme, with lack of responsibility – but also with a superior understanding of the fact that one must pay for his pleasures: "*So long, heaven! We'll go a little lower.*" Against the background of this defiance of the sacred by the profane (somehow similar to the Luciferic revolt in the romantic mentality), the rural imaginary will shift very easily from the area of the miraculous to some profane morals, lacking in great tensions and a tormented conscience.

Certainly, an attempt to explore the history of the rural communities on the level of the most intimate attitudes and mentalities – as I have tried to do in this hasty study – can be suspected to offer too static a picture, against too general models of moral and conduct. In reality, however, this discrepancy is the result of the fact that the said types of analysis depict different levels and rhythms of the social structure and dynamics<sup>25</sup>. While the social and political history of the rural communities records the phenomena located under the sign of the event or of circumstance, the history of feelings and mentalities is a history of long spans of time. They stand proof of the play of permanence and changes, of those elements of human existence, perhaps much more important, situated at the border between the things that change and those that do not change.

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> VASILE GERGELY DE CIOCOTIȘ, *Omu de lume [...], spre întribuințarea tinereții românești*, Viena, Tip. D. Davidovici, 1819, p. 71.
- <sup>2</sup> NICOLAE STOICA DE HAȚEG, *Cronica Banatului*, ed. by DAMASCHIN MIOC, Timișoara, Facla, 1981, p. 311.
- <sup>3</sup> On the problems and sources of folk culture from a historical perspective, see EMMANUEL LE ROY LADURIE, *Le territoire de l'historien*, Paris, Gallimard, 1977, pp. 159-166; *Religion, culture et folklore dans la civilisation rurale*; CARLO GINZBURG, *Brânza și viermii. Universul unui morar din secolul al XVI-lea*, București, Nemira, 1996, pp. 7-22.
- <sup>4</sup> Text reproduced in ONISIFOR GHIBU, *Contribuții la istoria poeziei noastre populare și culte*, București, Monitorul Oficial, 1934, pp. 22-23.
- <sup>5</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 20-21.
- <sup>6</sup> *Ibidem*.
- <sup>7</sup> NICOLAE PAULETI, *Scrieri*, ed. by IOAN CHINDRIȘ, București, Minerva, 1980, p. 216.
- <sup>8</sup> ONISIFOR GHIBU, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-23.
- <sup>9</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 25-26.
- <sup>10</sup> MAJOR GYÖRFY, *Floarea*, in *Foaia literară*, I, 1838, no. 4, p. 32.
- <sup>11</sup> ONISIFOR GHIBU, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-26.
- <sup>12</sup> Apud G. CALINESCU, *Istoria literaturii române de la origini până în prezent*, ed. by ALEXANDRU PIRU, București, 1982, p. 74.
- <sup>13</sup> IOAN BARAC, *Istoria prea frumosului Arghir și a prea frumoasei Elena*, Brașov, Tip. Herfurt, 1809; cf. FLOREA FUGARIU (ed.), *Școala Ardeleană*, vol. I, București, Minerva, 1983, p. 765.
- <sup>14</sup> See PHILIPPE ARIES, *Omul în fața morții*, vol. II, București, Minerva, 1996, pp. 157-361.
- <sup>15</sup> GHEORGHE ȘINCAI, *Catebismul cel mare cu întrebări și răspunsuri*, Blaj, Tip. Seminarului, 1783, p. 58.
- <sup>16</sup> *Floarea darurilor*, Brașov, Tip. Henning, 1807, p. 12; cf. FLOREA FUGARIU (ed.), *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 728.
- <sup>17</sup> *Ibidem*.
- <sup>18</sup> PETRE UGLIȘ-DELAPECICA, *Poezii și basme populare din Crișana și Banat*, București, Editura pentru Literatură, 1968, p. 147.
- <sup>19</sup> NICOLAE PAULETI, *op. cit.*, p. 255.
- <sup>20</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 276.
- <sup>21</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 258.
- <sup>22</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 219.
- <sup>23</sup> PETRE UGLIȘ-DELAPECICA, *op. cit.*, p. 147.
- <sup>24</sup> The quoted lines have preserved their popularity until today, but they date from a much earlier time.
- <sup>25</sup> A recent study that makes an analysis of the rural mentalities in Transylvania at the time in question is that of TOADER NICOARĂ, *Transilvania la începuturile timpurilor moderne (1680-1800). Societate rurală și mentalități colective*, Cluj, Presa Universitară Clujeană, 1997.



CONSTANTIN  
BĂRBULESCU

## Morts et vivants. Tombes et cimetière à Onicești

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*D'ici quelque temps,  
les anciens espaces à tombes  
disparaîtront ou  
se transformeront en  
cimetières. Tout comme  
les hommes, les cimetières  
naissent, vivent et meurent.*

---

La commune de Râșca<sup>1</sup> est située sur le versant septentrional des Monts Apuseni, dans la sous-division des Monts de Gilău, à 54 km de Cluj-Napoca. C'est une zone alpine<sup>2</sup> avec l'altitude moyenne de 1.000 m.

Du point de vue administratif, cette commune est formée de quatre villages: Râșca, Dealu Mare, Mărcești et Lăpuștești, mais cette représentation officielle ne correspond que partiellement à celle des habitants, qui connaissent sept villages<sup>3</sup>: Onicești, Cristești, Râșca de Sus, Pleșu, Mărcești, Dealu Mare et Lăpuștești.

La grande superficie<sup>4</sup> de cette commune nous a obligés de limiter notre recherche à une seule communauté: Onicești<sup>5</sup>.

Comme tous les autres habitants des Monts Apuseni, ceux de Râșca enterraient leurs morts près de la maison. Autrement-dit, il n'y avait pas de cimetières dans le sens actuel de ce mot et il paraît que le terme même de "cimetière", bien qu'utilisé, soit de provenance récente, son apparition dans le langage des gens de cette zone étant due à l'organisation des cimetières proprement-dit dans les villages de la commune de Râșca. A présent, il y a des *morminți*, c'est-à-dire des places d'enterrement disséminées sur les propriétés, et un *cimetière* pour chaque village (communauté) de la commune. Ou, pour reprendre les propos des autochtones, ils enterrent leurs morts soit "à la maison", soit "au cimetière".

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## Les tombes

Les habitants de Râșca classifient leurs propriétés en au moins deux catégories de terrains: les “terres”, qui sont des superficies arables situées plus loin de la maison: “*J’ai là-bas un lopin de terre où je cultive des pommes de terre*” et le jardin, qui se définit par le fait d’être toujours placé près de la maison. Là où il y a une maison il y a aussi un jardin. Il comprend une partie cultivée avec des légumes<sup>6</sup>, des pommes de terre et des arbres fruitiers et le pâturage: “*Quelque petit qu’il soit, on a tout de même un jardin près de la maison*”.

La place d’enterrement est toujours située dans le jardin (la zone de pâturage) et non pas sur une autre propriété. Selon les dires des vieux: “*Aussi près que possible de la maison*”, qu’on ne l’enterre pas ailleurs, mais qu’il reste dans sa terre, “*là où gisent ses parents*”, “*là, où il y a l’âtre de la maison*”. Cependant les propriétaires/propriétés n’ont pas tous leur propre place d’enterrement. “*Les enterrements se faisaient par groupes de maisons: les familles n’avaient pas toutes leur propre cimetière, mais il y avait plusieurs cimetières dans chaque village et chaque hameau.*” Autrement-dit, si quelqu’un n’avait pas de place d’enterrement sur sa propriété, il était enterré chez ses voisins: “*Il n’habite pas loin, mais là il n’y avait pas de cimetière, de sorte qu’on l’a enterré ici*”. Nous remarquons donc que la place d’enterrement est mise en relation avec trois notions: la propriété foncière (le jardin), la maison et le voisinage.

En ce qui concerne le groupe de personnes enterrées dans le même endroit, nous rencontrons deux notions: le voisinage et le degré de parenté, avec une prépondérance évidente pour la seconde: “*Ici les gens sont enterrés par familles*”. Ne nous laissons pas tromper: la parenté dans le cas étudié représente les ascendants et seulement dans des cas spéciaux les collatéraux<sup>7</sup>. Cependant les ascendants ne sont pas tous enterrés dans le même endroit, mais généralement ceux qui héritent de la maison, c’est-à-dire les cadets: “*Autrefois, le cadet restait à sa demeure ancienne*”; “*c’était lui qui restait à la maison et portait le tour*”. Simplifiant et généralisant les choses, nous pouvons affirmer que dans un même endroit sont enterrés de chaque génération les cadets avec leurs femmes et leurs enfants décédés avant le mariage. Les frères de ces héritiers soit achètent de la terre dans un autre endroit et seront enterrés sur la nouvelle propriété (ou chez un voisin)<sup>8</sup>, soit deviennent “gendres”<sup>9</sup> et seront enterrés dans les “tombes” de leur beau-père. Les filles se marient et suivent leur époux tant dans la vie que dans la mort.

En guise de conclusions, les principes qui patronnent la transmission du patrimoine immobile règlent aussi la composition du groupe de ceux qui sont enterrés sur une propriété. Les exclus semblent être les collatéraux et les ascendants qui n’ont pas droit d’héritage sur la maison. Cependant ils peuvent être enterrés dans la place d’origine, s’ils habitent dans le voisinage<sup>10</sup>. Cela en ce qui concerne le noyau familial qui est le propriétaire du terrain où se trouvent les tombes; cependant dans nombre de cas on y enterre tant les membres de la famille que les voisins: “*A H. il n’y a que les membres de la famille, mais ici, à T., il y a des étrangers aussi*”<sup>11</sup>.

## Le cimetière

La première église dans la commune de Râșca fut fondée en 1862, conduisant ainsi à l'apparition du premier cimetière autour d'elle. Cette église sera démolie pendant les années 70 de notre siècle et le cimetière commencera peu à peu à disparaître. A partir de 1979, les autorités interviennent et interdisent les enterrements sur les propriétés. C'est le moment de naissance des cimetières uniques dans chaque village – les cimetières organisés. C'est aussi l'époque des changements et des ruptures. Pour les autochtones, le cimetière unique est une forme d'enterrement urbain: *"C'est Ceaușescu qui fit ces règles, de créer le cimetière. Auparavant, chez nous il n'y avait pas de cimetière, uniquement dans les villes, pas chez nous! Dans les villes il y avait des cimetières depuis longtemps déjà, chez nous il n'y en avait point!"* La vie des villages est bouleversée, on y enregistre des résistances, avec des victoires et des défaites. Les gens ne veulent pas enterrer au cimetière: ils préfèrent payer une amende ou une certaine taxe pour pouvoir enterrer chez eux. La mort se vend. Il est inconcevable que les époux ne soient pas enterrés l'un à côté de l'autre. Comment enterrer l'époux au cimetière alors que l'épouse est enterrée à la maison? On paie des amendes, on fait des démarches auprès de la mairie et on obtient la permission d'enterrer chez soi, ou, ce qui est grave, on procède à l'exhumation de l'époux qui a été enterré à la maison et on le met près de son épouse, au cimetière. La place d'enterrement de toute une famille commence peu à peu à disparaître. La communauté désavoue de telles pratiques: *"Le mort est mort, qu'il repose là-bas, pourquoi le transférer!"*

Pour avoir un cimetière, quelqu'un doit céder une partie de sa propriété dans ce but. A Onicești, la famille qui donne la place destinée au cimetière le fait à une seule condition: recevoir la permission d'enterrer son grand-père sur son domaine. Pour la place du cimetière il y a eu deux variantes: un terrain à la périphérie du village ou un autre, au centre, près de la mairie, de l'église et de l'école. On a choisi cette dernière solution, car l'autre terrain *"était trop mauvais, étant situé à la périphérie"*; au centre il était mieux, car *"Vous comprenez, l'idée que l'homme ne meurt pas, vous comprenez, qu'il soit au centre (du village – n.t.), pour entendre les cloches, la musique, les gens passer... nous avons voulu le faire en bas (du terrain – n.t.) du monsieur B., c'est là qu'ils ont voulu nous donner une place; ce terrain-là était plus rocheux, il n'a pas plu (aux gens – n.t.). Ils ne voulaient pas être enterrés entre les pierres et le désert"*. Les habitants de Râșca ne valorisent pas positivement la vallée (en bas), les *"coltaie"*<sup>12</sup> et la périphérie, mais les plate-formes arables (en haut) et le centre<sup>13</sup>.

Nous avons déjà établi que la place d'enterrement était mise en relation avec trois notions: la propriété, la maison et le voisinage. Rien de tout cela ne fonctionne plus au cimetière. Maintenant, le seul souci est de se réserver un espace compact pour sa famille, dans une "bonne" zone du cimetière. L'unité de la famille après la mort reste la seule constante héritée du système d'enterrement sur les propriétés. La famille reste unitaire tant dans la vie que dans la mort: *"C'est une règle: que la famille soit unie (au cimetière)"*; *"Tous, l'un près de l'autre... toute la famille... époux, épouses, cousins... frères, neveux. Les étrangers sont mis ailleurs"*. La tendance de formation au cimetière de véritables lots de famille

conduit à l'apparition de nouveaux phénomènes: l'encerclement, dans le cadre du cimetière, d'un groupe de tombes ou la mise de la croix sur la place d'une future tombe, ce dernier fait étant considéré comme paradoxal pour la communauté: *"Comment, tu as une croix et tu es encore vivant?!"* La parenté structure tant la topographie du village que celle du cimetière. La topographie du cimetière est cependant bouleversée dans quelques villages de la commune par les conséquences, menées à l'extrême, du nouveau système d'enterrement, à savoir l'enterrement par l'ordre du décès – cause d'inquiétude et de mécontentement: *"Là-bas, on les enterre comme ils viennent, l'un près de l'autre... Là-bas, on ne tient pas compte du fait qu'ils sont mari et femme. Je ne comprends pas cette coutume, mais ce n'est pas la bonne. Je n'en ai pas entendu de pareille jusqu'à présent"*.

Au cimetière d'Onicești, certaines places d'enterrement sont meilleures que d'autres: *"Ils voudraient tous être près de la porte, la porte d'entrée, du côté de la route. Plus bas, ils n'aiment pas"*. C'est la raison pour laquelle le cimetière proprement-dit reçoit la forme d'un triangle avec la base vers la route/l'entrée (voir la fig. no. 5). Compte tenu du fait qu'à Onicești (tout comme à Cristești) le cimetière est en pente, avec l'entrée principale près de la route, c'est-à-dire dans la partie supérieure, il en résulte que les bonnes places sont en haut et vers le centre (entrée/voie d'accès) et les mauvaises en bas, vers la périphérie. Dans le cadre du cimetière il y a trois catégories de croix, qui reflètent la puissance économique et donc le prestige social des défunts. Car la communauté des morts est une image fidèle de la communauté des vivants: croix en pierre, en fer et en bois. Les croix en pierre sont rencontrées dans les "bonnes" zones du cimetière; celles en fer dans la zone intermédiaire et celles en bois sont pour les "mauvaises" places (voir le tableau no. 1 et la fig. no. 5).

Tableau no. 1

Matériel de construction de la croix	pierre	fer	bois
Valorisation de la place au cimetière	bonne place	place moyenne	mauvaise place
Axe verticale	en haut	au milieu	en bas
Axe horizontale	au centre	au milieu	à la périphérie

## Direction Ouest-Est

**L**es morts sont enterrés sur la direction ouest-est, les pieds vers l'est, tout comme les églises, qui sont construites sur la même direction, avec l'autel vers l'est. Si nous considérons que la communauté des vivants est la communauté de ceux réunis à l'église et si nous déplaçons l'axe horizontale (de la mort) vers l'axe verticale (de la vie), nous remarquons que les données dont nous disposons jusqu'à présent pourraient être structurées comme il suit (voir le tableau no. 2):

Tableau no. 2

Est	vie	verticale	église	communauté des vivants
Ouest	mort	horizontale	cimetière	communauté des morts

Le caractère obligatoire de l'enterrement sur la direction ouest-est crée, dans une communauté avoisinée à celle étudiée, un problème spécial. Tout comme nous avons mentionné plus haut, tant à Onicești qu'à Cristești les cimetières sont situés sur un terrain en pente, mais si dans le premier cas le terrain descend vers l'est et donc l'impression est que les morts sont enterrés la tête plus haut que les pieds, ce qui ne suscite aucune réaction de la part des habitants, dans le second cas la pente est vers l'ouest et les défunts semblent être enterrés les pieds plus haut que la tête. A Cristești, *"les gens disent que les morts sont enterrés la tête en bas"*, ce qui provoque des mécontentements. Car un enterrement "la tête en bas" équivaut à une naissance; on vient au monde du haut en bas, la tête avant, mais il convient d'en sortir par un mouvement ouest-est, les pieds avant. En continuant ce parallèle, nous mentionnons que si la naissance représente un processus humide, la mort en revanche est un processus sec: *"Ce n'est pas bien qu'il y ait de l'eau. Une fois, quelqu'un a été enterré à la maison et la tombe était pleine d'eau. On l'a enlevée, mais ce n'est pas bien. Ce n'est pas bien qu'il y ait de l'eau"* – voilà, à l'avis des habitants de Rașca, la description d'un enterrement dans une mauvaise place. Par conséquent, les places considérées bonnes pour un enterrement sont les tertres: *"S'il y a un tertre, c'est là qu'on fait la tombe"*.

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## Direction Nord-Sud

Nous avons remarqué ci-dessus que la femme suit son mari dans la vie et dans la mort. Autrement-dit, la femme est toujours enterrée à côté de son mari et ce n'est que dans des cas spéciaux que cette union dans la mort peut être rompue. La règle générale est que la femme soit enterrée à la gauche de son mari (point de référence – l'Est): *"Comme au mariage... l'homme est toujours à droite"*. Enfin, la plupart des croix en pierre sont pour des tombes doubles (mari/femme) et ont une photographie où les deux époux sont présentés dans une position contraire à celle de l'enterrement. Il semble que cette inversion de la position de la photo renvoie toujours aux pratiques du mariage: *"Quand il sort (de l'église, après la célébration du mariage), il passe à droite (de la jeune mariée) et devient le protecteur de la famille"*<sup>14</sup>.

## Attitudes en mouvement

Pour la zone analysée, les 30 dernières années ont représenté une période de grandes transformations, une véritable mutation en ce qui concerne les attitudes à l'égard de la mort et des morts. La plupart des tombes sont des places qui, à première vue, ne font qu'indiquer qu'une personne y a été enterrée: deux-trois croix en bois,

à moitié pourries, sur lesquelles il est impossible de déchiffrer les noms. Par conséquent, des tombes dépersonnalisées d'un monde qui "parle" beaucoup et "écrit" moins ou pas du tout. En dépit de cela, les places avec des tombes représentent de véritables "endroits de la mémoire", car on peut avoir la surprise que le propriétaire de la maison située dans le voisinage d'un tel endroit puisse nommer jusqu'à 20 personnes qui y sont enterrées et même indiquer la place d'enterrement de chacune. Il *sait* et *voit*: les anciennes tombes dont la croix a disparu sont dépistées avec une habileté remarquable, selon un enfoncement du sol sur la longueur du cercueil. Le cimetière est un endroit de la mémoire: non seulement de *ta* mémoire, mais plutôt de la mémoire de tous. De plus, le cimetière, grâce aux croix réalisées en matériaux résistants, est aussi un endroit de la mémoire écrite.

Les nouvelles tombes sont, semble-t-il, faites à durer, car à présent au-dessous et au-dessus du cercueil on met un "pont" de planches<sup>15</sup>, ce qui fait que le terre qui se forme sur la place d'enterrement après l'obturation de la tombe soit plus grand encore: "*Main-tenant ils mettent un pont pour se vanter de leur richesse...*" Une belle tombe est haute et au cimetière il n'y a que de telles tombes.

Il y a une différence radicale entre l'aspect du cimetière et la plupart des endroits à tombes: d'une part, des tombes soignées, périodiquement nettoyées et même couvertes de fleurs et, d'autre part, un manque total de soin, un manque "naturel" à notre avis, parce que l'espace des tombes s'intègre parfaitement dans le paysage et n'est pas enclos, tandis que le cimetière est une place distincte et clôturée. Comme si l'espace du cimetière était plutôt culturel, alors que celui des tombes est naturel.

Les places d'enterrement sur les propriétés sont, comme nous venons de le mentionner, parfaitement intégrées dans le paysage et reflètent une certaine attitude par rapport aux morts: "*On pensait au défunt pendant une année, car l'on fait des requiems à six semaines, à un an, puis, c'est fini. Et quand la croix tombait, que Dieu l'accueille chez Lui, on fauchait... personne ne se rappelait plus rien*". En effet, sur le terrain où l'on savait qu'il y avait des tombes on pouvait faucher, mais ce n'était pas de bon augure "*bécher la terre au-dessus des tombes*<sup>16</sup>... *On dit que des gens de D.M. ont labouré et ont semé un terrain où il y avait des tombes: Dieu les a punis, car à présent aucun d'eux ne se porte bien*"<sup>17</sup>. Ce n'était pas la seule interdiction en ce qui concerne les terrains à tombes; ils provoquaient aussi la crainte, principalement pendant les nuits de mardi et vendredi, la crainte des revenants et surtout des enfants décédés et non baptisés: "*Ils sont le diable incarné*". Cependant la peur se manifeste toujours vis-à-vis des tombes de l'autre – "*Quand on passe près des tombes des autres on pense qu'on n'aime pas l'endroit, qu'il est étranger*" –, jamais des siennes: "*Moi, je n'ai pas eu peur* (de ses tombes, situées près de sa maison); *d'autres disaient entendre pendant la nuit les revenants, mais Dieu merci, je n'ai jamais rien entendu*". Les cimetières ne jouissent pas d'un meilleur renommée non plus, d'autant plus qu'il s'agit des tombes de tout le monde. Tant à Onicești qu'à Cristești l'organisation des cimetières s'est heurtée à l'opposition de ceux qui habitaient dans le voisinage, conduisant même, comme par exemple à Onicești, à l'abandon d'une maison pour cette raison.

Ce qu'on peut surprendre à présent sur le terrain est une diffusion du modèle de cimetière: les espaces à tombes ont la tendance de devenir de petits cimetières. Cela veut dire que sur les propriétés l'on met de nos jours, lors de l'enterrement, des croix en pierre ou en fer, le bois devenant un matériel de moins en moins utilisé à la fabrication des croix;

les tombes sont soignées et l'endroit est enclos avec des clôtures en fer forgé. De plus, les croix votives – les “*restigniri*”, comme les appellent les habitants –, qui n'existaient que devant l'église et le cimetière organisé, apparaissent à présent dans le cadre des nouveaux cimetières également. En guise de conclusions, l'évolution actuelle conduit aux cimetières de famille, qui ne rappellent en rien, du point de vue de leur aspect, les anciens espaces à tombes, mais renvoient directement au cimetière organisé. Une preuve supplémentaire pour le changement d'attitude à l'égard des morts et de la mort est le fait qu'après 1989 on n'a pas renoncé au cimetière organisé. Les gens continuent à y faire des enterrements en vertu d'un raisonnement du genre: “*qu'importe où l'on sera enterré? C'est toujours dans la terre qu'on y va*”. Même ceux qui ont fait don du terrain pour le cimetière (voir plus haut) ne veulent plus être enterrés à la maison, mais au cimetière. Le nouveau modèle de cimetière, imposé au début, est devenu un modèle assumé et accepté. D'ici quelque temps, les anciens espaces à tombes disparaîtront ou se transformeront en cimetières. Tout comme les hommes, les cimetières naissent, vivent et meurent.



## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Toutes les données relatives à la position géographique et à l'histoire de cette communes sont extraites de l'ouvrage en manuscrit appartenant au professeur IOAN VÂTCA, *Monografia comunei Râșca*.

<sup>2</sup> Bien que dans la terminologie des autochtones les sous-divisions alpines s'appellent “collines”.

<sup>3</sup> Les notions de “village” et “hameau” ne faisaient pas partie du bagage conceptuel des habitants de Râșca. Le prof. I. Vâțca affirme avoir de la peine à faire comprendre aux enfants ces deux notions. C'est uniquement le toponyme qui est couramment utilisé: “*Quelqu'un est d'Onicești*”, c'est tout. Ce qui caractérise ces “communautés” est l'église et l'école; dans la ville il y a sept églises et sept écoles.

<sup>4</sup> 6.549 km<sup>2</sup>, soit 9% de la superficie du département de Cluj.

<sup>5</sup> Incluse du point de vue administratif au village de Râșca.

<sup>6</sup> Toutes contiennent un lot de terre avec une telle destination.

<sup>7</sup> Voir l'Annexe, *fig. no. 1*, le cas de P.T.

<sup>8</sup> Voir l'Annexe, *fig. no. 1, fig. no. 2*.

<sup>9</sup> Autrement-dit, le mariage est matrilocal (après le mariage, le mari s'établit dans la maison de sa femme) et non pas virilocal (la femme vient dans la maison de son mari), comme d'habitude.

<sup>10</sup> Voir l'Annexe, *fig. no. 4*, le cas de Is.H. et *fig. no. 3*, le cas de 1, 2, 3.

<sup>11</sup> Voir l'Annexe, *fig. no. 3* et *fig. no. 2*.

<sup>12</sup> *Coltaie* = endroit rocheux.

<sup>13</sup> Dans cette zone de montagnes la communication la plus rapide se fait sur les cimes et c'est toujours sur les cimes et sur les pentes douces que le terrain est propice à l'agriculture. Les vallées profondes et abruptes de la rivière Râșca et de ses affluents sont impropres aux cultures. D'ailleurs, les habitants de Râșca, qui était à l'origine un village de meuniers et donc de vallée, ont construit leurs maisons sur les cimes, de sorte qu'à présent la vallée n'est peuplée que par les ruines des anciens moulins.

<sup>14</sup> Il semble cependant que dans les photos habituelles la femme se trouve comme au mariage – à la gauche de son mari. Faisant une photo à quelques autochtones (mari/femme), la femme s'est mise au début à la droite de son mari, mais celui-ci l'a fait passer à sa gauche, en disant que c'était la bonne position.

<sup>15</sup> C'est une nouvelle pratique, qui n'était pas utilisée il y a quelques décennies.

<sup>16</sup> C'est-à-dire labourer ce terrain.

<sup>17</sup> Tous les deux sont malades.

## Annexe

### Légende

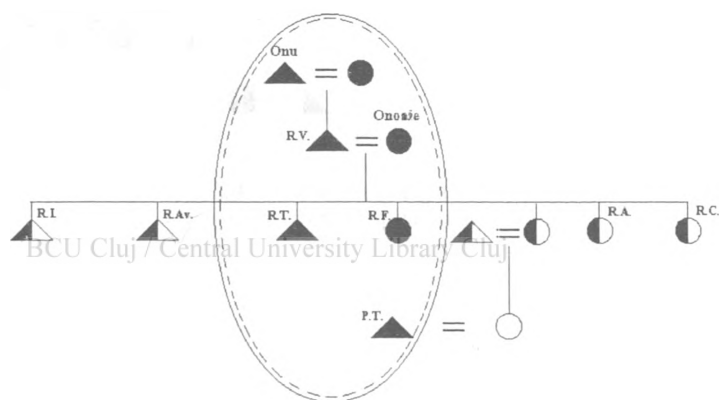
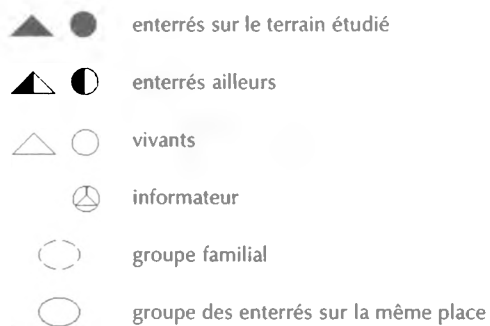


Fig. no. 1. Tombes "à Onoiaie"

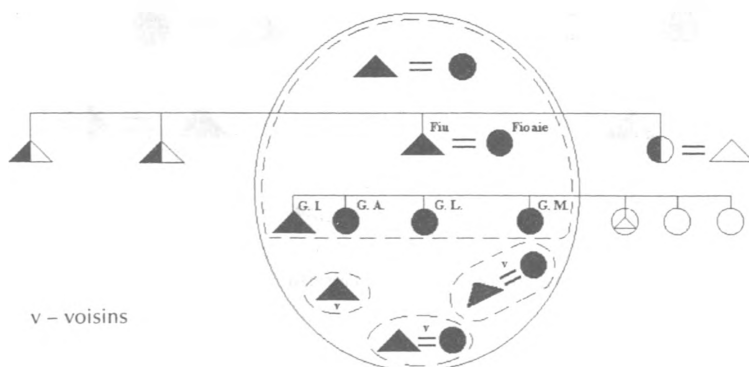
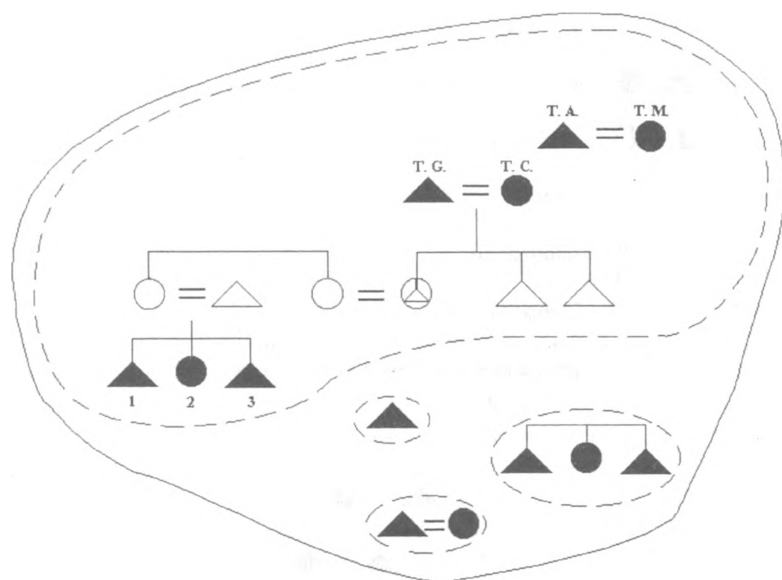
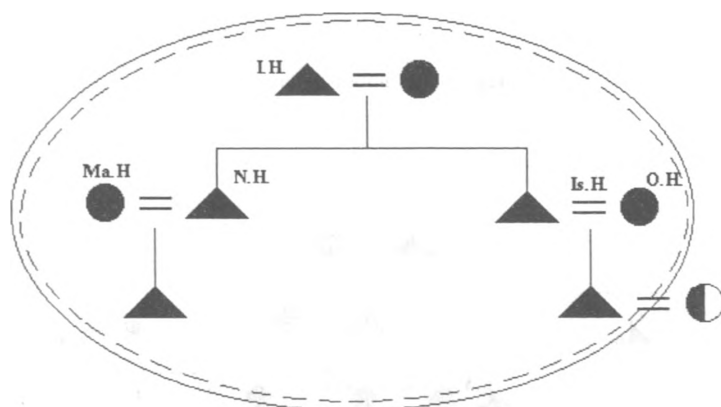


Fig. no. 2. Tombes "à Flu"





**Fig. no. 3.** Tombes "à Tuturuz"  
T.A. et T.M. sont le parrain et la marraine de T.G. et T.C.



**Fig. no. 4.** Tombes "à Horjești"

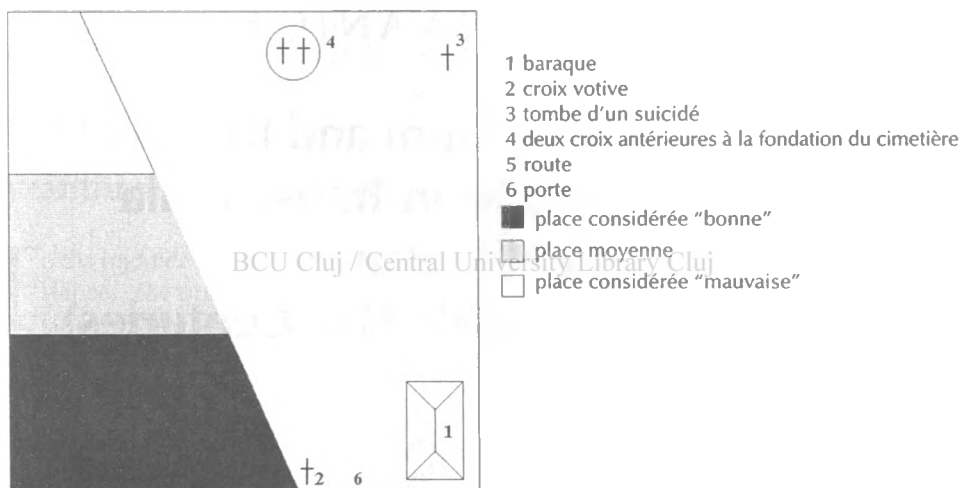


Fig. no. 5. Esquisse du cimetière d'Onicești

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## TRANSSILVANICA

# Byzantium and the Political Entities in Transylvania and the Banat (the 10th-11th Centuries)

VASILE MĂRCULEȚ

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*The loss of its political  
influence in the North-  
Danubian regions made  
Constantinople intensify its  
religious actions in the  
territories under  
Hungarian rule.*

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Setting the border of the Byzantine Empire along the Danube – from its confluence with the Sava to its mouth – between the end of the 10th century and the beginning of the 11th, and the presence of the empire on the left bank of the river resulted quite naturally in the complete resuming of the relations between Byzantium and the Romanic population in the region. These relations had been interrupted or reduced significantly in the previous epoch by the political and ethnic changes north of the Balkans.

Simultaneously with the political and military revival of the Byzantine Empire, the political entities in Transylvania and the Banat, which were quite advanced from a political, social and economic point of view, asserted themselves around the middle of the 10th century. Ruling over an Orthodox majority and aiming at obtaining external political recognition, their rulers aspired, between the second half of the 10th century and the beginning of the 11th, to establish political and religious relations with

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The abridged version of this paper is a subchapter of the author's Ph.D. thesis.

Byzantium, the main Eastern European power and the center of the Orthodox world. Interested in its turn to control and influence these regions politically, religiously and culturally, the Byzantine Empire fulfilled the aspirations of the local leaders by recognizing them, but only as vassals of the empire.

## Byzantium and the Transylvanian political entity

In the middle of the 10th century, due to a favorable combination of external circumstances, the political intra-Carpathian entity established political and religious relations with Byzantium. This was nothing new. As early as the time before the Magyars settled in Pannonia, the neighboring political entities between the Middle Danube and the Carpathians had similar relations, as mentioned by the Anonymous Notary. In his *Gesta Hungarorum* (The Hungarians' Feats), he mentions the sometimes very close relations between the *duchies* of Menumorut and Salanus, and the Byzantine Empire<sup>1</sup>.

Several Byzantine chroniclers from the 11th and the 12th century – Ioannis Skylitzes, Georgios Kedrenos and Ioannis Zonaras – report that around the year 950, a voivode named Gylas went to Constantinople where he joined the Orthodox Christian faith.

*“Shortly after Bulosudes”, says Georgios Kedrenos, “Gylas, another Turkish (Hungarian, my note) prince, came into the imperial city, where he was baptized and received the same privileges and honors. But he also brought back with him a monk named Hierotheos, famous for his piety, whom Theophylaktos (the ecumenical patriarch, my note) had ordained bishop of Turkey (Hungary in the case of the lands ruled by Gylas, my note). Once there, the latter turned many from the wrong faith of the barbarians to Christianity. Gylas then remained faithful to this religion and he himself never raided the empire of the Romaics (Byzantines, my note).”<sup>2</sup>*

Ioannis Zonaras also says:

*“The Turks (Hungarians, my note), who had been previously used to raid the lands of the Romaic, stayed calm for some time, because their duke Bulosudes and the prince of one of the lands, Gylas, came to the emperor (Constantine VII, my note) and both were baptized and learnt the secrets of our faith. And they received the rank of patricius and they returned loaded with gifts to their seats, bringing with them a bishop through whom many came to know God. And Gylas remained faithful to his religion and preserved the peace.”<sup>3</sup>*

The history of the intra-Carpathian political entity raises a series of problems related to the ethnic origin of its ruler and his name. The contradictory data provided by the various sources led to equally controversial opinions in the more recent history works too. However, I will not dwell on them, as they are in general well known. I will only

review the information transmitted and the hypotheses it leads to. *De administrando imperio* by Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos (945-959) suggests that he was a Petcheneg and that his name derived from that of the *Gylas* (Γύλας) tribe headed by a certain Curcutai. The respective tribe or “the land of Lower Gylas borders the land of the Turks (Hungarians, my note).”<sup>4</sup> This information allows us to locate the said tribe in the intra-Carpathian region, therefore in the area where the political entity that would establish relations with Byzantium later formed. In fact, the penetration of the Petchenegs into the North-Danubian territories led to the theory of the Petcheneg origin of the Transylvanian ruler.

Another hypothesis suggested by various sources hints at the Hungarian origin of Gylas. The same imperial writing says that the name *Gylas* refers to a Hungarian high position, the next in rank after the ruler of the state, to be found also with other Turkic peoples<sup>5</sup>. The Arabic chronicler Ibn Rusta and the Persian writer Gardizi formulated similar opinions<sup>6</sup>. In this case, as in so many others, the name of the institution was taken over, as a proper name, by its holder. The same Hungarian origin of Gylas is supported by the Byzantine chroniclers Ioannis Skylitzes, Georgios Kedrenos and Ioannis Zonaras, as well as by the Hungarian sources. Anonymous Notary thus considers Gylas a direct descendent of Tuhutum, the Magyar chieftain who had replaced Gelou as head of the political entity in the Transylvanian Plateau at the end of the 9th century.

“And Tuhutum fathered Horca. Horca fathered Gula (Gylas, my note) and Zombor.”<sup>7</sup>

Bishop Hierotheos, who came with Gylas from Byzantium, played an important role in promoting the policies and the influence of the empire in this area. Apart from spreading the Orthodox Christian faith among the local population, he must have had as a main task the organization of the new Church, which was placed under the jurisdiction of Constantinople. It is difficult to know where exactly the bishop's seat was, but it certainly was within the borders of the political center of the respective entity or in its immediate vicinity. A number of specialists placed it in Transylvania. Some of them opted for Dăbâca, others for Bălgrad (Alba-Iulia), a city where a 10th century Byzantine rotunda was discovered, and where a trefoil church existed until the 18th century, that functioned as seat of the Orthodox metropolitan bishopric<sup>8</sup>. Others, mainly the historians of the Church, opt quite on the contrary for locating it outside the area inhabited by the Romanians, in Eastern Hungary or by the Tisza, a region where they also place Gylas lands<sup>9</sup>. The information we have allows us to draw the conclusion that the geographic area under bishop Hierotheos' jurisdiction was mainly the intra-Carpathian region, even if certain territories west of the Western Carpathians may have been under his religious authority too. The bishopric he headed was therefore an *intra-Carpathian (Transylvanian) bishopric*. Where its seat was located is a matter to be figured out by further researches.

It wasn't just religious relations that existed between the Byzantine Empire and the political entity ruled by Gylas, but also political ones. The title of *patricius* given to the North-Danubian ruler on his visit to Constantinople meant the integration of the political entity he ruled into the Byzantine system of suzerain-vassal relations. Through this

political act, Gylas himself became the basileus' vassal. The high title, given only to the very important persons in the empire or to certain foreign rulers, clearly reveals both the importance the Byzantine authorities attached to their relations with the intra-Carpathian political entity, and their undisguised intention to control and influence by any means the respective territories. Proportionately speaking, we can say that the Byzantine political and religious activity in the North-Danubian Romanian area around the year 950 is somehow similar to the empire's Christianization of the Bulgarians (the 9th century) and the Russians (the 10th century), and its attempt to Christianize the Hungarians in the Eastern faith (the 10th century). This was an unquestionable success, if we take into account that while the Hungarians finally opted for the Western faith, the majority of the Romanians, even those under Hungarian rule, remained Orthodox.

At the beginning of the 11th century, Byzantium's unequivocal triumph in its confrontation with Samuel's Bulgaria and the firm re-establishing of the empire's border along the Danube led to a significant resuscitation of the relations between the Byzantine Empire and the North-Danubian Romanian territories. The relationships of the empire with the political entities in Transylvania and the Banat in particular played a major part in the epoch.

At the beginning of the 11th century, the local political entity in Transylvania had entered a higher stage in its evolution. It got stronger and, as far as the institution of the voivodate is concerned, the power was handed down on a hereditary basis<sup>10</sup>. Under these circumstances, one of Gylas' successors from the previous century, bearing the same name or at least called in some of the chronicles Gylas the Young (*Gylas minor*), continued his predecessor's policy. This was in complete contradiction with the policy of Stephen I (997-1038), the recently enthroned *apostolic king* of Hungary. The Transylvanian voivode's policy was part of the wider policy of the local political entities with a population majority of Orthodox faith to tighten the relations with the Orthodox world, especially Byzantium, which was considered its center. It aimed to counteract the Catholic Hungary's aspirations to domination and to obtain their own international legal recognition. This was in full agreement with the feelings of the local population, which had preserved

*"the consciousness that they represent something else, another world and another order, that it is the keeper of a tradition of established civilization, which still linked it to the empire through countless threads."*<sup>11</sup>

Under these circumstances, Hungary's Catholic king and the Transylvanian voivode who contested his authority started an armed conflict against one another during the first years of the 11th century. In 1002, according to the Hildesheim chronicles, in 1003, according to the chronicles of Altaich, or even 1018, according to Thietmar's, Stephen I carried out a military campaign against Gylas whom he defeated and captured<sup>12</sup>. Certain Hungarian chroniclers tried to explain the Hungarian king's action by suggesting that the Transylvanian voivode was a heathen. However, they could not hush the true reasons that generated it, i.e. the political ones. Thus, Anonymous Notary says that Gylas

*“did not want to be a Christian (et noluit esse christianus) and opposed the holy king Stephen on several occasions (et multa contraria faciebat sancto regi Stephano)”*, or that *“the land over the forests was owned by Tuhutum’s successors until the time of the holy king Stephen, and they would have still owned it, if Gylas the Young had accepted to be Christian (christiani esse voluissent) [...], and if he had not constantly worked against the holy king (semper contrarie sancto regi non feccisent).”*<sup>13</sup>

The question is if Anonymous Notary does not equate Orthodoxy, which was considered schismatic, with paganism, as many other sources such as *Chronicon pictum Vin-dobonense* do when presenting the events that happened in Hungary and Transylvania several decades later. When reporting on the uprising of 1046 against King Peter, among whose leaders were also Gylas’ sons, Buia and Bucna, *Chronicon pictum* calls the insurgents either “heretics” or “heathen”, and shows that they demanded that *“the bishops and the [Catholic] clergy should be killed, also the tithe collectors should be killed, and the heathen law should be restored.”*<sup>14</sup>

Apart from Gylas’ religion, the information provided by Anonymous Notary clearly reveals that the dethroning of the Transylvanian voivode was due to political causes, namely his opposition to the Hungarian king’s hegemonic policy, and that the religious factor was only a pretext, not the real cause for the Hungarian intervention. Or, in order to pursue such an autonomous policy, the Transylvanian voivode must have been protected by a great power, which, in this case, could only be Byzantium, at the acme of its strength at that time.

Irrespective of date, 1002, 1003 or 1018, King Stephen I’s action was favored by the political and military situation in the south-east of the continent. At a time when the Byzantine Empire was engaged with its entire military potential against the Bulgarian Tsarate, and having at the same time a political and military alliance with Hungary, materialized in the participation of Hungarian troops in the battles against Tsar Samuel (after 1000)<sup>15</sup>, Emperor Basil II found himself in the impossibility to put any kind of pressure on the Hungarian Kingdom or of helping his protégé.

## Byzantium and the Banat Voivodate

By setting the Byzantine Empire border along the Banat segment of the Danube, following the conquest of Vidin and the surrounding of the region by the imperial troops (1004), Byzantium included the political entity in the Banat ruled by voivode Ahtum (Ohtum, Aithony) in its sphere of influence. The evolution of his relations with Byzantium and Hungary has striking similarities with that of the intra-Carpathian political entity.

At the beginning of the 11th century, the native society in the Banat region had reached a high level of feudalization, and the Banat political entity was well organized from a political point of view and powerful. Its voivode (*princeps*) was a “very powerful” (*potens valde*) ruler who

*“boasted very much about his strength and power (qui nimium gloribatur in virtute et in potentia sua) [...] relying on the countless soldiers and nobles (multitudo militum et nobilium) over whom he had power.”*<sup>16</sup>

Here too, as in the case of the intra-Carpathian entity, the institution of the voivode had reached a high level of evolution. This dignity was transmitted hereditarily too, directly or collaterally. Ahtum himself was, according to Anonymous Notary, Glad's direct offspring,

*“of whose progeny Ohtum descended after a long time (ex cuius etiam progenie longo tempore descenderat Ohtum).”*<sup>17</sup>

At the beginning of the 11th century, the Banat political entity covered a relatively large region north-west of the North-Danubian Romanian territories, *“from the river Criș to the Transylvanian parts, and as far as Vidin and Severin.”*<sup>18</sup> This was therefore a political entity that played an important role in the region.

Aiming to get the recognition of the Byzantine Empire, the main power it was bordering, to an alliance with which the faith of the population majority also hinted, Ahtum accepted to become a Christian. He was baptized in the Orthodox faith in Vidin, where Basil II had established a bishopric after the conquest. Referring to this event, Ahtum – says *Vita Sancti Gerardi* –

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*“had been baptized in the Greek religion in the city of Vidin [...] and he built in the said city of Morissena a monastery dedicated to Saint John the Baptist, and put there a Greek abbot and monks according to their rules and tradition.”*<sup>19</sup>

He was undoubtedly forced to resort to this measure by the policy of the Catholic Hungary, which had attacked and subdued the neighboring intra-Carpathian political entity during those very years. In exchange, despite its expansionary policy in the Balkan Peninsula, the Byzantine Empire represented a much smaller threat than Hungary, as the authorities in Constantinople showed no intention of conquering the North-Danubian territories<sup>20</sup>. Although we do not know for sure the precise date when the Banat ruler was baptized, we can however say that it was certainly after 1004.

As always in such cases, suzerain-vassal relations were established between the basileus and Ahtum, the Banat voivode thus having his rule recognized. The hagiographic source, *Vita Sancti Gerardi*, in fact confirms this opinion:

*“Ahtum received the power from the Greeks (accepit autem potestatem a Grecis).”*<sup>21</sup>

The vassal status of the empire did not affect in the least Ahtum's independence, because the Byzantium authorities did not intervene in the internal political issues of his political entity.

