

Romanians and Hungarians in the Revolution of 1848 in Transylvania

(Contributions to the Study
of the Social Imaginary)

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The inventory of the symbols and myths to be found in the social imaginary during the revolution of 1848 in Transylvania confirms that the phenomena of crisis or breach are also major producers of mythological effervescence.

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The revolution of 1848-1849 in Transylvania has aroused the special interest of Romanian, Hungarian and German historians, both as a result of the fact that the three nations have lived together in the same political and administrative unit¹, and of their competitive and even conflicting relations during the events in question. As L. Boia recently pointed out, Romanian historiography is presently in a process of critical revision which cannot ignore the relationship between the imaginary and history².

From a global perspective, the imaginary, as a social, collective and historical phenomenon, consists of all the representations, projections, visions, utopias and myths existing at the level of collective consciousness. In the last analysis, the imaginary can be considered the subjective expression of the illusion-, dream- and symbol-producing collective consciousness³. The complexity of the revolution of 1848 in Transylvania urges the contemporary

historical research – beyond the efforts of recovering yet unpublished new first-rate information sources – to resume the issue on the basis of this new documentary corpus, in a factual, positive manner, as well as to reinterpret the evolution of events both at the level of the elites and that of the large masses of people involved in the revolution. From this perspective, we subscribe to T. Nicoară's remark that the contemporary historian must accept the idea that, to a certain extent, the social imaginary is inherent to any restorative approach, and can be identified even in certain fields that have been approached until recently in a traditional manner⁴.

During the revolution of 1848-1849, it was not just interests and socio-political groups that clashed in Transylvania, but also national interests, nations in full process of asserting their own identity. That is why, for the political language as well as for the collective mind, this resulted in new distorted and exaggerated clichés⁵. These have prevailed quite often to the prejudice of more subtle representations, which are, therefore, closer to historical reality. That is why, it is necessary to carry out a study of the inter-human as well as interethnic relations during the revolution from the perspective of imagology, both according to the dimension it inherited from the preceding decades, and to the dimension it got in the course of events⁶.

The present study aims at identifying several of the clichés that were widely circulated in the field of the social imaginary during the revolution of 1848 in Transylvania. In accordance with the division into periods suggested by specialists, we shall focus in the following pages on the first stage of the revolution, the interval between March and September 1848. The period in question holds a distinct place in the development of the Romanian revolution: the definition of its program, tactic and alliances was naturally marked by a series of diverse attitudes, which asks for a more subtle analysis of the *other's* image⁷.

Our excursion in the field of the social imaginary and the revolutionary mentalities is not unprecedented. In the last few years, several noteworthy endeavours have been carried out, and we shall use their partial results. Unlike the other undertakings in this field, we have tried to turn to account new historical sources, published as well as unpublished, such as the cross-examinations and the results of the official investigations carried out by Transylvanian central and local authorities during the above-mentioned period.

The testimonies of the investigated peasants, obtained more than once under pressure and even terror by the authorities, reveal a complex range of feelings: fear associated with hate, hope mixed with cheerfulness. However, the depositions of the elite differ from those of the simple people. At this point we notice a shocking similarity with the memorialistic literature of the revolution of 1848⁸. Both the depositions and the memoirs of those coming from a rural environment depict the naked facts, and reproduce the direct – and often irrational – remarks of the participants. The elite's testimonies taken during the investigations as well as its memoirs are carefully phrased, disclose a bookish spirit, while feeling is strongly stumped by ideology and culture.

Irrespective of intellectual or socio-political environment, the testimonies of the cross-examined persons represent a field of collective emotional releases that sketch an impressive phantasmagoric imaginary. As in the time of the French Revolution at the end of the 18th century, in Transylvania too, the cross-examined witnesses acted as bearers of the oral or written rumours that circulated from one place to another. The revolution of 1848-1849 in Transylvania registered an unprecedented increase in the phenomenon of rumours, which is why the trials and the hearings of the witnesses contributed to the enriching and the transmission of a phantasmagoric universe⁹.

In the Central and South-East European area, and naturally in Transylvania too, the revolution of 1848 was dominated by two dimensions: the social and the national one. The programs and the political actions of the peoples in this region were subordinated, with few exceptions, to the social and national goals¹⁰. That is why the depositions of the witnesses cross-examined in Transylvania, between March and September 1848, fully reflect the social and national character of the revolution. The intensity of one or the other of the two components varies according to the timing of the cross-examination with respect to the progress of events, to the amplitude of the action as well as the effects that led to the inquiry, also according to the authorities' interest in investigating certain aspects, etc.

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The constant ubiquity of certain clichés and mental patterns in these depositions proves how difficult it is to separate the truth from everything that the individual or collective memory reproduced. The inventory of the symbols and myths to be found in the social imaginary during the revolution of 1848 in Transylvania confirms that the phenomena of crisis or breach are also major producers of mythological effervescence. Thus, in the last two centuries, the mythological ensembles that dominated the political imaginary were: *the conspiracy*, *the saviour*, *the golden age* and *the unity*¹¹.

L• *The conspiracy*, a major component of the social imaginary, was manifest in a variety of forms during the revolution of 1848 in Transylvania. The more intense the fear and insecurity of an individual or community, the stronger the belief that all misfortunes that occurred (or are about to occur) are the result of vast conspiracies, supported by certain networks inside the very community¹². We notice the obsession of the plot both on the level of the power holder and on the level of those that were excluded from power.

At the respective time, the theory of the conspiracy of the other ethnic groups against the Romanians was one of the themes to be found in the social imaginary during the process of crystallization of the Transylvanian Romanians' national identity, as S. Mitu recently showed¹³. The Romanians' political status, their economical and cultural back-

wardness were considered by quite a number of representatives of the cultural elite, the result of a conspiracy of the Magyars and Saxons to keep the Romanians in inferiority. We shall present several examples illustrating the obsession of the conspiracy during the revolution on the level of the ruling class, especially the representatives of the Hungarian nobility and authorities.

At the beginning of the revolution, one of the peasants' main forms of protest against the old regime was their refusal to obey the old nobiliary authorities, while in the communities dominated ethnically by the Romanians, it was their claim to have a Romanian administration¹⁴. Seized by panic, the authorities tried to accredit the idea that such actions were the result of a conspiracy, of a larger plan of getting rid of the Hungarian civil servants. Thus, at Vărșand (Arad County), the majoritarian Romanian population wanted to replace the village notary Udvardy Károly with a Romanian one, due to the former's abuses. The arrogant, insulting attitude of the nobiliary judge who was sent to Vărșand to investigate the problem triggered a real revolt, so that he and the notary were brutalized and could only save themselves by fleeing¹⁵. Apparently, the events at Vărșand are circumscribed to a natural reaction in moments of crisis or tension. While saying nothing about the provocative attitude of the nobiliary judge who gathered the villagers and cross-examined them on Easter day, the committee draws the conclusion that "the whole community plotted to drive the notary away"¹⁶.

On the level of the Transylvanian ruling political class, the obsession of the conspiracy was accompanied by an older cliché, present as early as Horea's revolt¹⁷: the emperor in Vienna is the one who incites the Romanians, he is the one who wants to grant them rights. The image of the Austrian that instigates the Romanians, as well as the blaming of the peasants' revolts and the assembly of Blaj, etc. on the agents provocateur in the service of the emperor, appeared frequently during the revolution¹⁸.

