

# Psychological Aspects Concerning Avram Iancu's Condition in the Years Following the 1848 Revolution

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**T**HE PERSONALITY of Avram Iancu (1824–1872), one of the most important leaders of the Transylvanian Romanians during the 1848 Revolution, received great attention from the Romanian intelligentsia during his lifetime, due to his involvement in the Romanians' fight for national emancipation. The majority of his contemporaries reported radical changes in his behavior during the last two decades of his life, later interpreted by the historians as a consequence of the disappointment which he had experienced during the 1848–1849 Revolution and in its aftermath. In our research we will analyze the main testimonies regarding Avram Iancu's condition from the perspective of evidence-based psychology, and we shall highlight the main emotional, cognitive and behavioral aspects that marked his condition during the last period of his life. Now we will present a few considerations about the main sources we used in our analysis and later on we shall present the psychological concepts we used.

Our sources are mainly the testimonies of Avram Iancu's contemporaries regarding his condition after the Revolution. From the large number of testimonies concerning his final years,<sup>1</sup> we selected only those which described his psychological condition and his behavior. We have relied especially on the testimonies belonging to personalities that knew him and were written in the studied period or immediately after his death. Other testimonies, written after 1872, were less utilized and we would refer to them only if they confirmed or infirmed a certain behavior. The most important sources for our research are the testimonies written by Alexandru Papiu-Ilarian, Dionisie Păscuțiu, George Barițiu and Axente Sever. We will now explain the importance of these sources and the context in which they were written.

Alexandru Papiu Ilarian was one of Avram Iancu's closest friends, as they had been colleagues at the Law School in Cluj and also at the Royal Court of Law in Târgu-Mureș. He was also an active supporter of the Romanian Revolution of 1848–1849, where he took part in the organization of the first two Blaj assemblies, and later on became a member of the Romanian National Committee. After the revolution he continued his legal studies in Vienna and Padua and then settled in the Romanian Principalities, where he played an important role as a journalist and a jurist.<sup>2</sup> His testimony about Avram Iancu is the subject of two letters written in 1855, on 13 October and 12 November, to his friends Simion Bărnuțiu and August Treboniu Laurian. These important sources were published for the first time in 1972 by the historians Ioan Chidriș and Iosif Pervain,<sup>3</sup> togeth-

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er with an unsent version of the second letter.<sup>4</sup> Their complete publication during the communist period was not possible due to the censorship that forbade their publication in 1968 because of certain passages considered slanderous for the memory of Avram Iancu.<sup>5</sup>

We consider that Papiu's testimony about Avram Iancu's condition is the most important, not just because of the rich information offered about his problems in 1855, but also because of the context of its drafting. Although it is possible that the sender considered the publication of his letters in some journal in Iași, as Ioan Chindriș and Iosif Pervain suggested, because of the attention given to the improvement of the texts,<sup>6</sup> we didn't find any evidence that these writings were published at the time. We believe that in 1855 such a text would have been difficult to publish even in Moldavia, due to the high popularity of Avram Iancu. Considering that these letters were addressed to Bărnuțiu, Laurian and probably to others of their close friends, we believe that this testimony presents the facts in a very realistic way, closer to the truth than other testimonies that were drafted in other circumstances.

The second source used for our research is the testimony of Dionisie Păscuțiu (1825–1902), a philologist and a much respected publicist of his time, former Romanian teacher at the gymnasium of Oradea and then lawyer in Buteni and Făget.<sup>7</sup> He recounted a meeting he had with Avram Iancu in Hălmagiu, on 3 September 1871, which was published in *Familia* magazine (in Pest).<sup>8</sup> His testimony is important because it presents Avram Iancu's condition one year before his death. He describes two very intriguing episodes, including some sensorial experiences Iancu told him he had, which could be interpreted as hallucinations. Although we don't know when he met Iancu for the first time, because Păscuțiu didn't participate in the 1848–1849 Revolution, we can see that he held him great esteem for his past actions, considering that all his efforts served the emancipation of the Romanian nation.<sup>9</sup>

