

Coordinator and editor:

Antonio Faur

*The Monograph
Research
in Central Europe
(1990-2010)*



Romanian Academy
Center for Transylvanian Studies
Cluj-Napoca, 2012



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THE MONOGRAPH RESEARCH
IN CENTRAL EUROPE
(1990-2010)

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IN CENTRAL EUROPE
(1990-2010)**

International Conference

Oradea, october 7, 2011



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Center for Transylvanian Studies
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THE MONOGRAPH RESEARCH IN CENTRAL EUROPE
(1990-2010)

Coordonator și editor:
Antonio FAUR

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Preface

The organization, at the beginning of a university year, of an *International Symposium* with an obvious contemporary theme represents, in our view, an engagement in a scientific dialogue which is both necessary and useful from a professional perspective.

We are all fully aware of the importance of writing monographic studies, in various fields, that would have the qualities and significance of approaches with the widest historiographical and social impact.

In recent decades, the historiographies from many European countries, and especially those in central and eastern part of the European continent, witnessed an unprecedented ferment marked by openness and recovery, by the correction of the way in which past realities were presented during Communism, and by methodological innovations.

In this context of undeniable progress, the monographic research strongly manifested itself, the results being the most consistent ones. However, not all initiatives in this field have had the expected completion; thus emerged a conjunctural, unscientific literature, which must be critically examined in order to diminish the spreading of parasitic practices.

I was interested in the stage of the concerns for the history of rural and urban settlements, for the recent methods of their reconstitution. As there has been full freedom of approach, it happened that, in a situation lacking minimum exigency, texts of questionable quality were written by some very determined amateurs who meant well to the communities they belonged to, but they inevitably contaminated historiography with papers of saddening superficiality which lowered the level of such

approaches (even though they had been well-meant) until the nineteenth century. The phenomenon in question does not seem to narrow down but more than ever it is developed especially from subjective reasons.

Therefore, we believe it is time to formulate – in an appropriate scientific framework – constructive standpoints meant to bring forward these intellectual elaborations in the history field.

It is also a welcome opportunity to note the outstanding achievements in this vast field of monographic research, to bring our contribution to a more applied and informed drafting of monographic papers.

We sincerely greet our colleagues from the University of Miskolc who responded to our invitation and we thank them for their readiness and effort.

*

The papers included in this volume have been structured on several historiographical themes. Thus, in the first sequence we included papers that represent the standpoints of some Romanian and Hungarian authors regarding monographs on some localities (Viorel Faur has stated his opinion, with critical discernment, on the studies of this nature covering the town history; Éva Gyulai expressed her standpoint, with an obvious scientific rigor, on the monographs of Miskolc town, written in 1886-1911, 1929 and 1996-2007. The efforts made by the great scientist Marcel Renard between 1962 and 1968 to write a monograph on “Roman Dacia” are reconstructed, based on a valuable unpublished correspondence, by Sever Dumitrașcu), banks (such as those representing Romanian financial capital in Transylvania at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the next one have been reconsidered by Mihai Drecin) and the way in which monographic texts were written on some rural localities in the southern part of the county in 1941 (i.e. the case of Budureasa village has been researched by Antonio Faur).

The same concern for the evaluation of previous monographic texts can also be seen in the papers written by Aurel Chiriac.

Zita Horváth (who has focused on the synthesis of Hungarian history from the perspective of the changes in its political system), Gabriel Moisa (about the political influences on the development of historiography regarding Transylvania in the period 1965-1989). Radu Romînaşu aims at monographic papers published in the last two decades in Bihor County which present aspects of cultural life in the period 1849-1940) and Hajnal Tavaszi (highlights Dezsö Feher's initiative, from 1937, to publish a monograph on Oradea and Bihor County, which included a thorough chapter on the intellectuals who became known in many fields).

The second important component of the book is intended for writing monographic papers on some personalities in various fields of history. It is about the Orthodox Metropolitan of Ardeal, Sava Bracovici (whom Mihai Georgiţa is bringing up to date), dr. Ioan Ciordaş, the militant and martyr from Bihor (to whom Diana Iancu is configuring a relevant biographical route), Silviu Dragomir, the professor and historian from Cluj (the numerous studies and articles written about him were analysed by Sorin Şipoş), the archaeologist and historian Constantin Daicoviciu (recent papers about him being examined by Mihaela Goman) and the family of archaeologists from Cluj, Géza and Istvan Ferenczi (whose research about the Dacians and the Romans in Transylvania is underlined by Laura Ardelean and Mihaela Cioca).

In an interpretative manner, Attila Tózsza-Rigó identifies the main trends of German and Austrian historical writing in the decade 1990-2000, such as the research on bourgeois elites and towns, on urban mentality. Interesting contributions to the history of settlements on the valley of Bistra (Bihor County) are made by Florin Sfrengu, after whom Ciprian Robotin completes the history of the Greek-Roman Church in Rădeşti. Adrian

Dume's paper on the viticulture in Bihor County in the 18th and 19th centuries is included at the end of the volume.

A result of the collaboration between academics from Oradea and Miskolc, as a cross-border experience, this collective volume is representative in at least two aspects: of professional rigor and of a European spirit, of getting out of the isolation and making a useful change of opinions among the historians from the two neighbouring countries. In our opinion, this must continue in order to shed light on the historiographical problem of obvious novelty.

Oradea, 23.07. 2012

PhD Prof. Antonio FAUR

I.
STANDPOINTS
ON SOME MONOGRAPHIC
PAPERS

POINTS OF VIEW ON RECENT MONOGRAPHS (SINCE 1995 AND 2007) ON ORADEA

Viorel FAUR

Abstract: *A prevailing historiographical concern in the last two decades, both on national and local level, the research on the history of urban and rural settlements has recorded, by publishing their results (represented by books and studies), obvious progress meaning that the information data and, therefore, the knowledge of numerous places in Romania has been widely extended. From this perspective, Oradea has benefited from the emergence of two historical monographs, published in 1995 and 2007. The author of the present paper critically examines these monographic texts in order to contribute to the correction of some errors (typographical and interpretation ones), so that, in the future, the reported gaps could be eliminated for developing the most comprehensible and lasting studies on the past of the town on Crişul Repede River, highlighting the most significant events. Among the most obvious failures of the first volume are, for example, the hasty remarks on the contemporary history of the town and also the reproduction (in both monographs) of coloured pictures (at their ends) representing edifices built before 1918, thus creating the impression that no valuable building was erected from 1919 to 2009, which is a considerable gap and a blatant untruth.*

Key words: *monographs, Oradea municipality, critical examination, gaps, contemporary time*

Writing some monographic studies on urban and rural settlements represents an approach that had an upward dynamic from 1990 to 2010, due to a total freedom of action in this respect. Authorised people (history researchers, archivists and

curators) and also people passionate about knowing the past of their native towns, who – through amateurship (sometimes a self-interested one) – got involved in the editing activity of some monographs on the settlements in Bihor, brought their contribution to the emergence of some texts of this nature, yet unprofessional and degrading for the genuine historical writing.

They took a stand against these pseudo-scientific products in the pages of local papers, yet without diminishing their number noticeably. We render a fully justified critical remark: “deeply considering these things, one must say that these experiments are superficial enough, they do not materialise in monographic studies, but in albums presenting some localities (our underl. – V.F.), to which a geographical-historical-demographic-cultural sketch is attached, not always of the best quality, neither from an interpretation (analysis) nor from an authenticity standpoint. They were partly lucky because of the documentation that diminishes the impression of “easy improvisation”, yet being far from “a serious scientific approach”¹.

Indeed, the use of scientific rigor is welcome, especially for such purposes, when the illustrations of the so-called monograph are more consistent² than the text itself, putting the emphasis on the image rather than on the historical reconstitution of the past of some localities.

However, we must point out that there are also some assessment methods of what a monograph means, on which we do not dwell any longer, as we did not want to examine, with a demanding critical spirit, what has been published in Bihor County in the last years and what is called a monograph (even if, sometimes, in an inappropriate way!).

¹ See *Un album al satului Poiana de Vașcău (An Album of the Village Poiana de Vașcău)*, in *Zodii în cumpănă*, Oradea, spring of 2011, p. 24.

² There were some situations when the sponsors of the “monograph” were more present in its pages (with photographs, documents about their economic activity, etc) than the images related to those places. Here it is about an uninspired publicity that diminishes the value of the product.

We focus, on this occasion, on the *History of Oradea Town*, which came out in 1995 at Cogito Publishing House (in Oradea), belonging to the poet Ioan Țepelea, the head of the Army House in town at that time and a very active organiser of cultural events.

The book was printed in an edition of 1,000 copies, in exceptional conditions on wove paper. It was coordinated by Liviu Borcea (the renowned mediaevalist from Bihor County) and Gh. Gorun, as well as 14 other authors whose names we do not mention here. The book opens with a text symbolically entitled *The Times and Seasons of the Town* signed by Petru Filip, the mayor of Oradea who helped editing this monographic study. It is about a romantic account of memorable pages in the town history and names of great personalities who were linked to its history.

In the *Preface* of the book (written on October 20, 1994), its authors state that “this work is still *the first historical monograph* on the town on Crișul Repede River”³ (our underl. – V.F.), or, in other words, the first historiographical attempt to reconstitute the entire history of the settlement from antiquity to the beginning of the 21st century.

Therefore, we face an unprecedented initiative that aimed, with a stated pride, the object of a convincing historical restoration even from the very first attempt. To do so, it would have been necessary to get all the authoritative intellectual forces⁴ of Oradea involved (and some of the intellectual ones from Cluj-Napoca), so that – by joint efforts – the most significant aspects

³ *Istoria orașului Oradea (The History of Oradea)*, coordinators Liviu Borcea and Gheorghe Gorun, Cogito Publishing House, Oradea, 1995, more than 515 p. + colour illustrations.

⁴ After the emergence of the monograph, it was discussed in the local papers, in a critical manner, the fact that important and renowned historians and researchers (some of them university staff) were not asked to contribute to writing that monograph. We do not know the exact reasons, yet it diminished the quality of the final text, thus of the entire attempt. Anyway, those who took part in writing the monograph, especially its coordinators, assumed both its advantages and its *shortcomings*.

of the history of the town on Crișul Repede River would be reconsidered at the level of post-revolutionary requirements.

Aware of the imperfection of the monographic text we refer to, its authors mention that “our work is far from being *exhaustive*⁵, that, undoubtedly, *unwanted inaccuracies* have slipped in⁶, besides the *unavoidable omissions*⁷ ... Some authors’ *personal limitations*⁸ are added to these” (our underl. – V.F.).

The part of contemporary history was mostly criticized, as the coordinators of the book admitted: “During the last four decades and a half, the existence of the town has encountered many difficulties in its reconstruction..., we were happy to *merely sketch only a few* of the achievements and failures of those years, leaving those who come after us to reconstitute, *with the necessary detachment* (our underl. – V.F.), this historical epoch”⁹.

Therefore, they admitted the inability of an objective examination of the period after 1944, being necessary for some time to pass so as things settle down and the distance to what happened before 1989 to be as large as possible; this was the only way in which one could get closer, with no prejudices and a certain tribute paid to the conjunctural spirit, by the truth of facts and events.

After locating the settlement, they continued with the reconstitution of its ancient history (including its transition to Middle Ages), based on the archaeological material discovered so far (and published in various specialty magazines, books and

⁵ Nobody could claim an “exhaustive” monograph as long as most of these studies are systematically, coherent and with a *synthetic character*, so it does not need to include all the data and events recorded in the history of a settlement.

⁶ We notice the preventive meaning (or, probably justifying) of this assertion.

⁷ It depends what we mean by “unavoidable omissions”. These could be insignificant details or even the ignorance of some realities with certain significance for the town inhabitants.

⁸ They are too obvious for some authors as it will become apparent in our review. It was required that they would be diminished by the professional intervention of the coordinators who have clear responsibilities in this respect.

⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 4.

repertoires as well as the one in museum and private collections) and on reference bibliography. It follows that the beginnings of the settlement on Crișul Repede River dates back to the 5th millennium BC, these being recorded in some ceramic remains belonging to Criș culture.

Hence, the existing of living in the area of Oradea municipality has a long history of over 7,000 years which places it among the oldest urban centres in Romania. We noticed the testimonies of Geto-Dacian civilization discovered around Oradea as well as those of the Romanian continuity in this region, which have an undeniable scientific value.

Liviu Borcea, a competent researcher of that issue and the author of an appreciated work on medieval Bihor, wrote about the medieval time in the past of Oradea with some connections with its surroundings (as well as in the broader geographic context of Bihor County).

The chapter on *Industrial Age* (p. 159-200), however, has obvious gaps which add to the fact that its author (Gheorghe Gorun, who is also the coordinator of the monograph, being morally obliged – from this position – to be exigent with the other collaborators and self-exigent, to the same extent) is dependent on a limited bibliography, frequently the one on the history of church and education.

It sometimes happens that subjectivity will play tricks on him, meaning that he will not quote works about Samuil Vulcan's library (the first one¹⁰ published in 1972) which are obviously useful, limited to one study, in fact thoroughly argued by the professor V. Maxim.

¹⁰ Viorel Faur, *Cărțile românești din biblioteca iluministului orădean Samuil Vulcan* (*Romanian Books in the library of the Enlightener from Oradea, Samuil Vulcan*), in *Revista bibliotecilor*, Bucharest, 1972, nr.6, p. 350-359. The more extensive work of the researcher Florian Dudaș is not mentioned, which confirms the preferences of the mentioned author and not a rigorous spirit as it would have been required, especially in a monograph text edited and circulated from a cultural and scientific perspective by Oradea Town Hall.

While hurrying to provide actual facts, Gh. Gorun overlooks realities of particular significance, such as the presence of Gheorghe Șincai to the court of the Bishop Samuil Vulcan, on which occasion he made a complete copy of *Hronicii românilor* (*The Romanians' Chronicle*) and he also published his renowned *Elegie* (*Elegy*), an important autobiographic text.

It is also surprising the fact that the author of the reconstitution of Oradea during Enlightenment does not mention any historians such as Nicolae Iorga (who considered that the first “Romanian scientific academy functioned in Oradea”), Pompiliu Teodor (who published, in *Familia*, an excellent article on Oradea as one of the Romanian cultural centres of great importance at the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the next one) and Florian Dudaș, just to mention a few.

However, this chapter of the monograph will require substantial additions in the event of a future publication of another history of Oradea.

There is a text about *Oradea in the Years 1848-1849*, signed by the same author, in the chapter we are talking about. It is outdated, in terms of scientific research, being like a compilation (in personal style) after a book written by the lawyer from Oradea, Hegyesi Márton, published in 1885¹¹.

Moreover, one has the feeling – when reading this subchapter – that Hegyesi Márton’s work is more serious and thorough than the one elaborated in 1995, which should have had to exploit the unpublished information found in the documents at Bihor County Branch of the National Archives.

Noticing the fact that such a historical issue of certain significance was simply sent to the mentioned subchapter, we published a series of articles in the local paper (in *Crișana Plus* and

¹¹ Although it is quoted tens of times, this book is not on the list of the “used” books (probably inadvertently and superficially) at the end of the book (see *Abbreviation of the used bibliography*). It is another proof of the lack of basic scientific rigour.

Cele trei Crișuri) and a book¹² about the revolutionary events of 1848, in which the institutions from Oradea played an important part.

The first five subchapters of the chapter *Epoca industrială* (1850-1919) (*Industrial Age*), written by Liviu Borcea are accurate and balanced, with only a few gaps (that can be completed in the future) regarding the political and cultural life of the town in the dualist period (1867-1919).

Relatively similar is also the manner in which the history of Oradea in the interwar period (1919-1940) and in the four years of its temporary Horthyst occupation (1940-1944) was reconstructed.

However, we believe that it was inappropriate to transfer the tragic situation of the Jews in Oradea and the northern part of Bihor County in 1944 to another chapter entitled *Comunitățile religioase din Oradea* (*Religious Communities in Oradea*). The ghettoization of over 35,000 Jews (in the two ghettos in Oradea) and their deportation to the death camps in Poland were political events that permanently marked the history of the town in the 20th century, being the biggest human tragedy that happened in Oradea since the Tartar invasion in 1241-1242, when the entire population was exterminated and the settlement destroyed.

The post-war period (1945 – 1989) raises some question marks although the author of the text (Claudia Bonaciu), almost unknown, tries to justify her own interpretation by a quotation from a valuable book written by Vlad Georgescu: “... a careful researcher should deal with the communist society with the same objective methods he/she had used when researching the previous societies”¹³ (our underl. – V.F.).

The prejudices in the post-December period, strongly animated by a proclaimed fierce anti-communism and turned into a scarecrow for some fellow townspeople, were extremely strong,

¹² Viorel Faur, *Românii din Crișana în anii revoluționari 1848-1849* (*Romanians in Crisana during the Revolutionary Years, 1848-1849*), vol. I (1848), Editura Universității din Oradea, 2005, 540 p.

¹³ Vlad Georgescu, *Istoria românilor de la origini până în zilele noastre* (*The History of Romanians from the Origins until Today*), București, 1992, p. 254.

thus the above mentioned opinion was embraced by too many scholars.

Returning to the texts on the recent history of the town, we can state that it is about a “sketch” (as it was announced in the *Preface*) of this chapter in its history, outlined from data and names, without comments or synthetic formulations, for fear of not making mistakes in relation to the contemporary perceptions (some of which “looked back in anger” towards their own traumatic events).

It is surprising the way in which the coordinators of the monograph have understood to represent the town architecture *as it really is* (and as it can be seen by any citizens or visitors). They were discriminatory (if not biased!) in the *colour reproduction* of the edifices (with historical and artistic value) that had been built before the First World War¹⁴ (except for *The Hebrew Martyrs’ Monument* in 1944).

It was natural for the architecture of the second half of the 20th century (that houses most of the town population) *to be visible under the same conditions* (not by a few black and white buildings scattered among the chapters). They have an undisputable documentary and architectural value, being the result of the work of some talented architects and some Romanian and Hungarian citizens.

Thus, by respecting the truth, these elements of historical continuity testify the spirit of the time as well as the previous ones (before 1918). *Est modus in rebus* (There is measure in all things), the Latin maxim that urges us, for thousands of years, to keep a fair “measure” in everything we do, especially when we are the authors willing to offer viable work to the contemporaries and to posterity.

In 2007, Arca Publishing House printed the second edition, “revised and enlarged”, of the *History of Oradea* fifteen

¹⁴ We should understand that the author who dealt with this aspect feels nostalgic about the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, because the buildings erected were worthy of appreciation. Has history stopped for him, instead?

years later since the first edition. It benefits from the same elegant typographic conditions. In the first part, the texts written by the mayor Petru Filip and the *Preface* (from the first edition) are reproduced. This time, they are anticipated by some comments¹⁵ made by the writer Mircea Bradu, the manager of the publishing house and the main initiator of this edition. One can notice the first “hesitations” that are “so obvious in certain extracts” of the first edition. These hesitations “had to be clarified”!

Furthermore, there were some “necessary” additions to the texts included in it and it was imperative for another edition to be published; this new edition would have to be, first of all, “revised” so that its pages could be “at the level of information and scientific rigour of the year 2007”¹⁶.

On the title page of the *History*, one can also see the word “enlarged”, which means that some chapters have been expanded by including some historical rehabilitation that lacked in the first edition.

The editor’s clarifications made us think of the possibility of having a more consistent edition (from an information standpoint) also illustrated by a “review” of some shortcomings (out of which we mentioned the most obvious ones). The fifteen years would have enabled the authors to refine their texts to the requirements of the year 2007 when fully justified claims could be fully asserted.

¹⁵ Mircea Bradu, *La a doua editie (For a Second Edition)*, in *Istoria orasului Oradea (The History of Oradea Town)*, Second edition, ARCA Publishing House, 2007, p. 5. The second paragraph contains errors of speech: “in spite of *priseless* wealth (correct: priceless) of the documents related to the *old experience* (it is to note here that the first archaeological discoveries in the centre of Oradea date back to the 5 century BC, thus the settlement is 7,000 years old, being *multimillenary* – n.n.)....., of a bright *pleade* (correct: Pleiades) of personalities who have written about the fortress in the town on Crisul Repede River....Daring, because the period between the Second World War and the year 1998 (correct: 1989), a turning pointfor the correct appraisal of an *epokb* (corect: epoch). There are too many “loopholes” in such a short text that “opens” the new edition of the *Town History*, giving the impression of haste and superficiality.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*.

How are things in reality? When comparing the two editions, we reach the conclusion that they are almost identical, except for those about the history of Oradea after 1944, a new chapter (that replaces the old one I have already stated my opinion about) written by Gabriel Moisa.

The noticed deficiencies regarding the revolutionary events in Oradea¹⁷ in the years 1848 – 1849 and the local expression of Romanian Enlightenment remained intact although, during a decade and a half, they could have been removed through a thorough investigation and reconsideration in accordance with the development of the historical research.

The illustrations date up to 1918, most of the ones depicting the socialist years being black and white, thus maintaining the attitude that we have criticised as being inconsistent to the truth.

Using “the final solution” in the issue of the Jews from Bihor by the state authorities (Town Hall, Gendarmerie, and Army) has not been reconsidered at its tragic dimension.

In a nutshell, the expected progress has not been made, the only noticeable thing being only the part referring to the post-war history.

The time sequence from 1945 to the end of the last century is still (in comparison with the text in the first edition) being carefully reconstituted, being obvious the factual arguments (data, names, numbers). Unfortunately, the text also includes questionable statements that could have been avoided by the author¹⁸.

¹⁷ They went so far that Hegyesi Márton’s work (in which the author of the text finds his inspiration) is not mentioned in the *used bibliography* (from p. 483 – 506), although it is quoted (with the abbreviation: Hegyesi, 1885) more than 50 times, which reveals a full dependence on the work written by the lawyer from Oradea.

¹⁸ We reproduce, at random, (as we are not going to make a full examination of that text), a few sentences for improvement: 1. “The new mayor *was much more active* in all respects. *He was more involved...*” (p. 396); “He (it is about Dragos Ernő, an anonymous – n.n.) was one of the mayors who got involved *the most* in the life of the fortress, becoming conspicuous, first of all, by the

The publication of the two historical monographs on Oradea, with all their interpretation imperfections and information and documentation weaknesses¹⁹, has the value of a historiographical gain for specialists and of an informative means for the readers interested in history. It represented a stage of monographic reconsideration which the current and future research will have to go beyond, taking what was solid (out of what has been published so far) and continuing with a demanding recall of the real dimensions of the history of the town.

In our opinion, writing a new monograph would be welcomed, a work that would involve researchers and university professors knowledgeable about the millennia past of the settlement on Crisul Repede River.

numerous achievements he supported by improving the living conditions of the town inhabitants” (p. 396); “The first mayor *rising* from the crowd gathered in front of the Town Hall was Mircea Bradu” (p. 397); a true tribute was bought to the mayor Petru Filip (I wonder why?), in an awkward wooden language: being one (Petru Filip – n.n.) *of the professors the students (in Oradea) have a lot to learn from*. In this capacity, *he took part in several training courses or seminars both in the country and abroad*” (p. 399). But what did he achieve as the town mayor? We will find information in other sources because, in the text we quoted from, there is a biographic sketch letting us know where the former mayor was born, what courses he attended, etc. Here is what the author considered to be important (of course, from an interestingly praising perspective): “The local elections in June 2004 brought Petru Filip a new term as a mayor. It is *certainly a great performance*, probably unique in Romania” (it is not unique as there are some mayors who have held their position from before 1989 and almost to 2011) (p. 399). It would have been necessary to temper the evocative zeal for the benefit of scientific rigour so that the text could be a reconstruction of academic nature and not a proof of quasi-electoral propaganda.

¹⁹ We mention the fact that there are many things to improve in the two texts. This does not mean that the monograph in question is neither useful nor a breakthrough in research. It is regrettable the circumstance that no attempt has been made (probably it was not wanted) to appeal, officially, to all specialists in history (and, especially, in writing *monographic studies*) from Oradea and Cluj-Napoca, in order to write a thorough monograph and, at the same time, a more reliable one.

ONE CENTURY, ONE TOWN, THREE MONOGRAPHS – TOWN MONOGRAPHS ON MISKOLC (1886–1911; 1929; 1996–2007)

Éva GYULAI

Abstract: *The volumes' number and scopes of the books in question are very different: from a 5-volume series, through a single volume city monograph up to the recent MISKOLC MONOGRAPH launched in 1996 which has not been over yet. The editor and author of five-volume SZENDREI published during the Austro-Hungarian Dualism was well-known military and culture historian János Szendrei, the interwar monograph was edited by Béla Halmai, later mayor of Miskolc and Andor Leszih, director of the local museum, the a chief editor of the MISKOLC MONOGRAPH is urban historian István Dobrossy, former director of the county archives. The largest difference among the monographs on Miskolc published during a century seems to be in structural aspects, and all of them are products of their own age refer to the political background of their era, but the works on Miskolc' history meet scientific criteria of their times and adequate to modern historical writing in the same time.*

Key words: *City of Miskolc, city monograph, Austro-Hungarian Dualism, interwar era, post-socialist urban history*

Bibliography¹

There are only few cities in Central, Europe which impute three historical monographs in one century, and among these

¹ On the city monographs and historical bibliography on Miskolc cf: FARAGÓ Tamás: *Városmonográfia – Miskolc monográfia (Kérdések, problémák, tanulságok az eddigi XVIII–XIX. századra vonatkozó Miskolc történelmi kutatások tükrében)* [City Monograph – Miskolc Monograph: Questions, Problems and Lessons Based on the Study of Miskolc during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries In: *Studia Miskolcimensia 3. Történelmi tanulmányok. A Miskolci Egyetem történettudományi tanszékeinek emlékére*, Miskolc, 1999, 246–254.

“fortunate” cities we can find Miskolc, former market town owned by the monarchs of the Hungarian Kingdom in the Middle and Modern Ages, later county seat of Borsod county, and a privileged city with municipal rights from the late 19th century. In the socialist era Miskolc has been defined as city of county rights, this rank has been preserved in the 90s after the regime change had taken place.

The monographs in question are as follows:

1. “SZENDREI”: SZENDREI, János: *Miskolc város története és egyetemes helyirata [History and Topography of Miskolc]*, I–V. Miskolc város közönsége [Edited by Public of City of Miskolc], Miskolc, 1896–1911 (*Vol. I*, 435; pp. *Vol. II*, pp. 733; *Vol. III*, pp. 602; *Vol. IV*, pp. 938; *Vol. V*, pp. 672).
2. “HALMAY–LESZIH”: *Miskolc*. Edited by Dr HALMAY, Béla–LESZIH, Andor. A Magyar Városok Monográfiája Kiadóhivatal [Publications Office for Monographs of Hungarian Cities], Budapest, 1929 (pp. 554)
3. “MISKOLC MONOGRAPH”: *Miskolc története 6 kötetben* [Six-volume History of Miskolc], I–V. Series Editor in Chief: DOBROSSY, István. Borsod–Abaúj–Zemplén Megyei Levéltár–Herman Ottó Múzeum [Archives of Borsod–Abaúj–Zemplén County–Herman Otto Museum], Miskolc, 1996–2007 (*Vol. I*, pp. 495; *Vol. II*, pp. 600; *Vol. III/1–2*, pp. 1056; *Vol. IV/1–2*. pp. 1233; *Vol. V/1–2*. pp.552+590 = 1042)

respective importance of the external features

Volumes, Scope, Time Interval

The volumes’ number and scopes of the books in question are very different: the first is a huge work of 5 thick volumes, the interwar monograph makes up a single volume; the recent MISKOLC MONOGRAPH launched in 1996 has not been over yet, the chief editor has planned viz. six-volume work, of which only five tomes were published. The choice of scope and volume number, of course, was not arbitrary, but external

features and characteristics have been adopted to the recipients' needs of the certain historical era and to currently prevailing "fashion" of publishing historical works. According to the volumes and contents, the latest work still unfinished and planned six-tome monograph, no doubt, has won the highest rung of the virtual podium. Both of the multi-volume editions took more years: a quarter of a century (!) before WWI and the recent work still waiting for the 6th volume 11 years. This fact being reflected in scientific feature and needs predicts the difference between the interwar HALMAY–LESZIH and the multi-volume monographs edited in Austro-Hungarian Dual Monarchy and during the recent Post-socialist Era, too.

Editing and Editors

The editor of five-volume monograph bearing popular name "The Szendrei" was published during the Astro-Hungarian Dualism by well-known military and culture historian János Szendrei (Miskolc, 1857 – Budapest, 1917), who assumed key position in the preparation and conduct of the Hungarian Millennium Exhibition 1896.² He was born of family name Wagner in Miskolc into a burger family of a lawyer, therefore he showed great commitment towards Miskolc; but he made a remarkable career as a "star historian" in Budapest. The 5-volume monograph was sponsored and funded by the "Public of Miskolc", i. e. the Miskolc residents and mainly by the City Council, which covered the printing costs of the Volume I in 1882,³ furthermore the series of monograph was paid by the subscribers who pre-ordered the publication and the customers who bought the issues, too. The author Mr Wagner–Szendrei was paid with 30 copies of the first issue.

² More about János Szendrei cf.: KOPASZ Erzsébet: *Szendrei János bibliográfia* [Bibliography on János Szendrei]. Miskolc Városi Könyvtár–Herman Ottó Múzeum, Miskolc, 1982 (Documentatio Borsodiensis, 4)

³ Municipal Board Decision, Miskolc, 13. June 1882. SZENDREI, I, p. 17.



*János Szendrei. Photo, ca 1890.
HOM HTD Im. No. 52.205.18.2.*

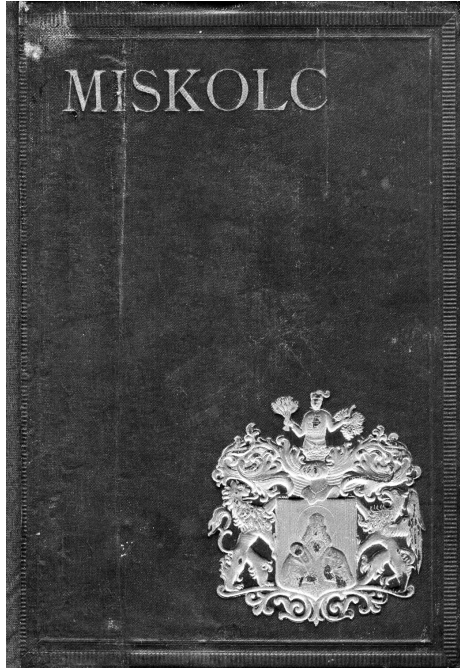
In the preface of the first tome written by the editor–author are movingly explained the reasons of editing Miskolc’s history, and Szendrei points the draft of the additional volumes, too. The next tome was published only 8 years later, and the last one in 1911. The volumes printed in the Miskolc press of Gyula Förster. The issues were published in paperback without any hardcover, this method was not unknown in that age, the customers and readers made the paperback books binde with predilection by their own bookbinder according to their own taste.

In contrary, the 1929 monograph was bound elegantly with decorative cover, and it was edited by Béla Halmay (1881–1953), currently deputy mayor of Miskolc, who became mayor between 1935–1938⁴ and Andor Leszih (1880–1963), director of the local museum, the former gave the prestige and the financial funds to the project, and the expert was Mr Leszih as museum curator and archaeologist. The HALMAY–LESZIH was edited by a stately sponsored nationwide foundation named Magyar Városok Monográfiája Kiadóhivatala [Publications Office for Hungarian Town Monographs] led by chief editor Dr Miksa Ladányi, so this monograph is the only project launched by a national publisher not by a local initiative.

There was a chief editor of the series of MISKOLC MONOGRAPH town historian István Dobrossy as director of the county archives, but each volume, i. e. each historical period has a peculiar editor, who was among the authors of the same issue, too, including excellent historians as medievalist András Kubinyi (1929–†2007, member of MTA Hungarian Academy of Sciences since 2001) and the excellent researcher on the Turkish era: Ferenc Szakály (1942–†1999, MTA member 1995). The five-volume series with elegant hardcover featuring the coat of arms of Miskolc acquired in 190 and regained in 1990 was edited by the county archives and county museum of Borsod, and funded by the City Council. Tamás Kobold Mayor of Miskolc between 1994–2002 regarded his important task to support the monograph project.⁵

⁴ KAPUSI Krisztián: *Keresztezett életutak. Halmay Béla és Honti Béla miskolci polgármesterek* [Crossroads of Careers. Mayors of Miskolc: Béla Halmay and Béla Honti]. Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén Megyei Levéltár–Pfliegler J. Alapítvány, Miskolc, 2005

⁵ KOBOLD Tamás, Mayor of Miskolc (1996): *Ajánlás* [Recommandation]. In: MISKOLC MONOGRAPH, I, 7–9.



SZENDREI, I, Cover (1886)

Monographs' Structure

The largest difference among the monographs on Miskolc published during a century seems to be in structural aspects, of course. The first monograph about Miskolc edited and partially written by János Szendrei is a real historical work; it is about only town history, nothing else. The 5 volumes are divided according to general historical periods: prehistory, medieval and early modern epochs, and the modern era up to the current years of that time (Volumes I, II, IV). It is only the 3rd volume that breaks the series of the historical periods, because this issue contains merely historical sources (charters, protocols of town council, conscriptions etc.) intended for all the volumes from the earliest records till the year 1843. The 5th tome is also special, because here is published a separate cultural history (theater and literature) on modern Miskolc,

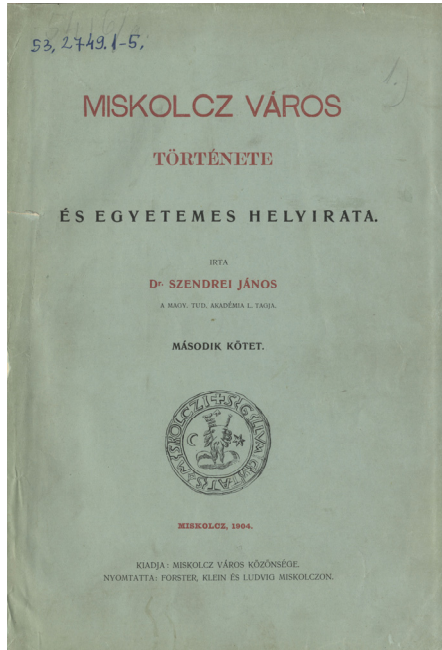
and there is a chapter about the current municipal, communal institutes and civil societies. Probably it was the contemporary political and public pressure that compelled János Szendrei as an editor to deal with contemporary issues, as well.

SZENDREI, 1896–1911	HALMAY–LESZIH, 1929	MISKOLC MONOGRAPH, 1996–2007
	History (I)	
Vol. I: Topography, Prehistory	Prehistory	Vol. I: Prehistory and Middle Ages till 1526
Vol. II: Town History 1000–1800	History 1000–1878	Vol. II: Early Modern History till 1702
Vol. IV: Town History 1800–1910	Contemporary History 1878–1929	Vol. III: Modern History till 1847
	Demography; Administration	Vol. IV: Age of Dualism till 1918
Vol. III: Archival Sources (1225-1843)	History of Churches	Vol. V. Inter- and post-war History till 1949
Vol. V: Culture History, History of Town’ Institutes, Data-base 1800–1910	School History	[Vol. VI: Contemporary History till 1990]
	„Sociology” (II)	Each period/volume’ topics
	Literature and Arts	Nationwide and Local Political History
	Society and Social policy	Topography
	Sports’ History	Demography
	Military Affairs; Police	Agriculture and Markets
	Courts and Justice	Industry (Crafts)
	Economy; Agriculture	Commerce
	Geology and Hydrology	Society
	Ethnography	Administration

	Database (III)	Culture
	Data-base; Firms (Compass)	

The MISKOLC MONOGRAPH's structural system has a modern editorial concept, i. e.: every historical period is discussing and processing on the basis of the same points and issues (nationwide and local political history, topography, demography, agriculture and markets, industry and crafts, commerce, social history, administration, culture). These topics are framing the chapters and parts of the volumes, too. It is also a modern principle of editorial matter, that periods are shared also by the urban history' turning points as 1702 when the market town Miskolc had freed itself for half a century from the serfdom status. The periodization of the work relates partly the town's special history, partly the national history, because the termini are generally the same, the turning points of the Hungarian history as 1526, 1847, 1918, 1949 were the significant terms of Miskolc, too, because the town's history followed the main streams of national politics, with the only exception of the year 1702, when Miskolc as a market town owned by the king had emancipated itself from the landowner's jurisdiction for half a century.

The 1929 single-volume-work does not fit completely in the line of the historical monographs, because it is a mixture of a historical work and a current database and sociological description of interwar Miskolc. This publication was intended for a wide public both of local and national population, and besides town history the publishers also made a kind of survey on state of the city's current institutes, administration, firms, demography, economical and cultural affairs. In the book, though well separated, there have appeared together the past and the present, so this solemn-looking monograph was wanted to be a manual of town history and contemporary data for the middle-class readers of that age.



HALMAY-LESZIH, Hardcover (1929)

The structure in question always relates to the certain and current historiographic tendency, so the SZENDREI is a typical example of the positivism. This concept prefers primary historical sources to theoretical considerations, that is why János Szendrei published many archival texts and records, and devoted a whole volume (the 3rd) to editing sources, but the narrative texts of the work are full of citations from archival records, as well.

Authors, Historians

For the SZENDREI, the only author was the editor himself, but we know, that the leading historians of the 19th century worked with many assistants and auxiliaries, as archivists, students, teachers, who fulfilled the “small work” in the archives and libraries, though “one-man monograph” was typical in these times, known to all, that there were many other co-workers, even “literary negroes” behind

the single author. It is János Szendrei, who points out in the preface of the 3rd volume, that there were others to help him with the work, as Antal Velics (1855–1915) orientalist, turkologist, who translated the Turkish letters addressed to Miskolc from the Pashas of Eger, and like Béla Pettkó (1863–1942) historian, archivist of the Hungarian National Archives who searched archival sources for Szendrei, too.⁶ However, the identity of other aids is still unclear.

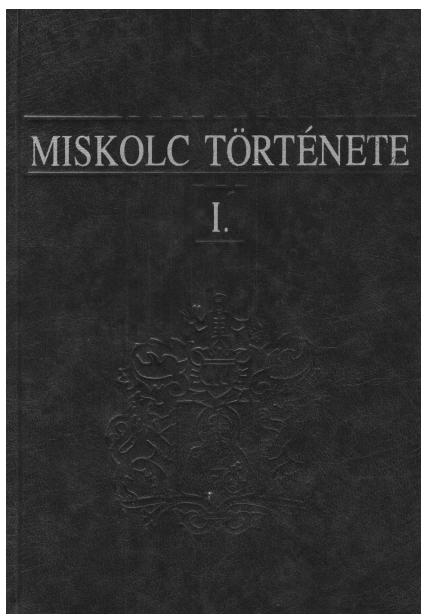
Unlike the previous one, the HALMAY–LESZIH has a lot of authors, in number 38, but in our view i. e. town history writing, there is only 4 relevant history-writers. Prehistory was written by Ignác Gálffy (1859–1940), chair of the Museum Committee, and one of the editors: archeologist and museum curator Andor Leszih. The 1929 town monograph's historical parts including town history from 1000 until 1878 were created by Erzsébet LEVELES,⁷ a mysterious researcher of that age, who's personality has been totally forgotten. Her life, her curriculum and other works are unknown till now, just be sure to know that her real name was Mrs Lajos Fertály née Aranka Reisch. The other author, who wrote the contemporary history of Miskolc was Csaba Sassy (1884–1960, a famous poet, publicist and song-writer, even operetta librettist, but not a professional and educated historian, whose name as an artist's was known even outside the city at that time.

The authors of the latest post-socialist monograph cannot be enumerated; many local and other historians took part in the great project on MISKOLC MONOGRAPH. The higher the volume's figure was, the more historians appeared on the list of the co-writers. Fewest participants worked for the first volume, the most for the 4th and 5th tomes. The latter volumes had mainly local authors, while there were two historians, András Kubinyi and István Draskóczy from ELTE University, Budapest among the 5 co-workers of the first book. This fact influenced the quality of the volumes, too, the 1st and 2nd volumes are characterized by a unified approach, and they have more coherence than the volumes published after that. Some

⁶ SZENDREI, III, pp. V–VII.

⁷ LEVELES, Erzsébet: *The 800 Year Old Miskolc*. In: HALMAY–LESZIH, 11–126.

authors have participated in writing more volumes, as Péter Tóth and Éva Gyulai (volumes I–III) or the chief editor István Dobrossy, editor of the 4th volume László Veres or law historian István Stipta and historian Csaba Fazekas (III–V). This project was carefully prepared mainly by the chief editor István Dobrossy, there was held a conference in 1991 on the themes of the first and second volumes, and the papers presented there and even discussions and debate were published in the local museum’s yearbook in 1991.⁸ The preliminary studies for the 4th and 5th volumes were also reported in the county archives’ yearbook of 2000.⁹



MISKOLC MONOGRAPH, I, Hardcover (1996)

⁸ *A Miskolci Herman Ottó Múzeum Közleményei*, 27(1991) [Bulletin of Herman Ottó Museum, Miskolc, 1991]

⁹ *Borsod–Abaúj–Zemplén Megyei Levéltári Évkönyv X. [2000]. Előtanulmányok a Miskolc monográfia IV–V. kötetéhez (Miskolc története 1848–1949-ig)* [Yearbook of Borsod–Abaúj–Zemplén County Archives, 2000. Preliminary Studies for the 4th and 5th Volumes of the Miskolc Monography]

Monographs and “Zeitgeist” in writing history

Summarizing the topic I would say, that the Miskolc-monographs are products of their own age and all of them refer to the political background of their era, but the works in question meet scientific criteria of their times and adequate to modern historical writing in the same time. The SZENDREI fits to the series of town histories published in Austro-Hungarian Dualism, moreover it is one of the earliest monographs of this epoch, only a couple works as History of Cluj¹⁰ and Arad monography¹¹ had been started and published earlier.

The 1929 monograph is an issue of the series “Monographs of Hungarian Towns” edited by a special office (Magyar Városok Monográfiája Kiadóhivatal = Publications Office for Monographs of Hungarian Cities) which was created directly for this purpose with the same format. There were even small towns that were shown in this series, as Baja, Makó, even Kispest which was a district of Budapest. The attractive books represented the inter-war Hungarian urban culture and development with the message that the urbanization hadn't broken after the Trianon catastrophe. The HALMAI–LESZIH represents Miskolc as a modern 20th-century Hungarian town with a significant past and history. This volume and the whole series is the product of the inter-war Hungarian culture policy, nevertheless the part of the town history written by Erzsébet Leveles is the best summary of Miskolc's medieval and modern history, ever.

The recent five-volume monograph matches the range of the multi-volume town histories launched in the 70s and 80s, as

¹⁰ JAKAB, Elek: *Kolozsvár története*, I–III. Kolozsvár város közönsége–M. Kir. Egyetemi Nyomda, Budapest, 1870–1888 [Jakab, Elek: History of Kolozsvár/Cluj. Ed. Public of Kolozsvár. University Press, Buda, 1870–1888]; JAKAB, Elek: *Oklevéltár Kolozsvár története 2. és 3. kötetéhez*. M. Kir. Egyetemi Nyomda Egyetemi Nyomda, Buda, 1888 [Cartulary to the 2nd and 3rd Volumes of History of Kolozsvár/Cluj, University Press, Buda, 1888]

¹¹ LAKATOS Ottó: *Arad története*, I–III. Gyulai István, Arad, 1881 [LAKATOS, Ottó: *History of Arad története*, I–III. Gyulai István, Arad, 1881]

the Szeged¹² and Debrecen¹³ monographs. The common feature of them is that editing the volumes took more than one decade, so the first parts were written due to a previous approach of history-writing. Miskolc is a lucky example in this case, because the researches and writing was started after the change of regime, in 1990-s, so the whole monograph is a product of the modern post-socialist historiography.

Abbreviations:

HOM HTD = Herman Ottó Múzeum, Miskolc, Történeti Dokumentáció [Herman Ottó Museum, Miskolc, Historical Documentation]

¹² *Szeged története*, 1–5.. Szerk.: KRISTÓ Gyula, BLAZOVICH László. Szeged Város–Csongrád Megyei Levéltár, Szeged, 1983–2010 [History of Szeged. Ed. KRISTÓ Gyula, BLAZOVICH László, Szeged, 1983–2010]

¹³ *Debrecen története*, 1–6. Szerk.: SZENDREY István, TOKODY Gyula etc. Debrecen Város, Debrecen, 1984-2010 [History of Debrecen, 16. Ed. SZENDREY István, TOKODY Gyula etc, Debrecen, 1984–2010]

MONOGRAPH of the “ROMAN DACIA” IN BRUSSELS

Sever DUMITRAȘCU

Abstract: *Entre 1962-1968 le savant Marcel Renard a mené une bataille intense pour publier une monographie „Dacia Romana” écrite par de grands savants romanistes et hellénistes roumains qui ont passé déjà dans l'éternité: Constantin Daicoviciu, Mihail Macrea, Dumitru Tudor, Emil Condurachi et D. M. Pippidi.*

Cet ouvrage - ci présente une séquence très importante de l'historiographie de l'archéologie roumaine par le dossier intitulé „Latomus - L'histoire de Dacia”. Le dossier contient 16 pièces publiées en original aussi.

Keywords : *Latomus, Roman Dacia, Renard, Tudor, Daicoviciu*

In Brussels appeared and appears the important publication LATOMUS - Revue d'Etudes Latines, led for years by the venerable scholar MARCEL RENARD. Between 1962-1968, with an angelic kindness, and add, with a great love for Dacia, for Romania, Marcel Renard has fought for *six years*, to publish a monograph ROMAN DACIA, written by the best scientists of it, then the Romance and Hellenistic scientists: CONSTANTIN DAICOVICIU, MIHAIL MACREA, in Cluj, DUMITRU TUDOR, EMIL CONDURACHI and D. M. PIPPIDI from Bucharest. However, it was not achieved, in this formula, ever. All these scientists have been among the righteous. The history of the ROMAN DACIA, from BRUSSELS, as a firm plan that they could fulfill, giving scientific greatness, deserved, to the Roman and Oriental Latin, so we are interested in the highest degree. For knowing the history of the ROMAN DACIA in

BRUSSELES, a sequence *not* insignificant of the historiography of the Romanian archeology, we bring into question a file called: «LATOMUS - DACIA HISTORY » that Mrs. Lucia Daicoviciu had the great kindness to entrust it to us for publication, for which we thank respectfully.

The file contains 16 pieces, of which we will publish all the originals in the *Annex*:

1. The *letter of February 21, 1962* addressed by Marcel Renard to C. Daicoviciu;
2. The *letter of March 10, 1962* addressed by D. Tudor, to C. Daicoviciu;
3. *Remarques Préliminaire*, Copy 1 - Xerography, above on the right D. Tudor wrote in pencil: *Comrade Acad C. Daicoviciu* (3 f);
4. *Remarques Préliminaire*, Copy 2 - Xerography, above on the right D. Tudor wrote in pencil: *Comrade Prof. M. Macrea*;
5. *The letter of June 26, 1962*, addressed by M. Renard to C. Daicoviciu;
6. The draft of the letter of C. Daicoviciu to M. Renard, dated July 16, 1962 (2 f, written in pencil on all pages);
7. *Autographic note of C. Daicoviciu* (on $\frac{1}{4}$ files);
8. *Dactilograma of C. Daicoviciu's letter* to M. Renard, from July 16, 1962 (2 sheets);
9. *Dactilograma (copy) of C. Daicoviciu's letter* to M. Renard, July 16, 1962 (2 sheets);
10. *The manuscript of the translation into French of the letter* of C. Daicoviciu to M. Renard C. of July 16, 1962;
11. *Dactilograma of the letter in French* addressed by C. Daicoviciu to M. Renard, dated July 17, 1962;
12. *M. Renard's letter to C. Daicoviciu*, dated July 25, 1962;
13. *M. Renard's letter to C. Daicoviciu*, dated September 11, 1968;
14. *Dactilograma of C. Daicoviciu's letter*, to M. Renard, dated September 14, 1968;
15. *Dactilograma of C. Daicoviciu's letter*, to M. Renard, dated September 19, 1968;

16. *M. Renard's letter to C. Daicoviciu*, dated September 23, 1968.

It is very important to start commenting on these documents with the very first sentence of MARCEL RENARD, proposing the publication of a SERIES of monographs on the history of the Roman provinces and wants to start the series with: ROMAN DACIA: „COMME J'AVAIS EU L'OCCASION, IL Y A QUELQUE TEMPS, D'ÉCRIRE A M. TUDOR, J'EN AI PROFITÉ POUR LUI FAIRE PART DE MON PROJET DE PUBLIER UNE SERIE D'OUVRAGES SUR LES PROVINCES ROMAINES, A COMMENCER PAR LA DACIE” (our underline S.D.).

In Dumitru Tudor's letter to C. Daicoviciu he, sending two monograph projects (for C. Daicoviciu and M. Macrea) proposes, among others to lead the monograph: "To expedite the work (o.u. S.D.), I propose you to pass the responsibility of this monograph on you (as I already communicated to M. Renard),,.

Here is of the Monograph Project (of which a copy is published in annex), only the chapter titles:

1. *Avant-Propos* (presentation de l'ouvrage par M. Renard)
2. *Tableau de sigles*
3. *Introduction*
4. *Histoire*
5. *Vie publique*
6. *Armée et marine*
7. *Vie privés*
8. *Voies et communication*
9. *Activités économiques*
10. *Activités intellectuelles et sociales*
11. *Religion* (y compris les grandes sanctuaires et les fêtes religieuses)
12. *Usages funéraires*
13. *Art et archéologie*
14. *Conclusion.*

In the letter dated June 26, 1962 Marcel Renard communicates him the steps for writing and publishing this work of synthesis („un ouvrage de synthèse”) - ROMAN DACIA, made by a team of Romanian colleagues („une petit équipe de collègues roumains: vous-même, M. M. Tudor, Condurachi, Pippidi et dautres que vous connaissez mieux que moi”).

Responding him, C. Daicoviciu considers the project to be excellent and including the work in the Collection LATOMUS - appealing, but proposes, in his turn, the construction of a project not for Dacia, but *Romania in antiquity*, stating that: "The work thus conceived could have 2 volumes (or two parts); one: the Greek-Daco-Roman-Byzantine Dobrogea and the other: the free Roman and post-Roman Dacia,(until by the Slavs coming). The advantage is that such a work embraces my whole country and not only Dacia itself". Finally he adds: "I must remember you that even if undertaken only the *Roman Dacia* (i.e. without Moesian Dobrogea)the work will have - as you also propose - about 500 printed pages. I say this because I promised to publish a Roman Dacia in English and Dutch at a well-known publishing house in the Netherlands, in 8° of about 100-150 printed pages - and would not be appropriate to appear on the Roman Dacia two works of the same extension and the same tenor (même teneur)".

With great joy ("Grand Plaisir") Marcel Renard - wise - supports the new proposal: „Je suis d'accord pour 2 volumes, pouvant aller *chacun* jusqu'à 500 pages, consacrés à la Roumanie dans l'antiquité, selon la disposition que vous proposez. Tout ce que je souhaite, c'est que les cadres des provinces romaine soient aussi bien fixés que possible. Quant au plan que je vous ai envoyé, il n'est pas du tout impératif: il doit être adapté aux circonstances régionales. Et pour ce qui regarde les collaborateurs, vous connaissez mieux que moi les spécialistes roumains”.

In the *BELGIUM* correspondence file, as we have called it, there is a caesura of six years, during which time, we do not know the discussions that were held on the *ROMAN DACIA* or *ROMANIA IN ANTIQUITY*.

The resumption of the correspondence (which appears in file; of course will be there also other correspondence, in other funds, but we do not know them), is made with a letter of Marcel Renard of September 11, 1968 that includes three paragraphs, each explanation and of a major significance, for who knows the Romanian archeology historiography, of those years:

A. „Je crois que bientôt se célébrera la 50^e anniversaire de l'union de la Transylvanie. A ce propos, je voudrais vous faire une suggestion: ce serait de prendre la direction d'un ouvrage (rédigé en français) sur la Transylvanie dans l'Antiquité. Je crois que vous êtes le plus qualifié pour une telle entreprise. Et le volume pourrait paraître dans la „Collection Latomus”. A vous de décider - et, dans l'affirmative, de choisir les collaborateurs”.

B. „Le regretté Professeur Macrea avait entrepris, pour la *Collection Latomus*, un travail sur la Dacie. Un peu avant sa mort, il m'avait écrit que cet ouvrage était terminé. Savez-vous si le manuscrit est disponible et s'il est à peu près au point?”.

C. „J'aurais bien voulu assister au colloque de Mamaia. Mais je n'ai pas pu. Vous me connaissez suffisamment pour savoir que ce ne sont pas les événements des dernières semaines qui m'en ont empêché! *En réalité, je suis très déprimé pour toutes sortes de raisons...*” (Emphasis ours – S.D. and it is *not* random).

The response of C. Daicoviciu we know of the "penult" two documents, of the file known to us, those of 14 and 19 September 1968, actually two versions of the same letter, stating: „C'est avec le plus vif plaisir que j'ai accueilli votre offre si aimable d'écrire, pour la série Latomus, un livre consacré à la Transylvanie dans l'antiquité. Il faut vous dire que je projetais depuis longtemps d'écrire, en collaboration avec mon fils Hadrien un livre qui traiterait de l'époque *dacique* et de l'époque *romaine* et *postromaine*. Il va sans dire que l'ouvrage s'occuperait brièvement aussi des époques qui précèdent les Daces, mais uniquement en guise d'introduction, indispensable à la compréhension des trois époques fondamentales qui bénéficieront d'une étude d'ampleur.

Les trois époques fondamentales comprendraient l'intervalle de temps entre l'an 500 av.J.C. et le X^e, p.C.”.

They proposed the publication of a work such as the type of the known monograph *Transylvania in Antiquity*, written or revised in collaboration between the venerable teacher and young H. Daicoviciu, archaeologist and professor at the University of Cluj.

On September 23, 1968 Marcel RENARD wrote, apparently, for the last time to C. Daicoviciu after that the Roman Dacia plan - archaeological monograph, which was to be the work of a team of Romanian experts: C. Daicoviciu, D. Tudor, E. Condurachi, D.M. Pippidi, M. Macrea, so the plan of the *ROMAN DACIA* from *BRUSSELS* fell, was abandoned. The Belgian Professor again agrees completely:

„Je n'empresse de vous marquer mon accord complet sur vos proposition: conception du sujet, ampleur de l'ouvrage, illustrations, choix des collaborateurs etc.”, but he adds wise and *sad*: „Pour ce qui est du délai de remise du manuscrit et des illustrations, j'aurais scrupule à vous prescrire un délai: *le plus tôt sera le mieux*”.

And indeed *the greater good is the evil good*, for if the *Roman Dacia* monograph, the book with which Marcel Renard wanted to start *the big series of the monographs of the Roman provinces* of the publication *LATOMUS*, so *the Roman Dacia in Brussels* has never occurred, there has *never* appeared in *Transylvania or in antiquity*.

The plan of Roman Dacia in Brussels remains grand and with the regret that lost a great opportunity, perhaps the greatest, as the Roman Dacia to become better known in the scholarly world and not only.

Of course, the mitigating circumstances can be discerned in the range of facts that marked the destiny of the great archaeologist C. Daicoviciu in the years from the end of his life. However, they, of course, do not explain everything.

APPENDIXES

1

LATOMUS

Révue d'Études Latines

Le 21 février 1962

Compte chèques postaux 7526.46 de la Société d'Études Latines de Bruxelles

Redacteur en chef:

Marcel RENARD

c/o Madame Renard

Plac Marie-José

13 Bruxelles 5

Mon cher Collègue,

Comme j'avais eu l'occasion, il y a quelque temps, d'écrire à M. Tudor, j'en ai profité pour lui faire part de mon projet de publier une série d'ouvrages sur les provinces romaines, à commencer par la Dacie. Il vous a fait part de mon intention. Aujourd'hui, je lui ai envoyé un projet de plan qui pourrait convenir, me semble-t-il, pour tous les ouvrages de la série. Bien entendu, je ne suis pas hostile à des adaptations nécessitées par des phénomènes propres à telle ou à telle région. - Mais M. Tudor vous montrera mon projet et vous me direz ce que vous en pensez.

J'serais tout disposé à mettre l'Ambassade de Roumanie à Bruxelles au courant de l'offre de collaboration que j'ai faite à mes collègues roumains. Mais au préalable j'aimerais votre avis.

Je vous pris d'agréer, mon cher Collègue, l'expres de tous mes compliments.

ss. M. Renard

P.S. J'espère avoir un jour l'occasion de me révue en Roumanie, où j'aurais tant de sites, tant de musées à voir.

Bucharest, March 10 1962

Dear,
Comrade Academician,

Prof. M. Renard sent me a joined outline of future Histoire: the Dacia Romains that I send you in two copies.

I think it is a template plan for the monographs like this that intend to edit in the collection "Latomus". It allows us to improve it, and I think it is appropriate.

He proposes us to increase the staff and suggests the name of comrade Pippidi. On this issue remains to discuss on the earliest date.

Then he asks us whether it is necessary to announce also our embassy in Brussels, in connection with the collaboration of this treaty. Appreciate, if applicable.

From the plan of the work tempt me the chapters about the army, transport links and economic life. It remains to give the division at the earliest meeting, when I will make you some proposals that do not belong in this letter.

To expedite the work, I propose you to pass the responsibility of this monograph on You (as I also communicated to M. Renard).

I think it is necessary to meet all in Cluj to put everything in place. Ask comrade Condurachi to pay me to move by the Institute.

I expect Your communication

ss. D. Tudor

3 and 4

Comrade Acad C. Daicoviciu

Comrade Prof. M. Macrea (two xerox copies with identical content, which D. Tudor wrote the names of the two professors from the University of Cluj)

REMARQUES PRÉLIMINAIRES

1. Certaines matières se recoupent parfois. Par exemple, il est question de l'amphithéâtre dans le chapitre „Vie publique” et dans le chapitre „Art et archéologie”. Dans le premier cas, on en parlera en tant que spectacle organisé par les magistrats, dans le second du point de vue archéologique.

2. L'ouvrage pourra comporter de 300 à 500 pages; il sera illustré des cartes, plans et photographies nécessaires.

3. Nous nous chargerions du service de presse. Nous offrirons à chaque auteur 5 exemplaires de l'ouvrage et 30 tirages à part de sa contribution. Comme nous poursuivons des buts uniquement scientifiques avec des moyens limités, il nous est malheureusement impossible d'offrir des droits d'auteurs à nos collaborateurs,

AVANT-PROPOS

(présentation de l'ouvrage par M. Renard)

TABLEAU DES SIGLES

(servira en même temps de bibliographie générale, du moins pour ce qui concerne les livres)

1) Livres

Exemples pour les livres:

PÂRVAN, *Dacia*, - V. PÂRVAN, *Dacia*, Cambridge, 1928

DAICOVICIU, *Transylvanie*³ = C. DAICOVICIU, *La Transylvanie dans l'antiquité*, 3^e édit, Bucarest, 1945

TUDOR, *IST. SCLAV.* - = D. TUDOR, *Istoria sclavajului în Dacia romană*, Bucarest,

1957

2) Revues.

On utilisera autant que possible les sigles de revues donnés par Marouzeau, *L'année philologique*

INTRODUCTION

1. Aperçu sur les grandes publications antérieures.

2. Les sources (d'un point de vue général): littéraires, épigraphiques, toponimiques, archéologiques (avec aperçu sur les chantiers de fouilles) etc.
3. Le pays du point de vue géographiques.
4. Avant la conquête romaine:
 - a) La préhistoire et la proto-histoire.
 - b) L'histoire jusqu'à la conquête.
 - c) Les peuples et leur organisation politique et sociale au moment de la conquête.

