
TRANSYLVANIAN REVIEW

/REVUE DE TRANSYLVANIE

Vol. XXIX
No. 4
Winter 2020

Contents/Sommaire

• Paradigms

Transylvanian Saxon: 900 Years Old, and Still Alive 3
Hermann Scheuringer

Multicultural Education in Transylvania:
Perspectives for the German Minority 24
Raluca Sassu
Daniela Stanciu

An Assessment of the Saxon Cultural Heritage
by Other Cohabiting Ethnic Groups
in Southern Transylvania 35
Mărioara Pașcu

• Focus

Laudatio 58
Ana Victoria Sima

National Movements in Italy and in Central
and Southeast Europe: The Difficult
Implementation of the Idea of the Nation 66
Francesco Guida

Francesco Guida:
Biography and Bibliography 76

• Transilvanica

Past Epidemics in Transylvania (1830–1918)
and Their Lessons for the Current Challenges 94
Daniela Mărza

“Autumn Reschedules”: The Student Movement
in Cluj at the Start of the Academic Year
1923–1924 104
Maria Ghitta

• Editorial Events

The Participant-Historian and Contemporary
History 119
Vasile Pușcaș

ROMANIAN ACADEMY
Chairman:
Academician **Ioan-Aurel Pop**

CENTER FOR
TRANSYLVANIAN STUDIES

On the cover:
Evangelical fortified church of Hărman
(Brașov County), 13th–18th centuries
Photo by ȘTEFAN SOCACIU

• **Profile**

**Professor Liviu Maior at 80 Years Old:
A Historian of Modernity and of Historical
Writing Modernization in Romania** 129

Ioan-Aurel Pop
Ioan Bolovan

• **Concertatio**

Trianon 139

George Cipăianu
Vlad Onaciu

• **Communio**

**“Où va la Roumanie?”: Les chroniques
d’Alphonse Dupront dans *L’Europe nouvelle*
des années 1930** 149

Stefan Lemny

• **List of Contributors** 160

Publication indexed and abstracted in the
Thomson Reuters Social Sciences Citation Index®
and in Arts & Humanities Citation Index®,
and included in the products of EBSCO, ELSEVIER-Scopus,
CEEOL and ERIH PLUS.

ISSN 1221-1249



Printed in Romania by COLOR PRINT
66, 22 Decembrie 1989 St.,
Zalău 450031, Romania
Tel. (0040)260-660598

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

Transylvanian Review is published quarterly by the **Center for Transylvanian Studies** and the **Romanian Academy**.

EDITORIAL BOARD

CESARE ALZATI, Ph.D.

Facoltà di Scienze della Formazione, Istituto di Storia Moderna e Contemporanea, Università Cattolica, Milan, Italy

MATHIAS BEER, Ph.D.

Institut für donauschwäbische Geschichte und Landeskunde, Tübingen, Germany

KONRAD GÜNDISCH, Ph.D.

Bundesinstitut für Kultur und Geschichte der Deutschen im östlichen Europa, Oldenburg, Germany

HARALD HEPPNER, Ph.D.

Institut für Geschichte, Graz, Austria

PAUL E. MICHELSON, Ph.D.

Huntington University, Indiana, USA

MOMČILO PAVLOVIĆ, Ph.D.

Principal research fellow at the Institute for Contemporary History, Belgrade, Serbia

ALEXANDRU ZUB, Ph.D.

Academician, honorary director of A. D. Xenopol Institute of History, Iași, Romania

EDITORIAL STAFF

Ioan-Aurel Pop

Daniela Mârza

Ioan Bolovan

Robert-M. Mihalache

Raveca Divricean

Ferenc Páll-Szabó

Maria Ghitta

Alexandru Simon

Rudolf Gräf

Florian D. Soporan

Virgil Leon

George State

Translated by

Bogdan Aldea—English

Liana Lăpădatu—French

Desktop Publishing

Cosmina Varga

Correspondence, manuscripts and books should be sent to: **Transylvanian Review, Centrul de Studii Transilvane** (Center for Transylvanian Studies) 12–14 Mihail Kogălniceanu St., Cluj-Napoca 400084, Romania.

All material copyright © 2020 by the Center for Transylvanian Studies and the Romanian Academy. Reproduction or use without written permission is prohibited.

cst@academia-cj.ro

www.centruldestudiitransilvane.ro

roughly a millennium ago in the context of the Hungarian settlement and, subsequently, sovereignty over the Carpathian Basin. Correspondingly, the Latin word *Transsylvania* seems to be an exact translation of Hungarian *Erdély*, meaning ‘on the other side of the woods.’ The woods mentioned here are the Apuseni Mountains of the Western Carpathians, in northwestern Romania. Transylvania stretches between them, forming a part of the Western Carpathians and of the Eastern and Southern Carpathians. Although Transylvania has to be seen in the context of the Hungarian rule over East-Central Europe over the centuries, its majority population has primarily consisted of (what are called today) Romanians, (probably) from the beginnings and up to the present.

Transylvania’s popular name in Romanian is *Ardeal*, a direct borrowing from Hungarian, of course. In German, Transylvania is called *Siebenbürgen*, meaning ‘seven fortresses,’ a term to be directly linked to the German settlement and its organization in the region. The immigration of—what would only later be called—German settlers and, thus, speakers of German started as early as the first half of the 12th century and then continued for roughly two centuries. Smaller groups of German-speaking immigrants followed, until as late as the 19th century. The Hungarian chancellery used the (Latin) term *Saxones* for the armored men of the lesser nobility, and, indeed, the first settlers seem to have come from this group, the term being extended to all German-speaking settlers later on. The first settlers arrived upon invitation by the then Hungarian King Géza II, their main areas of origin being the westernmost parts of the German language area in what are nowadays the (central) Rhine and Moselle areas of Germany, Luxembourg, East Belgium, and eastern (‘Germanophone’) France in Alsace and Lorraine, even comprising groups of Romance-speaking settlers from these areas.¹ The eastward movement of German settlers in the Middle Ages to a region like Transylvania has to be seen in the context of the greater German *Ostsiedlung*, as well as in the specific context of the establishment of Hungarian rule and economic development in the area, with the invitation extended to colonists with specific skills and expertise, such as in the field of mining, whose other task was to defend the country’s southeastern borders. It must also be linked to the Crusades undertaken by the Latin Church from 1099 up to the 13th century, which brought men from all over the German language area and beyond to the Carpathian Basin. This is especially the case in the southeastern area of Saxon settlement to be mentioned below.

German settlement in Transylvania is mainly located in three separate areas. First and foremost, a main body roughly 200 kilometers in length stretches from Broos/Oraştie/Szászváros in the west to Reps/Rupea/Kőhalom in the east, between the rivers Marosch/Mureş/Maros and Alt/Olt/Olt and parallel to (and north of) the Southern Carpathians. Here we find the oldest of all Saxon set-

lements, originally organized in administrative units called the “Seven Sees” (German *Sieben Stühle*), with seven fortresses, of course, hence Transylvania’s German name *Siebenbürgen*. Among them we find cities that remained important up to this day, such as Hermannstadt/Sibiu/Nagyszeben and Schäßburg/Sighișoara/Segesvár. These were also called the *Königsboden* (‘royal lands’), lands under the direct rule of the Hungarian kings, offering many privileges to their settlers. These royal lands were later extended to the other areas of Saxon settlement in Transylvania. Thus, second, we have a pocket of German towns and villages in the far southeast of the region, around the city of Kronstadt/Brașov/Brassó, called *Burzenland*/Țara Bârsei/Barcaság. This ‘sub-region’ was colonized starting from 1211 under the direction of the Teutonic Knights (or Teutonic Order, German *Deutscher Orden*), the settlers coming from the areas colonized earlier (these would later be called the *Altland*, ‘old land’) and, again, from the areas of origin in western Germany. The third region of Saxon settlement is situated in the north of Transylvania around the city of Bistritz/Bistrița/Beszterce. It is called *Nösnerland*/Țara Năsăudului/*Naszód vidéke* (Nösen being the historically older name for Bistritz) and was settled by Saxons mainly in the 13th century. Dialectological research on Transylvanian Saxon suggests that the direction of settlement at this time was one from north to southeast, from *Nösnerland* to *Burzenland*. At its peak, the area of Saxon settlement in Transylvania comprised around 270 towns and villages.

Dialectological research on Transylvanian Saxon (*siebenbürgische Dialektologie*) has been very productive for almost two centuries, from the middle of the 19th century up to the present, culminating in a language atlas published in two volumes—*Siebenbürgisch-deutscher Sprachatlas* (SDSA), vol. 1, *Laut- und Formenatlas*, part 1 (SDSA 1-1) and part 2 (SDSA 1-2); vol. 2, *Siebenbürgisch-deutscher Wortatlas* (SDWA)—and in two large dictionaries, one of them completed (*Nordsiebenbürgisch-sächsisches Wörterbuch*, 1986–2006), the other one (*Siebenbürgisch-Sächsisches Wörterbuch*, 1924ff.) still under development in its home at the Institute of Social Sciences and Humanities of the Romanian Academy of Sciences in Hermannstadt. In the first of the two aforementioned centuries, the dominant issue in Transylvanian Saxon research was the question of the linguistic and, furthermore, historical and geographic origins, the search for the original lands and even villages in the west of the German language area where the first settlers had come from. Convinced that local dialects in Transylvania had their perfect counterparts in the local dialects of their forefathers’ villages in western Germany and Luxembourg which were yet to be found, in 1905 the so-called *Urheimatkommission* (‘original home commission’), a group of Transylvanian historians, linguists, and ethnologists, went on a legendary journey to Luxembourg (the *Luxemburgfahrt*, Agache 1996, 235)—only to be greatly disappointed by its re-

sults. This very positivist view, even expecting one-to-one accordance between (supposed) villages of origin and villages of colonization in Transylvania, characteristic for the so-called *Nösen* (i.e. Bistritz) *school of Germanists*, was later on completely demystified by the work of Karl Kurt Klein,² the Transylvanian dialectologist in the 20th century (Klein 1943). The overall classification remains, however, that Transylvanian German dialects are of Middle Franconian and Riparian origin, modified only by influences and developments in the centuries that followed the original settlement (see chapter 3).

2. Sociohistorical and Sociolinguistic Aspects

FROM THE beginning, the Saxons in Transylvania have to be seen as a (mostly) more or (in very recent times only) less privileged group of settlers—privileged in many ways. Starting as early as the 12th century and for many centuries to come, the *Saxones* or *Flandrenses*, as they were then called by the Hungarian chancellery, were part of the ‘upper’ segment within the Hungarian Kingdom’s feudal hierarchy. In 1224, King Andrew II, Géza’s grandson, confirmed their privileges in the *Andreamum* diploma, also called the ‘golden free letter’ (*Goldener Freibrief*), ensuring the right to freely elect their own magistrates and priests, privileges in trade and taxes, the free use of waters and woods, and other ‘classical’ medieval privileges. After the major disruptions caused by the Mongol invasion of 1241, the 14th and 15th centuries turned out to be the heyday of Transylvanian Saxon history, a time of economic prosperity and flourishing political influence. Hermannstadt was then the size of Vienna, and Transylvania itself stood at the center of Euro-Asian trade and commerce.

In 1485, Matthias Corvinus, king of Hungary, even extended the *Andreamum* privileges—initially enjoyed only by the original royal lands, the *Königsboden*—to all the Saxon lands, which were to be united and defined as the *University of the Saxon Nation* (*Sächsische Nationsuniversität*), thus standing side by side with the Hungarian and with the Székely³ nation in the *Unio Trium Nationum*, the ‘unity of three nations’ ruling Transylvania. It might be noticed that the then and present-day majority Romance-speaking population in Transylvania, then and up to this day called *Vlachs* (German *Walachen*) by the Transylvanian Saxons, seems to be invisible. The Romanians had altogether disappeared from the ruling hierarchy in the 14th century, due to their Orthodox faith and also due to a fundamental inability to play a role in the contemporary struggle for power. The Romanian nobility was assimilated into the leading Hungarian nobility at that time.

The main reason for creating the ‘unity of three nations’ seems to have been that from the 15th century on Turkish invasions successively threatened Christian

Europe,⁴ the Ottoman Empire in the end conquering almost all of Hungary and turning Transylvania into a Turkish-controlled principality. Eventually, it managed to operate relatively freely under Turkish sovereignty, with a high degree of autonomy. The privileged status of the Saxons and of their German language remained intact, a vital requirement for what probably became the most important factor of all in keeping the language's advanced position, the Reformation. Just like in Central Europe, it was closely linked to the development of printing, the first press being established in Klausenburg in 1550. In the same year, one year after the death of the Transylvanians' own reformer, Johannes Honterus of Kronstadt, the 'university' of the Saxon nation decided to adopt the Reformed belief of Christianity, thus strengthening the Saxon 'national' identity in a very remarkable way. Henceforth, being Saxon meant being Reformed and—absolutely vital in terms of language identity—it also implied that the language of the Saxons and of the Reformation in Transylvania could only be German. In Klausenburg, where the local Saxons had not embraced the Reformation, they rapidly assimilated into the Hungarian community, while south of the Carpathians, in what was then called Langenau in German (i.e. Câmpulung-Muscel in present-day Argeş County of Romania) the local Saxons (in a very exposed position outside Transylvania) turned to Romanian within a century (see Ciocîltan 2015). With the Reformation, the connections with the German lands in Central Europe again intensified, Transylvanian students increasingly coming to universities like Wittenberg and Leipzig, which once more served to stabilize and even strengthen the position of the German language in Transylvania.

Towards the end of the 17th century the Turks' grasp of East-Central and Southeast Europe became increasingly weak, and in 1690 Austria, i.e. the House of Habsburg, gained control over Transylvania, establishing the Principality of Transylvania (German *Fürstentum Siebenbürgen*, from 1765 Great Principality, *Großfürstentum*). Being—for the first and only time in history—part of the German Empire (indirectly, at least, as it was controlled by the then leading dynasty of Germany), the position of the German language could have further improved, impaired only by the Habsburg-led Counter-Reformation, which, on the other hand, brought new and different groups of Germans into the country, most prominent among them being the Protestants expelled from Upper Austria, the so-called *Landler*s. In the wake of the Counter-Reformation and of the Austrian administrative reforms undermining and, at last, eliminating Transylvanian autonomy, Emperor Joseph II, in 1783, introduced the German language as the language of government and administration instead of Latin, but, in 1784, he also abolished the 'university of the Saxon nation.'

Introducing German as the official language of government and education served to strengthen Hungarian nationalism, eventually weakening the centu-

ries-old privileged position of German—which had been already weakened by tying social advancement to being Catholic. In 1867, after the so-called *Ausgleich* (i.e. Compromise) between Austria and Hungary, leading to the Austro-Hungarian Dual Monarchy, the Great Principality of Transylvania came to an end and was then, in 1867, and again in 1876, in the context of far-reaching administrative reforms in Hungary, incorporated into Hungary's administration without any compensation.

Linguistically, the times of undisputed privileges had come to an end, as well. At the 'upper end,' Hungarian became the language of government, and more and more even of schooling and education, while at the 'lower end' Saxon dominance in the towns and cities, especially, dwindled as the number of Romanians grew. Nevertheless, from today's perspective, German was on the whole able to keep its social position. This was due to many factors, one certainly being the overall prestige of the German language, its position as dominant language in the monarchy's Austrian half, its long tradition as a language of learning for Transylvanians—traditionally studying in Vienna and at the universities in Reformed central Germany—but foremost on account of its strong position within the Reformed Church of Transylvania and its institutions of education. When the monarchy came to an end in 1918, the Transylvanian Saxons seemed to have gained a deeper and additional knowledge of Hungarian rather than to have lost their skills in the German standard language.

On the whole, the use and knowledge of the German standard language seems to have been in no way different from the developments in Germany, the standard form of the language emerging there as well as in Transylvania with the Reformation as a major driving force. Apart from this close connection to the German language and cultural space in Central Europe that functioned via learning and education, we have to bear in mind that, in the course of almost eight centuries of existence in the Carpathian Basin and of co-existence with speakers of Hungarian and of Romanian, predominantly, the Transylvanian Saxons developed their very specific varieties of German in the form of around 250 different local dialects, including highly esteemed varieties like the city dialects of Hermannstadt and Kronstadt. These dialects shared a fundament of common features, they were used in everyday life in the villages and in the cities, and the latter varieties also developed a written tradition. In the cities and in liturgy Saxon was used until the beginning of the 20th century, and only then was it superseded by Standard German. Even today, in the villages, Saxon dialects are still alive among the very few remaining Saxon inhabitants.

After centuries of privilege for the Saxons and their German language, the situation started changing in the 20th century. Following World War I, 'Greater' Romania, *România Mare*, founded on 1 December 1918, incorporated Transyl-

vania, due to its majority Romanian population. The Saxons became Romanian citizens and were confronted with a new and very self-conscious state, Romanian in a very ostentatious way. Nationalism reached its peak in the 20th century. Just like Romania's Hungarians looked to their 'mother country' Hungary, the Germans in Romania strengthened their ties with Germany, which, from 1933, was Nazi Germany—a development, as we know, leading to the apocalypse of World War II and all its consequences. Toward the end of the war, the German population of northern Transylvania, the *Nösnerland*, which had become Hungarian again in 1944, had to leave for Germany, and only a very small fraction there remained in the country. (What remained of) Romania itself did not expel its Germans, the only country of Eastern Europe to do so. At the end of World War II, roughly 250,000 Germans still lived in Transylvania.

After all, Greater Romania, the Romanian state between the wars, had been a democratic state, and Germans had had the institutions that people need to survive linguistically. In 1945, apart from the serious loss of population in the *Nösnerland*, the position of German in Transylvania, on the whole, was not very different from what it had been in the previous centuries. This all changed severely after the war. Around 30,000 Transylvanian Saxons were deported to the Soviet Union to work in labor camps, and the discrimination against Germans in Romania started just like elsewhere in Eastern Europe, with all the consequences Germans had to endure for being Germans. Expropriation and collectivization began in 1948 in then communist Romania. More than any other ethnic group, the Germans were exposed to everyday repression. So, having the opportunity to leave in the framework of postwar (West) Germany's policy of reparation and repatriation, from the 1950s on, the Germans began to emigrate, Germany paying bounties of up to 10,000 German Marks per head. At the end of 1989, when the communist regime fell, Transylvania's German population had decreased to some 110,000 people, intimidated, hopeless, and marginalized in their former strongholds, in cities like Hermannstadt and Kronstadt, due to the massively forced influx of Romanians from southern and eastern Romania in the communist years. Still, the traditional Saxon villages were mainly, and sometimes exclusively, German, the Saxon dialects being spoken as in the centuries before.

This again changed severely after the Romanian revolution. In 1990 and 1991, just like all the Germans from all over Romania, lacking any trust in a new and probably democratic state to come, the Transylvanian Saxons left their homes for Germany in numbers unseen before. In 1992, we find around 20,000 left.

A quarter of a century later, the situation has stabilized. The number of Saxons is between 15,000 and 20,000, some villages have been altogether deserted by Saxons, but in most villages a few people are left, very old now, of course. In the cities the Saxon population has shrunk to a marginal minority of less than

one percent. No place can now be found where Saxons are the majority. This could sound very hopeless. Despite all predictions, though, the German population of Romania has recovered slightly, gained political influence in a new and democratic Romania offering everything a language needs to survive, including education in the native language, German newspapers, publications, theater, etc. Among the Germans of Romania, the Transylvanian Saxons may now be seen as the most influential group. Well-educated, well-organized politically, no other indicator of full-fledged German participation may show this clearer than the fact that, since 2015, the president of the Romanian state is Klaus Iohannis, a Transylvanian Saxon from Hermannstadt.

To sum up, in what regards the situation of German in Transylvania, this means that we cannot see a language or dialects in any state of language loss or decay. What has decreased significantly during the last decades is the sheer number of people using the language as their native language. Everything else is being provided—sometimes in abundance: schooling in the native language (actually used by many more speakers of Romanian than by Germans) and all the other necessary components. Thus, Transylvanian German dialects exist as they have existed in the centuries before—provided there are speakers left in the respective villages, at all. Due to the high standard of education and literacy, in general, even a Romanian variety of Standard German has established itself, now recognized and accepted in German variation linguistics. Still, as in the previous centuries, German in Romania and in Transylvania, especially, cannot be characterized as a ‘typical minority language.’

3. Transylvanian German

LOOKING AT German in Transylvania, we may differentiate between three main strata, (1) the local dialects in towns as well as in villages, (2) a Saxon regional language, the *Gemeine Landsprache* (‘common language of the land,’ cf. Gadeanu 1998, 101ff.), and (3) Romanian standard German. We cannot find a sort of a linguistic continuum from local dialects to standard language, but rather diglossia, (1) and (2) having been the case up to the 19th century, regional Saxon then slowly being superseded by standard German, leading to (1) and (3) having existed side by side since the middle of the 19th century. Regional Saxon emerged from the city dialect of Hermannstadt,⁵ the old and current center of Saxon political and cultural life. It could have asserted itself as a standard language of its own, but did not complete this line of development due to the emergence and subsequent acceptance of standard German, this again due to German nationalism replacing the older and different form of Saxon national-

ism or ‘nationhood,’ rather, as seen in the medieval Saxon nation. Consequently, (Saxon) Transylvania’s main cities, foremost among them Hermannstadt, Kronstadt, and Bistritz, started giving up their local dialects for (regionally colored) standard German as their everyday languages around one century ago. Regional Saxon was mainly used in church and in the schools, in public affairs and negotiations, but it lacked a written norm, this being the main cause for not having attained the status of a standard language. As long as it existed, regional Saxon, the *gemeine Landsprache*, called *Detsch* in Saxon, functioned as an outstanding means of defining Saxon identity as opposed to Hungarian, Székely, and Romanian identities, as well as to a generic German identity. Due to regional Saxon’s strong position up to the 19th century, the specifically Austrian influence in the formation of urban varieties of German throughout the former Austria-Hungary like, for instance, the urban vernaculars of Temeswar (Romanian Timișoara) or Czernowitz (now Ukraine, Чернівці in Ukrainian, Cernăuți in Romanian), could not really shape such an urban language in Saxon cities. There it appears in sort of a ‘reduced’ variety, described as *Kucheldeutsch* (i.e. ‘kitchen German,’ see also Protze 1959, 91ff.), as used by the lower social strata of Hermannstadt, indeed located physically in Hermannstadt’s *Unterstadt*, the (geographically) lower parts of the city. Gadeanu’s (1998, 112ff.) table of words as spoken in five different varieties of German in Romania is based on Andreas Scheiner’s (1928) list of 116 words in regional Saxon (*gemeine Landsprache*) and in *Kucheldeutsch* (called *bequemeres Deutsch*, i.e. ‘more comfortable German’ by Scheiner), citing these in the first two of five columns. Here are a few examples, comparing *gemeine Landsprache* and *Kucheldeutsch*:

ʌʃ—aʃn *Asche* ‘ash’
 muəl̩n—ma:l̩n *mahlen* ‘to grind’
 regdn—raitn *reiten* ‘to ride’
 ʃveŋ—ʃvain *Schwein* ‘pig’ (‘swine’)
 bo:x—baux *Bauch* ‘belly’
 fli:ʃ—flaiʃ *Fleisch* ‘meat’ (‘flesh’)
 du:f—taup *taub* ‘deaf’
 bax—bux *Buch* ‘book’
 gɔ:s—gants *Gans* ‘goose’
 haŋt—hunt *Hund* ‘dog’ (‘hound’)

For the dialectal and dialectological classification of the Saxon varieties, especially, cf. the explanations on the characteristics of Transylvanian Saxon dialects in the following chapters.

4. Transylvanian German Dialects: Classification

IN THEIR specific characteristics, German dialects anywhere in the world doubtlessly show features of the German dialects in the originating language area in Central Europe. These may be mappings one-to-one in the case of isolated and self-contained villages of speakers from one and the same area of origin, the classical ‘language island,’ and there may be countless forms of mixes and independent developments over the years, mostly in contact with neighboring languages. All these ‘new dialects’ can nevertheless be classified according to the common and well-known features of German dialects and dialect areas, respectively, and probably all these dialects ‘outside’ are indeed shaped by specific proportions of these features (augmented, at that, by new and independent features never and nowhere seen before), enabling us to characterize them as, e.g., ‘mainly Franconian,’ ‘mixed Bavarian-Franconian,’ ‘Alemannic with a slight Bavarian interference,’ etc.

Transylvanian Saxon—and this is, no doubt, *communis opinio*, supported by thorough dialectological research as well as by intensive discussions of the subject—is of mainly Franconian origin and up to this day showing characteristically Central Franconian features of the German dialects. In a more detailed classification, its dominant features can be assigned mainly to Ripuarian, from the greater Cologne area, and to Moselle-Franconian, the area from the river Rhine along the river Moselle up to present-day Luxembourg and Lorraine. In a wider and more extensive classification, (increasingly Low German) dialect features from areas north of Cologne and Düsseldorf and (increasingly High German) dialect features from areas south and east of the Rhine-Moselle area can be detected and have been described in depth over the years. Being constantly aware of the fact that a one-to-one correlation between the originating area and the place of settlement in Transylvania must not be done (and being also aware of the constant temptation to do), Transylvanian Saxon dialects may be projected upon the area of the so-called *Rhenish Fan*, showing the gradual non-appearance of features typical for the *High German Sound Shift* going from south to north. “Das Siebenbürgische läßt sich dem ‘rheinischen Fächer’ der heutigen Lautverschiebungsstände an Rhein und Mosel zwanglos einordnen” (Klein 1959, 15). Thus, first of all, the High German Sound Shift’s specific appearance in Transylvanian Saxon has to be investigated. Again: it has to be kept in mind that it must be interpreted as specifically Transylvanian (Protze 1969, 300: “steht der mittelfränkische Charakter der siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Mundarten nicht am Anfang, sondern am Ende eines etwa ein halbes Jahrtausend währenden sprachlichen Ausgleichs”).

4.1. Sounds—Characteristic Features

4.1.1. THE HIGH GERMAN SOUND SHIFT

Germanic *k* is realized as High German [x] in almost all the lexical items and in almost all geographic parts of Transylvanian Saxon (SDSA 1-1, map 6): ma:xən, mau:xən etc. *machen* ‘to make’ (SDSA 1-1, map 20); gəbro:xən, gəbreoxən etc. *gebroschen* ‘broken’; zɛ:kən/zai:kən etc. *suchen* ‘to seek’ is described as being the most common word exception to the rule, the areal exceptions being three villages in the eastern Nösnerland, and the village of Brenndorf/Bod/Botfalu, where SDSA 1-1, map 6, reports *k* in mɔ:kŋ, mau:kən etc. *machen* ‘to make,’ and (map 20) gəbro:kə etc. *gebroschen* ‘broken.’

Germanic *t* also shows High German realizations in almost any case (tsekt, tsait *Zeit* ‘time’ (‘tide’), vasər, vəsər *Wasser* ‘water,’ nas, nəs *nass* ‘wet,’ cf. Klein 1959, 12). Common exceptions all over the Transylvania Saxon area are the ‘little’ words dat, dət etc. *das* ‘that’ (SDSA 1-1, map 49) and wat, wət etc. *was* ‘what’ (SDSA 1-1, map 59) as well as -t in neutral endings like ga:dət *gutes* ‘good’ and gent, gi:nət *jenes* ‘that’ (sg. of ‘those’); dat and wat are well-known shibboleths for almost all the Rhenish Fan area (north of the das-dat-isogloss).

Germanic *p* is realized as original *p* as well as High German *f* and in this way shows compromise forms word by word in word-internal positions (fta:pən *stopfen* ‘to stuff,’ helfən *helfen* ‘to help’). In word-initial positions, *f* is the rule like in faŋt, fant etc. *Pfund* ‘pound’ (SDSA 1-1, map 38), faif *Pfeife* ‘pipe.’ This word-initial *f* is definitely referring to East Middle German and may thus be seen as the most explicit indicator for Transylvanian Saxon as a compromise language developed with remarkable influences adopted in the course of *Ostsiedlung*. The fact that so-called older Romance loanwords in the lexicon of Saxon do normally show *p* like in pho:l *Pfahl* ‘pole’ and phets *Brunnen* ‘well’ (from Latin puteus) is well suited to this *f* being the rule. It will be shown that the *p*-/*f*-occurrence also represents an important factor in Transylvanian Saxon dialect geography.

4.1.2. -S- FOR -HS-

Just like Dutch and Low German and unlike English, Middle Franconian dialects have developed Germanic -hs- to -s- in examples like fos *Fuchs* ‘fox,’ fluə:s *Flachs* ‘flax,’ ziə:s *sechs* ‘six,’ and i:sən *Ochsen* ‘oxen.’ This feature has to be interpreted in connection with the other prominent consonant loss before *s* (and *f*). SDSA 1-2, map 136, displays all the variants of *wachsen* ‘to grow,’ showing forms with -s- without any exception in the Saxon areas.

4.1.3. LOSS OF *N* BEFORE *S* OR *F* (‘ERSATZDEHNUNG’)

Ersatzdehnung, i.e. compensatory lengthening of the vowel when *n* is omitted before certain fricatives, in cases before *s* or *f* is a main feature of English and

Dutch as compared to (High) German. It also appears in Middle Franconian dialects (and, thus, it is also part of standard Luxemburgish) and in Transylvanian Saxon in examples like *gɔ:s*, *gais* etc. *Gans* ‘goose’ and *fɔ:f* etc. *fünf* ‘five.’ SDSA 1-1, map 25, shows forms with compensatory lengthening in *unserm* ‘our’ (dat. *sg.*). Protze’s (1969, 301) map is based on the SDSA map.

4.1.4. (RHENISH) VELARIZATION

In West Central German dialects, especially, velarization (formerly called gutturalization) of *-nd-* and of word-final *n* after historically long vowels is common, and it may also be seen as one of the outstanding characteristics of Transylvanian Saxon. *hoŋt*, *haŋt* etc. *Hund* ‘dog’ (‘hound’) is a well-known example (cf. SDSA 1-1, map 23) for the *-nd > -ŋt-* development, variants like *veŋ* *Wein* ‘wine’ and *bruŋ* *braun* ‘brown’ representing the other string. The map depicting velarization in German dialects as seen in Werlen (1983, 1131) may be understood as the core area of West German emigration to, eventually, Transylvania in the Middle Ages. The feature is characteristic for the Central Transylvanian and Burzenland dialects of Transylvanian Saxon, and it is almost non-existent in the Nösnerland—another indication for inner-Transylvanian differences (to be dealt with below).

4.1.5. VOCALISM

Descriptions of Transylvanian Saxon dialects tend to sum up their remarks on vocalism with the adjective *vielfältig* ‘diverse, manifold.’ It is indeed so, its main characteristics being Central Franconian, of course, with many specific features developed over the centuries in Transylvania. Protze (1998, 59) counts 34 vocalic variants in only 51 villages in the case of original *a* lengthened due to loss of the *n* in *Gans* ‘goose,’ most widespread among them *guis* (5 villages), *goas* (5 villages), and *gas* (4 villages), adding 6 variants in 2 villages each and 25 variants in only one village each. *Gänse* ‘geese’ in SDSA 1-1, map 27, displays around 30 different vocalic variants. On the other hand, map 26 in SDSA 1-1 seems to show only orthographic variants of one and only *vi:s* *Wiese* ‘meadow’ all over Transylvanian Saxon (indeed, not worth being mapped).

Just like Franconian dialects in the Rhineland and like Central German dialects, on the whole, Transylvanian Saxon shows a strong tendency towards vowel reduction. Thus, *i* and *u* are reduced to *e-* and even *a-* types. Map 9 in SDSA 1-1, *Kind* ‘child,’ predominantly displays forms like *kent*, *kant*, *keŋt*, map 39 there, while *Luft* ‘air,’ shows forms like *loft* and *laft*. On the other hand, historically long vowels as in SDSA 1-2, map 127, *Schnee* ‘snow,’ and in map 74 there, *Brot* ‘bread,’ have forms like *bri:t* and *fni:*, predominantly. Additionally, an overwhelming wealth of diphthongs of all kinds results from historical lengths and

diphthongs, especially. Counting all the diphthongal variants for *Brot* in map 74 of SDSA 1-2, we come to *bruit, brüit, briut, briät, bruät, brüät, breit, broit, brait, briuät, breut, bräut, bröit, bröüt*—not even differentiating between short and long components of the diphthongs.

4.2. Morphology—Eifeler Regel

THE *EIFELER Regel*, i.e. the ‘Eifel rule,’ named after the Eifel, a low mountain range in Germany’s far west and in southeastern Belgium, describes a phonological process heavily affecting morphology in the dialects of the Eifel area and in surrounding areas in the westernmost parts of German. Thus, it is also part of Luxembourgish dialects and of the standard language of Luxembourg, *Letzebuergesch*, and it is part of Luxembourgish grammar and orthography.

In short, it says: “Stammhaftes und Endungs-*n* wird im Satzzusammenhang nur bewahrt vor Dentalen, *h* und Vokalen, sonst schwindet es” (Klein 1959, 16). Capesius (1966/1990,⁶ 149) formulates it as follows: “Das -*n* der meisten Flexionsendungen und das stammhafte Auslaut-*n* in einer Reihe von Wörtern fällt vor Konsonanten (außer *h, n, d, t, ts*) im Satzzusammenhang (bei fließender Rede) sowie in der Kompositionsfuge aus.” Klein (1959, 16) takes a (not really convincing) example from Schullerus (1906):

ex bleiwən hø *ich bleibe hier* ‘I stay here’
 ex bleiwə bø *dir ich bleibe bei dir* ‘I stay with you.’

Capesius’s (1990) article, dealing with the Eifel rule in depth, cites examples galore, e.g.:

sə hun diə gəgin *sie haben denen gegeben* ‘they have given them’ /
 diənən hu sə gəgin *denen haben sie gegeben* ‘them have they given’ (151),
 gədränkən hadə sə gənax *getrunken hatten sie genug* ‘drunk had they enough’ /
 bədränkə wø:rə sə net *betrunken waren sie nicht* ‘drunken were they not’ (152).

Due to its fixing in Luxembourgish, the rule seems to be stable there. In all the other areas of western Germany and of Transylvania it shows variations from place to place and exceptions all over. Its stable linkage to Luxembourg tempted Transylvanian dialectologists all over the 20th century to favor the *Urheimat* hypothesis, but, as we have seen, this must not be overestimated. Nevertheless, the connection between Transylvanian Saxon and Central Franconian is obvious in

this case, and this is additionally supported by the fact that the application of the Eifel rule in Transylvania is concentrated in the *old lands*, in southern Transylvania.

4.3. Morphology (1)—the Masculine Singular Personal Pronoun *he*

ALL OVER the Transylvanian Saxon area the personal pronoun for the masculine singular is a form of *he*, just like English *he*, Dutch *hij*, West Frisian *hy*, and, of course, Low German *he*. This form has been described definitively as an *ingvaeonism*, a feature common to the North Sea Germanic languages. The Central Franconian dialects, just like in the case of compensatory lengthening, share this feature with their neighbors to the north and northwest. SDSA 1-1, map 29, depicts this form without any exception for Transylvanian Saxon, clearly showing initial *h-* in stressed positions, and reduced *ə* when unstressed, but nowhere realizing word-final *-r* as in High German. Especially for the northern area of Saxon in Transylvania, the Nösnerland, this is somewhat surprising and may be interpreted as a very distinctive feature to be identified with Saxon, having thus superseded earlier Bavarian forms there in developing a compromise language.

4.4. Morphology (2)—western *-a*-types in *gehen* ‘to go’ and *stehen* ‘to stand’

JUST LIKE English, Dutch, and Low German, and like all the western dialects of High German, Transylvanian Saxon has *a* in *gehen* and *stehen*, once again clearly assigning it culturally and linguistically to the ‘western sphere’ of German. SDSA 1-2, map 93 and map 132, shows this impressively with dominating *gon* and *fjon*-variants.

4.5. Morphosyntax

OVER THE years, the morphosyntactic features of Transylvanian Saxon have not been the focus of dialectologists. Certainly, they are not as obtrusive as the phonological or lexical features, and the geography of syntax all over German is more spacious, on the whole. Mostly, syntactic features cannot be constricted to smaller areas such as Transylvania.

Nevertheless, the *Audioatlas siebenbürgisch-sächsischer Dialekte* at the University of Munich,⁷ interpreting audio material gathered in the 1970s, gives us hints

for, at least, one morphosyntactic phenomenon of Transylvanian Saxon, the doubling of prepositions as *an zu* for Standard German *zu* ‘to.’

Wenker sentence 2, *Es hört gleich auf zu schneien, dann wird das Wetter wieder besser* ‘It will stop snowing in a moment, then the weather will get better again’ shows variants with *hört auf an zu* in several villages in central southern Transylvania, about one fifth of the overall sample, e.g.

ət hi:rt glɛç 'ɔv ʊn tʂə 'fn̩o:an dro: vɪrd dət 'vadər vɛdər ,be:sər (Gergeschdorf/Ungurei/Gergélyfája)

ət hɛirt glɛç 'ɔf ʊn tʂə 'fn̩ə:n dra vɪd dət 'vadər vɛdər ,bəʊsər (Almen/Alma-Vii/Szász-Almád).

Wenker sentence 3, *Tu Kohlen in den Ofen, dass die Milch anfängt zu kochen* ‘Give coal into the stove, so that the milk will start boiling’ shows double preposition in about half the samples, e.g.

da: 'ky:lən ən dən 'iʋən dət 'ə 'mæltç bə:ld 'ɔfe:t ʊn tʂə ,kəʊ:xən (Kerz/Cârța/Kerc)

deā 'kiʋlən ən dən 'iʋən dat 'ə 'mæltç bə:ld 'ɔfe:t ʊn tʂə ,ko:xən (Arbegen/Agârbiciu/Szászegerbegy).

4.6. The Lexicon

TRANSYLVANIAN SAXON’S lexicon has, for a long time, been in the focus of dialectological research in connection with the question of the area of origin in western Germany. And, indeed, one specific part of the lexicon is pointing very strongly to the area at the crossroads of Romance and Germanic located in present-day Germany, Luxembourg, eastern Belgium, and northeastern France. These are the *altromanische(n) Lehnwörter* ‘loanwords from Old Romance.’

Loanwords from Old Romance tend to be very conservative in respect to their sound shape—as we have seen with respect to the High German Sound Shift with examples like pho:l *Pfahl* ‘pole,’ phɔrts *Pforte* ‘gate,’ and phets *Brunnen* ‘well’ (from Latin *puteus*). They originate from centuries of Roman dominance in the western Rhineland and can be found in cultural fields especially where Roman culture was elaborate and exemplary, like in wine growing. In this field, we have words like *Kelter* ‘wine press’ from Latin *calcatorium*, or *Leier* ‘pomace’ from Latin *lor(e)a* (cf. Klein 1959, 13, and Protze 1998, 60). Further examples may be komp *Trog* ‘trough (for watering the cattle)’ (Protze 1998,

60), and *prom* etc. *Pflaume* ‘plum, prune’ from Latin *prunum* (cf. Haldenwang 2017, 75). This part of the Transylvanian Saxon lexicon may indeed be classified as very specific in comparison with other German dialects.

On the other hand, everyday language contact with their ethnic neighbors in Transylvania enriched the Saxons’ lexicon with loanwords from languages like Hungarian and, very intensively, Romanian. These are part of everyday Saxon and very common all over the area, at times, like *Palukes* ‘boiled cornmeal’ (probably) from Hungarian *puliszka*, and *Tschismen* ‘(men’s) boots’ from Hungarian *csizma*, loanwords from Hungarian representing, of course, an older string of contact. In the meantime, having been part of Romania for a century, the influence from Romanian has grown considerably. Nevertheless, contact with Romanian has existed for centuries, the Romanians having been the majority population in Transylvania throughout modern times. Older loanwords from Romanian tend to occur mostly in the agricultural field. Quite good examples may be the various loanwords for and besides the German/Saxon *Pferch* ‘pen (for fencing in sheep etc.)’ from Romanian, *Okol*, *Strunga*, and *Zark*.⁸ Map 33 of the *Siebenbürgisch-deutscher Wortatlas* (SDWA) also displays ‘Buretz’ *Pilz* ‘mushroom’ from the Romanian *bureți* all over central Transylvania as one of the old Romanian loanwords.

Words from Romanian in everyday modern life are omnipresent, of course, in all fields of communication. They include terms for food, cooking etc. like *Klettiten* ‘pancakes’ (Rom. *clătite*), *Mamaliga* ‘boiled cornmeal’ (see above: *Palukes*) (Rom. *mămăligă*), and *Prenz* ‘cheese’ (Rom. *brânză*), and they appear in all fields connected to public life in Romania and Romanian in words like *Programm* ‘service hours (in stores, offices etc.)’ from Rom. *program*, *Generalschule* ‘(compulsory) public school’ from Rom. *școală generală*, and they are often taken from Romanian directly in examples like *ferm* ‘farm’ or *președinte* ‘president.’ This, of course, leads us away from Saxon dialects to Standard German in Romania and to the wide field of bilingualism. Transylvanian Saxons, like all Germans in Romania, are today bilingual, probably without any exception.

4.7. Transylvanian Dialectal Geography

As could be seen in several cases, Transylvanian Saxon—apart from microgeographical differences to be noticed from village to village—can be divided into at least three different larger areas corresponding to underlying historical facts pertaining to settlement and to geography. On the whole, in Central Franconian characteristics of German can be diagnosed most densely in central Transylvania, the ‘old lands.’ Due to developments of inner-Transyl-

vania linguistic compromise, the *Burzenland*, the smaller Saxon area ‘far south-east’ around Kronstadt, is mostly Franconian, as well, which may be exemplified in the lexicon with words like *Büttner* ‘cooper’ (SDWA map 18, old lands and Burzenland, (*Fass*)*binder* in the Nösnerland) or *wiederkäuen* ‘to ruminate’ (SDWA map 45) in Altland and Burzenland as opposed to the (mainly Bavarian) variant ‘*iterucken*’ in the Nösnerland. The inner-Transylvanian compromise seems to have ‘franconized’ the Burzenland over the time, having been originally more Bavarian due to its status as a secondary settlement originating from the Nösnerland. A very robust remnant of older Bavarian characterizing the Burzenland Saxon dialects up to this day may be determined in *b* for *w* in, e. g., words like *zwei* ‘two’ (SDSA 1-1 map 52). A ‘key sentence’ (*Burzenländer Regel* ‘Burzenland rule’) is formulated by Protze (1969, 302): *spenäntspintsich şpuarts şpentcher huan spenäntspintsich şpuarts şpintsker zweiundzwanzig schwarze Schweinchen haben zweiundzwanzig schwarze Schwänzchen* ‘22 black piglets have 22 black little tails.’

It is heavily due to the Nösnerland that Transylvanian Saxon dialects may be characterized as ‘mainly Central Franconian, and with additional features from East Central German and from Bavarian.’ Northern Transylvania around the city of Bistritz seems to have been originally settled by Bavarians. Traces of Bavarian may be detected there in large numbers (v. Protze 1960), even including one-to-one relations of place names like *Tekendorf/Teaca/Teke* and *Deggendorf*, Bavaria, and the direct nomination of Bavarians in *Baierdorf/Crainimăt/Királynémet*. Historical evidence is strengthened by linguistic evidence, in the sound system as well as in the lexicon. Protze (1960) presents examples galore for the Nösnerland’s still heavily Bavarian features like *b* for *w*, as cited above. The three volumes of the *Siebenbürgisch-deutscher Sprachatlas* (SDSA 1-1 and 1-2, SDWA) present a wealth of examples, as well. In addition to the examples mentioned before various forms without compensatory lengthening are to be mentioned, such as *tsens Zins* ‘interest’ or *fenəf, finəf fünf* ‘five’ in Kleinbistritz/Dorolea/Asszubeszterce, especially (Protze 1960, 335). In the lexicon, we may mention *foarkreut Sauerkraut* ‘cabbage’ as opposed to forms of *Kampest* (from the Slavic *kapusta*) in the south.

5. Conclusion

TRANSYLVANIAN SAXON may be characterized as a very special variety of German ‘outside’ and far apart from the main body of German in Central Europe. It may be seen as a kind of exclave, not really as a ‘language island’ in its classical sense, isolated, utterly conservative, a relic of former times.

It is not a typical minority language, underprivileged, striving to eventually assimilate to the majority language. On the contrary, Transylvanian Saxon—for almost nine centuries—has been privileged almost all the time, having had all the possibilities to flourish and to take part in all the cultural and linguistic developments within the larger German language and cultural area. Comprising around 250 villages and towns, including cultural and economic centers like Hermannstadt, Kronstadt, and Bistritz, it developed its own very specific forms of Transylvanian Saxon dialects, heavily based upon Central Franconian due to the origins of the first settlers, subsequently incorporating East-Central German and Bavarian features.

After World War II, especially, Transylvanian Saxon entered a most difficult phase in its long history, culminating in the massive departure of its speakers from the country after the fall of communism in 1989. Many villages were abandoned, and the number of speakers in the cities, once exclusively Saxon, shrunk to less than one percent. In these cities, the Saxon inhabitants switched to Standard German. In the villages Saxon is still alive, heavily shaken, but—as it seems—surviving and supported by those who stayed and remain determined to pass the language on to future generations.



Notes

1. The name of the village of Wallendorf/Unirea/Aldorf, now part of the city of Bistritz/Bistrița/Beszterce, may be seen as one of several pieces of evidence regarding these Romance speaking settlers, *Walen/Wälben* being the older German(ic) term for the Romans, cf. (etymologically) English *Welsh*. Transylvanian place names will be given in their German, Romanian, and Hungarian forms, respectively. Only the Romanian form is official in present-day Romania, and only the Hungarian one has been so, when Transylvania was part of the Kingdom of Hungary. Nevertheless, the German variants do have a centuries-old tradition and present-day Romania is tolerating and even promoting the use of the German forms without any restriction. After its second citation, only the German form will be used.
2. Karl Kurt Klein (1897–1971) was professor of German at the University of Iași (German Jassy) from 1932, and at the University of Klausenburg/Cluj/Kolozsvár from 1939. He had to leave Transylvania during the Second World War and was professor at the University of Innsbruck, Austria, from 1946 to 1963. He died in Innsbruck in 1971. Besides Karl Kurt Klein, Helmut Protze (1927–2015) has to be mentioned as an outstanding researcher on Transylvanian Saxon outside Transylvania or Romania, respectively. He worked at the Saxon Academy of Sciences in Leipzig.

3. The Székelys have to be understood as a Hungarian-speaking group, although in former times they were considered a distinct ethnic group and thus operated as a *nation* at that time. Their foremost task was to protect the eastern border of the Kingdom of Hungary. Still, the Székely, i.e. the Hungarian-speaking population in the Eastern Carpathians, account for the majority of Romania's roughly one and a half million speakers of Hungarian.
4. This triggered the rapid fortification of churches all over Transylvania, these fortified churches being nowadays one of the foremost characteristics of Transylvanian landscape and culture.
5. Tröster's (1666) version of the Lord's prayer may be cited as an example for this compromise language: *Foater auser dier dau best em Hemmel, gehelget verde deing numen, zaukomm aus deing rech, deing vell geschey aff ierden, als vey em hemmel, auser däglich briut gaff aus heigd, ond fergaff aus auser schuld, vey mir fergien auser en schuldi-geren. Feir aus net en fersechung, saunderen erliis aus von dem iirvell. Denn deing ess dat rech, dei krafft, ond dei herrleget, von ieveget, zau ieveget, Amen.* https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Siebenbürgisch-Sächsisch#/media/File:Das_Vaterunser_auf_Siebenbürgisch-Sächsisch_1666.jpg.
6. Capesius (1666), reprinted 1990. Citations follow the 1990 reprint.
7. <http://www.asd.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/>
8. See the map for Wenker sentence 41 in the *Audioatlas siebenbürgisch-sächsischer Dialekte* (<http://www.asd.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/?karte=qual>), and Krefeld (2015, 215).

References

- Agache, Astrid. 1996. Karl Kurt Klein und die Nösner Germanistenschule. In *Literarische Mehrsprachigkeit*, edited by Heinrich Stiehler, 229–242. Iași: Editura Universității “Al. I. Cuza”; Konstanz: Hartung-Gorre Verlag.
- Capesius, Bernhard. 1966/1990. Die Behandlung des auslautenden “n” in den siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Mundarten (die sogenannte “Eifler Regel”). In Bernhard Capesius, *Linguistische Studien 1933–1973*, selection and bibliography by Helmut Kelp, 149–173. Munich: Verlag Südostdeutsches Kulturwerk 1990. [Published originally in 1966 in *Zeitschrift für Mundartforschung* 33: 97–126.]
- Ciocîltan, Alexandru. 2015. *Comunitățile germane la sud de Carpați în Evul Mediu (secolele XIII–XVIII)*. Brăila: Istros.
- Gadeanu, Sorin. 1998. *Sprache auf der Suche: Zur Identitätsfrage des Deutschen in Rumänien am Beispiel der Temeswarer Stadtsprache*. Regensburg: S. Roderer Verlag.
- Haldenwang, Sigrid. 2017. Praume, Käste, Mätsche, Hanf: Altromanische Lehnwörter im Siebenbürgisch-Sächsischen. In *Deutsch in Mittel-, Ost- und Südosteuropa: Geschichtliche Grundlagen und aktuelle Einbettung: Beiträge zur 2. Jahrestagung des Forschungszentrums Deutsch in Mittel-, Ost- und Südosteuropa, Budapest, 1.–3. Oktober 2015*, edited by Hannes Philipp and Andrea Ströbel, 72–84. Regensburg: Verlag Friedrich Pustet.