The third relevant testimony belongs to George Barițiu (1812–1893), one of the most prominent Romanian journalists of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, who played an important role in the 1848–1849 Romanian Revolution, as a member of the Romanian National Committee and of several Romanian delegations to the authorities. After the revolution, George Barițiu continued his cultural and journalistic activity, becoming a member of the astra association in 1861 and of the Romanian Academic Society in 1866.<sup>10</sup> His testimony about Avram Iancu is a part of an article dedicated to the former revolutionary leader a few months after his death and was published in November 1872, in *Transilvania* magazine (Brașov).<sup>11</sup> It was a moment when the memory of Iancu and of his deeds was still very present in the mind of his contemporaries, who were deeply impressed by his death.

The last important testimony used in our research belongs to Ioan Axente Sever (1821–1906), one of Iancu's closest friends, a former prefect of the Blaj legion during the 1848–1849 Revolution and later on a deputy in the Transylvanian Diet between 1863 and 1865.<sup>12</sup> In 1873, Axente Sever published an article in *Gazeta de Transilvania* (Brașov) about Avram Iancu and his role in the 1848–1849 Romanian Revolution, in which he presented a few considerations about his condition in his last years.<sup>13</sup>

To correctly interpret these testimonies, we must always be aware that Avram Iancu gained a huge prestige in the eyes of his contemporaries due to his role in the 1848 events, thus becoming a symbol of the Romanian nation. This is the reason why, when they referred to the changes in his behavior, the Romanian intelligentsia was cautious, because they didn't want to offend the national pride.<sup>14</sup> Thus we can explain Papiu Ilarian's efforts in minimizing the dysfunctional traits of his friend's behavior: "Without any reproach for this world, I couldn't say that Iancu is mad. The only thing I say is that I am amazed that, after all that he has suffered, this man is not completely ruined. And if he can keep the sanity of his mind, given the mockery and deprivations that afflicted him, then I would be forced to confess that Iancu was more than an extraordinary man."<sup>15</sup>

Axente Sever completely denied any dysfunctional behavior that could be linked to Avram Iancu, in his article published in 1873: “Since 1852, bad people, who never knew Iancu closely, who didn’t know his aspirations and his desires and couldn’t explain their consequences, named it madness. I have met him several times, I’ve hosted him in my house for six weeks. He never told me a single mad word and I didn’t see the smallest sign of madness in his behavior.”<sup>16</sup>

After this presentation of the sources, in what follows we shall present the psychological apparatus used to interpret these sources.

It was said that in his last years Avram Iancu was mad. First, we would like to define the construct of mental disorder as described in the DSM 5 (Diagnosis and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders): “It is a syndrome characterized by clinically significant disturbance in an individual’s cognition, emotion regulation, or behavior that reflects a dysfunction in the psychological, biological, or developmental processes underlying mental functioning. Mental disorders are usually associated with significant distress or disability in social, occupational, or other important activities.”<sup>17</sup>

In order to better understand how a mental disorder is developed, psychologists use conceptualization models. One such model is the stress-vulnerability one, proposed by Joseph Zubin and Bonnie Spring in 1977.<sup>18</sup> It can specify why some people present a higher risk of developing an emotional disorder.<sup>19</sup>

Now we will define the key terms of the model. Vulnerability is the element which raises or decreases a person’s chances to develop certain disorders when he/she is confronted with certain stressors.<sup>20</sup> This component can include genetic, biologic, physiologic, cognitive or personality factors.<sup>21</sup>

Stress can be defined from a clinical point of view as an interaction between an activating event (stimulus) and our cognitive system, an interaction which, through the demands it imposes on our system, overtaxes the organism’s resources.<sup>22</sup> Some stressors are related with daily problems, as we shall see, also in the case of Avram Iancu.<sup>23</sup> It’s important to mention that some events are considered stressors for most people, as a consequence of filo-onto-genetic evolution, so they allow us to make predictions regarding the way most people would react in a certain situation. There are, though, individual elements in processing an event, related to personal resources such as resilience. Some people might not be affected by an event which would affect most people.<sup>24</sup> The ratio between the intensity of stressful events and vulnerability is different in different disorders.<sup>25</sup>