Willingly or not, the Romanian leaders themselves contributed through their actions to the appearance of such stereotypes. Thus, the investigation carried out in the Western Carpathians by the province councillor Kozma Pál, in June-July 1848, provides sufficient proof in this respect. According to witness no. 27, the miner Jánki György from Roșia Montană, the Greek-Catholic priest Simion Balint came to a miners' meeting, and when he was asked under whose order he was travelling through the villages and instigated their inhabitants, he answered "under higher order". However, when the assembly summoned him to produce the order, the Romanian priest answered "that he cannot show it, as no one is allowed to know about it"¹⁹.

The conspiratorial atmosphere is also depicted by the deposition of the witness no. 35, attorney Füzi Mihály from Abrud, regarding the Romanians' attempt at replacing the Hungarian authorities with their own people, as it happened at Vărșand. The witness says: "in our circle, almost all Romanian intellectuals have known and have participated in the attempt to assign a Romanian policeman and revolt against the Hungarians"²⁰.

The Romanians' "conspiracy" is confirmed by another witness, no. 37, the miner Ürmösi Ferenc from Roşia Montană. He accuses Simion Balint of clandestine and dangerous initiatives, because "he always gathered the Romanians at night and held secret meetings with them"²¹. Rumours circulated also about other Romanian leaders from the area of the Western Carpathians, which perpetuated the state of uncertainty and the conspiratorial atmosphere. According to witness no. 23, attorney Farkas Tamás from Abrud, Avram Iancu allegedly told him "to show respect to the Romanians and fear the danger coming from there, and he pointed to the East"²². These testimonies should be viewed with a critical eye, because the social imagination amplifies and distorts events easily, especially in times of crisis. Even if they start from reality – in our case, from meetings and statements of the Romanian elite in the spring of 1848 – the social imaginary completely distorts the facts, and the unreal, the appearance predominates over the real²³. The myth of the conspiracy generally tends to perform an important social function; all deeds are related to the same unique but also all-inclusive causality²⁴. In other words, certain actions of the Romanians were inserted in a scenario that the Hungarian authorities interpreted according to a hopefully most complete and most convincing pattern.

2. The image of the *saviour* represents another fundamental mythological ensemble to which the collective consciousness resorted in moments of crisis. The saviour is not only individual (politician, prophet, poet, etc.), but also collective (the elite, the people, etc.)²⁵, both versions dominating the social imaginary during the revolution of 1848 in Transylvania.

In general, the process of "heroification", of building the myth of the saving hero is achieved in several successive stages. First, there is a time of calling and of expectation, when the image of a providential saviour, embodying a mixture of hopes, nostalgias and dreams, is being created and disseminated²⁶. The second stage is a time of the saviour's presence, in which the course of history is about to change, fulfilling the people's expectations and ideals. On this stage, manipulation of the masses plays an important role in myth construction, because, with the help of certain image-evoking gestures, phrases and words, the saviour (especially the individual one) influences the collective sensitivity and influences the crowd's will²⁷. Finally, the third stage is a time of memories, when the image of the saviour projected in the past changes according to the whims of memory and of its selective mechanisms, to the socio-political evolution, etc. The documents of the investigations we have studied provide extensive information especially on the second stage, that of the saviour's presence (individual and collective).

Recent studies have confirmed the omnipresence – during the revolution of 1848 – of the myth of the good emperor or the saviour hero, the Transylvanian Romanians' belief in the good and righteous monarch²⁸, a deeply-rooted conviction that persisted up

to the 18th century. The oath of allegiance to the Romanian nation and the emperor, taken in May 1848 at the second Blaj assembly by the tens of thousand Romanian peasants had a very strong impact on the collective consciousness. Al. Papiu-Ilarian grasped the solemnity of the moment and the sacred, somehow mystic character of the ceremonial: "it was before noon and the thousands of Romanians were waiting to take the oath on an empty stomach like for the eucharist". There is a similar description for the oath of allegiance organized later at Budiu de Câmpie by father Ioan Pop, Al. Papiu-Ilarian's father, according to the nobiliary employee Sikó Gergely's testimony: "The curator was holding a tricoloured flag: red, white and blue, that also had something written in the middle, and thus the people, bare-headed, with their faces in the sun, raised their fingers and swore. The oath said: that they shall not side with the landowners and by no means unite with the Hungarian Country, but shall side, upon their lives, only with Ferdinand"²⁹.

Back home from Blaj, the priests and those who had participated in the assembly multiplied the oath of allegiance to the emperor in hundreds of villages. It is noteworthy that, in many cases, Hungarian serfs, of their own accord, also took the oath of allegiance to the emperor. Thus, the witness Szentes Márton from Bogata de Mureş answered during the cross-examination of 28 May 1848: "We saw from the street that around the Romanian church there were a lot of people, and we went there to hear what was it all about; when we arrived, the Romanian priest asked us whether we wanted to side with the emperor Ferdinand; we all answered yes; then, the Romanian priest started to read an oath written in Romanian and we, the Hungarians, raised our hand and said the oath after him"³⁰.

Things happened in a similar way at Budiu de Câmpie (Turda County), according to the reformed priest Bihari József's testimony of 11 September 1848. Thus, the Greek-Catholic priest Ioan Pop "on a Sunday, put his people to take an oath in the church, like the oath brought from Blaj. I don't now the content of the oath. This oath was also taken by a few of my (Hungarian – I.B.) parishioners"³¹.

During the Kozma investigation in the Western Carpathians, the mine administrator Botár Sándor said, at Abrud, on 20 June 1848: "Father S. Balint convened everybody in Roşia Montană in front of the church and, after climbing on a chair, he said that at the Blaj assembly he had taken an oath and that he wanted everybody present to take that oath... he asked them to swear that they will be loyal to the emperor to their last drop of blood"³².

The peasants understood that their aspirations could only be fulfilled by the emperor, and that if the emperor won, all those loyal to him would be rewarded³³. Fighting for the emperor's cause, using his name to legitimate the peasants' rebellious actions became an invariable cliché in the first months of the revolution.

The village mayor Gheorghe Stanciu said during his cross-examination, at Mureni (Alba de Sus County), on 13 June 1848, after the villagers prevented the nobiliary em-

ployees from cutting trees in the woods: "Father David Rusu summoned us to the church because a letter was brought from Blaj by the two delegates to the assembly, in which the emperor said we should take care of the woods and rebuild the boundary hillocks"³⁴. When the nobiliary judge came there to investigate the reason of the revolt, he admonished father D. Rusu because the letter he referred to and presented to the peasants was old, from the time of Emperor Joseph. In reply to the increasing agitation and the peasant revolts, in the spring of 1848, the Transylvanian authorities tried more and more insistently to appeal to the moral authority of the emperor in order to calm down the spirits³⁵.

Beyond the appeal to the image of the saviour in the person of the Austrian emperor, the first legitimate instance on earth, the image of the saviour embodied by the supreme divinity also appears in the testimonies of the cross-examined witnesses. In the peasant mentality of the epoch, appealing to God was supposed to raise all interdictions and barriers³⁶. We find this pattern in all moments of crisis in the modern age; imaginary constructions are used to compensate all disappointments, to eliminate uncertainty and fear, to be a real kind of social "therapeutics". The myths, the dreams and the utopias operate on fear, anxiety and frustration like a liberating force³⁷.

The minute of the cross-examination of Vasile Fodor from Bistra, written in Cluj, on 30 May 1848, mentions more witnesses who said that he had told the inhabitants of Lupşa: "Listen, fellow Romanians! Lord brought us the great day when we became equal to the Hungarians!" Also, the same day, as he went to the public assembly in Hădărău, he allegedly said to the people there: "Thank God we have become more important people; the taxes on pubs and mills have been abolished; and the mill no longer belongs to the owners either, but to the people"³⁸.