HISTOIRE

1. Historique de la conquête.
2. Les limites de la province.
3. Histoire des faites durant la période romaine (avec variations éventuelles des limites).
4. La fin de l'occupation romaine.

VIE PUBLIQUE

1. La population. Indigènes et Romaine. Villes et campagnes (rôle des villes; rôle de la campagne).
 2. Le statut de la province et des diverses *civitates* (avec les limites de celles-ci dans la mesure que possible).
 3. Magistratures; a) provinciales; magistrats romains, assemblée provinciale. b) locales (dans les cités et les *vici*)
 4. Finances publiques. Impots. Douanes.
 5. Les classes sociales: citoyens, hommes libres, affranchis, esclaves.
 6. Les jeux publiques: théâtre, odéon, amphithéâtre, cirque, etc.
1. La vie d'intérieur; ameublement; repas (aliments et boissons).
 2. Les plaisire et les jeux: jeux des enfants; jeux des adultes; sports; autres distractions.

VOIES DE COMMUNICATION

1. Les routes. Caractères du réseau routier et son histoire. Milliaires. Structures des routes. *Stationes* et *mutationes*. Ponts. Gués. Types de véhicules.
2. Transports fluviaux. Barques fluviales.
3. Transports maritimes. Navires de haute mer.

ACTIVITÉS ECONOMIQUES

1. Monnaies et mesures.
2. Agriculture, élevage, chasse, pêche (y compris l'outillage) le sel. La vie rurale.
3. Métiers divers (y compris les matériaux, les outils, les techniques):
 - a) bois (bûcherons, charpentiers, tonnaliers, etc.);
 - b) pierre (carriers, maçons, etc.);
 - c) peinture et mosaïque;
 - d) métaux (mines, fonte de métaux, forgerons, bronziers, etc.);
 - e) céramistes;
 - f) verriers;
 - g) tissu (filage, tissage, foulage, tailleurs, etc.);
 - h) cuir;
 - i) vannerie etc.
4. Les monopoles d'état.
5. Commerce local (boutiques, marchés) et grand commerce; entrepôts; exportations et importations.

ACTIVITÉS INTELLECTUELLES ET SOCIALES

1. Enseignement et belles-lettres. Langue(s) indigène(s), etc. Latin; adoption du latin. L'enseignement: pédagogues, grammairiens, rhéteurs. Vie intellectuelle.

- Les écrivains originaires de la province.
2. Avocats.
 3. Médecine: médecins, chirurgiens, oculistes, pharmacie; hygiène etc.

RELIGION

(y compris les grands sanctuaires et les fêtes religieuses)

1. Cultes indigènes.
2. Dieux romains et gréco-romains.
3. Synchrétisme.
4. Culte impérial.
5. Cultes orientaux.
6. Christianisme.
7. Croyances populaires (superstitions, sortilèges, etc.).

USAGE FUNERAIRES

1. Les différents rites et les différents types de tombes.
2. Les idées relatives à l'au-delà.
3. Le culte des morts.

ART ET ARCHÉOLOGIE

1. Urbanisme (les sites et leur plan).
2. Architecture:
 - a) publique; forums, temples, théâtre, odéons, amphithéâtre, cirques, aqueducs, etc.;
 - b) privée: la maison de ville, la maison de campagne.
3. Sculpture: pierre, bronze.
4. Peinture et mosaïque.
5. Arts décoratifs et divers: céramique (vases, lampes, etc.), verrerie, métaux (récipients de bronze, fibules, bijoux, etc.), etc.

CONCLUSION

1. Contribution de la province à l'oeuvre de Rome. L'apport de la province. Ses représentations dans d'autres régions de l'empire: armée, administration, etc.
2. L'héritage de Rome. Ce que Rome a donné à la province.

5

LATOMUS REVUE D'ÉTUDES LATINES

Le 26 juin 1962.

Compte chèques postaux 7526.46

de la Société d'Etudes Latines de Bruxelles

Rédacteur en chef: Marcel RENARD

c/o Madame Renard
Place Marie-José, 13.
Bruxelles 5

Monsieur C. DAICOVICIU,
Professeur à l'Université, Cluj.

Mon cher Collègue,

Je voudrais savoir ce que vous pensez de mon projet de publier dans la „Collection Latomus” un ouvrage de synthèse sur la Dacie romaine. Je voudrais que ce soit un ouvrage important qui montrerait la voie pour d'autres livres du même genre, consacrés aux autres provinces.

Sans doute êtes-vous fort chargé de travail... Mais comme vous la savez, je verrais volontiers cet ouvrage par une petite équipe de collègues roumains: vous-même, M.M.

Tudor, Condurachi, Pippidi et d'autres que vous connaissez mieux que moi.

Lors du récent passage de MM. Condurachi et Pippidi à Bruxelles, nous avons beaucoup parlé des travaux et des fouilles poursuivis en Roumanie depuis quelques années: et mon désir est devenue plus vif encore de souhaiter l'élaboration de l'ouvrage en

question. Je suis persuadé qu'un tel livre aurait un grand retentissement.

Je souhaite que mon projet rencontre votre faveur vous prie d'agr er, mon cher Coll g e, l'expression de tous mes compliments.

ss. M. Renard

6

4 copies

Dear Colegue

I received your letter of June 26 with the complimentary proposal to write, with a team (equipe de collegues ruminans) a history of the Roman Dacia. I resume my activity after a long illness, and I hasten to show you my opinion in this regard. I mention that I had been informed about this proposal with some four months before by my colleague D. Tudor.

The project is undoubtedly excellent and answers to a necessity. Framing the work in the "Latomus Collection" is, on the other hand, attractive.

I am ready to participate in this work, dealing, in addition to the editorial and organizational problems of some chapters of it.

I will take the fastest contact with my colleagues D. Tudor, M. Macrea, Em. Condurachi and D.M. Pippidi - to discuss both the plan (theme) made by you - which I find to be generally very good - and sharing the duties.

I do not know if collegues Condurachi and Pippidi will accept the collaborate on a Roman Dacia, their concerns being directed almost exclusively on the Greco-Roman Moesia (Dobrogea. - Therefore, I wonder if it would be appropriate a

paper entitled "Romania in antiquity", including the Greek, Dacian and Roman era of the entire Romanian territory (of the century VI B.C. until 600 A.D.)? What do you say? In this case, the two colleagues would have plenty to give all the value of their capacity.

The work thus conceived could have 2 volumes (or two parts); one: Greek-Daco-Roman-Byzantine Dobrogea and the other: free , Roman and post-Roman Dacia (until the Slavs coming). - The advantage is that such work embraces the whole territory of my country and not only Dacia itself.

It goes without saying that in the latter case, if accepted the above project, the work plan will undergo some modifications and extension amplifications.

We must remember you that, even if undertaken only the Roman Dacia (i.e. without Moesian Dobrogea) the work will have - as you also propose - the 500 pages printed.

I say this because I promised to publish a Roman Dacia in English and Dutch at a well-known publishing house in the Netherlands, in 8 ° of about 100-150 printed pages - and would be not appropriate to appear on the Roman Dacia two works of the same extension and the same tenor (author? our note S.D.)

Here, my dear fellow, my views on the issue that you raised it.

I expect now your answer about Romania in antiquity, but until then I will begin the discussions with the colleagues indicated. With the finest regards.

Cluj, July, 16 1962

7

Note: "Written also for Tudor and Condurachi (with the copy of the reply to Renard) July, 16, 962"

Manuscript Text – C. *Daicovicu*

8 and 9

(identic copies our note S.D.)

M. Renard

Brussels (CD autographic note.)

Dear Colleague,

I received your letter of June 26 with the complimentary proposal to write, with a team (*équipe de collègues roumains*) a history of the Roman Dacia. I resume my activity after a long illness, I hasten to show you my opinion in this regard. I mention that I had been informed about this proposal with some four months before by the colleague D. Tudor.

The project is undoubtedly excellent and responds to a necessity. Framing the work in the "Collection Latomus" is, on the other hand, attractive.

I am ready to participate in this work, dealing, in addition with the editorial and organizational problems of some chapters of it. I will take as soon as contact with my colleagues D. Tudor, M. Macrea, Em. Condurachi and D.M. Pippidi - to discuss both the plan (theme) made by you - which I find to be generally very good - and sharing the duties.

I do not know if the colleges Condurachi and Pippidi will accept the collaborate on a Roman *Dacia*, their concerns being directed almost exclusively on the Greco-Roman Moesia (Dobrogea). - Therefore, I wonder if it would be appropriate a paper entitled "Romania in antiquity", including the Greek, Dacian and Roman era, of the entire Romanian territory (of the century VI B.C. until 600 A.D.)? What do you say? In this case, the two colleagues would have plenty to give all the value of their capacity.

The work thus conceived could have 2 volumes (or two parts); one: Greek-Daco-Roman-Byzantine Dobrogea and the other: free, Roman and post Roman Dacia (until the arrival of the Slavs). The advantage is that such work embraces the whole territory of my country and not only Dacia itself.

It goes without saying that in the latter case, if accepted the above project, the plan of the work will undergo some modifications and extensive amplifications.

I must remember you that even if undertaken only the *Roman Dacia* (i.e. without Moesian Dobrogea) the work will have - as you also propose - about 500 pages printed. I say this because I promised to publish a Roman Dacia in English and Dutch at a well-known publishing house in the Netherlands, in 8 ° of about 100-150 printed pages - and would be not appropriate to appear on Roman Dacia two works of the same extension and the same tenor.

Here, my dear fellow, my views on the issue that you raised it.

I expect now your answer about Romania in antiquity, but until then I will begin the discussions with the colleagues indicated.

Cluj, July 16, 1962

My best regards,
C. Daicoviciu

10 and 11

(Manuscript translation, *revealing a woman's writing*, is exactly with the *dactilograma* our note S.D.)

Cher et honoré collègue,

J'ai reçu votre lettre du 26 juin a.c. avec la flatteus proposition d'écrire, secondé par une équipe de collègues roumains, une histoire de la *Dacie romaine*. Comme j'ai repris, après une longue maladie, mon activité, je m'empresse de vous faire connaître à cet égard, mon opinion. J'ajoute que mon collègue D. Tudor m'avise déjà, il y a environ quatre mois, informé de vorte propositions.

Votre projet est sans doute excellent et répond à une nécessité en outre, la publication de l'ouvrage dans la „Collection Latomus” me paraît attrayante.

Quant à moi, je suis prêt à participer à ce travail, en me réservant, outre les problèmes de l'organisation et de la rédaction de l'ouvrage, quelques uns aussi de ses chapitres. Je me mettrai au plus tôt possible en communication avec mes collègues D. Tudor, M. Macrea, Em. Condurachi et D. M. Pippidi, afin de discuter avec le plan que vous avez arrêté (et que moi-même je trouve en général très bon) comme aussi la répartition de nos charges.

Je ne sais pas encore si mes collègues Condurachi et Pippidi voudront bien accepter leur collaboration à une *Dacie* romaine, étant donné que leurs préoccupations sont dirigées presque exclusivement vers la Mésie gréco-romaine (la Dobroudja). C'est justement pour cela que je me demande s'il n'y aurait pas lieu de sens à un ouvrage dont le titre serait „La Roumanie dans l'antiquité” et qui comprendrait l'époque grecque, dace et romaine de tout le territoire roumain (à partir du VI^e siècle avant notre ère jusqu'à 600 environ de notre ère). Qu'en dites-vous? Dans ce cas, mes deux collègues auraient une belle occasion de faire valoir toute leur compétence.

L'ouvrage, ainsi conçu, pourrait avoir 2 volumes (ou deux parties), l'une: La Dobroudja gréco-daco-romaino-byzantine, l'autre La Dacie libre, romaine et post-romaine (jusqu'à l'arrivée des Slaves). Un tel ouvrage aurait l'avantage d'embrasse tout le territoire de mon pays, non seulement la Dacie proprement dite: il va de soi que, dans ce dernier cas, si le projet susmentionné être accepté, le plan du travail comportera quelques modifications et de vastes amplifications.

Je dois vous faire connaître que, même dans le cas d'une *Dacie romaine* (c'est à dire sans la Dobroudja mésique), l'ouvrage devra avoir - conformément à votre proposition même - circa 500 pages imprimées. Je le précise parce que je me suis chargé de la publication d'une Dacie romaine en anglais et en hollandais, qu'une maison bien connue de la Hollande fera prochainement

paraître in 8° et qui aura 100-150 pages environ: in ne serait pas du tout convenable que deux ouvrages de mêmes dimensions et de même teneur paraissent en même temps concernant la Dacia romaine.

Telles sont, cher collègue, mes opinions au sujet de votre proposition. J'attends votre réponse en ce qui concerne „la Roumanie dans l'antiquité", tout en vous faisant connaître que dans un très proche avenir je ne manquerai pas d'entamer la discussion à ce propos, avec mes collègues cidessus indiqués.

Cluj, 17 VII 1962

Avec mes meilleures salutations
C. Daicoviciu

12

LATOMUS REVUE D'ÉTUDES LATINES

Le 25 juillet 1962.

Compte chèques postaux 7526.46
de la Société d'Etudes Latines de Bruxelles

Rédacteur en chef : Marcel RENARD
c/o Madame Renard
Place Marie-José, 13. Bruxelles 5

Cher et honoré Collègue,

Votre lettre du 17 courant m'a fait grand plaisir.

Je vous dirai que j'ai peu de chose à répondre car toutes vos suggestions sont excellentes.

Je suis d'accord pour 2 volumes, pouvant être *chacun* jusqu'à 500 pages, consacrés à la Roumanie dans l'antiquité, selon la disposition que vous proposez. Tout que je souhaite, c'est que les cadres des provinces romaine soient aussi bien fixés que possible. Quant au plan que je vous ai envoyé, il n'est pas du tout

impératif: il doit être adapté aux circonstances régionales. Et pour ce qui regarde les collaborateurs, vous connaissez mieux que moi les spécialistes roumains.

Il est bien évident que ce que je vous demande c'est un travail plus détaillé que celui dont vous avez accepté l'élaboration pour un éditeur hollandais. Car je crois qu'il est urgent d'avoir ici un bon état scientifique et bien à jour en ce qui concerne votre pays. J'espère pouvoir publier d'autres volumes du même genre, mais à yeux la tâche est pressante pour la Roumanie.

Je souhaite donc que vous puissiez mener l'entreprise à bonne fin dans les meilleurs délais.

En vous renouvelant mes remerçiments, je vous prie d'agréer, cher Collègue, l'expression de mes sentiment les meilleurs,

M. Renard

13

LATOMUS REVUE D'ÉTUDES LATINES

Le 11/9/68

Compte chèques postaux 7526.46
de la Société d'Études Latines de Bruxelles

Monsieur C. DAICOVICIU,
Recteur de l'Université, CLUJ

Directeur:
Marcel RENARD,
Place Maria-José, 13,
Bruxelles 5

Cher Monsieur Daicoviciu,

Je crois que bientôt se célébrera le 50^e anniversaire de l'union de la Transylvanie. A ce propos, je voudrais vous faire un suggestion: ce serait de prendre la direction d'un ouvrage (rédigé

français) sur la Transylvanie dans l'Antiquité. Je crois que vous êtes le plus qualifié pour une telle entreprise. Et le volume pourra paraître dans la „Collection Latomus". A vous de décider... et, dans l'affirmative, de choisir les collaborateurs.

Le regretté Professeur Macrea avait entrepris, pour la Collection Latomus, un travail sur la Dacie. Un peu avant sa mort, il m'avait écrit que cet ouvrage était terminé. Savez-vous si le manuscrit est disponible et s'il est à peu près au point?

J'aurais bien voulu assister au colloque de Mamaia. Mais n'ai pas pu. Vous me connaissez suffisamment pour savoir que ce ne sont pas les événements des dernières semaines qui m'en ont empêché. En réalité, je suis très déprimé pour toutes sortes de raisons...

Je vous prie d'agréer, cher Monsieur Daicoviciu, l'express de mes fidèles sentiments.

M. Renard

14

Cluj, le 14 septembre 1968

Cher Monsieur Renard,

C'est avec le plus vif plaisir que j'ai accueilli votre offre si aimable d'écrire, pour la série Latomus, un livre consacré à la Transylvanie dans l'antiquité. Il faut vous dire que je projetais depuis longtemps d'écrire, en collaboration avec mon fils Hadrien un livre qui traitera de l'époque *dacique* et de l'époque *romaine* et *postromaine*. Il va sans dire que l'ouvrage s'occuperait brièvement aussi des époques qui précèdent les Daces, mais uniquement en guise d'introduction, indispensable à la compréhension des trois époques fondamentales qui bénéficieront d'une étude d'ampleur. Les trois époques fondamentales comprendraient l'intervalle de temps entre l'an 500 av. J.C. et le X^e p.C.

Tout en acceptant donc avec empressement votre aimable invitation, je vous signale que le songe à un volum d'environ 500

pages imprimées, au format de la série Latomus, avec planches, figures, cartes (esquisses) et un index. Il est possible, par ailleurs, que mon fils et moi fassions appel à un troisième collaborateur.

Pour ma part, j'ignore l'existence d'un pareil ouvrage dû au regretté M. Macrea. Je ne connais qu'un livre de vulgarisation de l'histoire de la Dacie romaine, qui paraîtra bientôt en langue roumaine et que l'auteur souhaite présenter en français à l'intention de la série Latomus. Je me permets de vous dire en toute franchise que je ne voyais pas dans mon ancien élève Mihail Macrea l'auteur adéquat pour donner un ouvrage de ce genre, au niveau de la série Latomus, tout comme je ne vois pas non plus dans Monsieur Tudor l'homme capable de fournir un tel travail de synthèse.

Je vous serais très obligé si vous pouviez répondre dans le plus bref délai aux propositions que je viens de vous faire et de me faire part en même temps du terme que vous pensez pouvoir nous accorder pour la présentation du texte (en langue française) et des matériaux annexes.

Je vous prie d'agréer, cher Monsieur Renard, l'expression de mes sentiments les plus distingués.

Prof. CD.

15

Cluj, le 19 septembre 1968

Cher Monsieur Renard,

C'est avec le plus vif plaisir que j'ai accueilli votre offre si aimable d'écrire, pour la série Latomus, un livre consacré à la Transylvanie dans l'antiquité. Il faut vous dire que je projetais depuis longtemps d'écrire, en collaboration avec mon fils Hadrien un livre qui traiterait de l'époque *dacique* et de l'époque *romaine* et *postromaine*. Il va sans dire que l'ouvrage s'occuperait brièvement aussi des époques qui précèdent les Daces, mais uniquement en

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Je vous prie d'agréer, cher Monsieur Renard, l'expression de mes sentiments les plus distingués.

(Prof. C. Daicoviciu)

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LATOMUS REVUE D'ÉTUDES LATINES

Le 23 septembre 1963.

Compte chèques postaux 752646
de la Société d'Études Latines de Bruxelles

A. Monsieur C. DAICOVICIU

Directeur:
Marcel RENARD,
Place Marie-José, 13,
Bruxelles 5

Cher Monsieur Daicoviciu,

Je reçois à l'instant votre aimable lettre du 19 courant.

Je m'empresse de vous marquer mon accord complet sur vos propositions: conception du sujet, ampleur de l'ouvrage, illustrations, choix des collaborateurs etc.

Pour ce qui est du délai de remise du manuscrit et des illustrations, j'aurais scrupule à vous prescrire un délai: *le plus tôt sera le mieux*. Je ferai mettre à l'impression dès réception du manuscrit des illustrations.

Je vous prie d'agréer, cher Monsieur Daicoviciu, l'expression de mon plus cordial souvenir.

M. Renard

REFLECTIONS ON WRITING THE MONOGRAPHS OF THE CREDIT INSTITUTIONS WITH ROMANIAN CAPITAL IN THE LATE 19TH - EARLY 20TH CENTURY TRANSYLVANIA

Mihai D. DRECIN

Abstract: *The monographs of the credit institutions, be they in the field of the cooperative or of the limited liability companies by shares, are a special category of works that allow us to enter deeper into the history of the economy at a historic moment, but also into other spheres of the daily life, that is the political, cultural, diplomatic, mentality, etc. benefit from the bank loans.*

This paper points out some quantitative and qualitative aspects of the research stage and writing the monographs of the credit institutions with Romanian capital in the Transylvania of the period 1867 to 1918.

For beginning they made a thorough inventory of the main bank monographs published in 1897 - 2009, dedicated to the banks with Romanian capital that were active in the Austrian - Hungarian dual era (1867-1918). In the 110 years taken into account, the historical writing passes not less than four distinct eras: the Austrian-Hungarian dualist era, the interwar period of the unified Romania (1919-1947), the Communist era (1948-1989), the transition period to democracy (after 1990). The interest in publishing studies dedicated to the banking phenomenon ranged from a historical period to another, this being dissected and explained by the author with political and scientific arguments grounded in the realities of those times. Below there are details, in the terms of his own research experiences of over 40 years, the difficulties now facing a researcher who wants to specialize in the banking history, the plans, directions to be considered for a quality research in the field, the basic sources to be covered in the documentation for the production of a banking monograph.

Finally, however, they also evidence the positive parts of the banking history research, in understanding the general national and regional history at a given

historical moment. It says that the credit banks are a true barometer of the economic development in any society, fulfilling the role of the doctor in the human community.

Keywords: *monograph research, banking monographs, Romanian credit institutions, 1867 - 1918, Transylvania - Romania.*

The first institutions with Romanian capital credit in Transylvania began to build around the year 1870. It is about the „Societatea de păstrare și împrumut” from Rășinari - Sibiu, in 1867 - 1868, after all a credit cooperative type Schultze - Delitsch, then the Credit and Savings Institute “Albina” in Sibiu, in 1871 - 1872, the first credit bank established as an anonymous society on shares. The initiator and organizer of these two credit institutions was Vissarion Roman, professional a teacher, journalist, editor of newspapers and magazines, an economist himself, and a veritable encyclopedic mind. Since 1880 began to appear in an accelerated rhythm, more and more of the 26 Transylvanian counties with Romanian majority, an increasing number of credit cooperatives and banks with Romanian capital. The creation rate and their number¹ were determined by the increase of the economic force of the minor and major elite of the Romanian nation, from the peasants, artisans and traders, to intellectuals, here especially practitioners of some liberal occupations: lawyers, doctors, engineers, accountants. In addition to this crucial economic factor, creator of money for the subscription of shares have to remember the Romanians accommodate with the banking discipline mechanism and increase of the number of graduates with average

¹ Between 1880 - 1914, they set up 296 Romanian credit cooperatives and banks as follows: 1880/1889 - 25, 1890/1899 - 62, 1900/1910 - 121, 1910/1914 - 88. Between 1868 - 1873, they set up only three credit institutions: the credit cooperatives in Rășinari - 1868 and Năsăud (“Aurora”) - 1873 and the Bank “Albina” in Sibiu in 1871. See Nicolae N. Petra, *Băncile românești din Ardeal și Banat*, Bucharest, 1936, p 27-52; Vasile Dobrescu, *Sistemul de credit românesc din Transilvania 1872 - 1918*, “Petru Maior” University Publishing House Târgu Mureș, 1999, p 250-273.

or greater economic training - accountants and economists. We add that the German - Austrian model was the base of the organization and activity of these Romanian institutions, as well as of those with Hungarian or Hungarian - Hebrew capital in province, in fact in the entire Austria - Hungary.

Until 1918, there were not constant concerns for writing banking monographs at the level of the Romanian economists and historians. The Romanian credit institutions were in the phase of consolidation and modernization efforts, considering that it was unnecessary as a part of time and profits to be spent on writing and printing monographs or some anniversary round numbers. However, the exceptions have strengthened the rule. It is about the first synthesis dedicated to the establishment and operation of the Bank "Albina" in Sibiu. Nicolae Petra - Petrescu wrote it 1897 on the occasion of celebrating the 25 years since its establishment², the history of credit cooperative in Săliște, written in 1909 by Ioan Lupaș, also on the celebration of 25 years of existence, published in 1911, republished in 1918³. Finally, the young economist Ioan I. Lapedatu, former director of the Bank "Ardeleana" in Orăștie, prepares and publishes in 1913, a monograph of the credit institution on the quarter-century anniversary of its foundation⁴. In the "Economic Review" of February 1918, without the author's signature, they made a brief history of the Bank "Silvania" in Șimleul - Silvaniei on the reach of 30 years of activity⁵.

The banking life in the Unified Romania has seen a veritable explosion, moving upward to the terms of number of banks established, figures of business and modernization, with the

² Nicolae Petra – Petrescu, *Monografia Institutului de credit și de economii „Albina”, 1872 – 1897*, „Albina” Institute Publishing House, Sibiu, 1897

³ Ioan Lupaș, *Casa de păstrare (reuniune) în Săliște. Un sfert de secol de la înființarea ei (1884 – 1909)*, Săliște 1911; *Ibid*, Printing Pattern Arhidiecezane, Sibiu, 1918. See other details to Mihai D. Drecin, „Ioan Lupaș istoric al vieții financiar – bancare românești din Transilvania”, in *Analele Universității din Oradea, Seria: Istorie – Arheologie*, 2002, p.245 - 246

⁴ Ion I. Lapedatu, *Monografia Institutului de credit și economii „Ardeleana” – Societate pe acții în Orăștie, 1885 – 1910*, Orăștie, 1913

⁵ „Silvania”, in *Revista Economică (Sibiu)*, no.7/16 February 1918, p.57 - 60

exception of the years of the global economic crisis in 1929 - 1933, which also has affected us since 1928. The interest in the Romanian banking capital of the Old Kingdom to subordinate its banks in Transylvania, regardless of their capital origin - Romanian, Austrian, Hungarian or Hebrew, explains the appearance of some monographs dedicated to several Romanian banks in Transylvania, in the following years of 1918/1919. Even now they are not numerous, do not attend to the archive documents but only to a limited extent, and is based on edit and press works. Even so, they could provide accurate data about their economic power, in any case well below the Kingdom of Romania banks, details about the directors and shareholders in Transylvania, necessary in the efforts to subordinate them, if not you “swallow” them by fusion. We mention here at our present level of knowledge, the works of Victor Slăvescu - dedicated to the Bank “Albina”⁶, Ion I. Lapedatu - regarding the first insurance company with Romanian capital in Transylvania⁷, Ioan Ghișa - who makes the history of the Bank „Crișana” in Brad at fifty years from its establishment⁸.

The final establishment of the communist regime in our country in the years 1948 - 1949, marks the nationalization or self-liquidation by refusing the reescont by the State Bank of Romania - all joint-stock banks, ownership of some domestic or foreign shareholders. From this time, the labeling of the banks as instruments of the bourgeois-landlord exploitation until 1948 has determined the blocking of any landowner scientific researches in that field, conducted by economists or historians. The brief period of liberalization of the communist regime in our country in the period 1964 - 1971, with interesting sequential extends, in

⁶ Victor Slăvescu, *Banca „Albina” din Sibiu, cea mai însemnată întreprindere financiară din Transilvania. Cu o privire generală asupra băncilor comerciale din Ardeal și Banat*, Bucharest, 1919

⁷ Ion I. Lapedatu, „Prima Societate ardeleană de asigurări generale” S.A. Cluj, fosta „Bancă Generală” de Asigurare” și mai târziu „România – societate anonimă transilvăneană de asigurări”, Sibiu, Tip „Foaia poporului”, Sibiu, 1923.

⁸ Ioan Ghișa, *Banca „Crișana” S.A. Brad (1891 – 1940)*, „Concordia” Publishing House, Gh. Munteanu, Institute of Graphic Arts, Arad, 1942.

some areas of research, allows the publication of some studies and monographs of the Romanian banks in the Transylvania of the Austrian - Hungarian dual time. We think of the cooperative of credit in Rășinari⁹ and the Bank "Albina" in Sibiu¹⁰. References to the work of other Romanian credit institutions until 1918, but not constituting independent monographs, we find in the studies of Vasile Dobrescu in Târgu – Mureș. They were dedicated to the emergence and affirmation of the Romanian village elite in Transylvania. In addition, also to the evolution of the land relationships in the province in the period 1848 - 1918, the imposition of the culture and the national sentiment - all seen including in close connection with the development of the Romanian banking system at the turn of the 19th - 20th centuries.

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From 1990 - 1991 the Romanian historiography enters a new phase. The right to a personal opinion, to the research without hindrance to the national and world history, to connections of ideas and interpretations with international openings – allow among others, the open approach to the Romanian banking history. As such, on the model of the years 1966 - 1982, they strengthen the researches of banking history in general, especially of the Romanian ones. We believe that the revival of the researches in this tier of the national economy history was boosted also by the onset of the National Symposium (International since 1997) of Financial - Banking History, organized by the University of Oradea starting with the year 1991, every two years¹¹.

⁹ Bujor Surdu, „Societatea de păstrare și împrumut din Rășinari?”, in *Acta Musei Napocensis*, Cluj – Napoca, 1966, p.323 - 328

¹⁰ Mihai D. Drecin, *Banca „Albina” din Sibiu – instituție națională a românilor transilvăneni (1871 – 1918)*, Dacia Publishing House, Cluj – Napoca, 1982.

¹¹ *Simpozionul Național „Muncă, bani, bănci, cultură și politică (secolele XV/III – XX)*, 1991, 1993, 1995, 1997, 1999, 2001, 2003, 2005, 2007, 2009, 2012.

The first monograph studies were published in a volume dedicated to the history of the Transylvania Romanian banks dualistic era. It is about the Bank “Economul” in Cluj, a study written by Nicolae Trifoiu and Mihai D. Drecin and the Bank “Bihoreana” in Oradea, a study by Ioan Crișan¹². They exploit unpublished archival documents; press of time, published works tangentially dedicated to the banking phenomenon of the epoch, especially to the economic and political life in Austria - Hungary. We mention that at the date of the authors’ documentation, especially in the ‘80s of last century, the archival banking funds were not fully inventoried and by all the scientific standards. Reductively, they done their study fragmented, with all the consequences that could arise from here, in the terms of the presentation and interpretation of the complex effects of the banks’ activity in the Romanian village world, of the completely Transylvanian society. Lucian Dronca published in 1996, in the directory “Banatica” in Reșița, a monograph of the Bank “Victoria” in Arad for the period 1887 to 1918¹³. Three years later, he printed in a volume a thorough monograph dedicated to the Bank “Economul” in Cluj for the same period¹⁴. Both studies benefited of the funding entire archiving of the two credit institutions, came to the attention of archivists of Cluj - Napoca and Arad after 1990.

Recently, Vasile Dobrescu and Adrian Onofreiu realized the monograph of the Bank „Bistrițeană” of Bistrița (1888 - 1922)¹⁵, valuing the archivist fund kept in the National Archives - Bistrița – Năsăud County Service.

¹² *Istorie financiară bancară Studii asupra băncilor românești din Transilvania (1867 – 1918)*, coordinator: Mihai D. Drecin, vol.I, Dacia Publishing House, Cluj - Napoca, p.81 – 116, 117 – 141.

¹³ Lucian Dronca, „*Activitatea Băncii <Victoria> din Arad (1887 – 1918)*”, in *Banatica*, Reșița, 1996. p.301 - 346

¹⁴ Idem, *Din politica financiară a românilor ardeleni. Banca „Economul” din Cluj (1886 – 1918)*, Cluj University Publishing House, Cluj – Napoca, 1999, 196 p.

¹⁵ Vasile Dobrescu, Adrian Onofreiu, *Din istoricul Băncii „Bistrițeană” (1888 – 1922)*, Napoca Star Publishing House, 2009, 300 p.

We note that after 1990 the production of the historians on the slice of “banking history” is quite “thin” when it comes to banking monographs. Fortunately, the communications presented during various national and international scientific meetings devoted to the impact of the banking world in various fields (politics, culture, education, charity societies, church, economic, architectural, historical development and modernization of cities, etc.) are more numerous. Perhaps the “boom” that we find at the studies level is a first step in opening the appetite of the researchers, primarily those from the young generations, to writing the credit banks and cooperatives monographs of local, provincial or national importance. At least two national scientific sessions drive this research. Besides the mentioned scientific meeting hosted in Oradea, it is necessary to point out the contribution of the scientific session “The City and the Bank”, organized under the aegis of the Romanian Academy - Commission of History of the Cities in Romania and the National Romanian Bank, in revealing a dimension less known, even surprising at first sight, regarding the impact of the bank offices on the urban architecture evolution. It is about the influence that the bank buildings, genuine palaces, with their size, with their exterior and interior design sighted the impress and attract of the customers - have had on the construction of some buildings similar to other economic companies or even the wealthy citizens of the city¹⁶. Thus were born at the turn of the 19th – 20th centuries the historic centers of the major cities in all the Romanian provinces, marked by the Western - European architecture, especially German and French.

The writing of the credit institutions monographs in general, including our country faces a number of difficulties. The collecting and selecting data from archives, newspapers and other historical sources, requires the researcher great patience, I might say even a Benedictine work. The bank data themselves (numbers,

¹⁶ See *Historia Urbana*, Romanian Academy Publishing House, Tom XV, no.1 – 2 /2007, p.13 –175

percentages) do not contain anything spectacular, so they are dry, arid, at first hard to understand - compared to the sphere of political or cultural life marked by spectacular, they are looking at first glance. Finally, the understanding of the economic phenomena requires interdisciplinary knowledge in various fields of science: history, statistics, accounting, agriculture, industry, commerce, banks, cooperatives, stock exchanges, insurance, etc. Therefore, the research of the financial - bank history requires teamwork, where they find historians, economists, lawyers, statisticians, etc., from different generations.

In our opinion, the research and writing banks monographs must target more plans / directions, depending on the fields of the economic life in which the credit institutions involved and the practical tools that did this engagement. It is about the lending of the banks in agriculture, industry, trade, construction, exploitation of the subsoil, culture, politics - in every these areas the credit bank is bound to observe certain rules on the size of the interests during the loan, guarantees made, etc. The inter bank linkages at the national geographic space - where the nation was still shared in many political entities, between the national banking systems in a wider geographical area in which there were oppressed nations by politically dominated nations - may highlight the national economic role of the banks in undermining and collapse of the multinational empires, the formation of the federal states or of the modern unitary national state. Interesting by connecting the Transylvanian Romanian banks in the years 1867 - 1914 to the Western European banking model of organization and work is the process progress in their reform and modernization. The objective that begins in 1892, seeks to ensure the permanent growing efficiency of the banks and avoid the bankruptcies. Since the 60s - 70s of the 19th century, the Romanian credit system in forming knew two forms of organization: credit cooperation - organized on the principle of joint associations and solidarity, respectively the loan banks as joint stock companies on shares. The investigation of the relationships between these two very

different credit systems, the cooperative targeting just about the helping of the local community, without financial profit and the credit banks seeking primarily to obtain the dividends (profits) for shareholders - is very interesting for the nowadays historians and practitioners of the banking system. The relations between banks and customers, the financial - banking culture of the customers, the ability or inability to capitalize most effectively the obtained credit from the bank; the school system of the bank officials in secondary commercial schools and university ranking commercial academies; the world of the bank officials, with their cash income obtained from wages and other sources, their professional knowledge level, their involvement in the cultural, economic, political and modern life of their time, the numerical growth rate; the forms of the professional organization - are other issues to be argued presented in a banking monograph. Finally, we need to weigh the theorists and politicians role in the banks life, the personalities who have won their head; the rate of occurrence and quality of journals, studies, university courses, books of specialty, brochures and articles for popularization dedicated to the banks activity and banking history.

The basic sources of banking history research, including the development banks monographs are in various stages of storage. The bank archives are in a deplorable state, especially the correspondence between bank and customer. The mentioned archives were kept in a poor condition, the best case remaining the minutes of the Managing and Directing Boards. The correspondence of the Managing Directors with their counterparts, with the State authorities or political and cultural life personalities, has vanished during World War I and the revolution of 1918 - 1919¹⁷, then the communist regime. Technical details regarding the setting up of the banks, but also information on the “national security” of the dual empire, we find in the county administration

¹⁷ See the case of correspondence of Partenie Cosma, the General Manager of the Bank “Albina” in Sibiu between 1885 - 1916; Sava Raicu, Chief Accountant and General Manager of the Bank “Victoria” in Arad, etc.

archive courts, of the Hungarian Interior Ministry or of the Austria - Hungarian Bank. The economic and political magazines and newspapers, even the culture ones in Budapest, Oradea, Arad, Caransebeș, Orăștie, Sibiu, Brașov, etc. can provide us further information on the work of the Romanian banks. Not lastly, the personal archive funds of several bank officials, shareholders or politicians can replenish, sometimes spectacularly, banks credit banks history, taking into account that the whole Romanian elite was involved in banking businesses, either as ordinary depositors or as shareholders and debtors.

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At the end of our considerations on the difficulties faced by a researcher in the field of the banking history, respectively, the aspects that he needs to consider whether wants to make a quality banking monograph - *we conclude, however, in an optimistic note, highlighting also the reward the researcher involved in studying this area of the economic life can get it.*

By leveraging intelligent the figures and percentages found in the banking documents, making them come alive, let talk to us - the historian may show that behind them is the arduous work of the man, his sacrifice and hope for better. The asserting of any human community bases on the work carefully considered and promptly executed and of quality, as the work done chaotically, without a prior planning, poor quality, in jumps, without the strict observance of some terms, thought non-professionally - blocks the progress or even can lead to the involution of the society. Not lastly, the banking history highlights the interacting between the spheres of the economic, social, politic and cultural at the level of a human community at a given historical moment.

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The monographs of the credit institutions can not only help to complete the general culture of the ordinary citizen, but they may prove that *the banks are a true barometer of the economic development* in the pre-capitalist and capitalist societies, promptly recording both ascending moments and of mankind. By the role they play in the economic life, the credit institution can be compared with *the physician role in the human society*. By the policy that leads (credit ceiling, the amount of interest on deposits and loans, granting prompt credit, guarantee of deposits made by customers, etc.) a credit institution can contribute decisively to the recovery or, conversely, worsening the economic life generally, at a given historical moment. A serious banking system cultivates the spirit of saving at the level of the ordinary citizen, the confidence in work and life. The bank failures caused by groups of interests to get rich on the backs of the small depositors, or due to the mismanagement, they are leading to the impoverishment of the population. They are also conducting to the lack of confidence in the strength of the economy and of the state as a whole and can cause discontent and dangerous social unrest, endanger the national security. Finally, we can make a shocking statement to some, accepted by others knowingly, that we do not intend to argue here and now. The recent history, our daily life, the long-term future lies in the hands of two institutions that manipulate us and decide our fate: *the banks and the secrets services*. If the intelligence provides the information necessary for the political leadership, the banks provide money, the political life and intelligence financing. Without the support of these two institutions, any party or political leader cannot come to power in almost any country in the world. The U.S.A. model through the Busch family, respectively, Russia under the Putin - Medvedev tandem are symptomatic.

MONOGRAPHS OF THE BIHOR VILLAGES AFTER 1990, BETWEEN WISH AND SCIENTIFIC VALUE

Aurel CHIRIAC

Abstract: *The paper analyses the monographies of the villages from Bihor, especially the historical ones, which appeared between 1990 and 2010. Why? Because the many publications that appeared in the last twenty years are still marked by the relation between desire and scientific quality. This is why in situations when publication was hurried the solution they often resorted to during the communist age (1945 - 1989) was a classical elaboration pattern and already known information, scarcely new information resulted from field and archive research.*

From our point of view there is a real need for monographies. But, in order to increase their scientific quality one must resort to the monographic research method - regardless of the subject - born in the interwar period on one hand, and on the other hand, a thorough interdisciplinary scientific research, that is not to be limited by archive documents but extends to bibliography, photographic and oral testimonies, bringing out natural or architectural patrimony and everything else that is able to personalize the existence of a rural community on a long period of time.

Key words: *desire, scientific quality, historical monography, interdisciplinary, photographic testimonies.*

After 1990, both historians and lovers of the field constantly expressed their wish to rediscover objectivity in writing history, a justified aspiration if we consider the number of history books printed in the last twenty years of the communist regime in Romania, many of which responding to the ideological

requirements of the times or being censored with a nonchalance close to stupidity¹.

Among the works that should have been published in the *Ceaușescu Era*, the monographs of different settlements² were of major value with the mention that most of them addressed their history rather than aspects of social, economic, spiritual life. Several of them were dedicated to rural settlements³. A pattern of content was established in order to allow the circulation of those pieces of information that were conveniently accepted and that foregrounded the „great” achievements of the multilaterally developed socialist society. The requirements to write historical monographs of the villages eventually became a party norm and fell mainly in the charge of the party activists trained at party schools or at the „Ștefan Gheorghiu” Academy of Political Sciences. In some cases, professional historians were involved, most of them trying to remain honest in interpreting the past. We can conclude that the historical monographs of the villages written between 1945-1989 are the expression of a time when people’s knowledge should have been diverted from the perception of historical truths.

These brief introductory lines are only meant to draw the attention to the existence of some volumes that, although supposed to be important for a community or other because of the way in which they focused on their place and role over time, in an area or another, under communism they turned, in their

¹ Al. Zub, *Discurs istoric și tranziție. În căutarea unei paradigme*, Iași, 1998; P. Țugui, *Istoria și limba română în vremea lui Gheorghiu-Dej*, București, 1999; Fl. Müller, *Politică și istoriografie (1948-1904)*, Cluj, 2003; G. Moisa, *Direcții și tendințe în istoriografia românească (1989-2006)*, Oradea, 2007; I. Zăine, *Istoriografia română și cenzura comunistă (1966-1977)*, Oradea, 2010.

² We have to mention that references point to the fact that monographs are considered to be scientific contributions exhaustively dwelling upon a certain topic. During the interwar period, Dimitrie Gusti founded the monographic research method.

³ In this paper we refer only to village monographs, mostly relating to past, top the history of the settlement and less to aspects of social, economic, religious, cultural, spiritual life (traditions, folklore) which are only mentioned not dwelt on according to their importance for the destiny of the community over time.

great majority, into some surrogates aimed at distorting history and providing the collective mind with data imposed by the political authority of those years⁴.

After 1990, the issue of the historical monographs became important again. Bihor is a significant example in this respect. The main purpose of those who authored such works is mainly to achieve, in a period of complete freedom, a true historical monograph so much wished for by all. Wish was a key factor when it came to carry out such a task. The willingness to originate such an initiative, to fund such a work or to author it, and especially the wish to find out truths hidden for more than 40 years motivated the open minds to complete these intentions. Unfortunately, this aspiration very often generated hasty works, similar to the models common before 1990. The result was that more than once they were devoid of a proper scientific content. The latter situation urged us to participate to this seminar⁵.

1. It is obvious that in today's Romania, historical monographs of settlements or of other topics are a priority because they lack on the one hand. On the other hand, because many of them were written during the socialist era and in few instances, during the interwar period when such initiatives were carried out successfully but at the level of knowledge of that time. When we refer to the latter, their writing officially involved the intellectual elites of the villages (schoolmasters, teachers, priests) who focused mainly on the collection and printing of field evidence, respectively folklore, customs that could be studied then.

Dimitrie Gusti's monographic method also employed by other sociologists of his time or later⁶, was fascinating mostly

⁴ For the sake of clarification, we mention that in this paper we refer only to the monographs of rural settlements published after 1990; most of them are historical.

⁵ The seminar *Monographs Research in Central Europe (1990-2010)*, Oradea, the University of Oradea, October 7, 2011

⁶ D. Gusti, T. Herseni, *Îndrumări pentru monografiile sociologice*, București, 1940; H. Sthal, *Monografia unui sat: cum se alcătuiește în folosul căminului cultural*, București, 1973; H. H. Sthal, (coordinator), Dimitrie Gusti, București, 19802.

because the field solution facilitated the hoarding of some information about a human reality personalized by traditions and a long-standing social life⁷. The result was the issue of several monographs which, through their interdisciplinary researches, proved to be scientifically valid⁸. What is noteworthy is that whenever it was about ample monographs, their authors were selected from among specialists. An example of this kind in Bihor is *The Almanac Monograph of Crișana, Bihor County* (*Monografia – almanah a Crișanei Județul Bihor*), published in 1936 in Oradea, coordinated by Aurel Tripon and having the contribution of Ștefan Lupșa, a theologian, and of priest Nichifor Jude, of the teachers Teodor Neș and Eugen Cerutea, of the lawyers Ștefan Mărcuș and Liviu Popa, of Angela – Sălăgianu-Butca, president of the Romanian Women's Reunion in Beiuș, and, last but not least, Mircea Paucă, a geologist at the „Grigore Antipa” Museum in Bucharest. We have to mention that the patronage was provided by the National House of Bihor which was a cultural society supporting the interests of the Romanian community⁹.

We can hardly avoid revealing a common motivation in writing: **the need for monographs**. Then, between 1918 and 1940 it meant to catch up with a lost time in this respect in the European context, and in Transylvania to provide a long-awaited book for each community, the Romanians, the Hungarians, the Saxons, especially for reasons of historical destiny determined by the Great Union.

⁷ Here are some example relevant for the interwar Bihor County: T.Mărăscu, *Monografia comunei Sndrișiu, județul Bihor*, Beiuș, 1934; Idem, *Folclor adunat din comuna Batăr, Bihor*, Tinca, 1938; P.Steala, *Viața sâtenilor din Crseuia, Bihor*, Beiuș, 1944. Fondul Primăriei orașului Beiuș, inventar 129, dosar 1941, Monografii (Budureasa, Finiș, Răbăgani, Cojdeni, Albești, Săucani).

⁸ H. H. Sthal, *Nerej, un vilage d'une région archaïque*, I – III, București, 1939; I. I. Ionică, *Dealul Mobului. Ceremonia agrară a cununii în Țara Oltului*, București, 1943; X. C. Costaforu, *Cercetarea monografică a familiei*, București, 1943.

⁹ V.Faur, R.Romînașu, *Statutele asociațiilor culturale românești din Oradea și Bihor (1849-1933)*, Oradea, 2007, p.135-146; R. Romînașu, *Asociații culturale românești din Oradea și Bihor în perioada interbelică*, Oradea, 2008, p.109-177

2. When acknowledging the positiveness of writing historical monographs¹⁰, we cannot but refer to the fact that most of them are of notable scientific quality. This result was possible due to the balanced relationship between social control, the coordinator or coordinating team, and the author, to be expressed in writing them.

We have had no intention to evaluate the scientific dimension of the monographs about villages or communes in Bihor published after 1990. They exist in a large number¹¹,

¹⁰ We have to mention that the Hungarian community of Bihor also encourages such a project so that they could publish a large number of historical monographs of different settlements or monographs focused on architectural monuments, and other topics, but this issue is not to be considered now.

¹¹ Monographs published after 1990 (thereport contains only the titles we possess or are to be found in important libraries of the county):

Anca, Aurel, *Monografia comunei Dobrești – Județul Bihor*, Artpress, Timișoara, 2008.

Ardelean, Petru, *Terra Ucrus – Pământul Ucruiș – [Contribuții monografice]*, Editura Universității din Oradea, Oradea, 2007.

Blaga, Miron, Blaga, Octavian: *Valea Iadului. Locuri, oameni, fapte, tradiții*, Oradea: Centrul Județean pentru Conservarea și Promovarea Culturii Tradiționale Bihor, Societatea cultural-științifică AdSumus, Editura Abaddaba, 2005.

Bulc, Nicolae, Todincă, Vasile (coord.), *Delani, un sat din Țara Beiușului*, Editura Mega, Cluj-Napoca, 2011.

Butișcă, Constantin, *Monografia comunei Drăgănești- Bihor*, Editura Brevis, Oradea, 2002.

Butișcă, Constantin, *Satul Poiana de Vașcău. Case, oameni și tradiții*, Editura Brevis, Oradea, 2010.

Butișcă, Constantin, Pele, Ioan, *Satul Fânațe – Județul Bihor. Case și oameni. Istorie și tradiții*, Editura Brevis, Oradea, 2008.

Chiriac, Aurel, Borcea, Liviu (coordonatori), *Monografia comunei Vadu Crișului*, Oradea, 2005

Chiriac, Aurel, Măhăra, Gheorghe, Godea, Ioan, *Monografia județului Bihor*, vol. I-III, Editura Arca, Oradea, 2010.

Colțea, Dumitru, *Cărăsău. Monografia unui sat de pe Crișul Negru*, Editura Napoca Star, Cluj-Napoca, 2006.

Cuceu, Maria, *Nimăiești. Un sat de pe Valea Crișului Negru. Monografie etnografico-folclorică*, Editura Napoca Star, Cluj-Napoca, 2004.

Dánielisz, Endre, *Monografia municipiului Salonta în date*, 2003.

tending even to increase in number. A first encouraging observation is that the authoring boards are made up of

Degău, Ioan, *Comuna Buntești. Monografie*, vol. I-II, Editura Abaddaba, Oradea, 2004.

Degău, Ioan, Apan, Adrian, *Peștiș. O vatră de istorie, cultură și civilizație românească din Bibor*, AdSumus, Oradea, 2007.

Degău, Ioan, Brânda, Nicolae (coord.), *Beiușul și lumea lui. Studiu monografic*, vol. I-IV, Editura Primus, Oradea, 2008-2009.

Fazecaș, Gruia, Marta, Doru, Moisa, Gabriel, Tivadar, Nicolae, *Istoria comunei Suplacu de Barcău*, Editura Universității din Oradea, Oradea, 2011.

Gal, N. Nicolae (coord.), *Monografia orașului Marghita*, Ed. Primus, Oradea, 2007.

Hodorog, Florian Laurențiu, *Povești adevărate din satul meu natal Bogei*, Editura Studia, Cluj-Napoca, 2008.

Indrieș, Traian, *Monografia comunei Tileagd la a 750-a aniversare, Editura Imprimeriei de Vest*, Oradea, 2006.

Indrieș, Traian, *Monografia localității Tilecuș județul Bibor*, Editura Imprimeriei de Vest, Oradea, 2004.

Marta Doru (coord.), Fazecaș, Gruia, Dărăban, Gheorghe, Moisa, Gabriel, *Monografia comunei Holod*, Editura Arca, Oradea, 2012.

Mălinaș, Ioan Mărin, *Satul și biserica din Ciutelec, Bibor - file de monografie*, Editura Mihai Eminescu, Oradea, 1997.

Miheș, Petru, Miheș, Mircea, Miheș Papiu, Livia, *Satul Meziad-Pagini de monografie*, Editura Imprimeriei Ex libris Hoffnug-Ștei, 2009.

Moisa, Gabriel (coord.), *Monografia comunei Lăzăreni*, Editura Arca, Oradea, 2007.

Moisa, Gabriel, *Monografia istorică a satului Varviș*, Editura Muzeului Țării Crișurilor, Oradea, 2005.

Moisa, Gabriel (coord.), Fazecaș, Gruia, Marta, Doru, Parasca, Crăciun, *Monografia comunei Pomezeu*, Duran's, Oradea, 2010.

Mot, Aurel Gavril, *O vatră folclorică: Aștîleu*. Oradea: Centrul Județean pentru Conservarea și Promovarea Culturii Tradiționale Bihor, Editura Abaddaba, 2006.

Sipoș, Sorin (coord.), *Satele de pe Valea Superioară a Bistrei. Schiță monografică*, Editura Universității din Oradea, Oradea, 2011.

Țica, Aurel; Muscaș, Viorel, *Monografia comunei Sârbi*, Editura Arca, Oradea, 2010.

Țigan, Florian, *Crâmpie de monografie sentimentală a satului Dusești – județul Bihor, 1508-2008*, Editura Casa Corpului Didactic Bihor, Oradea, 2008.

Vrăbieș, Nicolae, *Monografia satului Husasau de Tinca*, Editura Universității din Oradea, Oradea, 2009.

specialists in various fields, their presence ensuring the consistency of these texts. The relationship between social command and authors is likely to operate on natural principles. Undoubtedly, there are situations where the sponsor has special claims from the author or co-author, situations that require attention to be paid to professional ethics, an issue we should consider.

Their content is getting closer to the rigor of such scientific contributions. The method employed, in spite of the impatience of publication is obvious in some cases, is the use of bibliography, archives, field findings which is a good thing. It is equally obvious that, in their urge to demonstrate the long-standing existence of some rural communities, many historical monographs contain inconclusive, general data which cannot fill in the gap in the specialized references. We believe that it would be more appropriate to insist on those historical periods where arguments could be provided in favour of differentiating the concerned communities whereas annexes should contain archival documents reporting on occupations, on inhabitants, on their social and religious status; photographs of generations of families, so important for the visual remembrance of that place; old villagers' oral testimonies; descriptions of the natural heritage and local architecture.

3. It follows from the above discussion that it is mandatory to re-examine our attitude towards such enterprises firstly by negotiating with the coordinator or the author of the monograph, the content that can help highlight, beyond the standardized structures (the natural geographical background, historical evolution, religious environment, schools), the markers of social and spiritual life, specific to a settlement or other. Secondly, it should be essential to have an album to stand for a visualized chronicle of the society circumscribed to the place. In conclusion, we strive for writing rural monographs, historical ones or of other kind, which should be the result of a responsible scientific effort. It is time for all these to meet the requirements

of a highly scientific synopsis characterized by *completeness*, *interdisciplinarity*, and *rigor* in using citations and references and in stating value judgments, as well as by *objectivity* of interpretation.

HISTORIES OF HUNGARY AFTER THE CHANGE OF THE POLITICAL SYSTEM

Zita HORVÁTH

Abstract: *This paper could only give a sketchy overview of the different histories of Hungary published after the change of the political system. The limits of the paper made it impossible for me to give an account of the difference in the views of history of the different authors even in relation to just one period like the beginnings of the Early Modern Age or analyse the basic differences in the evaluation of the different periods. It would have been worth giving a deeper analysis of the different works but this could not have been done within the limits of this paper. I was restricted to classic national syntheses so I did not give an overview e.g. of the extremely useful comprehensive works on cultural history¹ or the different monographs on social history.² The analysis could thus have been extended to many other works but for this, only a more substantial book on historiography would give opportunity. But I do believe that this sketchy overview also reveals a lot about the initiatives started and appearing in books in relation to the history of Hungary after the change of the political system..*

Time will decide which of the works presented here will prove to be really long-lasting.

Key words: *monographs on Hungary, comprehensive histories, regime change, post-socialist history writing*

¹ For example: Magyar Kódex. *A magyar művelődéstörténet évszázadai*, I–VI. ('Hungarian codex. Centuries of Hungarian cultural history Vol. I–VI.') Chief ed.. Szentpéteri, József. Budapest 1999–2001. and Kósa, László (ed.): *Magyar művelődéstörténet*. ('A Hungarian cultural history') Budapest 1998.; E. Kovács, Péter: *Hétköznapi élet Mátyás király korában* (Mindennapi történelem). ('Everyday life in the age of King Matthias. (Everyday history)') Budapest, 2008.

² Gyáni, Gábor–Kövér, György: *Magyarország társadalomtörténete a reformkortól a második világháborúig*. ('A social history of Hungary from the Reform Age to World War II') Budapest, 1998.

Introduction

This paper gives an overview of the histories of Hungary published after the change of the political system. Naturally, it is impossible to cover all the published works in such a short paper but those of decisive importance will be analysed and classified with the intention to give a comprehensive overview. The works are arranged according to the following principles:

- Comprehensive histories of Hungary from the beginnings to the present age.
- Works covering long periods of Hungarian history like the Middle Ages, the beginnings of the Early Modern Age, etc.
- Works covering the history of a particular century.

Every period produced/produces its own version of national history. It was so in the 19th century, between the two world wars and after the change of the political system, as well. Underlying causes of writing newer and newer histories of Hungary include the different political systems, the development of historical science, the appearance of new trends, changing public demands and others.

Preliminaries³

Historical science became an independent discipline *in the 19th century*⁴, when its system of institutions and the complete system of conditions developed which were capable of triggering its development but the process obviously had earlier preliminaries. Different European trends such as positivism,

³ In the short chapter entitled Preliminaries, a brief overview is given of the histories of Hungary from the second half of the 19th century to the political changes without striving for completeness.

⁴ For details see Gunst, Péter: *A magyar történetírás története.* (A history of Hungarian historiography) Debrecen, Csokonai, 2000. 197–224., and Romsics, Ignác: *Clio bűvöletében. Magyar történetírás a 19-20. században – nemzetközi kitekintéssel* (Under Clio's spell. Hungarian historiography in the 19th and 20th centuries with an international outlook.) Budapest, Osiris, 2011. 106-166.

historism, Marxism, etc. exerted their influence in Hungary, too, but they were less determining than in West Europe. The norm imposed by religious denominations,⁵ was a stronger consideration than any other methods, especially in the coverage of the beginnings of the Early Modern Age. In Hungary just like anywhere else in Europe, research focussed on 'national historiography' primarily under the influence of nationalism – it should not be forgotten that this was the period of the emergence of modern national states. With its own devices, historical science made an attempt to legitimise the current existence of the nation with its past, which also met a kind of public demand. It was not different in Hungary, either. As early as in the 19th century, substantial histories of Hungary were written by e.g. Mihály Horváth, Gyula Pauler and Ignác Acsády. However, the best-known and most ambitious work of the period was the 10-volume *Magyar nemzet története* ('A history of the Hungarian nation'), edited by Sándor Szilágyi and made for the millennium celebrations. In comparison with former histories of Hungary, its most important novelty and strength was that the history of the particular periods was written by the best experts of the given era,⁶ which is true even if the different chapters are not of the same standard.

⁵ This term was introduced by Zoltán Tóth. Tóth, Zoltán: *A rendi norma és a „keresztény polgárisodás”* Társadalomtörténeti esszé ('The norm of estates and the 'Christian bourgeois development. An essay on social history'). *Századvég*, 1991/1-2. 75-130.

⁶ Horváth, Mihály: *A magyarok története I-VIII.* ('A history of the Hungarians I-VIII') Budapest, 1871-1873.; Pauler, Gyula: *A magyar nemzet története az árpádházi királyok alatt.* I-II. ('The history of the Hungarian nation under the kings of the House of Árpád') Budapest 1893.; Acsády, Ignác: *A magyar birodalom története.* I-II. ('A history of the Hungarian Empire') Budapest 1903-1094.; Szilágyi, Sándor (ed.): *A magyar nemzet története,* I-IX. ('A history of the Hungarian nation I-IX.') Budapest, 1894-1898. (Authors: Róbert Fröhlich, Bálint Kuzsinszky, Géza Nagy, Ignác Acsády, Dávid Angyal, Géza Ballagi, Vilmos Fraknói, Henrik Marczali, Gusztáv Beksics, Lajos Dézsi, Sándor Márki, Antal Pór, Gyula Schönherr. The foreword was written by Kolos Vaszary.)

The demand for writing a new synthesis was also present in *historiography between the two world wars*, bearing the features of the history of ideas, a flourishing trend at that time. After the country having become considerably smaller due to the Trianon peace treaties, the historical and cultural self-definition of Hungary played a role in the writing of the new national history just like the development of the discipline. Although in many cases, it cannot stand the test of present research results, which often modify its conclusions, the work of Bálint Hóman and Gyula Szekfű proved to be long-standing.⁷ In spite of the fact that it is not a history of Hungary in the classic sense, the five-volume *Magyar művelődéstörténet* ('Hungarian cultural history'), edited by Sándor Domanovszky, should also be mentioned here.⁸ While Hóman-Szekfű's *Magyar történet* ('Hungarian history') centred on political history, as the title indicates, the volumes edited by Domanovszky investigated the different aspects of culture like society, economy, geographical determining factors, etc. In the present sense, it had a more modern approach but as it was written by several authors, it was less consistent. Between the two world wars, there were several important works written by just one author. From among these, the works of Gyula Szekfű and István Szabó as well as those by Ferenc Eckhardt and Domokos Kosáry should be mentioned.⁹ As regards their focus and approach, there are significant differences between these works.

The period after World War II did not only bring changes in the history of the country but there were also significant changes

⁷ Hóman, Bálint–Szekfű, Gyula: *Magyar történet* I–V. ('A Hungarian history') Budapest 1928-1934.

⁸ Domanovszky, Sándor: *Magyar művelődéstörténet*. I–V. ('A history of Hungarian culture I-V.') Budapest, 1939-1943.

