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Studies

SOBRIQUET OR PERSONAL NAME? THE PROBLEM OF NICKNAMES IN TRANSYLVANIA DURING THE 12th – 13th CENTURIES

Abstract: This study aims to subject to analysis a series of medieval anthroponyms whose use as personal names or as nicknames (sobriquets) is unclear. This is caused by the fact that what appeared as a unique name or a sobriquet in the 12th-13th centuries definitely became a nickname from the late 13th century onwards and especially during the next century.

These anthroponyms are not part of the group of Christian anthroponyms except to a little extent, but they are similar in that they have a certain linguistic meaning, which we have tried to highlight and analyse in this article. Then, on this basis, we attempted to draw a conclusion with respect to the classification of names in the 12th-13th centuries as anthroponyms or as sobriquets.

Keywords: Transylvania, 12th-13th centuries, anthroponym, sobriquet, Middle Ages, documents

*

This study aims to subject to analysis a series of medieval anthroponyms whose use as personal names or as nicknames (sobriquets) is unclear. The denominative elements taken into account are those used in Transylvania during the 12th-13th centuries and they have been extracted from volumes of published documents.² The geographical space covered is that of voivodal Transylvania, Banat, Crişana and Maramureş (the latter country to a lesser extent, due to the precarious information until the 14th century).

The reason why we claim that it is difficult, if not impossible, to classify anthroponyms into the category of personal names or sobriquets is as follows: what in the 12th and 13th centuries appeared as a unique name, by the end of the 13th century

¹ Scientific researcher III, PhD, *George Bariţ* History Institute in Cluj-Napoca, email:wiki200@yahoo.com.

² Georgius Fejér, *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*, II, Buda, 1829; G.D. Teutsch, Fr. Firnhaber, *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte Siebenbürgens*, I, Wien, 1857; G. Wenzel, *Codex diplomaticus Arpadianus continuatus. Árpádkori új okmánytár*, tome VIII and XII, Pest, 1870-1874; Fr. Knauz, *Monumenta ecclesiae Strigoniensis*, I, Strigoniú, 1874; *Codex diplomaticus patrius*, VI, Budapest, 1876; *Codex diplomaticus comitum Károlyi de Nagy-Károly / A Nagy-Károlyi gróf Károlyi család oklevéltára*, I (1253-1413), ed. Géresi Kálmán, Budapest, 1882; *A Hunyadmegyei Történelmi és Régészeti Társulat Évkönyve*, Athenaeum R. Társ. Könyvnyomdája, Budapest, I, 1882, pp. 64-67; Johannis Karácsonyi, Samuelis Borovszky, *Regestrum Varadinense. Examini ferri candentis*, Budapest, 1903; Szentpétery Imre, *Regesta regum stirpis Arpadianae critico-diplomatica / Az Árpád házi királyok okleveleinek kritikai jegyzéke*, I (1001-1270), Budapest, 1923; *Documente privind Istoria României*, C. Transilvania, vol. I (1075-1250) and vol. II (1251-1300), Bucureşti, Editura Academiei R.P.R., 1951-1952; Jakó Zsigmond, *Codex diplomaticus Transsylvaniae / Erdélyi okmánytár*, I, 1023-1300, Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest, 1997.

and especially in the following century was no longer unique name, but belonged to a category of supra-names,³ which helped to identify the individual more easily and clearly. For this reason we have included the anthroponyms referenced for this research above all in the category of sobriquets. However, they could just as well have been personal names. Therefore, in the context of this study, we will refer to them either as sobriquets (nicknames) or as personal names.

In 12th-13th century Transylvania, the anthroponyms that we consider to be sobriquets were similar to Christian names in that they had a specific meaning in the languages of origin, just like Michael (Mihail, Mihael) means in Hebrew “Who is like God?,” being formed through the juxtaposition of the form *Mika* (“who is like”) and of the abridged form *-el* (an abbreviation for Elohim).⁴ Similarly, John (Ioan) means “Jahve is gracious” or “God is gracious,” the name being the result of the merger between the short form *Jo* (from Jahve) and *hanan* (“be gracious”).⁵ Another example is the anthroponym George (Gheorghe), a name that in the Greek-Roman world (with the origin in the Greek language) meant “farmer, worker of the land.”⁶ One last example in the Christian anthroponymy is that of Nicholas (Nicolae), also with a Greek origin, which was formed through the union of the verb “to defeat” and the noun “people,” its significance being “the victory of the people” or, figuratively, “the victory of simplicity, the victory of meekness.”⁷

However, this meaning can only be captured only in some of the names; in the case of the others, we are, for the time being, oblivious to their linguistic significance and to which cultural group used them. Because of that, those anthroponyms are not examined in this study and we shall consider them, for now, personal names.

Before we go any further, we should bring a few explanations regarding the meaning of the two main terms used along this study: *poreclă* (nickname, sobriquet) and *nume personal* (personal name).

The term *poreclă* is old in the Romanian space, having been derived from the Slavonic *poreklo*.⁸ It is a type of name obtained in a non-ritualistic way, doubling the official anthroponym.⁹

By contrast, personal names are considered to be the most general and constant human institution, having a dual function: to identify and individualize a person, as

³ Sobriquets represent a category of supra-names, being characterized by a certain degree of emotionality, of subjectivity; compared to personal names and supra-names proper, sobriquets are occasional and less (or not at all) stable; also, through a sobriquet, the speaker may express appreciation or disdain towards the wearer. – *Enciclopedia limbii române*, second edition (ed. Marius Sala), Academia Română, Institutul de Lingvistică “Iorgu Iordan,” București, Editura Univers Enciclopedic, 2006, p. 444.

⁴ Aurelia Bălan-Mihailovici, *Dicționar onomastic creștin: repere etimologice și martirologice*, București, Editura Sophia, 2009, p. 385 [Infra: *Bălan-Mihailovici 2009*].

⁵ *Bălan-Mihailovici 2009*, p. 238.

⁶ *Bălan-Mihailovici 2009*, p. 234.

⁷ *Bălan-Mihailovici 2009*, p. 416.

⁸ Nicolae Felecan, “Categoriile antroponimice: nume, supranume, poreclă,” in *Onomasticon. Studii despre nume și numire*, I, Cluj-Napoca, Editura Mega, 2010, p. 102.

⁹ Daiana Felecan, *Aspecte ale polifoniei lingvistice. Teorie și construcție*, Editura Tritonic, București, 2010, p. 181 [Infra: *D. Felecan 2010*].

well to locate them socially and integrate them within a family group, a city, a tribe, etc.¹⁰

The complete list of sobriquets identified for Transylvania in the 12th-13th centuries is as follows:

- *Men*: Achus; Aianduk; Albeus / Albas (Jan dictus) / Fehersa / Fejer (7 persoane); Altus (Leonardus); Amen; Artificis (Dionysii); Arua (2); Batur (2); Beke / Beche (6); Bellus (2); Bena (2); Ber; Bessu; Bicca; Boz; Boynuc; Bug; Bundu; Butha / Buta / Buhta (4); Cantus; Cato; Centurio (Yan); Chikou; Chol (Nicolaus dictus); Chue (Iacobus dictus); Chupa; Colond; Coma / Choma (2); Cumanul (Wanthuk); Cute; Cysar; Dersi; Erdeus / Erdey / Erde / Erdeu (4); Farkas / Farcas / Forcos / Forcus / Forcosu / Forcosii / Forcasius / Farcasius / Forcost / Vilc / Wilc (38); Ferminus; Fichur; Focate / Fecate Juna / Fakate Iuna / Fequete / Cel Negru (Nicolae) / Niger (Petrus dictus) (5); Foth; Furman; Fyoch; Gall (4); Gegus (2); German (2); Graecus; Hazuga; Henchmann; Herceg / Herseg / Hertueg / Herczeg / Herceeg (6); Horogus; Igeben; Kaluz; Kekeu; Kelemus; Kemen / Keminus (3); Keue; Keuerug / Kewereg (2); Kezed; Kopoz; Kuke (Iacobus dictus); Latinus (Iohannes); Latus; Lotomas; Magnus (5: Paulus, Petrus, Damianus and Magnus-2); Magus / Mogus (2); Maradek; Medue; Meggyes; Modoros / Modorus (3); Mog / Mogd; Mondou; Mour; Neuer; Orman; Orossag; Otos / Uttos / Vtos (2); Palachk; Parvus / Iung (3: Gregorius, Cosmas, Petrus); Patkan; Pentek (2); Pirus / cel Roșu (2); Porcan; Puer; Raak / Roac; Rigou; Rotundus; Samus; Sanctus / Senta / Sentes (4); Santo; Secuiul (3: Zubuslaus; Petru; Johannes zis); Serechen; Solumus (Iohannes dictus); Sopos; Sorloudam; Sous; Suka / Syka (2); Șchiop (Jula cel); Taca; Tanach; Tarca; Tata; Tenqneu; Teutonicul (Martin); Tornator (Ardeu); Tumpa (6); Ur (Benedictus dictus); Vaca; Varou; Vendeg / Wendeg / Vendegu (4); Viodol; Vir; Virhar; Vodas / Wodasi; Voioioda/Voivoda (2); Vosos (5); Vrcund / Urkun / Urkund (3); Vrdug / Urdug / Wr dug (2: Simon dictus); Vros / Wr uz / Uruz (6); Vrug; Wechelyny (Iacobus dictus); Zombot.

- *Women*: Agnna; Fehera; Ancilla (2); Cincea; Genuruch; Huga.¹¹

We have recorded 119 possible masculine nicknames that were used to designate 232 people. As regard the feminine ones, we have 6 nicknames and 7 people they designated.

The most common sobriquets are: *Farkas*, with the forms Farcas, Forcos, Forcus, Forcosu, Forcosii, Forcasius, Farcasius, Forcost, Vilc, Wilc (38 persons)¹²; *Albeus* / Albas / Fejer / Fehersa (7); *Fekete*, with the forms: Focate / Fecate / Fakate / Fequete / Niger (5); *Beke* / Beche (6); *Herceg*, with the variants: Herseg / Hertueg / Herczeg / Herceeg (6); *Tumpa* (6); *Vros* / Wr uz / Uruz (6); *Magnus* (5); *Vosos* (5); *Butha* / Buta / Buhta (4); *Erdeus* / Erdey / Erde / Erdeu (4); *Gall* (4); *Sanctus* / Senta /

¹⁰ Anne Lefebvre-Teillard, *Le nom: droit et histoire*, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris, 1990, p. 7.

¹¹ In this case it could also be about the old Germanic-Scandinavian name Hugi, the term corresponding to it in other parts of Europe being Hugo, see Snorri Sturluson, *Edda*, Edited by Anthony Faulkes, Second Edition, Viking Society for Northern Research, University College London, 2005, p. 170 (Index of names).

¹² For a detailed discussion of the name Farkas, see: Victor V. Vizauer, "Povestea unui nume: antroponimul Farkas (Lupu) în Transilvania veacului al XIII-lea. Posibilități și opinii," in *Acta Musei Maramorosiensis*, XI, 2015, pp. 24-41.

Sentes (4); *Vendeg* / *Wendeg* / *Vendegu* (4); *Kemen* / *Keminus* (3); *Modoros* / *Modorus* (3); *Parvus* / *Iung* (3); *Secuiul* (3); *Urkund* / *Vrcund* / *Urkun* (3).

The rest of the names/sobriquets appear only once or twice, which betrays their tremendous diversity. It should be noted that all of the nicknames included among the most widely used are masculine, a single name/nickname carried by women being encountered twice, namely *Ancilla* (meaning “servant,” “maid” in Latin). Also, we have recorded the name *Fehera* in one case (probably meaning something connected with the attribute of *whiteness* – *fehér* in Hungarian), which could be added to the six entries of *Albeus* / *Fejer* / *Fehersa* designating men.

The meaning of the sobriquets in the languages of the populations that lived in this area

It is important to note that we have not discovered the unquestionable significance of the moniker in all cases; we have often resorted to assumptions, based on the similarity of the sobriquet with a specific term belonging to one of the languages spoken by the populations that were residing in this geographical space in the 12th-13th centuries.

Sobriquets with meaning in Hungarian

Men: *Achus* (*ókós* = smart); *Aianduk* (*ajándék* = gift, present; it could be a child born later, which is why he was called “gift” – from God?); *Arua* (*árva* = orphan); *Batur* (*bátor* = brave); *Beke* / *Beche* (*béke* = peace); *Bena* (*béna* = paralyzed, handicapped); *Bicca* (*bika* = bull); *Boynuc* (*bajnok* = champion; or it could be the word used by Arabs to designate the Pechenegs: *Bjanak* / *Bajanak* – V. *Spinei*, p. 88); *Bundu* (*bunda* = fur); *Butha* / *Buta* / *Buhta* (*buta* = stupid / silly); *Chikou* (*csikó* = foal); *Chue* (possibly a distorted spelling of the Hungarian word *kő* = stone); *Colond* (*kaland* = adventure); *Coma* / *Choma* (*kóma* = in law); *Cute* (*kutya* = dog); *Cysar* (*csiszár* = tanner, or *császár* = emperor, Caesar); *Erdeus* / *Erdey* / *Erde* / *Erdeu* (*erdő* = forest, *erdős* = forest, forested; here, possibly, it could also mean hairy (?); or, the variant *erdey* = from the forest); *Farkas* (*farkas* = wolf); *Fejer* / *Fehersa* (*fehér* = white); *Fichur* (*ficsúr* = son / “fecior” or “ficior” – popular); *Foth* (*folt* = tain – colloquially it may also be pronounced *fot*); *Fyoch* (*fioka* = fowl, bird); *Gegus* (*gögös* = arrogant); *Fequete* / *Fecate Juna* / *Fakate Luna* / *Focate* (*fekete* = black; could the name *Fecate Juna* be, perhaps, related to that of the Goddess *Hecate* in the lunar pantheon, also known as *Hecate Luna*?! Or is it just a *Fekete Jona* – *Iona the Black*?); *Hazuga* (*hazúg* = liar); *Herceg* (*herceg* = prince); *Horogus* (*haragos* = cranky); *Igeben* (*idegen* = foreign); *Kaluz* (*kalóz* = pirate or *kalauz* = guide); *Kekeu* (*kék* = blue); *Kelemus* (*kelemes* = pleasant); *Kemen* / *Keminus* (*kemény* = hard); *Keue* (*kő* = stone); *Keuerug* / *Kewereg* (*keverék* = blend); *Kezed* (*kéz* = hand; the form *kezed* / *a kezed* means “your hand”); *Kopoz* (*kopasz* = bald); *Lotomas* (*látomás* = apparition); *Magus* / *Mogus* (1. *mágus* = magus, sorcerer, 2. *magas* = tall – more plausible in these cases; it could also be a misspelling of *Magnus*); *Maradek* (*maradék* = remainder; or it could be the name *Mařádek*, encountered in the Slavic space); *Medue* (*medve* = bear); *Meggyes* (*megy* = sour cherry/ies, and *megyes* = “with sour cherries”

or “sour cherry orchard”); Modoros / Modorus (*madaras* = bird handler, *madár* = bird; or *módórós* = with character, *módór* = character); Mog / Mogd (*mag* = kernel); Mour (*moór* = Moor); Orman (*órmány* = trunk; more plausible: *örmény* = Armenian); Orossag (*úraság* = lord; or *orosz* = Russian); Otos / Uttos / Vtos (*ötös* = five; *útas* = traveller); Palachk (*palack* = recipient, bottle – for liquids); Patkan (*patkány* = rat); Pentek (*péntek* = Friday); Pirus (*piros* = red); Raak / Roac (*rák* = crab); Rigou (*rigó* = blackbird); Samus (*Szamos* = Someş; *számos* = numerous); Senta / Sentes (*szent* = saint); Santo (*santa* = lame in one leg; but also possibly a variant of Sanctus = saint); Serechen (*szerecsén* = Sarasin – perhaps a Muslim; but it can also refer to the fact that he has a darker skin, like a Sarasin); Solumus (*solymos* = with a hawk-?; or *szomias* = thirsty); Sopus (*szopos* = suckling); Sorloudam (*sarlatán* = charlatan); Sous (*sós* = salty); Suka / Syka (*szuka* = bitch - female dog); Tanach (*tanács* = counsel); Tarca (*tarka* = mottled); Tata (*tata* is used for *grandpa* or an *old man*); Tenqneu (*teknős* = turtle); Tumpa (*tompa* = dull); Ur (*úr* = gentleman); Varou (*vár* = fortress; or from *várni* = to wait, and the form *váró* = a man who is waiting for something or someone); Vendeg / Wendeg / Vendegu (*vendég* = guest); Viodol (*viadal* = confrontation, battle); Virhar (*vihar* = storm); Vnuca (it is either the name Unica, or it comes from *unóka* = nephew); Vodas / Wodasi (*vadász* = hunter); Vosos (*vas* = iron; *vasas* = irony, with iron); Vrdug / Urdug / Wrdug (*ördög* = devil); Vros / Wruz / Uruz (*orosz* = Russian); Vrug (*öreg* = old); Zombot (*szombat* = Saturday);

Women: Fehera (*fehér* = white); Genuruch (Melich János believes that Genuruch meant *Gyönyörű* – Wonderful¹³; she may have been named thus because she cast spells – she was accused of that); Huga (*huga* = younger sister).

Sobriquets with meaning in Latin¹⁴

Men: Albas (*albus* = white, pale, quiet, clear)¹⁵; Albeus – 4 (*albeo* = to be white, *albineus* = white, whitish; it may also come from the Latin-Roman family name Albius or from the anthroponym Albutius / Albutius); Altus (*altus* = high, tall); Amen (could it be the formula that ends a prayer?); Artificis (*artificiosus* = masterful, skilful, and *artificium* = trade, profession); Bellus (*bellus* = nice, gentle, pleasant, kind); Bessu (*bessu* = it may come from *bissenus* – Pecheneg; in Latin, Vinţul de Jos was also called Binstum, this place name could be a source for *bessu*); Cantus (*cantus* = human or bird song, the sound of an instrument); Cato (*cato* = gloomy, grumpy¹⁶; but also, figuratively, “a man of great virtue”, like the Roman censor M. Porcius Cato or his nephew M. Porcius Cato Uticensis); Centurio (*centurio* = leader of a cohort, centurion); Coma / Choma (*coma* = the hair on the head, mane); Fermenus (*fermento* = to rise, swell, ferment; *fermentum* = risen, swollen; *ferme* = about, close); Gall

¹³ Melich János, “Névmagyarázatok,” in *Magyar Nyelv*, VI/6, 1910, pp. 241-247 (p. 241-242).

¹⁴ For the translation of the sobriquets which have meaning in Latin, we have used: G. Guţu, *Dicţionar latin-român*, Bucureşti, Editura Ştiinţifică şi Enciclopedică, 1983 [Infra: Guţu, *Dicţionar*] and Ioan Nădejde, Amelia Nădejde-Gesticone, *Dicţionar latin-român*, fifth edition, Iaşi, Editura Viaţa Românească, 1931 [Infra: Nădejde, *Dicţionar*].

¹⁵ Nădejde, *Dicţionar*, p. 25.

¹⁶ Nădejde, *Dicţionar*, p. 83.

(*gallus* = cock; Gael –ethnicity); German (*germanus* = from the same parents, brother; *germana* = sister; *germen* = seed, germ, bud); Graecus (*graecus* = Greek, Grecian); Latinus (Latin); Latus (*laetus* = 1. fat, pleasant, jolly; 2. a foreigner that received a lot of land to cultivate it, paying a tax in exchange); Magnus (*magnus* = big); Mour (*maurus* = Moor, African); Niger (Petrus dictus – *niger* = black); Parvus (*parvus* = small, young); Porcan (*porcarius* = swineherd, or *porca* = 1. sow, 2. the line of a furrow of land, but also an agrarian measure in Spain); Puer (*puer* = child); Rotundus (*rotundus* = round); Sanctus (*sanctus* = holy, sacred, inviolable); Tornator (*tornator* = turner); Vaca (*vacca* = cow, or *vaco* = or = free, without a master); Vir (*vir* = man, individual, husband);

Women: Agna (*agna* = female lamb, lamb, but could also be related with: *agnatus*, -i = birth after the death of the father or after the conclusion of a testament, posthumous birth); Ancilla – 2 (*ancilla* = handmaid, slave); Unica (*unica* = unique, single, rare).

Sobriquets with meaning in German¹⁷

Men: Ber (*Bär* = bear – pronounced *ber* –, or powerful, stout man or dour, grumpy nature); Chol (*Kohl* = cabbage, empty talk; *Kohle* = coal); Furman (*Fuhrmann* = carrier, but also furrier, fur hunter); Henchmann (*Henkel* = handle, knob, peevishness – regionalism; or *Henker* = executioner – the safest, in this case; or, figuratively = devil, dammit); Iung (*Jung* = young, vigorous); Kuke (*Küche* = cuisine, the cooking manner of a people; and *Kuchen* = cake, pie, sweet bread); Neuer (*neu* = new, fresh, novice, inexperienced, unknown; *neuer* = newest); Urkund / Urkun / Vrcund (*Urkunde* = document, act, evidence; or *Ur* = old); this could also be the old Hungarian name Urcun.

Sobriquets with meaning in the Romanian language (?)

Men: Fichur (fecior or ficior = son); Raak / Roac (crab), this nickname could have the same meaning in Hungarian.

Women: Cincea (“the fifth,” in terms of birth order?).

Sobriquets with meaning in Slavic languages¹⁸

Men: Suka / Syka (in the languages of the Northern Slavs, in Slovak and Polish, *suka* = bitch; in Serbian it is *kučka*; the term means “bitch” also in Hungarian); Vilc / Wilc (among the Northern Slavs *vlk* = wolf; among the Serbs it is *vuk*); Voioioda/Voiavoda (*vojvoda* = voivode).

¹⁷ For the translation of the sobriquets which have meaning in German, we have used: *Dicționar german-român*, second edition, București, Editura Academiei R.S.R., 1989.

¹⁸ For the translation of the sobriquets which have meaning in the Slavic languages, we have used: Anda Mareș, Nicolae Mareș, *Dicționar polon – român*, București, Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1980; Anca Irina Ionescu, *Dicționar român – slovac / slovac – român*, Editura Universal Dalsi, 1999; Mirco Jivcovic, *Dicționar sârb – român și român – sârb*, București, Editura Teora, 1999.

Sobriquets with meaning in the Cuman language¹⁹

Men: Boz (*böz* = weapon); Bug (*buug* – knot; more plausible, *buga* – bull); Butha / Buta / Buhta (*buth* = thigh, thigh bone; *butac* = branch, tree, cudgel, bludgeon; or *butun* = clean, untainted, upright, honest, perfect, consummate); Chupa (*chuba* = military clothing made of rings); Dersi (*derxi* = tailor); Herceg / Herseg (*hersek* = luxury, luxurious); Mondou (*mondo bai* – “a cobbler that dresses/puts shoes on”); Orman (*orman* = forest); Sous (*souus* = friend); Taca (*tac* = uneven); Vrus (*urus* = young goat).

Types of sobriquets

Just like proper names, sobriquets can be divided into several categories, the researcher Daiana Felecan highlighting the following:

– **Analytical sobriquets:** they show the way the one bearing the nickname is perceived; the subcategories refer to the *shape*, *colours*, a certain *part of the body* or to a *hobby*).

– **Synthetic sobriquets:** these are qualifying adjectives (Bănos, etc.) or nicknames derived from “*moulding*” metaphors (Frumosu’, Handsome).

– **Anecdotal sobriquets**, which have their origin in an event (happening) in the life of the nicknamed person.

– **Meta-sobriquets:** this kind of sobriquet was born from an *ethnic name*; from the *name of the native village* or of another location with which nicknamed has a connection; from the *name of an occupation*; it could come from the *name of a part of the village* or the town where nicknamed lives; it could derive from the *name of the family*; it could also be a *derivative of the first name*; and, ultimately, it could have its origins in *diminutives* and *hypocorisms*.²⁰

In accordance with the typology suggested by Daiana Felecan we have divided by categories the sobriquets reviewed for Transylvania of the 12th-13th centuries, supplementing the typology where we felt it needed to conform better to the stock of Transylvanian medieval nicknames. A part of these could be included in several categories of this typology.

Men:

- **Analytical sobriquets:**

- **Colours:** Albeus / Albas / Fejer / Fehersa; Focate / Fecate Juna or Fakate Iuna / Fequete / Cel Negru / Niger; Pirus / cel Roşu; Tarca;

- **Part of the body (or references to body):** Bena; Bundu; Şchiop;

- **Synthetic sobriquets:**

- **Qualifying adjectives:** Altus; Arua; Bellus; Boynuc; Cantus; Chol; Chue; Cincea; Colond; Coma / Choma; Cysar; Erdeus / Erdey / Erde / Erdeu; Ferminus; Fichur; Furman; Fyoch; Genuruch; Herceg / Herseg / Hertueg / Herczeg / Herceeg;

¹⁹ According to the Cuman – Latin vocabulary in the work *Codex cumanicus. Bibliothecae ad templum divi Marci Venetiarum*, ed. Comes Géza Kuun, Editio Scient. Academiae Hung., Budapestini, 1880, pp. 245-307.

²⁰ D. Felecan 2010, pp. 192-197.