Divine Providence is also mentioned in the investigation carried out at Dragu (Dăbâca County), beginning with 6 May 1848. The witness Filimon Zdroba, a serf, stated that from the letter read by the priest he understood that "the time of the Romanians has come, that the heavens have opened and they would get rid of the tyrants"³⁹. In other testimonies taken at Dragu, like Marina Zdroba's, we notice the appeal both to the divine and the earthly saviour: "my husband told me just this, that a great relief will come for the poor Romanians from God and the King"⁴⁰.

As it is well known, the political myth of the saviour tends to be defined by the important function temporarily assigned to the hero, in answer to certain expectations, necessities, ideals⁴¹. The first months of the Romanian revolution in Transylvania were characterized by a great diversity of attitudes, both on the level of the elite and of the common people. The direct consequence was that, in certain regions, the image of the saviour was embodied locally by various actual individuals, some of whom were later acknowledged as undeniable leaders of the revolution: Avram Iancu, Al. Papiu-Ilarian, I. Buteanu, S. Balint, etc.

An emblematic character of the Romanian revolution in Transylvania, Avram Iancu was a remarkable “synthesis of intelligence and idealism, as well as of the stern force of outraged masses”⁴². Avram Iancu’s role in organizing and leading the villagers of the Western Carpathians as early as the spring of 1848 increased especially after the bloody events at Mihălț, at the beginning of June⁴³. It was not by sheer chance that the testimonies of quite a number of witnesses cross-examined during the Kozma investigation reveal the image of Iancu the savior, completely trusted by the masses. Thus the witness no. 158, Miheș Gheorghe from Sohodol, thought that “the people listen to him so completely, better than they would listen to Jesus Christ”⁴⁴.

The stimuli meant to induce in the crowds the idea that Iancu was the providential saviour pushed in front by history to fulfill all expectations come from his very gestures and deeds. According to the testimony of witness no. 31 in the Kozma investigation, the pub owner Szántó Krisztina, a customer of the inn allegedly said that during a popular assembly at Câmpești, in the middle of June 1848, Avram Iancu “made the masses believe that he had a big gold cross on his chest”⁴⁵. The association of the Christian symbol is not accidental; the cross was meant to enhance the saviour’s strength in exterminating the evil. A similar cliché is to be found during the peasants’ uprising of 1784, when, in the people’s mind, Horea had “a gold star and gold crosses on his chest”⁴⁶.

The image of the saving hero with star and crosses can be identified, in the first stage of the 1848 Transylvanian revolution, also in other areas that were characterized by intense militancy. A revealing example is Budiu de Câmpie and the neighbouring villages, where the priest Ioan Pop and his son, Al. (Pop) Papiu-Ilarian asserted themselves as leaders. The investigation carried out in the middle of September, when over 70 witnesses were cross-examined, reveals more clearly both the expectation stage and that of the saviour’s presence. Thus, witness no. 51, Iuon Bercea, answers the investigators: “If only the son of the Romanian priest in Budiu came, because we’ve been waiting for him for a long time to straighten things”; while witness no. 58, Kis Lajos, knows about Al. Papiu-Ilarian that “he is young, but has so much brains that he is now a prince, he stands by the king, walks with Russian soldiers and has a star and a cross”⁴⁷. Consistent with this image is also the testimony of witness no. 11, Szántó János István’s wife, who had heard from several villagers that people were convinced that “for their freedom they have to thank the Romanian priest and his son... If God helps the priest and his son, you will run away with your nobles and all”⁴⁸.

3. The myth of *the Golden Age* represents, in the specialists’ view, the most stable and most actual mythological construct characteristic to the political imaginary in the last two centuries⁴⁹. This mythological constellation is more present in the collective imaginary in moments of crisis, when the old balance breaks up and the new order is about to be built. In order to plan and long for Eden = the Golden Age, E.

Cioran said, “you must hate evolution, feel its burden and curse, you must want to escape it at any cost”⁵⁰. The nostalgic reminiscences of past times come to be enhanced when compared to a present which is perceived and described as a time of decadence, sorrow and troubles. In the first stage of the revolution of 1848 in Transylvania, the myth of the Golden Age can be identified both in the collective mind of the representatives of the power (especially, the Hungarian authorities), and of the excluded ones (the peasants, most of them Romanians).

In the area of the Western Carpathians, the Golden Age myth also appears in direct connection with the increasing tension between the Romanians and the Hungarians. During the Kozma investigation, on 21 June 1848, the witness no. 23, attorney Farkas Tamás, stated that he had settled in Abrud in 1824 because he “had never seen such harmony between the Hungarians and the Romanians before”. A wedding, a party or a carnival was not considered festive enough by the Romanians unless there were a few Hungarians present. In the witness’ opinion, the interethnic harmony collapsed after 1847, when the Romanians isolated themselves, “became secretive, began to mourn their nation due to its oppression”⁵¹, and, in the spring of 1848, the atmosphere of suspicion and tensions increased. The moment of 1847 mentioned by attorney Farkas Tamás was when the Transylvanian Diet discussed the draft agrarian law which aggravated social exploitation. Disappointed by the viewpoints expressed here by many representatives of the Hungarian aristocracy, Avram Iancu allegedly gave the famous reply: “It is not with philosophical and humanitarian arguments that you will convince those tyrants, but with the spear, like Horea”⁵².

The cliché of “the wonderful old times” is also present in the testimonies of simple people, who did not belong to the ruling class, but realized the perniciousness of the events in progress. Thus, witness no. 26 from the Kozma investigation, the merchant Gergelyfi Antal states that “in Abrud and the surroundings, the love and mutual trust of the past no longer exist”. Witness no. 6, Lörintz Maria, expresses a similar opinion: “the old peace and understanding no longer exist; we all live in fear”⁵³.

The nostalgia for the old times and the concord of the period preceding 1847 are also invoked by members of the majoritarian Romanian population, as local privileged power holders or as oppressed. Thus, the notary Nicolae Șpan of Lupșa, stated on 31 May 1848, during the Cluj trial of Vasile Fodor, who incited to revolt in the area and endangered his authority: “people no longer want to obey, and peace is completely disturbed; while until last year there was such peace than one couldn’t hope for better”⁵⁴.

The values of the change brought about by the revolution were difficult to be understood by the masses, especially where the authorities used coercion in order to maintain social balance. The statements of a number of cross-examined peasants, who were marked by the “nostalgia” for the old times, when they were subject to less servitudes and privations than at present are no longer surprising. During the investigation carried out at Budiu de Câmpie, on 12 September 1848, the witness no. 28, Halmágyi Teréz,

mentions the answer of a peasant woman from Iceland when she was asked about the news in her village: “Fairly bad, madam, because we have so much expenses with the soldiers that we no longer make both ends meet. Lord should have cursed that priest in Budiu de Câmpie, for he is guilty of everything”⁵⁵. The military forces sent to the mutinous villages implied new obligations for the peasants, having to do with the soldiers’ subsistence and payments; to these, the excesses of certain soldiers were added, which led to an increased tension within the communities.

We find a similar reaction of condemnation by the masses of the attitude of certain priests who read revolutionary manifestoes and posed as local leaders, being thus considered guilty for all the troubles that followed, during the investigation carried out at Dragu. The first witness, the serf Iancu Nuțu allegedly reproached the priest: “You see, father, if you had taught us, when you first read the letter, as you teach us now, this accursed situation wouldn’t have occurred; and the people wouldn’t have risen neither here, nor around us, and we wouldn’t have got into this trouble”⁵⁶.