⁹ Szekfű, Gyula: *A magyar állam életrajza*. ('A biography of the Hungarian state') Budapest 1918 (New edition: Budapest 1988.) and Szabó, István: *A magyarság életrajza* ('A biography of the Hungarian nation'). Budapest 1941 (New edition: Budapest 1990.); Eckhardt, Ferenc: *Magyarország története* ('A history of Hungary'). Budapest 1933.; Kosáry, Domokos: *Magyarország története* ('A history of Hungary'). Budapest 1943.

in the institutional system, representatives and dominant methods of historical science, too. After 1945, Marxist historical approach became dominant with Marxist historiographers rewriting the history of Hungary in response to current demands. In 1949, in the general assembly of the Hungarian Historical Society, Erzsébet Andics, a well-known representative of Marxist historiography defined the essence of the historiography of the new period.¹⁰ Five authors undertook to write the first comprehensive history of Hungary with a Marxist approach.¹¹ Just like in all the Marxist historical works, this work emphasized the class struggle of serfs and anti-Hapsburg movements, which were both presented as the forerunners of the Republic of Councils. A two-volume history of Hungary edited by Erik Molnár was published in 1964.¹² Although it still had an unquestionably Marxist approach, it was a much more refined and much more professional synthesis than the previous one. It was also produced by several authors.

Shortly before the change of the political system, the Marxist approach was already less influential. The best-known history of Hungary written before the political changes was the '10-volume' history of Hungary, of which, however, only 7 were produced.¹³ Neither the history of the period between 1246 and 1526 nor that of the period following 1945 was written. The volumes have a varied level but this is natural in the case of multi-

¹⁰ Andics, Erzsébet: *Elnöki székfoglaló a Magyar Történelmi Társulat 1949. március 27-i közgyűlésén.* ('Chairwoman's inaugural at the general assembly of the Hungarian Historical Society on 27 March, 1949') *Századok*, 1948. 1-4. (1949)1-18. Quoted by: Romsics, Ignác: *Előszó* ('Foreword'). In: *Magyarország története* ('A history of Hungary'). Chief editor: Romsics, Ignác. Budapest 2007. 12.

¹¹ Heckenast, Gusztáv–Incze, Miklós–Karácsonyi, Béla–Lukács, Lajos–Spira, György: *A magyar nép története. Rövid áttekintés.* ('A history of the Hungarian nation. A brief overview.') Budapest 1951-1953. (Published several times between 1951 and 1953)

¹² Molnár, Erik (ed.) *Magyarország története. I-II.* ('A history of Hungary I-II.') Budapest 1964

¹³ *Magyarország története tíz kötetben.* ('A history of Hungary in ten volumes') Chief editor: Pach, Zsigmond Pál. Budapest 1978-1989.

author works. In my opinion, the best part is the one about the period between 1686 and 1790 (volume 4)¹⁴. The bibliographies at the end of the different volumes are especially useful. In addition to the ten-volume history of Hungary, a short summary was also written for the general public. The exaggerations of Marxist historiography are missing even from this.¹⁵

Histories of Hungary after the change of the political system

After the change of the political system, there was social demand for a national history with a new approach. New textbooks were written, and several editors commissioned acknowledged historiographers to write a new history of Hungary for the educated public.

Perhaps with a little exaggeration it can broadly be stated that after the change of the political system, there was a similar process going on as in the 19th century. The country was searching for its identity, and wanted to redefine it with the help of historiography breaking with everything that had occurred under the influence of the Marxist view of history. And as after 1945 '... historical science, earlier almost exclusively involved and mostly interested in the cause of national state identification, ... was forced to directly serve class politics ... – in the 1970s¹⁶ –

¹⁴ *Magyarország története tíz kötetben.* ('A history of Hungary in ten volumes') Vol. 4., 1686-1790. Ed. Ember, Győző–Heckenast, Gusztáv. Budapest 1989.

¹⁵ Unger, Mátyás–Szabolcs, Ottó: *Magyarország története* ('A history of Hungary'). Budapest 1979.

¹⁶ This process already started in the 1970s, before the change of the political system. Many put this shift in historiography to the 1970s: Gosztonyi, Péter: *Történelemszemlélet, történelemtudat és történeti irodalom Magyarországon.* ('View and awareness of history and historical literature in Hungary') *Korunk*, 1995. 4. sz. 34. and Benda, Gyula: *A társadalomtörténet-írás helyzete és perspektívái* ('The conditions and perspectives of social historiography'). *Századvég*, 1997. Tavasz. 36. Quoted in: Gyáni, Gábor: *Történetírásunk az ezred fordulóján.* ('Hungarian historiography at the turn of the millennium') *Századvég*, 2000 ősz. Új folyam, 18. szám. (117-140). Here: 120. [Gyáni, 2000]

the original function given up under pressure was revived. ...what could be a valid social task for historical science after 1989: naturally, a contribution ... to the post-communist rebuilding of the nation.¹⁷ It follows from this that historiographers wanted to contribute to the rebuilding of the nation with a new comprehensive national history. This was demanded by history teaching, which has been politics-centred up till now, the demand of the public and, although this is less often highlighted, by market demand, too. As the increasing number of publishing companies also saw the publishing of new histories of Hungary as good business, several histories of Hungary were written parallel or within a short time in many cases. The public bought them as people thought that everything published from historiographers before 1989 must have been a lie imposed on historiography by politics.¹⁸ It was believed by some of the experts, politicians and laymen interested in history that historiography should continue from the point where it had been interrupted under political pressure after 1945. It was believed that an authentic presentation of national history was needed.¹⁹ Following from this, political history 'remained the dominant approach' as 'most of the secrets were directly related to the world of political decisions so everybody was primarily interested in these.'²⁰ In spite of the fact that from the second half of the 1970s, Hungarian historiography underwent a significant methodological renewal, at the time of the change of the political system, the approach of political history became dominant in the histories of Hungary with a few exceptions that will be dealt with later. So it is not the case that Hungarian historiography would not have known the thematic or methodological possibilities of

¹⁷ Gyáni, 2000. 121.

¹⁸ The exaggerations of this are the illiory theories concerning the ancient history of the Hungarian nation as they consider the Finno-Ugric origin of the Hungarian language a Marxist lie, too.

¹⁹ Gyáni, 2000. 119.

²⁰ Gyáni, 2000. 137 p.

postmodern historiography²¹ (to the contrary, many experts used/use them) but due to the abovementioned reasons, on a wider scale there was greater demand for the classic approach of political history. In other words, at the time of the change of the political system, the non-professional public was craving for a new national history. (Fortunately, nowadays there is substantial demand for other types of historical works, too, as it is well indicated by the varied supply of publishing companies Osiris or L'Harmattan.)

In general, comprehensive histories of Hungary were written by acknowledged historiographers. It is obvious that there is a qualitative difference between the individual works themselves. This is not necessarily caused by any difference due to the qualities of authors but may rather have resulted from customer intent, available size or meeting the demands of an assumed or real circle and demand of readers.

Comprehensive histories of Hungary from the beginnings to the present age

One type of the histories of Hungary attracting a wide circle of readers represents the approach covering complete national history from the beginnings to the present age.

Of this type, chronologically the first work is *Magyarország rövid története* ('A short history of Hungary') written by Iván Bertényi and Gábor Gyapay.²² The authors had a double objective. On the one hand, they wanted to write an objective work which presents true facts for the general public and public education. This is how they define their objectives in the foreword: 'Consequently, there was and there is a need for a balanced and objective view of

²¹ It is not possible to analyse every relevant work, which is not the task of this paper, either. I should only like to refer to one overview: Bódy, Zsombor–Ö. Kovács, József: *Bevezetés a társadalomtörténetbe.* ('Introduction to social history') Budapest 2003.

²² Bertényi, Iván–Gyapay, Gábor: *Magyarország rövid története.* ('A short history of Hungary') Budapest 1992. (657 pages)

history, based on facts [...] giving preference to the considerations of public education and the values and criteria of 'popular' science in the broadest sense.²³ On the other hand, the authors wanted to produce an objective history free from any political dogmas: 'At last, in 1990, Hungary could turn over a new leaf [...] no political dogmas may distort the scholarly investigation of our past any more'²⁴ Undoubtedly, this book was written in an easily understandable, fluent style. One of the authors, Iván Bertényi is a historiographer and a university lecturer while his co-author is a secondary school teacher of history so they were also helped by their educational experience in finding the proper, reader-friendly, clear style. The work does not contain any revelatorily new conclusions but is a balanced summary of the history of Hungary from the beginnings to the change of the political system. No one who is interested in history and would like to get an overview of the history of the country will get disappointed by it. Due to its character, the book does not and need not contain references but a bibliography is really missing from it. However, the reader's orientation is assisted by a chronology as well as subject and name indexes. The accounts of the different periods, the different chapters are proportionately structured and are not overdimensioned at one another's expense. In my opinion, the objective set by authors and publisher is achieved.

In 2001, publishing company Osiris Kiadó published an exquisitely impressive book, *Millenniumi Magyar Történet* ('A Hungarian history at the turn of the millennium') to celebrate the millennium of the Hungarian state.²⁵ It was written by several

²³ Bertényi, Iván–Gyapay, Gábor, 1992. *Előszó* ('Foreword'). 5.

²⁴ Bertényi, Iván–Gyapay, Gábor, 1992. Back cover of the book.

²⁵ *Millenniumi magyar történet. Magyarország története a bonfoglalástól napjainkig.* ('A Hungarian history at the turn of the millennium. The history of Hungary from the occupation of the territory of the country to the present age.') Ed. Tóth, István György, Budapest 2001. (719 pages) In German: *Geschichte Ungarns.* Herausgegeben von István György Tóth. Budapest 2005.

historiographers, the best experts of the given period. The Middle Ages: Pál Engel, Attila Zsoldos, Péter E. Kovács. The beginnings of the Early Modern Age: István György Tóth, Gábor Ágoston, János Kalmár, Teréz Oborni, Csaba Borsodi. Early Modern Age: Zoltán Fónagy, Tamás Dobszay, Róbert Hermann, János Veliky. Modern (present) Age: Ignác Romsics, György Gyarmati. The chronology and bibliography at the end of the book were compiled by Gabriella Kocsis. The authors of the volume almost all have affiliations in the capital, primarily in the Institute of History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and Eötvös Loránd University of Arts and Sciences with the exception of János Veliky, who is a lecturer of Debrecen University. It is a scholarly work but is not written solely for historiographers as it provides good reading for the general public, too. This is confirmed by the fact that soon after its publication, it ran out of stock, which is rare in the case of a scholarly book on history. As the editor of the book, István György Tóth writes in the foreword there were comprehensive histories of Hungary published earlier, too, but 'Hardly any books were written which gave an account of the history of Hungary from the beginnings to the moment of their writing at length so with attention to the details, too, and in a well-readable style but at the same time using the special terminology of historical science. This is what we want this book to be like, we have planned its size so that both those interested in history and students preparing for their final or other examinations will get a scholarly high-level and detailed but at the same time well-readable and clearly structured overview of Hungarian history. ... The authors did not avoid controversial issues in the account of any period, let that be the theory of 'the double conquest of the territory of Hungary', the origin of the Seklers, the evaluation of the Turkish occupation or the role of the ÁVH (state security authorities) following 1949, which are all dealt with in the book. The authors form their opinion on the basis of their own research, often after exploring the materials of archives which were closed or were not accessible for Hungarian

researchers earlier²⁶ Indeed, the greatest merit of the book is that its chapters were written by the best experts of the period, who not only summarised what historical science knew about the given period but completed general knowledge with their own research results thus synthesizing and giving new at the same time. The illustrations and maps help getting a deeper insight but the book does not contain any indexes. In my opinion, it is one of the best summaries of the history of the nation ever written.

Exactly 10 years after Bertényi and Gyapay's book and in almost the same size, three outstanding historiographers, Gyula Kristó, János Barta and Jenő Gergely published *Magyarország története előidőktől 2000-ig* ('A history of Hungary from ancient times to 2000').²⁷ Gyula Kristó was a renowned expert of the Middle Ages at Szeged University, János Barta is an acknowledged researcher at Debrecen University while Jenő Gergely was a renowned professor of history at Eötvös Loránd University of Arts and Sciences. It is to the credit of the publishing company, Pannonica Kiadó that it had the courage to break with the tradition of inviting authors only from the capital, thus confirming Gábor Gyáni's statement that 'it is no longer the privilege of academicians to write a comprehensive account of our national history'²⁸ It is a clear, understandable work, written for the general public, characterised by an authentic, unprejudiced and modern approach. The book contains a similarly detailed chronology as the previous one together with an index of names. Fortunately, the authors also compiled a detailed bibliography for every period. The publishing company targeted 'the wider reading public' with the book so that they could get factual knowledge reflecting an unbiassed and modern approach.²⁹ The work is

²⁶ Tóth, István György, 2001. *Előszó* ('Foreword'), 15.

²⁷ Kristó, Gyula–Barta, János–Gergely, Jenő: *Magyarország története előidőktől 2000-ig* ('A history of Hungary from ancient times to 2000'). Budapest, 2002. (687 pages) [Kristó, Gyula et al., 2002]

²⁸ Gyáni, 2000. 134.

²⁹ Kristó, Gyula et al., 2002. Back cover of the book.

chronologically structured but the authors also give a properly detailed account of social, economic and cultural conditions. It is capable of meeting the demands of a relatively wide range of readers from BA university students to readers simply interested in history. Ten years has passed since its publication but it is still considered to be a state-of-the-art work.

The most recent comprehensive account, edited by Ignác Romsics, was published by Akadémiai Kiadó in 2007³⁰. It is indicated by even its size that we are concerned with the greatest endeavour of the period after the change of the political system. The book, which is longer than 1,000 pages together with the bibliography, the chronological appendix and the index of names, was written by several outstanding experts including Csanád Bálint, Márta Font, András Kubinyi, Géza Pálffy, László Katus and Ignác Romsics. The foreword was written by chief editor Ignác Romsics. In it, he gives a brief overview of previous histories of Hungary, defining the place of this work among them. 'This work, part of the series *Akadémiai kézikönyvek* ('*Academic handbooks*') of Akadémiai Kiadó, primarily wishes to be a teaching aid for students of academic grammar schools involved in a deeper study of Hungarian history as well as for BA or *undergraduate* university students and their lecturers. Accordingly, it does not only contain historiographers' interpretations but also source texts, maps, tables, a detailed chronology and didactically structured, rich bibliographies, as well.' In contrast to the previously mentioned comprehensive works, it also includes references and a brief summary at the beginning of the account of each period, indicating main trends. Just like in the case of the other comprehensive accounts of national history, the main structuring principle is chronology here, too, but social, economic and cultural conditions are also given a properly detailed account. A special merit of the book is its ongoing European perspective. Although it is a serious

³⁰ *Magyarország története*. ('A history of Hungary') Chief editor: Romsics, Ignác. Budapest 2007. (1,036 pages)

scholarly work, this is not at the expense of readability. I cannot fully agree with the chief editor's statement that 'No great synthesis of Hungarian history has been produced in the one and a half decade that has passed since the change of the political system ... However, at least half a dozen one-volume brief overviews have been written.'³¹ Ignác Romsics is absolutely right that there have been no such great endeavours as the history of Hungary written for the millennium in the 19th century or Hóman-Szekfű's *Magyar történet* ('A Hungarian history') or the huge 10-volume account after 1945 (although unfinished). However, I consider the work edited by István György Tóth or the just presented book, edited by Ignác Romsics, new syntheses even if they only consist of one volume. I hold the series presented below and published by Pannonica Kiadó a kind of synthesis, too.

Works investigating long periods of the history of Hungary – the Middle Ages, the beginnings of the Early Modern Age, etc.

This short chapter gives an overview of some of the works giving an account of one period instead of presenting the history of Hungary from the beginnings to the present, without a strive for completeness.

Of this type, the first work was published in the year of the political changes, at the same time revealing a demand created by the gap following the publication of the 10-volume summary. It is actually not a single work but a series edited by Ferenc Glatz, bearing the title *Magyarok Európában* ('Hungarians in Europe')³²

³¹ Romsics, 2007. Előszó ('Foreword'), 13.

³² Engel, Pál: *Beilleszkedés Európába a kezdetektől 1440-ig. Magyarok Európában I.* ('Adaptation to European conditions from the beginnings to 1440. Hungarians in Europe I.') Budapest 1990.; Szakály, Ferenc: *Virágkor és hanyatlás 1440–111. Magyarok Európában II.* ('Golden age and decline 1440-1711. Hungarians in Europe II.') Budapest 1990.; Kosáry, Domokos: *Újjáépítés és polgárosodás 1700-1867. Magyarok Európában III.* ('Rebuilding and bourgeois development 1700-1867. Hungarians in Europe III.') Budapest 1990. [Engel 1990]; [Szakály 1990], [Kosáry 1990]

The series was originally planned to have 4 volumes but in the end, only three were actually written. The fourth one, planned by Ferenc Glatz to be entitled *A modern Magyarország, 1867-től* ('Modern Hungary from 1867') was not produced.

The chief merit of the first comprehensive work written after the change of the political system is the parallel investigation of Hungarian and world history, which was not typical of histories of Hungary either earlier or later. The editorial foreword, giving the justification for the publication of the series, is included in all the three volumes. On the one hand, the editor criticizes experts of social history for 'publishing their research results in a language and using a terminology understandable for only a narrow range of professional readers ... which only arouses or may only arouse the interest of a narrow range of full-time social scientists... We feel it particularly tragic that there is a gap between proud researchers, having retreated into their own institutions and the most important intellectual workers of society, the representatives of the teaching profession.'³³ Thus, the series was primarily intended for teachers but also for the general public interested in history. Ferenc Glatz thinks that there is a lack of popular scientific works as scholarly articles are only read by historiographers so the new research results exert no influence. That is what makes it necessary to produce a comprehensive work written in widely understandable style but at the same time, on an academic level. The first two volumes are intentionally centred on political and military history. The third volume is also structured by the chronology of events but rather focusses on the analysis of major correlations and problems.'The authors' view of history is based on the same principles, however, they use different methods and devices. Pál Engel and Ferenc Szakály put greater emphasis on narrative, enriching their characterisations with event descriptions. The former author pays special attention to social movements while the latter rather

³³ Glatz Ferenc: *Történelmi olvasókönyv négy kötetben (Előszó)*. ('A reader in history in four volumes. (Foreword)'). 9. (In all the three volumes.)

concentrates on the correlations of state and military history. Domokos Kosáry appears as a representative of classic synthesizing as he gives a unified account of European overviews and cultural and social history³⁴

In the first volume, Pál Engel gives an overview of the history of Hungary up to 1440 in an extremely well-readable style. In the foreword, he writes: "The topic of this book, the Middle Ages is often the favourite period of those who want to find consolation for the misery of later periods in 'the glory of old times'. For them, the Hungarian armies of old centuries represent the same as their favourite football club, if they win, they cheer with them, and they are sad if they lose. They swell with pride reading that under the leadership of King Louis the Great, the Hungarian army managed to occupy the Dalmatian coast, and they are very likely to be angry with King Sigismund because he lost the territory. Many people who feel like this consider such sentiments to be a natural manifestation of patriotism. Therefore, perhaps it is worth calling their attention to two aspects that they may not know about or may never have considered fully. First, football and history are two different things. One of them is a game while the other is, of course, grim reality, in which every military campaign was accompanied by immense suffering, destruction and – especially in the Middle Ages – intentional acts of cruelty no matter who the winner was. ... Secondly, what is much more important: we understand something else by the Hungarian nation now than what it meant at that time. ... The Hungarian nation that decided on and waged those wars only consisted of a very thin caste. ... All through the Middle Ages, common people were excluded from the nation, and had no interest whatsoever in any of the wars. Therefore, any reader who expects patriotic feelings from this book will surely be disappointed Any solidarity with Hungarian politics in the Middle Ages is, on the one hand, self-deceit and a sign of conscious prejudice, on the other. But if a historiographer

³⁴ Ibid. 10.

wants to take his/her subject seriously, for him/her the most important guideline should be relentless objectivity.³⁵ I think these words speak for themselves. In his work, the author achieved the objectives set here.

Ferenc Szakály gives an account of the period between 1440 and 1771, 'with a conscious focus on political and military history'. Similarly to Ferenc Glatz, he also thinks that 'In the past decades, Hungarian historiography struggled for the emancipation of economic, cultural and social history, becoming almost independent disciplines, until it forgot about the development of political history and about filling the gaps in the row of events.'³⁶ At the same time, he acknowledges that the account of the changes in lifestyle were omitted due to size considerations and economic and social history were given a less important role. He succeeded in clarifying a large number of commonplaces, for example the Hapsburg question and the issue of Counter-Reformation.

Domokos Kosáry presents Hungary as a part of European culture as it is his objective 'that we should not see our history in isolation, torn out of a bigger unit ...'³⁷ He focusses on the presentation and analysis of major trends.

Undoubtedly, this series is the first comprehensive history of Hungary after the change of the political system, which still has decisive importance.

The publishing company Osiris Kiadó launched a new series of textbooks with the objective to provide history majors at colleges and universities with modern coursebooks based on state-of-the-art research and approach. Two parts of the series published relatively early give a high-level account of the history of the Middle Ages in Hungary.³⁸ The first one analyses the

³⁵ Engel, 1990. 11-12.

³⁶ Szakály, 1990. 11-12.

³⁷ Kosáry, 1990. 9.

³⁸ Kristó, Gyula: *Magyarország története 895-1301* ('The history of Hungary 895-1301'). Budapest 1998.; Engel, Pál-Kristó, Gyula-Kubinyi, András:

period from the occupation of the territory of the country to the dying out of the House of Árpád while the second gives an account of the period extending from 1301 to the battle of Mohács. The first volume was written by one author, Gyula Kristó, founder of the Szeged historiographer school, specialised in the Middle Ages, while the second one was the work of three authors: Pál Engel, Gyula Kristó and András Kubinyi.³⁹ As I have mentioned, it was not primarily intended for the general public but for students of history in higher education. Although it contains no footnotes, every chapter has a detailed thematic bibliography and at the end of the volume, there is a chronological table. The authors created a synthesis incorporating the research results of Hungarian experts of the Middle Ages and the results of their own lifework of several decades. The two volumes provide professional, objective and exact knowledge. They are extremely rich in data. Besides political history, social, economic and cultural conditions are also given a detailed analysis. It is a serious scholarly work which puts Hungarian history in a European perspective.

Pál Engel wrote a special history of medieval Hungary, having the title *Szent István birodalma* (The Realm of St Stephen).⁴⁰ Its special character is due to the fact that it was written for foreigners and was published in English earlier than in Hungarian. The book gives an account of the Middle Ages as a whole in Hungary. At the end, coloured maps and a detailed index of names and subjects can be found. In contrast to the English edition, the Hungarian one contains no separate bibliography but only footnotes, for which the explanation is given in the list of

Magyarország története 1301-1526. ('The history of Hungary 1301-1526') Budapest, 1998.

³⁹ Pál Engel was a researcher in the Institute of History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences while András Kubinyi is a professor of history at Eötvös Loránd University of Arts and Sciences.

⁴⁰ Engel, Pál: *Szent István birodalma. A középkori Magyarország története.* ('The realm of St Stephen. A history of medieval Hungary.') Budapest, MTA TTI, 2001. [Engel, 2001]

abbreviations at the end of the book. References are made to sources and publications of sources but not to special literature. In the foreword, the author tells us exactly why and for what purpose he wrote his work. It was written at the request of Andrew Ayton English historiographer for the London publishing company I. B. Tauris as since Hóman's history of the Middle Ages, published in German (*Ungarisches Mittelalter*, I-II. 1940-1943.), nothing had been published about medieval Hungary in Europe. 'For me, the most important thing was to write a book we should not be ashamed of. In western countries, the kind of pathos and national prejudice for the 'glorious past', by no means unprecedented in Central Europe and almost certainly expected from such a work by a considerable segment of the Hungarian public, has long been out of fashion. However, we should be aware that all this is totally alien to the taste of the educated western reader now, and especially to the taste of the English, whom I wanted to convince very much that our view of history is just as 'civilised' as their own.'⁴¹

It is an objective, emotionless and well-readable book, one of the best medieval histories I have ever read, which is primarily due to its approach and not to the abundance of data in it.

Works investigating the history of a particular century

The publishing company Vince Kiadó's series entitled *Tudomány – Egyetem* ('Science – University') published several historical works including such biographies as András Kubinyi's book about King Matthias,⁴² or Ágnes Deák and András Molnár's biography of Ferenc Deák⁴³. In addition, it published such histories of Hungary which cover the history of one century.

The series does not only comprise historical works but no historical book has been published in it recently. There are two books in it giving an account of the Hungarian history of one century. One of them was written by István Tringli, researcher of

⁴¹ Engel, 2001. Előszó ('Foreword'), XI.

⁴² Kubinyi, András: *Mátyás király* ('King Matthias'). Budapest 2001.

⁴³ Deák, Ágnes–Mlnár, András: *Deák Ferenc* ('Ferenc Deák'). Budapest 2003.

the Middle Ages while the other one was the work of historiographer Ágnes R. Várkonyi, a renowned researcher of the beginnings of the Early Modern Age.

István Tringli's work⁴⁴ covered the last century of the Hungarian Middle Ages, or as the author puts it in the title of the book, the dawn of the Early Modern Age, i.e. the period between 1440 and 1541. The appendix at the end of the book includes genealogical tables, maps, a bibliography and an index of names. The book is chronologically structured. "The author intended to restore the respectfulness of the approach of political history, nowadays denounced from many sides as outdated and one-sided ... The account of two phenomena are given special emphasis in the book: the connection of Hungarian and foreign political events and the underlining of the role of dynastic groups of countries"⁴⁵ The delineation of the period may seem strange but the author gives an explanation for it: this period both started and ended with turbulent times, and displays the features of both the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age At the end of the major chapters, the author collects the widespread commonplaces related to the relevant period and puts them in their proper places clarifying them. As István Tringli writes it in the foreword, the book is basically centred on political history but does not lack the account of social and economic conditions, either. It is a work with a clear structure, written in a balanced, well-readable and easily understandable style and may be useful for both educated readers interested in history and students of history in higher education.

Ágnes R. Várkonyi wrote about a period of royal Hungary lasting a bit longer than a century. The reason for delineating the period in this way was the occupation of Buda in 1541 and its

⁴⁴ Tringli, István: *Az újkor hajnala. Magyarország története 1440-1541.* ("The dawn of the Early Modern Age. The history of Hungary 1440–1541") Budapest 2003. [Tringli, 2003.]

⁴⁵ Tringli, 2003. 10-11.

reoccupation in 1686⁴⁶ The book is the history of the Hungarian Kingdom (Royal Hungary), the part of the country torn into three parts that was under the rule of the Hapsburg kings, written in excellent style. Thus, contrary to the usual way, the author did not write the history of the whole country or the history of the whole period of the Turkish occupation but just a segment of it in terms of place and time. She presents all the circumstances leading to the formation of the Hungarian Kingdom together with the political and economic conditions of the region and the political figures of the era putting great emphasis on cultural history. The appendix consists of a chronological overview, a detailed bibliography and an index of names and subjects. Just like the other volumes in the series, it may be recommended to educated readers with an interest in history, teachers of history and university students, too.

In 2000, the publishing company Pannonica Kiadó also launched a series entitled *Magyar Századok* ('Hungarian centuries'), giving an account of the whole history of Hungary in an unusual division, century by century. The ten-volume series was intended to commemorate the 1,000 years of the Hungarian state with popular scientific publications. The individual volumes were written by excellent historiographers who used the results of their fellow scholars and supplemented them with their own. With the exception of the 9th and 10th centuries, which were covered in one book by Gyula Kristó and Ferenc Makk, a separate volume was devoted to every period from the 9th to the 20th century. The authors were the following (in the order of the volumes): Gyula Kristó, Ferenc Makk, Tibor Almási, Iván Bertényi, István Draskóczy, Géza Pálffy, Gábor Ágoston and Teréz Oborni, János Barta jr, László Csorba, Jenő Gergely and Lajos Izsák. The series is a very popular compulsory or recommended reading for history majors in college and university programmes but due to its well-readable style, non-professional

⁴⁶ R. Várkonyi Ágnes: *A királyi Magyarország 1541-1686.* ('Royal Hungary 1541-1686.') Budapest, Vince K., 1999.

readers interested in history may also benefit from it. Later, the publishing company published the different parts in collections, too, which, on the one hand, is a proof of their popularity and on the other hand, proves that it is good business to publish books, especially high level ones, which is something one can really be pleased about.⁴⁷

In 1998, a history of 18th century Hungary was published with the editorship of András Gergely and written by several authors by the publishing company Korona Kiadó.⁴⁸ The authors of the book include: László Csorba, Tamás Dobszay, Zoltán Fónagy, András Gergely, György Kövér, Gábor Pajkossy, Ferenc Pölöskei and Zoltán Tóth. On the back cover, the publisher recommends the book with these words: 'The university textbook presenting the history of Hungary in the 'long' 19th century uses a material based on modern, new research. Its publication presents a novelty not only for higher education but also for the whole public education system, the professional public and those interested as there are a lot of romantic ideas, references and debates in connection with this era. This authentic book providing comprehensive knowledge is indispensable in the further training of history teachers, too.. The book is indeed a serious scholarly work, not really written for the general reading public but rather for experts, teachers of history and university students. While chronological order remains intact, the book progresses in thematic units. In 2005, the publishing company Osiris Kiadó republished the book with some modifications, again edited by András Gergely, as part of a series of textbooks. The authors remained the same with the exception of Zoltán

⁴⁷ Kristó, Gyula–Makk, Ferenc–Almási, Tibor–Bertényi, Iván–Draskóczy, István: *A magyar középkor története*. ('A history of medieval Hungary') Budapest 2005.; Pálffy, Géza–Ágoston, Gábor–Oborni, Teréz–Csorba, László: *A magyar újkor története* ('A history of Hungary in the Early Modern Age'). Budapest 2007.

⁴⁸ Gergely, András (ed.): *19. századi magyar történelem 1790-1918*. ('The history of Hungary in the 19th century 1790–1918') Budapest 1998.

Tóth, who was omitted for a reason unknown to me. In the earlier edition, chapter XI, entitled „A népesség gyarapodása és polgárosodása” (‘The growth and achieving middle-class status of the population’), was written by Zoltán Tóth. In the new edition, this was replaced by three new chapters: „A dualista monarchia külpolitikája” (‘The foreign policy of the dualist monarchy’), „Magyarország társadalma a 19. század második felében” (‘Hungarian society in the second half of the 19th century’) and „Magyarország kulturális élete a dualizmus idején” (‘Cultural life in Hungary in the dualist era’). The second edition is also a serious scholarly achievement, which is not primarily for the general public but it was not its original objective, either. It is a start-of-the-art university coursebook presenting new research results.

One of the most called for book about the history of a particular century is Ignác Romsics’ history of Hungary in the 20th century, already having its third edition in 2005, which is quite uncommon in the case of a professional work on history.⁴⁹ No wonder. The author, who is the best-known researcher of 20th century Hungarian history, produced a balanced book free from political considerations. This university textbook, written in an understandable style even for the general public, has a clear structure and makes a definitely enjoyable reading while it deals with the sensitive issues of the 20th century free from prejudice. Obviously, 20th century Hungarian history attracts a much wider reading public than other periods in general. Ignác Romsics’ intended to strike a balance between the aspects of the history of economy, society and culture as well as the considerations of foreign and internal policy.⁵⁰

Finally, mention must be made here of a work dealing with an earlier period but published later, in 2010, Géza Pálffy’s

⁴⁹ Romsics, Ignác: *Magyarország története a XX. században*. (‘The history of Hungary in the 20th century’) Budapest, Osiris, 2005.

⁵⁰ Publisher’s recommendation on back cover.

synthesis about the 16th century⁵¹ The book is about 'the 16th century operations, place in the conglomerate of Hapsburg states and system of relations of the part and legal successor of the Hungarian-Croatian middle power (in other words, St Stephen's realm), torn into three parts after the battle of Mohács (1526) and the fall of Buda (1541), the Hungarian Kingdom (or St Stephen's state). From the second half of the 19th century, this period of the almost four centuries long Hapsburg-Hungarian coexistence was often evaluated on the basis of prejudices and myths dictated by current political and ideological considerations. Thus, even in relation to the century following 1526, the Hapsburgs often appeared as the oppressors of Hungarian (national) independence while the Hungarian Kingdom functioned as the colony or anti-Turkish buffer state of their monarchy. In this book, I do not wish to investigate the 16th century relations of the Hungarian Kingdom and the Hapsburg monarchy in terms of the oppositions of pro- and anti-Hapsburg forces or colony – national independence, which was so frequent earlier⁵² Géza Pálffy's work is impressive from the aspect of both quantity and quality. It relies on a huge source and special literature basis, which makes his argumentation convincing. It clarifies a large number of issues, about which both historical science and public opinion have had other ideas. Perhaps the best example of this is the reinterpretation of the Bocskai uprising.⁵³

⁵¹ Pálffy, Géza: *A Magyar Királyság és a Habsburg Monarchia a 16. században.* ('The Hungarian Kingdom and the Hapsburg monarchy in the 16th century') Budapest 2010. [Pálffy 2000]

⁵² Pálffy, 2010. Előszó ('Foreword'), 9.

⁵³ Pálffy, 2010. 351–406.

TRANSYLVANIA: BETWEEN LOCAL AND REGIONAL HISTORY IN THE YEARS OF CEAUSESCU REGIME

Gabriel MOISA

Abstract: *The research concerning the Transylvanian historiography history began, for the period governed by the Ceausescu system, at the end of the '60 with a series of historiographer balances of the year 1918 in a favorable medium for the Romanian historiography created by the debate upon the attitude of the politic system towards all the coordinates of the important event. This will remain one of the constants of the researches of Romanian historiography history; at each round anniversary it benefits by a real escalate of historiographer balances from different point of view of the event.*

Keywords: *Transylvania, local and regional history, historians, Ceausescu, regim*

This travelling in the present phase of the problem's study emphasizes a fundamental thing: beginning with the last part of the '60, the historian Pompiliu Teodor from Cluj-Napoca became more and more an indisputable authority in the Transylvanian historiography field. The importance of the professor Teodor research must not be emphasized as long as, according to our results, his works are, by far, the best both on quantitative aspect and on ideas and suggestion aspect. Professor Pompiliu Teodor is a leader not only in the research regarding the Transylvanian historiography history, but also in the Romanian historiography history as a whole¹.

¹ P. Teodor, *Evoluția gândirii istorice*, Cluj, 1970; Idem, *Gb. I. Brătianu-istoricul, I, Dimensiunile operei*, în *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie*, Iași, 1983; Idem,

An historian of the Romanian Diaspora, Dionisie Ghermani² and the American historian, Keith Hitchins³, always concerned about the Transilvanian history and historiography, successfully follow the historian from Cluj in this direction. Both historians are considered, due to their activity, as great researchers of the Transilvanian history.

The research concerning the Transilvanian historiography history began, for the period governed by the Ceausescu system, at the end of the '60 with a series of historiographer balances of the year 1918 in a favorable medium for the Romanian historiography created by the debate upon the attitude of the politic system towards all the coordinates of the important event. This will remain one of the constants of the researches of Romanian historiography history; at each round anniversary it benefits by a real escalate of historiographer balances from different point of view of the event.

Another constant of the research is the investigation through the historiographer history conception of the "Enlightenment" research. Here we emphasize again the professor Pompiliu Teodor work. His analysis on the

Gh. I. Brătianu-istoricul, I, Concepție și metodă istorică, în Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie, Iași, 1988; Idem, Interferențe iluministe europene, Cluj-Napoca, 1984; Idem, Istoriografia Suplexului, în Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai. Historia, 1991, nr. 1-2; Idem, Istorici români și probleme istorice, Oradea, 1993; Idem, Gh. I. Brătianu, istoric al relațiilor internaționale, în Revista istorică, 1993, nr. 1-2; Idem, Incursiuni în istoriografia română a secolului XX, Oradea, 1995; Idem, Sub semnul luminilor. Samuil Micu, Cluj-Napoca, 2000.

² Dionisie Ghermani, *Die kommunistische Umdentung der rumanischen Geschichte unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Mittelalters*, Munchen, 1967; Idem, *Ceaușescus "harter" ideologischer Kurs. Zurück zu den Dogmen der fünfziger Jahre*, în *Wissenschaftlicher Dienst Südosteuropa*, XXV, 1976, p. 109-116; Idem, *Theorie und Praxis der rumanischen Historiographie der Nachkriegszeit (1948-1978)*, în *Südostdeutsches Archiv*, band XXI, 1978, p. 105-117.

³ Keith Hitchins, *Conștiință națională și acțiune politică la români ardeleni 1700-1868*, vol. I, Cluj-Napoca, 1987; Idem, *Conștiință națională și acțiune politică la români ardeleni 1868-1918*, vol. II, Cluj-Napoca, 1992; Idem, *Mit și realitate în istoriografia românească*, București, 1997.

“Enlightenment” are fundamental as well as those dedicated to other moments of the Transylvanian history as “Supplex”, “Memorandul” or the uprising ruled by Horea, Cloșca and Crișan.

Another group of preoccupations in this field deals with those who criticize, after 1989 in the internal space, the evolution of the historic speech in the past system, speech governed by the politics, with an catastrophic impact to the end of the system, on one hand, and the attempts, due especially to the historic school from Cluj-Napoca, concerning the Romanian and Transylvanian historiographer personalities, most of them forbidden until 1989.

Many historians from Romanian Diaspora or even strangers were preoccupied by the Transylvanian historic research; some of these preoccupations became later special works or impartial nonpolitical observers. Names like Katherine Verdery, K. Hitchins, F. Kellog, W.P. van Meurs or Manfred Stoy are already well known to the Romanian reader.

An important fact during the period 1965-1989 is the fluctuation of the dialogue between the politics and the ideology. After a time of discreet ideological influence in the historic research⁴, between 1965-1971, as time had passed, the insinuation of the ideology was more brutal. In these two periods, 1965-1971 and 1971-1989, strange phenomenon had been happening from historiographer point of view that contradicted the general content of the epoch.

Even if in the first period the key word was “relaxation”, there were a lot of subjects, themes or even research direction

⁴ V.Georgescu, *Politică și istorie. Cazul comuniștilor români 1944-197*, București, 1991; Wilhelmus P. van Meurs, *Chestiunea Basarabiei în istoriografia comunistă*, Chișinău, 1996; A. Petrencu, *Învățământul istoric din România, 1948-1989*, Chișinău, 1991; K. Hitchins, *Historiography of the Countries of Eastern Europe. Romania*, în *The American Historical Review*, 1992, vol. 97, p.1064-1068; Ș. Papacostea, *Captive Clio, Romanian Historiography under Communist Rule*, în *European History Quarterly*, London, vol. 2, 1996, p. 181-206; L. Boia, *Istorie și mit în conștiința românească*, București, 1997; G. Moisa, *Istoria Transilvaniei în istoriografia românească 1965-1989*, Cluj-Napoca, 2003, p. 43-62.

historiographic forbidden. But, in the second stage, when the censorship was extremely attentive to the historic work and it could have been possible, at least theoretically, to write about forbidden subjects very difficult even in the so-called relaxation period, there were approached more subjects forbidden until then, like Antonescu system⁵, the union between Basarabia and Romania⁶, the dialogue between Hungarian and Russian historiography, in the detriment of that Hungarian, or the accept to talk again about some historians whose names were forbidden (Gh.I.Brătianu⁷).

These paradox make us believe that, despite the general appreciation according to, between 1965-1989, the Romanian historiography had known a liberal period, it was always a punctual control of the history's writing, being liberal as long as the politic-ideological censorship wanted.

It is also true that those years were favorable for the entire Romanian historiography. This fact was not due to the discovery of some sudden affection towards history, but to the general context in the Romanian society. The differences were made by the nature itself and the evolution of the politic system from Bucharest. In the first stage of its existence, this needed for the atmosphere, image and dissociation from the Dej system, a class of historians to write the history, as the system wanted.

When the system was strong enough and its image was no longer so important, it followed a descending slope in the history writing, as well as in the entire Romanian society.

In our opinion, this is the explanation for these contradictions. In fact, the history was a very useful tool for the politic regime from Bucharest, the appeal to the history being

⁵ A. Simion, *Preliminarii politico-diplomatichele insurecției române din august 1944*, Cluj-Napoca, 1979

⁶ V. Fl. Dobrinescu, *România și organizarea postbelică a lumii, 1945-1947*, București, 1988

⁷ P. Teodor, *Gh. I. Brătianu-istoricul, I, Dimensiunile operei*, în *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie*, Iași, 1983; Idem, *Gh. I. Brătianu-istoricul, I, Concepție și metodă istorică*, în *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie*, Iași, 1988

made, in fact, in all times and by all regimes of this type; the regime from Bucharest had applied successfully a recipe invented and used beginning with the antiquity.

In order to accomplish this goal, the regime from Bucharest had created its own institutions for writing the history⁸, almost all of them working in Bucharest. After that, it tried to subordinate the professional institutions to those mentioned before, in the conditions in which the majority refused to apply to this historiographer context. Here we think about the Academy of Politic and Social Sciences of R.S.R. to which was subordinated the entire historic research activity from Romania. So, if the historians hadn't written the history according to the order because they wanted to, they had to do it because they had forced to, being dependent, including financial, of the research contracts with the Academy of Social and Politic Sciences, by the new institution. However, even so, the most part of the historians has maintained reserved positions towards the ordered history. They wrote about neutral subjects or they made minimum concessions generated either by the human being or by the natural need of survival in a hostile world.

Both from quantitative and qualitative point of view, the Transilvanian historiography followed the same sinuous curve of the history writing as the whole Romanian historiography. If the years 1944-1948 haven't brought important changes compared to the inter-war period, the years that followed and especially the end of the six decade, were the worst of the Romanian historiography. However, after the second congress of the PMR in 1955 December, with the rehabilitation of some valuable historians, trained at the inter-war historic school (Ioan Lupas, Constantin Marinescu, Silviu Dragomir, Stefan Metes, Ioachim Craciun, Mihail Dan)⁹, the things changed in good for the historic research.

⁸ Ne referim aici mai ales la Academia de Științe Social-Politice a Republicii Socialiste România

⁹ P. Țugui, *Istoria și limba română în vremea lui Gheorghe Dej*, București, 1999.

Taking into account the main historic research institutions, we have to make some important specifications¹⁰. The first one is related to the existence in Transilvania, in the period 1965-1989 of three major categories of institutions having as the main goal of activity the history of Transilvania. The first category included those institutions that covered in research the whole Transilvanian historic and geographic area, historic Transilvania, Banat, Crisana and Maramures, such as: The Institute for History and Archeology from Cluj Napoca, the Faculty of History and Philosophy from the Babes-Bolyai University and the Museum of Transilvania History from Cluj Napoca. All the institutions from this category are in Cluj Napoca. This fact was and still is determined by the tradition of the historic school from Cluj Napoca, the greatest professors and Transilvanian historians working in this city, but also by the scientific structure, meaning the libraries and the books.

The second category was dedicated to the local historic production. It covered the museums from the districts that, mainly through their historic sectors, studied this type of history. Even their definition as museums of the districts implies the historic research for these institutions for a space limited by the borders of a district. Therefore, the specialists from here built a history of the place. This was not an obstacle for a larger research, even if those who had these objectives were confronted with difficulties related to the research sources and financial. However, the local historic research was fundamental for understanding and accomplishes of the whole named the history of Transilvania.

The type of history promoted by the museums was considered as a provincial history, after the French historiography's point of view. It was largely promoted in France as a concept according to what the whole can be understood only by studying its parts, but also for the discovery of the local

¹⁰ Pe larg despre această chestiune la G. Moisa, *Istoria Transilvaniei în istoriografia românească 1965-1989*, Cluj-Napoca, 2003, p. 131-204

specific, the differences and the similarities between the provinces. This kind of research was also promoted by the English historiography, mainly through the group from Cambridge, the German historiography, through Landgeschichte Ortsgeschichte, the Italian one through Brunello Vigezzi and his research about Lombardia.

Even if the communist regime put a lot of obstacles for the historic research, by stretching more and more obvious as the time passed by this kind of history to the thesis of unitary character of the Romanian people, the majority of the historians contributions who worked in the museums are very important, these representing parts of a whole named the history of Transilvania.

The third category was at the middle of the distance between the first two, meaning Groups of Social Sciences.

The second major characteristic is related to the fact that the most important direction of the Transilvanian history research was related to the antique history and archeology. In almost all the museums from Transilvania, the archeologists and specialists in old history imposed themselves through the scientific value of their work. The fact that the majority of the museum's leaders came from this category of historians make us believe that the most appreciate specialists from these institutions were the archeologists. With a few exceptions, like the Faculty of History-Philosophy from Cluj Napoca and the other institutions for history in Transilvania, where the sections were well-balanced, the most powerful section of specialists was that of the archeologists and specialists in old history.

A special mention must be given to the Center of Social Sciences from Sibiu, concerned mainly about the history of the German minority from Transilvania, especially from the south of Transilvania and to the Center of Social Sciences from Targu Mures, concerned about both the history of the Hungarian minority from the center of Transilvania and of the Romanians from the same region, especially in the first part of its existence.

We now have to mention the thinner direction of research of the Transilvanian historiography. In our opinion, this was the contemporary history. We believe that almost half of the materials for this period were dedicated to the superficial subjects, approved by the communist censorship. We can mention here a lot of institutions, beginning with the Center of Social Sciences from Targu Mures, the Faculty of History-Geography from Targu Mures and the Faculty of History and Geography from Timisoara. The specialists from the museums were those who dodge the best from this chapter, even if not all of them.

The research of the Transilvanian history between 1965-1989 has known a great progress due to the performances obtained by these institutions. Despite all the difficulties, especially in the last decade of the communist regime, the majority of the Transilvanian historians remained dignified historians and respected the professional norms. There were, still, some of them who did not treasure the real historic research. Even if in that moment this was an advantage for them, the time showed that the truth was on the professional historians side, those who remained through their research more or less consistent, in the history of Romanian historiography.

If we study the Transilvanian historic education from this period, we will conclude that, at least quantitatively, this was very good compared to the rest of the Romanian education. Five of the thirteen historic institutions in Romania were in Transilvania. Most of the historic Universities from Transilvania had very good professors, a very good example being the Faculty of History and Philosophy from Cluj Napoca¹¹.

The institutions were subjected to the corresponding times. If the University from Cluj followed its existence regardless the nature of the politic system, the moment interests or the politic context, the others had a different way.

¹¹ Șt. Pascu, *Universitatea "V. Babeș". Studiu monografic. Științe istorice*, Cluj, 1957; Idem, *Universitatea din Cluj*, Cluj, 1972

Built because of the need for professors as a consequence of generalizing the primary education and of increasing the compulsory classes from seven to eight in 1964¹², followed by the increased interest of the politic regime for history, these institutions disappeared in two stages, like they were built. This was a consequence of the lack of interest showed by the politic power for the real history, materialized in the decrease of the history classes number in schools and in building of some own institutions for controlled history writing, in the terms wanted by the power, the other institutions having no use in this context.

Following the dynamics of the institutions which “produced” history in Transilvania, we realize that the most important period for this was between 1964-1971, corresponding to the period of the national communism, as the Romanian historiography names it. It really was a favorable period for history development in Romania, but this happened not as a consequence of the sincere believes of the politic power, but of the real needs to make from history an instrumentum regni.

Faculty	Year of establishment	Year of abolishment
Faculty of History and Philosophy, Cluj	1919	-
Faculty of History and Geography, Sibiu	1969	1985
Faculty of History and Geography, Oradea	1964	1979
Faculty of History and Geography, Targu Mures	1960	1977
Faculty of History and Geography, Timisoara	959	1985

As we can see, all of these institutions, with one exception, were abolished to the middle of the '80. The longest

¹² ***, *Institutul pedagogic din Oradea*, Oadea, 1973, p. 23-24

life have had the faculties from Sibiu and Timisoara, abolished in 1985, those from Oradea and Targu Mures being abolished much sooner, in 1979 and 1977¹³.

Between 1944-1964, according to the information offered by the “Romanian historic Bibliography”, Transilvanian historiography had a certain disadvantage compared to the rest of the Romanian historiography. Out of the 3954 existing titles, only 707, meaning 17.88%, were for Transilvania, a very small percentage for the cultural potential of this Romanian province. This fact influenced the specialty writings from Transilvania. In the first half of the ‘50, the situation had a certain characteristic, but in the second half, the things have known an improvement, at least from historic periodicals point of view. After 1955-1956, there were more and more publications in historiography, even if some of them disappeared shortly after that.

Even in these conditions, Transilvania had fewer publications than Bucharest. In Transilvania, the centers that had a benefit from these new realities were: Sibiu, Deva and Cluj; in 1956 appeared in Sibiu the Brukenthal Museum’s magazine, “Studii si comunicari. Muzeul Brukenthal” and the Social Sciences Center magazine, “Forschungen zur Volks-und Landeskunde”; in Deva there was the History Museum year book, “Sargetia”.

In 1956 in Cluj appeared the R.P.R. Academy subsidiary magazine, “Studii si cercetari de Istorie” and the “Buletinul Universitatilor V. Babes si Bolyai . Seria stiinte sociale”. In 1958, this changed its name into “Studia Universitatis Victor Babes si Bolyai. Historia” and next year into “Studia Universitatis Babes-Bolyai”. In 1958 appeared the “Anuarul Institutului de Istorie din Cluj”, a magazine of the History Institute from Cluj Napoca.

The real relaxation of the Transilvanian history magazines excepting the culture and theological ones was after 1964-1965, when almost yearly appeared new publications: 1964-Acta Musei

¹³ G. Moisa, *op. cit.*, p. 204-221

Napocensis; 1965-Marisia; 1967-Cumidava, *Lucrări științifice*, Ziridava; 1969- Aluta, Marmatia, Satu Mare. *Studii și comunicări*, *Studii de istorie a Banatului*; 1971 – Crisia, Banatica, *File de istorie*, Tibiscus; 1977- *Acta Musei Porolissensis*; 1980- *Acta Hargitensia*; 1981- *Analele Banatului*

The period 1964-1971 was the most important for the Transilvanian historic publications, 13 out of 16 new appeared publications being published between 1965-1971. There was a publishing impetus at the end of the '70 and beginning of the '80, but its proportion was very small. It was the last attempt because, after this, nothing important from this point of view happened. The only fact worthy of pointing out was the decrease of the existing publication number.

The theological periodicals appeared heterogeneously between 1951-1984; the magazines in the '50 and "Indrumatoarele" at the end of the '70 and beginning of the '80: *Mitropolia Banatului* – 1951, *Mitropolia Ardealului* – 1956, *Indrumator bisericesc, misionar și patriotic*. *Episcopia de Alba Iulia* – 1977, *Indrumator bisericesc, misionar și patriotic al Arhiepiscopiei Clujului, Vadului și Feleacului* – 1978, *Indrumator bisericesc, misionar și patriotic*. *Episcopia de Oradea*– 1984.

The cultural publications, excepting those from Cluj Napoca, appeared all after 1965. Those from Cluj appeared earlier than the rest of these specialized publications: "Steaua" – 1949, "Tribuna"-1956, "Familia" – 1965, "Echinoc" – 1968, "Vatra" – 1971, "Transilvania" – 1972, "Orizont" – 1973

These publications appeared mostly in the first years of Ceausescu regime, as well as the history magazines. Five of those seven magazines with a special impact on the Transilvanian society appeared between 1965-1973. The relaxation of the system had, in this case too, good consequences.

If we compare these five categories of publications: those of the Romanian Academy, of the Educational Institutions, of the Museums, those of culture and theology, we can draw some conclusions. Some of them were preoccupied only by the local

history research, like the museum's year books, excepting the Transilvanian History Museum, the culture magazines and church's "Indrumatoarele". Another category included the publications that studied a general history subject, from the Transilvanian history until the universal history aspects. Here we can talk about the Academy's magazines, published in Transilvania and those of the Educational Institutions. These last publications had a specific characteristic. Some of them are closer to the local history, "Lucrari stiintifice" from Oradea and "Analele Banatului" from Timisoara, while others are closer to the general history, "Studia Universitatis Babes-Bolyai.Histria".

In general, these publications including those for culture, had known a decrease of the manifestation possibilities, beginning with the stretching of the themes through some forbidden subjects and ending with the disappearance of some publications, a consequence of the economic problems, most of the institutions having their own financial sources.

Between the publications that appeared in the normal regime in the last year of the old system, we can mention "Crisia", "Acta Musei Porolissensis", "Apulum", and "Studia Universitatis Babes-Bolyai.Historia". The exceptions were the theological magazines. These continued to appear with a remarkable regularity, despite all the problems. Being under the church "umbrella" there were not too much exposed ideologically. Many historians went to these periodicals in the last years of the past system because it was the only place where some subjects could be published. In addition, the theological magazines had opened themselves a lot between '70-'80. Compared to the first decades of their existence, they change their profile a lot and became more opened to lay collaboration. These contributors raised the level of the theological magazines, which became more interesting and valuable.

Between 1944-1989, when Romania was ruled by the communist system, there were 13972 titles about Transilvania, according to "Bibliografia istorica a Romaniei". From these, 707

appeared in the first twenty years of the system and the others 13270 in the last twenty-five years. These figures show a large difference between those two periods, with a percentage of 94.94% for the last 25 years and only 5.06% in the first 20.

A similar situation has the general evolution of the Romanian historiographer titles between 1944-1989. From 47526 titles, 3954 belong to the period 1944-1964, meaning 8.32%, while 43572, 91.68%, belong to the next period.

If we go on with this comparison between these two periods on each historic epoch, we will come to the same conclusions. Between 1944-1964 for the old history there are 88 titles and between 1965-1989, 2056 titles; for medium history – 151 titles compared to 1367; for modern history – 140 compared to 2188, common subjects of modern and contemporary history from 2 to 599 and for contemporary history – 75 compared to 951 titles.

Talking about Transilvanian historiography, the main conclusion from the above analysis is related to the reality that the years 1944-1964 were, quantitatively, worst than the years 1965-1989, the number of historic titles that appeared in this period being extremely small compared to the next period.

The second conclusion is that the quantitative inferiority showed also in the whole Romanian historiography context is more obvious in the first period than in the second one, in each stage, the Transilvanian historic research suffering an evident discrimination compared to other Romanian spaces.

Communist period historiography is not enough examined yet. Today, at more than a decade from the events from 1989 December, there are three important works regarding this period's historiography. The most complete of them remains, despite some defects, Vlad Georgescu's *paper "Politică și istorie. Cazul comunistilor romani, 1944-1977"*. We can also mention the important study of Serban Papacostea, "*Captive Clio. Romanian Historiography under Communist Rule*", published in 1996 in the London magazine "European History Quarterly", in which the

historian from Bucharest analyzed some punctual aspects of communist historiography accomplishments and the contribution of the historian from Iasi, Alexandru Zub, "*Orizont inchis. Istoriografia romana sub dictatura*", an excellent radiography of Romanian historiography in the past system epoch. Ketherine Verdery, in "*Compromis si rezistenta. Cultura romana sub Ceausescu*", also made an important analysis of Romanian historiography disputes in the communist regime years, emphasizing Transilvania's history research.

Without trying to compare with the above works, our study was meant to be a monographic presentation of Transilvania's historiography between 1965-1989, presentation made in order to present the main historiographer stages, directions and personalities from Transilvania.

BRIEF HISTORY OF THE MONOGRAPHIC MOVEMENT IN BIHOR COUNTY (1990-2010). STUDY OF CASE: THE ROMANIAN CULTURAL JOINS IN THE PERIOD 1849-1940

Radu ROMÎNAȘU

Abstract: We appreciate that the most appropriate manner to treat the issue mentioned would be a monographic one. A methodology that can lead to a historiography recovery approach with features and defining elements as it also was during the years 1849 -1940. In this period, Bihor, as a western region of the Romanian space, integrated into the common flow of the national culture, a reality that people and institutions worked together, in an ardent start towards progress and European timing.

All the historiographical approaches of the issues set out after 1989 tried to unravel the cultural propaganda purposes, its motivations, the interaction with the economic, social and interwar political factors, to identify the institutions that organized and promoted the cultural act for the civil society.

There is a lot of toil in this historiography posted. That happens because the European historiography has to be exploiting to the most. This comes with a new vision and interpretation, recouring to a new method. The method is that of bringing to the fore the era mentality, the impact of the cultural act in the civil society, calling on the simple citizen to the stage of the cultural history, his integration in national, regional and European context, the exploration of the tangents with the neighbors, the identification of the ways. All these are made - through a fair and correct reporting to the history of the cultural life in the past - making possible the "close" between people and institutions. All these are sufficient grounds, and they are not the only, highlighting the need for further

historical investigation on the phenomenon of the interwar cultural association on another plan, one that exceeds the positivist stage, but does not abandon, but fits it harmoniously and scientifically in the new modern visions of the current historiographical discourse.

Keywords: *historiography, culture, association, modern era, interwar, Bihor County*

According to the *Explanatory Dictionary of the Romanian Language* the monograph is „a comprehensive scientific study on a particular topic, treated detailed and versatily”.

We believe that the monograph studies are written primarily with love and respect for the analyzed geographical area and the history of the people who lived in that area; they are able to enter in the scientific circuit unpublished data on the human life history which pulsed in a particular historical and geographical region.

The intensive, monograph study, circumscribed to a territory reveals the culture of the local identity based on the political action, the agricultural and industrial organization, the common cultural policy. The local monograph study offers the advantage of a concrete and descriptive position; the circumscribed area of research can be studied precisely and comprehensively, in its singularity¹.

Joins type cultural life seems at the first sight an arid and unspectacular chapter, for the contemporary historical investigation. In reality, it is one of the most mobile, active and interesting parts of historical research that hide the original aspects of the local, regional and national history. First, it is about how the members of a community have related; the mood of spirit within a community, with major or minor stress or lack of them, the cultural and education level, the different ethnic groups interactions to promote the culture act in society etc.

¹ Toader Nicoară, *Istorie locală și surse locale*, Ministry of Education and Research, Bucharest , 2005, p. 9

Over time, the social groups joined in various forms to defend or promote their group interests. Thus, arose the associations, societies, meetings, foundations etc. Many have had economic and philanthropic purposes; others have focused the development of the social and cultural side.

From the reading of some monograph studies, we have noted a great variety of the joins type forms: associations of peasants, artisans, traders, athletes, students (high school pupils, students), youth, women and men, of culture and reading etc.

Vasile Curticăpeanu also recorded this fact in his famous work the *Romanian Cultural Movement for the Unification in 1918, Local Cultural Associations*, published in 1968 at the Scientific Publishing House in Bucharest: "... From Oradea and Satu Mare to Braşov and Sibiu, from Timişoara in Maramureş and over mountains in Suceava and Siret, the Romanians in the territories under the Habsburg rule and then Austria-Hungarian are creating such national-cultural establishments that gradually become culture focuses and small fortresses of the Romanian national revival..."².

The Romanian cultural associations of Bihor County established in the modern era and later in the élan specific to the interwar era following some considerable efforts of the local intellectuals, had as primary goal keeping alive the national consciousness among the Romanian population in these regions. The organization of such institutions was a priority component the activities of the factors involved in this process, through which it was realized that the cultural emancipation of the people is through the cultivation of the Romanian language and literature, an important pillar of resistance to the consistencies of the denationalization actions, initiated by the Austria-Hungarian Dual Monarchy.

The Bihor Romanian spirituality always sought to be connected to the political and cultural events of time,

² V. Curticăpeanu, *Mișcarea culturală românească pentru Unirea din 1918, Asociații culturale locale*, Scientific Publishing House, Bucharest, 1968, p. 23

understanding the need to joint the political struggle with the development of the creative culture of distinct identity fact in the multinational and multi-ethnic conglomerate of the Habsburg Empire and later the Austria-Hungarian Empire.