However, the organization of the local Church, which was to play an important role in maintaining and consolidating the influence of the empire in these regions, concentrated



the attention of the imperial authorities, being in fact the only field in which they interfered in the internal problems of the Banat political entity. Among the Orthodox bishoprics founded by Basil II between 1019-1020 there was one located in the Banat, *Di-biskos*, whose name could be a distorted form of the ancient Tibiscum (Jupa) or Tibiscos (Timiș). It was subordinated to the newly established Archbishopric of Ochrid<sup>22</sup>. Going back to the Christianization of the Banat ruler, if we put together these data with the others we have, we could state that Ahtum was baptized in the Orthodox faith surely sometime between 1004-1019/1020.

With his external positions consolidated due to the recognition he got from Byzantium, Ahtum displayed his autonomistic tendencies with regard to Hungary and its king to whom "*he did not submit*."<sup>23</sup> This was accompanied by a series of economic measures that emphasized the status of independent ruler, such as setting up his own custom for the royal salt transported on the Mureș towards the Hungarian Kingdom.

*"And he took possession of the royal salt that was being ferried downstream on the Mureș", says Vita Sancti Gerardi, "placing tax collectors and guards on all the piers up to the Tisza, and putting it all under his tax."*<sup>24</sup>

The Banat ruler's policy of independence brought about the reaction of King Stephen I, who carried out a military expedition against him around 1028-1030. Betrayed by one of his men, Chanadinus (Sunad, according to Anonymous Notary), Ahtum was defeated and killed<sup>25</sup>. The Hungarian operation was facilitated by the general crisis of the Byzantine Empire that occurred shortly after the death of Basil II (1025) and the outbreak of the Petcheneg campaigns south of the Lower Danube (1027), which forced Byzantium to concentrate most of its military resources in an effort to defend the Balkan provinces. This put the imperial court in the impossibility to support its vassal.

According to the existing information, we believe that the Hungarian operations against the political entities in Transylvania and the Banat between the 1st and the 3rd decades of the 11th century was dictated in the first place by political reasons: the tendency towards quasi-autonomy or even independence of the two local leaders, Gylas and Ahtum, Byzantium's vassals and protégés, that were in contradiction with the aspirations of suzerainty or even direct domination of the Arpadian Hungary. On the other hand, although an ally of the Byzantine Empire at that time, Hungary could not accept an increase in Constantinople's political influence in a region considered to be in its exclusive sphere of influence. To these we should add the Hungarian king's attempt to counteract the centrifugal tendency of a warring aristocracy insufficiently accustomed to sedentary life and living from the benefits of war, concentrating and wasting its energies in external campaigns. The religious factor, if there was such a factor, remains therefore a pretext, not the cause of the Catholic Hungary's action against the political entities in Transylvania and the Banat. In fact, the frequently invoked religious cause of the Hungarian aggression against the respective political entities is categorically contradicted by the religious tolerance showed by King Stephen I with regard to Orthodoxy, as an unquestionable result of the political and military alliance between Byzantium and Hungary.

The Hungarian conquest however did not mean that Byzantium lost interest in these regions. On the contrary, its good relations with Hungary at the beginning of the 11th century, and mainly the risk of losing completely the influence of the empire and of the Eastern Church in the territories under the Hungarian king's jurisdiction in favor of the Western Church, determined the Byzantine authorities to make intense diplomatic efforts in order to preserve their positions. As the dispute with Hungary had been lost on a political plane, Byzantium concentrated its efforts on a religious plane. An important victory was won in 1028 when, almost simultaneously with Stephen I's action against Ahtum, an Orthodox metropolitan bishopric was founded in the territories of the Hungarian Kingdom: *The Metropolitan Bishopric of Turkey* (Hungary). The first known bishop, mentioned in a synodal document of January 1028 was "John [the metropolitan bishop] of Turkey (Ἰωάννου Τουρκίας)".<sup>26</sup>

Apart from the synodal document of 1028, the existence of this metropolitan bishopric is confirmed by other sources too: the privilege granted by Stephen I to the Orthodox monastery of Veszprémvolgy at an unknown date and addressed to

"him who rules and heads the Monastery of the Holy Virgin, the bishop";

also the lead seal that reads

"the seal of Antonios, monk, synkellos and proedros of Turkey (Εφραγίς Ἀντωνίου μοναχοῦ, συνκέλλου καὶ προέδρου Τουρκίας)",

who could only be the Orthodox metropolitan bishop<sup>27</sup>.

Based on these data, N.A. Oikonomides draw the conclusion that this *Metropolitan Bishopric of Turkey* (Hungary), which "must be connected to Ahtum's conversion", and can be equally considered a direct outcome of Hierotheos' missionary activity, "is the result of the religious tolerance that characterized the Hungarian Middle Ages."<sup>28</sup> In agreement with the Greek historian's conclusion, we conclude that this *Metropolitan Bishopric of Turkey* (Hungary) must have exercised its jurisdiction over the Orthodox population in the former political entities ruled by Gylas and Ahtum.

**A** synthetic review of the results of my study allows me to draw the following conclusions:

1. Simultaneously with the political and military revival of the Byzantine Empire (the middle of the 10th century – the beginning of the 11th century) and its return to the Danube, the political entities in the intra-Carpathian area and the Banat, situated on a higher stage in their political and organizational evolution, asserted themselves north of the Danube. Aiming at getting international recognition, they established political and military relations with Byzantium, the main Orthodox power in South-Eastern and Central Europe.

2. Around 950, Gylas, the ruler of the intra-Carpathian political entity, and after 1004, Ahtum, the head of the political entity in the Banat, turned to the Orthodox Christian religion and established political and religious relations with the Byzantine Empire. On a political level, the relationship with Byzantium materialized in a superior organization of the local Church, i.e. in the setting up of an *intra-Carpathian Bishopric* directly subordinated to the Patriarchy in Constantinople, headed by bishop Hierotheos (around 950) and, respectively, the foundation of the *Bishopric of Dibiskos* (Tibiscos), subordinated to the Archbishopric of Ochrid (around 1019-1020).
3. At the beginning of the 11th century, taking advantage of the protection of the Byzantine Empire, Gylas the Young, a successor of Gylas from the 10th century, and Ahtum displayed clear tendencies towards autonomy and even independence from the Arpadian Hungary, which brought about the military intervention of King Stephen I, who had been recently converted to the Western Christian faith. Favored by the international circumstances – the fact that the Byzantine Empire was engaged in war with Bulgaria, and its alliance with Hungary in the first years of the 11th century, and respectively Byzantium's crisis after the death of Basil II (1025), aggravated by the outbreak of the Petcheneg invasions south of the Danube, which engaged most of the empire's military resources (beginning with 1027) – Hungary's apostolic king defeated them and captured Gylas the Young (around 1002-1003 or 1018) and killed Ahtum (around 1028-1030), subduing the political entities ruled by them. BCU Cluj / Central University Library Cluj
4. The loss of its political influence in the North-Danubian regions made Constantinople intensify its religious actions in the territories under Hungarian rule. This was favored by the good relations between the two. Significant results were obtained, materialized in the setting up of the *Orthodox Metropolitan Bishopric of Turkey* (Hungary) under the subordination of the ecumenical patriarchy in Constantinople, under whose jurisdiction were also the Eastern faith believers in the former political entities headed by Gylas and Ahtum.

□

## Abbreviations

<i>Actes du XIV<sup>e</sup> Congrès</i>	= <i>Actes du XIV<sup>e</sup> Congrès international des études byzantines. Bucarest 6-12 septembre 1971, București, 1974.</i>
ARBSH	= <i>Academie Roumaine. Bulletin de la Section Historique.</i>
ESR	= <i>Etudes slaves et roumaines.</i>
RESEE	= <i>Revue des études sud-est européennes.</i>
RRHA	= <i>Revue roumaine d'histoire de l'art.</i>
SRH, II	= <i>Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum</i> (ed. by I. SZENTPÉTERY), vol. II, Budapest, 1938.
ST	= <i>Studii teologice.</i>

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> ANONYMUS, *Gesta Hungarorum*, XX, XXVIII, XXXVIII, XXXIX, in POPA-LISSEANU, *Izvoarele istoriei românilor*, vol. I, București, 1934.

<sup>2</sup> Apud I. LUPAȘ, *Din istoria Transilvaniei*, București, 1988, p. 38; apud GH. ȘINCAI, *Hronica românilor*, vol. I, in IDEM, *Opere*, I, București, 1967, pp. 279-280; apud IDEM, *Chronicon Daco-Romanorum sive Valachorum et Pluriam Aliarum Nationum*, in IDEM, *Opere*, IV, București, 1973, pp. 270-271 (*Chronicon Daco-Romanorum*); apud P. MAIOR, *Istoria Bisericii românilor*, vol. I, București, 1995, pp. 91-92.

<sup>3</sup> IOANNIS ZONARAE, *Epitomae historiarum libri XIII-XVIII* (ed. by TH. BUTTNER-WOBST), Bonn, 1897, XVI, 21.

<sup>4</sup> CONSTANTIN PORFIROGENETUL, *Carte de învișătură către fiul său Romanos* (ed. by V. GRECU), București, 1958, 37.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibidem*, 40.

<sup>6</sup> G. MORAVCSIK, *Byzantinoturcica*, vol. II, Berlin, 1958, pp. 115, 155; IDEM, *Byzantium and the Magyars*, Budapest, 1970, p. 108.

<sup>7</sup> ANONYMUS, *op. cit.*, XXVII.

<sup>8</sup> S. MICU, *Scurtă cunoștință a istoriei românilor*, București, 1963, p. 100; P. MAIOR, *op. cit.*, pp. 91-93; I. LUPAȘ, *Din istoria Transilvaniei*, p. 37; IDEM, *Istoria bisericăască a românilor ardeleni*, Cluj-Napoca, 1995, p. 31; D. ONCIUL, *Scieri istorice*, vol. II, București, 1968, pp. 344-345; R. HEITEL, *Archäologische Beiträge zu den romanischen Baudenkmalern aus Südsiebenbürgen*, in *RRHA*, IX, 1972, 2, pp. 139-160; I. BARNEA, *Artă creștină în România*, vol. 2: *Secolele VII-XIII*, București, 1981, pp. 21-22; ȘT. PASCU, *Voievodatul Transilvaniei*, vol. IV, București, 1989, p. 299; S. COLUMBEANU, *Cnezate și voievodate românești*, București, 1973, p. 61; M. RUSU, in *Istoria României. Transilvania*, vol. I, Cluj-Napoca, 1997, p. 302; I.-A. POP, *Istoria Transilvaniei medievale: de la etnogeneza românilor până la Mihai Viteazul*, Cluj-Napoca, 1997, p. 146.

<sup>9</sup> GH. ȘINCAI, *Hronica românilor*, I, pp. 279-280; IDEM, *Chronicon Daco-Romanorum*, pp. 270-271; C. AUNER, *Câteva momente din începuturile Bisericii române*, Blăș, 1902, pp. 87-88; I. RĂMUREANU, *Începuturile creștinării ungurilor în credința ortodoxă a Răsăritului*, in *ST*, s. II, IX, 1957, 1-2, p. 36; M. PĂCURARIU, *Istoria Bisericii Ortodoxe Române*, vol. I, București, 1991, p. 217; T.M. POPESCU, T. STĂNESCU, G.GH. STĂNESCU, *Istoria Bisericească Universală*, vol. I: (1-1054), București, 1956, pp. 323-324.

<sup>10</sup> ANONYMUS, *op. cit.*, XX, XXIV, XXVII.

<sup>11</sup> ȘT. ȘTEFĂNESCU, *Tradiția daco-romană și formarea statelor românești de sine stătătoare*, in *Constituirea statelor feudale românești*, București, 1980, p. 10.

<sup>12</sup> E. GLÜCK, *Cu privire la istoricul părților arădene în epoca voievodatului lui Ahtum*, in *Studii privind istoria Aradului*, București, 1980, p. 128.

<sup>13</sup> ANONYMUS, *op. cit.*, XXIV, XXVII.

<sup>14</sup> *Chronicon pictum Vindobonense*, XXXVI-XXXVIII, in G. POPA-LISSEANU, *op. cit.*, vol. XI, București, 1937.

<sup>15</sup> G. MORAVCSIK, *Byzantium and the Magyars*, p. 62; N.A. OIKONOMIDES, *A propos des relations ecclésiastiques entre Byzance et la Hongrie au XIe siècle; le métropole de Turquie*, in *RESEE*, IX, 1971, 3, p. 531, n. 21; E. GLÜCK, *op. cit.*, pp. 128-129.

<sup>16</sup> *Legenda major. Vita Sancti Gerardi, Moersanae ecclesiae episcopi + 1046*, 10, in I.D. SUCIU, R. CONSTANTINESCU, *Documente privitoare la istoria Banatului*, Timișoara, 1980, pp. 28, 45, doc. 4 (hereafter *Vita Sancti Gerardi*); *Ibidem*, in *SRH*, II, p. 490.

<sup>17</sup> ANONYMUS, *op. cit.*, XLIV.

<sup>18</sup> *Vita Sancti Gerardi*, 10.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>20</sup> E. GLÜCK, *op. cit.*, pp. 128-129.

<sup>21</sup> *Vita Sancti Gerardi*, 10.

<sup>22</sup> M. GYONI, *L'évêché vlaque de l'archevêché bulgare d'Achris aux XIe-XIVe siècles*, in *ESR*, I, 1948, 3, p. 151; N.A. OIKONOMIDES, *op. cit.*, p. 531; E. STĂNESCU, *Byzance et les Pays roumains aux IXe-XVe siècles*, in *Actes du XIVe Congrès*, I, pp. 400-401; G. MORAVCSIK, *Byzantium and the Magyars*, p. 62; I.-A. POP, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

<sup>23</sup> *Vita Sancti Gerardi*, 10.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibidem*; ANONYMUS, *op. cit.*, XLIV.

<sup>26</sup> N.A. OIKONOMIDES, *op. cit.*, pp. 527-528.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 529; cf. V. LAURENT, *L'évêque des Turcs et le proedre de Turquie*, in *ARBSH*, t. XIII, 1927, pp. 147-158.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 532.

# The Recognition of the Political Equality of the Transylvanian Romanian Nation by the Transylvanian Saxon University in 1862

SIMION RETEGAN

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*“What Romanian in his right mind can approve of the tearing of their fatherland – where, by natural law, the Romanians should have two thirds of the benefits – in stripes of which they get the narrowest one.”*

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## Simion Retegan

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**I**n mid-19th century, the Transylvanian Saxon University, the constitutional institution of the Royal Land (*Fundus Regius*), had two important political initiatives (in 1848 and 1862) in favour of the Romanian population, with beneficial consequences for both national communities, as well as for the public life of Transylvania in general.

The first one was the decision taken by the University on April 3, 1848, whereby Romanians were given the equal right of being elected in the collective administrative bodies of the communes and seats, in high offices, and in the University. It also granted them the right to be admitted in professional guilds on the same conditions as the Saxons, to the Orthodox priests, the right to benefit from the same advantages as the priests of the accepted confessions, and to the Romanian parishes, the right to receive a certain amount of land – the canonical portion – or an equivalent sum from the incomes of the communal houses<sup>1</sup>.

The second one, which is the focus of the present paper, is the University decision

of March 29, 1862, concerning the passing of those acts that opened the way for the liberal epoch and for the recognition of the Romanian nation as a "state nation", equal in rights with the old political nations<sup>2</sup>.

After all the vicissitudes and frictions of the long feudal past, both these decisions facilitated that political collaboration between Romanians and Saxons that characterized the years of the 1848 revolution and the period of liberal government between 1860-1865. These are periods when, given the temporary breach between Vienna and Pest, they both direct their actions towards specific purposes. Among them: opposing the union with Hungary, maintaining the autonomy of Transylvania within the Austrian Empire, summoning its own Diet, and granting certain collective rights instead of the individual ones stipulated by the new Hungarian legislation. As it usually happens with political alliances, this one had its own share of suspicion, enmity, and disillusion on both sides. The concrete frames within which this collaboration did however take place were, in the liberal period, the Saxon University, the Diet convened in Sibiu in 1863-1864, and the central Parliament in Vienna with its sessions in the same years. Thus, as a result of the collapse of the feudal world, we witness at this moment a restructuring of the Transylvanian political scene marked, on the one hand, by the massive involvement of Romanians in the official public life, and, on the other, by the complete assimilation of the Szeklers within the Hungarian national community and the Saxons' breaking away from the old Transylvanian system of alliances.

The 1862 project of the Saxon University concerning the political equality of the Romanians answered one of their old postulates, born together with the nation and grown along with it. It is a postulate that had been systematically denied by all the Transylvanian diets it had been addressed to, but denied in 1848 as well. For, the rather aggressive proclamation in Cluj, in May 1848, of the equality of civil rights irrespective of nationality, religion and language within a united Hungarian state was not considered by the Romanians a solution to their problem. Quite on the contrary, along with it was looming large the spectre of Hungarian assimilation and the danger of losing their national identity. The more so as at their meeting in Blaj, Romanians had declared themselves a political nation and had asked that the union with Hungary should not be discussed by the Diet in their absence. Therefore, what happens in Sibiu in 1862 is the first attempt of an official institution of the Transylvanian state to offer to the Transylvanian Romanians a concrete guarantee of their existence as a national entity in itself.

Even if the traditional, territorial, form adopted in Sibiu is rejected by those it was addressed to, the gesture of the University bears a constructive connotation that helped pave the road to a legislative recognition of the Romanians and has a symbolic value unanimously agreed upon by their leaders. It is clearly in accordance with the new political and socio-economical context brought about by the 1848 revolution in Central Europe. For this is a time when the aristocratic democracy loses ground in front of the popular democracy of representation based on social and economic weight and even number, when the modern principles of equality among nations and religions assert themselves, when the democratic liberties, however limited, impose a new dynamics in politics, and when the social liberation of peasants turns the great mass of former serfs into free men, owners of their land. In Transylvania, all these changes upset the previous

balance of forces. They largely favour the positions of the Romanian intelligentsia and weaken those of the privileged nations. This explains the ardor with which the Hungarian nobility embraces the union with Hungary – the only means of transferring its political hegemony from the regime of orders and estates to that of the modern parliamentary system. This is what might ultimately account for the village concessions. However, one cannot deny that, leaving aside the Transylvanian Saxon interest, which it was indirectly promoting, the University initiative of 1862 can be associated with a more generous opening towards dialogue on the part of the Saxon leaders. They clearly lacked the usual aristocratic airs and were undoubtedly encouraged in their undertakings by Vienna. Unlike the Transylvanian Hungarian leaders, who had refused, in 1848, to initiate any negotiation with the Romanians outside the frame of the Diet in Pest and remained intransigently on the side of individual rights, the Transylvanian Saxons acknowledged Transylvania's Diet as the only forum in which the nations of the country could come to agree with one another and gave to the Romanian problem a collective solution worth considering by those involved. Under the specific circumstances of their national existence, they were quicker to understand that, in that newly-born world, force would have to eventually give way to the law.

But what are, concretely speaking, the facts? On December 14, 1861, the Saxon University meets in a session in which take part 4 Romanians<sup>3</sup> and 17 Saxons, representing together the 11 seats and districts of the Royal Land. During this meeting is set up a committee of 7 members, among whom Iacob Bologa and Abraham Tincu, with a view to solving the Romanian problem<sup>4</sup>. This committee is to draw a project meant to carry out the idea of national equality, which, after having been discussed in all the village jurisdictions, will be brought to the attention of the University plenum in March 1862.

The final decision of the forum in Sibiu is included in a document very well known at the epoch, “The *Operatum* of the Seven”, passed on March 29, 1862. It is the document whereby the University solemnly expresses its acceptance of the acts of October 1860 and February 1861, proposes the territorial solution for achieving the political equality of the Romanians, and puts forth the electoral norms that were seen as instrumental in setting up Transylvania's Diet<sup>5</sup>. The document was presented to the Emperor by the Province government and was supported in Vienna by a special delegation of the University, received with great pomp in the Empire capital and enjoying an intense publicity at the time as it was the first adhesion of an important constitutional forum from beyond Leitha to the new governing acts.

In this context, the University states that the Romanian people should be lawfully recognised as a “state nation”, fully equal to the other three national communities, and proposes that its political validation be done on the basis of the territorial principle, just as the old constitution of the Principality had achieved their autonomy, i.e. by delimiting a Romanian national territory. This is to be juxtaposed to the Hungarian one: *Terra Nobilium* (59.1% of the Transylvanian population); to the Saxon one: *Fundus Regius* (20.5%); and to the Szekler one: *Terra Siculorum* (20.2%)<sup>6</sup>. But according to the document, the new delimitation has to be made in such way that the historical rights of the other nations should not be jeopardised. Therefore, the size of the new national territory cannot be larger than the minimum necessary for achieving the proposed goal.



Finding a solution to the political situation of the Romanians could not be confined to the Royal Land only, since they had their gravitational centre in the 8 so-called noble counties. So, the University decision envisaged the entire territory of Transylvania, obviously without it being compulsory outside the 11 seats and districts represented in Sibiu. Anticipating the attacks of the aristocracy, the authors of the document showed that this general approach to the problem was justified by the University's right to draw laws for the Saxon jurisdictions and by its unlimited prerogative to submit to the state Diet, through the Emperor, projects and proposals.

After these general considerations which regard recognising the Romanians as an act of elementary justice, the University expresses its willingness to contribute concretely to setting up the Romanian national territory, on condition that the Royal Land should get, in exchange for the parts given to the Romanians, all the villages with Saxon population, whether in majority or minority, from counties and seats. Besides, it is stipulated that the new "country" should be drawn starting from the existing administrative division, that heed should be paid not only to the number of population but also to the quantum of landed property and the imperatives of a modern administration, and, most importantly, that the process should be carried out "sparing" the other nations as much as possible. Another provision says that the administrative and legal institutions of each national territory will have their own official language (Romanian, Hungarian or German), without infringing upon the right of every city or village to freely choose its official language, nor upon the individuals' right to use their native language in any circumstances. Whatever the situation, the authorities, be they regional or local, are to answer any requests or petitions in the language in which they were addressed.

Since the University recognises the new principle of the equality of all nations, imposed by the revolution, as well as the new governing acts, its solution stemmed from the old historical law and extended upon the Romanians too the feudal constitution of Transylvania. As Jakob Rannicher, the influential Saxon deputy, put it, there were only two possible solutions: either *tabula rasa* for everybody or to delimit a territory for Romanians too. In other words, a "*Land der Rumänen*" in Transylvania, which, however, could be but very small, as long as uppermost was the desire to spare as much as possible the historical rights.

During the meetings of the University the problem was discussed only in principle. However, everybody knew that in Sibiu, Konrad Schmidt, regional councillor and then *comes* of the Saxons, had prepared, as early as the summer of 1861, a concrete plan of the three territories. Vienna was aware of the plan, which had actually been designed for it and which would subsequently be much discussed in the press.

The motivation of this document, dated June 24, 1861<sup>7</sup>, Sibiu, is of the most interesting type. The restoration of the old bodies of local government had, in Konrad Schmidt's opinion, brought about the Hungarian control over the largest part of the Transylvanian administration, with negative outcomes, both in terms of the relationship with the Austrian power and in those of the internal inter-ethnic relations. On the one hand, the position of the Hungarian counties and seats was incompatible with the recently-issued fundamental governing acts. This favoured the appearance of anarchic situations, totally unacceptable for the central government: the refusal to pay taxes, infringement on the

stamp system and the state tobacco monopoly, the organising of illegal elections for the Pest Diet, rebellion against the Imperial Chancellery and the local government, etc. On the other hand, limiting the Romanian administrative control only to the districts of Năsăud and Făgăraș triggered their reaction, expressed by means of protests that took place not only in counties but also in the Saxon jurisdictions, as well as by means of the refusal to acknowledge the new civil servants. The situation thus reached a peak of tension and threatened to degenerate in a most violent open conflict. Therefore, it was absolutely necessary to prevent this disaster through instating a new constitutional order in Transylvania, an order which would reconcile the past with the present, the old constitution of the country with the new governing acts, and which would legitimate the next body politic by conciliating the national communities. In the author's opinion, the best way to do this would be to divide Transylvania in distinct national administrative regions. They would be Romanian, Hungarian and Saxon, respectively, according to the ethnic realities, the geographical conditions, the landed property, urban population, and the historical past.

According to this plan, the Romanian administrative territory was to include 41.12% of the country's population and 12 districts: Deva, Hațeg, Orăștie, Alba-Iulia, Abrud, Săliște, Făgăraș, Gurghiu, Năsăud, Lăpuș, Hida, and Mociu, with a total of 804,446 inhabitants, of which 87% were Romanians, 4% Hungarians, 1% Germans, and 7% of other nationalities. Which meant, according to the calculations made in Sibiu, that of the approx. 1,111,000 Romanian inhabitants of the historical Transylvania, only 705,000 (63.44%) were included, another approx. 276,000 (24.91%) being left in the Hungarian territory, and approx. 129,000 (11.63%) in the Saxon one.

The Hungarian national territory was also planned to have 12 jurisdictions: the counties Dej, Gherla, Cluj, Huedin, Turda, Aiud and the seats Mureș, Gheorghieni, Ciuc, Kézdi, Seps, and Odorhei, with 729,400 inhabitants – 37.28% of the total population – with an overall national proportion of 55.05% Hungarians, 37.96% Romanians, 0.6% Saxons and 6.95% others. But if in the 6 seats taken by the Szeklers the ethnic proportion was of 74.20% Hungarians, 19.02% Romanians and 6.78% others, in the newly planned counties it was of 63.06% Romanians, 29.61% Hungarians, 0.6% Saxons and 7.27% others. The theoretical justification given referred, on the one hand, to the Hungarian intelligentsia from their residence centres, and on the other, to the proportion of landed property.

The Transylvanian Saxon national territory, 21.59% of the total population, was to include 11 jurisdictions: the seats Sebeș, Sibiu, Șeica, Mediaș, Sighișoara, Agnita, Cincu Mare, Rupea and the districts Brașov, Reghin, Bistrița, with 422,383 inhabitants, of which 55.29% Saxons, 30.61% Romanians, 3.80% Hungarians, and 10.30% others<sup>8</sup>. Compared to the total surface of the Royal Land, where the national proportion in 1851 was of 51.8% Romanians, 35.2% Saxons, and 6.2% Hungarians<sup>9</sup>, the new administrative area had a greater population and ensured the numerical domination of the Saxons. The inclusion of the villages with Saxon population from the counties and the renouncing of the territories with Romanian population were justified by the necessity to pro-

tect and strengthen the national existence of the German element, in danger, says the author, of being engulfed in the new historical conditions.

All in all, concludes Konrad Schmidt, there would be 35 jurisdictions to replace the anachronistic feudal division. Besides the savings they meant when compared to the 79 absolutist circles, they also offered to the central government important political advantages: the decrease of interethnic tension, the replacement of the Hungarian bodies of local administration, which were hostile to the regime, a Saxon-Romanian majority in the next Diet, and the chance of organising direct elections for the central parliament in Vienna.

The Sibiu initiative caused serious controversy, both within the University and outside it. In the Romanian, Hungarian or German press it is both hailed and criticised, either in its essence or its realization, depending on the national interest of each of the power factors involved, an interest which in Transylvania comes before any other considerations. It had become better known as the *Operatum* of the seven University members had been published in the press, printed in a brochure, and sent for discussions to all courts of law and seat assemblies throughout the Royal Land, which had adopted it. The one exception is Orăştie where the Romanians, who constituted the majority of the seat assembly, thinking that both the matter of territorial division on national criteria and that of the electoral law are of the competence of the state Diet and not that of the Sibiu forum, instructed their delegates not to take part in the debates<sup>10</sup>.

The project of the commission, discussed in the meetings of 8-13 March, is attacked in the plenum by, on the one hand, the representatives of the Saxon unionist minority from Braşov, and on the other and for different reasons, by the representatives of the Romanians.

The Saxon unionists August Lassel and Paul Römer, while accepting in principle the 1848 abolition of the autonomy of Transylvania, were implicitly against the planned territorial and national reorganization. The former claims in his separate vote that such a delimitation is very difficult to enforce in Transylvania where the ethnic groups are, with very few exceptions, mixed. And if, however, it would still be put into practice, it would be the cause of endless inequities and frictions, endangering the peaceful interethnic cohabitation. According to him, it was the school and the church, the city and the village, the county and the seat that constituted the fundamental and at the same time the valid field of egalitarian manifestations of all nations present in the public life and of their future development<sup>11</sup>.

The Romanian delegates and members of the commission accept in principle the plan of the Romanian national territory, but conceive it as having another extension and greater prerogatives. Deploing the imposition of the line of maximum preservation of the historical rights – in other words the preservation of past privileged estates –, they propose in their separate votes<sup>12</sup> that all the Romanian communes, or those with Romanian majority, should be part of the national territory, to the extent to which the commandments of an efficient administration allow for it. This was similar to the provision regarding the villages with Saxon population, even in cases when this was a minority. Besides, they also demand that their nation should have, just like the Saxon one, its own collective administrative body, a *Universitas Romanorum* that would co-ordinate their

autonomous governing. As for the electoral law regulating the meetings of the state legislative body, Iacob Bologa suggests that the qualification to voting should also include the poll tax (*capitatio*) – feudal tax that in Transylvania was greater than the property tax<sup>13</sup> –, which would have doubled the number of voters<sup>14</sup>. Because of this, the Hungarian and the Transylvanian Saxon press will reproach to the Romanians their tendency towards *suffrage universel*.

Finally, the last separate vote comes from other two Saxon delegates who were strongly against surrendering the tiniest piece of the historical territory of the Royal Land<sup>15</sup>.

In spite of all these differences of opinion the project was passed with a majority of votes on March 29, 1862. Among the Saxon politicians that supported the cause of the majority nation, stands out the regional councillor Jakob Rannicher, delegate from Sibiu. The Romanians are very happy to hear him say that the feudal constitutional system of the three political nations and four accepted religions is abolished forever and that no power on earth will ever resurrect it.

The reaction of the Romanian public to the Sibiu decision is contradictory. Without being insensitive to the – after all – salutary initiative of the University (which is in fact the first concrete attempt of a Transylvanian institution to solve the Romanian problem), most of the Romanian political activists, both from Transylvania and from Romania, express their opposition to the territorial solution of dividing the power among the Transylvanian nations. Journalists from *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, *Telegraful*, *Concordia* think that, through its very essence, the medieval territorial system stood in opposition with the principles of a modern and democratic state, just like the historical rights stood in opposition with the concrete reality of their times. Enforcing this system would, in their opinion, impair the development of the nations, their peaceful cohabitation, and the progress of the entire country. The most disadvantaged would be the Romanians, who actually lost more than they gained: they gain some territory “*however much is necessary to achieve the goal*”, but lose almost half of the total number of the population, who is dislocated to the Hungarian and Saxon part. How would this population, the journalists wonder, be able to preserve an organic link with the other part of the national body? As early as 1861 we can read in *Gazeta Transilvaniei*:

*“What Romanian in his right mind can approve of the tearing of their fatherland – where, by natural law, the Romanians should have two thirds of the benefits – in stripes of which they get the narrowest one.”*<sup>16</sup>

At the same time, Alexandru Papiu Ilarian keeps writing in Bucharest that the real political affirmation of the majority nation in the public life should be done in a free and egalitarian manner throughout the country, both at a local level in jurisdictions and at a central level in the Diet, according to an electoral law that would be if not democratic, given the multiple existing frictions, at least more equitable than the 1848 one, issued by the Diet in Cluj<sup>17</sup>. While emphasising the harmful potential of the territorial solution, the press also looks for and discloses some of the deeper motivations lying behind the

concessions made in Sibiu. According to the Romanian activists they can only be about providing a firmer foundation for the Royal Land in the context of the new historical conditions resulted from the collapse of the feudal world. In other words, strengthening it by excluding the Romanians from those regions where, due to their large number, they could no longer be controlled politically, creating a new legitimacy for it, and finally changing it from the previous *Fundus Regius* in the future *Sachsenland*.

However, as the very debates of the University show us, there is also a group of Romanian leaders that, fascinated by the mirage of having their own, so-long-dreamt-of national territory, some central bodies of political leadership legally acknowledged, and a national administration and wealth, feel inclined towards this medieval solution for regulating the political status of their nation. This had in fact been the ideal of the generations of the Enlightenment and of the beginning of the revolution, before the optimism generated by the events of the autumn of 1848, when is put forward a plan to unite all the Romanian territories of the Empire – Transylvania, the Banat, Crișana, Maramureș, and Bukovina – in an autonomous province, the *Land der Rumänen* that appears in the 1849-1850 petitions.

Twelve years later, in 1862, of all the Romanian revolutionary leaders, only Bărnuțiu continues his visionary work of pleading in his messages sent from Jassy in favour of this 1848 ideal, however utopian this may have seem in an Empire belonging not to its peoples but to its historical provinces with everything this implied.

The territorial issue is the object of debate of a separate meeting of the Romanian National Committee held on April 6, 1862, and chaired by the metropolitan bishop Șulufiu in the absence of the bishop Șaguna who was away on delegation to Vienna on behalf of the metropolitan bishopric. The meeting rejects in a definite manner the federalization plan that had been adopted by the Transylvanian Saxon University<sup>18</sup>. A year later, none of the laws proposed by the Diet in Sibiu regarding the new political status of the Romanians from Transylvania is grounded on this alternative. Its enforcement would have indeed divided the Romanian ethnic group in distinct political blocks and would have directed the nation in its entirety onto a winding and risky road that would have jeopardised its autonomy. As George Domșa writes from Orăștie in February 1862, this would have amounted to crowding the Romanians in a “*nest made by others*”, only a year after they had proclaimed themselves a nation in its own right and in a context in which not only the new legislation but the very spirits of times were on their side<sup>19</sup>. Their prospects would have been completely different in the case of a unitary, egalitarian and modern state organization, allowing for a political capitalization of their economic weight, if not of their number, for the Empire was still very far away from the universal vote.

It has to be mentioned that the government in Vienna was not very happy either about a territorial solution for the Romanians from Transylvania and no such solution was taken into consideration during Schmerling's administration, as proven by the transcripts of the government meetings<sup>20</sup>. Not only did it run, through its very essence, contrary to the centralist governmental views, but it also aroused deep centrifugal fears, given the direct vicinity of Transylvania with the United Romanian Principalities, and disturbed the Hungarians. Which does not mean that the government in Vienna did not fully sup-

port the old Saxon territorial organization. Its acceptance was even imposed to the Romanians as a condition for their own political recognition.

By comparison with the Romanian rejection of the territorial solution, which was very contained, tacit rather than openly stated, the reaction of the Hungarian press appears incendiary. Indignant at the Saxons' ingratitude, the Hungarian newspapers from Cluj call those days "*monster bearing*" and qualify the decision of the University of the 29th of March 1862 as a real coup d'état. It used to be believed, writes *Kolozsváry Közlöny*, that the Romanians' and Saxons' opposition to the laws issued in Cluj in 1848, a quintessence of democratic government, was due to the foul play of the camarilla in Vienna. But the decision of the Saxon forum proves to the contrary, namely that the "*evil whispers*" start from bottom to top, from Sibiu to Vienna<sup>21</sup>. The Saxon politicians are accused of wanting, against the course of history, to melt Transylvania within the German provinces of the Empire and of reviving their 1849 desire to change the Royal Land, whose inhabitants are all equal, into a Saxon country directly dependent on Vienna<sup>22</sup>. As for the Romanian opposition to a union with Hungary, Daniel Dózsa, the editor in chief of the newspaper, writes that it cannot be dissociated from their desire to create not a national territory but a country stretching from the River Olt to the River Tisza, which, together with the universal vote they support and the neighbouring united Romania, could offer them the brightest hopes for the future<sup>23</sup>.

To the principle of the territorial separation of the Transylvanian nations, the Hungarian journalists oppose the autonomous jurisdiction, the county, the seat and the municipality, within which political rights were to be given according to the landed property. They claim that in the specific circumstances of Transylvania, any separation on national grounds would be to the detriment of, on the one hand, the number of Romanians, and on the other, of the Hungarian landed property. Statistics are invoked in this respect<sup>24</sup>, and the statistician Farkas Bethlen makes a series of corrections to the figures of the project put forth in Sibiu<sup>25</sup>.

Although the initiative of the Saxon University on the political recognition of the Romanian political nation from Transylvania failed to have a practical outcome – as the territorial solution was rejected both by the central government in Vienna and by the Romanians –, its significance in the general picture we get of the epoch is of utmost importance. Its contemporaries say that it is not only a sign of the liberalism of the new times but also a *sui generis* moral encouragement by a legislating institution to the majority population. The project in itself, as well as the discussions around it, gave some concreteness to its political organization plans while also shedding light on the obstacles they faced. At the same time, the differences of opinion manifest on this occasion among the three nations pointed once more towards the necessity of constituting the legislative forum able to legally frame their cohabitation.



## Notes

<sup>1</sup> *Revoluția de la 1848-1849 din Transilvania*, I, București, 1977, pp. 264-268.

<sup>2</sup> *Beilage zum verifizierten Protokolle der Sitzung der Sächsischen Nationsuniversität vom 29. März 1862* [Hermannstadt, 1862], pp. 1-14 (hereafter *Beilage... vom 29. März 1862*).

<sup>3</sup> Abraham Tincu (Sebeș), Grigore Pop (Miercurea), Iacob Bologa (Nocrich) and Ioan Balamiri (Orăștie). George Domșa, the fifth Romanian delegate (Orăștie), refused to take part in this session of the University.

<sup>4</sup> Here are the members of the committee, in the order of the number of votes obtained: Iacob Bologa (Nocrich), August Lassel (Brașov), Joseph Gull (Sighișoara), Jakob Rannicher (Sibiu), Heinrich Schmidt (Mediaș), Abraham Tincu (Sebeș), Friedrich Wagner (Nocrich).

<sup>5</sup> The text in German can be found in *Beilage... vom 29. März 1862*, pp. 1-14; the Romanian translation in *Telegraful român*, no. 8 of January 28, 1862, and the Hungarian one in SÁNDOR JÓZSEF, *Okmánytár Erdély legújabb jogtörténelméhez, 1848 – 1865*, Kolozsvár, 1865, pp. 243-257.

<sup>6</sup> For the 1869/1870 census, see: KELETI KÁROLY, *Magyarország nemzetiségi statisztikai szempontból*, in *Statisztikai és nemzetgazdasági közlemények*, VIII (1871), p. 19; see also *Erdély története*, III, Budapest, 1988, pp. 1196-7; JAMES NIESSEN, *Battling Bishops: Religion and Politics in Transylvania on the Eve of the Ausgleich*, Indiana University, 1989, U.M.I. Dissertation Information Service, p. 89.

<sup>7</sup> A contemporary copy sent from Sibiu by Șaguna to George Barițiu in Brașov can be found in the Romanian Academy Library, Bucharest, Romanian Manuscripts 973, leafs 178-180; another copy sent by Șaguna to Șulufiu, as well as their correspondence on the topic can be found in the National Archives, Alba, F. Gen. Blaj, 1861-846.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibidem*, see also *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, no. 8, January 27, 1862; MESTER MIKLÓS, *Az autonóm Erdély, 1860 – 63*, Budapest, 1937, pp. 156-157. It has to be mentioned that Konrad Schmidt's statistics on the three main populations of Transylvania are those calculated after the 1857 census, when only the religion was taken into consideration. They are smaller in the case of Romanians (1,060,319) and Hungarians (457,650), and greater in the case of the Saxons (246,297) than the results of the 1855 census when, taking nationality into consideration, there were 1,227,276 Romanians, 536,011 Hungarians, and 192,482 Germans. For this, see: *Kolozsvári Közlöny*, VII (1862), no. 36, March 4.

<sup>9</sup> *Erdély története*, III, Budapest, 1988, p. 1197.

<sup>10</sup> *Telegraful român*, X (1862), no. 19, March 8.

<sup>11</sup> *Protokolle... vom 8. März 1862*.

<sup>12</sup> *Protokolle... vom 13. März 1862*, pp. 55-57, 57-59.

<sup>13</sup> The former was of 1,660,000 florins in 1862, the latter of 1,437, 565. See BETHLEN FARKAS, *Adatok Erdély viszonyairól, különös tekintettel az adózási rendszerre*, in *Statisztikai és nemzetgazdasági közlemények*, IV, 1867, pp. 10-11.

<sup>14</sup> *Telegraful român*, X (1862), no. 20, March 11.

<sup>15</sup> *Protokolle... vom 13. März 1862*, pp. 57-59.

<sup>16</sup> *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, XXIV (1861), no. 25, March 28.

<sup>17</sup> Al. P. Ilarian to I. Hodoș and A. Sever, 8/20.I, October 16, 1861, in IOSIF PERVAIN, IOAN CHINDRIȘ, *Correspondența lui Alexandru Papiu Ilarian*, I, Cluj, 1972, pp. 105-106, 107-109.

<sup>18</sup> National Archives, Alba, F. Gen. Mitrop. Blaj, 1862-182.

<sup>19</sup> The Archive of the Metropolitan Bishopric Library in Sibiu, Șaguna Fund, no. 2852.

<sup>20</sup> *Die Protokolle des österreichischen Ministerrates 1848-1867*, V. Abteilung, I. (7. II-30. IV. 1861), Wien, 1977; II (1. V-2. XI. 1861), Wien, 1981; III (5. XI. 1861-6. V. 1862), Wien, 1985; IV (8. V-31. X. 1862), Wien, 1986; V (3. XI. 1862-30. IV. 1863), Wien, 1989; VI (4. V-12. X. 1863), Wien, 1989; VII (15. X. 1863-23. V. 1864); VIII (25. V-26. XI. 1864), Wien, 1994; IX (9. XII. 1864-11. VII. 1865), Wien, 1997.

<sup>21</sup> *Kolozsvári Közlöny*, VII (1862), no. 30, February, 22.

<sup>22</sup> *Idem*, VII (1862), no. 25, February 13.

<sup>23</sup> *Idem*, VII (1862), no. 26, February 15.

<sup>24</sup> *Idem*, VII (1862), no. 27, February 16.

<sup>25</sup> *Idem*, VII (1862), no. 36, March 4.



# Vasile Stroescu et le système financier bancaire de Transylvanie (1910-1914)

CONSTANTIN I. STAN

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*“Notre histoire ne connaît  
aucun autre homme qui se  
soit sacrifié autant pour le  
bien-être commun et pour sa  
nation. Sa vie a été la plus  
belle poésie qu’on ait jamais  
écrite, la poésie de l’action et  
du sacrifice pour le proche  
du même sang.”*

*(O. Ghibu)*

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**Constantin I. Stan**

Docteur en histoire, spécialiste en histoire moderne des Roumains, auteur de plusieurs livres, dont “Minunata tăcere a unui boier basarabean” (Le merveilleux silence d’un boyard de Bessarabie), 1999.

**V**asile Stroescu est né le 11 novembre 1845 dans la commune de Trinca, département de Hotin. Il descendait d’une vieille famille de boyards. Un ancêtre à lui, Ioan Gheorghe Duca, avait reçu en don, le 2 juillet 1682, le petit bourg de Dumitrașcu. Les successeurs de celui-ci ont été le *comis* (grand dignitaire qui veillait sur les chevaux et les écuries de la cour princière – n.t.) Stroescu, le *sătrar* (dignitaire qui veillait sur les tentes militaires en temps de guerre – n.t.) Gavril Enache et Vasile Stroescu le père, marié à Profira Guțu. Vasile Stroescu le fils était le quinzième de la famille. Il étudia à Kichinev, Kamenec-Podolsk, Odessa, Moscou, Saint-Petersbourg et Berlin et soutint sa thèse de doctorat dans la capitale de la Prusse. En 1867 il était juge à Hotin, où il eut l’occasion de connaître Alexandre Hasdeu. Son père lui a légué environ 25.000 hectares de terrain arable, des pâturages, du bétail, des moutons, ses domaines étant situés dans les régions de Bălți et Hotin. Il fonda des écoles et fit construire des églises sur ses domaines, finança les études de plusieurs jeunes gens et donna de la terre à bail aux paysans. Il parlait aisément le français, l’anglais, l’espagnol, l’allemand, l’italien et toutes les langues slaves<sup>1</sup>.

Au début du XXe siècle, Vasile Stroescu visita la Roumanie. De 1902 à 1910 il fit une donation au Ministère de l'Instruction Publique de 400.000 lei par an, argent qui fut utilisé à la construction d'environ 30 écoles primaires dans les départements de Suceava, Botoșani, Neamț et Dorohoi<sup>2</sup>.

Vasile Stroescu prêta une attention toute particulière à la Transylvanie. C'est la lecture d'un livre de Ioan Slavici consacré à cette province qui suscita, selon Onisifor Ghibu, son intérêt pour le pays transylvain, région *"qui lui semblait abriter la partie la plus vigoureuse du peuple roumain"*<sup>3</sup>.

Vasile Stroescu répondit favorablement aux appels lancés par le métropolite uni de Blaj et par celui orthodoxe de Sibiu, faisant don à la métropole de Sibiu de plus de 200.000 couronnes et à la métropole gréco-catholique de Blaj de 100.000 couronnes nécessaires à l'entretien des écoles roumaines et d'autres sommes pour les cantines, l'achat de vêtements, livres et cahiers destinés aux pauvres<sup>4</sup>. Au début, le grand mécène de Bessarabie avait offert 200.000 couronnes pour la création et la subvention des écoles villageoises et 16.765 couronnes pour l'ouverture de cantines scolaires et l'achat de *"nourriture, vêtements, livres, papier pour les enfants pauvres"*. La somme de 165.000 D.M., l'équivalent de 166.210 couronnes autrichiennes, était transférée de la Banque impériale de Berlin à la Banque "Albina" de Sibiu. Toujours à la banque de Sibiu étaient dirigées 50.555 couronnes provenues d'un dépôt du Comptoir National d'Escompte de Paris. Le donateur demandait à ce que ces sommes fussent utilisées le plus vite possible là où il était nécessaire<sup>5</sup>.

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Le 2 avril 1910, le métropolite de Transylvanie, Ioan Mețianu, informait Vasile Stroescu, à Davos Platz, d'avoir reçu son message, ainsi que *"les deux récépissés relatifs à l'envoi d'une somme de 216.765 couronnes comme aide de votre part, pour la subvention de nos écoles de Transylvanie et de Hongrie"*. Le haut prélat lui annonçait aussi la convocation du consistoire, dans le but de lui faire savoir l'arrivée des documents bancaires et *"pour qu'il vous remercie avec moi"*<sup>6</sup>.