4 *Unity* is another mythological construction to be found during the great moments of crisis in modern and contemporary history. The unity theme, extremely rich in terms of images and symbols, overlaps in social life with a certain system of values, with a certain type of conduct and sensitivity. Philosophers have seen in the mythical ensemble of unity the fulfillment of God’s supreme will; bishop J.B. Bossuet’s remark of almost three centuries ago is highly suggestive in this respect: “Life is unity, beyond unity there is certain death”⁵⁷.

In this mythological ensemble, we detect “the will to unite and blend, there is the image of a homogeneous and coherent society; the individual’s isolation and his withdrawal into his sphere of interests is denounced in the name of the things in common; there is a fear of schisms and dissents, a common belief is being searched and the great collective enthusiasms are being supported”⁵⁸. The documents of the 1848 Transylvanian revolution we have researched provide an extremely dense network of facts and deeds, images and symbols which are circumscribed to the myth of unity. Exalting the unity theme was also an exorcism in the face of centrifugal forces; the Romanian revolutionary elite’s discourse and political actions insisted on national solidarity, due to the socio-political and cultural circumstances of the Romanian nation in the middle of the 19th century⁵⁹.

The specialists have assigned the institution of the celebration a special significance within the framework of the revolutionary mind, due to the multiple influences on community life. “Saved from isolation by the privileged state of collective enthusiasm”⁶⁰, the individual finds himself reintegrated, through celebration, into a brotherhood that unites people under the sign of common aspirations. Undoubtedly, the National Assembly of Blaj, 3-5 May 1848, was for the Transylvanian Romanians the symbol of the first act of emancipation and released the masses from traditional fears. The memoirs emphasized

the celebration dimension of the Great Assembly of Blaj, which contributed to the politicization of the popular factor in the spirit of national unity⁶¹.

In the second half of May 1848, the revolutionary celebration was resumed in hundreds of Romanian villages, following the model of the one held in Blaj. Thus, within the framework of a local ceremony, dominated above all by the oath of allegiance to the emperor and the Romanian nation, elements from the structures of traditional liturgies or from the popular celebrations were included⁶². The sentimental luxuriance, the collective effusion generated by such manifestations could be exploited by the elite in order to direct the crowds' energy and force towards the fulfillment of the various objectives in the revolutionary program.

The testimonies of a number of witnesses cross-examined after the National Assembly of Blaj all mention the appeal to unity addressed by the Romanian elite to the nation. Witnesses no. 27 and 53 from the Kozma investigation stated that S. Balint made the Romanians "take an oath of loyalty to emperor Ferdinand and solidarity among the Romanians", urged them to always "support one another."⁶³ The witnesses in the investigation carried out at Budiu de Câmpie also recall that the oath they took in May requested them "not to side with the nobles and Hungary, but be united and support only Ferdinand"⁶⁴.

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The imaginary of identity and alterity provides a more adequate explanation of the interhuman relations and of social conduct, in special in moments of crisis. "The need for differentiation, the search for an ideal model or a scapegoat, as well as the fear of the unknown have influenced the image of the other."⁶⁵ The investigations carried out in the spring and summer of 1848 enrich the image of the self and of the other with new aspects, or merely confirm certain clichés and stereotypes circulated in the decades preceding the revolution.

L A significant component of the Transylvanian Romanians' positive image of themselves in the middle of the 19th century was the theme of the Romanians' spreading and number. The Romanians' demographic majority (see note 1), the fact that they were "more numerous than the others", that is, than the oppressive aliens, was the guarantee of a certain and bright future, as G. Barițiu wrote in the spring of 1848⁶⁶. Abolishing the Romanians' status of inferiority and placing their aspirations on the same level with the aspirations of the privileged nations seemed possible, in the view of the elites, also by appealing to the force of number; in the spirit of Avram Iancu's statement at the National Assembly of Blaj in May 1848: "Romanians, take a look around this field, we are numerous like fir tree cones, we are many and strong, because God is with us"⁶⁷.

The reiteration by the Romanian leaders, at various public meetings, of the Romanians' preponderance theme succeeded to impregnate the collective consciousness with a real obsession among the ruling class and with confidence and hope among those aspiring to equality. Thus, according to the witness no. 42 from the Kozma investigation (Molnár János, a mine owner of Roșia Montană), he was told by Simion Balint that "the Romanians, who are anyway more numerous with several hundred thousand, have the same rights as the Hungarians"⁶⁸. Starting from an obvious demographic reality, other testimonies distort the true ethnic proportions, directly proportional to the education of the cross-examined person and the social and political tension in the respective area. Thus, witness no. 10 from the same Kozma investigation, the miner Gado János from Roșia Montană, says about S. Balint that he had bragged that "the Romanians are not afraid of the Hungarians because there are as many as ten Romanians to one Hungarian"⁶⁹.

In the middle of September 1848, at Budiu de Câmpie, Máté István says about father Ioan Pop: "He told the villagers that from now on there will be only Romanian officials, and that the Romanians should have spears, flails and other tools ready, because they are 20 times as many as the Hungarians"⁷⁰. Another witness, Kis Lajos, mentions a proportion that gives free scope to the fantasy of figures; urging them to claim their rights, father Ioan Pop allegedly encouraged the villagers as follows: "don't be afraid, for there are a hundred Romanians to one Hungarian"⁷¹. During the uprising of 1784, the force of the Romanians' greater number was invoked in order to intimidate their adversaries, as in the testimonies of several villagers from the Sovata area. In these testimonies, we find again the thesis of the Romanians' greater number, who, since they were more numerous, therefore more powerful, could get their freedom: "only a wing of the Romanians has risen now and still the Hungarians are scared, what will they do if they all rise"⁷².

2. The theme of the Roman origin, of the Romanians' oldness and continuity in Transylvania holds an important place in the Transylvanian Romanians' political and historical imaginary in the middle of the 19th century. Their Latin ancestry and the argument of their continuity represented a weapon in the struggle against their adversaries, and the supreme justification of the possible progress and assertion of the Romanian nation⁷³.

The investigations carried out by the authorities during the period we deal with (March-September 1848) brought out the highly active role of the "cultural in-betweens", as M. Vovelle called them, i.e. persons between the world of the illiterate and that of the cultivated elite: priests, elementary school teachers, village notaries, etc.⁷⁴ Thus, during the investigation carried on 10 August 1848 in Mădărașul de Câmpie, the witness Pápai Francisc, a petty nobleman, stated that the Greek-Catholic priest said about Transylvania: "This country was torn off the Great Roman empire and it must return to where it be-

longs⁷⁵. Also, according to the witness no. 25 from the Kozma investigation, the mine official Lázár György, at the meeting held at Câmpeni, on 6 April 1848, father S. Balint reviewed all the offenses to which the Romanians had been subjected along the centuries by the ruling class, and concluded his speech as follows: "From these, you can see, descendants of the Romans, how oppressed we have been by the Hungarian nation"⁷⁶. A similar message is said to have been addressed to the inhabitants of Lupșa by Vasile Fodor, according to the testimony of the *index nobilium* N. Șpan: "Let us unite, come to an agreement, and drive the Hungarians away, because they are just aliens, while we are genuine remains of our Roman ancestors"⁷⁷.

The references to the historical right made by part of the Romanian elite are justified by the possibility of reaching the masses, as this was an easy means of building their political and historical imaginary. Thus, during the Kozma investigation, several witnesses (no. 22, 25, 27, etc.) said they had heard attorney Ioan Buteanu tell the Romanians, at various public meetings, that "the Romanian nation is an older native of Transylvania than the Hungarians", that "Transylvania under Prince Gelou belonged to the Romanians, they were the landowners". Similar public statements were also attributed to father S. Balint: "The Transylvanian land never belonged to the Hungarians, but they cheated the poor ignorant Romanians with promises... and little by little subdued them. Since then, centuries on end, they abused the Romanians, barring them from almost every right"⁷⁸.