- Klein, Karl Kurt. 1943. *Die "Nösner Germanistenschule": Ihre Entstehung, Wirksamkeit, Leistung*. Bistritz: Gustav Zikeli.
- . 1959. Zur Siedlungsgeschichte und Sprachgeographie der mittelalterlichen deutschen Siedlungen in Siebenbürgen. In *Siebenbürgische Mundarten. Beiträge von Karl Kurt Klein, Helmut Protze und Hellmut Klima*, 5-77. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- Krefeld, Thomas. 2015. Ein Blick in den kommunikativen Raum der Siebenbürger Sachsen (durch die Brille der Rumänismen im Material des ASD). In *Zwischen traditioneller Dialektologie und digitaler Geolinguistik: Der Audioatlas siebenbürgisch-sächsischer Dialekte (ASD)*, edited by Thomas Krefeld, Stephan Lücke, and Emma Mages, 213–230. Munich: Universitätsverlag Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München; Verlagshaus Monsenstein und Vannerdat.
- Nordsiebenbürgisch-sächsisches Wörterbuch*. 1986–2006. Vol. 1, edited by Friedrich Krauß (1986); vols. 2 (1990), 3 (1993), 4 (1995), edited by Gisela Richter; vol. 5 (2006), edited by Gisela Richter and Helga Feßler. Cologne–Weimar–Vienna: Böhlau Verlag.
- Protze, Helmut. 1959. Bairisch-österreichische und alemannische Mundart neben rheinisch-ostmitteldeutscher in Siebenbürgen. In *Siebenbürgische Mundarten: Beiträge von Karl Kurt Klein, Helmut Protze und Hellmut Klima*, 79–110. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- . 1960. Zum bairischen und ostfränkischen Anteil am Siebenbürgisch-Sächsischen. *Jahrbuch für fränkische Landesforschung* 20: 325–344.
- . 1969. [Chapter 3.7.3.1.] Die Zips und das Siebenbürgisch-Sächsische. In *Kleine Enzyklopädie in zwei Bänden: Die deutsche Sprache*, vol. 1, edited by Erhard Agricola, Wolfgang Fleischer, and Helmut Protze, 300–302. Leipzig: VEB Bibliographisches Institut.
- . 1998. Zur Sprache der Siebenbürger Sachsen. In *Wortreiche Landschaft: Deutsche Literatur aus Rumänien—Siebenbürgen, Banat, Bukowina. Ein Überblick vom 12. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart*, edited by Renate Florstedt, 58–60. Leipzig: Förderverein BlickPunktBuch e.V.
- Scheiner, Andreas. 1928. Die Mundart der Sachsen von Hermannstadt: Aufnahmen und Untersuchungen. *Archiv des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde* (Hermannstadt), new ser., 41, 1: 523–687.
- Schullerus, Adolf. 1906. Nyelvtudomány és telepítések története, különös tekintettel az erdélyi százsz telepítésre. *Nyelvtudomány* (Budapest) 1, 2: 81–96.
- Siebenbürgisch-deutscher Sprachatlas*. 1961, 1964, and 1979. Edited by Karl Kurt Klein and Ludwig Erich Schmitt. Vol. 1, *Laut- und Formenatlas*, part 1, edited by Kurt Rein (1961), and part 2, edited by Kurt Rein (1964). Marburg: N. G. Elwert Verlag.
- Siebenbürgisch-deutscher Wörtatlas*. 1979. [= *Siebenbürgisch-deutscher Sprachatlas*, vol. 2, edited by Kurt Rein and Reiner Hildebrandt]. Edited by Henning Smolka. Marburg: N. G. Elwert Verlag.
- Siebenbürgisch-Sächsisches Wörterbuch*. 1924ff. Vols. 1, 2, and 5 (old counting), Berlin–Leipzig, 1924–1931; vol. 3 (1971), 4 (1972), 5 (new counting, 1975), Berlin–Bucharest; vol. 6 (1993), 7 (1998), 8 (2002), 9 (2006), 10 (2014), 11 (2020), Bucharest–Cologne–Weimar–Vienna.

- Tröster, Johannes. 1666. *Das Alt- und Neu-Teutsche Dacia. Das ist: Neue Beschreibung des Landes Siebenbürgen/Darinnen dessen Alter/und jetzige Einwohner/wahres Herkom(m)en/Religion/Sprachen/Schriften/Kleider/Gesetz/und Sitten/nach Historischer Warheit von zweytausend Jahren her erörtert . . . das erste mahl herausgegeben von Johanne Tröster/Cibinio-Transylv. SS. Th. & Philosoph. Medicae Studioso.* Nuremberg; Reprint Vienna–Cologne–Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 1981.
- Werlen, Iwar. 1983. Velarisierung (Gutturalisierung) in den deutschen Dialekten. In *Dialektologie: Ein Handbuch zur deutschen und allgemeinen Dialektforschung*, vol. 2, edited by Werner Besch, Ulrich Knoop, Wolfgang Putschke, and Herbert Ernst Wiegand, 1130–1136. Berlin–New York: Walter de Gruyter.

Abstract

Transylvanian Saxon: 900 Years Old, and Still Alive

The present article provides an overview of the main features of Transylvanian Saxon, which may be characterized as a very special variety of German ‘outside’ and far apart from the main body of German in Central Europe, a kind of exclave but not really a ‘language island’ in the classical sense. For almost nine centuries, Transylvanian Saxon has been a privileged language, having had all the possibilities to flourish and to take part in all the cultural and linguistic developments within the larger German language and cultural area. Spoken in around 250 villages and towns, including cultural and economic centers like Hermannstadt, Kronstadt, and Bistritz, it developed its own very specific dialectal forms, heavily based upon Central Franconian due to the origins of the first settlers, and subsequently incorporating East-Central German and Bavarian features.

Keywords

linguistics, German language, dialectal features, Transylvanian Saxon

Multicultural Education in Transylvania

Perspectives for the German Minority

RALUCA SASSU
DANIELA STANCIU

The multiculturalism of Transylvania cannot be understood outside of the historical context, which contributed to a large extent to a better perception of this concept, as well as to multicultural education.

Raluca Sassu

Professor at Lucian Blaga University of Sibiu, Human Behaviour and Development Research Lab.

Daniela Stanciu

Assistant professor at Lucian Blaga University of Sibiu, and associate assistant professor at the Faculty of Economics and Business Administration at Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca.

ROMANIA, ESPECIALLY Transylvania, is known to have been for centuries a multicultural space, where several cultures, languages and ethnic minorities lived together. Nowadays, about 10.5% of the Romanian population are minorities, the largest being the Hungarian and Romanians (9.18%). The highest density of minority population is found in Transylvania and Banat, two regions with a diverse historical background in terms ethnicity, culture and religion.

In this paper we will refer to the multicultural approach in the education of the German nationality, later referred to as a minority in Transylvania, in regard to their long history in this region, focusing especially on the development of the German teaching system during the nineteenth century.

This research project was financed by the Lucian Blaga University of Sibiu research grants LBUS-IRG-2016-02.

Multiculturalism and Multicultural Education: A Multifaceted Approach

FOR A better understanding of the importance of multicultural education for the present day in the context of Transylvania and of the German minority, we will present the evolution and the development of two concepts: multiculturalism and multicultural education. There is no single and ubiquitous definitions for the concepts, as different authors formulated their own vision on them.

The term “multicultural” was introduced in the Oxford Dictionary as meaning “relating to or containing several cultural or ethnic groups within a society.” In regard to the ideals of freedom, justice, equality, equity, and human dignity as acknowledged in various documents, from the Declaration of Independence to the Declaration of Human Rights, a new concept was introduced—multicultural education—as a philosophical concept, with several definitions. Georgeta Rață¹ highlights the main explanations, starting with the meanings from the ’80s proposed by Margaret Alison Gibson,² for whom multicultural education is “a normal human experience.” For Sonia Nieto,³ multicultural education is antiracist, basic, important for all students, pervasive, education for social justice, a process, and a critical pedagogy. Another definition has been proposed by Geneva Gay, who claims that multicultural education means “learning about, preparing for, and celebrating cultural diversity—or learning to be bicultural.”⁴ For other authors, multicultural education is “a vehicle for people who have different value systems, customs, and communication styles to discover ways to respectfully and effectively share resources, talents and ideas.”⁵ Multicultural education is a synonym for multiculturalism: “Educational intervention, defined as multiculturalism, multicultural education or multicultural pedagogy, works from the de facto situation of the presence of two or more cultures, and aims at the recognition of commonalities and differences.”⁶ Maybe the most comprehensive definition of multicultural education is the one given by J. A. Banks,⁷ for whom it is “a broad concept with several different and important dimensions . . . The dimensions are (1) content integration, (2) the knowledge construction process, (3) prejudice reduction, (4) an equity pedagogy, and (5) an empowering school culture and social structure.” P. C. Gorski⁸ focuses on the third dimension of Banks’s definition, claiming that multicultural education is “a progressive approach for transforming education that holistically critiques and responds to discriminatory policies and practices in education.”

Multiculturalism in International Context

FROM A historical point of view, multicultural education has its roots in American society, back in the late 1800s to the early 1900s,⁹ starting with the education of minorities. In the United States, the rapid development of multicultural education took place around the time of the civil rights movement. James A. Banks recognizes the importance of the historical development of the concept of multicultural education, in order to reflect multicultural issues and concerns.

The first perspective on multicultural education came in the context of the Early Ethnic Studies Movement, in the 1960s and the 1970s. Then, the curriculum in schools informed African Americans about their ancestry and culture as a movement against the discrimination that this minority had been facing. The first “black” school was founded in Boston in 1818. In the southern states the first schools were segregated by law. At the same time, the schools in which African American children learned provided very poor quality education in comparison to the schools attended by white Americans. The Ethnic Studies (ES) shaped by these facts empowered the African American to take control of their own education. Thus, they hired their own teachers and created their own curriculum, in order to support their culture. The negative aspect of this was that Whites and Blacks were more isolated from each other.

The next movement to arise was the Intergroup Education Movement (IEM), or the Intercultural Movement (IM). This movement is very similar to multicultural education as it is today, and it highlights interracial harmony and human relations. The momentous event in the field of Multicultural Education was the Supreme Court case *Brown vs. Topeka Board of Education*, in 1954, which stated that it was unconstitutional for states to have laws that provided separate schools for black and white children.¹⁰

In 1968, in order to promote bilingual education programs, the Bilingual Education Act was passed. That decision led to the fact that schools had to provide education in languages that met the needs of the students.

Sleeter and Grant¹¹ describe five approaches to multicultural education:

- Teaching the Exceptional and the Culturally Different—adapt education to student differences with the goal of helping these students to succeed with the mainstream (the case of white educators of black students, in desegregated schools, in the 1960s);
- Human Relations—provide love, respect, and more effective communication in order to bring people who differ closer together;
- Single Group Studies—changing the mainstream of America rather than trying to fit people into it (ethnic studies, women’s studies);

- Multicultural Education—links race, language, culture, gender, disability and, to lesser extent social class, working to make school celebrate human diversity and equal opportunity;

- Education that is Multicultural and Social Reconstructionist—encourage students to be activists for social justice and equal rights for all;

Another description of the conceptual and practical development of multicultural education was made by J. A. Banks,¹² who describes four approaches used today in schools:

- The Contributions Approach—means to add ethnic heroes into the curriculum using similar criteria to those used to select mainstream heroes. The mainstream curriculum remains unchanged in terms of structure, goals, and salient characteristics; it is the easiest to execute, but has the most risks, it is superficial and avoids issues like racism, poverty and oppression; moreover, it reinforces stereotypes and misconceptions;

- The Additive Approach—allows the teacher to add ethnic content into the curriculum, without restructuring it. This approach can be the first step in a curriculum reform with the aim to restructure the curriculum and to integrate it with ethnic content, perspectives, and frames of reference;

- The Transformation Approach—permits different perspectives into the curriculum, across all subjects;

- The Social Action Approach—includes all elements of the Transformative Approach and adds elements that require students to make decisions and take actions related to the problem, issue, topic studied in the learning unit.

Banks argues that all these approaches can be mixed into a very effective multicultural curriculum.

The benefits of a multicultural education have been revealed by several studies. Knowing that, it might be interesting to show how that concept was understood and implemented in a multicultural space like Transylvania, especially regarding the local German minority.

Multiculturalism and the Transylvanian Context

THE MULTICULTURALISM of Transylvania cannot be understood outside of the historical context, which contributed to a large extent to a better perception of this concept, as well as to multicultural education. It is fundamental to set, in this geographical space, a broad frame for the development of cultures, nations, strongly related to the Romanian state today. Therefore, an exploration of the relation between the historical context of the settlement of the

German minority in Transylvania and its contribution to multicultural education is the main objective of this paper.

The Transylvanian Saxons are a significant group of Germans living on the present-day territory of Romania, a community with a rich tradition.¹³ In the 12th century, settlers from different German-speaking regions, such as the Moselle region, Flanders, and Luxembourg, were invited to Transylvania in order to colonize the presumably deserted territory newly conquered by the Hungarian Crown. Their migration to Eastern Europe is historically part of the so-called *deutsche Ostsiedlung*, the German colonization towards the east,¹⁴ a quintessential process in view of the subsequent shaping of the German identity in the central and eastern parts of the European continent.¹⁵ The first Hungarian king—King Saint Stephen—crowned in 1000, already warned his son: “A country that only has one language and one set of customs is weak and fragile.”¹⁶ This can be viewed as an early statement in favor of an open society, with a multilingual and multicultural background.

In historical perspective, some aspects can be identified which link the development of the German community in Transylvania with the concept of multiculturalism:

- multiculturalism is linked to different groups of settlers, with their own language, dialect;
- the privileged position of the German Saxons due to their material possessions, religion, education, schools;
- the idea of the recognition of the importance of education, due to the first schools in every village (1340), in German communities;
- the importance of the Lutheran-Evangelical religion in the maintenance and provision of cultural events, of education.

Although the year 1699 marked the integration of Transylvania into the Habsburg Empire for quite a long period (until 1867 and 1918, respectively), we shall focus here only on the period between 1815 and 1918, analyzing the main historical developments of this interval: the 1848 Revolution, the status of nationalities in the Transylvanian society after the imperial Constitution of 1849, liberalism, the year 1867, when Transylvania found itself in the Austro-Hungarian Dual Empire, etc. In Habsburg Transylvania, church and religion played a very important role in public life as compared to the Western society which was undergoing secularization.

The circulation of students, books and ideas from the Western German states to Transylvania played a significant role in the creation of a multicultural environment in Transylvania.¹⁷ The students from Germany, especially from Halle, brought to this territory especially the concept of Pietism, whose ideas would

take strong roots in Transylvania, especially in schools, becoming the main direction to follow. The directions set for the management of the schools were formulated in 1726 as follows: “Everywhere infinite evil follows from the corruption of schools; one must not only reveal this disease, but also think of a remedy, namely the provision of good teachers and decent salaries.”

Stephan Ludwig Roth made a statement during the 19th century, saying that the Transylvanian Saxons should base their cultural and national identity on two pillars: Church and School. Drawing parallels between the educational (confessional) system in 17th–18th century Transylvania and the current (confessional) education system in the language of minorities provided a picture of the development of ethnic education and culture in different historical periods. Highlighting the role played by the state policy in the internal life of nationalities, of socio-professional and religious groups, identifying certain relationships among various ethnic groups and confessions, the fact that some ethnic groups belong to certain confessions, etc., may shed light on the issue of ethnic and confessional identity within the European context of Habsburg rule. There have been also periods when nationalist ideas were substituted by confessional ones.¹⁸

The Habsburg state of Maria Theresa (1740–1780) and Joseph II (1780–1790) put great emphasis on education and the creation of schools. A census conducted in 1763 by royal order shows that in Transylvania, in 24 schools located in major towns and boroughs, children were able to read, write and know the catechism, and some even knew Latin and music. In 236 grade schools, children knew how to read and had insights into the catechism, some knew how to write, few knew how to count and even fewer knew music. In particular, girls only learned how to read, in keeping with the belief that counting and writing should not be of interest to them (according to a circular from 1765).¹⁹ The “Halle method” became dominant in the Transylvanian schools, but there were still complaints: the children did not go to school, they did not have enough books, the teachers’ pay was not enough and the school buildings were in a very bad state.

For the gymnasiums, however, the 18th century was one of progress, which proceeded together with the ecclesiastical organization. Due to the Counterreformation, the Protestant Church also had to reorganize itself. Thus, in 1753, the Consistory Law was passed, which would include all the Saxon consistories in Transylvania. The consistory took under its wing the gymnasiums, selecting the textbooks to be used, introduced the maturity exam as well as annual courses, and established a *unique Modus docendi*. The gymnasiums themselves adopted new regulations. This happened in Bistrița (Bistritz, Nösen, Beszterce) in 1755 and in Sibiu (Hermannstadt, Nagyszeben) in 1756–1758, according

to this model, and also in Mediaș (Mediasch, Medgyes) in 1763 and Sighișoara (Schäßburg, Segesvár) in 1772, where the influence from Halle is also observed. These regulations would be applied until 1834.²⁰

By the end of the eighteenth century, the dissatisfaction with the schools had remained constant since the middle of the century, given the problem of insufficiently trained teachers. Therefore, in 1788 the Gymnasium of Sibiu began to organize the so-called preparation and training seminars for teachers in rural areas. Following the Diet of Cluj (Klausenburg, Kolozsvár) of 1791, the Church was again protected by the state, and it regained the right to erect church buildings, towers and schools.

A new stage in the development of schools began with Bishop Daniel Georg Neugeboren (1806–1822). The 1818 circular improved the school system: teachers' rights and privileges were regulated and the school curriculum was synchronized with those in the West, while teachers were no longer employed for one year, but for four. The new plan for gymnasiums stated the following:

Immer wurde das Bessere und Geprüfte von Deutschlands Bildungsanstalten, teils in der Lehrmethode, teils in der Einföhrung neuer Lehrbücher, bei uns benutzt, welches . . . besonderen Modifizierungen unterlag und auch fernerhin diesen Umständen unterworfen bleiben muss. (We have always used the better and the tested [methods] of the German educational institutions, partly in the teaching methodology, partly in the introduction of new textbooks, which . . . was subject to special modifications and must also remain subject to these circumstances.)

The 1826 plan followed the Prussian plan of 1816. An appendix to it described the teacher training seminars.

With the nineteenth century, in Transylvania the emphasis shifted to the renewal and restoration of old freedoms, without leaving aside the school in this process. However, the disorder in the province was still obvious. For the so-called *Volksschulen* it remained true what Stephan Ludwig Roth had said in 1821: *der krankhafte Zustand findet darin vorzüglichsten Krankheitsstoff, dass die Schullehrer als Seele der Schulen nicht das sind, was sie sein sollen* (the pathological state finds the most advantageous material in the disease that the school teachers, as the soul of the schools, are not what they should be). In the gymnasiums, the classes alternated once every two years, because there was no possibility to do one year at a time, the teachers changed annually, and their pay was low. The curriculum of the popular schools (1829) was not followed anywhere and the need for the training and preparation of teachers was increasingly pressing. The first 40 years of the nineteenth century meant a continuous struggle for assertion and an attempt was made to improve all aspects of daily life for the Saxons, this

being the view of Saxon historians about the period in question. In 1844, the Imperial and Royal Law Academy was opened in Sibiu, which had the duty to educate young people and make them able to defend the interests of the Saxon community.

In 1868, with the establishment of the Austro-Hungarian dualism,

*Church and school remained the main bastions which helped the Saxons to maintain their national identity under the conditions of the Magyar school legislation from the dualist period. As in Hungary there was a massive decline of the German language schools, only the Saxons benefited from a developed school system after 1900.*²¹

In 1868 the situation of the Saxon schools in Transylvania was as follows: five full gymnasiums in Sibiu, Braşov (Kronstadt, Brassó), Bistriţa, Sighişoara, and Mediaş, two lower gymnasiums in Reghinul Săsesc (Sächsisch-Regen, Szászregén) and Sebeş (Mühlbach, Szászsebes), a real high school in Sibiu, and two real lower schools in Braşov and Sighişoara. Elementary schools and girls' schools operated in the cities, and there were five more seminaries for the training and preparation of teachers attached to the five gymnasiums. Popular schools (*Volkschulen*) existed in all the villages of the Saxon community (260), with one or two teachers, depending on the size of the village.²²

A short analysis of a Transylvanian personality of the 19th century offers the possibility to piece together some aspects regarding the multiculturalism of the Saxons. Karl Albrich Senior, the son of a lawyer and law professor at the Evangelical Gymnasium in Sibiu, was born on 1 February 1836 in Sibiu. After finishing his academic studies in Vienna, he taught briefly at Schemnitz, and from 1892 he held the position of director of the Evangelical Gymnasium in Sibiu. Karl Albrich Sr. is responsible for “the construction and importance of the royal school in Sibiu, which came to support the bourgeoisie.”²³ Karl Albrich's involvement was not limited to education in Sibiu, as he also held a leading position in the Saxon Consistory. His social involvement is evident in the establishment of the pension of the Evangelical Church. In fact, from 1890 he would participate together with Dr. Karl Wolff in the management of the Sibiu Bank (Hermannstädter Sparkassa). Another aspect of his personality is related to his research work, as he published articles on geometry and physics in the *Korespondenzblatt des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde*. His son, Karl Albrich Jr., would lead the Evangelical Gymnasium in Sibiu. Karl Albrich Sr. is an eloquent example of the Saxon intellectual elite in Sibiu, as its multilateral development is also reflected in the actions they took not only in order to support the education

in Sibiu, but also improve the daily social life of ordinary Saxons in cities. Among other things, he was also the founder of the Widows' Support Association.

The analysis of archival documents brings us closer to the educational realities of the 19th century. As an example, the curriculum of the Evangelical Gymnasium of Sibiu shows the following situation: in the school year 1896–1897 a number of 14 teachers taught at the gymnasium, covering a wide range of subjects. From history, geography, the study of foreign languages, to mathematics, the subjects studied covered to a certain extent all curricular areas. In the same yearbook it is mentioned that the textbooks received by the school in 1896–1897 were donated by the Consistory of the Evangelical Church, the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Budapest, the Royal Academy of Sciences in Vienna, the Verein für siebenbürgische Landeskunde, or other cultural institutions in Jena, Kiel, Czernowitz, Braşov, or Cluj. During this period, textbooks and books were exchanged between the Evangelical Gymnasium in Sibiu and other gymnasiums in the country.

The yearbook also offers us a short presentation of the students of the gymnasium. Thus, except for the real and elementary school, the number of students who regularly attended the gymnasium is as follows: grades 1–8 in the gymnasium had 230 students, of which 155 of the Evangelical religion, 17 Unitarians, 8 Greek Catholics, 48 Greek Orientals, and 2 Israelites. As to their nationality, we find 166 Germans, 4 Hungarians, 58 Romanians, 2 of other nationalities, of which 2 died and 12 dropped out during the year.

The Evangelical Gymnasium in Sibiu had teachers and students from the Saxon intellectual elite, most of them educated and trained in the West. The gymnasium aimed to provide its students both with good quality textbooks and well-trained teachers. Most of the teachers mentioned in the table above published articles in the *Korespondenzblatt* or in the *Akademische Blätter*, thus participating in the development of culture in Sibiu. At the end of the 19th century, the Saxons' efforts to maintain a quality school were noticed, of course with the support of the Evangelical Church.

MULTICULTURALISM, AS seen from the perspective of school education, was an important aspect of Transylvania's development. Moreover, the Transylvanian Saxons demonstrated through the measures taken over time that they can offer a multicultural education, based on European principles, received through the cultural transfer from the Western universities to the East. Moreover, the 19th century curricula demonstrate the appetite of teachers and professors for a multicultural education. The German elites in Transylvania struggled especially during the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy to adapt to the new realities and to preserve their rights to study and teach in the German

language. We would like to conclude with the remark made by the Saxon revolutionist Stephan Ludwig Roth, whereby the German nationality has tried so far to preserve its national and cultural identity, based on Church and School. □

Notes

1. Georgeta Rață, “Bi-, Cross-, Multi-, Pluri-, or Trans-Cultural Education,” in *Multicultural Education: From Theory to Practice*, edited by Hasan Arslan and Georgeta Rață (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013), 7–8.
2. Margaret Alison Gibson, “Approaches to Multicultural Education in the United States: Some Concepts and Assumptions,” *Anthropology & Education Quarterly* 15, 1 (1984): 111.
3. Sonia Nieto, *Affirming Diversity: The Sociopolitical Context of Multicultural Education*, 2nd edition (White Plains, NY: Longman, 1996).
4. Geneva Gay, *A Synthesis of Scholarship in Multicultural Education: Urban Education Program* (Oak Brook, IL: North Central Regional Educational Laboratory, 1994), 4.
5. As we can observe in the definitions and theories of E. M. Lemmer, C. Meier, and J. N. Van Wyk, *Multicultural Education: A Manual for the South African Teacher*, 2nd edition (Pretoria: Van Schaik, 2012).
6. Agostino Portera, “Intercultural Education in Europe: Epistemological and Semantic Aspects,” *Intercultural Education* 19, 6 (2008): 485.
7. James A. Banks, “Multicultural Education: Characteristics and Goals,” in *Multicultural Education: Issues and Perspectives*, 7th edition, edited by James A. Banks and Cherry A. McGee Banks (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, 2010), 20.
8. Paul C. Gorski, “Critical Multicultural Pavilion: Working Definition,” 14 Apr. 2010, accessed 23 July 2020, <http://www.edchange.org/multicultural/initial.html>.
9. Brittney Stane, “Broadening Horizons: The Benefits of Multicultural Education at the Elementary Level,” *Capstone Projects and Master’s Theses* 286 (2013): 11–12.
10. Pamela L. Tiedt and Iris M. Tiedt, *Multicultural Teaching: A Handbook of Activities, Information and Resources*, 3rd edition (Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon, 1990), 1–16.
11. Christine E. Sleeter and Carl A. Grant, *Making Choices for Multicultural Education: Five Approaches to Race, Class, and Gender*, 3rd edition (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Merrill, 1999), 28–36.
12. James A. Banks, “Approaches to Multicultural Curriculum Reform,” in *Multicultural Education: Issues and Perspectives*, 7th edition, 237–253.
13. Daniel Ursprung, “The German Minority in Romania: A Historical Overview,” *Euxininos: Culture and Governance in the Black Sea Region* 19–20 (2015): 7–15.
14. Thomas Nögler, *Die Ansiedlung der Siebenbürger Sachsen*, 2nd edition (Bucharest: Kriterion, 1992).
15. Cristian Cercel, “Transylvanian Saxon Symbolic Geographies,” *Civilisations: Revue internationale d’anthropologie et de sciences humaines* 60, 2 (2012): 83–101.

16. György Györffy, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft der Ungarn um die Jahrtausendwende* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1983), 259.
17. A comprehensive description of the foundations of the Transylvanian social and political Estates system in Béla Köpeczi (general editor), László Makkai, and András Mócsy, eds., *History of Transylvania*, vol. 1, *From the Beginnings to 1606*, trans. Bennett Kovrig et al. (Boulder, CO: East European Monographs; New York: Columbia University Press, 2001); for a detailed overview of the legal status of the Transylvanian Saxons see Konrad Gündisch (with the collaboration of Mathias Beer), *Siebenbürgen und die Siebenbürger Sachsen* (Munich: Langen Müller, 1998).
18. Ioan Bolovan and Liana Lăpădatu, “L’Association nationale d’Arad pour la culture du peuple roumain (1863–1918): Entre local et régional,” *Transylvanian Review* 20, 4 (2011): 32.
19. Ernst Wagner, *Geschichte der Siebenbürger Sachsen: Ein Überblick*, 7th edition (Munich: Wort und Welt, 1998).
20. Friedrich Teutsch, *Geschichte der Siebenbürger Sachsen für das sächsische Volk*, vol. 4, *1866–1919: Unter dem Dualismus* (Hermannstadt: W. Krafft, 1926), 54.
21. Ioan-Aurel Pop, Thomas Nägler, and András Magyar, eds., *The History of Transylvania*, vol. 2 (*from 1711 to 1918*) (Cluj-Napoca: Romanian Academy, Center for Transylvanian Studies, 2010), 599–600.
22. Friedrich Teutsch, “Aus der Vergangenheit der siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Schule,” *Deutsch-Evangelisch Monatsblätter für den gesamten deutschen Protestantismus* (Leipzig) (1911): 733.
23. Original document: *Karl Albrich: Direktor des ev. Gymnasiums in Hermannstadt 1836–1911: Zum frommen: Gedächtnis* (Hermannstadt: Jos. Drotleff, 1911), 4.

Abstract

Multicultural Education in Transylvania: Perspectives for the German Minority

The paper presents the multicultural approach employed in the education of the German nationality, later referred to as a minority in Transylvania, with respect to their long history in this region, focusing especially on the development of the German teaching system since the nineteenth century. The Transylvanian Saxons demonstrated through the measures taken over time that they can offer a multicultural education, based on European principles, received through the cultural transfer from the Western universities to the East.

Keywords

multiculturalism, Transylvanian Saxons, education, curriculum development, schools

An Assessment of the Saxon Cultural Heritage by Other Cohabiting Ethnic Groups in Southern Transylvania

MĂRIOARA PAȘCU

The knowledge of the cultural significance of the Saxon heritage from the point of view of the cohabiting population is very useful for the public authorities in the decision making process and in the drafting of public strategies.

Introduction

A SERIES OF international organizations were actively involved in creating the regulatory, legal framework in relation to the definition and protection of the cultural and natural patrimony. So, in the UNESCO Convention Concerning the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage, the expression “cultural heritage” is used with reference to the monuments, groups of buildings and sites which are of “exceptional universal value in terms of history, art or science” (UNESCO 1972). In 1982, in Mexico, UNESCO (Mitchell et al. 2011, 17) decided that the notion of patrimony should become more complex, no longer limited to a single moment, but rather covering the “material and immaterial works which express the

Mărioara Pașcu

Professor at the Dimitrie Ghika Technical College, Comănești (Bacău County, Romania).

The author wishes to express her gratitude to all the interviewed persons. This research was funded by the Simion Mehedinți Doctoral School, University of Bucharest.

creativity of a people: language, rituals, faiths, historical places and monuments, literature and works of art, libraries.” The Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003) defines in its article 2 the notion of “intangible cultural heritage” meaning the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, and skills that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage.

Stephenson (2008), in the Cultural Values Model, divides *heritage* into forms, relationships and practices or process. *Forms* encompass the physical, tangible and measurable features of the landscape, such as: structures, spatial arrangements, open spaces, as well as natural and artificial features. *Relationships* cover the meaning, interpretations and significance generated by the relationship between the human element and the landscape: this includes identity, memories, the sense of place and spirituality, while *practices* encompass traditions, activities and events, including human and natural systems.

The responsibility for the preservation, protection and salvage of the patrimony, material or immaterial, natural or cultural, belongs mainly to the national states and to the public authorities on the territory where the cultural assets are located. A special category is represented by the *common heritage of mankind*, recognized for its exceptional value, which benefits from the protection of UNESCO. Presently on the list of the UNESCO World Heritage there are 1,121 sites from 167 states, Romania among them (World Heritage List). The authenticity, integrity and exceptional value of the Saxon cultural heritage in southern Transylvania allowed the inclusion of the Prejmer and Biertan rural sites, located in our research area, in the UNESCO protection list (see table 1). At national level, the cultural assets which comply with the general and special classification criteria established by Government Decision no. 886/2008 are registered on the National Cultural Heritage list (see table 2).

The reasons for assessing a cultural heritage item as significant are often considered *cultural values* (Pereira Roders and Hudson 2011, 175). It is considered that “societies retain objects because they have value for the members of that society” (Cagle 2009, 25) and “are preserved because they have values” (Appelbaum 2007, 86). In heritage practice, values means “the positive characteristics or qualities perceived in cultural objects or sites, by particular persons or groups” (Mason 2002, 5), but also practices, stories and memories—in relation to social and aesthetic values often triggered experientially (Johnston 2017, 3).

The notion of (*cultural and natural*) *significance* is mentioned only once in the World Heritage Convention, in article 11 (UNESCO 1972). According to the Burra Charter (ICOMOS Australia 1999, 2) *cultural significance* “is embodied in the *place* itself, its *fabric, setting, use, associations, meanings, records, related places*

and *related objects*.” The “qualities and characteristics seen in things, in particular the positive characteristics (actual and potential)” (Mason 2002, 7) embodying cultural values are termed as attributes (UNESCO 2011). There is still no consensus on whether *cultural significance* can be intrinsic and objective (Hodder 2000) and this is mostly due to the cultural values (Pereira Roders 2013).

In my analysis I also refer to other researches focused on the Saxon communities in Transylvania. Thus, Andra Ioana Milcu et al. (2014) published a paper called “Navigating Conflicting Landscape Aspirations: Application of a Photo-Based Q-Method in Transylvania.” The research showed that while modernism produced major changes in the landscape, the population still considers it a feature that belongs to the past. Another research conducted in 2009 in Transylvania by Alexandra Viorica Dulău and Monica Maria Coroş, presented in the paper called “Is Cultural Tourism Attractive in Transylvania? A Focus on Cluj and Sibiu Counties,” showed that Transylvania is more appreciated abroad, enjoying greater fame than Romania.

The purpose of our research is the assessment of the cultural heritage left by the Transylvanian Saxons to other cohabiting ethnicities (Romanians, Hungarians), which I will call LPC, in Braşov and Sibiu counties.

The research questions are:

Which are the cultural values that LPC associate with the cultural heritage of the Saxons?

How do LPC assess the patrimonial features of the Saxon landscape which marked the cultural landscape they lived in?

TABLE 1. THE LIST OF THE SAXON HISTORICAL MONUMENTS CLASSIFIED IN THE NATIONAL AND UNESCO CULTURAL HERITAGE

Locality	Monuments	Age
Biertan	Biertan fortified church ^a	15 th century
Cârța	Cistercian abbey ^b	13 th –15 th centuries
Hălchiu	Evangelical church ^b	15 th –18 th centuries
Hărman	Fortress church ^b	13 th century
Hosman	Fortified church ^b	13 th century
Mălâncrav	Fortified church ^b	14 th century
Prejmer	Fortress ^a	13 th century
Sânpetru	Sânpetru fortress, peasant fortress ^b	13 th –15 th centuries
Şelimbăr	Fortified church ^b	13 th century
Vulcan	Vulcan fortified church ^b	13 th –16 th centuries

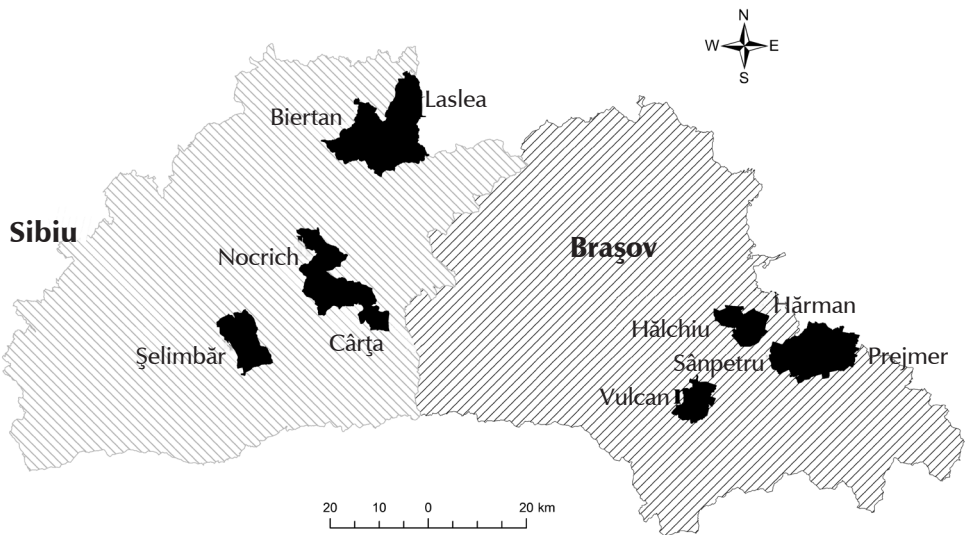
^a Registered in the UNESCO World Heritage List.

^b Registered in the National Cultural Heritage List.

TABLE 2. LIST OF SAXON MONUMENTS ON THE NATIONAL CULTURAL HERITAGE LIST

Locality	Name	LMI Code	Dates
Hărman	Fortified Evangelical church complex	BV-II-a-A-11715	13 th century
	House, 81 Dorobanți St.	BV-II-a-A-11714	1769
Hălchiu	Evangelical church	BV-II-m-B-11709	1807
	Michael Roth House, 569 Laterală St.	BV-II-m-B-11710	1781
	Victor Colțea House, 571 Laterală St.	BV-II-m-B-11711	1773
	Peter Depner House, 124 Morii St.	BV-II-m-B-11712	18 th century
Prejmer	Prejmer rural site	BV-II-m-B-11744	13 th –19 th centuries
	House, 56 Brașovului St.	BV-II-m-B-11751	1830, 1929
	House, 57 Brașovului St.	BV-II-m-B-11752	18 th century–beginning of the 19 th century
	House, 105 Cenușii St.	BV-II-m-B-11752	19 th century
	Fortified Evangelical church complex	BV-II-a-A-11745	13 th –19 th centuries
	Barbacana (Town hall yard with enclosures), 2 Mare St.	BV-II-m-A-11745.04	16 th –17 th centuries
	Zwinger (Bakers' yard, enclosures), 2 Mare St.	BV-II-m-A-11745.05	18 th century
	Confessional Evangelical school, 8–10 Mare St.	BV-II-m-A-11746	1846–1848
House, 586 Mare St.	BV-II-m-A-11747	18 th century	
House, 13 Pompierilor St.	BV-II-m-A-11748	1777, redone at the beginning of the 20 th century	
Sânpetru	Fortified Evangelical church complex	BV-II-a-A-11817	13 th –19 th centuries
Vulcan	Fortified Evangelical church complex	BV-II-a-A-11849	13 th –18 th centuries
	Former German school	BV-II-m-B-20943	19 th century
Biertan	Biertan rural site	SB-II-s-A-12327	16 th –19 th centuries
	Fortified Evangelical church complex	SB-II-a-A-12328	15 th –17 th centuries
	Evangelical parochial house	SB-II-a-A-12329	15 th –17 th centuries, transfer 1820
	House, 25 N. Bălcescu St.	SB-II-m-B-12330	1876
Former pharmacy, A. Vlaicu St.	SB-II-m-B-12331	15 th –18 th centuries	
Cârța	Former Cistercian monastery complex	SB-II-a-A-12348	13 th century, transfer 15 th century
	Evangelical church	SB-II-m-A-12348.01	13 th century, transfer 15 th century
	House, no. 216	SB-II-m-B-12349	1827
Hosman	Fortified Evangelical church complex	SB-II-a-A-12400	13 th century–beginning of the 19 th century
Mălâncrav	Rural complex, historical center	SB-II-a-B-12415	18 th –19 th centuries
	Evangelical church complex	SB-II-a-A-12416	14 th –16 th centuries
Șelimbăr	Fortified Evangelical church complex	SB-II-a-A-12561	13 th –19 th centuries

FIG. 1. The analysis is focused on the southern Transylvanian counties of Braşov and Sibiu



Study Area

THE ANALYSIS is focused on the southern Transylvanian counties of Braşov and Sibiu (fig. 1). Statistical data taken from Varga 2002 and INS 2015 (table 3).

A basic feature of the study area is represented by the multi-ethnic diversity. Three big ethnic groups, Saxons, Romanians, and Hungarians, have been living on the same territory. In 1920 the Saxons were a majority in Şelimbăr, Hosman, Mălâncrav, Biertan, Sânpetru, Prejmer, Hărman, the other cohabiting ethnicities coming second. Only in Hălchiu, Vulcan and Cârţa the LPC were less numerous than the Saxons. From 1920 until 2011 a continuous growth of the Romanian population is noted, 19.98 times in Şelimbăr, 9.56 times in Hosman, 4.56 times in Hărman, and 3.84 times in Prejmer. In relation to the numerical evolution of the Hungarian population, a continuous decrease over the years is noticed in Hălchiu (3.48 times), Prejmer, Vulcan, Cârţa, and Hosman. On the other hand, in Hărman, Sânpetru, Biertan, Mălâncrav and Şelimbăr the Hungarian population grew, but remained proportionally modest, ranging between 138 (Sânpetru) and 42 (Şelimbăr). Unlike the LPC, the number of Saxons dramatically decreased in all 10 communities starting with 1920, up to 86.66 times in Hosman, 35.59 times in Hălchiu, and 29.43 times in Prejmer.

We shall provide here a short description of the two counties and of the communities analyzed. In *Braşov County* we looked at five communities: Hălchiu, Hărman, Prejmer, Sânpetru, and Vulcan. The settlement of Hălchiu (in the Saxon dialect Hältsdref, Haljtsdref, in German Heldsdorf, Heldesdorf, Heltesdorf, in Hungarian Höltövény, Heltevény), is attested since 1377. In 1920 it was inhabited by 1,471 Romanians, 2,366 Hungarians and 2,171 Saxons, but by 2011 only 3,159 Romanians, 679 Hungarians, and 61 Saxons were left in the entire community. Hărman (in the Saxon dialect Huntschprich, in German Honigberg, in Hungarian Szászhermány) dates back to 1240. In 1920, it was home to 1,034 Romanians, 72 Hungarians, while the Saxon community included 1,274 persons, but in 2011 we find 4,719 Romanians, 123 Hungarians while the number of the Saxons decreased to 66. For Prejmer (in German Tartlau, in Hungarian Prázsmár), the first certain documentary attestation of the locality is from 1240. The Saxons settled on these territories and called the locality Torteln, Tartelchen (Halmaghi 2001). In 1920, the Saxon community had 2,090 persons, 1912 where Romanians, and 236 Hungarians, but in 2011 the ethnic structure showed 7,349 Romanians, 154 Hungarians, and 71 Saxons. Sânpetru (in the Saxon dialect Pittersbarch, in German Petersberg, Petersdorf, in Hungarian Barcaszentpéter), was attested in 1240. In 1920, the Saxon community had 1,183 persons, living alongside 942 Romanians and 47 Hungarians, but in 2011 the Romanians were in the majority, with 4,204 people, the Hungarians were 154 in number, while the Saxons had decreased to 84. The settlement of Vulcan (in the Saxon dialect Wulkendref, in German Wolkendorf, in Hungarian Volkány, Szászvolkány) was attested in 1377. In 1920, in Vulcan there were 2,115 Romanians, 52 Hungarians and 1,152 Saxons, and in 2011 we find 4,122 Romanians, 26 Hungarians, while the number of Saxons had dropped to 69.

In *Sibiu County* we analyzed five communities: Biertan, Cârța, Mălâncrav, Hosman, and Şelimbăr. Demographically, these villages follow the pattern of those in Braşov County. The village of Biertan (in the Saxon dialect BIRTHÄLM, Bierthalmen, Bierthalm, in German BIRTHÄLM, BIRTHALMEN, in Hungarian Berethalom) was attested in 1283 (Nägler 2003). In 1920, the village had 1,232 Saxons, 955 Romanians, and 49 Hungarians but by 2011 the Romanians were 1,854, the Hungarians 91, and the Saxons 112. Cârța (in the Saxon dialect KIERZ, Kierts, in German Kerz, in Hungarian Kerc) dates from 1202. There were 462 Germans in the village in 1920, 489 Romanians, and 8 Hungarians, while in 2011 there were 793 Romanians, 7 Hungarians and 41 Saxons. Mălâncrav (in the Saxon dialect MALEMKREF, Malemkrox, in German Malmkrog, Mallenkrag, Halbenkragen, in Hungarian Almakerék) was mentioned in documents for the first time in 1305. In 1920, 841 Germans were registered, living along-

side 394 Romanians and 15 Hungarians, but in 2011 there were 1,952 Romanians, 34 Hungarians, and 80 Saxons. Hosman (in the Saxon dialect Hultsmänjen, Hultsmoien, in German Holzungen, Holzmannthal, in Hungarian Holcmány), belongs to the commune of Nocrich (in the Saxon dialect Löschkirch, in German Leschkirch, Löschenkirch, in Hungarian Újegyház) and dates from 1319. In 1920, the community consisted of 252 Romanians, 30 Hungarians and 520 Saxons. In 2011 the statistics registered 2,410 Romanians, 9 Hungarians and 6 Saxons. Şelimbăr (in the Saxon dialect Schällembrich, in German Schellenberg, in Hungarian Sellenberk) dates from 1323. In 1920, the Saxon community had 601 persons, sharing the village with 325 Romanians and 4 Hungarians, while in 2011 there were 6,496 Romanians, 42 Hungarians, and only 51 Saxons.

Research Methods

THE RESEARCH methods employed included questionnaires and statistical analysis.

The questionnaires (see annex). The qualitative assessment of significance is quite necessary in such an approach (Kapelouzou 2012, 177). Consequently, questionnaires were applied to the resident population with ages between 15 and 88. In each of the Braşov and Sibiu counties, 185 questionnaires were applied, amounting to a total of 370. For a better relevance of the assessment process, of the cultural significance of the Saxon cultural heritage and of its values, we interviewed people belonging to other ethnicities. Questions Q1–Q9 assessed features belonging to the Saxon material patrimony: spatial organization, buildings and structures, the panorama of the landscape, the symbolical value of the monuments in the patrimony, and questions Q10–Q16 assessed the immaterial features: the cultural traditions, land use, the feeling of belonging, the identification with the living space. The research method was a qualitative one, with several variants (Jaba and Grama 2004) involving a qualitative answer: very much, a lot, relatively, not at all, and very little. The questions or statements of the questionnaire include sufficient explanatory information to rule out the risk that the interviewed population doesn't understand its meaning. Also, we have grouped the interviewed persons in three age categories: 14–35 years, 36–60 years, and over 61 years because:

The age category 14–35 years includes generations without the experience of a long life lived in the multicultural framework of the local landscape. They saw the landscape in the present stage, with a low persistence of the analyzed

features, they see the past through the tales of others, not being directly involved in the past, in its evolution or transformation. From another point of view, they are the beneficiaries of a fragile cultural landscape.

The age category between 36 and 60 years is represented the generations which lived/worked together with the Saxon ethnics for a longer period, have a long life experience in the multi-ethnic and multicultural space analyzed, and are able to see all differences between the past and the present.

The age category included between 61 and 88 years is formed by the generations which lived for their whole life together with the Saxons, in the period when the Saxons had a vital role in perpetuating the Saxon features of the settlement.

Statistical analysis. The data obtained as a result of applying the 370 questionnaires were processed with the help of the SPSS 20 program. The statistical analysis consisted in calculating the following indexes: the frequency of the scores given to each landscape features and the Pearson coefficient. In the statistical analysis I have also considered the age criterion. In the statistical analysis, the validation of the work hypotheses is mandatory. As a result, the *age* related hypothesis was issued.

WORKING HYPOTHESIS: there is a correlation between the *age* group of the interviewed persons and the quality answer variants granted to the features of the analyzed cultural landscape. This is the void hypothesis H_0 . In case it is not validated with the help of the Pearson correlation coefficient I shall accept the alternate hypothesis H_1 , meaning its opposite (Leech, Barrett, and Morgan 2005). For the analysis of the Pearson correlation coefficient we used the module *Analyze–Correlate–Bivariate Correlation*. The variables used in the analysis are: the age of the LPC interviewed persons and the quality answer variants (not at all, very little, relatively, a lot, very much). Significance coefficient: A significance test can be undertaken to derive a P value for the correlation coefficient, with statistical hypothesis testing (Sedgwick 2010). If the probability is lower than the significance coefficient ($p < 0.05$) then the correlation coefficient is significant statistically. The Pearson correlation coefficient (r) takes values between -1 and $+1$ (Rumsey 2016), indicating the power and direction of the linear association between two variables, the sign “ $-$ ” indicates an inversely proportional association between variables, while “ $+$ ” indicates a directly proportional one. The working hypothesis is true and validated if there are significant correlation coefficients at the 0,05 and 0,01 threshold of the two tailed significance tests with flag significant correlation.

TABLE 3. THE ETHNIC STRUCTURE OF THE POPULATION BETWEEN 1920 AND 2011

Locality	1920			1966			1992			2002			2011		
	Ro	Hung.	Saxons	Ro	Hung.	Saxons	Ro	Hung.	Saxons	Ro	Hung.	Saxons	Ro	Hung.	Saxons
Hălchiu	1,471	2,366	2,171	3,133	1,867	1,635	4,103	1,299	275	3,122	742	106	3,159	679	61
Hărman	1,034	72	1,274	2,953	171	1,162	3,873	128	242	3,955	113	102	4,719	123	66
Prejmer	1,912	236	2,090	5,621	368	1,810	7,780	278	225	7,612	216	101	7,349	154	71
Sânpetru	942	47	1,183	2,586	71	1,103	2,856	107	319	3,125	92	137	4,204	138	84
Vulcan	2,115	52	1,152	4,417	113	1,082	5,171	47	199	4,120	34	103	4,122	26	69
Biertan	955	49	1,232	1,166	131	811	1,050	62	282	2,726	99	130	1,854	91	112
Cârța	489	8	462	818	5	488	785	11	205	834	14	47	793	7	41
Mălâncrav	394	15	841	770	25	711	564	16	241	560	9	145	1,952	34	80
Hosman	252	30	520	678	4	439	565	1	43	691	5	88	2,410	9	6
Șelimbăr	325	4	601	765	9	754	1,670	18	73	1,919	16	33	6,496	42	51

Results

LANDSCAPE MATRIX. The matrix (table 4) explains the three stages regarding the assessment of the cultural significance of the Saxon landscape through the questionnaire method.

a. Which are the features of the Saxon heritage that we are assessing? In our case, we are talking about material (spatial organization of the area of the village, the Saxon buildings and structures, the panorama) and immaterial features (the cultural traditions, the manner of land use, memory, the feeling of belonging, the identification with the living space).

b. Which are the significant features of the heritage? The tangible features of the heritage in question are: the specificity of the area of the village as conceived and traced by the Saxons, with their traditional manner of building the settlements starting from the 12th–13th centuries (presently that structure has become the historical center of the settlements), the structure of the settlement, the architecture of the houses, the beauty and symbols of the communities. So, in this stage, we associated aspects of value to each feature of significance.

c. Assessing degrees of cultural significance according to value qualifiers. Which is the cultural significance of the analyzed attributes? This will show which features and aspects of the values are the most significant, if the Saxon heritage has lost its meaning and significance for the present population. The relationships between aspects and qualifiers of value offer an image on the perceptions of significance.