Kaluz; Kekeu; Kemen / Keminus; Keue; Keuerug / Kewereg; Kezed; Kopoz; Kuke; Latus; Lotomas; Magnus; Magus / Mogus; Maradek; Meggyes; Modoros / Modorus; Mog / Mogd; Neuer; Orman; Orossag; Otos / Uttos / Vtos; Palachk; Parvus / Iung; Porcan; Puer; Rotundus; Santo; Solumus; Sopos; Sorloudam; Sous; Tanach; Tumpa; Ur; Vaca; Varou; Viodol; Vir; Virhar; Vosos; Vrdug / Urdug / Wrdug; Vrug.

- *“Moulding” metaphors*: Achus; Aianduk; Batur; Beke / Beche; Butha / Buta / Buhta; Cato; Gegus; Genuruch; Hazuga; Horogus; Kelemus; Sorloudam; Sous; Vrdug / Urdug / Wrdug.

- *Animal names*: Ber / Medue (bear); Bicca (bull); Bug (bull); Chikou (foal); Cute (dog); Farkas / Vilc (wolf); Patkan (rat); Raak / Roac (crab); Rigou (blackbird); Suka / Syka (bitch); Tenqneu (turtle); Vaca (cow); Vrus (young goat).

- *Degrees of kinship*: German (brother); Huga (younger sister); Tata (grandpa, father?); Vnuca (nephew?).

- *Social condition*: Taca; Vaca (vaco);

- *Anecdotal sobriquets*: Boz (weapon); Foth (patch, stain);

- **Meta-sobriquets**:

- **Names of waters: Samus (Someş?);**

- *Ethnic names*: Bessu; Cumanul; Graecus; Igeben; Latinus; Mour; Orman; Secuiul; Serechen; Teutonicul; Vros / Wruz / Uruz;

- *Occupation/function*: Artificis; Centurio; Dersi; Henchmann; Mondou; Tornator; Vodas / Wodasi; Voiouoda/Voiavoda;

- *Religious terms*: Amen; Sanctus / Senta / Sentes;

- **Names of days of the week: Pentek; Zombot;**

Women:

- *Analytical* sobriquets: Agna; Fehera;

- *Social condition*: Ancilla.

The most common types of sobriquets in Transylvania during the 12th-13th centuries were *qualifying adjectives* and *“moulding” metaphors*. The first category included those sobriquets which described a man on the outside: Bellus – handsome, Herceg – prince, Genuruch – wonderful, Magas – tall or Parvus – young. They speak about the exterior qualities that define, to a certain extent, a man and that can, of course, distinguish him from his peers.

Among *“moulding” metaphors* we encounter inner qualities which describe the character of a person, such as: Achus (okos) – smart, Batur – valiant, Kelemus – pleasant, Gegus (gögös) – proud, Horogus – cranky, etc. Just like in the case of qualifying adjectives, *“moulding” metaphors* arose on the basis of a quality that distinguished its bearer from other people, especially from those in the community in which he lived. At the same time, a sobriquet, primarily if it had a positive message, could play the role of a *“business card”* for the person it designated, recommending him to other people through the quality suggested by the nickname.

The third most frequent were anthroponyms or the sobriquets derived from *animal names*. Some of these could confer upon the bearer, in a form of magic, as it

were, the qualities of the animal whose name he had: Ber / Medue – bear; Bicca – bull; Cute – dog; Farkas / Vilc – Wolf. It can be seen that every animal mentioned above is characterized by strength, stamina, courage, wild animals also having intelligence and being skilful hunters. Other nicknames could bring out a quieter, nonviolent character (Agna – lamb, Chikou – foal) or the gift of singing or whistling (Rigou – blackbird). By contrast, the names of other animals could suggest negative character traits, which did not do honour to the man: Patkan – rat.

In terms of their frequency, the next category was that of sobriquets derived from *ethnic names* and *occupation/function*. In the case of nicknames born from the name of a population, we are talking primarily of ethnic groups that lived in the area, having arrived here through official colonizations (the Latin, the Teutonic, the Cuman), that had come here at the same time with the Hungarians and collaborated with them (Secuiul – Szekler, Bessu – Pecheneg), that had come before or after the Hungarians (Vros / Wruz / Uruz – Russian, Slavic) or that had arrived here as prisoners in the wake of various crusades or other military conflicts (Mour – Moor, Serechen – Saracen). We may also include in this group a sobriquet that did not directly express an ethnicity, but referred to a foreigner, namely Igeben, in Hungarian *idegen*, meaning *stranger*.

In the category of sobriquets derived from an *occupation* or *function* we have included: Artificis – craftsman, Centurio – centurion, Henchmann – executioner?; Tornator – Turner, Vodas / Wodasi – hunter and Voio voda/Voiavoda – voivode. Here can be mentioned those sobriquets or names that would entail, through a “magical power,” the development and strengthening of the skills required for a particular occupation. Insofar as men were concerned, probably the most evocative sobriquets appeared among soldiers. There were several animal names – Bicca (bull), Cute (dog), Farkas (wolf) or Medue (bear) – which may suggest the existence of a feature of the nicknamed man: power, cunning, intelligence, the craft of hunting, aggressiveness, a warrior spirit.

A category encompassing a smaller number of sobriquets is that which refers to colours: Albeus / Albas / Fejer / Fehersa – white; Focate / Fecate / Fakate / Fequete / Cel Negru / Niger; Pirus / cel Roșu; Tarca – motley. At their appearance, what could be taken into account was the colour of a person’s hair, skin or even eyes.

Some sobriquets were related to the social status of the wearer. Among the nobles we may find nicknames or personal names that speak about a special status, such as Herceg (prince) or Vaivoda (voivode). The person who bore the name Vaca could not be included in a social category, nor is his occupation known. However, if Vaca comes from the word *vaco* (free, without a master), then the man in question could be a liberated slave. In the case of one of the women, the name was extremely suggestive: Ancilla, which means servant in Latin.

Though more rarely, we came across peculiar names or sobriquets, such as *Mour*.²¹ This sobriquet must have made reference to a Muslim. Taking into account the fact that this was a commemoration *dușnic* (slave) donated to a monastery, it is

²¹ *Regestrum Varadinense*, no. 361, p. 292.

possible that the way in which he had become enslaved was by being captured in battle. Being a Muslim, he may have been taken prisoner and brought to Transylvania by a participant from the Hungarian Kingdom in a crusade or by a soldier from Western Europe, subsequently bequeathing him to the first Catholic place of worship encountered on the way home.

Regarding the name Gall / Gallus, it should be noted that it was worn by a saint also known in the parts of Transylvania,²² which suggests the possibility that the name of the individuals had been granted after that of the saint. Perhaps this is how we can explain the far from negligible frequency of the name Gallus during the next century. However, we must not lose sight of the meanings of that word, namely *cock* (in Latin) or man coming from the area of France, from Gallia. If one of these two explanations applied, then Gall / Gallus is a sobriquet, and where it was granted after the model of the saint's anthroponym, we are dealing with a proper name.

Lack of clarity also affects many of the names or sobriquets used in Transylvania in the 12th-13th centuries, but only through these analytical attempts can the truth or, at least, a partial truth be reached eventually.

A few definite sobriquets

There are a total of 29 people in whose case it is certain that they had a nickname. We have called these "definite sobriquets" and they are as follows: Albas (Jan dictus); Altus (Leonardus); Artificis (Dionysii); Centurio (Yan); Chol (Nicolaus dictus); Chue (Iacobus dictus); Cumanul (Wanthuk); Cel Negru (Nicolae); Kuke (Iacobus dictus); Latinus (Iohannes); Magnus (Paulus); Magnus (Petrus); Magnus (Damianus); Niger (Petrus dictus); Parvus (Gregorius); Parvus (Cosmas); Iung (Petrus); Pirus (Petrus dictus); cel Roșu (Dees); Secuiul (Zubuslaus); Secuiul (Petru); Secuiul (Iohannes zis); Solumus (Iohannes dictus); Șchiop (Jula cel); Teutonicul (Martin); Tornator (Ardeu); Ur (Benedictus dictus); Wechelyny (Iacobus dictus); Wrdug (Simon dictus).

As we can see, the wearers of these sobriquets also had a personal name, making it clear that these were nicknames. These are 20 in number, some of them being repeated: Magnus (3 times), Parvus / Iung (3), Secuiul (3) and Pirus / cel Roșu (2). Most of these persons (22) were mentioned in documents from the second half of the 13th century, thus confirming the fact that sobriquets developed in that period, accompanying primarily Christian names. The other 7 were mentioned in the second half of the 12th century (Iohannes Latinus, Paulus Magnus, Martin Teutonicul and Ardeus Tornator) and in the first half of the 13th century (Leonardus Altus, Dionisius Artificius and Yan Centurio).

²² For instance, a document from 1347 mentions the feast of the blessed Gallus – *Documente privind Istoria României, Veacul XIV, C. Transilvania*, Vol. IV (1341-1350), București, Editura Academiei R.P.R., 1955, no. 577, pp. 400-404 (the Latin text on pp. 673-676).

Conclusions

In this case it is not easy to deliver conclusions, mainly as regards the ascription of the anthroponyms reviewed here to the category of sobriquets or to that of personal names. It is known that Christian names had a certain significance in the languages from which they were taken over (Hebrew, Greek, Latin). This is also the case of the names analysed here, most of them meaning something in the languages used by the local inhabitants or by the authorities (Latin, Hungarian, Romanian, Cuman and/or Pecheneg, Slavic, German). Thus, they could be both nicknames and personal names.

In the case of some individuals, whether we speak of their personal names or their sobriquets, it is possible that the anthroponym changed throughout their life, in keeping with the events, happenings or achievements of those individuals. However, so far, we have not been able to capture this phenomenon.

Also, we may notice that the sobriquet or the name sometimes comply with the social status or the activity of the wearer. In these cases it is more plausible that the anthroponym was a sobriquet.

Another discernible trait of the sobriquets / names from the 12th-13th centuries is diversity. Most of them appear only once and refer to a very wide range of situations in which the person carrying them could find himself or to numerous human qualities.

Perhaps the most significant conclusion is that referring to the period when one can definitely speak of sobriquets, namely the second half of the 13th century, as they became a widely used denominative element in the following century.

Although drawing definitive conclusions regarding the anthroponyms of the 12th and 13th centuries on the territory of Transylvania is problematic, it has been necessary to review and analyse them, since names represent an important element in the lives of humans, often providing information that cannot be found out from other sources.

ON THE IDEA OF POVERTY IN THE WESTERN MIDDLE AGES (12TH – 15TH CENTURIES)

Abstract: The aim of this article is to provide some coordinates along which the Western historiographic and theological discourse relating to poverty in general and to the often unpleasant aspects it generated in society gained shape. Poverty has been transformed into a vital attribute of Christianity, but the society of those times was not always receptive to these issues, because the world often loved to hate what Jesus loved.

Keywords: poverty, charity, Western Middle Ages, divagantes, vagabundi, pauperes cum Petro, pauperes cum Lazaro.

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Research topics related to mentality, crime, social strata and their reaction to the various “calamities” they faced have also led, in our post-1989 historiography, to the emergence of studies pointing in this direction,² influenced particularly by the French historical school.

In this study I want to highlight just a few coordinates along which the Western historiographic discourse relating to poverty has gained shape and to the interrogations this issue generated particularly in Western Europe, a space that was characteristically confronted with this phenomenon.³

The sociological approach in this case is extremely important, because certain individuals are described as being representative for the group; the term *pauper* is used as a category of scientific analysis.⁴

According to the opinions expressed by Aurel Răduțiu, in the agrarian type of societies that were dominant in the Middle Ages, the phenomenon of impoverishment occurred in the wake of natural disasters, such as prolonged drought, great flooding, long and frosty winters, wars, lootings and raids, agrarian crises, which could cause

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² Among the authors of recent studies, articles, monographs dedicated to these issues, mention should be made of Ligia Livadă-Cadeschi, Constanța Ghițulescu or Dan Horia Mazilu, who have introduced such approaches in the Romanian scientific circuit in recent years.

³ For instance, the renowned Hungarian mediaevalist Pál Engel showed that, for various reasons, Hungary did not experience great periods of famine, which could have generated social problems, such as were common in the rest of Europe, in *Regatul Sfântului Ștefan. Istoria Ungariei medievale (895-1526)*, Cluj Napoca, Editura Mega, 2006, p. 84.

⁴ Lucas Burkart, (Basel Univ.), “Poverty, the poor and welfare in medieval urban culture,” in *The Welfare State, Past, Present, Future. (IV). Clloh’s workshop II. Coordinated by Ann Katherine Isaacs*, Pisa, Edizioni Plus, 2002, p. 157.

the disaggregation of the social structures and enhanced social poverty.⁵

The same author emphasized the fact that the percentage of “stable poverty” of 5% within a society could reach the figure of 20-25% in cases of grave economic and social unrest.⁶

Among the causes that provoked agrarian crises as the effects of climate disturbances were the disasters caused by the invasions of insects and animals, epizooties that decimated the livestock.⁷ Some of the most damaging insects for agriculture were locusts and May beetles, while among mammals the most nefarious were voles and field mice, which could produce genuine invasion after mild winters and the droughty years that followed them.⁸

Camil Mureșanu shows, in an article dedicated to these issues, that in the period 1310-1320, a large-scale famine occurred in Europe, while from 1325 to 1400 there were 30 years of epidemics.⁹

David Nirenberg also indicates that in 1315-1318 Western historiography has placed the “great famine” which affected, in particular, Northern Europe, a calamity determining the demise, in some regions, of more than 15% of the population [Essex in the Kingdom of England].¹⁰

For France in the 15th century, there appeared, for instance, to have been forged an implacable association between sickness and starvation, between wars, shortages of food and means of subsistence, while in the following years there was registered a considerable lack of agro-food products.¹¹

For the period under consideration, even when the contemporaries referred to an image such as, for example, the large number of individuals without an occupation, the poor turned into mere parasites or beggars, we should nonetheless keep in mind the subjectivity of the person who wrote about these phenomena, his expectations or his cultural background, as well as the reason for which he wrote. Relevant in this respect appears to be the manner in which two travellers described London in the late 12th century and the population that animated the English capital. All that the monk Richard of Devizes found in London was as follows: “the number of parasites there is infinite. Actors, jesters, effeminate boys, sycophantic Moors, pederasts, ephebes, girls who sing and dance, charlatans, belly dancers, sorcerers, magicians, sleepwalkers, blackmailers, pantomimes, beggars: this is the world that fills the homes,”¹² while William Fitz

⁵ Aurel Răduțiu, “Concepte și terminologie. Unele considerații privind majoritate, minoritate, elite și marginali de-a lungul istoriei,” in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie*, Cluj Napoca, Editura Academiei Române, no. 32, 1993, pp. 14-15.

⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 15.

⁷ Paul Cernovodeanu, Paul Binder, *Cavalerii Apocalipsului. Calamitățile naturale din trecutul României (până la 1800)*, București, Editura Silex, 1993, p. 24.

⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 24-26.

⁹ Camil Mureșanu, “Europa Centrală și Răsăriteană în secolul al XIV-lea: o restructurare geo-politică,” in *Emlékkönyv Jakó Zsigmond Nyolkvanadik Születésnapjára*, Cluj Napoca, 1996, p. 409.

¹⁰ David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence*, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1996, p. 18.

¹¹ Michel Mollat, *Genèse médiévale de la France moderne (XIV-XVe siècles)*, Editura B. Arthaud, 1970, p. 44.

¹² J. Le Goff (ed.), *Omni medieval*, Iași, Polirom, 1999, p. 129.

Stephen, a contemporary of Monk Richard's, wrote: "London [...] Heaven has blessed it [...] the residents of London are famous everywhere for the elegance of their manners and garments [...] Whereas the other cities have citizens, London has barons."¹³

The definition of poverty in a narrow sense is the lack of the necessary goods for subsistence.¹⁴ Thomas Aquinas described it thus: "Poor is the one who lives from what his work gives him."¹⁵ The New Testament led to a new dimension of poverty: "Jesus said unto him, If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven,"¹⁶ which meant relinquishment for salvation, for achieving the religious ideal.¹⁷

As James William Brodman asserts, for some poverty was a curse, while for others it was a source for practising virtue.¹⁸ Quoting the most famous researcher of poverty, Michel Mollat, James Brodman states that the term poverty was seen in the Middle Ages as an adjective, while its transformation into a collective and abstract noun, to designate a distinct group, occurred only in the 13th and 14th centuries.¹⁹

Sancta Ecclesia Romana based its attitudes towards poverty in another quote: "For I was hungry and you gave me something to eat, I was thirsty and you gave me something to drink, I was a stranger and you invited me in, I needed clothes and you clothed me, I was sick and you looked after me, I was in prison and you came to visit me" (Matthew 25: 35-36). This has not changed its validity, but the attitude of the Church has undergone perception changes,²⁰ especially after the emergence of the Order of Friars Minor in Europe and the open conflict between the Pontiff and the Spiritual Franciscans as regards the poverty of Christ and the Apostles²¹ (at least compared to clergy of the Roman Church). Brother Leo, the

¹³ *Ibidem.*

¹⁴ L. Burkart, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

¹⁵ *Ibidem.*

¹⁶ *Matei, 19:21.*

¹⁷ L. Burkart, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

¹⁸ J. W. Brodman, *Charity and Welfare: Hospitals and the poor in medieval Catalonia*, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998, p. 1.

¹⁹ *Ibidem.*

²⁰ L. Burkart, *op. cit.*, p.158.

²¹ *The Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. VI, Cambridge University Press, 1929, pp. 729-737, vol. VII, pp. 283-284. The Lyon Council II (1274) abolished the lower Mendicant Orders and the rumours that Pope Gregory X (1271-1276) was going to force the Orders to accept properties led to the Spirituals' revolt against the rest of the community; the provincial convent sentenced the recalcitrant to death, and in the subsequent years the Spirituals were persecuted, even though Nicholas III (1277-1280) gave a stricter definition of poverty in the decretal *Exiit qui seminat* (1279). But disobedience continued, for the Spirituals wanted to obey the Rules and Testament of Francis rather than the pontifical glosses. Celestine V (1294) authorized the Spirituals to organize themselves in a special order, but Boniface VIII (1294-1303) cancelled the former's decrees. *Exivi de Paradiso* (1312) issued by Pope Clement V (1305-1314) banned the ownership of property. Grievances continued and John XXII (1316-1334) ordered them to return to obedience, the recalcitrants being burned at the stake by the Holy Office. The Friars Minor jettisoned the Spirituals in 1318, but in 1322 the entire Order was involved in a conflict with the pontiff, who had passed two decrees in 1322-1323 withdrawing the Franciscans' right to own property on behalf of the Holy See and stipulating that the Franciscan doctrine of the poverty of Christ

“Lord’s sheep,” the faithful friend and Secretary of St. Francis, was considered until his death in 1271 as the embodiment of the Spiritual Franciscans’ ideal and as a symbol of “strict observance.”²²

In fact, the ideals of “strict observance” were carried further in the mid-13th century by Giovanni Borelli [Giovanni di Parma], elected as Minister General of the Order in 1248.²³ The dismissal of the Franciscan General in 1257, at the general Chapter of Araceli and the imposition of a new Minister [Bonaventura]²⁴ indicated that the Conventuals had managed to prevail over the Spirituals.

Through the bull *Exiit que seminat* [1279], Pope Nicholas III attempted to reconcile the disputes inside the Order of Friars Minor, stating that renouncing worldly goods, not only individually, but also jointly, represented a mysterious and holy deed, which had been practised by Jesus and the Apostles.²⁵ The pontifical ruse managed only to separate the intransigent Spirituals from the rest of the Order and, on the basis of their ideas about absolute poverty, to get them closer to the Joachimists, Sarabites and *circumcelliones*.²⁶

At the end of 13th century and the beginning of the 14th century, these factions separated from the Franciscan body went so far in their discourse as to demand the replacement of the worldly Church (*ecclesia carnalis*) with a poor, but purified Church,²⁷ which would no longer be the harlot of Babylon.

Jaroslav Pelikan wrote about these conflicts that had cast a rather unfavourable light upon the Church: “One avenue of this inquiry was the controversy over the definition of apostolic poverty. Much of the controversy within the Franciscan order—for example, about the distinction between use and ownership in the attitude toward property [...]. But it did become a doctrinal controversy when it took up the identification of apostolic poverty as true Christian perfection and therefore as the most pertinent index to the holiness of the church, as embodied in ‘conformity’ to the exemplary and absolute poverty of Christ [...],” while John XXII defended the position of the Church by stating that: “Christ and the apostles had not practiced the absolute poverty inculcated by the Franciscans, and that they had not intended to make poverty permanently binding on the church.”²⁸

and the Apostles was a heresy. Basically it was stated that the theoretical foundations of the Franciscans’ ideal were heretical (the *Cum inter nonnullos* constitution of 12 November 1323: did Jesus and the Apostles practise poverty without owning property jointly or individually?). The Inquisition took action against those practitioners of absolute poverty.

²² John Moorman, *A history of the Franciscan order from its origin to the year 1517*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1968, pp. 109-110.

²³ Henry Charles Lea, *A history of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, vol. III, New York, Harper & Brothers, 1901, pp. 8-9.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 24.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 30.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 31.

²⁷ J. Le Goff, J. C. Schmitt (eds.), *Dicționar tematic al Evului Mediu Occidental*, București, Polirom, 2002, p. 241, but also pp. 242-246.

²⁸ Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition. A History of the Development of Doctrine*, vol. IV, Reformation of Church and Dogma (1300-1700), Chicago and London, The University of Chicago Press, 2006, pp. 87-88.

By contrast, towards the poor who were not regimented theologically, the Church maintained its charitable attitude that had marked its historical evolution since its establishment (at the level of discourse and action).²⁹ Thus, it took upon itself the task of protecting those *miserabiles persone*, in particular widows, orphans, the blind, the crippled, the maimed or the seriously ill and of providing them, starting in the 13th century, with aid from the Church patrimony.³⁰

The metaphorical nature of the message encapsulated in the New Testament had, without difficulty, however, to take account of the new situations and to integrate ideologically the new phenomena, creating scales of values and social programmes formulated and substantiated in accordance with the Scriptures.³¹

These problems were derived from primary Christianity, which had designated itself as the religion of the poor and, with this message, had imposed its ambitions of dissemination, for Patristic literature, especially the Greek, saw it as a voluntary renunciation; this message was subsequently taken over by the West.³²

However, as this was a sensible ground, attempts were made for a clear definition of poverty, distinguishing it from the lack of possibilities and the unwillingness to work (= laziness, loitering), which was stigmatized by the Church Fathers and the medieval theologians and canonists. In particular, an attempt was

²⁹ For example, take Chapters 4 and 5 adopted by the Synod of Buda (1279): “(prelates) should not wear on any apparel of theirs any necklace or buttons, also known as brooches, made of gold or silver. The fact is that if they have done anything against this, such clothes must be removed by the Bishop and given **for the use of the poor**, or they must be returned for other devout purposes [...]. We forbid all clerics to wear rings, unless they are prelates who are allowed to do so by the very nature of their job, or based on the privilege of the Apostolic See [...] The fact is that if any cleric is caught wearing a ring, it shall be ripped off his finger by his Bishop and not given back; the cleric in question, who has violated the ‘prohibition,’ shall even be compelled **to give the poor** things of the same value as his ring.” in Ș. Turcuș, *Sinodul general de la Buda(1279)*, Cluj Napoca, PUC, 2001, p. 216. Another example concerns the charity actions of the monastic Orders or of the Orders of monk-knights (Hospitallers, Templars, Teutons): “any religious order had to **give alms to the poor on any occasion**, but especially during the great feasts of the liturgical calendar. The Rule of the Temple obliged them to feed a poor man for fourteen days following the death of a brother and it called, under the same circumstance, for leaving a tenth of the bread for the poor. Hospitallers did the same; however, the case of the house of Shibek (Lincolnshire) in England was exceptional: twenty paupers were maintained there permanently, and another forty were fed daily. But while the Templars - like the Calatravans, in fact - exercised their **mercy by religious obligation**, the Hospitallers, the Teutons and the Santiagists exerted it the proper **mission of their Order**. Especially the Hospitallers, who received in their hospitals, throughout the year, **hundreds and even thousands of paupers**,” in Alain Demurger, *Cavalerii lui Christos. Ordinele religios-militare în Evul Mediu (secolele al XI-lea – al XIV-lea)*, București, Cartier, 2003, p. 191.

³⁰ J. W. Brodman, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

³¹ Bronislaw Geremek, *La pietà e la forza. Storia della miseria e della carità in Europa*, Bari, Economica Laterza, 1995, p. 4.