In connection with this theme, there is also the stereotypy to be found in numerous testimonies that emphasizes the wish of the Transylvanian Romanian revolution leaders to restore old Dacia or the Daco-Roman empire⁷⁹. According to witness no. 35 from the Kozma investigation, attorney Füzi Mihály, the Romanian agitators' proclamations "now tend to exalt in Transylvania that once glorious Roman population... they want to restore, by all means and by driving away any other nation, the Dacia of long ago"⁸⁰. In order to thwart the union of Transylvania with Hungary, another solution was put forth, that of the solidarity with the Romanians in the extra-Carpathian principalities. Thus, during the investigation carried out at Budiu de Câmpie and the neighbouring villages, several witnesses, Romanians as well as Hungarians, made statements like the following: "the Romanian priest of Budiu told them last summer that this country does not belong to the Hungarians, it is a land that belongs to Wallachia", or "he told us not to unite with Hungary, but with Wallachia and Moldavia"⁸¹.

3. An interesting aspect of the revolutionary imagology, from the perspective of the Romanian-Hungarian disputes, is the function attributed to the tradition of the uprising of 1784 led by Horea, Cloșca and Crișan. Quite surprisingly, in the period we have researched using the official investigation documents, the witness' testimonies make almost no references to the model of the uprising of 1784. This does not mean

that the uprising that took place in the ninth decade of the 18th century had been completely erased from the collective memory. The series of peasant uprisings in the decades preceding the revolution of 1848 had kept awake the rebellious state of spirit, so the privileged classes and the authorities in Transylvania lived with the threat of a possible revival of the events of 1784⁸². The social unrests in the spring of 1848 revived the local traditions in the Western Carpathians, the epicenter of the peasant uprising of 1784, which explains why the authorities spoke about "Horea's time"⁸³.

The image of the "storm" of 1784 was circulated through various channels, both oral and written. Regarding the union of Transylvania with Hungary without taking into consideration the Romanians' viewpoint, the issue no. 62 of 26 May 1848 of the newspaper *Márczius Tizenötödike* wrote: "We should think of what the people did in the time of [Emperor] Joseph. How they revolted and nearly flooded Hungary too"⁸⁴.

The few testimonies from the spring and summer of 1848 that refer to Horea's uprising originate in the Western Carpathians and were taken during the Kozma investigation. Thus, witness no. 14, Mikola József, a carpenter from Roşia Montană, said: "The pub owner Kovács Miklósné told the witness that numerous Romanians have openly stated in her pub that the Romanians' uprising will be greater than the one in 1784"⁸⁵. The anxiety of the small Hungarian community, living in an area clearly dominated by the Romanians from an ethnic point of view, are justified in terms of the trauma it suffered as a result of the popular rage in 1784. Although during Horea's uprising it was only the privileged of the feudal regime that were exposed to the peasants' vindictive anger, in 1848, by contagion, the fear of a revival of the uprising of 1784 grasped all the members of the Hungarian community.

We should point out that, from among the few testimonies in which there are references to the events of 1784, it results that the threats with a revolt as in the time of Horea are attributed to the common Romanians, not to the Romanian elite. This is understandable, since in the oppressed peasants' view, only an uprising could bring about a change in their economical and social status. It is therefore natural that the myth of Horea's uprising is still living in the collective consciousness of the countless serfs, while the intellectuals, who were adherents of lawfulness and reform, had a different attitude. The Romanian intellectual elite's reserved attitude, in the spirit of the Enlightenment, to the uncontrolled fury of the masses is well-known. S. Bărnuțiu, the ideologist of the Romanian revolution in Transylvania, did not refer to Horea's example either, in his famous speech in the Blaj Cathedral (2/14 May 1848). Although he paid special attention to the suffering of the serfs, describing their situation in impressive colours, "the fear for an outbreak of their forces, following the model of Horea's uprising, haunted him too"⁸⁶.

The uprising was "discovered" as early as 1847 by Avram Iancu, who threatened the nobility with an uprising after listening to the discussion in the Diet of Cluj on the agrarian law (see the quotation in note 52). However, in the spring and summer of 1848, he

no longer referred to the Horea model in public meetings. The elite's preference for the legal and reformatory approach, in the spirit of the Romanian political militantism⁸⁷, also influenced Avram Iancu's attitude. In fact, the scene that took place in Sibiu, at the beginning of June 1848, when A. Iancu heard about the massacre of Mihalț, is relevant in this respect. In a conversation with S. Bărnuțiu and G. Barițiu, Iancu allegedly said, deeply revolted of what had happened to the Romanian peasants in Mihalț: "I'm leaving, I will gather my well-armed men and I'll go to take vengeance for the shed blood". Following the efforts of the two to convince A. Iancu to wait and not to respond to violence with violence, the leader of the mountaineers of the Western Carpathians is said to have answered: "If it is so, I will listen to you, but the Szeklers should take heed"⁸⁸. It would be useful to research further to what extent the appeal to the tradition of Horea's uprising is identifiable beginning with the autumn of 1848, when the Romanians resorted to armed resistance in the Western Carpathians.

4. The investigations carried out in the first months of the revolution of 1848 in Transylvania, the testimonies we have analyzed provide a rich imagological perspective in terms of interethnic relationships in general, and, in particular, with reference to the Romanians and the Hungarians. The variety of clichés and images circulated by the testimonies of the cross-examined individuals, can be reduced to two representative types of sensitivity and conduct:

a. The area of the Western Carpathians, where the investigation committee led by the province councillor Kozma Pál carried out an investigation in June-July 1848 was a distinct area not just from a geographical, but also from an economical, social and demographic point of view. Compact Hungarian communities existed in very few towns and villages, in most of them there were no Hungarians, or at most a few families⁸⁹. That is why, in a simplistic vision, the Romanian collective consciousness associated all Hungarians with the political and economic regime that kept Romanians in a state of inferiority, and the denunciation of the Hungarian authorities was extended to the entire Hungarian community. This mental pattern was active in other compact Romanian regions until World War I. It is the case of the villages in Mărginimea Sibiului, according to E. Cioran's memories, for whom, as a child, the image of the Hungarian gendarme generated fear and hatred at the same time: "when I saw one coming, I panicked and ran away; he was the alien, the enemy; hating meant hating him. Because of him, I hated all Hungarians. Later, when times changed, I no longer had reasons to consider them enemies"⁹⁰.

Examples in the sense of what we have just said are to be found in the testimonies of the witnesses cross-examined at Abrud and in the surroundings (witnesses no. 22, 25, 29, 32, 37, 53 and so on): "the Romanians are not afraid of the Hungarians, we have weapons at Câmpeni, even canons"; "the Hungarians have already cheated the Roma-

nians several times. That is why we can no longer trust them"; "well, the Hungarians are in deep trouble, they have fallen again into the Romanians' hands", etc.⁹¹ In the answers of the cross-examined, there often appears the image of a deceitful, dishonest Hungarian, a relentless adversary of the Romanian (witnesses no. 55, 59): "Hungarians are sly, may they go to the devil, they'll no longer live at the expense of the Romanians"; "the sly Hungarians cannot live in peace", etc.⁹²

b. The area of the Transylvanian Plain stood for another representative way of portraying the other, a direct consequence of the social, economic and demographic structures. Unlike the region of the Western Carpathians, in the villages in the Transylvanian Plain the demographic realities were characterized by an ethnic interference with a not in the least negligible mental impact on the social and interethnic relations⁹³. Thus, in the Romanians' view, the Hungarian is no longer identical with the Hungarian community, he represents, in most cases, only the Hungarian nobleman, the landowner, the one who oppressed not just the Romanian serfs, but also the Hungarian ones. On 12 September 1848, during the investigation of Budiu de Câmpie, a village with a relatively balanced ethnic composition, where the great majority of the serf families, Romanian and Hungarian, were sharing the same kind of life and had the same economic obligations to the landowner, the distinction between the Hungarian and the feudal lord appears frequently in the witnesses' testimonies. Witness no. 11, the wife of Szántó János István, says about father Ioan Pop that "he instigated not just the Romanians, but also the Hungarians against the landowners and told them that they should not believe that the landowners want them free". The same witness says that later, in the village market, "I heard it myself how the priest was shouting that his son will come with soldiers against the Hungarians, but not against the peasants, only against the landowners"⁹⁴.