Le 5 avril 1910, I. Mețianu envoya une nouvelle lettre à V. Stroescu, toujours à Davos Platz, pour l'informer que le consistoire orthodoxe de Sibiu s'était réuni le même jour: *"nous avons reçu avec grande joie votre don généreux destiné à notre église, en vue de la subvention des écoles villageoises"*. A cette occasion, le haut prélat précisait que l'archimandrite dr. Elie Miron Cristea allait lui rendre visite à Davos Platz et qu'il se rendrait aussi à Vienne *"pour vous transmettre personnellement les remerciements du consistoire"*. Le haut prélat annonçait à V. Stroescu que *"j'ai engagé l'institut «Albina» d'ici pour lever les valeurs des instituts bancaires de Berlin et Paris et je lui ai transmis les deux récépissés. Je vous prie donc de bien vouloir en informer les deux instituts bancaires"*. I. Mețianu lui transmit que, en accord avec le consistoire, on avait décidé que la donation du patriote de Bessarabie ne fût pas communiquée au grand public, en raison du fait que *"si la nouvelle de votre donation généreuse était publiée dans les journaux, l'Etat refuserait de nous aider, sous prétexte que nous sommes aidés par d'autres"*<sup>7</sup>. Ces montants étaient absolument nécessaires vu le fait que, par sa loi scolaire, le ministre Apponyi avait supprimé les écoles roumaines d'Etat. Le métropolite orthodoxe de Transylvanie avait initié, dès 1909, un fonds culturel. La première donation était de 4.000 florins, d'autres 1.200 florins devant être obtenus chaque année<sup>8</sup>.

Pour le remercier de ses donations, le représentant de la Métropole orthodoxe roumaine de Sibiu, l'archimandrite dr. Elie Miron Cristea, se rendit, en avril 1910, à Davos Platz, en Suisse, où se trouvait Vasile Stroescu. Se souvenant de ces moments, le futur patriarche de la Roumanie unie écrivait dans ses notes publiées posthume: *"Je lui ai décrit les conditions de vie des Roumains de Hongrie et de Transylvanie, les luttes que nous devons mener pour préserver nos trésors spirituels. V. Stroescu a promis de venir à Caransebeș"*<sup>9</sup>. Il y arriva le 25 octobre 1911, incognito, sous le nom de Vasile Vasilievici, et y resta pendant trois jours. A cette occasion, Miron Cristea lui présenta la situation difficile des 75 écoles et des églises roumaines de l'éparchie. V. Stroescu promit de les aider, à condition qu'il fût informé *"de ce qui manquait et où"*, tout en s'engageant d'appuyer aussi les Roumains de Bihor. Toutes les sollicitations devaient d'abord être envoyées à Miron Cristea, qui était chargé de désigner les écoles nécessiteuses, car *"ce n'est pas bien de donner des aides à tâtons"*. Le grand philanthrope promit aussi de soutenir l'école des filles qui allait être ouverte à Lugoj. *"Je lui ai parlé de la banque culturelle «Lumina» que j'ai créée à Sibiu"* – écrivait l'évêque de Caransebeș; *"l'idée lui a plu et il m'a promis de l'appuyer"*<sup>10</sup>.

La banque "Lumina" (La Lumière) avait été créée le 1er mai 1909, Elie Miron Cristea étant élu président. Une telle institution financière était bienvenue à cette époque difficile. Il y avait tout de même des voix qui s'y opposaient. Aussi sa réalisation n'a-t-elle pas été facile. Dès l'été 1908, le journal *Lupta* (La Lutte), qui paraissait à Budapest, saisisait le fait que la fondation des banques était la meilleure réponse à la loi d'Apponyi, qui supprimait pratiquement les écoles confessionnelles roumaines. La banque culturelle "Lumina" était justement une réplique à l'adresse des milieux gouvernementaux hongrois, une réaction de défense des Roumains. L'argent pouvait sauver les écoles<sup>11</sup>. La publication *Gazeta de duminică* (La Gazette de dimanche), qui paraissait à Șimleul Silvaniei, manifesta dès le début une attitude positive à cet égard: *"Nous n'avons pas besoin d'un travail négatif et destructif, mais d'aspiration et d'activité dans une direction altruiste"*<sup>12</sup>. Le journal ayant appuyé le plus cette entreprise a été *Telegraful român* (Le Télégraphe roumain), qui a mené une lutte acerbe contre tous les opposants, afin de les déterminer à rétracter leurs opinions initiales<sup>13</sup>.

Malheureusement, les difficultés de la banque "Lumina" de Sibiu ne purent pas être complètement surmontées. Le 29 mai 1912, le métropolite I. Meșianu écrivait à Elie Miron Cristea tout en lui demandant *"d'attirer l'attention à M. Stroescu sur la «Lumina», qui se heurte à toutes sortes de difficultés"*<sup>14</sup>.

Lors de sa visite à Caransebeș, V. Stroescu promit d'appuyer la banque "Albina" de Sibiu, la plus grande et la plus puissante institution financière des Roumains transylvains. Par l'intermédiaire de cette banque, le grand philanthrope fournit, entre avril 1910 et novembre 1914, presque un million de couronnes. Il envoya de l'argent pour la construction de 216 écoles et 96 églises. Les métropoles roumaines de Sibiu et Blaj, les évêchés orthodoxes roumains de Caransebeș et Arad reçurent plus de 500.000 couronnes, le consistoire de Caransebeș 10.000 couronnes, celui de Sibiu 22.000 couronnes et le séminaire de Sibiu 100.000 couronnes – pour la construction de l'internat diocésain. V. Stroescu offrit 100.000 couronnes à l'Union des femmes roumaines d'Arad, en vue de la construction d'une école, et 12.000 couronnes à la maison des étudiants roumains de Budapest, pour les bourses et les aides financières octroyées aux étudiants pauvres<sup>15</sup>.

Le directeur exécutif de la banque “Albina”, Partenie Cosma, était l’un des meilleurs amis de Vasile Stroescu, détenant le compte de celui-ci et répartissant l’argent comme il le considérait nécessaire. Vers 1912-1913, Sextil Pușcariu les rencontra à Călimănești, où ils faisaient une cure balnéaire, mais établissaient aussi la destination des sommes données par le grand mécène<sup>16</sup>.

Vasile Stroescu initia et appuya l’action de création, dans le milieu villageois, “des banques et des autres coopératives”. Dans la réunion du 13 avril 1911, le secrétaire administratif de l’Association transylvaine pour la littérature et la culture du peuple roumain (ASTRA) lut devant les membres du Comité central une lettre adressée à cet organisme par le grand mécène. L’auteur du message attirait l’attention à la direction de l’Association que “nos villages n’ont pas un nombre suffisant de banques populaires, vous ne vous en êtes pas occupés encore. Ces banques se sont répandues en Roumanie avec une admirable rapidité. En quelques années leur nombre a beaucoup augmenté. Elles ont rendu de grands services aux villages”. Stroescu proposait d’envoyer en Roumanie deux personnalités, afin d’y étudier les banques populaires rurales “et une fois revenues chez vous, elles deviendraient les propagateurs de ces banques et des autres formes de coopératives. Dans ce but, je mets à votre disposition 50.000 couronnes”<sup>17</sup>. De la donation que V. Stroescu avait faite à l’ASTRA, Vasile C. Osvadă reçut 1.000 couronnes pour étudier le mouvement coopératiste de Roumanie, Bucovine et Croatie, en vue de la réalisation des banques populaires, absolument nécessaires au développement des villages transylvains ayant une population roumaine pour la plupart<sup>18</sup>.

Le président de l’ASTRA, Andrei Bârseanu, informa George Moroianu, par un message expédié de Sibiu le 1/14 décembre 1912, qu’un problème très important et compliqué qui préoccupait la direction de l’Association était l’organisation d’un système de coopératives villageoises, susceptibles de régénérer notre vie économique, “de consolider nos relations sociales et même politiques”. Les difficultés étaient générées par plusieurs facteurs. L’Etat austro-hongrois “empêche de telles entreprises au lieu de les promouvoir”. L’auteur de cette lettre affirme avoir reçu de V. Stroescu une aide de 50.000 couronnes, mais “il nous faut des études sérieuses, car nous sommes un peu novices dans ce domaine”<sup>19</sup>.

La fondation des banques populaires a été stimulée par la décision de V. Stroescu, communiquée par la lettre envoyée à la direction de l’ASTRA le 1/14 mars 1912, d’offrir 500 couronnes à chaque commune (au début, dans le comitat de Bihor) qui voudrait créer une banque populaire, le grand mécène étant prêt à offrir une telle somme à 200 localités rurales, donc à faire une donation totale de 100.000 couronnes<sup>20</sup>.

Après les études effectuées, Vasile C. Osvadă présenta son rapport lors de la réunion du Comité central de l’ASTRA du 22 mars 1912, proposant que la donation de Stroescu servît à la création des coopératives villageoises, qui étaient très utiles à la population roumaine. La décision du Comité central visa la création d’une commission – formée par I.F. Negruțiu, Victor Tordășianu, Vasile C. Osvadă, Ion I. Lepădatu, Oct. C. Tășăuanu, Romul Simu –, qui devait accélérer la réalisation de l’action coopératiste dans les villages, et d’un bureau central, chargé avec la coordination de toute l’activité. Ce bureau devait organiser la propagande coopératiste par des conférences, pour expliquer à la population

les avantages des banques populaires. Il fallait aussi imprimer les statuts, les registres, les demandes-type etc.<sup>21</sup>

La direction de l'ASTRA sollicita à V. Stroescu que la donation de 50.000 couronnes fût utilisée aussi pour la réglementation de quelques problèmes économiques importants: l'acquisition de bétail de race supérieure, d'outils et de machines agricoles, la valorisation des produits agricoles. Cependant le grand mécène insista que l'argent qu'il avait donné ne servît qu'au but annoncé, tout en menaçant que dans le cas contraire il était décidé de retirer la donation<sup>22</sup>. Finalement, le problème fut tranché, l'Association continuant à agir plus intensément dans la direction de la propagande coopératiste, embauchant en ce sens, à partir du 1er janvier 1913, un conférencier de spécialité, en la personne de G. Stoica.

L'argent reçu de la part de V. Stroescu servit à l'impression de 30.000 exemplaires de statuts (des banques populaires), carnets de chèque, ordres de paiement, livres de comptabilité, guides pour la fondation des coopératives. Dans une lettre qu'il envoya de Bâle, le 7/20 avril 1913, à M. Cristea, le mécène de Bessarabie l'informait que l'ASTRA avait trouvé un conférencier coopératiste *"pour fonder dans les villages des banques villageoises et d'autres coopératives. On a rédigé des statuts pour les banques, qui furent présentés au grand public"*. *"Ce serait bien que votre Sainteté soyez au courant avec l'activité déployée dans cette branche importante de l'économie nationale et que vous demandiez à l'Association de vous envoyer un exemplaire de chaque statut et de chaque programme"*. V. Stroescu affirmait par la suite qu'en janvier et février 1912 il avait rencontré l'évêque Vasile Hossu: *"Je suis convenu avec sa Sainteté à chercher un jeune homme capable, avec des études économiques, pour tenir des conférences au Séminaire, devant les clercs et les pédagogues, au sujet des différentes coopératives"*. Il devait également populariser la fondation des banques villageoises, *"afin d'habituer le peuple à faire des économies et, par cela, d'augmenter la fortune personnelle et de contribuer à l'enrichissement de la commune"*. Au début d'avril le grand philanthrope exprimait sa joie pour le fait que l'évêque Hossu eût trouvé un tel conférencier, qui fut embauché pour une période d'un an, avec un salaire de 100 couronnes/mois et 50 couronnes/mois comme frais de transport. V. Stroescu suggéra à l'évêque de Caransebeș de procéder de même, s'engageant de mettre à sa disposition tout l'argent nécessaire. Il motivait cette attitude par le fait que les banques villageoises habitaient les gens à faire des économies, contribuant de la sorte à l'augmentation de la fortune personnelle et à l'enrichissement de la commune. Dans ce cas, avouait V. Stroescu, *"nous ne pourrions pas souhaiter mieux, car nous aurions la consolation d'avoir servi à quelque chose de bon dans ce monde"*<sup>23</sup>.

Les assemblées générales de l'Association, qui eurent lieu à Sibiu (1912) et Orăștie (1913), mirent en discussion différents aspects de la propagande économique et coopératiste. De telles institutions bancaires furent créées dans différentes communes: Tohanul Vechi (le comitat de Făgăraș), Șomfalău et Blăjel (le comitat de Târnava Mică), Ciuchiciu (le comitat de Caraș-Severin) etc.<sup>24</sup> En 1914, Oct. C. Tăslăuanu et le nouveau conférencier coopératiste, Nicolae Iancu, proposèrent à la direction de l'ASTRA la création d'une centrale des coopératives villageoises, sous les auspices de l'ASTRA. N. Iancu annonça, lors de la réunion du Comité central du 4 juillet 1914, que du 1er novembre 1913 au 1er juillet 1914 il avait créé 22 banques populaires et avait présenté des con-

férences dans 24 communes, devant plus de 4.000 villageois, ayant démarré des préparatifs pour la création de 60 autres banques. Il a tenu aussi un cours coopératiste à Sibiu, du 28 janvier au 3 février 1915, avec les représentants de six banques populaires transylvaines. A la fin de l'an 1915, en Transylvanie il y avait déjà 100 coopératives de crédit, avec un capital de 10.570.000 couronnes. Le déclenchement de la Première Guerre mondiale et les difficultés financières ont empêché la continuation de cette activité. Elle fut reprise avec succès après 1920<sup>25</sup>.

Les banques populaires eurent une importance particulière, car elle permirent à un grand nombre de paysans roumains d'acheter de la terre, des outils agricoles, du bétail. De cette façon, le nombre de ceux qui émigraient en Amérique diminua. D'après certaines données, avant le 1er juillet 1912, environ 100.000 Roumains avaient déjà émigré aux Etats-Unis, dont 33.000 seulement sont rentrés chez eux<sup>26</sup>. Les banques populaires contribuèrent de la sorte à l'augmentation des richesses des Roumains, à la diminution du nombre de ceux qui étaient désespérés et prêts à quitter le pays, ainsi qu'au développement culturel des Roumains transylvains.

L'action de V. Stroescu fut saluée par de nombreux intellectuels transylvains. Onisifor Ghibu mentionnait dans les pages de la revue *Viața românească* (La Vie roumaine) que *"le grand intérêt manifesté à notre égard par Vasile Stroescu fit qu'à la surface de notre vie publique surgît une autre question importante d'ordre économique, à savoir la question des coopératives villageoises"*. O. Ghibu saluait cette initiative de la coopération, la considérant *"une idée salubre pour tout notre peuple"*. *"Par l'intermédiaire des coopératives, on arrivera au fur et à mesure à une émancipation économique et, sur cette base, à une émancipation culturelle [...] Nous sommes au début de telles activités. Le travail systématique va suivre."*<sup>27</sup>

Vasile Stroescu collabora de manière active et efficace avec l'Association transylvaine, mettant à sa disposition un fonds culturel. Ce fonds servit à la publication de plusieurs livres: *Tușa Oana* (La tante Oana) par Ion Agârbiceanu, *Amintiri din copilărie* (Souvenirs de mon enfance) par Ion Creangă, *Poezii populare ale românilor* (Poésies populaires des Roumains) par Vasile Alecsandri, *Războiul nostru pentru neamărmare* (Notre guerre pour l'indépendance) par George Coșbuc, *Popa Tanda* (Le prêtre Tanda) par Ioan Slavici, *Mitropolitul Andrei Șaguna* (Le métropolitain André Șaguna) par Ioan Lupaș, *Povestea vorbii* (L'histoire de la parole) par Anton Pann – en tout, 45.000 exemplaires. 96.000 autres exemplaires servirent à la fondation de 300 bibliothèques populaires destinées aux communes roumaines<sup>28</sup>.

Sur l'initiative d'Octavian C. Taslăuanu, les paysans reçurent tous les ans, contre une taxe de 2 couronnes, dix brochures et un calendrier. Se souvenant de cette action, il allait noter par la suite: *"La bibliothèque populaire de l'Association dont je me suis occupé a joui d'un succès inattendu. Des dizaines de paysans se sont inscrits comme membres de l'Association, payant les 2 couronnes et recevant tous les mois les brochures – à l'exception des mois d'été – et, à la fin de l'année, le calendrier. J'ai réussi de la sorte à diffuser en quelques années plus d'un million de brochures, faisant de l'Association une institution de propagande culturelle parmi les paysans"*<sup>29</sup>.

La dernière donation faite par V. Stroescu en Transylvanie avant le déclenchement de la guerre date du 27 mai 1914, quand il a offert 29.000 couronnes à la Métropole orthodoxe de Sibiu, pour la construction de plusieurs écoles dans le cadre de l'archidiocèse,

fait qui fut consigné par Partenie Cosma dans une lettre expédiée de Sibiu et adressée à Elie Miron Cristea<sup>30</sup>.

Le grand mécène fut préoccupé aussi par la vie des paysans de Maramureș. Visitant cette région, il fut ému par les conditions difficiles de vie des ouvriers qui travaillaient aux exploitations forestières. Aussi prit-il contact avec les prêtres et les instituteurs locaux, ainsi qu'avec les coopérateurs roumains, ouvrant avec son argent des coopératives forestières. Son action eut pour effet l'augmentation du revenu de ces exploitations et l'amélioration de la situation des ouvriers<sup>31</sup>.

Après le déclenchement de la Première Guerre mondiale, l'attention de Vasile Stroescu se dirigea vers la Bessarabie, où il finança la presse roumaine. En mai 1913, à Kichinev paraissait, grâce à lui, la revue mensuelle *Cuvântul moldovenesc* (La parole moldave), dirigée par Nicolae Alexandri et Simeon Murafa. Une gazette hebdomadaire portant le même titre commença à paraître à partir de 1914<sup>32</sup>. Le 3/16 avril 1917, les leaders l'ont nommé président d'honneur du Parti National Moldave, sur la proposition d'Onisifor Ghibu. Cette proposition fut accueillie avec réserve, *"étant donné que V. Stroescu était trop vieux, assez malade et s'était depuis longtemps retiré de la vie publique; de plus, il n'avait pas les qualités nécessaires à un homme politique militant"*. Néanmoins, la proposition fut acceptée en principe et l'on décida qu'une délégation formée de Pan Halippa et O. Ghibu se rendit à Odessa, où se trouvait le grand mécène, pour lui remettre l'adresse signée par tous les 21 membres fondateurs du parti<sup>33</sup>.

En 1918, Vasile Stroescu se trouvait à Paris, où il appuya du point de vue financier la propagande roumaine, étant membre du Conseil National de l'Unité roumaine, créé en automne 1918 dans la capitale de la France, sous la direction de Take Ionescu<sup>34</sup>.

Après le parachèvement de l'unité nationale roumaine par les plébiscites de Kichinev, Cernăuți et Alba-Iulia, V. Stroescu milita pour la reconnaissance internationale de la Grande Union. A Paris, il établit des liaisons étroites avec la délégation de la Roumanie à la Conférence de paix. Le 22 avril 1919 il rencontra Alexandru Vaida-Voevod, qui, le même jour, transmettait à Iuliu Maniu le message suivant: *"Aujourd'hui j'ai dîné chez moi avec le vieux Stroescu, homme très sympathique et sage"*<sup>35</sup>.

Après 1918, V. Stroescu fut élu député dans le premier Parlement de la Roumanie unie. Dans le cadre de la réunion inaugurale de la Chambre des Députés, il fut nommé président par privilège d'âge.

En juin 1923, V. Stroescu prit part à la réunion de constitution de la Ligue des Droits de l'Homme, à côté du peintre Camil Ressu, du sculpteur Corneliu Medrea, de l'écrivain Victor Eftimiu, des journalistes Constantin Mille et N.D. Cocea, du philosophe Constantin Rădulescu-Motru. Vasile Stroescu fut élu président de la Ligue et C.Gh. Costa Foru, secrétaire. Ces deux leaders de la Ligue, bien que grands propriétaires, sont passés, de manière étonnante, sur des positions de gauche. Dans un article publié dans les pages du journal *Adevărul* (La Vérité), C.Gh. Costa Foru informa le grand public sur le but de cette organisation. L'auteur précisa que la Ligue des Droits de l'Homme est une institution d'origine française qui repose sur les principes formulés par la Révolution de 1789. Elle allait lutter pour la paix au niveau intérieur et pour la bonne collaboration entre les peuples<sup>36</sup>.

Par la loi de 1924, V. Stroescu devint sénateur de droit, comme une modeste reconnaissance de sa contribution particulière au progrès de la nation roumaine. Cependant le grand philanthrope se retira du tourbillon des luttes politiques, qu'il n'avait d'ailleurs jamais aimées, et, le 15 avril 1926, il décéda à Bucarest, à l'âge de 81 ans. On décréta des funérailles nationales, qui eurent lieu le 18 avril.

Il a été presque oublié par la postérité. Huit ans après son décès, O. Ghibu publia, à la fin avril 1934, un article dans les pages du quotidien bucarestois *Universul* (L'Univers), où il soulignait que Vasile Stroescu

*“ne doit jamais être oublié par notre peuple et qu'il devrait servir en exemple à toutes les générations”. “Notre histoire ne connaît aucun autre homme qui se soit sacrifié autant pour le bien-être commun et pour sa nation. Sa vie a été la plus belle poésie qu'on ait jamais écrite, la poésie de l'action et du sacrifice pour le proche du même sang.”*

Compte tenu de ces qualités, l'auteur de l'article affirmait en guise de conclusions:

*“Notre peuple a le devoir d'ériger un monument à la mémoire de V. Stroescu”*<sup>37</sup>.

Malheureusement, ce monument reste un desideratum. Une rue seulement, à Bucarest, porte le nom de celui qui a été V. Stroescu.

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## Notes

<sup>1</sup> GHEORGHE BEZVICONI, *Frații Stroescu*, dans *Din trecutul nostru*, III, no. 17-20, février-mai 1935, pp. 105-106; ONISIFOR GHIBU, *Un binefacător al Zarandului. Vasile Stroescu*, dans *Naționalul nou*, III, no. 640, 1 juillet 1936.

<sup>2</sup> *Anuarul Activitatea Casei Școalelor pe anii 1910-1911*, București, 1911, p. 370; ALEX. CIULCU, *Din viața și activitatea lui Vasile Stroescu*, dans *Viața Basarabiei*, Chișinău, IX, no. 1, janvier 1940, pp. 11-12; ȘTEFAN T. EȘEANU, *Românii în cultura rusă* (manuscrit), f. 247.

<sup>3</sup> ONISIFOR GHIBU, *A murit Vasile Stroescu*, dans *Calendarul Asociațiunii “Astra”*, année XVI, no. 139, 1927-1928, Sibiu, 1927, p. 8, reproduit aussi dans IDEM, *Oameni între oameni. Amintiri*, București, 1990, p. 475.

<sup>4</sup> *Calendarul Minerva – 1911*, București, 1910, p. 68; ANTONIE PLĂMĂDEALĂ, *Pagini dintr-o arhivă inedită*, București, 1984, pp. XXVIII-XXIX.

<sup>5</sup> O. GHIBU, *Oameni între oameni. Amintiri*, pp. 477-478, doc. no. 2.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 479, doc. no. 3.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 479-480, doc. no. 4.

<sup>8</sup> IOAN LUPĂȘ, *Situația școalelor românești din Ardeal și Țara Ungurească*, dans *Neamul românesc literar*, I, no. 4, 1909, pp. 271-274; IDEM, *Din istoria Transilvaniei*, București, 1988, p. 264.

<sup>9</sup> *Insemnări inedite ale fostului patriarh Miron Cristea*, dans *Anuarul Academiei Teologice Ortodoxe Române din Caransebeș, 1939-1940*, Caransebeș, 1940, p. 82.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 83-84; C.I. STAN, *Vasile Stroescu sprijinitor al școlii românești din Transilvania și Banat*, dans *Destin românesc*, III, no. 2/1996, pp. 82-83.

<sup>11</sup> *Lupta*, Budapeșt, II, no. 147, 12/25 juillet 1908.



<sup>12</sup> *Gazeta de duminică*, V, no. 22, 25 mai 1908.

<sup>13</sup> *Telegraful român* (Sibiu), VI, no. 58, 29 mai/11 iunie; no. 75, 10/23 juillet; no. 78, 17/30 juillet; no. 79, 19 juillet/1 août; no. 105, 23 septembre/6 octobre 1908.

<sup>14</sup> A. PLAMĂDEALĂ, *Românii din Transilvania sub teroarea regimului dualist austro-ungar (1867-1918). După documente, acte și corespondențe născute de la Elie Miron Cristea*, Sibiu, 1986, p. 302.

<sup>15</sup> O. GHIBU, *Scrisori din Ardeal*, dans *Viața românească*, année VII, vol. XXVI, no. 7-8, juillet-août 1912, p. 217; IDEM, *Cine a fost Vasile Stroescu?*, dans *Răsunetul*, Lugoj, V, no. 17, 25 avril 1926; RODICA HERLO, *Reuniunea femeilor române din Ardeal și provincie*, dans *Ziridava*, X/1978, pp. 342-343, annexe no. 1.

<sup>16</sup> SEXTIL PUȘCARIU, *Memorii*, București, 1978, p. 76.

<sup>17</sup> AL. CIULCU, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

<sup>18</sup> OCT. C. TÂSLĂUANU, *Organizarea satelor noastre*, dans *Transilvania*, Sibiu, année LVII, no. 2, mars-avril 1911, p. 119.

<sup>19</sup> ȘERBAN POLVEREJAN (éd.), *Correspondența lui George Moroianu (1891-1920)*, vol. I, Cluj-Napoca, 1981, pp. 20-21, doc. no. V.

<sup>20</sup> PAMEIL MATEI, *Asociațiunea Transilvăneană pentru Literatura și Cultura Poporului Român (A.S.T.R.A.) și rolul ei în cultura națională (1861-1950)*, Cluj-Napoca, 1986, p. 268.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 269.

<sup>22</sup> MIHAI SOFRONIE, *Vasile Stroescu și A.S.T.R.A.*, dans *Astra* 130, Sibiu, 1992, pp. 111-114.

<sup>23</sup> A. PLAMĂDEALĂ, *Pagini dintr-o arhivă inedită...*, pp. 216-217.

<sup>24</sup> *Transilvania*, année XLIII, no. 6, novembre-décembre 1912, p. 552.

<sup>25</sup> P. MATEI, *op. cit.*, p. 270; voir les détails: GH. PREDA, *Activitatea Aștrei în 25 de ani de la Unire 1918-1943*, Sibiu, 1944, pp. 219-222.

<sup>26</sup> ION IOSIF ȘCHIOPUL, *Românii din America*, Sibiu, 1913, p. 12; M. SOFRONIE, *Reflectarea situației politice asupra activității Asociațiunii Transilvănene (A.S.T.R.A.) până la 1918*, dans le volume *Unirea din 1918, împlinire și speranță*, Sibiu, 1994, p. 69.

<sup>27</sup> O. GHIBU, *op. cit.*, dans *Viața românească*, année VII, vol. XXVI, no. 7-8, juillet-août 1912, pp. 217-219; IDEM, *Nu din partea aceea...*, éd. cit., p. 274.

<sup>28</sup> C.I. STAN, *Vasile Stroescu – sprijinitor al culturii românești din Transilvania*, dans *Ziridava*, XV-XVI/1987, p. 255.

<sup>29</sup> OCT. C. TÂSLĂUANU, *Amintiri de la "Luceafărul"*, București, 1936, p. 102.

<sup>30</sup> A. PLAMĂDEALĂ, *Pagini dintr-o arhivă inedită...*, p. 61.

<sup>31</sup> C. PANTELIMON HALIPPA, ANATOLIE MORARU, *Testament pentru urmași*, 2ème édition, Chișinău, 1991, p. 22.

<sup>32</sup> AL. CIULCU, *op. cit.*, p. 24; PAN HALIPPA, *Povestea vieții mele*, dans *Patrimoniul*, Chișinău, no. 1/1990, pp. 31-32; voir aussi ALEXANDRU V. BOLDUR, *Istoria Basarabiei*, București, 1992, pp. 392-393.

<sup>33</sup> ONISIFOR GHIBU, *Pe baricadele vieții, vol. IV. În Basarabia revoluționară 1917-1918*, Chișinău, 1992, pp. 73-74; voir aussi *Unirea Basarabiei și Bucovinei cu România 1917-1918. Documente*, anthologie par ION CALAFETEANU et VIORICA POMPIA MOISUC, Chișinău, 1995, p. 25, doc. no. 2.

<sup>34</sup> *1918 la români. Documente externe 1916-1918*, vol. II, București, 1983, p. 1164, doc. no. 375; C.I. STAN, *Vasile Stroescu – luptător pentru desăvârșirea unității naționale românești*, dans *Revista istorică*, nouvelle série, tome 5, no. 7-8/1994, p. 814.

<sup>35</sup> Archives Nationales, Bucarest, fonds Al. Vaida-Voevod, dossier no. 55/1919, f. 9.

<sup>36</sup> C. GH. COSTA-FORU, *Liga Drepturilor Omului și fascismul*, dans *Adevărul*, XXXV, no. 12164, 22 septembre 1923; C. GH. COSTA-FORU, *Din viața și opera unui mare democrat român*, anthologie de FLOREA NEDELICU et FLORIAN TÂNAȘESCU, Cluj-Napoca, 1986, pp. 157-160.

<sup>37</sup> O. GHIBU, *Un monument lui Vasile Stroescu*, dans *Universul*, année 51, no. 113, 29 avril 1934.

## Kircheneinheit im 11. bis 13. Jahrhundert durch einen gemeinsamen Patriarchen und gemeinsame Bischöfe für Griechen und Lateiner

ERNST CHR. SUTTNER

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*Eine Folge des Mythos vom sogenannten "großen Schisma" ist, daß heutzutage jener Gegensatz zwischen Griechen und Lateinern, den es erst seit dem 18. Jahrhundert gibt, als etwas gilt, das seit Beginn des 2. Jahrtausends besteht.*

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**S**eit Konstantinopels Aufstieg zum Kirchenzentrum blieb es das gesamte 1. Millennium über dabei, daß die Kirchenführer Roms und Konstantinopels Mitverantwortung trugen für eine Reihe von Bistümern und Klöstern, die das Brauchtum der je anderen Seite pflegten. Denn die Grenze zwischen Griechen und Lateinern (das heißt die Grenze zwischen den Gebieten, in denen das kirchliche Leben nach griechischem bzw. nach lateinischem Herkommen geordnet war), deckte sich nicht mit der Grenze zwischen dem Jurisdiktionsbereich des römischen und des konstantinopolitanischen Oberhirten. Vielmehr gab es die ganze Zeit über lateinisches Kirchenleben unter griechischer Jurisdiktion und griechisches Kirchenleben unter lateinischer Jurisdiktion. In einer einschlägigen Untersuchung bezeichnet es

Beitrag zur Tagung "Medieval Christian Europe: East and West. Tradition, Values, Communications" in Sofia, September 2000.

M. Scaduto als *“wichtige Tatsache”*, daß *“in der alten Kirche die Jurisdiktion ohne Rücksicht auf den Ritus strikt territorial war.”*<sup>1</sup>

Im Illyrikum hatte zunächst das römische Patriarchat weit über die Sprachgrenze hinausgereicht. Auf dem gesamten Territorium des heutigen Griechenland unterstanden die Kirchen bis zum 8. Jahrhundert dem Patriarchen von Rom. Dann beendete ein Machtwort des Kaisers von Konstantinopel diesen Zustand, und mit dem Illyrikum unterstellte der Kaiser damals auch Sizilien und Süditalien, wo von alters her Lateiner und Griechen nebeneinander lebten, dem byzantinischen Patriarchen. Die dort befindlichen Bistümer und Klöster lateinischer Tradition gehörten von da an zum Konstantinopeler Patriarchat. Überdies gab es von alters her griechische Klöster in Rom, und umgekehrt hatten die Lateiner Gotteshäuser und Klöster auf byzantinischem Gebiet<sup>2</sup>. Lateiner konnten also ihr kirchliches Leben unter der Obhut eines Hierarchen griechischer Tradition pflegen, und Griechen konnten es tun unter der Obhut eines Hierarchen lateinischer Tradition.

Dies war möglich, weil man anerkannte, daß die je andere Seite mit ihren eigenen kirchlichen Traditionen durch Gottes Gnade ebenso wie man selber befugt war, die heiligen Sakramente zu spenden und ihre Gläubigen zum Heil zu führen. Obwohl man sich oftmals befremdet fühlte wegen der sakramentalen Riten und gottesdienstlichen Bräuche der jeweils anderen Seite und man manchmal auch Einwände erhob gegen bestimmte Redeweisen der anderen bei der Glaubensverkündigung, blieb es Jahrhunderte hindurch bei dieser Anerkennung. Trotz aller Spannungen zwischen Lateinern und Griechen, die sich in die ältesten Zeiten zurückverfolgen lassen, wurde die Anerkennung jahrhundertlang nicht widerrufen.

Der wechselseitige Argwohn wegen der Verschiedenheit der kirchlichen Gepflogenheiten ist uns bestens bezeugt. Die Meinungen prallten des öfteren mit solcher Heftigkeit aufeinander, daß Lateiner und Griechen untereinander sogar die *Communio* verloren. Doch sie bereinigten den Streit jeweils wieder und nahmen nach einiger Zeit die *Communio* wieder auf. Nur einige Beispiele seien benannt:

Auf dem sogenannten Quinisextum der Jahre 691/92<sup>3</sup> gingen die Griechen so weit, daß sie sogar kirchliche Rechtssatzungen verabschiedeten, die mit dem Anathem belegten, was in Rom alter Kirchenbrauch war.

Im 9. Jahrhundert griff Patriarch Photios neben dem gottesdienstlichen Brauchtum auch das theologische Lehren der Lateiner an und rügte insbesondere ihre Trinitätslehre, weil sie bekannten, daß der Heilige Geist vom Vater und vom Sohn den Ausgang nehme. Ein neuzeitlicher Leser, der die Darlegungen des Photios mit der apologetischen Literatur der letzten 200 Jahre vergleicht, muß einerseits staunen, weil jener große Gelehrte Dinge angriff, die uns heutzutage nebensächlich vorkommen; andererseits mag es wegen gewisser Ähnlichkeiten im Wortlaut scheinen, daß die Ausführungen des Photios zumindest in einigen Punkten eine ebensolche grundsätzliche Verwerfung der lateinischen Lehre darstellen wie die neuzeitlichen Texte<sup>4</sup>. Doch trotz der hart klingenden Worte kann bei Photios dieses Verständnis nicht vorgelegen haben. Denn anders als für die Konfessionalisten der Neuzeit waren die gerügten *“Verirrungen”* für ihn kompatibel mit der Kircheneinheit, so daß er es nicht für erforderlich hielt, die *Communio* mit den Lateinern solange zu verweigern, bis diese von der fraglichen trinitarischen Lehre abgerückt wären. Was er rügte, hielt er für Mängel, die sich aus den *“barbarischen Verhältnissen”* bei den Nicht-Griechen herleiteten<sup>5</sup>.

Auch die wechselseitigen Vorwürfe in den Tagen des Patriarchen Michael Kerullarios und des römischen Delegaten Humbert de Silva Candida bezogen sich fast nur auf Verschiedenheiten im Brauchtum. Als einziges Thema aus der Glaubenslehre wurde erst gegen Ende der Verhandlungen und sozusagen nur nebenbei die Rede vom Ausgang des Heiligen Geistes angesprochen – obgleich bekanntlich das *filioque* zu Beginn des 11. Jahrhunderts auch in Rom ins gottesdienstliche Symbolum eingefügt worden war; dies hätte die Sache selbstverständlich viel brisanter machen müssen, wenn man in ihr damals wirklich eine Glaubensfrage gesehen hätte, der kirchenspaltende Wirkung zugeschrieben worden wäre.

Fassen wir also Zusammen: Während der häufigen Schismen, die es im 1. Millennium zwischen Griechen und Lateinern gab, waren beide Seiten gegeneinander voller Skepsis. Zeitweise waren sie einander sogar feindlich gesinnt, aber sie blieben sich bewußt, daß der Herr ihre Einheit geboten hatte. Daß auch die jeweils andere Seite von Gott berufen ist, die Gnadengaben der Kirche zu verwalten, fand bei "besonders kämpferisch" eingestellten Kirchenführern mitunter kaum mehr Beachtung; aber ausdrücklich bestritten, wie dies bei Bischof Cyprian im 3. Jahrhundert der Fall war<sup>6</sup>, wurde es von niemandem. Erst recht bestritt dies weder die griechische Kirche in ihrer Gesamtheit von der lateinischen, noch die lateinische Kirche von der griechischen<sup>7</sup>. Was man ernsthaft in Frage stellte, war, ob die kirchlichen Lebensformen der anderen Seite des Evangeliums ebenso würdig seien wie die eigenen.

Man anerkannte die anderen als getauft, ihre Kleriker als geweiht und ihre Eucharistie als heilig, war aber überzeugt, daß diese anderen gottwohlgefälliger würden, wenn sie sich zur Übernahme jenes kirchlichen Lebens entschlossen, das die eigene Seite pflegte.

**A**n dieser Einstellung änderte sich nichts, als im 11. Jahrhundert die Normannen in Süditalien und in Sizilien einfielen und dort gemäß ihrer eigenen Zugehörigkeit zur lateinischen Welt wieder das lateinische Kirchenleben stärkten. Unter ihrer Herrschaft kehrten die dortigen Christen – die griechischen und die lateinischen – unter die Jurisdiktion Roms zurück, aus der sie miteinander durch eine Verfügung des byzantinischen Kaisers im 8. Jahrhundert herausgenommen worden waren.

Weil die Griechen dieselben heiligen Sakramente feierten wie die Lateiner, hielten die Normannen in dem von ihnen eroberten Land die griechische Kirche trotz aller Skepsis gegenüber ihren Kirchenbräuchen für nahe genug mit ihrer eigenen Kirche verwandt, daß sie es für angebracht hielten, gemeinsame Bischöfe über die Griechen und über die lateinischen Gläubigen des eigenen Volkes amtiert zu lassen. Wo ein Grieche als Bischof amtierte, war er dem römischen, nicht mehr dem konstantinopolitanischen Patriarchen unterstellt. Damit galt er als in Einheit getreten mit der Kirche der neuen Landesherren, und auch die Lateiner, die es auf seinem Territorium gab, waren ihm zugehörig. Weil es zur damaligen Zeit in Ost und West gebräuchlich war, daß die Herrscher bei Bischofsnennungen entscheidend mitredeten, ist es nicht überraschend, daß in der Folgezeit bei Wiederbesetzungen oder bei Neugründungen von Bistümern, wann immer es möglich war, lateinische Kandidaten zum Zug kamen; denn diese standen den normannischen Fürsten näher als die Griechen. Sie amtierten dann ebenso für Lateiner und Griechen, wie es andernorts die griechischen Bischöfe taten.

Bald darauf handelten die Kreuzfahrer ähnlich. Nachdem 1098 Antiochien erobert war, unterstellten sich die Kreuzfahrer zunächst der Jurisdiktion des dortigen Patriarchen Johannes IV. Zu Beginn der Lateinerherrschaft war dieser somit auf dem ganzen Gebiet des Patriarchats von Antiochien oberster Kirchenführer für Griechen und Kreuzfahrer<sup>8</sup>. Sobald jedoch ein Bischofssitz vakant wurde, sorgte der Kreuzfahrerfürst für die Ernennung neuer Bischöfe. Er zog Priester vor, die mit ihm aus dem Abendland gekommen waren, weil dies die Lateinerherrschaft stützte. Die neuen lateinischen Bischöfe wurden in ihrer Diözese (wie der Patriarch im gesamten Patriarchat) zuständig für Griechen und Kreuzfahrer, und man beachte, daß sie gemeinsam mit den bisherigen griechischen Bischöfen Mitglieder der einen, gemeinsamen Synode des antiochenischen Patriarchats wurden.

Manche griechische Bischöfe flohen aus dem Kreuzfahrerstaat, und es gab Vakanzen. Zweifellos haben die Kreuzfahrer "nachgeholfen", daß dies möglichst häufig geschah. Für die "schlechten Hirten, die ihre Herde verließen", setzte man neue Bischöfe ein, lateinische. Zudem gründeten die Kreuzfahrer neue Bistümer, deren Bischöfe auch in die Synode des Patriarchats aufgenommen wurden. So erlangten die Lateiner in ihr bald die Mehrheit. Nicht lange nach der Eroberung der Stadt kam es zu einer Neuwahl des Patriarchen. Auch diese Wahl fiel auf einen Lateiner. Bald waren alle Bischöfe im Patriarchat Lateiner.

Wie in Antiochien ging man auch in Jerusalem vor, als die Stadt 1099 erobert war. In Kürze amtierte auch dort ein Lateiner als Patriarch, und auch dort wurden die Bistümer mit Vorzug an lateinische Kleriker vergeben<sup>9</sup>.

**G**emäß heutigen Denkgepflogenheiten können Lateiner und Griechen nicht einfach zusammengefügt werden, weil die einen als eine "katholische Kirche" und die anderen als eine von ihnen grundsätzlich getrennte "orthodoxe Kirche" gelten<sup>10</sup>. Das Verhalten der Normannen und der Kreuzfahrer erscheint manchen unserer Zeitgenossen als "Zwangskonversion der Griechen zum Katholizismus" oder zumindest als ihr Abgedrängt-Werden in ein "Katakombendasein". Wir sollen die Angelegenheit aber nicht nach heutigen Vorstellungen beurteilen, sondern uns um ein Verständnis für die Denkweise der damaligen Menschen bemühen.

Daher ist für das Beurteilen des Verhaltens von Normannen und Kreuzfahrern nicht die gegenwärtige Auffassung von den Kirchengrenzen wichtig; vielmehr ist zu fragen, welche Gewichtigkeit man zu Beginn des 2. Jahrtausends den Schismen zwischen Griechen und Lateinern zuschrieb, die es ab dem 4. Jahrhundert immer wieder gegeben hat<sup>11</sup>. Um die damaligen Auffassungen verstehen zu lernen, sollte man insbesondere auch beachten, was jüngste Forschungen zur christlichen Bildkunst in den Gotteshäusern des Kreuzfahrerstaates Jerusalem erbrachten. Sie lassen erkennen, daß sich das damalige Zusammenspiel zwischen Lateinern und Griechen nicht allein auf Zwang zurückführen läßt. Es gab nämlich nicht nur durch ein Machtwort des Herrschers berufene gemeinsame Bischöfe, sondern in bestimmten Bereichen echte Gemeinsamkeit im geistlichen Leben, mehr wechselseitiges Einvernehmen also, als man heutzutage zu vermuten pflegt<sup>12</sup>. Offensichtlich waren also nicht nur die Kreuzfahrer überzeugt, daß durch die gemein-

samen Bischöfe die Spaltung zwischen ihnen und den Griechen beendet worden sei; zumindest ein Teil der Griechen muß dieser Ansicht zugestimmt haben, damit die geistliche Gemeinsamkeit möglich werden konnte.

Allerdings gab es auch Widerspruch, denn die Einseitigkeit, daß bei den Bischofswahlen stets Kreuzfahrerkleriker zum Zug kamen, führte zu einer Fremdherrschaft in der Kirche. Um ihr gegenzusteuern, wählte man auch von griechischer Seite Patriarchen für die mit Lateinern besetzten Sitze von Antiochien und von Jerusalem. Man übersehe aber nicht, daß diese nur Prätendenten waren. Keiner von ihnen konnte amtieren, nicht einmal "im Untergrund", wie es zu anderen Zeiten und andernorts, wo die Christen sosehr in Konfessionen gespalten waren, daß sie sich gegenseitig geistlich nicht mehr anerkannten, oft genug vorkam. Die besagten Prätendenten waren genötigt, im Exil zu leben. Später, nach dem Ende der Kreuzfahrerherrschaft, als die Sitze wieder von Griechen eingenommen wurden, war es umgekehrt; dann konnten die lateinischen Prätendenten, die man in Rom weiterhin wählte, nicht amtieren und mußten im Exil leben. Weder die griechischen, noch die lateinischen Prätendenten stellten die Einheit der Patriarchate von Antiochien und Jerusalem in Frage.

Als 1204 die Kreuzfahrer auch Konstantinopel erobert und auch dort einen Lateiner zum Patriarchen eingesetzt hatten<sup>13</sup>, anerkannte 1214 das 4. Laterankonzil – NB! eins von den 21 Konzilien, denen in der katholischen Kirche die Autorität von ökumenischen Konzilien zuerkannt ist<sup>14</sup> – ausdrücklich, daß auf dem Weg, der von den Kreuzfahrern und vorher schon von den Normannen eingeschlagen worden war, das für die Kircheneinheit Notwendige wirklich erreicht werden kann. In Kapitel 9 seiner Beschlüsse forderte es als Bedingung für die Kircheneinheit nämlich nur, daß die Kirchenführung in lateinische Hände gelegt werde:

*"In Anbetracht der Tatsache, daß mancherorts in derselben Stadt und Diözese Leute verschiedener Sprache zusammenwohnen, die auch bei aller Einheit im Glauben verschiedene Riten und Gewohnheiten haben, befehlen wir, daß die Bischöfe solcher Städte und Diözesen geeignete Männer aufstellen, die den Gottesdienst gemäß den verschiedenen Riten und Sprachen feiern und ebenso die Sakramente spenden. Sie sollen ihre Gläubigen auch durch Wort und Beispiel lehren. Indessen verbieten wir unbedingt, daß dieselbe Stadt oder Diözese verschiedene Bischöfe habe. Das wäre ein Monstrum, wie wenn ein einziger Leib mehrere Köpfe hätte. Aber wenn aus den angegebenen Gründen eine dringende Notwendigkeit dafür besteht, soll der Ortsbischof in kluger Fürsicht einen katholischen Prälaten vom griechischen Ritus als seinen Vikar aufstellen<sup>15</sup>, der ihm gehorsam und unterworfen sein soll in allen Dingen."*

Skepsis gegenüber den griechischen Kirchenbräuchen bestand unter den zum Konzil versammelten Lateinern fort, wie Kapitel 4 des Konzilsbeschlusses deutlich macht:

*"Auch wenn Wir die Griechen, die in Unseren Tagen zum Gehorsam gegenüber dem Apostolischen Stuhl zurückkehren, fördern und ehren wollen, indem Wir ihre Bräuche und Riten soweit Wir es mit dem Herrn können, unterstützen, wollen und dürfen Wir*

*ihnen dennoch nicht in dem bepflichten, was Gefahr für die Seelen erzeugt und der Ehrbarkeit der Kirche Abbruch tut.”*

Doch wie einst bei Photios, so können auch bei den Lateinern des 13. Jahrhunderts die damals erhobenen Vorwürfe nicht ebenso grundsätzlich gemeint gewesen sein, wie sie für heutige Ohren klingen mögen. Denn das Verbessern der gerügten Mängel war in der inzwischen schon weit mehr als anderthalb jahrhundertjährigen Praxis der Normannen und Kreuzfahrer nie zur Vorbedingung gemacht worden für die Aufnahme der Communio. Eine entsprechende Forderung hätte aber unbedingt gestellt werden müssen, wenn man die Mängel als wirklichen Verrat an der kirchlichen Überlieferung eingestuft hätte. Das Konzil sah keinen Anlaß, das Vorgehen der Normannen und Kreuzfahrer zu rügen.