Further, we will use the grid offered by the model we presented to describe the evolution of the psychological state of Avram Iancu, in the period which followed the Revolution of 1848–1849. We will describe the stressors in his life, as they are presented by the sources. Not having access to the thoughts he had regarding these events, we have to take into consideration the memoirs his close friends left us and a series of deductions, taking into consideration what we earlier mentioned—some stressors might have similar outcomes for the majority of the people.

These factors will be grouped into three categories in chronological order: factors before the 1848 Revolution, those that manifested themselves during the events that happened in 1848 and 1849, and factors that followed the revolution.

Regarding the period before the revolution, there are memoirs of his contemporaries about his main interest in the peasant problem in Transylvania. His friend Iosif Sterca Șuluțiu remembered an incident that happened on 15 January 1847 when he attended one of the Diet meetings together with Iancu. He describes a reaction the future prefect had upon hearing the debates on the peasant problem: “he moaned like a bull and he was trembling, when a seizure and nervous fit got him: he was shaking with fever.”<sup>26</sup> The revolution meant new challenges for Avram Iancu, as he was actively involved in its progress in the spring of 1848. He was involved in the

preparation of the first manifestos of the young clerks from Târgu-Mures, he participated in the popular assemblies which took place in Blaj and he was mainly affected by the radicalization of the Hungarians against the Romanians. Following the events in Mihalț at the beginning of June, Avram Iancu and many other young Romanian leaders gathered on 6 June at Câmpeni to organize the peasant army.<sup>27</sup>

After the third Blaj assembly, together with his legion, Auraria Gemina, Iancu fought to disarm the Hungarian guards in the autumn months of the year 1848. The advance of the Hungarian army in the spring of the next year sent the National Committee into refuge and the fight for the conquest of the Western Carpathians intensified until the summer of 1849, when the Hungarian army surrendered to the Russian troops. Avram Iancu was the main leader of the mountain resistance, having many military, legally and administrative obligations.

We don't know if this enormous responsibility influenced his mental state, but great disappointments came after the end of the hostilities, because of the way the Habsburg authorities managed the Romanian problem. The imperial authorities and officers regarded the former Romanian prefects with suspicion, for they had great influence over the peasants. These fears eventually led to the arrest of Axente Sever in November 1849 and the attempt to arrest Avram Iancu, in Hălmagiu, on 15 December of the same year.<sup>28</sup>

In February and August 1850, the former prefect was among the Romanian delegates who went to Vienna in order to discuss the political rights of the Romanian people. As we know, these visits did not bring anything and Avram Iancu refused as a sign of protest the high decoration which Emperor Franz Joseph wanted him to receive and in exchange he received the Russian decoration. In February 1851 he was forced to leave Vienna under the threat of the police.<sup>29</sup>

The most serious problem Avram Iancu had to face was the conflict between the fiscal authorities and the peasants of the Western Carpathians, regarding ownership over the forests, which were particularly important for the traditional economic activities of this population. Supporting the peasants, their former leader invested time and energy in writing memoirs and meetings with the authorities. These interventions eventually determined his second arrest in 1852. After refusing to meet the emperor during his July visit, Avram Iancu became suspicious for the authorities. On August 1852, he asked his former tribunes Mihai Andreica and Dionisie Darabant to refuse the registration as property of the authorities of the forest claimed by the Romanian peasants. This refusal determined the authorities to arrest them on 17 August and Iancu was escorted to Alba Iulia by the gendarmes.<sup>30</sup>

The episode of his detention in Alba-Iulia and mostly the humiliating treatment he had to endure from an official named Hoehn, who also assaulted him, was the beginning of his mental decline. The memoirs of his close ones, and also the reconstruction of the historians, state that his behavior was radically changed. We shall further try to see what psychological elements could explain his behavior in his last 20 years.<sup>31</sup>