The significance coefficient for the attributes of the material and immaterial patrimony.

From a total of 16 assessed attributes, according to the *frequency* index (table 5), I note that the answer variant *a lot* registers the higher values for: Panorama (51.6%), Cultural traditions/Age of the village (45.9%), Church and fortified city (41.9%) and Manner of land use—Agricultural practices (40.8%). A high cultural significance registers two attributes of the material heritage and two immaterial ones. The index of the *frequency* of the answer variant *a lot* registers high values for: the Structure of the settlement (44.9%), the Architecture of the houses (44.6%), the Saxon monuments (42.2%), the Saxon tourist objectives and the Cultural heritage (41.6%), as well as Memory (41.4%). From the subjects' point of view, the material patrimony has a higher importance than the immaterial one.

The Pearson correlation coefficient (*Analyze–Correlate–Bivariate Correlation*): the results obtained have confirmed the working hypothesis, as the Pearson correlation coefficient registered values between the 0,05 and 0,01 threshold in 11 cases.

The working hypothesis was validated for 13 questions: Q1, Q2, Q3, Q4, Q5, Q8, Q9, Q11, Q12, Q13, Q14, Q15, Q16, and 28 values of the Pearson correlation coefficient were classified in the significance threshold, indicating the existence of correlations between the qualification type answer and the age of the interviewed person (table 6). The two variables (the quality type answer and the age of the interviewed person) are dependent in these cases.

For example: in Q1 two strong significant correlations were registered, a positive one between the variables A lot and age ($r=.158$, $p=0.02$) and a negative one Relatively ($r=-.179$, $p=0.001$). In Q2, together with the age of the interviewed person, the percentage of the answers also grew a lot ($r=.129$, $p=0.013$) and inversely proportional for the relative, the correlation being strongly negative ($r=-.117$, $p=0.025$). In Q3 only one strongly negative correlation is registered, inversely proportional, as the percentage of those who appreciate the architecture of the house very little grows, as the age of the subjects decreases ($r=-.123$, $p=0.018$). The Pearson coefficient indicated a strong positive coefficient for Q11, it increases the proportion of the qualification A lot ($r=.132$, $p=0.011$) with the increase in the age of the interviewed person. For Q12 two Pearson correlations were registered: a positive one which increases the preference for the qualification A lot ($r=.118$, $p=0.023$), together with the increase in age, and a negative one, increasing the preference for the answer variant Very little ($r=-.136$, $p=0.009$) together with the decrease in the age of the interviewed persons. For Q13 there is a powerfully negative Pearson correlation ($r=-.102$, $p=0.049$), an increased preference for the answer variant Not at all together with the decrease of the age of the interviewed person. For Q14, 2 Pearson correlations were registered between the age and the answer

variants Very little ($r=-.135$, $p=0.009$), and A lot ($r=.118$, $p=0.024$). For Q15 the variables Relatively and Age are dependent according to the correlation coefficient ($r=-.129$, $p=0.013$), and for Q16, the maximum 4 correlations were registered, two positive, Very little ($r=.109$, $p=0.035$), A lot ($r=.126$, $p=0.016$), and two negative, Not at all ($r=-.107$, $p=0.039$), and Relatively ($r=-.134$, $p=0.010$).

TABLE 4. LANDSCAPE MATRIX OF THE SAXON CULTURAL HERITAGE IN THE PERCEPTION OF THE LPC

Associated value	Landscape element area	Feature	Attribute
Historical	Process of the anthropogenic action/material patrimony	Spatial organization	Specificity of the area of the village (Q1), Structure of the settlement (Q2)
	Process of the anthropogenic action/immaterial patrimony	Cultural traditions/age of the village population	Documentary attestation (Q10)
Patrimonial	Visible material area/Material patrimony	Buildings and structures	The architecture of the houses (Q3), Church and fortified citadel (Q4), Saxon monuments (Q7)
Identity	Visible material area/Material patrimony	Buildings and structures	Saxon monuments (Q7), Specifics of the area of the village (Q1), Structure of the settlement (Q2)
Spiritual	Visible material area/Material patrimony	Buildings and structures	Church and fortified citadel (Q5)
Economic	Visible material area/Material patrimony	Buildings and structures	Cultural heritage (Q9)
	Process of the anthropogenic action/immaterial patrimony	Manner of land use	Agricultural practices (Q11), Traditional land use (Q14)
Aesthetic	Visible material area/Material patrimony	Panorama	Beauty (Q6)
Symbolical	Area of the invisible experience/Material patrimony	Saxon tourist objectives	Church, museum, citadel (Q8)
Communication in the mother tongue	Oral traditions/Immaterial patrimony	Multiculturalism/multilingualism	Speaking various modern languages and dialects (Q12)
Memorial	Area of the invisible experience–mental space/Immaterial patrimony	Memory	Memory (Q13)
Feelings	Area of the invisible experience–mental space/immaterial patrimony	Sense of belonging and identification	Identification with the space (Q15), Feeling of belonging to a community (Q16)

TABLE 5. FREQUENCY INDEX FOR THE QUALITY ANSWER VARIANTS

Attribute	Not at all	Very little	Relatively	A lot	Very much
Specificity of the area of the village (Q1)	5.1	4.6	23.5	40.8	25.9
Structure of the settlement (Q2)	3.2	4.6	12.2	44.9	34.9
The architecture of the houses (Q3)	2.2	3.5	14.9	44.6	34.9
Church and fortified citadel (Q4)	12.7	5.9	13.0	32.2	35.7
Church and fortified citadel (Q5)	3.0	4.9	12.2	37.6	41.9
Panorama (Q6)	0.5	2.2	8.1	37.6	51.6
Saxon monuments (Q7)	0	4.3	18.9	42.2	34.3
Saxon tourist objectives (Q8)	3.0	3.2	17.6	41.6	34.6
Cultural heritage (Q9)	4.3	10.5	14.6	41.6	28.9
Cultural traditions/Age of the village (Q10)	1.9	3.2	10.3	38.4	45.9
Manner of land use—Agricultural practices (Q11)	1.4	2.7	17.0	37.3	40.8
Cultural traditions—Multiculturalism (Q12)	3.2	5.1	20.8	40.8	30.0
Memory (Q13)	4.6	8.9	25.9	41.4	19.2
Manner of traditional land use (Q14)	14.1	8.1	23.2	34.9	20.5
Sense of identification with the space (Q15)	5.1	4.3	17.0	39.7	33.2
Sense of belonging (Q16)	6.2	5.9	18.9	36.8	31.9

TABLE 6. PEARSON CORRELATION BETWEEN TWO VARIABLES:
QUALITY TYPE ANSWERS AND THE AGE OF THE INTERVIEWED PERSON

Assessed attribute	Correlation/age	Not at all	Very little	Relatively	A lot	Very much
Specificity of the area of the village (Q1)	Pearson correlation	-0.091	-0.101	-.179 ^c	0.098	.158 ^c
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.080	0.052	0.001	0.060	0.002
	N	370	370	370	370	370
Structure of the settlement (Q2)	Pearson correlation	-0.088	-0.084	-.117 ^b	0.018	.129 ^b
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.092	0.106	0.025	0.734	0.013
The architecture of the houses (Q3)	Pearson correlation	-0.027	-.123 ^b	-0.084	0.058	0.059
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.600	0.018	0.105	0.269	0.259
Church and fortified citadel (Q4)	Pearson correlation	-0.070	-.162 ^c	-.107 ^b	0.099	.110 ^b
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.181	0.002	0.040	0.057	0.034
Church and fortified citadel (Q5)	Pearson correlation	-.126 ^b	-.181 ^c	-.214 ^c	.125 ^b	.130 ^b
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.016	0.000	0.000	0.016	0.012
Panorama (Q6)	Pearson correlation	-0.030	0.026	0.045	0.040	-0.066
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.561	0.614	0.386	0.447	0.203
Saxon monuments (Q7)	Pearson correlation	. ^a	-0.025	-0.070	-0.006	0.083
	Sig. (2-tailed)		0.632	0.182	0.910	0.112
Saxon tourist objectives (Q8)	Pearson correlation	-0.056	-.103 ^b	-.150 ^c	.144 ^c	0.029
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.280	0.047	0.004	0.006	0.576
Cultural heritage (Q9)	Pearson correlation	0.052	-0.048	-0.063	.113 ^b	-0.064
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.321	0.358	0.225	0.030	0.216
Cultural traditions/Age of the village (Q10)	Pearson correlation	-0.057	-0.093	-0.063	0.067	0.014
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.277	0.074	0.226	0.198	0.789
	N	370	370	370	370	370

Manner of land use (Q11)	Pearson correlation	-0.007	-0.059	-0.057	-0.078	.132 ^b
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.889	0.255	0.274	0.137	0.011
Cultural traditions (Q12)	Pearson correlation	-0.058	-.136 ^c	-0.066	.118 ^b	0.020
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.263	0.009	0.206	0.023	0.697
Memory (Q13)	Pearson correlation	-.102 ^b	-0.063	-0.006	0.090	-0.005
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.049	0.225	0.912	0.085	0.917
Manner of land use (Q14)	Pearson correlation	-0.073	-.135 ^c	-0.064	0.066	.118 ^b
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.160	0.009	0.223	0.205	0.024
Sense of identification with the space (Q15)	Pearson correlation	-0.089	0.005	-.129 ^b	0.084	0.056
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.089	0.929	0.013	0.105	0.281
Sense of belonging (Q16)	Pearson correlation	-.107 ^b	.109 ^b	-.134 ^c	.126 ^b	-0.015
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.039	0.035	0.010	0.016	0.777

^a. Cannot be computed because at least one of the variables is constant (is 0 constant).

^b. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

^c. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Discussion

1. WHICH ARE THE CULTURAL VALUES THAT THE LPC ASSOCIATE WITH THE CULTURAL HERITAGE OF THE SAXONS?

THE ASSESSMENT of the cultural significance of the Saxon cultural patrimony has a dose of subjectivism, being influenced by the changes in time and the particular cultural, intellectual, historical and psychological frames of reference held by specific groups (Darvill 1995, 40). In order to eliminate some of this subjectivism, the target was formed only by the LSP. The analysis of the questionnaires shows that the LPC grant the cultural heritage of the Saxons a wide range of values, as follows:

a) *Aesthetic value*. This value is on the first place, being preferred by 51.6% of the subjects *very much* while 37.6% appreciate it *a lot*. The panorama of the landscape has an *aesthetic value* as the subjects consider it beautiful. This value is unanimously preferred by the LPC no matter their age, having an important contribution to the “sense of wellbeing” (Mason 2002, 8).

b) *Historical value* occupies the second place in terms of preference, 45.9% appreciate it *very much* and 38.4% *a lot*. The cultural traditions, cluster arrangement, historical age of the settlements (UNESCO 1972), or the historical events occurred in the analyzed area are appreciated unanimously by the LPC, no matter the age.

c) *Patrimonial value*. The church and fortified citadel have a patrimonial value for the LPC. The patrimonial values occupy the 3rd place in the top of preferences of the subjects, as 41.9% appreciated very much the church and the fortified

citadel and 37.6% a lot. The LPC regret the loss of ancestral agricultural practices but, at the same time, they admit not being attracted by this field of activity. A special situation is registered in the Mălâncrav village in the county of Sibiu, where the geographic isolation, the existence of a numerous Saxon community, the work of an Evangelical priest and of the Mihai Eminescu Trust association contributed to the preservation of agricultural traditions. The Saxon houses have a high density in the territory, being included in the movable patrimony. For example: in Hărman a house from 1769 is preserved, in Hălchiu, 3 houses are from 1773–1781, in Prejmer 7 houses from 1777–1848, in Biertan a parochial house from the 15th–17th century, while Cârța also preserves a house from 1827.

d) *The identity value* is appreciated a lot by 42.2% and very much by 34.3%. The historical nucleus of the analyzed Saxon villages, except for Șelimbăr and Cârța, conserves this ethnical structure very well. The preservation of the authenticity, integrity and identity value have allowed the inclusion of Saxon houses, churches and fortified citadels on the list of the National and UNESCO Cultural Heritage, so 8 of the 10 communities have nationally classified monuments and two benefit from international protection. The cultural baggage (Hart 1998, 3) “of a social group influenced the form, presence and structure of the settlements as the members of the community had their own ideas about the particular form the constructions should have, the manner in which they should look, the particularities reflect exactly their own ideas, visions, experiences.” In daily life, the population assigned a functionality to the forms (ibid.), and as the function and form of the construction were intimately connected, they practically built the landscape as a result of a functionality.

e) *The symbolic value* is appreciated by 42.2 % of the subjects *a lot*. The Saxon tourist objectives have become the symbol of the villages, also for the LPC. The fortified churches and citadels of Prejmer, Hărman, Biertan, Mălâncrav, and the Cistercian abbey of Cârța stand out in this regard. The LPC assign a symbolical value to the cultural heritage of the Saxons, as this is the most valuable resource of the community, which made them touristically famous, nationally and internationally.

f) *Economic value*. Through the touristic capitalization of the heritage of the Saxons, the LPC gain financial income and, in this case, the patrimony has an economic value (Mason 2002, 12). The cultural heritage of the Saxons represent a source of income for the budget of the community, for example the Local Council of Prejmer is involved together with the Evangelical Church in the annual organization of the Foshing Festival. Still, there are major differences in terms of the touristic capitalization between the rural landscapes of Prejmer, Hărman, Biertan, Cârța, or Mălâncrav, which became popular tourist destinations, while Sânpetru, Hălchiu, Hosman and Vulcan do not manage to attract visitors. The

LPC appreciated very much (40.8%) that in the past the Saxons, through their traditional activities (growing plants, animal husbandry, crafts) brought economic prosperity to the settlements.

g) *Memorial value*. The LPC appreciate elements in the materially visible area (panorama, buildings/structures) of the human action processes (spatial organization) as they have memorial value and remind them *a lot* of the Saxons, as 41.4% of the subjects declared. Still, a slight decrease in the appreciation of the population together with age is noticed for the memorial value of the settlement, as 25.9% of the subjects are indifferent to this aspect. There is the risk that together with the change of the generations, this memorial value will decrease.

h) *Multiculturalism*. Although the Saxon dialect tends to disappear from the study area, as well as the German language, the linguistic multiculturalism is appreciated *very much* by 30% of the subjects and *a lot* by 40.8%. I notice that the above represent 70.8%.

i) *Spiritual value*. Theoretically I had expected for the Saxon citadels and fortified churches to have a spiritual value only for the segment of the population which belongs to the Evangelical denomination. Although the people we interviewed ones belonged to other denominations (mainly Orthodox, Catholics and Pentecostals), the LPC positively appreciate the spirituality of Evangelical sanctuaries. The fact that 67,9% of a population of another religion appreciate the Evangelical church of the local landscape denotes the inter-confessional respect and the solidity of the interethnic relationship which grew in time in the community.

j) *Identification with the living space*. Identity as a social value can only be shared in close relation with the heritage spaces (Johnston 2017, 7). This connection actually includes the individual experience with the landscape, as Johnston also emphasized, the relation between the individual and the space/the individual and the environment includes the relations between the heritage and identity, the nature of shared memory and processes of remembering, and the private and public qualities of heritage (Johnston 1992, 10). Although the analyzed villages no longer have a cultural life as intense as in the past, the number and frequency of the cultural events decreasing dramatically, and group cohesion decreased in favor of individualism, still we have been pleasantly surprised by the LPC who identify with the environment they live in a proportion which is not to be neglected, of 39.7%. The explanation consists of the fact that the higher the feeling of wellbeing of the population, the more it influences the identification of the population with the environment. Also, the feeling of wellbeing and the identification with the environment can be influenced by the most appreciated value of the landscape—the beauty of the panorama to which the tourist recognition is added, etc. It is hard to imagine that a population would identify with a landscape declared unattractive.

k) *The sense of belonging/attachment*. Much has been said about that collective attachment to a place that embodies meanings and values that are important to a community or communities, noting that this encompasses a basis for identity, distinctiveness, belonging and social interaction and accommodates forms of memory, oral history, symbolism and cultural practice (Jones and Leech 2015, 13–14; Jones 2016, 3). Although the interviewed population doesn't belong to the ethnic group which laid the foundation of the landscape in which it lives, still it manifests a special sense of belonging (31.9 % have chosen very much and 36.8% a lot). The attachment to that place refers to aspects related to affiliation, the importance of the place for the ordinary or various forms of affective attachment. The attachment of those that live in localities of national importance is much higher than those of other anonymous localities. The sense of belonging doesn't depend only on the social factors or on the quality of the individual, but also on the quality of the landscape.

2. HOW DO THE LPC ASSESS THE PATRIMONIAL FEATURES OF THE SAXON LANDSCAPE WHICH MARKED THE CULTURAL LANDSCAPE THEY LIVED IN?

EVEN IF the Nara Document on Authenticity (1994) indicated that “values vary from culture to culture, and therefore cultural heritage must be evaluated according to the culture to which it belongs,” I have chosen to assess the cultural heritage of the Saxons from the LPC point of view, in the context in which “the landscape is in the common patrimony of all inhabitants” (European Landscape Convention 2000; Faro Convention 2005). The values change in time, being strongly influenced by contextual factors such as the social, economic and cultural ones, which deeply influenced the Saxon communities leading to the possibility of conflicts between the parties in the local environment. In this case, although the interviewed resident population doesn't belong to the German ethnicity whose cultural heritage we are assessing, the interviewed persons positively appreciated all features. The interviewed persons are considered part of it due to the cohabitation in time together with the Saxons and the interethnic relations. The positive values obtained reveal that there are no conflicts in the analyzed landscape. The positive assessment the Saxon cultural patrimony presently enjoys indicates that the LPC do not refer to another set of values, closer to the times they live in, being deeply attached to the local environment.

According to Appleton (1975, 296), original landscape *appreciation* derives from the respondent's on site experiences, it can evolve with physiological and even sociological age (Aoki and Kitamura 2001, 114–122). The landscape preferences could be influenced by the identities of human group (nationality, ethnicity, living environment, gender and age) (Tips and Savasdisara 1986, 225; Takayama et al. 2012, 404), and by individual characteristics (social status, per-

sonal history, educational level and professional interests, hobbies) (Aoki 2007, 181).

A variation of the cultural significance of the Saxon cultural heritage is noticed according to the age of the interviewed person. Therefore, we listed the LPC preferences according to the age criterion (table 7).

The generation over 60 years old (group III) appreciates *very much*: the space structure, the layout of the Saxon houses in the historical center of the settlement (attached to one another, with the facade towards the sun), the specificity of the area of the village, the fortified church and citadel, the Saxon tourist objectives, the cultural traditions related to the age of the population, the agricultural practices of the old Saxons, the manner of land use, they have a powerful attachment to the community they live in and identify with the living space. There is no major difference between the two generations in granting the score *a lot*, as its frequency is between 38.7% and 38.4%.

The age group II, between 36 and 60 years old, appreciates *very much* the following attributes of the landscape: *beauty* (55.1%), *architecture of the houses* (40.6%), *historical identity value* (42.1%), *economic value* of the cultural heritage (34.8%) and the *symbolic* one (34.5%) .

The young population segment, age up to 35 (group I), registers higher percentage values than the other age categories *for all the three negative qualifications: not at all, pretty little and relatively* except for Q7.

The results are not surprising for I consider that this age segment presently lives in communities whose cultural diversity has drastically decreased. The intensity of the relations and of the interethnic exchanges decreased, the Romanian population became the majority one, and this age category no longer had the opportunity to experiment the multi-ethnic cohabitation. For example, in 2011, in Prejmer, the Saxons represented only 0.93% of the total population and the Hungarians 2.03%, having practically a marginal role in the community, being close to assimilation. In the past, the cohabitation involved a socio-cultural interaction between the three numerically significant ethnic groups, which shared/used the same territory, they continued to keep their linguistic, religious, cultural identity also assimilating a series of elements belonging to the LPC. Between 1920 and 1966 a form of ethnic syncretism developed, no ethnic group being assimilated (Gordon 1961). Presently, the past cohabitation conditions are no longer met, the percentage of the minorities is insignificant in relation to the majority, as they are assimilated. The subjects appreciated the mosaic of cultural elements in the analyzed space as a whole, according to their personal experience. The young generations tend not to appreciate the cultural heritage of the Saxons as they practically lack the experience of interethnic cohabitation. From this point of view, Transylvania represented an exemplary model of the intereth-

nic relations (Pinter et al. 2005), a pluri and multicultural region par excellence, of which the Romanian society is still proud.

TABLE 7. INDICATOR FREQUENCY OF THE ANSWERS PER AGE GROUPS

Feature	Attribute	Age	Not at all	Very little	Relatively	A lot	Very much	
Spatial organization	Specificity of the village area	Q1	< =35	7.7	7.0	30.3	38.7	16.2
			36- 60	2.9	4.3	25.4	38.4	29
			>= 61	4.4	1.1	10.0	47.8	36.7
Spatial organization	Structure of the settlement	Q2	< =35	4.2	6.3	16.2	47.2	26.1
			36- 60	3.6	5.1	11.6	40.6	38.4
			>= 61	1.1	1.1	6.7	47.8	43.3
Buildings and structures	Architecture	Q3	< =35	2.8	7.0	16.9	45.1	28.2
			36- 60	2.9	1.4	14.5	40.6	40.6
			>= 61	0	1.1	12.2	50	36.7
Buildings and structures	Church and citadel	Q4	< =35	14.6	11.7	19.0	24.8	29.9
			36- 60	12.1	2.9	8.6	41.4	33.6
			>= 61	10.8	2.2	10.8	29	47.3
Buildings and structures	Church and citadel	Q5	< =35	5.6	9.9	21.8	28.2	34.5
			36- 60	2.2	1.4	5.8	49.3	40.6
			>= 61	0	2.2	6.7	34.4	55.6
Panorama	Beauty	Q6	< =35	0.7	1.4	9.2	37.3	51.4
			36- 60	0.7	2.9	5.8	35.5	55.1
			>= 61	0	2.2	10.0	41.1	46.7
Buildings and structures	Saxon monuments	Q7	< =35	0	6.3	23.2	44.4	25.4
			36- 60	0	2.2	15.9	39.9	42.0
			>= 61	0	4.4	16.7	42.2	36.7
Buildings and structures	Tourist objectives	Q8	< =35	4.2	4.9	23.2	34.5	33.1
			36- 60	2.9	2.9	15.9	46.4	31.9
			>= 61	1.1	1.1	11.1	45.6	41.1
Buildings and structures	Cultural heritage	Q9	< =35	3.5	12.7	16.9	39.4	27.5
			36- 60	5.8	9.4	15.9	34.1	34.8
			>= 61	3.3	8.9	8.9	56.7	22.2
Cultural traditions/ age of the village	Age of the population	Q10	< =35	2.8	5.6	13.4	36.6	41.5
			36- 60	1.4	1.4	8.0	40.6	48.6
			>= 61	1.1	2.2	8.9	37.8	48.9
Manner of land use	Agricultural practices	Q11	< =35	0.7	3.5	20.4	42.3	33.1
			36- 60	2.2	2.9	15.9	38.4	39.1
			>= 61	1.1	1.1	13.3	27.8	55.6
Cultural traditions– multiculturalism	Multiculturalism	Q12	< =35	4.2	9.9	24.6	35.2	26.1
			36- 60	3.6	1.4	18.1	42.0	34.8
			>= 61	1.1	3.3	18.9	47.8	28.9

Feature	Attribute	Age	Not at all	Very little	Relatively	A lot	Very much	
Memory	Memory	Q13	< =35	7.0	8.5	23.9	40.8	19.7
			36- 60	4.3	10.9	29.0	37.0	18.8
			>= 61	1.1	6.7	24.4	48.9	18.9
Manner of land use	Land use	Q14	< =35	18.3	13.4	23.2	30.3	16.9
			36- 60	11.6	5.1	24.6	39.1	19.6
			>= 61	11.1	4.4	21.1	35.6	27.8
Feeling of identification with the space	Feeling of identification with the space	Q15	< =35	7.7	3.5	21.8	34.5	31.7
			36- 60	3.6	5.1	16.7	42.0	31.9
			>= 61	3.3	4.4	10.0	44.4	37.8
Feeling of belonging	Affiliation to the community	Q16	< =35	9.9	2.8	22.5	32.4	32.4
			36- 60	4.3	5.8	21.7	36.2	31.2
			>= 61	3.3	11.1	8.9	44.4	32.2

Conclusions

THE KNOWLEDGE of the cultural significance of the Saxon heritage from the point of view of the cohabiting population is very useful for the public authorities in the decision making process and in the drafting of public strategies.

The perceptions and manner in which the landscape is appreciated constantly changes according to the changes in living conditions and values. The results of our research show that the LPC grant a special importance to the Saxon cultural heritage, the cultural significance indicator being high for the analyzed landscape features, from panorama, spatial organization, buildings and structures, cultural traditions, manner of land use, memory, to the feelings of identification with the space and of belonging to the community. The special cultural significance of these features is due to the cultural values possessed.

Although a series of contextual factors, social, economic and cultural in nature, deeply marked the Saxon communities, there was the probability that the LPC would no longer give special importance to the Saxon cultural patrimony, that there would be major conflicts between the local ethnic groups, but this was not the case. Although the interviewed resident population does not belong to the German ethnicity whose cultural heritage we assessed, the people interviewed positively appreciated all the attributes of the material and immaterial heritage. The persons interviewed are part of the landscape due to the cohabitation over time alongside the Saxons and to the interethnic relations.



Annex. Questionnaire

How much do you value your village.	Not at all	Very little	Relatively	A lot	Very much
1. I love the manner in which the Saxon houses are laid out (attached to one another, with the facade towards the sun).					
2. I like the manner of spatial organization of the village's streets (with 20–30 m wide streets, drainage ditch in front of the gate, green area in front of the gate) as it reminds me of the Saxons.					
3. I value the architecture of the houses (the form of the roof, the form of the gate) as it gives authenticity to the village, makes it unique.					
4. The church and the fortified citadel have a spiritual value for me.					
5. The church and the fortified citadel have a patrimonial importance for me.					
6. The village panorama is beautiful.					
7. For me, the Saxon architectural monuments (church, city, listed houses) in my village reflect a historical identity.					
8. The Saxon tourist objectives have a symbolical value for me (meaning they became the symbol of the village in which you live, even if you have a different ethnicity).					
9. The cultural heritage of the Saxons in your village contributes to the tourist development of the community.					
10. I value that I live in a village with an old documentary attestation, the result of an old cultural Saxon tradition.					
11. I appreciate the fact that in the past the Saxons economically developed the village due to the agricultural practices they had and which established its foundation.					
12. I like the multicultural nature of the settlement (the fact that various languages and dialects are spoken, including the Saxon dialect and the German language).					
13. Together with the decrease in the number of Saxons in the ethnic structure, the village presently achieved a memorial value, which I appreciate.					
14. I regret the manner of traditional land use in the time of the Saxons.					
15. I identify myself with the village I live in.					
16. I have the feeling I belong to the community I live in.					

References

- Aoki, Y. 2007. "Recent Trends of English Papers on the Psychological Evaluation of Landscape." *Journal of Environmental Information Science* 35, 5: 181–188.
- Aoki, Y. and S. Kitamura. 2001. "Ontogenic and Phylogenetic Evolution of the Human Appreciation of the Landscape." In *38th IFLA World Congress Singapore 2001: Conference Proceedings 26–29 June 2001, Sicec, Suntec City, Singapore: Asian Places in the New Millennium*, 114–122.
- Appelbaum, B. 2007. *Conservation Treatment Methodology*. Amsterdam etc.: Butterworth-Heinemann.
- Appleton, J. 1975. *The Experience of Landscape*. Amsterdam–Boston–London: John Wiley & Sons.
- Caple, C. 2009. "The Aims of Conservation." In *Conservation: Principles, Dilemmas and Uncomfortable Truths*, edited by A. Richmond and A. Bracker, p. 25–31. London: Butterworth-Heinemann.
- Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage. 2003. Accessed 5 Jan. 2018. <https://ich.unesco.org/en/convention>.
- Darvill, T. 1995. "Value Systems in Archaeology." In *Managing Archaeology*, edited by M. A. Cooper, A. Firth, J. Carman, and D. Wheatley, 40–50. London–New York: Routledge.
- Dulău, A. V. and M. M. Coroș. 2009. "Is Cultural Tourism Attractive in Transylvania? A Focus on Cluj and Sibiu Counties." *WSEAS Transactions on Business and Economics* 6, 8: 413–424.
- European Landscape Convention. 2000. Council of Europe. Accessed 8 Febr. 2018. <http://www.cimec.ro/Monumente/ConventiaEuropeanaapeisajului.htm>.
- Faro Convention. 2005. Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society. Council of Europe. Culture and Cultural Heritage.
- Gordon, M. M. 1961. "Assimilation in America: Theory and Reality." *Daedalus* 90, 2: 263–285.
- Halmaghi, I. 2001. *Prejmerul medieval*. Brașov: Lux Libris.
- Hart, J. F. 1998. *The Rural Landscape*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Hodder, I. 2000. "Symbolism, Meaning and Context." In *Interpretive Archaeology: A Reader*, edited by J. Thomas, 86–96. London–New York: Leicester University Press.
- ICOMOS Australia 1999. Burra Charter: The Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance.
- INS 2015. Institutul Național de Statistică, Direcția Județeană de Statistică Brașov, 2009–2015.
- Jaba, E. and A. Grama. 2004. *Analiza statistică cu SPSS sub Windows*. Iași: Polirom.
- Johnston, C. 1992. "What is Social Value?" *A Discussion Paper*. Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service.
- . 2017. "Recognising Connection: Social Significance and Heritage Practice." *Córima: Revista de Investigación en Gestión Cultural (Guadalajara)* 2, 2.

- Jones, S. 2016. "Wrestling with the Social Value of Heritage: Problems, Dilemmas and Opportunities." *Journal of Community Archaeology & Heritage* 4, 1: 21–37.
- Jones, S. and S. Leech. 2015. *Valuing the Historic Environment: A Critical Review of Existing Approaches to Social Value*. Manchester: Arts & Humanities Research Council.
- Kapelouzou, I. 2012. "The Inherent Sharing of Conservation Decisions." *Studies in Conservation* 57, 3: 172–182.
- Leech, N. L., K. C. Barrett, and G. A. Morgan. 2005. *SPSS for Intermediate Statistics: Use and Interpretation*. 2nd edition. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Lista monumentelor istorice: județul Brașov. Accessed 5 Jan. 2018. <http://www.cultura.ro/sites/default/files/inline-files/LMI-BV.pdf>.
- Lista monumentelor istorice: județul Sibiu. Accessed 5 Jan. 2018. <http://www.cultura.ro/sites/default/files/inline-files/LMI-SB.pdf>.
- Mason, R. 2002. "Assessing Values in Conservation Planning: Methodological Issues and Choices." In *Assessing the Values of Cultural Heritage: Research Report*, edited by M. de la Torre, 5–30. Los Angeles, CA: Getty Conservation Institute.
- Milcu, A. I. et al. 2014. "Navigating Conflicting Landscape Aspirations: Application of a Photo-Based Q-Method in Transylvania (Central Romania)." *Land Use Policy* 41: 408–422.
- Mitchell, N. et al. 2011. *Paysages culturels du patrimoine mondial: Guide pratique de conservation et de gestion*. Paris: Centre du patrimoine mondial UNESCO.
- Nägler, T. 2003. "Evoluția demografică a Biertanului." *Acta Terrae Septemcastrensis* (Sibiu) 2: 167–175.
- Nara Document on Authenticity. 1994. Accessed 3 Dec. 2017. http://www.getty.edu/conservation/publications_resources/research_resources/charters/charter55.html.
- Pereira Roders, A. 2013. "Monitoring Cultural Significance and Impact Assessments." In *IALA13 Reviewed Papers: Impact Assessment the Next Generation 33rd Annual Meeting of the International Association for Impact Assessment 13-16 May 2013, Calgary Stampede BMO Centre*, 1–6.
- Pereira Roders, A. and J. Hudson. 2011. "Change Management and Cultural Heritage." In *Facilities Change Management*, edited by E. Finch, 175–190. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Pinter, Z.-K., I. M. Țiplic, and M. E. Țiplic, eds. 2005. *Relații interetnice în Transilvania (secolele VI–XIII)*. Bucharest: Ed. Economică.
- Rumsey, D. J. 2016. *Statistics for Dummies*. 2nd edition. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.
- Sedgwick, P. 2010. "Statistical Hypothesis Testing." *BMJ: British Medical Journal* 340: c2059.
- Stephenson, J. 2008. "The Cultural Values Model: An Integrated Approach to Values in Landscapes." *Landscape and Urban Planning* 84, 2: 127–139.
- Takayama, N. et al. 2012. "Differences in Environmental Attitudes between Russia and Japan." In *The 6th International Conference on Monitoring and Management of Visitors in Recreational and Protected Areas: Outdoor Recreation in Change: Current Knowledge and Future Challenges: MMV6*, 404–405.

- Tips, W. E. J. and T. Savasdisara. 1986. "The Influence of the Socio-Economic Background of Subjects on Their Landscape Preference Evaluation." *Landscape Urban Planning* 13: 225–230.
- UNESCO 1972. Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage. United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.
- UNESCO 2011. *The Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention*. United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.
- Varga, E. Á. 2002. "Brassó megye településeinek etnikai (anyanyelvi/nemzetiségi) adatai 1850–2002." Accessed 6 Feb. 2017. <http://www.kia.hu/konyvtar/erdely/erd2002/bvetn02.pdf>.
- World Heritage List. Accessed 4 May 2016. <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/596/documents/>.

Abstract

An Assessment of the Saxon Cultural Heritage by Other Cohabiting Ethnic Groups in Southern Transylvania

Transylvania, the biggest historical province of Romania, located in the center of the country, is remarkable for its great cultural diversity. On this territory, several ethnic groups lived in harmony for several centuries, three of them with a significant population: Romanians, (Transylvanian) Saxons, and Hungarians. A special peculiarity of this multi-ethnic community consists of the fact that the three ethnic groups did not form territorial enclaves, but lived together, while preserving their cultural identity and traditions. Our survey is focused on these multi-ethnic communities in southern Transylvania, especially in the counties of Braşov and Sibiu. Presently they benefit from a valuable cultural heritage. The purpose of our research was to assess the Saxons' cultural heritage in relation to the cohabiting population (LPC). The results of the survey revealed the fact that the Saxons' cultural heritage is positively appreciated by the LPC, being assigned a various range of cultural values. The positive appreciation the Saxon cultural patrimony presently enjoys indicates that the LPC do not relate to another set of values closer to the times they live in, being deeply attached to the local environment.

Keywords

cultural heritage, cultural landscape values, Saxon people, Transylvania

F O C U S

ANA VICTORIA SIMA **Laudatio**



ANA VICTORIA SIMA

Ana Victoria Sima

Associate professor at the Faculty of History and Philosophy, Babeş-Bolyai University. Author, among others, of the vol. **Affirming Identity: The Romanian Greek-Catholic Church at the Time of the First Vatican Council** (2013).

ILLUSTRISSIMO E Chiarissimo Professore Francesco Guida,
Distinguished audience,

We are here today to pay homage to an illustrious historian and a great ambassador of Southeast European history to the world at large. Historian Francesco Guida, professor at Roma Tre University, chairman of the Italian Association of Southeast European Studies and of the Romanian-Italian Center for Historical Studies, director of the Interdepartmental Center for Research on Central-Eastern Europe, Russia and Eurasia, is here, at Babeş-Bolyai University, to receive our gratitude and, through us, the appreciation of all those whose past he has been studying rigorously and most generously for almost half a century.

Professor Francesco Guida is well acquainted with our university. Even though he first visited it only after the fall of the communist regime, he had numerous encounters with the Cluj School of History for many years be-

The Focus section is devoted to Professor Francesco Guida, to whom Babeş-Bolyai University granted on 31 October 2019 the title of *doctor honoris causa*.

fore that, encounters mediated by the scholarly works of its great professors in the late twentieth century. Inspired by their studies, he came to Cluj to meet them, in the early 1990s, and engaged in long, steadfast collaborations with our university. All this has strengthened the Romanian focus of his research and impelled him to promote the history of Southeast Europe in the world.

Francesco Guida was born on 30 November 1950, in Vibo Valentia, a small town with ancient Greek roots, located in southern Italy, on the coast of the Tyrrhenian Sea. He is the youngest of the three children of Salvatore Guida, a professor of science, and Infinita Mustari, a professor of classical languages. He started primary school in Catanzaro (Calabria), and in 1958 he moved with his family to Rome. These were the years of the so-called “economic boom” in postwar Italy, when many Italians chose to relocate from the south to the center and north of the country, in search of a better life. Having settled in Rome, he continued his studies in elementary and secondary schools and later enrolled at the Faculty of Letters of La Sapienza University, one of the oldest and most prestigious universities in the world.

As a student of the Faculty of Letters, Francesco Guida chose to pursue a historical-cultural path, which he associated with the study of several classical and modern languages, including Romanian. The meeting with Professor Angelo Tamborra, the great historian of Eastern Europe, decisively influenced this choice.¹ This happened in 1970, just as Professor Tamborra had managed to transform his course on the History of Eastern Europe into a chair at La Sapienza University of Rome. This was a catalyst both for the institutionalization of the History of Eastern Europe as an academic discipline, and for the orientation and formation of Francesco Guida, a young student at that time. Encouraged by his professor, in 1971 he won a research scholarship to Romania, offered by the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This enabled his first contact with the modern and contemporary history of the Romanians. His research findings materialized in a highly appreciated master’s thesis on “Tudor Vladimirescu and the Revolutionary Movement of 1821 in Recent Historiography,”² written under the supervision of Professors Angelo Tamborra and Rosa Del Conte, the great philologist and Mihai Eminescu scholar.

When he graduated from university in 1972, an academic career in Italy, as in many other parts of the world, was rather uncertain and often difficult to embark upon. However, urged by Professor Tamborra, Francesco Guida chose to pursue a career in research. He obtained a doctoral fellowship, which allowed him to continue and develop new research directions on the history of Eastern Europe. He did not deviate from this path even for a moment, even when he had to work as a high school teacher in the late 1970s, before he became a university professor and embraced research as one of his professions of faith.³

His academic career began in 1980, when he held a position as a confirmed researcher at the Institute of Modern History of the Sapienza University of Rome. It was the first step any young man had to take on his way to a full university career. Twelve years later, following a national competition, he became associate professor at the Faculty of Languages of Ca' Foscari University in Venice, teaching the course on the History of Eastern Europe. The years he spent in Venice fostered a close and fruitful collaborations with the Romanian Institute of Culture and Humanistic Research there and, through it, with Romanian academics. In 1997 he transferred to the Faculty of Political Sciences of Roma Tre University, whose ordinary (i.e. full tenure) professor he has been since 2001. In Rome, he capitalized on his rich teaching and research experience, bringing it to fruition during his 10 years in office as dean of the Faculty of Political Sciences (2008–2018) and as a member of the Academic Senate of Roma Tre University. It is emblematic that in all the three universities he served as a researcher, associate professor and full professor, he constantly assumed responsibility for the European Erasmus program, sealing numerous cooperation agreements with various universities around the world.

Throughout this period of almost half a century, working in the directions launched by his mentor, Angelo Tamborra, whose intellectual and human qualities he admired, Francesco Guida has defined his own vision on and method for researching the history of Central-Eastern Europe: a vision in which national identities must be understood within an international framework. Therefore, his studies and research are steered by two major goals: a permanent recourse to archival documentation, combined with excellent knowledge of the national historiography of each studied nation. Of course, such an approach could not be undertaken without a thorough mastery of the languages of the sources studied. This is why Professor Francesco Guida learned, from very early on, classical and modern languages, such as Latin, Greek, neo-Greek, Romanian, Bulgarian, Russian, Hungarian, French, English, Spanish and Portuguese, in an effort that continues to this day. He is also the beneficiary of numerous research internships in the archives and libraries of Romania, Bulgaria, Greece, Serbia, Hungary but also in France, England, Portugal, Spain and Italy. Their results are reflected in a rich scientific work illustrated by the books he has authored, the volumes he has edited and the studies he has published in journals and collections from Italy and abroad. This is a remarkable oeuvre that has been built up gradually, through lasting accumulations that he has consolidated, expanded and nuanced, in a perpetual quest for new data and interpretations.

There are three major research directions he has consistently followed in his scientific career: the history of Romania, of Bulgaria, and of Greece. He has also

written studies on Hungary, Russia, Serbia and Poland or on other countries in Southeast Europe. From a chronological point of view, his research descends deep into the medieval past of these peoples and spans the whole period up to the beginning of the twenty-first century, but his main focus is on the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Regarding his three main directions of research, it should be noted that they have been shaped successively, starting in the early 1980s and continuing in the decades that followed. Thus, in 1984, one of his first reference works, entitled *L'Italia e il Risorgimento balcanico: Marco Antonio Canini*,⁴ was awarded the Marraro Prize by the Italian Society of Historical Studies. The book was based on more than a decade of research carried out in Romania, Bulgaria, Greece and Italy, and paved the way for his subsequent monographs and syntheses, such as: *La nascita di uno stato balcanico: La Bulgaria di Alessandro di Battenberg nella corrispondenza diplomatica italiana (1879–1886)*; *Mezzo secolo di socialismo reale: L'Europa centro-orientale dal secondo conflitto mondiale alla caduta dei regimi comunisti*, *La Russia e l'Europa centro-orientale 1815–1914* (published in two successive editions).

Of all his research, Romanian history remains a privileged topic to this day. He first approached it as a student, but resumed and continually expanded it over his nearly five decades of scholarly activity. The results are not only studies and books about important personalities and events from the Romanian past,⁵ but also admirable syntheses of modern and contemporary Romanian history. We should mention here *La Grande Romania* (Cosenza: Edizioni di Periferia, 2002), *La Romania contemporanea: Momenti e questioni di storia* (Milan: Nagard, 2002), and *Romania* (Milan: Unicopli, 2005) (the first edition was followed by a second revised edition in 2009).

His works have been and continue to be translated into international languages (English, French, Spanish), but also into national languages (Romanian, Bulgarian, Russian, Serbian, Polish), which ensures their broad reception and unanimous appreciation. For example, his most recent synthesis on Romanian history, published in Romanian under the title *România în secolul 20* (Romania in the twentieth century), was presented in Cluj as part of an event organized under the aegis of Babeş-Bolyai University and the George Bariţiu Institute of History of the Romanian Academy.

Writing about the past of some of the peoples of Southeast Europe, historian Francesco Guida reconstructs the history of an entire region. He does this with the rigor of thorough linguistic and cultural preparation, but especially with the honesty of the researcher who always starts from the documents (as primary sources that are indispensable to a historian), which he then sifts through the fil-

ter of each national historiography. He thus offers a genuine lesson in scientific methodology, a model of historical research that he has passed on to his students and disciples.

Beyond his qualities as an accomplished professor and researcher, Francesco Guida is an outstanding ambassador of Central-Eastern European history to Italy and the world. He is a specialist who has cultivated the past of this half of Europe, not only through his lectures and research, but also through his membership in various national and international bodies. We should recall, in this regard, his positions as chairman of the Italian Association of Southeast European Studies, vice-chairman of the International Association of Southeast European Studies, president of the Romanian-Italian Center for Historical Studies, and director of the Interdepartmental Center for Research on Central-Eastern Europe, Russia and Eurasia. In recognition of his scientific merits, he was awarded the title of doctor honoris causa by the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences in 2017.

Francesco Guida is not only a Benedictine teacher and researcher but also a generous and serene man, as all his collaborators have come to know him, scholars whom he has always supported and encouraged in their research over time.

DISTINGUISHED PROFESSOR, by honoring you today, Babeş-Bolyai University is honoring itself at a time of exceptional symbolic importance for its existence: 100 years of Romanian higher education in Cluj. In this context, please receive this high academic distinction as an expression of the gratitude of our academic community and, through us, of entire Romania, for your entire work and activity dedicated to the history of the Romanians and of Central-Eastern Europe.

Distinguished audience, by being included in the prestigious academic gallery of Alma Mater Napocensis, Professor and historian Francesco Guida hereby becomes symbolically “entrenched” in the memory of this athenaeum and receives the deepest gratitude of his adoptive homeland, Romania.