Die von den Kreuzfahrern erlangte Einheit zerbrach wieder nach dem Ende ihrer Herrschaft, denn sie hatte um vieles mehr auf Machtausübung der einen über den anderen als auf wechselseitiger Achtung und Anerkennung beruht. In der Folge erhob sich der Verdacht, daß die Verschiedenheit zwischen den beiden Seiten vielleicht doch einen “Widerspruch in Glaubensdingen” bedeuten könnte. Als Konstantinopel durch den byzantinischen Kaiser rückerobert war, begann man deshalb, die Väterchriften eifrig zu studieren, um zu ergründen, ob dem wirklich so sei. Die einen studierten die Verschiedenheiten und versuchten aufzuzeigen, daß ihr Gewicht groß genug sei, um die Einheit zu verbieten; die anderen studierten sie ebenso, um zu zeigen, daß sie im Rahmen der von den Vätern ererbten Glaubenstradition nebeneinander bestehen dürfen.

Der Angelegenheit wurden ausführliche Studien zu Hause<sup>16</sup> sowie Beratungen auf dem 2. Konzil von Lyon und auf dem Konzil von Ferrara/Florenz gewidmet. (Auch diese beiden Konzilien gehören zu den erwähnten 21, die für uns Katholiken die Autorität von ökumenischen Konzilien haben!) Diese Konzilien verzichteten auf die Forderung, daß im Fall der Vereinigung stets ein Lateiner die Diözesen bzw. Metropolen oder Patriarchate zu leiten habe, und hielten es wie das 4. Laterankonzil für unnötig, als Voraussetzung für das Zusammenfügen der Griechen und der Lateiner eine vorherige Bereinigung von Mängeln einzufordern. Auf beiden Konzilsversammlungen wurde der Position derer zugestimmt, die weder bei den einen, noch bei den anderen das heilige Erbe für verfälscht hielten. Anstelle der Forderung des 4. Lateranense, daß alle Diözesen bzw. Patriarchate durch einen Lateiner zu leiten seien, wurde in Florenz nur verlangt, daß dem Papst als Nachfolger Petri jene Gewalt zuzuerkennen sei, “*die in den Akten der ökumenischen Konzilien und in den heiligen Kanones festgehalten wird.*”<sup>17</sup>

Die Ökumeniker unserer Tage täten gut daran, über den von diesen Konzilien (die, wie oben betont, für uns Katholiken die Autorität von ökumenischen Konzilien besitzen) für gut befundenem Weg zur Einheit ernsthaft zu reflektieren. Sie sollten darüber nachdenken, welche Position der ekklesiologischen Tradition gemäßer ist: jene der mittelalterlichen Konzilien – oder die uns heute geläufigen Abgrenzungen, die erst in der Neuzeit ersonnen wurden.

Zu den gegenwärtig geläufigen Abgrenzungen kam es, weil die von den Theologen bis ins Spätmittelalter bewahrte Einsicht, daß die Unterschiede zwischen den Kirchen der Griechen und der Lateiner die Kircheneinheit nicht sprengen müssen<sup>18</sup>, die Überzeugung einer nur kleinen Minderheit blieb. Für die Kirchengemeinden beider Seiten war sie kein Anlaß, wechselseitige Offenheit und Zuneigung zu erstreben. Vielmehr wuchs auf beiden Seiten der Argwohn gegenüber der fremden Art der anderen mehr und mehr, und dies führte im 18. Jahrhundert schließlich sogar zu einem Umbruch in der Ekklesiologie<sup>19</sup>. Dieser wiederum hatte jenen Konfessionsgegensatz zwischen Katholiken und Orthodoxen zur Folge, der heute allgemein empfunden wird. Und um diesem Konfessionsgegensatz "ehrwürdiges Alter" nachzusagen, schuf man – wie oben schon einmal hervorgehoben – einen Mythos von einem vorgeblich vor langer Zeit ausgebrochenen sogenannten "großen Schisma" zwischen Griechen und Lateinern.

Das "große Schisma" wollte man zunächst in die Tage des Patriarchen Photios datieren. Deshalb pflegten lateinische Apologeten des 19. Jahrhunderts (nach dem Vorbild der herkömmlichen Benennung anderer "Häretiker" nach ihren "Häresiarchen" wie Arianer, Nestorianer, Jakobiten, Lutheraner oder Kalviner) die Christen griechischer Tradition als "Photianer" zu bezeichnen. Sie meinten nämlich, Photios die Schuld am "großen Schisma" zuschreiben zu dürfen, denn die Konstantinopeler Synode von 869/70 hatte ihn verurteilt, und genau diese Synode hatte im 16. Jahrhundert Kardinal Bellarmín in die Liste der im Abendland anerkannten ökumenischen Konzilien aufgenommen – ohne zu beachten, daß bereits die Konstantinopeler Synode von 879/80 die vorangegangene Synode von 869/70 (mit ausdrücklicher päpstlicher Billigung!) für aufgehoben erklärt hatte. Gegen Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts stellte dann die Kirchengeschichtsforschung endgültig klar, daß Patriarch Photios in seiner 2. Amtsperiode und bis zum Lebensende volle Communio mit dem Papst besaß. So ergab sich der Zwang, von der Datierung des "großen Schismas" in die Tage des Patriarchen Photios wieder Abstand zu nehmen<sup>20</sup>. Daraufhin entschloß man sich zu behaupten, daß es 1054 ausgebrochen sei. Man tat dies umso lieber, als in diesem Fall die Beschuldigungen sogar "paritätisch" vorgebracht und in Patriarch Michael Kerullarios und in Kardinal Humbert auf jeder Seite je ein Sündenbock benannt werden konnte.

Eine Folge des Mythos vom sogenannten "großen Schisma" ist, daß heutzutage jener Gegensatz zwischen Griechen und Lateinern, den es erst seit dem 18. Jahrhundert gibt, als etwas gilt, das seit Beginn des 2. Jahrtausends besteht. Und eine weitere Folge: Vielen kommt es unglaublich vor, daß man im 11. bis 13. Jahrhundert durch das Einsetzen gemeinsamer Patriarchen und Bischöfe für Griechen und Lateiner für die Kircheneinheit zwischen ihnen Sorge tragen konnte.

□

## Anmerkungen

<sup>1</sup> M. SCADUTO, *Il monachesimo basiliano nella Sicilia medievale*, Rom 1947, S. XVI.

<sup>2</sup> So wurde z.B. auf dem heiligen Berg Athos bereits im 10. Jahrhundert ein Benediktinerkloster begründet; vgl. D.O. ROUSSEAU, *L'ancien Monastère bénédictin du Mont-Athos*, in *Revue liturgique et monastique* 14 (1929)



530-547. Um dieselbe Zeit oder wenigstens bald danach hat es in der Stadt Konstantinopel mehrere Gotteshäuser der Lateiner gegeben, denn unter Berufung auf ein Schreiben des Papstes Leo IX. erwähnt H.-G. BECK, *Geschichte der orthodoxen Kirche im byzantinischen Reich*, Göttingen 1980, S. 144, daß Patriarch Michael Kerullarios im Vorfeld der Ereignisse von 1054 die Kirchen der Lateiner in Konstantinopel schloß "mit der Begründung, daß dort in der Liturgie ungesäuerte Brote verwendet würden". Die Jurisdiktion über diese Gotteshäuser lag also bei ihm, doch das in ihnen beheimatete gottesdienstliche Brauchtum war abendländisch.

<sup>3</sup> Bei dieser Synode handelt es sich um eine fast nur von Griechen besuchte Synode, welche das 5. und das 6. Ökumenische Konzil um kirchenrechtliche Bestimmungen "ergänzen" sollte und daher seinen aus den Worten "fünf" und "sechs" zusammengesetzten Namen erhielt.

<sup>4</sup> In einem Brief des Papstes Nikolaus sind die Punkte zusammengestellt, um derenwillen sich Photios damals den Lateinern widersetzte. Seine Anklagen waren: 1) das Fasten der Lateiner an Samstagen, das gegen die byzantinischen Bräuche verstieß; 2) die Lehre vom Ausgang des Heiligen Geistes vom Vater und vom Sohn; 3) die Zölibatsverpflichtung für alle Priester; 4) die Tatsache, daß die Priester der Lateiner die Firmung nicht gleich nach der Taufe spenden; 5) die irrtümliche Annahme, die Lateiner würden das Chrisam aus Wasser bereiten; 6) die eigenen Abstinenzvorschriften der Lateiner, die von jenen der Byzantiner abwichen; 7) eine Behauptung, daß die Lateiner zu Ostern nach jüdischem Brauch mit der Eucharistie auch ein Osterlamm opferten; 8) das Bartscheren der lateinischen Kleriker; 9) daß lateinische Diakone zu Bischöfen geweiht werden können, ohne eine Zeitlang als Priester amtiert zu haben. An zehnter Stelle folgte die Bestimmung, daß künftig jedes Glaubensbekenntnis, um in Konstantinopel angenommen zu werden, die neun Punkte bestätigen und eine ausdrückliche Zustimmung zum Vorrang des Konstantinopeler Patriarchenstuhls aussprechen müsse. (Vgl. M. JUGIE, *Theologia dogmatica christianorum orientalium*, Tomus I, Paris 1926, S. 105 f.).

<sup>5</sup> Genau diese Auffassung von einer bedauerlichen, aber dennoch tolerierbaren Unvollkommenheit der Lateiner formulierte der Antiochener Patriarch Petrus, als er auf die Enzyklika des Photios antwortete. M. JUGIE, *Theologia dogmatica christianorum orientalium*, Tomus I, Paris 1926, S. 302, zitiert ihn: "*Ceterum convenit, ut nos ad bonam voluntatem respiciendo, praesertim ubi nec circa Deum nec circa fidem periculum est, propendeamus semper ad pacem et fratrum amorem. Illi quippe fratres nostri sunt, quamvis ex rusticitate vel imperitia contingat, ut saepe ab eo quod decet, excident, dum suam sequuntur voluntatem. Neque postulare debemus in barbaris gentibus adeo accuratam disciplinam, eandem acriteriam, ac a nobis in doctrina edoctis exigitur.*"

<sup>6</sup> Vgl. SUTNER, *Die eine Taufe zur Vergebung der Sünden. Zur Anerkennung der Taufe westlicher Christen durch die orthodoxe Kirche im Laufe der Geschichte*, in *Anzeiger der Österr. Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse* 127 (1990) 1-46.

<sup>7</sup> Näheres hierzu bei SUTNER, *Ubi sacramenta, ibi ecclesia*, in *Zeichen des Lebens* (Hrsg.: ZULEHNER P.M./AUF DER MAUR H./WEISMAYER J.), Ostfildern 2000, S. 165-178. In der Erklärung "Dominus Jesus" der römischen Kongregation für die Glaubenslehre, Art. 17, sind die Bedingungen für das Anerkennen des Fortbestehens der Kirchlichkeit trotz eines Schismas bzw. die Begründung für das Bestreiten derselben folgendermaßen umschrieben: "*Die Kirchen, die zwar nicht in vollkommener Gemeinschaft mit der katholischen Kirche stehen, aber durch engste Bande, wie die apostolische Sukzession und die gültige Eucharistie, mit ihr verbunden bleiben, sind echte Teilkirchen. Deshalb ist die Kirche Christi auch in diesen Kirchen gegenwärtig und wirksam, obwohl ihnen die volle Gemeinschaft mit der katholischen Kirche fehlt... Die kirchlichen Gemeinschaften hingegen, die den gültigen Episkopat und die ursprüngliche und vollständige Wirklichkeit des eucharistischen Mysteriums nicht bewahrt haben, sind nicht Kirchen im eigentlichen Sinn; die in diesen Gemeinschaften Getauften sind aber durch die Taufe Christus eingegliedert und stehen deshalb in einer gewissen, wenn auch nicht vollkommenen Gemeinschaft mit der Kirche.*"

<sup>8</sup> Vgl. C. KARALEVSKIJ, *Antioche*, in DHGE III, 563-703, bes. Abschn. IX und X, Spalte 613-635.

<sup>9</sup> Vgl. die Abschnitte "Unter den Kreuzfahrern" und "Ein eigenes Patriarchat für Lateiner" bei SUTNER, *Das Patriarchat von Jerusalem*, in ders., *Kirche und Nationen*, S. 517-535.

<sup>10</sup> Diese Auffassung verbreitete sich infolge einer Neuierung in der Ekklesiologie, die sich im 18. Jahrhundert auf beiden Seiten durchsetzte; vgl. die Darlegung über ihr Zustandekommen bei SUTNER, *Die Christenheit aus Ost und West auf der Suche nach dem sichtbaren Ausdruck für ihre Einheit*, Würzburg 1999, S. 186-202. Erst in jüngerer Zeit verfiel man darauf, so zu tun, als sei diese Auffassung "herkömmlich". Um ihr "ehrwürdiges Alter" zuzusprechen, schuf man einen Geschichtsmythos von einem sogenannten "großen Schisma". Dieses

wurde zunächst eine Zeitlang in die Amtszeit des Patriarchen Photios datiert, später, als gründliche Studien zu Photios dies als unmöglich entlarvten, verlegte man es in das Jahr 1054; vgl. ebenda, S. 36-42 und 69-73.

<sup>11</sup> Zum mehrfachen und recht grundlegenden Wandel im Verständnis vom Schisma im Lauf der Kirchengeschichte vgl. ebenda S. 279-292.

<sup>12</sup> G. KÜHNEL, *Wall Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Berlin 1988, zeigt auf, daß es im Königreich Jerusalem zu schöpferischer Zusammenarbeit zwischen einheimischen christlichen Kreisen (besonders Mönchen), Lateinern und Künstlern aus Byzanz gekommen sein muß; denn überzeugend kann er ein gegenseitiges Sich-Beeinflussen zwischen Griechen und Lateinern beim Erstellen von Bildprogrammen für das Ausgestalten von Kirchen nachweisen. Bei der hohen Zeugniskraft für das geistliche Leben, die im christlichen Osten der Ikonographie eignet, haben Kühnells Forschungsergebnisse viel Gewicht.

<sup>13</sup> Auch in Konstantinopel hatte die Absicht bestanden, durch den Lateiner auf dem Patriarchenthron das gesamte Patriarchat mit der Kirche des Abendlands zu vereinen. Doch der Erfolg war beschränkt, denn im Exil von Nizäa, in einem Teilgebiet des Reiches, das die Kreuzfahrer nicht eroberten, behauptete sich neben dem griechischen Kaiser auch der griechische Patriarch weiter. Folglich blieb ein Teil des Patriarchats, in dem der Lateiner nicht regieren konnte, außerhalb der von den Kreuzfahrern herbeigeführten "Einheit".

<sup>14</sup> Auf diesem Konzil waren die Bistümer aus Ost und West vollzähliger vertreten, als dies je vorher bei einem Konzil der Fall war; nach dem Selbstverständnis seiner Teilnehmer war die Ökumene fast vollständig repräsentiert. Doch die angereisten Inhaber östlicher Sitze waren ebenso Lateiner wie die westlichen Bischöfe. Darum wird diesem Konzil von vielen der ökumenische Charakter abgesprochen.

<sup>15</sup> Die Forderung, daß der Vikarbischof ein "katholischer Prälat" sein müsse, hat Mißverständnisse verursacht bei Lesern, die übersahen, daß zur Zeit des 4. Laterankonzils wie das Adjektiv "orthodox" so auch das Adjektiv "katholisch" noch keine Konfessionsbezeichnung war. Wie im Glaubensbekenntnis bezeichnet es auch hier die allgemeine Kirche. Ein "katholischer Prälat" im Sinn dieser Bestimmung war also ein Würdenträger, der keinem schismatischen Konventikel, sondern der allgemeinen Kirche zugehörte.

<sup>16</sup> Die damals in Byzanz sehr lebhaften Dispute skizziert H.-G. BECK, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*, München 1959, in den Abschnitten 6 und 7 des 4. Hauptteils.

<sup>17</sup> Vgl. das Florentiner Dekret "Laetentur coeli"!

<sup>18</sup> In der Kiever Metropole blieb diese Einsicht noch erhalten, als es dort nach der Union von Brest bereits zu einer sehr harten Gegnerschaft gekommen war. Metropolit Petr Mogila (1596-1647), der ein Menschenalter nach der Union von Brest die öffentlich-rechtliche Anerkennung für den Fortbestand einer Hierarchie bei jenen östlichen Christen erreicht hatte, die sich der Union verweigerten, sandte 1645 ein Gutachten nach Rom, in dem er aufzeigte, wie nach seiner Überzeugung die Kircheneinheit wiedererlangt werden könne. Darin schrieb er, daß es gelte, zu den Einsichten des Florentiner Konzils zurückzukehren und die Rechtgläubigkeit und Heiligkeit des Erbes der östlichen und der westlichen Kirche wieder wechselseitig anzuerkennen. Dies würde die sofortige Vereinigung ermöglichen; für Näheres darüber vgl. SUTTNER, *Die Christenheit aus Ost und West*, S. 127-134.

<sup>19</sup> Ausführlich wird über diesen Umbruch gehandelt bei SUTTNER, *Die Christenheit aus Ost und West*, S. 186-202.

<sup>20</sup> Ein deutliches Beispiel dafür, daß dogmatisch denkende Kirchenleute wenig Bereitschaft besitzen, eindeutigen kirchengeschichtlichen Einsichten Zustimmung zu geben: Noch im Vorwort einer 1933 (!) von der römischen Kurie veröffentlichten Liste der katholischen Titularbistümer (*S. Congregatio Consistorialis, Index sedium titularium Archiepiscopatum et Episcopatum*, Vatikan 1933) werden die orthodoxen Christen "Photianer" genannt.

# Confederate Projects in Romanian Political Thought: Aurel C. Popovici

TEODOR PAVEL

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*Our historiography prior to 1989, unilaterally and obsessively preoccupied by the idea of national unity, looked with caution at A.C. Popovici's federalist plan of 1906 and considered it a strange occurrence in the evolution of modern Romanian political thought.*

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**A**fter the collapse of communism, the new historiography, free from inhibitions and prejudices, is tempted to re-examine both the historical evolution of the existing models of federal states and confederations and the weight of the federalist doctrine in the political thought and practice of Central and Eastern Europe<sup>1</sup>. The advanced stage of the process of the West-European integration, towards which the new central-eastern European democracies turn their hopes, stimulate once more the scientific research of the federalist model.

The Confederate Project of the Austrian-Hungarian Monarchy presented by Aurel C. Popovici (1863-1917) in his book entitled *Die Vereinigten Staaten von Gross-Österreich* published in Leipzig in 1906 (and translated into Romanian only in 1939)<sup>2</sup> can be understood only in the context of the epoch in which it was written and as an extension of the rich tradition of federalist thought in Central-Eastern Europe till World War I.

The "Vormärz" and the 1848 Revolution developed the federalist idea in the Central Europe as a modern concept based on liberalism and democracy. One can easily

Paper presented at the Colloquium "Romanian-Hungarian Intertwined Destiny", Budapest, 6-7 December 1997.

detect direct and indirect influences of the North American or Swiss federalist “models”. The new political concept, correlated with the national idea, seemed to be an efficient instrument for counteracting Metternichian absolutism and that of the “Saint Alliance” both by the followers of “Jeune Europe” of Mazzini and by the exponential leaders of the Austrians, Czechs, Hungarians, Romanians, Slovaks, Croatians. The confrontation between the absolutist conception and the democratic and republican option was clearly grasped by Kossuth’s newspaper *Pesti Hírlap*, on 13th October 1848:

*“I wonder if it is possible that the kingdoms based on absolutism and tyranny will last forever, or the larger part of Europe will be a Confederate Republic based on equality and brothership? This is the real question of life for peoples and religions!”<sup>3</sup>*

The many projects and memoirs elaborated between 1848-1851 and signed by famous names such as: Frantisek Palácky, László Teleki, Lajos Kossuth, Nicolae Bălcescu, Ioan Maiorescu, Dimitrie Brătianu, Ljudevit Štur, O. Ostrozinski etc., and submitted to European Cabinets and to the liberal Parliaments of Vienna/Kremsier and Frankfurt am Main, showed the peoples’ desire to modernize and liberalize the Habsburg Empire and to transcend the conflictual situations among them by federalization<sup>4</sup>. Unfortunately the nationalistic intransigency of the year 1848 caused rivers of blood in the fields and mountains of Transylvania during the “civil war”; it also left deep scars in the consciousness of the generations to come. But the next generations have also remembered the dominant idea of the year 1848, synthetized in the famous “Kremsier Verfassungsentwurf”:

*“All the peoples of the Empire are equal in rights. Each people has an inalienable right to safeguard and develop its nationality.”*

Conceived as the only chance of survival of the Empire, the constitutional act of 1848 will afterwards be considered by the historians as a “materialization of the solemn will of the peoples of the monarchy to live together” (Jacques Droz)<sup>5</sup>.

Even from this stage, federalism of a national type was opposed to the federalism of the aristocratic type which was based on the historical-political principle of the “countries of the Crown.” The same confrontation between these two types of federalization was present in the years of the “constitutional experiments” between 1860-1867<sup>6</sup>. The opposition of the Hungarian liberal nobility and of the German-Austrian centralists hindered Francis Joseph’s and his ministry Anton Schmerling’s attempts to federalize the Empire. The same opposition made a failure out of the trialist plan of the Howenwarth government of 1871, which was meant to restore the “Czech Kingdom” identical with the Hungarian one.

The dualist compromise of 1867, which transformed the Empire into two statal ensembles gave rise to the known protests and controversies both inside the Austrian-Hungarian Monarchy and on the Continent, a dispute between the supporters of the historical-political right and those who shared the national principle. The polemics continued for years, until the eve of the 20th Century; they were often passionately expressed by both sides and involved well-known personalities of the time showing the deep flaws

of the dualist political structure of the Empire. How far they could go, even if only on the sociological and juridical field, was shown in the work of the Austrian sociologist Ludwig Gumplowicz. His many books about state and nation published in a period of thirty years between 1875-1905 deal with the problem from the perspective of the theoretical legitimacy of the “historical rights of the Crown’s countries” and systematically fight against federalization on an ethnical basis. According to his theory, “the superior race” should be legitimate to assimilate the “inferior races” and the state and law are nothing else but an ensemble of instruments and rules with the help of which “*a triumphant minority assures its domination over a defeated majority*”<sup>7</sup> With specific nuances, the defenders of Austrian-Hungarian dualism, among whom the most outstanding was the well-known representative of Hungarian liberalism, Gusztáv Beksics, found in Gumplowicz’s writings many times reiterated arguments<sup>8</sup>. In the same time in the opposite camp, to which belonged Aurel C. Popovici, a very talented journalist who had a vast political culture, such ideas found fierce adversaries.

The crisis of Dualism at the beginning of the 20th century seemed to transform public life into a vulcano and revived the public debate on federalism. Cultural and scientific personalities, leaders of political parties and doctrinaries of the social-democratic movement took part in a prolonged dispute on the federalist solution and the future of monarchy. Starting from Karl Kautsky’s concept of *Sprachnation* (1887), Karl Renner<sup>9</sup>, in the name of social-democracy, pleaded for the national-cultural autonomy of the peoples of the Empire. The cultural federalism included in the “Brünn Programme” of the SDP of 1899<sup>10</sup> became the social-democratic alternative to Dualism and the key factor in the salvation of the Empire. In the same constellation of brilliant journalists and sociologists we find Oszkár Jászi and the group gathered round his well-known review *Huszadik Század*<sup>11</sup>.

Associated to the series of names involved in this debate, but from another doctrinary platform, the Romanian Aurel C. Popovici launched one of the most solid federalist projects ever known till the I World War, in his book published in 1906. Aurel C. Popovici was known as a radical leader of the Romanian national movement in Transylvania in the years of the “Replica” and of the “Memorandum” (1890-1892). Because he severely criticized the Austrian-Hungarian compromise and the policy of forced assimilation practiced by the Hungarian Kingdom, the young journalist was condemned to four years imprisonment by the Royal Court of Justice of Cluj. Therefore the leadership of the Romanian National Party of Transylvania and Hungary advised him to leave for Romania in order to avoid the undeserved punishment<sup>12</sup>. Here, in Bucharest, closely linked with the liberal circles of Dimitrie A. Sturdza, he wrote his “political essay” about *Die Vereinigten Staaten von Gross-Österreich* published in Leipzig in 1906.

The book contains some essential ideas: the crisis of the dualist Monarchy will lead to the disintegration of the Empire, which would cause great disequilibrium in Europe. Dualism is the expression of centralism and the hegemony of two nations over other nations; only the solution of federalization done on national principles could restore harmony among peoples and save the Empire. The national principle and federalization

are wholly modern ideas; the peoples of the Monarchy who became aware of their own value claim autonomous national states within the frame of the Habsburg Monarchy; the centrifugal and irredentist tendencies stimulated by the forced assimilation policy practised by dualist Hungary could be annihilated this way.

The second part of the book is an ample argumentation in favour of the *monarchic federal state*, conceived as an intermediate formula between the supracentralistic state and the radical federalism:

*"The federal state is a form of a centralized state merely to the degree in which the stability and the power of an empire could be granted; and it is a federalized or decentralized state to the degree in which it can assure the free development of the mature nationalities."*<sup>13</sup>

Therefore, said the author, the starting point of the reorganization of the Austrian-Hungarian Monarchy and of the solving of the national problem which threatened its future, should be "its nationality and territory" and not the historical borders. The guarantee of free and autonomous national life for each people was complementary to the "perfect unity in the common administration of the Empire affairs."<sup>14</sup>

*The Project of the Constitution* presented at the end of Popovici's book agrees with the national-statal individuality of the peoples and with the guarantee of the federal state unity. Often called "Union", this "federal state", in the conception of the author, amounts to a Central European Confederation. *Fifteen* autonomous national *states* would be included in "The United States of Greater Austria" each of them delimited in territory by the compact ethnical and linguistic mass of population. Each state would have a distinct constitutional organization: a *Parliament* elected by universal, direct and secret ballot, a *Government* and a *Juridical Power*, all guaranteed by the Emperor. The official language of the autonomous state would be language of the respective nation and, as the federation language, German would be used only to communicate with the central authorities; the laws and the federal decrees would simultaneously be published both in German and in the language of the states of the Union.

At the level of the central institutions of the confederation the principle of separation of the powers would also be applied: *the Emperor* and the *Central Government* represent the executive power; *the bicameral Parliament* (the House of Deputies and the Senate) consists of deputies elected by the peoples from the Monarchy by universal, direct and secret ballot, and senators appointed by the Emperor. The Emperor would also be given sovereign constitutional prerogatives: he would designate the imperial Chancellor (the president of the central government), would appoint the governments of the member states and the high officials; he would also have the high command of the army and the right to declare war and to conclude peace treaties, conventions and commercial treaties; he would be allowed to issue currency etc. The central government would consist of 42 delegates belonging to the member states; they would have a certain proportion: from 1 to 7 ministers for each state.

*The Imperial Court* was the supreme judicial organ meant to solve the conflicts among the states, between one state and the Empire, and to judge the cases of high treason etc. The “United States of Greater Austria” would form a customs and commercial Union.

The autonomous right of each state would be stipulated in its constitution. Its legislative, judicial and administrative attributions, derived from the state’s autonomy, could not exceed the competences of the Union<sup>15</sup>.

The author had in view the delineation of the autonomous state entity on an ethno-linguistic basis as a premise for the development of “homogenous national states” in the frame of the Monarchy; this would be an *alternative* to the dualist structure and a modality of counteracting the German, Hungarian or Slav hegemonic power. Convinced of the advantages of the federalization as opposed to the dualist political structure, the author considered that not all the sources of inter-ethnic conflicts could be solved at once. He spoke about the problem of “ethnic islands” which could be left inside the future autonomous national states. Their destiny would be protected by constitutional guarantees against all forced denationalization measures. It’s true that there exists a natural process of assimilation as an inevitable consequence of the necessity that these “islands” should be integrated in society<sup>16</sup>. The presence of ethnical “enclaves” was the consequence of the disastrous policy of colonization practised in the last century, a policy vehemently criticized by the author. The complexity of the national problem in the multi-ethnic Empire leads the author to the conclusion that, as in the case of the confessional problem, the national problem cannot find a perfect solution, only an acceptable one, which may diminish the contradictions and tensions.

The superiority of the federal solution – says the author – appears as a desirable alternative to the vehemently contested dualism and was the expression of “Realpolitik”. It would consolidate the Monarchy inside the borders and would re-establish its prestige of a great power abroad. Federalization was conceived as the expression of the peoples’ will, as

*“the putting into practice of equality in rights, a thing so ardently wished by the peoples of the Monarchy for 60 years.”*<sup>17</sup>

According to the author, federalization would have many consequences; first, the new statal entities would equilibrate the political relation among the nations in the Central-European area without any of them assuming a hegemonic position. Thus the Germans from Cisleithania would get rid of their fear of Slavization, the Slavs, Romanians, and Germans in Transleithania wouldn’t be threatened any more by the fear of Magyarization. Panslavism and Pangermanism as well as the centrifugal irredentist tendencies would become inoperative. “The United States of Greater Austria” would gradually become a model of a modern state for the peoples in the Danube basin and of those in the Balkans. Consolidated inside, the confederation would act as a magnet for other peoples in the South-East of Europe, thus rendering futile the dangerous policy of expansion promoted by Ballplatz; the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina was merely a source of dangerous tension for the Monarchy. Among the peoples who would join the federation would be also the Romanians from over the Carpathians – thought Aurel C. Popovici<sup>18</sup>.

Speaking about the content of the book, one can make some considerations concerning its impact in the epoch and its author's prestige among his contemporaries. The book is a vast political and constitutional essay, written with talent and based on a vast political, juridical and historical literature in ten languages. The author studied the subject for over 15 years and the book represents his political doctrine and journalistic activity from 1890 onwards, activity as a leader of the Romanian national movement at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries. Through his personality and political destiny, Aurel C. Popovici can be compared to Nicolae Bălcescu and Simion Bărnuțiu. To a certain extent the book is representative of the political trend in the Transylvanian national movement of his time and had favourable echoes in the pro-central political circles in the Romanian Kingdom. But after 1914 the book proved to be only an intellectual construct, even a chimera born out of the despair and weakness of a people disappointed with its fate in the Austrian-Hungarian Monarchy, a people who never ceased to aspire to its unification and sovereignty, even if in an indirect way.

But after the publication of the book the reactions to Popovici's federalist plan were strong and significant: from vehement contests to eulogies. In the Hungarian Kingdom Popovici's book was forbidden, confiscated and destroyed, a thing which also happened to his "Replica" in 1891. For a second time the author was declared an "enemy of the nation" and condemned for the "crime of high treason." Almost without exceptions – concluded the specialists –, the Hungarian periodicals *Pesti Hírlap*, *Újság*, *Magyar Szó*, *Pesten Lloyd*, *Pesti Napló*, etc. a priori rejected the federalism as an assault of "statal integrity", as "an incitation to hatred against the nation."<sup>19</sup> In Parliament, count Bethlen István denounced "the fiction" of Popovici as a new attempt to destroy "the Historical Hungarian state" with the help of the House of Habsburg, under the cover of the centrifugal tendencies of the Romanians in Transylvania<sup>20</sup>. More reasonably, the "independent" politician dr. József Lajos Horváth recognizes the crisis of the dualist structure and implicitly Popovici's criticism of it, but he blames the book for the reaffirmation of the Romanians' attachment to the Habsburgs and for the attacks against the integrity of the Hungarian Kingdom. A reconciliation of the two nations – thought dr. Horváth – could be possible only after the Hungarian party gave up nationalism, concomitently with the forsaking of federalism by the Romanians<sup>21</sup>.

There is a contrast between the above situation and the favourable reception of Popovici's book in Austria and Germany. The press noticed his vast political culture, the solid argumentation and the realism of the solution. The rebuilding from the ground of the neighboring empire was for the *Kölnische Zeitung* the premise for the revitalization of the Triple Alliance and the starting point for a future united Europe<sup>22</sup>. The *Reichpost* of Vienna and other social-christian publications of Karl Lueger spoke of it favourably; the same thing happened in the press of the nationalities. The book was favourably commented in the social-democrat Karl Renner's book *Grundlagen und Entwicklungsfeld der Österreich-Ungarischen Monarchie* (1907). He considered it as being inspired by the 1899 Programme of the Social-Democratic Party in the problems of nationalities, but advocating a conservative federalism. It was appreciated in the same way by the Czech Milan Hodža<sup>23</sup>, by Professor Charles Andler of Paris and by the Englishman R.W. Seton-Watson etc.<sup>24</sup>



The most favourable reception of the book came from the Austrian federalist circles and the "Circle of Belvedere" gathered round the heir of the throne, Francis Ferdinand. Popovici's plan offered the teoretical arguments against Dualism and his solution of a federal state round the House of Habsburg dissipated their doubts concerning the peril of the Empire's disintegration. For the political, military and clerical personalities as well as for the nationalities leaders gathered in the "Schattenkabinett" of Francis Ferdinand the solution of the Romanian Aurel C. Popovici of "Gross-Österreich" became a possible alternative upon the death of old emperor Francis Joseph<sup>25</sup>. Received in audience by the "heir of the throne" at the beginning of the year 1907, Aurel C. Popovici became one of the most active and closest political advisers of Francis Ferdinand till the assassination of the latter and the outbreak of World War I. In the best informed political circles of Austria and Romania, A.C. Popovici was looked upon as a possible "councillor" of the future federalized Empire and his friends used to call him "der Kanzler".

Popovici's federalist plan caused criticism from the part of some representatives of the Croats, Czechs and Polish be they supporters of "trialismus" or opposed to the Austrian centralism, to whom A.C. Popovici made important concessions. In this category we may include the criticism of József Kristóffy, a zealous defender of Francis Ferdinand's project, who accused the Hungarian aristocracy from a democratic perspective. For the Hungarian leader Dualism crisis could be overcome through the acceptance of the universal ballot in Transleithania. Unlike A.C. Popovici, Kristóffy considered that the ideal of "Gross-Österreich" was compatible with the maintaining of "St. Stephen's Kingdom". The democratization through reforms of the dualist kingdom would solve, in his opinion, the social and national problems and would permit the creation of a strong opposition against the Budapest governmental circles gathered round the "Bourgeois Radical Party", the Party of the Small Agrarians, and the "Independent" fraction of Gyula Justh, the social-democrats and the political parties of the nationalities<sup>26</sup>.

But from a social-democratic perspective the work of Aurel C. Popovici was rightly criticized because of its conservative tendencies and for its biologist vision on the national problem, which was taken from H. St. Chamberlain. They criticized him also for exaggerations in the nationalistic language, identical with those of the Austrian Social-Christians and Schönerer's adepts.

**I**nvalidated by history, the work of Aurel C. Popovici is significant for the nationalistic context of the epoch it was written in and for the qualities of the author as a political analyst. The reconsideration of his personality requires the answer to the question: Was Aurel C. Popovici "an enemy of the Hungarian nation" as he was considered by his enemies? The answer is *no*! He was a fierce enemy of Dualism and aristocratic hegemonism in the Hungarian Kingdom which brought about so much suffering to the Romanians and to other nations. But Aurel C. Popovici had no resentment against the Hungarian people. Born in the Transylvanian plains and educated in Romanian, Hungarian and German schools of the Empire he knew and loved the people and places of Transylvania and formed his intellectual profile in that multicultural context, admired the values of the scholars belonging to different peoples with whom he came into contact. German culture had a deeper influence on him, but as a speaker of Hungarian he also

knew the cultural, artistic and scientific Hungarian life. An ardent and tumultuous personality, attracted by the journalistic language and the percussive expression, the Romanian newspaperman did not always choose his words with enough care so that in his vehement criticism of the dualist Hungary the reader could distinguish his true sentiments for the Hungarian people. Words of sincere sympathy could be found in his articles and letters for the work and sufferings of the peasants living in the Pusta as well as for townsmen victims of the same oligarchy as were the non-Hungarian nationalities. After eighty years, A.C. Popovici is entitled to reply to the allegations against him in the same way as his political idol Francis Ferdinand did:

*“Ich Ungarnhasser? Falsch! Ich hasse die antidinastischen und hochverräterischen Elemente aber ich liebe das Land wie jedes andere.”*<sup>27</sup>

Historical evolution invalidated Popovici's confederal project and gave birth to national states. What remains of his ideas is the faith in the common destiny of our small peoples in Central-Eastern Europe.

In our opinion, if his plan had been put into practice, the peoples in Central Europe would not have had to suffer because of the totalitarian regimes after World War II. □

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## Notes

<sup>1</sup> ELIZA CAMPUS, *Ideea federală în perioada interbelică*, București, 1993, p. 147; ȘTEFANIA MIHĂILESCU, *Transilvania în lupta de idei. Controverse în Austro-Ungaria privind statutul Transilvaniei*, București, 1997, pp. 40-112. It is significant that GEORGE CIORĂNESCU's book *Românii și ideea federalistă* (The Romanians and the Confederate Idea) was reprinted recently (edited by GEORGETA PENELEA FILITTI, București, 1996), a doctoral thesis defended at the University of Cluj in 1946. The same with the Romanian translation of JACQUES LE RIDER's book, *Mittleuropa*, București, 1997.

<sup>2</sup> AUREL C. POPOVICI, *Stat și națiune. Statele Unite ale Austriei Mari. Studii politice în vederea rezolvării problemei naționale și a crizelor constituționale din Austro-Ungaria*, ed. by PETRE PANDREA, București, 1939.

<sup>3</sup> *Pesti Hírlap*, 13th October 1848; article published also in *Anul 1848 în Principatele Române*, vol. V, București, 1904, p. 138.

<sup>4</sup> MEZEI GYULA, *Föderációs tervek Délkelet-Európában és a Habsburg monarchia 1840-1918*, Budapest, Kossuth Könyvkiadó, 1965; ROBERT KANN, *Das Nationalitätenproblem der Habsburgermonarchie*, Graz, 1964, pp. 29-45.

<sup>5</sup> JACQUES DROZ, *L'Europe centrale. Evolution historique de l'idée de "Mittleurope"*, Paris, 1960, p. 87; idea used also by JACQUES LE RIDER, *Mittleuropa*, Paris, 1994, p. 90.

<sup>6</sup> ÉVA SOMOGYI, *Vom Zentralismus zum Dualismus. Der Weg der deutsch-österreichischen Liberalen zum Ausgleich von 1867*, Budapest, 1993, pp. 3-4, 23-39; SIMION RETEGAN, *Dieta de la Sibiu*, Cluj, 1972.

<sup>7</sup> LUDWIG GUMPOVICZ, *Rasse und Staat*, Wien, 1875; *Rassenkampf (1883)*, *Die sozialistische Staatsidee (1892)*, *Geschichte der Staatstheorien (1905)*.

<sup>8</sup> *Magyarország története 1890-1918*, VII/2, Budapest, 1978.

<sup>9</sup> RUDOLF SPRINGER/KARL RENNER, *Staat und Nation*, Wien, 1899; IDEM, *Der Kampf der österreichischen Nation um den Staat*, Wien, 1902; IDEM, *Die Krise des Dualismus und das Ende der Deakischen Periode*, 1904.

<sup>10</sup> HANS MOMMSEN, *Nationalitätenfrage und Arbeiterbewegung*, Trier, 1971.

<sup>11</sup> GYORGY LITVÁN, *Die Soziologie am Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts in Ungarn*, in *Mitteleuropa – Idee, Wissenschaft und Kultur im 19. u. 20. Jh.*, hrg. von R.G. PLASHKA, H. HASELSTEINER, Wien, 1997, p. 6.

<sup>12</sup> About Aurel C. Popovici see: GRIGORE NANDRIȘ, *Aurel C. Popovici (1863-1917)*, Cernăuți, 1937; *Aurel C. Popovici par J.C. Dmăgan*, in the collection *Les Précurseurs des l'eupéisme*, no. 1, Milan, 1977.

<sup>13</sup> AUREL C. POPOVICI, *op. cit.*, ed. 1939, p. 185.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 234.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 204.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 236.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 314.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>19</sup> A detailed analysis in STELIAN MĂNDRUȚ, *Mișcarea națională și activitatea parlamentară a deputaților PNR din Transilvania între 1905-1910*, Oradea, 1995, p. 133.

<sup>20</sup> *Az 1906 évi május hó 19-ére hirdetett országgyűlés képviselőházának naplója*, VIII (The Journal of the Debates of the Deputies Meeting in the Year 1906, the Meeting of 19th May), p. 151.

<sup>21</sup> DR. HORVÁTH JÓZSEF LAJOS, *A Válság és a román kérdés*, Lugoj, 1909, p. 58.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. MEZEI GYULA, *op. cit.*, pp. 120-121; ȘTEFANIA MIHĂILESCU, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

<sup>23</sup> MILAN HODŽA, *Federation in Central Europe. Reflections and Reminiscences*, London, 1942, pp. 44-45.

<sup>24</sup> GEORGE CIORĂNESCU, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

<sup>25</sup> Of the immense number of writings about Francis Ferdinand and his “Belvedere Circle”, see: G. FRANZ, *Alexander Vaida-Voevod und die Reformpläne Erzherzog Franz Ferdinands*, in *Südostforschungen*, XII, München, 1953, pp. 178-191; ROBERT A. KANN, *Das Nationalitätenproblem der Habsburgermonarchie*, II, Graz-Köln, 1964, pp. 201-209, 358-360 (a chapter about A.C. Popovici’s plan); IDEM, *Erzherzog Franz Ferdinand. Studien* (chapter *Gross-Österreich*), Wien, 1973, pp. 26-46; KEITH HITCHINS, *The Nationality Problem in Austria-Hungary. The Reports of Alexander Vaida to Archduke Franz Ferdinand’s Chancellery*, Leiden, 1974, pp. 32-35; GEORGE CIORĂNESCU, *op. cit.*, pp. 65-85.

<sup>26</sup> KRISTÓFFY JÓZSEF, *Magyarország Kálváriája*, p. 437.

<sup>27</sup> ROBERT A. KANN, *Erzherzog Franz Ferdinand. Studien*, p. 126.

# The Relations between Romania and Austria-Hungary before and during World War I (II)

ALEXANDRU GHIȘA

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*“The Hungarians are making a mistake when they say that the Romanian issue is an interior affair of Hungary. Austria and Hungary can be compared to a pair of Siamese twins. These two states have common interests, consequently the Romanian issue is common.”*

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The third stage in the Romanian-Hungarian negotiations began in Budapest, on 14 January 1913. The Romanian National Party (RNP) assigned a committee of 10 persons: Teodor Mihali, George Pop de Băsești, Vasile Lucaciu, Valeriu Braniște, Iuliu Maniu, Alexandru Vaida-Voevod, Vasile Goldiș, Octavian Goga, Ștefan Cicio Pop and Aurel Vlad. They drafted a memorandum (which Vaida presented to the archduke Francis Ferdinand) containing the Romanians' minimal demands. They were handed over to Count I. Tisza as an 11-point aide-mémoire<sup>1</sup>. A summary of these talks was presented to the archduke Francis Ferdinand by the head of the military department of his Chancellery, K. Bardolff, on the basis of the intelligence gathered from Transylvania and Hungary.

At the end of his report, K. Bardolff pointed out that the Romanians considered I. Tisza's answers unsatisfactory and therefore quit the talks<sup>2</sup>. He also mentioned that Teodor Mihali, supported by the Romanian higher clergy, continued to have secret negotiations with the president of the Chamber of Deputies, István Tisza, in an attempt to solve certain demands that could find an administrative solution without changing the law. A memorandum containing educa-

tional and ecclesiastical claims was forwarded in April 1913 to the president of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, László Lukács, but remained unanswered<sup>3</sup>.

The international events in the summer and fall of 1913 were marked by the end of the Balkan Wars and by the preparations of the Viennese Court to take action against Serbia, which asked for internal peace. Neither did King Carol I want to heighten the tensions between Romania and Austria-Hungary, which still hadn't recognized the stipulations of the Peace of Bucharest. In this context, the position of the RNP from Transylvania and Hungary got firmer, while the Romanian political elite became more and more estranged from the Hungarian government and the Hungarian society in general. This process intensified when István Tisza took over the leadership of the Budapest government on 10 June 1913<sup>4</sup>. The moderate Teodor Mihali criticized the program of the government only two days after the latter took office. Taking the floor in the parliament, he labeled the program as "noxious" for the country's well-being, because it did not include universal suffrage and did not acknowledge the right of the component nationalities of the Hungarian half of the dualistic empire to defend their ethnic and cultural individuality<sup>5</sup>. In the 19 August 1913 issue of the newspaper *Románul*, Iuliu Maniu published an editorial in which he expressed his pride with regard to Romania's victories in the Balkans, and his confidence that the Romanians in Transylvania and Hungary "*were born for more than just being subject to a ruling race.*" He defined the allies' victory in the Balkans over the Ottoman Empire as a reaffirmation of the principle of nationalities and a step forward towards the free development of the European peoples. He anticipated that the Romanians in the monarchy would not have to endure their condition of "helots" for long<sup>6</sup>.

In those political circumstances, the negotiations between the RNP and the Hungarian authorities were resumed with the same participants in the fall of 1913, two months after the Peace of Bucharest. On the one hand, the "Ten-Person Committee" of the RNP proposed by Octavian Goga and Vasile Lucaciu, assigned again Teodor Mihali, Iuliu Maniu and Valeriu Braniște as delegates, while the Hungarian interlocutor was István Tisza, at that time prime-minister. The talks proper of this fourth and last stage in the Romanian-Hungarian negotiations took place between 27-28 October 1913<sup>7</sup>.