It also seems that Iancu had moments when his economic situation was pretty dire and he also had difficulties with his family. Many times his family environment was characterized by disputes, and after his father's death on 3 October 1855 there are also references to problems regarding the sharing of the inheritance.<sup>32</sup> His good friend Alexandru Papiu Ilarian summed up his state in negative terms: "Iancu has no shirt to wear, no shelter where to sleep overnight, no bread to eat and not a single penny, except the kreutzers for tobacco and brandy, which the peasants give to him when they go to the Câmpeni market."<sup>33</sup> Papiu Ilarian witnessed a delicate familial scene in the house of Alisandru Iancu and noted the inappropriate behavior his family had towards him:

*His mother insisted that Iancu had to change his clothes. "Look, darling, I've made a new pair of shirts for you." The shirts were traditional for the "Moți" people, made of thick homespun*



*cloth. Iancu refused to wear the traditional shirt and his mother asked for the father's help. In that moment, his father and priest Lepedeu started to shout at him and threaten him with a whip. Iancu was only listening. I observed them, why were they doing things that would make a normal person go mad? They answered me that it was the only way to convince a madman. I forgot to mention that Iancu is insulted and threatened not only in his home, but also in Câmpeni.*<sup>34</sup>

These problematic relations with his family might have been factors that supported and maintained the psychological difficulties he had. Though he had tense relations with his family and maybe with some villagers, we have sufficient evidence about the sympathy shown by the peasants of Zarand Country, where he spent most of his last years.

The second component of the stress-vulnerability model is the vulnerability. We don't have many references regarding genetic or biologic vulnerabilities in the case of Avram Iancu. There are nevertheless some sources which describe a high emotional reactivity. A testimony of Iosif Sterca șuluțiu from 1891 describes a quarrel between Iancu and his Hungarian colleagues, who did not recognize the Romanian origins of Mathias Corvinus and his father, Iancu (John) Hunyadi.<sup>35</sup>

Now we will present the testimonies featured in the consulted sources which describe various relevant episodes in the last 20 years of Iancu's life. In order to do so, we shall group the testimonies on four levels of analysis, which psychologists use for the description of diverse psychological phenomena. The first level of analysis is the cognitive one and includes the conscious or unconscious thoughts that usually characterize us. Thoughts are considered in the cognitive-behavioral paradigm in psychology to be the most important determinants of the affective-emotional, behavioral and psychophysiological responses.

A second level is the psychophysiological one and it refers to the changes that happen in our body. The third level is the behavioral one, which implies the operant behavior, the actions one can observe from the outside. The fourth level is the affective one, which includes a person's emotions. Their quality is assured by the cognitive level and the physiological level determines their intensity.<sup>36</sup>

The sources we consulted didn't offer us much information about the psychophysiological level.

Regarding the cognitive level there are few accounts which present some problematic thoughts, because the sources usually present his behavior and the description of relevant situations. In his contemporaries' view, the 1852 episode had a significant effect on Iancu, many accounts presenting the frightening thoughts he later had, and these thoughts seem to continue to appear over time. The first account belongs to George Barițiu, describing some meetings in 1865, when the great journalist tried to convince him to become a lawyer again: "Up to a point Iancu spoke to me, as it is said, maturely, he answered precisely like any man with a sane mind; suddenly, fixing his gaze on me, he said: Hm, would you like the Austrians to arrest me again?"<sup>37</sup>

This kind of thoughts had been noticed by his close friends also after his detention in 1852, Avram Iancu having a big fear to the possibility of being imprisoned again: "The scene from the steam baths, Iancu's sad cry in the baths and in [Ilie] Măcelariu's house and his painful scream: 'Don't leave me, don't leave me because the gendarmes will get me' . . . After he woke up, he started to ask for brandy, as if he tried to numb his grief!"<sup>38</sup> This account, belonging also to George Barițiu, contains valuable information about alcohol consumption, a behavior we shall return to when discussing the behavioral level.