□

Notes

1. Angelo Tamborra (1913–2004), Italian historian, known for his research and studies on Central-Eastern Europe in the nineteenth-twentieth centuries; founder, in 1970, of the Chair of the History of Eastern Europe at the Sapienza University of Rome. Among his representative works we should mention: *Cavour e i Balcani* (Turin: ILTE, 1958); *L'Europa centro-orientale nei secoli XIX–XX (1800–1920)*, 2 vols. (Milan: Francesco Vallardi, 1973); *Garibaldi e l'Europa: Impegno militare e prospettive*

- politiche* (Rome: Ufficio Storico Stato Maggiore dell'Esercito, 1983); *Esuli russi in Italia dal 1905 al 1917: Riviera ligure, Capri, Messina* (Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 2002). A monographic evocation of Angelo Tamborra's personality and scientific work can be found in Francesco Guida, "Angelo Tamborra (1913–2004)," *Rassegna storica del Risorgimento* 91, 4 (2004): 601–605.
2. Francesco Guida, "Tudor Vladimirescu e la rivoluzione del 1821 nei Principati danubiani nella storiografia romena," *Rassegna storica del Risorgimento* 62, 3 (1975): 291–315.
 3. His interest in the history of Eastern Europe in general and of Romania in particular was reflected in several studies and works published in the late 1970s, such as: "Romania 1917–22: Aspirazioni nazionali e conflitti sociali," in *Rivoluzione e reazione in Europa 1917–1924*, edited by F. Gaeta, vol. 2 (Rome: Edizioni dell'Avanti!, 1978), 1–105; id., "Marco Antonio Canini corrispondente dal fronte di guerra russo-turco nel 1877," *Archivio storico italiano* 337, 3 (501) (1979): 335–424.
 4. *L'Italia e il Risorgimento balcanico: Marco Antonio Canini* (Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1984); *Nascita di uno stato balcanico: La Bulgaria di Alessandro di Battenberg nella corrispondenza diplomatica italiana (1879–1886)* (Naples: Edizioni scientifiche italiane, 1988) (in collaboration with A. Pitassio and R. Tolomeo); *Mezzo secolo di socialismo reale: L'Europa centro-orientale dal secondo conflitto mondiale all'era postcomunista*, 2nd edition (co-edited with A. Biagini) (Turin: Giappichelli, 1997); *La Russia e l'Europa centro-orientale 1815–1914* (Rome: Carocci, 2003) (2nd edition 2006).
 5. "Marco Antonio Canini e la Romania," in *Risorgimento: Italia e Romania 1859–1879: Esperienze a confronto*, edited by G. Lami, with an intervention of G. Spadolini and an introduction by B. Valota Cavallotti (Milan: Unicopli; Bucharest: Anima, 1992), 139–153; "Un intellettuale organico in prestito: Marco Antonio Canini," in *L'intellettuale e la rivoluzione: L'esempio rumeno*, edited by A. Tarantino and L. Valmarin, special issue of *România Orientale* 4–5 (1991–1992): 167–172; "Un libro 'italiano' sui Paesi romeni alla fine del Settecento," in *Italia e Romania: Due popoli e due storie a confronto (secc. XIV–XVIII)*, edited by S. Graciotti (Florence: Olschki, 1998), 345–365; "The Idea of Europe in Roumania and Roumania's Image in Western European Countries," in *The Balkans: National Identities in a Historical Perspective*, edited by S. Bianchini and M. Dogo (Ravenna: Longo, 1998), 75–90; "La Grande Romania in alcune testimonianze occidentali (1919–1923)," in *Nuovi Studi balcanici*, edited by A. Tarantino and L. Valmarin, special issue of *România Orientale* 12 (1999): 153–159; "Il fenomeno ceaușista: ideologia e politica," in *La crisi dell'impero sovietico e la dissoluzione del sistema del socialismo reale*, edited by S. Fedele and P. Fornaro (Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 2000), 79–97 (also published in *Transylvanian Review* 10, 4 (2001): 69–80; also in a Romanian version: "Fenomenul ceaușist, ideologia și politica," in *Romania e România: Lingua e cultura romena di fronte all'Occidente*, edited by T. Ferro (Udine: Forum, 2003), 279–290; "Nicolae Iorga e il compimento dell'unità nazionale romena," *Quaderni della Casa Romena di Venezia* (Bucharest) 1 (2001): 111–121; "I drammi dell'Europa romena: Il

caso della Moldavia e della Transnistria,” *Rivista della Fondazione europea Dragan* (Milan) 17 (2002): 215–229; “La Grèce, les Principautés roumaines et l’Étincelle de la révolution nationale: De Rigas Fereos à Tudor Vladimirescu,” *Quaderni della Casa Romena di Venezia* 2 (2003): 136–142; “Marco Antonio Canini et l’ethnogenèse du peuple roumain,” *Studia historica: Analele Universității ‘Dunărea de Jos’ Galați*, fasc. 19, *Istorie*, 1 (2002): 87–101; “Roumanie et Pologne vues par les Italiens dans deux moments fondamentales de leur histoire,” in *Romanian and Polish Peoples in East-Central Europe (17th–20th Centuries)*, edited by V. Ciobanu (Iași: Junimea, 2003), 131–162; “Lo Stato nazionale romeno e l’Europa occidentale: Interferenze ideali e materiali,” *România Orientale* 16 (2003): 39–62; “Un intellettuale ‘italiano’ al servizio dell’Impero asburgico nei Principati di Valacchia e Moldavia alla fine del Settecento,” *Transylvanian Review* 13, 3 (2004): 129–146 (the article was also published in Romanian in *Călători români în Occident: Secolele XVII–XX*, edited by N. Bocșan and I. Bolovan (Cluj-Napoca: Institutul Cultural Român, Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 2004, 289–307); “I Paesi del futuro allargamento dell’Unione Europea (2007): Romania e Bulgaria,” in *L’Unione Europea tra processo di integrazione e di allargamento*, edited by G. Bosco, F. Perfetti, and G. Ravasi (Milan: Nagard, 2004), 284–300; “România contemporană în drumul spre Uniunea Europeană,” in *România și procesul de integrare europeană* (Bucharest: Europa Nova, 2005), 88–96; “La destruction des élites roumaines,” in *Le Communisme et les élites en Europe centrale: Destructions, mutations, conversions*, edited by N. Bauquet and F. Bocholier, foreword by F. Fejtő, afterword by P. Kende (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2006), 121–131; “La Droite radicale roumaine et l’Italie dans les années Trente,” in *La Périphérie du fascisme: Spécification d’un modèle fasciste au sein de sociétés agraires: Le cas de l’Europe centrale entre les deux guerres*, edited by C. Horel, T. Sandu, and F. Taubert (Paris: L’Harmattan, 2006), 79–90; “Alcune osservazioni sulla storiografia romena degli anni sessanta e le sue relazioni con quella italiana: La *Revue roumaine d’histoire*,” in *Cultură românească în Italia: 80 de ani de la crearea primei catedre de limba română la Roma* (Bucharest: Ed. Institutului Cultural Român, 2006), 280–286; “Federal Projects in Interwar Romania: An Overvaulting Ambition?” in *Pour la paix en Europe: Institutions et société civile dans l’entre-deux-guerres/For Peace in Europe: Institutions and Civil Society between the World Wars*, eds. M. Petricioli and D. Cherubini (Brussels: P.I.E. Peter Lang, 2007), 229–258; “Identità nazionale e progetti federali in Romania tra le due guerre mondiali,” in *Ricerca di identità, ricerca di modernità: Il Sud-est europeo tra il XVIII e il XX secolo*, edited by E. Costantini and A. Pitassio (Perugia: Morlacchi, 2008), 185–226; “Romania e Italia dalla pace di Bucarest alla vigilia della Conferenza della pace,” *Transylvanian Review* 17, 4 (2008): 102–121 and 18, 1 (2009): 108–132; “Iuliu Maniu tra federalismo e nazionalismo nella Grande Romania,” *Quaderni della Casa Romena di Venezia* 5 (2008): 157–168; “À la recherche du fédéralisme dans la Roumanie d’entre les guerres,” *Revue AIESEE* 35–39 (2005–2009): 239–258; “Al ‘servizio’ della democrazia: Nicolae Petrescu Comnen e la Repubblica dei Consiglieri,” in *La fine della Grande Ungheria: Fra rivoluzione e reazione (1918–1920)*, edited by A. Basciani and R. Ruspanti (Trieste: Beit, 2010), 183–196; “Lucrețiu Pătrășcanu, la principale vittima delle ‘purghé’ nella Romania

comunista: Una rivisitazione,” in *Intellettuali versus democrazia: I regimi autoritari nel Europa sud-orientale (1933–1953)*, edited by F. Guida (Rome: Carocci, 2010), 381–439; “Le relazioni politiche tra Romania e Italia in età contemporanea,” in *Un secol de italianistică la București*, edited by D. Condrea Derer and H. Stănculescu, vol. 2, *O catedră centenară* (Bucharest: Ed. Universității din București, 2011), 12–23; “Marco Antonio Canini et l’ethnogenèse du peuple roumain,” in *Ouest-Est: Dynamiques centre-périphérie entre les deux moitiés du continent: Des regards interdisciplinaires*, edited by P. Renaud, J. Maár, and T. Sandu (Paris: L’Harmattan, 2011), 137–150; “Affinità cronologiche e diversità socio-politiche nella formazione degli Stati nazionali romeno e italiano,” in *Unità nazionale e modernità nel Risorgimento italiano e romeno: Atti del convegno internazionale in occasione dei 150 anni dell’Unità d’Italia (Bistrița, 10–12 dicembre 2010)*, edited by I. Cârja (Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2011), 65–79; “Passato e presente nei rapporti italo-romeni,” in *Orizzonti culturali italo-romeni: Prospettive ed esperienze/Orizonturi culturale italo-române: Perspective și experiențe*, edited by A. C. Cionchin (Timișoara: Brumar, 2012), 45–49; “Rapporti tra romeni e italiani nel Risorgimento,” in *Errico Amante e il figlio Bruto in rapporto al Risorgimento italiano e romeno: Atti del Convegno Nazionale di Studi: Fondi, Castello Caetani, 30 marzo 2012* (Formia: Graficart, 2012), 85–100; “L’idea di una Romania europea,” *Il Mulino* 62, 4 (2013): 650–657; “Războiul de independență română în opinia publică și în corespondențele de război italiene,” *Revista istorică* (Bucharest) 24, 3–4 (2013): 259–267; “Una grande guerra per divenire un grande Paese,” in *I romeni e la Grande Guerra 1914–2014: Mostra foto-documentaria in occasione del centenario della Grande Guerra*, edited by R. Dinu et al. (Bucharest: Institutul Cultural Român, 2014), 15–24; “Războiul de independență—ecouri italiene,” *Magazin istoric* (Bucharest) 48, 5 (2014): 19–22; “Romania and Europe: Image and Reality,” *Revue AIESEE* 40–44 (2010–2014): 226–237; Foreword to R. Dinu, *L’avamposto sul Danubio della Triplice alleanza: Diplomazia e politica di sicurezza nella Romania di Carlo I (1878–1914)* (Rome: Aracne, 2015).

Abstract

Laudatio

The paper presents the content of the Laudatio honoring Professor Francesco Guida, to whom Babeș-Bolyai University granted on 31 October 2019 the title of doctor honoris causa. Professor at Roma Tre University, chairman of the Italian Association of Southeast European Studies and of the Romanian-Italian Center for Historical Studies, director of the Interdepartmental Center for Research on Central-Eastern Europe, Russia and Eurasia, in his scientific career Professor Guida consistently followed three major research directions, the history of Romania, of Bulgaria and of Greece, but he has also written studies on Hungary, Russia, Serbia and Poland or on other countries in Southeast Europe.

Keywords

Francesco Guida, Southeast Europe, Romania, Babeș-Bolyai University

National Movements in Italy and in Central and Southeast Europe The Difficult Implementation of the Idea of the Nation

FRANCESCO GUIDA



FRANCESCO GUIDA

Francesco Guida

Professor at Roma Tre University, director of the Interdepartmental Center for Research on Central-Eastern Europe, Russia and Eurasia. Author, among others, of the vol. **România în secolul XX** (Romania in 20th century) (2019).

FIRST OF all, I wish to thank the Rector, Professor Ioan-Aurel Pop, the President of the Academic Senate, Professor Ioan Chirilă, and the entire academic community for the great honor of being here with you today. I would like to express my sincere gratitude for the warmth and spirit of familiarity that have accompanied my presence in Cluj.

At the same time, I want to thank the Dean of the Faculty of History and Philosophy, Professor Ovidiu Ghitta, as well as all the colleagues in this faculty for the honor conferred upon me by the award of this honorary title.

I am excited, honored and content, first and foremost, because of the prestige of Babeș-Bolyai University. Secondly, because receiving such recognition in this country is the crowning of a research career in which the history of Romania played a very important part. It started with my master's thesis and my first study on Romanian topics, published in 1975. Thanking you

again, I would like to continue with a short speech on a subject that I think is appropriate for this occasion and represents at least part of my scientific interests.

The historiography of the unification of Italy and of the national movements in Central and Southeast Europe is very rich. The first works date back to a time when the nation states had not yet been accomplished. It is impossible to summarize the whole topic in just a few pages, but quite easy to notice are its numerous political implications, as well as the diversity of approaches to it, from strictly scientific and neutral studies to ideological or myth-oriented contributions. Here I intend to trace the broad lines of the relations between the political events that took place in the Italian Peninsula and in Central and South-Eastern Europe in the nineteenth century.

The fact that there were actual and conceptual relations is not surprising, since the geographical positioning itself favored them. Moreover, for many centuries, the old Italian states, such as Venice or Genoa, had engaged in trade and other types of relations with the countries and peoples of the Balkans.¹ In the period of national revivals, in the nineteenth century, these relations found new reasons for their existence. This does not mean that the Italian public opinion was well informed about what was happening beyond the Adriatic and Ionian Seas, nor that important Italian events had always or constantly been of interest to the peoples in this part of Europe or, in any case, to their ruling or intellectual elites.

The first national insurrection in the Balkans, the one led by Karagjorgje (Black George), did not capture the attention of the Italians. However, even Napoleon Bonaparte expressed his esteem for the leader of the insurgents and his military capabilities. The Italian public knew nothing concrete about the appeals made by some Moldavian and Wallachian nobles to the emperor of France to promote the birth of a noble Republic in the Danubian principalities, an idea that was never realized.²

During the Napoleonic period, on the other hand, there were very active relations between the Italian and the Greek patriots. The unfortunate expedition of the Greek “protomartyr” Rigas Velestinlis or Feraios, at the eve of Greek struggle for independence, did not start from Trieste by accident. Trieste was a city subjected to Austria but had a strong Italian identity and was the center of an important Hellenic community. As it is known, Rigas was an Aromanian who lived in Wallachia for a long time.³

With the outbreak of revolutionary uprising of 1821,⁴ the number and type of these relations certainly changed. The struggle of the Greek insurgents against the Sultan quickly created the myth of independent Greece. The phenomenon of philhellenism was international, not only Italian, but the successes of the Greeks were a real example for the Italian patriots, for a nation that had to rise against foreign domination and absolutism. Italian philhellenism is well-known,

although it deserves a historiographical revision.⁵ Let me emphasize a few relevant elements. In 1822, several Italians fought against the Ottoman troops at Peta and some lost their lives in that bloody battle. The Italian Vincenzo Gallina contributed significantly to the drafting of the first Greek Constitution, that of Epidaurus.⁶ Later, a well-known politician, Santorre di Santa Rosa, who had left Piedmont after the failed revolutionary movement of 1821, lost his life on the island of Sfakteria.⁷ Despite some disappointments, thanks to more illustrious names, such as those of Foscolo, Berchet, Pecchio or the painter Hayez, Italian philhellenism did not disappear and continued throughout the whole century.⁸ It should be noted that it was sometimes combined with the cultural fashion of Orientalism: just think of the fame of a character like Ali Pasha of Tepelena/Ioannina.⁹ Eventually, a few decades later, the philhellenic current mingled with that of Garibaldi.

In the second half of the century there were great changes. The formation of the Italian unitary state under Cavour's direct attention became a model for all the nations that had been fighting for independence and unity: from many small and medium-sized states a large one was born and quickly found its place among the Great Powers, even if it did not occupy an equally important place. Therefore, other nations could also hope to achieve their own independent national state.

Garibaldi's conquest of the South created a new myth.¹⁰ It became popular and desirable throughout Europe. Many Greeks hoped that a new expedition led by Garibaldi would free those compatriots who still lived under Ottoman rule, or that they might even dethrone the unloved King Otto of Greece. Victor Emmanuel II, king of Italy since 1861, had nourished the vain hope of placing his son Amedeo on that throne.¹¹ The history of the two peoples, Greek and Italian, did not cease to have elements in common for that reason. In the period 1866–1867, Italian volunteers, under the aegis of Garibaldi, went to Crete to help Greek insurgents against Turkish repression. The presence of Italian volunteers fighting for Greek freedom—among them, the two sons of Garibaldi, Menotti and Ricciotti—demonstrated the continuity of a strong ideal and of the political connection between the two peoples.¹²

The idea of the nation inspired other Italians who wanted to fight for Greece in 1881, in order to expand its borders beyond what the Great Powers had initially assigned to it. Prime Minister Alexandros Koumoundouros preferred to avoid conflicts. Meanwhile, the first uncertainties arose about the implementation of the idea of nationhood, with the specific example of Epirus.¹³ Because of the Bulgarian-Rumelian crisis of 1885–1887, these doubts were renewed concerning other countries as well, reaching the point where two Balkan states, Bulgaria and Serbia, went to war with each other and not against an empire.¹⁴

The difficulty of distinguishing which was the most just national cause re-emerged in 1897. Again, the Greek nation went to war with the Ottoman Empire to liberate Crete and, again, the Italian volunteers went to fight alongside their Greek friends: the experience ended in defeat at the Battle of Domokos in Thessaly.¹⁵ These events did not interrupt the process of completing the Greek national state, including territories with a mixed population, but here I mention them, above all, as a further example of the interrelationships between the Italian and Balkan worlds. In addition to what I said about the contrasts that had arisen between the national programs of different peoples, I must refer to the last Garibaldian expedition to Greece, led by Ricciotti Garibaldi in 1912: it clarified to the public the problem of the difficult implementation of the principle of nationhood.¹⁶

A certain reassessment in the historiography about the empire dominated by the Habsburgs starts also from the finding that that generous idea of nationhood had to be reduced and applied in the actual context of those territories and peoples, a reality that is difficult to reconstruct or dissect in a precise and safe manner. In these considerations, we are helped by the intellectual output of a revolutionary thinker of the nineteenth century, namely Giuseppe Mazzini. Not only was he the symbol of a revolution in the view of both sympathizers and opponents, but he was also, thanks to his ideological baggage, one of the links between the Unification of Italy and the national revival of Central and South-Eastern Europe. In any case, he, who hoped for the formation of a state for each nation (but also for collaboration between nations), opted for a different solution than the national state when, at an older age, he was faced with the geographical, demographic, civil and political reality of the Danube-Balkan area. He proposed—like others—the idea of a confederation among the state entities that would have maintained their individuality.¹⁷ Perhaps, unwittingly, he paid an indirect compliment to the complex imperial political structure he wanted to destroy, namely Austria, which for centuries had united different peoples.

Mazzini's plans had no real consequences for the history of the peoples in the Danube-Balkan area, but his ideas were well known in Romania, Bulgaria and among the South-Slavic populations. Not only Nicolae Bălcescu, but also Constantin A. Rosetti, the Brătianu brothers, the Golescu brothers and others considered the famous Genoese a master. Several essays by Ștefan Delureanu demonstrate this.¹⁸ In particular, the direct relationship between the Italian thinker and Dumitru Brătianu, who entered Mazzini's narrow circle, is well known, as he imagined a *Giovine Romania* in the context of that *Giovine Europa* created by the famous Genoese. In 1849, Bălcescu intended to recruit a Romanian legion to help the Roman Republic led by Mazzini. Eventually, Bălcescu died in Palermo in 1852.¹⁹ In his office at the *Românul* (The Romanian) newspaper, the

progressive liberal Constantin A. Rosetti kept images of Mazzini and Garibaldi and considered the former a *maître à penser* for the Romanian patriots.²⁰ In real terms, however, there are no significant achievements as regards the collaboration between the Italians and the Romanians in the pre-unification period.

The Romanian nation, located between the Lower Danube and Central Europe, had good reason to look to Italy. In the mid-nineteenth century, starting from specific historical data, intellectuals and politicians created the idea that Romania was a Latin island in a Slavic sea, a Western fortress against the worrisome power of Russia that fully revealed its danger by intervening in Moldavia, Wallachia and Transylvania in 1848–1849 to put an end to various national revolutions. During the Crimean War, the role of the Danubian principalities became important in the hard confrontation between the Tsarist Empire and the other Great Powers.²¹ Therefore, in the Romanian countries, the Latin and Western cultural and linguistic tradition spread and became stronger. The boyars' children became acquainted with liberal or democratic ideas in Paris. If the Pole Star for the Romanian patriots was France, they also looked to Italy long enough for Ion Heliade-Rădulescu to propose normalizing the Romanian language by using Italian.²² Naturally, the Romanians' interest in Italy increased as a result of the formation of the unified Italian national state and they paid particular attention to the victories of Garibaldi.

Romanians and Italians had no opportunity or reason to engage in any broad collaboration during the struggle for independence from the order dictated by empires, but Romanian historiography insisted on the similarities between them. Indeed, an isochronic curiosity of the main passages and events can be observed: the revolts of 1821, the revolutionary attempts of 1848, the achievement of the first unification in 1859 and 1861, the consolidation of unity in 1918.²³ However, there are more differences than similarities between the two national unity movements. Romania and Italy were different countries due to their economic, cultural and political evolutions: only in Transylvania—which was the last region to become united with the Romanian state in 1918—were there cities similar to the Italian municipalities. The movement to unite the Romanians began and was directed for decades by an elite who lived in the Principalities that were under Ottoman rule. The Italian unification movement found its guide in independent Piedmont, which possessed a respectable army. The first part of Romania's unification movement developed under the aegis of international diplomacy. In Italy foreign intervention was fundamental for the success of the national struggle, but there were also bloody battles and actions such as the Expedition of the Thousand which easily created a heroic and mythopoetic atmosphere.²⁴

After achieving Romania's independence, the two national states entered the same alliance with Germany and Austria-Hungary. Both governments regarded the Triple Alliance with reservations since this was an alliance chosen for reasons of sheer international balance: it was known that the Romanian and the Italian public could not forget that some of their compatriots were subject to Austria-Hungary.²⁵ Few were surprised when, at the beginning of the World War, Rome and Bucharest preferred neutrality and then made the decision to enter the war alongside the Entente,²⁶ in the belief that they could obtain considerable advantages for their peoples and states. This goal was actually achieved, especially in the case of Romania.

The relationship between the Italian world and Serbia is a subject that calls for a much broader approach than we can perform here. Suffice it to recall that in 1848–1849, the Piedmontese government, the most committed to the fight against Austria in Italy, tried in vain to persuade Belgrade to use its influence to get the Serbs to fight alongside the Hungarians, not against them.²⁷ The Unification of Italy was later a model for the Serbs, both for the Expedition of the Thousand and for the teachings of Mazzini, which influenced the formation of that Serbian *Omladina*.²⁸ In the 1860s, however, the Serbian government preferred the path of prudence rather than participate in a fight against Austria: it was trying to find a way to escape the Sultan's sovereignty. Its leader Ilija Garašanin was not tempted by the project of the Danubian Federation, which was to rise on the ruins of empires.²⁹ However, several years later, many Italian volunteers went to fight alongside the insurgents in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1875–1876,³⁰ in the first phase of the Great Eastern Crisis, which gave rise to the independence of Romania, Serbia, Montenegro and made possible the birth of an autonomous Bulgarian Principality.

The Italian presence in the Balkans became more important during the already mentioned Bulgarian-Rumelian crisis of 1885–1887, but as a Great Power rather than as a supporter of the national movements.³¹ In fact, the Balkan area was an important training ground for Italian diplomacy. The interest in Southeast Europe continued until World War I and beyond.³² It was no coincidence that Italy had a queen from Montenegro at the beginning of the twentieth century. The Italian elites mainly dealt with the fate of Albania, at the request of the important Italian-Albanian community, which was briefly joined by the Garibaldi and Mazzini currents.³³ *Sed de hoc satis*.

The Italians encountered difficulties in applying the principle of the nation in their relations with the world of the Southern Slavs, given the complex Adriatic issue, which demanded so much not only from politics, but also from the historiography of both camps. I will not discuss these elements here.³⁴ However, I

would like to recall that in 1906 Aurel C. Popovici, the Romanian intellectual from Lugoj, in his great project of restructuring the empire along a federal model, as the United States of Greater Austria, was thinking of creating two Italian Länder, one of which would have included Trieste alongside Gorizia and Istria (the other was Trentino).³⁵

BEYOND THE difficulties in applying the idea of the nation, it can be said that the movement for the Unification of Italy had very close and important relations with and exerted a certain influence on the national movements and struggles of the peoples of Central and Southeast Europe. This influence was not decisive in practice and had no more important effects than the pan-Slavic solidarity demanded by the Russians or the diplomatic and military action of Austria-Hungary and the other Great Powers with interests in the Balkans. It is equally true, however, that historiography has plenty of reasons to continue investigating those relationships, as well as the Italian influence. □

Notes

1. The historical literature on the presence of the Italian Republics on the Black Sea coast and in the Balkans is too vast to be listed here. Therefore, we shall limit ourselves to mentioning the volume Cristian Luca and Gianluca Masi, eds., *Gli antichi Stati italiani e l'Europa Centro-Orientale tra il tardo Medioevo e l'Età moderna* (Brăila–Udine, 2016).
2. Vlad Georgescu, “The Romanian Boyars in the Eighteenth Century: Their Political Ideology,” *East European Quarterly* 7, 1 (1973): 31–40; Ștefan Pascu, ed., *Istoria României: Compendiu*, 3rd edition (Bucharest, 1974), 213.
3. Aristovoulos J. Manessis, “L’Activité et les projets politiques d’un patriote grec dans les Balkans vers la fin du XVIII^e siècle,” *Balkan Studies* 3, 1 (1962): 75–118; Nestor Camariano, “Rhigas Velestinlis: Compléments et corrections concernant sa vie et sa activité,” *Revue des études sud-est européennes* 18, 4 (1980): 687–719; 19, 1 (1981): 41–69.
4. Vasile Maciu, “Characterul mișcării lui Tudor Vladimirescu,” *Studii: Revistă de istorie* (Bucharest) 24, 5 (1971): 931–950.
5. Mario Montuori, ed., *Garibaldi e il filellenismo italiano nel XIX secolo* (Athens, 1985); *Risorgimento greco e filellenismo italiano: Lotte, cultura, arte: Mostra promossa dall’ambasciata di Grecia e dall’Associazione per lo sviluppo delle relazioni fra Italia e Grecia: Roma, Palazzo Venezia, 25 marzo–27 aprile 1986* (Rome, 1986).
6. Giorgio Spini, “Il significato storico dello Statuto di Epidaurò,” in *Risorgimento greco e filellenismo italiano*, 135.
7. Filippo Ambrosini, *Santorre di Santa Rosa: La passione e il sacrificio* (Turin, 2007).

8. Gilles Pécout, "Une amitié politique méditerranéenne: le philhellénisme italien et français au XIX^e siècle," *Annali della Fondazione Giangiacomo Feltrinelli* 39 (2003): 81–106; id., "Philhellenism in Italy: Political Friendship and the Italian Volunteers in the Mediterranean in the Nineteenth Century," *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* 9, 4 (2004): 405–427; Fabrice Jesné, "Les Nationalités balkaniques dans le débat politique italien, de l'Unité au lendemain des Guerres Balkaniques (1861–1913): Entre invention scientifique, solidarité méditerranéenne et impérialisme adriatique," Ph.D. thesis, Université Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne, 2009.
9. K. E. Fleming, *The Muslim Bonaparte: Diplomacy and Orientalism in Ali Pasha's Greece* (Princeton, New Jersey, 1999).
10. Angelo Tamborra, *Garibaldi e l'Europa. Impegno militare e prospettive politiche* (Rome, 1983); Ștefan Delureanu, *Garibaldi între mit și istorie* (Bucharest, 2007); Monica Priante, "Giuseppe Garibaldi: Hero in the Piedmont of the Balkans: The Reception of a Narrative of the Italian Risorgimento in the Serbian Press," in *Italy's Balkan Strategies (19th–20th Century)*, edited by Vojislav G. Pavlović (Belgrade, 2014), 45–60.
11. Walter Maturi, "Le avventure balcaniche di Marco Antonio Canini nel 1862," in *Studi storici in onore di Gioacchino Volpe*, vol. 2 (Florence, 1958), 559–643; Francesco Guida, *L'Italia e il Risorgimento balcanico: Marco Antonio Canini* (Rome, 1984); Antonis Liakos, *L'unificazione italiana e la grande idea: Ideologia e azione dei movimenti nazionali in Italia e in Grecia, 1859–1871*, trans. A. Giacumacatos, foreword by Stuart Wolf (Florence, 1995).
12. Tamborra, *Garibaldi e l'Europa*; Leonidas Callivretakis, "Les Garibaldiens à l'insurrection de 1866 en Crète: Le jeu de chiffres," in *Indipendenza e unità nazionale in Italia ed in Grecia: Convegno di studio Atene, 2–7 ottobre 1985* (Florence, 1987), 163–179.
13. Francesco Guida, "Correnti e iniziative filelleniche in Italia dopo il congresso di Berlino (1878–1886)," in *Garibaldi e il filellenismo italiano nel XIX secolo*, 69–101.
14. Francesco Guida, Armando Pitassio, and Rita Tolomeo, *Nascita di uno stato balcanico: La Bulgaria di Alessandro di Battenberg nella corrispondenza diplomatica italiana (1879–1886)* (Naples, 1988).
15. Luigi Lotti, "Le spedizioni garibaldine in Grecia," in *Indipendenza e unità in Italia ed in Grecia*, 181–190; Francesco Guida, "Ettore Ferrari e il volontarismo garibaldino nel Sud-est europeo," in *Il progetto liberal-democratico di Ettore Ferrari: Un percorso tra politica e arte*, edited by Anna Maria Isastia (Milan, 1997), 61–72.
16. Francesco Guida, "L'ultima spedizione garibaldina in Grecia (1912)," in *Indipendenza e unità nazionale in Italia ed in Grecia*, 191–220.
17. László Szörényi, "Mazzini e Kossuth: Il progetto della Confederazione danubiana," in *Il mazzinianesimo nel mondo*, vol. 1, edited by Giuliana Limiti (Pisa, 1995), 241–257; Francesco Guida, "Giuseppe Mazzini e l'Europa orientale," in *Il mazzinianesimo nel mondo*, vol. 4, edited by Giuliana Limiti (Pisa, 2011), 121–145.
18. Alberto Basciani, "Mazzini nella stampa romena dell'Ottocento," in *Il mazzinianesimo nel mondo*, 1: 261–327; Ștefan Delureanu, *Mazzini și românii în Risorgimento* (Bucharest, 2006); Antonio D'Alessandri, "Mazzini e l'Europa sud-orientale nella

- storiografia degli ultimi trent'anni," *La Capitanata* (Foggia) 44, 20 (2006): 145–155; id., "L'europeismo mazziniano tra teoria e realtà: il caso degli slavi del Sud," in *Dalla Giovine Europa alla Grande Europa*, edited by Francesco Guida (Rome, 2007), 129–146; Ion Cârja, ed., *Unità nazionale e modernità nel Risorgimento italiano e romeno: Atti del convegno internazionale in occasione dei 150 anni dell'Unità d'Italia (Bistrița, 10–12 dicembre 2010)* (Cluj-Napoca, 2011).
19. Antonio D'Alessandri, *Sulle vie dell'esilio: I rivoluzionari romeni dopo il 1848* (Lecce, 2015).
 20. Dan Berindei, "La Lutte pour l'unité de l'Italie reflétée dans la presse des Principautés Unies (1859–1860)," *Revue roumaine d'histoire* 2, 1 (1963): 105–107.
 21. L. Boicu, *Austria și Principatele Române în vremea războiului Crimeii 1853–1856* (Bucharest, 1972).
 22. In 1841 Heliade-Rădulescu published *Prescurtare de gramatica limbei româno-italiene* and *Paralelism între dialectele român și italian sau Forma ori gramatica acestor două dialecte*.
 23. Ștefan Delureanu, *Italia și România spre unitatea națională: Un secol de istorie paralelă (1820–1920)* (Bucharest, 2010); Adrian Niculescu, "Risorgimento italiano e Rigenerazione nazionale romena: Similitudini, sincronie, parallelismi ed una vistosa differenza," in *Italia e Romania verso l'Unità nazionale: Convegno di studi in occasione del 150° anniversario dell'Unità d'Italia, Bucarest, 16–17 giugno 2011*, edited by Francesco Guida (Bucharest, 2011), 183–206.
 24. Francesco Guida, "Affinità cronologiche e diversità socio-politiche nella formazione degli Stati nazionali romeno e italiano," in *Unità nazionale e modernità nel Risorgimento italiano e romeno*, 65–79.
 25. Rudolf Dinu, *Studi italo-romeni: Diplomazia e societă 1879–1914/Italian-Romanian Studies: Diplomacy and Society 1879–1914*, 2nd edition (Bucharest, 2009); id., *L'avamposto sul Danubio della Triplice alleanza: Diplomazia e politica di sicurezza nella Romania di Carlo I (1878–1914)*, foreword by Francesco Guida (Rome, 2015).
 26. Laura Oncescu, *Relațiile României cu Italia în anii 1878–1914* (Târgoviște, 2011), 118–124; Rudolf Dinu, "Da alleata a nemica: La Romania e la questione della guerra contro le Potenze Centrali (1912–1916)," in *La Grande guerra e l'Europa danubiano-balcanica*, edited by Francesco Guida, special issue of *Il Veltro* 59, 1–6 (2015), 47–64; Francesco Guida, *România în secolul XX*, trans. Dragoș Cojocar (Chișinău, 2019), 28–31.
 27. Pasquale Fornaro, *Risorgimento italiano e questione ungherese (1849–1867): Marcello Cerruti e le intese politiche italo-magiare* (Catanzaro, 1995).
 28. Ljubinka Toševa Karpowicz, "Mazzini e il Risorgimento serbo," in *Il mazzinianesimo nel mondo*, vol. 2, edited by Giuliana Limiti (Pisa, 1996), 511–567.
 29. Guida, *Marco Antonio Canini*, 191–198.
 30. Marcella Deambrosis, "La partecipazione dei garibaldini e degli internazionalisti italiani alla insurrezione di Bosnia ed Erzegovina del 1875–1876 e alla guerra di Serbia," in *Studi garibaldini e altri saggi*, edited by Renato Giusti (Mantua, 1967), 33–75; ead., "Garibaldini e militari italiani nelle guerre ed insurrezioni balcaniche (1875–1877)," in *Giuseppe Garibaldi e le origini del movimento operaio italiano (1860–82)*, edited by Renato

- Giusti (Mantua, 1984), 29–51; Armando Pitassio, “L’Estrema Sinistra e il movimento garibaldino di fronte alla crisi d’Oriente del 1875–1878,” *Europa Orientalis* 2 (1983): 107–121.
31. Angelo Tamborra, “La crisi balcanica del 1885–1886 e l’Italia,” *Rassegna storica del Risorgimento* 55, 3 (1968): 371–396; Simeon A. Simeonov, *Italija i balgarskata kriza 1885–1888* (Veliko Tarnovo, 2008); Francesco Guida, “La Bulgaria da Battenberg a Stambolov: Il punto di vista italiano,” *Études balkaniques* 48, 2–3 (2012): 45–61.
 32. Jesné, “Les Nationalités balkaniques dans le débat politique italien, de l’Unité au lendemain des Guerres Balkaniques (1861–1913).”
 33. Ennio Maserati, *Momenti della questione adriatica (1896–1914): Albania e Montenegro tra Austria ed Italia* (Udine, 1981); Francesco Guida, “Gli italo-albanesi e il garibaldinismo dinanzi alla questione albanese all’inizio del Novecento (1900–1906),” in *Centenario dell’indipendenza dell’Albania 1912–2012: L’influenza delle relazioni con l’Italia sulla nascita della coscienza nazionale albanese*, edited by Alfonso Ricca, special issue of *Il Velino* 56, 3–6 (2012): 41–60; id., “Les Italo-Albanais et les questions balkaniques des premières années du XX^e siècle aux guerres de 1912–1913,” in *Les Guerres balkaniques 1912–1913: Conflits, enjeux, mémoires*, edited by Catherine Horel (Brussels etc., 2014), 77–84.
 34. Paolo Alatri, Nitti, *D’Annunzio e la questione adriatica (1919–1920)*, 2nd edition (Milan, 1976); Luciano Monzali, “Dalmati o italiani? Appunti su Antonio Bajamonti e il liberalismo autonomista a Spalato nell’Ottocento,” *Clio* 38, 3 (2002): 419–465; id., *Italiani di Dalmazia: Dal Risorgimento alla Grande Guerra* (Florence, 2004).
 35. Aurel C. Popovici, *Die Vereinigten Staaten von Groß-Österreich: Politische Studien zur Lösung der nationalen Fragen und staatsrechtlichen Krisen in Österreich-Ungarn* (Leipzig, 1906).

Abstract

National Movements in Italy and in Central and Southeast Europe:
The Difficult Implementation of the Idea of the Nation

The paper presents the content of the lectio magistralis delivered by the recipient at the doctor honoris causa ceremony hosted by Babeş-Bolyai University. It broadly outlines the relations between the political events that took place in the Italian Peninsula and in Central and Southeastern Europe in the nineteenth century, in the period of national revivals. Thus, in Italy, the struggle of the Greek insurgents against the Sultan quickly created the myth of an independent Greece. Conversely, Garibaldi’s conquest of the South created a new myth that became popular and desirable throughout Europe. As to the Romanians, their interest in Italy increased as a result of the formation of the unified Italian national state and they paid particular attention to the victories of Garibaldi.

Keywords

Italy, Central Europe, Southeast Europe, Garibaldi, Mazzini, national movements, idea of the nation

Francesco Guida

Biography and Bibliography



IOAN-AUREL POP,
MARCO GIUNGI (Italian ambassador),
FRANCESCO GUIDA, MONICA FEKETE,
and ANA VICTORIA SIMA

FRANCESCO GUIDA (b. 1950) is a specialist in the history of Central and Eastern Europe. Having graduated *cum laude* (1972), he has been a scholarship holder of specialization (doctoral level degree) at La Sapienza University of Rome, with many periods of research and study abroad: Bulgaria, England, France, Greece, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Portugal, Romania, and Spain. He was a confirmed tenured researcher (1980) at the same university, then associate professor (1992) at Ca' Foscari University of Venice, and is full professor (2001) of history of Central-Eastern Europe at Roma Tre University. He was acknowledged as a research fellow also in modern history (University of Calabria) and history of the Risorgimento (University of Padua). He won a public selection and was a student at the Higher School of Public Administration. He won a public selection and was a teacher in high schools.

At Roma Tre University, he was dean/director of the Faculty/Department of Political Science and a member of the Academic Senate (2008–2018). Since 2013, he has chaired the Italian Committee for Political Science (CISPOL). He is a member of the National University Council (CUN).

He has participated in some Strategic or Coordinated Research Projects of the National Research Council, as well as in some Research Projects of National Interest (PRIN) funded by the Ministry of University. He was national coordinator of the

PRIN “Intelligencija contro la democrazia nell’Europa Sud-orientale (1933–1953),” and coordinator of the international research project “États nationaux dans l’Europe danubienne-balkanique (XIX^e–XXI^e siècles) dès périphéries à l’espace régional européen,” included in the European research project “Ouest-Est: dynamiques centre-périphérie entre les deux moitiés du Continent. Des regards pluridisciplinaires.”

He has written 11 books (some of them translated into Polish, Romanian, Russian, and Spanish) and over 190 essays on historical topics, published in magazines or volumes in Italy and abroad. He has been the editor of 30 books. He translated from Romanian the book *La Romania alla fine della Guerra fredda* by Mihail Dobre.

In 1987 his book *L’Italia e Risorgimento balcanico* won the Howard Marraro Prize awarded by the American Society for Italian History. In 2003, he received from the President of Romania the order of *ofițer pentru merit* for his scientific activity in the field of Romanian culture and history. In 2012, he received from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Romania the diploma for special merits for the promotion of Romanian and universal values in international relations. In 2017, he was made doctor honoris causa by the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences (Institute of Balkan Studies). In 2019, Babeș-Bolyai University of Cluj-Napoca (Faculty of History and Philosophy) made him its doctor honoris causa.

Chairman of the Italian Association of Southeast European Studies, and vice-chairman of the Association Internationale des Études Sud-Est Européennes (AISSEE). President of the Italian Association of Central and Eastern European History Studies (AISSECO); president of the Romanian-Italian Center for Historical Studies (CERISS); director of the Interuniversity Center for Hungarian and Central-Eastern European Studies (CISUECO); director of the Interdepartmental Center for Research on Central-Eastern Europe, Russia and Eurasia (CRIERE). He was member of the Scientific Council of the Institute for the History of the Italian Risorgimento (2017–2019).

Member of the Italian Association of Roumainists, Italian Association of Slavists, Italian Association of Ukrainists, Dalmatian History Association, Commission Internationale des Études Historiques Slaves du CISH (Comité International des Sciences historiques).

He is a member of the scientific committee of some historical journals in Italy and four other European countries (Bulgaria, France, Romania, and Spain).

Referee for National Agency for the Evaluation of the University System and Research, Executive Agency for Higher Education, Research, Development and Innovation Funding (Romania); Serbian Academy of Sciences; and for several Italian historical journals and editorial series.

Books

La Bulgaria dalla guerra di liberazione sino al trattato di Neuilly (1877–1919): Testimonianze italiane. Rome: Bulzoni, 1984, 320 pp.

L’Italia e il Risorgimento balcanico: Marco Antonio Canini. Rome: Edizioni dell’Ateneo, 1984, 460 pp.

- Nascita di uno stato balcanico: La Bulgaria di Alessandro di Battenberg nella corrispondenza diplomatica italiana (1879–1886)*. Naples: Edizioni scientifiche italiane, 1988, 508 pp. (with Armando Pitassio e Rita Tolomeo).
- Il leone e la scimitarra: La liberazione della Bulgaria nella testimonianza del personale consolare italiano*. Cosenza: Edizioni di Periferia, 1990, xxxiv + 162 pp. (with Angel Davidov).
- Mezzo secolo di socialismo reale: L'Europa centro-orientale dal secondo conflitto mondiale alla caduta dei regimi comunisti*. Turin: Giappichelli, 1994, 217 pp. (with Antonello Biagini).
- Spanish edition: *Medio siglo de socialismo real*. Trans. Francisco J. Ramos. Barcelona: Ariel, 1996, 237 pp.
- Polish edition: *Pół wieku realnego socjalizmu*. Trans. Leszław Morawiecki. Rzeszów: Wydawnictwo Wyższej Szkoły Pedagogicznej, 1998, 234 pp.
- Second Italian edition, enl.: *Mezzo secolo di socialismo reale: L'Europa centro-orientale dal secondo conflitto mondiale all'era postcomunista*. Turin: Giappichelli, 1997, x + 274 pp.
- Michelangelo Pinto: Un letterato e patriota romano tra Italia e Russia*. Rome: Archivio Guido Izzi, 1998, 196 pp.
- Russian edition: *Mikelandzelo Pinto rimskii literator i patriot mezhdu Italiei i Rossiei*. Trans. Alexandr Akimenko. Sankt Petersburg: Liki Rossii, 2011, 206 pp.
- La Grande Romania*. Cosenza: Edizioni di Periferia, 2002, 126 pp.
- La Romania contemporanea: Momenti e questioni di storia*. Milan: Nagard, 2002, 120 pp.
- La Russia e l'Europa centro-orientale 1815–1914*. Rome: Carocci, 2003, 128 pp. Second edition: 2006, 128 pp.
- Romania*. Milan: Unicopli, 2005, 350 pp. Second edition, enl.: 2009, 356 pp.
- Romanian edition: *România în secolul XX*. Trans. Dragoş Cojocaru. Chişinău: Cartier, 2019, 384 pp.
- L'altra metà dell'Europa: Dalla Grande Guerra ai giorni nostri*. Rome–Bari: Laterza, 2015, vii + 339 pp.

Edited Volumes

- Storia della Bulgaria*. Rome: Bulzoni, 1982.
- Fol, Alexandr. *La cultura e il patrimonio dei Traci*. Rome: Bulzoni, 1984.
- Georgiev, Emil. *Il contributo della Bulgaria alla vita spirituale panslava e paneuropea nel Medioevo*. Rome: Bulzoni, 1986.
- Risorgimento greco e filellenismo italiano: Lotte, cultura, arte: Mostra promossa dall'Ambasciata di Grecia e dall'Associazione per lo sviluppo delle relazioni fra Italia e Grecia, Roma, a Palazzo Venezia, 25 marzo/27 aprile 1986*, edited by Caterina Spetsieri Beschi and Enrica Lucarelli. Rome: Edizioni del Sole, 1986.
- Mărtinaş, Dumitru. *L'origine dei cattolici di Moldavia*. Padua: Messaggero di S. Antonio, 1987.
- Tamborra, Angelo. *Studi storici sull'Europa orientale: Raccolti per il 70° compleanno dell'autore*. Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1987 (with Rita Tolomeo and Attilio Chitarin).

- Studi balcanici: Pubblicati in occasione del VI Congresso internazionale dell'Association Internationale d'Études Sud-Est européennes (AIESEE), Sofia 30 Agosto–5 Settembre 1989.* Rome: Carocci, 1989.
- La storiografia italiana a un bivio: Specializzazione o globalità?* Naples: Arte Tipografica, 1990 (with Antonello Biagini).
- Italia e Ungheria (1920–1960): Storia, politica, letteratura, fonti: Atti dell'incontro di studio tenuto a Roma il 9–11 novembre 1989.* Cosenza: Edizioni di Periferia, 1991 (with Rita Tolomeo).
- Dalla liberazione di Buda all'Ungheria del Trianon: Ungheria e Italia tra età moderna e contemporanea: Atti del Convegno storico italo-ungherese, Pécs, 23–24 aprile 1993.* Rome: Lithos, 1996.
- Il mazzinianesimo nel mondo.* 2 vols. Pisa: Istituto Domus Mazziniana, 1996 (with Giuliana Limiti, Mario Di Napoli, and Giuseppe Monsagrati).
- Italia e Romania nell'Europa moderna: Atti del Congresso Internazionale tenuto a Venezia nel marzo 1995.* Special issue of *Letterature di frontiera* (Trieste) 7, 2 (1997) (with Gianfranco Giraud).
- L'epoca Horthy: L'Ungheria tra le due guerre mondiali: Atti del Convegno tenuto a Venezia (23–24 gennaio 1997).* Rome: Lithos, 2000.
- Etnia e confessione in Transilvania (secoli XVI–XX).* Rome: Lithos, 2001.
- Ungheria e Italia nella seconda guerra mondiale: Convegno di studi degli storici italiani e ungheresi (Szeged, 2–3 novembre 1998).* Rome: Lithos, 2002.
- L'altra metà del continente: L'Europa centro-orientale dalla formazione degli Stati nazionali all'integrazione europea.* Padua: CEDAM, 2003.
- Dalla Giovine Europa alla Grande Europa.* Rome: Carocci, 2007.
- Dayton dieci anni dopo: Guerra e pace nella ex Jugoslavia.* Rome: Carocci, 2007.
- Era sbocciata la libertà? A quaranta anni dalla Primavera di Praga (1968–2008).* Rome: Carocci, 2008. 2nd edition: Società europea di edizioni, 2018.
- Intellettuali versus democrazia: I regimi autoritari nell'Europa sud-orientale (1933–1953).* Rome: Carocci, 2010.
- Italia e Romania verso l'Unità nazionale: Convegno di studi in occasione del 150° anniversario dell'Unità d'Italia 16–17 giugno 2011 Università di Bucarest.* Bucharest: Humanitas, 2011.
- Per Rita Tolomeo, scritti di amici sulla Dalmazia e l'Europa centro-orientale.* 2 vols. Venice: La Musa Talia, 2014 (with Ester Capuzzo and Bruno Crevato-Selvaggi).
- Invito al viaggio: In Romania.* Rome: Roma Tre e-press, 2015 (with Silvia Terzi).
- La Grande guerra e l'Europa danubiano-balcanica.* Special issue of *Il Veltro* 59, 1–6 (2015). Romanian edition: *Marele Război și Europa danubiano-balcanică.* Cluj-Napoca: Academia Română, Centrul de Studii Transilvane; Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2016 (with Ana Victoria Sima and Monica Fekete).
- Le Facoltà di Scienze politiche in Italia.* Bologna: Il Mulino, 2015 (with Roberto Scarciglia and Franca Alacevich).
- L'Europa e il suo Sud-est: Percorsi di ricerca: Contributi italiani all'XI^o Congresso Internazionale dell'Association Internationale d'Études du Sud-est Européen, Sofia, 31 agosto–4 settembre 2015.* Rome: Aracne, 2015 (with Antonio D'Alessandri).

- I Balcani, la Bulgaria e l'Italia durante la guerra fredda*. Special issue of *Études balkaniques* 52, 4 (2016) (with Penka Danova and Alexander Kostov).
- Il Sud-est europeo e l'Adriatico: Studi italiani: Contributi al XII Congresso Internazionale dell'Associazione internazionale d'Études du Sud-Est Européen (Bucarest, 2-7 settembre 2019)*. Rome: Aracne, 2019.
- Invito al viaggio: In Albania*. Rome: Roma Tre e-press, 2020 (with Silvia Terzi).
- Italia e Ungheria tra pace e guerra fredda (1945-1955)*. Budapest: Centro Ricerche di Scienze Umanistiche, 2020 (with Zoltán Turgonyi).

Translation Books

- Dobre, Mihail. *La Romania alla fine della Guerra fredda*. Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 2020.

Articles, Studies

- "Tudor Vladimirescu e la rivoluzione del 1821 nei Principati danubiani nella storiografia romana." *Rassegna storica del Risorgimento* (Rome) 62, 3 (1975): 291-315.
- "Romania 1917-22: Aspirazioni nazionali e conflitti sociali." In *Rivoluzione e reazione in Europa 1917-1924: Convegno storico internazionale, Perugia, 1978*, vol. 2, edited by Franco Gaeta, 1-105. Rome: Edizioni dell'Avanti!, 1978.
- "La missione De Bosdari a Sofia (1910-1913) nel contesto dell'azione diplomatica italiana nei Balcani." *Materiali di storia* (Perugia) 15 (1978/79): 88-103.
- "Enea Silvio Piccolomini e l'Europa orientale: il 'De Europa' (1458)." *Clio* (Naples) 15, 1 (1979): 35-75.
- "Marco Antonio Canini corrispondente dal fronte di guerra russo-turco nel 1877." *Archivio storico italiano* (Florence) 137, 3 (501)(1979): 335-424.
- "Marco Antonio Canini e la Grecia: Un mazziniano suo malgrado." *Balkan Studies* (Thessaloniki) 20, 1 (1979): 343-392. Abridged version in *Archivio trimestrale* (Rome) 5, 3 (1979): 1-21.
- "Un testimone italiano in Grecia dopo la guerra per l'indipendenza: Aurelio Bianchi Giovini." *Il Risorgimento* (Milan) 32, 3 (1980): 281-304.
- "Ricciotti Garibaldi e il movimento nazionale Albanese." *Archivio storico italiano* 139, 1 (507)(1981): 97-138.
- "Problemi del risveglio delle nazionalità balcaniche durante l'epoca napoleonica." In *Il risveglio delle nazionalità nel periodo napoleonico: Atti del convegno internazionale organizzato dal Centro nazionale di studi napoleonici e di storia dell'Elba e dalla Società toscana per la storia del Risorgimento, Portoferraio, 21-23 febbraio 1981*, 119-146. Pisa: Giardini, 1982.
- "Antonio Possevino e la Livonia: Un episodio della Controriforma (1582-1585)." *Europa orientalis* (Salerno) 2 (1983): 73-105.

- “Il compimento dello Stato nazionale romeno e l'Italia: Opinione pubblica e iniziative politico-diplomatiche.” *Rassegna storica del Risorgimento* 70, 4 (1983): 425–462.
- “La politica italiana nei confronti della Bulgaria dopo la prima guerra mondiale (la questione della Dobruvia).” *Études balkaniques* (Sofia) 19, 1 (1983): 49–58.
- “Le relazioni tra Italia e Grecia dalla formazione del regno di Grecia ai giorni nostril.” *Il Veltro* (Rome) 27, 1–2 (1983): 27–54.
- “L'insurrezione macedone del 2 agosto 1903 nella stampa italiana dell'epoca.” In *Ilindensko-preobrazhensko vystanie ot 1903 g.*, edited by Hristo Hristov, 126–139. Sofia: Balgarska Akademia na Naukite, 1983. Also in *Relazioni storiche e culturali fra l'Italia e la Bulgaria: Studi presentati al Convegno italo-bulgaro in memoria di Enrico Damiani (Napoli-Positano, 29 maggio-3 giugno 1979)*, edited by R. Picchio, 269–295. Naples: Istituto universitario orientale, 1982.
- “Correnti e iniziative filelleniche in Italia dopo il congresso di Berlino (1878–1886).” In *Garibaldi e il filellenismo italiano nel XIX secolo: Atti del convegno di studi tenuto ad Atene nel 1982*, edited by Mario Montuori, 69–101. Athens: Istituto italiano di cultura in Atene, 1985.
- “Organizzazioni e programmi rivoluzionari in Grecia e in Italia dalla fine del Settecento al 1821.” In *Risorgimento greco e filellenismo italiano*, edited by Caterina Spetsieri Beschi and Enrica Lucarelli, 63–70. Rome: Edizione del Sole, 1986.
- “L'ultima spedizione garibaldina in Grecia (1912).” In *Indipendenza e unità nazionale in Italia ed in Grecia: Convegno di studio Atene, 2-7 ottobre 1985*, 191–220. Florence: Olschki, 1987.
- “La Bulgarie et l'Italie au lendemain des guerres balkaniques jusqu'au premier conflit mondial.” *Études balkaniques* 24, 3 (1988): 98–107.
- “La crisi bulgaro-rumeliota (1885–1887): Una rivincita italiana.” In *Balgariya, Italiya i Balkanite*, 263–288. Sofia: Balgarska Akademia na Naukite, 1988.
- “La Russia ha mille anni.” *Storia e Dossier* (Florence) 3, 15 (1988) (with Jean Pierre Arrignon).
- “Ungheria e Italia dalla fine del primo conflitto mondiale al trattato del Trianon.” *Storia contemporanea* (Bologna) 19, 3 (1988): 5–42. Also in *Venezia, Italia e Ungheria tra decadentismo e avanguardia*, edited by Zsuzsa Kovács and Péter Sárközy, 81–112. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1990.
- “L'ultima esperienza ‘imperiale’ di Venezia: La Morea dopo la pace di Carlovitz.” In *Studi balcanici: Pubblicati in occasione del VI Congresso internazionale dell'Association Internationale d'Études Sud-Est européennes (AIESEE), Sofia 30 Agosto-5 Settembre 1989*, edited by Francesco Guida, 107–136. Rome: Carocci, 1989.
- “L'unione delle isole ionie alla Grecia e la stampa italiana.” In *Praktika tou 5. Diethmous Panioniou Synedriou. Argostoli-Lexouri, 17-21 Maiou, 1986*, vol. 2, 181–187. Argostoli: Hetaireia Kephallenikon Histrikon Ereunon, 1989.
- “Considerazioni sulla ‘megali idea’ ellenica.” *Clio* 26, 1 (1990): 147–157.
- “Les Études d'histoire balkanique actuellement en cours en Italie.” *Études balkaniques* 26, 4 (1990): 112–120.