As such, also in Bihor, historians, curators and artists investigated the cultural progresses of joins type made by Romanians within the specified time, in a scientific manner. In this study, we will insist only on the monograph type researches addressing the issue stated.

Since the years of '90s, they published several studies and articles covering interesting aspects of the cultural life in Bihor that through the systematic and thorough research can evolve towards the elaboration of a comprehensive monograph cultural project.

The first original contribution to the subject at hand belonged to the historian Viorel Faur who launched reference works in the local and regional historiography circuit, in which the approach method is a monograph one: *The Meeting of Songs "Hilaria" in Oradea (1875-1975)*, the Committee for Culture and Socialist Education of the Bihor County, Oradea, 1975, co-author with Ioan Chira and Mircea Bradu, the *Reading Society of Oradea, 1852-1875, A Monograph Study*, the "Țării Crișurilor" Museum, Oradea, 1978, the *Romanian Culture in Bihor (1849-1918)*, the Cultural Foundation "Cele Trei Crișuri", Oradea, 1992, the *History of the Branch Astra in Beiuș (1898-1918)*, University of Oradea Publishing House, 2006 (in collaboration with Florin Ardelean).

We also mention the monograph attempt of Ion Bradu³ who focused on the cultural activity carried out by the Great Cultural Meeting "Cele Trei Crișuri" in Oradea, by far the most

³ Ion Bradu, *Reuniunea culturală "Cele Trei Crișuri" din Oradea*, in *Contribuții culturale biborene*, Socialist Culture and Education Committee Bihor County, Oradea, 1974, p. 169-193, Idem, *Începuturile și activitatea "Astreii" în Bihor*, în *Contribuții culturale biborene*, Socialist Culture and Education Committee Bihor County, Oradea, 1974, p. 107-159

important association of culture that worked in the interwar Bihor. The same author has approached - also in a monograph way - the activity between wars of the Bihor “Astra”.

The information is unique and was used in an accessible formula for both a specialist in domain and the ordinary reader. They examined documents from the local and national archives, which often were also combined with accounts in the contemporary press.

The interwar cultural life of the Romanians in Bihor was the object of research also for Lucia Cornea⁴, who, over several studies, has circumscribed her investigation on the main cultural activities initiated by the Bihor Branches of “Astra” in the context of the relations established between society and the act of cultural seen in the diversity of its manifestations. The inventory of the Bihor “Astra” actions in society were presented by the author in a monograph, representing useful landmarks in the developing of a unified and consistent monograph study so necessary for the real cognition of the social-cultural dimensions assumed and embodied by the Sibiu old cultural association through its regional branches.

Further research efforts have been recorded also in two other works, which presented the political and social, cultural and

⁴ Lucia Cornea, Barbu Ștefănescu, *Școlile țărănești organizate de Astra bihoreană în perioada interbelică*, in *Crisia*, 1982, p. 195-203; Lucia Cornea, *Aspecte din activitatea despărțământului Tinca al Astrei în perioada interbelică*, in *Ibidem*, 1983, p. 221-228; Idem, *Aspecte ale activității Astrei bihorene în perioada interbelică. Activitatea despărțământelor (I)*, in *Ibidem*, 1991, p. 165-188; Idem, *Adunarea generală de la Oradea a Astrei*, in *Analele Universității Oradea*, 1991, history fascicle, p. 88-96; Idem, *Aspecte ale activității Astrei bihorene în perioada interbelică. Activitatea despărțământelor(II)*, in *Crisia*, 1992, p. 211-236; Idem, *Considerații privind asociaționismul cultural interbelic în Bihor*, in *Ibidem*, 1993, p. 143-155; Idem, *Principalele direcții de activitate ale Astrei bihorene în perioada interbelică*, in *Ibidem*, 1994, p. 145-205; Idem, *Continuitate și restructurare în istoria culturală a Oradei interbelice*, in *Familia*, 1998, nr. 4, p. 65-69; Idem, *Acțiuni specifice ale Astrei în plasele Beinș și Vascău (1919-1940)*, in *Munții Apuseni*, 2002, no. 1-4, p. 39-42; Idem, *Disparația asociațiilor culturale în epoca stalinistă. Studiu de caz-Disparația “Astrei” bihorene*, in *Crisia*, 2000, p. 519-531

religious history of the Beiuș Country. They belong to the professors Titus L. Roșu⁵ and Gavril Hădăreanu⁶. Both authors have made judgments about the cultural activity held in the city on the Crișul Negru River during the modern era and the Great Union of 1918, focusing on the laborious culturing action initiated by the local cultural societies. The last is also the signatory of the chapters on the interwar cultural life that pulsed in the town of Beiuș, with some gaps and omissions in the documentation and presentation of the cultural and religious activity of several religious associations and meetings, such as the “Army of God” - subsidiary Beiuș, the association “Saint George”, *Andrei Șaguna Association of the Romanian Orthodox Church clergy in Transylvania, Banat, Crișana and Maramureș* - the local subsidiary etc., inserted in the Volume II of the latest synthesis dedicated to the town of Beiuș⁷.

In another relatively recent work⁸, they try to apply a chronological, systematic and monograph view on the theatrical phenomenon in Oradea; the authors get down in the “ancient times”, where they present the popular theatrical little representations, passing through the middle age and the modern times, because, ultimately, to be presented the contemporary work of the State Theater in Oradea.

Before 1989, some aspects of the interwar cultural life have been avoided in whole or in part. Moreover, it was false and tendentious written in press especially by those politically enrolled by the Communist Party. In this case it is especially about the

⁵ Titus L. Roșu, *Beiușul, centru politic de cultură românească*, Oradea, 1993, p. 288-297

⁶ Gavril Hădăreanu, *Torțe arzânde în Țara Beiușului*, the Annunciation (Buna Vestire) Publishing House, Beiuș, 1995, p. 446-570

⁷ Idem, *Afirmarea Beiușului în plan cultural*, în *Beiușul și lumea lui. Studiu monografic*, coordinators Ioan Degău, Nicolae Brânda, vol. II, Primus Publishing House, Oradea, 2008, p. 518-566; Idem, *Înflorirea culturii în perioada interbelică*, în *Ibidem*, p. 630-687

⁸ Dumitru Chirilă, Lucian Drimba, *Teatrul românesc la Oradea. Perspectivă monografică*, Familia Review Publishing House, Oradea, 2001, p. 7-8, 15-18, 43, 50-57, 60-69

Religious Associations in both Romanian churches, which were outlawed by the communist government, some are expected to be made in the interests of the neo-fascist and ultra-reactionary circles⁹, which plot against the “revolutionary achievements” of the working class. After the establishment of a democratic regime, a number of intellectuals began to recover partly or through consistent studies, the activity of the main Orthodox and Greek Catholic confessional meetings which existed with significant results in the Bihor interwar society, but which unfortunately, still do not have monograph studies of their own.

In this regard, we mention the contributions of Liviu Borcea¹⁰, Gheorghe Lițiu¹¹, Viorel Faur¹², Ioan Porumb¹³, Teodor Savu¹⁴, Ioan Mihălțan¹⁵, Aurel Jiri¹⁶, Traian Dorz¹⁷ (papers

⁹ It is the Orthodox association „Army of God” of the Romanian Orthodox Church. See in this regard Traian Dorz, *Istoria unei jertfe*, vol. IV, „Army of God” Publishing House, Sibiu, 2002, p. 168-172

¹⁰ Liviu Borcea, *Academia Teologică din Oradea și lupta antirevizionistă*, in *Academia Teologică Ortodoxă Română Oradea. 70 de ani de la înființare*, Oradea, 1995, p. 111-114

¹¹ Gheorghe Lițiu, *Academia Teologică din Oradea - sprijinițoare a activității culturale și misionare în eparhie*, in *Ibidem*, p. 109-110; Idem, *Arhiepiscopul Andrei Magieru-Crișanul, primul profesor și rector al Academiei Teologice din Oradea*, in *Ibidem*, p. 32-35

¹² Viorel Faur, Radu Romînașu, *Statutele asociațiilor culturale românești din Oradea și Bihor (1849-1933)*, University of Oradea Publishing House, 2007, 146 p.

¹³ Ioan Porumb, *Activitatea cultural-artistică a studenților Academiei Teologice din Oradea. Societatea de lectură “Atanasie cel Mare”*, in *Academia Teologică Ortodoxă Română Oradea. 70 de ani de la înființare*, Oradea, 1995, p. 115-118

¹⁴ Teodor Savu, *Lupta episcopului Roman Ciorogariu pentru înființarea Academiei Teologice ortodoxe din Oradea*, in *Ibidem*, p. 11-14; Idem, *Încununarea luptei Episcopului Ciorogariu. Academia Teologică din Oradea - începuturi și dezvoltare în Ibidem*, p. 17-21

¹⁵ Ioan Mihălțan, *Episcopul Dr. Nicolae Popoviciu - mentor al Academiei Teologice din Oradea*, in *Ibidem*, p. 28-31

¹⁶ Aurel Jiri, *Dascăli bănățeni ai Academiei Teologice Ortodoxe din Oradea. Nicolae Firu*, in *Academia Teologică Ortodoxă Română Oradea. 70 de ani de la înființare*, Oradea, 1995, p. 43-44

¹⁷ Traian Dorz, *Hristos mărturia mea. Scurtă și sfântă povestire a vieții mele sau istoria unor cântări nemuritoare. 70 de ani de la 1914 până în 1984*, vol. I, „Army of God” Publishing House, Sibiu, 1994; Idem, *Fericiții noștri înaintași*, „Army of God” Publishing House, Sibiu, 2009, p. 72-85, 231-237

published posthumously in 1994 and 2009), Blaga Mihoc¹⁸, Iudita Călușer¹⁹ and, of the younger generation, Sorin Cuc²⁰ and Radu Romînașu²¹.

The research was a methodical one, done with great accuracy, the text itself with a certain scientific value, through the consistency of the archival material and information from the press of time. We believe that the most appropriate treatment of the issue mentioned, would be a *monograph* one, methodology that can lead to a recovery historiographical approach, with defining features and elements, as also was the period from 1849 to 1940, when Bihor, as a Western region of the Romanian space has integrated to the common flow of the national culture, reality to which both people and institutions worked together in an ardent start towards progress and European timing.

It is about an impressive array of facts and attitudes that reveal how the intellectuals treated in Oradea and other cities of Bihor County the cultural and spiritual requirements of people, for which appropriate activities that contributed to their culturing in a way of great social inclusion were carried out.

Therefore, we consider necessary to continue a monograph research to capture deeper, for example, the attempts to transfer the intellectual and spiritual issue among people. Therefore, the cultural, religious and artistic programs of the associations submitted to attention should be rigorously analyzed, the public conferences supported by a full intellectual elite, their impact in society, to challenge critically of the all cultural issues that troubled the Romanian world in this part of the country. Thus, we will discover how the local associations were able to introduce to the public

¹⁸ Blaga Mihoc, *Biserică și societate în nord-vestul României*, Logos'94 Publishing House, Oradea, 2003, p. 221-234

¹⁹ Iudita Călușer, *Episcopia greco-catolică de Oradea. Contribuții monografice*, Logos'94 Publishing House, Oradea, 2000

²⁰ Sorin Cuc, *Episcopia Ortodoxă de Oradea (1920-1940)*, University of Oradea Publishing House, 2005, p. 342-360

²¹ Radu Romînașu, *Asociații culturale românești din Oradea și județul Bihor în perioada interbelică*, University of Oradea Publishing House, 2008, p. 366-440

circuit the intellectual debate, making it understandable for all. It was not about any emphasis, but a modesty of some strong characters who wanted to popularize the cultural act, to remove it from a state of ossification, to fertilize and to revive it, through a direct contact with an audience eager for knowledge.

From this perspective, we consider that the further historiographical steps should insist more and more on the “small history” related to archival funds of small dimensions, other funds held under the auspices of the ecclesiastical institutions, various types of documents, memoirs, letters, diaries or simple notes kept in drawers. All these can reveal novel information, offering the historians an innovative perspective and can often reverse views on several events set between seemingly fixed coordinates. Here you can find data suggesting the age atmosphere and the ideals where the people of these places believed at one time. It takes the documentary material processing, the real interpretative meanings, and the availability of the historian towards emotional and rhetorical, all effectively dosed, as the first quality of a historian - according to Stendhal - is not to be able to invent. Therefore, the records are meant to discipline the imagination of the historian, giving him a distinct identity.

The corroboration between the historical document, the press information and the memorial type should remain a tool of work for the historian who wants to write a monograph. This method is important from a comparative perspective, highlighting the diversity of the cultural act, how it has shaped the society in Crișana, in Transylvania at regional level and, ultimately, in Romania at national level.

It would be rediscovered also the public attitude that saw a real spectacle of ideas. All combined harmoniously with the idea of culture and social ethics, which were not abstract concepts or operational terms, but consciously assumed values of a whole generation engaged in the process of national and spiritual re-building.

The history of the cultural meetings of the Bihor Romanians in the modern and contemporary era deserves a

systematic research of monograph type such as the discovery of some novel information are able to bring back in actuality a series of structures with a specific social purpose: cultural, philanthropic and religious.

Such cultural monograph studies for the cultural joins act would have a significant role in the affirmation of the cultural values in supporting the demographic policy, the family, motherhood and childhood. As such, a multi-plan presentation of the meetings submitted to our attention, could become important actors in the social life, by educating the youth in the spirit of mutual respect and dialogue culture, of counter the destructive, antisocial currents, of rejection of the violence and fanaticism of any kind and promoting the peaceful coexistence. Knowing their history could facilitate in contemporary the learning of a good cohabitation in a regime of tolerance, valuing of the interpersonal relations as an exercise for inner enrichment that regards the diversity as an important real source for the equation of the contemporary world.

The resulting picture is of course incomplete, but we hope suggestive enough to encourage others, too, to continue a scientific exploration of monograph type of the set problem. This, despite the fact that the history is submitted to forgery attacks that led to the proliferation of a memory of false, the corruption of the consciences, spraying of the hierarchies and losing of the balance. Moreover, it seems the word was dull, and its downfall is free. Daily thousands of words that have apparently lost their meaning and importance bombard us. Therefore, we believe we have to rediscover the sacred word. Maybe we should rediscover also the germs of some questions that are essential for a historian: Who are we? Where do we come from and where do we go?

Why do we glorify the past? Maybe we do this because the grandeur is lacking to the present. In all historical periods, the present had an epigone feeling as against the past that seems to shut itself the “golden age” or the “lost paradise”, as one which was “closer to the gods”, as Plato said. The problem is that the

historian is one by one actor and spectator, witness and interpreter, is a repository of lessons that are within everyone's reach, and is sensitive to the historical facts and events carried out under his eyes²².

It is long to work hard for this posted historiography because they have to make the most for the European historiography, which comes with a new vision and interpretation, calling on a new method, that brings to the fore era mentality, the impact of the cultural act in the civil society, calling on the cultural history stage of the ordinary citizen, his integration in national, regional and European context, the exploration “sine ira et studio” of the tangents with the neighbors, the identifying of the ways - through a fair and accurate reporting to the past cultural life history - to enable to “close” in present.

We will understand our cultural identity also through a continual reference to the other. The response of the specialists in domain is unanimous when debated the construction of an identity: the reporting to the one next to you, the stranger, because the image of the different of you can offer your own identity mirror²³.

All these are sufficient grounds, and not only, highlighting the need for further historical investigation on the cultural joints phenomenon on a different level, that one that exceeds the positivist phase, but does not abandon it, but fits it harmoniously and scientifically in the new modern visions of the current historiographic discourse.

Thus, any future scientific, rigorous and honest approach, of cultural history cannot omit the need for the monograph studies and key issues relating to new theoretical and methodological approaches about the role of the associations and cultural meetings in redefining of the Romanian intellectual space.

²² Alexandru Zub, *Istoricul în fața duratei imediate, aportul ego-istoriei*, in vol. *Istoria recentă în Europa: obiecte de studiu, surse, metode*, Bucharest, 2000, p. 38

²³ Ștefan Purici, Harieta Mareci, Dumitru Vitcu, “Frontiere și identități” în *istoriografia românească postdecembristă*, in *Codrii Cosminului*, 2005, no. 11, p. 177

NOTES ABOUT A MONOGRAPHY OF ORADEA

Hajnal TAVASZI

Abstract: *The monography compiled by the editor Dezső Febér, published in 1937 in Oradea, is one of the most quoted sources available to date. The editorial committee established in 1933, on the initiative of a group of intellectuals repatriated in Budapest, succeeded in making a synthesis of the interwar society of the 1930s from Oradea and Bihor County. Step by step, the editorial committee was expanded to include well-known Romanian figures of the time, such as Petre Dejeu or Ștefan Lupșa. The monography made a special contribution in creating a “radiographic” snapshot of the society, emphasizing the importance of the Jewish community from Oradea and Bihor County.*

Keywords: *society from Oradea, interwar period, monography, Febér Dezső, Petru Dejeu*

During 1921-1938, a significant number of local historiographic publications were printed in Oradea. These include textbooks, dictionaries, streets indicators, commercial indicators, town travel guides, anniversary albums or memoirs and, last but not least, monographies of localities or/and counties.

The objectivity of these publications is questionable, but nevertheless they are useful secondary sources of information for current researchers, together with the local press archives and other documents. The authors of such publications are not well-known historians and are often ill-prepared historiographers. But they are still men of the pen: professors, journalists, churchmen or politicians. Due to local patriotism, they all participate in the

creation of a local identity under the pressure of the political events of the moment. The best known monographies of Oradea and their editors are well known: *Petre Dejeu: Așezămintele culturale din municipiul Oradea și județul Bihor (Cultural Establishments from Oradea Municipality and Bihor County)*, *Tip. Transilvania, 1926*, *Instituțiile culturale din municipiul Oradea și jud. Bihor (Cultural Institutions from Oradea Municipality and Bihor County)*, *Tip. Franklin, 1937*, *Aurel Tripon: Monografia-Almanah a Crișanei. Județul Bihor (Almanac-Monography of Crișana. Bihor County)*, *Tip. Diecețiană, Oradea, 1936*, *Teodor Neș: Oamenii din Bihor (Men from Bihor)*, *Tip. Diecețiană, 1937*, *Febér Dezső: Bihor-Biharmegye,-Oradea-Nagyvarad kulturtörténete és öregdiakjainak emlékkönyve/ known as (Cultural History and the Album of the Personalities from Bihor and Oradea)*, and others.

The character of these texts is similar to that of the publications⁶ that appeared in different regions of Transylvania in this period. As Toader Nicoară appreciates, “*they used to oscillate between provincial and national, in a countrified vision, that used to restore the reverberations of some national historical facts at a local level and sometimes an ethnocentric one*”.¹

Looking for scientific currents and methods that might have influenced the activity of the monographers from Oradea in the 1920s, Romanians and Hungarians alike, we can discover the reminiscences of the Austrian-Hungarian monographism. This has been pivoted by the studies of Vilmos Fraknó, Vince Bunyitai, János Karácsonyi and other popular authors from the beginning of the 20th century, like Sándor K. Nagy and Márton Hegyesi.

After 1921, new influences on the activity of the monographers from Oradea came from several sources. Among these we have to mention the activity of the Institute of National History from Cluj, the historical studies of Nicolae Iorga (printed in Oradea) and, later, in the 1930s, the activity of the Social

¹ Toader Nicoară, *Istorie locală și surse orale (Local history and oral sources)*, în, *Proiectul pentru Învățământ Rural*, Editat de Ministerul Educației și Cercetării, 2005, hiphi.ubbcluj.ro/Public/File/sup_curs/istorie13.pdf

Institute Banat Crișana, founded in Timișoara in 1932, with a section in Oradea in 1933.

In this chronology an event of extreme importance is the social inquiry launched in the Western part of Romania by the *Association for the literature and culture of the Romanian people, "Astra"*, in 1938, when two reunions took place in Oradea. These were attended by the president of the association, professor *Iuliu Moldovan*, and by all the presidents of the department from Bihor. The documents referring to this event were kept at the Bihor County Direction of the National Archives, the Documents of the Prefecture of Bihor County.²

Information related to the birth of these monographies from Oradea can be found in the local press in articles and publicity adverts, whereas original documents in reference to the writing and publication process are rare.

My presentation is limited to the analysis of the circumstances surrounding the publishing and printing of a monography published in 1937 under the editorial office of the *Dezso Fehér: Bihor-Biharmegye, Oradea-Nagyvárad kulturtörténete és öregdiákjainak Emlékkönyve (Cultural History and the Album of the Personalities from Bihor and Oradea), 1933-1937. Printed at Sonnenfeld Adolf S.A, Oradea.*

Several copies were kept in the collection of the publications from Bihor of the Bihor County Library „Gh. Șincai”. The monography was structured in three big chapters: the first being dedicated to the city, the local institutions and the notable persons, the second one to the repatriated graduates and the third one to Bihor County.

Analyzing the existing copies, which belong to several different editions, we observe a formal divergences between the samples. In some copies, the 86 pages long second chapter, *Graduates of the Schools from Oradea that Went to Hungary* is completely

² Arhivele Naționale- Serviciul Județean Bihor (A.N. SJ.Bh), Fond Prefectura Județului Bihor 1920-1950, inv, 114, *Corespondență, procese verbale 1935-1938*, f. 175-185.

missing. The numbering of the chapter is different in different editions, in some cases being done with Roman numerals. This observation convinced me to search for the meaning and understand the causes of this typographical difference.

The effectiveness of the censorship in 1920 is well documented, and the censors were especially active in the area in the proximity of the Hungarian border. At the beginning censorship meant military censorship and a censorship office operated within the prefecture at that time. Beginning with 1934, following the official ordinances, the activity of the censors became more pronounced.

The original idea of publishing a monography can be traced to an appeal published by the *Nagyvárad Napló (Journal of Oradea)*³, from the 19th of January 1933. Former graduates of the schools from Oradea that lived in Transylvania or in different states from all over the world were invited to participate with autobiographic notes and testimonials to the release of the album. The invitation came from an editorial committee consisting of personalities repatriated in Hungary in 1919: Dr. Géza Hoványi, former deputy of Bihar, Dr. Emil Grósz, medic, academician, Dr. Pál Baróthy, medic, former health officer in Oradea, Dr. Bernát Munkácsi, philologist, Orientalist, Tamás Emőd, poet and Ödön Lukács, former vice-mayor of Oradea. The contributions were expected in Budapest, at the entrepreneur Sándor Hönig's studio, together with the payments of the subscription. Several members of the committee also belong to *The Association of the People from Bihar and Oradea*, established in Budapest in 1920, with the aim to promote cultural activity and provide help when necessary. The association functioned until 1926. The documents of the association are to be found at Bihar County Direction National Archives, in the Collection of documents *The Association of the People from Bihar and Oradea 1920-1926*.⁴ Although in 1926 the

³ *Nagyvárad Napló*, nr.34, 1933. jan. 19, p.3

⁴ A.N.- SJ.Bh, Fond Prefectura Județului Bihar, *Asociația biborenilor și orădenilor 1920-1926*, inv.136, dos.1-6

association officially stopped its activity, the founding members and the administration were involved in the editing of the monography, informing their sympathizers about the expenditures for publishing and printing.

The questionnaires were put together and printed at Dezső Fehér's publishing house and the fees for the subscription (one copy cost 50 pengő), were deposited into an account opened at the Hungarian Savings Bank, Dercske branch, in Hungary. Due to censorship, the original files and a generous photographic material of portraits were kept in the collection of documents *Elaboration committee of the monography of Bihar County and Oradea city 1933-1937*.⁵ The correspondence kept in this fund reveals some aspects regarding data collection, done by the printer from Oradea, Béla Ötvös. After Fehér's death in 1935, his wife Janka (born Breitner), carried on the activity with the help of Dezső Zágoni and his employees. Zágoni was the editor-in-chief of the Nagyváradi Napló, that, from 1934, appears with the title *Napló (Journal)*. Zágoni was also the president for the Beiuș branch of the Hungarian Party from Transylvania. The archive does not contain references or informative notes about the censors, nor the original documents of the 1st and 3rd chapters.

An official announcement related to the release of the album was published in the *Napló (Journal)* on the 8th of November 1936. In this announcement, the release year appears to be 1936, but in István Monoki's work, *Bibliography of the Publications in the Hungarian Language Published in Romania 1919-1940*⁶, it was dated to the year 1937 and the second chapter, with another numbering, was not recorded. The preface and the first subchapters could be ascribed to Dezső Fehér, who had antecedents in this field, editing two Yearbooks, (1911 and 1913), with references of local history, presenting the achievements of

⁵ AN-SJ.Bh, Fond Prefectura Județului Bihar, *Comisia de redactare a monografiei județului Bihar și a orașului Oradea 1933-1937*, inv. 140.

⁶ *Magyar Könyvtermelés Romániában (1919-1940)*, I. kötet, összeállította, Monoki István, Kolozsvár, EME = Budapest, OSZK, 1997.

the city and Bihor County. These publications include a generous picture material, the works of the acknowledged photographers of that time: Endre Hanzlián, Sándor Fekete, Ede Lemberg or János Ernő Dajkovits. This photographic material was partly mounted in the Album from 1937, but it can be also found in Petre Dejeu's monography.

Observing the structure of the publication, we can notice that the first chapter was dedicated to the history of the city, from the beginnings till 1936. The chapter makes a vast presentation: social, ecclesiastic, institutional and cultural, political, with exhaustive bibliographic notes. We are presented to the sphere of the political, cultural, judiciary, banking and commercial elite. The presentation of the political and military events from 1918-1920 has a special importance, being a balanced text, in fact being a synthesis of the news that appeared in the columns of the *Nagyvárad* newspaper.

The second chapter has a preface written by Dr. Hoványi Géza and the material is to be found in the aforementioned archives, and has references about the group repatriated in Hungary, respectively *The Association of the People from Bihor and Oradea*.

The third chapter was dedicated to the administrative apparatus of the prefecture from 1936 with data related to each administrative area. The institutions and personalities of all fields from Bihor are introduced here with an updated dictionary and the administrative map of the localities from Bihor.

The postface of the publication gives us partial information to the questions asked related to editing. Initially, this monography was structured around the second chapter, the commercial success being guaranteed by subscriptions. Over time, when censorship intervened, the prefecture has decided to change the project. So modifications compared to the initial conception appeared, resulting a rich repertoire of the 1930s, on 1000 pages, with 1754 names of local personalities. The driving force behind the monography in its final form is considered to be

the prefect of that time, Dr. Ioan Pîcu Băncilă, who supported the project till the end. My conclusion is that the monography was printed in two versions and this is the cause of the differences regarding the second chapter. One version was printed abiding to the rules of the censorship for the subscribers from Bihor, and another one was produced for the subscribers in Hungary, that have already paid their subscription and their place in the monography. The arrangements have been made by the owners of the Sonnenfeld S.A. printing house, which also held part of the shares of Dezső Fehér's publishing house. We do not have information about the number of copies printed, but my conclusion is also sustained by the informative, technical apparatus of the book at the name index and content part.

II.
ASPECTS OF THE
BIOGRAPHY OF SOME
PERSONALITIES

STUDIES AND MONOGRAPHS ON THE METROPOLITAN SAVA BRANCOVICI OF ARDEAL

Mihai GEORGIȚĂ

Abstract: *The first paper on the metropolitan's life and activity was the chronicle written by his brother, Gheorghe Brancovici, in Serbian. This chronicle would represent the main Romanian historiographical source about Sava Brancovici's ordeal and martyrdom, caused by the Calvinist-Orthodox conflict. The study of the metropolitan Sava Brancovici's personality was of particular interest for the researchers as it was generated by the disputes between Greek-Catholic and Orthodox historiography. The metropolitan's life and activity were rewritten over more than three decades later from this controversy. However, Marina I. Lupaș, the author of the monograph, went beyond the revanchist and polemical language, placing the events in their rightful spot based on the new sources and modern research. The long pastoring of the metropolitan Sava Brancovici also fascinated the great Romanian historian, Nicolae Iorga. He dedicated it a separate chapter in his well-known book on the History of Romanian Church. Iorga discovered in Sava Brancovici more than a political personality, a great hierarch with an intense spiritual activity. After Sava Brancovici's canonization in 1955, the studies and articles on this metropolitan were written in a flattering manner and in a hagiographic style.*

Keywords: *the 17th century, historiographi, mitropolitan, persecution, Transylvania*

According to the chronicle written by his brother, Gheorghe Brancovici, the metropolitan Sava came from an old Serbian family originally from Herzegovina. In the second half of the 16th century this noble family fled Turkish persecution in Arad where they managed to take possession of several estates.

Living among Romanians, they romanianized, and that is why they would also sign with Brâncoveanu name in time. Among its members, a few bishops from Ineu became conspicuous, which proves that Brancovici family had a propensity towards religious life and its governance.

Born around 1620 in Ineu, Arad, the future metropolitan, with the Christian name of Simion, was educated in his parental home; then he travelled through Hungary, Serbia and Bulgaria in order to become acquainted with the customs of the neighbouring peoples, eventually stopping so that he could complete his studies in the Romanian Country at Comana Monastery, where his uncle Longhin, the former bishop of Ineu, had retired. Hearing of his father and his brothers' death caused by plague, he returned to Ineu. Here, he got married at his mother's insistence and then he was ordained as priest in this town and he was elected protopope. Having both his children and his wife dead and starting the sede vacante at the metropolitan chair of Alba Iulia, he was proposed and elected the metropolitan of Ardeal in 1656, after having become a monk and ordained bishop in the Romanian Country¹.

He led the destinies of the Orthodox Church in Transylvania for over twenty years and he became conspicuous as one of the most important Transylvanian Orthodox metropolitans of the 17th century. From the beginning he got the largest jurisdiction ever held by the metropolitans in Bălgrad and he was not constrained by the 15 Calvinized points as his predecessors. During his pastoring, he reorganised the Transylvanian Orthodox church, he issued a regulation for electing and functioning of the metropolitanate and the synod, he took steps to improve the religious life of the believers through a better catechesis and pastoral care. He also asked the prince to exempt the Romanian priests from paying taxes. While doing his

¹ Silviu Dragomir, *Fragmente din Cronica lui George Brancovici* (*Extracts from the Chronicle of George Brancovici*) extracted from the National Historical Institute Yearbook of 1923, Cartea Românească, Bucharest, 1924, p. 52-55

hierarchical activity, he also conducted a political and diplomatic activity, serving the princes of Ardeal. Not without their consent did he plan an anti-Ottoman coalition in which a significant role was to be played by Russia. That is why, besides his travel to Russia for alms used for restoring the metropolitan church in Alba Iulia destroyed by the Turks, he also had the task to persuade the Tsar into joining the anti-Ottoman coalition. His pastoring was ended by a plot of the Calvinist detractors leading to him being tried and imprisoned, suffering martyrdom according to the chronicles of the time².

The first paper on the metropolitan's life and activity was the chronicle written by his brother, Gheorghe Brancovici, in Serbian. The chronicle captured contemporary realities in the Romanian principalities, sometimes speaking passionately about the Calvinist persecution against the Romanian church. The persecution started during the reign of Gabriel Bethlen and reached its peak during his brother's pastoring. This chronicle would represent the main Romanian historiographical source about Sava Brancovici's ordeal and martyrdom, caused by the Calvinist-Orthodox conflict³.

The metropolitan's life and especially his pastoring and martyrdom have their rightful place in the pages of the works written by the choragi of the Transylvanian School who put a great emphasis on restoring the history of the Romanian church in Ardeal as the main component in the evolution of the Romanian nation formation in this principality.

For instance, Samuil Micu noticed that the Romanian priests' situation improved during the ruling of the metropolitan Sava Brancovici after obtaining the princely decrees for exemption from various taxes. He believed it was worth underlining the measures taken during the synods held by Sava

² Mircea Păcurariu, *Mitropolitul Sava Brancovici al Transilvaniei. La 300 de ani de la moartea sa (The Metropolitan Sava Brancovici. 300 Years since His Death)*, in *Biserica Ortodoxă Română*, 1983, nr. 3-4, p. 225-247.

³ Silviu Dragomir, *op.cit.*, p. 53-70.

Brancovici, especially the one in 1675, by means of which they laid the foundations for the modernization of the church. Instead, he concisely recorded the news about the metropolitan's suffering: "it is said that he was thrown out of the bishopric and carried through towns and beaten to death following the Prince Apaffi Mihai's order"⁴.

Gheorghe Șincai in *Hronicul Românilor (The Chronicle of the Romanians)* slightly expanded the significant moments and achievements during Sava Brancovici's pastoring, yet, unlike Micu, he extensively presented the metropolitan's ordeal, a resounding event at that time. At first, he was happy to quote the events recounted in Samuil Micu's work. Thus, Sava appeared as a martyr who had suffered and died for his faith. The anecdote on the metropolitan's martyrdom was taken from oral sources. According to these, at one point when sitting at the table together with the prince Apaffi, the metropolitan was feasting and, to mock his faith, the prince made him baptise a dog. The metropolitan agreed, but he said that he first had to see what faith the dog was; being offered the food, the dog chose meat and, thus, the metropolitan proved that it was not of the same religion and that it was appropriate for the dog to be baptised by Calvinist priests. The reply brought about the guests and the prince's resentment. The harassment accusation made by the princess was another reason for the prince to seek "opportunity and time to undermine the metropolitan Sava". During the synod gathered for prosecuting the metropolitan, besides the charges for immorality, other counts were brought regarding his acquiring the wealth of the monastery in Alba Iulia. He was sentenced to prison and then killed. Yet Șincai was not a mere compiler of information and documents, but he critically expressed his opinions where the source seemed erroneous. Therefore, he found the anecdote with the dog to be "a story without any foundation". As for the council's sentence, he believed that "it came out of envy and not out of truth". To

⁴ Samuil Micu, *Scurtă cunoștință a istorii românilor (Brief Knowledge on Romanian History)*, Bucharest, 1963, p. 102-103.

support this statement, he appealed to the chronicler Mihály Cserei, a close man of prince Apaffi and, therefore, a trustworthy source as it was coming from “the one of the strongest Calvinists”, as the Romanian scholar asserted in another fragment⁵. Cserei reported that his fame as a knowledgeable and skillful man and especially the metropolitan’s wealth attracted the hostility and the plot of several Hungarian noblemen, who shared his wealth among them after his conviction and death. The conclusions are left to be drawn by the Hungarian chronicler (“unheard, pagan and terrible tyranny!”)⁶.

Petru Maior did not seem so interested in the life and activity of Sava Brancovici, but he exemplified the famous martyrdom of the bishop when he wanted to prove that stronger measures were needed to impose Calvinist faith than the simple requirements included in the appointment diplomas of the Transylvanian metropolitans. However, he rendered the events and circumstances with the augmentation pleasure. The Calvinist superintendent substituted Sava and he presided over the synods by himself without consulting the synod clergy (“and four more protopopes from the Romanian clergy were forced to carry the appointed person on their shoulders into the synod and, before him being seated, the Romanian clergy and bishops were not allowed to try any spiritual matters”). Finally, as an author that fully mastered the method of historical science, he brought evidence, but, unlike Șincai, he had not checked his sources. He took from a book the document presented as evidence, in which he told the anecdote of the dog’s baptism, inspired from a less credible oral source⁷.

Due to the fascination for document and historical source shown by the Romanian romantic historiography, and especially

⁵ Gheorghe Șincai, *Hronical românilor (The Chronicle of the Romanians)*, vol. III, Bucharest, 1967, p. 252

⁶ *Școala Ardeleană (Transylvanian School)*, edition by Florea Fugariu, vol. II, Bucharest, 1983, p. 75-77.

⁷ Petru Maior, *Scriseri (Writings)*, vol. II, Bucharest, 1976, p. 123-126.

by the forty-eighters generation that had laid the foundation of positivism in history, a lot of unpublished historical sources appeared in magazines and collections. Based on these and with another theoretical support, new themes were addressed and the old ones were rewritten⁸. G. Barițiu, a renowned representative of the post-forty-eighters Romanian historiography, also tackled religious aspects in his historical writings. Starting from the documents edited by Timotei Cipariu, he wrote a few studies on Religious reform, its impact on the Romanians and their reaction⁹. In these studies and especially in his monumental work¹⁰ entitled *Selected Pages from the History of Transylvania. For over 300 Years Before*, he devoted a brief, yet relevant, analysis to the activity and martyrdom of the metropolitan Sava Brancovici, written based on the assumptions of Calvinist propaganda among Transylvanian Romanians. Even though one cannot find the conditions previously imposed to Simion Ștefan in the diploma appointing the metropolitan, the fact that he had been recommended by the Calvinist superintendent and ended as a martyr represented, for Barițiu, clear marks of the destiny of a Transylvanian hierarch facing the Calvinist propaganda. Moreover, the fact that he resisted for 24 years in the metropolitan chair was due to the influence he had among the Romanians and the Orthodox political leaders, who were the princes' allies in need. This is how he managed to get a number of exemptions for the Transylvanian Romanian priests, yet temporarily and theoretically, since they were always violated. All metropolitan's protests against the obvious intentions of prince

⁸ Al. Zub, *A scrie și a face istorie (istoriografia română postpașoptistă) – To Write and to Make History (Post-forty-eighters Romanian Historiography)*, Iași, 1981, p. 204-265.

⁹ George Em. Marica, *Studii de istoria și sociologia culturii române ardeleni în secolul al XIX-lea (Studies on the History and Sociology of the Transylvanian Romanian Culture in the 19th Century)*, Vol. III, Cluj-Napoca, 1980, p. 110-150.

¹⁰ Corina Teodor, *Coridoare istoriografice. O incursiune în universul scrisului ecleziastic românesc din Transilvania anilor 1850-1920 (Historiographical Hallways. An Incursion in the World of the Romanian Ecclesiastical Writing in Transylvania during 1850-1920)*, Cluj-Napoca, 2003, p. 317-327.

Apaffi and the Calvinist superintendent to calvinize the Romanian church and to take it out of the authority of Romanian Metropolitanate in Alba Iulia, especially after 1670, did not have any result. Furthermore, his opposition and wealth attracted the enmity of the Calvinist superintendent and nobles, finally leading to his suffering and martyr's death. According to G. Barițiu, these were clear signs that the Orthodox Romanian church was about to disintegrate if it had not been for the historical events that changed the political course of Transylvania at the end of the 17th century¹¹.

The critical school, outlined at the end of the 19th century, deepened the issue more vigorously based on the new documentary discoveries¹². That was the time when monographs on ecclesiastical personalities were written¹³. The study of the metropolitan Sava Brancovici's personality was of particular interest for the researchers as it was generated by the disputes between Greek-Catholic and Orthodox historiography. The former did not admit that the Romanian church in Ardeal had its own hierarchy before the Reformation while the latter was looking for its origins deeper into history. Other collateral disputes arose, such as Sava Brancovici's worthiness in church hierarchy. The study on the life and activity of this metropolitan bishop is also included in this interpretive grid with a pronounced polemical character.

Starting from the controversy with Augustin Bunea, who, in the works "Ierarhia Românilor din Ardeal și Ungaria" ("The Hierarchy of Romanians in Ardeal and Hungary") and "Vechile episcopii românești a Vadului, Geoagiului, Silvașului și

¹¹ George Bariț, *Părți alese din Istoria Transilvaniei. Pe 300 de ani în urmă (Selected Pages in the History of Transylvania. For over 300 Years Before)*, Second Edition, vol. I, Brașov, 1993, p. 208-212.

¹² Al. Zub, *De la istoria critică la criticism (istoriografia română la finele secolului XIX și începutul secolului XX) – From Critical History to Criticism (Romanian Historiography at the End of the 19th Century and the Beginning of the 20th Century)*, Bucharest, 1985.

¹³ Corina Teodor, *op.cit.*, p. 205.

Bălgradului” (“Old Romanian Bishoprics of Vad, Geoagiu, Silvaș and Bălgrad”) argued the idea that the Romanians in Transylvania did not have their own hierarchy or even their metropolitanate until late 17th century, Vasile V. Mangra devoted a monograph to the metropolitan Sava Brancovici, of whom Bunea did not have a good opinion¹⁴. From the first pages he tried to demonstrate the existence of the Romanian bishopric since ancient times, whilst the metropolitan institution had been attested since the 15th century¹⁵. By virtue of the Romanian historiographical tradition, he showed the persecutions which the Romanian church in Ardeal was subjected to, both by the Catholics and the Protestants, as well as the fact that, despite this, it had succeeded in preserving its identity. He took the arguments mostly from the “Transylvanian School” historiography¹⁶ and also from his own research because he had been concerned about this issue for a while¹⁷.

All this introductory fabric served to contextualize the life and prodigious activity of the metropolitan which would form extensive chapters in the book. The result was a thorough historical work on the Romanian church and the Romanians in Transylvania until the 17th century and not a biographic one with hagiographic character¹⁸. One chapter is devoted to the martyrdom, a subject that stirred much fascination among the researchers of the church in the course of time¹⁹. In conclusion, Mangra asserted that “he (Sava) was a great and worthy bishop of the Romanian Orthodox church in Transylvania”.

¹⁴ Vasile V. Mangra, *Mitropolitul Sava II Brancovici (1656-1680) – Metropolitan Sava II Brancovici (1656-1680)*, Arad, 1906, p. 1-2.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 3-9.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 9-16.

¹⁷ Marius Eppel, *Un mitropolit și epoca sa. Vasile Mangra (1850-1918) – A Metropolitan and His Time. Vasile Mangra (1850-1918)*, Cluj, 2006, p. 171-173.

¹⁸ Ioan Mircea Bogdan, *Activitatea istoriografică a lui Vasile Mangra (Vasile Mangra's Historiographical Activity)*, in „Altarul Banatului”, 41 (II), nr.7-9, 1991, p. 113-122.

¹⁹ Vasile V. Mangra, *op.cit.*, passim.

In the same year, Augustin Bunea believed that he had to defend his standpoint, responding to Mangra by writing a monograph on the same theme²⁰. Thus, page by page, he tried to debunk the allegations made by Mangra by questioning even the veracity of the sources. The more the archimandrite Mangra had praised the metropolitan Sava, the more the Greek-Catholic theologian and historian Augustin Bunea denigrated him, considering him a philo-Calvinist. However, the paper was appreciated at the time for the historical criticism model²¹.

The metropolitan's life and activity were rewritten over more than three decades later from this controversy. However, Marina I. Lupaș, the author of the monograph, went beyond the revanchist and polemical language, placing the events in their rightful spot based on the new sources and modern research²². After she had admitted the real contributions brought to the church history of Ardeal by the canon Augustin Bunea, she wondered why he showed dislike for Sava's personality, thus moving away from scientific objectivity. She found the answer in the time she wrote about: "a time of struggles between two hostile Romanian denominations: the Orthodox and the Greek-Catholic ones in which the author seems to be an ardent representative of the latter. Augustin Bunea, a canon in Blaj, wished to justify the union act of 1700, exaggerating and amplifying even more the Calvinist influence on the Romanian church in Transylvania in the 17th century; he reached the conclusion that the Union would not have meant a tear in the Orthodox unity, but only an attempt to

²⁰ Augustin Bunea, *Mitropolitul Sava Brancovici (Metropolitan Sava Brancovici)*, Blaj, 1906, passim.

²¹ Fănică Niță, Iacob Mârza, *Atitudine și spirit critic la istoricul Augustin Bunea: Raporturi între ortodoxie și protestantism în Ardealul secolului al XVII-lea (Attitude and Critical Spirit at the Historian Augustin Bunea: Relations between Orthodoxy and Protestantism in the 17th Century Transylvania)*, in „230 de ani de la Înființarea eparhiei române unite de Oradea Mare-trecut, prezent și viitor”, Cluj-Napoca, 2008, p. 395-396.

²² Marina I. Lupaș, *Mitropolitul Sava Brancovici 1656-1683 (Metropolitan Sava Brancovici 1656-1683)*, Cluj, 1939.

take the Romanian church from under the Calvinist influence”²³. She appreciated the merits of Mangra’s monograph, but she reproached the fact that the paper had an “obvious polemical character that diminishes its value as a scientific work”²⁴. By her new monograph on Sava Brancovici, Marina I Lupaş managed to satisfactorily restore the historical truth about the life, activity and time in which this orthodox hierarch lived. That is why the paper is still a generous reference in ecclesiastic history and especially on the metropolitan Sava Brancovici’s pastoring. There have been no significant contributions since this paper. It was written based on the new documentary discoveries, made especially by her father, the academician Ioan Lupaş and by Silviu Dragomir. The latter dealt with the origin of Brancovici family, the chronicle written by Gheorghe Brancovici and metropolitan Sava Brancovici’s relations with Russia, releasing relevant information in the scientific circuit²⁵, meant to outline even more clearly the metropolitan’s life and activity.

The long pastoring of the metropolitan Sava Brancovici also fascinated the great Romanian historian, Nicolae Iorga. He dedicated it a separate chapter in his well-known book on the History of Romanian Church. Firstly, he analysed the metropolitan’s genealogy and biography, which aroused so much controversy in the religious historiography and he finally concluded that “in fact, nothing is known for sure about the Serbian noble Sava Brancovici who was appointed bishop of Ardeal following Rákotzi’s diploma of 1656”²⁶.

Sava Brancovici’s pastoral work and activity, held under the secular leadership of two Calvinist princes, was included by

²³ *Eadem*, p. 24.

²⁴ *Eadem*, p. 25.

²⁵ Sorin Şipoş, *Silviu Dragomir-istoric (Silviu Dragomir-Historian)*, Second Edition-added, Oradea-Chişinău, 2008, p. 315-316.

²⁶ N. Iorga, *Istoria bisericii româneşti şi a vieţii religioase a românilor (The History of Romanian Church and the Romanians’ Religious Life)*, vol. I, Bucharest, 1928, p. 347-353.

Iorga, who had extensive knowledge of world history, in the political context of the time. The end of the reign of Rakotzi II and the beginning of Mihail Apaffi's reign, which coincided with the first book on Sava's pastoring, represented a period of the good relations with these princes, especially due to the services brought by the metropolitan as a delegate of the principate in relation to the Orthodox states, and especially with Russia that was becoming conspicuous as a great power in the area, capable of fronting the Ottoman Empire and thus, a presumed ally of Transylvania in a possible conflict with Istanbul. However Iorga believed that all ties with Russia were to draw the enmity of the Calvinist political circles. In 1669, after returning from Moscow, a new calvinization programme was imposed on the Orthodox Church, which the metropolitan, by his traits, personality and influence, did not wish to follow²⁷. However, the new and much more intransigent superintendent demanded that no deviation from the Calvinization programme to be allowed and thus Sava was forced to hold the first synod in 1675, during which the programme regulations were imposed again. Instead, the metropolitan, which proves that he was influential, demanded that no ancient traditions to be broken, the parishes not to be seized by the Calvinists and the hierarchs' financial rights not to encroached on. He also obtained a new exemption from paying tithes for the priests²⁸. In his turn, Nicolae Iorga proved that Sava Brancovici was finally the victim of political machinations, although he found incredible the testimonies about the ordeal endured after the conviction²⁹.

The pastoring of metropolitan Sava Brancovici was also followed by the great scholar in papers dedicated to Transylvanian history, in which the accent was strongly laid on

²⁷ "Sava had neither the ability nor the will to follow these teachings but he was strong enough, by his connections, wealth and his personal features not to be disturbed by their unfulfillment" *Ibidem*, p. 365-366.

²⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 367-368.

²⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 370-373

political history, on the general context and not on the cultural-religious dimension. This approach was already sketched in his paper “Sate și preoți din Ardeal”³⁰ (“Villages and Priests in Ardeal”) and enlarged in “Istoria românilor din Ardeal și Ungaria” (“The History of the Romanians in Ardeal and Hungary”). Due to the fact that the political history of the Romanians in Ardeal was strictly dependent on the ecclesiastical history, some papers were written on the Romanian church in Transylvania seen in a wider political context. This new perspective fell into the strong concept of the great historian: that of the Romanian unity permanence, a primordial, archaic unity that had lasted since the Middle Ages, even though the provinces were detached. This is how one can understand the permanent collaboration, on ecclesiastical level, between the Romanian countries and especially with Transylvania, where the Romanian church assumed political function in the midst of Middle Ages³¹.

In Iorga’s vision, “the fate of Romanian church in Ardeal” depended on the political ties between Romanian principalities outside the Carpathians and Transylvania. The election and appointment of Sava Brancovici was made in a moment when the relations between the new rulers of the Romanian countries and prince Rakotzi were very tight, a proof being their participation, together with the prince from Ardeal, in the military expedition to Poland. These political ties and Rakotzi’s involvement in the offensive military actions outside the country were the causes why, in Sava Brancovici’s appointment diploma, we will not find the 15 conditions imposed

³⁰ N. Iorga, *Sate și preoți din Ardeal (Transylvanian Villages and Priests)*, Bucharest, 1902, p.48-68.

³¹ Ion Toderașcu, *Permanențe istorice medievale. Factori ai unității românești (Medieval Historical Permanency. Factors of the Romanian Unity)*, II, Iași, 1994, p. 35-37; Șerban Papacostea, *Nicolae Iorga și Evul Mediu românesc (Nicolae Iorga and Romanian Middle Ages)*, afterword to N. Iorga, *Studii asupra Evului Mediu românesc (Studies on the Romanian Middle Ages)*, Bucharest, 1984, p. 402-427; Pompiliu Teodor, *Istorici români și probleme istorice (Romanian Historians and Historical Issues)*, Oradea, 1993, p. 20-23.

on his predecessor, Simion Ștefan, conditions that led to the gradual Calvinization of the Romanian Orthodox church in Transylvania. This may also explain the fact that Sava Brancovici managed to get out of the trusteeship of the Calvinist superintendence and to freely exercise his duties as an Orthodox hierarch³². He managed to obtain relief from tithes for his clergy from Prince Acațiu Barcsai and then from Mihai Apaffi; this happened in the political background of the time, when the metropolitan became known as a leading Pan-Orthodox hierarch with political ties in the Romanian countries and Russia. However, the metropolitan's influence attracted the envy and discontent of the superintendence and of the prince³³. Iorga discovered in Sava Brancovici more than a political personality, a great hierarch with an intense spiritual activity. "In fact – as the great historian underlined – Sava Brancovici's church personality coexists together with his important political personality"³⁴. It was the circumstances that compelled the Transylvanian bishop to compromise to Calvinism. The leading Calvinist representatives pursued a favourable moment when the political background beyond the mountains was frail and they started to pressure the Orthodox Church in Transylvania by the medium of the prince. In 1674 Mihai Apaffi passed the bishopric and the archpriestships under the obedience of the superintendence and, following a synod the next year, Sava had to accept some measures that were supposed to reform the Romanian church in a Calvinist spirit. In this context, Nicolae Iorga revealed the skillfulness of this metropolitan who, despite being in predicament, still managed to take advantage for his church and himself after daring negotiations. Thus, his brother was appointed emissary to Istanbul and he was given an estate; the metropolitan was assured that he would not lose any right over his church. Șerban Cantacuzino's ascent to the throne of

³² N. Iorga, *Istoria românilor din Ardeal și Ungaria (The History of Romanians in Transylvania and Hungary)*, Bucharest, 1989, p. 180-181.

³³ *Ibidem*, p. 186-187.

³⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 189.

the Romanian Country, a prince with ambitions for power in Ardeal, would also influence the fate of the metropolitanate. Nicolae Iorga was the most able to capture the political backstage that led to Sava Brancovici's removal. If the metropolitan was reappointed in the autumn of 1679, removing Calvinist trusteeship, that was due to Șerban Cantacuzino, who had political influence at the princely court of Alba Iulia; if, afterwards, he was persecuted it was not because of the fact that he had lost the support of the Wallachian prince, but on the contrary, it happened in a moment when the relations between the two states had become cold. Since he could not hit directly the Romanian ruler, the prince Apaffi hit the metropolitan. That is why, Nicolae Iorga saw in Sava's persecution and martyrdom "political and not religious"³⁵ reasons that had their deep roots in national resentment, since the Romanians had become the majority and could access political power. Șerban Cantacuzino, a great supporter of the Orthodox Church, promptly intervened by all means to reseat Sava as metropolitan, but he had died in the meantime. Nevertheless, he managed to propose a new metropolitan who had to be consecrated in Târgoviște according to the tradition and to remain a good Orthodox. By this Iorga showed once again the power of the Wallachian ruler, protector of the Transylvanian Orthodox Church and the close ties between the Romanians on the both sides of the Carpathians³⁶.

Another important historian of the ecclesiastical life, Zenovie Păclișanu, a descendant of Augustin Bunea on the line of Greek-Catholic historiography³⁷, was concerned, from the beginning of his career, about the issue of Calvinist propaganda in Romanian church³⁸, materialized in a doctoral dissertation

³⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 189-190

³⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 191-193

³⁷ Corina Teodor, *op.cit.*, p. 413.

³⁸ Zenovie Păclișanu, *Legăturile românilor ardeleni cu Reformațiunea în veacul XVI-lea și al XVII-lea (The Connections of the Transylvanian Romanians with the Reformation in the 16th and 17th Century)*, in "Cultura Creștină", first year, nr. 16-19, 1911-1912.

presented at Vienna³⁹. This research was completed and systematized in the introductory chapters of his fundamental work: *Istoria bisericii române unite (The History of the Romanian United Church)*. Zenovie Păclișanu is the first historian who stated that the Calvinist proselytism reached its peak under the ruling of Prince Mihai Apaffi. Obviously, in this context, Sava Brancovici no longer appeared as a great figure of the Romanian Orthodox church, like other Romanian historians. “His authority – underlined Zenovie Păclișanu – was reduced like no other authority of the bishops that had preceded him, turning him into a mere puppet in the hands of the Calvinist superintendent”⁴⁰.

Ioan Lupaș, theologian and historian, reached other conclusions following the discovery of some documents that would shed new light on the activity and life of the metropolitan Sava Brancovici. An important study in this respect dealt with the relationship between the prince Acațiu Barcsai and the metropolitan⁴¹, a study that was presented as a report at the Romanian Academy in 1913. One notices, from the beginning, the multi-valent perspective on events, supported by rich bibliographical sources and by the unreserved valuation of Greek-Catholic historiography. The relation between the two personalities was analysed in a large context of international political conflicts and of Calvinist pressure on the Romanians. Lupaș ascertained that the relation between the two of them had been good from the beginning due to Romanian ancestry of the prince. But in the confrontation between Barcsai and Rakotzi, the metropolitan sought to take advantage for his position and for

³⁹ Iacob Mârza, *Biserica și viața religioasă la istoricul Zenovie Păclișanu (The Church and the Religious Life of the Historian Zenovie Păclișanu)*, in „Annales Universitatis Apulensis. Series Historica”, nr.7, 2003, p. 51.

⁴⁰ Zenovie Păclișanu, *Istoria bisericii române unite (The History of the Romanian Church United)*, Second Edition, in „Perspective”, nr. 65-68, 1994-1995, anul XVII, p. 70.

⁴¹ Ioan Lupaș, *Prințepile ardelean Acațiu Barcsai și mitropolitul Sava Brancovici (Transylvanian Prince Acațiu Barcsai and the Metropolitan Sava Brancovici)*, in „Studii, conferințe și comunicări istorice”, vol. I, Bucharest, 1927, p. 174-192.

the Romanian church⁴². A synthesis on the activity of this metropolitan was made in the study “Păstorirea mitropolitului Sava Brancovici-Brâncoveanu și călătoria lui la Moscova” (“The Pastoring of the Metropolitan Sava Brancovici-Brâncoveanu and his trip to Moscow”), originally published in the course entitled “The History of Romanian Church” which he delivered for the students at the Theological Academy in Cluj in the academic year 1938-1939, and then published in his collection of “Historical Studies”⁴³. He seemed to be fascinated by the personality of this hierarch and that is why he placed him in the gallery of his great contemporaries: Varlaam of Moldavia and Stephen of Wallachia. He considered him a strong defender of the ancient faith and a true Christian⁴⁴. Other two studies written after the discovery of the list with the metropolitan’s wealth and priestly robes refer to his tragic end caused, among other things, by his material power⁴⁵.

The historian Ștefan Meteș made an attempt to collect and synthesize all new studies and data in his famous book on the history of the Romanian church in Transylvania, in which he dedicated a special chapter to Sava Brancovici. The metropolitan’s life and activity were presented in the same manner: the noble origin, the activity of a good Orthodox hierarch, the martyrdom he suffered for true faith⁴⁶.

After Sava Brancovici’s canonization in 1955, together with Ilie Iorest, another Transylvanian hierarch who had suffered the Calvinist persecution, the studies and articles on this metropolitan were written in a flattering manner and in a

⁴² Corina Teodor, *op. cit.*, p. 374-375.

⁴³ Ioan Lupaș, *Studii Istorice (Historical Studies)*, vol. V, Sibiu-Cluj, 1945-1946, p. 71-95.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 94.

⁴⁵ Idem, *Studii, conferințe și comunicări istorice (Historical Studies, Conferences and Reports)*, vol. I, p. 203-209.

⁴⁶ Ștefan Meteș, *Istoria bisericii și a vieții religioase a românilor din Transilvania și Ungaria (The History of Church and Religious Life of the Romanians from Transylvania and Hungary)*, vol. I, Sibiu, 1935, p. 266-299.

hagiographic style⁴⁷. Exception to these is the study written by Victor Cîmpineanu on the relations of Sava Brancovici with Russia in the context of political turmoil in the mid-17th century and of the anti-Ottoman crusade⁴⁸ and Mihai Colotelo's study that proved the fact that the metropolitan was the artisan of *Zaconicul*, an organization status of the Romanian church in Transylvania⁴⁹. The last scientific study dedicated to Sava Brancovici was written by the priest and teacher Mircea Păcurariu, an attempt to systematize and fathom all the research and historical data published so far⁵⁰.

⁴⁷ See the volume: *Sfinți români și apărători ai legii strămoșești (Romanian Saints and Defenders of the Ancestral Law)*, Bucharest, 1987; Mircea Păcurariu, *Sfinți daco-români și români (Daco-Romanian and Romanian Saints)*, Third edition, Iași, 2007, p. 186-191; Mitropolit Antonie Plămădeală, *Sava Brancovici, mitropolit al Transilvaniei și martir al Ortodoxiei (Sava Brancovici, Metropolitan of Transylvania and Martyr of Orthodoxy)*, in vol. „Calendar de inimă românească”, Sibiu, 1988, p. 175-198.

⁴⁸ Victor Cîmpineanu, *Mitropolitul Sava Brancovici, Legăturile cu Rusia și lupta sa împotriva cotoșitorilor turci (Metropolitan Sava Brancovici, His Connections to Russia and His Fights against Turkish Invaders)*, in „Biserica Ortodoxă Română”, LXXIII, nr. 6, 1955, p. 351-370.

⁴⁹ Mihai Colotelo, *Zaconicul Sfântului ierarh Sava Brancovici*, în „Biserica Ortodoxă Română”, LXXIX, nr. 7-8, 1961, p. 755-774.

⁵⁰ Mircea Păcurariu, *Mitropolitul Sava Brancovici al Transilvaniei-la 300 de ani de la moartea sa (Metropolitan Sava Brancovici of Transylvania - 300 Years since His Death)*, in „Biserica Ortodoxă Română”, CI, nr. 3-4, 1983, p. 225-247.

HIGHLIGHTS FROM THE LIFE AND ACTIVITY OF NATIONAL MILITANT IOAN CIORDAȘ (1877-1919)

Diana IANCU

Abstract: *This paper presents the activity of Ioan Ciordaș, the national militant. He was one of the most important promoters of the national ideal. He fervently engaged in defending the Romanian people's national rights. He offered his support to all actions that were taken in order to make possible the union between Transylvania and Romania. He contributed significantly to the Romanian people's political education; he was present at the approval of the Declaration of National Self-Determination, he was the leader of the Romanian National Council from Beiuș and member of the Romanian National Party. Was also elected to represent the Romanians from Beiuș in the National Assembly from Alba Iulia, on December 1st 1918, where the union of Transylvania with Romania was proclaimed. He was wellknown as solicitor. His role in the trial of Moftin – 1914, was so important.*

Ioan Ciordaș had a significant contribution to the improvement of the cultural life in Beiuș. He offered his support to all the cultural associations, with a significant militant character, that activated in his town. Ioan Ciordaș's cultural activity had as a main purpose the cultural emancipation of the Romanian people and the revival of the national spirit.