The thoughts above are specific to post-traumatic stress disorder, a condition described by DSM 5 and in which "exposure to a traumatic/stressful event is listed explicitly as a diagnostic criterion. The reactions one has following exposure to a traumatic event are quite variable. In some cases, symptoms can be well understood within an anxiety/fear based context. Though, sometimes one can present anhedonic and dysphoric symptoms, externalizing aggressive symptoms or dissociative symptoms."<sup>39</sup>

The few letters which were kept nevertheless reflect his coherence and significant understanding of the problems discussed. The coherence is maintained even in one of his last letters, at least one that we can now read, written in 1871, a letter where he mentions the necessity of Romanians helping each other, in order to evolve together with other nations.<sup>40</sup> This letter is in contradiction with the situation presented by Păscuțiu, who said that Avram Iancu could not coherently describe either his own facts or the ones during the revolution: “He can’t recount accurately any of his deeds, as they happened and as I’ve seen written in histories.”<sup>41</sup>

Another relevant piece of Avram Iancu’s correspondence is a letter to Ilie Măcelariu, which he passed on to Eugen von Friedenfels. It presents a depressive symptom—hopelessness and the fear that expressing some thoughts would harm his nation: “How can you ask me what I hope and how I feel? I answer: The time of my hopes has passed and my faith is that of the snake, to whom nature ordered to defend its head; but don’t believe I’m telling this to defend my miserable life, no, because I risked my life several times in 1848 and 1849 for my beloved nation and my faith in the emperor; it is for this beloved nation, which cries because of her burdens, and it would break my heart if, by revealing my true beliefs, I would put it in greater peril.”<sup>42</sup>

Before continuing the sources analysis, we’d like to make a few mentions regarding depression. “Major depressive disorder is characterized by discrete episodes of at least 2 weeks’ duration involving clear-cut changes in affect, cognition, and neurovegetative functions and it usually appears when one is confronted with a loss. A diagnosis based on a single episode is possible, although the disorder is a recurrent one in the majority of cases.” There are many specific criteria that need to be present in order to put this diagnosis, and for further information about them see dsm 5.<sup>43</sup>

The subjective level, as we have said, refers to the emotions we feel. Memoirs that describe his reaction after his detention in 1852 reveal anxiety. Those quotes have already been included once, so we shall not repeat them. A depressive mood also appears in the testimonies. One such example is Axente Sever’s testimony related to his attempt to prevent him from consuming alcohol: “Leave me brother, because only this way I can overcome the pain and the grief that rest inside me.”<sup>44</sup>

Memoirs which describe his sorrow were left by George Barițiu, who visited him in October 1852, when he was still in Ilie Măcelariu’s home: “I found Iancu pretty peaceful or calm, quiet and overwhelmed by grief, like a man who had received the most painful of fate’s blows and no secret or anything that would look like a secret ever came out of his mouth.”<sup>45</sup> Before describing the last level—the behavioral one, we’d like to discuss two fragments presented by Dionise Păscuțiu about his meeting with Avram Iancu, fragments which describe two events that seem to be hallucinations:

*One night, when he went to sleep outdoors, we couldn’t fall asleep and he wondered why there were no stars to be seen on the clear sky. Suddenly, at midnight, the sky sounded like cannon shots and he saw written on the sky the words: Christianity is no more! And in that moment the stars multiplied on the sky and they began hitting one another and falling on the ground like a heavy rain, creating a huge fire, and forcing the frightened Iancu to run so as not to get burned . . . When we spoke about fishing, he told me that one day a big snake appeared to him, with a crown on his head, which told him that in that crown there was a big diamond. So he hurried to catch the snake and he was close to getting it, because the snake was playing with him and waited for him to come closer. When he was about to catch the snake, it hit the ground with its tail and a big electric light appeared, which blinded him and he never saw the snake again.*<sup>46</sup>