- “L’evoluzione dei Paesi dell’Est dal 1945 ad oggi.” In *La grande Europa, la nuova Europa: Opportunità e rischi: Siena, 23 Novembre 1990, Palazzo Salimbeni*, 9–56. Siena: Monte dei Paschi, 1990 (with Antonello Biagini).
- “L’Ungheria dalla fine del secondo conflitto mondiale al regime comunista (1945–1947).” In *Italia e Ungheria (1920–1960): Storia, politica, società, letteratura, fonti: Atti dell’incontro di studio tenuto a Roma il 9–11 novembre 1989*, edited by Rita Tolomeo and Francesco Guida, 103–130. Cosenza: Edizioni di Periferia, 1991.
- “Un intellettuale organico in prestito: Marco Antonio Canini.” In *L’intellettuale e la rivoluzione: L’esempio rumeno*, edited by Angela Tarantino and Luisa Valmarin, special issue of *România Orientale* 4–5 (1991–1992): 167–172.
- “Ivan il Terribile e Antonio Possevino: il difficile dialogo tra Cattolicesimo e Ortodossia.” In *Le origini e lo sviluppo della Cristianità slavo-bizantina: Il battesimo del 988 nella lunga durata*, edited by S. W. Świekosz-Lenart, 261–275. Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 1992.
- “L’evoluzione politico-militare del fronte balcanico nel 1941.” In *L’Italia in guerra. Il secondo anno—1941: Cinquant’anni dopo l’entrata dell’Italia nella 2° Guerra Mondiale: aspetti e problemi*, 13–25. Rome: Commissione Italiana di Storia Militare, 1992.
- “Marco Antonio Canini e la Romania.” In *Risorgimento: Italia e Romania 1859–1879: Esperienze a confronto*, edited by Giulia Lami, with an intervention of Giovanni Spadolini and an introduction by Bianca Valota Cavallotti, 139–153. Milan: Unicopli; Bucharest: Anima, 1992.
- “Bulgaria: Nascita di una Repubblica popolare.” In *Il Sud-Est europeo tra passato e presente: Atti del Convegno internazionale Università della Tuscia, Viterbo 3–5 ottobre 1991*, edited by Domenico Caccamo and Gaetano Platania, 127–145. Cosenza: Edizioni di Periferia, 1993.
- “Il problema delle minoranze in Ungheria tra Ottocento e primo Novecento (1867–1914).” *Rassegna Storica Toscana* (Florence) 39, 2 (1993): 315–324.
- Introductory note and translation to Valentin Ciorbea and Juan Moldovan, “Rapporti fra la Marina militare romena e la Regia Marina fino al termine della seconda guerra mondiale.” *Bollettino d’Archivio dell’Ufficio Storico della Marina Militare* (Rome) 7 (March 1993): 111–112 (112–124).
- “L’inizio del regime comunista in Ungheria e le relazioni con l’Italia.” *Il Veltro* 37, 1–2 (1993): 130–160.
- “Notas introductorias para el estudio de la Historia del Sudeste Europeo.” *Investigaciones Históricas: Época Moderna y Contemporánea* (Valladolid) 13 (1993): 61–68.
- “Uno sguardo sull’Ungheria devastata dalla seconda guerra mondiale: Una testimonianza autoptica.” In *Ungheria, isola o ponte? Atti del Convegno del Centro Interuniversitario per gli Studi Ungheresi in Italia, Roma 16–18 ottobre 1990*, edited by Rita Tolomeo, 185–207. Cosenza: Edizioni di Periferia 1993.
- “Isuchavaneto na istoriyata.” *Balkanistic Forum* (Blagoevgrad) 4, 2 (1995): 35–43.
- “Italiya i sadbata na bălgarite v severnoto prichernomorie na parizhskata mirna konferentsiya prez 1919 g.” In *Bălgarite v severnoto prichernomorie: Izsledovaniya i materialy* (Veliko Tarnovo) 4 (1995): 247–255 (with Antonina Kuzmanova).
- “La nascita della repubblica popolare di Bulgaria nelle carte diplomatiche italiane.” In *La rinascita nazionale bulgara e la cultura italiana: Atti del 5° Convegno italo-bulgaro*

- (Pisa, 24–28 settembre 1990), edited by Giuseppe Dell'Agata, 77–105. Rome: La Fenice, 1995.
- “La Polonia del 1956 vista attraverso le carte diplomatiche italiane.” In *I rapporti italo-polacchi tra '800 e '900: Fonti e problemi storiografici*, edited by Antonio Ciaschi, 159–179. Cosenza: Edizioni di Periferia, 1995.
- “Le carte diplomatiche italiane per la storia politico-sociale dei Balcani dal 1878 al 1914: Il caso bulgaro.” In *Le fonti diplomatiche in età moderna e contemporanea: Atti del Convegno internazionale Lucca, 20–25 gennaio 1989*, 606–612. Rome: Ministero per i beni culturali e ambientali, Ufficio centrale per i beni archivistici, 1995.
- “Razhdaneto na narodna republika Balgariya v italianskite diplomaticheski dokumenti.” *Balkanistic Forum* 4, 1 (1995): 41–61.
- “Il primo governo Nagy nella documentazione diplomatica italiana.” In *Ungheria 1956: La cultura si interroga*, edited by Roberto Ruspanti, 59–75. Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 1996.
- “Le isole jonie nel carteggio consolare italiano dei primi anni Sessanta dell'Ottocento.” *Rassegna iberistica* (Venice) 56 (1996): 203–215.
- “L'Europa danubiana in un'ottica occidentale.” In *Dalla liberazione di Buda all'Ungheria del Trianon: Ungheria e Italia tra età moderna e contemporanea: Atti del Convegno storico italo-ungherese, Pécs, 23–24 aprile 1993*, edited by Francesco Guida, 101–111. Rome: Lithos, 1996.
- “Ettore Ferrari e il volontarismo garibaldino nel Sud-est europeo.” In *Il progetto liberal-democratico di Ettore Ferrari: Un percorso tra politica e arte*, edited by Anna Maria Isastia, 61–72. Milan: FrancoAngeli, 1997.
- “Profilo storico di Antonio Fratti.” *La Voce Repubblicana* (Rome), May 1997.
- “Sinossi 2000 a.C.–1995.” In *L'Europa dei popoli*, vol. 5, edited by Antonio Golini and Francesco Sabatini, 405–531. Rome: Istituto poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 1997.
- “La stampa romana e la Rivoluzione ungherese del 1848–49.” In *Atti del Convegno Italia e Ungheria 1848–1849 (Roma, 18–20 marzo 1998)*, edited by Ester Capuzzo, special issue of *Rassegna storica del Risorgimento* 75, suppl. of fasc. IV (1998): 137–152.
- “The Idea of Europe in Roumania and the Roumania's Image in Western European Countries.” In *The Balkans: National Identities in a Historical Perspective*, edited by Stefano Bianchini and Marco Dogo, 75–90. Ravenna: Longo, 1998.
- “Un libro ‘italiano’ sui Paesi romeni alla fine del Settecento.” In *Italia e Romania: Due popoli e due storie a confronto (secc. XIV–XVIII)*, edited by Sante Graciotti, 345–365. Florence: Olschki, 1998.
- “La Grande Romania in alcune testimonianze occidentali (1919–1923).” In *Nuovi Studi balcanici*, edited by Angela Tarantino and Luisa Valmarin, special issue of *România Orientale* 12 (1999): 153–159.
- “Novara 1849, l'Italia, l'Europa: Due ottiche a confronto.” In *Novara crocevia del Risorgimento: La Battaglia di Novara del 1849*, edited by Luigi Polo Friz and Giovanni Silengo, 15–22. Novara: Istituto per la storia del Risorgimento italiano, Comitato di Novara, 1999.
- “Rigas Velestinlis (Fereos) e i principati di Valacchia e Moldavia.” In *Rigas Fereos: La rivoluzione, la Grecia, i Balcani: Atti del Convegno internazionale “Rigas Fereos, Bicen-*

tenario della morte,” Trieste, 4–5 dicembre 1997, edited by Loutsia Marchezeli-Louka, 37–44. Trieste: Lint, 1999.

- “Il fenomeno ceaușista: ideologia e politica.” In *La crisi dell’impero sovietico e la dissoluzione del sistema del socialismo reale*, edited by Santi Fedele and Pasquale Fornaro, 79–97. Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 2000. Also in *Transylvanian Review* 10, 4 (2001): 69–80.
- Romanian edition: “Fenomenul ceaușist, ideologia și politica.” In *Romania e România: Lingua e cultura romena di fronte all’Occidente*, edited by Teresa Ferro, 279–290. Udine: Forum, 2003.
- “La Politique de l’Italie aux Balkans dans les années Vingt était-elle une politique de paix?” In *Diplomatie et initiatives de la paix dans les Balkans entre les deux guerres mondiales*, 33–37. Bucharest: AIESEE, 2000.
- “Marco Antonio Canini, amico di Tommaseo e nemico di Manin.” In *Daniele Manin e Niccolò Tommaseo: Cultura e società nella Venezia del 1848*, edited by Tiziana Agostini, 35–45. Ravenna: Longo 2000.
- “Mercanti e intervento statale in Russia all’epoca di Caterina II.” In *Magyarország a (nagy)hatalmak erőterében: Tanulmányok Ormos Mária 70. születésnapjára*, edited by Ferenc Fischer, István Majoros, and József Vonyó, 181–186. Pécs: University Press, 2000.
- “Russia e Italia, un’amicizia al di là delle frontiere: Aleksandr Herzen e Aurelio Saffi.” In *Amant alterna Camenae: Studi linguistici e letterari offerti a Andrea Csillaghy in occasione del suo 60° compleanno*, edited by Augusto Carli, Beatrice Töttössy, and Nicoletta Vasta, 365–374. Turin: Ed. dell’Orso, 2000.
- “Tra storiografia e politica: Alcune riflessioni introduttive” to *L’epoca Horthy: L’Ungheria tra le due guerre mondiali: Atti del Convegno tenuto a Venezia (23–24 gennaio 1997)*, edited by Francesco Guida, 5–11. Rome: Lithos, 2000.
- “Forradalmak és forradalom utáni családások a XIX. és XX. századi Itáliában.” In *A Forradalom után: Vereség vagy győzelem?*, edited by Anna Cséve, 46–52. Budapest: Petőfi Irodalmi Múzeum, 2001.
- “Idea di nazione e questione delle nazionalità nel pensiero di Giuseppe Mazzini,” *Cuadernos de historia contemporánea* (Madrid) 23 (2001): 161–176.
- Hungarian edition: “A nemzet eszméje és a nemzetiség kérdése Giuseppe Mazzini gondolkodásában.” *Acta Universitatis Scientiarum Szegediensis: Acta historica* (Szeged) 111 (2002): 45–55.
- “La città, la democrazia, l’amore: Le passioni romane di Margaret Fuller.” *Dimensioni e problemi della ricerca storica* (Rome) 1 (2001): 67–81.
- “Nicolae Iorga e il compimento dell’unità nazionale romena.” *Quaderni della Casa Romana di Venezia* 1 (2001): 111–121.
- “I drammi dell’Europa romena: Il caso della Moldavia e della Transnistria.” *Rivista della Fondazione europea Dragan* (Milan) 17 (2002): 215–229.
- “I Paesi dell’Europa dell’est: tra Unione Europea e pressione eurasiatica,” *Rivista della Fondazione europea Dragan* 18 (2002): 206–220.
- “Italia e Ungheria dalla non belligeranza alla doppia rappresentanza.” In *Ungheria e Italia nella seconda guerra mondiale: Convegno di studi degli storici italiani e ungheresi*

(*Szeged, 2–3 novembre 1998*), edited by Francesco Guida, 121–134. Rome: Lithos, 2002.

- “Marco Antonio Canini et l’ethnogenèse du peuple roumain,” *Studia historica: Analele Universităţii “Dunărea de Jos” Galaţi*, fasc. 19, *Istorie*, 1 (2002): 87–101.
- “I Paesi dell’Europa centro-orientale tra nuovo orgoglio nazionale e attrazione comunitaria.” In *Sovranità nazionale e regionalizzazione: Saggi in memoria di Massimo Finioia*, edited by Gian Cesare Romagnoli, 161–169. Milan: FrancoAngeli, 2003.
- “La fine del blocco sovietico e le successive crisi.” In *L’altra metà del continente: L’Europa centro-orientale dalla formazione degli Stati nazionali all’integrazione europea*, edited by Francesco Guida, 249–267. Padua: CEDAM, 2003.
- “La Grèce, les Principautés roumaines et l’épincelle de la révolution nationale: De Rigas Fereos à Tudor Vladimirescu,” *Quaderni della Casa Romena di Venezia* 2 (2003): 136–142.
- “L’Europa centro-orientale.” In *Bibliografia dell’età del Risorgimento 1970–2001*, vol. 3, 1833–1860. Florence: Olschki, 2003.
- “Lo Stato nazionale romeno e l’Europa occidentale: Interferenze ideali e materiali.” *România Orientale* 16 (2003): 39–62.
- “Roumanie et Pologne vues par les Italiens dans deux moments fondamentales de leur histoire.” In *Romanian and Polish Peoples in East-Central Europe (17th–20th Centuries)*, edited by Veniamin Ciobanu, 131–162. Iaşi: Junimea, 2003.
- “Transizione a due velocità nell’Europa centro-orientale dal Baltico al mar Nero: Cause remote e recenti.” In *Costituzionalismo europeo e transizioni democratiche*, edited by Silvio Gambino, 95–117. Milan: Giuffrè, 2003.
- “Un’esperienza unica: Il regime agrario di Stamboliyski in Bulgaria (1919–1923),” *Clio* 39, 1 (2003): 85–102.
- “Angelo Tamborra.” *Rassegna storica del Risorgimento* 4 (2004): 601–605.
- “I Paesi del futuro allargamento dell’Unione Europea (2007): Romania e Bulgaria.” In *L’Unione Europea tra processo di integrazione e di allargamento*, edited by Giorgio Bosco, Francesco Perfetti, and Guido Ravasi, 284–300. Milan: Nagard, 2004.
- “I rapporti tra Italia e Grecia durante la crisi d’Oriente del 1875–78.” In *L’Europa d’oltremare*, special issue of *România Orientale* 17 (2004): 75–87.
- “Un intellettuale ‘italiano’ al servizio dell’Impero asburgico nei Principati di Valacchia e Moldavia alla fine del Settecento.” *Transylvanian Review* 13, 3 (2004): 129–146. Romanian version: “Un intelectual ‘italian’ în serviciul Imperiului Habsburgic în Principatele Țara Românească și Moldova la sfârșitul secolului al XVIII-lea,” in *Călători români în Occident: Secolele XVII–XX*, edited by Nicolae Boșcan and Ioan Bolovan, 289–307. Cluj-Napoca: Institutul Cultural Român, Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 2004.
- “Historiographie italienne récente sur l’Europe centro-orientale d’une guerre mondiale à l’autre.” In *Illusions de puissance, puissance de l’illusion: Historiographies et histoire de l’Europe centrale dans les relations internationales de l’entre-deux-guerres*, edited by Traian Sandu, 57–65. Paris: L’Harmattan, 2005.
- “Il 1956 ungherese e la diplomazia italiana.” *Rivista di studi ungheresi* (Rome), new ser., 4 (2005): 293–312.

- “Il quadro politico tra le due guerre mondiali nell’Europa centro-orientale.” In *Intelletuali, storici, economisti di fronte ai totalitarismi nell’Europa centro-orientale*, edited by Alberto Basciani, 33–43. Roma: Philos, 2005.
- Intervista in *Srebrenica: I giorni della vergogna*, edited by Luca Leone, foreword by Enisa Bukvić, introduction by Antonello Biagini. Marino: Infinito, 2005.
- “I Paesi del nuovo allargamento dell’Unione Europea (2007): Bulgaria e Romania.” In *L’Europa a ventisette*, edited by Guido Ravasi, 223–238. Milan: Nagard, 2005.
- “La nazione democratica: I movimenti di indipendenza nell’Europa centro-orientale (Polonia, Ungheria).” In *La democrazia radicale nell’Ottocento europeo: Forme della politica, modelli culturali, riformi sociale*, edited by Maurizio Ridolfi, 57–79. Milan: Feltrinelli, 2005.
- “L’Ucraina all’inizio del periodo interbellico nella testimonianza di alcuni osservatori italiani.” In *La morte della terra: La grande “carestia” in Ucraina nel 1932–33*, edited by Gabriele De Rosa and Francesca Lomastro, 231–262. Rome: Viella, 2005.
- “România contemporană în drumul spre Uniunea Europeană.” In *România și procesul de integrare europeană*, 88–96. Bucharest: Europa Nova, 2005.
- “À la recherche du fédéralisme dans la Roumanie d’entre les guerres.” *Revue AIESEE* (Bucharest) 35–39 (2005–2009): 239–258.
- “Alcune osservazioni sulla storiografia romena degli anni sessanta e le sue relazioni con quella italiana: La *Revue roumaine d’histoire*.” In *Cultură românească în Italia: 80 de ani de la crearea primei catedre de limba română la Roma: Actele Colocviului italo-român, Roma, 27–28 martie 2006/Cultura romena in Italia: 80 anni dalla creazione della prima cattedra di lingua romena a Roma: Atti del Convegno italo-romeno, Roma, 27–28 marzo 2006*, 280–286. Bucharest: Ed. Institutului Cultural Român, 2006.
- “Allargamento ad Est ed identità europea: Le frontiere dell’Europa.” In *L’Unione Europea tra processo costituzionale e una nuova identità politica*, edited by Giorgio Bosco, Francesco Perfetti, and Guido Ravasi, 90–102. Milan: Nagard, 2006.
- “Il 1956 ungherese visto attraverso la documentazione diplomatica italiana.” In *La Rivoluzione ungherese del ’56, ovvero il trionfo di una sconfitta: Atti del convegno “Il trionfo di una sconfitta: Il ’56 ungherese e la sua eco nel mondo,” Trieste, marzo–maggio 2006*, edited by Gizella Németh and Adriano Papo, 113–131. Udine: Edizioni della Laguna, 2006.
- “Il Patriarcato di Costantinopoli, la Chiesa ortodossa greca e il Regno di Grecia.” In *Dopo l’Impero Ottomano: Stati-nazioni e comunità religiose*, edited by Anna Baldinetti and Armando Pitasso, 41–55. Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 2006.
- “La crisi del 1909 in Grecia e la prima ascesa al potere di Venizelos vista dalle fonti diplomatiche italiane.” In *La Sicilia, il Mediterraneo, i Balcani: Storia, culture, lingue, popoli/La Sicile, la Méditerranée, les Balkans: Histoire, culture, langues, peuples: Atti della Giornata di Studio Palermo 7–9 settembre 2006*, edited by Matteo Mandalà, 107–121. Palermo: A. C. Mirror, 2006.
- “La Destruction des élites roumaines.” In *Le Communisme et les élites en Europe centrale: Destructures, mutations, conversions*, edited by Nicolas Bauquet and François Bocholier, foreword by François Fejtő, afterword by Pierre Kende, 121–131. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2006.

- “La Droite radicale roumaine et l’Italie dans les années Trente.” In *La Périphérie du fascisme: Spécification d’un modèle fasciste au sein de sociétés agraires: Le cas de l’Europe centrale entre les deux guerres*, edited by Catherine Horel, Traian Sandu, and Fritz Taubert, 79–90. Paris: L’Harmattan, 2006.
- “Mazzini e il problema delle nazionalità con particolare riguardo all’Europa orientale.” In *Le lotte secolari di italiani e bulgari per la creazione di uno stato indipendente*, edited by Nikolai Mandazhiev, 299–321. Sofia: Gutenberg, 2006.
- “Mazzini nella visione dei contemporanei e degli storici del Sud-est europeo.” In *Pensiero e azione: Mazzini nel movimento democratico italiano e internazionale: Atti del LXII Congresso di Storia del Risorgimento italiano (Genova, 8–12 dicembre 2004)*, 505–513. Rome: Istituto per la storia del Risorgimento italiano, 2006.
- “Risorgimento italien et Risorgimento balkanique.” *La Renaissance dans le Sud-est européen: Bulletin de l’AIESEE* (Bucharest) (2006): 1–12.
- “Federal Projects in Interwar Romania: An Overvaulting Ambition?” In *Pour la paix en Europe: Institutions et société civile dans l’entre-deux-guerres/For Peace in Europe: Institutions and Civil Society between the World Wars*, edited by Marta Petricoli and Donatella Cherubini, 229–258. Brussels: P.I.E. Peter Lang, 2007.
- “Independence and National Unity in Italy and in Greece (1864–1897).” In *Ausdrucksformen des europäischen und internationalen Philhellenismus vom 17.–19. Jahrhundert*, edited by Evangelos Konstantinou, 191–197. Frankfurt am Main etc.: Peter Lang, 2007.
- “La Rivoluzione del 1905 e la diplomazia occidentale.” In *1905: L’altra rivoluzione russa: Atti del Convegno “La Rivoluzione russa del 1905 ed i suoi echi in Italia e nel mondo,” Porcari (Lucca), 24–26 novembre 2005*, edited by Giulia Lami, 163–176. Milan: CUEM, 2007.
- “L’Europa centro-orientale dai Risorgimenti tardivi all’integrazione europea.” In *Dalla Giovine Europa alla Grande Europa*, edited by Francesco Guida, 207–214. Rome: Carocci, 2007.
- “L’immagine dei romeni in Italia in epoca contemporanea: Piccola antologia.” *Rivista italiana di comunicazione pubblica* (Milan) 9, 31 (2007): 131–139.
- “Realism, Idealism, and Passion in Margaret Fuller’s Response to Italy.” In *Margaret Fuller Transatlantic Crossing in a Revolutionary Age*, edited by Charles Capper and Cristina Giorcelli, foreword by Lester K. Little, 156–171. Madison: Wisconsin University Press, 2007.
- “Un federalismo impossibile e tragico.” In *Dayton dieci anni dopo: Guerra e pace nella ex Jugoslavia*, edited by Francesco Guida, 9–17. Rome: Carocci, 2007.
- “Vico Mantegazza.” In *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 69, 177–181. Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 2007.
- “Diplomatici e ambasciatori.” In *Fare l’Italia: Unità e disunità nel Risorgimento*, edited by Mario Isnenghi and Eva Cecchinato, 219–225. Turin: Utet, 2008.
- Foreword to Stevka Šmitran, *Gli uscocchi: Pirati, ribelli, guerrieri tra gli imperi ottomano e asburgico e la Repubblica di Venezia*, XV–XVII. Padua: Marsilio, 2008.
- “Identità nazionale e progetti federali in Romania tra le due guerre mondiali.” In *Ricerca di identità, ricerca di modernità: Il Sud-est europeo tra il XVIII e il XX secolo*,

- edited by Emanuele Costantini and Armando Pitassio, 185–226. Perugia: Morlacchi, 2008.
- “Il blocco sovietico negli anni sessanta.” In *Era sbocciata la libertà? A quaranta anni dalla Primavera di Praga (1968–2008)*, edited by Francesco Guida, 11–23. Rome: Carocci, 2008.
- “Iuliu Maniu tra federalismo e nazionalismo nella Grande Romania.” *Quaderni della Casa Romena di Venezia* 5 (2008): 157–168.
- “Non esiste la storia, ma le storie.” Interview realized by Ioan Bolovan. *Transylvanian Review* 17, 4 (2008): 96–101.
- “Romania e Italia dalla pace di Bucarest alla vigilia della Conferenza della pace (I).” *Transylvanian Review* 17, 4 (2008): 102–121.
- “The Greek Political World at the Beginning of XX Century Seen by the Italians.” In *Das Bild Griechenlands im Spiegel der Völker (17. bis 18. Jahrhundert)*, edited by Evangelos Konstantinou, 133–142. Frankfurt am Main etc.: Peter Lang, 2008.
- “Une brèche dans le rideau de fer: Le cinéma italien dans les pays du bloc soviétique.” In *Culture et guerre froide*, edited by Jean-François Sirinelli and Georges-Henri Soutou, 201–216. Paris, PUPS, 2008.
- “Balcani: Il passato che non passa.” In *L’architettura di sicurezza europea: Ruolo attuale e futuro dell’OSCE*, 64–71. Rome: Camera dei deputati, 2009. English edition: 151–158.
- “Giuseppe Mazzini ou le Romantisme politique.” In *Les Romantismes politiques en Europe*, edited by Gérard Raulet, 361–373. Paris: Éditions de la Maison des Sciences de l’homme, 2009.
- “Il mare e Garibaldi visti dai Carpazi e dai Balcani.” In *Garibaldi, orizzonti mediterranei*, edited by Annita Garibaldi Jallet and Anna Maria Lazzarino Del Grosso, 271–281. La Maddalena: Paolo Sorba, 2009.
- “L’emigrazione balcanica in età contemporanea.” *România Orientale* 22 (2009): 35–43.
- “Romania e Italia dalla pace di Bucarest alla vigilia della Conferenza della pace (II).” *Transylvanian Review* 18, 1 (2009): 108–132.
- Afterword to Richard J. Crampton, *Bulgaria, crocevia di culture*, 283–290. Trieste: Beit, 2010.
- “Al ‘servizio’ della democrazia: Nicolae Petrescu Comnen e la Repubblica dei Consigli.” In *La fine della Grande Ungheria: Fra rivoluzione e reazione (1918–1920)*, edited by Alberto Basciani and Roberto Ruspanti, 183–196. Trieste: Beit, 2010.
- “Angelo Tamborra.” In *Giuseppe Garibaldi: Due secoli di interpretazioni*, edited by Lauro Rossi, 392–394. Rome: Gangemi, 2010.
- “I Balcani al sorgere del XX secolo: Situazione interna e contesto internazionale.” In *Balcani 1908: Alle origini di un secolo di conflitti*, edited by Alberto Basciani and Antonio D’Alessandri, 11–19, 177–181. Trieste: Beit, 2010.
- “L’Ellenismòs dai Carpazi al Mediterraneo e il volontarismo garibaldino.” In *Mazzini compagno di vita: Studi storici dedicati a Giuliana Limiti per il suo ottantesimo compleanno*, edited by Mario Di Napoli and Giuseppe Monsagrati, 101–111. Pisa: Domus Mazziniana, 2010.

- “Lucrețiu Pătrășcanu, la principale victime delle ‘purghe’ nella Romania comunista: Una rivisitazione.” In *Intellettuuali versus democrazia: I regimi autoritari nell’Europa sud-orientale (1933–1953)*, edited by Francesco Guida, 381–439. Rome: Carocci, 2010.
- “Un abbraccio ininterrotto: Aleksandr Herzen e l’Italia.” Foreword to Carmen Scocozza, *Aleksandr Herzen e il Risorgimento italiano*, 9–13. Milan–Udine: Mimesis, 2010.
- “Romania and Europe: Image and Reality.” *Revue AIESEE* 40–44 (2010–2014): 226–237.
- “Affinità cronologiche e diversità socio-politiche nella formazione degli Stati nazionali romeno e italiano.” In *Unità nazionale e modernità nel Risorgimento italiano e romeno: Atti del convegno internazionale in occasione dei 150 anni dell’Unità d’Italia (Bistrița, 10–12 dicembre 2010)*, edited by Ion Cârja, 65–79. Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2011.
- “Alla storia, attraverso la letteratura.” *România Orientale* 24 (2011): 59–62.
- “Aspettando ancora l’Europa.” In *Dopo la pioggia: Gli stati della ex Jugoslavia e l’Albania (1991–2011)*, edited by Antonio D’Alessandri and Armando Pitassio, 523–526. Lecce: Argo, 2011.
- “Giuseppe Mazzini e l’Europa orientale.” In *Il mazzinianesimo nel mondo*, vol. 4, edited by Giuliana Limiti, 121–145. Pisa: Istituto Domus mazziniana, 2011 (suppl. of *Bollettino della Domus mazziniana di Pisa*).
- “Il regno di re Zog visto dalla documentazione diplomatica italiana (1935–1936).” In *Monarkia Shqiptare 1928–1939: Përmbledhje studimesh*, edited by Marenghen Verli and Beqir Meta, 105–119. Tirana: Botimet Toena, 2011.
- “L’Émigration balkanique à l’époque contemporaine.” In *Actes: L’homme et son environnement dans le Sud-Est européen: X^e Congrès de l’Association Internationale du Sud-Est européen (AIESEE), Paris, 24–26 septembre 2009*, 111–120. Paris: Éditions de l’Association Pierre Belon, 2011.
- “Le relazioni politiche tra Romania e Italia in età contemporanea.” In *Un secol de italianistică la București*, edited by Doina Condrea Derer and Hanibal Stănculescu, vol. 2, *O catedră centenară*, 12–23. Bucharest: Editura Universității din București, 2011.
- “L’Unificazione italiana e il risorgimento delle nazioni del Sud-est europeo.” In *Italia e Romania verso l’Unità nazionale: Convegno di studi in occasione del 150° anniversario dell’Unità d’Italia 16–17 giugno 2011 Università di Bucarest*, edited by Francesco Guida, 9–21. Bucharest: Humanitas, 2011.
- “Marco Antonio Canini et l’ethnogenèse du peuple roumain.” In *Ouest-Est: Dynamiques centre-périphérie entre les deux moitiés du continent: Des regards interdisciplinaires: Travaux de l’université d’été de Pécs, 24–29 août 2009*, edited by Patrick Renaud, Judit Maár, and Traian Sandu, 137–150. Paris: L’Harmattan, 2011.
- “Nations and Nation States in Danubian/Balkan Europe (19th–21st Centuries): From the Periphery to the European Regional Space.” In *Ouest-Est: Dynamiques centre-périphérie entre les deux moitiés du continent: Des regards interdisciplinaires: Travaux de l’université d’été de Pécs, 24–29 août 2009*, edited by Patrick Renaud, Judit Maár, and Traian Sandu, 83–101. Paris: L’Harmattan, 2011 (with Eric Terzuolo).
- “Une importante source italienne sur l’Empire ottoman et la guerre de la Crimée: Marco Antonio Canini.” In *The Crimean War 1853–1856: Colonial Skirmish or Rehearsal*

- for *World War? Empires, Nations, and Individuals*, edited by Jerzy W. Borejsza, 425–457. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Neriton, Instytut Historii PAN, 2011.
- “Un eveniment european.” *Magazin istoric* (Bucharest) 45, 7 (2011): 15–18.
- “Vico Mantegazza, l’Italie et la crise bosniaque.” In *1908, l’annexion de la Bosnie-Herzégovine, cent ans après*, edited by Catherine Horel, foreword by Robert Frank and Catherine Horel, 91–99. Brussels etc.: Peter Lang, 2011.
- “Un gesuita nell’altra Europa: La Livonia di Antonio Possevino (1582–1585).” *Atti e memorie* (Mantua), new ser., 79–80 (2011–2012): 223–260.
- “Balgariya ot Batenberg do Stambolov: italiyanskata gledna tochka.” In *Italiya, Balgariya i Balkanite 1870–1919*, edited by Aleksandur Kostov and Petka Danova, 45–58. Sofia: Gutenberg, 2012. Also: “La Bulgaria da Battenberg a Stambolov: Documentazione italiana.” *Études balkaniques* 48, 2–3 (2012): 45–61.
- “Gli italo-albanesi e il garibaldinismo dinanzi alla questione albanese all’inizio del Novecento (1900–1906).” In *Centenario dell’indipendenza dell’Albania 1912–2012: L’influenza delle relazioni con l’Italia sulla nascita della coscienza nazionale albanese*, edited by Alfonso Ricca, special issue of *Il Veltro* 56, 3–6 (2012): 41–60.
- “Passato e presente dei rapporti italo-romeni.” In *Orizzonti culturali italo-romeni: Prospettive ed esperienze/Orizonturi culturale italo-române: Perspective și experiențe*, edited by Afrodita Carmen Cionchin, 45–49. Timișoara: Brumar, 2012.
- “Rapporti tra romeni e italiani nel Risorgimento.” In *Errico Amante e il figlio Bruto in rapporto al Risorgimento italiano e romeno: Atti del Convegno Nazionale di Studi: Fondi, Castello Caetani, 30 marzo 2012*, 85–100. Formia: Graficart, 2012.
- “Risorgimento italiano e Risorgimento balcanico: Una nuova sintesi.” In *150 anni dall’Unità d’Italia: Rileggere il Risorgimento tra storia e cultura*, edited by Fulvio Salimbeni, 109–133, Udine: Forum, 2012.
- “Il regno di re Zog visto dalla documentazione diplomatica italiana (1935–1936).” In *Italia, Albania, Arbëreshë fra le due guerre mondiali: Atti del Convegno di Mezzojuso, 28 novembre 2010*, edited by Francesco Leoncini, 107–119. Palermo: Vito Scalia Pitti, 2013.
- “La Duplice Monarchia, un possibile modello per l’Europa?” In *Storia, letteratura, cultura dei popoli del Regno d’Ungheria all’epoca della Monarchia austro-ungarica (1867–1918)*, edited by Roberto Ruspanti, 3–14. Alessandria: Edizioni dell’Orso, 2013.
- “L’Europa divisa in due blocchi e i chierici vaganti: L’Ungheria da cui Márai fuggì.” In *Sándor Márai e Napoli: Atti del Convegno Internazionale Napoli 15–16 novembre 2010, Università degli Studi di Napoli–L’Orientale*, edited by Amadeo Di Francesco and Judit Papp, 25–33. Naples: M. D’Auria, 2013.
- “L’idea di una Romania europea.” *Il Mulino* 62, 4 (2013): 650–657.
- “Nations et États nationaux dans l’Europe danubienne-balkanique (XIX^e–XXI^e siècles): Des périphéries à l’espace régional européen.” In *Le Clivage centre/périphérie dans une approche interdisciplinaire*, edited by Judit Maár and Julia Nyikos, 115–118. Paris: L’Harmattan, 2013.
- “Războiul de independență română în opinia publică și în corespondențele de război italiene.” *Revista istorică* (Bucharest) 24, 3–4 (2013): 259–267.

- “Un sistema riformabile? L’Ungheria tra lo stalinista Rákosi e il riformista Nagy (1953–1955).” *Storia & Diplomazia: Rassegna dell’Archivio Storico del Ministero degli Affari Esteri* (Rome) 1, 1 (2013): 29–40.
- “Il secondo Risorgimento ellenico (1864–1897): Riflessioni sulla storia greca dall’annessione dell’Eptaneso alla guerra greco-turca.” In *Per Rita Tolomeo, scritti di amici sulla Dalmazia e l’Europa centro-orientale*, vol. 1, edited by Ester Capuzzo, Bruno Crevato-Selvaggi, and Francesco Guida, 77–99. Venice: La Musa Talia, 2014.
- “La Bulgaria di Luigi Saporito: La testimonianza di un uomo commune.” *Études balkaniques* 50, 2 (2014): 141–155.
- “Les Italo-Albanais et les questions balkaniques des premières années du XX^e siècle aux guerres de 1912–1913.” In *Les Guerres balkaniques 1912–1913: Conflits, enjeux, mémoires*, edited by Catherine Horel, 77–84. Brussels etc.: Peter Lang, 2014.
- “Modernizzazione conservatrice: La Russia ai tempi dell’Unificazione italiana.” In *Nazionalizzazione e modernità: Italia, Europa e Stati Uniti (1861–1901)*, edited by Tiziano Bonazzi, Daniele Fiorentino, and Annunziata Nobile, foreword by Daniele Fiorentino, 203–215. Rome: Aracne, 2014.
- “Războiul de independență—ecouri italiene.” *Magazin istoric* 48, 5 (2014): 19–22.
- “Regimi autoritari e antisemitismo nell’Europa centro-orientale (1933–1944).” In *Giorgio Perlasca e Raoul Wallenberg, ricordando*, edited by Cinzia Franchi, foreword by Francesco Guida, 73–85. Rome: Aracne, 2014.
- “The Italian Risorgimento and Southeast Europe (1848–1870).” In *Italy’s Balkan Strategies (19th–20th Century)*, edited by Vojislav G. Pavlović, 11–27, Belgrade: Institute for Balkan Studies of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, 2014.
- “Una grande guerra per divenire un grande Paese.” In *I romeni e la Grande Guerra 1914–2014: Mostra foto-documentaria in occasione del centenario della Grande Guerra*, edited by Rudolf Dinu et al., 15–24. Bucharest: Institutul Cultural Român, 2014.
- Foreword to Rudolf Dinu, *L’avamposto sul Danubio della Triplice alleanza: Diplomazia e politica di sicurezza nella Romania di Carlo I (1878–1914)*. Rome: Aracne, 2015.
- “Il volontariato militare nei Risorgimenti nazionali: Le lotte di liberazione nel Sud-est europeo.” In *Edhe 100! Studime: Në nderim të Prof. Francesco Altmarit me rastin e 60-vjetorit të lindjes/Studi: In onore del Prof. Francesco Altmarit in occasione del 60° compleanno*, edited by Bardhyl Demiraj, Matteo Mandalà, and Shaban Sinani, 251–258. Tiranna: Albpaper, 2015.
- “La Grecia tra guerra e scisma nazionale.” In *La Grande guerra e l’Europa danubiano-balcanica*, edited by Francesco Guida, special issue of *Il Veltro* 59, 1–6 (2015): 169–185.
- “Le minoranze nazionali nella storia d’Europa: Una riflessione su due case study del Sud-est.” In *L’Europa e il suo Sud-est: Percorsi di ricerca: Contributi italiani all’XI° Congresso Internazionale dell’Association Internationale d’Études du Sud-est Européen*, Sofia, 31 agosto–4 settembre 2015, edited by Antonio D’Alessandri and Francesco Guida, 29–36. Rome: Aracne, 2015.
- “L’irredentismo degli altri popoli: I legionari romeni in Italia.” *Atti e Memorie della Società Dalmata di Storia Patria* (Rome), 3rd ser., 35, 4 (2015): 161–171.

- “Quale incontro tra Ovest ed Est? Interviste con Antonello Biagini, Francesco Guida, Egidio Ivetic e Andrea Pipino.” *AltreStorie* (Trent) 45 (2015).
- “Roma Tre.” In *Le Facoltà di Scienze politiche in Italia*, edited by Roberto Scarciglia, Franca Alacevich, and Francesco Guida, 139–153. Bologna: Il Mulino, 2015 (with Leila Tavi).
- “Democracia, regímenes monárquico-autoritarios y modernización en el Sudeste europeo, en los años veinte y treinta del Novecientos.” In *Las transformaciones de la democracia: Miradas cruzadas entre Europa y América Latina*, edited by Osvaldo Iazzetta and Maria Rosaria Stabili, 125–145. Buenos Aires: Prometeo, 2016.
- “La Bulgaria alla fine del secondo conflitto mondiale e gli albori del regime comunista.” *Études balkaniques* 52, 4 (2016): 581–602.
- “La Grecia nei primi anni del Novecento tra politiche irredentistiche e significative innovazioni.” In *Imperi e nazioni nell’Europa centro-orientale alla vigilia della Prima Guerra Mondiale: Atti del Convegno internazionale, Cluj-Napoca, 21 febbraio 2014*, edited by Ion Cârja, foreword by Andrea Ciampani, 15–26. Rome: Istituto per la storia del Risorgimento; Cluj-Napoca: Argonaut, 2016.
- “L’Ungheria, gli ungheresi e Galeazzo Ciano.” *Öt Kontinens* (Budapest) 14, 2 (2016): 75–86.
- “L’Ungheria nella politica estera italiana, gli anni difficili: 1940–1943.” *Nuova Corvina* (Budapest) 29 (2016): 10–20.
- “La Grande guerra e la Romania: Alcune riflessioni.” *Quaderni della Casa Romena di Venezia* 12 (2017): 7–15.
- “Lettere da Snagov.” In *La Rivoluzione ungherese del 1956 e l’Italia*, edited by András Fejérdy, 103–112. Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 2017.
- “Ungheria e Italia alla fine della Grande guerra, un rapporto ambiguo.” In *All’ombra della Grande Guerra: Incroci fra Italia e Ungheria: Storia, letteratura, cultura, mondo delle idee (1921–1945)*, edited by Roberto Ruspanti and Zoltán Turgonyi, 271–281. Budapest: Centro ricerche di Scienze umanistiche dell’Accademia ungherese delle Scienze, 2017.
- “I Balcani occidentali tra eccesso di storia e problemi politici correnti.” In *Matteo Mandalà dhe albanologjia sot: Në 60-vjetorin e lindjes*, edited by Francesco Altimari, Gëzim Gurga, and Shaban Sinani, 221–229. Tirana: Fast print, 2018.
- “La Grande Guerra: Un incidente di percorso verso l’Unione degli Europei?” *Il Veltro* 62, 1–6 (2018): 67–72.
- “L’Ungheria nel diario di Galeazzo Ciano e l’Europa in fiamme.” In *Tra una guerra e l’altra: Incroci fra Italia e Ungheria: Storia, letteratura, cultura, mondo delle idee (1921–1945)*, edited by Roberto Ruspanti and Zoltán Turgonyi, 211–228. Rome: Centro Interuniversitario di Studi Ungheresi e sull’Europa Centro-Orientale; Budapest: Centro ricerche di Scienze umanistiche dell’Accademia ungherese delle Scienze, 2018.
- “Marea Unire și istoriografia românească în epoca ‘matură’ a regimului communist.” *Analele Științifice ale Universității “Alexandru Ioan Cuza” din Iași*, new ser., *Istorie*, 64 (2018): 643–649.
- “Primul război mondial și o filiera istoriografică italo-română.” In *Lucrările conferinței internaționale România și evenimentele istorice din perioada 1914–1920: Desăvârșirea*

Marii Uniri și întregirea României, edited by Victor Voicu, 43–50. Bucharest: Ed. Academiei Române, 2018.

- “Romania e Italia: Relazioni, scambi e percorsi comuni verso lo spazio europeo.” In *Ștefan Delureanu, un mazzinian român: Articole, Evocări, Restituiri*, edited by Raluca Tomi and Mara Chirițescu, 67–72. Bucharest: Pavesiana, 2018.
- “Un filo-romeno entusiasta e critico, Marco Antonio Canini.” In *Proiecții ale culturii române în cultura europeană*, edited by Emilia David and Loredana Voicilă, 166–179. Bucharest: Ed. Muzeul Literaturii Române, 2018.
- “Crispi e il Sud-Est europeo.” In *Il Sud-est europeo e l’Adriatico: Studi italiani: Contributi al XII Congresso Internazionale dell’Associazione internazionale d’Études du Sud-Est Européen (Bucarest, 2–7 settembre 2019)*, edited by Francesco Guida, 25–33. Rome: Aracne, 2019.
- “Il comunismo ripensato: Ceaușescu, il regime romeno e la storiografia italiana.” *Transylvanian Review* 28, 4 (2019): 38–49.
- “Gli echi delle rivoluzioni russe del 1917 in Bulgaria.” In *La lunga guerra: I Balcani e il Caucaso tra conflitto mondiale e conflitti locali (1912–1923)*, edited by Lucio Valent, 169–176. Milan: FrancoAngeli, 2020.
- “Italy in the Great War As Seen by Greece.” In *The Great War: An European Commitment of Research and Reflection*, edited by Andrea Ciampani and Romano Ugolini, 457–480. Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 2020.
- “L’esperienza della democrazia popolare in Ungheria e i diplomatici italiani.” In *Italia e Ungheria tra pace e guerra fredda (1945–1955)*, edited by Francesco Guida and Zoltán Turgonyi, 21–39. Budapest: Centro Ricerche di Scienze Umanistiche, 2020.
- “Segnali di guerra fredda: La diplomazia italiana a Sofia nel primissimo dopoguerra tra modelli costituzionali e produzioni cinematografiche.” In *140 anni di relazioni fra Italia e Bulgaria: Diplomazia, Economia, Cultura (1879–2019)*, edited by Stefano Baldi and Alexandre Kostov, 187–206. Sofia: Tendril, 2020.
- “The Great War: Success and Failure.” In *World War I and the Birth of a New World Order: The End of an Era*, edited by Ioan Bolovan and Oana Mihaela Tămaș, 310–319. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2020.

TRANSILVANICA

Past Epidemics in Transylvania (1830–1918) and Their Lessons for the Current Challenges

DANIELA MÂRZA

“Epidemic diseases deserve attention because their history is far from over.”
(Frank M. Snowden)

THE EVENTS of 2020 have brought to our attention, more than ever, the epidemics of the past. Confronted with a threat of staggering magnitude such as the Covid-19 pandemic, for which there are no references in the immediate experience, the various specialists, along with ordinary people, have sought knowledge in the realities of past epidemics. In this context, I turned my attention to the infectious diseases that plagued Transylvania in modern era, to see to what extent the existing information is useful in today’s circumstances. I also aimed to underline those research directions that, if followed, would provide valuable tools allowing us to better understand the social, economic, demographic, and psychological implications of a pandemic.

Daniela Mârza

Senior researcher at the Center for Transylvanian Studies of the Romanian Academy, Cluj-Napoca.

This research was funded by the grant GAR-UM-2019-II-2.9-11, with the financial support of the Romanian Academy, through the Recurrent Donors Fund, managed by the Patrimoniu Foundation.

“Epidemic diseases deserve attention because their history is far from over,” wrote in 2019 Frank M. Snowden, professor emeritus at Yale and a well-known historian of medicine.¹ Indeed, epidemics are a constant presence in human history, able to create serious disruptions in society. They cause loss of life and material damage and radically change the ways of thinking. Epidemic episodes are events with many actors: state authorities, doctors, and ordinary people. Amid the measures taken to prevent the spread of the disease, treatments, measures to limit the economic impact and so on, ordinary people try to find meaning in the events they live, often using the available knowledge about similar events in the past. This has become visible during the current Covid-19 pandemic, when we are witnessing a growing tendency to find answers to present anxieties in the knowledge of past epidemics. There are already studies that investigate and confirm this trend. Such an example is an article analyzing the references to past epidemics in the Flemish news media during the Covid-19 pandemic, which shows that in times of crisis for which there are no references in immediate memory, it is a very common trend to seek information in similar events in the past.² Another example is a paper by Barro et al.³ aiming to estimate the effects of Covid-19 based on available data on the 1918–1919 influenza pandemic. This trend once again highlights the pedagogical value of history, showing how past epidemics, especially when analyzed comparatively, can provide useful information to better deal with current or future epidemics.⁴ A good such an example is a study signed by Chan et al. (2013) in which mathematical models are used to reconstruct the spread of the disease in some cities in Europe and America during the cholera pandemic of 1826–1832. The acquired data are considered relevant for the spread of cholera outbreaks nowadays.⁵

Past epidemics are generally studied as a part of the history of medicine. Most of the related papers focus on causes, ways of spreading, symptoms, number of victims, measures taken by governments, or treatments. Among the topics investigated especially in recent years, there are, for example, the efforts of the state authorities to impose vaccination as a method to combat diphtheria,⁶ the contribution of women from the social elite to the acceptance of the smallpox vaccine by the people,⁷ the huge number of victims during the “Spanish flu” pandemic,⁸ the social violence caused by the losses, frustrations and fears during epidemics,⁹ the factors that hinder the measures taken to combat the effects of epidemics,¹⁰ or the establishment of sanitary cordons as a measure to prevent epidemics in the 19th century.¹¹ The centenary of the “Spanish flu” pandemic has also generated numerous books and articles, bringing attention, more than usual, to the issue of epidemics.¹² Researchers are aware, however, that reconstructing all dimensions of past epidemics is a difficult task, hampered by a number of factors: the lack of accurate statistics, misdiagnoses, the incomplete information about treatments or vaccines, etc.¹³

One aspect of epidemics less researched in these studies is how ordinary people relate to epidemic outbreaks: their attitude towards the disease, towards the measures taken by the government, and how they integrate these traumatic events into their daily lives. An epidemic is both an objective reality and a social construct. Its objective aspects and the beliefs about it are equally important.¹⁴ The tragedies, the hardships people go through during epidemics can divide a society, can lead to outbursts of violence and hatred, or on the contrary, can engender solidarity and compassion.¹⁵ Furthermore, the way in which a disease is perceived by the population, the government and the doctors can greatly determine the evolution of an epidemic. The knowledge about the perception and attitudes towards the disease of those affected is as important as that about symptoms, routes of transmission, or number of victims.¹⁶ People behave differently when they believe an epidemic to be a divine punishment, the result of criminal acts, or of the forces of nature. Even the best measures taken against an epidemic have only limited effects if the population refuses to comply; even the most effective of the vaccines are useless if rejected by the population.