Key words: *Ioan Ciordaș, Beiuș, Declaration of National Self-Determination, culture, solicitor.*

Ioan Ciordaș was born on December 25th 1877, in the village of Betfia, Bihor County. His parents were Emilia Fărcaș de Péterfalva (1855-1927, Cluj) and Mihai Ciurdariu¹. His mother

¹ Teodor Neș, *Oameni din Bihor, 1848-1918*, Ediția a -II-a, Biblioteca Revistei Familia, Oradea, 2006, p. 510.

was the daughter of the vicar of Rogoz, Alexandru Fărcaș, a member of an ancient priestly family with ministers in the parties of Sătmar, and his father was priest in Betfia and Sfârnaș and archpriest in Doba. Mihai Ciurdariu had an important contribution in defending the Romanian church and language, especially when the Hungarian government established the Bishopric of Hajdudorog, with the purpose of annexing the Romanian Greek-Catholic parish to it.

Ioan Ciordaș studied at the Sfârnaș Primary School and at a secondary school in Oradea, attending the courses of Premostratens High School (sau Secondary School). It was here that his name was changed, from Ciurdariu to Ciordaș².

The first manifestation of his nationalist spirit was when he was a student at the Academy of Law in Oradea, between 1859-1899³. In 1899, he was solidary with the Romanian students at the Academy of Law from Oradea, in supporting Lucian Bolcaș who had been expelled from University for his non-governmental attitude.

Ioan Ciordaș and other colleagues signed a statement in which they noted that “in the face of terror we declare solidarity with Lucian Bolcaș. Inspired by the same feelings we will continue the fight”⁴. Due to this, the young Ioan Ciordaș was rusticated from the Academy of Law from Oradea. He continued his university studies in Cluj where, he took the Ph.D⁵ in September 1900.

On June 30th 1902 he married Viora Ignat, one of the most serene and inspiring female figures from Transylvania⁶, the

² Petru E. Papp, *Din trecutul Beiușului. Pagini de glorie și de jertfe*, „Doina”, Tipografie și Librărie, Beiuș, 1928, p. 48.

³ Arhivele Naționale-Serviciul Județean Bihor, *fond Academia de Drept Oradea (1790-1934)*, dos. 418, f. 11.

⁴ Ioan Popovici, Veronica Covaci, Gh. Mudura, Iudita Călușer, Mihai Apan, Ana Ilea, Andrei Caciora, 1918. *Biborul în Epopeea Unirii. Documente*, Editura Comitetului de Cultură și Educație Socialistă al Județului Bihor, Oradea, 1978, p. 592.

⁵ Teodor Neș, *op. cit.*, p. 510.

⁶ G. Lungulescu, *Apostolatul și martiriul luptătorilor biboreni. Doctorii: Ioan Ciordaș și Nicolae Bolcaș*, Tipografia Ziarului „Universul”, București, 1935, p. 13.

daughter of Vasile and Hermina Ignat. She inherited from her parents' strong patriotic feelings.

They had three children: Ovid, Amos Tiberiu Viorel, who had a brief life (from 1905 to 1906), and Xenia (called Scumpa).

Ioan Ciordaș's Professional Activity

Ioan Ciordaș was an important person in the public life of Beiuș's town. He had a notable influence in most areas, nevertheless, his contribution to the Romanian national movement was at the top-level of expression in society. As a political figure he was always doubled as an exceptional solicitor who appeared before the Court of Justice defending the Romanians' rights (peasants and intellectuals from Bihor and Satu Mare).

As a result of weaving the passive tactic and the transition to political activism, the Romanian's trials took a more pronounced political mark, becoming a means by which the authorities aimed to temper – even to stop – the Romanian movement.

He completed his training practice as a solicitor in the offices of Teodor Fâșie from Beiuș and Aurel Lazăr from Oradea. After completing his military service in Timișoara, he joined Ioan Suciș's office between the years 1900-1901, a great solicitor from Arad, and from 1901 he worked in the office of D. C. Popovici⁷.

The young solicitor launched himself professionally in 1902, defending George Ardelean, who didn't allowed the recitation of Rosary in Hungarian language. Outraged, the authorities have took legal action against him, due to the fact that he incited against the state's language⁸.

After his plea, on the 12th of March 1902 the Court of Law from Satu Mare, reduced the priest assistant's sentence from

⁷ *Monografia almanah a Crișanei-județul Bihor*, redactată de Aurel Tripon, Tipografia Diecezană Oradea, Oradea, 1936, p. 353.

⁸ Vasile Ciubotă, *Lupta românilor sătmăreni pentru unire (1918-1919)*, Editura Muzeului sătmărean, Satu Mare, 2004, p. 66.

six months of prison and a fine of 200 crowns to seven days in prison and a fine of 20 crowns⁹.

This success marked his debut as a member of the elite in the legal field. Through his preparation and presentation of the defense, in favor of George Ardelean, he demonstrated the ownership of skills and intellectual abilities that he used for defending the national cause.

Mihai Ciurdariu was a priest involved in various trials initiated by the Hungarian authorities as a result of his nationalist spirit and for defending the Greek–Catholic faith. He was remarkably defended by his son, Ioan Ciordaș.

The Romanian solicitor from Beiuș defended his father in the trial, which took place in August 1911, at the Court of Satu Mare. Mihai Ciurdariu was accused because he urged the parishioners to send their children to a religious school and not to the state one. He also encouraged them to buy Romanian calendars¹⁰. The Hungarian press named Mihail Ciurdariu “traitor to homeland”¹¹, stopping the children of the Greek-Catholic believers to attend the state school. For the manner in which he pleaded defending of his father, the Romanian solicitor was congratulated by the President of the Court of Justice and by the prosecutor, who expressed their admiration by asking how it was possible that “a solicitor from the province to give so much, having had no previous opportunities to appear before the Court”¹². At this remark, Ciordaș replied with dignity: “I often get experience in the Court of the Romanian people, in private meetings and conferences”¹³. Following the plea, which impressed the audience, the defendant was acquitted.

Delegated by the Romanian National Party’s leadership, Ioan Ciordaș defended the Romanian believers of Moftin,

⁹ Teodor Neș, *op. cit.*, p. 514.

¹⁰ Petru E. Papp, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 109.

¹² *Ibidem*.

¹³ *Ibidem*, p. 109-110.

standing trial because they didn't allowed to the authorities to enter the church, defending their faith against the danger of creating the Bishopric of Hajdudorog by the annexation of the Romanian parishes. His plea was built on the canonical and ecclesiastical law¹⁴. In his speech he showed that he would analyze this trial in terms of canonic law and ecclesiastical law, as the events from Moftinul-Mic took place around a representative of the Church.

His plea was full of verve, especially when he spoke about the fight for protecting their language “that spiritual treasure guarded with preciousness, which is Romanian language, their mothers’ language through which, before God, they and their ancestors from the years of childhood have opened their hearts and they manifested their hottest desires”¹⁵.

The peasants defended by the solicitor from Beiuș were acquitted.

In certain references of Ioan Cordaș, as a solicitor and landowner, his attitude was in the most perfect harmony with the high truths, that he stood by with such warmth and vocation¹⁶. He was a very good and appreciated solicitor. He defended mostly peasants. There is no doubt that he put his profession in the service of the national movement.

We notice a few lines from the *Românul* newspaper, regarding the pleadings of Aurel Lazăr and Ioan Ciordaș, in the trial of Moftin: “classical as form, intransigent on ideas and statements, demonstrating thorough studies and an infinite love for the cause that they had to defend - these speeches were moments of celebration for the audience, and will remain ray of consolation for the condemned. Their pleadings were a triumph of a Romanian genius ...¹⁷”.

¹⁴ *Românul*, 1914, nr. 79, p. 3.

¹⁵ Petru E. Papp, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

¹⁶ *Tribuna*, 1920, nr. 14, p. 2.

¹⁷ *Românul*, 1914, nr. 88, p. 5.

Promotor of the Culture in Bihor's County

Ioan Ciordaș was one of the most important promoters of cultural life in the Bihor's region. We meet him in the forefront of some cultural associations which fought for the strengthening of the Romanian national consciousness and enlightenment of the people through culture.

On July 7th 1906, Ioan Ciordaș took the lead of *Casina Română* from Beiuș¹⁸, founded in 1871, in order to contribute to "the members' intellectual development through lecture and modest conversation, and brotherly support"¹⁹. He acted in order to attract new members in the frame of *Casina Română* and to improve the economic situation of this association. Under his presidency, *Casina's* activity was diversified. This "entered a field of lively activity. Its members increased in number and the discussions of issues on the agenda were repeated every evening. The library stocked with works of modern writers, our newspapers were warmly supported"²⁰.

Under the presidency of the great cultural animator Ioan Ciordaș, *Astra's branch in Beiuș*, founded on February 24th 1898²¹, would experience a remarkable development. It is of great importance the fact that *Astra's* branch in Beiuș was the first subsidiary founded by ASTRA in Crișana region.

According to the belief that "a poor people is and will always be a slave to others"²², *Astra* supported the funding of banking and economic institutions. On June 16th 1907, at Ioan Ciordaș's initiative, the credit and saving institute *Drăganul* was founded. Ioan Ciordaș's selfless soul combined banking with

¹⁸ Radu Romînașu, Florin Ardelean, *Casina Română din Beiuș (1871-1920). Contribuții documentare*, Editura Universității din Oradea, Oradea, 2010, p. 240

¹⁹ Viorel Faur, *Cultura românilor din Bihor (1849-1918)*, Fundația Culturală „Cele trei Crișuri”, Oradea, 1992, p. 60.

²⁰ Petru E. Papp, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

²¹ Titus Livius Roșu, *Beiușul. Centru politic și de cultură românească*, Editura Buna Vestire, 1993, p. 246.

²² Gavril Hădăreanu, *Torțe arzânde în țara Beiușului*, Editura Buna Vestire, Beiuș, 1995, p. 497.

philanthropy. A well-known case is that of the teacher Ana Pop, that the Hungarian government refused to pay, and the Orthodox church didn't have financial possibilities to pay her. At Ioan Ciordaș's advice, *Drăganul* took the commitment to pay the teacher's salary annually. *Drăganul* had its contribution at the building of the Romanian Orthodox religious school for girls in Beiuș as well, and it also provided the orthodox parish with a significant amount of money. On April 30th 1911 the general assembly of Astra's branch in Beiuș took place, where Ioan Ciordaș spoke about "the whole-hearted feelings and the sacrifice spirit that every Romanian scholar must have when it is about our cultural institutions"²³.

The branch's members focused their work on raising the people through culture and economy. They emphasized the dissemination of books in the widest possible media, the establishment of libraries, the organisation of conferences and popular lectures or artistic programs. On February 3rd 1912, Ioan Ciordaș required the central committee to provide the branch from Beiuș with all his publications²⁴. Due to the large number of illiterate people, Ioan Ciordaș proceeded to organize literacy classes.

During the general meeting of Beiuș in 1913, Ioan Ciordaș was elected president, a position that he held until his tragic disappearance in April 1919. The Beiuș subsidiary of Astra's multilateral activity increased through meetings, lectures in the countryside, supporting schools, conferences, popular lectures. Ioan Ciordaș gave the Beiuș branch a projector²⁵, in order to animate the popular lectures and conferences. For a better organization of conferences, the Beiuș intellectuals were convoked to a meeting on October 26th 1913. In its report of November 14th 1913, Moise Popovici, the branch's notary, wrote:

²³ Titus Livius Roșu, *op. cit.*, p. 257.

²⁴ Gavril Hădăreanu, *op. cit.*, p. 490.

²⁵ Viorel Faur, Florin Ardelean, *Istoricul Despărțământului "Astrei" din Beiuș (1898-1918)*, Editura Universității din Oradea, Oradea, 2006, p. 264.

“I have the pleasant responsibility to propose that to Mr. PhD. Ioan Ciordaș, the branch’s director, to bring him protocolar thanks, on the one hand because he scoured by himself all 13 communes..., and apart from Beiuș, he held a lecture in every commune; on the other hand because during the lectures, his cart was always at the disposal of the lecturers and those who accompanied him”²⁶.

Ioan Ciordaș had an outstanding contribution to stimulate the activity of spreading scientific, cultural and historical knowledge; he claimed 45 conferences and lectures. From the subjects approached we nominate: *Astra and its Calling, The Meaning of Astra, About Funduary Books, Court Jury, Economical Advice, The Concubinage and their disasters, About Dowry and Women's Private Property*²⁷.

The unprecedented activity of Beiuș subsidiary of Astra was interrupted by the release of the first world-wide conflagration and mobilization on the front of Ioan Ciordaș.

In 1905 the *songs' Reunion "Lira"* of Beiuș was founded, at the initiative of the Astra members, in order to attract “the middle class in the bosom of Beiuș subsidiary of Astra”²⁸, thus increasing its social inclusion. Ioan Ciordaș was elected president, “a man with heart and feeling for all Romanian affairs”²⁹. The Reunion’s members led a heavy fight in order to obtain the government’s approval for the reunion’s statutes. While the authorities displayed a systematic policy of annihilation of the opportunities of cultural affirmation for Romanians, the statutes were approved only in 1912.

In Beiuș, a strong citadel of national resistance, people felt the lack of a printing press, fact that mobilized scholars from Beiuș to act for the establishment of a printing house. In order to set up a printing press in Beiuș, while there were no economic resources, they founded a company based on shares. An initiative

²⁶ Titus Livius Roșu, *op. cit.*, p. 260-261.

²⁷ *Transilvania*, 1914, nr. 7-9, p. 257.

²⁸ Viorel Faur, *Cultura românilor din Bibor...*, p. 96.

²⁹ *Tribuna*, 1906, nr. 225, p. 4.

committee among the intellectuals from Beiuș was formed, in which we also meet Ioan Ciordaș. The company had for purpose: “the augmentation of love for books of the Beiuș inhabitants and environs, the spreading and lending of good books”³⁰. On March 1st 1911, the publishing house started its activity under the leadership of Ioan Ciordaș.

Ioan Ciordaș, with his wife, had a great cult for “the Romanian theatre fund”. In 1910, under the presidency of Cornel Nyes, in Beiuș was established a branch of the Society for a fund theatre, Ioan Ciordaș and his wife were among the supporters.

Ioan Ciordaș promoted an intensive cultural activity. We note that “the national and cultural revival”³¹ is closely connected to his name, Ioan Ciordaș engaged to a laudable effort to enlighten the people.

Ioan Ciordaș's Political Activity

His political activity was focused around popular and electoral where he defended the political education and the revival of national consciousness of the peasants from the county of Bihor.

He was seen as an authentic local leader at the assembly from Beiuș, on November 26th 1905. In his speech he confessed “we have not left, and most importantly we will not leave the Romanian flag into derision, but with faith we will gather around it”³². Finally, he read the Romanian National Party's decision to "require" the Hungarian government to introduce “the vote for the people and to show confidence in the Romanian deputies”³³, something that the people received with great enthusiasm.

³⁰ Viorel Faur, *Cultura românilor din Bihor...*, p. 103.

³¹ Corneliu Mezea, *Martirii din Valea Beiuș-Vaşcăului*, în *Bihorul-strajă la hotare*, Oradea, 1933, p. 9.

³² Viorel Faur, *Viața politică a românilor din Beiuș și localitățile din Sudul Bihorului în perioada 1849-1919*, în Ioan Degău, Nicolae Brânda (coord.), *Beiușul și lumea lui: studiu monografic*, vol. II, Editura Primus, Oradea, 2008, p. 202.

³³ *Ibidem*, p. 203.

The 1905 proclamation of political activism brought the activation of national movement for the Romanians in Bihor. Under the presidency of Ioan Ciordaș a political conference was held on March 17th 1906, a conference where the members of a committee of action were elected. Its purpose was to present the program of their own candidates to the residents of southern Bihor. Proving his real political qualities, active and full of energy, at the meeting from April 14th 1906, Gavril Cosma and C-tin Popoviciu convinced Ioan Ciordaș (who was considering Iuliu Maniu or Aurel Cosma from Timișoara) to accept to run for the parliamentary election. Based these facts, the Orthodox Archpriest Petru E. Papp said the following: “It was an elevating meeting. We had a nominee from among ourselves, with great influence on the elector”³⁴. All the Romanian intellectuals of the parties of Beiuș and Vașcău , the teachers and the clergy of the villages, were grouped around Ioan Ciordaș, something that caused great fear among the Hungarians. Petru E. Papp mentions the fact that in the meetings with voters, Ioan Ciordaș’s speech vibrated with love for the nation and the enthusiasm with which it had been received in all the villages and it allowed its’ villagers to relate the brilliant victory³⁵.

The manner in which the elections took place and the measures taken by the authorities to counter a possible victory of the Romanians, is shown in the following telegram: “Beiuș, May 1st. The battle is terribly heavy. Administration’ s terrorizations are unlimited. The gendarmes were were willing to do anything ... The bribery is public. A priest was escorted from church, many other leaders were prisoners under the pretext that they have incited others. However, we hope to win because people have faith in our candidate Ciordaș”³⁶.

³⁴ Petru E. Papp, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

³⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 61.

³⁶ Ioan Tomole, *Românii din Crișana, Sălaj și Sătmar în luptele național-electurale de la începutul secolului al XX-lea*, Editura Gutinul, Baia Mare, 1999, p. 91.

The Romanian's candidate of was defeated by the official candidate by electoral fraud, Barta Ferencz, who obtained 1801 votes, as opposed to 918 votes for Ioan Ciordaş. His solemn promise "my life is of my people"³⁷ will be respected till to his martyrdom from Lunca.

Ioan Ciordaş vigorously protested against the 1907 school project, promoted by the Minister of Religious Affairs and Public Instruction, Appony Albert. This education law had significant consequences on the organization of the non-Hungarian confessional education in Hungary. The authorities could turn religious schools into state schools and also suspend teachers without the consent of the church authorities. The state established a rigorous control of denominational schools and Hungarian language became the language that the teaching was delivered in in most schools.

Ioan Ciordaş considered that "the language of a people is the coat of its' soul". He praised the Romanian language, saying: "In this language the Romanian people voices its' joy, in this language lover's souls reunite, in this language the old father gives the advices to his sons on his deathbed,,this coat covers all manifestations of the soul, spreading the song on cornfields and in churches the prayer of praise to God! We will not allow us to be stripped of this spiritual coat, we have to defend it to the last drop of blood ..."³⁸.

At his impulse there was a large assembly of Romanians from Beiuş on April 14th 1907³⁹. The Hungarian authorities saw this meeting as a means to create national agitation, so they aimed to its dissolution. Márkovits Károly was brought from Cefa to maintain order. He was well known for his anti-Romanian

³⁷ Gavril Hădăreanu, *op. cit.*, p. 249.

³⁸ *Lupta românilor din judeţul Satu Mare pentru făurirea statului naţional unitar român - documente 1848-1918*, Direcţia Generală a Arhivelor Statului, Bucureşti, 1989, p. 379-380.

³⁹ Flaminia Faur, *Manifestările românilor din Bibor împotriva proiectului de lege şcolară din 1907*, Fundaţia Culturală „Cele trei Crişuri”, Oradea, 1994, p. 45.

behavior. 60 gendarmes were concentrated at his disposal. He brought Hungarian people from Târcaia, in order to disturb the meeting.

This assembly of protest against Apponyi's law could not lead to achieving the goal, however it has contributed to the political activation of the Romanians, to strengthen ties of solidarity between them, it prepared one of the most important political successes of the Romanians in Bihor, the election of Vasile Lucaciu as deputy of Beiuş in the Hungarian parliament in 1907.

In the summer of 1907 new elections were held in the electoral circle Beiuş-Vaşcău. Bartha Ferencz, elected the previous year renounced his mandate. The Committee of the Romanian National Party in Beiuş proposed that Ioan Ciordaş runs as candidate. To prevent him from it, the authorities ordered that he be "called to exercise" in the town of Miklósfalva. He was not sure that would be able to return to Beiuş before the elections. So he refused to run, justifying his choice by saying that a person who can surely obtain victory would be a more suitable candidate. It was decided that Vasile Lucaciu was such a candidate, being a militant leader whose activities in the fight for national rights were well known by the majority people of Bihor.

Outstanding politician, Ioan Ciordaş, returned to Beiuş, and got involved with great enthusiasm in organizing the electoral campaign. He accompanied Vasile Lucaciu throughout the campaign: "... there was no village where his voice of archangel did not resound. Ioan Ciordaş PhD, for whom the peasants' admiration was limitless"⁴⁰. In order to succeed "he put his entire work and overwhelming influence that had upon them. Besides the candidate, he traveled all over the villages, encouraging them all"⁴¹.

From the desire to obtain the majority of votes, the Hungarian authorities resorted again to violence, corruption and

⁴⁰ Petru E. Papp, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*.

fraud. Despite all the diversions, Vasile Lucaciu was the winner. He got 1718 votes, while his counter, Kardos Árpád only 914 votes⁴².

The Romanian newspaper *Tribuna* recognized the outstanding merit and hard work of Ioan Ciordaş in order to obtain Vasile Lucaciu's victory. It wrote about the leader of the Romanians in Beiuş and environs: "... We are happy to note, that in this young solicitor are focused all our hopes regardind the national revival of Bihor. He appointed more and more pronounced by his seriousness, wisdom and energy, which in this battle was imposed to foreign leaders – by the man that for so long time expects a worthy fate, to which Bihor county is entitled to aspire"⁴³.

To promote the Hungarian's cause the authorities set electoral restrictions. The right to vote in 1848 was given to around 10% of the population, with the dualism it was reduced to about 6%. In the non-Hungarian regions the number of deputies was lower than in other areas. The Hungarians accounted for 90% of the seats in the Parliament, while the Romanians, Slovaks, Serbs, occupied merely 10% of the seats⁴⁴. The Hungarians had political hegemony. In 1910, they had 405 deputies in the Parliament, while there were only 5 Romanians and 3 Czechoslovakians⁴⁵. Hungarians predominated in 12 Transylvanian districts, with about 5172 voters, as opposed to a single Romanian district with about 5275 voters⁴⁶. The Hungarian electoral map was drafted so that the Hungarians could maintain their political supremacy.

⁴² Corneliu Mezea, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

⁴³ *Tribuna*, 1907, nr. 181, p. 3-4

⁴⁴ Alan Sked, *Grandezza e caduta dell'impero asburgico 1815-1918*, Editori Laterza, Roma, 1992, p. 212.

⁴⁵ John W. Mason, *Il tramonto dell'impero asburgico*, Società editrice il Mulino, Bologna, 2000, p. 31.

⁴⁶ Arthur J. May, *La monarchia asburgica*, Società editrice il Mulino, Bologna, 1973, p. 119.

The political crisis in Hungary at the beginning of 1910 determined the Romanian National Party to organize the future elections. In this context, the Romanian National Party's Conference took place on April 5th 1910 in Sibiu. Along with other important names: such as Gheorghe Pop de Băsești, Iuliu Maniu, Aurel Lazăr and other leaders of the national movement, Ioan Ciordaș was also present there. On this occasion, he was elected member of the electoral executive committee ⁴⁷.

As in 1907, for the electoral district of Beiuș-Vășcău candidate Vasile Lucaciu. In 1910 the electoral district had, 3987 voters in 84 municipalities located up to 40 miles from the central station. Of the 3987 voters, 3337 were Romanian and 630 Hungarian and Hebrew. The majority of the Romanian voters was 2687. However, at the elections of 1910, Vasile Lucaciu obtained only 967 votes, while the government's candidate, Gavril Rednik obtained 2118 votes.

Ioan Ciordaș protested against the authorities' aggression, including the electoral abuses in a statement-interpellation that was presented to the Bihor county congregation, as Ciordas was a member.

He dedicated himself in order to defend the national cause. He had a very important role in the events of autumn 1918, when the political crisis of Austro-Hungarian monarchy reached its climax, and the saving of the Austro-Hungarian Empire was impossible. By the favour of circumstance, the Transylvanian Romanians have intensified their actions in order to accomplish the national ideal.

Ioan Ciordaș attended the National Conference of Oradea on 12 October 1918, where was adopted the *Declaration of national self-determination of the three and a half million Romanians from Transylvania, Banat, Crișana and Maramureș*⁴⁸. Through his

⁴⁷ *Tribuna*, 1910, nr. 68, p. 1.

⁴⁸ Viorel Faur, *80 de ani de la Adoptarea la Oradea a Declarației de Independență a Românilor din Transilvania, Banat, Crișana și Maramureș (12 octombrie 1918)*, Editura Universității din Oradea, 1998, p. 23.

participation at the approval of this important document, his prestige has increased considerably.

In November 1918, took place the action of constitution of Romanian National Council and National Guards in Bihor county, Romanian organs of selfguidance. On November 3rd, Romanians from Beiuș formed the Romanian National Council. Ioan Ciordaș who was also a member of the Romanian National Council for Biharea and Oradea, has the merit of being elected President of the Beiuș Council⁴⁹. One of the first duties of this council was to set up a Romanian national guard in order to “defend the order, the safety and the richness of citizens, especially of the Romanians threatened by foreigners”⁵⁰. A measure of major importance, adopted by the Romanian Council from Beiuș was the introduction of the Romanian language, as the language of instruction in the Gymnasium of Beiuș. For the first time, on November 4th the Romanian flag was flying on the house of political leader from Beiuș “as a symbol that, from that moment under its whetsone we will live and die”⁵¹.

On 27 November, in Beiuș, under the chairmanship of Moise Popoviciu, Ioan Ciordaș⁵² was appointed as a delegate to the Great Assembly of Alba Iulia. There, on December 1st 1918, was approved the resolution of union with country: „*The National Assembly of all Romanians from Transylvania, Banat and the Hungarian Country, gathered by its rightful representatives at Alba Iulia, on 18 November / 1 December 1918, decreed the union of these Romanian territories and all territories inhabited by them with Romania*”⁵³. Ioan Ciordaș represented the romanians from Bihor in the Union Hall with over 1228 other delegates. At the same time he addressed the people gathered on the Roman’s Plateau.

⁴⁹ Aurel Tripon, *op. cit.*, p. 354.

⁵⁰ Viorel Faur, *Viața politică a românilor din Beiuș ...*, p. 263.

⁵¹ Gavril Hădăreanu, *op. cit.*, p. 576.

⁵² 1918 la români, *Documentele Unirii. Unirea Transilvaniei cu România. 1 Decembrie 1918*, vol. VIII, Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, București, 1989, p. 56.

⁵³ Constantin Botoran, Mihai Retegan, 1918. *Făurirea României Mari*, Editura Vatra Românească, București, 1993, p. 89.

The head of the Romanian National Council from Beiuș was elected into the Great Romanian National Council, together with Aurel Lazăr and Petru E. Papp.

Returned from Alba Iulia, he acted to counter the propaganda performed by Hungarians against the act of union.

At Beiuș we meet a particular situation of collaboration between the three political councils established here: the Romanian National Council, the Hungarian National Council and the Laboury Council. The representatives of these councils formed an executive committee, with Ioan Ciordaș as chairman. The three political bodies worked for: ensuring public safety, resolving issues related to the supply of oil, wood, food, trade and so on.

At the end of January, due to the descent to Beiuș of Hungarian military troops and of changing the attitudes of the Hungarian National Council and the Laboury one, Ioan Ciordaș “with bitterness in his soul, had to find that from then any cooperation among the three councils is excluded”⁵⁴.

He have to endure the calvary produced by captain Verböczys troops, who sentenced him to death, passing his name on the “blacklist”. The Military Council that took the power condemned Ioan Ciordaș and Nicolae Bolcaș to death⁵⁵. The most responsible for their deaths were Verböczi and Ürmösi. On the midnight of 3/4 April 1919, Ioan Ciordaș and Nicolae Bolcaș were taken from their houses and transported to Lunca. Here they were killed in a cruel way.

Unaware of the disappearance of Ioan Ciordaș, the Romanian Council from Sibiu appointed him as a prefect of Oradea and of Bihor County⁵⁶.

⁵⁴ Petru E. Papp, *op. cit.*, p. 226.

⁵⁵ Roman R. Ciorogariu, *Zile trăute*, Ediție și postfață de Viorel Faur, Fundația Culturală „Cele Trei Crișuri”, Oradea, 1994, p. 147.

⁵⁶ Barbu Ștefănescu, „Martirii Bihorului: Dr. Ioan Ciordaș și dr. Nicolae Bolcaș”, în *Cetatea Bihariei*, 1994, nr. 1, p. 1.

Until the release of Beiuș by the Romanian army, they could not establish the truth about the fate of the two political leaders from Beiuș.

From Petru E. Papp's book, we find information about the process and sentence of their murderers. The process began only on 25 May 1925 at the Court of Oradea and lasted until 17 June. The sentence was insignificant in relation to the great loss of Beiuș.

An important figure of Bihor's history, Ioan Ciordaș put his life in the service of the Romanian nation and he can be considered a founder of Greater Romania. He worked all his life for the advancement of his nation.

He was the soul of the national movement from the southern Bihor. His life was abruptly ended, just when the ideal, for which he sacrificed himself, was materialized.

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SILVIU DRAGOMIR – HISTORIOGRAPHICAL LANDMARKS

Sorin ȘIPOȘ

***Abstract:** In the present study we intend to emphasize and analyze the studies that have been written about the work and life of historian Silviu Dragomir. From the chronological point of view we focus on those studies which were published in the period between 1962, the year of Silviu Dragomir's death, and 2012. We take into consideration all the works which have been published, concerning the historian from Cluj. Our research focuses on the two major dimensions that are found in the analyzed studies, namely the life and work of Silviu Dragomir. Within these two major topics we are interested in understanding to what extent the published studies reveal the historian's life, regardless of any occurring accidents, as well as the major themes explored by him. With this aspect our research needs to address a capital question, namely to what extent the political and ideological context of the time these research studies were written in influenced the choice of themes and the conclusions of the authors.*

The vast majority of materials published between 1962 and 1989 include information on the academic formation, the political activity and work of the historian. The studies devoted exclusively to his historical writings are small in number. We find that the first published articles intend to restore in general the destiny and the scientific activity of soon disappeared historian. They are written especially by intellectuals who had known and had worked with Silviu Dragomir. A few decades after the historian's death, the exegetes of his work felt the need to appeal to the documentary sources stored in archives in Sibiu, Deva and Cluj. From a thematic point of view, we note that the published materials present the activity carried out nationally by Silviu Dragomir, namely the accomplishment of the Union, the defense of reunited Romania and the investigation of the national movement of Romanians in Transylvania. The emphasis on the national and patriotic dimensions in the work of the interwar historians, needless to say, was encouraged by the communist regime after 1964, not for scientific reasons, but to secure the support of intellectuals and public opinion in Romania. The work carried out by the specialist

on the field of religious life, as well as the investigation of many aspects of medieval history have not been sufficiently emphasized by the exegetes of his work. We note a similar attitude in highlighting the political activity, respectively, concerning the participation of the historian in the governments during the period of the authoritarian regime established by Carol II and in the National Renaissance Front. There was nothing written at all about the ordeal suffered by Silviu Dragomir after the establishment of the communist regime in Romania. Since 1989, Silviu Dragomir's work remains in the focus of Romanian specialists. However, we note a change in the theme of the studies. The national dimension in the work of Silviu Dragomir is almost ignored by his biographers. Coming back to the way Silviu Dragomir's work was received in the post-Revolutionary Romania, one can see that there was a growing interest of the specialists in the works dedicated to the Middle Ages and to the Union of the Romanians with the Church of Rome. Amid the democratization of the Romanian society and the disappearance of censorship, commendable contributions of historians appear, who clarify the time segment in the life of Silviu Dragomir belonging to the period between 1948 and 1955 and after his release from prison. At the same time, an important direction is to reissue some of the fundamental works of Silviu Dragomir and to make his work known in Europe through the studies published in languages with a wide circulation.

Keywords: *Silviu Dragomir, life, work, historiography, political ideology*

In the present study we intend to emphasize and analyze studies that have been written about the work and life of the historian Silviu Dragomir. From the chronological point of view we focus on those studies which were published during the period between 1962, the year of Silviu Dragomir's death, and 2012. We take into consideration all the works that have been published concerning the historian from Cluj. Our research focuses on the two major dimensions that are found in the analyzed studies, namely the life and work of Silviu Dragomir. Within these two major topics we are interested in understanding to what extent the published studies reveal the historian's life, regardless of any occurring accidents, as well as the major themes explored by him. With this aspect our research needs to address a

capital question, namely to what extent the political and ideological context of the time these research studies were written in influenced the choice of themes and the conclusions of the authors.

Developing a monographic research, necessarily, involves the highlight of the previous researches on the work and life of the historian. It was to be presumed that the vastness and diversity of the themes investigated by Silviu Dragomir would have a chilling effect on the initiatives of Romanian specialists who would have dared to undertake a complex research. Therefore, we find that most studies on Silviu Dragomir's historical writing particularly aimed only one topic. Some studies of the history of historiography also include considerations on his academic formation and, generally, data on his biography.

Shortly after the death of Silviu Dragomir some articles and studies on his work and life are published. The first contribution is *Prefața* made by historian Vasile Maciu to Silviu Dragomir's monograph on Avram Iancu, a posthumously published work¹. The book had been completed by the specialist since 1958, but its publication was forbidden until 1965². In coming years, the policy promoted in Romania proved to be more open towards the national values. In such political circumstances and amidst growing national emphasis in the discourse of the communist leaders, Silviu Dragomir's monograph devoted to Avram Iancu is also published. The lines written by Vasile Maciu about the life and work of the historian need to be judged in the political context of the time. With few exceptions, his considerations on the life and scientific activity of Silviu Dragomir up to 1948 are honest. Vasile Maciu detected the research guidelines pursued by the Transylvanian historian, namely: the investigation of the national movements of

¹ Vasile Maciu, *Preface*, in Silviu Dragomir, *Avram Iancu*, Bucharest, 1965, p. 5-10

² The address sent by the Scientific Publishing House to Silviu Dragomir by which he was informed about the termination of his contract as editor, in National Archives – Direcția Județeană Deva, *Fond Silviu Dragomir*, file 93, p.1

Romanians in Transylvania in the eighteenth century, the Romanians' religious ties with Russia in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the research on the Union of Romanians with the Roman Church and the Revolution of 1848. Academician Vasile Maciu presents in the second part of his study the scientific work carried out by the historian from Cluj between 1948 and 1962. The life and work of the Transylvanian professor are treated in the spirit of the age, many essential facts in the author's biography being ignored. There is no reference made to the arrest and imprisonment of Silviu Dragomir by communists between 1949 and 1955. The fact that the historian had been involved in achieving the national unity and later in the defense of the reunited Romania was insufficient evidence for the communist authorities of his patriotism. Therefore, the scientific work of Silviu Dragomir had to be *embellished* to fit the discourse promoted by the Communist Party. Even Vasile Maciu wrote in this respect, the following: "Silviu Dragomir endorsed the Marxist philosophy in the new political realities in Romania"³. The point made by the academician in respect to Silviu Dragomir's view and method is found only in a small degree in his historical work written during the communist regime.

The following year, sociologist Eugeniu Speranția published an interesting inset in *Steana* magazine, entitled *Academic Figures: Silviu Dragomir*⁴. The study evoked the role played by the historian during the Union of Transylvania with Romania. Speranția's contribution to the biography of the historian is made based on the memories of the Romanian sociologist and, fortunately, includes, pertinent observations on the scientific and

³ "The cultural Revolution, undertaken under the leadership of the Communist Party beginning in 1948, also involved the passionate researcher of the movement of liberation of Romanians in Transylvania. Although quite old, but with a sharp mind, Silviu Dragomir managed to largely acquire the materialist conception of history and to use it in order to give a scientific foundation to his new history works." (Vasile Maciu, *Prefața* to Silviu Dragomir, *Avram Iancu*, p. 8).

⁴ Eugeniu Speranția, *Figuri Universitare: Silviu Dragomir*, in *Steana*, XVII, 1966, no. 11, p. 43-46.

teaching activity and on the involvement of Silviu Dragomir in the defense of the reunited Romania. It should be noted that the man of culture, Eugeniu Speranția is the first biographer who refers to the political activity carried out by the historian, namely to the period when he was the Minister of Minorities⁵. His considerations on Silviu Dragomir's involvement in politics are a first step in the honest restitution of his personality. Meanwhile, Eugeniu Speranția was aware of the fact that many aspects of the historian's life, especially between 1948 and 1955, could not be presented honestly, therefore, he preferred to leave them unknown. The only reference made to the scientific activity of the historian during the new political realities in Romania reveals the publishing of the monograph devoted to Avram Iancu and the method used by the specialist in creating it⁶. Designed in an obvious note of sympathy, Speranția's material makes good use of the memories from 1918-1921, when the two scholars had met each other and worked together.

Soon after, in 1968, Ion Clopoșel evoked, in his *Amintiri și Portrete*, the personality of Silviu Dragomir. Showing a remarkable objectivity, the man of culture lamented that to that date very little had been written about the scientific, teaching and political activity of the historian from Cluj⁷. Ion Clopoșel depicted Silviu Dragomir's portrait based on his memories of 1910, when he met him at Vălenii de Munte. The focus is on the political activity carried out by the historian around the assembly in Alba-Iulia in 1918. Witness to the moments preceding the assembly, Ion Clopoșel restores the honest involvement of the young Transylvanian intellectual, determined to reject the idea of conditioned union with Romania, raised by some of the leaders of the Transylvanian Romanians. The novelty lies in the presentation of Professor Silviu Dragomir's activity in the pre-Union Transylvanian press and the collaboration with some

⁵*Ibidem*, p. 44-45.

⁶*Ibidem*, p. 46.

⁷ Ion Clopoșel, *Amintiri și portrete*, Timișoara, 1973, p. 193-203.

newspapers in the interwar period. In the same year, Professor Liviu Maior published in *Tribuna* a material that reveals the role played by Silviu Dragomir in the preparation of the assembly in Alba Iulia⁸. The young professor at the University of Cluj displays the stages of Silviu Dragomir's activity as an editor for *Gazeta Poporului* since January 1918, and later as a member of the Council of Sibiu, the notary of the assembly and the chief of the press office of the Ruling Council. The study reveals in its pages the civic dimension and the patriotism of Silviu Dragomir, qualities about which one could write at the time.

A synthetic overview of the academic formation and scientific activity carried out by the specialist is due to Pompiliu Teodor, in *Enciclopedia istoriografiei românești*⁹. The biography he made is consistent with the beginning of his research on the work of the professor from Cluj. The studies *Silviu Dragomir, istoric al unității naționale*¹⁰ and *Silviu Dragomir*¹¹ fortunately complete the previously published contributions on his scientific and political activities. Professor Teodor's contributions are relevant for the setting of the research guidelines in the work of the historian, namely in the investigation of the medieval institutions, of the fate of the Romanian population between the Danube and the Balkans, of the Western Romanians and of the national and religious movements of the Romanians from Transylvania in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Another interesting material is the one published by Stelian Mândruț, researcher from Cluj, entitled *Câteva repere privind publicistica interbelică a lui Silviu Dragomir*¹². Without any claims of completeness, the study reveals

⁸ Liviu Maior, *Silviu Dragomir (1888-1962)*, in *Tribuna*, 1968, no. 40, p. 6.

⁹ *Enciclopedia istoriografiei românești*, București, 1978, p. 129-130.

¹⁰ Pompiliu Teodor, *Silviu Dragomir, istoric al unității naționale*, in *Tribuna*, 1985, no. 49, p. 2.

¹¹ Idem, *Silviu Dragomir*, in *Tribuna*, 1988, no.10, p. 8.

¹² Stelian Mândruț, *Câteva repere privind publicistica interbelică a lui Silviu Dragomir*, in *Vatra*, no.12, 1986, p. 189 B. Also useful is the study *Romulus Vuia către Silviu Dragomir*, published by Stelian Mândruț in *Anuarul de folclor*, V-VII, 1984-1987, Cluj-Napoca, 1987, p. 409-415.

a lesser-known dimension of the activity of the professor from Cluj, namely the journalistic one. Following his publishing work from the interwar period, Stelian Mândruț reveals an aspect that is important for the history of his work, namely that most of his scientific contributions have been preceded by the articles published in the press of that time¹³.

In 1988 there was the 100 year anniversary since the birth of Silviu Dragomir. The centenary was a good opportunity for the publication of numerous articles¹⁴, studies¹⁵ and critical editions¹⁶. On this occasion, the materials devoted to the life and work of Silviu Dragomir outshined everything that was published in the period between 1962 and 1988. Of the published articles, we note those of Professor Pompiliu Teodor, which capture the themes investigated by Silviu Dragomir. The academic formation and the researches of the historian from Cluj are integrated by Academician Pompiliu Teodor in the context of the Transylvanian historiography from the first half of the twentieth century. Among

¹³ *Ibidem*.

¹⁴ Liviu Maior, *Silviu Dragomir – istoric și luptător pentru unitatea națională*, in *Steaua*, 1988, no. 4, p. 40; Pompiliu Teodor, *Silviu Dragomir*, in *Tribuna*, 1988, no. 10, p. 8; Idem, *1848: poporul întreg răspunde la chemarea țării (Despre viața și activitatea lui Silviu Dragomir)*, in *Magazin Istoric*, 1988, no. 5, p. 12-13; Mariana Vlasiu, *Silviu Dragomir – credința în viitorul patriei române întregite*, in *Revista Comisiei Naționale Române pentru UNESCO*, 1988, no. 1, p. 66-68; Ștefan Pascu, *Profesorul Silviu Dragomir, profilul spiritual*, in *Tribuna*, 1988, no. 22, p. 2; Nicolae Bocșan, *Silviu Dragomir, istoric al revoluției de la 1848*, in *Tribuna*, 1989, no. 36, p. 3.

¹⁵ Nicolae Stoian, *Date privitoare la formația intelectuală a istoricului Silviu Dragomir*, in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie Cluj-Napoca*, XXVIII, 1987- 1988, p. 563-581; Nicolae Stoicescu, *100 de ani de la nașterea istoricului Silviu Dragomir*, in *Revista de Istorie*, 1988, no. 5, p. 524-534; Mircea Păcurariu, *O sută de ani de ani de la nașterea istoricului Silviu Dragomir (1888-1988)*, in *Mitropolia Ardealului*, XXXII, 1988, no. 2, Sibiu, p. 109-122; Acațiu Egyed, *Silviu Dragomir și cercetarea revoluției din Transilvania de la 1848-1849*, in *Memoriile Secției de Științe Istorice*, 1988, Tom 13, p. 11-18.

¹⁶ Silviu Dragomir, *Avram Iancu*. Preface and chronological tables by Francisc Păcurariu, Bucharest, 1988, 378 pages; Silviu Dragomir, *Studii privind istoria revoluției române de la 1848*. Edition, introduction, notes and coments by Pompiliu Teodor, Cluj-Napoca, 1989, 218p.

the studies published at the centenary, the material of Professor Emil Stoian stands out as well as the contribution of Professor Priest Mircea Păcurariu. Professor Emil Stoian depicted, based on archival sources, the childhood and the studies of the future academician, in other words the stages of his intellectual formation. The study, overwhelming when it comes to the original information put into the scientific circulation, clarifies the intellectual path followed by Silviu Dragomir until the debut of his teaching activity conducted at the Andreean Institute of Sibiu.

The material published by Mircea Păcurariu, an appreciated historian of the church, is the first substantial step in drawing up a future work dedicated to Silviu Dragomir's biography. The author describes the intellectual and political path of the historian until 1962, using original archival sources. In that political context, the researcher from Sibiu was forced to abandon the investigation of a large segment in the political activity carried out by Silviu Dragomir during the interwar period and the detention period from Sighet. Mircea Păcurariu's analysis of Silviu Dragomir's historical work is unequal in value though. However, given the unique documentary material and thorough analysis of the contributions in church history from Silviu Dragomir's work, the study represents a real contribution to the historiography of the problem.

The centenary also became an occasion to achieve the first Silviu Dragomir edition, under the care of academician Pompiliu Teodor. The work is complemented by the author with an extensive and well documented introductory study on the researches on the Revolution of 1848.

At the end of this analysis, it is necessary to synthesize some of the conclusions resulting from the analysis of the works devoted to Silviu Dragomir's life and work, published between 1962 and 1989. For the most part, the materials include information on the intellectual formation, political activity and work of the historian. The studies devoted exclusively to his historical writing are small in number. We find that the first

published articles aim to generally restore the destiny and scientific activity of the soon disappeared historian. They are written especially by the intellectuals who had known and worked with Silviu Dragomir. A few decades after the historian's death the exegetes of his work felt the need to appeal to the documentary sources stored in archives in Sibiu, Deva and Cluj. The result of their research work brought more clarity to the historian's biography and more information known only to his former colleagues and collaborators. From a thematic point of view, we note that the published materials present Silviu Dragomir's work carried out nationally, namely the accomplishment of the Union, the defense of the reunited Romania and the investigation of the national movements of Romanians in Transylvania. The emphasis of the national and patriotic dimensions in the work of the interwar historians, needless to say, was encouraged by the communist regime after 1964, not for scientific reasons, but to secure the support of intellectuals and public opinion in Romania. The specialist's work on the field of the religious life, as well as the investigation of many aspects of medieval history have not been sufficiently emphasized by the exegetes of his work. We note a similar attitude in highlighting the political activity, respectively, concerning the participation of the historian in the governments during the period of the authoritarian regime established by Carol II and in the National Renaissance Front. There was nothing written at all about the ordeal suffered by Silviu Dragomir after the establishment of the communist regime in Romania.

Political changes that have occurred in Romania in December 1989 had also influenced the historical writing. Free of ideological pressures, most Romanian historians have sought models, either in the Western historiography, especially in the French one or in the interwar work of the Romanian historians. Consequently, the work of historians such as George I. Brătianu, P.P. Panaitescu, Nicolae Iorga, Ioan Lupaș, Alexandru Lapedatu etc. were reissued in the new political context, many of which

were banned under the communist regime. Along with the restitution approach, our experts made great efforts to modernize the historical discourse, the compatibility with new research directions in Western and American historiography.

After 1989 subjects from Silviu Dragomir's work which were in consonance with the debate initiated in the Romanian society were investigated. Thus, given the religious disputes between the Orthodox population and the Greek Catholics, that appeared in Romania after 1990, Silviu Dragomir's study about Romanians' union with the Church of Rome¹⁷ was republished by the initiative of the Orthodox hierarchs. In respect to the idea of scientific reassessment of the historian's contribution to the issue of the religious union and the relations of Romanians with Russia in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Cluj specialists Greta Miron¹⁸ and Ovidiu Ghitta¹⁹ published two interesting materials, using, in this sense, studies known to specialists. There are two studies which subscribe to the same note, one is devoted to the Revolution of 1848, published by Academician Pompiliu Teodor²⁰, the edition of Medieval history texts, edited by Sorin Şipoş²¹ and the reissue, in Romanian, of the study *Banatul Românesc*²². The study published by Anca Tanaşoca, *Contribuția lui Silviu Dragomir la cercetarea romanității balcanice*²³ reveals the

¹⁷ Silviu Dragomir, *Românii din Transilvania și unirea cu Biserica Romei. Documente apocrife privityoare la începuturile unirii cu catolicismul roman (1697-1701)*. Excerpt from the magazine *Biserica Ortodoxă Română*, LXXX, September-October 1962, no. 9-10, Cluj, 1990, 97p.

¹⁸ Greta Monica Miron, *Silviu Dragomir – istoric al “unirii” religioase*, in *Revista istorică*, 1992, no. 5-6, p. 599-604.

¹⁹ Ovidiu Ghitta, *Silviu Dragomir, historien des relations ecclésiastiques roumano-russe*, in *Transylvanian Review*, 1993, no. 2, p. 53-59.

²⁰ Pompiliu Teodor, *Silviu Dragomir*, in *Transylvanian Review*, 1998, no. 3, p. 64-75.

²¹ Silviu Dragomir, *Studii de istorie medievală*, Edition, Introductory study and notes by Sorin Şipoş, Cluj, 1998, 245 p.

²² Silviu Dragomir, *Banatul românesc*, Introductory study by Nicolae Bocşan, Timișoara, 1999.

²³ Anca Tanaşoca, *Contribuția lui Silviu Dragomir la cercetarea romanității balcanice*, in *Sud-Estul și contextul european*, Buletin, II, 1994, p. 47-57.

investigations performed by the specialist in a field almost overlooked by the exegets of his work. The material is the most comprehensive review of Silviu Dragomir's researches on the Romanians in the Balkan Peninsula, respectively in Bulgaria, Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia, the Dalmatian shore and Istria.

In order to restore the personality of the historian from Cluj and especially to clarify his fate after 1948, very interesting and useful prove to be the data given by Florica Enescu²⁴, one of the professor's nieces, and then provided by the Academicians Camil Mureșanu²⁵ and Pompiliu Teodor²⁶. We note the study of Vasile Ionaș²⁷ and the one published by Sorin Șipoș²⁸, the last being based on the original documents at the Ministry of Justice. Stelian Mândruț also tried an attempt to restore Silviu Dragomir's destiny between 1948 and 1955, but to a level of general considerations and without unpublished information²⁹. Material published by Professor Nicolae Bocșan captures the intellectual path and the research directions in the work of Silviu Dragomir³⁰. We note, then, the studies that highlight the scientific work of Silviu Dragomir after his release from prison and, especially, the stages that the historian had to go over in order to make the

²⁴ Florica Enescu, *Silviu Dragomir*, in Toader Buculei, *Clio încarcerată. Mărturii și opinii privind destinul istoriografului românesc în epoca totalitarismului communist*, Brăila, 2000, p. 87-93.

²⁵ Camil Mureșanu, *Silviu Dragomir*, in *Munții Apuseni*, III, 1997, no.1-2, Oradea, p. 51-54.

²⁶ Pompiliu Teodor, *Raportul lui Alexandru Lapedatu în vederea concursului organizat pentru ocuparea postului de profesor titular de către Silviu Dragomir*, in *Istoria – ca experiență intelectuală*, edited by Corneliu Crăciun and Antonio Faur, Oradea, 2001, p. 343-347.

²⁷ Vasile Ionaș, *Fondul personal Silviu Dragomir*, in *Revista Arhivelor*, LXXIV, volume LIX, 1997, no. 2, p. 224-227.

²⁸ Sorin Șipoș, *Silviu Dragomir în perioada "obsedantului deceniu"*, in *Analele Universității din Oradea*, History – Archeology Series, Tom X, 2000, p. 151-162.

²⁹ Stelian Mândruț, *Istorici clujești "epurați" în anul 1948*, in *Analele Sigbet 6. Anul 1948 – instituționalizarea comunismului*, București, 1998, p. 565-560.

³⁰ Nicolae Bocșan, *Silviu Dragomir*, in *Transylvanian Review*, 1998, no. 4, p. 46-51.

monograph devoted to Avram Iancu³¹ and the study *Vlabii din nordul Peninsulei Balcanice în evul mediu*³². Silviu Dragomir's commitment to national values, as well as the historian's involvement in the defense of the reunited Romania are highlighted by Professor Cornel Crăciun³³.

In 2002 the first monograph *Silviu Dragomir - istoric*³⁴, was published with special attention given to the historiographical work, intellectual formation, political and educational activities performed by Silviu Dragomir. The book is the result of investigating the published bibliography and archive sources which allowed the author to clarify the genesis of the great themes investigated by Silviu Dragomir, to what extent the conclusions of his work are still valid, as well as the historian's destiny during the communist regime. The study has enjoyed a good reception in the specialists' world, as proved by the many favorable reviews, fact, which exempts us from the requirement, somewhat unusual, to write about our own book³⁵. In the same year, Archimandrite Emanuil Rus reissued *Istoria desrobirii religioase*

³¹ Sorin Şipoş, *Silviu Dragomir versus Editura Ştiinţifică*, in *Munţii Apuseni*, III, 1997, no. 1-2, Oradea, p. 72-81.

³² Idem, *Destinul unei cărţi: Vlabii din nordul Peninsulei Balcanice în evul mediu*, in *Adevărul omeneste posibil pentru rânduirea binelui*. Volume edited by Lucia Cornea, Mihai Drecin, Barbu Ştefănescu, Aurel Chiriac, Ioan Crişan, Sorin Şipoş, Florin Sfrengeu, Radu David, Elisabeta Ardelean, Oradea, 2001, p. 461-471.

³³ Cornel Crăciun, *Silviu Dragomir şi" problema Transilvaniei" – jaloane ale demersului istoriografic*, in *Cele trei Crişuri*, 1992, no. 5, p. 3.

³⁴ Sorin Şipoş, *Silviu Dragomir – istoric*. Preface by Ioan- Aurel Pop, Fundaţia Culturală Română, Cluj-Napoca, 2002, 440p.

³⁵ Barbu Ştefănescu, *Un istoric de excepţie într-o monografie temeinică*, in *Familia*, 2003, no. 6, p. 51-56; Şerban Papacostea, *Sorin Şipoş, Silviu Dragomir – istoric*, in *Studii şi material de istorie medie*, volume XXI, Brăila, 2003, p. 481-482; Iacob Mârza, *Istorie şi naţiune*, in *Cotidianul. Supliment cultural*, September 22, 2003, p. 2; Liana Lăpădatu, *Sorin Şipoş, Silviu Dragomir – istoric*, in *Transylvanian Review*, volume XIII, no. 1, 2004, p. 155-156; Ion Alexandru Mizgan, *Sorin Şipoş, Silviu Dragomir – istoric*, in *Altarul Banatului*, XVI, no. 7-9, 2005, p. 148-150; Stelian Mândruţ, *Sorin Şipoş, Silviu Dragomir – istoric*, in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie din Cluj*, no. 43, 2004, p. 697-698; Radu Mârza, *Sorin Şipoş, Silviu Dragomir – istoric*, in *Colloquia*, volume XII, no. 1-2, 2005, p. 284-287.

a *Românilor din Ardeal în secolul XVIII*³⁶. The gesture, notable otherwise, is overshadowed by the modest introductory study which barely capitalizes the bibliography of the issue. The author does not meet the mandatory scientific requirements and does not analyze Silviu Dragomir's work in the context of the interwar historiography and of the historiography under the communist regime. In conclusion, it resulted in a praising speech, in an, unfortunately, superficial analysis unrelated to the scientific research. Unfortunately, this edition becomes a negative example for what it means to reissue fundamental works. In 2003, Sorin Șipoș, together with Ioan Aurel Pop published the study *Silviu Dragomir – bursier al Fundației Gojdu*³⁷. Stelian Mândruț also published in the same collection the study *Membri ai Academiei Române, foști bursieri ai Fundației "Gojdu"*, which contains unique information about Silviu Dragomir's relationship with the Gojdu Foundation³⁸. Emanuil Rus published in 2004 the study *Silviu Dragomir și raporturile româno-slave*, an important research topic for the historian from Transylvania³⁹. The subject is interesting and important for historical research, but also difficult, because it requires mastery of the historical and philological research methods and vast knowledge of Romanian and universal history and historiography. As expected the work resulted in a modest analysis, lacking originality and wit, with many phrases compiled in a childish way from the works already published. The author of the monograph often took phrases from published studies

³⁶ Silviu Dragomir, *Istoria desrobirii religioase a românilor din Ardeal în secolul XVIII*, volume I-II, edition, introductory study and notes by Archimandrite Emanuil Rus. Foreword by Onufrie Vințeler, Cluj-Napoca, 2002.

³⁷ Ioan-Aurel Pop, Sorin Șipoș, *Silviu Dragomir – bursier al Fundației Gojdu*, in *Emanuil Gojdu. Bicentinar*, Foreword by Academician Eugen Simion, Coordinators: Cornel Sigmirean, Aurel Pavel, Bucharest, 2003, p. 169-174; 165-168.

³⁸ Stelian Mândruț, *Membri ai Academiei Române, foști bursieri ai Fundației "Gojdu"*, in *Emanuil Gojdu. Bicentinar*, p. 138; 141.

³⁹ Emanuil Rus, *Silviu Dragomir și raporturile româno-slave*, Preface by Onufrie Vințeler, Cluj-Napoca, 2004, 325p.

without quoting them, a disqualifying act⁴⁰, we might add. Radu

⁴⁰ We display some examples of Emanuil Rus's "working method". In the monograph *Silviu Dragomir – istoric*, published by us in 2002, in our attempt to depict Silviu Dragomir's destiny after his release from prison, we made the following statement: "Silviu Dragomir returned timidly to the scientific activity in 1955, when he was hired at first as an external collaborator and later as a permanent researcher at the Institute of History and Archaeology in Cluj" ²⁹⁷, relying on *Adresa Subsecției de Științe Istorice a Academiei Române din 30 ianuarie 1956*, a document from the National Archives, County of Deva, file 92. In Emanuil Rus's monograph, published in 2004, on page 83, the following sentence appears: "In 1955 Silviu Dragomir is employed as an external collaborator and later becomes senior researcher at the Institute of History and Archaeology in Cluj ...", without any bibliographical reference to clarify where he took the information from. We may think that it is a coincidence or that Mr. Rus overlooked that aspect. Unfortunately, neither are true, as proven by the fact that we can offer our readers other examples of Mr. Emanuil Rus's method, respectively, on page 49 of our monograph while discussing the work of the historian during the interwar period, we noted that his work received the acknowledgement of authorities of that time: "At least until 1947 the endeavors made by Silviu Dragomir in his scientific and teaching activity, were valued at their fair value by the political and scientific authorities in Romania. For his scientific and teaching work and for the national policy promoted he was awarded numerous medals and decorations, such as: *Medalia Jubiliară*¹⁴², *Comandor al Ordinului Coroana României*¹⁴³, *Răsplata Muncii pentru învățământ, cl.I*¹⁴⁴, *Meritul cultural*¹⁴⁵, *Mare ofițer al Ordinului Coroana României*, *Meritul cultural – cavalier clasa I, Coroana României în gradul de mare cruce Sf. Sava*, *Mare ofițer al Ordinului Ferdinand I, Cavalier al Ordinului Ferdinand I*¹⁴⁶, *Leul Alb.Comandor (Czechoslovakia)*¹⁴⁷". In Mr. Rus's monograph, the following appears, surprisingly, on page 85: "Silviu Dragomir's efforts in the political and social field have been acknowledged by governments before 1947 by providing numerous medals and decorations. Of these *Anuarele Universității din Cluj* record: *Medalia Jubiliară*²⁰⁵, *Comandor al Ordinului Coroana României*²⁰⁶, *Răsplata Muncii pentru Învățământ, cl.I*²⁰⁷, *Leul Alb. Comandor*²⁰⁸, *Meritul cultural*²⁰⁹, *Mare Ofițer al Ordinului Coroana României*²¹⁰, *Meritul Cultural - Cavalier, Clasa I*²¹¹, *Coroana României în Grad de Mare Cruce Sf. Sava*²¹², *Mare ofițer al Ordinului Ferdinand I*²¹³". The phrases are almost identical, but, interestingly, here also appear references to footnotes, many of them quoted (copied?) But incorrectly. For the bibliography that we investigated, we made the following references: ¹⁴² *Anuarul Universității din Cluj, 1922- 1923*, Cluj, 1924, p 112. *Ibidem*, 1923- 1924, Cluj, 1925, p 124. ¹⁴³ *Ibidem*, 1923- 1924, Cluj, 1925, p 124. ¹⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, 1930 - 1931, Cluj, 1931, p 158. ¹⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, 1933- 1934, Cluj, 1934, p

Mârza devotes Silviu Dragomir a few pages, judiciously drawn in the thesis entitled *Istoria slavisticii românești. De la începuturi la primul*

189. ¹⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, 1936 - 1937, Cluj, 1938, p 297. ¹⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, 1931- 1932, Cluj, 1932, p 183. Mr. Rus doesn't have the patience to take all information and is not aware of their correctness, if at the first bibliographical reference he apparently reproduces correctly the bibliographic reference, but gets the wrong pages though, instead of page 112, as it is correct, in his book it appears at page 122. Also, the following footnotes, he no longer tries to register the year when the magazine appeared. In addition, concerning the distinction received from Czechoslovakia, the page is 1183 instead of 183, as it was correct.