Also, witness no. 30, the schoolteacher Ujvárosi Sándor, heard about the Romanian priest in Budiu de Câmpie that he addressed the Hungarian serfs, when they took the oath of allegiance together with the Romanians, as follows: "Because you have plowed together the same furrow, you have suffered poverty together, then stick together now too, stick to Ferdinand and part with the landowners... Hungarians! If you side with us, the justice from the heavens will come sooner"⁹⁵. The effects of such an appeal in the collective consciousness did not fail to show soon, as it results from the testimony taken in the village of Sânger, on 16 September 1848, from witness no. 62, Barbát Trési. She heard how a Hungarian peasant from Budiu de Câmpie "Halmi Samu by his name, said that they also took the oath in Hungarian, together with the Romanians and that they sided with them with the purpose of getting rid of the landowners, because the latter have oppressed them as well as they oppressed the Romanians"⁹⁶.

Although there are among the testimonies such flat statements as "the Hungarians must perish, because they want too much"⁹⁷, they are no longer representative for the majority of the Romanian community members. The social solidarity of the Romanian and the Hungarian serfs who had lived "always as friends and brothers" infused ima-

gology with specific nuances, which are to be found in the epoch's social imaginary. On the level of the common people, the interethnic relationships – in this case, between Romanians and Hungarians – were generally characterized by harmony, which was within the limits of normal daily cohabitation. It was only in the second half of the 19th century that the rising nationalism attracted adherents from among the crowds, and altered harmony here and there, in the mixed communities, and caused transient tensions.

5 The investigations carried out in the spring and summer of 1848 also reveal an imaginary closely linked with an important component of the negative dimension of the Romanians' image of themselves at the beginning of the modern era. It is the act of comparing the Transylvanian Romanians with the Gypsies and the Jews, both communities – minoritarian from a demographic point of view (see note 1) – being considered at that time to have a social, economic, political and cultural status worthy of compassion. The Romanian elite's references to the Gypsy or the Jews was meant to sternly draw direct attention to the place of the Romanians and, hopefully, counting on the induced awe, to stimulate the efforts for improving their situation⁹⁸.

During the investigation carried out at Sânger, on 16 September 1848, the witness no. 62, Barbát Trési, recounted the conversation in the village pub, where a Romanian peasant woman said that her husband had participated in the National Assembly of Blaj and he heard Al. Papiu-Ilarian saying: "he will come with Russian soldiers and in 15 days... there will be no Hungarian governor or Hungarian, German or Armenian officials, of which they will perhaps leave about three, but only Romanians and Gypsies will be left"⁹⁹. This image is representative for the mentality of a group which had been barred from exerting its civic rights and whose indignation led to the solidarity of the wronged and the wish for revenge. D. Moga, a state official who was witness no. 32 in the Kozma investigation, relates the Romanians' status to the minoritarian group of the Jews from a different perspective. During a public meeting, trying to convince the Romanians in Câmpeni of the advantages of the union with Hungary, Moga stated that "not just the numerous Romanian nation, but even the Jewish nation will get similar rights with all the others and there will be no difference among the nations"¹⁰⁰.

The limited space of the present study does not allow us to enlarge upon other aspects that result from the cross-examinations carried out by the authorities in the first months of the revolution of 1848 in Transylvania: the issue of the national symbols, the millenarianist visions, the ethno-psychological characteristic features of the Romanians, etc. In fact, recent larger or smaller praiseworthy studies have approached some of the previously mentioned themes, with reference both to the events of the year 1848 and the decades preceding the revolution. We are aware that the present study did not exhaust the vast and generous issues related to the social imaginary, but it in fact provided new arguments and nuances along already familiar lines. The behavioristic similitudes iden-

tified in 1848 and 1784 confirm the fact that peasant revolts are representative examples of the role played by the imaginary in the collective mentalities and attitudes. They reveal the complex mechanisms through which the imaginary leads to “the crystallization of the refusals and hopes that fuel the discontented masses of people and their violent impulses”¹⁰¹. Made up during the revolution or inherited from the imagology prior to 1848, the clichés circulated by the cross-examined witnesses enrich considerably the phantasmagoric universe, facilitating to a certain extent the adequate understanding of the revolutionary phenomenon. □

Notes

¹ The first census carried out by the Habsburg authorities after the revolution revealed, according to the ethnical criteria used by the census takers, the following distribution in the former Great Principality of Transylvania: Romanians 59.4%, Hungarians 17.3%, Szeklers 8.8%, Saxons 8.5%, Germans 0.8%, Gypsies 3.8%, Jews 0.8%, Armenians 0.4%, other ethnic groups 0.2%. According to *Recensământul din 1850. Transilvania*, edited by Traian Rotariu, București, 1996, p. 15.

² L. Boia, *Istorie și mit în conștiința românească*, București, 1997, p. 8.

³ Simona Nicoară, T. Nicoară, *Mentalități colective și imaginar social. Istoria și noile paradigme ale cunoașterii*, Cluj-Napoca, 1996, p. 156.

⁴ T. Nicoară, *Introducere în istoria mentalităților colective* (introductory study, selected and translated by T. Nicoară), Cluj-Napoca, 1995, p. 7.

⁵ C. Mureșanu, *Națiune, naționalism. Evoluția naționalităților*, Cluj-Napoca, 1996, p. 99.

⁶ I. Cârja, *Ipostaze ale imaginii “celuilalt” în Revoluția de la 1848 din Transilvania*, in *Viață privată, mentalități colective și imaginar social în Transilvania*, edited by S. Mitu and F. Gogâltan, Oradea and Cluj, 1995-1996, p. 248.

⁷ *Ibidem*; N. Bocșan, *Revoluția și revoluționar la românii din Transilvania în 1848 (martie-august)*, in *Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai, Historia*, XXXV, no. 1, 1990, p. 27; L. Maior, *1848. Opțiuni programatice românești în Transilvania*, in *Istoria României. Pagini transilvane*, edited by acad. D. Berindei, Cluj-Napoca, 1994, p. 242.

⁸ N. Bocșan, V. Leu, *Memorialistica Revoluției de la 1848 în Transilvania*, Cluj-Napoca, 1988, p. 34.

⁹ B. Baczko, *Ieșirea din teroare. Termidor și Revoluția*, București, 1993, p. 180; G. Neamțu, *Aspecte comportamentale în primăvara Revoluției de la 1848 din Transilvania*, in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie “A.D. Xenopol” Iași*, XXV/1, 1988, p. 311.

¹⁰ L. Maior, *op. cit.*, p. 188; D. Berindei, *Revoluția Română din 1848-1849. Considerații și reflexii*, Cluj-Napoca, 1997, p. 21.