Hallucinations are sensations which appear to be real but are created by the human mind. They can affect seeing, smelling, hearing and the tactile sense. Hallucinations can appear in many contexts such as mental disorders (schizophrenia, dementia, delusion disorder, depressive disorder with

psychotic symptoms, schizo-affective disorder, brief psychotic disorder) in the case of substance abuse (alcohol, drugs etc.). Lack of sleep can also be a cause of hallucinations.<sup>47</sup> Regarding the two fragments that would reflect Iancu's hallucinations, we have to be cautious in our interpretation. The first one could have been only a dream, mostly because it happened at night. The second fragment might be a metaphor for an image of the royalty or the emperor, especially given the reference to the crown. Dionisie Păscuțiu mentioned that at first he thought that Iancu was speaking in riddles, but he was eventually convinced that the hero's state was indeed bad. He realized this when he heard Iancu talking very seriously about a cow of his that he had waited for to give birth for twenty one years.<sup>48</sup>

The last level is the behavioral level and the sources refer to two main maladaptive behaviors—alcohol consumption and carelessness in dressing. The first one appears to be a coping behavior, as declared by Iancu himself: "Leave me brother, because only this way I can overcome the pain and the grief that rest inside me." Other representative references to this behavior are the following: "They all drank, only Iancu at the beginning didn't drink too much, but after a while he started drinking and I can assure you that he alone drank as much as all the others combined. Despite this, believe me that, except for me, because I didn't drink, Iancu appeared to be the most sober."<sup>49</sup>

The last testimony belongs to Alexandru Papiu Ilarian and he usually minimizes the maladaptiveness of this behavior. Also, Eugen von Friedenfels wrote—drawing on information received from Ilie Măcelariu—that while Iancu was a student and during the revolution he despised the use of alcohol, but this eventually became common practice.<sup>50</sup>

Other sources tell us that it is possible that Iancu had been drinking too much even before. The historian Silviu Dragomir wrote about a document found among the papers belonging to the lawyer Augustin Rațiu of Turda, in which Iancu's mother asked for a tutor for her son, invoking the inclination towards drinking which the young man had acquired while being a student in Cluj.<sup>51</sup>

Another problematic behavior is his carelessness in dressing. Alexandru Papiu Ilarian wrote to Bărnuțiu and Laurian, repeating the declaration of a local witness: "a few gentlemen called for Iancu and asked him nicely not to embarrass us . . . not to walk dressed in rags, not to sleep today in a place and tomorrow in another, not to spend his time in pubs because otherwise we would be forced to report him to the higher authorities and demand his hospitalization in an asylum."<sup>52</sup> A testimony of Papiu in the same letter also refers to his personal lack of care: "His powers appear to have weakened. His face is tumid and pale. His beard has not been shaved for several weeks. His eyes were too passionate. His looks were full of mistrust towards every man."<sup>53</sup> The two problematic behaviors appear in depressive disorders and also in psychotic disorders.

As we have shown above, the sources describe problematic aspects of Avram Iancu's condition on all the four levels of analysis. We shall quote a fragment from George Barițiu's article which we consider relevant for the impression created by Avram Iancu's behavior in those times: "Iancu's misery was not caused by a shocking event but, as for other individuals of extraordinary wit, a number of psychological causes contributed for some time, until he collapsed."<sup>54</sup>

George Barițiu realized that even though Avram Iancu had faced a lot of difficulties his state was not caused by a particular event, but each event added a bit of distress and the state of the hero worsened gradually. Another important aspect has to do with the goals and hopes he had, expressed in promises to his people, of which too few were accomplished following the revolution. It is possible that this fact might have had a great impact on him and the failure in attaining them was a great disappointment.