The proposals – minimal claims – of the RNP were based on the National Conference of Sibiu held in 1905. With the exception of the request to acknowledge the Romanian people as a political entity and to ensure its constitutional ethnic development, all the other points were similar to those at the basis of the negotiations in January-February 1913. This time they clearly requested the recognition of the RNP and their right to organize themselves. As far as the election reform is concerned, apart from universal suffrage, 50 constituencies were requested for the Romanians, as well as the appointment of Romanian prefects and undersecretaries of state accepted also by the RNP<sup>8</sup>.

Under the international pressure, István Tisza was more understanding than previously. He promised that the use of the mother tongue would be possible in writing and orally in administration and on the first level of the legal system, that the civil servants in the respective territories would have to take an exam in this language, that Romanian would be taught systematically in elementary schools, and that where the Romanian pupils were numerous, it would be taught in state high schools too. He also promised a

Romanian state high school and a 7 million crowns subsidy. He said that for the time being, there could be no question of Romanian undersecretaries, because the Romanian influence on the government's policy could not be made official. He also promised 30 constituencies for the Romanians, a number that could increase in time, and the "revising" of the Apponyi Law. I. Tisza requested in exchange that the RNP should give up its old program of demands and accept unconditionally the existing state system<sup>9</sup>. All these concessions depended on "*establishing good relationships between the Hungarians and the Romanians*", a phrase through which all claims were rejected *de plano*. He aimed to convince the RNP to make a public statement of acceptance of the conditions laid down by the government. It was a way to compromise and neutralize the Romanians' national party as an independent political force, and by depriving them of a leadership, to prepare their integration into the Hungarian society. In these circumstances, the exchange of opinions that followed was utterly unproductive. I. Tisza was not aware how attached Maniu and his colleagues were to the idea of self-determination<sup>10</sup>. At the meeting of 17 February 1914 of the RNP, attended by 36 members of the Executive Committee and by over 100 representatives from all the counties inhabited by the Romanians from Transylvania and Hungary, the offers of the István Tisza government were rejected and the negotiations with him were suspended altogether<sup>11</sup>. Iuliu Maniu had been commissioned to make those decisions public. On 18 and respectively 20 March 1914, he published a harsh criticism of the Hungarian government in *Pesten Lloyd* from Budapest and in *Românul* from Arad. He mentioned as the main cause for the failure of the negotiations Tisza's insistence to maintain the Hungarian national character of the state, without recognizing the legitimacy of the other ethnic groups' efforts to preserve their specificity and to promote their political, economic and cultural development. I. Tisza had refused to recognize Hungary as a multinational state and he made no attempt to change the existing constitutional structure and to create the political and legal institutions necessary to guarantee the nationalities' rights. In such circumstances, Maniu concluded, the RNP could not accept Tisza's offer, change its program and accept the passive role assigned to it<sup>12</sup>.

The delay and then the termination of the talks between the RNP and the Budapest autonomous government were viewed with concern by Vienna and Bucharest, and would influence negatively the Romanian – "Austro"-Hungarian relations.

The German imperial legation in Bucharest too sensed an increase in the anti-Austrian trend, having as a cause the attitude of the Hungarian administration towards the Romanians. It requested the application of the old law of nationalities (1868), sanctioned by the emperor in Vienna, which had not been annulled but was ignored by the Hungarians<sup>13</sup>.

Germany was very interested in winning over Romania, both for economic reasons, to protect the German investments, and due to the kinship with the Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen dynasty. For these reasons, the Romanian minister in Berlin, Nicolăe Beldiman, had two rounds of talks with Emperor William II before the latter's visit to Vienna, where he was to meet the head of the Hungarian government, István Tisza. Realizing that the German ruling circles were informed unilaterally, only from Hungarian sources, on the talks between Tisza and the RNP, Beldiman handed the German

emperor a memorandum with Romania's position. William II decided to clear up the Romanian issue in Austria-Hungary, and approached it during the meeting with Tisza on 23 March 1914. The latter promised to resume the talks with the representatives of the Romanians in Transylvania and Austria-Hungary. Berlin, Vienna and Bucharest were counting on a possible solution of this issue<sup>14</sup>. However, the head of the Budapest government was not willing to make concessions or give the Romanians serious guarantees. The Austro-Hungarian minister in Bucharest himself, Ottokar Czernin, expressed his dissatisfaction with regard to the Hungarians' lack of flexibility, and appreciated that

*"some of the claims of the Romanians in Hungary seem justified, and proof of this is the fact that the Hungarian government held talks with them, because if their relations had been ideal, I don't understand why they would want to change them."*<sup>15</sup>

Czernin agreed entirely with his predecessors in the capital of the Romanian Kingdom – Prince Fürstenberg, Baron Haymerle and the military attache, colonel von Hranilovich – who had informed Vienna that, as far as the Romanian issue is concerned, the internal policy aspects were absolutely inseparable from the foreign policy ones. He informed the head of the Austro-Hungarian state, Emperor Francis Joseph, that the order to publish in Bucharest the text of the alliance with Romania could not be carried out *"without solving the Hungarian-Romanian issue."*<sup>16</sup> The tactless attitude of the Hungarian authorities regarding the non-Magyar communities and especially the Romanians was a direct contribution, coming from the interior, to the worsening of the relations between the dualistic monarchy and the neighboring countries.

In April 1914, an extraordinary meeting of the Foreign Affairs Commission, consisting of representatives of the Austrian and Hungarian parliaments, on the issue of the relations with Romania was held in Budapest. The obvious worsening of the relations between Romania and Austria-Hungary was discussed, as well as the need to win back the latter's friendship. During the discussion, Count Gyula Andrássy expressed his belief that a policy of concession towards the Romanians could weaken the Hungarian state. From this perspective, he considered Count Tisza's negotiations with the RNP *"a huge mistake."* Certain Transylvanian Hungarian deputies, such as István Bethlen and Zoltán Dézsy, had a somehow similar position, and considered the so-called conditions accepted by the Hungarian party exaggerated. The former was categorically against any negotiations with the Romanians, while the latter considered that the mere democratization of the Hungarian society provided a solution to the Romanian issue<sup>17</sup>. In response to these discussions, István Tisza emphasized that there was no connection between the government's policy towards the nationalities and its friendly relations with the Romanian Kingdom<sup>18</sup>. He had previously said in the parliament that the reconciliation with the Romanians was not determined by any external interest and definitely *"not by that of winning the Romanian Kingdom's sympathy for Hungary."*<sup>19</sup> Both Tisza's statements were untrue, because the situation of the Romanians in Transylvania and Hungary was the main cause of the worsening relations between Romania and Austria-Hungary, and the talks with the RNP were initiated under the pressure of Vienna and Berlin and with the help of the authorities in Bucharest.

At least the Austrian political and military decision making factors were fully aware of the sensitive character of the relations with Romania. Thus, Francis Conrad von Hoetzendorff, the Austro-Hungarian chief of staff, wrote to the foreign minister, Leopold Berchtold, in April 1914:

*"From the intelligence I have from Romania, I gather in general that the troubles staged against the monarchy are bigger and bigger every day, that they aim at the disintegration of the monarchy and at getting Transylvania back."*<sup>20</sup>

It is also in April 1914 that the socialist deputy Ellenbogen warned the parliament in Vienna that

*"the Hungarians are making a mistake when they say that the Romanian issue is an interior affair of Hungary. Austria and Hungary can be compared to a pair of Siamese twins. These two states have common interests, consequently the Romanian issue is common."*

He emphasized that *"we can no longer tolerate Hungarian policy to endanger the interests of the monarchy."*<sup>21</sup> This whole debate demonstrates in fact the lack of unity of the dualistic monarchy, the antagonism between the Hungarian and the Austrian part of the state.

To the Romanian national movement and its political nucleus, the RNP, the failure of the negotiation with Budapest contributed to the clarification and radicalization of the directions of action for the next period. In full consensus of opinion, the Romanian political elite in Transylvania and Hungary would choose one single way to follow: self-determination, the break from Austria-Hungary and the union with Romania. The RNP therefore preserved the principles of its program of national struggle unchanged, and would act consistently to turn them into reality.

Such an attitude found a significant support in the Romanian Kingdom, where the actions meant to prove the unity of the Romanian people in defending the national cause of their oppressed brothers from the neighboring multinational empires intensified.

The situation of the Romanian Kingdom in the European context marked by the inter-state contradictions preceding the outbreak of the world war was described very clearly by Nicolae Iorga in an interview published in the Arad-based newspaper *Românul* (October 1913):

*"Romania's future policy is the policy of the Romanian nation's interests based on the energy, solidarity and organization of all the Romanians."*

Regarding the relations with Austria-Hungary, he said:

*"Even now I am against an alliance with Austria-Hungary. Whom should we ally with? With the Austrian half that doesn't mean anything, or with the Hungarian half that is hostile to us? In my opinion, it has no future, except if supported by Italy and Romania."*



He also added:

*"We have no reason to provoke Austria-Hungary, but none to support it either. We did not endure due to its protection, neither shall we perish without this protection. Help yourself and the others will help you, this is the line we should follow."*<sup>22</sup>

The reactions to the words of the Romanian historian and politician came soon in Vienna. The army chief of staff, von Hoetzendorff, warned the minister of foreign affairs in Ballplatz that

*"the idea of a Greater Romania has gained so much ground that Transylvania, Bukovina and Bessarabia represent the closest objectives Romania aspires to, its eyes being set for the time being more on Transylvania than on Bukovina",*

and he pointed out that *"we cannot count on Romania as ally"*<sup>23</sup> in a future war. Ottokar Czernin reached a similar conclusion. He remarked as early as December 1913 that the treaty of alliance between the Romanian Kingdom and Austria-Hungary

*"has no more value than that of the ink and paper on which it is written."*<sup>24</sup>

This was due also to the fact that the situation of the Romanians in the dualistic empire had not improved at all in the 30 years since the Romanian Kingdom signed the Treaty of Alliance with Austria-Hungary, Germany and Italy in 1883.

The failure of the negotiations of the RNP with the Hungarian government was also blamed on the successor to the throne, Francis Ferdinand. His anti-Hungarian attitude was common knowledge, and he had reserved a decisive role for the Romanians under his rule, thus winning the confidence of certain Romanian leaders. Hungarian historiography however mentions certain opposite steps of the Belvedere "workshop", meant to prevent an agreement between the Romanians and Budapest, in the sense that *"the Romanians must stay hungry and continue to want the Great Emperor"*, as Ottokar Czernin is credited to have said. Such an agreement would have endangered the concept of a Greater Austria, because there was the threat that *"our Romanians will join the anti-dynastic Hungarian camp"* and *"a Romanian guard for Tisza"* was unacceptable to Francis Ferdinand<sup>25</sup>. If the prince's federalist idea aimed at fragmenting the empire in accordance with administrative, not ethnic criteria, with a view to depriving the nationalities of their civic force, and based on the same principle *divide et impera*, it was not difficult for him to prevent an agreement between the Romanians and the Hungarians. The Hungarian writer Antal Kramar, who in 1914 was very vehement against a possible Romanian-Hungarian reconciliation, wrote about Francis Joseph that

*"he did not feel the need to obliterate anyone and anything; he simply maintained the hatred between adversaries, and when needed he even fueled it."*<sup>26</sup>

Anyway, the Hungarian half of the monarchy was propitious to such a policy and the Budapest government did its best in this respect. From the Hungarian point of view, the definitive cease of the talks with the RNP meant the failure of the last proposed attempt – taking into account the ratio of forces in the dualistic regime – to integrate the Romanians into Hungary's political life, as they had done with the Transylvanian Saxons<sup>27</sup>. No details are known as to what such a proposition consisted of and what its final goal would have been. Anyway, this would have been the first Hungarian initiative – after almost 500 years from the setting up in Transylvania of the *Unio Trium Nationum* of the Hungarians, Szeklers and Saxons – to admit the participation of the Romanians in the political life.

The next several years, the political scene in Transylvania and Hungary would be marked by the struggle for supremacy of the Hungarians and the Romanians. The occasional attempts to settle to a certain extent the relations between these two nationalities of Austria-Hungary would be interrupted by the war, which would bring about a completely new historical situation.

The assassination of Archduke Francis Ferdinand and his wife on 28 June 1914 in Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina<sup>28</sup>, made the federalist ideals meaningless for the Romanians. The possibility of achieving autonomy within the “Hungarian Kingdom” was equally devoid of any future. However, the outbreak of war did not mean passing on to a stage of inactivity for the organizational structures of the Romanians in Transylvania and Hungary. Following a meeting of the Executive Committee of the RNP, Octavian Goga and Vasile Lucaciu resigned from the positions they held and went to Romania, where they would carry out an intense activity aimed at achieving the union, in the Bucharest-based “Circle of the Bukovinians and Transylvanians.”<sup>29</sup> Teodor Mihali, Iuliu Maniu, Alexandru Vaida-Voevod, Ștefan Cicio Pop, Vasile Goldiș, Valeriu Braniște and others stayed on in Austria-Hungary where they activated within the limits imposed by the exceptional measures taken due to the war. In order to avoid any commitment to the Austro-Hungarian authorities, the Executive Committee of the RNP decided to suspend its activity at the beginning of August 1914. Through the newspaper *Românul*, they also invited the members who wanted to make statements to make them in their own name, without involving the party or the Romanian people of Transylvania and Hungary<sup>30</sup>. This measure was determined also by the fact that, on 1 August 1914, a series of restrictions came into effect: a limitation of the right to public meetings and gatherings, the introduction of the martial law, the interdiction of certain periodicals of the nationalities, and even measures of intimidation and restriction of the liberties in the case of certain nationalities<sup>31</sup>. Both Budapest and Vienna put pressure on the Romanian leaders to make them deliver obedient statements. They were to be used in order to keep the Romanian Kingdom on the side of the Central Powers and involve it in the war. Such statements and appeals were requested from all the leaders of the ten nations in the dualistic state.

Even if Teodor Mihali and Alexandru Vaida-Voevod expressed their “Austrian loyalty” in August 1914, and Vasile Goldiș and Ștefan Cicio Pop delivered a statement of trust in the Budapest Parliament in order to be able to attend the funerals of King Carol I of

Romania in October 1914, it did not mean that they abandoned their national ideals. This attitude of caution with regard to the events was also recommended to the Romanian leaders by the Bucharest government. Ion I.C. Brătianu was trying to avoid a revolutionary action of the Transylvanian Romanians, which would have led to their slaughter by the Hungarian army, while there was no way that Romania could intervene<sup>32</sup>.

Austria-Hungary's war against Serbia forced the Romanian Kingdom to decide if it was to maintain the alliance with the dualistic monarchy, which had been insincere and even hostile during the Balkan crisis and the two preceding years. In taking this decision, both the king and the political leaders took into consideration the Transylvanian issue. The Privy Council convened at Sinaia on 3 August 1914 decided that the Treaty concluded in 1883 with the Triple Alliance no longer involved Romania, because Austria-Hungary had addressed a declaration of war without previously informing it. Since Romania signed the Treaty as a sovereign state, Austria-Hungary and Germany could no longer request it to join them because they had not informed it of their intentions. Taking into consideration the issue of the Transylvanian Romanians, namely that Austria-Hungary had done everything to make their situation even more difficult, and the fact that the Romanian public opinion was against participating in the war, it was finally decided to adopt neutrality<sup>33</sup>.

Freed from the constraints of the Treaty with the "Double Alliance" (because one could not speak of a "Triple Alliance" after Italy left) through the proclamation of neutrality, the achievement of its national ideal became Romania's main goal. However, reason prompted the political class in Bucharest to preserve its military power intact as long as possible and join none of the parties. A real competition began between the Entente and the Central Powers to win over Romania. Romania first approached Italy, as both claimed territories from Austria-Hungary. The prime-ministers Antonio Salandra and Ion I.C. Brătianu negotiated an agreement, signed on 23 September 1914, which stipulated that the two countries would adopt a common conduct in the future, namely that they would give up neutrality only on an 8-day previous notice. The agreement was signed by Baron Carlo Fasciotti, Italy's representative in Bucharest, for the Italian party. At the request of the Romanian party, it remained secret<sup>34</sup>.

Russia requested Romania to enter the war in exchange for the recognition of the right to annex the territories in Austria-Hungary inhabited by the Romanians, namely Semigradia (the name given to Transylvania by the Russians) and Southern Bukovina<sup>35</sup>. The exchange of diplomatic notes of 1 October 1914 between the Russian foreign minister, Sergei Sazonov, and the Romanian ambassador in St. Petersburg, Constantin Diamandy, had the significance of a Romanian-Russian agreement. In exchange for a "favorable" neutrality, Ion I.C. Brătianu thus obtained the assent to take over the territories in the Habsburg Empire inhabited by the Romanians whenever he thought fit. This agreement would also be kept secret until the respective territories were annexed to Romania<sup>36</sup>.

As the situation on the front grew worse, the Austrian and the German governments too intensified their efforts to attract Romania in the war on their side. They put pressure on the Hungarian government to determine it to accept certain concessions in favor of the Transylvanian Romanians. The German ambassador to Vienna had informed

the foreign minister, Leopold Berchtold, on the critical situation in Romania after Russia's offer. Ottokar Czernin insisted from Bucharest that István Tisza should accept to change the Apponyi Law of education, the use of the Romanian language and the dividing of constituencies in favor of the Romanians<sup>37</sup>. Despite the pressure from Vienna and Berlin, I. Tisza refused to make an official statement regarding the granting of certain concessions to the Romanians. In order to get direct information on the situation in Romania, he resorted to the Greek-Catholic bishop Vasile Hossu and to Teodor Mihali, the president of the Romanian Parliamentary Club, whom he sent to Bucharest with the mission to convince the Romanian leaders to cooperate with Austria-Hungary<sup>38</sup>. Far from doing that, both Hossu and Mihali told Take Ionescu and Alexandru Marghiloman that the dream shared by all Transylvanian Romanians was to be "occupied" by the Romanian army<sup>39</sup>. As this could not yet be achieved, in the interest of his expectation policy, Ion I.C. Brătianu recommended the two Transylvanian leaders that the RNP should try again to reach an agreement with Tisza. He also suggested that Maniu should also join the talks<sup>40</sup>. On the other hand, under the pressure of Vienna, István Tisza promised significant concessions, and on 13 September 1914 convoked Alexandru Vaida-Voevod, Iuliu Maniu and Teodor Mihali to Budapest. He made the same promises to revise the Apponyi law of education, to enlarge the right to use the Romanian language, and also to create more Romanian constituencies, in case "the whole Romanian people" would be united around the monarchy. As Maniu was very reserved, the talks were suspended<sup>41</sup>. Tisza was equally unsuccessful with Ion Merianu, the metropolitan bishop of Sibiu. At the end of September, Bucharest and Berlin proposed new plans, including a Romanian proposal to occupy Transylvania and Bukovina in order to protect them against a possible Russian attack. Tisza rejected them both<sup>42</sup>. Leopold Berchtold, the Austro-Hungarian foreign minister, requested the plenipotentiary ministers in Bucharest and Berlin, as well as his representative with the army high command, to inform King Carol I confidentially that "*we will not oppose the entrance of the army in Transylvania.*" At the same time, L. Berchtold pointed out that

*"nowadays Transylvania is a geographical concept with utterly unclear borders to the west, and the Romanians will certainly occupy all the territories inhabited by Romanians far into Hungary."*

In order to avoid such a military action and "to intimidate the Romanian statesmen", the publication of the treaty of 1883 was suggested, with an emphasis on the fact that Austria-Hungary would defend itself by all military means and with Germany's help<sup>43</sup>.

In May 1915, William II himself, the German emperor, prompted an action meant to achieve Transylvania's autonomy within Hungary<sup>44</sup>. Following this initiative, Iuliu Maniu was invited to Vienna to represent the RNP in a meeting with a special envoy of William II. The latter's mission was to contact the Romanian leaders in order to find out what their claims were, and once these claims were fulfilled, to convince Romania to enter the war. Besides Maniu, the meeting was also attended by Vasile Goldiș and Aurel C. Popovici. The imperial envoy was Mathias Erzberger, the head of the Catholic Center in the German Reichstag in Vienna. He was accompanied by Prince Alois Lichtenstein

and other persons from their entourage. The talks took place at Prince Lichtenstein's castle. M. Erzberger had previously been to Budapest, and he talked with the Romanian leaders about the federalization of the monarchy<sup>45</sup>. Aurel C. Popovici presented "*the grievances of the Romanian people*", and Iuliu Maniu, "*their requests and political attitude*" in the given circumstances. Vaida mentioned that the issue of replacing Tisza in case he refused to give in was also discussed. The political leaders in Bucharest were informed by Maniu, who had refused categorically Erzberger's proposal to influence the Romanian government to join the Central Powers. The proposals for autonomy were presented by A.C. Popovici with Iuliu Maniu's assent, who had been conscripted at that time and did not want to expose himself as a soldier. They included: regional autonomy for the Romanians in Transylvania and Hungary, similar to the one existing in the case of Croatia and Slavonia; a Chamber (Diet) acting as the legislative assembly of the province, as the Romanians were more numerous than the Croats; representation proportional to their number in the Budapest Parliament; financial autonomy in terms of local business; a guarantee for these structures by appointing a representative of the central government for the Romanian counties and a minister without portfolio in Budapest from among the members of the RNP<sup>46</sup>. Alexandru Vaida-Voevod also mentions the territorial offer made to Romania in case it came out victorious, namely southern Bukovina and Bessarabia. Vaida's notion of autonomy was larger. He requested a united body of the territories inhabited by the Romanians – Transylvania, the Banat and Bukovina – having all the attributes of autonomy<sup>47</sup>.

Obviously, all these proposals that came to be supported by Germany were rejected in Budapest. Moreover, on 17 June 1915, István Tisza went to Berlin in person to prevent these attempts at reforming the dualistic monarchy<sup>48</sup>.

The evolution of the military situation in the first two years of war, in general favorable to the Central Powers and its new allies, the Ottoman Empire (November 1914) and Bulgaria (October 1915), the defeat of the Serbian resistance at the end of 1915 and the German offensive on the western front, at Verdun (February 1916), intensified the pressure the Entente put on Romania for military cooperation. France in particular insisted at St. Petersburg and London that the conditions of the Romanian government should be accepted. Ion I.C. Brătianu's diplomatic campaign came to an end on 17 August 1916 with the signing in Bucharest of the Political Convention between Romania and the Entente (France, Great Britain, Italy and Russia, through their respective representatives) regarding Romania's territorial integrity and its borders after the war<sup>49</sup>. It was accompanied by a Military Convention signed by the military attaches of France, Great Britain, Italy and Russia, on the one hand, and Ion I.C. Brătianu, for Romania.

**T**he Political Convention included, in article no. III, the fact that France, Great Britain, Italy and Russia recognized Romania's right to annex the territories from the Austro-Hungarian monarchy stipulated and delimited in article no. IV, respectively Bukovina, Transylvania and the Banat. This document contained clearly accepted provisions aimed at disintegrating Austria-Hungary.

The decision of the Brătianu government was discussed in the Privy Council convened by King Ferdinand on 27 August 1916. In the evening of the same day, the Romanian minister in Vienna, Edgar Mavrocordat, went to the Palace of the Foreign Ministry in

Ballplatz and handed over the Romanian Kingdom's declaration of war against Austria-Hungary<sup>50</sup>.

The document was the expression of the Romanian national claims, formulated with all the determination and dignity requested by international protocol<sup>51</sup>. After presenting the grounds for joining the alliance with Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy, the wish to attune its pacifist policy and tendencies to the Alliance, the statement mentions that, like Italy, Romania refused to join Austria-Hungary's declaration of war because it had not been forewarned by the Viennese government. The Triple Alliance ceased to exist in the spring of 1915, when Italy declared war to Austria-Hungary, and the reasons that led to Romania's association with that political system disappeared. Moreover, Austria-Hungary's actions represented a threat to its legitimate national aspirations. The over 30-year-old hopes of the Romanians in the monarchy that their situation would improve were not fulfilled. On the contrary, they were treated as an inferior race and condemned to oppression by an alien element that represented a mere minority among the various nationalities that made up the Austro-Hungarian state. It was then shown that two years of war, during which Romania maintained its neutrality, had proved that Austria-Hungary, hostile to any internal reform that could improve the lives of its peoples, was ready to sacrifice them. In those circumstances, in an attempt to bring the war to a quicker end, and under the need to safeguard the interests of its race, Romania found itself forced to join in battle those that could ensure the achievement of its national unity.

Once the document was handed over, Romania considered itself at war with Austria-Hungary. The immediate consequence was the cease of the diplomatic relations between Romania and Austria-Hungary, which would never again be resumed because the latter would disappear as a state in November 1918.

The dissolution of Austria-Hungary had deep internal causes the world war only accelerated: the emerging national consciousness of the component nations, the economic and social pressure of the productive forces of the same nations, and the incapacity of the dynastic class in Austria and of the feudal class in Hungary to build a modern and democratic state. The final result was the implosion of this imperial and royal state formation and its complete wiping out from the European map at the end of 1918.



## Notes

<sup>1</sup> 1918 *la români...*, vol. I, doc. 56, pp. 323-326.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 327-331.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 340.

<sup>4</sup> BOLÖNY JÓZSEF, *Magyarország Kormányai, 1848-1987*, Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987.

<sup>5</sup> *Románul*, 14 June 1913, cited by KEITH HITCHINS, *Mit și realitate în istoriografia românească*, București, Ed. Enciclopedică, 1997.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibidem*, 19 June 1913, in KEITH HITCHINS, *op. cit.*, pp. 85-86.

<sup>7</sup> *Erdély Története, 1830-tól napjainkig*, III, Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988 (hereafter *Erdély Története...*).

<sup>8</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibidem*.

- <sup>10</sup> KEITH HITCHINS, *op. cit.*, p. 85.
- <sup>11</sup> *Destruinarea Monarhiei Austro-Ungare, 1900-1918*, București, Ed. Academiei, 1964, p. 132.
- <sup>12</sup> *Românul*, 20.03.1914, cited in KEITH HITCHINS, *op. cit.*, p. 89.
- <sup>13</sup> *1918 la români...*, doc. 67, p. 373.
- <sup>14</sup> EMA NOSTOVICI, *România și Puterile Centrale în anii 1914-1916*, București, Ed. Politică, 1979.
- <sup>15</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 26.
- <sup>16</sup> *1918 la români...*, pp. 379 and 383.
- <sup>17</sup> *Erdély Története...*, p. 1687.
- <sup>18</sup> EMA NOSTOVICI, *op. cit.*, p. 34.
- <sup>19</sup> A.D. XENOPOL, *Români și unguri*, București, Ed. Albatros, 1999, p. 143.
- <sup>20</sup> EMA NOSTOVICI, *op. cit.*, p. 30.
- <sup>21</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 31.
- <sup>22</sup> C.GH. MARINESCU, *Epopeea Marii Uniri*, Galați, Ed. Porto Franco, 1993, p. 201.
- <sup>23</sup> *Ibidem*.
- <sup>24</sup> *România și Conferința de Pace de la Paris (1918-1920)*, Cluj-Napoca, Ed. Dacia, 1983, p. 43.
- <sup>25</sup> *Erdély Története...*, p. 1686.
- <sup>26</sup> CONSTANTIN GRAUR, *Cu privire la Franz Ferdinand*, Ed. Adevărul, 1935, p. 306.
- <sup>27</sup> *Histoire de la Transylvanie*, Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1992, p. 598.
- <sup>28</sup> CONSTANTIN GRAUR, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-18.
- <sup>29</sup> *Desăvârșirea unificării statului național român. Unirea Transilvaniei cu vechea Românie*, București, Ed. Academiei, 1968 (hereafter *Desăvârșirea unificării...*)
- <sup>30</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 118.
- <sup>31</sup> JÓZSEF GALÁNTAI, *Hungary in the First World War*, Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1989.
- <sup>32</sup> ANASTASIE IORDACHE, *Ion I.C. Brătianu*, București, Ed. Albatros, 1994, pp. 225-226.
- <sup>33</sup> I.G. DUCA, *Memorii*, București, Ed. Expres, 1992, vol. I, pp. 54-67.
- <sup>34</sup> *1918 la români...*, pp. 484 and 494.
- <sup>35</sup> A.D. XENOPOL, *op. cit.*, p. 209.
- <sup>36</sup> *1918 la români...*, pp. 521-522.
- <sup>37</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 490-491.
- <sup>38</sup> *Desăvârșirea unificării...*, p. 119.
- <sup>39</sup> ALEXANDRU MARGHILOMAN, *Note politice*, Ed. Scripta, 1993, vol. I, p. 175.
- <sup>40</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 183.
- <sup>41</sup> *Erdély Története...*, p. 1682.
- <sup>42</sup> *Ibidem*.
- <sup>43</sup> *1918 la români...*, p. 507.
- <sup>44</sup> *Ibidem*, vol. II, p. 913.
- <sup>45</sup> LIVIU MAIOR, *op. cit.*, pp. 239-244 and *Erdély Története...*, p. 1693.
- <sup>46</sup> ALEXANDRU MARGHILOMAN, *op. cit.*, p. 299.
- <sup>47</sup> LIVIU MAIOR, *op. cit.*, p. 242.
- <sup>48</sup> *Erdély Története...*, p. 1694.
- <sup>49</sup> *1918 la români...*, pp. 763-767.
- <sup>50</sup> CONSTANTIN KIRIȚESCU, *Istoria războiului pentru întregirea României. 1916-1919*, București, Ed. Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1989, vol. I, p. 203.
- <sup>51</sup> The Foreign Minister Archives, fund 71-1916, E2, vol. 45, pp. 2-3.

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A G O R A

## Chantal Millon Delsol et Georges Cipăianu sur la collaboration universitaire roumano-française

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### Chantal Millon Delsol

Professeur de philosophie politique à l'Université de Marne-la-Vallée, docteur honoris causa de l'Université "Babeş-Bolyai" de Cluj. Derniers livres: "Les idées politiques au XXe siècle"; "L'Etat subsidiaire"; "Le souci contemporain", "Histoire des idées politiques de l'Europe centrale".

### Georges Cipăianu

Professeur d'histoire à l'Université "Babeş-Bolyai" de Cluj. Derniers livres publiés: "At the Cross-Roads. Fall 1917-Spring 1918. "Great Britain and Romania's Making of a Separate Peace", 1993; "Romanian and British Historians on the Contemporary History of Romania" (sous la direction, avec Virgiliu Țirău), 2000; "La fin de la Première Guerre mondiale et la nouvelle architecture géopolitique européenne" (sous la direction, avec Vasile Vesa), 2000.

GEORGES CIPĂIANU: Ch. M. Delsol, vous êtes professeur à l'Université de Marne-la-Vallée où vous enseignez la philosophie politique à la Faculté d'études européennes dont vous êtes le doyen. Vous avez écrit entre autres: *L'Etat subsidiaire*, *Le souci contemporain*, *Les idées politiques au XXème siècle*, vous êtes docteur honoris causa de l'Université de Cluj "Babeş-Bolyai". *L'Etat subsidiaire* vient de paraître en roumain. Grâce à vous et à d'autres collègues français, un réseau "Universitaires sans frontières", centré sur Marne-la-Vallée, a organisé en collaboration avec l'UBB pour les facultés d'histoire, droit, études européennes et sciences politiques, des modules d'enseignement francophone à Cluj. Comment êtes-vous arrivée à Cluj, comment avez-vous connu la Roumanie et que pensez-vous de cette collaboration?

CHANTAL MILLON DELSOL: J'avais très envie de venir en Roumanie depuis longtemps, avant la chute du mur du Berlin, mais d'abord pour nous c'était difficile de venir étant donnée la situation politique et



en plus j'avais une famille nombreuse à la maison, donc je ne pouvais pas tellement bouger. Après la chute du mur j'ai eu la chance d'aller parler de la subsidiarité, juste après mon livre, c'était en 1992, je pense, devant un auditoire de jeunes qui venaient de Roumanie, de Bulgarie, de Russie aussi, à Genève. C'est ce jour-là que j'ai rencontré Rodica Domuța, d'Oradea, qui m'a demandé de venir en Roumanie pour aider un groupe de jeunes qui voulaient réfléchir sur la démocratie. Je suis venue en Roumanie sur sa demande, j'ai rencontré les jeunes de Bucarest qui faisaient partie de son groupe et puis, quelques mois plus tard, je suis revenue avec deux autres professeurs pour commencer à donner des cours sur la démocratie et à ce moment-là s'est enclanchée toute une histoire d'amitié, j'ai commencé à venir aussi souvent que je pouvais. J'ai donné des cours, par exemple, chez Daniel Barbu, en sciences politiques à Bucarest, une fois pendant huit jours, je suis venue plusieurs fois à Bucarest pour donner des cours divers ici ou là, puis j'ai commencé à venir à Cluj, alors comment est-ce qu'on s'est connu nous, je ne sais pas très bien, mais tout ça a dû faire boule de neige et pour moi ça a toujours été un plaisir, ça a été une grande amitié.

**G.C.:** Vous disiez avoir une grande famille.

**CH. M.D.:** Oui.

**G.C.:** Mais cela ne vous a pas empêché d'écrire beaucoup, beaucoup de livres, que nous avons l'honneur et le plaisir d'avoir dans nos bibliothèques, mais vous avez aussi enseigné, et vous enseignez encore, à présent, à la Faculté d'études européennes à Cluj, où vous avez créé un DEA franco-roumain, avec délocalisation de diplôme. Pourriez-vous nous dire, ou plutôt auriez-vous la gentillesse de nous parler de ces projets?

**CH. M.D.:** C'est un projet qui est la suite de toute une collaboration entre les deux pays et entre les deux universités qui a eu lieu depuis des années, je veux dire que ça fait des années qu'on collabore, vous venez chez nous, on vient chez vous, ce sont surtout des enseignants qui se déplacent, l'année dernière il y a eu un étudiant de chez nous qui est resté plusieurs mois chez vous et qui est content d'ailleurs, donc c'est une collaboration qui est fructueuse et qui dure depuis des années, j'ai fait connaître comme ça Cluj à beaucoup de mes amis, qui sont toujours revenus enchantés sans aucune exception, qui sont d'ailleurs devenus vos amis et qui ont l'envie de revenir. Ce DEA on l'a créé parce qu'il arrive un moment où, quand il y a des cours qui se font, ça vaut la peine de créer un diplôme qui couronne le tout, et puis surtout c'est M. Marga qui m'a demandé clairement il y a maintenant, je crois, un an et demi, je suis venue ici à Cluj en janvier, qui m'a demandé clairement de créer un système doctoral, une organisation doctorale ici, pour les études européennes, parce qu'il considérait que la Roumanie pouvait bénéficier de ce genre de choses. Comme nous avions les moyens de le faire, ce n'est pas tellement difficile dans la mesure où l'on peut faire ça ensemble, ce sont les enseignants roumains qui assurent les deux tiers des cours, nous assurons le tiers et puis les examens se font ensemble, les mémoires de DEA se font ensemble, les thèses se font ensemble et je trouve

que c'est un travail commun qui est tout à fait extraordinaire pour mettre en place l'Europe qui vient, c'est un travail, à notre niveau, modeste, mais à notre niveau d'enseignants pour contribuer à l'Europe.

**G.C.:** Exactement, et je voulais vous demander de nous dire ce que vous pensez sur le rôle des universités dans cette œuvre et dans cette démarche, importante et difficile en même temps, d'intégration européenne.

**CH. M.D.:** Sur le problème de l'intégration européenne, vous voulez dire, pour la Roumanie?

**G.C.:** En général, le rôle des universités...

**CH. M.D.:** Sur le rôle des universités, ça me paraît très important pour démontrer que l'Europe n'est pas seulement une Europe de la monnaie, de l'argent, de la matière, de l'économie, parce qu'on dit toujours finalement l'Europe il n'y a que l'argent qui compte, mais si nous ne faisons rien pour montrer qu'il y a aussi des idées qui passent, des gens qui se connaissent, des gens qui réfléchissent ensemble, qui font de la recherche ensemble, si on ne fait pas ça, ça va effectivement devenir une Europe complètement matérielle, donc ça me paraît très important que chacun, comme on peut, on n'a pas d'énormes moyens mais qu'on fasse passer des idées et puis qu'on voie des étudiants ensemble, qu'on travaille ensemble pour faire de la recherche, tout un travail avec les universitaires des pays du Centre et de l'Est de l'Europe.

**G.C.:** Merci. Est-ce que vous aurez la gentillesse de nous parler un peu du principe, de l'idée et de l'Etat subsidiaires, parce que je suis certain que les Roumains pourraient apprendre bien des choses en étudiant la structure, l'idée et la tradition subsidiaire dans l'histoire de l'Europe.

**CH. M.D.:** L'ouvrage que j'ai écrit sur l'Etat subsidiaire est un ouvrage philosophique et historique sur l'idée de subsidiarité pour essayer de voir d'où vient cette idée, même si le mot lui-même date du XIXe, du milieu du XIXe siècle, c'est un mot qui est récent et ce qui est important c'est l'idée et j'ai essayé de chercher d'où venait l'idée, effectivement c'est une idée complètement européenne qui commence chez Aristote et qu'on peut suivre tout au long d'une filière philosophique qui passe par Thomas d'Aquin et puis jusqu'à nos jours, par, par exemple, Montesquieu, Tocqueville, tous les courants qui finalement sont des courants, comment dire, qui font confiance à l'autonomie humaine. Le principe de subsidiarité consiste à faire confiance à l'autonomie humaine et en même temps à vouloir une société structurée par des groupes, une société qui ne soit pas trop individualiste, parce que si les individus sont entièrement seuls l'autonomie ne fonctionne pas; on ne peut rien faire tout seul, il faut travailler avec des groupes et en même temps c'est une idée qui comporte un double sens parce qu'elle réclame aussi la solidarité. On revient finalement, quand même, à la page d'Aristote, où Aristote dit: Il faut que la propriété soit privée, parce que l'individu a besoin de son autonomie, il a besoin de récol-

ter les fruits de son propre travail, sinon la société ne fonctionne pas, c'est ce que le communisme d'ailleurs nous a montré... après, mais en même temps, nous dit Aristote, les hommes ne sont pas d'ailleurs purement égoïstes, ils ont besoin de solidarité, donc quand quelqu'un ne peut pas être pleinement autonome, ce qui est en général le cas, il faut qu'une instance qui est au dessus vienne l'aider seulement pour compléter ce qu'il ne peut pas obtenir, mais seulement pour compléter, mais l'instance d'au dessus ne doit pas, ne devrait pas, avoir le droit de prendre une partie de son autonomie.

**G.C.:** Donc, dans ce contexte, en parlant de la subsidiarité, dans la mentalité que vous venez de décrire, je me demande si l'Etat, le pouvoir, pouvait ou devait se substituer à la société, étant donné que l'Etat est légitimé par son utilité et le pouvoir aussi.

**CH. M.D.:** Oui, il est légitimé par son utilité, lorsque la société ne peut pas se débrouiller toute seule.

**G.C.:** Mais il n'a pas le droit...

**CH. M.D.:** Mais il ne devrait pas avoir le droit, au point de vue de cette anthropologie, puisque finalement le principe de subsidiarité repose sur une anthropologie qui part du principe que l'homme a d'abord besoin de son autonomie, de sa liberté personnelle, alors que dans d'autre anthropologie qui, par exemple, dominerait le socialisme on part du principe que l'homme a d'abord besoin d'être l'égal de l'autre, avant même d'être autonome.

**G.C.:** Exactement, je voulais arriver à une autre question, au fait que ce principe a servi à consolider la liberté humaine.

**CH. M.D.:** Oui, c'est ça, et la solidarité.

**G.C.:** Et la solidarité en même temps. Alors, je répète, quelle forme, croyez-vous que prendra à l'avenir la coopération de Marne-la-Vallée et d'autres universités de France avec Babeş-Bolyai dans le contexte de nos intérêts scientifiques, nationaux, surtout après avoir fait ce qu'on a fait ensemble jusqu'à présent.

**CH. M.D.:** Ce que j'espère c'est que, bon, il y a plusieurs choses, d'abord, j'espère que les étudiants du DEA que nous avons choisis vont poursuivre en thèse, ça c'est une interrogation, ça dépend seulement d'eux, et c'est quand même une condition pour que ce point de la collaboration marche mais, par ailleurs, il y a toute notre collaboration ancienne qui, j'espère, va continuer à échanger nos enseignants, que le DEA marche ou non, puisque de toute façon il y a une volonté de part et d'autre, il n'y a aucune raison pour que ça s'arrête, tandis que le financement n'est pas quand même énorme, je ne crois pas que ce soit si difficile à poursuivre; moi, ce que j'aimerais beaucoup pour la suite, c'est que l'on puisse engager des recherches en commun. Ça, ça me paraît très important

d'écrire des livres ensemble. Alors là, peut-être que c'est plus difficile, je ne sais pas exactement comment on peut faire, mais à mon avis c'est un petit peu un deuxième ou un troisième stade.

**G.C.:** Je crois qu'en cherchant ensemble on va trouver la bonne voie.

**CH. M.D.:** Oui, oui, je pense.

**G.C.:** Je voudrais vous inviter à nous parler un peu de l'atmosphère que vous avez trouvée à UBB.

**CH. M.D.:** L'atmosphère?

**G.C.:** Oui.

**CH. M.D.:** Depuis le début?

**G.C.:** Oui, et jusqu'à présent, les gens, les collègues, ...

**CH. M.D.:** C'est compliqué puisque l'atmosphère... si je ne m'étais pas sentie bien je ne serais pas revenue... dès le début..., c'est vrai.

**G.C.:** Je ne voudrais pas vous forcer à dire que vous avez toujours été très heureuse ici, si ce n'est pas le cas.

**CH. M.D.:** Mais, si, c'est le cas, puisque si ça n'avait pas été le cas, je ne serais pas revenue, vous savez quand on n'est pas content quelque part, quand on est peureux quelque part, on trouve toujours un alibi pour dire, bon, ça ne marche pas, c'est pas possible, et finalement quand on fait ce genre de collaboration, vous le faites, vous, à Limoges de votre côté, vous voyez, vous voyez bien comment ça marche. On fait ça parce qu'on aime le faire. On ne fait pas ça par devoir, ça ne fait pas partie de nos devoirs d'universitaires, on fait ça en plus, donc c'est parce que je me sens bien ici que je reviens, c'est évident...

**G.C.:** Avez-vous un mot pour les historiens de la Faculté d'Histoire de BB?

**CH. M.D.:** Oh, les historiens m'ont toujours bien accueillie, d'abord ce sont les premiers qui m'ont accueillie, seulement évidemment c'est plus compliqué pour moi, par exemple, c'est plus compliqué de faire de la recherche avec les historiens, à la mesure que je ne suis pas historienne, mais on pourrait faire de la pluridisciplinarité, peut-être.

**G.C.:** Tout à fait. Je vous poserais une question que j'ai adressée il y a quelque temps, étant donné que je suis historien il faut que je travaille dans le temps, au professeur Jacques Le Goff: Avez-vous la sensation d'être étrangère en Roumanie?

CH. M.D.: Etrangère? Ça dépend de quelle manière. Si on parle de la surface, oui, parce que, naturellement, il y a une grande différence entre la France et la Roumanie, mais si on parle du fond, et moi c'est finalement la culture qui m'intéresse, puisque j'ai voué ma vie à la culture en fait, c'est ça qui m'importe, si on parle de la culture, non. On a vraiment la même culture, moi, ce qui m'a beaucoup frappé, ici, et c'est pour ça que ça m'a plu, que ce pays m'a plu au départ, c'est que je me suis rendu compte que les gens que je rencontrais avaient profondément la culture commune, leur langue est latine, ils connaissent les mêmes auteurs, ils ont les mêmes préférences, donc on baigne finalement dans un passé, dans une tradition, dans des manières, d'être, ça a l'air de rien, mais un tas de petites choses sont communes, parce qu'on a un fond, un fond commun.

G.C.: Je voudrais vous assurer que vous serez toujours chez vous ici...

CH. M.D.: Ah, c'est gentil...

G.C.: ... comme je l'ai toujours été, moi, en France et mes collègues aussi... et si vous permettez, j'ai une dernière question à vous adresser qui porte sur l'avenir des relations franco-roumaines, vu notre longue tradition d'amitié.

CH. M.D.: Je pense qu'il y a un long avenir à cette amitié parce qu'il y a déjà..., c'est inscrit un petit peu dans nos traditions, chez nous ce qui nous frappe dès le départ c'est cette francophonie qu'il y a ici. Bon, on est naturellement attiré par la Roumanie plus que vers la Bulgarie ou la Hongrie parce qu'ici on sent déjà des gens qui connaissent la France, donc on a envie d'aller voir et puis quand on va voir on s'aperçoit que effectivement il y a des liens, ce n'est pas au hasard, s'il y a des gens qui connaissent la France ici, puisque je pense que tout naturellement il y a plus d'échanges avec la Roumanie qu'avec d'autres pays, j'ai plein d'amis qui viennent en Roumanie, qui travaillent avec des Roumains, mon propre fils a travaillé avec des Roumains. Je pense qu'il y a un avenir évident, puisque vous savez la langue, la langue et les manières d'être... J'aurais voulu rajouter quelque chose sur la subsidiarité. Je voulais dire que le principe de subsidiarité c'est le fondement des organisations politiques fédérales, donc c'est un principe qui est très vivant en Allemagne, en Suisse, en Belgique et puis aussi, d'une certaine façon aux Etats-Unis, donc c'est un principe qui est exactement à l'inverse du principe de centralisation.

G.C.: Et bien, c'est un plaisir pour moi que de vous remercier d'avoir accepté de venir ici, en Roumaine...

CH. M.D.: C'est réciproque...

G.C.: Et c'est encore un plus grand plaisir pour moi aussi que d'entendre ce que vous nous dites là et de vous inviter à revenir bientôt...

Ch. M.D.: Je reviendrai de toute façon.

**G.C.:** En espérant vous revoir bientôt en France, je pense déjà à notre collaboration future. Merci encore. Avez-vous un dernier mot à dire à vos amis de Roumanie?

**CH. M.D.:** Un dernier mot, je l'avoue, ne nous quittons pas, ne nous quittons pas!

**G.C.:** Voilà, c'est notre idée aussi, c'est notre conviction. On est certains de pouvoir faire des choses importantes, qui soient utiles à la Roumanie, à la France et à l'Europe.