¹¹ Simona Nicoară, T. Nicoară, *op. cit.*, p. 179; R. Girardet, *Mituri și mitologii politice*, Iași, 1997, p. 3.

¹² Simona Nicoară, T. Nicoară, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

¹³ S. Mitu, *Geneza identității naționale la românii ardeleni*, București, 1997, p. 51 sqq.

¹⁴ L. Maior, *op. cit.*, p. 207; V. Chereșteșiu, *Adunarea națională de la Blaj. 3-5 (15-17 mai 1848). Începuturile și alcătuirea programului Revoluției din 1848 din Transilvania*, București, 1966, p. 239 sq.

- ¹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 240; *Documente privind Revoluția de la 1848 în Țările Române. C. Transilvania*, vol. III, edited by Șt. Pascu, București, 1982, p. 28 sqq (hereafter *Documente...*).
- ¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 152.
- ¹⁷ D. Prodan, *Răscoala lui Horea*, vol. II, București, 1984, p. 439.
- ¹⁸ I. Cârja, *op. cit.*, p. 253; Melinda Mitu, *Revoluția Română de la 1848-1849 din Transilvania oglindită în gazeta "Märctius Tizenötödike"* (I), in *Acta Musei Napocensis*, vol. 26-30, II history, 1989-1993, p. 556. During the cross-examination of T. Cristea from Vidra, in Baia de Criș, on 16 June 1848, the investigators asked him straightforwardly if he "circulated the information in Hălmgaiu that two gentlemen came from Vienna and instigated to revolt". Cf. *Documente...*, vol. VI (forthcoming).
- ¹⁹ *Revoluția de la 1848 din Transilvania. Ancheta Kozma din Munții Apuseni*, edited by G. Neamțu, I. Bolovan, Cluj-Napoca, 1998 (forthcoming); (hereafter *Revoluția de la 1848...*).
- ²⁰ *Ibidem*.
- ²¹ *Ibidem*; also, during the investigation carried out in the middle of September 1848 at Budiu de Câmpie (Turda County), witness no. 60, the deputy judge Kovács Sándor said about Ioan Pop, Alexandru Papiu Ilarian's father: "In secret... as the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages often went to the priest, clandestinely, in the dead of the night, he instigated them with evil advice to rise against the landowners and the nobles". Cf. G. Neamțu, I. Chindriș, *Procese politice antiromânești care au zguduit Transilvania în toamna anului 1848*, București, 1995, p. 76.
- ²² *Ibidem*.
- ²³ Simona Nicoară, T. Nicoară, *op. cit.*, p. 156; Gustave Le Bon, *Psihologia mulțimilor*, București, 1990, p. 36.
- ²⁴ R. Girardet, *op. cit.*, p. 40.
- ²⁵ Simona Nicoară, T. Nicoară, *op. cit.*, p. 181.
- ²⁶ R. Girardet, *op. cit.*, p. 54.
- ²⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 55; Simona Nicoară, T. Nicoară, *op. cit.*, p. 181.
- ²⁸ Mirela Andrei, *Aspecte privind mitul "bunului împărat" în sensibilitatea colectivă românească din Ardeal la 1848*, in *Identitate și alteritate. Studii de imagologie*, edited by N. Bocșan, V. Leu, Reșița, 1996, p. 81.
- ²⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 83; G. Neamțu, I. Chindriș, *op. cit.*, p. 58.
- ³⁰ *Documente...*, vol. V, pp. 95-96.
- ³¹ G. Neamțu, I. Chindriș, *op. cit.*, p. 51.
- ³² *Revoluția de la 1848...*
- ³³ Mirela Andrei, *op. cit.*, p. 82.
- ³⁴ *Documente...*, vol. VI.
- ³⁵ I. Bolovan, *Mișcări sociale în Sălaj în primăvara anului 1848*, in *Acta Musei Porolissensis*, XI, 1987, p. 297.
- ³⁶ N. Bocșan, V. Leu, *op. cit.*, p. 76.
- ³⁷ Simona Nicoară, T. Nicoară, *op. cit.*, p. 161.
- ³⁸ *Documente...*, vol. V, p. 370.
- ³⁹ *Idem*, vol. III, p. 343.
- ⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 342. During the revolt of 1784, one of the cross-examined peasants, the salt cutter I. Deșan from Turda said that "Horea was sent by God to drive the Hungarians to Scythia and leave Transylvania only to the Romanians". Cf. D. Prodan, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 442.
- ⁴¹ R. Girardet, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

- ⁴² Keith Hitchins, *Avram Iancu și revoluția europeană de la 1848*, in *Conștiință națională și acțiune politică la românii din Transilvania (1700-1868)*, Cluj-Napoca, 1987, p. 154. See S. Dragomir, *Avram Iancu*, București, 1965.
- ⁴³ K. Hitchins, *op. cit.*, p. 155; G. Neamțu, *Evenimentele de la Mihalț din vara anului 1848*, in *Istoria României. Pagini transilvane...*, p. 281.
- ⁴⁴ *Revoluția de la 1848...* In fact, the conclusions of the investigation also consider A. Iancu a possible king of the Romanians. Cf. G. Neamțu, *Aspirații daco-române reflectate în documentele unei anchete din Munții Apuseni la 1848*, in *Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai. Historia*, XXXIII, 1, 1988, p. 82.
- ⁴⁵ *Revoluția de la 1848...*
- ⁴⁶ D. Prodan, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 715. As N. Bocșan also proved, it is confirmed once again that in 1848, the peasant actions continued the archaic mentalities and traditional attitudes that characterize the uprisings. Cf. N. Bocșan, *op. cit.*, p. 39.
- ⁴⁷ G. Neamțu, I. Chindriș, *op. cit.*, pp. 72-73; witness no. 49, Ilie Demeter, also says that Alexandru Pop-Papiu Ilarian "showed himself at Blaj allegedly with the gold cross".
- ⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 56.
- ⁴⁹ R. Girardet, *op. cit.*, p. 76; Simona Nicoară, T. Nicoară, *op. cit.*, p. 182.
- ⁵⁰ E. Cioran, *Istorie și utopie*, București, 1992, p. 119.
- ⁵¹ *Revoluția de la 1848...*
- ⁵² L. Gyémánt, *Funcționalitatea tradiției Răscoalei lui Horea în viața social-politică a Transilvaniei (până la Revoluția de la 1848)*, in *Răscoala lui Horea. Studii și interpretări istorice*, edited by N. Edroiu, P. Teodor, Cluj-Napoca, 1984, p. 225.
- ⁵³ *Revoluția de la 1848...*
- ⁵⁴ *Documente...*, vol. V, p. 370.
- ⁵⁵ G. Neamțu, I. Chindriș, *op. cit.*, p. 64.
- ⁵⁶ *Documente...*, vol. III, pp. 340-341. The testimony of Giurca Bocșa from Mureni, cross-examined on 13 June 1848, reveals the same attitude: "Those letters the priest read to us that made us go crazy should have better been burnt". *Idem*, vol. VI.
- ⁵⁷ Apud R. Girardet, *op. cit.*, p. 113.
- ⁵⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 114.
- ⁵⁹ Simona Nicoară, T. Nicoară, *op. cit.*, p. 185. Conceiving the revolution, on the zero level of a new era, as an occasion for total change, provided the Romanian nation with "a huge confidence in its own forces, exploited by the Transylvanian intellectuals who transmitted a feeling of national confidence to the people; without it, instigating the nation, which had been overwhelmed by fears and complexes, would have been impossible". Cf. S. Mitu, *op. cit.*, p. 259.
- ⁶⁰ R. Girardet, *op. cit.*, p. 133.
- ⁶¹ N. Bocșan, V. Lcu, *op. cit.*, p. 67.
- ⁶² *Ibidem*; G. Neamțu, *Simboluri naționale în timpul Revoluției de la 1848 din Transilvania*, in *D. Prodan. Puterea modelului*, edited by N. Bocșan, N. Edroiu, L. Maior, A. Răduțiu, P. Teodor, Cluj-Napoca, 1995, p. 186.
- ⁶³ *Revoluția de la 1848...*
- ⁶⁴ G. Neamțu, I. Chindriș, *op. cit.*, p. 57. The oath taken by the tens of thousand peasants present at Blaj and then resumed in villages by other tens or even hundred of thousand peasants, gives major importance to the unity theme: "As a Romanian, I will always support our Romanian nation on this right and legitimate way,