Let us give another example, namely the one related to the trial and sentencing of Silviu Dragomir held in Cluj, where I had at my disposal the file of the trial, which we were given by the historian's niece and it is still in our possession. Thus, in our monograph on page 73 the following sentence can be found: "The Professor is arrested on July 1st in Cluj and, then, he is transferred to the prison in Caransebeș, to serve his sentence of six months in prison for a correctional offense to law of the banks, to which is also added a correctional fine of 2.6 million of lei ²⁵¹"in note no. 252, we quoted *Autobiografia autorului* of A.N.-D.J. Deva, file 4. In Mr Rus's book the following statement appears on page 79: "Following the trial from the Court of Cluj, Silviu Dragomir is sentenced to six months in prison and a fine later transformed in detention", without any bibliographical reference. He was obliged, even though he had information from archival sources, to quote the published references, eg. who published for the first time the information. Why is that? Because if you claim to have a scientific paper you must respect the ethical rules of trade and therefore to respect ancestors' work.

To avoid suspicion of bias, we quote another example of how Mr. Rus takes information from other works without quoting the source where he took the information from. Toader Buculei in his study *Clio încarcerată*, published in Brăila, in 2000, restores Silviu Dragomir's destiny with the help of Mrs. Florica Enescu, the historian's niece. On page 93, Florica Enescu made the following statement on Dragomir's death: "Despite the apparently normal recovery, suddenly, the heavily affected body by hard years in prison (this was the opinion of doctors) gave up and didn't respond anymore to intensive treatment . On February 23, 1962 he died. The coffin was taken to Cluj ". Here is the information provided by Mr. Rus, in his monograph, on pages 83 and 84: "The scientist dies on February 23, 1962 in Cluj [...]. The medical opinion was that the Professor's body "heavily affected by the hard years in prison failed and gave no response to the intensive treatments that had been applied". He was buried in Cluj ", obviously not quotation. This is how Mr. Rus understands to make science.

*război mondial*⁴¹. Liviu Pleșa captures in his study *Dosarul de Securitate al istoricului Silviu Dragomir*, based on some original documents from the Archives of C.N.S.A.S⁴², the destiny of Silviu Dragomir after 1944, during which he was pursued by Security⁴³. Editing of original works still in manuscript, reissuing fundamental studies of Silviu Dragomir and publishing of studies about the life and work of the historian in languages with wide circulation were some of the major strands of investigation and implementing in the national and European scientific circuit historian's work which was assumed by the exegetes of his work. Thus, after much effort Ioan-Aurel Pop and Sorin Șipoș edited the manuscript paper *Diploma din 1247 a Regelui Bela IV. Studiu critic*⁴⁴. In the mentioned work, Silviu Dragomir questions the authenticity of St. John's Knights Diploma. The editors of the manuscript dispute the conclusions reached by the historian, noting at the same time, Silviu Dragomir's almost Benedictine rigor⁴⁵. The book is relevant for the historian's working methods. Without any knowledge of the study, with all its variants and avatars, one can't have the last word about the method and the historical vision of Silviu Dragomir⁴⁶. Recently, Silviu Dragomir's manuscript on St. John's

⁴¹ Radu Mârza, *Istoria slavisticii românești. De la începuturi la Primul Război Mondial. Teză de doctorat*, Cluj-Napoca, 2005, p.377-381. The thesis was published in 2008, under the title *The History of Romanian Slavic Studies. From the Beginning until the First World War*, Romanian Academy, Cluj-Napoca, p. 409-413.

⁴² Liviu Pleșa, *Dosarul de Securitate al istoricului Silviu Dragomir*, in *Annales Universitatis Apulensis*, Series Historica, Tom IX, 2005, Alba Iulia, p. 217-229. See also Liviu Pleșa, *Istoricul Silviu Dragomir în plasa Securității*, in *Dosarele Istoriei*, X, no.11(111), 2005, p.40-47, this is actually a shorter version of the previous study. In both studies the historian brings new information, but he doesn't refer to the other published contributions about Silviu Dragomir's life.

⁴³ Idem, *Istoricul Silviu Dragomir*....., p. 43-47.

⁴⁴ Ioan-Aurel Pop, Sorin Șipoș, *Silviu Dragomir și dosarul Diplomei cavalerilor ioaniți*, Cluj-Napoca, 2009, 209p.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, p.114-131.

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, p.131.

knights was translated in French⁴⁷. In 2011 it was published the volume containing the studies from the symposium Silviu Dragomir - 120 years since birth, which was organized in Cluj in 2008. The volume is divided into two sections: *Izvoare și interpretări și Istoriografie* and puts into circulation either original documentary sources about the work and life of Silviu Dragomir or recollections and historiographical analysis of the historian's work⁴⁸. In 2012, when there were 50 years since Silviu Dragomir's death, Sorin Șipoș reissued Silviu Dragomir's study, *Istoria desrobirii religioase a românilor din Ardeal secolul XVIII*⁴⁹. The study has a crucial importance for the investigation of Romanians' Union with the Church of Rome and of the movements against religious union and the acknowledgement of the orthodoxy in Transylvania. In the historiography devoted to religious union, Silviu Dragomir's studies constitute referential contributions due to the vastness of the documentary material used and to the careful analysis of union documents, to modern interpretations and especially due to the depiction of the mental contagion triggered among Romanians during the movements led by Visarion Sarai and Sofronie din Cioara. As a man of the fortress, Silviu Dragomir was sometimes influenced in his research by the context. His conclusions are sufficiently balanced to conclude that such influences haven't altered the essence of his contributions⁵⁰. In the same year, Sorin Șipoș reissued, in an anastatic edition, another important work of the historian, namely, *Vlahii din nordul peninsulei Balcanice în Evul Mediu*⁵¹. Silviu

⁴⁷ Ioan-Aurel Pop, Sorin Șipoș, *Silviu Dragomir et le dossier du Diplôme des chevaliers de St. Jean*, traduction du roumain par Liana Lăpădatu, Cluj-Napoca, 2012, 221p.

⁴⁸ *Silviu Dragomir – 120 ani de la naștere*. Coordinators Ioan-Aurel Pop and Sorin Șipoș, Oradea, 2011, 228p.

⁴⁹ Silviu Dragomir, *Istoria desrobirii religioase a românilor din Ardeal în secolul XVIII*, volume I-II, Forword by Ioan-Aurel Pop. Edition and introductory study by Sorin Șipoș, Oradea, 2012, 542p., 325p.

⁵⁰ *Ibidem.*, volume I, p. 95.

⁵¹ Silviu Dragomir, *Vlahii din nordul peninsulei balcanice în Evul Mediu*. Forword by Ioan-Aurel Pop. Introductory study by Sorin Șipoș, Cluj-Napoca, 2012.

Dragomir's researches are a definite contribution to the history of Romanians in Northwestern Balkan Peninsula, validated by further research. His work provided and still does, both through the documentary information put into circulation and through his interpretations, a solid starting point for new horizons. For Sorin Şipoş, Silviu Dragomir's life and work were subjects of research even after the publication of the monograph⁵².

Since 1989, Silviu Dragomir's work continued to capture the attention of Romanian specialists. However, we note a change in theme of the studies. The national dimension of Silviu Dragomir's work is almost ignored by his biographers. The change in the Romanian historical writing regarding the reception of the national and patriotic dimension is multiplied across the entire Romanian culture, after December 1989⁵³. Returning to the reception of Silviu Dragomir's work in Romania during the post-Revolution period, there is a growing interest of the specialists in the works dedicated to the Middle Ages and to the Union of the Romanians with the Church of Rome. Amid democratization of Romanian society and the disappearance of censorship commendable contributions of historians appeared, which clarified the time segment in the life of Silviu Dragomir belonging to the period between 1948 and 1955 and after his release from prison. At the same time, an important direction is to reissue some of the fundamental works of Silviu Dragomir and to make his work known in Europe through studies published in languages with a wide circulation.

⁵²Sorin Şipoş, *Silviu Dragomir – istoric al vieţii religioase (I)*, in *Revista Teologică*, New Series, XIV, no.1, 2004, p.60-82; idem, *Silviu Dragomir – istoric al vieţii religioase (II)*, in *Revista Teologică*, XV, no.1, 2005, p. 38-75; idem, *Silviu Dragomir – istoric al vieţii religioase (III)*, in *Revista Teologică*, XV, no. 2, 2005, p. 89-119; idem, *Historian Silviu Dragomir in the Communist Prisons*, in *Transylvanian Review*, volume XV, no. 1, 2006, p. 38-59; idem, *Silviu Dragomir, schiţă biografică*, in *Legea românească*, XVII, New Series, no. 3, 2006, p. 69-71; idem, *Silviu Dragomir, schiţă biografică*, in *Legea românească*, XVII, New Series, no. 4, 2006, p. 63-67.

⁵³ Liviu Maior, *1848-1849. Români şi unguri în revoluţie*, Bucharest, 1998, p.10.

CONSIDERATIONS ON THE MONOGRAPHIC RESEARCH (1990-2010) OF SEVERAL PERSONALITIES. STUDY OF CASE: THE HISTORIAN CONSTANTIN DAICOVICIU

Mihaela GOMAN

Abstract: *In this study we tried to illustrate some considerations on the monographic research of some personalities, this is the case of the historian and archaeologist from Cluj Constantin Daicoviciu, exactly how he was perceived by his contemporaries. Some of them, in works written in the character of memoirs, have bold negatively his work as a teacher of the reputable University in Cluj, even accusing him of compromise with the political power of the time and considering him a “travel companion”. Others saw him as a savior of the academic and cultural interwar values, even if by a shrewd political calculation, which helped him to navigate more easily on the so winding paths of life. However, beyond Constantine Daicoviciu the man, remains his work firmly kneaded in the land of the Romanian historical science, the only one to blame or guilty a human life as it was.*

Keywords: *monographic research, personalities, Constantin Daicoviciu, opportunist, savior*

The monographic research of a personality is to consider any restitution for this, because of the re-composition of the various sequence aspects to reconstruct the whole, with the lights and shadows inherent in such a historiographical approach, but also at the same time objectively and critically, more than, if it served the history. Writing history is trying to bring in the most faithful manner, the past in present. The introspection in the past provides our-days researcher, more or less endorsed, topics for research, reflection and exploration of the future. However, it

also offers models of life of some personalities with a moral conduct and with exemplary strength of character, whose works are to be analyzed, but in the light of the historical truth or according to the Tacitus' formula "without hatred and without bias".

But the monographic research, in the case of a personality, rests on the one hand a systematic archival research (if there is a personal archive), and on the other the reconstruction of fragments of the life and work of the disappeared on the testimony of few contemporaries. It means that we can do it with the help of the oral history, which most often proved to be beneficial, of substance, in the configuration of the most complete and comprehensive monographs.

About the historian and archaeologist Constantin Daicoviciu from Cluj after 1990 and until now appeared testimonies being written in a character of memoirs (David Prodan, Nicolae Mărgineanu) or as a result of some scientific research topics, including the case of several doctoral theses (Dănuț Doboș, Ionuț Țene, Lucian Nastasă). In these works he is presented either as an opportunist of the times (regimes) in which he lived, whether a person concerned about his own career¹, perhaps also of the desire to be "the most ..." as David Prodan writes in his memoirs².

While some of those who knew him during his activity (mostly students) as professor, dean and rector of the University in the City on the Someș River saw how was "oriented" in his career a great deal of opportunism and others (colleagues, especially) have noted his desire to assert at any price. "He hugely liked the functions, authority, so much indulged in the position of Director, Head of Department, of Rector, to be always on the surface at all times"³.

¹ Nicolae Mărgineanu, *Amfiteatre și închisori. Mărturii asupra unui veac zăbuciumat*, Romanian Cultural Foundation Publishing House, Bucharest, 2002, p. 149

² David Prodan, *Memorii*, Encyclopedic Publishing House, Bucharest, 1993, p. 161

³ *Ibid*, p. 160

The historian Lucian Nastaș⁴ from Cluj, in his work entitled *The Intellectuals and the Social Advancement in Romania (XIX-XX. For Academic Field Morphology)*, Limes Publishing House, Cluj-Napoca, 2004, in the Chapter *Steps to a Monograph. Constantin Daicoviciu* believes that this, although was at the “discretion of the communist power” tried to save his own academic career, but also that of the former colleagues in the Department⁵, in the context of cleaning and mass imprisonment of the Romanian intellectuals, especially after 1948⁶.

We believe that those with whom the destiny was implacable being sentenced often for political reasons and not because for their scientific work, deserve compassion, but we not subscribe to the idea that only one person was responsible for this. On the other side, to empower a single individual of a certain behavior, be it political, is in fact to be subjective and contribute to the distortion of the historical truth.

Another historian from Cluj, Ionuț Țene⁷, in the paper (doctoral thesis) *The Academic Cluj in the Collective Memory (1944-1948)*, Book of Science House, Cluj-Napoca, 2008, the fifth chapter, *The Teachers Purification Phenomenon Reflected in the Archival Sources and Collective Memory (D. Constantin Daicoviciu Case)*, drawn largely on the oral testimonies of several contemporaries of Constantin Daicoviciu, notes that he tried to keep the interwar academic heritage, in a

⁴ Lucian Nastaș, *Intelectualii și promovarea socială în România (secolele XIX-XX). Pentru o morfologie a câmpului universitar*, Limes Publishing House, Cluj-Napoca, 2004, p. 313-323

⁵ Dănuț Doboș, *Ingerințe în viața universitară clujeană (1945-1958)*, in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie „A. D. Xenopol”*, XXXIII, p. 226-227; Liviu Zgârciu, *Istorici în perioada regimului comunist. Ioachim Crăciun*, in *Apulum*, XLIII/2, 2006, p. 396-399; Ionuț Țene, *Clujul universitar în memoria colectivă (1944-1948)*, Science Book House, Cluj-Napoca, 2008, p.221-263

⁶ Stelian Mândruț, *Istorici clujeni “epurați” în anul 1948*, in *Analele Sighet 6. Anul 1948 – instituționalizarea comunismului*, Bucharest, 1998, p. 565-570; Nadia-Ruxandra Mezincescu, *Anul 1948 și Academia Română*, in *Analele Sighet 6. Anul 1948 – instituționalizarea comunismului*, Bucharest, 1998, p. 507-519

⁷ Ionuț Țene, *Clujul universitar în memoria colectivă (1944-1948)*, Science Book House, Cluj-Napoca, 2008, p. 263-284

difficult moment of the intellectual heresy and destruction of the Romanian cultural values, accepting the compromise with the communist power. So far, Ionuț Țene concludes that the image of a Constantin Daicoviciu found on the balance between *opportunism* and *savior* of the University of Cluj persists.

In the paper entitled *Constantine Daicoviciu - a Biography*, University of Oradea Publishing House, 2008, the authors Sever Dumitrașcu and Florin Sfrengu believe that "... the time for his life and work can be written also respectfully, but with true, too, has come. As a time when the direct images began to fade, to get the aura of the past fell over, but it was *not* so long time as his presence to be passed wholly within the sphere of the sources, of the documents"⁸. This is because "the life and work of Constantin Daicoviciu need to be known ... for they represent *50 years of Romanian archeology in Transylvania*"⁹. Nevertheless the avatars of his political activity are not overlooked, but emphasizing that the "legionnaire", the "communist" Constantin Daicoviciu strongly defended *Lucian Blaga* when he was in need, *Silviu Dragomir* or his teacher, the specialist in Byzantine matters, *Nicolae Bănescu*. The authors do not defend, but not even blame his "character" because the historian - historiographer is meant to EXPLAIN, not to make passionate judgments. One explanation is that people have political views that sail through life, that follow their purposes, but that TIMES are more than HUMAN¹⁰. The conclusion reached by the authors is that by which Constantin Daicoviciu has done so he could answer the questions of life, destiny and death¹¹.

Speaking for ourselves¹², we believe that, it would be evidenced some *pragmatism* of Constantine Daicoviciu. This,

⁸ Sever Dumitrașcu, Florin Sfrengu, *Constantin Daicoviciu – o biografie*, University of Oradea Publishing House, 2008, p. 14

⁹ *Ibid*, p. 15

¹⁰ *Ibid*, p. 9-11

¹¹ *Ibid*, p. 90

¹² Mihaela Goman, *Activitatea didactică și științifică a lui Constantin Daicoviciu*, (doctoral thesis), University of Oradea Publishing House, 2011, ISBN 978-606-10-0517-8 (in print)

certainly also because of his remarkable intelligence (outlined including his critics), he understood that the criteria to succeed in life and showcase your, also is that to adapt yourself as quickly to the new realities of life (including political), like a *chameleon*.

If it was about a compromise, we believe this was done with the thought of being put in the service of CLIO, of the academic and scientific career of this. We think that in what concerns Constantin Daicoviciu we cannot diminish, even in professional respect, his merits and achievements, only for the sake of denying certain political times or regimes.

With all his accusations, more or less veiled, no one doubts the competence and value of his work. Including his critics (many former students) and the younger researchers, tend to believe that through such an attitude he tried to protect what could be saved from the interwar axiology of the University of Cluj¹³.

With all his human “weakness”, natural to the last, his scientific integrity remained the same, highlighting institutions and publications of research or culture, supporting his colleagues and guiding accurately the disciples. We think that Constantine Daicoviciu perhaps corresponds best with that people saying, how “man sanctifies the place”, if we consider what he left behind, in the places where life took him.

He founded an archaeological school, issued scientific publications, reorganized and consolidated museums, maintained and enhanced the prestige of the higher education in Cluj, of the University of Cluj, contributing to the “prosperity” of the scientific environment and of an academic life in Cluj.

We do not believe that what Constantin Daicoviciu left to posterity must be hyperbolized, for, grace of God, he made it in a life, although one with ever changing situations, things that others do not even dared to think.

A man (with good and bad facts) no god, a great destiny, but with a disturbing end and a “creative” work without the

¹³ Ionuț Țene, *Cazul istoricului Constantin Daicoviciu*, în *Neamul românesc*, year 3rd, no. 25, June, 2008

knowledge of which, particular history research issues (related to the civilization and culture of the Dacians, Romanization, continuity, Romanian language and people formation) cannot be approached even today.

Constantin Daicoviciu lived and loved life intensely (youth in particular), the world, the scientific ethics, and the honors ... as any mortal...

He was a man of deeds, a man of the written word (including the language of P.C. Tacitus), who by all that he has left to the posterity - especially to the scientific world - takes place, on a place of honor, in the great personalities gallery of the Romanian historiography, of the Romanian people.

THE FERENCZI FAMILY FROM CLUJ IN THE SERVICE OF ARCHAEOLOGY. MONOGRAPHICAL CONTRIBUTION

Laura ARDELEAN, Mihaela CIOCA

Abstract: *The Ferenczi family from have joined forever their names in the Romanian historiography for the research related to the Dacian and Roman remains, and also for other researches like the rescue diggings, for example, that any archaeologist performs after the social engagement of the job in saving the ancient monuments, the memory of the predecessors. For those who conceive vocation for the researches carried out for almost a century (the twentieth century) by Sándor and István Ferenczi, the life and especially their archaeological researches can become a guidebook of fairness and respect for the historic truth, of respect for all the other researchers, in all circumstances. Their integration in the scientific intercession of the Romanian archaeological school and, in Transylvania, their scientific researches are the undisputed testimony.*

Key words: *The Ferenczi Family from Cluj, Archaeological research, limes, Dacian Fortresses, Dacian and Roman remains*

Almost a century of archaeological research in Transylvania is, in a way or another, related to Ferenczi family of researchers from Cluj, Sándor Ferenczi and his two sons, Géza and István Ferenczi.

The intellectual heritage they had left is represented by the researches made by the members of the mentioned family from Cluj, dedicated for almost a century to the history and vestiges of the Dacians and Romans between Danube and Carpathians, with preference for the intra-Transylvanian Province. The concrete proofs are their scientific researches and work.

Sándor Ferenczi was born at Zlatna in the Apuseni Mountains, at 1st of October, 1894. He studied at the Reformed Highschool from Oraştie where he graduated in 1912, and then he attended in the same year to the University of Cluj, history and classic philology specialization. In 1914, he was incorporated into the army¹. He returned in the autumn of 1918, being obliged to interrupt his education until 1920, when he graduated at the "King Ferdinand I" University. Since 1913, he was employed as a trainee at the Institute of Archaeology and Numismatics of the University of Cluj². In the same year he became a member of the Society of the Transylvanian Museum³. After graduating the young Sándor Ferenczi was employed as junior assistant and afterwards assistant at the Department of Ancient History at the University of Cluj⁴.

After D. M. Teodorescu was named as full professor at the University of Cluj, Sándor Ferenczi, trainee at the Institute of Antiquities (Classical Studies Institute), was promoted assistant, one of the closest collaborators of Professor D.M. Teodorescu, participating to the excavations made at Grădiştea Muncelului and Costeşti until 1928 (1929?), researches considered important to the beginnings of the systematic excavations in studying the Dacian defensive system⁵.

From 1941 he worked at the Transylvanian Museum and later at the University Library from Cluj.

¹ S. Dumitraşcu, *Arheologia română la sfârşit și început de mileniu* (Romanian Archaeology at the End and at the Beginning of the Millenium), Oradea, 1995, p.301; we would like to present here our gratitude to Mr. Prof. Sever Dumitraşcu for his kindly support.

² National Archives –Cluj Branch, *fund Societatea Muzeului Ardelean* (The Society of the Transylvanian Museum), file 52, p.45; Sever Dumitraşcu, *op. cit.*, p.302

³ *Procesul verbal al celei de-a 55-a ședințe ordinare a Societății Muzeului Ardelean* (The Minute of the 55th Ordinary Meeting of the The Society of the Transylvanian Museum), in Erdélyi Múzeum, Cluj, 1913, p.89

⁴ Sever Dumitraşcu, *op. cit.*, p.301-302

⁵ M Sâmpetru, *Dumitru M. Teodorescu (1881-1947)*, in *Thraco-Dacica*, XVII, 1-2, 1996, p.270-271

During the Second World War, he was forced to participate to the military operations; unfortunately he got ill and passed away at the age of 51.

Regarding the scientific relations between the researcher from Cluj and other Romanian researchers, Vasile Pârvan, D. M. Teodorescu, C. Daicoviciu, they were generally speaking cordial and of good collaboration and cooperation.

According to the statement of Sándor Ferenczi's son, István Ferenczi, there are no information regarding the moment they met, but it is sure that he attended some courses held by Vasile Pârvan at the University of Cluj between 1919-1920. It is possible that they had the chance to know each other better after Pârvan's visit to the Dacian fortresses in 1924, while the archaeologist from Cluj was doing his researches. The relations between them were friendly from the beginning and remained so until their death. The great scientist from Bucharest appreciated and hired the young assistant Sándor Ferenczi in the small team led by Professor D.M. Teodorescu, charged with the execution of systematic excavations in the Dacian fortresses in southwestern Transylvania and the research of the settlements in the area⁶.

Vasile Pârvan, not so long before his death (in 1927, at 45 years), entrusted Sándor Ferenczi with the research of the archaeological vestiges in south-eastern Transylvania to confirm on the field the existence of some Dacian constructions, many attributed wrongly to the Szeklers or to other populations⁷.

Pârvan entrusted the archaeologist from Cluj with the translation into Hungarian of one of his works entitled *Dacii la Troia* (*Dacian in Troy*), which was published in 1926⁸. Moreover he

⁶ Sever Dumitrașcu, *op. cit.*, p.303-304

⁷ Al.Ferenczi, *Raport asupra unei excursii arheologice în județul Trei Scaune* (*Report on an Archaeological Travel in Trei Scaune County*), in ACMIT, I, 1926-1928, p. 242-246

⁸ V. Pârvan, *A dákok Trojában* (*Dacians in Troy*), in *Erdélyi Tudományos Füzetek*, 2, Cluj, 1926, 12 p. (translated by Al. Ferenczi); and Idem, *A dákok Trojában* (*Dacians in Troy*), in *Erdélyi Irodalmi Szemle*, III, 1926, p. 47-56 (translated in Hungarian by Al. Ferenczi)

had also translated the work *Începuturile vieții la gurile Dunării* (*The Beginnings of the Living at the Danube Mouths*), but it remained in manuscript⁹.

Sándor Ferenczi was the assistant and close collaborator of Professor D. M. Teodorescu. At the suggestion and under the careful guidance of Vasile Pârvan, Ferenczi conducted researches and excavations in Hunedoara Mountains. Ferenczi helped his professor from the very beginning, participating on the field research. The relations between the professor D. M. Teodorescu and his assistant and first collaborator were, like those with the Magister Vasile Pârvan, ones of cordial cooperation in their common interest to reveal the Dacian and Roman vestiges¹⁰.

The researcher and professor Constantin Daicoviciu was from the same generation with Sándor Ferenczi¹¹. He researched the capital of the Roman Province Dacia, Ulpia Traiana Augusta Sarmizegetusa, and Ferenczi participated with perseverance and interest as prime-collaborator to the excavations made at Grădiștea Muncelului, the capital of Burebista's and Decebal's Dacia, researches which ended, for a certain period of time, in 1928. It is the beginning of a new chapter in the research of the Dacian fortresses and Roman camps in eastern Transylvania. Over a decade, they both published in 1938 their results in the remarkable synthesis that Daicoviciu entitled *Constantin Daicoviciu, Sarmizegetusa (Ulpia Traiana) în lumina săpăturilor*¹² (*Sarmizegetusa (Ulpia Traiana) in the Light of the Excavations*), and Al. Ferenczi, *Cetăți antice în județul Ciuc* (*Ancient Fortresses in Ciuc*

⁹ Sever Dumitrașcu, *op. cit.*, p.303

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 302

¹¹ S. Dumitrașcu, Fl. Sfrengu, *Constantin Daicoviciu – o biografie* (*Constantin Daicoviciu – A Biography*), Oradea, 2008, p. 18-20; Mihaela Goman, *Activitatea lui Constantin Daicoviciu la comisiunea Monumentelor Istorice, Secțiunea pentru Transilvania, ăan Munții Apuseni*, nr. 1-4, Oradea, 2000-2001, p.134-145

¹² C. Daicoviciu, *Sarmizegetusa (Ulpia Traiana) în lumina săpăturilor* (*Sarmizegetusa (Ulpia Traiana) in the Light of the Excavations*), in ACMIT, IV, 1932-1938, p. 372-405; Mihaela Goman, *Activitatea didactică și științifică a lui Constantin Daicoviciu*, Oradea, 2011, p. 23

County) in the same last volum of the *Anuarul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice, Secția pentru Transilvania* (1932-1938)¹³, work that was also his PhD thesis, as his son specified later, being actually a quasi-monograph.

The collaboration between the two researchers lasted throughout the fourth decade of last century. After Sándor Ferenczi's passing away, Constantin Daicoviciu published in 1951 in collaboration with him the volume *Așezările dacice din Munții Orăștiei* (*Dacian Settlements in Orăștie Mountains*), book that includes a series of Ferenczi's research conducted in the second decade of the last century, results that remained in manuscript and thus could be outlined, some of them, in the mentioned publication¹⁴.

Returning to his work entitled *Cetăți antice în județul Ciuc* (*Ancient Fortresses in the Ciuc County*), this has two parts: the first part, entitled *Descrierea cetăților* (*Description of the Fortresses*), the author presents his observations on the field, he totalizes the fortresses, where he made surface researches; in the second part, entitled *Vechimea cetăților* (*Stage of the Fortresses*), he presents us in a comparative manner the fortresses and their chronology¹⁵.

In the summer of 1935, Sándor Ferenczi studied the fortresses of Ciuc's Lower and Upper basins. For this the author studied the publications that were printed up to that time and the researches carried out by himself on the field, allowing him to draw reliable conclusions observing the technique in which they were built, their position, and analyzing the discovered archaeological material, comparing it with that found earlier

¹³ Al. Ferenczi, *Cetăți antice în județul Ciuc* (*Ancient Fortresses in Ciuc County*), in ACMIT, IV, 1932-1938 (hereinafter Al. Ferenczi, *Ancient Fortresses...*), p. 235-352

¹⁴ C. Daicoviciu, Al. Ferenczi, *Așezările dacice din Munții Orăștiei* (*Dacian Settlements in Orăștie Mountains*), în *Seria Cercetări de istorie veche*, București, Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Române, 1951, 116 p. + 9. f. h.: Partea I-a, *Studiul topografic al așezărilor* (*Settlements Topographical Research*), by Prof. C. Daicoviciu. Partea II-a, *Studiul bibliografic asupra așezărilor* (*Settlements Bibliographical Research*), by Al. Ferenczi

¹⁵ Al. Ferenczi, *Ancient Fortresses...*, p. 235-352

accidentally, which is now part of different collections¹⁶. He studied the following points: Jigodin I¹⁷, II¹⁸ and III¹⁹, Cicul Ciucului²⁰, Racul Ciucului I²¹ and II²², Sândominicul Ciucului²³, Păuleni²⁴, Șumuleu I and II²⁵, Tușnadul Ciucului²⁶ and Cozmeni²⁷.

Over the years, Viorica Crișan completed and confirmed, not in all cases, the affirmations stated before by Sándor Ferenczi, in two works²⁸.

The second part of his work, entitled *Stage of the Fortresses* is a comparative study of the objectives pursued in order to define similarities and differences, being an archaeological technical study, in concordance with those years' bibliographical references. Even though some fortresses haven't been excavated and not even archaeological surveys have been done, with his entire experience gained in Orăștie Mountains, in the excavations made at Costești and Grădiștea Muncelului, Sándor Ferenczi gave to the issue of these types of archaeological objectives a solid scientific foundation.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p.239

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, p.241

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p.246

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p.262; Viorica Crișan, Gabriela Gheorghiu, Jigodin-Băi (Miercurea Ciuc), j. Harghita. Punct: Jigodin I-Câmpul Morii, Cod sit: 83366.05, in *Cronica cercetărilor arheologice din România*. Campania 1999, a XXXIV-a Sesiune Națională de rapoarte arheologice, Deva, 24-28 mai 2000, București, 2000, p. 51

²⁰ Al. Ferenczi, *Ancient Fortresses...*, p.268

²¹ *Ibidem*, p. 274, 281

²² *Ibidem*, 283-288

²³ *Ibidem*, p. 288-290

²⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 296

²⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 297-302

²⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 303-307

²⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 308

²⁸ Viorica Crișan, *Dacii din estul Transilvaniei (Dacians in Eastern Transylvania)*, seria *Monografii Arheologice*, II, Ed. Carpații Răsăriteni, Sf. Gheorghe, 2000, 223 p., 126 pl. and *** *Repertoriul arheologic al județului Harghita (Archaeological Repertoire of Harghita County)*, seria *Monografii Arheologice*, III, Ed. Carpații Răsăriteni, Sf. Gheorghe, 2000, 265 p., 66 maps, 59 pl.

Archaeological research regarding the Dacian civilization and culture did not end here. Thus, in 1939 a collective formed by C. Daicoviciu, Al. Ferenczi, M. Macrea and I. Berciu conducted research at Dacian fortress of Căpâlna²⁹.

In the years after 1940, he remained loyal and honest to the research concerning the Dacian monuments from Transylvania, his archaeological investigations from that period standing testimony, until his enrolling to the army in the World War II. Between the years 1942-1943 he had been excavating the Dacian fortress from Covasna called „Cetatea Zânelor” (“The Fortress of the Fairies”)³⁰.

Heirs of his devotion to discerning the past, Sándor Ferenczi’s sons, István and Géza, dedicated themselves to the science in the service of Klio.

István Ferenczi was born in Cluj, on April 15, 1921³¹. He followed elementary and secondary school, as well as his university studies in the same city situated on the Someș River. He started the last ones in 1940 as a student in History and Geography specialization of the University of Cluj³². In 1943 he

²⁹ cf. I. Opriș, *Comisiunea Monumentelor Istorice – Secția pentru Transilvania și promovarea cercetării epocii dacice* (*The Committee for Historical Monuments – Section for Transylvania and the Promoting of the Dacian Period*), in *ActaMN*, XIX, 1982, p. 607-608; Idem, *Comisiunea Monumentelor Istorice - Secția pentru Transilvania. Istorie și activitate* (*The Committee for Historical Monuments – Section for Transylvania. History and Activity*), doctoral thesis, Babeș-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, 1983; Idem, *Comisia Monumentelor Istorice* (*Committee for the historical Monuments*), București, 1993; see H. Daicoviciu, Șt. Ferenczi, I. Glodariu, *Cetăți și așezări dacice în sud-vestul Transilvaniei* (*Dacian Fortresses and Settlements in South-Western Transylvania*), București, 1989 (hereinafter H. Daicoviciu, Șt. Ferenczi, I. Glodariu, *Dacian Fortresses and Settlements...*), p. 140-141, 143, n. 55

³⁰ I. Ferenczi, *Cetatea dacică de la Porumbeni Mari*, în *In memoriam Constantin Daicoviciu*, Cluj-Napoca, 1974, p. 148, n. 9

³¹ *Enciclopedia istoriografiei românești* (ed. Ștefan Ștefănescu), Bucharest, 1978, p. 142

³² cf. László Gy., *Egy régész élet discerete* (*Viață de arheolog*), in *Specimina Nova*, XII, 1998, p. 7-14; Tóth I., *Laudatio*, în *Specimina Nova*, XII, 1998, p. 15-16; Ferenczi István (1921-2000). *Nekrólog*, in *ACTA*, Sf. Gheorghe, 2000, p. 249-251; Vincze Z., *Ferenczi István, régészors Erdélyben* (*Ferenczi István, un destin de arheolog în Transilvania*), in *Erdélyi Múzeum*,

joined the army and interrupted the university studies. The military events he had to deal with, took him to Germany and Denmark, being imprisoned for 17 months in England³³.

After getting back in his country, he resumed his university studies in Cluj, receiving in 1947 the diploma of professor with the work entitled the *Longobards in Pannonia*³⁴, considered "magna cum laude". After two years, "he passed successfully the doctoral thesis"³⁵.

In 1948 he became assistant³⁶, and after, in 1950, he was promoted as junior lecturer, and in 1952 as lecturer, then *locum tenens* senior lecturer until 1962, teaching fundamental courses³⁷, as well as special courses and seminars at the "I. Bolyai" University of Cluj³⁸. Along with the teaching activity, during 1949-1956, he worked as a researcher at the Institute of History of the Romanian Academy, Cluj Branch. In 1962, he is employed at the History Museum of Transylvania as head of departments, at the beginning Prehistory, then the Dacian and Roman history, and after the Premediaeval history, until his retirement on December 31, 1982. After 1989, although retired, István Ferenczi lectured at the Faculty of History (Hungarian section) of the "Babeş -Bolyai" University of Cluj, "Hyperion" University of Bucharest, Sf. Gheorghe Branch, and Dacian and Roman history courses at the University of Pécs (Hungary)³⁹.

István Ferenczi was a member or founder member of certain societies; we notice here the *Society of Classical Studies of*

62, 3-4, 2000 (hereinafter Vincze Z., *Ferenczi István...*), p. 325-329; Idem, *In memoriam István Ferenczi (1921-2000)*, in *Ephemeris Napocensis*, XI, Cluj-Napoca, 2001 (hereinafter Vincze Z., *In memoriam István Ferenczi...*), p. 347-351

³³ *Ibidem*, p. 347

³⁴ cf. László Gy., *Steppenvölker und Germanen*, Budapest, 1970, p. 154-155: Die germanischen Völker

³⁵ Vincze Z., *In memoriam István Ferenczi...*, p. 347

³⁶ *Ibidem*, p.348

³⁷ Romanian Ancient History, Introduction in Archaeology, Latin Epigraphy

³⁸ Economic Life in Roman Dacia

³⁹ Vincze Z., *In memoriam István Ferenczi...*, p. 347

Romania, the *Society of Transylvanian Museum*, the *Romanian Association of Prehistory*, and the *Association of Hungarian Historians* of Zürich. He performed an intense activity to spread the historical knowledge, proved by his many published articles in the in Romanian mass-media: from *Tribuna* and *Korunk* of Cluj, to the *Contemporanul* of Bucharest and many other cultural magazines and newspapers⁴⁰.

István Ferenczi passed away on May 8, 2000, at the age of 79 years, and he was buried in the cemetery of Ojejdeja village, after a life full of difficulties and a laborious scientific activity.

From his early childhood he was taken by his father, the archaeologist Sándor Ferenczi at excavations of the Dacian fortress from Costești. At the age of 4-5 years, as he confessed in his mature years, he had the opportunity to meet Vasile Pârvan. He participated to the research carried out by his father at the Dacian fortresses on Upper Mureș Valley⁴¹.

The main directions in which he was interested in were mainly the scientific research of the Dacian and of the Roman province Dacia history, especially regarding the *limes*⁴². For more than 25 years he had participated, together with his colleagues, to the archaeological excavations made at Sarmizegetusa. He was present at the research from Costești-Cețațuia. His studies in Geography too allowed him to make important archaeological topographical research, studying the natural conditions which had determined the location of the fortresses from Șurianu Mountains. He published more than 50 paperworks regarding the Roman Dacia, especially about the defensive system inside and outside the province. He declared: "Over the years I managed to research on the field approx. 400 km of *limes*"⁴³.

Regarding the excavations from Oraștie Mountains, beginning with the year 1949, he joined the archaeological team

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, 351-352

⁴¹ S. Dumitrașcu, *op. cit.*, p.304

⁴² a fortified boundary or border, especially of the Roman Empire

⁴³ Vincze Z., *Ferenczi István...*, p. 329

led by Constantin Daicoviciu, who researched the complex topic of the *study of the Dacians living in the Orăștie Mountains*. Like his father, István Ferenczi devoted his whole life to distinguish the Dacians' history and the great monuments-vestiges covered by the land of Hunedoara, in the Northern of the South Carpathians⁴⁴. His researches continued, even enlarged and deepened in the sixth decade of the 20th century, including new targets and deepening the old historical and archaeological issues raised in the previous campaigns carried under the leadership of acad. Constantin Daicoviciu⁴⁵.

⁴⁴ cf. C. Daicoviciu and collab., *Studiul traiului dacilor în Munții Orăștiei (șantiernul arheologic de la Grădiștea Muncelului)*. (Rezultatul cercetărilor făcute de colectivul din Cluj în anul 1950) (*Study of the Living of the Dacians in Orăștie Mountains (Archaeological Excavation at Grădiștea Muncelului)*. (The Results of the Research Made by the Collective from Cluj in 1950)) (Collective: Constantin Daicoviciu, Octavian Floca, Petru Duka, Eugen Chirilă, V. Manoliu, I. Pop, M. Rednic, Mircea Rusu, Horia Teodoru), in SCIV, 2, 1951, no. 2, p. 95-126; Idem, *Șantiernul Grădiștea Muncelului. Studiul traiului dacilor în Munții Orăștiei (Excavations at Grădiștea Muncelului. Study of the Living of the Dacians in Orăștie Mountains)* (Collective: Constantin Daicoviciu, Ion Berciu, Palkó Attila, Octavian Floca, M. Munteanu, Mihail Macrea, Dionisie Radu, M. Rednic, Petru Duka), in SCIV, 3, 1952, p. 281-310; Idem, *Șantiernul Grădiștea Muncelului (Excavations at Grădiștea Muncelului)* (Collective: Constantin Daicoviciu, Andrei Bodor, Nicolae Gostar, Dionisie Radu, M. Dediu, Petru Duka), in SCIV, 4, 1953, no. 1-2, p. 153-187, 193-194, 209-218; Idem, *Șantiernul arheologic Grădiștea Muncelului (r. Orăștie, reg. Hunedoara) (Excavations at Grădiștea Muncelului (r.Orăștie, reg. Hunedoara))* (Collective: Constantin Daicoviciu, Octavian Floca, M. Macrea, A. Deac, M. Dediu, P. Duka, N. Gostar, A. Ilieș, I. Mitrofan, D. Radu, Iudita Winkler), in SCIV, 5, 1954, no. 1-2, p. 123-159; Idem, *Șantiernul arheologic Grădiștea Muncelului – Blidaru (Rezultatul săpăturilor din campania 1954) (Excavations at Grădiștea Muncelului - Blidaru (Results of the Excavations Campaign in 1954))* (Collective: Constantin Daicoviciu, A. Bodor, N. Gostar, M. Rusu, Iudita Winkler, I. Crișan, Ferenczi Géza), in SCIV, 6, 1955, no. 1-2, p. 195-238

⁴⁵ cf. I. H. Crișan, C. Daicoviciu, N. Gostar, *Șantiernul arheologic Grădiștea Muncelului – Blidaru (Excavations at Grădiștea Muncelului – Blidaru)*, in *Materiale*, III, Bucharest, 1957, p. 255-280 (Collective: acad. Prof. C. Daicoviciu (editor), N. Gostar (second editor), I. Crișan, A. Bodor, Gh. Cazimir și P. Duka (members), E. Sări, V. Saidon, R. Moldovan, M. Davidescu, P. Mureșan, N. Steiu, A. Horváth, E. Hubbes, M. Miklósi și E. Goia (students); N. Gostar C.

Related to the research from Orăștie Mountains attended by István Ferenczi, we have three special information: those written and signed by acad. Prof. Constantin Daicoviciu; the history research from Orăștie Mountains, signed by scientists Hadrian Daicoviciu and Ioan Glodariu and the contribution to this research through the paperworks signed by István Ferenczi.

The detailed investigation, the capturing of details and the precision of the observations are the defining elements of the archaeological research from Grădiștea Muncelului, to which István Ferenczi had made a notable contribution, that we tried to emphasize, according to the research on the field and their location in the historical mechanism of the Dacian period and then of the Roman presence in the province after the conquest of Sarmizegetusa - *basileion*, the religious and also the political capital of Dacians.

Constantin and Hadrian Daicoviciu appreciated István Ferenczi as a remarkable researcher. He became in the years 1976, 1978-1980 the leader of the archaeological excavations related to the Dacians in northern Meridional Carpathians⁴⁶.

István Ferenczi's research, along with other members of the team from Grădiște, can be considered true foundation bricks

Daicoviciu, *Șantiierul arheologic Grădiștea Muncelului (Excavations at Grădiștea Muncelului)*, in *Materiale*, V, 1958, p. 379-401, collective: C. Daicoviciu (editor), in Oct. Floca (second editor), N. Gostar, I. Crisan, H. Daicoviciu, A. Bodor, Șt. Ferenczi, Gh. Cazimir and P. Duka (members); C. Daicoviciu, H. Daicoviciu, N. Gostar, *Șantiierul arheologic Grădiștea Muncelului-Costești (Excavations at Grădiștea Muncelului – Costești)*, in *Materiale*, VI, , p. 331-359, collective: acad. Prof. C. Daicoviciu (responsible of site), Oct. Floca (adjunct responsible), N. Gostar, Ștefan Ferenczi, H. Daicoviciu and Gh. Cazimir; C. Daicoviciu and collab., *Șantiierul arheologic Grădiștea Muncelului (Excavations at Grădiștea Muncelului)*, in *Materiale*, VII, 1961, p. 307-320, the collective consisted of the following persons: acad. Prof. C. Daicoviciu (responsible), Oct. Floca, Deva Regional Museum Director (responsible deputy), Șt. Ferenczi, I. Crișan, N. Vlása, H. Daicoviciu, Gh. Cazimir and Palkó Attila (members).

⁴⁶ Hadrian Daicoviciu, Ștefan Ferenczi, Ioan Glodariu, *Dacian Fortresses and Settlements...*, p. 165, n. 73, p. 166, n. 75, p. 167, n.77, p.168, p. 168-169, n. 82, 83, 84, 85.

for the Dacian history, especially in the time of its free kingdom, before the Roman conquest, and whether they'll be confirmed or not by future investigations and researches, they are to be taken into consideration.

Excavations conducted by István Ferenczi on Târnave and on the Dacian sites from northeastern Transylvania remained his constant concern. As in the case of the Dacian archeological complex from Oraștie Mountains, in the good tradition of his field research, the main direction consisted in the reflecting of archaeological topography⁴⁷. There had been studied, among others, the Dacian fortress from Odorheiu Secuiesc⁴⁸, the Dacian earthen fortress from Porumbeni Mari⁴⁹, the Dacian fortified settlement from Cușmed (com Atid, Harghita County)⁵⁰ and the Dacian settlement from Merești (Harghita County)⁵¹.

In his entire life and work as archaeologist, the research of the Roman Dacia borders was a major concern. His interest in studying this problem is longstanding, since 1941, from the beginning of his start as a researcher, when he published one of his first achievements on the subject, to which he will return

⁴⁷ G. Ferenczi, Șt. Ferenczi, *Cercetări de topografie arheologică în bazinul superior al Târnavei Mari (Archaeological Topographical Research in the Upper Basin of Târnava Mare)*, in *Materiale*, X, București, 1973 (hereinafter G. Ferenczi, Șt. Ferenczi, *Archaeological Topographical Research...*), p.335-350

⁴⁸ G. Ferenczi, I. Ferenczi, *Cetatea dacică de la Odorheiu Secuiesc (The Dacian Fortress from Odorheiu Secuiesc)*, in *Crisia*, II, Oradea, 1972 (hereinafter G. Ferenczi, I. Ferenczi, *The Dacian Fortress from Odorheiu...*), p.59-63

⁴⁹ G. Ferenczi, I. Ferenczi, *Cetatea dacică de pământ de la Porumbeni Mari (The Earthen Dacian Fortress from Porumbeni Mari)*, in *In memoriam Constantin Daicoviciu*, Cluj, 1974 (hereinafter G. Ferenczi, I. Ferenczi, *The Earthen Dacian...*), p.137-150

⁵⁰ I. Ferenczi, G. Ferenczi, *Așezarea dacică de la Cușmed (com. Atid, jud. Harghita) (The Dacian Fortress from Cușmed (com. Atid, Harghita County))*, in *StCom Satu Mare*, IX-X, 1992-1993, p.29-40

⁵¹ I. Ferenczi, Viorica Soiom-Crișan, *Așezarea dacică de la Merești (jud. Harghita). Cercetările arheologice din anii 1986-1993 (The Dacian Settlement from Merești (jud. Harghita). The Archaeological researches between 1986-1993)*, in *ActaMN*, XXXI, 1, 1994, p.377-433

constantly during his life⁵². Through a determined effort he managed to walk through almost the entire extent of the Roman Dacian "border".

His field research, the archaeological surveying refers to the western Roman Dacian *limes* and to the northern and eastern province. To the study of the western border he conducted the excavations from the Crișul Repede, the Lower Mureș and the Meseș-Porolissum areas.

Knowing the scientific literature published regarding the north-western Dacia, István Ferenczi began his researches regarding the *limes* of the Roman province since the fifth decade of the last century, at a young age. The results of his efforts are reflected in his published studies and articles⁵³. He hoped to find the further Meseș *limes* until near the auriferous area of the province. Further researches, conducted by the archaeologist Sever Dumitrașcu, during the years 1966-1968, led to the discovery of the ditched raised earthworks between Codru Moma Mountain in north and Zărand Mountains in south, Apuseni Mountains in west, from Comănești (Arad County) at north to Iercoșeni (Arad County) at south.

The defensive system of Province Dacia has affinities with certain long portions of the *limes* of Syria, Arabia, Palestine provinces and of those from Mauretania, Cesariana, Numidia. Also, this system can be related to some segments of the *limes* of Germaniae Superioris, sections of which plans and original works

⁵² I. Ferenczi, *Régészeti megfigyelések a Limes Dacicus északnyugati szakaszán* (Archaeological Observations on the North-eastern Part of the Dacian Limes), in *Erdélyi Múzeum*, 46, 1941, p. 189-214; cf. *Ibidem*, in *Erdélyi Tudományos Füzetek*, 129, Cluj, 1941

⁵³ I. Ferenczi, *Contribuții la problema limesului de vest al Daciei* (Contributions to the Problem of the Dacian Western Limes), in *SCIV*, V, 2, 1959, p. 337-354; Idem, *Recunoașteri arheologice în orașul Cluj și împrejurimile sale* (Archaeological Surveys in Cluj City and its Surroundings), in *Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai, seria Historica*, 2, 1962, p. 31-58; Idem, *Contribuții la problema limesului de vest al Daciei* (Contributions to the Problem of the Dacian Western Limes), II/1, in *ActaMN*, IX, 1972, p. 387-412; II/2, in *ActaMN*, X, 1973, p. 545-568; II/3, in *ActaMN*, XI, 1974, p. 23-40

were designed and conducted by the future emperor Trajan, at those time governor of the province from the Rhine River⁵⁴.

This system also ensured not only the military security or custom system of Roman Dacia, but it allowed at the same time the control of the neighboring communities of free Dacians.

Dacia scientific review published his studies in foreign languages, and his colleagues from the Institute and the Museum of Cluj supported him in his work and, we can say that, most of the Transylvania museums: Caransebeș, Timișoara, Arad, Oradea, Satu Mare, Bistrița Năsăud, Mureș, Alba Iulia, Deva and those who were responsible with the specialty publication *Acta Musei Napocensis* at Cluj did everything they could to publish his studies of those times.

In addition to his field research and archaeological excavations in the Orăștie Mountains or on the Roman Dacian *limes*, István Ferenczi studied for a long time other archaeological sites from Transylvania, rescue excavations and surface researchs, which, by their nature, were related to an important problematic of Romanian ancient history.

We must mention in their chronological order the excavations made at *Ciumbrud*⁵⁵, *Doboșeni*⁵⁶, *Huedin-„Bolic”*⁵⁷, *Mugeni*⁵⁸, *Sânăpaul*⁵⁹, archaeological topographical research from

⁵⁴ S. Dumitrașcu, *op. cit.*, p. 296-297

⁵⁵ A. Dankanits, I. Ferenczi, *Săpăturile arheologice de la Ciumbrud (r. Aiud, r. Cluj)* (*Archaeological Excavations at Ciumbrud (r. Aiud, r. Cluj)*), in *Materiale*, VI, p. 605-615; I. Ferenczi, *Săpăturile de salvare de la Ciumbrud (Rescue Excavations at Ciumbrud)*, in *Materiale*, 7, 1961, p. 191-199

⁵⁶ G. Ferenczi, I. Ferenczi, *Săpăturile de salvare de la Doboșeni. 1955-1966 (Rescue Excavations at Doboșeni. 1955-1966)*, in *ActaMN*, I, 1964, p. 39-66

⁵⁷ I. Ferenczi, I. Alexa, N. Stein, *Săpăturile arheologice de la Huedin-„Bolic”* (*Archaeological Excavations at Huedin-„Bolic”*), in *ActaMN*, II, 1965, p. 637-643

⁵⁸ G. Ferenczi, I. Ferenczi, *Săpături arheologice la Mugeni în 1960-1961 (Archaeological Excavations at Mugeni in 1960-1961)*, in *Sesiunea de comunicări științifice de muzeelor de istorie*, I, 1971, p. 97-116; Idem, *Săpături arheologice la Mugeni (studiu preliminar) (Archaeological Excavations at Mugeni (Preliminary Study))*, in *ActaMN*, XII, 1975, p. 45-68 (I); XIII, 1976, p. 239-255 (II); XIV, 1977, p. 295-304 (III)

Mureș County⁶⁰, the upper basin of the *Târnava Mare*⁶¹, from *Baciu-Șardu* (Cluj County)⁶², *Depression of Homoroade* (Harghita County)⁶³ or the archaeological surface researches in the surroundings of the Resig Hill at *Izvorul Crișului* (Cluj County)⁶⁴.

The archaeological topographical research, for example, in the upper basin of the *Târnava Mare* led to the discovery of numerous sites belonging to different stages of the Transylvanian history: Neolithic period, Bronze Age, late Bronze Age - the first Iron Age (Hallstatt), "prehistoric" settlements, undefined chronologically and culturally, the second Iron Age (La Tène), Dacian period, the period of the Roman Province Dacia, migration period and the the beginning of the feudal period.

István Ferenczi's synthesis work is reflected in the volume *Cetăți și așezări dacice în sud-vestul Transilvaniei, I (Dacian Fortresses and Settlements in South-Western Transylvania)*, published in 1989 together with Hadrian Daicoviciu and Ioan Glodariu⁶⁵.

⁵⁹ Idem, *Săpăturile de salvare din 1957-1958 de la Sânpaul (Rescue Excavations in 1957-1958 at Sânpaul)*, in *Materiale*, VII, p. 401-404

⁶⁰ I. Ferenczi, M. Petică, *Cercetări de topografie arheologică în județul Mureș (Archaeological Topographical Research in Mureș County)*, in *ActaMN*, XIX, 1982, p. 557-584 (I); XX, 1983, p. 113-129 (II)

⁶¹ G. Ferenczi, Șt. Ferenczi, *Archaeological Topographical Research...*, p. 335-350 (I); *Ibidem*, in *ActaMN*, XV, 1978, p. 85-99 (II)

⁶² I. Ferenczi, D. Ursuț, *Cercetări de topografie arheologică privind drumul roman imperial Napoca-Porolissum (tronsonul Baciu-Șardu, j. Cluj) (Archaeological Topographical Research Regarding the Imperial Roman Napoca-Porolissum Road (Baciu-Șardu tronson, Cluj County))*, in *ActaMN*, XXII-XXIII, 1985-1986, p. 213-222; I. Ferenczi, *Contribuții la topografia arheologică a văii Someșului (în sectorul Vad-Surduc) (Contributions to the Archaeological Topography of the Someș Valley (in the Vad-Surduc Sector))*, in *ActaMN*, XIII, 1976, p. 37-50

⁶³ G. Ferenczi, I. Ferenczi, *Observații de topografie arheologică în partea superioară a Depresiunii Homoroadelor (j. Harghita) între anii 1957-1978 (Raport preliminar) (Archaeological Topographic Observations in the Upper Part of the Homoroade Depression (Harghita County) between 1957-1978 (Preliminary Report))*, in *ActaMN*, XVI, 1979, p. 411-429

⁶⁴ I. Ferenczi, *Régészeti barungolás a korosfői Részeg-tető környékén (Perioade arheologice în împrejurimile dealului Resig de la Izvorul Crișului) (Archaeological Surveys on the Surroundings of the Resig Hill from Izvorul Crișului)*, in *Művelődés*, LII, 1999, nr. 5, p. 22-23

⁶⁵ H. Daicoviciu, Șt. Ferenczi, I. Glodariu, *Dacian Fortresses and Settlements...*

His asiduous research, the abundance of information (geological, geomorphological, geographical, archaeological, ethnographic, and historical) were included in this volume, in two chapters that he wrote: *Cadrul geologic și geografic (The Geological and Geographical Background)*⁶⁶, and *Istoricul cercetărilor până în 1944 (The History of the Researches until 1944)*⁶⁷ as well as parts of chapter III in the mentioned volume⁶⁸.

The second son of Sándor Ferenczi. Ferenczi Géza was born on June 22, 1924 in Cluj. He graduated at a high school from the same city, after which he also attended to the University of Cluj, at the History specialization, finishing his university studies in 1954⁶⁹. Then the fate guided him to the Szeklerland, where, being a child, he roamed the valleys along with his family, when his father studied there the Dacian fortresses⁷⁰. He was one of the main collaborators of István Ferenczi., his brother. Through his field research, he contributed, as his brother, to the knowledge of the eastern *limes* of the province. Géza Ferenczi passed away on February 14, 2007 at Odorheiu Secuiesc. His scientific work has left us an inheritance.

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Almost a century (actually over 90 years) the Ferenczis, Sándor Ferenczi and István Ferenczi have researched unstintingly the Dacian civilization and culture, the Roman civilization and culture in Romania, in Transylvania respectively.

They both have a hard biography in the range of the years of this century time that ended recently. Sándor Ferenczi passed over the two world wars. He did not come back of the second, as we know from the data that we have so far. István Ferenczi, born

⁶⁶ *Ibidem*, p.17-86

⁶⁷ *Ibidem*, p.121-149; the research made between the years 1944-1984 (p.137-149) is signed by H. Daicovicu and I. Glodariu.

⁶⁸ *Ibidem*, p.195-205, 211-217

⁶⁹ Hubbes Eva, *Ferenczi Géza (1924-2007)*, in *Acta*, 2007, p. 761

⁷⁰ S. Dumitrașcu, *op. cit.*, p. 164-165; G. Ferenczi, I. Ferenczi, *The Dacian Fortress from Odorheiuul...*, p. 59-63

in 1921, has to do only the second one. He was also a prisoner in England, for 17 months. They have settled down well-round and solid families, with the sole aim, and that, to do research, archeology.

Honest, very serious and hardworking, the twos, father and son, have joined forever with golden letters their names in the Romanian historiography for the research related to the *Dacian* and *Roman* remains, of course, other researches, too (rescue diggings, for example, that any archaeologist performs after the social engagement of the job in saving the ancient monuments, the memory of the predecessors). In addition, in all intercessions they have remained themselves. Very likely that sometimes they have suffered, too (we gave the example 1940-1944), but they also had moments of great joy when unveiling a Dacian fortress, a fragment of the Roman *limes* in the always generous land of Transylvania.

For those who conceive vocation for the researches carried out for almost a century (the twentieth century) by Sándor and István Ferenczi, the life and especially their archaeological researches can become a guidebook of fairness and respect for the historic truth, of love for the homeland and of respect for all the other researchers, in all circumstances. Their relations with Vasile Pârvan are emblematic. The same, their integration in the scientific intercession of the Romanian archaeological school and, in Transylvania, their scientific researches are the undisputed testimony.

We believe that their memory is a model example for relations of mutual respect that should animate the intellectuals and old and new Europe of our century, the twenty-first century.

III.
CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE
HISTORY OF SOME
SETTLEMENTS AND
OCCUPATIONS

PREHISTORIC AND ANCIENT ARCHAEOLOGICAL DISCOVERIES OF THE BISTRA VALLEY (BIHOR COUNTY). ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO A MONOGRAPH

Florin SFRENGEU

Abstract: *The oldest archaeological finds of the Bistra Valley, made in the vill Vărzari, village Popești belong to the cultural group Ciumești - Pișcolt from the Neolithic cultural complex of Cluj - Cheile Turzii – Lumea Nouă – Iclod. In the Neolithic, this area was part of the area of spreading the Tiszapolgár culture, in which the stylistic change of the ceramics from the previous one has been linked to the early copper metallurgy. At Tăuteu were found several Neolithic tools (bronze pickaxes) on the surrounding hills, which are kept at the Țării Crișurilor Museum in Oradea. From the early Iron Age are known a series of bronze deposits, of which, for the Bistra Valley, we remember the series of Moigrad-Tăuteni (Tăuteu) of Hallstatt B1. At Voivozi they have reported Hallstatt pottery fragments at the place called Cilogoș, which was partly polled an archaeological resort with three discontinuous levels of housing belonging to the early Iron Age (Hallstatt), to the free Dacians from the Roman period and during the centuries VII -IX A.D. In the area of the Dacian fortress at Sacalasan, there is an impressive range of discoveries that seem to belong to a silver Dacian thesaurus dating back to the 1st century A.D. The archaeological findings at Voivozi – Cilogos show the existence of free Dacians along the Bistra stream at the Roman epoch. This living level dates back to the 3rd century A.D., or probably the beginning of the 4th century A.D. We notice the influence of provincial Roman ceramics on the ceramics of free Dacians in the area and in Crisana in general. In 1970, an important thesaurus was discovered at Tauteni. It is made up of two silver cups. It was published in 1973 by S. Dumitrascu and was considered to belong to the Heruli of German origin. In the area, there was a civilisation of locals belonging to Hun and Gepid times, also known as the*

Biharea – Sânnicolau Român – Florești – Sânniclăuș – Ipotestii – Căndești – Botoșana – Dodești civilisation of Latin and Christian population.