**CH. M.D.:** Ce que j'espère c'est que la Roumanie va vraiment amorcer une autre histoire, une espèce de renaître, pas une autre histoire, parce qu'on peut jamais recommencer l'histoire – une renaissance, enfin, après les 50 années qui ont passé.

**G.C.:** Donc, à très bientôt.

**CH. M.D.:** A très bientôt.



## Transnational Migration in Europe. Romanian Emigration to Italy 1989-1999

LAVINIA STAN

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*Romanian immigrants in Italy tend to preserve their culture and customs as long as their juridical status is still uncertain and they are in Italy. The main features that characterize this immigration are the circularity of the movement, and the extended spatial areas that this migration covers.*

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### Lavinia Stan

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I nternational migration under its various aspects is a permanent feature of human history. But is there a written history of human migration? If the answer is yes in what concerns. Antiquity and the Middle Ages, for the contemporary period historical studies of human migration are relatively scarce. The high degree of interdisciplinary approaches as well as the relativism that characterizes the present historical research are some of the causes for the lack of synthesis and of interest in migration. Therefore the aim of this paper is to analyse the main features of the illegal emigration from Romania to Italy in the period between 1989 and 1999.

The research undertaken for this article can be placed on the borderline between oral history and anthropology<sup>1</sup>. But this attempt needs a broader integration into a more general research in the field of international migration, and with references to its theories. However, it is important to analyse the most marginal human groups, such as the illegal immigrants, because of the salience of illegal migrations in the contemporary period. In this case there is such scarcity of documents that what the historian must rely on are only oral testimonies<sup>2</sup>. However, one might claim that this

study is not a factual history of the immigrants, but an overview of the experiences they lived. But taking into consideration the present stage of the research on this topic, this contribution can be considered as a starting point for further research.

The simplest act of communication presupposes the interaction of three main elements such as the emitting source, the channel of transmission, and the receiving point, with a possible feedback. If one transfers this scheme to the level of international migration in the case of Romanian migration to north Italy, one will identify the sending country as a potential emitting source, the way of traveling from Romania to Italy as the channel and the receiving country as the receiver. Moreover, one can use another analogy such as the process of codifying and de-codifying which is ineluctable in the case of a direct contact between two realities, i.e. the Romanian immigrants and the Italian local population. Therefore, the first part of the article focuses on the process that determined people to migrate from Romania after 1989, whilst the second part analyses the channel of transmitting the migratory flow, and the third, the situation in Italy.

For a correct use of the terms, one must define the key concepts used in this research. First, migration is considered the most general phenomenon which encompasses all forms of spatial mobility. The migrant is an individual who performs the action of moving in space. The diverse sub-categories that are encompassed by this concept are i/emigration, exile, refugees, rural-urban migration, internal migration, and forced migration.

Second, emigration is the movement away from one's own country, with a predominantly economic motivation. This term designates the process from the point of view of the sending country, while immigration is the term used from the point of view of the receiving country. The emigrant is the person who loses a part of his or her identity and can survive only by preserving a relationship, albeit not physical, with the society of origin<sup>3</sup>. But the migrant becomes an emigrant only after the moment he or she becomes an immigrant. Therefore this definition designates the same person or phenomenon in a different social, cultural and political context.

## Sending Country: Romania

**T**he end of the Cold War and the destruction of the symbol of separation between the East and West were appreciated by researchers as the most important factor in determining the changes in the demographic situation of Europe<sup>4</sup>. Even though the crisis Romania faces after the fall of communism is an important push factor for Romanian migration, a special attention should be given to a specific structural feature of Romanian society. There can be identified a primary migration, from rural to urban areas, as a result of massive politics of urbanization and industrialization promoted by the communist regime after 1965. Therefore the forced urbanization, often accomplished by destruction of villages, uprooted many people whose mentality was related to rural culture<sup>5</sup>. The majority of Romanian emigrants are explicitly or implicitly a consequence of this primary form of migration. More frequently the émigrés originated from urban peripheral areas. They used to live in worker neighborhoods. Therefore, after 1989,



Romanian emigration was a second stage of a process initiated earlier and these two phenomena are not identical, but they are significantly different<sup>6</sup>.

Moreover, the potential émigrés are individuals alienated from traditional rural culture without having an alternative to create or to live in. Beyond this structural aspect that can be considered a “hereditary predisposition”, of changing home, there are the concrete aspects of every day life that contributed radically to the decision of emigrants. For examples, motives to emigrate are the lack of job security, the shortage of labor opportunities for young people, social polarization, with superficial forms of solidarity, and feminine unemployment.

If one analyses the situation in Romania after 1989, one can identify at least three levels of the process in the action of migrating. The first is the intention to migrate, the second is the decision to migrate and third is the effective action. One can identify a large and heterogeneous group which encompasses the majority of the active population in Romania that can be considered as potentially emigrated. Albeit one could consider this claim as hazardous, there are similar conclusions that researchers find in the case of populations from northern Africa where an entire population is considered potential emigrating<sup>7</sup>.

In the case of Romanians there are some areas, such as the town of Borșa in Maramureș, where the identity of an individual is defined according to one's capacity to emigrate. One of the possible explanations for this fact is the peripheral situation of Romania in Europe, which determines the perception of the West as a Promised Land, a new El Dorado, a mythic space. That is a place wanted by Romanian intellectuals as well as by the unskilled workers. The intellectuals consider that it is in that space they will eventually receive the recognition of their capacities. Likewise the workers facing growing unemployment discover in the West a world model, where they will find welfare for themselves as well as for their families in the home country.

One must keep in mind that at this level of intention, the age, education and social status differentiations are irrelevant. Most Romanians dream to achieve something in their lives. For example, the declaration of a high school teacher is significant:

*“Of course I would like to go anywhere in the West. Because I think that it is better than in Romania. If you have courage, ambition and perseverance, it is impossible not to be successful. That one is a society which promotes the people who work. Here it does not matter how hard you work, the outcome is the same. Unfortunately, even the internal motivation, of the noblesse of being a teacher loses its significance in a world of surviving. However, for me it is now impossible to leave the country. I have responsibilities and ties that I cannot ignore. I would like to do it, but it seems that I will never be able to.”<sup>8</sup>*

In this declaration one can distinguish between the potentiality, the desire and the decision to migrate. If the first is seen positively, the second is definitively negative and therefore, not realizable. The intensity of the desire decreases progressively until the decision not to go. Moreover, other spiritual motivations disappear. The trust in the facilities that the West offers has no one single conditioning. Even an inferior job changes its relevance, being totally justified if it is perceived as a means to a dreamed welfare. That

is a tough society, but a fair society where everyone starts from equal positions, whatever their origins and legacies.

Likewise, Adrian, 17 years old young man, high school student in a vocational school claims that:

*"I want to leave Romania immediately after I finish my studies. I need to work to have money. Here you do not have anything to do if you do not like studying. And I must confess that I do not like it. I have a friend in Italy. He will help me leave Romania. Because I need some money to travel and I do not have anything."*<sup>9</sup>

One can identify here a passage from intention to decision in a much easier way. It seems that the incertitude involved in staying home tipped the scales in favour of the decision.

The decision to migrate emerges at the end of a complex process in which the economic as well as other factors are validated within the framework of norms and values of the emigrant's social group. Likewise, the decision is taken in keeping with the individuals' different reactions to different external stimuli. However the decision to emigrate often has economic justification such as *"to get a better job"*, *"to save some money in order to buy a house"*, *"I need a car"*, *"I want to initiate a small business."* Other people are in search of redefining their identity. The example given by Traian Valdiman, an Orthodox priest in Milan, is symptomatic in this case. He claims that there was a young woman who paid for a religious service, arguing that *"I need to find myself."*<sup>10</sup>

Another example is given by a young man, Zoran, who is 25. He claims that:

*"I was the black sheep of my family. I did not like school very much. All the people accused me of being a looser and even an irrecoverable one. This was the constant burden I used to hear around me beginning with when I was 17, when I decided to quit school. After that I lived on my mother's income. She often said that I was throwing away my intelligence, my natural gifts. I admit that they were right but I did not change. Finally I concluded that the only solution I had was to go abroad. But for achieving this goal I needed money that I did not have. I found eventually some friends who lent me some money. I thought that it did not really matter what I was going to do there but I was certain that back home everyone would look at me differently. It was a challenge for me. And as long as I knew Serbian and the war in Yugoslavia was still on, I pretended to be a Serbian Refugee. And it worked."*<sup>11</sup>

This is the testimony of a young man in search for his identity. The paradox of this story is that he decided to discover his identity abroad, far away from his family and his culture. But what is the mechanism of choosing Italy as a destination? There are some elements that contributed to the choice of Italy such as the facility of penetrating the border, the permissive legislation, the ability to learn Italian as well as the image<sup>12</sup> that Italy has in the mentality of Romanians. This is a positive reviewuation of Italy that must be explained.

What is the mechanism of image building? During her or his experience in the home country, the potential émigré has a certain perception of Italy. It is now that a codification of information received by the society of origin about Italy happens. This process means that reality is transformed into a picture perfectly compatible with the cultural code which receives the information. Therefore, this can be an explanation of the traumatizing contact of the émigré with Italian society, in the moment when the precious image is de-mythization. The entire symbolic capital of a given group determines the right of imposing the only legitimate perception of reality. Therefore, the individual must obey and accept the image imposed by his or her group<sup>13</sup>. Moreover, one does not have the right to interfere in order to change the entire image, but only the obligation to strengthen the rule. Here is the declaration of a Romanian émigré to Italy, Emanuel:

*"When I speak to my family, I never tell them what really happens. I mean what are my problems, what I am doing. The only thing I tell them is that yes, sometimes it is difficult, but however it is better than at home. I do not want them to worry about me. And I do not want my friends to find out that I live on the streets."*<sup>14</sup>

The fear of ridicule, the shame to acknowledge the compromises they must accept for surviving, affect definitively the image that the immigrants communicate about their new country. But there is also the problem of rejecting a possible confrontation with the ideas of a coherent system of perceptions of a society. The image available to Romanians is the one created by intermediaries such as Emanuel. Moreover, the facility of mass communication contributed to the flow of information that encourage migration. It is a recurrence of the symbolic system through information that makes Italy known in his or her home country<sup>15</sup>. The material appearance of the émigré who is back or in visit at home seems to be sufficient to confirm the hypothesis of the welfare of immigrants. And the one who confesses that he smokes good cigarettes strengthens his aura. Only those who follow him in emigration will discover the hard life beyond this mythic image.

*"A friend of mine explained to me how easy it was to live in Italy. Italians are nice and if you are smart it is very easy to have a good life. The language is easy to learn and they treat you like a brother. Because we are all Latin, are we not? It was simple to believe him. He was so self-confident, with so much money. I wanted to be like him, I must confess. And because he promised to help me I left with him. But the reality here is not pink at all."*<sup>16</sup>

The context in which the decision to migrate is taken is a result of successive stages of elaboration. This presupposes an entire system of interpersonal contacts in which the experiences of each individual are highly personalized. Robert claims that:

*"With a friend of mine we decided to go to Italy. I know someone who had gone there, and came back with a lot of money. He used to tell us how easy it was to convince the Italians to employ you. I wanted to work, to save some money. And to come back to make a better life for my mother. I did not tell her what I was going to do because she would*

*not have accepted it. In a way I wanted to surprise her, to show her what her boy is capable of. I told only a friend of mine, the one I went with. And some people who already were there. Therefore, I said to my mother that I was going to a friend. And after a week I called her from Italy.”<sup>17</sup>*

Robert’s decision was a highly individual one, but taken under the influence of a kind of collective pressure. What is the reaction of the rest of the society facing the absence of an important member? For the family, and moreover for a mother the absence is associated with some potential advantages. As I interviewed Nadia Moldovan, her mother entered the room and said,

*“Everyone argues that my Nadia is, you know, not a very good child. Now I show them what kind of child I have. Does someone say something else? In the entire building only my girl has become somebody.”<sup>18</sup>*

The degree of self-contentment (the degree in which one believes in the success of one’s actions) is therefore measured according to the efficiency of a member of the family. In the eyes of everyone, the marriage of her daughter with an Italian became a personal victory, a certitude for the future and, last but not least, a positive re-evaluation of the daughter’s previous actions.

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## The Transmission Channel

**T**he way a émigré from Romania arrives in Italy is through a complex of networks, formal and more often informal. They bind together émigrés and non-émigrés within a complex system of interpersonal relationships<sup>19</sup>. Oftentimes these are relative relationships or friendships. The first individual who went to Italy established, voluntarily or involuntarily, the generating source and the propagation channel for future migratory circulation. Therefore, the newly arrived will find substantial help in accommodating in the host society. Moreover, a significant role is played by the mass media and the development of communication system at international level as well as the facility in uni- or bi-directional migratory movement<sup>20</sup>.

An industry can appear, specializing in certain services for immigrants such as the transportation of goods and money from home<sup>21</sup>. For example the town of Borșa has its own system of recruitment of immigrants as well as a system of communication with home society. The people from Borșa organize a special service of transportation of packages, appreciated to be safer and cheaper than all other similar services. The confidence the immigrants have in this system is proved by the fact that they send even money. The leading person confesses that even he who is very circumspect has sent 2,500 DM to Romania.

*“I am not afraid of it being stolen because it would be impossible for them to do business if someone says that they lost something with their transportation.”<sup>22</sup>*

Adrian has been in Milan for four months and he argues:

*"I am not alone here. I live with my sister. I have come here with a friend from Borșa, first to France where I have staid for a year and four months. I do not like it here. It was better in France, but much more difficult. Because here I have a lot of people I know. It seems to me that all my friends from Borșa are here. We help each other a lot. Because I am here illegally it is more difficult for me to find a job. But now I work as an interior decorator. It is much easier for my sister to find a job because she is a woman. If I did not have my people from Borșa I really do not know what would have happened to me. They helped me get to Italy."*<sup>23</sup>

In Adrian's case the decision to leave Romania was taken as a result of a high pressure in his hometown. In Borșa to emigrate became a real tradition. Every young man must pass this fire test in order to become a member of the community of Borșa. The existence of an illegal network favored this behavior. Adrian's itinerary follows the way of illegal leading persons, a kind of guides who cross the borders of many countries without being caught. Adrian's friends who looked at me with suspicion finally agreed to confess that he was a leading person.

*"I lived in Belgium for four years, then in France, with a group of friends. They succeeded going to Canada. I came to Milan in order to follow them. Illegally of course. However it is much more difficult if you have documents. It is better not to have any. From Romania it is not difficult at all to leave the country illegally. For a while I was a leading person trough Hungary, Austria, France, Italy. I believe that almost every family from Borșa has two members here in Milan. It is better this way, because we can speak Romanian."*<sup>24</sup>

Through the circular migration, the sending and receiving countries are integrated into a system which influences all social processes. The network is self-fed. This territorial criterion of selectivity operated by a network generated a distinct group within the Romanian community in Italy. The distinctiveness manifests itself through the preservation of the particular aspects of a regional variant of Romanian, the permanent communication with the home society. Therefore, this kind of migration can be considered a permanent clandestine circulation.

The second criteria of selectivity in the network is that of parentally relationships. This is the case of Nadia Moldovan, married to an Italian:

*"Of course I want to ask my family to come. Unfortunately I cannot do it because I am not yet an Italian citizen. But my husband can do it. I will help them as much as I can. My mother can stay with me and my brother can work at my husband's plant. It will be better for me to hear and to speak Romanian."*<sup>25</sup>

The parental network can be considered as a flux of mutual changes of goods, services and information. The characteristic of these networks is the fact that they are based on

powerful relationships. They are homogeneous from the point of view of the social-economic status. Third, they are restricted geographical communities<sup>26</sup>.

## The Situation in the Receiving Country: Italy

In the Italian case all non-local population is designated under the term of “stranger” if she or he is a citizen of the European Union and “extra-comunitario” if he or she is outside this area. Therefore, only the term “extra-comunitario” preserves a high degree of negative perception. The “extra-comunitario” is the immigrant par excellence. He or she became the source of evil, the scape-goat for all the bad things that happen in Italy.

The fact that the Italians think of the immigrant as having a temporary status seems to solve the problem of dealing with their specific problems<sup>27</sup>. If one analyses empirically the situation that immigrants face in their new country, one can find basically three models: assimilation, segregation and integration of immigrants. Assimilation means that the immigrants entirely adopt the behavior and the cultural model of the host country<sup>28</sup>. According to this hypothesis the immigrants abandon their own traditions and behavior, modeling their lives in relation to the normative system of the majority<sup>29</sup>.

The second segregation presupposes that there is an attitude of isolation provoked by the immigrants themselves or by the behavior and attitude of the local population. The rejection of new values is a compulsory feature of this model of contact between two cultures<sup>30</sup>. On the contrary, integration means that the immigrants progressively accept behavioral codes, new values without giving up their traditions, mentality, and culture. This manifests itself even in the way the immigrants dress, eat or even in the mimesis of the host culture.

The official immigration to Italy was in 1998 of 1,022,896 persons whose provenience was of 310,748 from Africa and 226,387 from Eastern Europe<sup>31</sup>. Second, the number of registered persons in Italy of Romanian origin increased from 7,844 in 1990 to 30,673 in 1998<sup>32</sup>. This number encompasses the persons who received the “permesso di soggiorno”, the document that brings the immigrants into legality. It is significant that the request for the political asylum decreased from 1,043 in 1990 to none in 1998. Moreover, at the local level in the Milan area the number of immigrants increased from 247 in 1991, to 1,108 in 1998. Third, the feminine component of Romanian immigration in Italy is of 17,167 women at national level and 480 in Milan. The last features suggest a preponderance of female immigration compared to the male one<sup>33</sup>.

These numbers represent only those Romanians who migrated legally or received this status during their presence in Italy. It is difficult to estimate the dimension of Romanian presence in Italy, but priest Traian Valdmán argues that in Milan and the surrounding area live about 3,500-4,000 Romanians that Italian authorities do not know about. He used to register every new arrived to the Romanian Orthodox Church of Milan in search for help<sup>34</sup>. However, due to the fact that there is no evidence of the fact that the immigrants are still in Milan, when this research was pursued, this number cannot be used as scientific base. But it is symptomatic because it suggests that the illegal immigrants from Romania escape from controls in Italy as well as other transited areas in the European Union.

One of the first problems that Romanian immigrants face after their arrival to Italy is the difficulty of finding a shelter. At the mental level, the shelter represents a peculiar space of security which cannot be replaced. For those whose network relationships are not tide, i.e. those who do not migrate through a strong parental or territorial network the difficulty is even greater. This is the case of Robert, whom we already talked about, who originates from a town in Vrancea. He claims that:

*"I came to Italy illegally, but I have decided not to go back. At least for the moment, because I intend to go back one day and make a family there. When I arrived in Milan it was terrible. During the first days, I wandered in the streets. I had little money that I spent soon after I left Romania. I did not have any papers. Neither had I a place to sleep. Therefore, I established my 'bedroom' at the Stazione Centrale (the biggest railway station of Milan). There I met some other Romanians who had the same life as mine. Together with one of them, I went to find a better shelter. We found an abandoned storehouse which was in good condition. We began to arrange our new home. We found in a street a used mattress and a TV set. Then we connected to the electric circuit. We have even an antenna. However, we lived in permanent fear of being discovered by the carabinieri (the Italian police). But we were never caught even though once the carabinieri searched our place. They searched everything but we were out therefore they did not find anything. After they left we carried our stuff back to the storehouse."*<sup>35</sup>

After the shock of the contact with a different culture, and the luck of finding a temporary shelter, the immigrant can consider himself of herself a lucky person. The first condition the new home must fulfil is to have the lowest price possible. The comfort, the hygiene or the special emplacement of the shelter are only supplementary conditions and do not determine the choice of this living place. This is an exclusive utilitarian motivation that is a proof of the primary economic motivation to migrate. The immigrant wants to save as much as possible, spending for himself only to survive<sup>36</sup>.

Having a stable address in Italy can also be a step towards the change of the juridical status of the immigrant. But there can be identified a vicious circle because one cannot have a house without having a working place. At the same time one cannot have legal status without having a place to work and a stable address. After getting a place to live, the immigrant can focus on the search for a job. In Italy, more than in any other European country, to have a job presupposes the possibility of entering legality. Robert says:

*"I looked for a job for more than two months. I did not have any money to buy food with. I used to go to eat to some churches or to the Caritas organization. Or I would do some pilfering. Finally I found a job as a purveyor for a restaurant. I am satisfied because I am well paid and in the same time I really like what I am doing. But I was really lucky, because a friend of mine, albeit the help I tried to give him, did not find a job for nine or ten months."*<sup>37</sup>

There is an obvious variety in the limit of the span that an immigrant must survive between the moment he or she arrives and the moment he or she finds a job. As Robert sates there is a difference between the luckiest ones who can find a job in two months

and the others who must wait for nine or ten months. Even though this aspect cannot be sustained as a historical fact due to the lack of statistical data, it is symptomatic for the experiences that immigrants face. They are subjected to permanent and successive frustrations, which means an accumulation of tensions, not to seek of the high degree of criminality one can identify in the previous declaration.

Second, in Robert's declaration there is an emphasis on the native cleverness of Romanians, their capacity of managing the most difficult situation. That is not adaptability but the reviewuation of the difficult situations as opportunities to manifest one's skills. If it is about surviving and, moreover, about the respect in the eyes of other Romanians whose values are equal, then the scavenging or pilfering can be justified.

Consequently, Romanians are not perceived as an ethnic group, but as part of a broader notion of so-called extra-comunitari. The entire discourses of the common origins that Romanians and Italians share loses any relevance. That is because Italians themselves build an image of extra-comunitari as a potential danger. In an informal discussion an Italian student argues that he does not have anything against immigrants, but when he looks at the criminality that increases progressively with the triple of illegal immigration during the last decade,

*"I would like to throw all of them out. I know that sometimes there are really nice persons, but the risk is too high."*

Facing such an attitude, Romanian immigrants become isolated and the segregation can be explained by the reorientation towards the home place. This is the moment the native place became a mythic space. Individual identification is gradually diminished, while the collective identification becomes much more significant. If one looks at the declaration that Traian Valdman, the priest of the Orthodox Romanian community in Milan, made, then one can argue that religious identification became one of the most significant features.

*"Romanians are coming to the Church as to a vital source. It is enough that they can speak Romanian and they do not fear being caught as illegal. However, I think that Romanians do not change very much. At the beginning they try to adopt Italian customs but after a while, they stop trying to behave 'all'italiano'. In contrast they will behave this way only after they go back to Romania. During the lunches organized by the church it is amazing to see how the food they eat, the way they dress did not change as a result of the contact with Italians. Moreover, it seems that the Mediterranean diet is a taboo for them. I did not visit their working places, but I believe that the differences are obvious."*<sup>38</sup>

The effort of maintaining the difference between the immigrants and the majority can be interpreted as an effort to reconstruct the familiar space of recognized symbols and normative system shared only by Romanians, by *"those like you."*<sup>39</sup> These aspects integrated Romanian immigrants in Italy within the so-called transnational community<sup>40</sup>.

Therefore, one might conclude that the illegal immigration from Romania to Italy is a peculiar feature of contemporary migration. Even though there are no statistical data



to prove the quantity of this migratory flow, the qualitative dimension of the phenomenon can be investigated through empirical studies. Moreover illegal migration of Romanians to Italy can be understood only in the broader context of the economic and social development of Romania after the collapse of Communism in 1989. Likewise, the economic and political evolution of the building of the European Union is another factor that affects the dimension, intensity as well as the directions of migratory flows<sup>41</sup>.

Romanian immigrants in Italy tend to preserve their culture and customs as long as their juridical status is still uncertain and they are in Italy. The main features that characterize this immigration are the circularity of the movement, and the extended spatial areas that this migration covers. Other features such as the high criminality potential and the increased participation of women into the movement, are general features of contemporary migration. Consequently, Romanian immigration to Italy preserves its peculiarity and specificity, but at the same time it is integrated in the more general phenomenon.

The present political situation tends to be definitively affected by the migratory flow. Therefore as Castles and Miller claim, the national security is more affected by the international migration<sup>42</sup>. Even though until the present the research on migration remains the fief of economic and social researches, there is a need to integrate this phenomenon into the historical context as well as into an historical development of human society. Further study is necessary for a better understanding of the general history of Romanian migration in the last century, the patterns of the changes or the continuities. Likewise, other fields to be investigated are the interaction of the economic, political and social factors that determine the spatial movement of Romanians. The present research can be considered a starting point for further investigations which will give a complex image of contemporary immigration.



## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Mainly sociologists and economists studied contemporary migrations, while for historians this topic is restricted to previous periods in human history.

<sup>2</sup> The interviews were taken mainly in the period between February and May 1999 in Milan, Italy, where I was an exchange student of the Faculty of European Studies, at Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Milan. Most interviewees refused to declare their full names because they fear expulsion from Italy. The sample encompasses several interviews, but the choice of subjects depended on their willingness to speak. However a general impression was that they all were very suspicious when the dialogue began, even though they accepted to speak.

<sup>3</sup> F. ALBERONI and G. BAGLIONI, *L'integrazione dell'immigrato nella società industriale*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 1965, p. 20.

<sup>4</sup> S. CASTLES and M.J. MILLER, *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World*, London, MacMillan Press, 1998, pp. 11-13.

<sup>5</sup> G. BARILLE, ANDREA DEL LAGO, *Tra Due Rive. La Nuova Immigrazione a Milano*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 1997, p. 39.

<sup>6</sup> RENÉ DUCHAC, *La Sociologie des Migrations aux Etats-Unis*, Paris, Mouton, 1974, p. 9.

<sup>7</sup> ABDELMALEK SAYAD, *L'Immigration ou les Paradoxes de l'altérité*, Paris, Editions Universitaires de Boeck, 1991, p. 89.

- <sup>8</sup> Mihai Stamatescu, interviewed by the author, note taking, Romania, 25 October 1998.
- <sup>9</sup> Adrian, interviewed by the author, note taking, Milan, 7 May 1999.
- <sup>10</sup> Traian Valdman, interviewed by the author, note taking, Milan, 19 May 1999.
- <sup>11</sup> Zoran Velimirovic, interviewed by the author, note taking, Romania, 18 August 1998.
- <sup>12</sup> The image is defined as a complex of perceptions and of experiences that a collectivity developed during the time regarding the character of a individual, group or reality; in G. TINACCI MANNELLI, *Caratteri e tipologia dell'immagine*, in *Mass-Media*, no. 1, 1985.
- <sup>13</sup> GILLIAN BOTTOMLEY, *From Another Place. Migration and Politics of Culture*, Cambridge University Press, 1994, p. 38.
- <sup>14</sup> Emanuel interviewed by the author, note taking, Milan, 15 May 1999.
- <sup>15</sup> ABDELMALEK SAYAD, *op. cit.*, p. 98.
- <sup>16</sup> Robert, interviewed by the author, note taking, Milan, 23 May 1999.
- <sup>17</sup> *Ibidem*.
- <sup>18</sup> Nadia Moldovan, interviewed by the author, note taking, Milan, 27 March 1999.
- <sup>19</sup> M. BOYD, *Family and Personal Networks in Migration*, in *International Migration Review*, Special Silver Anniversary Issue, 1989, pp. 638.
- <sup>20</sup> G. BARILLE, ANDREA DEL LAGO, *op. cit.*, p. 71.
- <sup>21</sup> PEGGY LEVITT, *Social Remittances: Migration Driven Local-Level Forms of Cultural Diffusion*, in *International Migration Review*, 32, no. 4, Winter 1998, pp. 933-936.
- <sup>22</sup> Adrian's friend (the person refused to say his name because of the fear of being arrested), interviewed by the author, note taking, Milan, 7 May 1999.
- <sup>23</sup> Adrian, interviewed by the author, note taking, Milan, 7 May 1999.
- <sup>24</sup> Adrian's friend (the person refused to say his name because of the fear of being arrested), interviewed by the author, note taking, Milan, 7 May 1999.
- <sup>25</sup> Nadia Moldovan, interviewed by the author, note taking, Milan, 27 March 1999.
- <sup>26</sup> T.D. GURAK and F. CACES, *Migration Networks and the Shaping of Migration System*, in *International Migration System*, 1992, p. 127.
- <sup>27</sup> PIERPAOLO LESCHIUTTA and CLAUDIO MARTA, *Stereotipi consolidati e stereotipi in formazione: zingari e immigrati a confronto*, in *Studi Emigrazione/Etudes Migrations*, year 27, no. 99, March 1990, p. 347.
- <sup>28</sup> PETER KIVISTO, *The Transplanted Then and Now: The Reorientation of Immigration Studies from the Chicago School to the New Social History*, in *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol. 3, 4, Oct. 1990.
- <sup>29</sup> ANTHONY GIDDENS, *Sociology*, Cambridge, Polity Press, 1989, p. 48.
- <sup>30</sup> GINO GEMANI, *Emigration et integration culturelle. Manuel de la recherche sociale dans les zones urbaines*, UNESCO, 1965, p. 121.
- <sup>31</sup> *The Statistical Yearbook of Italy*, ISTAT, 1998.
- <sup>32</sup> *The Register of Anagraphical Registrations*, Ufficio Stranieri, Milano, 1999.
- <sup>33</sup> *Idem*.
- <sup>34</sup> Traian Valdman, interviewed by the author, note taking, Milan, 19 May 1999.
- <sup>35</sup> Robert, interviewed by the author, note taking, Milan, 23 May 1999.
- <sup>36</sup> ABDELMALEK SAYAD, *op.cit.*, p. 81.
- <sup>37</sup> Robert, interviewed by the author, note taking, Milan, 23 May 1999.
- <sup>38</sup> Traian Valdman, interviewed by the author, note taking, Milan, 19 May 1999.
- <sup>39</sup> I had the opportunity to participate to a fest organized by the Orthodox Church with the occasion of a religious celebration. The image was amazing for the observer because in the middle of Milan one could find a traditional Romanian village. I claim that because the scenery of the celebration was composed by the tables in the Church's inner yard in a quadrilateral without one lateral part. In the front one could observe the respect

that was around the priest and the teacher, which together with the policeman, are the most important and respected figures of the village. There was a Romanian professor who teaches at the University of Milan. The absence of the policeman can be explained by the fact that the priest and the space of the church can by themselves supply the effective absence of the person in charge with security. Moreover, the majority being in Italy illegally, the space of the church was extremely secure. Moreover, the priest was a trustworthy person and a very respected one. His authority was obvious during religious ceremonies because the church was populated in majority by men who usually in Romania do not have much respect for the church.

<sup>40</sup> ALEJANDRO PORTES, *Immigration Theory for a New Century: Some Problems and Opportunities*, in *International Migration Review*, vol. 31, no. 4, Winter 1997, p. 813.

<sup>41</sup> ROGERS BRUBAKER, *Migration of Ethnic Unmixing in the New Europe*, in *International Migration Review*, vol. 32, no. 4, Winter 1998, p. 1063.

<sup>42</sup> S. CASTLES and M.J. MILLER, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

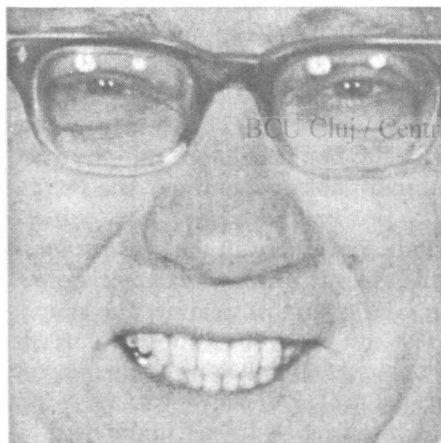
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A R T S

## The Composer as a Representative of the Creative Play.

An Interview with

OLEG GARAZ Composer Eduard Terényi



Eduard Terényi

**OLEG GARAZ:** The composer is a creative artist to whom being anchored in the present is an imperative and a fundamental must. Unlike the composer, the audience does not share this “obsession with the present”, showing reticence and conservatism. What are then the composer Eduard Terényi’s strategies in making himself understood and in dialoguing with the public in a non-conflicting way?

### **Eduard Terényi**

(b. 12.03.1935, Târgu-Mureș). Composer, professor, member of the Romanian Composers’ Union. His most representative compositions are: 6 symphonies (*Legend of Transylvania* for large symphony orchestra, *Magic Bird [The Brancusian]* for large symphony orchestra), instrumental concerti (*Purcell Epitaph* – concerto for organ and symphony orchestra), 2 concerti for piano and orchestra (Concerto no. 2, *Hommage à Chopin*), *The Seventh Towered Castle* – concerto for violin and chamber orchestra, 12 neobaroque concerti for various solo instruments, chamber orchestra and percussion (Concerto no. 5, *The Scarlattian*, no. 6, *The Haendelian*, no. 7, *The Golden Bough*, no. 8, *The Eminescian*, no. 10, *La puerta del sol*), *Mass paraphrases*, mass for string orchestra (about 350 compositions all in all).

### **Oleg Garaz**

(b. January 5, 1964, Soroca, Republic of Moldova) Musicologist and essayist. His essays have been published in various literary and arts reviews. He has also produced several radio and TV programs.

EDUARD TERÉNYI: I'm scared. Indeed I am. I have just heard several great words: "imperative", "fundamental". Well... To me, as a musician, words are also music, apart from meaning. Consequently, when I hear such words as "imperative", a sort of supernatural force appears before me, chokes me and puts me in a rather difficult situation. What I mean is that I am a simple man. Certainly, as an artist, I create, but this is my way of life. Therefore, I do not think there is anything special in my work. Everybody is creative in his or her work. At the same time, for each creator there is a series of problems – like, for instance, the need to be anchored in the present. For a long time, art was art in the present. In the baroque epoch, men didn't even think of nostalgia for the past, for the 12th, 13th or the 14th century. They did not have such a sentiment.

O.G.: ... just as the idea of avant-garde did not exist in baroque music, an idea that has to do with modern thinking.

E.T.: Precisely. Not to mention that the word "avant-garde" itself makes me reticent. "Avant", that is, "before", perhaps even before everyone, and also "garde", which makes me think of "en garde"... But this is already a self-portrait. That is, I, "homo ludens", see in every moment something that gives me the possibility to play. Yes, I take this word, "play", very seriously, and if it is about playing, then I am anchored in the present, because when I'm playing, the audience is playing with me, therefore I have established a dialogue. I have heard and read the phrase: "obsession with the present." It gives me the shivers again. "Obsession." I'm not obsessed. I live in the present. Therefore, this is my world. It is the home where I live and I try to make this home – the present – comfortable. I've got to have a refrigerator, because it is comfortable to have one. And I've got to have a TV too.

Another word: "conservatism". Really? Is the audience conservative? ... "Conserved"? I don't think so. The audience is never conservative. This is why I have the feeling that when we speak about the public we do it with the conviction that it has to be educated. They come to concerts with an open heart. They want to listen to compositions dedicated to them, the audience of the present. It is only natural to belong to the present, because everything happens *here*. The eternally waited-for art. I refer now to interpretative art. If it is a new composition, it is not enough to be well-written and indeed expressive, it also has to be interpreted well, at the level of the current artistic epoch.

The word "strategy": have I ever had a strategy? Do I, "homo ludens", use strategies? I don't think so. Have I ever thought of the word "communicate"? There is nothing more natural than that. I have no other choice. I've got to communicate. I've got to "talk" to my audience, using sounds, of course. If I don't do this, then I must ask myself: *What is my mission?* Dialogue? This dialogue is very interesting. I sit, for instance, in the concert hall and I have a very keen sense of what is happening in the souls of my audience when they listen to my music. I suffer if I sense that my music does not create an exceptional state in the souls of the audience. This is the supreme punishment for a composer: to be present when his composition is played and see no reaction in the mind and soul of his audience. Well, what a dialogue this is, what a latent dialogue! Only the two of us know: I and my audience. I have always thought of them as my audience. By saying this I mean a lot. I reach out to my public. I don't speak here of a group of people who at-

tend every single performance. No. In another city, I will meet a different audience. When the first sound is heard, they become my audience, and I hope I am their composer.

The last phrase, now: “non-conflicting”. Is there any composer, creator, artist, performer, poet, painter who wants conflict? Maybe yes, but I am not that kind of composer.

This was a question whose answer is already a full interview.

O.G.: In addition to the above question, I would like to mention the two patterns of the social assimilation of musical works: enthusiasm, characteristic mainly of the reception of the musical phenomenon in the 19th century, when the concert halls opened their doors to all social strata, and when the orientation towards the audience was dominant in creating and validating musical compositions; and scandal, which became a constant from the beginning of this century. I should mention here “*Sacré du Printemps*” by Igor Stravinsky, and Schönberg’s atonality. The audience is shocked by the “non-communicability” of modern music, and rejects it violently. My question is: how important is the audience for you as a composer, and, secondly, how important is this aspect nowadays, when the creator no longer feels the need to explain himself to his public, and instead imposes his own sonorous interpretation of the world in a sovereign manner?

E.T.: And now the “novel” begins. A philosophical novel. We have finally come to philosophy. I think each composer, poet, painter, etc. has a defining verb. I learnt from a TV program that statistics proved that one out of 27 of Eminescu’s sentences begin with “want.” We shouldn’t mistake, however, statistics with the scope of Eminescu’s ideas. Therefore, I would associate Beethoven with the verb “to fight.” I’ve been thinking of Haydn and he can be associated more with joy and joviality. I could go further. There are perhaps creators, not only composers, whose idea is “to aggress.” It’s a possibility. But we shouldn’t give names in this case. Or “to feel fine.” With an impressionist, for instance, “to feel the pleasure of life”... I’ve been also thinking of myself. What could be

A la STRAVINSKY

Prima, staccato

Quasi gliss

ff leroce

f mf f

armonica

sub. ff

mf

pp

ppp

a tempo

The image shows a page of musical notation for a piece titled 'A la Stravinsky'. It includes staves for various instruments, with dynamic markings such as 'ff leroce', 'f mf f', 'armonica', 'sub. ff', 'mf', 'pp', 'ppp', and 'a tempo'. There are also performance instructions like 'Prima, staccato' and 'Quasi gliss'. The notation includes complex rhythmic patterns and melodic lines.

my verb? Certainly, not “to philosophize” or “to open the gates of music to God knows what lofty ideas”, but simply “to play.” This is in accord with what I’ve said so far. It was not by sheer chance that I’ve made this introduction. Because, the 19th and the 20th centuries do not seem contradictory to me, they are just somehow apart. I try, and sometimes I succeed to picture the 19th and the 20th centuries of the 3rd millennium, the year 2998, for instance. And then I realize that there is no difference and nothing new. Whatever we had in the 19th century we have again in the 20th century. I find it very difficult to explain why. Let us think of certain essential feelings of these two centuries. Let us think of the night, for instance, in both centuries. There is night in the 20th century music, such as *Verklärte Nacht*, but there is also *Pierrot Lunaire*, and so on.

**O.G.:** Let us extrapolate. The night, as a time of bliss, when Wagner’s *Tristan and Isolde* meet and make love, while in Mozart’s *Zauberflöte* the Queen of Night is the essence of evil.

**E.T.:** The 19th century began with Haydn’s birth, in 1732. The “Sturm und Drang”, present in each and every of Haydn’s compositions, is a mood also inherited by Mozart. Let us think of certain early quartets, in which there were enormous dissonances that were absolutely new in terms of sound and harmonic thinking for his contemporaries. Let us then think of Beethoven, who introduced a whole new world. Not long ago, I was asked in an interview what was the first modern composition in Europe. My answer was: Beethoven’s *Symphony no. 5*. I maintain this idea and I can prove it. The enthusiasm characteristic of the 19th century endures in the 20th century, and even in a more pronounced form. The audience is enthusiastic nowadays too. Let us go to a concert, to *Carmina Burana*, for instance, in order to see the audience’s enthusiasm. Or even to *Sacré de Printemps*. Certain things should not be mistaken. For example, Honegger considers *Sacré de Printemps* “the atomic bomb of the 20th century”, and he is right from his point of view. But this “atomic bomb” proved to be neither a “bomb”, nor “atomic”, but what its very title says: a sacred occasion to wait for and celebrate spring. The celebration of spring and simply the climax of spring. If we think of “enthusiasm”, is there anything more special than this composition, which is ENTHUSIASM itself?

**O.G.:** But then we speak of radical forms of enthusiasm, which – when beyond a certain limit – become scandal, shouts of revolt, leaving of the concert hall, protests.

**E.T.:** If someone wins 50 million lei in the lottery, he will shout for hours on end with happiness. It all depends on the amount of happiness. *Sacré de Printemps* had a simply frenetic success when it was performed for the first time in London. It wasn’t just enthusiasm.

Apropos of scandal, today we have for instance newspapers that are bent on scandal. The word “scandal” has even become the title of one of them. Scandal means something that stands out. There is a thrill that – look! – something is happening. Even enthusiasm can be scandalous at times, just as the scandal can be elating. It’s quite possible.

As for the audience, if they are shocked, it means they want to be shocked. If not, then they don't want it. "To shock" doesn't always mean something unpleasant. We use quite frequently this phrase: "the public is shocked by the non-communicability of modern music." But you can be shocked in a pleasant way.

**O.G.:** In postmodern times, we therefore speak of an aesthetics of the shock.

**E.T.:** The rejection of modern music is due to its non-communicability. The audience doesn't normally reject. See how everything that was valuable in the music of our century has been preserved. We shouldn't take the verb "to shock" in a negative sense. That is why I disagree with the idea in your question. There were indeed many moments when composers looked for innovation for the sake of innovation, without taking into consideration the consequences. But then each composer gets a "yellow card" as a penalty, maybe even a "red card". The audience, however, is quite lenient, they give only "yellow cards". They are body and soul for what is considered new. At the same time, when the audience become an audience, they turn into a living organism, with a certain inner structure, a specific behavior, with the spiritual and intellectual capacity to embrace a series of moods. This is why the audience is perhaps the most extraordinary "device" that serves art.

**O.G.:** We have therefore an extremely powerful empathic reflection capable of amplifying even the effect of the musical composition being listened to. We speak here of the power to enhance the expressiveness of the musical piece directly proportional to the number of people that make up the supra-organism called audience.

The act of creation will remain a mystery that no one is able to figure out. Models of representation of the composition act have been provided in great numbers by the composers themselves. Two typical models stand out, which also reflect the antagonism of the two aesthetic models of representing art: 1. The intuitive-irrational, eruptive-ecstatic attitude of a romantic type (Schubert, Wagner), and 2. The rationalistic-intellectual attitude (Stravinsky, Webern), which does not deny however the need and importance of inspiration. How does the composer Eduard Terényi approach this problem? Or does postmodernity offer other models too?

**E.T.:** For 40 years, ever since I became a teacher with the Conservatory (1958-1998), I have maintained that composition cannot be taught and therefore cannot be learnt. One can study various models. In general, there are two basic types: one that deals with the subconscious, with the instinct and the irrational, and the other, dealing with reason. These are in fact the two basic models of art in general and music in particular. Stravinski, for instance, is not rational. He only wanted to be rational. On the other hand, Webern is rational, but his entire life was attracted to the other model: the irrational one. Someone described to me a scene when Webern attended a rehearsal of his *Variations for piano* (op. 27). There are no indications in the score to use the pedal. Webern nevertheless demanded that the pedal should be used almost permanently, which changed radically



the sound of the respective piece. He then had a series of dynamic indications, which were meticulously introduced in the score. The result was an exaggeration, a “romantic” performance, an emotional approach.

I personally think that the subconscious is “cleverer” than the conscious. The irrational in us is more organized than the rational. However, our fear of this irrational cosmos forces us in a way to be rational, that is, to be organized. Around us there is the infinite, and if I don’t try to be more organized, then I don’t know what’s going to happen to me. The bravest, however, go beyond this “reason of reason” and achieve an excursion into the irrational. As to the second part of your question, I was endowed by nature, that is, by cosmos, with an inner structuralist makeup. I have always conceived of things rationally, in different structures. However, I have fought against this my whole life. I did not want to belong to the rational world. And whenever I tried to be a constructivist – indeed I have an entire series of constructivist compositions – I discovered with great satisfaction that I was intuitive-affective down deep. Therefore, the correct picture would be that of a first intuitive layer on which I build my constructivist structures of my compositions.

**O.G.:** Another question follows from the previous one, a question R. Kraft once asked Igor Stravinsky in their famous dialogues: *“The musical idea: at what point do you become aware of it as a musical idea?”* And then, how do you picture to yourself the form of the virtual composition and how do you identify the ways to reach the finite form of the musical composition as an integrated whole?

**E.T.:** All this begins to be quite serious because we already enter a world in which the irrational we have just talked about has something to say. So: how does an idea appear? When does the idea appear? When can this idea be located? When does it begin to take shape, a certain shape? This idea can be played on the piano, whistled, or written on the spot. I should therefore identify the ways in which one reaches the finite form of the musical composition as an integrated whole.

The musical idea. An idea pops up in my mind. For instance, that I am in a boutique owned by Don Quixote. I have already written this piece, therefore I can use the past tense. I entered several boutiques and I realized that Don Quixote was present everywhere. All sorts of costumes, one stranger than the other, all brands of chewing-gum and computers, etc. Therefore, at a certain point, everything seemed to me a huge boutique owned by Don Quixote. I mean it. He was a hedonist. And then I realized that this was not a theme to be turned into music. However, this idea did not leave me. I kept coming back to me. What could I do, what would its structure be? And then I gave it a title: it is chamber music in five “chambers”. In the first room I found all sorts of “costumes”: exhausted major accords, various other elements, with sevenths, ninths, and I built a first room with all sorts of elements that belong to the musical past: the first room, in which the musical elements/effects lie like old but unusable clothes. Then I went further. The second room: “Old Clocks”, Beethoven’s clock in *Symphony no. 8*, Haydn’s clock in *The “Clock” Symphony*, etc. This is how I noticed that many composers did not have a clock. “Prokofiev’s Clock”. Was there one? I couldn’t find it. In the third room, I created a cer-

tain nostalgic feeling. Small, simple musical pieces, called “evergreen”. I felt very well. I went further to room four, five, dedicated to old vinyl records. The fourth room has some exotic birds: “Chambre d’oiseaux”. For instance, Beethoven’s birds, in a humorous way.