TRANSYLVANIA, a Romanian historical province which was part of Hungary until 1918, was not sheltered from epidemics. The timeframe we are referring to begins with the cholera pandemic of 1830–1832 and ends with the “Spanish flu” pandemic of 1918–1920. During this period, there were many epidemic outbreaks of infectious diseases: cholera, smallpox, diphtheria, whooping cough, scarlet fever, granular conjunctivitis, tuberculosis, syphilis, and measles. Some episodes affected the entire province (such as the cholera epidemics of 1831–1832, 1836, 1848, 1855, 1866, 1872–1873), others only certain regions. There are no overall data on the number of illnesses and deaths due to infectious diseases; their percentage of the total deaths seems to have been significant, though: according to official statistics for 1901–1910, at least a quarter of all deaths were due to infectious diseases.¹⁷

Most of the studies on these issues refer to practical matters such as the number of illnesses and deaths, the measures taken by the government, regulations to prevent the transmission of diseases, and treatment prescriptions. They are also limited to only one specific disease of those that afflicted Transylvania during this period, to a specific region, or a short period of time. Such a paper details the efforts of the government to fight the smallpox epidemics in Bistrița area, recounting the refusal of people to vaccinate their children, due to their fear and distrust of doctors.¹⁸ Another paper analyzes the cholera and measles epidemics in the Satu Mare area in relation to poor hygiene conditions, favorable to diseases; it shows a rural world stricken by poverty, where peasants were distrustful of doctors, resorting instead to medicinal plants or to magical practices such as

curses and enchantments.¹⁹ The press had an important contribution in spreading the information about the measures against diseases, conveying regulations issued by the government and various information concerning the symptoms and treatment.²⁰ This was the case even during the “Spanish flu” pandemic, when the press was heavily censored because of the war.²¹

The demographic impact of epidemics has also come to the attention of historians. The biggest difficulty faced by demographic analysis is data quality: the official statistics are often incomplete or inaccurate; until 1895 the centralized reports, aggregated from data issued by local authorities, were especially lacking; people who registered the cause of death often did not have the necessary training; the cause of death was seldom determined by a doctor; only after the reform of the administration in 1895 did these data become more accurate.²² These shortcomings also affect the parish registers, one of the most important sources for historical demography. The deaths were recorded by priests who lacked medical training. Especially in poor rural areas, the causes of death were rarely determined by a doctor. Often the death caused by infectious disease was recorded as “common” or “natural” (vs. accidental death or homicide); there are also notable differences, in some localities, between the ways in which priests of different denominations recorded the cause of death: some noted “natural,” others mentioned the correct name of the disease; sometimes the cause of death was mentioned only by the symptoms (colic, fever). All these situations make it difficult to know, in some localities, the real magnitude of epidemic episodes.²³ The demographic aspect cannot be ignored in any analysis regarding epidemics: they impacted the mortality, marriage and birth rates, increasing the number of widows and of marriages involving widowed spouses.²⁴

Despite the numerous studies on the epidemics that affected Transylvania during the aforementioned period, there is still no in-depth investigation into how people related to the waves of contagious diseases and how they affected their daily lives. The people’s ideas, perceptions and beliefs are often only mentioned, without any further explanations.

The experience of the current Covid-19 pandemic has underlined, however, the importance of these attitudes, justifying their in-depth investigation, in several directions: the people’s representation of epidemics, how they were perceived, explained, integrated into daily life, in all their aspects (causes, methods of transmission, symptoms, treatments, attitude towards doctors, towards the state authorities, etc.); the demographic behaviors and aspects affected by epidemics: how soon and how often the lives lost were “compensated for” by the afflicted families (remarriage of widows and widowers, new births in families who lost children to epidemics); the correlation between contagion and social networks (extended family, godparents), the existence of mortality clusters in

some families etc. This project will be an interdisciplinary research, with tools and methods from history, social history, historical demography, cultural history, sociology, and digital humanities.

An in-depth analysis should consider the following hypothesis: although some behaviors and attitudes toward epidemics are specific to this particular time and place, others are a constant occurrence over the decades, despite the progress in education and living standards. We intend to find explanations for these behaviors and attitudes, to contribute to a better understanding of the mechanisms behind them, and to address thusly some of the challenges of the present. We consider such an approach useful and necessary, because today's society has discovered that, despite the progress of civilization, it remains vulnerable to epidemics to an extent that until recently has seemed unimaginable.

The main difficulty is posed by the disparities in data quality; as shown above, statistical data are often inaccurate, especially concerning the first part of the aforementioned period. For this interval, the researchers have to rely mainly on archival sources; for the second half of the 20th century, the sources are much more generous (newspapers, health-related specialized literature, brochures etc.).

In order to better understand the economic and demographic impact of diseases, it is necessary to piece together the general statistical aspects of epidemics in Transylvania during the modern era. The statistical framework regarding the morbidity and mortality due to infectious diseases is indispensable to any investigation of people's behavior during an epidemic. These data are available, fragmentarily and unequally, in various categories of sources, but to our knowledge there is still no study to centralize them for the entire Transylvania in the aforementioned period. Such research would provide for the first time a numerical overview of the morbidity and mortality caused by infectious diseases in Transylvania during this timeframe.

Another possible interesting direction of investigation concerns the demographic behavior during epidemics in Transylvania. This should analyze how epidemics influenced private events such as marriage or the birth of children; also whether the transmission of diseases overlapped with family and social networks or with certain nuclei of mortality, as an indication that certain attitudes and decisions specific to some families or groups favored the spread of the disease.

The data for this analysis will be provided mainly by the Historical Population Database of Transylvania (HPDT). The HPDT was developed at the Center for Population Studies of Babeş-Bolyai University of Cluj (its public interface can be accessed at <http://hpdt.ro:4080/>). The HPDT holds data regarding births, deaths and marriages transcribed from parish registers from various regions of Transylvania, selected according to certain criteria (economic and administrative status, geographical areas, with a population both homogeneous and diverse

ethnically and religiously). So far, the HPDT has acquired data from parish registers from over 30 localities; this process of inputting more data is ongoing.

The perception of people on epidemics (ideas, beliefs, attitudes) is another very important topic for understanding the spreading of diseases and the success, or lack thereof, in fighting against them. Both the elite and ordinary people should be considered. This research would rely mainly on published sources from that period, both Romanian and Hungarian: newspapers, popularizing brochures, memoirs, literature. The following main directions are particularly interesting:

a) The attitude towards doctors and medical assistance during epidemics. Many authors researching this topic are unanimously of the opinion that the ordinary people of Transylvania mistrusted doctors, avoided them and preferred to resort to the village elders or traditional remedies; this attitude is attributed to poverty, superstition and ignorance.²⁵ Some indications, however, suggest a more complex reality. Numerous articles in newspapers display a blatant disrespect towards doctors: one stated that in localities with active doctors, the mortality was higher than in those where people were allowed to heal naturally²⁶; another one mocked the doctors for their claim that an epidemic wave of whooping cough in 1885 had appeared especially in schools where the learning of the Hungarian language had become compulsory²⁷; one accused the doctors of fueling false rumors about epidemics in order to increase their income from medicines and vaccines.²⁸

One possible explanation for this surprisingly persistent and widespread attitude is the low number of available doctors; even where there was a doctor residing within reasonable distance, many people simply could not afford the price of his services and of the prescribed medicine. Under these circumstances, the recommendations made by medical authorities that, in case of suspected contagion, a doctor was to be called without delay, were baseless. The grim reality, as depicted by documents (especially by parish registers) was that many people got sick and died without any professional medical care.

This attitude of people towards doctors certainly influenced the effectiveness of the fight against diseases. During the numerous epidemic episodes, the newspapers published many indications from doctors for the prevention and treatment of infectious diseases. Because many people did not trust doctors and were not used to their services, we can assume that their recommendations had a rather limited impact.

b) The attitude towards vaccination. The vaccine against smallpox was considered by the government to be the best way to prevent the disease, but people were reluctant and often refused to vaccinate their children, because it was painful, caused a mild form of the disease anyway, and posed the risk of transmitting

other diseases, such as syphilis.²⁹ There are numerous articles in the newspapers of that time that explain how the vaccine works, but also articles that lament its negative effects and uselessness. An article from a magazine called *Gura Satului* (The Village Voice)(1872)³⁰ underlines some of the most important objections against vaccination, in a way eerily similar to those formulated today: vaccination is nothing but “medicinal quackery”; through vaccination, a poison is introduced into the body of healthy children, causing diseases such as syphilis or scrofula; the author of this article “knows himself” of a doctor who was vaccinated, and who, in spite of it, become ill with smallpox twice. “As long as I live, I will not subject my children to vaccination,” concluded the author.

c) The attitude towards the epidemic disease itself: for a long time the real causes of infectious diseases had been unknown.³¹ As medicine progressed, the role of microorganisms in the onset of disease gradually became known. However, the press articles and brochures displayed a contrasting reality: along with medical information, many articles consider epidemics to be a divine punishment³² or the consequence of a disorderly lifestyle, with excesses of food, drink and carnal pleasures.³³

d) The attitude towards the measures and regulations imposed by the government. Despite all efforts, people apparently refused to comply with established measures to prevent and limit the spread of the disease: they disregarded the ban on attending funerals in times of epidemics³⁴; the measure imposing the isolation of the sick was not only ignored (it was anyway difficult to implement in overcrowded homes) but sometimes deliberately violated by parents who intentionally took their children to houses with sick people (such as with scarlet fever) in order for them to get the disease and get over it.³⁵

AN EXTENDED analysis of all these attitudes and behaviors would offer an in-depth understanding of the mechanisms behind the people’s representation of epidemics in Transylvania, about life in that time; we would come to understand how the information about diseases was generated and transmitted and who were the actors involved in this process. The persistence of some of these over time makes us wonder, together with some authors,³⁶ if there is “a common dramaturgy to all epidemics,” or certain responses to epidemics common to most affected areas, no matter the timeframe. Such research would likely yield interesting results and conclusions, highly relevant for the current predicament of our society.



Notes

1. Frank M. Snowden, *Epidemics and Society: From the Black Death to the Present* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019).
2. Bram De Ridder, "When the Analogy Breaks: Historical References in Flemish News Media at the Onset of the COVID-19 Pandemic," *Journal of Applied History*, online publication date: 21 Apr. 2020, doi: <https://doi.org/10.1163/25895893-bja10003>.
3. Robert J. Barro, José E. Ursua, and Joanna Weng, "The Coronavirus and the Great Influenza Epidemic—Lessons from the 'Spanish Flu' for the Coronavirus's Potential Effects on Mortality and Economic Activity," *CESifo Working Paper*, no. 8166, Center for Economic Studies and Ifo Institute (CESifo), Munich, March 2020.
4. Howard Phillips, "The Recent Wave of 'Spanish' Flu Historiography," *Social History of Medicine* 27, 4 (2014): 789–808.
5. Christina H. Chan, Ashleigh R. Tuite, and David N. Fisman, "Historical Epidemiology of the Second Cholera Pandemic: Relevance to Present Day Disease Dynamics," *PLoS One* 8, 8 (2013): e72498, doi: 10.1371/journal.pone.0072498.
6. Michael Dwyer, *Strangling Angel: Diphtheria and Childhood Immunization in Ireland* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2018).
7. Helen Esfandiary, "'We Could Not Answer to Ourselves Not Doing It': Maternal Obligations and Knowledge of Smallpox Inoculation in Eighteenth-Century Elite Society," *Historical Research* 92, 258 (2019): 754–770.
8. Anne Budgell, *We All Expected to Die: Spanish Influenza in Labrador, 1918–1919* (St. John's, Canada: ISER Books, 2018).
9. Karine Salomé, "Le Massacre des 'empoisonneurs' à Paris au temps du choléra (1832)," *Revue historique* 673, 1 (2015): 103–124.
10. Tom Dicke, "Waiting for the Flu: Cognitive Inertia and the Spanish Influenza Pandemic of 1918–19," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 70, 2 (2015): 195–217.
11. Pere Salas-Vives and Joana-Maria Pujadas-Mora, "Cordons Sanitaires and the Rationalisation Process in Southern Europe (Nineteenth-Century Majorca)," *Medical History* 62, 3 (2018): 314–332.
12. Michaela E. Nickol and Jason Kindrachuk, "A Year of Terror and a Century of Reflection: Perspectives on the Great Influenza Pandemic of 1918–1919," *BMC Infectious Diseases* 19, 1 (2019): 117.
13. Bernard Brabin, "An Analysis of the United States and United Kingdom Smallpox Epidemics (1901–5)—The Special Relationship That Tested Public Health Strategies for Disease Control," *Medical History* 64, 1 (2020): 1–31.
14. J. N. Hays, *The Burdens of Disease: Epidemics and Human Response in Western History* (New Brunswick–London: Rutgers University Press, 1998).
15. Samuel K. Cohn, "Pandemics: Waves of Disease, Waves of Hate from the Plague of Athens to A.I.D.S.," *Historical Research* 85, 230 (2012): 535–555.
16. Snowden.

17. Traian Rotariu, Maria Semeniuc, and Elemér Mezei, eds., *Mișcarea naturală a populației între 1901–1910: Transilvania*, vol. 2, *Cauze de deces* (Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2005).
18. Floarea Elena Trișcaș, “Epidemics of Smallpox and the Introduction of Vaccines in the Bistrița Region (XVIII–XIX Centuries),” *Procedia: Social and Behavioral Sciences* 92 (2013): 947–952.
19. Paula Virag, “Câteva aspecte privind mortalitatea în comitatul Satu Mare în a doua jumătate a secolului XIX și începutul secolului XX,” *Satu Mare: Studii și comunicări* 28/2 (2012): 55–62.
20. Oana Habor, “Epidemiile, episoade din istoria spațiului transilvănean la sfârșitul secolului al XIX-lea,” *Astra Sabesiensis* 1, 1 (2015): 114–138.
21. Diana Covaci, “Boala spaniolă sau influența rebelă’: Pandemia de gripă din 1918 și imaginea sa în presa din Transilvania,” in *Studii de demografie istorică (secolele XVII–XXI)*, edited by Corneliu Pădurean and Ioan Bolovan (Arad: Gutenberg Univers, 2010), 259–270.
22. Tamás Faragó, “Maramureș and the Cholera (1831–1893),” *Romanian Journal of Population Studies* 2, 1 (2008): 33–66.
23. Vlad Popovici, “Parish Registers from Transylvania—Sources for the History of Medicine (Late 18th–Early 20th Centuries),” *Acta medico-historica Adriatica* 13, 2 (2015): 287–302.
24. Ioan Bolovan, “Aspecte privind impactul demografic și mental al epidemiilor în spațiul ardelean în secolul al XIX-lea,” in *Națiune și europenitate: Studii istorice: In honorem magistri Camilli Mureșanu*, edited by Nicolae Edroiu, Susana Andea, and Șerban Turcuș (Bucharest: Ed. Academiei Române, 2007), 228–241.
25. Ibid.; Faragó; Virag.
26. *Higiiena și școala* (Gherla) 2, 4 (1877): 55.
27. *Calicul* (Sibiu) 5, 12 (1885): 267.
28. *Gazeta Transilvaniei* (Brașov) 70, 224 (1907): 2.
29. Habor; Trișcaș.
30. *Gura satului* (Arad) 12, 51 (1872): 202.
31. Faragó.
32. *Libertatea* (Orăștie) 9, 39 (1910): 3.
33. *Higiiena și școala* 4, 8 (1879): 127; *Unirea* (Blaj) 1, 4 (1891): 30; *Foaia Diecesană* (Caransebeș) 5, 41 (1890): 3.
34. Faragó.
35. “Raportul domnului dr. Dominic Stanca, dir. medic șef al Spitalului de femei din Cluj, despre ancheta sanitară făcută în Poiana Ampoiului din jud. Alba Inferioară (10–22 dec. 1921),” *Sănătatea publică: Buletin oficial al Inspectoratului general al sănătății publice* (Cluj) 1 (1922): 14–18.
36. Terence Ranger and Paul Slack, eds., *Epidemics and Ideas: Essays on the Historical Perception of Pestilence* (Cambridge–New York–Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

Abstract**Past Epidemics in Transylvania (1830–1918)
and Their Lessons for the Current Challenges**

The current Covid-19 pandemic has brought the past epidemics to our attention, as a source of valuable knowledge. This paper reviews the information available on epidemics in Transylvania in the modern era, underlining the need for an extended investigation of the related attitudes and behaviors displayed by the people. This research should follow two directions: the people's representation of epidemics, how these were perceived, explained, integrated into daily life, with all their aspects (causes, methods of transmission, symptoms, treatments, attitudes towards doctors, towards the state authorities etc.); the demographic behaviors and aspects affected by epidemics: how soon and how often the lives lost were "compensated for" by the afflicted families (remarriage of widows and widowers, new births in families who lost children to epidemics); the correlation between contagion and social networks (extended family, godparents), the existence of mortality clusters in some families etc. Such research would provide useful insight into the struggle and resilience of a society plagued by infectious diseases.

Keywords

epidemics, Transylvania, modern era, vaccine, smallpox, cholera, demographic behavior

“Autumn Reschedules” The Student Movement in Cluj at the Start of the Academic Year 1923–1924

MARIA GHITTA



University clinics of Cluj, period photo

WHEN THE Senate of Cluj University had hurriedly, ahead of time and forced by circumstances, let the curtain fall over the previous academic year, it had also left the path open for those students who wished to reschedule the classes and exams they had not attended. “Completion courses” and a “re-examination session” were to be introduced, as decided by the “Faculties’ Councils.”¹

The “reschedules” were decided by each individual faculty. This meant that the rescheduled classes would not all take place at the same time, much to the dissatisfaction of the students’ leader, Ion I. Moța.² At a meeting of the Petru Maior Committee on 1 September 1923, Moța stated the following: “The situation in Cluj is worse than elsewhere because our university authorities have decided that classes should start on different dates, and this tactic does not suit us.” (He was probably referring to the difficulty of upholding the Iași Congress of Delegates’ decision that Romanian students should not attend classes alongside Jews.) Moța appeared to be very well

Maria Ghitta

Researcher at the Center for Transylvanian Studies, Romanian Academy. Co-editor of the vol. **Dilemele conviețuirii: Evrei și neevrei în Europa Central-Răsăriteană/Dilemmes de la cohabitation: Juifs et Non-Juifs en Europe centrale-orientale** (2006).

informed about the first-year medical students' dissections program, which was to be resumed on Monday, 3 September. He was therefore preparing for action:

*On Sunday, at 10 a.m., we will convene the students who are in Cluj, especially the medical students, to an assembly. The students are going to take an oath that they will carry out our decisions, and I think the majority will be on our side. In the next meeting we will set up an activity schedule so that the guys may have something to work on.*³

It becomes clear that the first stage of the work plan was to take place on Monday, at the Faculty of Medicine, which is why a preparatory assembly was convened for Sunday. Subsequently, at a future meeting, the students would receive other assignments that would keep them in activity. The quasi-military terms in which the preparation of the mission is described alternate with terms suggesting a high degree of familiarity (from “take an oath” and “will execute” to “so that the guys may have something to work on”). That is also what the results, described a few days later by the newspapers, looked like: the work of organized thugs.

On the day he made such preparations, Moța addressed himself (in French) to the secretary of the Grand Council of the League of Nations in Geneva, asking him to present to this organization the petition submitted by the General Congress of the Delegations of All Romanian Students, which had taken place in Iași on 22–25 August 1923. He had even adapted his signature: “Jean Motza.”⁴ The problems of “all Romanian students,” on whose behalf he spoke, had to be brought to the attention of the Grand Council of the League of Nations because, he said, the institution had competence in this sphere! The national institutional limit from which a favorable answer could be expected was thus overstepped: the Romanian state, through its government. Hence, the next higher authority from which Moța expected a resolution was the League of Nations. We do not know if the international institution answered him in any way, but years later Moța vehemently reacted against it.⁵ The change in the register adopted by the leader of the Cluj students in one and the same day is astonishing: from staging an act of pure violence to requesting help from a highly respected international organization, to which he sent an entirely legal document, a petition.

The events that took place in the laboratories of the Institute of Anatomy on 3 September, the Monday when dissection work was to resume, were reported by the local newspapers, with small differences in tone and involvement. *Patria* (The Country) tersely described the events as “further scuffles at the University”: “About 30 Jewish students attended the opening classes. At one point, a group of students armed with sticks jumped in and started a hell of a fight, the Jewish students being forced to rush out of the anatomy institute and seek refuge in the

streets, where they were followed by the Christian students.²⁶ As a result, the Police ordered the re-stationing of sergeants at the university's entrances.

Other newspapers provided slightly better-informed reports, based on sources in the student environment and with a more insightful grasp of the students' point of view. *Înfrățirea* (The Brotherhood) knew that the "incident" had followed "in the footsteps of the Iași resolution,"²⁷ and *Clujul* stated that the violent episode was "an implementation"²⁸ of that decision. Specifically, this was the resolution of the congress of delegates, which had laid down the line to be followed that autumn. In addition to continuing the strategy of passive resistance (non-attendance of classes, exams, laboratory works), the "delegates have decided that all students should pursue an active struggle in order to achieve the desired results as quickly as possible."²⁹ Such manifestations were therefore aligned with this new "active" orientation. They were meant to remind the rector (and, most of all, the Jewish community) that "he has not kept his promise to provide corpses for dissections,"³⁰ which is why the "approximately 25 Christian students" had served (as a reminder) "an unparalleled bludgeoning to the Jewish students. The chase continued on the stairs of the clinics and outside, into the Mico and Iorga streets."³¹

The new academic year had not even begun, but the problems that had led to the closure of the previous year had returned. Even the measures aimed at rescheduling some of the courses and exams were now in jeopardy. Faced with new violence and challenges, the university leadership (caught in a kind of interregnum) reacted, trying to save the situation. The preamble of the communiqué announcing the measures described the state of affairs: "I, the vice-rector of the University of Cluj, in the absence of the University Senate and motivated by the pressing circumstances, decide the following . . ." ³² The first point of this communiqué reinforced the prohibition to disturb the peaceful conduct of academic activity and reiterated that the guilty parties would be brought to justice. The second point noted that the leader of the turbulent group that had caused the disorder "was a former student, expelled from all Universities, who signs his name as President of the Student Center in Cluj, Mr. Ion I. Moța; we therefore find that the student center has infringed university regulations."³³ Consequently, it was decided that "the Petru Maior Student Center shall be immediately dissolved and the doors of the rooms assigned to it shall be sealed shut."³⁴ Any document subsequently issued by the center was to be sent to the Prosecutor's Office. The communiqué was signed by Vice-Rector Dimitrie Călugăreanu, representative of the Faculty of Sciences.

In the meantime, a notice posted at the Faculty of Medicine required that Jewish students should be provided with corpses for dissection by 15 September, as the Jewish community had previously pledged to do.³⁵ Otherwise, those students would no longer be entitled to participate in dissections.

It all seemed like a return in time, to the situation of almost one year before. The problem of the bodies for dissection, the soul-body relationship in the afterlife and its reflection in the two religions (Christianity/East-European Judaism)—all those issues were brought back into question, alongside the accusation that the university and the Jewish community in the city had not kept their promises. The difference was that what had been a spontaneous outburst the previous year was now a premeditated, organized action, with a history behind it.

The day after the violent attacks at the Institute of Anatomy, which had wrecked the laboratories and had driven out the Jewish students, Moța wrote to the rector for the first time since his expulsion, signing as “President of the Petru Maior Student Center.”¹⁶ (The same text, with a changed title, was addressed “To The Minister of Public Instruction, Bucharest.”)¹⁷ Another letter to the rector, dated on the same day of 4 September, demanded answers to older petitions and was signed, just like before (in May–August), by “substitutes”: Emil Pascu, “p. president,” and, more recently, Corneliu Georgescu, “p. secretary general.”¹⁸ The letter to the rector aimed to describe, in its own terms, a state of fact: “The kikes have (again!) been made to dissect Christian corpses, as if this issue had not been resolved last year, both through the solemn promise of the Minister of Instruction and through the repeated commitments made by Vice-Rector Iacobovici (the then rector).”¹⁹ The severe reproach that the authorities had failed to keep their promise was accompanied by a similar protest:

*These commitments have been broken, the victory we had won—on the matter of the corpses—has been stolen from us, without any reason or justification. I therefore wish to protest desperately, Mr. Rector, against this failure to execute a formal commitment, a non-execution that terrifies us with its deep moral significance. Mr. Rector, whom can we, students, trust, if we can no longer trust our Minister and our Rector?*²⁰

nr 180/4 Sept. 1923.

5 Sale
Bucuresti Rector al Universitatii
Cluj

Formule Rector,

La 3 Sept. a. c. deschizându-se Institutul de Anatomie, studenții jidani au fost puși (din nou!) să diseca pe cadavre creștinești, ca și cum această chestiune nu ar fi fost rezolvată încă din anul trecut atât prin promisiunea solemnă a Ministerului Instruc. Publice, cât și prin repetatele angajamente făcute de dl. prorector Iacobovici (pe atunci rector) care a spus în repetite rânduri în ședințele plenary ale Consiliului nostru: „Dece înveți aduce cadavre atunci diseca; degeț nu aduce, atunci nu diseci”, garantând cu conștientul și autoritatea școlii seriozitatea acestor angajamente. Nimeni nu se gândea atunci

Scrap paper register, Lucian Blaga Central University Library of Cluj-Napoca, Petru Maior coll., Ms. 5851, no. 180, 4 September 1923.

The pejorative slur “kikes,” the pathetic tone, the accusation of lack of morality, terms such as “despair,” “terrifies us” showed that Moța had set all caution aside in this ultimately official context in which, as a student, he addressed himself to an academic authority. Moreover, he did not end his letter without slipping in a threat that he would no longer be held “accountable” for his future deeds: “Mr. Rector, please receive our word of warning for what is to come. For pressure will always (sooner or later) give rise to a reaction: the heavier the pressure, the stronger the reaction. And the burden on our souls is very heavy, Mr. Rector.”²¹

Moreover, as one who assumed no responsibility for the situation that had emerged and for what had happened (on 3 September, at the Institute of Anatomy, for example), Moța wrote to Vice-Rector Călugăreanu, who had decided to dissolve the Petru Maior Center and seal off the premises it had occupied in the University.

*We hereby protest, Mr. Vice-Rector, with inexpressible feelings, against this act You have committed, which is the second abolition, this year, of our Center. After a lucid legal inquiry into the situation, we hereby ascertain that this act is illegal, a conclusion substantiated by so much evidence that, under the norms of the criminal code, we are entitled to consider that the attack perpetrated against us by sealing and locking our headquarters amounted to a home invasion and we shall accordingly act in self-defense.*²²

The vehement protest, in contrast to the “lucid legal inquiry” and its findings (the “home invasion” that the university had allegedly committed on its own premises!), was meant to cover future actions (premeditated, after all), such as the breaking of those seals and the theft of some documents.²³ The letter to the vice-rector was intended as a quick lesson in law coming from a specialist (a would-be specialist, since the sender was just a law student). After explaining why his act was “illegal” (based on articles from the university regulations), Moța applied the coup de grace to the vice-rector. “It is based on wrong premises”: “that I am allegedly not a student and president of the Center, and yet I have been tolerated at the helm of the Center.”²⁴ It was only when he approached such a personal matter that Moța became terribly outraged, proving that an extremely sensitive nerve had been touched. Indeed, in his communiqué, Călugăreanu had dared to reaffirm publicly what the university administration had already stated on a different occasion: that a person expelled from the university could not be president of the Petru Maior Center.

In order to rebut such evidence, Moța rebuilt his case and rewrote a parallel (and personal) history, claiming that: “I am the recognized president of the

Center.” This recognition had seemingly occurred through the intervention of Marin Ștefănescu (a professor of philosophy who supported the student movement), who had allegedly obtained approval from the rector’s office for an extraordinary session of the Center, which Moța had attended as “president.” He distorted and interpreted the reality in such a way as to benefit him: “I will conclude by saying that the Rector’s Office has acknowledged that I shall remain president of the Center and that it has tacitly, albeit not formally, reconsidered its decision to expel me.”²⁵ In fact, the rector’s office had never approved of Moța serving as president of the Center, so it could not acknowledge that he “remained” in office; neither had it reconsidered the expulsion measure by the time the petition was submitted (8 September), but Moța did admit as much: “tacitly, albeit not formally.” Moța was not president of the Center even according to the organization’s rules: validation through elections. He and his committee had not gone through such elections. They were rather a “revolutionary committee,” in which elected members (remainders of the old “George Alexa Committee”) were mixed with members designated/appointed by the faculties. Moța himself had been directly involved in changing some of the members. After the meetings began to be held at his home (the university was under curfew and he had been expelled), even students from outside the university became members of the board. Thus, the group of leaders included an Agronomy student, Aurelian Vernichescu.²⁶ This would have been impossible before, due to the firm opposition of the university leadership, which did not allow representatives of other higher education institutions in the city into its own student body. Moța had taken care to secure the loyalties of the Center’s leaders and to bring in his own “people.” Some of the committee members who became undesirable were quickly replaced: after the removal of the much too insistent Gheorghe Ionescu—the one who had asked for clarifications about the amounts the Center had received for postcards and leaflets and had taken an interest in the situation of the newspaper *Dacia Nouă* (The New Dacia)—from the position of secretary general, the position was occupied by another student, Corneliu Georgescu.²⁷

Regarding the abovementioned meeting that had presumably taken place on 13 May at the initiative of Professor Marin Ștefănescu, there is no telling if it actually took place. There is a report confirming that a meeting of the Committee of the Petru Maior Center started “at 3 p.m.” on 13 May, with “just one item on the agenda, namely the scheduling of an evening meeting.”²⁸ After discussing the possibility of holding a meeting “on the initiative of Prof. Marin Ștefănescu,” the committee concluded that the proposal “is hereby rejected by a majority of votes.”²⁹

Moța did not cease to plead his cause which, he deemed, was also the cause of the Petru Maior Student Center, even though, according to the university

hotărârea nr 10/1923-24 a ...
 sau studenții clujeni. E nedreptăți dintr-o necesitate
 et. de fine nobilități și generozități, care a mers și va merge
 mai puțin la sacrificiul nobil și pentru cauze frumoase și
 frumoase, aceluși studenți au trebuit să fie mustrăți pro-
 feritorilor care și-au dat un asemenea suflet frumos, în
 un obiectiv mai abăt de crunte lozuri. Lozurile
 studențimii au dărit în la astăzi numai din partea
 viajurilor, un și din a parților ei. E din abuz
 de director și de hăit conflictual (alacul, urmat de
 apăsarea naturală) dintr-o profesoral și studențimii
 vorată în românește! Studenții o întelep necesitate; ne-
 fiind în mări ei cauze necuștate conflictual, un depinde
 de ei întârzieră lui. Sărbă în atitudinea studen-
 țimii față de autoritatea universitară, în același timp
 de mare luptă națională, și un fapt de necesitate
 al unor cauze pe care nu studențimea generoză și
 patriotă le-a priceput. E de aceea, sufletul nostru
 se schimbă tot mai dureros în fața unor și con-
 tinuă! Continui redrepte ce ni-se dau, și pe care nu

Scrap paper register, Lucian Blaga
 Central University Library of Cluj-Napoca,
 Petru Maior coll., Ms. 5851, no. 188,
 14 September 1923, fol. 3.

But Moța insisted most of all on the “unfairness” of the decision. This sense of injustice—more than the accusation of “illegality” or the threat that there would be practical consequences for the “tranquility of the University”—gave Moța the opportunity to unleash a violent tirade that no longer referred strictly to a university decision. The injustice itself was triple. First:

It is unfair because these noble and generous students, who have gone all the way and will not hesitate to sacrifice their lives for the common good, these students should be the pride of their teachers who gave them such beautiful souls and not the object of such cruel blows. The students would much rather be struck only by their enemies, not by their parents. The conflict between the professors and the students of the Romanian university is so painful and sad (the attack, followed by the natural defense). The students realize this; however, because they are not the cause of this conflict, it is not up to them to quell it. We consider that the students’ attitude towards the university authorities, in these days of great national struggle, is an undisputed effect of some troubles that these generous and patriotic students did not cause. And that is why our soul bleeds more and more in the face of the new and relentless, unjust blows we receive but have not asked for.³¹

authorities, this center had been dissolved and seals had been placed on the locked doors of its former headquarters. He reiterated his arguments in an ample petition, asking the Senate not to confirm the decision of Prof. Călugăreanu, “because we rightly consider it inconsistent with the laws of the University, unfair to the Romanian students in Cluj and injurious in terms of nurturing the spirit, as desired by the Hon. university authorities.”³⁰ While the arguments supporting the idea of “illegality” had already been outlined in the letter to Călugăreanu, Moța’s plea was now enriched with two new themes. One of them was a form of blackmail: the authorities’ refusal to reconsider their decision meant they would have to assume dire consequences “for the tranquility of the University.”

This evokes the frustration the students experienced as a result of the inability of their professors and parents to understand them; a trans-generational conflict, in which only one generation—the adult one—bore all responsibility. If it reconsidered its behavior, its attitude, things could work out. The students obviously had no fault in this conflict. It was not up to them to resolve it. They had nothing to reproach themselves or to correct.

Secondly:

The closure of the old Petru Maior Society, founded by the historical generations of 1862, is an injustice, because it cannot be said that today's students have decayed and degenerated so much as to justify this impiety. We consider ourselves as worthy as our founders, whose example we have followed in all our actions.³²

The closure of the student center was not only unfair, it was downright offensive to a generation that was at least as grand as that of the founders. The self-image Moța projected competed with that of the great forefathers. There was no room for modesty here.

Things became even more obvious when the third argument was clarified:

But this decision is an injustice also for another reason: it would have sufficed for the university authority to reconsider its recognition of the current president and to inform the Center that in the event of his disobedience, if he was not removed from office, the given authorization would be revoked: this prior notice would have sufficed for the work to be fulfilled and the Petru Maior Society would have been spared from introducing this new and painful conflict in its annals.³³

The offence was not just a generational one, it was also very personal. This intensely felt injury led Moța to disavow what he had so strongly argued until then, namely that he had been recognized as president by the leadership of the university, through the approval given in the meeting of 13 May: “It would have sufficed for the university authority to reconsider its recognition of the current president.” This recognition had, in effect, not been granted.

The petition submitted to the Senate was an act of personal revenge rather than a genuine request to a respected institution whose authority Moța recognized. It was a sort of settling of scores, a heated reprimand, whose extremely vehement tone echoed the “love” of olden times. In fact, Moța had already acted as he saw fit, as if the decision he so severely criticized had already been abolished, not by the Senate, but by his own will. He had broken the seals and recovered the “assets of the Center”:

These were the reasons why our Committee considered the decision of Prof. Călugăreanu as null and void, and impossible to implement. By virtue of this, I, the undersigned, acted in keeping with the rights provided by the law, saving the property of the Center, the property that belongs to the students and for whose safe-keeping our committee is responsible (This right which the law gives us is stipulated in Art. 360 of the Hungarian Criminal Code, still in force; see Illés, vol. III, ed. 1889, p. 202.)³⁴

It was not the first time Moța had pleaded, judged and applied “justice” on his own. He had done so in the case of his colleague Ionescu, the former secretary general of the Center. But now he did it before an authority that was yet to reach a decision about him, about his expulsion, for instance. And yet, in the absence of what we might call an instinct of self-preservation, he defied academic authority. In its session of 28 September, the University Senate concluded tersely: “The Petru Maior Student Center did not comply with its statutes in accordance with the Regulations in force, so it shall remain dissolved.”³⁵

BESIDES HIS violent acts (the destruction of laboratories, the mistreatment of some students, the breaking of seals and the recovery of the Center’s assets), the letter he sent to Professor Călugăreanu and the petition he submitted to the Senate reveal just how radical Moța’s stance had become by September 1923. They also show how willing he was to take major public risks, in line with a “revolutionary” logic whereby his own cause was always right and that, in its name, he could overstep the limits of the common law (i.e. the law that was applicable to all others).³⁶ On 17 September, Moța left on a delegation to Iași and Bucharest, in an attempt to solve various issues on the agenda he shared with the students there. The resolutions of the Congress of Delegates in Iași guided his steps: frequent meetings of delegates from the major university centers and efforts to regulate local issues together. While in Iași the request that the professors’ congress (held there) should support their demands had been turned down, in Bucharest things went better: some editors of *Cuvântul studentesc* (The Voice of the Students) found to be “unsuitable for our movement” were removed, and there were “purges” in the Bucharest Student Committee with a view to changing previous positions.³⁷ Moreover, the students enthusiastically welcomed the peasants from Câmpulung who had come to Bucharest to voice their grievances and to support, much to the surprise of Prime Minister Ion I. C. Brătianu, who had received them in audience, not only his own suffering caused by the Jewish exploitation of Bukovina’s forests, but also the idea of the “*numerus clausus*.”³⁸ The favorable impressions in the capital led Moța to state at the meeting of the Petru Maior Committee that “the students are not as weak as the government thinks they are and as we think they are.”³⁹

The days he spent with his comrade Corneliu Zelea Codreanu on Mount Rarău strengthened his hope that the student struggle which had lasted almost a year would find a worthy apotheosis, one that would save the honor of the movement. Without going into details, he informed the members of the committee: “The last assault we will mount this autumn will bring us either victory or honorable defeat. In the coming days there will be a new congress of delegates in which I will take part and where we will decide what we think is for the better.”⁴⁰

The discussion on Mount Rarău was recounted by Codreanu, to whom Moța proposed a solution he deemed honorable. They could not continue to ask all students not to attend classes (that would have meant wasting another academic year), nor would they risk a “shameful surrender” by simply returning to school:

*It is better to encourage them to attend classes and we, who have led them, will give the movement a beautiful end by sacrificing ourselves, but will make sure that all those who are guilty of betraying Romanian interests will fall with us. Let us buy revolvers and shoot them, setting a terrible example that will remain entrenched in our Romanian history. What will become of us, whether we will die or stay in prison for the rest of our lives, is of little consequence.*⁴¹

As Codreanu agreed, the following people met again, “shortly thereafter,” in Iași: “Ion Moța, Corneliu Georgescu and Vernichescu from Cluj, Ilie Gârneață, Radu Mironovici, Leonida Bandac and I from Iași, Tudose Popescu from Cernăuți.”⁴²

Moța left Cluj at the beginning of October, on the day (or very shortly after) when, for a handwritten receipt, he removed from the treasury of the Petru Maior Center “4,000 (four thousand) lei for a delegation of 5 (five) members, going to Iași and Bucharest to serve the supreme interests of the national student movement. The delegation will last about 10 (ten) days—Cluj, 2 October 1923,

1109/12
 Chișinău.
 Instrumentul prezente al Centrului
 au primit de la o casă Centrală a Petru
 Lei 4000 (patru mii) pentru o delegație
 de 5 (cinci) membri, plecați la Iași și
 București în folosul unor supreme interese
 ale mișcării naționale studențești. Dele-
 gația va dura aproximativ 10 (zece) zile,
 Cluj, 2 octombrie 1923.
 Acordați suma a prof.
 restructurii naționale
 de către dr. Moța
 la 22 Oct 1923
 Ion I. Moța
 președinte al Centrului

Handwritten receipt of 2 October 1923,
 Lucian Blaga Central University Library
 of Cluj-Napoca, Petru Maior coll., Ms. 5988.

Ion I. Moța, president of the Center.”⁴³ One could say that he had a good reason to “retrieve the assets of the Center” when he had broken, three weeks before, the seals on the headquarters of that organization. In fact, it was not the first time he had generously covered the expenses of his colleagues in the country from the same source. He had done it at the Congress of Delegates in late August.⁴⁴

In Iași they met “in the houses of Mr. Butnaru” and decided “that the first and greatest culprits are the villainous Romanians,” “more so than the enemies, for they are traitors.”⁴⁵ Of these they selected a group of six ministers “headed by George Mârzescu.” Then they switched to the “Jews,” and here the choice was difficult: “Which of the two million should we take?,” especially since “we were few and took only the important ones in Bucharest.”⁴⁶ They decided on three socio-professional categories, identified as the most dangerous: rabbis, bankers (Aristide and Maurice Blank) and journalists (Jacob Rosenthal, Wilhelm Filderman, Samuel Honigman/Emil D. Fagure, directors of the newspapers *Dimineața*, *Adevărul*, and *Lupta*).⁴⁷ They went from Iași to Bucharest one at a time, not all at once, with the feeling that they would never return, and wrote letters to their parents and comrades, like they were about to commit suicide.

They did not get to kill others or themselves, because on the evening of 8 October 1923 they were all arrested in the house on 13 September St., where they had gathered for the latest preparations. Asked to surrender their weapons, only two of them did so (according to the same source): “Only Moța had a Browning 6.35 and so did Vernichescu.”⁴⁸

Over the following days, local newspapers published fragments of information taken over from the central press. The plot was discovered “thanks to a student who had experienced qualms of conscience and denounced the plot to a prefect.”⁴⁹ Titus Oroveanu (the prefect of Buzău) immediately alerted his government. Among those who were arrested were Codreanu Jr. and Moța, who “have already confessed.”⁵⁰ Although the students’ plot was not carried out, another assassination attempt, on “the director of *Adevărul*, Mr. Rosenthal,” did take place. An unknown man “hit him in the head with an iron club.”⁵¹ He was in hospital, in very serious condition. A wave of astonishment, reactions and counter-reactions, information and denial or relativization (what weapons did the attackers have?; how vast was the action supposed to be?; how far spread out in the territory?; who was truly responsible? etc.) filled the pages of those periodicals. Among them was a fragment of *L’Indépendance Roumaine*, taken over by *Patria*, which provided an analysis of this episode:

We cannot insist enough, on this occasion, on the moral responsibility of all politicians and agitators without a conscience, who strive through every means to trouble the spirits of exalted or naive youth, successfully at times. The criminal—or child-

*isb—plot is the fruit born of a poisoned seed, which is spread far and wide among the young students by professional and self-serving agitators. This discovery must serve as a reminder to all those who, under the pretext of exaggerated nationalism, attack the moral fiber of some of the students, directly or indirectly pushing them to commit criminal or childish acts.*⁵²

The newspaper article described a state of confusion between the impulse to condemn violence in whatever form and the predicament of not knowing how “opportune” it was to do so because its source was difficult to identify: “This obscure fascism is mistaken for the student movement, the party of Mr. [A. C.] Cuza, a few Leagues, or the movement of retired officers—so it is difficult to distinguish it in this mosaic.”⁵³ For the time being, it was difficult to define precisely, but the new political trend had steadily insinuated itself in the Romanian public landscape.

Struck by the news of their leader’s arrest, the students in Cluj reacted. With the Petru Maior Center dissolved for more than a month, they could not close ranks, as before, in the university. They gathered at the Mănăştur brewery in order to elect a vice-president and add new members to the committee. “On its own initiative, a committee of 15 people took the lead of the student movement.”⁵⁴ A telegram sent to the king said that “the arrests and plot accusations have been staged by the government, so we demand the release of those arrested.”⁵⁵ Paradoxically, the students wanted to rob the young plotters of something very precious and to label it the government’s “fantasy”: the idea of organizing the attacks. (But as it would become clear during the ensuing trial, these plotters were very proud of what they had set out to do.) The government itself was warned in a petition that it should immediately release those arrested and that the students were “determined to proceed with the fight even it meant losing their lives.”⁵⁶ This was the end or the beginning of an era in the history of the Cluj Student Center.

Noui amănunte asupra complotului fascist

Arestările -- Comunicatul guvernului -- Descoperirile

Am anunțat și noi în numărul de ieri câteva știri la legătură cu complotul fascist descoperit la București. Revenim astăzi cu noul amănunte.

Guvernul și Siguranța generală cunoșteau încă mai de mult organizațiile fasciste din Capitală. Nu se bănuia, însă, că s'ar plănuia mișcări violente sau comiterea vre-unor asasinat.

Prima dovadă s'a primit la Ministerul de Interne asupra complotului chiar în ziua descoperirii lui.

Investigațiile au fost făcute de Parchetul general de Ilfov, și Serviciul de siguranță. Arestarea complotiștilor s'a operat chiar în aceeași zi.

Între numele celor arestați în prima zi: Corneliu Zelea Codreanu, Ion I. Moța, Aurel Vernișteanu, avocat, Nicolae Dragoș, Teodosie Popescu, Manolovic Radu și Georgescu Corneliu.

Ieri, Siguranța din Cluj a arestat pe studentul Traian Bressu, pe care l-a trimis sub escortă la București.

Alătăieri guvernul a dat următorul comunicat:

Un complot cu scop de a asasina mai mulți miniștri a fost descoperit în seara zilei de 8 Octombrie.

V. novații, printre cari se găsesc Zelea Codreanu, fiul, și Moța, au fost arestați și au făcut mărturisiri. Instrucția continuă.

“Noui amănunte asupra complotului fascist” (New details about the fascist plot), *Patria*, 12 October 1923, 1.

Notes

1. Cluj County Branch of the National Archives, Universitatea din Cluj coll., “Ședințele Senatului Universitar,” file 4, fol. 112 (sitting of 8 June 1923).
2. Lucian Blaga Central University Library of Cluj-Napoca, Petru Maior coll., Ms. 6011, Minutes of 1 September 1923.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., Ms. 5851 (Scrap paper register), no. 178, 1923.
5. Ion I. Moța, *La Securité juridique dans la Société des Nations* (Bucharest: Imprimerie “Bucovina,” 1932). The text was a fierce critique of the institution, blamed for its failure to ensure the legal security invoked.
6. “Noi bătaii la Universitate,” *Patria* (Cluj), 5 September 1923, 2.
7. “Incidentul de ieri de la Universitate,” *Înfrățirea* (Cluj), 5 September 1923, 3.
8. “O nouă violare a Centrului Studențesc din Cluj,” *Clujul*, 9 September 1923, 1–2.
9. Lucian Blaga Central University Library of Cluj-Napoca, Petru Maior coll., Ms. 5993, incoming posters, resolutions of the Student Congress in Iași (newspaper cutouts pasted on white sheets).
10. “Incidentul de ieri de la Universitate,” 3.
11. “O nouă violare a Centrului Studențesc din Cluj,” 1–2.
12. “Un grav conflict la Universitate: Dizolvarea centrului studențesc ‘Petru Maior,’” *Înfrățirea*, 9 September 1923, 1.
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid.
15. This request would, of course, cause a reaction from the local Jewish community, which argued that it had no bodies, that it could not provide such a “flow of supply” and that it was not its duty to do so; it was the duty of the university to provide “teaching material.” An old discussion, a rekindled dispute...
16. Lucian Blaga Central University Library of Cluj-Napoca, Petru Maior coll., Ms. 5851 (Scrap paper register), no. 180, 4 September 1923.
17. Ibid., no. 181, 4 September 1923.
18. Ibid., no. 182 and 183, 4 September 1923.
19. Ibid., no. 180, 4 September 1923.
20. Ibid.
21. Ibid.
22. Ibid., no. 185, 8 September 1923.
23. “Instrucția președintelui Centrului studențesc la parchet,” *Clujul*, 16 September 1923, 3. After breaking the seals and removing the documents from the Petru Maior Center, Moța was called “again” to the prosecutor’s office.
24. Lucian Blaga Central University Library of Cluj-Napoca, Petru Maior coll., Ms. 5851 (Scrap paper register), no. 185, 8 September 1923.
25. Ibid.
26. At the committee meeting of the Petru Maior Center, held on 23 May 1923, “in Mr. Moța’s place,” as noted in the minutes, Aurelian Vernichescu also appeared among those appointed “to prepare the thematic arrangement of the congress” (the con-

- gress that should have been held in Cluj during the summer but was eventually canceled). Ibid., Ms. 6011, Minutes of 23 May 1923.
27. The meeting in which Ionescu (secretary general) confronted Moța had taken place on 1 September. The first documents in which Georgescu's name was listed instead of his appeared a few days later, on 4 September. See *ibid.*, Ms. 5851 (Scrap paper register), no. 183, 4 September 1923. Ionescu was informed that he had been removed (without the right of reply) only at the end of that month, in a Committee meeting mistakenly dated 31 September (September obviously has only 30 days): *ibid.*, Ms. 6011, Minutes of 31 September 1923.
 28. *Ibid.*, Lucian Blaga Central University Library of Cluj-Napoca, Petru Maior coll., Ms. 6011, Minutes of 13 May 1923.
 29. *Ibid.*
 30. *Ibid.*, Ms. 5851 (Scrap paper register), no. 188, 14 September 1923, fol. 1.
 31. *Ibid.*, fol. 3.
 32. *Ibid.*, fols. 3–2.
 33. *Ibid.*, fol. 4.
 34. *Ibid.*
 35. Cluj County Branch of the National Archives, Universitatea din Cluj coll., “Ședințele Senatului Universitar”, file 5, fol. 5v. (sitting of 28 September 1923).
 36. In Traian Sandu's words: “The young generation claimed to be the sole radical social vigilante and assumed the right to transgress the laws in the name of a higher moral, founded on a transcendence whose norms it imposed on its own.” *Istoria Gărzii de Fier: Un fascism românesc*, trans. Simona Modreanu (Chișinău: Cartier, 2019), 44.
 37. Lucian Blaga Central University Library of Cluj-Napoca, Petru Maior coll., Ms. 6011, Minutes of 30 September 1923.
 38. The meeting of some National-Christian Defense League members with the peasants from Bukovina took place in Câmpulung, on 17 September 1923. This is considered the beginning of the organized A. C. Cuza's movement in Bukovina. See Radu Florian Bruja, *Extrema dreaptă în Bucovina* (Târgoviște: Cetatea de Scaun, 2012), 108–109. It is told extensively by Codreanu, who also talks about the delegation that left for Bucharest for a meeting with the prime minister at the Council of Ministers. Corneliu Zelea Codreanu, *Pentru legionari* (Sibiu: Totul pentru Țară, 1936), 163–167.
 39. Lucian Blaga Central University Library of Cluj-Napoca, Petru Maior coll., Ms. 6011, Minutes of 30 September 1923.
 40. *Ibid.*
 41. Zelea Codreanu, 168.
 42. *Ibid.*, 169.
 43. Lucian Blaga Central University Library of Cluj-Napoca, Petru Maior coll., Ms. 5988, supporting documents, handwritten receipt of 2 October 1923.
 44. A list of expenses found in such documents: coffee, cheese, hansom cabs, telegrams, letters, trams, tips, car gasoline, funeral cakes, requiems, cockades, food: Lucian Blaga Central University Library of Cluj-Napoca, Petru Maior coll., Ms. 5993, Balance sheet of the Congress in Iași, 4 September 1923.