Keywords: *Bistra Valley, archaeological finds, bronze objects, pottery, Dacians, fortress, silver thesaurus, Heruli*

In the Western half of Romania an important role in triggering the process of Neolitizing were for the communities of the group of Gura Baciului – Cârcea. This group heralds the evolution itself of the Starčevo-Criș culture. The cultural group of Ciumești-Pișcolt represents the expression of the summary with the Epipaleolithic communities in the Central Europe of the Starčevo-Criș groups in the North-Western Romania¹. Analyzing the origin and evolution of this group, redefined as Pișcolt group, based on numerous and on the most representative archaeological materials from Pișcolt, Zoia Maxim said that this group has its origin in the old fund Starčevo-Criș influenced by elements of Vinča culture came on plain and the contribution of such events of Szolnok - Szanda type and others. The resorts of this cultural group, with three phases of evolution were clearly defined as between the Turul Valley and Crișul Repede River, an area that includes the Bistra Valley, too². This group is part of the cultural complex Cluj – Cheile Turzii – Lumea Nouă – Iclod, being defined as a civilization belonging to the developed Neolithic, consisting of cultural issues and groups related to three stages of evolution³. In the village Popești, vill Vărzari, in the autumn of 1980 were discovered artifacts belonging to these

¹ N. Ursulescu, M. Petrescu-Dîmbovița, D. Monah, *Neo-eneoliticul*, in *Istoria românilor*, vol. I, Bucharest, 2001, p.125-134, map from p.126-127 where at position 120 also appears the locality Vărzari enclosed to the cultural group Ciumești-Pișcolt.

² Z. Maxim, *Neo-Eneoliticul din Transilvania*, Cluj-Napoca, 1999, p.75-80; on drawing XV-2 is represented a vessels discovered at Vărzari, a small handed amphora and painted with a pit that marks the shoulder.

³ *Ibid*, p.69

ancient Neolithic civilizations, on the side of the Vărzărel brook. The archaeologist Doina Ignat's survey allowed the observation that the archaeological material, consisting of painted pottery or with very corroded traces of painting, deriving from a hole with the diameter of 1,50 m, seems to be unique, although the bank of the brook has been investigated without being able to highlight the cultural layer⁴. The discovered pottery was classified into two main categories: of common use and fine. They were able to reconstruct four pots and other fragments belonging to other vessels of the same, in a number of nine, or some bowls or cups. The decor was done by painting with a bituminous substance, looking black shiny or mat lacquer, and consists of thick black bands arranged in curved or angled, bordered by bundles of thinner strips, parallel lines and curves bounded by other oblique as well of wide black bands some arranged on the rim and others under the rim. There are other interesting motifs described in the paper, and the decor is made of wide black bands between them being inserted thin dotted lines with small dots⁵.

The Pișcolt cultural group evolved into the Tisza culture and the group Suplacu de Barcău. This latter is considered to have a common origin with the Iclod group, but different from the characteristic element which is the painting, in comparison with the Iclod developing the incision. Another feature of the Suplacu de Barcău group is the discovery of some cremation burials, which shows the bi-ritualism practice. The settlement from Suplacu de Barcău had an important role in the area due to the exploitation and marketing of the bituminous deposits, at surface, the substance being used for painting the pottery in the Neolithic age⁶.

⁴ D. Ignat, *Un aspect mai puțin cunoscut în cadrul ceramicii neolitice pictate din nord-vestul României*, in *Crisia*, XII, 1982, p.361-370

⁵ *Ibid*, p.361-363, drawings I-VI

⁶ Z. Maxim, *op.cit.*, p.93; D. Ignat, *Grupul cultural neolitic Suplacu de Barcău*, Timișoara, 1998

In the center of the vill Varviz an isolated discovery was made belonging to the same age, in the place called *La râpă*, being about a stone ax type block, with analogies in the community of the cultural group Suplacu de Barcău. Also in this place of the vill Varviz is indicated by the author of the monograph of the locality, the historian Gabriel Moisa, a wider Neolithic settlement where they found fragments of pottery and fragments of bricks from the fireplaces and walls of some dwelling houses, not excluding the possibility of a habitation in different ages⁷.

In the Neolithic, the Bistra Valley was part of the area of spreading the Tiszapolgár culture, in which the stylistic change of the ceramics from the previous one has been linked to the early copper metallurgy, which led to major changes. We note that the cultural group of Suplacu de Barcău, in its final stages, develops forms of pottery that will develop in the Tiszapolgár culture. The human communities of that time lived in the Western Plain (Câmpia de Vest), on the hills around the Western Mountains and in the caves from Vadu Crișului, Cheile Turzii, Cheile Turenilor and Peștiș. The Bodrogkeresztur cultural aspect followed this culture, in the area under consideration⁸. Also in the vill Varviz was discovered in 1881, an ax (pick) of copper belonging to this period, piece that could get here because of trade, or was made by an itinerant artist⁹. On the Bistra Valley, in the village of Tăuteu was found a number of Neolithic tools on the *Telek-Mező* hill and on the *Dealul de Sus*, where a dwelling house was mentioned attributed to the Tiszapolgár culture, they found axes of Pločnik and Jászládány type, Orșova variant¹⁰.

The copper pickaxes found on the ground of the Tăuteu locality are mentioned along the time by many researchers. Thus, Ion Nestor mentions them in his research on the prehistoric stage

⁷G. Moisa, *Monografia istorică a satului Varviz*, Oradea, 2005, p.21

⁸Z. Maxim, *op.cit.*, p.119-125

⁹*Ibid.*, p.192; G. Moisa, *op. cit.*, p.21-22

¹⁰Z. Maxim, *op.cit.*, p. 188

in Romania published in 1933¹¹, and M. Roska, during the Second World War, reminds them both in the repertoire with the archaeological finds in Transylvania and in a study on the copper pickaxes¹². The pickaxes are kept at the Țării Crișurilor Museum in Oradea and have the respective sizes, 21 cm, 21, 5 cm and 19, 5 specifying that they were discovered in the place called *Dealul înalt - Felsőbegy*¹³.

The Bronze Age covers most of the III and II millenniums B.C., the first step is considered “a true cultural mosaic, in which juxtapose the civilizations of transitional type with those characteristic for the Bronze Age”¹⁴. According to some researchers, most of the millennium III (2700-2000 B.C.) was regarded as a transitional period to the Bronze Age. The process characterized by ethnic-cultural and social-economic restructurings, and in terms of ethnic, following the contacts of the native Neolithic farmers and cattle breeders with the newcomers from the North-Pontiac steppes occurred the Indo-Europeanization process, resulting in a new ethnic-cultural synthesis, called pre-Thracian¹⁵. For Crișana is typical the mixed cultural block Coțofeni-Baden.

During the Bronze Age in the same region which also includes the Bistra Valley are located the Wietenberg, Otomani and Suci de Sus cultures. The communities of the Wietenberg

¹¹ I. Nestor, *Der Stand der Vorgeschichtsforschung in Rumänien*, în 22 *Ber RGK*, 1933, p.77, no.301, apud. S. Dumitrașcu, *Tezaurul de la Tăuteni- Bibor*, Oradea, 1973, p.22-23, no.40

¹² M. Roska, *Erdély régészeti repertórium*, I. Cluj, 1942, p.292, s.v. *Toti, Pusztatóti, Tăuteni, Totii*; Idem, *Über die Herkunft der kupfernen Hachen, Axthacken, Hammeräxte und Pickelhacken vom ungarische Typus*, în *Közlemények*, II, 1, Cluj, 1942, p.15-77; apud. S. Dumitrașcu, *op. cit.*, p.22-23, no.41,42

¹³ S. Dumitrașcu, *op. cit.*, p.22-23, n.43

¹⁴ M. Rotea, *Preistoria*, în *Istoria României*, coordinators Ioan-Aurel Pop, Ioan Bolovan, Cluj-Napoca, 2007, p.20

¹⁵ M. Petrescu-Dîmbovița, *Schimbări etno-culturale pe teritoriul Daciei în perioada de tranziție spre epoca bronzului*, în *Istoria României de la începuturi până în secolul al VIII-lea*, coordinator M. Petrescu-Dîmbovița, Bucharest, 1995, p.67

culture were living in settlements with high position, being cattle breeders and farmers. At its genesis has contributed the oldest fund of Coțofeni and Schneckenberg cultures, as well the ribbed ceramics. In the Northwestern, an important role in its evolution has the Otomani culture as it is attested by the finds from Derșida and Otomani. The Otomani culture was located between Mureș, Tisza and the Western Mountains extending at various stages to the Eastward in the area of the Wietenberg culture, to the Central and Southwest of Transylvania and to the Northwest in the North-Eastern Hungary, Eastern Slovakia, Trans-Carpathian Ukraine and Southeastern Poland. This culture developed in Crișana on the background of the Baden and pottery cultures with impressions of whisk, with some influences from the outside with a long three-phase evolution to the late bronze.

During the late Bronze Age (about 1300-1150 B.C.) the bronze metallurgy knows more development, as shown by the archaeological finds of numerous deposits of tools, ornaments, harness parts and weapons, belonging to the series Uriu-Domănești, divided into three major compact areas from the Northwestern, Central and Southeastern Transylvania, corresponding to the Otomani, Suciul de Sus, Wietenberg and Noua cultural territories¹⁶.

According to the archaeologist Sever Dumitrașcu, in Crișana, based on the archaeological finds in Andrid, Biharea, Cociuba Mare, Girișul de Criș, Oradea-Salca, Roșiori, Sanislău, Suplacu de Barcău, Tărian, of the Otomani culture area and which are non-Otomani and post-Otomani (Br C.D. - Ha A1), it was emerged an independent group called Biharea culture. "It is

¹⁶ *Ibid*, p.92-97, of the numerous works we mention only: N. Chidioșan, *Contribuții la istoria tracilor din nord-vestul României. Așezarea Wietenberg de la Derșida*, Oradea, 1980; T. Bader, *Epoca bronzului în nord-vestul României. Cultura pretracică și tracică*, Bucharest, 1978; we mention the recent discovery of a Bronze Age settlement materials left Chiribiș-Popești road, at the rate of Mori, not researched as original material.

the culture of the era of transition from the Bronze to the Iron Age and specifically contributes to the understanding of the Hallstatt process and that of awarding the bronze deposits (Br C.D. - Ha A1) to those who created them”¹⁷.

The early Iron Age (Hallstatt A and B) is well represented in the Northwestern Romania and enjoyed the attention from the specialists, especially in the recent decades. The grooved ceramic cultural complex, known as the two related cultures Gáva and Holihradý, initially consisted of the Northeastern Hungary, South-Eastern Slovakia, Northwestern Romania and the Trans-Carpathian Ukraine then, it expanded to the Southwestern Romania, Northwestern Moldavia and the sub-mountainous area of Ukraine. The settlements of this great cultural complex are of two types: fortified by ground waves, palisades, and open. The pottery discovered in the settlements is of more classes and a great variety of forms and decoration, characteristic being the bit-taper form pottery jugs with the edge flap and high neck, black, polished on the outside and reddish inside, decorated with horizontal, oblique and garlands shaped grooves. To the genesis of the Gáva culture in addition to the preceding local cultures in the area of formation: the Otomani, Berkesz, Suciú de Sus, Píliny, plus also the contribution of the Igrířa and Ceháluř groups of Criřana and of the Lăpuř group from Maramureř. In Criřana and the Eastern Hungary the sudden end of the Gáva culture evolution, attributed by the most of the experts to the Thracian nations, was connected with the occurrence of the Mezőcsát group during the 9th century B.C. The researchers have noticed in

¹⁷ S. Dumitrařcu, *Biharea*, Oradea, 1994, p.111, see the historical considerations on p.239-240 of which we quote a short fragment: „For our part, we must emphasize in these lines, too that this culture of the period of transition from the Bronze at the first step of the Iron Age stands in the proto history in Criřana province, Dacia and even the Central Europe, together with the other contemporary cultures, the major issue of the individualization of the unity of the protho-trace communities and then Thrace in the Central and Southeastern Europe.” (p.239)

this group also some Eastern elements from parts of the Caucasus and Northern Black Sea¹⁸.

From the early Iron Age are known a series of bronze deposits, of which we highlight the Moigrad-Tăuteni series (Tăuteu) of Hallstatt B1. In this series, we mention the bronze deposit of Tăuteu discovered in the Bistra Valley in 1934, some parts were purchased from the National Museum of Antiquities in Bucharest, being published by Vladimir Dumitrescu¹⁹. Along with the bronze objects: five bronze bracelets, four bronze bars, a celt, a sickle, a bronze knife, two bronze applies, the researcher shows that were also found five gold rings (earrings) in a bowl²⁰. In the *Familia* magazine of Oradea was published an article in 1936 by Fr. Ardoș in which is mentioned this deposit, too²¹. The archaeologist Sever Dumitrașcu, in a note of the book on the hoard of Tăuteni (Tăuteu), showed that in the repertoire published by M. Roska the number of the discovered pieces is greater. That means “1 celt, 1 sickle, a fragment of a knife (dagger), 6 pieces of saw, 4 whole and 7 broken bracelets, two eared applies, a fragment of a bronze pin, a cup of clay high of 8 cm and those five gold rings (2 small rings, 2 larger, and 1 higher)”²². They have discovered Hallstatt pottery fragments at Voivozi, at the place called *Cilogoș*. Here it was partly polled an archaeological resort with three discontinuous levels of housing belonging to the early Iron Age (Hallstatt), to the free Dacians of the Roman age in the 3rd century A.D., probably also the early 4th century A.D., and during the 7th and

¹⁸ A. László, *Prima epocă a fierului. Perioada timpurie (Hallstatt A și B)*, in *Istoria românilor*, vol. I, Bucharest, 2001, p.305-312

¹⁹ Vl. Dumitrescu, *Le dépôt de la fin de l'âge du bronze, découvert à Tăuteni*, in *Dacia*, V-VI, 1935-1936, Bucharest, 1938, p.225-238, apud. S. Dumitrașcu, *Tezaurul de la Tăuteni- Bibor*, Oradea, 1973, p.22-23, no. 39

²⁰ S. Dumitrașcu, *op. cit.*, p.23, no. 45

²¹ Fr. Ardoș, *Date arheologice privitoare la Oradea și județul Bibor*, in *Familia*, III, 4, 1936, p.12-14, apud. S. Dumitrașcu, *op. cit.*, p.23, n. 44

²² S. Dumitrașcu, *op. cit.*, p.23, no.44

9th centuries A.D.²³. During the middle of the first Iron Age (750-600 B.C.), the Basarabi culture enters Transylvania from the South, the most discoveries focusing on the middle course of the Mureș River. The Hellenic civilization influenced this culture contributing to increase the use of the iron in Transylvania. They have been reported several graves and cemeteries such as those from Apahida, Oradea-Salca, Uioara de Sus showing that the funeral rite of the native population was the cremation²⁴. During this middle period of the first Iron Age, of the Hallstatt classical civilization (Ha C) were also enclosed the findings of the Biharea - Girișul de Criș - Râpa group (or the group Barcău - Crișul Repede - Crișul Negru), with the Bistra Valley contained in this area, being attributed to the local population. Southern-Illyre and Eastern elements from Transylvania and even from the East - Scythian and Cimmerien have penetrated in the area of this group, too²⁵.

The publication of archaeological findings particularly after WWII, when most History and Archaeology Institutes (such as Bucharest, Iasi and Cluj) and County Museums (such as Arad, Oradea, and Satu Mare) were established, brought the Dacian antiquities to the international scientific circuit²⁶. The archaeological findings belonging to the Dacian epoch in Crisana have been classified from the geographical and geomorphologic points of view as follows:

²³ *Repertoriul Monumentelor naturii, arheologice, istorice, etnografice, de arhitectură și artă din județul Bihor*, editor S. Dumitrașcu, Oradea, 1974, p.86

²⁴ V. Vasiliev, *Prima epocă a fierului*, în *Istoria Transilvaniei*, I, coordinators Ioan-Aurel Pop and Thomas Nägler, Cluj-Napoca, 2003, p.59-61

²⁵ S. Dumitrașcu, *Biharea*, Oradea, 1994, p.119

²⁶ S. Dumitrașcu, *Descoperiri dacice din Crișana (sec. II î.e.n. – 106 e.n.)*, in S. Dumitrașcu, *Seriuri arheologice privind istoria Daciei Apusene*, Oradea, 2007, pp 163-166, volume edited by L. Ardelean and F. Sfrungeu to celebrate the 70th birthday of the author of the studies. For the contribution of archaeologist S. Dumitrașcu to the knowledge on Dacian epoch, the 1st Christian millennium and other epochs, see studies in this volume, where different articles and studies show the contribution of other Romanian and foreign researchers. Also see the *List of scientific and literary works* of the author pp 11-30.

“A. Plain settlements (small towns, villages and helmets): 1. Arad- Micălaca on Mureş; 2. Zerindul Mic, Arad County, on Crişul Negru; 3. Girişul de Criş – Pietroasa, Bihor County, on Crişul Repede; 4. Acâş, Satu Mare County, on Crasna and 5. Pecica, Arad County – an urban settlement (small town, production and market centre, social and political centre of Dacians in Lower Mures plain area).

B. Piedmont settlements (oppida, small towns, fortresses and citadels): 1. Vărădia de Mureş, Arad County; 2. Săvârşin, Arad County, both on Mureş; 3. Berindia, Arad County, on Valea Crişului Alb; 4. Tăşad, Bihor County, in the piedmont western area of the Pădurea Craiului Mountains; 5. Oradea – Dealul Viilor, Crişul Repede; 6. Marca, Sălaj County, on Barcău; 7. Şimleul Silvaniei, Sălaj County, on Crasna.

C. Mountainous settlements (fortresses, citadels): 1. Clit, Arad County, in the Moma Codru Massif, in the Pleş top area; 2. Săcălăsău Nou, Bihor County, in the Plopiş Mountains, in the Bistra hydrographical basin, an affluent of Barcău; 3. Tusa, Sălaj County, in the Plopiş Mountains massif.”²⁷

From Burebista to Decebal, in the 1st century B.C. to the 1st century A.D., the Bistra river area was ruled by the Sacalasa Nou fortress. It lies at the outskirts of the village, in a place called *Dealul cu bani (The Money Hill)*, on the Corbeni stream, also known as Vanatorul stream, an affluent of the Fanate stream flowing into Barcau, just like Bistra. Surrounded by hills and high tops, the cape where the citadel lies has steep slopes. The area where the plateau penetrates is cut by a ditch probably accompanied by a vallum. Unfortunately, several holes dug by treasure hunters have destroyed most of this important archaeological site. Nevertheless, in 1971, the archaeologist Sever Dumitrascu made a survey in an area of the plateau with only few holes dug by treasure hunters. He revealed a thin layer of artefacts belonging to three epochs. The oldest belongs to the Cotofeni culture during

²⁷ *Ibidem*, p 165.

the transition from the Eneolithic to the Bronze Age. It is followed by the Dacian layer. Some are hand-made, some others are pottery. The colour is brick-red or grey with fine aspect, as well as ceramic fragments dating back to the feudal time²⁸.

In the area of the Dacian citadel, there is an impressive range of findings belonging to a great silver Dacian thesaurus dating back to the 1st century B.C. The study²⁹ dedicated to the thesaurus discovered in 1972 chronologically shows all findings in the area known at the time that were published by several archaeologists. For example: in 1941, D. Popescu reminded of 23 coins of the Dyrhachium type and the arc bent of a fibula with nodosities; in the same year 1941, C. Daicoviciu mentioned the Greek and Roman republican coins, as well as a snake-headed bracelet discovered on the *Dealul cu Comoara (Dealul cu bani) (The Money Hill)*; in 1942, M. Roska mentioned the discovery of 20 Apollonia dinars at Sacalasa, yet he provided no more details; in 1953, N. Fettich published a silver bracelet decorated with snake heads belonging to a thesaurus along with five Apollonia coins and three Dyrhachium coins in the area called *Penzeşbegy (The Money Hill)*; a silver fibula with nodosities and two silver coins belonged to the Sacalasa Vechi primary school collection at the time³⁰. The silver jewels thesaurus discovered in 1972 by Anton Furik in Sacalasa Nou on the *Burcarar* hill 300 meters far from the Dacian citadel while ploughing the land comprises the following items: a necklace, two bracelets, three fibulae and a silver item bar. According to some information, it seems that another thesaurus was discovered in the same area 20 years before comprising eight silver fibulae with nodosities. However, none has been preserved. All these items are likely to have belonged to the

²⁸ S. Dumitraşcu, *Aşezări fortificate și cetăți dacice în partea de vest a Munților Apuseni*, in *Crisia*, 1972, pp 135-137.

²⁹ S. Dumitraşcu, E. Molnar, *Tezaurul de podoabe dacice de argint de la Săcălăsănuș*, in *Crisia*, V, 1975, pp 45-67.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, pp 64-65.

same thesaurus, although they might have been discovered in the Dacian citadel destroyed by treasure hunters³¹.

Dacian fortresses and citadels in western Apuseni Mountains from Burebista's rule to Decebal's rule in 106 A.D., to which the citadel of Sacalasu Nou in the Bistra stream area belongs, were conquered during the Dacian-Roman wars (101-102 and 105-106) to which the Dacians from Crisana participated. Although conquered by the Romans, this part of Dacia lying between the Apuseni Mountains and Tisa was not annexed to the Roman Empire politically and military. A new chapter in the history of rural settlements in Crisana began. It continued throughout the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D. It was the time of Roman epoch free Dacians. A silver imperial Roman dinar dating back to the 2nd century A.D. was accidentally found in a place called *Dealul Comorii* (*the Treasure Hill*) belonging to the Popesti commune³².

The archaeological finding at Voivozi proves the presence of Roman epoch free Dacians along the Bistra stream. In the place called *Cilogos*, on the second living level (the first comprises hallstatt ceramics, whereas the third one comprises settlement remains belonging to the 7th – 9th centuries), ceramic fragments of grey or brick-red pottery belonging to free Dacians have been found. This settlement level dates back to the 3rd century and probably the beginning of the 4th century. There was an influence of provincial Roman ceramics on the free Dacians ceramics in the area and in general on the ceramics in Crisana³³.

³¹ *Ibidem*, p 59, the items saved by Prof. E. Molnar have been studied and photographed. They were largely described in the study mentioned above.

³² *Reperoriul Monumentelor naturii, arheologice, istorice, etnografice, de arhitectură și artă din județul Bihor*, chief editor S. Dumitrașcu, Oradea, 1974, p 56.

³³ *Ibidem*, p 86; for the history and archaeological findings on Dacians of Roman epoch material culture and other peoples, see: S. Dumitrașcu, *Dacia Apuseană (Teritoriul dacilor liberi din vestul și nord-vestul României în vremea Daciei romane)*, Oradea, 1993, as well as other studies of the author partly published in the volume S. Dumitrașcu, *Scrieri arheologice privind istoria Daciei Apusene*, Oradea, 2007.

In an unspecified place at Tauteu, 3rd and 4th centuries A.D. ceramics belonging to Roman and post-Roman epoch Dacians has been discovered. It comprises big supply vessels for water, also called jars, probably attesting the existence of a settlement of free Dacians in the Bistra stream area³⁴.

In the past years, archaeological research has revealed several settlements belonging to free Dacians in Crisana in the 2nd to the 4th centuries. Their main occupations were shepherding, agriculture and craftsmanship. "Throughout the same broad regions in certain places and areas more or less outlined, we can notice the presence of Iazyges and Rhoxolani, as well as of German peoples (Buri, Vandals, Asdings, and early Gepids) with socio-economic, political and cultural connections strongly influenced by the Roman civilisation and political-military interests. As a consequence of the dissolution of the province of Dacia and its borders, there was an expansion of the Roman and Roman speaking province people to the west and north-west, and a relocation of free Dacian communities on the territories of the former province archaeologically attested. We deal with a people's movement in two ways leading to new defining ethno-linguistic, social, economic and political realities at the beginning of the migration epoch."³⁵

At the end of the 4th century, after crossing the Dniester and defeating the Visigoths, the Huns controlled the regions in eastern and southern Romania until 420. The following belonged to their confederation: the Alani belonging to the Sarmatian tribes, the Ostrogoths and the Gepids of German origin. After reaching Pannonia and the Tisa Plain in 433, under the rule of Attila, Transylvania and the western area underwent a shock. The urban Roman civilisation involuted; there was a generalised process on Middle Danube and the Rhine throughout the 5th century reaching to the disappearance of urban civilisation³⁶.

³⁴*Ibidem*, p 78.

³⁵ S. Dumitraşcu, *Dacia vestică și nord-vestică (secolele II-IV)*, in *Istoria românilor*, Bucureşti, 2001, p 448.

³⁶ M. Bărbulescu, *De la romani până la sfârșitul mileniului I.*, in *Istoria Transilvaniei*, I, coordinators Ioan-Aurel Pop and Thomas Năgler, Cluj-Napoca, 2003, p 189.

After the defeat of Attila's sons, the Hun *empire* fell down and the German peoples within the Hun confederation such as the Gepids, the Scirii, the Ostrogoths, and the Heruli became free. The difficulty of determining the origin of thesauruses discovered at Simleu Silvaniei and Tauteu (Teuteni) was mainly due to the intricate situation in the 5th century³⁷.

The important thesaurus discovered on the Bistra stream in 1970 was published in 1973: two silver cups; in 1993, a fragment of another pot was published. In the summer of 1970, archaeologist S. Dumitrascu carried out a research on the Bistra stream. Teacher Valeria Hebristeanu was also involved by questioning her pupils in Ciutelec on antiquities in the area. The result was the fragments of silver dishes subsequently reconstructed. The place where they were discovered was called *Tricer* by the locals. It lies south from the Tauteu commune along the stream bearing the same name towards the vineyards at the edge of the pasture. It neighbours the village of Budoii to the south and the vineyard hills belonging to the inhabitants of Bogeiu and Tauteu to the east. After informing on the findings, the teacher Victor Cristea from Bogeiu and his two pupils, Mihai Cosma and Ioan Baliban, kept searching. They finally found other fragments belonging to the two dishes. In December, new securing diggings were carried out on the site by S. Dumitrascu and Valeria Hrebistean together with students from the Faculty of History-Geography in Oradea thus recovering other fragments belonging to the two pieces of dish that were eventually restored³⁸.

The thesaurus was largely described in the monograph published in 1973. It also enumerated certain hypotheses on its ethno-cultural belonging: Vandal, Gepid, Visigoth, Huno-Alano-Ostrogothic, Hun, Ostrogothic, then Heruli. "It seems to be a

³⁷ S. Dumitrașcu, *Atribuirea etno-culturală a tezaurilor de șa Șimleul Silvaniei și Tăuteni (Tăuten)*, in *Analele Universității din Oradea*, seria Istorie-Arheologie, VIII-IX, 1998-1999, Oradea, pp 17-28.

³⁸ Idem, *Tezaurul de la Tăuteni-Bibor*, Oradea, 1973, pp 24-28

temple thesaurus stolen by the Heruli (Dexippos) in their Goto-Heruli invasion before the battle of Naissus in the temple of Demeter and Dionysus at Eleusis (the possible meaning of the two inscriptions with Hellenic characters on the two cups found at Tauteni) on the foot of the second cup for the new German owner”.³⁹

In 2000, the historical and archaeological monograph dedicated to the Heruli was published⁴⁰. Besides an excellent historic review of this German people and of other peoples, there is further information and clarification. There are also analogies with pieces of dish making up the Tauteu thesaurus. As a matter of fact, the third chapter of the book organically connected with the first chapter describing the history of the Heruli is an *Attempt of chronological and ethno-cultural dating of thesauruses at Tauteni and Șimleul Silvaniei*⁴¹. Those willing to have detailed information on the importance of the thesaurus on the Bistra stream for the history of Romania and Europe will certainly read the abovementioned works. We consider it important to briefly describe the items as shown in the *Heruli* monograph without mentioning the analogies:

„1. TALL SILVER CUP. It is 45 cm tall. It was made of silver foil (1.2-1.3 mm thick) *au repousée* and is adorned with mythological scenes – *Athena, Poseidon, Hercules?* on a winged horse killing the Nemea lion that are set to the foreground. Out of the three levels, only the acanthus leaves belonging to the superior (third) level have been *well* preserved. There are two spots on the foot: *P* and *X*, which could be a mark: *P X (X pounds)*...

2. TALL GOLDEN SILVER CUP (SCHLANKEN KANNE). It is 64.3 cm tall. It was made of silver foil (1-1.5 mm

³⁹ Idem, *Atribuirea etno-culturală a tezaurilor de la Șimleul Silvaniei și Tăuteni (Tăuten)*, in *Analele Universității din Oradea*, seria Istoric-Arheologie, VIII-IX, 1998-1999, Oradea, p 18

⁴⁰ Idem, *Herulii. Monografie istorică și arheologică*, Oradea, 2000

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, pp 64-114 and tables 1-121

thick) *au repousée* and is adorned on *five levels* out of which three refer to mythological scenes that we will describe in detail below. The lower level (no. 1) is adorned like cup no. 1 at Tauteni (preserved on the superior level) with *acanthus leaves*. The superior level (no. 5) has a *baroque* ornamentation with vegetal motifs. In the middle of the stem, there is a dotted Greek character inscription, while the *bottom* of the stem bears RUNIC signs (*sgraffito*) slightly *pounded*. (...) *Level no. 2. Nereids, Cupids and Nereids riding sea monsters* (sea Amazonians) are artistically represented on the *second inferior* level. (...) *Level no. 3*. It is the *main* level adorned with a “complete” *bacchanalia* artistically achieved. (...) *Level no. 4* resembles rural scenes on a silver plate in the *Cartagena thesaurus* from the point of view of the rural theme...

3. CONTAINER FRAGMENT (vessel) made of silver and representing a feminine deity with the hair parted on two sides and the *veil* on the left shoulder covering the inferior side of the body. It is almost certain that it is the scene of COMING OUT OF THE SEA (water, bath) of goddess Venus.”⁴²

In Crisana, like most regions in the country, a local civilisation of Hun and Gepid epoch was set to the foreground. It was also named according to the places of the most important findings: *Bibarea – Sânnicolau Român – Florești – Sânmiclăuș – Ipotești – Căndești – Botoșana – Dodești*. It was a population of Latin and Christian origin⁴³. The 6th century people of Roman origin got in contact with Slavic peoples with rudimentary hand-made ceramics. Under the Roman influence, they adopted the potter’s wheel. The Roman character of local population did not alter although elements of Slavic material culture gradually mingled with the Roman ones⁴⁴. It seems that the Bistra river is a Slavic translation of the older name meaning *fast* river. There are also names of localities and waters of Slavic origin in other regions.

⁴² *Ibidem*, pp 67-70

⁴³ *Ibidem*, p 118

⁴⁴ M. Bărbulescu, *De la romani până la sfârșitul milenului I*, in *Istoria Transilvaniei*, I, coordinators Ioan-Aurel Pop and Thomas Năgler, Cluj-Napoca, 2003, p 196

Most Slavs remaining in Transylvania were assimilated by the more numerous locals throughout the 8th and 9th centuries. Some Slavic enclaves were known until the 2nd century, yet they were subsequently renamed with Romanian names⁴⁵.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, pp 197-198

CONSIDERATIONS ON THE MONOGRAPHS OF SOME SETTLEMENTS IN BIHOR COUNTY CASE STUDY: BUDUREASA COMMUNE

Antonio FAUR

***Abstract.** In the first part of his paper, the author reconstitutes his concerns regarding writing monographic studies (dating from to the second half of the 19th century) on some rural areas in Bihor, highlighting the praiseworthy activity, in this respect, of the priest Moise Popoviciu, who significantly contributed to the knowledge of the history of some localities and churches in Beiuș depression (Seghiște, Hârșești, Băița, Lebeceni etc). One can notice both the reliable components of such monographic studies (such as, for instance, the information on the inhabitants' daily lives, some landmarks of the past, existing documentary values in the archives of the parishes and geographic realities), as well as those perfectible ones, owed to the stage reached by monographic research, this being incipient and with inherent shortcomings. In the second part of the paper the author takes into consideration the decision of 1941 made by Bihor County Prefecture that some monographic studies on all settlements should be written. The results of this approach are examined from a scientific perspective, bringing the case of Budureasa commune as an argument. A worthwhile "monograph" was written about it and it contains valuable data and information. It is worth noticing the references to the inhabitants' occupations, few of which have been preserved up to present, most of them disappearing due to a typical evolution towards modernity with consequences on the level of values (moral, material and of other nature). By extracting some contemporary significances from a useful monographic text, written at the time "level" (that is, according to the way in which priests and teachers, who were the authors of such papers, perceived this historiographical attempt for which they were not qualified), the author of the present paper points out the fact that attempts to reconstitute the resounding events in the history of some church and school settlements and institutions for over a century. Thus, a chapter of local historiography took shape and it has to be examined by the current scientific research in order to identify the resisting*

elements and to criticise its inevitable “flaws” due to the time mentalities and the ability to embrace the idea by the people involved in the intellectual action of historical recovery.

Key words: *monographic study, Budureasa, Beiuș depression, occupations, school.*

Current concerns to recover the history of some urban and rural settlements were preceded by the salutary efforts of some intellectuals to write, at the level of their ability and of the time exigencies, papers with monographic character in which one can find touching pages inspired from the lives of communities (beliefs, folklore, culture and school), as well as notes on what was known from their past. Nevertheless, such texts have not only a documentary value, as they represent a certain evolution stage of the concept of monograph, to which all subsequent attempts can refer to, including the ones in the last two decades when the editorial activity in this respect knew an obvious revival, yet with debatable results from a scientific perspective.

The first attempts to write some papers on the history of churches in some villages were sporadic¹ and fortuitous. Orthodox Romanians in Arad diocese – consisting of the Orthodox Consistory (that had jurisdictional and ecclesiastical activity over all Orthodox communities in the former county of Bihor) – examined, on 29 June 1893², within the Diocesan Synod, the possibility of writing a synthesis paper on the history of the

¹ See, for instance, the history of the church in Seghiște village written by the priest Moise Popoviciu: *Un manuscris inedit cu privire la istoria bisericii din Seghiște-Bihor (Un Unpublished Manuscript Regarding the History of the Church in Seghiște-Bihor)*, in *Orizonturi teologice*, Oradea, 2001, nr. 3, p. 19-23.

² *Protocol despre ședințele Sinodului eparhial din Dieceza română greco-orientală a Aradului ținute în ședința ordinară din 1883 (Protocol on Diocesan Synod meetings of the Romanian Greek-Eastern Diocese of Arad held in the ordinary meeting of 1883)*, Tipografia Diecesană, Arad, 1883, p. 31, 51; *Biserica și școala (Church and School)*, 1883, nr. 22, p. 191.

Episcopal Institution in Arad, a project completed only two decades later³.

During all this time, they gathered a valuable documentary material from important archives (in Arad, Timișoara, Budapest and Carloviț). Yet, it is remarkable that they reached the conclusion that, before drafting a well-grounded monograph on the Arad Bishopric, it was important to write some monographic studies on its subordinate parishes.

That approach was also useful from another perspective that of stimulating the research of the history of Romanian settlements, which constitutes fundamental elements of “self-knowledge” and, of course, of asserting the national identity.

Therefore, in the Diocesan Synod of 1905, they accepted the truth that “revealing the past, gathering historical materials (documents, old inscriptions) in order to reconstitute the history of the church in Arad Diocese is one of the most essential problems”⁴.

The first stage of reaching this aim is the introduction, by the Bishop Ioan I. Pap, of the compulsoriness for priests to write the church chronicle (that is the events happening in the parish during each year) of the villages they activated in. In the circular letter of the bishop it is mentioned the fact that this chronicle had to contain “data about the disappeared churches (the year they were built, material, titular saint), about the current one..., what books there were in the lectern and manuscript mentions, antimensions, circular letter protocols, church registry books (names of the baptised, wedded, deceased), the list of priests and teachers with their activity years, data about school, the number of classes, of the families and parishioners, about the boyar wealth and foundations”⁵.

³ Vasile Mangra, *Episcopia Aradului (The Bishopric of Arad)*, in *Biserica și școala (Church and School)*, 1904, nr.12, p. 93-97.

⁴ Pavel Vesa, *Incursiuni în istoriografia ecleziastică arădeană (Incursions in the Ecclesiastical Historiography of Arad)*, Arad, 2004, p. 14

⁵ Idem, *Episcopia Aradului. Istorie, cultură, mentalități (1701-1918) (The Bishopric of Arad. History, Culture and Mentalities)*, Presa Universitară Clujeană, Clujeană, Cluj-Napoca, 2006, p. 21

The drafted manuscripts, which had to meet the mentioned requirements, were to be transmitted by 1907 to the archbishops who, in their turn, would convey them to eparchial consistories in Oradea and Arad. They expected a positive result that would reflect a first successful historiographical action. In fact, they asked for some data on the history of the settlement and church as well as accurate information on the contemporary reality, in the sense that, for the future, these texts with monographic nature (belonging to a primary stage in research) would be used in order to extend the investigations and writing well-documented and thorough monographic studies that would withstand any historiographical exigencies.

One of the honest and genuine authors of the existing documents in the parish archives in Bihor was the elementary school teacher and priest (later on the deanery manager of Vașcău) Moise Popoviciu, a scholar esteemed even by the historian Nicolae Iorga, who met him in his travels across Transylvania in 1905, in the village Seghiște where he stopped in order to examine first-handedly the stone edifice of the old church.

Moise Popoviciu published, in many Romanian periodicals, and especially in *Biserica și școala (Church and School)* in Arad, articles presenting the discoveries he had made during his investigations in Orthodox churches in the villages in south part of Bihor County. That is why he is the most prolific and appreciated author of such texts that can be included in the category of monographic studies or contributions to monographic studies.

In 1903, Moise Popoviciu published an article in which he made references to the manuscript of a certain *Minei* from 1740, kept in the church Hârsești of Seghiște parish. “There are still such manuscripts – he mentioned – and not few nowadays. Those who wish to find them should search in the churches of the smaller and poorer parishes and, not only will they find them, but they will also discover that those manuscripts are the only

books still used by the singers in the villages”⁶. He also mentions, in the same article, other manuscripts of a certain *Minei* that he had discovered in the village P [etrleni] – Zăvoieni⁷.

In the same periodical published in Arad, Moise Popoviciu published *A short monograph* of the orthodox church in Băița⁸. Note the author’s statement: “I am not extending to the *general monograph* of this little town because I would neither be able to do so, *nor does this monograph belong to church scope*. I could not even write an entire monograph of our church in Băița, although I would like to and I cannot do it since I lack the necessary sources”⁹. Hence, he was aware of the basic requirements for writing an authentic monograph, which should be based on consistent documentary information coming from several sources.

Travelling from one village to another, mostly on foot, Moise Popoviciu became aware of the values in the possession of some churches, even those in the marginal settlements or the least known ones. According to the time trend, he insisted on the necessity that the documents existing in the parishes to be used for writing monographs on settlements and institutions. We quote a passage from one of his articles, significantly entitled *Pentru posteritate (For Posterity)*, in which he made an extremely significant plea for the beginning of the previous century: “many of our parishes have old papers and documents as well as a lot of manuscript books especially since the 17th-18th century. In many places I believe that people pay the right attention to those old documents and books, *in many other places they are left to weather* (i.e., in other words, they are neglected in such a manner that they could be destroyed– AN). Then, it would be good and right to

⁶ Moise Popoviciu, *Manuscripte vechi (Old Manuscripts)*, in *Biserica și Școala*, 1903, nr. 35, p. 293-295

⁷ *Ibidem*

⁸ Idem, *O scurtă monografie. Biserica din Băița (A Short Monograph. The Church in Băița)*, in *Biserica și școala*, 1903, nr. 45, p. 384-385

⁹ *Ibidem*

save these papers and documents as well as old manuscripts, because – as we know – they are an inexhaustible source for the church history, in general, and especially for the history of our diocese”¹⁰.

The first dialogue between those interested in the subject in question happened in 1904 and it was triggered by the view of the priest Petru E. Papp “regarding the monographs”¹¹. Moise Popoviciu did not accept any delay in gathering the information existing in the archives of the churches as well as those heard from the “mouth” of the wisest inhabitants of the villages, with a good memory of the past events regarding the traditions and customs, folklore and others, since all these may be lost forever: “We must take into account the fact that time has good teeth, it devours even cities made of stone and lime, but how then it cannot destroy some papers thrown – in many places – that you do not need anymore”¹². That was a fully-justified warning and perfectly valid in all times.

Although self-taught, the priest Moise Popoviciu became a respected researcher of the history of the places in Beiuș Depression, opening the series of rural intellectuals – as representatives of Romanian elite – who bequeathed extremely

¹⁰ Idem, *Pentru posteritate (For Posterity)*, in *Biserica și Școala*, 1904, nr.19, p. 166-167. Also see the note entitled *Material pentru istoria diecezei (Material for the Diocese History)* (in *Biserica și Școala*, 1904, nr. 46, p. 360), in which Moise Popoviciu reproduced a document, from 3 May, 1810, that certifies the moment of building the church in Hârșești village under a *contract* between the Orthodox community of the village and Bogdan Urs.

¹¹ Moise Popoviciu, *O modestă părere (A Modest Opinion)*, in *Biserica și școala*, nr. 19, p. 166-167. The author confesses that he “was constantly concerned” (since he got the mission of spiritual shepherd of the believers in Seghiște village), about “the issue of village monographs. He also wrote the monographs of Seghiște and Hârșești, which he sent for publication to the periodical *Tribuna poporului*, “where they are even today”. He considered that “it is a matter for the critics to rule on their quality as he was certain he could “save something: (in this respect). In fact, these were among the first texts of this nature.

¹² *Ibidem*

helpful historical works¹³, always based on safe and truthful documents. An exemplary spirit of balance dominates all his work of historical reconstitution started in the late 19th century and ended after the Second World War.

During the interwar period, the concerns for the reconstitution of some aspects of the history of villages and churches in Bihor county were continued by Gheorghe Ciuhandu¹⁴, Roman Ciorogariu¹⁵, Constantin Pavel¹⁶ and Petru E. Papp¹⁷, this time in a more elaborate editing, being obvious the progress in interpretation. It is worth reporting the attempts of some priests and elementary school teachers to write texts with monograph intentions about the settlements their activity was linked to. Among these, we found interesting the initiative of the elementary school teacher Gheorghe Hinsu of writing, in 1930, the monograph of the village Negru which was preserved

¹³ Among his works, we mention the following: *Pentru istoria diecezei- For the Diocese History (Biserica și școala, 1904, nr. 48, p. 376-377; nr. 49; p. 386-387; nr. 50, p. 397-398)*, *Un antimis din 1692- An Antimention from 1692 (from The Church in Fânațe Village) (Ibidem, 1905, nr. 25, p. 2-3; nr. 26, p. 3)*, *Date pentru istoria bisericească – Data for the Church History (Ibidem, 1906, nr. 21, p. 2-3)*, *Material pentru istoria diecezei noastre – Data for the History of Our Diocese (Ibidem, 1911, p. 4-5)*, *Monografia comunei Segbiște – The Monograph on Segbiște Commune (Transilvania, 1911, nr. 3, p. 205-231)*, *Contribuiri la monografia comunei Lebeceni – Contributions to the monograph of Lebeceni Commune (Transilvania, 1912, nr. VI, p. 509-530)* and *Meseriași și neguțători români în cercul Vașcăului – Romanian Craftsmen and Merchants around Vașcău (Transilvania, 1914, nr. 10-12, p. 469-480)*.

¹⁴ Gheorghe Ciuhandu, *Deci și manuscrise românești din Bihor (Romanian Scholars and Manuscripts in Bihor)*, in *Tribuna*, Oradea, 1919, nr. 48-50, p. 7; *Vechi urme de cultură românească în Bihor (Old Traces of Romanian Culture in Bior)*, in *Cele trei Crișuri*, 1920, nr. 7, p. 20; 1921, nr. 1, p.8

¹⁵ Roman Ciorogariu, *Zile trăite*, Oradea, 1926.

¹⁶ Constantin Pavel, *Școlile din Beiuș (1828-1928). Cu o privire asupra trecutului românilor din Bihor (The Schools in Beiuș (1828-1928), Looking at the past of the Romanians in Bihor)*, Tipografia „Doina”, Beiuș, 1928.

¹⁷ Petru E. Papp, *Din trecutul Beiușului. Pagini de glorie și jertfe (From the Past of Beiuș. Pages of Glory and Sacrifice)*, Tipografia „Doina”, Beiuș, 1928

in the archive of Bihor Prefecture¹⁸. He gave patriotic reasons for his historiographical approach¹⁹, meaning that memorable events happened in this locality as well as its surroundings in the spring of 1919 when units of Romanian army liberated the town.

In the context of the Second World War, the integrity of Greater Romania was torn to pieces by the totalitarian left- or right-winged European powers, so that part of its territory, i.e. Northern Transylvania, became part of the Horthy's Hungary following the Vienna Dictate of 30 August 1940. Bihor County Prefecture, which functioned in Oradea between 1919-1940, was forced to move for four years to Beiuș, this town becoming the capital of Bihor County.

In the new historical situation, Bihor County Prefecture started a new action to promote the historical information on the localities that were under its administration. Thus, in 1941, it launched the initiative to write monograph works on the settlements in the entire Beiuș depression, showing the main courses of their historical evolution as well as other demographic, cultural, religious, economic realities and especially data on the status of their inhabitants. It was about a state interest that targeted broader information regarding the population and their occupations in 1941, because Romania had decided to enter the war in order to liberate the territories in the east (Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina) from Soviet occupation installed in June 1940.

Therefore, according to the order no. 9827/1941 issued by Bihor County Prefecture, the intellectuals in the villages and communes, especially priests and primary school teachers who lived and worked among the inhabitants, knowing the way they organised their lives, were given this responsibility, some of them

¹⁸ National Archives – Bihor County Branch (from now on: A.N.-S.J. Bh), *fond The Prefecture of Bihor County. Confidential documents* (from now on: *fond Pref. Jd. Bh.*), dos. 46/1941, f. 82-107

¹⁹ *Ibidem.*

assuming it, so as they sent more monographic texts²⁰ that have been preserved in the Archives of the Prefecture, currently in the funds of the National Archives – Bihor County Branch.

Given the fact that these monographic texts, of different sizes, are *unpublished documents*, we mention the names of their authors: priest Matei Boldiș and elementary school teacher Ion Lăzureanu (the monograph of *Agrîș* commune), priest Gheorghe Gavra (*Budureasa*), priest Gheorghe Todincă and elementary school teacher I. Stana (*Ciuntești*), priest Iosif (*Copăceni*), priest Gheorghe Gavra (*Drăgănești*), Ioan Lile (*Grui lung*), elementary school teacher Ioan Haiduc (*Mărăuș*), priest Ioan (*Șoimuș-Pietroasa*), elementary school teacher I. Cleja (*Spinuș-Pomezău*), priest Vasile Leucuța (*Șiad*), elementary school teacher Cornel Sabău (*Săldăbagiu Mic*), priest Ioan Ardelean (*Socaciu* commune, subdivision *Beliu*), elementary school teacher Ioan Bora (*Stoinești*) and the priest Alexandru Ciurdariu (*Vintere*²¹). It would have been useful to edit them *en masse*, in order to update the monographic sketches of the fourteen localities, as *testimonies* on the stage of this type of research seven decades ago.

One of the unpublished texts we will examine is the *Monograph of Budureasa Village*²². The author structured his work in the following chapters:

1. *Geographical location. Extent. Soil*
2. *History of the village. Legendary past.*
3. *Te first settlement of families. Their names and number. Occupation*
4. *The history of the St. Church*
5. *School history: names of elementary school teachers*
6. *Notary (establishment, history, notaries)*

²⁰ Of these we have published two: see Antonio Faur, *Un text monografic inedit: Monografia comunei Drăgănești (An Unpublished Monographic Text: The Monograph of Drăgănești Commune)*, in *Cele trei Crișuri*, 1997, nr. 10-12, p. 5; Idem, *Un alt text monografic inedit (1941): cel al satului Belejani (Jud. Bihor) (Another Unpublished Monographic Text (1941): the one of Belejani village (Bibor County))*, in *Cele trei Crișuri*, 1998, nr. 1-2, p. 5.

²¹ A.N.-S.J. Bh, *fond Pref. Jd. Bh.*, dos. 46/1941, f. 1-157.

²² *Ibidem*, f. 9-28.

7. *Post office. Gendarmerie (short history)*
8. *Waters, hills, mountains, forests, grasslands*
9. *The inhabitants' occupation*
10. *The inhabitants' living and costume*
11. *Culture and character. Religion and nationalism*

In the eleven fragments of his monographic work, the author succeeded in capturing some *geographic* realities (position in space of some settlements, waters, hills, forests, grasslands, mountains and the main occupations of the inhabitants), *historical* ones (establishing the settlement, significant moments in its past, the history of the two national institutions – church and school – which were meant to contribute to national defence), *ethnographic* ones (the inhabitants' living conditions and costumes), *cultural* ones (religion) and *institutional* ones (notary, post office and gendarmerie).

The author of this documentary material has endeavoured to point out the safest elements in the past and present of the inhabitants of Budureasa commune in order to leave to posterity a valuable informational material from which one can move on to further research by investigating other sources not only those consulted by the author, which were of local nature only (old people in the village, documents in the archives of the church and school, discussions with the representatives of the state institutions and, of course, direct, personal knowledge of the life of the Christians he was shepherding).

It is obvious that the author of the monograph has no scientific editing criteria which would have been used by a professional in the history field; he concentrated on some issues which were either requested by the authorities who took the initiative or they seemed the most representative for the Orthodox community in Budureasa.

Also, from the plan of his own work it follows that this is neither a historical study in itself, not a geographic, ethnographic or of any other nature work.

For Gh. Gavra, it was proper the practice of not leaving aside any reality that he knew or had any connection with the life

of the inhabitants, in the sense of having influenced it or determined the course of its history.

This manner, specific to the beginnings, is also met today, especially among some enthusiastic authors who – when facing various information – are not able to select the really significant one, so that they gather a factology, sometimes exuberant, but waiting to be exploited by a competent specialist that has the design and method, the ability to recover what is essential in time.

The monograph we examine also contains, besides the author's comments – similar to the ones made by authors of monographic studies on rural settlements – some information that cannot be found in other literature sources or documents which we highlight so that they would be considered and valued by the future monograph writers of this commune at the foot of Apuseni Mountains, situated on the road from Beiuș to the well-known resort Stâna de Vale.

The first of these concerns refers to the name “Cohului Valley”, in the eastern part of Budureasa commune, where “there was a narrow factory of squeezing iron out of stone”: that is a crushing device of the iron ore extracted from near the commune, which was transported to Pietroasa commune; in that area (more specifically in Chișcău) “there was a larger ironwork²³ (more correctly a foundry -AN)”. The founders of the commune built houses on the Hill²⁴ near the forests, after which their descendants decided that the village to be relocated on the Valley of Pietroasa River, where it was settled and developed up to the present.

One of the occupations in close connection to the geographical position of the locality, the most advantageous one in terms of profit earning opportunities, was the *trade* with pine boards (for example, three saws were functioning in the “mountain brains” in 1868: on Drăganului Valley, at Stâna de

²³ *Ibidem*, f. 10

²⁴ Those places are named to certify this fact: „dâmbul Baicu” , „dâmbul Răcoaiă”, „dâmbul Coseștilor și Ruseștilor”.

Vale and at Cârligate), which were sold on the Transylvanian markets in Oradea, Ghiula and Bekescsaba. In exchange, they brought grains so much needed by the inhabitants since the hills at the borders of the commune were not fertile enough.

Other occupations are also mentioned and these were, in the case of Budureasa inhabitants, one of the oldest and, thus, traditional such as the production of the wooden boxes (among which the famous “dowry chests” that can still be seen nowadays in handicraft fairs, especially in the one held in Beiuș). “ A specific industry – as the author of the monograph mentions – of the commune is felting the thick, long peasant coats in some very simple machineries called “piue” (felting machines), which spread along the valley that bears the name of the commune...To these, the population of the surrounding villages, almost from the entire Bihor County and much of Arad County, brings their fabric for thick, long peasant coats, woven in looms, while here [in Budureasa] – in this primitive factory – the fabric is smoothed and stuffed by tapping it into some felting machines and splashed with water ...The person who crosses the valley during the season, which is in November or December, is under the impression that he is in a district of a city full of factories, since these factories make a lot of noise while working”²⁵.

There were other “income sources” for the inhabitants apart for agriculture, livestock and fruit growing (especially nut-trees, which became a true arboreal “jewel” of Budureasa, as well as other places in the south of Bihor, such as Gurani, Pietroasa, Dumbrăvani etc). The poor were working “digging and harvesting in tithes (they were given part of the products, corn or wheat -AN) at the field owners”. When winter was getting near the “strong people (especially the young ones) were working “in meters” in forests, for the company in Sudrigiu (that had built a narrow railway towards Budureasa on which they transported large quantities of “shaped beech”).

²⁵ A.N.-S.J. Bh, *fond Pref. Jd. Bb.*, dos. 46/1941, f. 26

From the information provided by the monograph author of Budureasa, it follows the idea that its inhabitants were not limited by ordinary occupations (as farmers and fruit growers), but they had great opportunities that helped them get the necessary additional means for their daily living.

The inhabitants with entrepreneurial spirit and favoured by what the forest was offering and by the water passing through the middle of the settlement practiced all economic occupations that brought them gains in money and grain despite the “bareness of the soil” on which people grew rye and corn.

The description of the inhabitants’ “garb” has a unique character: “They wear peasant’s sandals because – as it is stated in a humorous tradition –they couldn’t get any lower., [yet] the youngest, the lads and the girls have boots and brogues. They wear white clothes they had made of linen woven from cotton hemp. ..., then they have a sheepskin coat and shirts made of wool by women and girls, as well as wool socks and felt foot wraps made of wool or hemp thread. On top, all of them are wearing wool clothes i.e. thick, long peasant coats”²⁶.

Therefore, in 1941 all inhabitants of Budureasa were still producing their own clothes almost entirely; they bought very little things at the market in Beiuș where there was a weekly fair, of resounding success for the population in Beiuș depression.

In the 70 years that have passed since then, its life has taken a fast course towards modernization so that, nowadays, pieces of clothing (like the ones indicated by the author of the monograph as being usual) can rarely be found and only in private collections. Almost everything has changed, from the way of understanding and living life to clothing that was deeply “Westernised”.... Globalism, in various forms, has reached commune Budureasa, as everywhere in Romania, decisively

²⁶ *Ibidem*. There are other aspects to remember; they are treated by the monograph writer in his short divagation, but they can be highlighted by the publication of the entire paper.

influencing the destiny of the people who can no longer find support nowadays, but in the past.

During the life of a person (of about 70 years) everything has “moved” in the sense of modernization and Europeanization, of the development of local civilization with repercussions on preserving some traditions and occupations (like the ones mentioned as active in commune Budureasa).

For these reasons, it is instructive to read the monographic text we referred to, because, in its pages, we can find the colour and forms of a “lost world” which was replaced by a new one, as an effect of progress and changes of time determined by the contacts with the exterior world (from Romania and abroad).

If, indeed, “immortality was born in the village” as the poet Lucian Blaga asserted, than around commune Budureasa there were perennial historical issues, touched by eternity. What is left for current or future monograph writers to be done is to identify and render the dimensions of a centuries-old past of a “cell” in which we can find our national identity.

VITICULTURE IN BIHOR COUNTY IN THE EARLY CENTURIES XVIII – XIX

Adrian DUME

***Abstract.** Vine growing was always one of the major occupations of the inhabitants of Bihar and had an important place in their material and spiritual culture. The essence of winemaking in 18th and 19th century Bihar is the growing area, is the pinnacle of a culture that is present in the cultural structure of the inhabitants of this area. Development is caused by several factors; the most important are the natural factors and conditions offered by this area for vine growing. The wine is an open economic product; almost all of it is for sale. Without something to return to the earth as seed is for cereals, the quantities produced the available ones and the same... But at equal surfaces, vine performance surpasses that of all great cultures...The wine-growing economy is therefore, more than the entire rural world, an exchange economy, under the influence of market and price law. The wine-growing income is collected in money not nature. You have to sell to live.*

***Key words:** wine, viticulture, Bihar, winegrowers, XVIII-th century*

The issue of the wine growing in the Hapsburg Empire is little known to the Romanian historiography. The mentioned issue has emphasised its particular features carried on by generations. Different types of wine emerged throughout time. Wine brands were formed of types well adapted to local conditions. The specific qualities of the wine in the region of Bihar are given by the routine in the different parts of Bihar. This routine refers to the technique of handling the grape vine and to the technique of polling.

The development of the wine culture in the region of Bihar begins in the 18th century. Great landowners possessed vines and were interested both in the increase of their income,

and passionate about wine growing and its noble aspect. Landowners we are referring to are not necessarily lay people. In the second half of the 18th century Bishop Adamo Patachich improves the proportion and the quality of the allodia vines in the district of Oradea. Lay people such as earls Zichy is among the widely known wine growers¹. Viticulture was one of the major occupations of the inhabitants of Bihor, ever, occupying an important place in the material and spiritual culture. The essence of winemaking in Bihor of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, is that growing area, it is the pinnacle of a culture that is present in the cultural structure of the inhabitants of this area.

In Bihor, the oldest written information about the practice of viticulture in this area come from an act of donation of King Geza I of Hungary to the monastery of St. Benedict “I gave near Bihor, land on which there are twenty servants’ houses. I have decided that these ones and the other villages, previously mentioned, to mow the grass, to gather hay in the stack, to take care of home court and the court, to take wine, to feed the two horses of abbot in the winter.”², the existence of the wine and its transport made us believe that viticulture is practiced in the area long before the document mentioned this facts. We have information, too, that in the late 12th century, one of the bishops of Oradea, Elvin, (1189-1200) owned five vineyards before becoming Bishop³.

In the 18th century takes place the expansion of this culture, vineyards came into possession of big landowners who were interested in both increasing income from agricultural production, and passionate about viticulture. These owners aren’t necessary lay, in addition to the lay figures as counts Zichy or Grassalkovich ecclesiastical figures such as Bishop Adamo

¹ Arhivele Naționale - Direcția Județeană Bihor (în continuare: AN-DJBh), *fond Episcopia romano-catolică, Registre economice*, dos. 370/1778, f. 28, f. 71, f. 82, f. 99

² *Documente privind istoria României, veacul: XI, XII și XIII, seria C, Transilvania*, vol. I (1075-1250), p.1

³ Liviu Borcea, *Biborul medieval*, Oradea, 2005, p.99

Patachich stand out, who in the second half of the 18th century expands both quantitatively and qualitatively vineyards in the Oradea area⁴. The incomes brought by the vines were superior to other agricultural production which lead to the rapid development of this sector.

The technical revolution of the modern age could not be acquired and not have consequences on an important area for the economy then, as was the wine. We must take into consideration that the rural population of Bihor in those times was a mosaic of ethnics and confessions and any changes or mobility must be reported to their conception and disposition to accept the new. But the new seeds were introduced into this world by the state, who was willing to increase its income or by the landowners interested in profit as well, of course that the peasant world of Bihor adapted to the new standards, taking, in many cases, the learning's from the feudal domain into their households.