**O.G.:** Also, Hitchcock’s and Messiaen’s birds...

**E.T.:** Messiaen’s birds in the first place, but we shouldn’t forget *The Golden Rooster* (Rimsky-Korsakov).

Coming back, I started writing this piece and I realized it’s stupid from the beginning to the end. I don’t have the courage to give it to be performed; not even today. See, millions of ideas that have been put together in this one piece and I will perhaps never agree to have it played. I may have been utterly wrong to write it in the first place, but this does not mean that the idea is wrong. Our ideas are never wrong and they appear at an amazing speed (perhaps they disappear equally quickly). Essentially, each man has perhaps two or three ideas throughout his life. Einstein put it beautifully. When he was asked how come he didn’t forget all those million ideas, he replied: “*All my life I had only three ideas.*” I, being less important, probably only had one idea. And my idea was to find BEAUTY in this life, with my open eyes.

**O.G.:** It is modernity again that brought as an inherent form the need to establish in a manifesto or treatise the conceptual vision on one’s own style, form, language. I refer here to Stravinsky (*Musical Poetics*), Hindemith (*A Course in Composition*), as well as to Schönberg, with his *Treatise on Harmony*. We all know that professor Eduard Terényi is the author of a *Treatise on 20th Century Harmony*. What made you write this treatise and to what extent does it reflect the need to translate into concepts one’s own language?

**E.T.:** It is an interesting question why at a certain point you write a treatise on harmony instead of a symphony. Because, I consider the treatise a symphony, just as I consider the symphony (I have written six, performed mainly abroad) a treatise on harmony. Likewise, for instance, Bach’s 371 chorales are the most wonderful example of a treatise on harmony. One need not write more. So, why did I write this treatise? Because, at a certain point, it was precisely on the basis of the ideas of Hindemith, Stravinsky and Bartók – those of the last one brilliantly depicted by the musicologist Lendvai Ernő – that I came to realize that there were all the elements to outline a philosophy, a fantastic harmonic structure regarding the first half of the 20th century. We have worked for five or six centuries to create harmonies, to have a “tin can” that we can open. It is gravitational: it is fundamental, down-to-earth, everything is real. And then, traditional harmony was nothing else but this “tin can”, or, more elegantly said, this “glass of champagne.” Rows of “glasses”. Now and then, small overturns occurred, but these ideas were not really overturned. These accords were used in their unchanged form for a long time. Let us think of madrigals, in which one can rarely find a major or minor sixth, etc. At a certain point, however, I noticed that the champagne glass was turned upside down, or, symbolically

# PORTATO

Handwritten musical score for a symphony, titled "PORTATO". The score is written on a grid system with measures numbered 5, 10, 15, 20, and 25. The instruments listed on the left are: B. Cl. (Bass Clarinet), Tr. (Trumpet), Tpt. (Trumpet), Contr. Fu. (Contrabassoon), Tpt. (Trumpet), Perc. (Percussion), Fl. (Flute), Vln. (Violin), Vla. (Viola), Vcl. (Violoncello), and C. (Cello). The score features complex notation, including notes, rests, and dynamic markings. A large section of the score is marked "PORTATO" at the top. The score is divided into measures by vertical dashed lines. The notation is dense and includes various musical symbols such as clefs, key signatures, and time signatures.

danilo schi

attacco

speaking, “was placed upside down on the ceiling.” When, for the first time, I demonstrated this idea, I did it as follows: I had two balloons of different colors: yellow and blue. The yellow one held air, the blue one, helium. In order to show how this overturning works, I let go of both balloons. The yellow one fell on the floor, the blue one rose to the ceiling. That was to prove that the entire harmonic system created in the course of several centuries can be reversed. This is my basic idea. And if it can be reversed, we then have two systems: one in a normal position, the other one, “upside down.” Certainly, they can also be used together. We therefore have the Thesis – harmony in a normal position, the Antithesis – harmony placed upside down, and the Synthesis – the co-existence of the two systems. Big deal! I’ve discovered nothing new.

**O.G.:** It is beyond doubt that the musical present we live in, so eclectic and “omnivorous”, imposes the need to resort to a model endowed with great value. In this sense, the Janus-like figure of Bartók represents a “universal key.” What are, in your opinion, the constituent elements of the artistic figure and work of Béla Bartók, who blended in a sense in his compositions the substance of the popular musical thinking and the academic forms, launching the former on a transcultural trajectory?

**E.T.:** We have come home now, for each composer looks for his “family”. How come? At certain points, all my friends say: “This seems to be taken from Debussy.” Although I’m not an epigone, certain elements are typical. And as these elements are, above all, visible, I consider Debussy my “grandfather”. Then my friends said: “We don’t know what the matter is with you, but you constantly have something of Mussorgski.” Everybody, my audience and even I know that my “father” is Bartók. My “uncle” is Stravinsky. And these are about all my close relatives. However, I also have great-grandfathers: a red-haired priest named Vivaldi and a stocky gentleman who used to play the harpsichord and write a short sonata to the queen every day. I was fascinated by this. It was Domenico Scarlatti. This is my “family”. Certainly, Bartók holds a leading place, and I can speak easily about him. First of all, I disagree with the reference in your question to the two “facets” of the Janus-like composer. I don’t consider Bartók a Janus-like figure, because folk music and classical music are not two distinct entities. There is only one musical cosmos in which each element mirrors the whole universe. Each musical element – it can be a bar from a folk song or an 87-minute symphony – mirrors the whole universe, just as a drop of water mirrors the whole sea. We started the 20th century from folklore as well as from a modern phenomenon... when, in fact, it was anything but modern (there is no music that is not rooted in folklore). Even in dodecaphonic music – which is structure par excellence, and only then music – is impossible not to find elements that are present, for instance, in a song from the children’s folklore. If I take the elements of a purely constructivist composition, I will find elements – not in the forefront, but in the mass of sounds and in the sonorous process – millions of nuclei-elements, or “seeds” that, in their turn, gave birth to a folk song 2000 or 4000 or more years ago. Consequently, the surface structure of music may be different, but the essence of music, no matter how it is created, is present in folk music and in classical music alike.

**O.G.:** Therefore, the theory according to which folk music is the “leftovers” from the musical feast of the higher social strata is false.

**E.T.:** It is, and we shouldn't mistake art for certain elements of false rhetoric that have accompanied art in the course of history.

But there is something here that I like very much, and if until now I have answered your questions from the beginning to the end, now I took it the other way round, from the end to the beginning. In your first sentence you said that our musical present is eclectic and “omnivorous”. I have eaten meat ever since I was a child. Perhaps this is why I have always liked “cannibalistic”, “carnivorous” music. As to value, or to art's tendency towards true value, we shall never have problems. In fact, each great composer – Bach or Bartók, Mozart or Palestrina, Prokofiev, Shostakovich, Stravinsky – represented the “universal key”. No... it would be more correct to say a small part of this key. They all had this small piece of “Rhine gold”, the gold of music, a small part of the universal key that gives power.

Regarding the transcultural, which is a major theme for us, I would like to mention here a great avant-garde composer who was also transcultural: Handel. He started in Germany and became the best English composer. Not to mention that Bach, who was German, became Vivaldi quite gladly in the transcriptions of his violin concerti. I have the feeling that if there is art on this planet, then music is the art that contains in itself the idea of transculturalism.

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**O.G.:** The spirit has no boundaries, limits, ethnic identity, etc.

**E.T.:** Musical art has always been transcultural. Composers come from Italy and go north, or come from the north and end up in Italy, etc. There's a lot of going back and forth. Dying in the 20th century means being jailed in a prison cell, in a spiritual prison. It means not seeing what's going on around you. But a great artist will never stay in such a prison.

**O.G.:** One last question regarding supremacy: the supremacy of the artist or of the work? The former would reveal the valences of creative “hyperindividualism” heralded as early as the end of the 19th century by Nietzsche, while the latter would lead us both to classical traditionalism and to the postmodern “hyperclassicism” of the avant-garde. Or we should perhaps mix the two?

**E.T.:** “Hyperindividualism”... Anything hyper becomes its opposite. When we have reached “hyperindividualism”, everything sounds the same. If I go to a concert and listen to ten avant-garde compositions, I can no longer tell one composer from the other, although certain stylistic features are characteristic of one or another. Hyperindividualism therefore meant the disappearance of individualism. We are on the verge of the 21st century, which of course tends towards the collective again. And we should not forget also that even now, at the end of the 20th century [the time of the interview], the composing engineers or the engineering composers are creating music collectively in various

laboratories. If I composed a musical piece, I did it with my conductor, with the 85 members of the orchestra and even with my audience. What a fantastic collective! What does “hyperindividualism” mean to me? It is more like a strong wish to have my own world. But, ultimately, I have my own world.

As to “postmodernity”... Well, as we are in the forest of modern music, we must mark the trees to set boundaries: this is “predodecaphony”, and this is an area like in a botanical garden – these are the “serial” roses, and this is the glasshouse with exotic music, and so on. But we are now in the postmodern area. Before us there is a clearing, the sun is shining, the grass is green and we are a little tired. We have come a long way, but let us stop here. We grab something to drink, a beer – by the way, a “postmodern” beer. We feel fine. We listen to some music on the stereo. Beethoven. The *Pastorale*. But we know that the forest is deep, there are even certain dangers. We have walked this road, the 20th century road, the 20th century forest. And now, having arrived to sun, green grass, there is one idea, one verb. And I will conclude with it. What is music? As postmodernism asked this question, I ask it too.

#### **O.G.: ... and what is the artist?**

E.T.: The artist is the tourist who made this wonderful trip. But what is music? Music is – and this is my “poetic art”, which answers in fact all your other questions – MUSIC IS A PRETEXT FOR LOVE. For loving the world, the universe, man, ourselves, all things and possibilities. Because it is the only reason for life and the universe. I have this strong feeling that the one essential thing is LOVE.



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*"Poetry is the superior art of Portuguese culture, through its intrinsic musical perspiration."*  
(J.L. Barreto)

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**Virgil Mihaiu**

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## Anticipations of Postmodern Jazz Aesthetics

Whenever I sense a coherent development of jazz music in a certain country, I know for sure that it must have been anticipated by significant mutations in the aesthetic landscape, which usually occurred in the early decades of the 20th century. In this respect, the prototype remains Russia. The culmination of the *Ganelin/Chekasin/Tarasov Trio* in the 1970s entailed a stream of new-jazz-originality emerging from the Soviet Union. For a thorough analysis of the phenomenon, see *Russian Jazz New Identity* / Quartet Books, London, 1985. As I pointed out in my contributions to that volume, the respective occurrence was actually a rekindling of the grandiose avant-garde insurrections in all fields of art that had taken place in both pre-WWI Russia, and the years immediately following the setting up of the Soviet regime in 1917. In that age of proliferating "-isms" a typical event was, for instance, the cubo-futurists' 1913 manifesto-volume entitled *A Slap in the Face of the Public Taste*, signed by such rebellious master-spirits as David Burlyuk, Velimir Khlebnikov, Kruchennych and Mayakovsky. It is quite meaningful that the same year, 1913, witnessed the founding of abstractionism by Malevich, and the shock caused by the first hearing of Stravinsky's *Sacré du Printemps*. Francis Poulenc noticed

that “between 1910-13, all arts were more or less tributary to the *Ballets Russes*, but music was the one to benefit most from Diaghilev’s prophetic impulse.” During that same time Khlebnikov was concerned with finding a purely phonetical transcription of visual image – typical of the Russian futurism, which had created the *zvukopis* concept in fine arts (meaning the pictorial representation of sounds) – something very close to what was later to be called “concrete poetry”.

Throughout the first years of the one-party-regime, the renewal and innovation fervour perdured in all arts, from choreography to architecture (Tatlin), from poetry to painting (Kandinsky, Chagall), from prose-writing to theatre (Meyerhold), from sculpture to cinema (Eisenstein), from design to music (Prokofiev, Shostakovich). “The First Eccentric Orchestra of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic – Valentin Parnakh’s Jazz Band” held its first concert on October 1, 1922, in Moscow. From the very beginning, that “eccentric art form” was associated to readings of Parnakh’s own “jazz-poetry”. As S. Frederick Starr recalls in his *Red & Hot / The Fate of Jazz in the Soviet Union* (Oxford University Press, 1983), at Parnakh’s second concert the jazz group had been juxtaposed to a “noise orchestra” organized by the composer N.N. Foregger and featuring artistic performances on bottles, sheet metal, sirens, whistles, and machines.

*“That such an arsenal might produce the music of the future” – writes Starr – “became an article of faith among a handful of Russia’s left-wing avant-gardists. Invented for the people rather than by them, it represented a kind of revolutionary elitism. At least one critic came away from Parnakh’s concerts convinced that noise music and jazz were one and the same. Jazz must be stopped, he wrote, «before it is too late.» The noise orchestra movement reached its apogee with the establishment of the First Experimental Synthetic Chamber Ensemble in 1923 by the pianist Leonid Varpakhovsky. [...] Russia’s leading artists and intellectuals were slow to embrace jazz and the emancipated social life it embodied. Imbued with the self-aggrandizing notion of an avant-garde, they were, for the most part, far better disposed to welcome the many experimental composers who visited Russia in the 1920s – Milhaud, Berg, Hindemith, and others – than to link the words «popular» and «culture» in the same phrase. But there were exceptions, and Valentin Parnakh sparked their interest. The film director Sergei Eisenstein came away from Parnakh’s second concert eager to learn the fox-trot. Parnakh obliged. The innovative theatrical director Vsevolod Meyerhold went even further and decided to exploit jazz in his next production. Meyerhold broke new ground by placing a full jazz band on the Russian stage as early as 1922.”*

Unfortunately, the unparalleled effervescence of Russian artistic life during the first three decades of the 20th century was to be stifled soon after Stalin’s gripping of power. I am not so naïve as to believe that art can solve the world’s problems. But nobody is entitled to deprive the realm of creation of its right (and obligation) to propose alternatives to the dark side of reality. Even during the most obscurantist periods of dogmatism, conscientious artists continued to create valuable works, fueling hopes. The examples set by prominent literary underground figures of the Stalinist era, such as Bulgakov, Ilf &

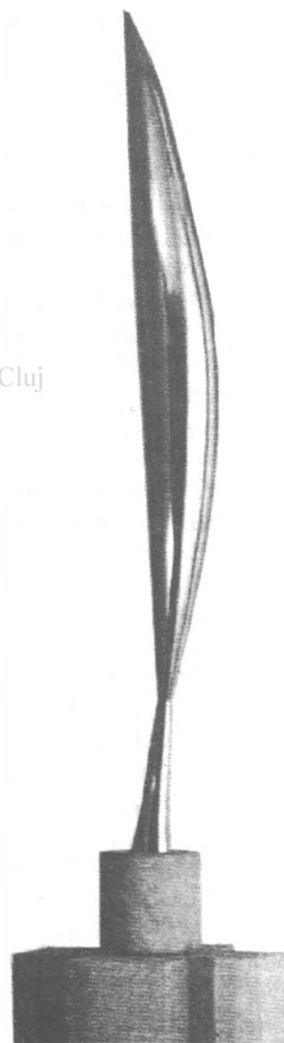


Petrov or Daniil Harms, immediately come to mind. Suchlike cultural background explains the continuity of innovative attitudes in Russian music, say, from Stravinsky to Ganelin/Chekasin/Tarasov, in spite of long decades of harsh political and ideological repression.

**I**ronically, Stalinist congelation coincided not only with the end of the Jazz Age entailed by the collapse of the stock market in 1929, but also with Salazar's ascension to power. Still, the half-century of authoritarian corporatism implemented by the *Estado Novo* all over Portugal had also been preceded by a noteworthy ebullieny in the realm of the arts. Certainly, the proportions of those avant-garde endeavours hardly bear comparison with the wide-spreading scope of their Russian counterparts. Nonetheless, any such tendencies, wherever they occurred, signaled libertarian cravings that were to find their natural ally in jazz. That is why, nowadays, Portuguese art historians keep on using António Ferro's term *Jazz Band Age*, in order to define precisely the same period of time known since F. Scott Fitzgerald as The Jazz Age. (Cf., Adelaida Ginga Tchen's article *Na Era do Jazz Band / Século XX*, 8th installment, edited by Público & El País, 1999.)

As a matter of fact, there are striking resemblances between avant-garde developments in Portugal and Romania around WWI. In spite of their total ignorance of each other, the manifestations of both movements were amazingly similar. Perhaps, this has to do with the strong Francophile orientation of Portuguese and Romanian cultures throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries. At any rate, literature and plastic arts were by far the main fields of aesthetic experimentation in these two states.

Surprisingly, a country that was still predominantly agrarian, like pre-WWI Romania, gave birth to a series of seminal personalities for the development of contemporary arts. The Romanian literary avant-garde was very prolific, and one should not forget that, before launching Dadaism in Zurich in 1916, Moinești-born poet Tristan Tzara had belonged to the first cohesive generation of insurgent writers in his homeland, together with Ion Vinea, Felix Aderca, Marcel Iancu, B. Fundoianu, etc. In fact, the keen/jocular/ironical/rebellious/humorous/biting/lucid/persiflating/subtle/self-mocking/and, above all, intelligent spirit of that movement had been anticipated and already epitomized by the genius of classic playwright Ion Luca Caragiale (1852-1912). True, with Caragiale it still functioned under the guise of tradition-



Sculpture by  
Constantin Brâncuși

ally acknowledged literary forms. The latter were dynamited by Urmuz (1883-1923) in his *Pagini bizare* (Bizarre Pages). Author of an ode to the revolver, written before shooting himself, Urmuz entered history as a pre-dadaist, composer, cult figure, predecessor of the absurd literature that was later to find universal expression in Eugen Ionescu's theatre (*The Bald Primadonna*, *The Chairs*, *The Rhinoceroses*).

Valery Oisteanu, a descendant of Romanian surrealism who emigrated to New York, wrote an essay entitled *1896-1996: One Hundred Years of Dadaism and Surrealism in Romania*, in which he mentions among the anthropological sources of Romanian Dadaism: the myth of Zalmoxes (the deity of the Dacians), the teachings of Paracelsus, mediaeval religious paintings, folktales, Archimboldo's paintings, etc. Oisteanu associates Urmuz's literary fauna of the absurd to the creations of Jarry, Lewis Carroll and Kafka, although it is quite improbable that the strange Romanian had had any opportunity to read works by those authors. The first manifesto of the Romanian avant-garde is considered to be *Fronda*, published in Jassy, capital of the Moldavia province, in 1911.

It is obvious that no history of modern art could possibly neglect the name of Constantin Brâncuși (b. Hobița 1876; d. Paris 1956), zenithal Romanian offering to 20th century sculpture, as well as to the progress of contemporary aesthetics themselves.

The activity of radical avant-garde publications went on uninterruptedly from the years of WWI until 1947. Among the best known were *Contimporanul*, *75 H.P.*, *Punct*, *Integral*, *unu*, *Urmuz*, *Alge*, *Liceu*, *Viața imediată*, *Meridian*. If Khlebnikov's *zvukopis* related poetry to sound, in 1924 Victor Brauner and Ilarie Voronca came up with the concept of *Pictopoesie*, which they defined as "neither painting, nor poetry, but *pictopoetry*." The following years witnessed the appearance of numerous fresh talents, representing various tendencies, yet the main direction led toward surrealism. Highly innovative works were signed by Voronca, Fundoianu, M. Blecher, Geo Bogza, G. Dinu, Gherasim Luca, D. Trost, Victor Valeriu Martinescu, Virgil Gheorghiu, Grigore Cugler, Paul Păun, Gellu Naum.

Romania's avant-garde communion evinced an overwhelming cosmopolitan vocation. As Valery Oisteanu puts it:

*"The injustice that has been perpetrated for the past 80 years by revisionist art historians can be judged as unfortunate, when Tristan Tzara was called «a newcomer from Zurich» and «a publicity-hungry imposter» by André Breton, who soon after that would assume the role of the «pope of surrealism.» Tristan Tzara, Marcel Iancu and Claude Sernet were instrumental, together with several dozen other Romanian artists and writers, in implementing an aesthetic and spiritual revolution that crossed the Ocean and influenced artists in Japan, the United States, Argentina, Chile, Australia, and Africa. Brâncuși, with his walking stick, travelled by foot across Europe and brought his imaginative totems to the United States, to connect with New York Dada which was centred around Marcel Duchamp and Man Ray. Tzara and Trost also came to the United States."*

Due to their involvement in the anti-fascist resistance movement, Fundoianu and Voronca lost their lives under tragic circumstances. After WWII, the "proletarian dicta-

torship" brought into power by the Soviet Red Army ostracized most of those who had committed the sin of "bourgeois decadent art." The dilemma was terrible: marginalization, or emigration (until 1947); prison, or social isolation without any chance of getting out of the country (after 1947). Thus, a significant diaspora came into being: D. Trost moved to Chicago, where he died in 1966; Ștefan Baciuc to Hawaii, where he survived until the 1990s; Gherasim Luca and Claude Sernet (Mihail Cosma) settled in Paris, Paul Păun and Marcel Iancu in Israel; Paul Celan escaped illegally to Vienna in 1947, then moved to Paris where he committed suicide in 1970; Grigore Cugler, after years in the diplomatic service of the Romanian Kingdom, exiled himself to Peru and became a violinist with the Peruvian National Symphony Orchestra, until the year of his death – 1972. Victor Brauner died in France, in 1968, after having lost one eye in an accident.

Three other Romanian men of letters and thinkers achieved fame in the exile: Mircea Eliade, Eugen Ionescu and Emil Cioran. Until WWII they had embodied a new critical consciousness among Romanian intellectuals, but their freedom of mind did not fit into the mold of the reactionary dogmatism imposed after 1947. Even outstanding musicians, like George Enescu and Dinu Lipatti, had to end their days far from their homeland.

In Portugal, the futurists gathered around the *Orpheu* review, published in 1915, with Fernando Pessoa, Luís Montalvão, Mário de Sá-Carneiro, Ronald de Carvalho, Antonio Ferro, José de Almada Negreiros among its promoters. Long afterwards, in 1959, Negreiros would write:

*"In Portugal, during our century, two cries of poetry have been heard: Mário de Sá-Carneiro and Amadeo de Souza-Cardoso. Poetry of the letters and Poetry of the colours. Cry of the verse, which is precocious art, and cry of the colours, which is the non-precocious art."*

As far back as 1913, Pessoa, Sá-Carneiro and Almada Negreiros become friends. The latter is nominated director of the *PapagaioReal* magazine. He develops a special interest for the art of dancing, actually some sort of *performances* mixing painting, choreography, musical and theatrical elements. They were staged in most spectacular surroundings, e.g. the palace of the Condes de Castelo Melhor (*The Dream of the Rose*/1915), or the gardens of the Quinta de Laranjeiras (*Pierrette's Garden*/1918).

If the introvert genius Pessoa multiplies his literary masks, inventing heteronymous identities under whose disguise he creates a falsely plural work, the ultra-extrovert Almada Negreiros confesses:

*"As I have already explained, it is not theatre that interests me, it is not painting that interests me, neither is it sculpture. It is no art in particular. What interests me is the spectacle. Spectacle means to see, to see. The spectacle can be anywhere, but it has to exist and to be seen."*

# 1ª CONFERENCIA FUTURISTA

José de ALMADA-NEGREIROS



1ª Conferencia Futurista. José de ALMADA-NEGREIROS  
y oratorio patético a su entrada al escenario del Teatro República  
sábado 14 de abril de 1917

En segunda mi conferencia explicará mis razones expuestas en el Teatro República el sábado 14 de abril de 1917, fecha de la  
tumultuosa y resonante del Futurismo al pueblo portugués.

*Publicado en 1917*

Compañía de Conferencias

TEATRO REPÚBLICA

SABADO 14 DE ABRIL DE 1917 A las 5 h tarde (7 h)

CONFERENCIA

FUTURISTA

José de ALMADA-NEGREIROS

1ª PARTE - ULTIMATUM FUTURISTA A LAS GENERACIONES  
PORTUGUESAS DEL SIGLO XX.

José de ALMADA-NEGREIROS

2ª PARTE - MANIFESTO FUTURISTA DE LA FULGURIA

Marcos SAINT-POINT

3ª PARTE - MUSIC - HALL

TUCS LE CLAIR-FLUNET

MARINETT

ENTRADA 52 CTS.

A mi entrada en el escenario estalló un espontáneo y  
frenético patético seguido de un efusivo aplauso que cote  
con un gesto

Redujo el patio de butacas a su expresión natural tuvo  
la gloria de presentarse al futuro Santa Rita Páteo, a quien el  
público recibió con una ovación unánime

Empecé entonces mi ultimatum a la juventud portuguesa  
del siglo XX y el patio de butacas, acostumbrado a conferencias  
exclusivamente literarias y poéticas chocó notadamente con la  
virulencia de mis afirmaciones, por lo cual ejercitaba premordios  
y cubardes reprobaciones aisladas, pero sin efecto en el siguiente

Habiendo sido concedido al patio de butacas, según la  
orientación futurista, interrumpir a conferenciante, todas las  
contradicciones fueron visiblemente ineficaces, a no ser en lo que  
respectaba a incompetencia de contradicciones

Los jefes políticos, poetas, novelistas y nuestras afirmaciones  
futuristas parecían estar de acuerdo con sus restricciones  
monárquicas y republicanas, apoyaban extraviadamente con un  
mimo bien parlamentario, pero, si nuestra idea era evidente-  
mente rival su único recurso se resumía en la carcajada, símbolo  
somero de la ambigüedad.

Conviene inspirado en la revelación de Manifiesto apoyado  
en el genial optimismo de mi juventud, cruzar esa norma de  
insubordinación, en la que se consume la obra entera, y alcanzar ante la  
cumbrosidad del patio de butacas la expresión de la irreflexión de la  
vida moderna, sin dudar de todas las revelaciones que esta me  
disfruta de Portugal

José de ALMADA-NEGREIROS

The monographic issue of the Spanish magazine *Poesía* dedicated to that artist (41/1978) bears the following inscription on the cover:

*"Life and work of the Portuguese José de Almada Negreiros (1893-1970), poet, painter, dancer, playwright, stage-designer, story-teller, drawer, novelist, choreographer, essayist, engraver, tapestry-designer, vitro glass painter, lecturer..."*

To a certain extent, Negreiros has a Romanian counterpart in the equally multifaceted Marcel Iancu (b. Bucharest 1895; d. in Ein Hod, Israel 1984). In one of the first stills of an exquisite video-essay entitled *Construct* (directed by Sorin Ilieșiu, produced in the GDS Studio/Bucharest, 1993), Iancu is presented as follows:

*"architect, urbanist, painter, poet, graphic-designer, stage-designer, critic, theoretician, journalist, etcaetera – an all-around man of the European avant-garde."*

The film manages to condense all these energies, just by caressing with the camera the exterior surfaces and the inner details of a house built according to Iancu's plans, in 1934. The impeccable filming and editing done by Ilieșiu is combined with Andrei Tanasescu's free improvisations on the piano (in fact, a familiar object of that dwelling). Splinters of ragtime, boogie-woogie, Debussy-inspired chords, anarchic free-jazz-runs up and down the keyboard perfectly interfere with an onomatopoeic text by Iancu, a so-called *Pneumatic Poem*, as well as with the entire atmosphere of the building. Its curves and angles, its inner staircase and round-shaped windows, its water-taps, plinths, pieces of furniture, etc. convey the impression that we are exploring the interior of a virtual sculpture by Brâncuși. The idea to "inhabit" that ambience with jazz-inflected piano-comments tellingly illustrates my hypothesis that 20th century's audacious avant-gardism has always shared some common ground with the ineffable spirit of jazz (a term which best covers most aspects of improvisation-related contemporary music).

Sure enough, the meaning of jazz in its initial stages was as nebulous as it was totally different from what it has come to incorporate today. Stravinsky's renowned *Rag-time pour onze instruments*, or Shostakovich's *Tahiti Trot* (1928), *Jazz Suite Nr. 1* (1934), and *Jazz Suite Nr. 2* (1938) hardly correspond to the conventional understanding of jazz as a closed genre. Yet, revalued from a postmodernist perspective such pioneering endeavours are entirely significant. As I mentioned before, the prevailing avant-gardist forms of expression in Portugal and Romania were literary and visual. The collective subconsciousness of these two nations is based upon the traditional pre-eminence of poetry. A banal set-phrase has it that "The Romanian is a born poet" (*Românul e născut poet*), and many Portuguese intellectuals to whom I talked confirmed that the art of the word is still revered in their culture. On the other hand, official musical standards were rather conservative in both countries during the interwar period. The canonic aesthetic judgement drew a sharp line of demarcation between what is called in Portuguese *música erudita* and the "vulgar" or "frivolous" genres, to which jazz was relegated. In the absence of a Stravinsky or a Shostakovich, it was by means of avant-garde magazines, poems, manifes-

tos, or visual arts that the very word *jazz* was divulged. And its impact was even greater, as it radiated the underground fascination of a forbidden fruit.

A fundamental poet like Ion Barbu used the title *Jazz Band pentru nunfile necesare* (Jazz Band for the Necessary Weddings) for one of his enciphered poems, with strong erotic undertones, already in 1924. Published in two versions by *Contemporanul* (1924 and 1926), the text's title was changed into *Rhythms for the Necessary Weddings*, when it appeared in its "sanctioned" book form in 1930. Another transfiguration of jazz essences into verse is Virgil Gheorghiu's poem *Jazz*, published in the pages of the *unu* magazine in 1928. Gellu Naum (b. 1915; d. 2001), who survived half a century of dictatorship in Romania, and who, after 1990, has been finally recognized as the venerable old man of Surrealism, has constantly written as if invisibly connected to the energy-reservoir of jazz. Therefrom he often extracted some Monk-like syncopation in the structuring of his *poheme* (pohems!). And – surprise – the name of the musician plainly appears in one of Naum's confession-like texts:

*"the pohems always seemed to me imbued with something that had never interested me/ while I was in the army I might have liked very much Thelonious Monk pianist and individualist/ but I was tired and ill and I felt I was expecting something else."*

In *Natura umană* (Human Nature), published closer to our days in the *Jazz Context* section of *Steaua* (8/1991), Gellu Naum converts Miles Davis's dreamlike playing on a green trumpet into the leitmotif of an ample jazz-poem.

The symbolic iridescence of the vocable JAZZ is masterly captured by Almada Negreiros's murals for the San Carlos motion-picture theatre in Madrid (1929). They embellished the façade of one of the first Spanish cinemas equipped with a sound system, situated on Calle Atocha in the centre of the capital. The panels concentrated the dynamism of the Jazz Age, its erotic undercurrent, its reckless extravagance. The elegantly drawn silhouettes represent emblems of a new life-style: chorus-line girls throwing their legs in the air; the flapper seated among a disembodied jazz band (black fingers on the keys of a clarinet, drum-sticks, glimpses of keyboard, snare-drum, violin and trumpet); a couple kissing in a passionate embrace under the moon; a motorcar, an airplane, a motorbike and a train, caught in a frantic race. Above all: a singing blonde with a top hat, skimpily clad in a blue bathing-suit-like garment, holding a stave inscribed with the syllables *a-mor* in her hand. She appears in full dancing action, launching one leg upright towards a bespectacled saxophonist. The magic letters J, A, Z, and Z loom through the blueish background.

These conspicuous proofs of Almada's empathy for a new musical sensibility remind me of Brâncuși's manifest inclinations for other fields of artistic experimentation than his own. Just a few evidences: in 1922 the sculptor was present at the music and choreography festival offered by dancer Lisica Codreanu and by Romanița and Jean Wiener, on compositions by Erik Satie, Stravinsky, Auric, Poulenc, Milhaud and Marcel Mihalovici; in 1924 he attended the premiere of the *Mercur* ballet by Diaghilev (music: Satie; stage-design: Picasso), as well as the premiere of *La Création du Monde* (music: Darius Mil-

haud; choreography: Rolf de Maré; stage-design: Fernand Léger; libretto: Blaise Cendrars); he also went to the ballet of his friend Marcel Mihalovici *Jeune fille en fil de fer* (stage-design: Gontcharova; choreography: Larionov). Together with Diaghilev, Chagall, Picasso, and other artists, Brâncuși took part in a *Bal Olympique*, where a unique *Spectacle sur l'échelle* was performed by his friend Tristan Tzara. Neither did he miss the performance in which "Mlle Lisica Codréano évoluera aux sons d'une *Polka Marche* de Erik Satie et du *Prelude* de Marcel Mihalovici". Brâncuși nurtured very friendly relationships to top-notch musicians like Satie, Darius Milhaud, Poulenc, Honegger, Georges Auric, as well as



**Jazz**, mural by José de Almada Negreiros on the façade of the San Carlos Cinema in Madrid (1929)

with architects the class of Aalvar Aalto, Mies van der Rohe, Lloyd Wright, Mallet Stevens, etc. A brief selection of Brâncuși's literary friends is also in point: Ezra Pound, James Joyce, Paul Eluard, Carl Sandburg, Hemingway, William Carlos Williams, Jean Cocteau, Paul Morand, Gherasim Luca, René Char, etc. Dancer Serge Lifar modelled for Brâncuși, and in 1929, when Diaghilev died, he asked the sculptor to chisel the choreographer's mortuary mask in bronze. Brâncuși's rich record-collection included works like *Le Sacré du Printemps* and *Pétrouchka* by Stravinsky, *Trois petites pièces montées*, *Trois mélodies*, *Trois poèmes de Jean Cocteau* by Satie (with Milhaud on piano), etc. Some of the sculptural sublimations of such fertile interferences can be admired in the Brâncuși sections of New York's Guggenheim Museum and of the Centre Pompidou in Paris.

Concomitantly, Portuguese artistic life also underwent meaningful transformations. After WWI the winds of change in the cultural camp indicated a general striving towards modernity. The futuristic movement desintegrated. In 1918 Amadeo de Sousa-Cardoso and Santa-Rita Pintor died. In 1919 Almada Negreiros left for Paris. Noticing the developments abroad, some of the Portuguese artists felt that at home the vanguardist awakening had not produced the hoped-for intellectual and aesthetic progress. Returning to Lisbon in 1920, Almada found everything "pettier", "a ridiculous parody."

In spite of a certain "provincial complex", literature and plastic arts would keep on being Portugal's most eloquent response to the challenges of the Jazz Age. The latter brought about new international vogues, a more hedonistic approach to life. Graphic & decorative arts reflected the new ambience. On magazine covers, or in cartoons and paintings artists drew their inspiration from cafés, dancing-halls, night-clubs, women with

à garçonne hairdos, the *art déco* style, and so on. The third *Modernists' Exhibition in Porto* (1919) brings out the talent of Eduardo Viana. In 1920, the third exhibition of the *Grupo dos Humoristas Portugueses* takes place in Lisbon, displaying valiant works of painting, sculpture, architecture or industrial arts, by Almada Negreiros, José Pacheco, Jorge Barradas, etc. Restless Almada also plays a role in Mario Huguim's film *O Condenado*, premiered in Lisbon's *Olympia* hall in 1921 but lost later. That same year, young artists and intellectuals, organize a meeting in the Chiado Terrasse Theatre to protest against the immobility of the Sociedade Nacional de Belas Artes, which had rejected Eduardo Viana's paintings.

Like in Romania, literary-artistic magazines formented the development of an up-to-date sensibility. In 1921, António Ferro tried unsuccessfully to turn the *Ilustração Portuguesa* into an open platform for young artists. In 1922 the first issue of the *Contemporânea* appeared. It was conducted by José Pacheco and was published between 1922 and 1926. (By comparison, Romania's avant-garde – oriented *Contimporanul* appeared from June 1922 until January 1932, while *Contemporanul*, founded in 1881 is still being published today, having its titled changed to *Contemporanul/Ideea europeană* in 1990). The covers and layout of Portuguese and Romanian avant-garde periodicals of that time look very much alike. Compare, for instance, the cover of *K4/Quadrado Azul*, edited by Almada and Amedeo de Souza in 1917, and Victor Brauner's "construction" wrapping up the magazine *75 HP* in 1924.

In his book *As Músicas do Fado* (Campo das Letras/Lisbon, 1994), Ruben de Carvalho supplies some useful information about the "anos loucos" (mad years, i.e. the 1920s). The cautious *Diário de Notícias* noted in 1927 that Lisbon was already living more after dark than by day. Indeed, the entertainment business was blooming. Some night spots became famous: *Maxim's*, which had already been opened in 1913, *Bristol*, inaugurated in 1918, *Majestic* (1917), *Clube Montana* (1923), *Olímpia Clube* (1920), etc. Living mainly from gambling, these clubs also provided variety shows featuring either dance orchestras and combos (which would cause António Ferro to use the proverbial expression "a era do jazz band"), or more varied acts like nude exposures, circus numbers or *tours de chant* of homebred or international artists.

On the 29th of September 1925, Abílio Nunes dos Santos Júnior launched the regular radio programmes of the first Portuguese radio station, called PIAA – Rádio Lisboa.

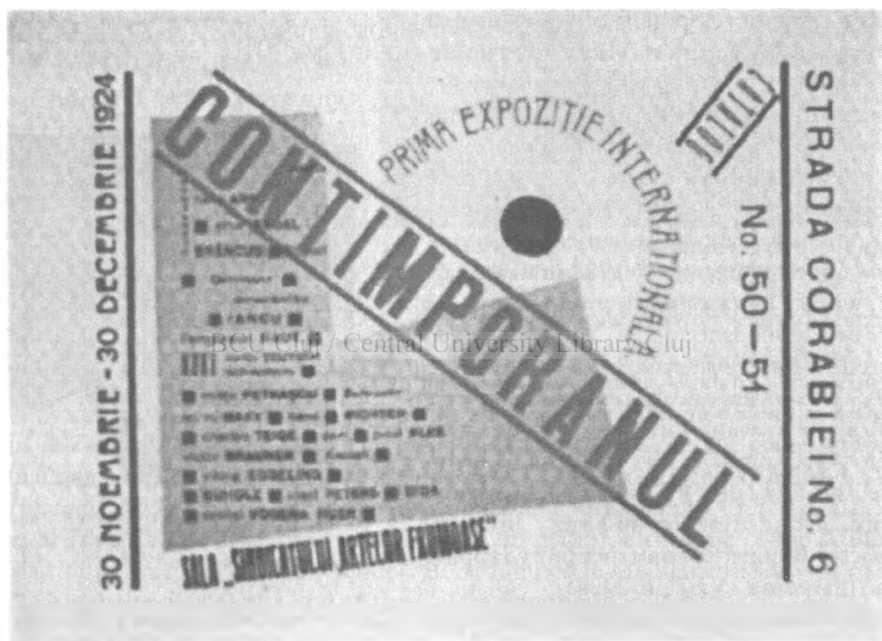


Cover of the *Contemporânea* magazine. The review, conducted by José Pacheco, appeared between 1922-1926 having as collaborators leading personalities of Portuguese culture, e.g. Pessoa, José Regio, António Ferro, Eduardo Viana, etc.



Indicatively, after only two months of functioning, Radio Lisboa managed to carry out the live transmission of a jazz concert from the *Clube Bristol*, with an enormous public succes. There was also a certain production of native records, some of which are documented on a CD entitled *Fado de Lisboa – 1928-1936 / Fados from Portugal – Volume One* / Heritage HT CD 14, Crawley, England, 1992.

**A**ntonio Ferro (1895-1956), a founder of the *Orpheu* magazine in 1915, one of the key personages of Portuguese modernism, and later on a central figure of beneficial consequences to the cultural policy of the *Estado Novo*, delivered a



lecture entitled *A Idade do Jazz-Band* (The Age of the Jazz Band), in Brazil in 1922. The place and the time were by no means fortuitous, as it was in 1922 that the Portuguese-speaking-American-Subcontinent radically shifted its cultural gears adapting them to 20th century demands. Two years later, Ferro's text appeared in book form at the Portugalia publishing house (Lisbon, 1924), and was rediscovered by Miguel Martins in his salutary volume *Jazz e Literatura* (Campo das Letras, Lisbon, 1998). Increasingly, Ferro's intuition concerning the kindred spirit of jazz and dancing is being confirmed in our postmodern age, when these two arts prove to be astonishingly creative and uncompromising:

*"Dancing means the independence of the body. Everything in the passing hour obeys movement, obeys the rhythm of the body. Great music is the music of forms. For centuries, body*

*and soul have been divorced from each other. Dancing places the soul above the body, overshadowing its contours. Humanity no longer walks: it dances!...*

His exalted tone notwithstanding, António Ferro produces some pertinent observations about a musical phenomenon that was too young to be easily grasped:

*"The jazz band, an American native, has emigrated to Europe, the same way the Tango had emigrated before. Accordingly, what Europe displays today as most European is, in fact, American. [...] Purely and simply, what is in America ordinary, natural, quotidian, is in Europe artificial, scandalous, uplifted... In America the jazz band sounds like a marching rhythm. In Europe it is a hymn. Europe admirably demoralized the jazz band: it put fever into what had been healthy. [...] Frightened by lugubrious sirens and by the enemy airplanes, Europe lived under black-out during the war. The jazz band was the peace-siren. At present, ladies and gentlemen, America is the electric light of the world! The jazz band is the voltaic arc of the Universe. The tumultuous, strident, dissonant streets are the jazz bands of the cities. The cities are the jazz bands of the nations. The nations are the jazz bands of the world. The world is the jazz band of the Creator. The jazz band is the dogma of our Hour. We live in jazz band. Suffer in jazz band. Love in jazz band. [...] The jazz band is the ex libris of the century."*

António Ferro also realizes that, from its early stages, jazz has always signaled its openness toward worldwide musical cultures:

*"The influence of black art upon modern art becomes indisputable. Modern art is a synthesis. Black people have always had the instinct of synthesis. They stuck to infancy, in order to stick to truth. The child is Nature's abbreviation. [...] The truth is in the sketch – not in the work of art. Finished work is dead work."*

No need to enter into details about how well the last two sentences seize the work-in-progress character of jazz improvisation.

Finally, it is obvious that Ferro ascribes to jazz the redemptory mystique of the futurists' credo:

*"The jazz band – diabolical, reckless – is the grand furnace of the new humanity. [...] The jazz band is the triumph of dissonance, it is madness instituted as Last Judgement, that calumniated madness which is the only possible renewal of the old world... To be mad means to be free, means to be as intelligence does not know but as the soul wants to."*

Such empathical attitudes differed a lot from the "official musical line" of the day. Thus, in 1926, Rui Coelho published an article in Portugal's prestigious daily *Diário de Notícias* contrasting the "ideal" of a sane music, which should express the national soul, to the "redskin rhythms scattered over the floors of casinos by jazz bands, with their ludicrous instruments played by negroes or by white people of dubious colour." It is a well-known fact that, at that time, such anti-jazz statements could be encountered in any

corner of the world whereto this new musical genre had made its way. During the grey decades of dictatorship, the latter attitude had all conditions to prevail. And this wasn't due only to the political context.

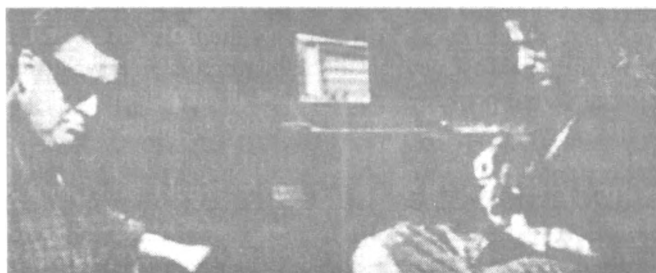
Resembling the situation in Romania, an invisible but harsh "academical code" proscribed jazz influences as pernicious for the preservation of "superior music." Of course, analogous prejudices characterized mostly the "musical bureaucracy" of the conservatoires, mediocre musicians, critics, and spectators. Genuine music makers and lovers were of a rather different opinion. Suffice it to mention George Enescu's outright standing up for the recognition of jazz as a major musical expression of its time. The highly original ways in which Enescu and Bartók fused traditional East European elements into their music had a decisive influence upon many Romanian composers, from Paul Constantinescu and Sigismund Toduță to Aurel Stroe and Cornel Țăranu, from Theodor Rogalski to Anatol Vieru and Ștefan Niculescu, from Constantin Silvestri to Iancu Dumitrescu... Rogalski's amazing *Three Dances Suite*, composed in the midst of the Cold War, highlights the allure of jazzy brass and percussion instruments enmeshed with sprightly string-orchestra lines, all based upon ancient tunes from Transylvania, Dobruja, and Wallachia. Half a century after, this piece sounds like an anticipation of today's ever growing connections between jazz and world music.

In the 1960s, Portuguese artistic life reawakened from its slumber. The signal was once again given by the poets. This time they gathered around the collective publication *Poesia 61*. Artistic novelties were ushered in predominantly by means of the *concrete poetry*. Its programme readjusted vanguardist principles to the libertarian winds of change of that most promising decade. Interdisciplinary research brought together poetry, informatics, serial and electronic music, abstract painting, kinetic art, etc. Among the main sources one should cite: Max Bense's mathematical-combining experiments; Mallarmé's ideas about graphic-space; Ezra Pound's preoccupations concerning writing, both in its ideographic and in its phonetic aspects; W. Empson's studies about poetical ambiguity; the remarkable results achieved by the Brazilian concretist school. After the modernist experiences of Mário de Sá-Carneiro and Ângelo de Lima, or the new text concepts developed by Mário Cesariny, Jaime Salazar Sampaio and Alexandre O'Neill, the visual aspects of the texts came to be explored by the poets who edited the first issue of *Cadernos de Poesia Experimental* in 1964. The Portuguese poetry of that epoch was (re)defined by authors like Herberto Helder, Ernesto Manuel de Melo e Castro, Ana Hatherly, Alberto Pimenta, Pedro Tamen, António Barros, and many more. In synchrony with jazz's most daring phase, struck up by Ornette Coleman's *Free Jazz* album (1960), their all-encompassing poetry expressed a desire of freedom-through-experimenting, which in Portugal had to face the tough rules of censorship and political repression.

In his book *Musa Lusa* (Hugin/Lisbon, 1997), J.L. Barreto confirms that "*poetry is the superior art of Portuguese culture, through its intrinsic musical perspiration*." Post-WWII contemporary composers like Jorge Peixinho, Emmanuel Nunes, Filipe Pires, Constança Capdeville, etc. often got inspired by poetry. E.M. Melo e Castro launched himself into combinations of concrete poetry, graphic-arts, videopoetry, and since the '60s has collaborated with Peixinho, Nunes, and *Telectu*. Peixinho and Capdeville succumbed to the charms of James Joyce in their compositions *Anna Livia Plurabelle* and *Molly Bloom*, re-

spectively. Nunes based his *Machina Mundi*, for 4 voices, choir, orchestra & magnetic tape, on Camões's masterpiece *Os Lusíadas*. In 1983, *Telectu* staged a multimedia show entitled *A Century in the Abyss*, together with Antonio Palolo and E.M. Melo e Castro. António Pinho Vargas wrote eight pieces for voice and piano (*8 Canções de Antonio Ramos Rosa*).