45. Zelea Codreanu, 169.
46. Ibid., 169–170.
47. Ibid., 170.
48. Ibid., 171. The newspapers of those time debated intensely to what extent the group was armed. Some researchers would compare the action to a belated childhood game, where the protagonists believed themselves to be their favorite characters: “musketeers” or “Captain Storm.” See Oliver Jens Schmitt, *Corneliu Zelea Codreanu: Ascensiunea și căderea “Căpitanului,”* trans. Wilhelm Tauwinkl (Bucharest: Humanitas, 2017), 72.
49. “Complotul contra guvernului,” *Înfrățirea*, 12 October 1923, 4.
50. “Noui amănunte asupra complotului fascist,” *Patria*, 12 October 1923, 1.
51. “Atentatul contra dlui Rosenthal,” *Înfrățirea*, 12 October 1923, 4.
52. “Noui amănunte asupra complotului fascist,” 1.
53. “Cum trebuie judecat complotul,” *Patria*, 13 October 1923, 1.
54. “O întrunire studențească,” *Patria*, 14 October 1923, 3.
55. Ibid.
56. Ibid.

Abstract

“Autumn Reschedules”: The Student Movement in Cluj
at the Start of the Academic Year 1923–1924

The paper presents the events that took place within the student community of Cluj in the autumn of 1923, when classes resumed after having been suspended for a whole academic year on account of the previous student unrest. Ion I. Moța, the former president of the Petru Maior Center and a principal artisan of the unrest of the previous year, made successive attempts to revitalize the Center, closed down by the university, and reignite the protests, believing that the authorities had not kept their promises. That the leaders of the student movement had become increasingly radical is shown by the fact that, after consultations with Corneliu Zelea Codreanu, Ion I. Moța chose the path of assassination portrayed as self-sacrifice. The actual outcome was his arrest, after a student with a guilty conscience informed the authorities about the violent plans of the radical leaders.

Keywords

Cluj University, interwar period, student unrest, anti-Semitism, Ion I. Moța

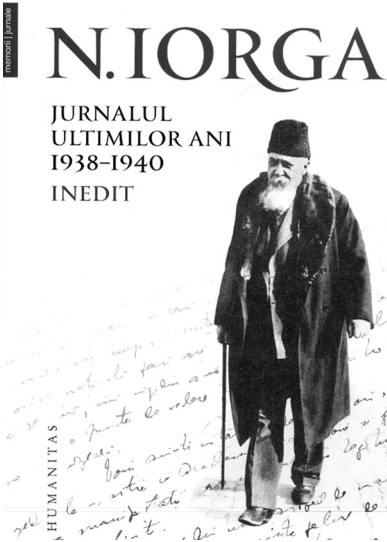
EDITORIAL EVENTS

The Participant-Historian and Contemporary History

VASILE PUȘCAȘ

N. IORGA

JURNALUL
ULTIMILOR ANI
1938–1940
INEDIT



N. IORGA, *Jurnalul ultimilor ani 1938–1940: Inedit.*
Edited by ANDREI PIPPIDI. Introduction and notes by
ANDREI PIPPIDI. Bucharest: Humanitas, 2019.

READING N. IORGA'S *Journal of the Final Years 1938–1940*, edited by Professor Andrei Pippidi and published by Humanitas (2019), is not only an occasion to get reacquainted with the writing style of this great historian, but also an opportunity to bear witness to his everyday struggles as an intellectual and a sincere patriot. It is no small matter to see that the historian has his private experiences and perception of the history of his own time. The revelation of the subjective positioning of the historian relative to the society and the age he lives in is a measure of the honesty of the historical interpretations he offers in writing. Iorga never hesitated to make his thoughts, opinions and actions known, which facilitates our understanding of his own progress towards historical objectivity and towards the articulation of historical truth.

The present volume is a continuation of the work of editing N. Iorga's almost daily journal entries, to which the initiator of this project has added exceptionally valuable explanatory and bio-bibliographical notes, an intellec-

Vasile Pușcaș

Professor at the Faculty of European Studies, Babeș-Bolyai University of Cluj-Napoca. Author, among others, of the vol. **România și calea de viață europeană** (Romania and the European way of life) (2017).

tual and scientific effort for which Mr. Pippidi deserves our gratitude and our praise.

Professor Andrei Pippidi shows in his Introduction that the work of this great historian is so vast and diverse that it “discourages even the most industrious” (p. 7) of researchers. There is undoubtedly a certain inhibition: it comes from the extraordinary amount and the great variety of writings, ranging from historical and literary works to journalism etc., which, as things stand, were never indexed in their entirety. His was a release of creative and intellectual energy the likes of which has never happened before in this country and, maybe, not even in the world. This is why the intelligent and cultured American (German-born) journalist Rosa Goldschmidt Waldeck said that, with the death of this scholar, the last Goethean character has left the world. I remember that in 1990, when the historiographic community was planning to reenter the European and international scientific dialogue, the first works they referred to were those written by N. Iorga. The academician and great historian from Cluj-Napoca, D. Prodan, reflected on what it meant “to evolve in the all-encompassing shadow of this singular man that was N. Iorga.” He urged us, the younger historians, to examine the historical, cultural and socio-political work of this Teacher of the Nation, Iorga, from whom we could learn the techniques of historiographic research and understand the main movements in the philosophy of history of the 20th century. D. Prodan had an explanation that he enjoyed repeating. He used to tell the story of a debate at the Romanian Academy, where his answer to the president of the Romanian forum of science and culture, who had proposed a “reevaluation” of Nicolae Iorga, was:

Mr. president, who among us thinks he is qualified to grant us certificates? Whom would that serve? Wouldn't it be wiser to humbly return to the bedrock of his knowledge and to continue to benefit tacitly from the vastness of his work, without undertaking a “reevaluation” that is beyond our capabilities?

One innovation that Iorga brought to Romanian historiography is the writing of contemporary history. He developed it in the first years of the 20th century, when, following A. D. Xenopol's serial and total history, he produced a work that included the epoch in which he lived. His sustained interest in contemporary history dates back to 1914, when he taught the course entitled “Politica externă a României în domnia lui Carol I” (Romania's external policy under the rule of Carol I) at the University of Bucharest. What the historian proposed there was the abandonment of the traditional approach to historiography, according to which historians should not address contemporary subjects because they are not at sufficient distance in time to attain maximal objectivity. At the

time, positivism was still a dominant movement and it was backed by the scientist ideas popular at the time. Iorga's remedy for these objections was *honesty*. While preparing his lectures, Professor Iorga discovered the documentary value of daily logs from "participants" or "witnesses" to contemporary events. He was, of course, referring to King Carol I's notes, which he appreciated as "a source of great richness, authenticity and honesty, of a moral value that is utterly superior." The historian saw such documentary sources as a prerequisite for understanding that which lies behind public acts and for avoiding writing "history according to patterns." We now know that Iorga started writing these "daily notes" as early as 1913 and only ceased towards the end of 1940, when his life was barbarically and tragically cut short, as it is documented in this volume, which covers the period between 1938 and 1940.

Being a creative genius, his writing includes a few autobiographical works—e.g. *Orizonturile mele: O viață de om așa cum a fost* (My horizons: A man's life, such as it was) (3 vols., 1934)—as well as some recollections about the political, cultural and artistic personalities in the country and abroad—e.g. *Oameni cari au fost* (Figures of the past) (4 vols., 1934–1939). The latter belongs to the memoir genre, while the book entitled *Memorii* (Memoirs), which was published in 1931 (vol. 1), is not a memoir at all, contrary to how it came to be known abroad and at home, but consists of "daily notes (May 1917–March 1920)." The writings in the first category reveal N. Iorga as a memoirist who lets some of his temperament show, his preferences, his subjectivity etc.; his "daily notes" are more of a chronicle of the participant and/or the observer, in which you can see that the author deals with the facts not only as a casual, regular recipient, but as a historian who knows how to sift the logical and rational meanings from the events he relates. It is precisely for this reason that his daily notes are doubly important: because he is both a participant or a witness and a historian who interprets the social occurrences from a historical perspective. The analysis of Iorga's daily notes confirms Professor Pippidi's affirmation whereby these writings "do not document the author's activity and his emotions, as much as the news that reach him, which he retains for their historical value" (p. 9). What is worth remarking, from the standpoint of one who is researching contemporary history, is the fact that, as Professor Pippidi pointed out, all of the volumes containing Iorga's notes enable us to recreate the atmosphere of an epoch as it was lived by a recipient who is not only able to perceive nuances, but also capable of detecting essences. From this perspective, Iorga's daily notes become a document of the utmost importance for discerning the turn that his epoch took. Their value as a historical source is augmented by the honesty and the socio-political professional experience of the author, who knew full well that sooner or later his notes would be analyzed by historians.

The inaugural lecture that N. Iorga gave in the autumn of 1919, at the University of Bucharest, was entitled “Ce istorie contimporană se face?” (How is contemporary history made?). It was the first time he advocated in a systematic manner for Romanian historians to take a professional approach to contemporary history, because he considered that this branch needed distinct autonomy in historiography and, at the same time, that it needed to be correlated to the history writing of other epochs. Iorga considered that, after World War I, the science of history also had to adjust to the new spirit of the age and a part of this process of renewal consisted in focusing more on contemporary history. In this respect, Iorga was moving with the times, in that the European public was more and more in need of a scientific historical account of the recent past. We could even say that Iorga started to see the benefits of such an approach some years before the Great War. It is unfortunate that, in Romania, historians continued to be reticent to this historiographic program. In 1933, in another inaugural lecture at the Academy of Commerce, Iorga was lamenting that contemporary history was thought of more as a subject for the press, while the history textbooks went as far as to present it as “false and dangerous,” because it was written primarily for an educational purpose and was, at times, tendentious. Iorga demonstrated in the Preface to *Essai de synthèse de l'histoire de l'humanité* (4 vols., 1926–1928) that historiographic research had the capacity to discern between the social fact and the historical fact even when it came to “current reality.” What is more, in 1940, in his “Istoria, marea judecată, în sens moral, a statelor și națiunilor” (History, the high moral court of states and nations), he explained that the methods employed by history, deduction and description, were suited not only for the analysis of the distant past, but also for the recent one and even for “what we have in front of us.” With this historiographic conception, which Iorga employed during the interwar period, he became part of the European and the international avant-garde of historiographic innovation and, what’s more, he initiated a dialogue and a practice in historiography that became central for the historians only in the decades following World War II. Worth mentioning in this context is the influential essay on history by Arthur Schlesinger (1927) in which he argued that, in order to reconstruct the current history, the research carried by the participant-historian is of “vital interest.” The renowned American historian followed the same line of thinking as Iorga when he demonstrated, half a century earlier, that historians preferred the more traditionalist and more comfortable formula *veritas temporis filia*, without acknowledging that the participant-historian had a better chance of recognizing the spirit of his time, which lay at the foundation of historiographic reconstruction.

While most Romanian historians from the first half of the 20th century supported the need for historical synthesis, first put forward by Xenopol and then

further developed by the *Annales* school, Iorga established contemporary history not only as a logical development of the historical process, but also as a specific field of research and reconstruction—see *Istoria Românilor*, vol. 10, *Întregitorii* (The history of the Romanian people, vol. 10, The unifiers)—, covering the period between 1866 and 1938. Four years after the historian’s death, Gheorghe I. Brătianu acknowledged Iorga’s essential contribution to the study of contemporary history and even recognized the fact that the figure of the participant-historian has always been present in universal historiography, from Thucydides to the present day. Arthur Schlesinger also notices that, until World War II, professional historians did not consider contemporary history as part of their field of research, and that the history written by people who lived through the events they described was thought of as heresy, and dismissed as memoir writing. Or, what we find in Iorga’s works, namely in his “daily notes”—not to be confused with his memoirs which, as we have seen, was a genre he cultivated as such—is that not only did he record the facts that he observed, but he also analyzed and inscribed them in the process of historical evolution, which is what distinguishes his writing from that of authors with a predilection for the same genre. This means that the person who wrote down the social facts was, at the same time, a professional historian who had the capacity to find among them the historical facts. For this reason, Nicolae Iorga’s notes count as a true reconstruction of contemporary history or, as we refer to it nowadays, a reconstruction of the “history of the present” (in the English-speaking world) or of the “ultra-contemporary history” (in French culture). Another thing worth emphasizing: Iorga was aware that he was a pioneer in Romanian historiography (in the European one, we dare say). In 1938, referring to the *History of the Romanians*, vol. 10, on which he was still working, he said that he wished to “set some guidelines” for the Romanian historiographical research, and that “the young men that will come after me, if they are hardworking and modest, and if they are fortunate to be also intelligent, will bring forth new results and will be able to go further than I have with the little time at my disposal”: N. Iorga, *Conferințe și prelegeri*, vol. 1 (Conferences and lectures)(1943). To which I would add: Iorga’s guidelines and advice beckon even today to these young men, to these professional historians!

THE END of the fourth decade of the last century was not only a time of crisis, but it was also the of the beginning of World War II. Reading Iorga’s *Journal*, I was curious to see, besides the events of that period that the scholar registered, how the participant-historian perceived the episodes that anticipated the greatest world conflagration. I was also interested in the way he understood the behavior of the political and intellectual leaders in Romania, and

the frame of mind of the Romanians and of the Europeans. Iorga's life was cut short on 27 November 1940, when he was assassinated, an act which will forever be a blemish on our history. He was killed by a group of Romanian citizens who claimed to be the "new generation" of restorers of Romania. In fact, eight decades ago, the Romanians suffered the greatest successive disasters in their history: the territorial losses of the summer and the winter of 1940 (Bessarabia, northern Transylvania, southern Dobruja—the national achievement from the end of World War I was, thus, undone), the devastating earthquake in November and, at the end of the same month, the assassination of Iorga along with that of some other political and intellectual leaders in Romania. Moreover, the Romanian and the European society saw how Romania failed to defend its territory due to the defeatism and the cowardice of its leaders, how a personality like Iorga fell victim to the criminal actions of extremists, being denied even a funeral worthy of a true Teacher of the Romanian Nation. That is why, when I evoke this chapter of our past, I cannot help but ask: who were we and who are we now, we, the Romanians? Answering these questions will help us better define the spirit of the times, which was the task of the historian, according to Iorga.

In the 10th volume of the *History of the Romanian People* the historiographic investigation stops at the moment when, in February 1938, King Carol II imposed a new constitution. In the *Journal of the Final Years*, Iorga explains how this act would have been justified if it had indicated a "commitment towards national work," and not, as it actually did, an attempt to cover "the ongoing corruption." The citizen Iorga observed that the governing of the country was entrusted to people who were unqualified to manage public affairs and who were only interested in providing benefits to their political protectors and to themselves (9 December 1938): "I am telling the King plainly that it is enough that those who want the Government are crooks, there is no need for the Government itself to be crooked" (pp. 114–115). Every day the Romanians were getting worrying proof that the world was changing, but no one in power told the citizens what could happen. As a royal adviser, Iorga tried to bring it to the king's attention that "The ministers are left too much to their own devices." Seeing who took part in Queen Marie's funeral procession he exclaimed: "The twilight of a generation!" because his epoch was under assault from political radicalism, incited by the so-called "1922 generation," that spread chaos while trying to provoke revolutions, without having a clear vision for the evolution of the Romanian society. Or, as Ortega y Gasset affirmed about the similar phenomenon in Europe, some factions of "the youth" believed that they only had rights in society and no obligations towards society. In a conference in the autumn of 1938, Iorga used these words to describe the age he lived in:

The world finds itself at a difficult time. There has never been more hatred, accompanied by an even more hideous crudeness in the unanswered demands that want to join in, in order to resurface and start oppressing. Humanity seems to have lost its mind or to have cowardly chosen to walk sheepishly behind this recklessness. Flags of death and annihilation are waved by fanatical hands, shaken by the frenzy of killing, calling for the death of all the things that were done with so much honest labor since the end of the carnage of the Great War.

The historian had warned the king, the heads of the government and the ministers about all these things, he wrote countless articles, he pleaded at the University and at the Academy. And, despite his age, he continued to travel to towns and villages in the country and to some crucial places in Europe so as to make the Romanian and the European population aware of the troubled situation in Romania, particularly in Transylvania and Bessarabia, and of the fact that “war is looming.” During his travels and in his daily conversations with the political and cultural circles, Iorga observed that the propaganda that Moscow and Budapest were disseminating using various channels, but mostly the radio, was inducing a state of unrest and fear in the population. Iorga thought that the Romanian authorities should have taken vigorous action against this propaganda, as he did himself whenever he had the chance.

But the interests of the local authorities were of a different nature, as Iorga’s notes show. Their concern was to censor the opinions of Iorga, the professor and the scholar. And, since the “Censorship” was an official institution, its efforts went towards blocking all attacks on the Hungarians, the Soviets and the Germans etc., on the grounds that it was countering the irrational fear of conflict and war. For having criticized the totalitarian system in Romania, Iorga wound up with “a record at the Security Office” which accused the scholar of speaking improperly of the king and of the ministers in his university lectures. As a consequence, he was summoned “at the Ministry” to justify his actions, he had problems at home and at the university. This context made Iorga note that his correspondence was frequently opened and some documents and photographs were even extracted, that “spies” acting at someone’s orders were twisting his words, that the “five Security bureaus,” which were at the king and the prime minister’s disposal, were “fabricating” a series of “hogwash stories.” He described the situation as a “Phanar”—also pointing, with that, at some of the Transylvanian leaders—and remarked that “I live among madmen and the Kingdom of Romania has turned into a nuthouse.” During the Crown Council of 17 March 1939, drawing yet again the attention of the king and of the political leaders on the grave dangers the country was facing, including the risk of territorial losses, he advocated true national unity, which would give Roma-

nia a fighting chance, because, he declared, “resistance is a duty.” Iorga could not refrain from remarking, regarding this duty, that “our peasants met all the expectations” when called for service in the army reserve, while the “educated men” demonstrated “an appalling behavior.”

It was for resistance that Nicolae Iorga pleaded when, in 1940, the Romanian authorities were faced with deciding the fate of Bessarabia and Transylvania. However, the majority of the Romanian political leaders of the time were saying one thing and doing another. After the Crown Council, where it was agreed to surrender Bessarabia (28 June 1940), Iorga used these words to describe the conduct of those responsible for the decision:

the military behaved deplorably and the young ministers—whom we were forced to listen to one after the other—even more so, as for Tătărescu, “the loud pelican,” and Argetoianu, they were odious. Only the representatives of Transylvania and Bessarabia were dignified.

Iorga was particularly virulent towards the political and military leaders who had been constantly complaining that enormous sums of money were being spent on equipping and modernizing the army to withstand foreign aggression, only to support, when the danger turned out to be real, the army’s defeatism and to encourage the same outlook in the Romanian people, while it was the corruption of these very men that had drained the budget allocated for national defense. Iorga anticipated such attitude from political leaders already in 1939, when the government agreed to sign “the second Treaty of Bucharest” with Hitler’s Germany. After Prime Minister Armand Călinescu fell himself victim to political assassination, Iorga met with some political and military leaders (Arthur Văitoianu, Florea Țenescu, Gheorghe Tătărescu, etc.) and found out that in their opinion the army and the country were not prepared to withstand both the “internal tragedy” and the “external tragedy,” that “we are not fighting” for the country. This led the historian to write (24 September 1939):

I feel a cold wind sweeping through me this rotten morning, but above of all I feel tremendous disgust. Why should I carry on having intimate conversations within the Government and outside the Government and become an accomplice to this group of people that don’t believe in their own country? I shall detach and go home.

Yes, Iorga was already “detached” from these leaders, nonetheless he tried to educate them, to guide them and even to help them, because he believed that “a nation doesn’t die” and because he had an unparalleled sense of duty, manifest

in the generation that had created Greater Romania, the duty to do everything possible in order to help develop the country. Because of that, after having accepted his limits, Iorga was to receive vulgar threats, death notes—of which the authorities were aware—, he was to be humiliated on the political scene and at the university. In the autumn of 1940, confined to his study, he was still sending messages to the leaders of the country, saying that “we should not insult, as the controlled press nonetheless does, those that helped us build Greater Romania, which today is falling apart.” Although his interlocutors were fewer and fewer, the historian warned that he would not cease to stand up for the truth and for the Romanian people. On 1 October 1940 he found out from reading the papers that he had been sent into retirement by the university. On the same day, the president of the Romanian Academy notified him that he was no longer allowed to lecture at the science and culture forum. In order for him to survive and to support some of the cultural and scientific institutions he had, up until then, financed from his own pocket, he was forced to ask for loans, which he received only with great difficulty.

His family was “managing the hardship heroically.” At the entrance of his house “two young men” were always standing guard. His last journal entry is dated 26 November 1940. In it, the great scholar noted once more that the leaders in Romania had given the country a dangerous direction. On 27 November 1940, Iorga was cowardly assassinated. The news shocked the entire world! Dozens of universities and academies in Europe and America raised the Romanian flag. In Romania, the funeral for the scholar was held almost in secret, following the instructions and the wishes of the government. The year 1940 was a disaster for Romania. N. Iorga’s *Journal* gives a very good and plausible account of the circumstances that led to that situation. A history of the end of the fourth decade of the last century will not be complete without this essential historical document—the daily notes written by the great historian.

Reading the last of Iorga’s *Journals* we witness the enormous drama that the historian experienced as he came to understand the dangers facing Romania at the end of the interwar period, especially since he was capable of foreseeing the consequences for the country and for the Romanian society. Nonetheless, the Teacher of the Nation continued to send mobilizing messages to help put an end to the national crisis. In 1940 he published, in Vălenii de Munte, an essay entitled *Afirmarea vitalității românești* (The affirmation of Romanian vitality) in which he reminded Romanians and their leaders that “no one can banish logic from the field of history.” He was illustrating this with a few experiences from contemporary Romanian history, in particular with those that brought about national independence (1877), when the Romanian nation demonstrated it was

capable “to act as one,” to be “moderate and intelligent,” which lead them to a “most unequivocal success” (p. 165). The logical historical conclusion that the historian drew and wanted to share with his contemporaries, who were searching for solutions to the existential crisis of 1940, was that they should follow the same path he had described. However, nobody listened to his advice: the leaders of the country were too preoccupied with their own well-being and with keeping up with the times. As a consequence, the country was torn to pieces and many of its most loyal defenders were sacrificed at the whims of the decision-makers of that decadent era.

TO READ a work written by N. Iorga is an intellectual endeavor that invites one to reflect on his vast and diverse body of work. It reminds one of encyclopaedism, of high spirituality and of devotion to the historiographic specialization and professionalism. My history master, the Academician D. Prodan, whom I mentioned at the beginning, reflecting on the experience of reading Iorga’s works, noted (1990):

I always found it to be a difficult read, which overwhelms with the deluge of ideas and with his overflowing style, a work that requires meditation; he made me feel small, like a young apprentice intimidated by his commanding stature.

Paraphrasing him, I venture to say that N. Iorga’s volume, *Journal of the Final Years* is an easy read, because of the familiarity of the author’s style, but is a hard book to get an intellectual grip on, because it demands a good knowledge of world history and of Romanian history up to World War II. Professor Andrei Pippidi has supplied this edition with a rich array of explanatory notes, which make Iorga’s text perfectly intelligible for the reader that doesn’t know all the details of the history of that age. Furthermore, the bibliographical references facilitate and open the way for new historiographic research. In fact, by editing this *Journal*, Andrei Pippidi proposed not only a more complete image of the participant historian N. Iorga, but also the continuation of his historiographical work, as well as a systematic publication of his daily notes, correspondence, socio-political, and literary writings. This can represent a valuable work program at the Romanian Academy for a least one generation of researchers operating within its institutes of history and literature.



P R O F I L E

Professor Liviu Maior at 80 Years Old A Historian of Modernity and of Historical Writing Modernization in Romania

IOAN-AUREL POP
IOAN BOLOVAN



Ioan-Aurel Pop

Chairman of the Romanian Academy.

Ioan Bolovan

Corresponding member of the Romanian Academy, director of George Barițiu Institute of History of the Romanian Academy.

Introduction

A DECADE AGO the Center for Transylvanian Studies of the Romanian Academy published in Professor Liviu Maior' honor, on his 70th anniversary, a comprehensive volume on his personality, featuring the consistent contributions of some Romanian and foreign historians.¹ We will summarize in the following lines a big part of that volume's foreword, because the things said then remain relevant, including here only evaluations of the books published by Liviu Maior after 2010² (the reader can find there a selected list of the Professor's entire scientific activity until 2010). The title of the volume published a decade ago fully reflects the complex personality of Professor Liviu Maior, who demonstrated, in more than half a century of activity in the service of the Muse Clio and of Romania, that he knows how to carry out not only scientific, profes-

sional, but also political and public projects, all sustainable over time. Professor Liviu Maior is today a *recognized historian* in Romania and abroad, with an impressive contribution to the field of Transylvanian and Romanian history, approached in a broad European context, *a politician* and *a diplomat*, appreciated for the professionalism and loyalty with which he served Romania and the universally valid democratic values, being at the same time a *founder* of research institutions in the field of history, educational institutions and culture. Liviu Maior is, therefore, what we call a participating historian, writing and making history at the same time.

In the general landscape of Romanian historiography, Professor Liviu Maior is one of the most appreciated specialists of the last decades. Aware of the importance and the necessity of broadening the documentary base for the adequate knowledge of Romanian history, Professor Liviu Maior edited, over more than four decades of historiographical activity, important original documentary sources, designed to open new perspectives on the 1848 Revolution in Transylvania, on the Romanian national movement, on the War of Independence, on the political correspondence of some of the most important personalities of the Romanian public life in Transylvania, on the Great War. Concerned with the modern history of Romania, he devoted particular attention to the movement for the national emancipation of the Romanians in Transylvania in the second half of the nineteenth century, publishing studies and fundamental books on the Revolution of 1848, the creation the Romanian National Party in Transylvania, its organization and ideology, the Memorandum, the Romanians' relations with the Habsburgs, etc. A reformer, but not a revolutionary of contemporary Romanian historical writing, demystifying, but not demolishing the national history, Professor Liviu Maior pieced together the history of the Transylvanian Romanians from the formation and emergence of the modern nation to the completion of the national state unity and the creation of Greater Romania, within an integrative vision on Romanian and European history.

In public life, as a politician and diplomat, he constantly promoted the national values and the interests of the country, in order to ensure a more prestigious place for Romania in the international arena, in the universal concert of nations.

Biographical Data and Professional Development

BORN ON 2 October 1940, in Beclean, Bistrița-Năsăud County, Professor Liviu Maior attended primary and secondary school in his hometown and then in Dej, and continued with higher education at Babeș-Bolyai University of Cluj-Napoca, taking the bachelor's exam in 1964, at the Faculty of

History and Philosophy. At the same faculty and university, he received official scientific consecration within the historians' guild, obtaining, in 1974, the title of doctor in history.

He had a brilliant academic and university career, going through the entire hierarchy, from assistant lecturer (1964) and then full lecturer to associate professor and professor (1990) at the Department of Modern History of Babeş-Bolyai University. He also held the prestigious position of head of this department, before transferring, in 1996, to the Faculty of History of the University of Bucharest. Since 1990, he has also been a doctoral supervisor, providing guidance to generations of undergraduate and postgraduate students, as well as Ph.D. candidates, opening new horizons in the understanding of modern history and in the practice of teaching.

Along with the scientific and university careers that he illustrated with competence and professionalism, Professor Liviu Maior was also involved in the life of the city, he became a public figure and a political personality appreciated in the country and abroad. For years, he was the president of the Universitatea Cluj sports club, being directly involved in the development of Cluj sporting life. Between 1992 and 1996 he served as minister of Education, and then (after 1996) became a senator in the Romanian Parliament and the chairman of the European Integration Commission, in an period extremely important for Romania's accession to the Euro-Atlantic institutions. In the years 1991–1992 he obtained the Robert Schuman scholarship of the European Parliament, as well as a NATO scholarship, acquiring expertise in diplomacy and international relations, so that, between 2003 and 2005, he served as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Romania to Canada.

The domestic and the international institutional involvement has been a constant component of the activity of Professor Liviu Maior in recent decades: between 1992 and 1996 he served as President of the UNESCO National Commission, in 1994 he was Vice President of the UNESCO World Conference and Vice President of the European Conference of Ministers of Education in Madrid; from 1994 to 1995 he was a member of the UN-UNESCO Joint Committee on the Rights of the Child, etc. His prestige, experience and expertise also led to his membership in the Reflection Group led by former French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, a group that drafted the European Constitution. He is a member of the Commission on the History of International Relations of the International Committee of Historians (Milan), as well as a member of the editorial boards of several publications, and an organizer of high-profile international conferences. He was a visiting professor in the USA (1974–1975, 1977–1978, 1981–1982) and completed several documentation and specialization internships in Belgium, France, England, Italy, Germany, Austria, and Hungary.

He was the first director of the Center for Transylvanian Studies, re-established in 1991, under the honorary presidency of D. Prodan, organizing in a modern form the activity of this scientific institution. The Center for Transylvanian Studies (created in 1942 and banned in 1948), to the re-establishment of which Professor Maior made an essential contribution, remains today the only institution in the country that constantly distributes books and magazines abroad exclusively in foreign languages, which present from a multiple perspective the Romanian history and civilization and also the specificity of the ethnic groups and denominations living in Transylvania. A meritorious achievement of Professor Liviu Maior is the revitalization in 1991 of the publication of the Center for Transylvanian Studies, *Revue de Transylvanie*, a quarterly magazine known today as the *Transylvanian Review/Revue de Transylvanie*. The recognition of professional achievements did not take long to appear, as in 1995 Professor Maior was awarded the prize of the Romanian Academy for his work *Alexandru Vaida-Voevod între Belvedere și Versailles (însemnări, memorii, scrisori)* (Alexandru Vaida-Voevod between Belvedere and Versailles: Notes, memoirs, letters) (Cluj-Napoca: Sincron, 1993); in 2004 he became a Knight of the Order of the Star of Romania, and in 2007 and 2008 he was awarded the title of honorary doctor by Petru Maior University of Târgu-Mureș and Lucian Blaga University of Sibiu, respectively.

Research Topics and Historiographical Profile

ANY ATTEMPT to outline Professor Maior's full intellectual portrait—with an emphasis on his historical vision—is a difficult and even risky undertaking, especially since many of his works are still to be published. However, we will do it, aware of the relativism of our attempt, in order to offer the reader only a sketch of a complex personality. Specializing in modern history, Professor Liviu Maior understood from the very beginning the fundamental role of sources for the scholarly investigation of the past. In the same spirit, he always made the necessary distinction between the history enthusiast and the specialist, claiming for the latter not so much an infinite horizon of knowledge as a working toolkit, a set of methods of the “historical profession,” which amateurs can never possess and master. Starting from such a conception and aware of the huge volume of archive sources—available but unexplored—for the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, the historian began and carried out an intense work of collection, processing and restitution, materialized in volumes dedicated to the great moments of national affirmation or to exceptional personalities of our history, all inscribed in a European context: *Coreșpon-*

dența lui Ioan Rațiu cu George Barițiu (1861–1892) (Ioan Rațiu's correspondence with George Barițiu, 1861–1892), in collaboration with Keith Hitchins (Cluj: Dacia, 1970), 253 pages; *Avram Iancu: Scrisori* (Avram Iancu: Letters) (Cluj: Dacia, 1972), 125 pages; *Transilvania și războiul pentru independență (1877–1878)* (Transylvania and the War of Independence, 1877–1878)(Cluj-Napoca: Dacia, 1977), 203 pages. Then, he inspired and trained whole generations of young historians to do the same, convinced that historical writing outside the sources is diluted, that it becomes an essay, literature, memoirs, political or artistic discourse, or even propaganda. In addition, the message of the researcher Liviu Maior was that our modern history, although generally known, remains deficient in terms of basic information which, once introduced to specialists and the public, can radically change the general perception of the era and of special topics.

In the second part of his career, without giving up the investigation of new sources, he proceeded to develop extensive syntheses on the Revolution of 1848–1849 in Transylvania, the national emancipation movement and the establishment, organization and functioning of the Romanian National Party, the Memorandum, the life and activity of Alexandru Vaida Voevod, or the relations of the Romanians with the Habsburg power. Especially in his latest work, Professor Liviu Maior introduced and imposed an innovative vision on the mentioned time segment in the history of Romanians (1848–1920), bringing to light surprising interpretations of modernity, of the place and the role of Romanians in the Austrian and then the Dual Empire: *Le Mouvement du Mémorandum* (Bucharest: Ed. Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1981), 64 pages; *Mișcarea națională românească din Transilvania 1900–1914* (The Romanian national movement in Transylvania, 1900–1914) (Cluj-Napoca: Dacia, 1986), 195 pages; *Memorandumul: Filosofia politico-istorică a petiționarismului românesc* (The Memorandum: The political-historical philosophy of Romanian petitioners) (Cluj-Napoca: Ed. Fundației Culturale Române, 1992), 301 pages; *The Austrian Military Border: Its Political and Cultural Impact* (edited in collaboration with Nicolae Bocșan and Ioan Bolovan)(Iași: Glasul Bucovinei, 1994), 120 pages; *1848–1849: Români și unguri în revoluție* (1848–1849: Romanians and Hungarians in the Revolution) (Bucharest: Ed. Enciclopedică, 1998), 413 pages; *Romanians in the Habsburg Army: Forgotten Soldiers and Officers* (Bucharest: Military Publishing House, 2004), 207 pages; *In the Empire: Habsburgs and Romanians: From Dynastic Loyalty to National Identity* (Cluj-Napoca: Romanian Academy, Center for Transylvanian Studies, 2008), 353 pages. The historian proposes a multilayered approach, between official history and everyday life, combining different points of view on the course of society, coming from politicians and peasants, from clergy and laity, from soldiers as well as from pacifists. The most significant correction

of the old clichés comes from the presentation of the Romanians' relations with the central power, in this case with the Habsburg dynasty. The approach starts from the extreme interpretations accepted so far, in connection with the role of empires in general and of the Habsburg Empire in particular, seen either as an expression of hyper centralization, of absolute power, of strict control of the subjects of different nations and denominations, always ready for rebellion, held as in a prison, full of hatred and dissatisfied, on the one hand, or as an example of a generalized brotherhood, in which patriarchal life unfolded smoothly, in fidelity and faith, to God and Crown, in universal peace and happiness, on the other hand. The corrections proposed by Professor Liviu Maior took into account the fact that in Romanian historiography, due to the special circumstances that restructured the Austrian Empire after 1867 and especially due to the "social order" of the decades of the communist regime, the first form of analysis was exacerbated—critical, severe, accusatory towards the Habsburg Empire.

Observing that the Romanians—as well as the Croats, Serbs, Slovaks, Bosnian Muslims, Poles, etc.—were loyal to the monarchy, part of the group of dynastic loyalists, the historian seeks to discover the mechanisms of this position, generating appropriate attitudes. The research starts from the antecedents of the 19th century, from the context of the Enlightenment, from the balance that the Habsburgs brought for the Transylvanian Romanians in relation to the Estates (nations), or indeed the privileged groups. The analysis combines established or more modern historical methods with an arsenal adopted from sociology and political science, focused on the binomial center-periphery, on revealing the weakness of the center, unable to manage the periphery. The critical moment—as it appears from Professor Liviu Maior's approach—was the year 1867, with the conclusion of the dualist past, when in the case of the Romanians and of others loyalty should have been transferred from Vienna to Buda (Budapest), which did not happen. The abandonment by the eastern non-Hungarian subjects of the new center, artificially set and unpopular, was the beginning of the end. However, for the decades that followed, our historian proves that the evolutions were quite sinuous, as were the identities. The author draws attention to the concomitant solidarity that can define a person's life, from family, locality and region to nation, from profession to human race, or from those formed by free consensus to those imposed by fate.

Correcting the clichés and fallacies of Romanian historiography, marked by the great national achievement of 1918 or by the rigors of communism, the author realistically follows the fate of Romanians in the Habsburg monarchy, drawing attention on ignored aspects, intentionally overlooked or even distorted. This opens up a new universe to the reader, in which Romanians no longer appear as oppressed, discriminated against and despised but rather, to a large extent and in many ways, also integrated in the functioning mechanism of a

state, as soldiers, educators, administrators, judges, priests, etc. Starting from the explanation of these aspects of daily life in Austria and Austria-Hungary, the author approaches the situation of Romanians as integrated in the general structure of the empire, in their relation to Romania, in the international arena and in the course of the new European construction at the turn of the 19th–20th centuries. Therefore, after analyzing the whole process of the national emancipation movement of Romanians—from its tumultuous and even violent forms to the organizational and institutional political ones—, Professor Liviu Maior moves on to deeper aspects, to general structures as reflected in mentalities. Thus, for the first time, the notion of “dynastic patriotism” is elaborated upon, as illustrated by the Romanian state organization projects devised by the elite, in general, and by personalities such as George Barițiu, Avram Iancu, Mihai Eminescu, Andrei Șaguna, Alexandru Vaida Voevod and others. The functioning of the Romanian dynastic loyalty is attested first of all by the army (from the border regiments to the modern forms of organization, after 1848), by the administration, justice, churches and education. At the end of these steps, in the last decades the researcher has outlined, starting from the sources, another Romanian Transylvanian world, one that actually existed but which we, the descendants, forgot or perverted. Thus, the Romanians’ path from dynastic loyalty to national identity and from fidelity to the House of Habsburg to the belief in the nation and in the Kingdom of Romania appears as a natural, normal development.

The volumes about Alexandru Vaida Voevod represent the end of an author’s historiographical cycle, devoted to exemplary personality who marked for more than half a century the history of Romania: *Alexandru Vaida-Voevod între Belvedere și Versailles (însemnări, memorii, scrisori)* (Bucharest: Sincron, 1993), 294 pages; *Alexandru Vaida Voevod: Putere și defăimare* (Alexandru Vaida Voevod: Power and defamation) (Bucharest: RAO, 2010), 187 pages; *Un părinte fondator al României Mari: Alexandru Vaida Voevod* (A founding father of Greater Romania: Alexandru Vaida Voevod) (Cluj-Napoca: Școala Ardeleană, 2018), 256 pages. Professor Maior approaches in these books a historical issue rather than a regional one, because Vaida’s public and political activity certainly crossed the provincial and national borders, in a select trajectory that included great statesmen who influenced the history of many European states before and after the Great War. The author gave adequate space to the Parisian problems of 1919–1920, noting Alexandru Vaida Voevod’s ability to negotiate and to better understand the course of history at that time. The inflexibility of Ion I. C. Brătianu, with whom he otherwise got along very well, was matched by his greater openness towards dialogue with the Allied partners and his willingness to make reasonable concessions so as not to endanger Romania’s major interests at the Peace Conference. Professor Liviu Maior remarked very well that Vaida proved to be very skilled both during Brătianu’s chairmanship of the Romanian delegation

and especially after Vaida became its leader, and his older relations with leaders of nationalities, members of the delegations of the new states, Czechs, Slovaks, Poles, Serbs, etc., allowed him to carry out an open dialogue and, implicitly, to find a common answer to many of the issues discussed during the Peace Conference. At the same time, his pre-war experience at the Belvedere Palace in Vienna, but especially during his stay in Paris, marked his personality and contributed to his subsequent work as prime minister, minister, and parliamentarian.

The Great War is another fruitful direction of research in the concerns of Professor Liviu Maior. Apart from the studies published over several decades, in recent years he has written two books: *Doi ani mai devreme: Ardeleni, bucovineni și basarabeni în război 1914–1916* (Two years earlier: Transylvanians, Bukovinians and Bessarabians in the war 1914–1916) (Cluj-Napoca: Școala Ardeleană, 2016), 290 pages; *De la Marele Război la România întregită* (From the Great War to Romania as a whole) (Bucharest: RAO, 2018), 301 pages. In the first book, published in celebration of the centenary of Romania's entry into the First World War for the liberation of Transylvania, the author aims to rectify an omission, as in previous decades Romanian historiography dealt almost obsessively with the Great War, researching only the period 1916–1918, respectively the time interval after the entry of the Old Kingdom into the war alongside the Entente. Of course, the insistence showed by Romanian historiography during these years and especially in the autumn of 1918 was justified, because the end of this period saw the achievement of the goal that had led to the entry of our country into the war, namely, the union of Bukovina and Transylvania with Romania. However, millions of Romanians from Transylvania, Bukovina and Bessarabia thus came to be neglected, people who had been at war since the summer of 1914, when the empires in which they lived (Austro-Hungarian and Tsarist) triggered the conflict that would last until the autumn of 1918. Encouraged by the desire to bring balance to the research on the history of the Great War for all Romanians throughout its entire duration, responsible as a historian to cover blind spots but also because the subject itself was rather generous for researchers, with a variety of sources and with new methodological perspectives, Professor Liviu Maior offers us a synthesis on the first two years of the war, both in what concerns the Transylvanian, Bukovinian and Bessarabian Romanians, as well as those of the Old Kingdom, including the political decision makers and opinion leaders in Bucharest.

The author, familiar with the main texts of universal historiography referring to the Great War, carefully illustrates the complexity of a historical process that ended in apotheosis for most Romanians, with the formation of Greater Romania. Professor Liviu Maior, with generosity and professionalism, presents us with a thorough work, based on a solid documentation, balanced and deep, which will certainly endure over time. He did not neglect the enlightening di-

mension of the history of the Great War, giving us in the second book a more “human” perspective on the First World War. Liviu Maior’s book is not only necessary in the contemporary historiographical landscape, but also meritorious and worthy of appreciation, because the effort made to complete this work was a considerable one, involving years of documentation and reflection. The historian offers us a new work that does not deviate from the rigor and methodology required by a professional approach, but whose captivating style speaks not only to historians, but also to a wider audience, cultured, interested in deciphering how the events of 1914–1918 actually occurred and unfolded, and less in how these events could have developed. Unlike other recent historians or pseudo-historians, concerned with the spectacular, the imaginary and with shallow speculations, Professor Liviu Maior reconstructs the Great War based on testimonies—from a Romanian perspective, set in a European context—outlining a world from which emerged the lasting edifice called Greater Romania.

Conclusions

AFTER MORE than five decades of work, Professor Liviu Maior has reached not only the age of creative maturity, but also that of interpretive balance. In Romanian historiography, as in Romanian life in general, the extremes tend to assert themselves. Romanian creators have rarely been able to seek and discover the middle way. It is true that balance is a rare thing—the Romans used to say that this middle way is a golden one (*aurea mediocritas*)—meant only for the chosen ones. Professor Liviu Maior is indeed one of the chosen, one of those rare historians and intellectuals destined to enlighten in a realistic way, to transmit legible and charming messages, which can be easily received. In the past, he avoided falling into the trap of the detractors, even when the official line condemned in unison the “Austrian iron yoke,” while today he refrained from reviving the nostalgia for a Danube monarchy that provided only peace and order, prosperity and tranquility.

We believe that this interpretive clarity comes from his native intelligence, from his educational background, from a solid historical culture acquired through an assiduous, persevering and realistic work. But maybe there is something else as well, namely, the long line of Transylvanian forerunners, with whose destiny he identified from the very beginning, from whom he took his tenacity, strength, determination and tolerance, his understanding for the other, for those who are different but live alongside us. Liviu Maior offered us, his students and colleagues, an admirable life lesson—as history is, above all, a life lived intensely, and the past is, in fact, the present of the past—, a lesson that continues, which

is received, appreciated and expected to go on. This is the message of the man and the teacher, a message that we welcome with realism, sincerity and sobriety, without lamentation and sentimentality—as we know the Professor prefers—in taking forward the historical knowledge, the possible human truth.

Our homage comes not only through these words—poor by comparison to the richness of his message—but also through the continuation of the research topics initiated during his career. The satisfaction he feels when seeing that research continues along the paths opened by him is intertwined with our pride in having been his students, doctoral students and apprentices, following him along the thorny path of the historical profession. □

Notes

1. Ioan-Aurel Pop and Ioan Bolovan, eds., *Călător prin istorie: Omagiu profesorului Liviu Maior la împlinirea vârstei de 70 de ani* (Cluj-Napoca: Academia Română, Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 2010), 644 pages.
2. *Asociaționism și naționalism cultural în secolele XIX–XX* (edited in collaboration with Ioan-Aurel Pop and Ioan Bolovan) (Cluj-Napoca: Academia Română, Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 2011), 352 pages; *Doi ani mai devreme: Ardeleni, bucovineni și basarabeni în război 1914–1916* (Cluj-Napoca: Școala Ardeleană, 2016), 290 pages; *Alexandru Vaida Voevod (1872–1950): Między dwoma światami* (Cluj-Napoca: Academia Română, Centrul de Studii Transilvane; Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2017), 120 pages; *Un părinte fondator al României Mari: Alexandru Vaida Voevod* (Cluj-Napoca: Școala Ardeleană, 2018), 256 pages; *De la Marele Război la România întregită* (Bucharest: RAO, 2018), 301 pages.

Abstract

Professor Liviu Maior at 80 Years Old: A Historian of Modernity and of Historical Writing Modernization in Romania

The paper celebrates the life and work of Professor Liviu Maior, a reputed historian in Romania and abroad, with an impressive contribution to the field of Transylvanian and Romanian history, approached in a broad European context, a politician and a diplomat, appreciated for the professionalism and loyalty with which he served Romania and the universally valid democratic values, and at the same time a founder of research institutions in the field of history, educational institutions and culture. Attention is given to his latest research, dealing with the national movement of the Transylvanian Romanians, with Alexandru Vaida Voevod, and with the Great War.

Keywords

Liviu Maior, Transylvania, Alexandru Vaida Voevod, the Great War

CONCERTATIO

GEORGE CIPĂIANU
VLAD ONACIU

Trianon



Trianon, 4 June 1920.

SOURCE: <https://www.mvu.ro/index.php>.

George Cipăianu

Professor at the Faculty of History and Philosophy, Babeş-Bolyai University of Cluj-Napoca.

Vlad Onaciu

Ph.D. at the Faculty of History and Philosophy, Babeş-Bolyai University of Cluj-Napoca.

TRIANON IS a palace within the complex of Versailles, where a Peace Treaty was signed between the Allied and Associated Powers—Czechoslovakia, Romania, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes—and Hungary, on 4 June 1920, at the end of a process which had begun, for the Romanians, on 17 August 1916, when a Treaty of Alliance had been signed between Romania and the Entente—France, Great Britain, Russia and Italy.¹ This 1916 treaty, consisting of a political and a military convention, stipulated that at the end of the war Romania would annex large territories of Austria-Hungary (Transylvania, Banat, Crişana, Maramureş and North Bukovina) and would be considered a great victor at the Peace Conference, equal in status to the Great Allies.

There was still another article in the 1916 treaty which specified that no signatory was entitled to make a separate peace; this was only to be concluded at the end of the war “conjointement and concomitamment” (together and simultaneously).² This clause was to cause much damage to the international position of Romania in the rela-

tions with the Allied and Associated Powers, as her government, forced by necessity, after the complete collapse of the Russian front, and being completely surrounded by the armies of the Central Powers (after the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk of 3 March 1918) signed a separate peace with the Germans.³ Consequently, the 17 August 1916 Alliance Treaty was declared null and void by France, Great Britain, the USA, and Italy. Romania was no longer their ally.

This very much frustrated the Romanian authorities, who even accused the Western Powers of having failed to honor the obligations they had assumed under the 1916 treaty, in several ways, criticizing especially the inertia of the Franco-British expeditionary corps stationed in Greece (Salonika). According to the 1916 treaty, these Allied armed forces were supposed to attack the Bulgarian-German troops, preventing them from crossing the Danube,⁴ but they did not budge.

The new commander of the Allied armies in the East, general Louis Franchet d'Espérey, launched a lightning attack in September 1918, obliging Bulgaria (26 September) and Turkey (30 October) to capitulate. In November 1918, Franchet d'Espérey was in Belgrade. Several units, called "the army of the Danube," were placed under the command of General Henri Mathias Berthelot. At the beginning of November they were approaching the Danube.⁵ General Berthelot launched a call to the Romanians to take up arms and re-enter the war.⁶ That night, the Romanian authorities addressed an ultimatum to the commander of the German forces in Romania to leave the country and on 10 November the government declared war on Germany. No one knew at that time that on 11 November Germany would demand an armistice.