³² *Ibidem*, p. 5. Moreover, the author states: “Gli studi sulla posizione dei poveri negli scritti di Gregorio di Tours hanno dimostrato che la società merovingiana trattava **il povero con ostilità e disprezzo**. Soltanto nel corso dei secoli XI e XII si formò – sulle messaggi dei Padri della Chiesa greci e delle esperienze del monachismo orientale – il concetto del valore interiore della povertà, mentre le trasformazioni delle strutture sociali ponevano gli uomini di quei tempi di fronte alla crescente dimensione della povertà come fenomeno sociale e alla necessità di giustificazione della ricchezza monetaria.”

made to reduce vagrancy and its consequences and to genuinely help the destitute through charitable actions.³³

Beginning from the 11th and 13th centuries and against the background of rising mercantilism, Christic poverty - the Evangelical ideal - was seen as a way to revolt against the system of capital accumulation,³⁴ especially in urban centres, giving rise to movements and orders that preached absolute poverty and the renunciation of the world. In addition to this, the accounting books of the period show how under the impetus of the times, the rich donated large sums to charity or for the building of charitable institutions.³⁵

At Jerusalem, in *Outremere*, the orders of monk-knights attempted to ensure, by any means, a loaf of white bread for the sick and the poor who resorted to these institutions.³⁶ The Order of the St. John's Hospital decided, under its statutes of 1181-1182, that in the Holy City daily meals should not be given only to the sick, but also to the orphans and the poor.³⁷ The proper functioning of the Hierosolymitan Hospital was also predicated on the obligation or priories from France, St. Giles, Italy, Pisa, Venice, Constantinople, Antioch, Mont Pelerin near Tripoli or Tiberias to send annually to it raw materials, objects, especially clothing and sugar.³⁸ There was no lack of sheets, slippers, cribs or shrouds.³⁹ Up until after 1206 there was even a responsible officer [*almoner*] within the Joannite Order who was in charge of giving alms: the old vestments of the Order or repaired old shoes were distributed to the poor and the needy.⁴⁰

Such an almoner was also found in the Templar Order, and he was responsible for giving bread to the poor. The Templars who violated the rules of the Order had to do penance under obedience to this "brother of the poor." Furthermore, on Holy Thursday, the Templar almoner elected thirteen poor whose feet were washed ritualistically.⁴¹

³³ The Constitution *Quia contingit* in the Council of Vienne (1311); *Ibidem*, pp. 6-7.

³⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 11-12.

³⁵ The number of hospitals grew in the 13th and 14th centuries, especially in the Paris area, in 1175-1300, *ibid*, pp. 12-13; see also A. Demurger, *Cavalerii lui Christos. Ordinele religios-militare în Evul Mediu (secolele al XI-lea – al XIV-lea)*, Chişinău, 2003: "The (Order) Santiago deliberately specialized certain of its houses, turning them into **monastery-hospitals**," p. 192. Ş. Turcuş în *Sinodul general de la Buda (1279)*, Cluj Napoca, 2001, published the letter of Ladislaus IV the Cuman, 1280, in which he promised a hundred marks for the **founding of a hospital for the poor**, "Ladislaus [...] Since it is known that the foremost things among Catholic princes and those devoted to God and any other preachers of the Catholic faith is to admit their mistakes and to build churches and other pious places for the benefit of **the poor and the destitute and the sick unto Christ, let it be known to all that** [...] we hereby give as eternal alms, offering the same lord worthy of worship bound to us, who will receive, in the name and in the stead of **the destitute and the poor and the sick unto Christ**, one hundred silver marks every year [...] ' to use them' to found a hospital for caring for the said poor, destitute and even the sick," pp. 150-151.

³⁶ Jochen Burgdorf, *The Central Convent of Hospitallers and Templars. History, organization and personnel [1099/1120-1311]*, Leiden-Boston, Brill, 2008, series *History of Warfare*, editor: Kelly de Vries, vol. 50, p. 321.

³⁷ *Ibidem*.

³⁸ *Ibidem*.

³⁹ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 328.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*.

We may assume, without fail, that such almoners and activities were to be found in the commandries of the Templars and of the Knights Hospitaller across the Europe of *Christianitas*, including in the commandries from the province of Hungary.

Unlike the hospitals managed by the military-monastic orders, where the monk-knights also cared for the sick, in cities [only in the largest cities], hospitals were only for the elderly and the infirm, were spent there, in a relatively peaceful manner, the last days of their lives.⁴²

It is obvious that many of these belonged to the category of the poor without any possibility of material maintenance, which required that they should be taken care of by the urban community.

From the 12th century onwards, the doctrine of Christian charity reached, in the wake of theological reflections, a very clear separation between two types of paupers: those of the Church and those of the laity.⁴³ The opinion that a distinction should be drawn between those who deserve help and those who do not need it is not, according to B. Geremek, an invention of modern social assistance, as it was first stipulated in the *Decretum Gratiani*⁴⁴ [Brian Tierney's demonstration] and in the writings of the decretists in the 12th century.⁴⁵

In addition, there were also voices that criticized charitable donors: the preachers of the period often attacked, at the level of discourse, those who "sold" their alms to the poor in order to be acclaimed in public for their benefactions.⁴⁶

⁴² Norman Pounds, *The Medieval City*, Westport, Connecticut – London, Greenwood Press, 2005, p. 140.

⁴³ The vision of the canonist Cerhoch of Reichersberg, the representative of 12th-century theological thought: the poor with Peter (*pauperes cum Petro*) and the poor with Lazarus (*pauperes cum Lazaro*), that is the clergy among whom poverty should be a distinctive feature, voluntary poverty within the ecclesiastical frames that maintained contact with God and those represented by the figure of Lazarus, the poor man of the Gospel, referring to the poverty of the laity, to material deprivation (*pauperitas quae est in penuria*), operating practically a clear **difference between poverty as an ideal in life and poverty as a status**, in *Ibidem*, p. 14. The basic text of the canonistic interpretation is found in the Gospel of Luke, 16: 19-31: "There was a certain rich man, which was clothed in purple and fine linen, and fared sumptuously every day:/ And there was a certain beggar named Lazarus, which was laid at his gate, full of sores,/ And desiring to be fed with the crumbs which fell from the rich man's table: moreover the dogs came and licked his sores./ And it came to pass, that the beggar died, and was carried by the angels into Abraham's bosom: the rich man also died, and was buried:/ And in hell he lift up his eyes, being in torments, and seeth Abraham afar off, and Lazarus in his bosom."

⁴⁴ H. Zimmermann, *Papalitatea în Evul Mediu. O istorie a pontifilor romani din perspectiva istoriografiei*, Iași, Polirom, 2004, p. 151. Gratian, a Camaldolese monk who passed away in 1150, compiled the canonical corpus of the Roman Church, which subsequently entered into use and was known as *Decretum Gratiani*; through additions and glossaries, it came to be what is known as *Corpus Iuris Canonici*; see also Ș. Turcuș, *Sfântul Scaun și românii în secolul al XIII-lea*, București, 2001, pp. 36-40: "The decree was a carefully rationed *mixtum compositum* and attempts were made to establish a consistent logic for the antimonies accumulated in the first Christian millennium. Gratian's Decree was the first stage in the establishment of the canonical corpus of the Latin Church."

⁴⁵ B. Geremek, *La pietà...*, p. 15. The writings of St. John Chrysostom and Ambrose of Milan were construed and interpreted: in these texts, the authors emphasized the necessity of distinguishing between honest and dishonest beggars (also the idea of Rufino da Bologna), who did not want to work but preferred to steal.

⁴⁶ Miri Rubin, *Charity and community in Medieval Cambridge*, Cambridge – London – New York – New Rochelle – Melbourne – Sydney, Cambridge University Press, 2002, p. 1.

Trying to answer the question who was the poor, many teams of historians have analysed the terminology used in coeval texts, reaching some interesting conclusions. It has been shown, primarily, as indicated above, that in the Middle Ages the concept of poverty was the field of religious discourse and spiritual realities,⁴⁷ in which only voluntary poverty was seen as a virtue in itself, a heroic way of living, while accidental poverty could bring forth only compassion and pity. In fact, the true paupers of the cities or the villages, those who had no means of subsistence, those who work for a piece of bread in medieval society were not seen even with compassion, but often “ma a volte paura, disprezzo o disgust.”⁴⁸

Here's what impression the Parisian theologian doctor and preacher Jean Chaulier (†1429), nicknamed Gerson, had about those “poor in the flesh,” in his Treatise *Il mendicante o il dialogo segreto dell'uomo contemplativo con la sua anima sulla povertà e mendicità spirituale*: “Parliamo dapprima dei poveri che non sono chiusi da qualche parte ma girano per le chiese e per le case dei ricchi, di uscio in uscio, e apprendiamo diligentemente da essi come mai per quanto siano deboli e malridotti per la vecchiaia o per le malattie o per qualche altro accidente, si sostengono come persone sane o aiutandosi vicendevolmente o trascinandosi sulla terra con le loro mani. E sopportano caldo e freddo, vento e pioggia tali che se fossero sani, subito si ammalerebbero coll'assoggettarsi alla fatica e alla privazioni sostenute andando o sedendosi, a volte dal mattino alla sera, sulla terra nuda, nel freddo, nella fame, nella sete. E pertanto sopportano questo male nella speranza e nel desiderio di avere qualche elemosina, e spesso non sanno quale e a volte non ottengono nulla. E se per caso li si informa di qualche distribuzione gratuita, guarda come vi corrono in fretta.”⁴⁹

B. Geremek believes, however, that beyond the didactic allegory, the detail remains truthful.⁵⁰

Other authors of the period only saw these beggars as a cause for ridicule and hatred, and so did the Parisian Chapter authorities, who delimited the place where they were supposed to stay because one could no longer hear the Divine Liturgy because of them,⁵¹ or the monarchy, which issued instructions against them.

Newer or older ecclesiastical literature has its different opinions on poverty and

⁴⁷ B. Geremek, *Mendicanti e miserabili nell'Europa Moderna 1350-1600*, Roma - Bari, 1999, p. 93.

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 93. According to the author, they are “specie condannata al lavoro manuale, a lungo disprezzato; quando non sono piu validi fisicamente e sono incapaci di lavorare, ritrovano la loro utilità sociale, un posto particolare nella divisione sociale del lavoro, **offrendo ai ricchi la possibilità di dare corpo ai loro sentimenti caritativi e di guadagnarsi così la salvezza**. Nonostante ciò restano disprezzabili, indegni e privi di qualsiasi prestigio”.

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 95.

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*.

⁵¹ For instance, Eustache Morel (1346-1407) or the Registrar of the Chapter of the Notre Dame Cathedral in Paris (5 January 1427). Eustache complained that they stole the money from the charity box, “thieves robbing God”: I'm afraid to go into Church anymore / Because of the thieves who steal from Christ / Beggars and Caymans who can / Get good supplies, one of those who say / Give to the poor who are in great pain / Suffering from the evil of St. Fiacre [haemorrhoids] / The evil of St. Mor [gout] and of St. Mahieu [ulcer] / of St. Aquaire [madness] and St. Flour [deafness] / But are all thieves who steal from God, in *Ibidem*, pp. 97-98.

mendicancy. The Benedictine Raterio of Verona, an expert theologian in Patristic literature, dedicated a chapter of his *Preloquia* to the mendicants, in which the basic idea is that poverty associated with begging is, in fact, not a value in itself, nor does it guarantee Salvation.⁵²

His point of view was exceptional for that era, through its sheer harshness, and the following centuries were to bring changes in these points of view [especially in the 13th and 14th centuries], dealing with stark poverty.⁵³ Still, we believe, every era had different points of view, and when we look at writings from those periods, we should see the subjectivity of their authors, their penchants for certain aspects. For while canonists like Eustace saw them solely as criminals, Gerson had a slightly more nuanced point of view; while Raterio saw the pauper as a sinner who could or could not reach salvation, Cerhoch of Reichersberg or Gratian tried to make some distinctions between the clergy who were poor through Rules and the poor of the laity, or, even more attentively, between those who deserved the Church's charity and those who deserved to be punished as mere vagabonds.

St. Francis offered his own vision on poverty in the 13th century, when he demanded that the poor should be pitied and appreciated, highlighting both valences of poverty: its implicit misery and its power to purify and elevate the human spirit.⁵⁴

According to the mentality of the Middle Ages, the concept of poverty received meanings that ranged from the macro-group to the micro-group.⁵⁵ The dimensions of this process, according to Bronisław Geremek, derive from the economic and social circumstances: poverty can be regarded as the symptom and the effect of a relative overpopulation, and the existence of a process of material and social degradation affecting the groups or the individuals is clearly discernible.⁵⁶

Mention is made of collectives [or individuals] which, in effect, permanently struggle for survival and lead a life at the limit, in conditions of "extreme precariousness."⁵⁷ For example, in medieval Cambridge, very many workers received not very much over 1 denarius/day, a sum accounting for the smallest monetary

⁵² B. Geremek, *La pietà...*, p. 17. A 10th-century theologian who also postulated that if the poor man was a sinner he would go into Gehenna; he gave numerous examples from the Holy Scripture.

⁵³ *Ibidem*.

⁵⁴ Miri Rubin, *Charity and community in Medieval Cambridge*, p. 9.

⁵⁵ "inizialmente, poveri sembrano essere considerati tutti coloro che non appartengono alle élites privilegiate della società feudale; in seguito, il loro ambito si restringe fino a indicare coloro la cui esistenza è fondata sull'elemosina e sull'assistenza sociale. Nei periodi in cui il concetto di povertà ebbe un significato molto vasto, il suo contenuto non era comunque riferibile solo ai ceti o alle categorie inferiori della gerarchia sociale; esso, infatti, non esprimeva soltanto la dicotomia *potens/pauper*: nel periodo carolingio, la nozione *pauperes* indicava le persone libere, contrapposte a quelle asservite. Nell'evoluzione di questa terminologia si nota il passaggio a un significato di **declassamento sociale; il povero è colui che non è più in grado di assicurare a sé stesso e alla propria famiglia la continuità di vita allo stesso modo di prima oppure al livello richiesto dalla sua posizione sociale.**" in B. Geremek, *La pietà...*, p. 45.

⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 46.

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*.

allowance for the survival of a poor man.⁵⁸ The sum of 1 denarius [daily wage] was distributed, under urban regulations, on the occasion of funerals or for assisting the poor in charitable institutions.⁵⁹

Incidentally, Eric Hobsbawm has shown that poverty refers to those categories of persons who are not able to maintain themselves at a necessary level without any help from outside.⁶⁰ These categories received various denominations indicating their “sector of activity.” Bronislaw Geremek, who wrote some of the best studies related to the issue of the “wretched,” mentions the one called *gueux* or the one known as *pitocco*.⁶¹

In Hungary, for instance, in 1370, on the lists of outlaws from the Banatian counties of Caraş and Cuvin, there appeared the denominations *divagantes* (road wanderers), *vagabundis* (tramps), *latitans* (lurkers),⁶² more broadly classified by Ştefan Pascu as *drifters*, but also vagrants.⁶³

Poverty, as a social phenomenon, was widespread in that period and however it was regarded, whether with compassion and understanding, or with hatred and disgust, it stood in relation to the dreams of the underprivileged categories simply because it was from among these “wretched” that recruitments were made, most of the times, for members of various groups that put at risk the urban and the rural population of the monarchies in Western Europe or within the Holy Empire.

For those individuals, living in the city meant a rudimentary dwelling built of wood or clay⁶⁴ where several families thronged together. These dwellings formed specific neighbourhoods, with trends of segregation that became ever more accentuated from the 15th century onwards.⁶⁵

For example, as regards Seville at the beginning of the 16th century, scholars speak about the survival of this urban subculture, which quickly assimilated abandoned orphans or young women that interfered with this society through prostitution.⁶⁶

The same Michel Mollat was the creator of a sequential division of the discourse on poverty starting from the 5th century and ending in the year 1500,⁶⁷ a discourse that comprises four periods: of these, the third period, which starts from the Great Plague, witnessed attempts that were made to reform the system of providing

⁵⁸ Miri Rubin, *Charity and community in Medieval Cambridge*, p. 40.

⁵⁹ *Ibidem*.

⁶⁰ E. Hobsbawm *apud* B. Geremek, *La pietà...*, p. 46.

⁶¹ *Gueux* appears in 15th-century French and is probably of Dutch origin; it may designate either the poor or the beggar, but has a strong pejorative character and marks one's belonging to a dangerous social class; *pitocco* is a typical beggar who asks for alms and sees charity as something he is entitled to, in B. Geremek, *Mendicanti e miserabili...*, pp. 103-104.

⁶² Maria Holban, *Din cronica relațiilor româno-ungare în secolele XIII-XIV*, București, 1981, p. 199. *Documenta Romaniae Historica, seria C, Transilvania*, vol. XIII, Cluj Napoca, 1994, doc. 511, pp. 770-774.

⁶³ Ştefan Pascu, *Voievodatul Transilvaniei*, vol. III, Cluj Napoca, 1986, notes 62-63, pp. 280-281.

⁶⁴ Ph. Aries, G. Duby (ed.), *Istoria vieții private*, București, Meridiane, 1995, vol. III, p. 212.

⁶⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 213.

⁶⁶ Mary Elizabeth Perry, *Crime and society in Early Modern Seville*, UP of New England, 1980, p. 235.

⁶⁷ J. W. Brodman, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

aid to these individuals. It was a period in which the Church considered understanding their plight. By contrast, during the last phase, there was growing irritation and disgust towards these paupers [in around 1500].⁶⁸

The leadership structures rejected thus the papers who were not integrated either in the developing city, or in the rural universe, and these people without a status became available for all the dreams, all the violence or all the prophetic revenges.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ *Ibidem*.

⁶⁹ Jean Delumeau, *Frica în Occident (secolele XIV-XVIII)*, vol. I-II, București, Meridiane, 1986, vol. I, p. 79. The author states that those disempowered beings, who had nothing to lose, wanted a social status that would prevent them from being mere marginals and the millenarian ideology that often animated these groups was a radical response to the fear of the people who, rejected by society, sought refuge in the imaginary, pp. 258-262.

16TH-CENTURY COIN HOARDS DISCOVERED AT ARMENI AND VURPĂR (SIBIU COUNTY)

Abstract: This study presents two coin hoards dating from the 16th century, discovered in Armeni and Vurpăr, two villages in Sibiu County. The coin hoard in Armeni consists of 29 Hungarian denarii struck in the mint from Kremnica, in the name of Kings Ferdinand I and Maximilian, the *post quem* term of the hoard being a coin from 1571. The coin hoard from Vurpăr comprises 104 Hungarian denarii struck in 1517-1577, in the mints from Kremnica, Sibiu and Baia Mare, in the name of Kings Louis II, Ferdinand I and Maximilian.

Keywords: coin hoards, Armeni, Vurpăr, 16th century, Hungarian denarii

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Data concerning the composition of the coin hoards³

Armeni

The numismatic collection of Brukenthal Museum preserves a coin hoard unearthed in 1958, according to the annotation on the original envelope in which it has been kept. The hoard was discovered in the yard of Stoica Nicolae's house, number 201. In the mid-16th century, Armeni was a Romanian village in "Unteralbenser" County. In the eighth decade of the 16th century, the owner of the village was Bornemisa Farkas, who converted to the Unitarian faith, entering into conflict with Prince Báthory. The Prince sentenced Farkas to death (1574) and confiscated his estates, bestowing them upon the Szalanczy family (1578).

The coin hoard from Armeni consists of 29 Hungarian denarii struck in the mint from Kőrmöcbánya/Kremnica (Slovakia), in the name of the Kings of Hungary from the Habsburg family: Ferdinand I (21 coins) and Maximilian (8 coins). The series of the denarii issued by Ferdinand I began with a coinage in 1530 and continued, with frequent interruptions, until the year 1565. With few exceptions, the years 1549 (2), 1550 (3), 1553 (2), 1562 (3), 1565 (2), the coinages commissioned by King Ferdinand I are represented by a single coin. In the case of Maximilian's coins, the denarii form a compact group which contains coinages from the years 1566-1571, the year 1570 being the only one represented by 3 coins, attesting, just like in the case of the denarii struck by Ferdinand I in 1550, the sheer volume of coins that were

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³ For succinct information regarding the two coin hoards from Sibiu County, see Cl. Munteanu, "Information regarding several coin hoards unearthed in Transylvania," in *Brukenthal. Acta Musei*, VII/1, 2012, pp. 91-96 (93, 94).

minted.⁴ The *post quem* term of the coin hoard is offered by the denarius issued by Maximilian in 1571.

Vurpăr

The few data that are available to us indicate the discovery of this coin hoard in 1944. In the 15th-16th centuries, the village was the site of frequent Turkish raids in Southern Transylvania. In 1526, following the defeat from Mohacs, the village was caught up in the dispute between Ferdinand I of Habsburg and John Zápolya, being occupied by the latter and abandoned only a decade later, following the intervention of the City of Sibiu. In 1536, the largest part of the village was destroyed by a Turkish attack, only 45 households being salvaged.

The coin hoard found in Vurpăr contains 104 Hungarian denarii struck from 1517 to 1577, in the name of Kings Louis II (7 coins), Ferdinand I (96 coins) and Maximilian (1 coin). The denarii of Louis II are coinages of the *antiqua moneta* type from the years 1517, 1520 and 1526-1527, all of the coins having been minted at Körmöcbánya. The core of the hoard consists of Ferdinand's denarii: most of them were minted in Körmöcbánya (94), and to them is added a denarius issued at Sibiu (1552) and another struck in Baia Mare (1554). The series of Körmöcbánya denarii begins with the year 1529 and continues, with few absences (1534, 1552), until the year 1553. Only one coin was issued by King Maximilian: a denarius minted at Körmöcbánya in 1577.

Transylvanian coin hoards consisting almost exclusively of Hungarian denarii (1551-1578)

The coin hoards discovered at Armeni and Vurpăr, whose last coinages were the Hungarian denarii issued in the eight decade of the 16th century, belong to the group of Transylvanian hoards hidden in 1551-1578. The list of these discoveries includes 16 coin hoards so far,⁵ but we have detailed information about only seven of these (Tab. 1). The essential feature of these coin lots is the homogeneity of their composition, as all of them consist, in percentages of over 90%, of Hungarian denarii, the rest being denarii issued by John Sigismund Zápolya⁶:

⁴ The observations are made on the basis of a preliminary statistical calculation of the share - by issuers and minting years - held by the Hungarian denarii in the Transylvanian hoards. The calculation is based on a number of 58 hoards hidden in the years 1527-1578.

⁵ Vladimirescu (AR), Ohaba Streiului (HD), Pânticeu (CJ), Satu Mare (SM), Târgu Mureş (MS), Cluj County, Nemşa (SB), Ianova (TM), Timișoara (TM), Oroiu (MS), Timișoara (TM), Dumbrăvița (HD), Armeni (SB), Carașova (CS), Vurpăr (SB), Lechința de Mureş (MS).

⁶ An exception, in this regard, consists in the accumulation deposits (Târgu Mureş, Oroiu, Timișoara, Carașova), but information on their structure is terse and difficult to verify (Fr. Pap, *Repertoriul numismatic al Transilvaniei și Banatului secolelor 11-20. Despre circulația monetară în Transilvania și Banat secolele 11-20*, Cluj-Napoca, 2002, pp. 49, 120, 164, 172).

Kingdom of Hungary							Transylvania
		Ladislaus II	Louis II	John Zápolya	Ferdinand I	Maximilian	John Sigismund Zápolya
.	Ohaba Streiului ⁷	6 (1%)	1 3 (2.1%)	-	58 1 (96.8%)	-	-
.	Satu Mare	-	1 (0.02%)	-	44 40 (99.9%)	-	x
.	Timișoara	5 (1.2%)	4 (0.9%)	1 (0.2%)	39 7 (96.1%)	4 (0.9%)	2 (0,4%)
.	Dumbrăvița	-	6 (0.8%)	-	67 4 (93.6%)	38 (5.2%)	2 (0,2%)
.	Armeni	-	-	-	21 (72.4%)	8 (27.5%)	-
.	Vurpăr	-	7 (6.7%)	-	96 (92.3%)	1 (0.9%)	-
.	Lechința de Mureș ⁸	-	4 (0.9%)	-	38 7 (87.9%)	48 (10.9%)	1 (0,2%)

Tab. 1. Distribution by issuers of the Hungarian denarii in the Transylvanian coin hoards hidden in 1551-1578

The distribution by issuers of the Hungarian denarii in the horizon of the coin hoards of the two batches from Sibiu indicates the predominance of Ferdinand I's coins, the highest numbers coming from the Kőrmöcbánya coinages of 1550-1552. The Sibiu denarii struck in 1552 have been identified in five of the seven hoards (Ohaba Streiului, Satu Mare, Timișoara, Dumbrăvița, Vurpăr), but their number is low (10 coins).⁹ The mint in Baia Mare, which struck denarii for Ferdinand I in 1554-1556, is represented by the few items present in the hoards from Ohaba Streiului, Satu Mare, Timișoara, Vurpăr and Lechința de Mureș. In all seven hoards, Ferdinand I's denarii amount to an overwhelming percentage of 97.83% of the total number of Hungarian denarii.

The number of denarii issued by Maximilian, struck exclusively in the mint from Kőrmöcbánya, is very low, barely reaching 1.64% in the analysed hoards; the maximum percentage is recorded in Armeni. The first mentioning of these coins - a

⁷ O. Palamariu, "Tezaurul de monede feudale de la Ohaba Streiului (sec. XVI)," in *Sargetia*, 16-17, 1982-1983, pp. 295-298.

⁸ E. Chirilă, N. Gudea, Gh. Moldovan, "Tezaurul monetar de la Lechința de Mureș, sec. XVI," in *Tezaur și descoperiri monetare din Muzeul Municipal Sighișoara*, Sighișoara, 1972, pp. 35-40.

⁹ The number of coinages from Sibiu County is not known for the hoard in Satu Mare (Z. Székely, "Un tezaur monetar din sec. al XVI-lea găsit la Satu-Mare," in *Studii și Cercetări de Numismatică*, 1, 1957, pp. 241-246; T. Bader, "Alte tezaure monetare descoperite în județ," in *Tezaurul monetare din județul Satu Mare/Münzhorte aus Kreis Sathmar*, Satu Mare, 1968, pp. 131-133 (131/3).

denarius from 1565 - refers to the coin hoard in Timișoara,¹⁰ hidden in the same year, which indicates their early penetration, albeit in insignificant amounts compared to the denarii of Maximilian's predecessors.