Choreography – a favourite target of censorship under prudish dictatorships – has become a part of Portugal's avant-scene after the 25th of April 1974. This effort was backed by serious, often jazz-aware musicians/composers like Carlos Zíngaro, Luís Cília,



J.L. Barreto & Vítor Rua = *Telectu*

A.P. Vargas, Victorino D'Almeida, Constança Capdeville, Filipe Pires, Miguel Azguime's *Miso Ensemble*, Paulo Curado, Nuno Rebelo, etc. In 1991, Carlos Paredes played *live* the Portuguese guitar for Vasco Wellencamp's successful choreography entitled *Danças para uma Guitarra*. The musics of the aforementioned were transposed into dancing by gifted choreographers like Paulo Ribeiro, Vera Mantero, Rui Nunes, Olga Roriz. The efficiency of such joint efforts sets off the absurdity of the artificially maintained terminological gap between the so-called contemporary classical music and jazz.

I had the chance to visit a comprehensive exhibition dedicated to *Portuguese Experimentalism between 1964 and 1984*, opened under the title PO-EX, at the Serralves Museum in Porto. The richness and vitality of this halfway underground heritage made me ponder why, meanwhile, it has almost fallen into oblivion on its own ground. Portugal's entrance into the consumerism era may provide a clue to that. Commenting Adriano Duarte Rodrigues's *Estratégias da Comunicação*, Jorge Lima Barreto came to the conclusion that "*an incontestable aboulia dominates the consumerist spirit in mass-culture society*" (cf., J.L. Barreto – *Nova Muzika Viva / Fábrica de Letras*, 1995). The same commentary is extended to nowadays's musical field: "*Mass media has assumed a totalitarian function insofar as musical creation is concerned*", or: "*Political ideology manipulates music without any aesthetical sense*"...

Indeed, there are countless dismal factors affecting cultural evolution at the outset of the 21st century. But we cannot give up our struggle for meaningful, enlightening, both profound and exhilarating art. Even if, or precisely because, much of it is being obscured by the sound and fury of superficial, vain, ephemeral subcultural byproducts. Without a belief in the axiological value of jazz criticism, I wouldn't have ventured to investigate such a "marginal" subject-matter as the one of my entire study.

This chapter is meant to disrupt prejudices and to bear out topics for meditation. The abundance of names and manifestations of the creative spirit I have mentioned here attest the strength of jazz prerequisites in Europe (the more so as the three countries under discussion were subjected to long periods of dictatorship). No doubt, in the begin-

ning jazz was an Afro-American import. But the progressive emancipation of this music all over Europe during the second half of the 20th century is undeniable. The “jazz stories” of Portugal, Romania and Russia are eloquent for a certain self-mistrust. For years on end jazz musicians had not been able to overcome the complexes engendered by the alleged “authenticity” of canonized American patterns. Now the situation is different. Only by extending the concept of jazz to other improvised/experimental territories, shall we be entitled to consider it not only the music of the 20th century, but also the music of the future. This new aesthetic comprehension was clairvoyantly anticipated by the vanguardists I presented above.

## Standards Set by J.L. Barreto

As much as jazz fans or/and critics would complain about the misfortunes of their favourite music on Lusitanian ground, one thing rests sure: jazz has been regarded here, like in Eastern Europe, as a serious art form. Realizing that their liberty can be at stake any time makes people more sensitive to artistic beauty. During the totalitarian years, jazz gradually lost its merely entertaining function, and acquired much higher significance. It became some sort of sound metaphor for freedom. Thus, during a time when Portuguese jazzmen could be counted on the fingers, the performances of such groups as *Plexus* or *Anar* were accompanied by manifestoes and lampoons reminiscent of the avant-garde years around WWI. Jorge Lima Barreto and Rui Neves were the spearheads of this contestant spirit. Here are some phrases from Barreto's *Manifesto do Conceptual Jazz*, meant to sustain the aesthetics of the *Anar Jazz Group*:

*“A physical discharge. This is today's jazz – a new humanism in Music. The Anar Jazz Group pretends to introduce Conceptual Jazz into black-American music. Between this and Free Jazz the difference is the same as between informal art and anti-formalist art. Whereas in the first one, like in Free, the negation of form appears as completed, in Conceptual Jazz and in antiformalism there is no completed object – it exists only while being conceived. [...] In its musical specificity, Conceptual Jazz can be understood only from a jazz point of view. During its communication the magic of sounds absorbs the individual into a quasi-religious participation – a polytheism in which God is sounds and the sin is passivity.”*

Wouldn't it be interesting, now, to compare such theoretical stand with its musical expression? Yet, as I mentioned before, those first steps towards emancipation in Portuguese jazz went by practically undocumented.

Apropos of J.L. Barreto: his prodigious musicological work is indispensable to anyone trying to approach a subject like the one I am dealing with. Erudition is the key characteristic of such vast intellectual enterprises like his volumes *Revolução no Jazz* (1972), *Jazz-Off* (1973), *Grande Música Negra* (1975), the so-called *Anarquologia do Jazz*, comprising *Jazzband* (1976), *Jazzfone* (1986), *Jazzorama* (1988), *Jazzarte* (1990), as well

as his more recent works *Nova Música Viva* (1996), *Música & Mass Media* (1997), *Musa Lusa* (1997), *O Siamês Telefax Stradivarius* (1998), *B-Bog, da Dance Culture* (1998). Irreverent, excessive, freaky, misanthropic, but at the same time brilliant, stylish, refined, always perfectly informed about state-of-the-art developments in worldwide aesthetics, Jorge Lima Barreto embodies the critical conscience of contemporary music in Portugal. But Barreto's encyclopaedic stature also encompasses translations (from Sartre, Foucault, Piaget, etc.), conferences, seminars, radio programmes, videos, interviews with personalities such as Xenakis, Frank Zappa, Luciano Berio, Karlheinz Stockhausen, Pierre Boulez, Cecil Taylor, Steve Reich, Terry Riley, etc. His extensive musical career was centred around three nuclei: *Anar Band*, *Associação de Música Conceptual* (founded together with Carlos Zíngaro and António Pinho Vargas), and the *Telectu* electro-acoustic group (co-founder: guitarist Vítor Rua). J.L. Barreto performed in places as distant from one another as Paris and Beijing, Moscow and Macao, Funchal and Bucharest, Tokyo and Havana, São Paulo and Hong Kong. He collaborated on stage and on records with musicians like Carlos Zíngaro, Louis Sclavis, Saheb Sarbib, Rui Reininho, Jac Berrocal, Daniel Kientzy, Elliott Sharp, Chris Cutler, and so on.

The standards set by J.L. Barreto led to a most peculiar situation during the 1990s: Portugal has become the country with probably the vastest coverage of jazz in the press. In his retrospective analyses, J.L.B. never fails to mention the protagonists of this continuous, if unusual flow of jazz-information: Manuel Jorge Veloso (*Diário de Notícias*), António Curvelo (*Público*), Rui Vaz Bernardo (*Expresso*) in Lisbon, Ivo Martins and Rui Branco in the North. It is refreshing to find out that there are also signs of a burgeoning young generation of critics, two of whom I managed to encounter and exchange ideas with: Pedro Costa and Rui Eduardo Paes.

During my 1999-2000 stay in Portugal I had the honour of being invited to the *Open Debate on Problems of Jazz Criticism in Portugal*. That was one of the side-events included in the two-week *Guimarães Jazz Festival*/November 1999, led by Ivo Martins. A lively, sometimes polemical discussion, which attested to the high cultural standards of the participants. The speakers' baroque eloquence, as well as their apparent lack of pragmatism, once again reminded me that they belonged to the same Latin stock as my countrymen. This combination between critical intelligence and a more laidback attitude can result in appreciable feats. For instance, how many lands the size of Portugal can boast with an array of twelve strong jazz festivals each year? Also J.L.B. rightly points out that "*the Portuguese jazzophile is one of Europe's most refined.*" And how come that there are so many articles on jazz topics in the main daily journals or weekly magazines? Well, José Duarte explains that it happens so, because there are no specialized publications on this sort of music. He must know better indeed, as his enviable bilingual quarterly journal *O Papel do Jazz* had to cease its appearance after four issues. These have become valuable reference sources for the study of jazz in the Iberian area. Unfortunately, that wasn't convincing enough for the Cotovia publishing house to continue financing the project. The Dean of Portuguese jazz did not desist: he launched the website *jazzportugal* ([www.jazzportugal.net](http://www.jazzportugal.net)). Starting in 1997, this fruitful collaboration between José Duarte/planning & texts and Jorge Freire/form & construction is a most exciting piece of Internet work to be discovered and enjoyed by any jazz buff.

## New Jazz-Life Dynamics

After 1974, the country has been regularly toured by many of the most important representatives of improvised music. In this respect the cultural authorities, especially at the city council (*Câmara Municipal*) level, have been doing wonders. Some skillful festival-organizers knew how to take advantage of these financing opportunities, besides knowing whom to invite. Villas-Boas died in 1999, but the heritage engendered by the *Cascais Festival* model is well and alive: Duarte Mendonça moved the festival a few hundred meters to the East, in Estoril, named it *Jazz on a Summer Day*, and rules it somewhat à la Montreux. Rui Neves takes care of *Jazz em Agosto*, under the patronage of the mighty *Gulbenkian Foundation*. The same ubiquitous Neves is in charge of the regular jazz concerts at the *Centro Cultural de Belém*, and of an alternative project dedicated to experimental/improvised musics at the *Fonoteca Municipal de Lisboa* (this institution is led by an open-minded feminine tandem, Carla Figueira & Alda Goes). Paulo Gil leads the attractive *Seixal Festival* extending over two weeks each autumn. In the North, Ivo Martins coordinates the nonconforming Guimarães event, António Pinho Vargas & José Nogueira do the programming for the *Serralves Foundation*, and there are yearly festivals in Porto and Matosinhos. Similar events, though on a less grand scale and less regularly, take place in Setúbal, Póvoa, Faro, Sintra, Vila Real, Tomar, the Madeira & the Açores Islands, etc. There are many good record shops with special jazz departments, and the *Fonoteca Municipal* is a most hospitable place for music lovers of all tastes. Thanks to the qualified, good-humoured management of Luís Hilário, the *Hot Clube de Portugal* is well and alive. Its *School of Jazz* is scoring success after success, under the wise leadership of stately mannered Bernardo Moreira.

Spoilt by so many facilities, does the Portuguese listener still find the means to care about indigenous jazz musicians? The latter's well-attended performances give an exhilarating answer. Yet Portugal's jazzmen complain because of the small size of the national market. On the other hand, there are commendable efforts made by record companies to give wider exposure to these musicians. It is not only the case of *Polygram Portugal*, *EMI-Valentim de Carvalho* (the owner of Amália Rodrigues's heritage), or of such meritorious attempts as *Movieplay's Groove Series*, but also of a daring enterprise like the *Númerica* record company founded by Fernando Rocha in the North, at Paços de Brandão. Rocha, an admirer of the Beatles' arranger George Martin, built the *Aurastudio* on the estate of his father's cork factory. During the 1990s he managed to issue scores of CDs of Portuguese jazz, classical & contemporary music, according to a well-defined policy of promoting homebred talents. Hadn't it been for *Númerica*, I wouldn't have been able to listen to many of Portugal's Northern jazz musicians.

And in an age of audio surfeit there has appeared a new label dedicated to Portuguese jazz: the courageous *Up Beat*, led by Eduardo Santos.



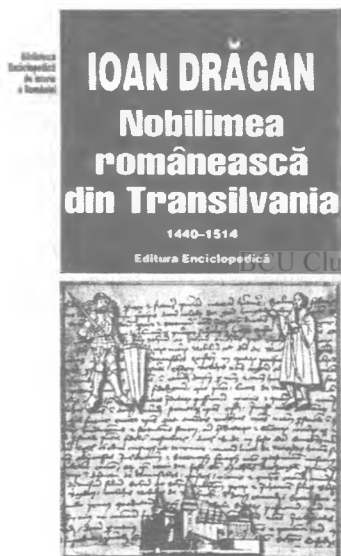
(To be continued)

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## EDITORIAL EVENTS

### Ioan Drăgan, “Nobilimea românească din Transilvania între anii 1440-1514”

IOAN-AUREL POP



IOAN DRĂGAN, “Nobilimea românească din Transilvania între anii 1440-1514” (The Romanian Transylvanian Nobility between 1440-1514), București, Ed. Enciclopedică, 2000, 466 pages.

**T**he book is divided into seven chapters, and is accompanied by annexes (a list of settlements that produced nobiliary names, a list of Romanian officials from Transylvania and Hungary until 1526) and a quasi-comprehensive bibliography. The chapters follow one another naturally, which gives the study coherence and unity. After sketching the historical background of the subject, the international framework of Central and Eastern Europe in the 14th-16th centuries is outlined, with an emphasis on the evolution of the nobility (feudal lords). A detailed analysis of the economic, political and religious situation in Transylvania and Hungary in the above-mentioned interval is then made. Chapter 4 marks the first steps into the core of the problem, as it deals with the legal status of the Romanian nobility in the Hungarian Kingdom. Very detailed references are made to the Roma-

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Author, among others, of “Romanians and Hungarians from the 9th to the 14th Century”, 1996, “Geneza medievală a națiunilor moderne” (The Medieval Genesis of the Modern Nations), 1998, “Romanians and Romania. A Brief History”, 1999.

#### Ioan Drăgan

Doctor in history, Curator of the Cluj County Branch of the National Archives. Specialist in the mediaeval history of Transylvania, co-author of the volume “Izvoare privind evul mediu românesc.

Țara Hațegului în sec. al XV-lea” (Sources Regarding the Romanian Middle Ages. The Hațeg County in the 15th Century), 1989.



nian nobility's characteristics, based on its knezial origin, its being the elite of a defeated and suppressed people, on language, culture and onomastics, clothes and religion, etc. The following chapter dwells on the evolution and structure of the Romanian nobility between 1440-1514, and defines clearly the "true" nobles, the conditioned and the *litterati nobiles*, and those from towns and cities. Original conclusions are drawn regarding the territorial distribution of the Romanian elite. The last two chapters shed light on the relations of the Romanian nobility in Transylvania and Hungary with the political, administrative, religious and military authority, the last of which expressing from a certain viewpoint the essence of the concept of noble.

Definitely, it is an exceptional work, unique in our historiography for various reasons. Studying the Romanian nobility is in itself a daring endeavor. The topic is almost new, that is why approaching it seemed to be very difficult. However, Ioan Drăgan began his research seriously, methodically, following the example of one of his great masters, who aimed to be "*a historian of the silent work*." I have named David Prodan, one of the greatest Romanian historians of all times, whose *Serfdom in the 16th Century* not just exhausted the topic for a long time, but dealt with its antecedents in such a manner that the study of 15th century serfdom became useless. Prodan did not deal with peasantry because of the communist regime, as it has sometimes been suggested maliciously, but for much deeper reasons. He started the study of peasantry in the '30s, urged by his own origins. He wanted to use the historian's tools in making the "*eulogy of the village*" or "*praise to the peasant*", as two other Transylvanians have done in literature: Lucian Blaga and Liviu Rebreanu. The historian carried out his mission splendidly, but he urged his disciples to move on to the study of the medieval Romanian elite. The more so as the study model for the Romanian elite of the Enlightenment had been done by the master himself. Ioan Drăgan is among the few lucky ones who were close to Prodan, often heard his opinions, understood his method and hard work, followed his advice. Naturally, these last several years, his research work was supervised with utmost competence by the world medievalist Șerban Papacostea, a breaker of new ground in comparative studies, and author of striking correlations regarding the Romanians' place in the heroic century of anti-Ottoman resistance.

Under such favorable auspices, and after a fascinating excursion into the 15th century world of Țara Hațegului – whose outcome was a collection of Latin documents –, Drăgan moved on to the thorough study of the Transylvanian Romanian elite. The present book is the result of two decades of hard work. It could have been finished earlier, but its author is a perfectionist who knows that history is about accumulation, not revelation. I will mention just several aspects in which the author's original contribution is beyond question:

- he dealt with the status of the Polish, Lithuanian, Russian (from the Polish-Lithuanian state), Hungarian, Croatian, Slovakian and Romanian (intra- and extra-Carpathian) nobility (feudal elite) by making comparisons and correlations, according to an integrating outlook on the 15th century Central Europe;
- outlined the general picture of the Transylvanian and Hungarian history (15th century – the beginning of the 16th century) from the perspective of the policy pursued

by a dynasty of Romanian origin, and against the background of a first concrete attempt of religious union after the Ferrara-Florence Council;

- criticized correctly certain “theories” on the origins and the evolution of the Transylvanian Romanian feudal elite;
- approached the question of the legal inclusion of the Romanian elite in the higher social structure of the Hungarian feudal state on the basis of certain conditions; depicted these conditions;
- made a classification of the Romanian feudal elite according to the changes imposed on the Transylvanian society by the Hungarian state, and emphasized that this 15th century elite originated exclusively in the land-owning knezes; depicted the characteristics of the “true” nobles as compared to the conditioned nobles; made a correct classification of the Țăgăraș boyars according to this picture;
- made a striking demonstration that the Romanian nobles were more numerous in the Banat and the western areas (in Hungary) than in voivodal Transylvania, and used this argument in explaining the subsequent evolution of the Romanians’ status in these regions;
- examined the role played by the Romanians (or by the personalities of Romanian origin) in the institutional life of Transylvania and Hungary in the Middle Ages; set up for the first time a catalogue of all the noble families;
- dealt with the military role of the Romanian elite from the perspective of the internal traditions of the local society in correlation with the military organization of the Hungarian Kingdom; pointed out by comparison the great contribution of the Romanians in the late crusade and in defending Hungary, especially along the southern flank;
- explained the general status of the Romanian nobility also through the Transylvanian Romanians’ initial situation as defeated and subordinated people, entrapped within the borders of a foreign state, and revealed the double component from which this nobility resulted;
- remarked that, in the 15th century, the Romanian conditioned nobles from the Șiria fortress (*castrenses*) estate considered themselves and were still currently viewed as nobles made by the “holy kings” of Hungary, which leads to a new explanation of the presence of the “holy kings” Stephen, Emeric and Ladislas in the wall paintings of the Romanian churches in Zarand and Bihor;
- rejected with pertinent arguments the assimilation of the Romanian knezes with the Transylvanian Saxon *Graven* and the Szekler leaders, as it has been occasionally suggested for a century, and as Paul Philippi has recently done; the Romanian knezes were not in the position to choose between two privileged liberties, such as the Saxon *Gräven* and the Szekler leaders, but between freedom and submission, between “to be or not to be”, as the author says with a Shakespearian turn of phrase.

The present book is an innovation in the field, due to the manner in which such a delicate and complex topic is dealt with. The Hungarian historians have ignored it because, from their viewpoint, the nobility in the Hungarian Kingdom could only be Hungarian, while most of the Romanian historians have avoided it because the Romanians

nobles who "*sided with the Hungarians*" or were "*Hungarized*", as Iorga would say, could only be "*traitors*". Between these extremes, the truth, that is the balance and common sense of the sources, the moderate treatment of the topic were difficult to figure out and to achieve. Drăgan did not study the "drama" of this ethnic and social segment, from an area of contact "*between two worlds that were mutually exclusive*", but the reality of the Romanian nobility, its existence as it was in the epoch. Naturally, the ethnic implications are intrinsic and unavoidable; they surface even if the historian would rather avoid them. Ioan Drăgan chose to study a specific period of time, during which the Hungarian, Romanian or Polish ethnic identity or the medieval nations were fully outlined. After the end of the Arpad dynasty, Hungary had only foreign dynasties and kings; from the '40s of the 15th century until around 1490, the country was again ruled by locals, but of Romanian origin, not Hungarian. Certainly, one could say that for the respective times, this was irrelevant. The author proves subtly, without pushing things too far, how important one's ethnic origin was in fact in the heroic century of the anti-Ottoman resistance and of the fight for Christianity. An irrefutable proof in this respect is the concept of *nobiles valachi*, invoked so often in the book. It clearly shows that, in the 15th century, in certain circles existed the consciousness of the ethnic entity to which one belonged, and this entity left a mark on people's lives. This category of "Romanian nobles" flourished within the new framework imposed by the Hungarian state precisely in the time of the "Romanian dynasty" Drăgan speaks about. It was at that time that the Romanian nobles received most confirmations of their nobility, most civil and military honors (positions), most privileges in recognition of "*old liberties*", and benefited from an environment of "tolerance" following the decisions taken in Florence, etc. Could they be mere coincidences? After reading this book, it becomes clear they were not. It was a heroic and Christian world, a world closely attached to the local and the regional, God and land, but also to language, origins and traditions, i.e. that complex of factors that define the nation in an ethnic sense. This last type of loyalty was initially feeble, vaguely outlined, often secondary, but as real as the others, which it would often incorporate in time, to the benefit or misfortune of mankind.

The author introduced a large amount of original information, taken from Latin texts in local and foreign archives. He also used many new concepts, redefined old notions, corrected clichés, formulated hypotheses and drew conclusions. All these lead naturally to discussions, disputes and clashes of opinions. Science would be sterile without them. The book produces new questions, invites to further research, opens new fields of investigation, provides food for thought. The very concept of nobility occasions such a discussion. The author says: "*the feudal nobility is the creation of the [Hungarian] state.*" And, after just a few sentences, he states that the Hungarian state is "*a creation of the Magyar nobility.*" The paradox comes from the meaning assigned to "nobility". Naturally, the state created the feudal nobility, because all states create specific elites, but the state as an institution is itself the creation of an elite. Calling this elite nobility too may be confusing. The term "nobility" can be used generically, meaning "elite"; long ago, such concepts as "tribal nobility" and even "Roman nobility" were frequently used. For the historian, and the more so for the medievalist, the term "noble" has a precise meaning: the nobleman is an owner of land and subjects, with military preoccupations and duties, engaged in a

system of vassalic relations, in a Catholic and Latin world. The Eastern type of noblemen, in a world under Byzantine-Slavic influence, are something else, and have a different name, usually “boyars”. Drăgan leaves aside these clichés which he considers too formal, and he calls the entire feudal elite “nobility”, both before and after the setting up of the state with its specific institutions.

After years of thorough research, Ioan Drăgan produced a reference book, a model study of an elite social group from the Middle Ages. While some historians dwell on failures, trying to give them the appearance of victories, the author of the present book proved beyond any doubt that what used to be viewed as a failure for the medieval Romanian civilization is an integrant part of our national history, a form of survival of the old freedom that would be restored in the future. The Romanian nobility, whatever its numbers in the medieval structures, regained its specific place in Romanian historiography thanks to Ioan Drăgan’s methodical study.

A word of praise should also be said about the Editura Enciclopedică and its director, Mr. Marcel Popa, who have long made a point of honor from publishing major Romanian history works.



# Nicolae Bocșan, Valeriu Leu, “Revoluția de la 1848 din Transilvania în memorialistică”

IOAN BOLOVAN



NICOLAE BOCȘAN, VALERIU LEU, “Revoluția de la 1848 din Transilvania în memorialistică” (La Révolution de 1848 en Transylvanie dans les Mémoires), Cluj-Napoca, Preșa Universitară Clujeană, 2000, 515 pp.

Il y a peu de phénomènes historiques au long du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle qui ont impliqué simultanément plusieurs nations et Etats de l'espace européen. A côté des guerres napoléoniennes, la Révolution de 1848-1849 a représenté, tant en Transylvanie que dans toute l'aire centrale européenne, l'un des moments fondamentaux de l'histoire moderne. Elle a signifié, au niveau politique, socio-économique et culturel-mental, la fin d'une étape de développement de la civilisation humaine dans cette zone et a ouvert les perspectives d'une nouvelle évolution.

Ce n'est donc pas par hasard que les événements de 1848-1849 ont laissé des traces profondes dans la conscience contemporaine, cet impact mental se matérialisant dans de nombreux Mémoires. La récupération de ces sources historiques extrêmement importantes pour la connais-

## Nicolae Bocșan

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## Valeriu Leu

Chercheur principal et chef de section au Musée départemental de Reșița. Spécialiste en histoire moderne des Roumains et en histoire des mentalités collectives.

## Ioan Bolovan

Chercheur au Centre d'Etudes Transylvaines et à l'Institut d'Histoire de Cluj. Spécialiste en histoire moderne de la Roumanie, principalement dans le domaine de la démographie historique.

sance de la Révolution quarante-huitarde en Transylvanie avait commencé dès la seconde moitié du XIXe siècle. Pour les Roumains, George Bariț a eu une signification à part, étant le premier historien et participant direct aux événements révolutionnaires qui ait déclenché une ample campagne pour recueillir et éditer les sources documentaires et les Mémoires relatifs à la Révolution de 1848-1849 en Transylvanie. Tout le XXe siècle a été marqué par l'effort de plusieurs générations d'historiens de révéler de nouvelles notes-mémoires et d'éditer de telles sources. Après un premier volume publié il y a plus d'une décennie (*Memorialistica Revoluției de la 1848 în Transilvania*, Cluj-Napoca, Editura Dacia, 1988, 306 pp.), qui avait été bien accueilli par les spécialistes, Nicolae Bocșan et Valeriu Leu – deux historiens consacrés dans le domaine de l'histoire moderne – sont revenus à l'attention des personnes intéressées par le phénomène quarante-huitarde avec un nouveau volume impressionnant. Cette fois-ci, l'ouvrage comprend 29 textes appartenant à 28 personnalités roumaines ayant activement participé à la Révolution, quelques-unes étant des figures de premier rang, d'autres moins connues, mais toutes animées par un fort sentiment de l'histoire, de la responsabilité de celui qui a vécu les événements et doit partager aux successeurs l'expérience de ces années-là. Parmi les textes compris dans ce volume, la plupart inédits, fruit des recherches dans plusieurs archives du pays, nous remarquons les Mémoires d'Andrei Șaguna, Timotei Cipariu, Simion Balint, Iosif Sterca Șuluțiu, Iosif Hodoș, Ioan chevalier de Pușcariu, Ioan Piso, Rubin Patiția, Sava Popovici Săvoiu, Vasile Moldovan etc.

Du point de vue de la technique de publication, les auteurs ont respecté les normes méthodologiques employées en 1988, dans le premier volume. Nicolae Bocșan et Valeriu Leu ont correctement transcrit les documents, mettant en valeur des textes édifiants non seulement pour la connaissance complexe de la Révolution quarante-huitarde de Transylvanie, mais aussi pour l'histoire de la langue roumaine. D'ailleurs, la lecture de ce volume est très agréable, la plupart des Mémoires étant rédigés dans un style séduisant, conféré aussi par la saveur de quelques fragments et par le parfum d'époque dégagé par la plupart des textes. Pour les spécialistes, le nombre impressionnant de notes qui accompagnent presque chaque texte représente avant tout un encadrement excellent des moments surpris par les auteurs dans l'ensemble des événements révolutionnaires, ainsi qu'une présentation utile de la bibliographie, ancienne ou moderne, relative à la Révolution dans l'espace transylvain. Les Mémoires couvrent tant les premiers mois après le déclenchement de la Révolution, que la délimitation de programme qui s'était produite entre les révolutions roumaine et hongroise, le rapport de forces qui incluait aussi les Saxons et les Habsbourg, ainsi que le déroulement de la guerre civile avec tout son corré de souffrances et de drames individuels et collectifs qui s'ensuivirent.

Dans l'étude introductive – très consistante du point de vue quantitatif et des interprétations historiographiques – Nicolae Bocșan et Valeriu Leu mettent en discussion le problème des concepts de "révolution" et de "révolutionnaire" chez les Roumains de Transylvanie dans les années 1848-1849. Se servant d'un arsenal méthodologique varié, provenu pour la plupart de la sphère de l'imaginaire politique et des mentalités collectives (directions de recherche fréquemment véhiculées par l'historiographie universelle contemporaine), les auteurs ont essayé de clarifier la connotation de ces deux termes dans

l'idéologie des Roumains transylvains, tout en délimitant dans leur analyse deux étapes: la période "pacifique", de mars jusqu'au mois d'août 1848, et la période "brûlante", celle de la guerre civile, de septembre 1848 jusqu'en août 1849. Sur la base des documents des deux volumes, déchiffrant le langage des narrations et interprétant les sens exprimés ou sous-entendus, Nicolae Bocșan et Valeriu Leu ont conclu que

*"en 1848 et même après cette date, les protagonistes et les témoins de la Révolution roumaine en Transylvanie n'ont pas eu une conception élaborée sur la révolution, une idée cohérente et réalisable sur la révolution en tant que changement. De façon consciente ou inconsciente, ils ont considéré ce moment comme étant exemplaire, exceptionnel pour les Roumains comme nation, l'investissant avec le titre de début et de fin à la fois, raison pour laquelle les contemporains ont donné à cet événement la valeur de moment qui sépare le temps historique en deux époques distinctes: avant et après la révolution" (p. 74).*

La diversité des styles de rédaction, le milieu intellectuel des auteurs des Mémoires et finalement l'époque de rédaction et de publication de certains textes augmentent la valeur de ce volume. Les générations futures d'historiens ne pourront pas sans doute parachever l'étude de la Révolution de 1848-1849 sans faire référence au matériel informatif compris dans ces deux volumes publiés par Nicolae Bocșan et Valeriu Leu. Les suggestions méthodologiques et interprétatives avancées par les deux auteurs dans les études introductives du premier volume (concernant la valeur des Mémoires comme sources historiques) et du celui présenté ici ouvrent devant les spécialistes de nouveaux thèmes de recherche et d'interrogation historiographique.



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## BOOK REVIEWS

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**VASILE PUȘCAȘ**

**Căderea României în Balcani. Analize, comentarii, interviuri**

(La chute de la Roumanie dans les Balkans. Analyses, commentaires, interviews)

Cluj, Ed. Dacia, 2000

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**A**près une brève introduction où l'auteur même annonce à ses lecteurs que ce volume a été conçu comme un nouvel avertissement adressé au milieu politique roumain, l'ouvrage a été divisé en cinq chapitres distincts comprenant des interviews, analyses et communications soutenues par le professeur Vasile Pușcaș entre 1998 et 2000.

Dans le premier chapitre, intitulé *Etat, Nation, Intégration*, il y a deux interviews réalisés en 1999 et publiés dans deux journaux de Cluj et respectivement de Kichinev. Après un aperçu historique concernant l'organisation administrative-territoriale de la Transylvanie et après avoir remis en discussion l'acte de l'union de la Bessarabie au Royaume de Roumanie en 1918, soulevant le problème de l'unité roumaine dans les conditions de l'Europe de nos jours, le professeur Pușcaș signale le fait que les problèmes relatifs au présent et à l'avenir roumain ne peuvent pas se résoudre "par les obsessions du passé".

Dans les chapitres II et III, *Les Roumains et les Américains* et respectivement *La Roumanie et l'OTAN* il y a des interviews ayant comme thème de débat les relations entre la Roumanie, les Etats-Unis et l'OTAN. L'auteur prête une attention particulière à la visite du président de Roumanie, Emil Constantinescu, aux Etats-Unis, en 1998, et aux négociations de la Roumanie relatives à son adhésion à l'OTAN. L'historien Vasile Pușcaș n'hésite pas à attirer l'attention sur le fait que les leaders de Bucarest, rêvant à des rôles régionaux, se permettent l'extravagance de jouer à l'OTAN. Dans ce contexte, Vasile Pușcaș rappelle à ses lecteurs les gaffes de la politique extérieure roumaine de l'entre-deux-guerres, principalement celles relatives à l'Entente balkanique.

Le chapitre IV, *La chute de la Roumanie dans les Balkans*, qui donne d'ailleurs le nom de ce volume, comprend trois interviews. L'auteur affirme que la Roumanie doit être très attentive, car la fin des années 90 représente le moment de création de nouveaux centres de puissances. Vasile Pușcaș soutient que la Roumanie a changé de nombreux identités dans ses rapports avec les Balkans, en fonction des circonstances. N'ayant pas une attitude et une stratégie claires (tout comme dans ses relations avec l'Europe occidentale), elle n'a pas pu développer des politiques cohérentes ou enregistrer des faits positifs dans l'histoire de ses relations avec les Balkans, pour se



faire acceptée comme médiatrice dans cette zone.

Le dernier chapitre, *Histoire et politique*, contient quelques études et communications scientifiques présentées à différentes conférences, sur des sujets tels que: esquisse historique sur les relations roumano-américaines; la satellisation de la Roumanie entre 1944 et 1947; l'origine et la fin de la Guerre froide etc.

L'ouvrage du professeur Vasile Pușcaș a le mérite d'établir une communication directe avec le lecteur, qui, maintes fois pendant les dix dernières années, a été obligé de se poser des questions relatives aux options de la Roumanie dans sa politique extérieure.

Etant mis dans la situation d'analyser les décisions des politiciens roumains dans le domaine de la politique extérieure, l'historien Vasile Pușcaș attire l'attention dès les premières pages de son livre, que la Roumanie s'est obstinée, surtout pendant les dernières années, de concentrer ses efforts en une politique sud-est européenne, qui n'était au fond qu'une politique balkanique. Le résultat: la Roumanie est devenue, à ce début de siècle, un pays balkanique dans un contexte très mouvementé. L'auteur est en même temps convaincu que "*l'intérêt de la Roumanie est l'eupéanisation des Balkans et non la balkanisation de l'Europe*".



MARCELA VULTUR-SĂLĂGEAN

**GHEORGHE MÂNDRESCU**

**Arhitectura în stil Renaștere la Bistrița**  
(Architecture en style Renaissance à Bistrița)

Biblioteca Muzeului Bistrița, 1, Seria  
Historica, Presa Universitară Clujeană,  
1999

Ouvrage avisé et vaste, le livre de Gheorghe Mândrescu sur l'architecture de Bistrița (Bistritza) en style Renaissance est exemplaire sous plusieurs aspects. D'abord par son thème – omis ou limité par l'exégèse de spécialité à un intérêt particularisant – que l'auteur a le mérite d'approcher de manière exhaustive.

Ses premières investigations sur les monuments de Bistrița en style Renaissance datent de la période de ses études universitaires et se sont amplifiées au fur et à mesure, au début dans une thèse de licence, ensuite dans une méritoire thèse de doctorat. L'importance de cette exégèse consiste dans l'analyse constante d'un domaine majeur, original, qui – probablement à cause de la position géographique un peu décentrée de la ville de Bistrița – a été injustement marginalisé. Or, cette zone offre des monuments au moins tout aussi intéressants que les villes de Sibiu, Brașov ou Cluj, centres urbains où les traces de la Renaissance ne se sont pas toujours tout aussi bien conservées. Par exemple, à Cluj, les maisons de cette époque ont été démolies au XIXe siècle en vertu d'un zèle d'innovation urbaine. Alors qu'à Bistrița et dans ses environs il y a un complexe homogène, appartenant tant à l'architecture

laïque qu'à celle ecclésiastique, avec des échos dans l'espace rural. On sait très bien que les antagonismes confessionnels des XVI<sup>e</sup>-XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles ont fait que les initiatives de construction dans la sphère ecclésiastique subissent, sinon une totale régression, au moins un certain processus de stagnation. La rivalité entre les catholiques et les luthériens n'a pas été de nature à encourager la construction de locaux de culte, ceux existant formant à maintes reprises des objets de litige. Ces circonstances, en corrélation avec la croissance démographique de la ville et avec les velléités civilisatrices inspirées par des occupations spécifiques à l'élite urbaine, ont favorisé en revanche les préoccupations pour l'habitation, qui a acquis une nouvelle configuration. A la différence du gothique, défini, en Transylvanie aussi, par une large compétition interurbaine en ce qui concerne la construction des églises paroissiales, la Renaissance – appuyée par l'humanisme – a initié une architecture citadine conforme aux exigences accrues d'une époque en plein progrès.

Colonisés par des étapes successives, les Saxons – immigrants wallons, flamands et luxembourgeois – ont eu un rôle notable dans l'histoire de cette localité, contribuant à son développement progressif. L'exploitation des métaux précieux dans les mines de Rodna a représenté la principale source de prospérité de cette ville. Jusqu'en 1500, quand l'affluence de l'or du Nouveau Monde, moins cher, s'était fort ressentie sur les marchés européens, engendrant un effet inflationniste en défaveur des extractions continentales, les mines de Rodna ont préservé leur importance, suscitant même des

intérêts extra-locaux. Quelques princes moldaves, tels que Petru Rareș et Alexandre Lăpușneanul, ont émis des prétentions de possession à leur égard, et la célèbre maison commerciale des banquiers Függer d'Augsbourg a reçu même le droit de concession.

Favorisant le développement de la ville, l'état économique solide a eu un effet bénéfique sur le processus d'obtention de son autonomie, par des privilèges acquis dès 1330 et par l'accession au rang de *civitas* en 1349. En 1405 elle était une ville libre royale, avec une hiérarchie sociale dominée par les patriciens, à savoir les grands marchands et les artisans, qui étaient investis de fonctions importantes. La lutte des citoyens contre l'autorité politique et administrative de quelques *comes* rapaces, leur alliance avec la royauté, qui affichait une attitude bienveillante à leur égard, ont permis en 1467 la construction de quelques murailles d'enceinte solides, destinées à défendre la ville dans le cas d'incursions inopportunes. D'ailleurs, grâce à sa position un peu isolée, cette ville n'a pas généralement connu le danger des invasions étrangères.

C'est toujours grâce à sa position géographique que cette ville a gagné une grande importance dans le circuit commercial intérieur et extérieur. Bistrița, qui se trouvait au carrefour des grandes artères de circulation, a constitué un point de transit, tant vers le commerce moldave et polonais, que vers l'Occident et l'Europe méridionale. Elle a eu de bonnes relations aussi bien avec les colonies germaniques de Levoca et Cracovie, qu'avec les fameux centres sud-germaniques de

Nuremberg et Augsbourg. Cette ville s'est de la sorte transformée en un centre d'entremise, gagnant une importance européenne. Le jeu politique-économique impliquait des impulsions diverses, où l'éducation et la culture humaniste occupaient une place centrale. Ce fait est attesté par la présence des étudiants de Bistrița à l'université de Cracovie, d'où ils avaient accès aux universités de Vienne et de Wittenberg, ainsi qu'à celles sud-germaniques et italiennes.

Parvenant à un développement démographique d'environ 4.800 habitants, ce qui représentait à l'époque une proportion moyenne à niveau européen, Bistrița peut être encadrée au modèle de ville est-européenne, stimulée par des préoccupations édilitaires plus évoluées par rapport au bas gothique. Son nouvel aspect avait sa propre personnalité, suscitant l'admiration de Giovanni Botero, qui remarquait, dans ses impressions sur le voyage en Transylvanie, que Sibiu était la ville la plus importante, Cluj la plus populaire et Bistrița la plus belle.

Etablissant les corrélations adhérentes entre la structure, la morphologie et le décor, Mândrescu décrit avec précision le remplacement de l'alphabet gothique par celui de la Renaissance, comme dans le cas de la maison d'Andreas Beuchel. Il insiste par la suite sur les transformations de profil. Des portails avec fermeture semi-circulaire et des rosettes ornementales, mais surtout des encadrements, discrètement articulés par des pilastres qui appuient des corniches méticuleusement graduées, telles celles de la maison Peterman, sont présentés de manière comparative. Les analogies qui condu-

isent à la maison Altenberger de Sibiu ou à la maison Bernardus Pictor de Cluj élargissent la perspective stylistique. L'auteur mentionne également les irradiations stylistiques du centre de Bistrița aux églises rurales des environs, telles celles de Târpiu, Sângiorzu Nou et Vișoara.

Les comparaisons ne se limitent pas à la Transylvanie et s'étendent vers Cracovie (l'attique polonais-lombard de la Halle des marchands de drap) et vers Prague (le palais Schwarzenberg), qui s'apparentent par le fronton en style Renaissance des façades principales. Elevé sur quatre registres successivement retirés, un tel couronnement apparaît aussi sur la façade orientale de l'église évangélique de Bistrița, qui est gothique en ce qui concerne la structure et la morphologie.

Plusieurs chapitres insistent sur les artisans autochtones et sur leur rôle dans l'adaptation des formes en style Renaissance à l'architecture moldave au temps de Petru Rareș et Alexandre Lăpușneanul. L'auteur cite amplement les contributions qui attestent la présence des tailleurs en pierre de Bistrița à la cour princière de Hârlău, à la nécropole princière de Probota, à Baia, Slatina et dans d'autres centres monacaux. On peut ainsi voir l'aire impressionnante des collaborations. Luca, Adrian, Gheorghe ou Andrei, qui sont mentionnés dans les documents, signalent la présence fructueuse des artistes de Bistrița en Moldavie.

Un chapitre très intéressant vise Petrus Italus de Lugano, originaire de la région des lacs. Cette zone, qui se trouve à présent dans le canton méridional de la

Suisse, est située dans le voisinage de l'actuelle frontière avec l'Italie. Tout comme d'autres architectes, constructeurs et tailleurs en pierre de cette région, Petrus Italus a fait partie du groupe de formation vénitienne-lombarde. Traversant les itinéraires central et est-européens, ils se répandirent en Silésie et Polynie, s'arrêtant à Lwow et Cracovie, qui avaient antérieurement subi l'influence toscane. Parmi les nombreux ouvrages effectués par Petrus Italus à Lwow nous mentionnons l'église valaque, fondée entre 1547 et 1559 par Alexandre Lăpușneanul. L'originalité de ce monument, malheureusement disparu, consistait dans la fusion entre le style Renaissance et celui byzantin. Appelé à Bistrița, probablement par l'entremise du prince moldave, Italus s'est activement occupé, de 1560 à 1563, de la restauration de l'église évangélique, introduisant des rajouts novateurs.

L'auteur de ce volume analyse attentivement les ramifications stylistiques, diffusées par l'intermédiaire de certaines influences directes ou indirectes sur le territoire artistique de notre pays. Etablissant l'importance du centre de Bistrița, qui cristallise en bonne mesure les nouvelles directions, il dévoile ses valences créatrices. Une bibliographie très riche, qui constitue la source de centaines de notes, sert comme base documentaire. Des auteurs roumains, allemands, italiens, polonais, hongrois, minutieusement analysés, forment le socle informationnel de cet ouvrage.

Evitant les divagations descriptives en faveur des aspects fondamentaux, le style sobre augmente la clarté exemplaire de

cette exégèse. Le langage net et précis conduit la lecture vers des conclusions incontestables. La phrase est cadencée de manière linéaire, la présentation est éloquente, se dispensant de fioritures de style et de la rhétorique du discours. □

VIORICA GUY MARICA

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VASILE SEBASTIAN DÎNCU

**Comunicarea simbolică.**

**Arhitectura discursului publicitar**

(La communication symbolique.

L'architecture du discours publicitaire)

Cluj-Napoca, Ed. Dacia, 1999

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L'idée du livre de Vasile Sebastian Dîncu est que l'ordre social se forme par médiation symbolique, le symbole devenant par excellence une fonction de communication. Le comportement social des individus, cet amalgame de formalisme et de spontanéité, est le résultat d'une pré-compréhension symbolique du réel et peut être analysé par l'intermédiaire des symboles.

Tout événement est accompagné de plus en plus par les "moyens" qui le signalent, le diffusent et l'accréditent. Il est impossible de se tenir loin de l'information de masse ou de tenir l'information loin de soi. C'est pourquoi, le livre de Vasile Sebastian Dîncu s'arrête au discours publicitaire, qui opère avec la substance symbolique des sociétés de la modernité avancée. L'attention de l'auteur est dirigée vers la restructuration et la

reconstruction symbolique de la réalité par l'intermédiaire de la publicité. L'agent publicitaire non seulement mélange des sens fragmentés (fragments résultant de la dissolution des mythes), mais il cherche à unir le monde constitué sous aspect culturel et le produit de consommation, de sorte que le spectateur y entrevoie une similitude essentielle. Au moment de réalisation de cette équivalence symbolique, le transfert de sens du monde au produit est un fait accompli. Ce livre offre de nombreuses analyses amples et profondes, la construction de l'image publicitaire étant présentée dans tous ses détails. Un cas paradoxal est celui de "*l'image publicitaire dans les parfums*", c'est-à-dire la représentation en image d'un sens ineffable.

Le livre entreprend un va-et-vient permanent entre le niveau théorique de la définition du symbole et l'examen concret, n'hésitant pas à présenter en détail des études de cas, appuyées, évidemment, par les données offertes par les enquêtes de l'agence de sondage de l'opinion publique "*Metro Media Transilvania*", dont V.S. Dîncu est le directeur.

Le livre insiste sur l'idée d'une communication, qui consiste dans l'organisation des liens sociaux, dans la structuration de la vie quotidienne, dans la médiation symbolique, principalement celle proposée par le discours publicitaire, nécessitant, outre l'action technique par laquelle elle se propage, un plus de séduction, de contrôle. La publicité opère avec des "objets-image", qui ne se limitent pas à donner une simple information sur le

produit, mais en révèlent la "personnalité", "l'attitude".

L'auteur se soustrait à toute philosophie de la communication comme "ontologie du signe", étant plutôt attiré par une pragmatique du discours. Le symbole agit tant au niveau de l'imaginaire collectif que dans le cadre des mécanismes sociaux. La reconnaissance collective du lien entre le mot et le sens fait que la médiation symbolique mette en mouvement, simultanément, les idées, les moyens, les gens, les institutions.

L'auteur revient en revanche à une philosophie profonde, située dans la proximité de la philosophie des religions: une philosophie – ou anthropologie – bachelardienne-jungienne du symbole.

L'art du discours publicitaire post-moderne est le crépuscule du devoir, car l'éthique des obligations et de la volonté kantienne est morte. On s'attendrait donc à ce que V.S. Dîncu assume en totalité, comme positifs, les effets de la communication symbolique post-moderne, qui mise sur la séduction et sur la persuasion de l'inconscient. Mais il ne le fait pas: la transgression de la position de théoricien et praticien de la publicité dévoile la personnalité forte de l'auteur, par une critique sélective des effets de la publicité, quelles qu'elles soient: cachés ou évidents, politiques ou commerciaux.

L'auteur est conscient du fait que par le système de diffusion de la masse-média, les nouvelles dimensions de l'expérience transforment simultanément l'objet et les modes de connaissance, nous invitant à instaurer un nouveau jugement sur cet événement socio-culturel global.

□

OANA PUGHINEANU