When considering the sources through these psychological lenses, we referred from time to time to certain mental diseases when discussing certain behaviors or emotions. Regarding this aspect

we'd like to specify that we cannot diagnose Avram Iancu's mental state because the analyzed period is too extensive and mental disorders usually evolve and transform as time passes by. The criteria for different mental disorders are rather specific, when considering the necessary time for symptoms to be present and also the specific symptoms included. The sources do present some behaviors we consider maladaptive, such as alcohol consumption and carelessness in dressing, as well as dysfunctional emotional and cognitive patterns such as depressive moods, anxiety, melancholy, lack of hope and possibly some hallucinations. Mostly, though, these are testimonies from different times and are insufficient according to the criteria we have for several disorders. Lately, however, the nosologic diagnosis has been quite criticized and new approaches are developed in order to better understand, explain and efficiently intervene in psychological problems.<sup>55</sup>

As a conclusion, the factors that contribute to psychological well-being or disability are diverse, the causality being extremely complex, including genetic or biologic factors as well as environment factors or factors regarding the person (personality, cognitive factors). They usually interact, writing a colored life story, with different nuances throughout a person's becoming, but a very human story. The story of Avram Iancu's life touches us with the richness of his experiences, from engaging in combat alongside his tumultuous generation, in order to obtain political rights for the nation he loved so much, to the tragedy of his last years, marked by melancholy and deep psychological pain.



## Notes

1. An analysis of these testimonies can be consulted in the monograph Florian Dudaș, *Avram Iancu în tradiția poporului român* (Timișoara: Facla, 1989), 231–283.
2. For the life and work of Alexandru Papiu Ilarian see Silviu Dragomir, *Avram Iancu* (Cluj-Napoca: Eikon, 2012), 94–97; Ioan Chindriș, *Ideologia revoluționară a lui Alexandru Papiu Ilarian* (Bucharest: România Press, 2002), 13–19; Maria Totu, ed., *Bărbai ai datoriei (1848–1849): mic dicționar* (Bucharest: Ed. Militară, 1984), 198–199.
3. Ioan Chindriș and Iosif Pervain, *Correspondența lui Alexandru Papiu Ilarian*, vol. 1 (Cluj: Dacia, 1972), 80–92.
4. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, 430–433.
5. Ion Zainea, *Cenzura istoriei, istoria cenzurată: documente (1966–1972)* (Oradea: Ed. Universității din Oradea, 2006), 72 and 234–235.
6. Chindriș and Pervain, 458.
7. Dumitru Tomoni, *Făget: monografie istorică* (Lugoj: Dacia Europa Nova, 1999), 296–299; Octavian Lupaș, “Dionisie Păscuțiu: omul și opera,” *Hotarul*, 3–4 (Arad, 1933): 9–10. Neither author mentioned the year of Păscuțiu's death, which is mentioned only in Traian Mager, *Ținutul Hălmașului*, vol. 2 (Arad: Tiparul Tipografiei Diecezane, 1937), in the chapter “Revoluția de la 1848: rolul și cultul lui Buteanu” (found online at <http://www.darnick.com/halmagiu/revolutia1848.html>, accessed on 9 January 2015).
8. Dionisie Păscuțiu, “Avram Iancu: starea lui de acum și visiunile sale,” *Familia* 7, 36 (5/17 September 1871): 422–423.
9. Păscuțiu, 434–435.
10. Liviu Botezan, Ela Cosma, Ionuț Isac, Attila Varga, *Dicționar al personalităților Revoluției de la 1848–1849 din Banat și Transilvania: Chipuri dintr-un an de neuitat* (Bucharest: Ed. Academiei Române, 2008), 18–25.
11. George Barițiu, “Avram Iancu,” *Transilvania* 5, 21 (1 November 1872): 243–245; 22 (15 November): 253–258. This article was also published in Pompiliu Teodor, *Avram Iancu în memorialistică* (Cluj: Dacia, 1972), 103–120.
12. Botezan et al., 388–389; Totu, 20.
13. Teodor, 123–126.