A high frequency is found in the case of Louis II's denarii (in 6 of the 7 hoards). However, the number of coins is low; the highest percentage is reported in the coin hoard from Vurpăr. Overall, in the coin hoards integrated in the statistical calculation, Louis II's denarii amount to a percentage only 0.51%. From a typological point of view, all the identified coins were struck in Kőrmöcbánya, before (6 coins) and after the monetary reform of King Louis II (28 coins),¹¹ devalORIZED coinages of the type *nova moneta* being absent.

Conclusions

Starting in 1551, after an absence of the hoarding phenomenon of nearly one decade, the monetary circulation in Transylvania witnessed the emergence of a hoard horizon composed almost exclusively of Hungarian coins (denarii, rarely obols), plus a few Transylvanian coinages. This structure of the lots was maintained until the last two decades of the 16th century, when coinages belonging to the Polish monetary system entered Transylvania, as suggested by the coin finds. This was a period of almost three decades, represented, for now, by a small number of hoards (16), totalling approximately 15,766 coins. Related to this amount, the number of the coins in the hoards from Armeni and Vurpăr is low, but their publication increases the number of lots known in great detail, enabling statistical calculations to be carried out.

On the other hand, compared to other published lots, the hoards from Armeni and Vurpăr raise several issues. Thus, the hiatus between the denarius of Ferdinand I (1553) and that of Maximilian (1577) raises questions about the composition of the hoard from Vurpăr. The unusual absence of intermediate coinages could be explained either by the partial recovery of the lot, or by the accidental addition of Maximilian's coin. Contrasting, by comparison with the rest of Transylvanian hoards hidden in the years 1551-1578, is the absence of Prince John Sigismund's denarii. However, the lots discovered are far too few to allow us to reach a conclusion in this regard.

¹⁰ R. M. Șeptilici, "Considerații privind tezaurul monetar medieval descoperit pe strada 9 Mai din Timișoara," in Fl. Drașoveanu (ed.), *Timișoara în amurgul Evului Mediu. Rezultatele cercetărilor arheologice preventive din centrul istoric*, Timișoara, 2007, pp. 221-234.

¹¹ A denarius from the hoard in Dumbrăvița has remained unidentified (O. Palamariu, "Tezaurul monetar din sec. XVI de la Dumbrăvița," in *Sargetia*, 15, 1981, pp. 119-123; *Eadem*, "Repertoriul tezaurilor feudale din colecția Muzeului Județean Hunedoara-Deva," in *Sargetia*, 18-19, 1984-1985, pp. 253-287 (256/6, 275-276).

Catalogue of the coin hoard from Armeni¹²
The Kingdom of Hungary

Ferdinand I (1526-1564)

Denarius

Obv.: FERDINAND·D·G·R·VNG· (millesimal)

Rev.: PATRONA - VNGARIE, in the field K – B (Körmöcbánya)

Huszár 1979, 935.

1. 1530; 0.52 g; 15.2 x 15.5 mm, axis 8. Inv. no. T 1285/16383 (fig. 1).
2. 1535; 0.44 g; 15 x 15.8 mm, axis 1. Inv. no. T 1285/16379 (fig. 2).
3. 1540; 0.53 g; 15.2 x 15.9 mm, axis 2. Inv. no. T 1285/16367 (fig. 3).
4. 1544; 0.51 g; 14.6 x 16.2 mm, axis 1. Inv. no. T 128 /16382 (fig. 4).
5. 1549; 0.52 g; 15.3 mm, axis 8. Inv. no. T 1285/16365 (fig. 5).
6. 1549; 0.51 g; 15.3 mm, axis 11. Inv. no. T 1285/16372 (fig. 6).
7. 1550; 0.46 g; 14.6 x 15 mm, axis 10. Inv. no. T 1285/16361 (fig. 7).
8. 1550; 0.48 g; 16.1 x 16.5 mm, axis 11. Inv. no. T 1285/16378 (fig. 8).
9. 1550; 0.42 g; 14.3 x 14.6 mm, axis 5. Inv. no. T 1285/16388 (fig. 9).
10. 1552; 0.46 g; 14.8 mm, axis 7. Inv. no. T 1285/16370 (fig. 10).
11. 1553; 0.51 g; 13.8 x 14.5 mm, axis 8. Inv. no. T 1285/16363 (fig. 11).
12. 1553; 0.42 g; 14.6 x 14.9 mm, axis 1. Inv. no. T 1285/16369 (fig. 12).
13. 1554 (?); 0.48 g; 14.5 x 15 mm, axis 1. Inv. no. T 1285/16374 (fig. 13).
14. 1556; 0.55 g; 15.1 x 15.4 mm, axis 4. Inv. no. T 1285/16385 (fig. 14).
15. 1558 AR, 0.55 g; 15.2 x 15.7 mm, axis 9. Inv. no. T 1285/16362 (fig. 15).

Ferdinand I (1526-1564)

Denarius

Obv.: FER·D·G·E·RO·I·S·AV·GE·HV·B·R, millesimal above the shield

Rev.: PATRONA - VNGARIE, in the field K – B (Körmöcbánya)

Huszár 1979, 936.

16. 1562; 0.54 g; 14.5 x 15.1 mm, axis 4. Inv. no. T 128 /16364 (fig. 16).
17. 1562; 0.54 g; 15.2 x 15.5 mm, axis 7. Inv. no. T 1285/16380 (fig. 17).
18. 1562; 0.49 g; 14.6 x 15.7 mm, axis 1. Inv. no. T 1285/16381 (fig. 18).
19. 1563; 0.49 g; 14.5 x 15.7 mm, axis 7. Inv. no. T 1285/16386 (fig. 19).
20. 1565; 0.48 g; 14.2 x 15.1 mm, axis 8. Inv. no. T 1285/16366 (fig. 20).
21. 1565; 0.5 g; 14.7 x 14.9 mm, axis 4. Inv. no. T 1285/16368 (fig. 21).

Maximilian II (1564-1576)

Denarius

Obv.: MAX·II·D·G·E·RO·I·S·AV·G·HV·B·R, millesimal above the shield

Rev.: PATRONA - VNGARIE, in the field K – B (Körmöcbánya)

¹² The determinators used for identifying the coins are: L. Huszár, *Münzkatalog Ungarn von 1000 bis heute*, Budapest-München, 1979; A. Pohl, *Münzzeichen und Meisterzeichen auf ungarischen Münzen des Mittelalters 1300-1540*, Graz-Budapest, 1982.

Huszár 1979, 992.

22. 1566; 0.53 g; 14.8 x 15.4 mm, axis 3. Inv. no. T 1285/16373 (fig. 22).
 23. 1567; 0.35 g; 16 x 16.3 mm, axis 12. Inv. no. T 1285/16377 (fig. 23).
 24. 1568; 0.54 g; 14.4 x 16 mm, axis 9. Inv. no. T 1285/16376 (fig. 24).
 25. 1569; 0.53 g; 14.9 x 15.2 mm, axis 8. Inv. no. T 1285/16389 (fig. 25).
 26. 1570; 0.42 g; 15.6 x 16 mm, axis 2. Inv. no. T 1285/16375 (fig. 26).
 27. 1570; 0.46 g; 15.2 x 16.5 mm, axis 5. Inv. no. T 1285/16384 (fig. 27).
 28. 1570; 0.51 g; 15.3 x 15.9 mm, axis 1. Inv. no. T 1285/16387 (fig. 28).
 29. 1571; 0.51 g; 15.8 x 16.1 mm, axis 2. Inv. no. T 1285/16371 (fig. 29).

Catalogue of the coin hoard from Vurpăr

Kingdom of Hungary

Louis II Jagiello (1516-1526)

Denarius

Obv.: LVDOVICVS · R · VNGARI · 1517

Rev.: PATRONA – VNGARIE, in the field K – G

1517 (?), Körmöcbánya (Georg Thurzó)

Huszár 1979, 841; Pohl 1982, 255-1.

1. AR, 0.57 g; 14.9 x 15.6 mm, axis 5. Inv. no. T 1614 (fig. 30).

Louis II Jagiello (1516-1526)

Denarius

Obv.: LVDOVICVS · R · VNGAR · 1520

Rev.: PATRONA – VNGARIE, in the field K – A

1520, Körmöcbánya (Alexius Thurzó)

Huszár 1979, 841; Pohl 1982, 255-2.

2. AR, 0.58 g; 15.8 x 16.2 mm, axis 7. Inv. no. T 1615 (fig. 31).
 3. AR, 0.53 g; 15.7 x 15.9 mm, axis 5. Inv. no. T 1615a (Obv.: VNGA) (fig. 32).

Louis II Jagiello (1516-1526)

Denarius

Obv.: LVDOVICVS · R · VNGAR · 1526

Rev.: PATRONA – VNGARIE, in the field K – A

1526 (?), Körmöcbánya (Alexius Thurzó)

Huszár 1979, 841; Pohl 1982, 255-18.

4. AR, 0.49 g; 14.4 x 15.6 mm, axis 4, double strike. Inv. no. T 1616 (fig. 33).

Louis II Jagiello (1516-1526)

Denarius

Obv.: LVDOVICVS · R · VNGARI · 1526

Rev.: PATRONA – VNGARIE, in the field K – B/P (in ligature)

1526, Körmöcbánya (Bernhard Beheim, Johannes Lengyel)

Huszár 1979, 841; Pohl 1982, 255-20.

5. AR, 0.49 g; 15.1 x 15.8 mm, axis 5. Inv. no. T 1618 (fig. 34).

Louis II Jagiello (1516-1526)

Denarius

Obv.: LVDOVICVS · R · VNGAR · 15Z7

Rev.: PATRONA – VNGARIE, in the field L – K

1527, Körmöcbánya (posthumous coinage)

Huszár 1979, 841; Pohl 1982, 255-38.

6. AR, 0.41 g; 15.2 x 16.1 mm, axis 7. Inv. no. T 1619/1 (fig. 35).

Louis II Jagiello (1516-1526)

Denarius

Obv.: LVDOVICVS · R · VNGARI · 15Z7

Rev.: PATRONA – VNGARIE, in the field I – K

1527, Körmöcbánya (posthumous coinage)

Huszár 1979, 841; Pohl 1982, 255-37.

7. AR, 0.47 g; 15.1 x 16 mm, axis 2. Inv. no. T 1619/2 (fig. 36).

Ferdinand I (1526-1564)

Denarius

Obv.: FERDINAND · D · G · R · VNG · (millesimal)

Rev.: PATRONA – VNGARIE, in the field K – B (Körmöcbánya)

Huszár 1979, 935.

8. 1529; 0.56 g; 14.3 x 15.7 mm, axis 10. Inv. no. T 1617 (fig. 37).

9. 1529; 0.47 g; 14.2 x 16.3 mm, axis 1. Inv. no. T 1620 (fig. 38).

10. 1530; 0.43 g; 14.1 x 15.7 mm, axis 5. Inv. no. T 1621 (fig. 39).

11. 1531; 0.62 g; 15.5 x 16 mm, axis 6. Inv. no. T 1622/1 (fig. 40).

12. 1531; 0.56 g; 15.3 x 15.7 mm, axis 1. Inv. no. T 1622/2 (fig. 41).

13. 1531; 0.63 g; 15.4 x 16.2 mm, axis 7. Inv. no. T 1626/1 (fig. 42).

14. 1532; 0.57 g; 14.4 x 15.7 mm, axis 8. Inv. no. T 1623/1 (fig. 43).

15. 1532; 0.52 g; 15.1 x 15.4 mm, axis 10. Inv. no. T 1623/2 (fig. 44).

16. 1532; 0.42 g; 15 x 16 mm, axis 5. Inv. no. T 1623/3 (fig. 45).

17. 1533; 0.53 g; 15.5 x 16.3 mm, axis 9. Inv. no. T 1624 (fig. 46).

18. 1535; 0.44 g; 14.6 x 15 mm, axis 2. Inv. no. T 1625/1 (fig. 47).

19. 1535; 0.51 g; 15.4 x 15.5 mm, axis 10. Inv. no. T 1625/2 (fig. 48).

20. 1535; 0.5 g; 15.3 x 15.6 mm, axis 5. Inv. no. T 1625/3 (fig. 49).

21. 1535; 0.52 g; 15.7 x 16 mm, axis 12. Inv. no. T 1625/4 (fig. 50).

22. 1535; 0.6 g; 14.9 x 15.7 mm, axis 7. Inv. no. T 1635/8 (fig. 51).

23. 1536; 0.61 g; 14.8 x 15.6 mm, axis 5. Inv. no. T 1626/2 (fig. 52).

24. 1536; 0.6 g; 15.3 x 15.4 mm, axis 12. Inv. no. T 1626/3 (fig. 53).

25. 1536; 0.52 g; 14.8 x 15.8 mm, axis 4. Inv. no. T 1626/4 (fig. 54).

26. 1537; 0.49 g; 15.6 mm, axis 2. Inv. no. T 1627/2 (fig. 55).

27. 1538; 0.67 g; 15.5 x 15.7 mm, axis 1. Inv. no. T 1628 (fig. 56).

28. 1539; 0.56 g; 15.5 mm, axis 1. Inv. no. T 1629/1 (fig. 57).
29. 1539; 0.55 g; 15.2 x 15.8 mm, axis 11. Inv. no. T 1629/2 (fig. 58).
30. 1540; 0.62 g; 14.9 x 15.8 mm, axis 5. Inv. no. T 1630/1 (fig. 59).
31. 1540; 0.46 g; 14.8 x 15.5 mm, axis 8. Inv. no. T 1630/2 (fig. 60).
32. 1540; 0.53 g; 16.3 mm, axis 10. Inv. no. T 1630/3 (fig. 61).
33. 1540; 0.54 g; 15.8 x 15.9 mm, axis 7. Inv. no. T 1630/4 (fig. 62).
34. 1540; 0.55 g; 15.3 x 15.8 mm, axis 3. Inv. no. T 1630/5 (fig. 63).
35. 1540; 0.6 g; 15.1 x 15.4 mm, axis 7. Inv. no. T 1630/6 (fig. 64).
36. 1540; 0.49 g; 14.7 x 15.9 mm, axis 8. Inv. no. T 1630/7 (fig. 65).
37. 1540; 0.54 g; 14.7 x 15.4 mm, axis 3. Inv. no. T 1630/8 (fig. 66).
38. 1540; 0.59 g; 14.1 x 14.9 mm, axis 2. Inv. no. T 1630/9 (fig. 67).
39. 1541; 0.62 g; 15.5 mm, axis 2. Inv. no. T 1631/1 (fig. 68).
40. 1541; 0.5 g; 15.6 x 15.8 mm, axis 1. Inv. no. T 1631/2 (fig. 69).
41. 1542; 0.51 g; 14.9 x 15.3 mm, axis 6. Inv. no. T 1632/1 (fig. 70).
42. 1542; 0.54 g; 15.5 x 16.1 mm, axis 8. Inv. no. T 1632/2 (fig. 71).
43. 1542; 0.7 g; 15.7 mm, axis 6. Inv. no. T 1632/3 (fig. 72).
44. 1542; 0.61 g; 15.1 x 15.9 mm, axis 1. Inv. no. T 1632/4 (fig. 73).
45. 1542; 0.61 g; 15.2 x 16 mm, axis 2. Inv. no. T 1632/5 (fig. 74).
46. 1542; 0.59 g; 14.8 x 15.4 mm, axis 7. Inv. no. T 1632/6 (fig. 75).
47. 1542; 0.5 g; 14.8 x 15.1 mm, axis 12. Inv. no. T 1632/7 (fig. 76).
48. 1543; 0.56 g; 15.1 x 16.1 mm, axis 4. Inv. no. T 1633/1 (fig. 77).
49. 1543; 0.56 g; 15.3 mm, axis 4. Inv. no. T 1633/2 (fig. 78).
50. 1543; 0.6 g; 14.5 x 15.5 mm, axis 4. Inv. no. T 1633/3 (fig. 79).
51. 1544; 0.64 g; 15.3 x 15.7 mm, axis 4. Inv. no. T 1634/1 (fig. 80).
52. 1544; 0.52 g; 14.9 x 15.8 mm, axis 5. Inv. no. T 1634/2 (fig. 81).
53. 1544; 0.53 g; 15.2 x 15.8 mm, axis 9. Inv. no. T 1634/3 (fig. 82).
54. 1544; 0.54 g; 15.7 x 16 mm, axis 7. Inv. no. T 1634/4 (fig. 83).
55. 1544; 0.49 g; 15.5 x 15.9 mm, axis 1. Inv. no. T 1634/5 (fig. 84).
56. 1544; 0.58 g; 14.3 x 15.6 mm, axis 4. Inv. no. T 1634/6 (fig. 85).
57. 1544; 0.54 g; 15.1 x 15.8 mm, axis 8. Inv. no. T 1634/7 (fig. 86).
58. 1544; 0.47 g; 15.2 x 16 mm, axis 2. Inv. no. T 1634/8 (fig. 87).
59. 1545; 0.52 g; 14.8 x 15.9 mm, axis 8. Inv. no. T 1635/1 (fig. 88).
60. 1545; 0.54 g; 14.8 x 15.2 mm, axis 6. Inv. no. T 1635/2 (fig. 89).
61. 1545; 0.52 g; 15.2 x 15.3 mm, axis 10. Inv. no. T 1635/3 (fig. 90).
62. 1545; 0.41 g; 15.6 x 15.9 mm, axis 10. Inv. no. T 1635/4 (fig. 91).
63. 1545; 0.71 g; 15.3 x 15.4 mm, axis 5. Inv. no. T 1635/5 (fig. 92).
64. 1545; 0.51 g; 14.9 x 15.6 mm, axis 1. Inv. no. T 1635/6 (fig. 93).
65. 1545; 0.56 g; 15.5 x 15.8 mm, axis 2. Inv. no. T 1637/8 (fig. 94).
66. 1546; 0.42 g; 14 x 15 mm, axis 5. Inv. no. T 1627/1 (fig. 95).
67. 1546; 0.53 g; 15 x 15.5 mm, axis 10. Inv. no. T 1636/1 (fig. 96).
68. 1546; 0.55 g; 14.6 x 15 mm, axis 7. Inv. no. T 1636/2 (fig. 97).
69. 1546; 0.54 g; 15.4 x 15.5 mm, axis 10. Inv. no. T 1636/3 (fig. 98).
70. 1546; 0.42 g; 15 x 15.2 mm, axis 7. Inv. no. T 1636/4 (fig. 99).
71. 1546; 0.59 g; 15.4 mm, axis 5. Inv. no. T 1636/5 (fig. 100).

72. 1546; 0.57 g; 15.6 x 15.8 mm, axis 11. Inv. no. T 1636/6 (fig. 101).
 73. 1547; 0.5 g; 15.3 x 16 mm, axis 5. Inv. no. T 1637/1 (fig. 102).
 74. 1547; 0.47 g; 15.5 x 15.6 mm, axis 3. Inv. no. T 1637/2 (fig. 103).
 75. 1547; 0.6 g; 15.3 x 16 mm, axis 8. Inv. no. T 1637/3 (fig. 104).
 76. 1547; 0.52 g; 15.1 x 15.3 mm, axis 5. Inv. no. T 1637/4 (fig. 105).
 77. 1547; 0.61 g; 14.3 x 15.9 mm, axis 2. Inv. no. T 1637/5 (fig. 106).
 78. 1547; 0.55 g; 15.1 x 15.7 mm, axis 11. Inv. no. T 1637/6 (fig. 107).
 79. 1547; 0.48 g; 14.7 x 14.8 mm, axis 2. Inv. no. T 1637/7 (fig. 108).
 80. 1548; 0.53 g; 14.7 x 14.9 mm, axis 6. Inv. no. T 1638/1 (fig. 109).
 81. 1548; 0.54 g; 15 x 15.2 mm, axis 6. Inv. no. T 1638/2 (fig. 110).
 82. 1548; 0.51 g; 14.8 x 15.2 mm, axis 10. Inv. no. T 1638/3 (fig. 111).
 83. 1548; 0.56 g; 14.5 x 15.1 mm, axis 8. Inv. no. T 1638/4 (fig. 112).
 84. 1548; 0.53 g; 14.7 x 15.8 mm, axis 7. Inv. no. T 1638/5 (fig. 113).
 85. 1549; 0.55 g; 14.7 x 15.3 mm, axis 7. Inv. no. T 1639/1 (fig. 114).
 86. 1549; 0.53 g; 15.3 x 16 mm, axis 3. Inv. no. T 1639/2 (fig. 115).
 87. 1549; 0.5 g; 14.4 x 15.2 mm, axis 1. Inv. no. T 1639/3 (fig. 116).
 88. 1549; 0.57 g; 15.3 x 15.5 mm, axis 5. Inv. no. T 1639/4 (fig. 117).
 89. 1549; 0.59 g; 14.8 x 15.2 mm, axis 8. Inv. no. T 1639/5 (fig. 118).
 90. 1549; 0.5 g; 14.6 x 16 mm, axis 1. Inv. no. T 1639/6 (fig. 119).
 91. 1549; 0.5 g; 14.8 x 16.4 mm, axis 9. Inv. no. T 1639/7 (fig. 120).
 92. 1549; 0.52 g; 14.4 x 15.7 mm, axis 7. Inv. no. T 1639/8 (fig. 121).
 93. 1549; 0.55 g; 15 x 16.2 mm, axis 2. Inv. no. T 1639/9 (fig. 122).
 94. 1550; 0.47 g; 14.6 x 14.9 mm, axis 11. Inv. no. T 1640/1 (fig. 123).
 95. 1550; 0.72 g; 15.1 x 15.8 mm, axis 1. Inv. no. T 1640/2 (fig. 124).
 96. 1550; 0.49 g; 14.7 x 15.6 mm, axis 5. Inv. no. T 1640/3 (fig. 125).
 97. 1551; 0.53 g; 14.7 x 14.9 mm, axis 11. Inv. no. T 1641/1 (fig. 126).
 98. 1551; 0.46 g; 13.3 x 14.7 mm, axis 3. Inv. no. T 1641/2 (fig. 127).
 99. 1551; 0.52 g; 14.3 x 15.2 mm, axis 7. Inv. no. T 1641/3 (fig. 128).
 100. 1551; 0.55 g; 14 x 16.4 mm, axis 1. Inv. no. T 1641/4 (fig. 129).
 101. 1553; 0.54 g; 14.7 x 15.3 mm, axis 11. Inv. no. T 1642 (fig. 130).

Ferdinand I (1526-1564)

Denarius

Obv.: FERDINAN · D · G · R · VNG · 155Z

Rev.: PATRONA – VNGARIE, in the field H – P

1552, Hermannstadt/Sibiu

Huszár 1979, 948.

102. 0.78 g; 15.7 x 15.8 mm, axis 8. Inv. no. T 1635/7 (fig. 131).

Ferdinand I (1526-1564)

Denarius

Obv.: FERDINAND · D · G · R · VNG · 1554

Rev.: PATRONA – VNGARIE, in the field N – C

1554, Nagybánya/Baia Mare

Huszár 1979, 953.

103. 0.63 g; 14 x 14.9 mm, axis 7. Inv. no. T 1643 (fig. 132).

Maximilian (1564-1576)

Denarius

Obv.: MAX·II·RO·I·S·AV·GE·HV·BO·R, 1577 above the shield

Rev.: PATRONA – VNGARIE, in the field K – B (Körmöcbánya)

Huszár 1979, 993.

104. 1577; 0.46 g; 15.1 x 16.1 mm, axis 9. Inv. no. T 1644 (fig. 133).

List of illustrations

Chart 1-3: The distribution by years of the denarii issued by Louis II, Ferdinand I and Maximilian in the Transylvanian hoards hidden in 1551-1578.

Fig. 1-29. Coins in the hoard from Armeni.

Fig. 30-133. Coins in the hoard from Vurpăr.