On 3 November 1918, the Austro-Hungarian armies signed an armistice at Padua (Villa Giusti) with the Allied and Associated Powers. At the end of October, Hungary had declared independence and tried to dissociate herself from the Austro-Hungarian heritage, looking for ways to be recognized in the international arena as a new state. Consequently, on 13 November 1918, the representatives of the Hungarian government led by Count Mihály Károlyi got in touch with General Louis Franchet d'Espérey, with whom they signed a military convention, considering it to be an armistice, which it was not. In fact, it was a simple military convention, as the French understood it, destined to ensure the implementation on Hungarian territory of the armistice of Padua.

According to the Convention of Belgrade, the Allied Armies were free to move across Hungarian territory and to occupy strategically important points, the administration remaining Hungarian. In Transylvania, a demarcation line crossing the province from the northeast to the southwest was meant to separate the Hungarian armies from the Romanian army, which was considered, ipso

facto, cobelligerent. The Romanian army entered Transylvania during the second half of November. But Romania was still not yet an allied country.⁷

There was a discussion among the Great Victors, owing especially to the help of France (Berthelot, le Comte de Saint-Aulaire, minister of France in Romania, Stephen Pichon, French minister of Foreign Affairs, and Georges Clemenceau). Clemenceau, the French prime minister, wrote to General Berthelot on 15 January 1919 that: “Les Alliés sont d’accord pour considérer la Roumanie comme redevenue Puissance Alliée . . .”⁸ But the treaty of 1916 remained null and void, Romania was no longer considered a Great Victor and would participate in the Peace Conference as a small power, with limited interests and competences, alongside Belgium, Serbia,⁹ and Greece. In 1916, when the situation was bad on the front (the battle of Verdun was raging), the Entente Powers had made generous promises, but now it was more difficult to deliver. The Serbians, who never signed a peace treaty with the Central Powers, claimed a part of Banat, which had been promised to the Romanians in 1916.

In Transylvania there were frequent skirmishes along the demarcation line, which several times was pushed westwards with the agreement of the French commanders. One of these movements had a tragic end. On 14 January 1919, in a village near Zalău (northern Transylvania), units of the Romanian army fell into an ambush set by Hungarian troops, which had been supposed to leave the locality two hours before the advance of the Romanians, as agreed by the local commanders. There were dead and wounded. Consequently, the Romanians arrested the commissar of the Hungarian Government for East Hungary, Professor István Apáthy, who was afterwards debriefed by Romanian and French officers.¹⁰ One of the results was the decision of the Peace Conference of 25 February 1919 to create a neutral zone in Western Transylvania, which would separate the Romanian and Hungarian armies. The Hungarians were to retreat up to the western limit of the neutral zone and the Romanians were bound to refrain from crossing westwards of the eastern limit. It was decided that French troops would occupy that neutral zone.

When Count Károlyi was presented with the decisions of the Conference, he rejected them and resigned, and a communist-dominated new government took over in Budapest, on 21 March 1919. On 15 April 1919, the Hungarian communist army attacked the Romanian army, which counterattacked and in a few months reached the Tisza River. There, the Hungarian communists attacked again on 20 July, and the Romanian counteroffensive ended with the occupation of Budapest on 3 August 1919.¹¹

At the Peace Conference

THE ROMANIAN delegation, led by Prime Minister Ion I. C. Brătianu, arrived in Paris in the middle of January 1919. The second in command was Nicolae Mișu. The members of the delegation were close collaborators of Brătianu.

The arguments of Brătianu were:

- the treaty of 17 August 1916, which he still considered valid;
- the vote of the assemblies of Cernăuți (Czernowitz), Chișinău and Alba Iulia;
- the participation of Romania in the war;
- Romania's re-entry into the war (10 November 1918);
- the Romanian majority inhabiting all these regions—Transylvania, Banat, Bessarabia, Bukovina;
- the presence of the Romanian army in Hungary and the communist danger in the East and West.

The first confrontation occurred as the Serbians demanded a part of the Banat, which had been promised to Romania (1916) in its entirety.¹²

Coming from Greece with the Allied Armies in the East, the Serbians had occupied Banat up to the Mureș River, plundering some parts of the region,¹³ trying to prevent the Romanians from Banat from going to the Assembly of Alba Iulia (1 December 1918) which decided the union of Transylvania, Banat and Maramureș with Romania, and then seeking to hamper the return of those who had nevertheless managed to make the trip. The Ruling Council of Transylvania, created on 2 December 1918 at Alba Iulia, was prevented from introducing the Romanian administration into the province. There was the real danger of a clash between the armies of two allied countries.

The French found the solution: they created the zone of French military occupation in Banat (15 March 1919), the Serbian troops were obliged (on orders from General d'Espérey) to evacuate the region, and in July General Charles de Tournadre (the area commander) handed over the administration to the Romanians.¹⁴

At the Peace Conference, Brătianu adamantly insisted that the 17 August 1916 Alliance Treaty was still valid, pointing out that the King Ferdinand I and the Parliament of Romania had not ratified the Peace Treaty signed by Romania with the Central Powers on 7 May 1918. Speaking vehemently during the hearings with the Big Four, representing the Supreme Council of the Peace Conference, he demanded that Romania's frontier with Hungary be on the Tisza River, as promised in 1916, also invoking the validity of the decision

of the Assemblies of Bukovina and Bessarabia for union with Romania, and the right to self-determination.

This ran counter to the opinion of the Big Four who considered the Treaty of 1916 null and void, accusing Brătianu of exaggerated claims, pursuing excessive territorial accretion.¹⁵

In fact, even if the 1916 treaty had been still valid, the territory between the Tisza River and the real frontier decided upon by the Commission of the Conference would not have been annexed by Romania, as it was inhabited by a Hungarian majority.

In order to solve the very difficult problem of the frontiers, the Peace Conference set up territorial commissions, having as their head the French politician André Tardieu. The Commission for the Romanian frontiers included the famous French geographer Professor Emmanuel de Martonne, a member of the French delegation to the Conference.¹⁶

Ion I. C. Brătianu refused to sign the Peace Treaty with Austria, which was accompanied by a Treaty on minorities which he considered to be interference in the internal affairs of Romania. On 4 July 1919 he left the conference and went home, where he resigned. The following government was led by General Arthur Văitoianu, and then in November 1919 the parliamentary elections brought to power the Romanian National Party of Transylvania. Iuliu Maniu, its president, refused to form a new government and in December Alexandru Vaida Voevod's cabinet took over. In December, the Romanian government signed the treaties with Austria, Bulgaria and the Treaty on minorities. The Treaty of Trianon with Hungary was signed on 4 June 1920 by the Alexandru Averescu government. After the Peace Treaty with Hungary was signed, the Council of the ambassadors confirmed the union of Bessarabia and North Bukovina with Romania. The Italian government ratified the union of Bessarabia and Bukovina with Romania in 1927 and the American government only in 1933.

Trianon

THE TERRITORIAL Commission for Romania's frontiers with Hungary established the boundary on 12 May 1919.¹⁷ As said before, Brătianu stubbornly claimed the frontier promised in 1916. He did not get it and went home. The Peace Treaty with Hungary was signed on 4 June 1920 in the palace of Trianon, after Romania had signed the treaties with Bulgaria, Austria and the Treaty on minorities. On that occasion, Hungary's boundaries with Austria, Czechoslovakia, Romania and the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes

were confirmed. Hungary was losing two thirds of her former territory, but these territories were inhabited by majorities of Slovaks, Romanians, Serbians, Croats, and German-speaking people in the Burgenland. The settlement decided upon in Paris could not be perfect, but if the Hungarian minorities found it unjust to live under foreign governments, it would have been much more unjust for the Romanian, Serbian, Croat, Slovak majorities in those territories to live under Hungarian rule. The Trianon Treaty provoked shock and despair in Hungary. The Hungarian delegation at the Peace Conference forwarded a memorandum to the Supreme Council of the Conference, asking for the preservation of Hungary's territorial integrity.¹⁸ Their arguments were the following:

- the unity of Hungary was the result of natural geographic conditions;
- separating certain regions from the Hungarian state ran counter the principle (the right) of nationalities;
- the new frontiers separated the production centers from their sources of raw materials;
- historical right—the centuries-long existence of the Hungarian state; the Hungarian elites had developed a eugenic conception and mentality, considering the Magyar ethnic element to be racially and culturally superior to their neighbors, hence their scornful attitude¹⁹;
- Hungary's unity was necessary to European peace;
- the new frontiers cut across social cohesion²⁰;
- “le remaniement décidé est un transfert de l'inévitable hégémonie nationale à des races de culture inférieure, donc une déchéance qu'il faut éviter” (in French in the original).²¹

The Romanian delegation protested to the Supreme Council of the Conference against the scornful attitude of the Hungarian delegation, but did not accept that the problem of the frontiers be re-discussed.²²

Article 45 of the Trianon Peace Treaty stated as follows:

*La Hongrie renonce, en ce qui la concerne, en faveur de la Roumanie à tous droits et titres sur les territoires de l'ancienne monarchie austro-hongroise, situés au-delà des frontières de la Hongrie, telles qu'elles sont fixées à l'article 27, partie IV (Frontières de la Hongrie) et reconnus par le présent traité ou par tous les autres traités conclus en vue de régler les affaires actuelles, comme faisant partie de la Roumanie.*²³

What happened at Trianon was not a gift; it was the international ratification of the decisions taken by the Romanian National Assembly on 1 December 1918, in Alba Iulia.

After Trianon

THE FRONTIERS and the new position and status of a new country, Greater Romania, in the international relations were confirmed. The union of all Romanians was completed. Romania almost doubled her territory and population, inheriting at the same time difficulties issued from the diversity (ethnic and religious) of the population in the new provinces, hence a host of new and difficult problems.

Nevertheless, new prospects regarding development and modernization opened to the country. Old “wounds” had to be healed, and new ones could appear.

In 1923 a new, very modern Constitution was adopted, guaranteeing all civic rights for everybody: universal suffrage for men, complete religious freedom, the naturalization of the Jews, education in the native language (the state created and financed schools in Hungarian, German, Serbian and other languages). A radical land reform was also implemented. Peasants of all nationalities received land.

The economic activities of the minorities were not hampered.²⁴ The political rights of the minorities were respected. The Hungarian and Jewish parties participated in the elections, local and general, and sent to the Romanian Parliament deputies and senators. Jewish organizations entered electoral coalitions with the National Peasant Party (1928) and with the National Liberal Party (1927).²⁵ The culture of the minorities developed. There were more Hungarian publications in Transylvania than before the war.²⁶ Here is the opinion of the historian C. A. Macartney:

Instead, therefore, of seeking to Romanianize them, Romania has adopted the wiser, and certainly more successful policy encouraging their own national cultures, since the gains they may record are solely at the expense of the Magyars. Her purely cultural policy towards these nationalities has been very liberal.²⁷

There were still problems to be solved, but the envoys of the League of Nations reported that the Romanian government was making serious efforts to improve the condition of minorities (especially in education). Pablo de Azcárate and Erik Colban—the envoys of the League of Nations—crossed the country several times. Concerning the education, Lord Robert Cecil, the president of the Committee of the League of Nations, who examined the complaints of the minorities, declared to the Romanian government in 18 March 1926:

Mes collègues du Comité du Conseil, qui a examiné la question de la Roumanie sur l'enseignement privé, m'ont prié d'exprimer en leur nom leur appréciation de l'utile concours qui a été apporté par le représentant de la Roumanie, M. Commène.

Le Comité reconnaît que le gouvernement roumain n'a épargné aucun effort pour mettre à la disposition du Comité tous les renseignements nécessaires en vue d'une étude approfondie de la question et il désire en remercier le gouvernement roumain. Dans une question très difficile, le gouvernement roumain a manifesté le désir le plus sincère et le plus louable de satisfaire à ce que demandent la justice et l'Humanité.²⁸

There was, nevertheless, discontent on the part of different minorities (especially Hungarian) with their situation in Romania and the policy of the government. The Hungarians flooded the League of Nations with complaints. Erik Colban, head of the Section of minorities at the League of Nations (1924) wrote: "After analyzing the Hungarian petition alleging Romanian abuse, the League's Committee of Three concluded that many of them contained exaggerated claims and that some were simply false."²⁹ The Hungarian irredentism grew considerably during the interwar period, leading to the Vienna Award of 1940.

It would have been impossible to draw fairer boundary lines given the intricate situation of ethnic groups in East and Central Europe at the end of the First World War. Trianon nevertheless succeeded in removing former injustices. □

Notes

1. *1918 la români: Desăvârșirea unității național-statale a poporului român: Documente externe*, vol. 1, 1879–1916 (Bucharest: Ed. Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1983) (Convention politique and Convention militaire), 763–771.
2. *Ibid.*, Convention politique, art. V, 765.
3. George Cipăianu, *La răscruce (Toamna anului 1917–primăvara lui 1918): Marea Britanie și încheierea de către România a unei păci separate/At the Cross-Roads (Fall 1917–Spring 1918): Great Britain and Romania's Making of a Separate Peace* (Oradea: Cogito, 1993), *passim*.
4. *1918 la români*, Convention militaire, art. III, 768.
5. Gheorghe Iancu and George Cipăianu, eds., *La Consolidation de l'union de la Transylvanie et de la Roumanie (1918–1919): Témoignages français* (Bucharest: Ed. Enciclopedică, 1990), 7–100.
6. See the call "Aux armes Roumains," in *ibid.*, Doc. 1, Annex 4, 113–114.
7. Iancu and Cipăianu, 22–26, 28.
8. *Ibid.*, Doc. XXIV, 156.

9. Ibid.
10. Ibid., Doc. XLIII, 195–198.
11. Sherman David Spector, *România și Conferința de Pace de la Paris: Diplomația lui Ion I. C. Brătianu*, trans. Sorin Pârnu (Iași: Institutul European, 1995), 127, 136.
12. Ibid., 104–108.
13. Central Historical National Archives, Bucharest, Microfilms, Franța, roll 304, frame 294.
14. Gheorghe Iancu, *The Ruling Council: The Integration of Transylvania into Romania 1918–1920*, trans. Magda Wächter (Cluj-Napoca: Romanian Cultural Foundation, Center for Transylvanian Studies, 1995).
15. Spector, 300; Margaret Macmillan, *Peacemakers: The Paris Conference of 1919 and Its Attempts to End War*, foreword by Richard Holbrooke (London: John Murray, 2001), 140.
16. Ibid., 339.
17. Ibid., 188.
18. *Desăvârșirea unității național-statale a poporului român: Recunoașterea ei internațională: 1918*, vol. 6 (Bucharest: Ed. Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1986), Doc. 857, p. 9.
19. See Marius Turda, “Războiul sfânt al rasei”: *Eugenia și protecția națiunii în Ungaria 1900–1919*, foreword by Zsuzsa Bokor, trans. Răzvan Pârâianu and Attila Varga (Cluj-Napoca: Academia Română, Centrul de Studii Transilvane; Fundația Transilvania Leaders; Școala Ardeleană, 2020), 11, 131, 213, 290, 299.
20. *Desăvârșirea unității național-statale a poporului român*, Doc. 857, 13.
21. Ibid., Doc. 863, 32.
22. Ibid.
23. Ibid., Doc. 890, 153.
24. Archive de la Société des Nations, Geneva, 41/30120, Report signed by Erik Colban, quoted in Gheorghe Iancu, *Le Problème des minorités de la Roumanie dans les documents de la Société des Nations (1923–1932)* (Cluj-Napoca: Argonaut, 2002), 65–139.
25. Carol Iancu, “Evreii din România interbelică 1919–1940”, in *Trecutul prezent: Evreii din România: Istorie, memorie, reprezentare*, edited by Anca Filipovici and Attila Gidó (Cluj-Napoca: Ed. Institutului pentru Studiarea Problemelor Minorităților Naționale, 2018), 68.
26. We are indebted for this information to Professor Virgiliu Țărău.
27. C. A. Macartney, *Hungary and her Successors: The Treaty of Trianon and Its Consequences 1919–1937* (London–New York–Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1937), 285–287, quoted in Larry Watts and Vladimir Ionaș, eds., *Romanian Minority Policy and the 1918 Alba Iulia Resolution: Romanian and Hungarian Perceptions* (Bucharest: Roundtable on Ethic Relations, 2019), 81.
28. Société des Nations, *Journal officiel*, 1926, 741–742, quoted in Silviu Dragomir, *La Transylvanie roumaine et ses minorités ethniques* (Bucharest: Imprimerie Nationale, 1934), 174 and 177.
29. Colban, quoted in Watts and Ionaș, p. 29 and note 25.

Abstract

Trianon

The Treaty of Trianon (1920) has been highly debated both in historiography and in the public arena, often in a tense atmosphere. This paper aims at an objective, non-partisan description of the events leading up to the Peace Conference and of the negotiations between the diplomatic delegations of the countries involved (Romania, Czechoslovakia, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Hungary, and Austria). We have looked at Romania's relationship with the Entente (France, Great Britain, Italy, and the United States of America), its activity at the Peace Conference, its demands and gains, and the debates at Trianon. We considered it essential to present the arguments of both sides and the results of the Treaty of Trianon.

Keywords

Treaty of Trianon, Peace Conference, Entente, diplomatic delegation

« OÙ va la Roumanie ? »
Les chroniques d'Alphonse Dupront
dans *L'Europe nouvelle* des années
1930

STEFAN LEMNY



ALPHONSE DUPRONT
(1905-1990)

Stefan Lemny

Chargé de collections d'histoire de l'Europe centrale et orientale à la Bibliothèque nationale de France. Auteur, entre autres, du vol. **Dimitrie Cantemir. Un prince roumain à l'aube des Lumières européennes** (2019).

**Un grand historien,
ami de la Roumanie**

PARMI LES grands historiens français qui ont passionnément aimé la Roumanie, tels Jules Michelet et Edgar Quinet, Alphonse Dupront (1905-1990) est moins connu. À la différence de ses précurseurs du XIX^e siècle, qui ont écrit depuis la France, animés par l'amitié avec les révolutionnaires roumains de 1848, il s'est inspiré directement de son vécu dans ce pays. En effet, après l'École normale supérieure de la rue d'Ulm (1925-1929), l'agrégation (1929) et l'École française de Rome (1930-1932), il commence en 1932 à Bucarest son parcours professionnel en tant que directeur de l'Institut français de hautes études en Roumanie et de la Mission universitaire avant d'être nommé, en mai 1939, conseiller culturel auprès de la Légation de France. Il y reste jusqu'en mars 1941, quelques mois après sa destitution, en octobre 1940, par le gouvernement de

Vichy, conséquence de sa réponse à l'Appel du Général de Gaulle du 18 juin. Avant d'entamer sa brillante carrière universitaire, d'abord à Montpellier (1941-1956), puis à la Sorbonne (après 1956), il a donc passé en peu plus de huit ans « sur la terre et sous le ciel de Roumanie », selon son expression.¹

Son activité en Roumanie est à peu près connue grâce à plusieurs travaux récents.² C'est pendant son mandat que l'Institut français s'est installé à l'adresse qu'il occupe de nos jours et qu'il est devenu une véritable vitrine de la vie culturelle française. Plusieurs réalisations prestigieuses sont incontestablement les fruits de ses initiatives et de son dévouement : des conférences données par d'illustres personnalités de la vie intellectuelle française (Fernand Baldensperger, Paul Hazard, Jules Romains, Roger Martin du Gard et autres) ; des expositions de livres comme à « La semaine du livre français en Roumanie », du 1^{er} au 8 décembre 1938 ; des concerts et des spectacles dont ceux de la Comédie Française, en mars 1936 et mars 1940 ; des visites et des voyages d'études de nombreux Français en Roumanie et de Roumains en France ; et aussi le soutien qu'il a apporté à Cioran et à Ionesco pour qu'ils s'installent définitivement en France où ils ont acquis une célébrité mondiale.³

La sensibilité du jeune directeur pour la découverte d'autres cultures, ses recherches en vue de l'exploration des ressorts les plus profonds de la psyché collective de même que sa vision philosophique ont été essentielles dans la réussite de sa mission. Paul Morand a pu le constater lors de son voyage en Roumanie en 1934. Les connaissances de cet « homme jeune, plein de tact et de savoir et doué d'une qualité rare : la sympathie intuitive qui le fait pénétrer dans la psychologie d'un peuple étranger », ont été pour lui, reconnaissait Morand, « la plus riche source d'information » dans son livre sur Bucarest publié en 1935.⁴

Les écrits d'Alphonse Dupront datant de cette période reflètent bien la largeur de ses vues. Malheureusement, ils sont très peu connus. Certains d'entre eux ont été publiés de son vivant : le discours prononcé à l'Institut français, le 22 juin 1934, pour saluer la visite du ministre français des Affaires étrangères, Louis Barthou, et l'évocation du mathématicien Paul Montel, salué par lui, lors de son élection honorifique à l'Académie roumaine, en mai 1938, comme « pèlerin de la Roumanie »⁵, allusion à la Société française « Les pèlerins de Roumanie » fondée par lui. La plupart de ses textes sont restés manuscrits et mériteraient d'être publiés afin d'illustrer ses conceptions généreuses en matière de coopération culturelle, ainsi que sa passion pour le pays de sa mission. Coopération née d'une aspiration humaniste de connaissance, « par des hommes et pour des hommes » – selon ses mots –, à l'opposé de toute tentative de *propagande*, concept abhorré par la diplomatie culturelle française, en général⁶, et par Alphonse Dupront, en particulier : c'était l'une des idées qu'il a développées dans un long article visant à

défendre les principes de la politique culturelle française à l'étranger, qui recherchait non pas « des clientèles », mais « seulement des amis ».⁷

L'amitié que le directeur de l'Institut français souhaite mettre au cœur de sa mission est beaucoup plus que l'expression de la raison en matière de diplomatie culturelle. Elle est surtout une voix née de son attachement profond et de sa fascination pour le pays qu'il découvre :

Admirable tradition méditerranéenne si étrangement vivante en cette terre roumaine : culte de la parole et amour de la pensée, mais d'une pensée qui ne meurt point dans un livre, qui vit au gré du commerce des hommes pour leur commun plaisir et pour leur profit spirituel. C'est en elle que nous baignons, nourris comme malgré nous, de tout ce que l'intelligence roumaine porte de frais, de créateur, de poétique au sens fort, pour rajeunir notre sensibilité occidentale, lasse parfois d'avoir trop vécu. L'homme nouveau de ce pays, lointain pour l'horizon géographique de notre Français moyen, c'est lui que nous venons simplement chercher, heureux de le sentir tout proche par ses traditions latines, ses siècles de culture occidentale, la sympathie éclairée qu'il nous porte, mais désireux passionnément de le voir rester lui-même, expression de tout un passé complexe, riche de gloires et d'épreuves, image d'une terre dont on ne doit plus pouvoir oublier quand on la quitte, le charme fascinant, noyée dans la lumière cendrée des cieux d'un Grigoresco.⁸

Son amour pour la Roumanie n'est donc pas seulement intellectuel et spirituel, il est également affectif, chargé d'une nostalgie que peu d'observateurs français ont vécue si intensément :

Comment se défendre des modulations de la flûte de Pan – dira-t-il avec émotion devant le ministre des Affaires étrangères de France, Louis Barthou –, le soir, lorsque la nuit tombe sur la vallée et que le pâtre dit à la Nature et à son troupeau ses désirs, ses regrets, ses rêves du lendemain, l'indéfinissable dor ?⁹

Une facette peu connue de l'historien : ses réflexions sur l'actualité

L'ATTACHEMENT D'ALPHONSE Dupront pour la Roumanie s'est exprimé aussi dans une autre facette, pratiquement ignorée, de son activité : son expérience occasionnelle de chroniqueur de l'actualité politique. Or, cet aspect n'était connu jusqu'à présent au champ roumain du moins que par un seul

exemple : l'article « D'une politique de rayonnement français à l'étranger »¹⁰, paru dans quatre numéros de *L'Europe nouvelle*, texte certes en marge du journalisme proprement dit – c'est plutôt un essai sur les principes de la diplomatie culturelle française en général – et qui ne concerne pas particulièrement la Roumanie. Alphonse Dupront reconnaîtra par la suite qu'il avait aussi écrit sur ce pays dans la même revue, sous le pseudonyme de Pierre Noël : en témoigne Alain Guillermou, son collaborateur pendant sa mission en Roumanie et son collègue à la Sorbonne¹¹, qui cite en ce sens l'article « Où va la Roumanie ? » publié dans *L'Europe nouvelle* du 22 janvier 1938.¹²

À partir de ces exemples, la liste de ses articles peut être enrichie. Une recherche plus systématique dans les pages de la même revue permet un premier constat : sous ce même pseudonyme de Pierre Noël, le numéro du 4 septembre 1937 contient un autre article d'Alphonse Dupront, titré : « La situation politique en Roumanie ».¹³

La correspondance (inédite) d'Alphonse Dupront avec les rédacteurs de *L'Europe nouvelle*, la prestigieuse revue fondée par Louise Weiss, suscite d'autres interrogations. Dans une lettre du 12 septembre 1936, l'économiste Roger Auboin, chroniqueur à *L'Europe nouvelle*, avant de devenir en 1938 directeur général de la Banque des règlements internationaux, lui écrit : « j'aurais beaucoup voulu avoir cette semaine un article sur le nouveau Cabinet roumain » – il s'agit du Conseil des ministres de Gheorghe Tătărescu –, et il lui recommande de « revenir notamment sur la personnalité d'Antonesco¹⁴ et les garanties de premier ordre qu'elle comporte au point de vue français ».¹⁵

Le destinataire de cette invitation, a-t-il répondu à sa demande ? Serait-il alors l'auteur de l'article du 19 septembre sous la signature de Daniel Dupin, intitulé « Le nouveau cabinet roumain » ?¹⁶

Dans une lettre du 21 septembre 1936, Madeleine Le Verrier, directrice de *L'Europe nouvelle* et future résistante¹⁷, écrit à Dupront : « J'ai beaucoup aimé votre article sur la Roumanie ; nous l'avons trouvé très vivant et apportant exactement le son de cloche qu'il est nécessaire de trouver dans la revue sur la nouvelle orientation de la politique roumaine. »¹⁸ Or, il n'y pas d'autre article sur la Roumanie publié peu avant cette date, excepté ceux dont on connaît les auteurs : Albert Mousset, éminent journaliste sur les sujets de politique européenne, et Pertinax, nom de plume du journaliste André Géraud.¹⁹

Si l'hypothèse est fondée, le texte en question serait alors la première présence de Dupront dans les pages de *L'Europe nouvelle*, avant l'article « D'une politique de rayonnement français à l'étranger ».²⁰ La convergence de vues dans l'analyse de la situation politique de Roumanie apporte un autre argument en faveur de sa paternité. Le fil rouge de ces textes est l'inquiétude devant la crise grandissante de la démocratie roumaine, crise accentuée par le progrès du mouvement

d'extrême droite, La Garde de fer, avec son discours nationaliste, antisémite et antiparlementaire, et la crainte de voir le pays s'éloigner de son amitié traditionnelle avec la France. D'un article à l'autre, on observe cependant quelques nuances différentes d'appréciation. Dans le numéro du 19 septembre 1936, « Daniel Dupin » se demande avec inquiétude si « les tendances de l'évolution intérieure roumaine ne portent vers d'autres amitiés » que celles avec la France. Dans l'article du 4 septembre 1937, « La situation politique en Roumanie », Pierre Noël alias Dupront considère « qu'il n'y a point crise d'amitié », et il rappelle la nécessité pour l'opinion française « de comprendre l'évolution du spirituel roumain », marqué par les transformations d'après la Première Guerre mondiale. L'installation, à la fin de l'année 1937, du gouvernement dirigé par un antisémite notoire, le poète Octavian Goga, ne l'empêche pas de continuer à écrire dans l'article du 22 janvier 1938, que ses membres « sont hommes de tradition et d'expérience, de responsabilité aussi ». Une note de bas de page précise d'ailleurs qu'« une prochaine étude relèvera les premiers actes du gouvernement Goga par rapport aux nécessités de la vie générale du pays roumain ». Ne portant pas la mention N.D.L.R. (note de la rédaction de la revue), celui-ci est-il l'auteur, Pierre Noël lui-même ? Il est fort probable qu'au moment de la publication de cet article du 22 janvier 1938, l'auteur n'avait pas eu connaissance du décret antisémite de ce cabinet, émis à la même date. C'est sans doute la raison pour laquelle il persiste à penser que ce gouvernement représente « la dernière carte du régime parlementaire » en Roumanie : « Après, ce serait pour le souverain, l'expérience déclarée d'un gouvernement de dictature ou le pacte, si pacte il peut y avoir, avec la Garde. »

On connaît la suite. Avant qu'ait pu être publié l'article annoncé, le gouvernement de Goga a dévoilé son visage avec le décret antisémite du 22 janvier 1938, puis s'est effondré, le 11 février 1938, confirmant ainsi les prévisions sur l'avènement de la dictature royale. Dans *L'Europe nouvelle* du 26 mars 1938, est publié un article qui traite de cet événement, « Après la dictature du Roi Carol », article signé « D. », ce qui pourrait renvoyer à l'initiale de Dupront ?²¹

Mais il est difficile d'en avoir la certitude. Même si la situation a évolué depuis 1936, le fait qu'il contienne plusieurs notes discordantes par rapport à l'analyse proposée dans les articles précédents entretient ce doute. Ainsi, dans « Où va la Roumanie ? », le cabinet d'Octavian Goga est défendu malgré tout de l'horreur suprême : « D'hitlérisme – écrit Dupront – il n'en est pas question. » À l'inverse, dans l'article « Après la dictature du Roi Carol », le poète est clairement désigné comme « naziste » roumain. Ce dernier article contient également une critique acerbe du roi Carol (parler de son « plus pur machiavélisme » – est-il écrit – « c'est un compliment à faire au dictateur royal »), alors que son image était plus positive dans les textes précédents : dans « Le nouveau cabinet roumain »,

signé par Daniel Dupin en septembre 1936, le roi est présenté comme étant animé par « une haute préoccupation morale », et, un an plus tard, dans « La situation politique en Roumanie », Dupront évoque « l'originalité de la formule politique qu'esquisse, à l'heure actuelle, la collaboration de l'esprit public et du souverain ».

Du fait qu'il exprime des points de vue différents des articles cités précédemment, le texte signé D., « Après la dictature du Roi Carol », pourrait laisser penser qu'il n'a vraisemblablement pas été écrit par Dupront. L'argument est discutable car le texte pourrait avoir été écrit par lui s'il avait revu ses jugements, marqué par le nouveau cours de l'histoire en Roumanie. En tout cas, son auteur craint fortement que le coup d'État du roi puisse avoir des conséquences néfastes sur l'orientation de la politique étrangère de la Roumanie.

Il faut agir et agir vite si l'on veut éviter le pire – conclut-il-. Un vrai représentant de la pensée et des conceptions françaises à Bucarest qui, appuyé par son gouvernement, rétablirait le contact avec les hommes politiques et les militaires décidés à ne pas se laisser entraîner par le roi Carol dans le camp allemand [...], et à défendre l'intégrité territoriale et l'indépendance de leur pays, pourrait encore sauver la situation.

Toute la question est de savoir si Alphonse Dupront, défenseur de l'amitié franco-roumaine, pourrait avoir lancé un tel cri d'alarme. Car même si l'esprit en est le sien, il était loin d'être le seul à exprimer ces vues.

Le style des articles signés par Daniel Dupin et D. offre d'autres éléments – même si partiels – en faveur de l'éventuelle paternité d'Alphonse Dupront, notamment par l'utilisation de certaines expressions : « sensibilité », « affectivité », « vie profonde du pays », « génie national », « pérennité de l'amitié », « vie spirituelle », etc.

Ces différents articles permettent en tout cas de découvrir l'analyse du futur Président de l'Université Paris IV – Sorbonne sur la vie politique en Roumanie pendant les années troubles qui précèdent la Deuxième Guerre mondiale. Dans « Le nouveau cabinet roumain » du 19 septembre 1936, Daniel Dupin voit dans l'éviction de Nicolae Titulescu non pas « un fait de politique intérieure », mais plutôt un événement riche en conséquences pour la politique étrangère de la Roumanie que le grand diplomate avait dirigée « courageusement [...] et avec une intelligence et une conviction exceptionnelles ». Dans « La situation politique en Roumanie » du 4 septembre 1937, Dupront insiste sur « les mouvements de l'esprit public », et il s'inquiète : « l'avenir de l'esprit démocratique est fort menacé ». Dans « Où va la Roumanie ? » du 22 janvier 1938, toujours sous la signature de Pierre Noël, il ébauche une estimation des suites des élections

de 1937, qui ont permis le succès de la Garde de fer et l'installation du gouvernement Goga, décrit, malgré son profil d'extrême droite, comme « la dernière carte du régime parlementaire ». Et enfin, « D. », l'auteur de l'article « Après la dictature du roi Carol » du 26 mars 1938 (pour lequel la paternité de Dupront est plus discutable) mesure les conséquences dramatiques de la dictature royale à laquelle « les gouvernements français et anglais commettraient une fatale erreur de ne pas prêter toute leur attention. »

Les spécialistes de l'époque contemporaine seront mieux en mesure d'apprécier l'intérêt de ces analyses. Certes, elles ne sont pas à l'abri de certaines appréciations discutables comme, par exemple, dans sa critique de la grande réforme agraire de 1923 en Roumanie, réforme que Dupront considère à l'origine de la crise de la société roumaine des années 1930 : ainsi, c'est le nombre croissant d'intellectuels issus du monde rural après cette réforme qui, n'ayant pas obtenu les résultats espérés, aurait alimenté la contestation du régime démocratique en place (« Le nouveau cabinet roumain », « La situation politique en Roumanie », « Où va la Roumanie ? »).

Malgré les quelques interprétations controversées, ces articles montrent la profonde perception des réalités politiques roumaines par le jeune directeur de l'Institut français de Bucarest. Fort de la perspective de la longue durée, Dupront, si Daniel Dupin c'est bien lui, a l'espoir que « le bon sens roumain », forgé « pendant des millénaires » et « au travers des invasions, des partages, des servitudes », ne devrait pas permettre au peuple de « s'abandonner aujourd'hui à la facile séduction de formules conquérantes » d'antisémitisme et d'antiparlementarisme (« Le nouveau cabinet roumain »). En même temps, l'analyse de la vie sociale en Roumanie durant les vingt ans depuis la réalisation de l'Unité conduit l'auteur à l'idée que « le nationalisme roumain, force positive et saine, cherche les éléments de son spirituel » et que « son passé ne lui donne plus ce qu'exige son présent » (« La situation politique en Roumanie »).

Sous pseudonyme

RESTE à expliquer pourquoi Alphonse Dupront aurait signé ces articles sous d'autres noms. La rigueur avec laquelle il a élaboré ses ouvrages – l'exemple le plus frappant est sa thèse de doctorat d'État, *Le mythe de croisade*, soutenue en 1956 et publiée seulement post-mortem en 1997²² – pourrait-elle justifier sa prudence devant des textes trop vite rédigés et inévitablement sous l'emprise et par les nécessités de l'instant ?

Une autre interprétation est suggérée par sa lettre à Madeleine Le Verrier le 2 janvier 1935, dans laquelle il évoque ses relations avec Jean Marx, le directeur

du Service des Œuvres françaises à l'étranger, son supérieur hiérarchique du Quai d'Orsay, qu'il admire, non sans déplorer sa « frayeur instinctive de tout ce qui est presse, nouvelles de presse concernant ses Œuvres ». C'est la raison pour laquelle, il propose à la directrice de *L'Europe nouvelle* d'attendre la publication de son long article « D'une politique de rayonnement français à l'étranger », afin d'obtenir d'abord l'aval de Jean Marx : « Nous arriverons amicalement à le convaincre, mais il faudra du temps »²³, prévision qui s'est avérée juste car l'article pourra enfin être publié sous son nom, mais plus de ... vingt et un mois plus tard !

On comprend dès lors le refus d'Alphonse Dupront de signer de son nom les autres articles portant sur des sujets d'actualité politique en Roumanie, eu égard à son devoir de réserve. Dans ces conditions, le choix du pseudonyme semblait satisfaire au mieux son désir de faire fructifier la bonne connaissance des réalités de ce pays et de servir les exigences d'un journalisme de qualité tel que *L'Europe nouvelle* l'a exemplairement montré.

De surcroît, sa contribution à la revue ne se limite pas à ces quelques articles parus sous son nom ou sous un pseudonyme. Elle transparait également dans un projet concernant la réalisation d'un numéro spécial de cette revue consacré à la Roumanie, pour lequel son concours s'est révélé déterminant : « Naturellement – l'assure Madeleine Le Verrier le 6 janvier 1937 –, vous pourrez faire subir à ce projet toutes les modifications que vous jugerez bon et engager les frais de collaboration nécessaires. » Une « idée excellente », selon Victor Antonescu, le ministre roumain des Affaires étrangères à cette date, qui avait particulièrement apprécié le rôle d'Alphonse Dupront dans la préparation de ce numéro, et à qui il proposait, comme l'informe la directrice de la revue, « d'aller le voir afin que vous preniez ensemble les mesures nécessaires ».²⁴

Le projet sera finalement abandonné à cause des différences de conceptions entre Victor Antonescu et la directrice de la revue, soucieuse de ne pas compromettre « l'indépendance que doit garder *L'Europe nouvelle* vis-à-vis de ses meilleurs amis étrangers ». Mais jusqu'au dernier moment, le rôle de médiateur d'Alphonse Dupront a été essentiel :

*Si vous voyez un moyen – lui écrit en dernière instance Madeleine Le Verrier – de tourner cette difficulté, faites-le moi savoir, je vous prie, par retour du courrier, et si vous jugez bon soit d'essayer de faire revenir Antonesco sur sa décision, soit de lui dire que nous abandonnons notre projet, en lui en expliquant les raisons, je vous en serai très reconnaissante.*²⁵

Peu nombreux, ces articles et ces initiatives illustrent néanmoins l'intérêt du futur historien pour le travail sur l'actualité. Mais ils sont également importants

pour leur contribution à l'information de l'opinion française et francophone sur les réalités politiques roumaines peu avant le début de la Deuxième Guerre mondiale. Une importance accentuée par la revue qui les a publiés, *L'Europe nouvelle*, périodique d'un haut niveau intellectuel, au service de l'Europe telle qu'elle a été dessinée par les traités de 1919 et 1920 et par les valeurs de la démocratie et de la paix sous l'égide de la Société des Nations.

Les chroniques politiques d'Alphonse Dupront ont été dans cette revue, comme il le souhaitait ardemment, une contribution apportée « par simple règle d'objectivité et non moins pour servir une tradition d'amitié entre la Roumanie et la France » (« Où va la Roumanie ? »). Le secret du pseudonyme dévoilé, elles méritent l'attention de ceux qui étudient l'œuvre du grand historien français et aussi de ceux qui s'intéressent à la perception de l'histoire de la Roumanie en France et dans l'opinion européenne.



Chronologie des articles publiés dans *L'Europe nouvelle*

Daniel Dupin, « Le nouveau cabinet roumain », n° 971, 19 septembre 1936, p. 939-940.
 Alphonse Dupront, « D'une politique de rayonnement français à l'étranger. I. Propagandes sur l'Europe », n° 972, 26 septembre 1936, p. 969-971 ; « II. La vocation traditionnelle de la France », n° 973, 3 octobre 1936, p. 997-1000 ; « III. Rayonnement et propagande », n° 977, 31 octobre 1936, p. 1091-1094 ; « IV. Œuvres françaises et coopération intellectuelle », n° 980, 21 novembre 1936, p. 1162-1166.
 Pierre Noël, « La situation politique en Roumanie », n° 1021, 4 septembre 1937, p. 855-857.
 Pierre Noël, « Où va la Roumanie ? », n° 1041, 22 janvier 1938, p. 77-80.
 D., « Après la dictature du Roi Carol », n° 1050, 26 mars 1938.

Notes

1. Dans l'allocution du 3 juillet 1984 à la Sorbonne lors de la promotion d'Alphonse Dupront au grade de Commandeur de la Légion d'honneur. Cf. Fonds Alphonse Dupront. Donation en cours de versement aux Archives de la Bibliothèque de l'École normale supérieure, rue d'Ulm, Paris. Abrégé ensuite : Fonds Dupront.
2. Voir : *Cahiers Alphonse Dupront*, 3, 1994 ; André Godin, *Une passion roumaine. Histoire de l'Institut Français de Hautes Études en Roumanie (1924-1948)*, Paris, L'Harmattan, 1998 ; Sylvio Hermann De Franceschi, *Les intermittences du temps. Lire Alphonse Dupront*, préface par Dominique Julia, Paris, Éditions de l'École des hautes études en sciences sociales, 2014.
3. Stefan Lemny, « O 'șansa' a vieții lui Cioran : istoricul Alphonse Dupront », *Dilema veche* (Bucarest), XVI, n° 811, 5-11 septembre 2019, p. 14 ; id., « Eugène Ionesco și

- Alphonse Dupront : dialog epistolar », *Dilema veche*, XVI, n° 812, 12-18 septembre 2019, p. 15.
4. Paul Morand, *Bucarest*, Paris, Plon, 1990, p. 213-214 et 293: cf. Andrei Pippidi, « Morand et ses hôtes roumains », in *Paul Morand l'Européen. Les Actes du Colloque septembre 2009*, Bucarest, Bibliothèque centrale universitaire, Bucarest, 22-23 septembre 2009, Bucarest, Ambassade de France en Roumanie, Institut français, 2009, p. 128-129.
 5. « Discours de M. A. Dupront », in *Le Président Louis Barthou à l'Institut Français de Hautes Études en Roumanie*, Bucarest, Typographies Roumaines S.A. Rahovei, 1934, p. 15-25 et « Discours du professeur Alphonse Dupront, Directeur de l'Institut Français de Bucarest », in *Cérémonie de la remise de l'épée d'académicien français à Monsieur Paul Montel, professeur à la Sorbonne, membre de l'Académie des Sciences de Paris, membre d'honneur de l'Académie roumaine*, 31 mai 1938, p. 20-21.
 6. Didier Georgakakis, *La République contre la propagande. Aux origines perdues de la communication d'État en France (1917-1940)*, Paris, Economica, 2004, p. 136.
 7. Alphonse Dupront, « D'une politique de rayonnement français à l'étranger. III. Rayonnement et propagande », *L'Europe nouvelle*, 19^e année, n° 977, 31 octobre 1936, p. 1091-1094.
 8. Cf. « Discours de M. A. Dupront », *loc. cit.*, p. 15-25.
 9. *Ibid.*
 10. Alphonse Dupront, « D'une politique de rayonnement français à l'étranger. I. Propagandes sur l'Europe », *L'Europe nouvelle*, n° 972, 26 septembre 1936, p. 969-971 ; « II. La vocation traditionnelle de la France », n° 973, 3 octobre 1936, p. 997-1000 ; « III. Rayonnement et propagande », n° 977, 31 octobre 1936, p. 1091-1094 ; « IV. Œuvres françaises et coopération intellectuelle », n° 980, 21 novembre 1936, p. 1162-1166.
 11. Cf. Fonds Dupront.
 12. Pierre Noël, « Où va la Roumanie ? », *L'Europe nouvelle*, 21^e année, n° 1041, 22 janvier 1938, p. 77-80, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k2952641j/f5.item>.
 13. Pierre Noël, « La situation politique en Roumanie », *L'Europe nouvelle*, 20^e année, n° 1021, 4 septembre 1937, p. 855-857, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k2952621s/f15.item>. Il s'impose de préciser que ces recherches ont été possibles grâce à la bibliothèque numérique Gallica de la Bibliothèque nationale de France, la revue *L'Europe nouvelle* faisant partie de ses collections consultables à distance en mode texte.
 14. Victor Antonescu, ministre des Affaires étrangères de la Roumanie 28 août 1936 au 29 décembre 1937. L'article « Le nouveau cabinet roumain » évoque, en effet, sa personnalité et son passé comme une garantie pour la poursuite de l'amitié franco-roumaine.
 15. Fonds Dupront.
 16. Daniel Dupin, « Le nouveau cabinet roumain », *L'Europe nouvelle*, 19^e année, n° 971, 19 septembre 1936, p. 939-940, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k2952572r/f11.item>.

17. Madeleine Gex Le Verrier, *Une Française dans la Tourmente*, préface par André Philip, Londres, H. Hamilton, 1942, livre récemment réédité, Paris, Éditions du Félin, 2020. Voir aussi Jean-Louis Debré et Valérie Bochenek, *Ces femmes qui ont réveillé la France*, Paris, Arthème Fayard, 2013.
18. Fonds Dupront.
19. Albert Mousset, « La Roumanie à la croisée des chemins », *L'Europe nouvelle*, 19^e année, n° 969, 5 septembre 1936, p. 891-892 ; Pertinax, « Nicolas Titulesco », *L'Europe nouvelle*, 21^e année, n° 970, 12 septembre 1938, p. 917-919.
20. Alphonse Dupront, « D'une politique de rayonnement français à l'étranger », *loc. cit.*
21. D., « Après la dictature du Roi Carol », *L'Europe nouvelle*, 21^e année, n° 1050, 26 mars 1938, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k2952650h/f18.item>.
22. Stefan Lemny, « *Le Mythe de croisade* d'Alphonse Dupront », *L'Histoire*, Paris, n° 471, mai 2020, p. 91.
23. Cf. Fonds Dupront.
24. Lettre de Madeleine Le Verrier à Alphonse Dupront, le 6 janvier 1937, cf. Fonds Dupront.
25. Lettre de Madeleine Le Verrier à Alphonse Dupront, le 13 avril 1937. Une autre lettre de celle-ci à Victor Antonescu, le 10 mai 1937, officialise l'abandon du projet, cf. Fonds Dupront.

Abstract

“Où va la Roumanie?” (What direction for Romania?)

The Chronicles of Alphonse Dupront in the Issues of *L'Europe nouvelle* of the 1930s

The historian Alphonse Dupront (1905–1990) was not particularly tempted by journalism. His experience in this field of writing has been known in Romania only through two titles, both published during his Romanian activity as a director of the French Institute (1932–1940): “D'une politique de rayonnement français à l'étranger,” a dense text, bordering on casual journalism, published in four successive issues of the prestigious magazine founded by Louise Weiss, *L'Europe nouvelle*, between 26 September and 21 November 1936, and “Où va la Roumanie?,” signed with the pseudonym Pierre Noël in the same magazine of 22 January 1938. Therefore, it would be necessary to add two or perhaps even three articles ignored so far, as well as other initiatives that put more emphasis on his appetite for the journalistic exercise and at the same time show his contribution to the knowledge of Romanian realities through *L'Europe nouvelle*.

Keywords

Alphonse Dupront, *L'Europe nouvelle*, French Institute of Bucharest, Madeleine Le Verrier, Victor Antonescu

CONTRIBUTORS

IOAN BOLOVAN, Ph.D.

Director of George Barițiu Institute of History,
Romanian Academy
12–14 Mihail Kogălniceanu St., Cluj-Napoca
400084, Romania
Email: ioanbolovan62@gmail.com

GEORGE CIPĂIANU, Ph.D.

Emeritus professor, Faculty of History
and Philosophy, Babeș-Bolyai University
11 Napoca St., Cluj-Napoca 40088, Romania
Email: cipaianug@yahoo.com

MARIA GHITTA, Ph.D.

Researcher at the Center for Transylvanian Studies,
Romanian Academy
12–14 Mihail Kogălniceanu St., Cluj-Napoca
400084, Romania
Email: maria.ghitta@gmail.com

FRANCESCO GUIDA, Ph.D.

Professor at the Faculty of Political Sciences,
Università degli Studi Roma Tre
199 Via Gabriello Chiabrera, Rome 00145, Italy
Email: francesco.guida@uniroma3.it

STEFAN LEMNY, Ph.D.

Responsible for Central and Eastern European his-
tory collections at the National Library of France
Quai François Mauriac, Paris 75706, France
Email: stlemny@gmail.com

DANIELA MĂRZA, Ph.D.

Senior researcher at the Center for Transylvanian
Studies, Romanian Academy
12–14 Mihail Kogălniceanu St., Cluj-Napoca
400084, Romania
Email: daniela_marza@yahoo.com

VLAD ONACIU, Ph.D.

Faculty of History and Philosophy, Babeș-Bolyai
University
11 Napoca St., Cluj-Napoca 40088, Romania
Email: onaciu.vlad@gmail.com

MĂRIOARA PAȘCU, Ph.D.

Professor at the Dimitrie Ghika Technical College
1 Liceului St., Comănești 605200, Romania
Email: marioara_pascu@yahoo.com

IOAN-AUREL POP, Ph.D.

Chairman of the Romanian Academy,
professor at Babeș-Bolyai University
125 Calea Victoriei, Bucharest 010071, Romania
Email: ioanleruapop@gmail.com

VASILE PUȘCAȘ, Ph.D.

Professor at the Faculty of European Studies,
Babeș-Bolyai University
1 Emmanuel de Martonne St., Cluj-Napoca 400090,
Romania
Email: vasilepuscas2007@yahoo.com

RALUCA SASSU, Ph.D.

Professor at Lucian Blaga University, Human
Behaviour and Development Research Lab
10 Victoriei Blvd., Sibiu 550024, Romania
Email: raluca.sassu@ulbsibiu.ro

HERMANN SCHEURINGER, Ph.D.

Professor at Regensburg University
31 Universitätsstraße, Regensburg 93053,
Germany
Email: hermann.scheuringer@sprachlit.uni-regensburg.de

ANA VICTORIA SIMA, Ph.D.

Associate professor at the Faculty of History and
Philosophy, Babeș-Bolyai University
1 Mihail Kogălniceanu St., Cluj-Napoca 400084,
Romania
Email: anavictoriasima@gmail.com

DANIELA STANCIU, Ph.D.

Assistant professor at Lucian Blaga University
10 Victoriei Blvd., Sibiu 550024, Romania
Email: daniela.stanciu@ulbsibiu.ro