14. Sorin Mitu, *Geneza identității naționale la românii ardeleni* (Bucharest: Humanitas, 1997), 99–100.
15. Chindris and Pervain, 1: 91.
16. Teodor, 126.
17. Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders: DSM-5, 5<sup>th</sup> edition (Washington–London: American Psychiatric Association, 2013), 20. Online <https://psicovalero.files.wordpress.com/2014/11/dsm-v-ingles-manual-diagn3b3stico-y-estadc3adstico-de-los-trastornos-mentales.pdf>.
18. Joseph Zubin and Bonnie Spring. “Vulnerability: A New View of Schizophrenia,” *Journal of Abnormal Psychology* 86, 2 (1977): 103.
19. K. Oatley, D. Keltner, J. M. Jenkins, “Emotions and Mental Health in Adulthood,” in *Understanding Emotions* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), 353–383.
20. Rick E. Ingram and David D. Luxton, “Vulnerability-Stress Models,” in *Development of Psychopathology: A Vulnerability Stress Perspective*, eds. Benjamin L. Hankin, John R. Z. Abela (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2005), 32–46.
21. C. K. Sigelman and E. A. Rider, “Developmental Psychopathology,” in *Life-span Human Development* (Belmont: Wadsworth Cengage Learning, 2009), 468–495; Oatley et al., 353–383.
22. Daniel David, *Tratat de psihoterapii cognitive și comportamentale* (Iași: Polirom, 2012), 137.
23. Oatley et al., 353–383.
24. David, 137–138.
25. Ibid., 137.
26. Dudaș, 37.
27. Ibid., 58.
28. Dragomir, 361.
29. Ibid., 369–370.
30. Ibid., 373–381.
31. The best historical studies about the last two decades of Avram Iancu’s life belong to the historians Silviu Dragomir, 383–397, and Dudaș, 231–283.
32. Dudaș, 240–242.
33. Chindriș and Pervain, 1: 92.
34. Ibid., 88.
35. Dudaș, 30. We also know the testimony of an anonymous peasant from Avram Iancu’s village, published in 1922 by Alexandru Ciura, which related how the hero attempted to hit with an axe another peasant who provoked him by asking what the peasants had gained after the 1848–1849 Revolution. According to the witness, other people stopped Iancu from hurting his opponent. Due to the fact that this testimony was published fifty years after the hero’s death, we can doubt the reliability of these facts. See Alexandru Ciura, “Amintiri despre Avram Iancu,” *Transilvania* 53, 11–12 (1922): 726–729.
36. David, 69, 94, 97, 105.
37. Ibid., 118.
38. Ibid., 116–117.
39. *dsm-5*, 265.
40. Liviu Maior, *Avram Iancu—scrisori* (Cluj-Napoca: Dacia, 1972), 120.
41. Păscuțiu, 423.
42. Ioan Ranca, *Avram Iancu pe baricadele Apusenilor: Relatări contemporane ale unor apropiați și adversari* (Târgu-Mureș: Pax Historica, 1996), 240.
43. *dsm-5*, 155
44. Teodor, 126.
45. Ibid., 118.
46. Păscuțiu, 422.
47. <http://www.healthline.com/symptom/hallucinations>, accessed on 11.01.2015.
48. Păscuțiu, 422–423.
49. Chindriș and Pervain, 1: 84.
50. Ranca, 235.
51. Dragomir, 395.

52. Chindriș and Pervain, 1: 81.
53. Ibid., 83.
54. Teodor, 112–113.
55. Beatrice A. Wright, Shane J. Lopez, “Widening the Diagnostic Focus—A Case for Including Human Strengths and Environmental Resources,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Positive Psychology*, eds. Shane J. Lopez and C.R. Snyder, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 71–89.

### **Abstract**

#### **Psychological Aspects Concerning Avram Iancu’s Condition in the Years Following the 1848 Revolution**

The present study represents an interdisciplinary attempt to solve an important problem of Romanian historiography: the last years of Avram Iancu’s life. From 1852 until his death, 20 years later (10 September 1872), the mental state of the former military leader of the Romanians gradually deteriorated. We will try to see which were the stressors, the psychological vulnerability elements and the way they interacted after the Revolution of 1848–1849 and until the end of his life to influence his behavior, his emotional states and the interaction with others, using some of the most recent findings in cognitive psychology. From a historical point of view, our research is based on contemporary accounts of his condition and the letters he sent, to the extent that they have survived.

### **Keywords**

Avram Iancu, psychology, mental state, revolution, depression, anxiety