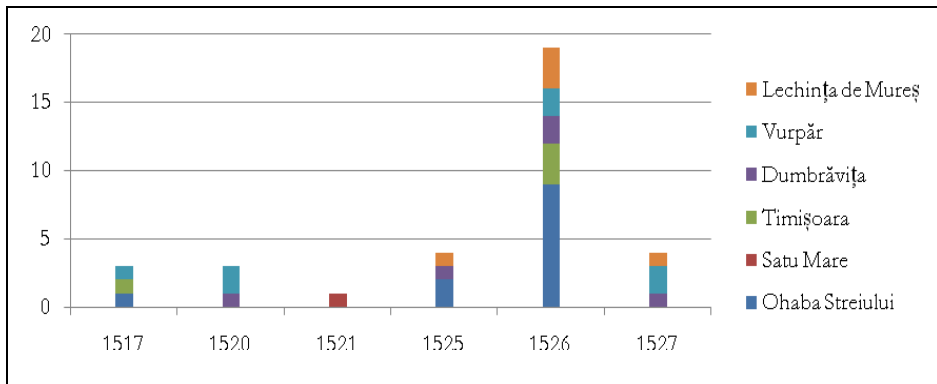


Chart 1. Distribution by minting years of the denarii issued by Louis II in the hoards of Transylvania hidden in 1551-1578

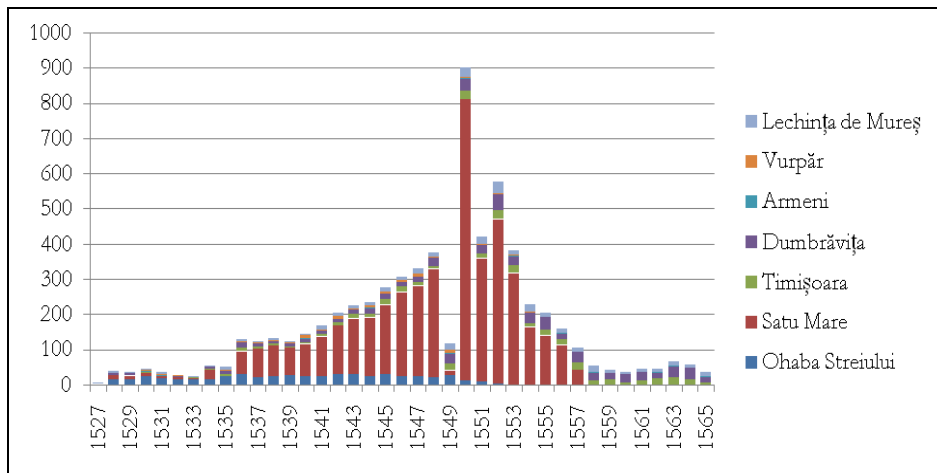


Chart 2. Distribution by minting years of the denarii issued by Ferdinand I in the hoards of Transylvania hidden in 1551-1578

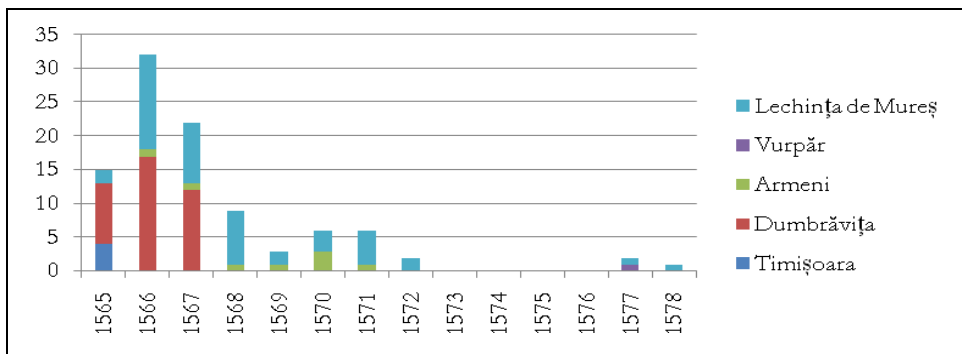


Chart 3. Distribution by minting years of the denarii issued by Maximilian in the hoards of Transylvania hidden in 1551-1578





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47



48



49



50



51



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CULTURAL RELATIONS BETWEEN WALLACHIA AND TRANSYLVANIA IN THE AGE OF MATEI BASARAB AND RÁKÓCZY PRINCES

Abstract: In this article we aim to highlight the efforts made by Prince Matei Basarab to constantly support the spiritual life of the Romanians in Transylvania. The Wallachian ruler and the Wallachian Church were astutely and efficiently involved in the cultural work of the prelates in Transylvania and in their attempts to withstand, with mere minor concessions, the Calvinist propaganda and to exploit the cultural facilities it offered for the benefit of their own faith. Promoting such a cultural program, Matei Basarab avoided worsening his relations with the Transylvanian Principality on account of his cultural relations with the Romanians in Transylvania and achieved the very opposite: taking advantage of his political alliance with Princes George I Rákóczy and George II Rákóczy, he was able to successfully support the ethnic and religious identity of the Romanians across the Carpathians.

Keywords: Matei Basarab, George I Rákóczy, George II Rákóczy, cultural Slavonism, printing and distribution of Romanian books in Transylvania

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The main reason underlying the close political connections between Wallachia and Transylvania during the era of Matei Basarab and Princes George I Rákóczy and George II Rákóczy was the necessity of building a common defence in the face of the Ottoman danger. Behind this strategic political-military motivation there was a deeper reality: the Romanian ethnic identity of the majority population living on both sides of the Carpathians.

The people of that time were aware of this, thanks to two elements that claimed their attention: on one hand, the ethnic solidarities of the epoch,² which foreshadowed, in a specifically medieval form, the future modern national consciousness, and on the other hand, the sense of a community of faith, which was contingent on the first element. What can also not be disputed is the fact that Michael the Brave's rule in Transylvania activated such ethnic or religious solidarities.

It is within this context that the cultural and religious relations established between Wallachia, led by Matei Basarab, and Transylvania, ruled by the Rákóczy Princes, ought to be assessed. At the level of the facts, it may be ascertained that the Wallachian ruler initiated numerous actions which could be integrated into a large-scale political undertaking of providing spiritual support to the Romanians in Transylvania. Matei Basarab's initiatives were deployed through the Orthodox

¹ PhD museum curator, National Museum of Transylvanian History, e-mail: mitu_meli@yahoo.com.

² See Eugen Stănescu, "Premisele medievale ale conștiinței naționale românești. Român-românesc în textele românești din veacurile XV-XVII," in *Studii. Revistă de istorie*, XVII, 1964, no. 5, pp. 967-1000; for the theoretical aspects, see Dionisie Petcu, *Conceptul de etnic*, București, 1980.

Church in Transylvania, represented by the Metropolitanate of Alba Iulia, which was practically the only channel through which the Wallachian voivode could contact the Transylvanian Romanians in an institutionalised form; during the years of his exile, Matei Basarab had established other contacts with the milieu of the knezes in Hațeg, mentioned by the ruler in subsequent documents,³ and with the soldiers recruited in the Banatian districts, whom he kept in his service even after he took over the reign.⁴

In addition, the policy of protecting and supporting the Transylvanian Orthodox Church represented a tradition of the rulers and of the Church in Wallachia, as these institutions had exercised this role through foundations, donations of money and vestments, through the sanctification of priests and higher prelates, or through donations of printed books and manuscripts, etc.⁵ Michael the Brave, for example, had excelled in this role, exempting the Romanian priests in Transylvania from corvée duty during his Transylvanian rule and building a Metropolitan Church at Alba Iulia in 1597.⁶

Matei Basarab marked a particularly fruitful moment in this tradition. The support that he granted to the Romanian Church in Transylvania can be determined primarily in material terms. Every year the Wallachian voivode sent the metropolitans in Bălgrad a traditional benefaction of 6,000 denarii, which was cashed in by all of the three high prelates in Alba Iulia during his reign: Ghenadie II, Ilie Iorest and Simion Ștefan.⁷ The second substantial donation in money was destined for the church in Șcheii Brașovului, designed, of course, to maintain the spiritual life of the Romanian community here, grouped around the church and the school. In 1602, Nicolae Pătrașcu had donated the village Micșenești in Ilfov to the Church from Șchei. In exchange for this estate, Matei Basarab established an annual donation of 150 ducats for the church in Brașov.⁸

In addition to these amounts that were sent regularly, there were many more occasional donations made to some Romanian communities in Transylvania, ensuring the material support for their cultural and religious life. Vestments, books or objects of worship indispensable for daily religious life were sent from Wallachia to Transylvania (by the voivode, the church or various boyars), as was the case of the religious objects donated to the church in Galda de Sus⁹ or to the church in Comana, equipped with all the necessary liturgical garments, divine service objects and religious books by Matei Basarab.¹⁰

In 1653 the Wallachian voivode founded a church in Transylvania, in the

³ See *Documenta Romaniae Historica*, B, vol. XXIV, București, 1974, p. 371.

⁴ Nicolae Stoicescu, *Matei Basarab*, București, 1988, p. 25.

⁵ Mircea Păcurariu, *Legăturile bisericii ortodoxe din Transilvania cu Țara Românească și Moldova în secolele XVI-XVIII*, Sibiu, 1968, passim.

⁶ Mircea Păcurariu, "Mitropolitul Simion Ștefan, slujitor al bisericii și al poporului român," in *Noul Testament*, Alba Iulia, 1988, p. 57.

⁷ Ștefan Meteș, *Istoria bisericii și a vieții religioase a românilor din Transilvania și Ungaria*, I, Sibiu, 1935, p. 354.

⁸ Păcurariu, *Legăturile ...*, p. 150.

⁹ Meteș, *op.cit.*, p. 355.

¹⁰ Păcurariu, *Legăturile ...*, p. 155.

village of Porcești.¹¹ Beyond its spiritual message, this foundation was important also for the dissemination of various architectural and artistic forms from Wallachia to Transylvania: this church was built in the style of Wallachian churches, adorned inside and outside with a beautiful mural. Through it the voivode marked his presence cultural in Transylvania, being portrayed in the fresco, together with Lady Elina, holding the church in their hands as patrons of the monastery, while the Wallachian coat-of-arms was carved in stone above the entry.¹²

One could ask the question what was the meaning of this cultural support granted to the Romanians in Transylvania, from the standpoint of ethnic and religious solidarities and of the Calvinization policy the Rákóczy Princes pursued in Transylvania? That there existed feelings of closeness and mutual belonging to a particular community is convincingly attested in a letter sent by the Ecumenical Patriarch Cyril Lukaris to Prince Gabriel Bethlen in September 1629. The Prince had requested the consent of the Patriarch (who was not a stranger to the Protestant ideas) as regards the conversion of the Romanians in Transylvania to Calvinism, and the prelate answered that the main reason why such an undertaking was not possible pertained to the relations that existed between the Transylvanians and their brethren in Wallachia and Moldova, including to the occult support the voivodes of these countries granted Orthodoxy across the Carpathian mountains: “For happily and peacefully carrying out this change of religion, what should first break is the bond of blood and feeling that throbs secretly but with great force, between the Romanians in the land of Transylvania and the inhabitants of Wallachia and Moldova. Surely, the neighbours of said countries will not allow this and will surely raise hindrances, if not with their weapons, then at least with secret exhortations.”¹³

Indeed, the spiritual relations maintained by Matei Basarab with Transylvania belonged to the voivode’s broader cultural program and were meant, more or less consciously, to help the Romanians in Transylvania in their efforts to preserve their own faith and ethnicity. As Cyril Lukaris stated, the idea of the solidarity among the Romanians in the historical provinces of Transylvania, Wallachia and Moldova, and that of the anti-Calvinist resistance were promoted through “secret exhortations” by the voivodes of Wallachia and Moldova, even though this support was less obvious at the level of the political relations with the principality.

The main way in which Matei Basarab became involved in the cultural and religious life of the Romanians in Transylvania, implicitly supporting them against Calvinization attempts, was that of printing and distributing books. The first aspect of this cultural policy was represented by the promotion of Slavonism. As noted in the bibliography of the issue, by A. D. Xenopol, P. P. Panaitescu sau Virgil Căndea,¹⁴

¹¹ Păcurariu, *Legăturile ...*, p. 142.

¹² For the description of the church, see Andrei Gâlea, “O ctitorie a lui Matei Basarab: biserica din comuna Porcești, județul Sibiu,” in *Omagiu N. Bălan*, Sibiu, 1946, pp. 423-425.

¹³ Published by Ioan Lupaș, *Documente istorice transilvane*, I, Cluj, 1940, pp. 177-179; commented on by Păcurariu, *Mitropolitul Simion Ștefan ...*, p. 57.

¹⁴ A.D.Xenopol, *Istoria românilor din Dacia Traiană*, vol. IV, Iași, 1891, pp. 77-84; P. P. Panaitescu, *Începuturile și biruința scrisului în limba română*, București, 1965, p. 194; Virgil Căndea, *Rațiunea dominantă*, Cluj-Napoca, 1979, pp. 33-77.

cultural Slavonism – an important trend in the age of Matei Basarab, primarily given the efforts of Udriște Năsturel – represented, in fact, primarily a reaction. It was a defensive reaction against the threat posed by the Greek-Levantine offensive that was targeted at preserving the tradition and autochthonous fund of Romanian culture and the rejection of the restrictions imposed by a foreign cultural paradigm. In addition, despite Xenopol's definition, Slavonism was not the dominant trend of the period, but just one of its characteristics (the period of Matei Basarab's reign could just as well be considered as an era of intense use of the written Romanian language, both in culture and in quotidian use).¹⁵

From the perspective of the relations with the Romanians in Transylvania, we may state that the promotion of Slavonism was also a reaction, this time against the Protestant danger, given the fact that Calvinist proselytizing advocated the use of the believers' mother tongue in church and culture, which represented a particularly valuable and effective weapon for accomplishing its aims. It is from this standpoint that we should probably understand the intentions underlying the distribution of printed Slavonic books in Transylvania. At the same time, we can notice that similar motivations were valid in the case of the books destined for the peoples south of the Danube, which were also assisted, through the Slavonic culture, in their effort to maintain the purity of their traditions and to withstand the Ottoman threat. In the preamble to the *Psalter* printed in Slavonic in 1637 and 1638, Matei Basarab addressed himself both to "the right believing and devout nation of our homeland" and to "the other nations related to us through faith and having the same famous Slavonic dialect as a language and particularly to the Bulgarians, the Serbs, the Hungaro-Wallachians and the Moldo-Wallachians and the others."¹⁶

On the other hand, the Wallachian printing houses also printed Romanian-language books destined for the Romanians in Transylvania, such as, for example the *Pravila* of Govora or *Îndreptarea legii [Nomocanon]*. The idea of using the vernacular language in culture had made great progress by that time and was supported by many scholars in Wallachia, the most distinguished of whom were Metropolitans Teofil and Ștefan. According to Nicolae Iorga, the idea of promoting the Romanian language in the books they printed had come to them from the model of the Transylvanian achievements¹⁷ (even though things could well have happened the other way around, the initiatives being practically concurrent). In this context, the important Romanian books printed in Transylvania during this period could be seen, to some extent, as the result of the aforementioned influence, of a broadly favourable climate in that period, and not just as simple effects of the Calvinist propaganda. The interpretation according to which the volumes printed in Romanian in the printing house from Alba Iulia responded to the needs of spiritual life in Transylvania and pertained to a generalized trend of promoting the vernacular language in quotidian

¹⁵ Căndea, "Noul Testament în limba română ca act de spiritualitate și cultură," in *Noul Testament*, Alba Iulia, pp. 48-50.

¹⁶ Ioan Bianu, Nerva Hodoș, *Bibliografia românească veche*, vol. I. (1508-1716), București, 1903, p.105.

¹⁷ Nicolae Iorga, *Istoria românilor*, VI, București, 1938, p. 92.

and cultural contexts was also emphasized by Virgil Căndea, on the occasion of re-editing the *New Testament* of Bălgrad.¹⁸

The two codes of laws (predominantly religious) printed during the reign of Matei Basarab, namely the *Pravila* of Govora and *Straightening law*, had a wide circulation also in Transylvania. According to his cultural program, the Wallachian voivode had a special edition of the *Pravila* printed for Transylvania, under the patronage of the Transylvanian Metropolitan, Ghenadie II.¹⁹ While the edition for Wallachia featured the name of “Teofil, out of the mercy of God Archbishop and Metropolitan of entire Wallachia,” his name was replaced in the edition printed for Transylvania with “Ghenadie, out of the mercy of God Archbishop and Metropolitan of entire Transylvania.”²⁰ This attests in a particularly convincing manner the existing relations between the churches of the two countries, as well as the coordination of their cultural actions.

The books printed in the Wallachian press spread throughout Transylvania, as attested by the copies found in Bungard (Sibiu County), Chişineu Criş and Lipova (Arad County), Beiuş, Pietroasa, Borod and Seghişte (Bihor County), or Bonţan (Caraş-Severin County).²¹ A more intense circulation is attested for *Îndreptarea legii*, of which there are at least 72 known copies discovered in Transylvania, eight in Bihor, seven in Banat, seven in Arad County, six in Sibiu County, etc.²² On one of these copies there is an extremely relevant note for the degree of awareness, at that time, of the importance of this cultural program and of the existing ethnic solidarity: “I, Deacon Udrişte/ from Wallachia/ hereby write to you, Father Teodor, and let this be known and never forgotten that I am giving you this book so that you may take it to our brothers in Transylvania, this book in the Romanian language.”²³ Things stood the same with a copy located in Turnu Roşu, about which we learn from another note on the book that it was given to the village by Ioan Zilot, from the voivodal camera of Wallachia, “in the days of the most merciful Lord Matei Basarab Voivode and his Lady, Elina.”²⁴

Especially useful for the close links between the two provinces was another book of the time, *Cazania* [*Homiliary*], which addressed, through the content of its teachings, broader categories of readers. From an edition printed in Govora in 1642, there are eight known copies found in Transylvania (in Bihor, Covasna, Braşov, Sălaj, etc.), and from the edition printed at Dealu Monastery in 1644, there are 10 other copies that circulated among the Romanians in Transylvania.²⁵ On one of these copies of *Cazania*, a literate inhabitant of the village Purcăreţ, called Dan Bogdan, noted that the teachings in it “can be learned from it as if from a flowing fountain of life.”²⁶

The importance of the circulation of these books for the strengthening of ethnic

¹⁸ Căndea, *Noul Testament*, pp. 41-56.

¹⁹ Păcurariu, *Legăturile ...*, p. 15.

²⁰ See Bianu, Hodoş, *op.cit.*, pp. 108-114.

²¹ Florian Dudaş, *Vechi cărţi româneşti călătoare*, Bucureşti, 1987, p. 162.

²² Dudaş, *op.cit.*, p. 163; Stoicescu, *op.cit.*, p. 91 mentions 35 copies.

²³ Dudaş, *op.cit.*, p. 163; Stoicescu, *op.cit.*, p. 91.

²⁴ Dudaş, *op.cit.*, p. 164.

²⁵ Dudaş, *op.cit.*, p. 142.

²⁶ Dudaş, *op.cit.*, p. 142.

solidarities, for the common cultural life of the Romanians in Transylvania, Wallachia and Moldova was highlighted in suggestive terms by Nicolae Iorga: “Crossing the borders, they drew all the Romanians together through their cultural life. Through them, more so than through the old manuscripts that were circulated and copied, to a little extent..., the common literary life of all the Romanians was founded. Through them something invaluable for any people was founded, because it included what was to give shape and form to the thought and feeling of the coming generations: literary language.”²⁷

Apart from these aspects (material donations and book distribution), Wallachia maintained, during the reign of Matei Basarab, institutionalized, direct relations (“official,” to use a modern term) with the Romanian Orthodox Church in Transylvania. This was as natural as possible, given that the Metropolitanate of Alba Iulia was subordinated to that of Wallachia. Transylvanian Metropolitans were ordained, according to tradition, by the Metropolitan of Wallachia. Ghenadie did so in 1627 and Ilie Iorest – in 1640.²⁸ What is significant is the fact that Iorest had come from Moldova and had been appointed as metropolitan at the insistence of Vasile Lupu.²⁹ However, he did not break the tradition and went to the Wallachians for confirmation, as the custom dictated. As for Simion Ștefan, vehemently accused in the historiography (especially by N. Iorga) that he was a docile instrument in the hands of Rákóczy and his Calvinizing tendencies,³⁰ we have no information about his possible ordination in Târgoviște. Conducted at the end of the 20th century, Virgil Căndea’s researches rehabilitated the figure of the prelate under discussion, suggesting that like his predecessors, he was confirmed at Târgoviște.³¹ Otherwise, his pastorate would have been uncanonical and, under such circumstances, it would not have been possible for him to effectively exercise his authority over the Transylvanian believers or for the relations established with Matei Basarab to be maintained.

As for Ghenadie, there is direct knowledge of several contacts that the metropolitan had with the Church in Wallachia. For instance, in 1639, the envoys sent by Matei Basarab to Rákóczy’s court were led by Metropolitan Teofil, this occasioning a meeting between the leaders of the two Romanian Churches.³² On this occasion, important cultural issues were discussed, whose effect was seen later. Ghenadie needed a *pravila* that contained the norms of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, primarily to counteract the influence of Calvinism, and secondly because the copies of Coresi’s edition had been exhausted or were insufficient.³³ In response to these extremely important needs for the life of the Romanian community in Transylvania, the *Pravila* of Govora appeared one year later, in a special edition for the

²⁷ Nicolae Iorga, *Istoria literaturii religioase a românilor până la 1688*, București, 1904 (in *Studii și documente cu privire la istoria românilor*, vol. VII, part. 3), p. 84.

²⁸ Nicolae Iorga, *Sate și preoți din Ardeal*, București, 1902, pp. 45-60.

²⁹ Lupaș, *op.cit.*, pp. 205-2016; cf. Păcurariu, *op.cit.*, p. 16.

³⁰ Iorga, *Istoria literaturii religioase ...*, p. 57.

³¹ Căndea, *Noul Testament ...*, pp. 54-55.

³² Păcurariu, *Legăturile ...*, p. 15.

³³ Păcurariu, *Legăturile ...*, p. 15.

Transylvanians. This example reveals as clearly as possible the collaboration between Wallachia and the Romanians in Transylvania, at the institutional level of the two churches, as well as the fact that the Wallachian milieu felt responsible for the fate of the Romanians across the mountains and helped them in their efforts to preserve their own ethnicity and faith.

This collaboration materialized also through the support Wallachia granted to the Romanian printing press in Alba Iulia. Although it was owned by Prince Rákóczy, its activity was supported, to some extent, by the Wallachians. Their contribution was in two main areas: firstly through the craftsmen who learned the art of printing in Wallachia or who came from there; secondly through the Romanian translations of sacred books made by scholars from Wallachia. Thus, the reopening of the Romanian printing press in Alba Iulia was due to the efforts of the printing craftsman Dobre, who came from Wallachia and started to produce Romanian language books here.³⁴ His first printed text was a composite volume, comprising a *Paraclis al Precestei* [*Paraklesis to the Holy Theotokos*], evening and morning prayers, a *Păscălie* [*Paschalion*], as well as a text that was forbidden by the Orthodox Church, *Gromovnicul* (book of astrological predictions).³⁵

The content of this volume shows that it was intended for a broad audience: the texts written in the Romanian language were indispensable to the clergy and were distributed to the faithful to guide their conduct in daily life. The prayers had to be printed in Romanian because Slavonic was not known to the people or even to a part of the priests. *Păscălia* was absolutely necessary for calculating the dates of the holidays, while writings such as *Gromovnicul*, comprising oracular literature, were highly valued in the popular culture of the time.

Father Dobre printed other important works, such as the *Gospel* (a re-edition of Coresi's text) in 1641 and *Catehismul calvinesc* [*The Calvinistic Catechism*] in 1640; the latter was a text of Protestant propaganda edited through the efforts of the Calvinist Superintendent,³⁶ which led, however, Metropolitan Varlaam and Udriște Năsturel to react against it. In the foreword to the *Evanghelia cu învățătură* [*Gospel with Teachings*], Metropolitan Ghenadie revealed the role that the Wallachian printer played in the publication of these works, emphasizing the fact that the printing presses and the books printed in Wallachia served as a model and as an exhortation for a similar, vitally important activity to be carried out in Transylvania: "I was profoundly aggrieved in my heart, wishing printing presses were brought over to print here/the Gospel/in this country of His Highness the King. Which is why the teacher Father Dobre came from Wallachia and printed here in Transylvania and, seeing this, my heart truly melted at the sight of those printed works and I appealed to His Highness Racoți Gheorghie to have these books printed here, in the land of His Highness and His Highness allowed me to print them."³⁷

At the same time, there were Transylvanians who were sent by the

³⁴ Sextil Pușcariu, *Istoria literaturii române. Epoca veche*, București, 1987, p. 87.

³⁵ Pușcariu, *op.cit.*, p. 87.

³⁶ Pușcariu, *op.cit.*, p. 87; N. Iorga, *Istoria literaturii ...*, p. 58.

³⁷ Bianu, Hodoș, *op.cit.*, pp. 116-118.

Metropolitanate to Wallachia, to learn the craft of printing there. Along with Father Dobre, they played an important role in the publication of Romanian books in Transylvania in the mid-17th century, which culminated with the *New Testament* from Bălgrad (Alba Iulia), in 1648, and with the translation of the *Psalter* in 1651. One of them was Nicula Ardeleanul, “publisher of books at the voivodal printing presses,” who was working in the typography from Govora in 1639.³⁸ He learned the craft there, contributed to the printing of the *Pravila*, after which he probably went back to Transylvania, publishing Romanian books in Alba Iulia, after the model of those in Wallachia. Another was the learned monk Daniil Andreeanul, who had come from the western parts of Transylvania and had also crossed the border to Wallachia, working in the typography from Dealu, where he translated *Îndreptarea legii*. The activity of Daniil, in keeping with the cultural policy of the two Churches, was not constrained by the frontier of the Carpathians, since he was one of the translators of the *New Testament* in Transylvania, as Bishop in the Land of Făgăraș, in 1662, and as Bishop of Strehaia, in Oltenia, in 1672-1679.³⁹

Another example of these craftsmen and scholars who maintained the cultural links between the two provinces is that of the hieromonk Silvestru, former abbot in Govora.⁴⁰ Probably at the request of Metropolitan Simion Ștefan, he came to Transylvania, where he began to translate the *New Testament*, as shown in the second foreword of this work: “The compilation of this Testament was begun by the hieromonk Selivestru.”⁴¹ After his death, the translation was continued by other authors (including the erudite metropolitan, according to some historians).⁴² Lexical research reveals that these authors were both Transylvanians and Wallachians, this work representing the result of the collaboration between the scholars of the two countries.⁴³ This probably explains the role it played in the dissemination of a unitary literary language, in keeping with the desideratum expressed in the second foreword, ascribed to Simion Ștefan.⁴⁴

All these elements of the cultural ties between Wallachia and Transylvania in the age of Matei Basarab and the Rákóczy Princes lead us to wonder: what was the attitude of the Wallachian ruler toward the Transylvanian princes in light of these cultural relations and to what extent did they influence the political relations between the two countries?