Begining with the 2nd half of the 18th century, a greater importance is given to vine culture, especially in Bihor. Many of the areas cultivated with vine were divided into plots and put into serfs, that maintained them and gave land lord the tithe. The quantities of wine held by the owners then increased the perception of tithes, plus often the census of production of wines of the serfs in Bihor. Tithe of wine is mentioned in almost all villages of Bihor, where there were cultivated lands with vines. Tithe of wine as the grain but varies from year to year, depending on the production and what they said on the occasion of serfs tax assessments in this area.” We pay a tax for all our pieces of sickle, corn, wine, hemp, in plant, lambs, goats, bee, but because these they hang from annual production, the lord cannot fix the amount”⁵. To limit the extent of evasion, the owner of land, paid guards to oversee the vineyards during harvest to avoid any

⁴ AN-DJBh, *Fond Episcopia romano-catolică, Acte economice* (În continuare: *fond Episcopia....*), dos. 370/1778, f.28, f.71, f.82, f.99

⁵ Ștefan Meteș, *Viața agrară, economică a românilor din Ardeal și Ungaria*, vol. I, București, 1921, p.69

circumvention of the payment of tithes or none, data provided by documents relating to payment and from picking them, tells us, so we find that two of the gates 1815 Biharea headland was kept during 15 days of the Ioannes Toth and Stephanus Bodnar receiving the security amount of 12 florins and 30 coating each, a third gate was guarded of 12 days the Georginus Feher which was rewarded with 10 florins⁶. The same method was used and the Diocese, where the 1826 harvest lasted 20 days, during which the three gates of the promoters were guarded by Ioannes I. Nagy, Mathias Leine and Ioannes Sz. Toth who were paid 6 florins and 40 each coating⁷. You can see a difference in their remuneration, so that in the first case, the guards were paid an amount of coating 50 a day within 11 years of coating amount decreases to 20 per day. Even if you do not speak about the same things, decreased to 40% of the initial payment that can be as wine prices or production fall of that year.

With the increase in areas under cultivation appears and the need for specialized work, carried out by people prepare, therefore, the documents from especially in the 18th century, state inhabitants between occupations and the one of accession. So if, for example, at Oradea-Olosig are remember on the occasion of completion of economic Census 1733 two growers on the name Carolus Spünger and Pselequs Kanz , then two growers, on the name Ioannes Farkas and Andreas Bodnar are listed between inhabitants of Cetariu in a census of the same year. Occupations in this outbreak among local inhabitants of Bihor illustrates the importance of which it obtains viticulture in local agriculture, but reveals and the level achieved by this activity.

At the beginning of the 18th century, wine growing held an important place in the area of Diosig. The 1713 registry books show that, although people were few and poor, wine growing held an important place in the area, and that they yielded 874

⁶ A.N.-DJ.Bh, *fond Episcopia.....*, r. 298, dos. 3192, f. 39

⁷ *Ibidem*, f.58

barrels of wine. In 1720, Diosig possessed vines for 497 labourers⁸. The first half of the 18th century shows a real concern for wine growing reported in the registry books of 1730. The registry books showed that, in a ten-year period of time, 1229 labourers were needed in order to work the vines. It is obvious that vines covered a surface three times bigger than in 1720. In 1740 vines covered surface decreases, being reported a number of only 806 labourers. In 1750 the number of labourers reduces to 593⁹. The concern for the grape vine decreasing could be explained by the increasing of the tobacco growing in Diosig. Actually, the two cultivations were fighting for priority. Victory was finally awarded to grape vine. After 1757, figures related to tobacco growing in Diosig were no longer mentioned. It is also mentioned that the number of labourers increased in the following years. We conclude that areas covered by vines increased, too.

Very good conditions offered by the space for the pursuit Bihorului viticulture are revealed and the presence of massive inhabitants other regions with vine-growing areas in this area. Thereby, in 1733, the town's registry books showed that: the town of Oradea had 38 inhabitants were working 47 vine plots, and needed 401 labourers¹⁰; in Oradea-Olosig 73 inhabitants were working 93 plots of vine¹¹, and needed 636 labourers¹²; a number of 197 inhabitants were working on the same territories 219 new vines, and needed 980 labourers¹³, while 32 foreigners owned in the point of the town 34 vines, and needed 135 labourers¹⁴, in

⁸ Viorel Sumalan, *Monografia istorică a localității Diosig (Județul Bihor)*, 1989, unpublished material, p.23

⁹ The data provided is taken from registry books published by Adrian Apan in *Domeniul contelui Stubenberg 1700-1948*, PhD thesis, University of Oradea, 2007, p.218-223

¹⁰ A.N.-DJ.Bh, *fund of Episcopate Beiuș Roman-united*, dos. 1 / 1733, p.1-4

¹¹ For 5 vine plots belonging to 4 inhabitants is not listed the surface

¹² A.N.-DJ.Bh, *fund of Episcopate Beiuș Roman-united*, dos. 1/1733, f.5-13

¹³ *Ibidem*, f. 14-17

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, f. 18-19

Episcopia, 183 inhabitants out of 251 who were mentioned in the registry books, owned 231 plots of vine, and needed 805 labourers¹⁵, other 9 foreigners were working 12 vines and needed 135 labourers. They were redeeming the ninth with 266 florins¹⁶. Some other 129 foreigners are mentioned possessing 134 plots of vine, and needed 617 labourers¹⁷, while other 25 people were renting 38 vines together with 225 labourers who paid a sum of 519 Rhenish florins¹⁸. In Biharea, 192 inhabitants out of 269 mentioned in the registry books owned 284 vine plots and needed 874 labourers¹⁹; 248 foreigners possessing 305 vines parcels, needed 1934 labourers²⁰; in Cetariu, 128 inhabitants were working 236 vine plots, and needed 731 labourers²¹. In the same village, a number of 42 cotters possessing 45 plots needed 94 labourers²², and 312 foreigners possessing 370 vine plots needed 2294 labourers²³; in the region of Tăutelec, 94 inhabitants possessed 95 vine plots, and needed 316 labourers²⁴. In the same region there were also mentioned other 19 vine plots that needed a number of 30 labourers²⁵; in Sântimbreu, almost all the inhabitants possessed vines. There were registered a number of 109 grape vine plots that needed 302 labourers²⁶. The foreigners of Santimbreu possessed 114 vine plots, and needed 948 labourers²⁷; in Sânnicolau, 22 inhabitants out of 23 recorded in the registry books possessed 22 vine plots, and needed 42

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, f. 23-32

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, f. 33

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, f. 34-38

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, f. 39

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, f. 43-52

²⁰ *Ibidem*, f. 54-61

²¹ *Ibidem*, f. 66-71

²² *Ibidem*, f. 71-74

²³ *Ibidem*, f. 75-86

²⁴ *Ibidem*, f. 93-97

²⁵ *Ibidem*, f. 97

²⁶ *Ibidem*, f. 99-102

²⁷ *Ibidem*, f. 103-107

labourers²⁸. A number of 3 foreigners from Debreceen owned 4 vine plots, and needed 11 labourers²⁹; in Buduslău, from the 29 inhabitants mentioned in the registry books, 28 of them possessed 32 plots, and needed 93 labourers³⁰; in Săldăbagiu, a number of 53 inhabitants out of 57 mentioned in the registry books, owned 86 vine plots, and needed 281 labourers³¹. 102 foreigners possessed 123 vine plots, and needed 766 labourers³²; in Oșorhei, 49 inhabitants out of 59 mentioned in the registry books owned 74 vine plots, and needed 294 labourers³³. In Osorhei, foreigners owned 87 vines, and needed 240 labourers³⁴; in Beiuș, 76 inhabitants out of 143 mentioned in the registry books were working 84 vine plots with 203 labourers³⁵. We can notice that the majority of people in the villages mentioned above owned vines. Areas used for wine growing were not large, because wine was used as a supply in the homesteads. There were also inhabitants who dealt exclusively with wine growing. We can affirm this fact because the registry books do not mention these inhabitants possessing other goods than vines. It should be taken into consideration the existence of foreigners in this area. The term “foreign” is used to define people living outside a city and who possessed vines in the surroundings of the different cities. Most of these foreigners come from villages and towns situated across the Romanian border, in Hungary. However, among these foreigners there were also a significant number of people coming from areas that held tradition in wine growing, but not longer afforded to possess vines in the surroundings of their villages. This is why they dealt with wine growing in villages and cities that had tradition in this respect. For example, 20 inhabitants from

²⁸ *Ibidem*, f. 111-112

²⁹ *Ibidem*

³⁰ *Ibidem*, f.114

³¹ *Ibidem*, f. 152-154

³² *Ibidem*, f. 155-159

³³ *Ibidem*, f. 190-192

³⁴ *Ibidem*, f. 193-196

³⁵ *Ibidem*, f. 256-261

Oradea dealt with wine growing using 63 labourers in the surroundings of the village of Oșorhei³⁶. It is surprising the fact that among them there were inhabitants from Debrecen. This is why we can affirm that the inhabitants from Debrecen were those who possessed the most vines among other foreigners. For example, in Biharea they owned more than the half of the grape vines possessed by foreigners, possessing here two thirds of the rented vines. The same proportion is met in the villages of Cetariu and Sântimreu.

Tools related to the work on the vine do not vary substantially by ordinary tools used on other agricultural crops such as hoeing to dig and dug up, round-nosed shovel, and "a tool which has two teeth, and it looks like the mattock, to them adding hand and saw the handbrake"³⁷. The inventory of tools by which viticulture is represented in cultural heritage it is established the basic tools antique Hand Pruner. Antique Hand Pruner used to hurtle through of the vines are of two types: antique Hand Pruner without ax, traditional Turkish, smaller in size and spread throughout the country and the hatchet, of large size.

Tithe reasons outlined an overview of the practice of viticulture on the Oradea early nineteenth century, so in 1803 the area gathered 23,810 boxes of wine³⁸. The cultivation of vine in Oradea, in 1806, was present in : Olosig was collecting metayage of 639 urns of wine; Velența had a metayage of 42 urns of wine; Săldăbagiu de Munte with a metayage of 104 urns of wine; Oșorhei with a metayage of 83 urns of wine; Episcopia with a metayage of 1363 urns of wine; Biharea had a metayage of 2965 urns of wine; H.K. Kovatsi with a metayage of 198 urns of wine; Cetariu had a metayage of 1782 wine urns; Tăutelec with a metayage of 283 wine urns; Sântimreu with a metayage of 525 wine urns; Sânnicolau with a metayage of 95 urns of wine;

³⁶ *Ibidem*, f. 193-196

³⁷ *Ibidem*

³⁸ A.N.-DJ.Bh, *fond Episcopia*, r. 220, dos. 2909, f.1

Buduslău with a metayage of 56 urns of wine. Divided in five districts, Oradea in 1806 obtained the districts from the 9321 metayage of wine boxes divided into districts as follows: District 868 Oradea wine boxes, wine boxes District Diocese in 1363, District 3161 Biharea wine boxes, wine boxes District Cetariu 2065, District of Sentimreu 1861 urns³⁹. In 1807 the metayage area reaching 22,738 boxes of wine, divided into districts as follows: Oradea District 3931 wine boxes, wine boxes District 3335 Diocese, District 5947 Biharea wine boxes, wine boxes District Cetariu 4250, District of Sentimreu 5267 polls wine⁴⁰. Notice how the difference in every year of production and the metayage is very high and the distribution varies from district to district. Oradea example metayages value increases almost 5 times a year. Of course watching and data that will we will understand that is was in fact the comparison is made between one year low, and a very good one.

Concerning vine varieties existing in Bihor those centuries, cultivated local varieties of grapes normal, black and white but there is a concern for the organization of the noble vineyards. Thus, the Inspectorate Office of the plans shows that during 1762-1764 there were 100 stocks bought Tokay vineyard of the price of 1 florin each. The same material, that over this period were sold seven ships with Tokay wine for the amount of 240 florins Rhineland. Wine prices, during which we deal remains generally an urn Rhenish florin (40-60 liters)⁴¹. Bishop Adamo Patachich concern to this sector and thus to produce a wine similar to the Tokay materialized and by planting the Diocese of Bihor, in 1756 to 71,225 the vine of this variety and by including them in new plantations established in 1763 to 65,905 logs from Cetariu⁴².

³⁹ *Ibidem*, f 3

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, f 47

⁴¹ Ileana Șuta, *Preocupări privind cultivarea vieții de vie în Bihor în a doua jumătate a secolului al XVIII-lea*, în *Lucrări științifice*, p.29-32, 1976, Oradeap.32

⁴² A.N.-DJ.Bh, *fond Episcopía ...*, r. 300, dos. 3200, f. 83

An essential role in the development of the Bihor county viticulture has without doubt increased its importance in the economy, but also natural outages which have avoided vineyards of destruction essential until the appearance phylloxera, we say this even if in the course work i have evoked when the nature of product damage copious winegrowers. Presentation governing adverse moments viticulture is easier since people keep in their memory as a souvenir exceptional events that occurred that affect the community. Wine-growing reality of that epoch is well reflection in censuses or registers of tithe openly, of them resulting in a extinct in growing productive and prosperous future. It must be remembered, however and ambience offered in the space described wine, which is one that combines both climatic conditions conducive to the ground and relief development culturei vine, fact that happened in the centuries from the XVIII-th and the XIX century.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH IN RĂDEȘTI (ALBA COUNTY)

Ciprian ROBOTIN

Abstract: *In Rădești commune from Alba County, Romania, as far as 1675 there was a wooden church. But after two centuries it became cramped, so, some leaders of the community decided to create a fund for the building of a new church. The place for the new building has been established in 1903 by the greek-catholic bishop of Oradea, Demetriu Radu, born in the village.*

The plans of the new church have been made by the architect Alexandru Schlosser from Oradea. The constructor of the church was Giovanni Quai, italian native, established in Beiuș (Bihar County, Romania), who brought for the work italian brick layers. The building works began the 2nd april 1907. Next year, the plastering and the decoration of the church's external were finished. Then, the inside of the church has been painted by Octavian Smighelschi, helped by 3 other painters. Smighelschi was a very appreciated artist by the greek-catholic metropolitan Victor Mihály and by the poet and political figure Octavian Goga. The wood carver Iosif Vogel from Sighișoara, carried out the church's iconostasis, lecterns and chairs.

The 17th of July 1910, the bishop Demetriu Radu, together with a group of priests and deacons have dedicated the new church. The same day, the bishop celebrated 25 years of priesthood. The number of the Christians came for the event was close to 2000.

The costs of the new church's building were 200 thousand Austro-Hungarian crowns. They have been completely supported by the bishop, who also endowed the church with all the necessary things for the worship's celebration.

Key words: *Rădești, church, bishop Demetriu Radu, painting, Octavian Smighelschi*

The Rădești commune from Alba County, Romania, is very important for the modern Romanian history, because it's the

birthplace of Demetriu Radu, greek-catholic bishop of Lugoj (1897-1903), then of Oradea (1903-1920). He was implicated in the national struggle of the Romanians from the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, becoming co president of the Great National Assembly held at Alba Iulia, the 1st December 1918. He was also a founder of many churches and schools. He died, the 8th of December 1920 in the Romanian Senate in a bomb attempt. Rădești is also the birthplace of Iacob Radu, the bishop's brother, vicar of Hațeg (in Hunedoara County) between 1902-1911; then he was nominated to rule the Greek-Catholic Eparchial Chapter of Oradea. Iacob Radu was a well-known historiographer of the Romanian Greek-Catholic Church and a corresponding member of the Romanian Academy.

About the village's past and its church

The commune of Rădești is situated in the northern side of Alba County, near the town of Aiud. Until 1918 it was formed by two villages: Tâmpăhaza and Uifalău. It seems the first village got its name from a land owner called Tompa. You can find this name, and also the name of Tompaháza in some of the 16th century's documents¹, in Hungarian Tompaháza meaning Tompa's (country) house or castle. The Uifalău village (called Szász-Ujfalu in Hungarian, meaning New Saxon Village)'s existence was attested from the 14th century. It has been inhabited by Transylvanian Saxons until the 18th century, when they left the village. Their place has been taken by some Hungarian nobles, who brought Hungarian bondsmen to cultivate the land. But after 1784, when emperor Joseph the 2nd conceded to the bondsmen the freedom to move from a master to another, most of the Hungarian bondsmen moved to Aiud as servants and land workers, and the land owners replaced them with Romanian bondsmen brought from other villages of the county². The last

¹ Details in Iacob Radu, *Biserica S. Uniri din Tâmpăhaza-Uifalău satele și poporul monografie istorică*, Tipografia „Nagyvárad”, Oradea, 1911, p. 9-10

² *Ibidem*

Romanian bondsmen settled in Uifalău were Vasile Radu (bishop Demetriu Radu and vicar Iacob Radu's grandfather) with his brother Mihail, in 1847 from Beldiu village. Until the beginning of the 20th century the Hungarians of Uifalău have decreased, just around 10 families remaining in the village and all of them were good Romanian spokers.

The 3rd December 1918, two days after the proclamation of Transylvania's union with Romania, the people from Tâmpăhaza-Uifalău gathered in the church and after the singing of the Great Doxology as gratitude for the Great Union, father Iacob Radu and Dr. Grigorie Pop held a speech proposing „for the erasure of any foreign rule in this village to change its Hungarian name and, as gratitude to its great and helpful son, bishop Demetriu Radu (next we shall see the reasons – o. n.), to call it **Rădești**. The proposal has been accepted by everyone with great joy and a protocol was written; after its approving by the Leading Council³ that name became official”⁴.

The village's church

In Tâmpăhaza there existed a wooden church even since 1675. This church had two bells, the largest one getting to be cast again for the church. As the inscription reproduced on it shows, this bell belonged once to the Church from Maier (Alba Iulia), but nobody knows when and how it came to Rădești.

Once the construction of the new church was completed in 1910, the believers from Rădești have decided to give the old church to their brethren from Șoimuș (a nearby village), which had no church and because of the reduced number of believers, the old church from Rădești was big enough for them.

When it was built, the old church was, probably, big enough for the villagers in Tâmpăhaza. But, with time, due to

³ Local transylvanian government, established in december 1918

⁴ Iacob Radu, *In memoriam, prinso memoriei episcopului dr. Demetriu Radu la a zecea aniversare a tragicei sale morți*, Tipografia și litografia românească s. a., Oradea, 1930, p. 9

high birth rate, but in the same time the acceptance of the believers from Uifalău in the church, who were too few to be able to raise even a small church, there was found the need to build a larger church. But the inhabitants of the two villages didn't agree quite well on this matter. The believers from Tâmpăhaza," led by some who were more talkative, said that for them it is enough the old church and that the ones from Uifalău should build other church for themselves, if they do not fit in here. But these ones being advised by our late father Ioan Radu, the father of Demetriu and Iacob Radu – n. n.), who was temperate and peaceable man, they didn't want to separate from their brethren, well knowing, that only together they could do easier something, than being separated and in enmity"⁵. Therefore, the villagers from Uifalău proposed that on their own expense to dismantle the altar, and the naos to be extended at least two meters, then the altar to be mounted again, away from the extended area of the ship. But the villagers from Tâmpăhaza didn't agree to this idea either. Then, the villagers from Uifalău decided to build their own church.

For this, all the believers in Uifalău gathered to the Radu family home on a Sunday in the summer of 1879 and, by voluntary contributions, have laid the foundation of the fund for the new church building. A memorable occurrence is that just Demetriu Radu, then a middle school student, wrote the protocol of that meeting. Ioan Radu and two of his brothers, and with other two villagers created a fund from which later they bought a land from the baron Bánffy on the edge of the two villages, for the new church building.

The place where the church was to be built was established since 1903. On July 17 of that year, bishop Demetriu Radu celebrated the Saint Mass with his brother Iacob, with his uncle Teodor Fodor, emeritus dean and with the vice-dean of Aiud, at the church in the village. After the Mass everyone went

⁵ Iacob Radu, *Biserica S. Uniri...*, p. 21

in procession to the cemetery. There was made the requiem for the dead, then the bishop “urged the inhabitants of the two villages, as in good agreement and with united forces to build a beautiful church on the site of the two villages, promising them his own help too. Ending the speech and moving towards the house he stood stand in the furrow, that separates the <<Meadow>> of the villages, he implanted the stick in the ground and with an excited voice said: << Here has to be the altar >>”⁶.

In that very year the villagers carried for free 15 fathoms of dynamited stone from the rock at the expense of the bishop’s uncle, Dr. Iacob Maior, the former chief physician of the city, Lugoj, and Ioan Sântu, the former head of customs in Romania, born in Tâmpăhaza, donated for the church building 1000 lei in gold, which were allocated to the manufacture of 300.000 bricks.

In the same time it was made the project of the costs. According to it, the church was quite small. But the initial plan was abandoned, jutting out the idea of building a monumental church. So, the architect Alexandru Schlosser from Oradea made new plans, after the guidance of the bishop. He was the one to control and execute the plan too, but he died shortly after starting work. His duties were taken over by the technical advisor from Aiud, Albert Iván, by Alexander Gera, honorary archdeacon and episcopal’s domain administrator from Beius and by Ioan Maier, the dean of Aiud.

The builders of the new church was Giovanni Quai, a native of Italy and established at Beiuș, who, together with other masons brought from Italy too and paid with 6-7 crowns per day, „ worked nice and solid, as there is rarely seen”⁷.

The works began on April 2, 1907. Through exact measurements it was determined the place on which the church would be built so as half of it be on the territory of Tâmpăhaza and the other half on the territory of Uifalău, „ as no village have the

⁶ *Ibidem*

⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 23

right to say that has more part in the church, than the other one”⁸. In that very day they began digging the foundation and on Sunday, April 7, the archpriest Ioan Maier and the local priest Vasile Moldovan have consecrated the cornerstone, placing a commemorative act. The foundation was made of concrete, and the people from the village hauled over a thousand cartfuls of gravel and sand. To build the tower bricks were brought from the Factory in Aiud, with 80 Austro Hungarian crowns a thousand pieces, because the one made in the village was not solid enough. The wooden skeleton of the roof was made of some workers from Beiuș.

The church was covered with sheets of zinc and the tower with copper, which is very durable. This work was done by Augustin Vlad, master tinsmith in Oradea. The vault of the church, in order to be lighter, was made of thick planks of fir. On the arches were beaten thinner boards then cane of stucco. Over this there was put a wire structure and ultimately it was plastered up with cement and plaster. In order to stop rain from penetrating the vault, after a while, and destroy the painting, over the arches from the bridge there were beaten again boards, and over these there was stretched a canvas and there was cast tar.

In the summer of 1908 the plastering and the decorating of the exterior of the church were over. The interior was left to dry well for painting. For this there was made a contract with the painter Octavian Smighelschi, famous in the Transylvania of that time, especially after he had painted the cathedral of Sibiu⁹ and the sculptor Iosif Vogel from Sighișoara, who made the iconostasis of the church, the lecterns and the chairs.

The painting was done in the summer of 1909 by the painter recalled, helped by other three painters. The iconostasis and other works of the sculptor were completed only in the spring of 1910.

⁸ *Ibidem*

⁹ Ioan Georgescu, *Un martir al datoriei către țară: Episcopul Demetriu Radu* (Extras din Analele Dobrogei An. V), Institutul de arte grafice și editură „Glasul Bucovinei”, Cernăuți, 1925, p. 16

The new church's structure

The plan of the church is tri conical, as in the case of the churches in Wallachia, having the altar apse and the two side pews of a semicircular shape. The length of the church is of 31, 25 meters and the width of eight meters. The height of the interior walls is of 7, 50 meters and the arch radius of four meters. The vault is divided by walls through a belt of three rows of cornices.

The height (including the cross) is of thirty-three meters, being divided into two floors. If we look at the church from the profile, we see some small disproportion between the too small tower and the church building itself, a similar case to that of the roman-catholic basilica from Oradea¹⁰.

The tower of the new church housed three bells: the largest was three hundred and sixty-three kilograms, the middle one was 187 kg, both bearing the same inscription:

THIS BELL WAS CAST IN LORD'S YEAR M.C.M.X. ON THE EXPENCE OF THE BISHOP DEMETRIU RADU FOR THE CHURCH BUILT BY HIM IN THE SAME YEAR AT HIS BIRTH PLACE. The large bell had at the middle of the inscription the icon of the Virgin Mary and the middle one had the icon of the Holy Trinity.

The smallest bell came from the old church, but was melted and cast again. It was one hundred and fourteen kilograms. The entire inscription on it was as follows:

THIS BELL WAS CAST AGAIN IN THE LORD'S YEAR M.C.M.X. ON THE EXPENCE OF THE BISHOP DEMETRIU RADU AND THE OLD INSCRIPTION WAS REPRODUCED AS IT WAS: (with Cyrillic letters- n. n.) *Ace: k. l. k. Stasile Ioan from S.S.B. which was united from Maiero. Anno1802.* In the middle of the inscription there is the icon of the Crucifixion.

All the bells had been cast in Walser Ferencz's foundry and they costed 3000 crowns.

¹⁰ See Jacob Radu, *Biserica S. Uniri...*, the picture from page 4; Liviu Borcea, *Memoria caselor*, vol. I, Editura Arca, 2003, p. 127

Because the church was placed on a higher level than the land on which it was located, there are six stone steps till the entrance of the church. Above the entrance it could be read on a marble plaque the following inscription:

THE YEAR OF THE LORD MCMX
TO THE GLORY OF GOD
THROUGH THE HOLY SPIRIT' S DESCENT
TO THE ROMANIANS' UNION
WITH THE HOLY CHURCH OF ROME
HAVE RAISED THIS PLACE
ON THE EXPENCE OF THE
BISHOP DEMETRIV RADU.

After the entrance you reach in a small porch of a square form of 2, 5/ 2, 5 meters, covered with a vault. On the left there is a small room that was for preserving the old things and the tools necessary for digging the graves of the dead, and on the right there are the stairs going up in the choir and to the bells. From the porch you enter the pro- nave, which has a length of 6, 25 meters and is separated from the nave by a veil of wood. Against the walls there were seats. Above the entrance door there is the choir, supported on two columns and iron railing. On the left, under the choir, for the time being, there is a painting depicting the founder, who is then painted on the wall, in the same place. The pro-naos is illuminated by two large windows. All the windows of the church were made of iron.

From the pro-naos, down a step, we enter the naos long of 10, 2 meters and illuminated by six windows. Against the walls there were, near sanctification, 36 fixed seats, and on the right side a side door that gives in an open porch, supported on two columns to the wall.

From the naos, climbing a step you reach in the presbytery, specific to the western churches' architecture, but grafted on the local Byzantine church. This is four meters long

and has got the three apses, and the space between them, called *chor*¹¹. The two smaller side aisles, shelter the pews. Above the choir rises the vault, supported by four arches, which are resting on four massive wall pillars, placed in the corners of the side apses, the naos and the apse of the altar. Near the left pew, there is the preaching chair, beautifully carved in wood and covered by a canopy. Near the right pew there is the bishop's throne. In the middle, in front of the iconostasis, there were the pulpit and the tetra-bridge. Above the royal doors it hang up a high silver lamp, and on the side there were two large wooden candlesticks, each with five arms. Beneath the presbytery was dug and built the crypt of the founder's family, with six places, for the parents and the four brothers.

The iconostasis was of 11, 5 meters height and was divided into five rows of icons.

The altar semicircular inside and polygonal with five sides outside, has a 4.75 meters length and a width of 4, being covered by a hemispherical vault. The light penetrates here through three windows whose glasses, as well as all others, have been beautifully worked with figures and in varied colors, with motifs taken from the Romanian ornaments. In the middle of the altar there is the altar table, 2, 3 meters long, 1, 3 wide and 1, 14 high. It consists of a concrete foot, on which sat the wooden table, in which were dug five holes to lay the holy midwives and the commemorative act of consecration. On the altar there were placed six candlesticks, a silver cross and the wooden shrine, carved, painted and gilded.

The church's painting

The choice of Smighelschi as painter of the church from Radesti proved to be the most inspired. In 1903 he organized an exhibition at Blaj, during which he presented an iconographic

¹¹ Ene Braniște, *Liturgica generală II noțiuni de artă bisericească, arhitectură și pictură creștină*, ediția a III-a îngrijită de Eugen Drăgoi, Editura Episcopiei Dunării de Jos, Galați, 2002, p. 44

program, which he created just for The Greek-Catholic Romanian Metropolitan Cathedral¹². The metropolitan Victor Mihály, “named patron of the exhibition, who gave a speech related to religious painting and its development, associated of course with the congratulations addressed to the painter”¹³ attended the exhibition, too. Smighelschi was also appreciated by the poet and political figure Octavian Goga, who considered that the painter’s work was accomplished “into understanding and proper interpretation of a traditional art ram... giving us the rare opportunity of some moments of true national pride”¹⁴. Meanwhile, Goga was bothered by the fact that up to Smighelschi, many of the requests of decorating the Romanian churches in Transylvania were entrusted to foreigners: “Craftsmen with no shred of theoretical knowledge...have painted with a less masterful brush on the walls of our small churches ...But their work contains errors, their saints, - the so called <<Romanian saints>> as the peoples with whom we had the bad luck to live with called them, - they have lost much of the true purpose of the true Byzantine art”¹⁵.

In the altar’s apse were painted rosettes and stars of different colors. Above, on the hemispherical vault was painted the hand of God blessing and at the base in the middle, the icon of Christ the Lord holding in His hands the chalice and the bread, and then on the right and on the left, in six smaller medallions, the bust- icons of the Apostles (two in each medallion) and in between, vessels with vines and doves.

The artistic value of this church is, however, highlighted by the painting of the large vault and iconostasis. Here, the

¹² Unfortunately the project hasn’t been materialized. The artist died on November 10th 1912 because of a heart attack at the age of 46

¹³Nicolae Sabău, Ioana Gruică-Savu, *Octavian Smighelschi în presă Construirea imaginii publice a artistului în perioada 1887-2007 I 1887-1948*, Editura Mega, Cluj-Napoca, 2009, p. 55-56

¹⁴ Octavian Goga, *Espoziția de pictură a Dlui Octavian Smighelschi, în Luceafărul*, nr. 24, 15 decembrie, Budapesta, 1903

¹⁵ *Ibidem*

richness of the colors, the variety and harmony of the ornaments, the paintings composition, the serenity and the gravity of the faces, as well as the right appearance of the apparels of the persons represented in there, shows us the perfect artist.

On the large vault was placed in a medallion the bust icon of the Pantocrator, surrounded by the angelic hosts of cherubim, seraphim and the chairs. In the four corners of the vault were painted the icons of the four evangelists, together with the beings that symbolize them: the lion, the calf, the man and the eagle¹⁶.

On the other vaults, in smaller medallions, were painted the four most important prophets: Isaiah, Jeremiah Ezekiel and Daniel.

On the third vault, after the Transylvanian custom, was painted in a large medallion the Holy Trinity, but on the concept borrowed from the western iconography cycle, a rare case met till then in the Romanian iconography.

Thus, God-the Father appears in the image of a venerable old man, holding the globe; God-the Son as the Pantocrator, holding in His left hand the Gospel and the Holy Spirit like a dove. In the east, the Holy trinity is usually represented by the three angels who have appeared to Abraham. The fact that the Trinity icon was painted on the vault in the middle is salutary, as the mystery of the holy trinity is the pit of all Christianity. From it all the other mysteries unfold: the incarnation, the redemption, the descent of the Holy Spirit¹⁷.

On the fifth vault, above the pro nave, is the icon in medallion of the Mother with the child in her arms.

The icons on the walls “are depicting scenes from the salvation history of the mankind. The Lord’s nativity on a side, and the crucifixion on the other, the resurrection and the ascension to heaven, then the change at face and the descending

¹⁶ See *Apocalipsa Sfântului Ioan Teologul*, cap. 4, vs. 7 în *Biblia sau Sfânta Scriptură*, Editura Institutului biblic și de misiune al Bisericii Ortodoxe Române, București, 1999, p. 1397

¹⁷ Ioan Georgescu, *Un martir...*, p. 17

of the Holy Spirit on the two quarters of the spherical vaults of the two niches above the cantor pews”¹⁸. In the representation of the Holy Spirit descending, the 12 Apostles are not represented by Leonardo da Vinci’s model or by other models known. They are righteous and wise “*giving hands to each other as sign of a holy relationship* (the note in italics belong to the author- n. n.), as they preach the new law, for which they received new spirit, in unity and brotherly love.”

Above the choir was painted a symbolic icon, inspired by the art of the Roman catacombs and somehow of medieval symbolism, grown in both the West and the East: On an altar of stone lies the Lamb of God bleeding, surrounded by vine (symbolizing all the blood of the Lord), further on some buildings surrounded by pal branches (symbolizing Heaven), and to the edges peacocks (the immortality) and as the explanation of the scene, it was reproduced one of the chants of the dead: *Those who have spoken of the Lamb of God and haven stabbed like lambs, being moved to the ageless life and ever eternal , you the Holy Martyrs, purposely pray to that one, to give us unbinding of sins.*

In the apse’s altar was painted the Mysterious Supper in the liturgical design, that is that the Savior is portrayed sharing the bread and wine with the Apostles.

The iconostasis is complete, containing all the icons prescribed by the canons: on the bottom row on the right side of the royal doors is Christ Almighty and John the Baptist; on the left side of the royal doors is Virgin Mary with the Child and Saint Nicholas; on the imperial doors is the Annunciation, and on the deacon doors are the Holy Archangels Michael and Gabriel. On the second raw were painted: the icon of the church dedication, namely the Descending of the Holy Spirit and the feasts of the Annunciation, of the Nativity, of the Welcoming and the Baptizing of the Lord, the Coming into the church and the Assumption. On the third raw is the icon of the Savior seated on

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 18

the throne among the twelve Apostles. On the fourth row is painted the Mother of the Lord surrounded by cherubs, seraphim and prophets and on the top of the iconostasis the Crucifixion with the icons of Lord's Mother and the Saint Apostle and Evangelist John.

The painter Octavian Smighelschi was a real artist. In the church from Rădești, "more than in other place, he completely embodied his beautiful ideal of Romanian religious painting: giving a new life to the venerable forms of the old Byzantine paintings, which is the true primitive Christian painting"¹⁹. The multiple types of Christ, the Virgins and the Angels painted by Smighelschi seem to be alive, as if at each of our look they take other appearances and they reveal us things forever new, "not like in the most Romanian churches painted by so many ignorant, where the saints look like they got stuck with cold faces, with frozen limbs and without any particular expression."

This was the interior of the church, which being completed with much expense, gifted, as a monumental church should be, with the needed vestments and vessels, was to be sanctified in the midst of some celebration worthy of such a brilliant moment, because by a happy coincidence, with the solemnity of the consecration the founder celebrated twenty five years of priesthood.

The consecration of the church took place on the 17th of July, 1910. The bishop Demetriu Radu arrived the day before, that Saturday morning, accompanied by his secretary, Dr. Corneliu Bulcu and by Alexandru Gera, the administrator of the episcopal domain. The same day afternoon the special Vespers in the old church, from where the priests went then in procession to the new church, where they served the Matins and the first part of the ordinance of the church's dedication.

The next day, on Sunday, being a very beautiful weather, the priests and the people, dressed in holiday clothes, on a path

¹⁹ *Ibidem*

adorned with leafy branches, in the sound of the bells went to the old church, where the retired vice-archpriest Teodor Fodor gave a sympathetic good bye speech, naming the personalities that the two villages have given to the Romanian people stimulated from this church's altar. Then they all headed to the new sanctuary. "Few were the eyes which remained dry at the separation of this sacred place, where for centuries it received the sorrows and the prayers of the believers of those communes"²⁰.

The number of people who came to the church's dedication approached two thousand. The believers from Meșcreac and Leoriș (neighboring villages), who came in procession with their pastor, Teodor Radu, dressed in priestly garments, made a good impression.

Reaching at the new church the priests, after rounding it for three times, went inside and continued the consecration. The Divine Liturgy which followed was celebrated by the founder bishop, with the canon Dr. Victor Smighelschi (the brother of the painter) from Blaj, as the delegate of the metropolitan, the canons Ioan Butean and Samuil Ciceronescu from Oradea, Dr. Iacob Radu – the vicar of Hateg, the dean of Aiud Joan Maior, vice-archpriest Teodor Fodor and the priests Teodor Radu from Meșcreac and Vasile Moldovan from Tâmpăhaza. As deacons have served Dr. Cornel Bulcu, George Darabant – military chaplain (according to the religious ritual, the ordained priests, if needed, can serve as deacons) and Cornel Sabau, professor, who was ordained priest on this occasion. The singings at the religious services were sang by a group of clerics, led by teacher Aaron Papiu from Blaj.

After reading the Holy Gospel, the bishop gave a beautiful speech, concluded with a prayer that highlights the sensitivity of a true servant of the altar.

The divine service has ended after twelve o'clock. At two p.m. they attended a banquet at the home of the Radu family for

²⁰ *Sfințirea bisericii dela Tâmpăhaza-Uifalân – Raport special* – (pentru periodicul *Unirea din Blaj*), reproduced in Iacob Radu, *Biserica Sfintei Uniri...*, p. 47

priests and teachers and for the bishop's relatives. For peasants was given food in a neighbor's house.

The church's building costs amounted to 200.000 crowns. In addition, "on the day of its consecration everything was new in it"²¹, as a bishop equipped it with everything that was necessary, including the necessary vessels for the religious services, with the priest and deacon vestments, with the tablecloths for the altar and for the mass, with icons, with banners, with candlesticks and a silver cross with the email icons for the altar table²².

²¹ *Ibidem*

²² Jacob Radu, *Biserica S. Uniri...*, p. 100

DEUTSCHE UND ÖSTERREICHISCHE STADTGESCHICHTSFORSCHUNG IN DEN 1990ER UND 2000ER JAHREN *ALTE UND NEUE TENDENZEN FÜR BEWERTUNG DER STADT IN DER FRÜHEN NEUZEIT*

*German and Austrian town history writing in the
1990s and 2000s*

Attila TÓZSA-RIGÓ

Abstract. *The traditional historiography in the 19th century and in the first part of 20th century was historiography of the State and Dynasties. For the Bourgeois-liberal Historiography of the 19th century was characteristic Turning to the Town-History to define, the social position of his own bourgeoisie. The representatives of the Annales-movement opposed the dominance of the policy and legal history. After the second World War (mainly from the 1970s and 80s) was completed a new scientific basis on the platform of multidisciplinary. The main research trends of the town history writing in the last decades: Research on Elites, Residence-Town Research, Town Topography (in the mentality of Spatial turn) and Network Analysis.*

Key Words: *German historiography, Austrian historiography, 1990s years, town history, political history, legal history*

Historiographische Einleitung

Die Stadtgeschichtsforschung des deutschsprachigen Sprachraums im 19. und in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts hat eingangs die charakteristische Sicht der Zeitgenossen übernommen.

Diese Ansicht wurde von den Geschichtswissenschaftlern des erwähnten Zeitalters verfestigt und sie versuchten den intellektuellen „Zeitgeist“ sogar wissenschaftlich zu untermauern. Entsprechend dieser allgemein charakteristischen geistigen Haltung beschäftigten sich die Historiker dieser Zeitabschnitte hauptsächlich mit Haus-, Hof- und Staatshistoriographie der Dynastien und Territorien. Die Geschichtswissenschaft war also von der Politik- und – in anderer Hinsicht – von der Ereignisgeschichte dominiert. Die Stadt, als geschichtswissenschaftliches Konzept erschien fast immer nur als Schauplatz der politischen, diplomatischen oder gar militärischen Ereignisse. Die Stadt wurde eigentlich in eine Rolle der vereinfachten historischen Kulisse gezwungen. Daraus resultierend kümmerten sich die Wissenschaftler der akademischen Geschichtsschreibung um die mittleren und kleinen Städte und ihr Bürgertum kaum. Weiterhin berücksichtigten sie die Großen, d. h. die Hauptstädte, oder nach moderner Terminologie eher die Residenzstädte, die Reichsstädte und die Handels- und Gewerbezentren, nicht als Leistung des Bürgertums von herausragender ökonomischer Bedeutung im kontinentalen und später globalen Wirtschaftssystem, sondern behandelten sie diese Städte als Objekte staatlich-dynastischen Handelns, und zwar nicht selten in ambivalenter Beleuchtung zwischen Bewunderung und Furcht, nämlich vor dem Unberechenbaren einer Gegenwelt.¹ Diese widersprüchliche Haltung stammte aber aus der Reihe von Missverständnissen, die nur durch einen allgemeinen Paradigmawechsel veränderbar waren.

Einen anderen Standpunkt vertrat die bürgerlich-liberale Geschichtswissenschaft des 19. Jahrhunderts und der Jahrhundertwende. Diese geschichtswissenschaftliche Schule wandte sich gerade der Geschichte von Stadt und Bürgertum zu. Es verursachte aber einige Anomalien, dass die liberale

¹ Schilling, Heinz. Die Stadt in der frühen Neuzeit. München, 2004. (Schilling, 2004.) 51.

Geschichtswissenschaft damit nicht zuletzt die Absicht hatte, für die eigene Gegenwart gesellschaftliche Stellung und politische Ziele des Bürgertums zu befestigen. Als Ergebnisse dieser wissenschaftlichen Bestrebung resultierten auch monumentale historiographische und quelleneditorische Leistungen, in heutigem Sinne z.B. auch Großmonographien. Es soll aber hervorgehoben werden, dass diese geschichtswissenschaftliche Annäherung gar keine Impulse zur Neubewertung des allgemeinen historischen Konzeptes der frühneuzeitlichen und neuzeitlichen Stadt diente. Es war ganz und gar die Geschichte der *mittelalterlichen* Stadt und des *mittelalterlichen* Bürgertums. Für die frühneuzeitliche Stadt war die Perspektive dieser wissenschaftlichen Tendenz geradezu fatal: man stellte nämlich ein düsteres Bild des Niedergangs dar. Nach dieser Beurteilung wurde in der Frühneuzeit die „klassische“ Stadtfreiheit, die städtische Wirtschaft und selbst der Bürgerliche Kultur eingeschränkt oder sogar auch vernichtet. Als Verursacher zeichneten die Vertreter dieser Strömung – selbstverständlich – den frühmodernen Staat, der die städtische Autonomie und den bürgerlichen Handlungsspielraum rücksichtslos beschnitten habe.²

Neben den gegenwartspolitischen Interessen wurde diese Sicht vor allem noch von der Dominanz der Rechts- und Verfassungsgeschichte befestigt. Der erste bedeutende und wirklich langfristig wirkende Paradigmawechsel erfolgte im ersten Drittel des 20. Jahrhunderts. Die Wirtschafts- und Sozialhistoriker der *Annales-Bewegung* – oder später *Annales-Schule* – wie Karl Lamprecht, Henri Pirenne und Werner Sombart widersprachen dieser Mittelalterbegeisterung bereits früh. Nach der in den Kreisen der modernen Wirtschafts- und Gesellschaftsgeschichte immer breiter angenommenen Sicht war die mittelalterliche Stadt ein integrierter Teil des vormodernen, oder im wirtschaftsgeschichtlichen Sinne vorkapitalistischen, im Sozialhistorischen Sinne agrarisch-feudalen Systems und konnte

² Schilling, 2004. 51–52.

demzufolge in keiner Weise verfassungspolitisch Leitbild für die moderne industrielle Gesellschaft und das moderne Wirtschaftsbürgertum sein.

Historiographische Tendenzen in den letzten Jahrzehnten des 20. Jahrhunderts

In der Nachkriegszeit wurde die deutsche und österreichische Geschichtswissenschaft sowohl theoretisch, als auch sachlich neuthematisiert. Paralell zu dem Paradigmawechsel in der Rechts- und Verfassungsgeschichte wurde auch der Beobachtungshorizont der Stadtgeschichtsforschung sachlich-thematisch ausgeweitet. Die bis dahin dominierende Politikgeschichte wurde mit weiteren Forschungsgebieten ergänzt. Unter Anderen können die Demographie, die schon von den Vertretern der *Annales-Schule* in den Vordergrund geschobene Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, die Mentalitäts-, Religions- und Kirchengeschichte, weiterhin auch die Bildungs- und Kulturgeschichte erwähnt werden. Besonders in den 1970er und 80er Jahren erschienen noch als speziell für die Stadtgeschichte charakteristische Fachgebiete, wie z.B. Stadtopographie, Architektur, Siedlungs- und Verkehrsgeographie mit den entsprechenden kommunikationstheoretischen Fragestellungen.³

In den letzten Jahrzehnten des 20. Jahrhunderts kam es zu inhaltlich-sachlichen und zu methodischen Neuansätzen, wobei gerade das Objekt „*Stadt*“, als geschichtswissenschaftliches Konzept eine grundlegende Veränderung erlebte. Dieser Paradigmawechsel wirkte über die damals gültige oder anders gesagt „modische“ Trends in der Allgemeingeschichte hinaus in der Richtung der Interdisziplinarität. Durch diese wissenschaftstheoretische Trennungslinie öffnete sich die moderne deutschsprachige Stadgeschichtsschreibung für

³ Zur historiographische Fragestellungen zur Demographie und Stadtopographie in Monographien, ohne Anspruch auf Vollständigkeit: *Rousseaux, Ulrich*: Darmstadt, 2006. *Gerteis, Klaus*: Die deutschen Städte in der frühen Neuzeit. Darmstadt, 1986.

Nachbardisziplinen. Daraus resultierte eine gegenseitige Anregung und sogar nicht nur im systematisch-theoretischen Sinne, sondern auch was es das gesellschaftswissenschaftliche Modelldenken betrifft. Von den oben erwähnten Nachbardisziplinen können ohne Anspruch auf Vollständigkeit vor allem die Geographie, die Kartographie, die Verkehrs- und Kommunikationswissenschaft, oder auch noch die systematische Sozialwissenschaft erwähnt werden.

Konzepte für frühneuzeitliche Urbanisierung

Eine allgemein annehmbare Ansicht von Christoph Bernhardt ist, dass sich die gegenwärtige Stadtgeschichtsforschung in einem verwickelten Spannungsfeld mehrerer Perspektiven befindet. Dieses Gebiet bewegt sich auf mehreren Ebenen zwischen Grundlagenforschung und Anwendungsbezügen sowie zwischen internationaler und interdisziplinärer Orientierung. Diese Blickwinkel erscheint innerhalb eines zeitlichen Spannungsbogens von der Frühen Neuzeit zur Zeitgeschichte natürlich vielfach; doch sind damit Akzentuierungen und Abgrenzungen verbunden, die das Forschungsumfeld nachhaltig einschränken. So hat sich die moderne Stadtgeschichtsforschung seit den 1960er Jahren bewusst von der bis dahin vorherrschenden Konzentration auf ältere historische Perioden und auf Stadtmonografien entfernt und stärker der Urbanisierung des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts sowie neueren sozial- und kulturwissenschaftlichen Ansätzen angenähert.⁴

Unter dem neuen geschichtswissenschaftlichen Paradigma war es erstmals möglich, die Entwicklungen, denen das deutsche Städtewesen in den drei Jahrhunderten zwischen Spätmittelalter und der Entstehung der modernen Wirtschaftsgesellschaft ausgesetzt war, frei von dem Klischee eines allgemeinen Verfalls

⁴ *Bernhardt, Christoph*: Moderne Stadtgeschichte.

http://www.clio-online.de/site/lang__cs/mid__11393/ModelID__1/40208214/default.aspx. heruntergeladen: 05.10. 2011. 23:23.

funktional darzustellen. In diesem Forschungsfeld soll die Stadt als integrierter Teil der deutschen und österreichischen Geschichte erscheinen.

In dieser Beurteilung tauchen eine Reihe von Kardinalproblemen der frühneuzeitlichen Stadtgeschichte auf, unter denen – nach Schilling – sechs besonders wichtig erscheinen. Das Konzept des deutschen Forschers soll man mit einigen speziellen Ansichten ergänzen.

Nämlich

erstens das allgemeine Problem der frühneuzeitlichen Urbanisierung;

zweitens die Zusammenhang in langfristigem Konzept zwischen Stadt und globalen ökonomischen Wandlungen

drittens die Beziehung zwischen der frühmodernen Stadt und der modernen Staatsbildung (nach dem Konzept von Max Weber). In dieser Hinsicht erscheinen die aussenstädtischen Kontakte mit der oberen Machtsebene betont. Neben diesen „Außenbeziehungen“ meldet sich auch innerstädtische Situation und der politische Kultur auch als wichtiger Fragenkreis

viertens Stadt und Reformation. Zeitlich von der Epoche der Vor- und Frühreformation mit ihren in den meisten Fällen schwierig oder gar problematisch forschbaren mentalitätsgeschichtlichen Phänomenen bis zur Konfessionalisierung und Säkularisierung. Letzter Fragenkreis hängt natürlich eng mit dem vorigen Thema, mit der Beziehung zwischen Stadt und Staat zusammen.

fünftens Stadt und Bildung, Stadt und Kultur

sechstens die Sozialgeschichte des Bürgertums zwischen Mittelalter und 19. Jahrhundert

Die Fachliteratur zu diesen Problemfeldern ist außerordentlich umfangreich, zumal die erwähnte Einbettung der Stadt in die allgemeine Geschichte zu beachten ist.

In den letzten Jahrzehnten übte das Konzept mit dem zusammenfassenden Titel *die Dreidimensionalität der Urbanisierung* eine sehr bedeutende Wirkung auf die deutschsprachige

Stadtgeschichtsschreibung aus. Dieses Konzept stammt von der niederländischen Stadtgeschichtswissenschaftlerin Boudien de Vries. Es impliziert das Prinzip: „*something more than urban growth or demographic urbanization*“.

Es behandelt die Urbanisierungstendenz als *demographischen* Prozeß, der zu einer Verlagerung der Bevölkerung vom Land in die Städte und dadurch zum Wachstum letzterer führt; weiterhin als – vom Englischen übernommen – „*behavioural urbanization*“, das heißt als Ausbreitung urbanen Verhaltens, Empfindens, Denkens und Tuns der Menschen, egal, ob sie in Städten leben oder nicht; schließlich als sog. „*structural urbanization*“, die mit der demographischen Annäherung eng verbunden ist, den Akzent aber nicht auf die Konzentration von Menschen legt, sondern auf die Konzentration von Aktivitäten und Funktionen an zentralen Orten, sowie auf das überregionale, ja transkontinentale Städtenetz, über das Waren und Informationen ausgetauscht und Einflüsse ausgeübt werden.

Die einzelne historische Epochen haben also je eine spezifische Urbanisierungsphase, „die ihre besondere demographische, verhaltensmäßige und strukturelle Dimension hatte.

Während de Vries im wesentlichen die demographischen Dimension der europäischen Urbanisierung behandelt, befassen sich Paul M. Hohenberg und Lynn Hollen Lees mit anderen Faktoren der Urbanisierung. Diese Phänomene ordnen sie zwei Regelsysteme zu, nämlich „Politik und Staat“ sowie „Kultur und Bildung“.

Der französische Deutschlandhistoriker Etienne Francois charakterisierte in einer richtungsweisenden Monographie den frühneuzeitlichen Wandel im Städtewesen typologisch folgender Weise. Er beschreibt die Umstellung von einem Städtewesen, das durch große, unabhängige Handelsrepubliken (aus dem Französischen *république marchandes*) geprägt war, auf ein solches, in dem die Residenz- und Hauptstädte (*capital politiques*) die Leitfunktion übernommen hatte. Dieser neue Leittypus im

deutschen und österreichischen Städtewesen überformte die frühneuzeitliche Bürgerwelt, aber er ersetzte auch neue urbane Entwicklungsimpulse.⁵

Wissenschaftliche Vereinigungen/Fachgesellschaften

Im folgenden Kapitel möchte ich die bedeutendsten Fachgesellschaften und Forscherkreise der deutschsprachigen Stadtgeschichtsschreibung kurz darstellen. Die derzeit im deutschen Sprachraum wichtigste Fachgesellschaft für die moderne Stadtgeschichtsforschung ist die *Gesellschaft für Stadtgeschichte und Urbanisierungsforschung (GSU)*. Sie organisiert regelmäßig Konferenzen und gibt als Schriftenreihe die *Beiträge zur Stadtgeschichte und Urbanisierungsforschung* heraus. Einen regionalen Schwerpunkt bearbeitet der traditionsreiche *Südwestdeutsche Arbeitskreis für Stadtgeschichtsforschung*, der vor allem für seine Jahrestagungen zu einzelnen Schwerpunktthemen und die daraus hervorgehenden Themenbände in der Reihe *Die Stadt in der Geschichte* bekannt ist. Der Erforschung der Stadtgeschichte Mitteleuropas, insbesondere Österreichs widmet sich der *Österreichische Arbeitskreis für Stadtgeschichtsforschung*. Er ist ein Mitträger des *Ludwig Boltzmann Instituts für Stadtgeschichtsforschung*, organisiert Tagungen, gibt zwei Buchreihen sowie die Zeitschrift *Pro Civitate Austriae* heraus und betreibt auch Datenbanken zur österreichischen Stadtgeschichte. Sein Pendant in der Schweiz ist der *Schweizerische Arbeitskreis für Stadtgeschichte/Groupe d'étude pour l'histoire de la ville, SAfs/GESHU*, mit einem ähnlichen Profil für die schweizerische Stadtgeschichte.⁶

Zeitschriften und Portale

Die moderne Stadtgeschichtsforschung kann ein breites Netz von Fachzeitschriften aufweisen. Hier haben wir die Möglichkeit, nur Einige von den Bedeutendsten hervorheben. Es kann als eine der wirkungsvollen Fachmedien im deutschen

⁵ Schilling, 2004. 58-59.

⁶ Bernhardt, Christoph. Moderne Stadtgeschichte. S. oben.

Sprachraum die halbjährlich erscheinenden *Informationen zur modernen Stadtgeschichte (IMS)* erwähnt werden. Die Zeitschrift erscheint mit wechselnden Themenschwerpunkten. *Die alte Stadt (ZSSD)* als die andere der beiden in Deutschland erscheinenden Zeitschriften legt einen Schwerpunkt auf die interdisziplinäre Planungs- und Städtebaugeschichte. Einmal pro Jahr erscheint die österreichische Fachzeitschrift *Pro Civitate Austriae*, weiterhin önnen noch stärker spezialisierte Zeitschriften erwähnt werden, wie unter anderen das *Jahrbuch für Stadterneuerung*. Weitere wichtige Periodika für stadthistorische Forschungen sind Zeitschriften mit regionalem Schwerpunkt, von denen exemplarisch das *Jahrbuch für die Geschichte Mittel- und Osteuropas*, das *Jahrbuch für Regionalgeschichte*. Für die in der Stadtgeschichtsforschung inzwischen weitgehend selbstverständliche Orientierung an dem internationalen Forschungsstand ist für den englischen Sprachraum die drei Mal pro Jahr in Leicester/GB erscheinende *Urban History* zu nennen. Es sind noch ohne Anspruch auf Vollständigkeit zu erwähnen: *Journal of Urban History*; *Urban History Review*.

Die wichtigsten elektronischen Medien sind zweifelsohne die dem „H-Net“ angehörenden Mailing-Lists. Hier kann man vor allem das englischsprachige *H-Urban* nennen und weiterhin die ebenso bedeutende *H-Soz-u-Kult* mit ihrem deutlich breiteren Themenspektrum. „H-Soz-u-Kult“ ist Fachforum und Informations- und Kommunikationsplattform für Historiker, die fachwissenschaftliche Nachrichten und Publikationen im Internet veröffentlichen möchten. Ebenfalls von großem Nutzen für stadthistorische Forschungen sind noch Datenbanken. Hier kann insbesondere die laufende *Bibliografie des Instituts für vergleichende Städtegeschichte in Münster* erwähnt werden.⁷ Auch Münster verknüpft sich eine der bedeutendsten Gesellschaften für historische Netzwerkforschung (Institut für Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte; Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität)

⁷ *Bernhardt, Christoph*. Moderne Stadtgeschichte. S. oben.

Wichtigste Forschungstrends in den letzten Jahrzehnten

Ein verhältnismäßig neues und soz. „populäres“ Gebiet der Forschung der städtischen Gesellschaft ist die sog. Elite-Forschung. In der Hinsicht der Verhaltensnormen der städtischen Gemeinden lohnt es sich auch größere Aufmerksamkeit auf dieses Gebiet zu lenken. Ich möchte also in den Weiteren auf dieses Forschungsgebiet noch detailliert eingehen. Wie auf anderen Gebieten auch – etwa der Frage der Beziehungen zwischen Stadt und Adel – hat sich üblicherweise die Untersuchung der städtischen Führungsschichten auf die Großstädte in Süddeutschland beschränkt. Hier wäre zunächst Nürnberg zu nennen, das auf diesem Gebiet von einer sehr langen Tradition profitieren konnte und kann. Auf dieser Basis entstanden etliche Monographien über einzelne Geschlechter und Gesamtdarstellungen ebenso wie Aussagen hinsichtlich der Bedeutung von geschichtlicher oder familiärer Erinnerung in Nürnberg. Hier könnte man ohne Anspruch auf Vollständigkeit die Monographien und bedeutende Fallstudien von Ludwig Grote, Hanns Hubert Hofmann, oder aus den 1990er und 2000er Jahren die Werke von Wolfgang Strome, Valentin Groebner, Michael Diefenbacher und Martial Staub erwähnen.

Augsburg ist gleichfalls in jüngerer Zeit Gegenstand einer eingehenden Untersuchung gewesen, und was Schwaben betrifft, so war es und wird es immer ein bevorzugtes Terrain für die Beschäftigung mit städtischen Eliten bleiben. Man braucht auf diese Stelle nur auf die klassischen Untersuchungen über das Patriziat von Konstanz, Hall, Heilbronn, Memmingen, Ravensburg oder Rottweil zu verweisen. Die Monographien, über die Oberschicht der süddeutschen Städte, die man seit gut dreißig Jahren betreibt, haben dabei von den tiefgreifenden Neuerungen, die bei der Adelsforschung festzustellen sind, profitiert. Unter diesem Aspekt laufen z.B. im letzten Jahrzehnt Untersuchungen über die Stadt Passau.⁸

⁸ *Monnet, Pierre*: Führungseliten und Bewußtsein sozialer Distinktion in Frankfurt a.M. (14. und 15. Jahrhundert). Archiv für Frankfurts Geschichte und Kunst 66. 2000. 12-14.

Letztens möchte ich drei Gebiete, bzw. Forschungstendenze noch hervorheben aus den letzten Jahren. Erstens gewinnt(e) die Residenzstadtforschung um die Jahrtausendwende und im ersten Jahren des 21. Jahrhunderts eine immer größere Aufmerksamkeit. Dieser Wissenschaftszweig bewegt sich auch in der Sphäre der Interdisziplinarität und zwar innerhalb der Rahmen der Geschichtswissenschaft.

Weiterhin erlebte die Forschung der physikalischen Räume in der Geschichtswissenschaft in den letzten Jahren eine bedeutende Konjunktur, oder anders gesagt kann man den „Widerkehr des Raumes“ fühlen. Christine Roll nennt dieses Phänomen als die Rezeption des *Spatial turn*.⁹ In der Hinsicht dieser neuer Forschungstendenz gewinnt unter anderen die Stadtopographie, das Handels- und Kommunikationssystem und auch noch die Sozialstruktur der bürgerlichen Gemeinschaften eine neue Beleuchtung.

Letztens möchte ich noch die historische Netzwerkforschung erwähnen. Dieser interdisziplinäre Wissenschaftszweig kann vielleicht als der Jüngere bewertet werden. Sogar die Methodologie, und die von den Naturwissenschaften und der Soziologie übernommenen Schlüsselbegriffe sind auf diesem Gebiet in einigen Fällen noch unsicher. Was die Forschung der frühneuzeitlichen Stadt betrifft, kann man die Netzwerkforschung in mehreren Fragenkreisen benutzen, wie z.B. bei der Erörterung des geschäftlichen Netzwerkes der deutschen frühkapitalistischen Konzerne. Das Netzwerk diese Handels- und Bankhäuser dehnte sich in Europa von Cadix bis Hamburg, von Antwerpen bis zum Königreich Ungarn aus. Die oberdeutschen Bankhäuser betätigten dieses komplizierte System mit der Hilfe der Faktoreien. Die Beziehungen dieses Faktoreisystem kann sehr gut geforscht werden.

⁹ Roll, *Christine*: Grenzen und Grenzüberschreitungen in der Frühen Neuzeit – eine Einführung in die Forschung. In: Christine Roll – Frank Pohle – Matthias Myrczek (Hrsg.): Grenzen und Grenzüberschreitungen. Bilanz und Perspektiven der Frühneuezeitforschung. Köln – Weimar – Wien, 2010. 13–24. 13–14.

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