and I will defend it with all my might against any attack or oppression; I will never work against the Romanian nation's rights and interests, and I will preserve and defend our tradition and our Romanian language, as well as the Liberty, Equality and Fraternity..." Apud G. Neamțu, *Revoluția românilor din Transilvania. 1848-1849*, Cluj-Napoca, 1996, p. 33.

⁶⁵ Simona Nicoară, T. Nicoară, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

⁶⁶ S. Mitu, *op. cit.*, p. 318 sqq.

⁶⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 328. The fact that certain Romanian leaders included the numerical argument in their political discourse also has an intrinsic motivation; one of the fundamental laws of social psychology says that "when the individual is part of a crowd, he becomes aware of the power conferred by the number... The concept of impossible disappears for the individual of the crowd." Cf. Gustave Le Bon, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

⁶⁸ *Revoluția de la 1848...*

⁶⁹ *Ibidem*.

⁷⁰ G. Neamțu, I. Chindriș, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

⁷¹ *Ibidem*, p. 74.

⁷² D. Prodan, *op. cit.*, p. 440.

⁷³ S. Mitu, *op. cit.*, p. 273; *Ideologia generației române de la 1848 din Transilvania*, București, 1968, p. 148.

⁷⁴ Simona Nicoară, T. Nicoară, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

⁷⁵ The archives of the Institute of History, Cluj-Napoca, *Fototeca colectivului 1848* (hereafter *Fototeca 1848*).

⁷⁶ *Revoluția de la 1848...*

⁷⁷ *Documente...*, vol. V, p. 370. Thus, the rich Latin terminology used when, in the autumn of 1848, the Romanian military and administrative system was instated in Transylvania, seems even more natural: legion, tribune, centurion, prefect, etc. On this issue, see L. Maior, *Aspecte noi privitoare la organizarea administrației românești din 1848-1849*, in *Acta Musei Napocensis*, IV, 1967, p. 563 sqq; D. Berindei, *Imaginea Romei și ecouri revoluționare italiene la români*, in *România și Europa în perioada premodernă și modernă*, București, 1997, p. 173.

⁷⁸ *Revoluția de la 1848...*

⁷⁹ G. Neamțu, *Aspirații daco-romane...*, p. 79; Mitu Ildikó Melinda, *Imaginea Revoluției de la 1848 din Transilvania în opera lui Kőváry László*, in *Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai. Historia*, XL, 1-2, 1995, p. 133.

⁸⁰ *Revoluția de la 1848...*; here, there also appear remarkable similarities with the clichés circulated during the uprising of 1784. See D. Prodan, *op. cit.*, p. 718.

⁸¹ G. Neamțu, I. Chindriș, *op. cit.*, p. 68, 73. Another testimony, that of the witness no. 32 from the Kozma investigation, Dumitru Moga, a nobiliary supervisor in Câmpeni, reveals a much wider perspective than that of the pan-Romanian solidarity, i.e. a solidarity with other neo-Latin peoples. Thus, during a public meeting organized in Câmpeni, N. Corcheș is said to have stated: "the Italians, the French and the Romanians in the two Romanian principalities are ready to help the Romanians, no matter what". Cf. *Revoluția de la 1848...*

⁸² L. Gyémánt, *op. cit.*, p. 225; I. Cârja, *op. cit.*, p. 250.

⁸³ G. Neamțu, *Aspecte comportamentale...*, p. 313; N. Bocșan, V. Leu, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

⁸⁴ Melinda Mitu, *Revoluția Română de la 1848-1849...*, p. 557.

⁸⁵ *Revoluția de la 1848...*

⁸⁶ D. Prodan, *Supplex Libellus Valachorum. Din istoria formării națiunii române*, București, 1984, p. 270.

⁸⁷ N. Bocșan, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

⁸⁸ S. Dragomir, *op. cit.*, p. 54; G. Neamțu, *Avram Iancu și evenimentele de la Mihalț din vara anului 1848*, in *Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai. Historia*, XXXVII, 1-2, 1992, p. 83.

⁸⁹ In 1850, there were 1,149 Romanians and 665 Hungarians in Abrud, 2,145 Romanians and 664 Hungarians in Roșia Montană, 1,820 Romanians and 665 Hungarians in Zlatna, 1,760 Romanians and 33 Hungarians in Câmpeni, etc. Cf. *Recensământul din 1850...*

⁹⁰ Apud E. Cioran, *op. cit.*, p. 12. At such a moment of crisis as the revolution of 1848, ethnic segregation led more than once to clichés and exaggerated distortions in the political language and the collective mind. "The arrogant and oppressive one was no longer the Hungarian nobleman, but the Hungarian; the poor and wretched one was no longer the Romanian serf, but the Romanian..." Cf. C. Mureșanu, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

⁹¹ *Revoluția de la 1848...*; such clichés are comparable with certain attitudes during the uprising of 1784: "It's over with the Hungarians now, in two weeks the whole Transylvania will belong to the Romanians, we shall rule all by ourselves, and the Hungarians will be killed or driven away to the last one". Cf. D. Prodan, *op. cit.*, p. 420 sqq.

⁹² *Revoluția de la 1848...*; I. Cârja, *op. cit.*, p. 250. In fact, the Hungarian press also admitted that "the Romanians are afraid they would be cheated", and so the government had to win their confidence with the help of the priests and schoolteachers who had much influence over the people. See Melinda Mitu, *Revoluția română de la 1848...*, p. 558.

⁹³ In the villages where the investigations the present study focused on were carried out, the demographic situation in 1850 was the following: in Budiu de Câmpie there were 611 Romanians and 510 Hungarians, in Ungheni, 533 Romanians and 105 Hungarians, in Bogata de Mureș, 820 Romanians and the same number of Hungarians, in Sânger 1,108 Romanians and 163 Hungarians, in Icelandu Mare 771 Romanians and 28 Hungarians, etc. See *Recensământul din 1850. Transilvania*.

⁹⁴ G. Neamțu, I. Chindriș, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

⁹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 65.

⁹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 78. Identical scenes also happened in Bogata de Mureș, another village with a balanced ethnic composition (see note 93), as shown by the testimonies of quite a number of witnesses: "at the door of the Romanian church, the priest asked all of us to swear in Romanian loyalty to the Emperor Ferdinand and that we shall love each other and live together in peace". Cf. *Documente...*, vol. V, p. 96.

⁹⁷ G. Neamțu, I. Chindriș, *op. cit.*, p. 52, 57.

⁹⁸ S. Mitu, *op. cit.*, p. 118 sqq.

⁹⁹ G. Neamțu, I. Chindriș, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

¹⁰⁰ *Revoluția de la 1848...*

¹⁰¹ Simona Nicoară, T. Nicoară, *op. cit.*, p. 163.