According to a more simplistic view, long accredited in historiography,⁴⁵ the

³⁸ Stoicescu, *op.cit.*, p. 91.

³⁹ Păcurariu, *Mitropolitul Simion Ștefan ...*, p. 64.

⁴⁰ For his activity, see I. Cristache-Panait, “Rolul lui Matei Basarab în cultura românilor din Transilvania,” in *Matei Basarab și Bucureștii*, București, 1983, p. 66.

⁴¹ Bianu, Hodoș, *op.cit.*, p. 106; the re-edited text in *Noul Testament ...*, cited ed., p. 115.

⁴² Meteș, *op.cit.*

⁴³ Florica Dimitrescu, “Importanța lingvistică a Noului Testament de la Bălgrad,” in *Noul Testament...*, pp. 77-96.

⁴⁴ *Noul Testament ...*, pp. 115-116.

⁴⁵ The assessment belongs, above all, to Nicoale Iorga, having been launched in *Istoria literaturii religioase ...*, p. CLXXI-CLXXIII, partially taken over by Nicolae Cartoian, *Istoria literaturii române vechi*, București, 1980, p. 184. For a more lenient view, see Pușcariu, *op.cit.*, pp. 86-88.

politics of Calvinization led by the Rákóczy Princes were seen exclusively in terms of their negative effects. In this context, the cultural work of some Transylvanian metropolitans such as Simion Ștefan, Ghenadie or even Ilie Iorest (consisting, above all, in the printing of works in the Romanian language) was seen almost exclusively as an outgrowth of this dangerous, nefarious Calvinist influence on the Romanians. Moreover, these prelates, Simion Ștefan in particular, were regarded as leaders that lacked authority and acted as docile instruments in the hands of Calvinizing tendencies (as with all the higher clerics of those times in Transylvania, says Iorga about Ilie Iorest, “his situation was ambiguous, of suspect Orthodoxy and diffident heresy”).⁴⁶ In the face of such dangerous attitudes toward Romanian Orthodoxy, as was the printing of the Calvinist Catechisms, the reaction of the circles in Wallachia and Moldova would have been, thus, one of determined rejection and stark condemnation of these practices. A clear expression of this reaction would be the answer formulated by Metropolitan Varlaam to the Calvinist *Catechism*, in 1647, or the promotion (in the manner of Udriște Năsturel) of a purist-Slavonic trend, aimed at preserving the tradition.

However, if we continued to accept that interpretation entirely, we would not be able to understand how the cultural collaboration between the two Churches was possible, why Matei Basarab accepted to support the printing of religious books in the Romanian language, which were regarded, at the same time, by Rákóczy or the Calvinist Superintendent, as means of Protestant propaganda. We may notice, however, a particular conjunction of these cultural initiatives: the typography or the metropolitan court of Bălgrad housed all the subsidies, typefaces, craftsmen, translations provided and sponsored by both Matei Basarab and the Rákóczy Princes: those contributions were not mutually exclusive. When in 1640 Matei Basarab nominated Meletie Macedoneanul, the abbot from Govora, for the metropolitan seat, his initiative was warmly embraced and strongly supported before the Prince precisely by the Calvinist Superintendent, Geleji Katona István, the promoter of the trends of Calvinizing the Romanians in Transylvania.⁴⁷

Defending his proposal in the letters he addressed to the Prince, Geleji showed that he considered this candidate to be appropriate because Meletie had printed before (in Govora) books in the Romanian language and was eager to continue this activity in Transylvania. Another reason was that it was preferable to have a scholar at the head of the Church in Transylvania, as this could contribute to the eradication of superstitions and the conservatism it was dominated by.⁴⁸

These reasons explain, in our opinion, the fortunate coincidence of such Wallachian and Rákóczyan initiatives. The printing of books in the Romanian language and the raising of the cultural level of the Transylvanian Church represented the common points of the princely⁴⁹ and voivodal religious-cultural programs

⁴⁶ Iorga, *Sate și preoți ...*, p. 54.

⁴⁷ Four such letters were published by Lupaș, *op.cit.*, pp. 205-206, 210, 212, 213.

⁴⁸ Lupaș, *op.cit.*, p. 205.

⁴⁹ For an objective assessment of the consequences of the Calvinizing policies, seen also in light of their positive aspects, see Lidia Demény, in C. Papacostea-Danielopolu, L. Demény, *Carte și tipar în*

dedicated to the Transylvanian Romanians. Of course, they had different motivations (Calvinization, on the one hand, strengthening Orthodoxy, on the other), but the methods they used often coincided, which meant that the relations between Basarab and the Rákóczy Princes were not tense along cultural lines. That explains why in the context of the political relations between Transylvania and Wallachia, these problems did not engender disputes, generally speaking, even though such conflicts would have been bound to happen if we accepted the thesis that Calvinist propaganda provoked an exclusively negative reaction and that the cultural actions of the Transylvanian Church, supervised by the prince and the superintendent, had been received in Wallachia as an attack on Orthodoxy. In fact, as it is clearly evinced by the letters exchanged between the Rákóczy Princes and Basarab, as well as by the texts of the agreements concluded between them, cultural and religious matters were not grounds for dispute: on the contrary, they quite often encouraged rapprochement. Political motivations sometimes influenced cultural relations (and not vice versa), as was the case with the election of the metropolitan in 1640. Rákóczy rejected the candidacy of Meletie Macedoneanul – recommended by Matei (as a representative of his programme of cultural dissemination) and by Geleji (who, without having too many hopes, considered him to be the most suitable for fulfilling the Calvinist agenda) – appointing Ilie Iorest, Lupu's candidate, even though the latter had a firmer anti-Calvinist attitude.⁵⁰ Rákóczy sacrificed his confessional interests in favour of pursuing his political aims, as what he intended, through the appointment of Iorest, was to form closer relations with Lupu – the objective of his foreign policy at that time.

At the same time, while Matei Basarab's connections with the Romanian Church in Transylvania did not affect his overall relations with the principality, at the level of current practice and of his cultural book distribution programme, his direct reactions against Calvinization occurred in the dogmatic sphere. The scholars in Wallachia, foremost among which was Udriște Năsturel, subscribed to Metropolitan Varlaam's *Reply* to the Calvinist *Catechism* and took an anti-Calvinist stand at the ecumenical synod held in Iași.⁵¹ Defending, at the level of principles, traditional Orthodoxy, the cultural and political circles of Wallachia understood that in practice what was needed was a much more flexible policy in relation to the Protestant offensive, which could thus take advantage of various initiatives, such as the promotion of the vernacular language, a conduct that proved to be extremely useful from the standpoint of defending the ancestral faith.

This explanation that we propose with respect to the cultural relations between Transylvania and Matei Basarab's Wallachia is consistent, as a matter of fact, with the historians' late-20th century interpretations regarding the activity of the Transylvanian higher clergy: these interpretations tend to shed a much more

societatea românească și sud-est europeană, București, 1985, p. 69; cf. the opinion of Francisc Păcurariu, *Românii și maghiarii de-a lungul veacurilor*, București, 1988, p. 116.

⁵⁰ For the arguments in favour of the two candidacies, see Lupaș, *op.cit.*, the letters cited in note 47.

⁵¹ Pușcariu, *op.cit.*, pp. 80-81.

advantageous light upon these hierarchs.⁵² The conduct of those prelates took account of the existing balance of forces. The concessions that were made to the Calvinization process were, as far as possible, merely formal, but what the high clerics aimed in fact to accomplish was a policy of preserving Orthodoxy intact, as they cautiously vacillated between the Calvinists' offers and threats and took advantage of those cultural openings. In his relations with the Romanians in Transylvania, Matei Basarab appears to have understood this policy, aligning his cultural programme with those tendencies, in order to assist the Transylvanians as ably and efficiently as possible: as Patriarch Lukaris asserted, "not with their weapons", but with "secret exhortations," through the "the bond of blood and feeling that throbs secretly but with great force."⁵³

⁵² Căndea, *op.cit.*, passim.

⁵³ See note 13.

PRINCELY POWER AND THE OFFICIALLY RECOGNIZED CONFESSIONS IN TRANSYLVANIA DURING THE REIGN OF MICHAEL I APAFI

Abstract: Few studies in recent Romanian historiography have addressed the problem of Transylvania's confessional history during the reign of Michael I Apafi. The growing interest in this subject of scholarly research is justified by the evolution of the 17th-century society, in which religion was present at all hours of the day (morning service, prayers before the lunch and evening meals, vespers) and among all walks of life. This study aims to reveal the role played by prince in the life of the officially recognized confessions in Transylvania.

Keywords: Michael I Apafi, the Reformed, Catholic, Lutheran and Unitarian confessions

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In the second half of the 17th century, Transylvania boasted a remarkable confessional diversity. It was the only country in Europe that gave constitutional recognition to the free practice of four religions across its territory: Calvinist, Lutheran, Unitarian and Catholic. The politicians of that time were extremely proud of the aforementioned legislative provision, enshrined in the very first chapter of the Constitution, and of the country's democratic statehood, in which the Diet prevailed over the elected prince. The Central and West European States were perceived by the Transylvanian ruling elite as kingdoms in which emperors had acquired unlimited powers, which had allowed them to impose an autocratic system encompassing not only political life, but also spiritual life, directly subordinated to them.

The writings of the Transylvanian authors from that period who approached general issues of state governance laid particular emphasis on certain semantic aspects: the word *regnum* was commonly used for the type of state described above and, in their vision, it differed radically from the model created and imposed by them in Transylvania's Constitution, a model designated through the term *respublica*. The guiding principle upheld by politicians was the following: the lesser the sovereign's power, the greater the subjects' force: in theory, this desideratum was correct, but the princes of the period, including Michael I Apafi, sometimes undermined it by exploiting the legal lacunae or the loopholes and ambiguities of the law in force. The legislators did not take into consideration aspects such as: the possibility of interpreting or rebutting decisions that were already enforced; the real authority of the prince in office; and, last but not least, the volatile cohesion of the Dietal nobility in

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the process of approving the decisions that were subjected to debate in the estate assemblies. Moreover, another aspect of the problem that was neglected was the sacred character of the relation between the ruler and the subjects: the elected prince was invested with God's mandate on Earth (*elector Deus est*).² Any resistance to the decisions adopted by him could be regarded as an opposition to the divine will and could incur capital punishment.³ The divine aspect of princely power was not disputed either by the nobiliary elite⁴ or by the rest of the country's population.⁵ For all of these, the holder of the supreme function in the state became, from the moment of his investiture, the father of the entire people⁶ and he was to be obeyed unconditionally. In this capacity as representative of the divine authority on earth, the prince had a series of obligations towards the entire population of Transylvania, which included, of course, overseeing spiritual matters, watching over the Church and the celebration of divine service, ensuring the dissemination, among the population, of a sentiment of profound esteem and consideration towards God, aiming to stamp out any other forms of worship than those accepted by the confessional synods and the state, protecting schools and pupils, punishing those Christians who did not live according to the biblical teachings, etc. In the exercise of their religious duties, princes had the freedom to resort even to measures that were prohibited by the letter of the Scripture, such as: granting amnesty to lewd reprobates, tacitly accepting some idols in the Church, applying fines for certain serious offenses, all of these on condition that they served a firmly established supreme goal, which could not have been achieved by any other means.

The quality of God's vicar on earth gave the prince a series of advantages in exercising control over ecclesiastical activity. This led eventually to the Church's almost complete submission to State power, an objective that was attained by Apafi during the first two decades of his reign. In achieving that goal, he took considerable advantage of his constitutional obligation of confirming the bishops elected in the ecclesiastical synods, not only as regards the bishops of the confessions officially accepted by the state, but also those of the other, unrecognized religions in

² *Erdélyi országgyűlési emlékek* (hereinafter, *EOE*), VI, Budapest, 1880, p. 347; *Török-magyarkori Állam-okmánytár*, III, Pest, 1870, p. 502: "It is the Glorious Lord that ordains princes and kings; the will of Allmighty God will be done."

³ In the Dietal session for the election of the new prince, the nobility paid homage to him, submitting an oath of allegiance that began with the invocation of God and ended with the words "So help me God and may He grant salvation to my soul" (see *Magyar törvénytár. 1540-1848. Évi erdélyi törvények*, Budapest, 1900, p. 276). In their turn, the priests did the same, albeit in a different setting (see *EOE*, XII, pp. 505-506).

⁴ Kornis Gáspár, "Erdély és családja viszontagságairól," in *Magyar emlékirók 16-18 század*, Budapest, 1982, p. 337; *Teleki Mihály levelezése* (hereinafter *TML*), II, Budapest, 1906, p. 86.

⁵ Serfs paid their verbal homage to the prince in the presence of the village judge and jurors; the rest of the population - before the county administrative officials, the Szekler and Saxon seats or the city seats, by respecting a predetermined formula. In 1691, the oath of allegiance was submitted in writing, with the assistance of the Hungarian or Romanian priests in the respective communities (see *EOE*, XX, p. 448).

⁶ This is how Nicolae Bethlen described Princess Ana Bornemisza: "intelligent, virtuous, a genuine mother of the homeland," see "Bethlen Miklós élete leírása magától," in *Kemény János és Bethlen Miklós művei*, Budapest, 1980, p. 737.

Transylvania at the end of the 17th century, such as the leader of the Orthodox Church and – probably – the Mosaic Rabbi.⁷ Although the prince could not get involved directly in the selection process, he could influence, most of the times, the election mechanism by opting for synodal priests who were compliant with the political power. Thus the individuals who were elected to office were either persons from the entourage of the princely court or certain protégés of the prince. Another advantage the prince had consisted in his possibility to appoint, over the head of the bishop, the priests he preferred in various parishes.⁸ What also contributed to the prince's primacy over the Church was a practice introduced by Gabriel Bethlen and continued by the two Rákóczi Princes, according to which the canonical visitations of the bishops and the archpriests belonging to the accepted confessions (except for the Calvinist faith) could be undertaken only at the proposal and with the approval of Michael Apafi.

As a representative of divine authority on earth, the prince had the firm mission of preserving the traditional form of the liturgy, accepted by the canons of each individual religion, without innovations or additions from the clergyman who delivered the service. All the innovations that were intended to be introduced into the divine ritual had to be first submitted to a joint committee consisting of priests and professors from some of the important colleges in Transylvania, who would analyse the correctness of the doctrine. If the new doctrine was approved, it could be introduced as part of the daily religious service. If the doctrine was rejected, the sacerdote was first admonished, then demoted and removed from office by the ecclesiastical authority, while the secular power confiscated his wealth. The whole process could even lead to the decision of sentencing the culprit. The only confession that was exempted from this provision was that of the Orthodox Romanians. This measure was targeted, in particular, against the supporters of the Puritan, Cartesian and Cocceian movements, highly active within the Calvinist Church during the second half of the 17th century.

As regards the rapport between the princely power and the four official religions, seen through the lenses of the Approbates and Compilates, as well as of the Dietal decisions adopted during the reign of Michael I Apafi, we can make the following considerations.

The Evangelical Church

The Evangelical confession was widespread among the German-speaking population in the south of Transylvania, where it almost represented “a state religion” that overlapped with the institution of the Saxon University. The Calvinist communities were established with difficulty, in only two centres of the territory

⁷ In 1658 the Jews in Alba Iulia already had a synagogue and the Mosaic community's good relations with Prince Apafi were well known everywhere (see Moshe Carmilly-Weinberger, *A zsidóság története Erdélyben (1623-1944)*, Budapest, 1995, pp. 164, 75-76. A certain Pap Izrael (rabbi ?) had a correspondence with Mihail Teleki who, subsequently, dispatched the information he received to the princely court (see *TML*, VII, p. 300). To this day, there is little, if any, information about the spiritual life of the Jewish community in Alba Iulia.

⁸ *TML*, IV, p. 277.

controlled by the authorities of Sibiu and, respectively, Orăștie and Brașov. The first dates back to the beginnings of Transylvanian Reformism,⁹ while the second was linked to the name Prince Apafi, who granted the Reformed believers, through a Dietal decree, a land plot for the building of a church on Bolonya Street,¹⁰ much to the grievance and outrage of the city officials. What remained in force, however, was the prohibition passed against the Saxon authorities allowing Catholic or Unitarian services to be delivered on the territories under their administrative control.

The seat of the Lutheran denomination was located in Sibiu. It was here that all the Lutherans' problems were managed, the ecclesiastical canons were conceived, and their specific internal laws and regulations were passed. As a structure of ecclesiastical organization, the territory of southern Transylvania was divided into the deaneries and chapters.¹¹ This form of organization was reminiscent of the old order of the medieval Catholic world, perpetuated here during the period of the principality. The governance was based on the synodal-presbyterial principle; the assembly of high prelates decided on specific matters related to worship practices, while matters related to the organization and functioning of the church were approached on the grounds of the principle of parity with the representatives of the *presbyterium*.¹² The priests were freely elected by the members of each community, by open vote. The archpriest was elected by the chapter, while the superintendent (the Saxons' bishop) was elected by a priestly assembly which included the wide participation of the laity. The deaneries controlled the accuracy of the divine service and its compliance with the canons, the Christian teachings that the priest imparted to and disseminated among the community, the wealth of the Church, etc. Permanent moral and material supervision was required, since during this period the Saxons' spiritual shepherds had become laicized to such an extent that they could be distinguished from the members of their community only by the specific garments they wore. In all other matters they were partakers of all the human vices present in Transylvania at that time.

The relations between the political community, represented by the city magistrates, and the ecclesiastical establishment worked extremely well throughout the territory of the Saxon University during the reign of Prince Apafi. Everywhere, any inconveniences and legal disputes were settled by the administrative officials in collaboration with the local priests, without resorting to the ruling of the Transylvanian princely authority. In any case, no documentary traces are known in this respect. In the case of disputes that also involved the magistrate's secular sphere of competence, the settlement consisted in formulating a simple request addressed to the University, from which the final decision was expected; a joint consultation commission was never established.

⁹ Dósa Dénes, *A szászvárosi ev. ref. Kún- kollegium története*, Orăștie, 1897, p. 5.

¹⁰ *EOE*, XII, pp. 94-95.

¹¹ G.D. Teutsch, *Geschichte der Siebenbürger Sachsen für das sächsische Volk*, I, Sibiu, 1925, p. 555.

¹² *Ibidem*.

The Calvinist confession

After Stephen Bocskai, princely power was permanently in the hands of princes who were followers of the Calvinist confession. This gradually imposed the hegemony of this Church, even though the legislative system did not include articles that openly supported such a claim. In many respects, this religion resembled, in terms of organization and dogma, the Lutheran confession, with which it coexisted for a long period of time, the separation being made by the Synod of Aiud in as late as 1564, not so much because of some differences related to religious practices of this denomination, but because of ethnic considerations. Whereas the majority of the Lutherans were Saxons, the followers of Calvinism were members of the Hungarian population in Transylvania. In essence, this faith is based on the interpretations of the New Testament in the form set out by John Calvin and Ulrich Zwingli, both of them Swiss theologians; hence, the name given to the Reformed religion, *confessio helvetica* (the Helvetic Confession), to be distinguished from Martin Luther's teachings, to which Saxon Transylvanians had adhered, under the name of *confessio augustana* (the Augsburg Confession).

Originally, the Calvinist current started from the lower layers of the population, but it was gradually adhered to by the nobiliary elites, in the form that also prevailed at the end of the 17th century. The synod played the leading role, but in the case of important issues, those who could have a say involved people from outside the clerical assembly, the lay protectors who financed the church from their own resources. It is from this vantage that we should understand Michael I Apafi's summoning of the Synod that was held at Alba Iulia in 1671,¹³ as well as the subsequent meeting, at the princely court, of all the professors of the Calvinist schools in Transylvania,¹⁴ or the participation of the prince in the clerical assembly held in Făgăraș on 17 May 1689.¹⁵ The prince claimed total primacy over the leading clerical authorities not as the elected sovereign of the country, but as the "most important defender of the Reformed faith."¹⁶ Being placed at the forefront of Church structures was an older desire of Apafi's, but it was not endorsed by Chancellor Nicholas Bethlen, who believed this subordination entailed the dangerous intrusion of the political power holders into the ecclesiastical sphere. The old politician's arguments made an enormous impact in favour of preserving the autonomy of the Reformed confession.¹⁷ The synodal-presbyterial form of organization, composed of ten individuals, of whom five were synodal priests and five noble curators, was maintained until the end of the principality.¹⁸

Of all the sovereigns of Transylvania, Michael Apafi had the clearest leanings towards an intense spiritual life. He was not only a devout practitioner, but also as an

¹³ Rétyi Péter *naploja*, București, 1983, p. 85.

¹⁴ *TML*, V, p. 597 in the notes.

¹⁵ *EOE*, XX, pp. 239-240.

¹⁶ Bethlen János, *Erdély története 1629-1673*, Budapest, 1993, p. 538.

¹⁷ Pokoly József, *Az erdélyi református egyház története*, II, Budapest, p. 255.

¹⁸ Halmay István, *I. Apafi Mihály erdélyi fejedelemsége (1661-1690)*, Szeged, 1934, p. 22.

ideologue with preoccupations in the field.¹⁹ Even on his rare official voyages to Hungary, he never missed the opportunity to attend religious service every day, to visit the famous Calvinist churches on his way²⁰ or to spend a few hours in the company of old religious books and manuscripts, of great Transylvanian interest, such as those in the famous library of Matthias Corvinus in Buda.²¹

A primordial task of the prince was that of defending all the faiths recognized by the laws of the country, in general, and the one he practised, in particular. His zealous attachment to the Calvinists and his generosity towards them was well known. He made lavish donations of various kinds to the priests²² and increased their wages. In addition to this, he provided material assistance, from his personal or from state funds, to the communities of Partium and Hungary, especially after the outbreak of their armed uprising against the Habsburgs.²³ He supported the demands of the clergy in the Diet.²⁴ He enhanced the actions for the ennoblement of priests and kept track of their numbers in Transylvania.²⁵ The reconstruction of several churches occupied a central place in his confessional policy: in Alba Iulia he restored the towers that had been in ruins since the Tatar invasion,²⁶ while in Braşov he compelled the city magistrate to give a land plot for building a parish and a place of worship²⁷ for the Reformed, to whom he also promised a financial support of 10,000 forints.²⁸ He exempted the inhabitants of the city of Haţeg from a burdensome postal service, provided they maintained the local Calvinist priest, school and church.²⁹ He sent commissaries to investigate the damage reported by the clergy in Abrud³⁰ or to analyse the causes of the frequent disputes between the city and the Church in Târgu-Mureş.³¹ In Rimetea he absolved the inhabitants from the tax value for two house plots where the inhabitants here were to build a church and a parish.³² The princess completed the prince's actions: she donated a bell to the community of Făgăraş,³³ brought new priests into Transylvania,³⁴ contributed with specialists, building

¹⁹ For the works written by Prince Michael Apafi, see Szinnyei József, *Magyar írók élete és munkái* (mek.oszk.hu/03600/03630/hTML), entry: Apafi Mihály I.

²⁰ Tóth Ernő, *I. és II. Apafi Mihály erdélyi fejedelmek naplója az 1632-1694. évekről*, in *Erdélyi Múzeum*, XVII, Cluj, 1900, p. 272; "Czegei Vass György és Vass László naploi 1659-1739," in *Magyar történelmi évkönyvek és naplók a XVI-XVIII. századokból*, Budapest, 1896, p. 18.

²¹ Cserei Mihály, "História," in *Magyar emlékirók. 16-18 század*, Budapest, 1982, p. 479.

²² Topheus, the priest of the princely court, received 8 house lots in Bogata, which were to be populated with serfs colonized from the Land of Făgăraş (*TML*, IV, p. 626); Topheus's house in Aiud was exempted from taxes (*EOE*, XVIII, pp. 88-89).

²³ *EOE*, XVII, pp. 179-180.

²⁴ *EOE*, XV, pp. 193-195.

²⁵ *EOE*, XV, pp. 319.

²⁶ *EOE*, XIV, p. 355.

²⁷ *EOE*, XVII, pp. 94-95.

²⁸ *EOE*, XX, p. 237.

²⁹ *EOE*, XIV, p. 110.

³⁰ *EOE*, XX, pp. 236, 326.

³¹ *EOE*, XX, p. 326.

³² *EOE*, XIX, p. 114.

³³ *Rétyi Péter naploja*, p. 54.

³⁴ *TML*, IV, p. 277.

materials and money to the reconstruction of the place of worship in Sárospatak (Hungary), burnt down by the Jesuits,³⁵ was involved in the process of electing the Orthodox Bishop,³⁶ supported the activity of publishing books on religious subjects³⁷ and waged a fierce anti-Catholic policy.³⁸

There are also documentary testimonies about some of the prince's aggressive tendencies for the expansion of the Reformed confession in localities where these communities did not represent the majority. An example that has already been presented was that of Braşov. Another example occurred in Ernea, also situated on the territory of the Saxon University. It was here that an action was taken for confiscating the church, which had belonged to the Saxons since the beginnings, and for attributing it to the followers of Calvinism. The pressure exerted on the local German population was so strong that several decades later there was no Saxon inhabitant left in the village, except for the Evangelical priest.³⁹ A similar gesture happened at Tirimia, where the decision was reached to bestow the Unitarian place of worship and parish to the Reformed, by virtue of the *maior pars* law.⁴⁰ At Făgăraş, the Lutheran priest of the community was driven out by force and the church was subordinated to the Calvinist diocese.⁴¹ It is worth mentioning that the Transylvanian legislation already included a law debated and approved by the Diet which regulated the concrete means of settling lawsuits related to the forceful occupation of some religious edifices in Transylvania, a law that was not taken into account, however, by the legislator.⁴²

The prince also oversaw the individual conversions to Calvinism of the other ethnicities or of the priests of other confessions. An interesting case was that of the Jesuit Ormándi, who converted himself to Calvinism. Without insisting too much, Apafi persuaded him to move from Ung County to the princely court, where he took over the position of carpenter.⁴³ He agreed to do so, but on condition that he was accepted together with his wife.⁴⁴ Bringing the wife into the country appears to have been a pretext, for during this voyage, with his family by his side, he was much more interested in the defence system of the regions through which he passed than in his duties as a member of the court. Hearing about Ormándi's curious movements throughout his journey, the sovereign reacted violently.⁴⁵ Although it was obvious for the majority that Ormándi acted as an envoy of the Habsburgs in Transylvania, on a mission to gather information, the prince overlooked his deed, and he carried on with his activity at the court. The preoccupations of the former Jesuit Ormándi were

³⁵ *TML*, IV, p. 282.

³⁶ *TML*, VI, p. 248.

³⁷ *TML*, IV, pp. 329, 519-520.

³⁸ *TML*, V, p. 148.

³⁹ Benkő József, *Transsilvania specialis. Erdély földje és népe*, I, Bucureşti-Cluj, [no year], p.263.

⁴⁰ *EOE*, XV, p. 276.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, I, p. 593.

⁴² *EOE*, XIII, p. 372.

⁴³ *TML*, IV, p. 439.

⁴⁴ *TML*, IV, p.403.

⁴⁵ *TML*, IV, pp. 439-440.

unchanged, however, over a decade. Unlike in the case of the previous episode, he could now feel more and more the imminent danger he was in and, fearing that his secret might be revealed, he secretly prepared a plan to leave the country very hastily. An intimate princely advisor⁴⁶ found out about this ruse and brought to the attention of the princely council the hostile activities carried out by the imperial emissaries in Transylvania. The immediate measure adopted by the counsellors was to expel the Habsburg diplomats, including Martin Kászoni, the Canon of Esztergom.⁴⁷ Perhaps at that time Ormándi had already fled, resorting to the method of transvestism, just like pater Jósa had also done not too long ago,⁴⁸ since his name did not appear among the persons mentioned in the decree of expulsion.

In a religious context, one of the essential duties of the prince was the patronage of denominational schools. In the first year of his governance, he tried to find solutions for the fate of the children from the Reformed College Alba Iulia who had sought refuge in Cluj in 1661. Since the return into the old location was impossible due to the building's state of ruin, his Chancellor Ioan Bethlen suggested to Apafi the solution of temporarily relocating the educational institution in Aiud, where the school had extensive properties. The proposal was accepted by the sovereign. The material basis for the functioning of the college was soon solved through the organization – during the Diet of May 1665 – of a fund subscription action for the benefit of the students and the teachers.⁴⁹ Gradually, the college regained the fame it once had.

More than once, the prince convened consultations with the nobiliary elite on educational or ecclesiastical themes.⁵⁰ His rapports with young scholars were quite close; he encouraged many of them to learn and to become priests or teachers even if they had serfish origins.⁵¹ He sent the best of them to study abroad. They, in turn, confirmed the trust invested in them by sending back to Transylvania some of their academic intellectual achievements – their works in manuscript form – for review and opinions from both the sovereign and other interested courtiers.⁵² Upon their return to Transylvania, the prince assigned them to various posts at court or in the administration. He employed other adolescent scholars like David Rozsnyai in diplomacy, as a translator into Turkish or Nicholas Bethlen – in the chancellery secretariat. However, he appointed most of them to the nobiliary estates, where they were to serve as priests: due to the political situation in the country, there was an acute lack of clergy.⁵³

At the initiative of the prince, ecclesiastical matters were tabled for debate in the Diatal sessions, but they were not always passed into laws. Those unanimously accepted by the nobiliary assembly related to strict compliance with religious

⁴⁶ *TML*, VII, p. 392

⁴⁷ *TML*, VIII, p. 172; *EOE*, XVI, p. 499.

⁴⁸ *TML*, VII, p. 218.

⁴⁹ *EOE*, XIV, pp. 98-106.

⁵⁰ Tóth Ernő, op. cit., pp. 151, 152, 153.

⁵¹ *EOE*, XIII, p. 372.

⁵² *TML*, IV, p. 616.

⁵³ *EOE*, XX, p. 263.

holidays,⁵⁴ the Sunday service,⁵⁵ the fasting days,⁵⁶ the eradication of debauchery in society,⁵⁷ sodomy⁵⁸ or blasphemy.⁵⁹

During the reign of Michael I Apafi, the Calvinist confession was weakened by the proliferation of European reformist ideas among the youth in the Reformed colleges, the priests or the professors in Transylvania. The new influences came from the Netherlands and England, via the Transylvanian students who attended universities in these countries. These new orientations were Puritanism, Cartesianism and Cocceianism. Puritanism was a declared opponent of the absolutist regime and demanded the replacement of the ecclesiastical leadership with a secular form of power. The followers of this trend were divided into Presbyterians (who adopted a more moderate position) and Independents (who advocated a more radical attitude). The ideas in René Descartes's writings were accepted by the anti-feudal thinkers, who recognized in them a way of fighting against the antiquated political system. Finally, Cocceianism was close to the Cartesian doctrine and called for the alignment of faith with the requirements of reason. It was to this direction that most of the young Transylvanians had become attached.

In the confessional mayhem, the prince wanted to intervene in force and to restore peace in the Calvinist church. In 1671, he informed Bishop Petru Kovásznai of his intention to send his representative to the future synod, even though this contravened the existing canons.⁶⁰ Having been cautioned about this irregularity, the prince chose another form of involvement, aiming for the same results: as the syndic of the presbyterial council, he convened a clerical-secular assembly with the participation of all those responsible for schools and colleges, along with members of the city's magistracy and the patrons of educational institutions and churches.⁶¹ The lack of a concrete result led to the convening of a similar assembly⁶² two years later, with an identical outcome. The situation persisted until the end of the princely epoch, even though Apafi made further attempts to restore the old Calvinist doctrine.

The Catholic confession

Among the denominations listed so far, Catholics appear to have had a more unfavourable position during Apafi's reign. They had lost their churches and ecclesiastical possessions in the 16th century and had no bishop in office; hence, they had no ordained priests in the communities, their religious orders had been disbanded, and the Jesuits monks had been outlawed. The old form of organization in the parishes was preserved. The vicar held the highest office in the Catholic Church. The only movable or immovable assets he could benefit from were those previously

⁵⁴ *EOE*, XIII, p. 372.

⁵⁵ *EOE*, XVI, p. 222, XV, p. 182.

⁵⁶ *EOE*, XV, p. 278.

⁵⁷ *EOE*, XV, p. 148.

⁵⁸ *EOE*, XVIII, p. 550; *EOE*, XIX, p. 116.

⁵⁹ *EOE*, XV, p. 204.

⁶⁰ Pokoly József, *op. cit.*, II, p. 286.

⁶¹ Tóth Ernő, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

⁶² Bethlen Miklós *élete leírása magától*, p. 665.

inherited. The only activities permitted to the priests under the law were visiting the sick and celebrating baptisms, communion and funerals.

Given the Habsburg offensive against the Reformed in eastern Hungary, under incitement from Vienna, the Catholic offensive was reborn in Transylvania. A prominent role in this resurgence was played, during the first phase, by the high ranking prelates sent by Emperor Leopold I to Prince Apafi for diplomatic talks and by the Habsburg military commanders stationed at the north-western borders of the country. At the beginning, the method adopted by the Catholic Dietal political elite was petitionary. Subsequently, towards the end of the 1670s, the movement was radicalized and reached even open armed confrontations. The series of petitions addressed to the nobiliary congregation opened in 1665, when the Catholic representatives submitted a memorandum to the state leadership, showing all the deprivations the practitioners of this religious confession had to endure from the majority population,⁶³ which they regarded as a blatant violation of the laws in force relating to the equality of rights among the four denominations. To be more convincing, they attached a set of concrete personal insults suffered by the Catholic priests, monks, deacons or teachers.⁶⁴ The Diet analysed each point of the complaint and came to the conclusion that the facts presented were indeed real.⁶⁵ The eight-point resolution issued to the applicants gave specific answers only to the general issues presented to the legislature; the inquiry commission was unable to solve the other aspects, on the grounds that the constitutional provisions in the *Approbates* and *Compilates* were violated, but gave hope that these would be settled in the future, when the laws against the Catholic practitioners were reviewed.⁶⁶ At the Dietal assembly held in Făgăraş in February 1666, the petitioners returned with a request they had advanced the autumn before,⁶⁷ when it was not subjected to the debate: allowing divine service to be held in the city of Cluj and not in the church from Mănăştur. The reasons invoked concerned the lack of safety for the city students attending the ceremony, especially the services held at night.⁶⁸ The list of complaints was complemented, at that time, with new, more recent grievances.⁶⁹ The sessions of the congregation were attended by the Provost of Leles, Martin Kászoni, as the envoy of Vienna, who, in his cleverly constructed speech, brought unexpected praise to the Dietals and the leadership of Transylvania, but also included in his speech a passage asking for support in improving the situation of the “persecuted Catholics” and solving the request of the prelates from Cluj.⁷⁰ However the aforementioned document was not included on the agenda.

⁶³ *EOE*, XIX, pp. 498-500.

⁶⁴ *EOE*, XIX, pp. 499-500.

⁶⁵ *EOE*, XIX, pp. 498-500.

⁶⁶ *EOE*, XIX, pp. 501-503.

⁶⁷ *EOE*, XIX, pp. 503-504.

⁶⁸ *EOE*, XIV, p. 107.

⁶⁹ *EOE*, XIX, pp. 504-506.

⁷⁰ *EOE*, XIV, pp. 168-169.

In the Diet held at Târgu Mureş in January 1667, the Catholics reiterated the demands they had formulated earlier,⁷¹ giving an acerbic reply to the allegations brought by the Calvinists against their confession,⁷² a dispute that would last throughout the year 1667.⁷³ In the General Transylvanian Congregation held in Bistriţa in 1668, the Catholic clergy requested the prince's mediation in the problem concerning the church from the centre of Cluj.⁷⁴ The same subject was resubmitted to the legislature in 1669⁷⁵, 1670⁷⁶, 1671⁷⁷ and 1675.⁷⁸ In the case of the latter complaint, we know the reply of the Dietal commission, which dismantled, point by point, the grievances invoked and concluded that "we honestly wish our Christian belief were blasphemed in other countries as much as your religion is blasphemed among us."⁷⁹ The petitioners' reply did not take too long to come.⁸⁰

Repeated failures radicalized the methods of the Catholic nobility. Since the main opponent of their requests was the Prince of Transylvania, a secret group formed around the aristocrat Paul Béldi, to which political figures of the time, such as Count Ladislau Csáky, Lazăr Apor, Ştefan Kornis or Nicholas Bethlen, were also rallied subsequently, together with the entire Szekler elite, plotted the assassination of Apafi. With a strong external support of Habsburg origin, the plan was to be carried out by 30 conspirators in the Comana forest near Braşov.⁸¹ Frightened by the news he had received, the prince ordered the arrest of Béldi and Nicholas Bethlen.⁸² Immediately after the detention and imprisonment of the two in the fortress of Făgăraş, a genuine guerrilla warfare broke out across Transylvania, a form of psychological battle hitherto unencountered in the Carpathian area. Unknown individuals hidden in the forests and mountains attacked and set fire to whole villages and towns, some even five to six times in a row.⁸³ They acted at all times of the day, even during the holy Pentecost holidays, creating great panic among the population. They targeted, in particular, the fiscal domains of the state, buildings and assets of Michael Teleki's or Prince Apafi's followers. Ştefan Baló, butler to the princess's court, complained that on one of his estates, Băţarii Mari, his house had been burnt down to the ground, and that the family that lived there had been left only with the clothes they had on.⁸⁴ In Făgăraş, the detention place of the heads of the league, 10

⁷¹ *EOE*, XIV, pp. 506-507.

⁷² *EOE*, XIV, pp. 507-508.

⁷³ *EOE*, XIV, pp. 508-509.

⁷⁴ *EOE*, XIV, pp. 509-511.

⁷⁵ *EOE*, XV, pp. 381.

⁷⁶ *EOE*, XV, pp. 94-96, 100, 108, 166.

⁷⁷ *EOE*, XV, p. 245.

⁷⁸ *EOE*, XV, pp. 215-217.

⁷⁹ *EOE*, XV, p. 219.

⁸⁰ *EOE*, XV, p. 220-221.

⁸¹ *Bethlen Miklós élete leirása magától*, p. 665.

⁸² *EOE*, XVI, pp. 276-277. The order was that once caught, they should both be executed on their way to prison. Matei Madarász, captain of the princely court, was to be the executioner (see *Bethlen Miklós élete leirása magától*, p. 689).

⁸³ *TML*, VII, p. 261.

⁸⁴ *TML*, VII, p. 253.

houses were set fire to, using a pyrotechnic material that was unknown locally and produced some impressive flames.⁸⁵ The actions were extended to the Three Seats and Braşov; in the latter settlement, in the attics of the houses, under the roofs, firesetting tools had been discovered.⁸⁶ An entire street had been set on fire at Târgu Secuiesc.⁸⁷ The phenomenon did not elude the prince's native realm, Dumbrăveni.⁸⁸ The population managed to retain a pyromaniac who confessed that influential figures from Gheorgheni and Cluj were behind the entire action.⁸⁹ The princess spoke directly of the Papists;⁹⁰ hence, her order that all the Catholics should be removed from the country's military structures and replaced with trusted persons of other confessions⁹¹ and that the priests belonging to this denomination should be arrested immediately. Detained, Pater Jóna barely escaped by disguising himself and getting the people who had arrested him drunk.⁹² Martin Kászoni was expelled from Transylvania by Dietal decision.⁹³ A part of the Szekler noble elite, headed by Paul Béldi, fled the country, the others being remanded to custody, most of them dying in prison.

The Calvinist confession

The Unitarian religion is a more radical form of Protestantism, having been founded in the 16th century and propagated by David Francisc (1519-1579). The fundamental thesis the denomination is based on is the belief in a single Almighty God, Jesus being considered a man and not a deity; therefore, the dogma of the Holy Trinity is not accepted. As a form of organization, it resembles the Lutherans and the Calvinists. At its base are the same in synodal-presbyterial principles according to which the lay devotees play an important role. Leadership is collective, too, and churches are autonomous. The Consistory has operative command. In terms of their appearance, the places of worship are characterized by their simplicity, both outdoors and indoors, where there are no icons, paintings, statues or altars.

The fact that the Diet of Turda recognized the activity of this denomination in 1568, in the context of religious freedom in Transylvania, did not implicitly entail its acceptance among the official religions. The situation changed upon the death of David Francisc, when in another congregation, under the pressure of the political elite, the Unitarian spiritual leaders accepted the dogma of the Holy Trinity, which meant, implicitly, the inclusion of this confession among the country's privileged denominations. Although the priests had given their assent, the new agreement went against the beliefs of the members of the local communities, dividing the believers into two big groups. One group practised the newly adopted form, while another

⁸⁵ *TML*, VII, p. 235.

⁸⁶ *TML*, VII, p. 253.

⁸⁷ *TML*, VII, p. 263.

⁸⁸ *TML*, VII, p. 235.

⁸⁹ *TML*, VII, p. 261.

⁹⁰ *TML*, VII, p. 235.

⁹¹ *TML*, VII, p. 192.

⁹² *TML*, VII, p. 218.

⁹³ *TML*, VIII, p. 251.

group continued, in secret, the old form of belief, becoming later the Sabbatarianist community. The vast numbers of the latter faith prompted Prince George I Rákóczi to prohibit Sabbatarianism by law (1638). With their decline, the decline of the Unitarians also started, as they gradually lost, by the end of the 17th century, their popularity and wide appeal, to the Calvinists' advantage.

The fact that a religious belief cannot be eradicated by a decree political was demonstrated by the subsequent events, from the time of Michael Apafi. In the proposals of themes that the prince subjected for debate in the 1668 Diet from Bistrița, several points considered the problem of the Sabbatarianists, who "not only have not ceased to exist in the country, but, secretly, increase daily, which is an affront against both God and the Christian faith."⁹⁴ In the presentation he made before the estates, Apafi invoked the causes for the spread of this sect, including George I Rákóczi's delayed enforcement of the legislation relating to them and his granting of pardons to many of the Sabbatarianists. Although they had converted to the Unitarian belief accepted by the state and vowed that they would raise their children in this spirit, the Sabbatarianists had relapsed into their old religion within two or three years.⁹⁵ The prince demanded that a court session should be convened, comprising members of the four official confessions, who should judge the case of the Sabbatarianists. Moreover, he demanded that the descendants of those who had converted to Calvinism should be denied adherence to any of the official religions.⁹⁶ The matter was debated on 21 January,⁹⁷ without any decision on the princely proposal being reached. The reason was simple: many of those present in the room were either direct descendants of a Sabbatarianist family or had relatives (wife, cousins, brothers-in-law) or acquaintances who were former or current practitioners of this faith. The subject was not tabled for discussions during other Dietal assemblies in the second half of the 17th century.

The Calvinist offensive against the Unitarians continued throughout Apafi's reign. The disputes revolved around the appropriation of churches under the *maior pars* law⁹⁸ or the formation of Reformed communities in settlements that had previously been inhabited solely by the followers of David Francisc.⁹⁹

In conclusion, we can say that while confessional freedom existed in Transylvania at the end of the princely epoch, not all the religions had equal opportunities of manifestation. State power was strongly committed to favouring the Calvinist creed at the expense of the other official confessions. At the level of human cohabitation, however, I would quote the Catholic Petru Apor, who lived in those times: "as I have stated above, there were no differences between the Catholic, Calvinist, Lutheran and Unitarian people; they all got on well with one another."¹⁰⁰

⁹⁴ *EOE*, XIV, p. 291.

⁹⁵ *EOE*, XIV, p. 292.

⁹⁶ Pokoly, op. cit., p. 273.

⁹⁷ *EOE*, XIV, pp. 303-304.

⁹⁸ *EOE*, XV, p. 276.

⁹⁹ Pokoly, op. cit., p. 275.

¹⁰⁰ Kornis, op. cit., p. 675.

THE SETTLEMENT OF THE PIARIST ORDER IN CLUJ

Abstract: Due to their religious character, denominational schools were known as promoters of moral and ethical values, producing, throughout the centuries, thanks to their methods and educational programs, many scholars and men of culture. The schools of the Piarist Order were part of this category of institutions. In this study we intend to present the settlement of the Piarist Order in Cluj, a multiethnic and multicultural town, which for many centuries has been considered the cultural, educational and political centre of Transylvania. The research of the educational institutions of the Piarist Order can be extremely rewarding for any researcher, especially since many aspects of its organization and activity are almost unknown in Romanian historiography. In order to know the circumstances in which the Piarist Order settled in Cluj we relied on archival sources that have been little researched so far.

Keywords: Transylvania, Piarist Order, Jesuit Order, education and teaching in the 18th century, school of the Piarist Order in Cluj (1776)

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Our research has sought to answer questions about the manner and circumstances in which the Piarist Order settled in Cluj. This was a monastic order with prevalently educational goals in a society that was subject to change and in which the element that most obviously underwent mutations was political power. In the second part of the 18th century the Habsburg Empire began to secularize education, which brought about major political, cultural, educational changes, bringing about an overall change of mentality.

All these changes influenced the activity of monastic order, including that of the Piarists. However, their ultimate goal, namely to educate children regardless of their social, ethnic or religious background – in keeping with the heritage and mission of the order's founder, Joseph of Calasanz – did not change, but was merely modernized. In this process, the order showed much wisdom, diplomacy and innovative spirit. Thus, in order to be accepted as teachers, the monks had to acquire double qualifications: first they would study theology and then they would attend a faculty in which they specialized. All this led to exceptional results in time.

In all the territories they settled in, the Piarists showed a lot of sensitivity and understanding towards the local population. They successfully integrated themselves into these communities and became the representatives of the culture of the region in question. Thus, thanks to their settlement in the Hungarian province and their immersion in the Hungarian culture in Transylvania, the Piarist monks were the representatives par excellence of the Hungarian civilization here.

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A presentation of the Piarist Order

The Piarist Order (*Ordo Clericorum Regularium Pauperum Matris Dei Scholarum Piarum*)² was founded by Joseph of Calasanz at the beginning of the 17th century, relying on the principle that “the people must acquire a religious education for a practical.” This principle is found in *Breve relatione del modo che si tiene nelle Scuole Pie per insegnar li poveri scolari*, the foundational treatise of the Piarists’ pedagogy.³ Calasanz’s goal was to educate the youth through *pietas et litterae*, i.e. through faith, culture and science because only through all of these together could one achieve notable results: a cultivated youth, capable of facing the challenges of daily life.

On 8 March 1617, Pope Paul V granted permission for the activity of the congregation, under the name *Congregatio Paulina Pauperum Matris Dei Scholarum Piarum*.⁴ Its recognition as a monastic order came from Pope Gregory XV, under the name of *Ordo Clericorum Regularium Pauperum Matris Dei Scholarum Piarum*, on 18 November 1621. The papal bull of 31 January 1622 recognized and accepted the Constitutions of the Order,⁵ necessary for its functioning, and appointed Joseph of Calasanz as General of the Order (*praepositus generalis*).⁶

All monastic orders were formed on the basis of three promises: poverty, chastity and obedience. In addition, the Piarists also promised to educate the people. The inscription of the first school they set up is significant: *Scholae piae*, indicating the religious and free character of the education carried out by these monks.⁷ Education was free in the Piarist schools, allowing access even to students with a more precarious material situation; they received books and school supplies, and the very poor also received food thanks to charitable people.

The first school organized by the Piarists was a primary school, this priority being maintained over time. Secondary education was organized later. Its model was borrowed from the Jesuits and developed according to the founder’s conception and the requirements of the time. The primary cycle lasted three years and the emphasis was laid on the acquisition of reading, writing and mathematical skills.

In the secondary cycle, which lasted five years, there occurred changes of a practical nature because the purpose was to educate the citizens of the future society. Thus, in addition to studying Latin, Piarists were interested in teaching natural sciences, the history of the nation, geography and philosophy.⁸ Here become visible the differences between the curriculum requirements of the Jesuits and those of the Piarists. It has often been argued that by comparison with Jesuit Order, the Piarists focused more on studying and teaching the hard sciences, which is true only insofar

² Puskely Mária, *Szerzetesek*, Székesfehérvár, 1990, p. 83.

³ Borián Tibor, Koltai András, Legeza László, *Piaristák*, Mikes Kiadó, Budapest, 2007, p. 6.

⁴ Giovanni Ausenda, *A piarista rend története*, Szeged, 2003, p. 9.

⁵ Ausenda, *op.cit.*, p. 10.

⁶ Borián, Koltai, Legeza, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

⁷ Patay József, “A piarista rend keletkezése és elterjedése” in *A kolozsvári piarista öregdiákok emlékkönyve*, Kolozsvár, 1992, p. 12; Mészáros István, *Az iskolaiügy története Magyarországon 996-1777 között*, Budapest, 1981, p. 309.

⁸ *A kolozsvári római katolikus főgimnázium emlékalbuma 1579-1929*, Kolozsvár, 1930, p. 11; Karl János, “A piarista iskola” in *A kolozsvári piarista öregdiákok emlékkönyve*, Kolozsvár, 1992, p. 24.

as the humanities studied in the Jesuit schools were supplemented with science disciplines. Even though the system of values and requirements changed over time, sciences were studied alongside the humanities, always maintaining history and geography, the mother tongue, Latin and German in the curriculum, depending on the historical period. For students belonging to the other nationalities, there was the possibility to study their own mother tongue (Romanian, Serbian, Ukrainian, etc.). The merits of the Order are indisputable, because in those areas where there were no schools, they managed, for several centuries, to educate several generations of youth.

The Piarists schools spread rapidly in Italy, Spain, in the German space and in Poland.⁹ In 1646 the Order was reduced to a Congregation by Pope Innocent X, depriving it of the voting right and the right of novitiate. Only Pope Clement IX recognized the Piarists once again as a monastic order, solemnly reinstating their rights in 1669.¹⁰

The settlement of the Piarist Order in Transylvania, Partium, Maramureş and Banat

After taking over political power in Transylvania, the Habsburg Empire used Catholicism to consolidate imperial power in the Principality. As a result, the Habsburgs supported the expansion of the influence exerted by the Catholic Church through various methods, such as the use of legislation or authoritarian power, on a case by case basis. What was achieved thus was an intermingling between State, Church and political life, as a superior form of strengthening imperial power.¹¹ In this process, Roman Catholic religious orders played a particularly important role.

In the 18th century, there were already three Piarist provinces in the Habsburg Empire: Czech (1634), Hungarian (1721)¹² and Austrian (1751).¹³ Their development was strongly influenced by the political and historical events in the Central European space. The evolution of these three provinces was quite different (if we also take Galicia into account, we can talk in fact of four regions of this kind, but in 1878 Galicia was already on the verge of disappearing).

These provinces comprised numerous monasteries, primary schools, gymnasiums and high schools, where the teaching was done by the Piarist monks, on the basis of the principles set forth by Joseph of Calasanz. On the territory of Hungary, the activity of the Piarist Order was recognized by King Charles III, in 1715, under Law no. 102.

⁹ Patay, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

¹⁰ Borián, Koltai, Legeza, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

¹¹ Ludovic Báthory, István Csucsuj, "Recatolicizarea Transilvaniei în secolul al XVIII-lea," in *Națiune și europenitate. Studii istorice in honorem magistri Camilli Mureşanu*, Bucureşti, Editura Academiei Române, 2007, p. 124.

¹² Szöllősy Károly, *Az Osztrák-Magyar Monarchia összes szerzetes rendjeinek történeti és statisztikai rajza*, vol. II., Arad, 1878, p. 18., Ausenda, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

¹³ Szöllősy, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

The Piarist centres in Transylvania were legally subordinated to the Hungarian provincial.¹⁴ The Piarist centres were located near a church (for divine service), a school for pedagogical and didactic activity and a cloister, respectively next to a convent for students. Depending on the material situation of their supporters, these centres were equipped with libraries, school offices, an astronomical observatory and other facilities for state-of-the-art teaching and pedagogical activities.

In 1736 the Transylvanian Diet officially recognized the activity of the Piarist Order. The effective recognition of the Order occurred, however, only in 1741, when the Chapter of Alba Iulia received notification from the king about the resolution of privileged estates.¹⁵ At first, Transylvanian society, where the Protestants represented the majority, received the Piarist monks with distrust and restraint, being aware of the role they had played in the process of Catholicization. This opinion changed in time, thanks to the excellent training and the free education offered to all categories of children, regardless of their ethnic, religious or social background.

As regards the geographical space, we can notice the settlement of the Piarist Order both in Transylvania (in the towns of Bistrița, Cluj, Mediaș), Partium (Carei), Maramureș (Sighetu Marmăției) and Banat (originally in Sântana, then transferred in Timișoara).

In general, their settlement in a specific region was carefully thought out and reviewed by the General of the Order, who, with the help of assistants and the General Chapter, reached the important decisions.

The Piarists often answered the calls coming from some monarchs, being considered by the latter as agents of civilization who implemented the Catholic cult, spreading West European culture and the Austrian policy.

Thus, at the request of King Charles III of Habsburg, the Piarist Order sent monks to Sighetu Marmăției (1732) and Oltenia (1736), for the purpose of establishing centres that would support the imperial policy. In 1776, Empress Maria Theresa demanded the Piarist Order to take over the heritage of the Jesuit Order and the centre in Cluj. In 1788 Joseph II transferred the members of the Piarist Order from Sântana to Timișoara.

We also know that there existed initiatives coming from some local representatives who, regardless of their origin and social status, had a common purpose: to educate the people. Thus, the military commander of Transylvania, Count István Steinville, called the Piarists to Bistrița,¹⁶ in 1717, Count Sándor Károlyi to Carei,¹⁷ in 1725, and Comes Jakab Bibics and his wife Margit Tomeján la Sântana in 1750.¹⁸

The founders of these schools, regardless of origin and social status, had a common purpose: to form educated young people, who, in turn, would also promote

¹⁴ Patay József, "A piarista rend Erdélyben," in *Az erdélyi katolicizmus múltja és jelene*, Dicsőszentmárton, 1925, p. 501.

¹⁵ Patay, *op. cit.*, p. 498.

¹⁶ Patay, *op. cit.*, p. 501.

¹⁷ Patay, *op. cit.*, p. 502.

¹⁸ Patay, *op. cit.*, p. 505.

this mentality. The founders included: the military commander of Transylvania, Count István Steinville (Bistrița), Count Sándor Károlyi (Carei), King Charles III (Sighetu Marmăției), Comes Jakab Bibics and his wife Margit Tomeján (Sântana), Queen Maria Theresa, who demanded that the Piarists should come to the former School of the Jesuits, and Joseph II, who transferred them from Sântana to Timișoara.

The schools supported by the Piarists accepted students belonging to any ethnicity, since neither belonging to a different nationality than the Hungarian one, nor belonging to a different religion than Roman Catholicism was an obstacle in the face of education. For students belonging to other nationalities, such as German, Romanian and Serbian students in Banat, Romanian, Ukrainian and German students in Maramureș, or Romanian and German students in Transylvania, there were organized courses in their native language, which the students were entitled to attend. In terms of religious affiliation, students belonging to other denominations than Roman Catholicism were bound to attend religion classes. These classes could be organized on the premises of the school by the representatives of their own religious denominations or in the churches of the denominations or in the denominational schools of the other confessions. At the end of the semester, the representatives of the religious denominations forwarded the grades of each student, which were recognized and listed in the students' grade reports by the monks.

In the process of reorganizing Catholic religious education, an important role was played by the Jesuits, whose order was abolished in the Austrian Empire by order of Empress Maria Theresa, in 1773. After the dismantling of the Jesuit Order, the Imperial Court took control of the education system, reforming it in accordance with the requirements of the state. According to these, education and the education system needed to become practical, varying in accordance with the social status of the subjects, utilitarian, rationalist and moralizing.¹⁹ In the 18th century, a large part of the Transylvanian school network gradually came under the control of the Piarists,²⁰ recognized for the merits obtained in education over the course of time. The Piarists' settlement in the towns of Transylvania –Bistrița, Medias and Cluj – had the same goal, namely educating the youth. This process was, however, hampered in the Saxon regions by their inhabitants, who were mostly Protestants and regarded the newcomers as promoters of the imperial policy and the Catholicizing process. Thus, in some localities, the Piarist monks' situation was compromised from the very outset.

In Banat, the political and the social factors interacted in a fortunate manner, even though the hostile Protestant environment hampered the activity of the Piarist monks. The conquest of Banat by the Austrians was recognized in 1718, under the Peace of Passarowitz,²¹ which was followed by the organization of a new province known as the “Banat of Timișoara,” directly subordinated to the emperor, for security

¹⁹ *Istoria Transilvaniei*, vol. III. (*De la 1711 până la 1918*), Cluj-Napoca, 2008, p. 126.

²⁰ Marton József, “Formația clerului greco-catolic în școlile catolice (sec. XVIII)” in *Annales Universitatis Apulensis*, Serie Historica, 10/II, 2006, p. 128.

²¹ Francesco Grisellini, *Încercare de istorie politică și naturală a Banatului Timișoarei*, Timișoara, Editura Facla, 1984, p. 121.

reasons. The Catholicization of Banat was carried out by settling large groups of Catholic Swabian colonists (the Mercy plan), which resulted in a gradual increase in the number of believers belonging to this confession. The settlement of Magyars and other nations in Banat was banned until 1778, when the region was incorporated into Hungary. The settlement of the Piarist Order in Sântana in 1750, in a hostile region, was supported by the imperial policy and the generous foundation of the Bibics family, but in 1788, following the imperial reorganization, the members of the Order were transferred to Timișoara.

In Sighetu Marmăției, in the heart of Maramureș, a geographical region closely related to Transylvania through its history and culture, the settlement of the Piarists was initiated by the imperial power. Politically and culturally, the history of Maramureș was marked by the imperial order of 31 December 1732, whereby Maramureș and the other lands that formed Partium were removed from Transylvania and attached to Hungary, after Maramureș ceased, in 1708, to be a major captaincy and to have a comes of its own.²² This imperial decree was elevated to the rank of law in 1733, by the Transylvanian Diet.²³

After the Peace of Satu Mare, Count Sándor Károlyi purchased a huge estate in Satu Mare County, at Carei, but due to lack of manpower, in 1712, he requested the Hungarian Chancellery permission for bringing and placing Swabians in his unpopulated villages.²⁴ For educating the population, it was decided to found a school and settle a monastic order. Bringing the Piarists was aimed at civilizing the Roman Catholic youth, which had increased in number, after the colonization of the estate.²⁵

The multiethnic Transylvanian character can be found in the centres that were founded, with students coming from different ethnic groups, such as: Hungarians, Germans, Romanians, Ruthenians, Jews, Serbs, who belonged to different religious denominations, such as the Roman Catholic, Greek Catholic, Orthodox, Mosaic and Protestant denominations. Through the synod held at Cluj-Mănăstur, the Uniate Diocese of Transylvania decided that Greek Catholics should be entitled to enrol their children only in Catholic schools.²⁶ Even though Piarist schools represented Catholic culture par excellence, they provided students with the opportunity to learn alongside Latin, German or Hungarian also their mother tongues, which differed from one area to another. In Sighet teachers were employed to teach Ruthenian and Romanian; at Carei, in order to meet the demands, the Piarist monks brought a German orator for their Swabian pupils and a Romanian orator for the Romanian parishioners at the school in Sântana. In the centres from Cluj, Carei and Sighet, Romanian was studied as a special subject matter for a long time. In a first phase the teachers employed by Piarist schools also ensured the religious education of the pupils, but afterwards the

²² Varga Rozalia, *Școala și societatea în Maramureșul istoric în perioada interbelică* (PhD Thesis), Cluj-Napoca, 1999, p. 32.

²³ Alexandru Filipescu, *Istoria Maramureșului*, București, 1940, p.153.

²⁴ Dorel A. Silaghi, *File din istoria orașului și cultelor din Carei*, Carei, 2004, p. 13.

²⁵ Silaghi, *op.cit.*, p. 64.

²⁶ Remus Câmpeanu, "Un efect spectaculos al unirii religioase: integrarea elitelor românești din Transilvania, Partium și Banat în sistemul catolic de învățământ în prima jumătate a secolului al XVIII-lea" in *Annales Universitatis Apulensis*, Serie Historica, 6/II, 2002, p. 129.

higher religious authorities of each denomination sent their representatives to the schools in Sighet, Carei and Timișoara for the religious education of their children. In Cluj, students attended the religion classes organized by each denomination separately, outside the premises of the school, and it was here that they received the qualifications and grades at the end of each semester.

These schools were organized with great difficulty, and their maintenance was even more difficult. Financial difficulties became apparent at the time when the order was forced to close the gates of the school in Bistrița (1878).²⁷ Some schools were the victims of imperial reorganization, as was the case of the school in Mediaș (1789),²⁸ which was closed by Joseph II, and that in Sântana (1789),²⁹ which was transferred to Timișoara.

The school of the Piarist Order in Cluj (1776)

The beginnings of Catholic education in Cluj are closely related to István Báthory, Prince of Transylvania and King of Poland, who, under the diploma of 17 July 1579,³⁰ decided the establishment of a college in the former Benedictine Abbey of Cluj-Mănăștur. The Prince decided that the new College should be placed outside the city, in Cluj-Mănăștur, due to the opposition of the estates, the majority of which were Protestant.

The Diploma talked about the arrival of the Jesuit monks who would educate at least 20 youth at the Prince's expense and about the books received for the organization of a library. The Jesuits became owners of villages and communes nearby: Cluj-Mănăștur, Baci, Chinteni, Tibru, Băgara and Leghia,³¹ also having a pond at Sic. The educational activity was to be supported from the money and products coming from these properties.

Zsigmond Báthory, the king's grandson, donated the Jesuits half of the village Macoviște and peasants for the defence and maintenance of the College.³² The Jesuit monks also levied the tithe from the inhabitants of Cluj. The grains that were left after feeding 35-40 people were sold.³³

The Jesuits fulfilled the expectations of the founder, even though the townspeople opposed them over time. The material basis necessary for the operation of the centre was ensured, in time, by these properties, which came to be used by the Piarist monks after the departure of the Jesuits.

In September 1773, based on the papal bull of 21 July 1773 (*Dominus ac*

²⁷ Ausenda, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

²⁸ Ausenda, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

²⁹ Patay, *op. cit.*, p. 505.

³⁰ Veress Endre, *Epistolae et acta Jesuitarum Transylvaniae temporibus principum Báthory (1571-1613)*, I. (1571-1583), Kolozsvár, Fontes rerum Transylvanicarum, 1911, doc. no. 25, pp. 76-78.

³¹ Kapronczay Károly, *Báthory István iskolaalapítási törekvései*, în *Magyar Pedagógia*, no. 3, 1976, p. 255.

³² Lucian Periș, *Le Missioni Gesuite in Transilvania e Moldavia nel Seicento*, Cluj-Napoca, 1998, p. 28.

³³ Periș, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

Redemptor Noster), Maria Theresa decided the abolition of the Jesuits' Order.³⁴ In order not to unbalance the educational and confessional field, the members of the former Order were allowed to continue their pedagogical and religious activity as priests or teachers until the arrival of the Piarists.³⁵ Thus, the operation of the school was maintained by Maria Theresa, because education reform was underway.

The situation of the year 1774 is known from the statistic that Baron László Kollonitz, the Transylvanian Bishop, sent to Empress Maria Theresa. Thus the lower secondary school cycle was organized in the building of the academy, while the upper secondary school cycle was held in an old building, on the site of which the future higher gymnasium was to be erected. The teaching activity was ensured by 15 former Jesuit monks, who educated 557 students.³⁶

The empress reserved an important role for the Academy in Cluj. The aim was to reorganize it after the model of the University of Vienna,³⁷ so that the Transylvanian youth could learn in their own country and not abroad. This role of the centre from Cluj can be found in its name, "Universitas," which was already operational in 1774, when Maria Theresa demanded the organization of the Faculty of Law and, one year later, of the Institute of Medicine³⁸ (*Institutum Medico-Chirurgicum*, with a Department of Surgery, Anatomy and Obstetrics), alongside the Faculties of Philosophy and Theology. The faculties were equipped with textbooks used at the University of Vienna and with the right of election of the Rector. Ioan Piuaru-Molnar was trained in this Institute of Surgical Medicine.³⁹

In 1775 the number of pupils decreased and material difficulties arose; all of these called for urgent measures. On 7 June 1776, Maria Theresa notified the Gubernium, by order no. 717, that the school would be taken over by the Piarist Order,⁴⁰ whose members would begin the teaching activity in the school year 1776-1777. By order no. 1,280,698 of 12 September 1776, the empress informed the Gubernium about the appointment of the new rector of the Piarist centre, in the person of István Pállya,⁴¹ and about its official inauguration, on 15 October 1776.

The Piarists obtained the nobiliary convent (*Convictus nobilium*) built in 1735,⁴² the Szent József /St. Joseph convent (*Seminarium Bathorianum, Aporianum*,

³⁴ György Lajos, *Fejezetek Mártonfi József erdélyi püspök (1746-1815) életrajzából*, (red. Fejér Tamás) Budapest, METEM Könyvek, 68, 2009, p. 43; Fináczy Ernő, *Az újkori nevelés története*, Budapest, 1927, p. 325; Mészáros, *op. cit.*, p. 631.

³⁵ N. Dávid Ildikó, "A kolozsvári egyetem építészeti oktatása a XVIII. század végén," in *Művészet és felvilágosodás*, Budapest, 1978, p. 303; Remus Câmpeanu, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

³⁶ Erdélyi Károly, "A kolozsvári róm.kath.főgymnasium története," in *A kegyes tanítórendiek vezetése alatt álló kolozsvári róm. kath. főgymnasium éresítője az 1897-8. tanévről*, Kolozsvár, 1898, p. 84.

³⁷ N. Dávid, *op.cit.*, p. 304.

³⁸ Jakó Zsigmond, "Négy évszázad a művelődés szolgálatában," in *Korunk*, 7-8, 1979, p. 550.

³⁹ *Istoria românilor*, vol. VII, tom. I., *Constituirea României moderne (1821-1878)*, București, 2003, p. 340.

⁴⁰ Jakó Zsigmond, *op.cit.*, p. 4.

⁴¹ A copy of order no. 1280.698, of 12 September 1776, I found in the Archive of the Roman-Catholic Status in Transylvania, Fund: Piarist Order. VII/1.b., box 1, Document on properties 1749-1862.

⁴² Today it lies on M. Kogălniceanu St. (and also extends on Universităţii St.).

Seminarium Sancti Josephi Pauperum),⁴³ built in 1724-1728,⁴⁴ the monastery with the Báthory coat-of-arms and the church of the Jesuit Order, built in 1718-1724 in Baroque style.

The school functioned in two buildings, one near the church (with two storeys, completed in 1752-56) and the other near the monastery (reconstructed in 1817-21).

The contract for supporting the 19 monks (*rector, regens*, four *subregens*, three *exhortator*, nine teachers for the academy and the gymnasium and one teacher of German) stipulated an annual payment of 1,900 forints for maintenance, 2,600 forints for clothing and other personal needs and 3,900 forints for modifications, restructuring and furniture.⁴⁵ Along with these buildings, the Piarist Order also gained the heritage inherited from the Jesuits: the library, the typography, the astronomical observatory and several offices and school laboratories, a paper mill and a printing press, which became the most important typography of the Catholics in Transylvania, and a pharmacy established in 1731-32, which supplied the inhabitants of the city with medicine.⁴⁶ The Piarists continued the tradition of the Jesuits, *Sodalitas Mariana* (Congregation of St. Mary), which was very popular among the youth through the regular meetings and activities it organized, offering the youth a framework of manifestation, granting scholarships to the less affluent students and organizing various activities, such as staging theatre performances or organizing various trips.

By order no. 2626. E. 30 of 16 February 1775, Empress Maria Theresa decided – in the spirit of the law *Ratio Educationis* – the enrichment of the library with books of theology, law and philosophy from the Jesuit funds.⁴⁷ Several years later, Rector István Pállya returned from Vienna with the promise of the annual enrichment of the library with the latest volumes. The library activity was regulated by order no. 815 of 13 August 1778, which provided for the organization of the library, and order no. 1199 of 2 December 1778, which stipulated that the librarian should be aided by two of the best students.⁴⁸ The library was taken over by the Piarist monks in 1776. It was equipped with about 6,000 books, collected with great care over the decades and kept intact at the request of Empress Maria Theresa, as it was supposed to serve as the University's library. Here were preserved the volumes sent by the founding prince, along with unique books, incunabula and manuscripts.

Their dating can be achieved easily on the basis of the notes in the books. The oldest book in the library is the book of the Polish Jesuit, the preacher at the court of the founding prince, Piotra Skarge, written in Polish, with the title *De vitis Sanctorum* (Wilnie, 1579), which was catalogued by the school in Cluj in 1580: *Inscriptus Catal.*

⁴³ Balanyi György, Biró Imre, Biró Vencel, Tomek Vince, *A magyar piarista rendtartomány története*, Budapest, 1943, p. 77.

⁴⁴ Today it lies on Universităţii St.

⁴⁵ Vass József, "Az erdélyi rom. katolikusok fő-tanintézete Kolosvárat," in *A kolosvári rom. kath. nyilvános teljes gymnasium évkönyve 1856-1857*. Kolosvár, 1857, p. 18.

⁴⁶ Varga Júlia, *A kolozsvári jezsuita gimnázium és akadémia hallgatósága 1641-1773 (1784)*, Budapest, 2007, p. 28.

⁴⁷ György Lajos, *A kolozsvári római katolikus Lyceum-könyvtár története (1579–1948)*, Budapest, 1994, p. 81.

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 86.

*Collegii Claudiopol. Societatis Jesu. Anno 1580.*⁴⁹

Another extremely valuable old book is and that of Guilhelmus Duranti, *Rationale divinatorum officiorum* (Norinbergae, 1481), which was donated to the Jesuit College in 1595, by Ferenc Nagy of Zádori. On the first pages is found not only the text referring to the donation, but also how it was taken into ownership: *1595 Franciscus Nagii de Zador 13 die Maii donat Collegio Societatis Jesu. Collegii Soc. Jesu Claud. 1595.*⁵⁰

Maria Theresa chose the Piarist Order for the school in Cluj because of their flexibility and the results they had achieved in the other centres of the empire.

In 1776, Empress Maria Theresa demanded that Bishop László Kollonitz should settle the situation of the Jesuits (after the Order was dismantled, they continued teaching), who had to leave, within three months, not just the college but also Cluj.⁵¹ By presenting the merits of some Jesuit monks – as were, for example, the mathematician Miklós Benkő, the physicist Ferdinánd Hartmann or the polyglot József Mártonfi – the bishop had tried to postpone the inevitable, i.e. to adopt tough measures against those very valuable people, who had for years trained generations of young Transylvanian men.

The arrival of the Piarists was documented briefly in *Historia Domus* of the centre in Cluj⁵² and by the parish priest from Cluj Mihály Benkő in the letter sent to the bishop on 17 October 1776. In this letter it is recounted that the initial intention was to have a sumptuous ceremony for receiving the Piarists, but this was done in more modest circumstances, before a much smaller crowd, because the population of Cluj sided with the Jesuits, thanks to their exceptional educational activity. Eventually, the reception of the Piarists was organized in modest conditions, in the middle of the summer, during the holiday period, when the students were away at home.⁵³

The didactic activity of the Piarists in the centre from Cluj began on 20 November 1776.⁵⁴ Students studied in the two buildings of the school, which housed the library and the pharmacy, in the vicinity of the monastery and the church. Alongside the study of Latin language and literature, there were also introduced hard sciences, especially mathematics and natural sciences, but also history, geography, music, philosophy and technical drawing.

In the following decades, the Piarist centre became the most important centre of

⁴⁹ Jakó Klára, *Az első kolozsvári egyetemi könyvtár története és állományának rekonstrukciója 1579–1604*, Szeged, 1991, p. 122. (Today it is found in the Library of the Romanian Academy, Cluj-Napoca Branch, C. 55297)

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 88. (Today it is found in the Library of the Romanian Academy, Cluj-Napoca Branch, Inc. C. 11)

⁵¹ György Lajos, *Fejezetek Mártonfi József erdélyi püspök (1746-1815) életrajzából*, p. 62.

⁵² *Historia Domus Claudiopolitanae (Historia Domus Clericorum Regularium Pauper M[at]re] Dei Scholarum Piarum Claudiopolitanus ab anno 1776 ingressus ordinis in hanc Civitatem)* in the Archive of the Roman-Catholic Status in Transylvania, Fund: Piarist Order. VII/1.a., box 3, *Historia Domus 1776-1841*, pp. 1-2.

⁵³ György, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

⁵⁴ *Historia Domus Claudiopolitanae*, p. 3.

Catholic education in Transylvania. In comparison with the education promoted by the Jesuit monks, which focused on Latin language and literature and was characterized by a dogmatic mood, memorization and formalism, the education practised by the Piarist monks was more flexible, eclectic and modern, keeping up with the changes in the fields of humanities and sciences.

The Piarist Order continued its activity in the following centuries, offering Transylvania and European culture outstanding personalities, such as Cardinal Péter Pázmány, the historiographer Péter Apor, the writer Kelemen Mikes, and the historians Gheorghe Șincai and Petru Maior. The Piarists continued their activity at Cluj until the mid-20th century, when the communist power decided to ban the monastic orders and nationalize the school.

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Figure no. 2. Page from Guilhelmus Duranti's book *Rationale divinatorum officiorum*, Norinbergae, 1481.

Figure no. 3. Page with the text of the manuscript concerning the donation of Guilhelmus Duranti's book *Rationale divinatorum officiorum* to the library of the Piarist College, by Ferenc Nagy of Zádor, in 1595.

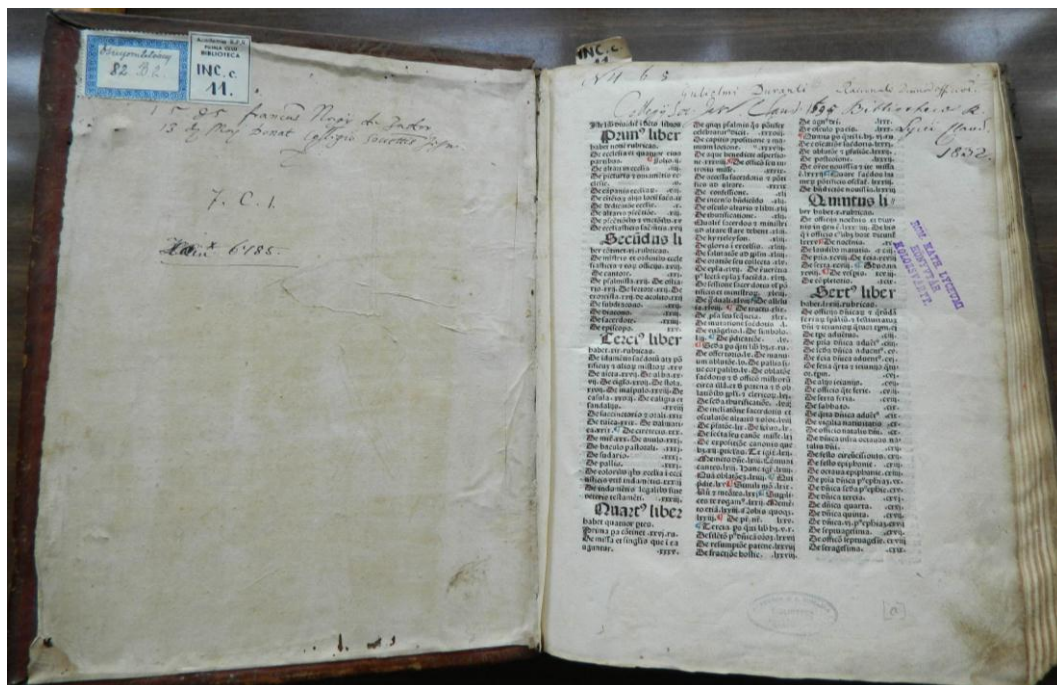


Figure no. 2.

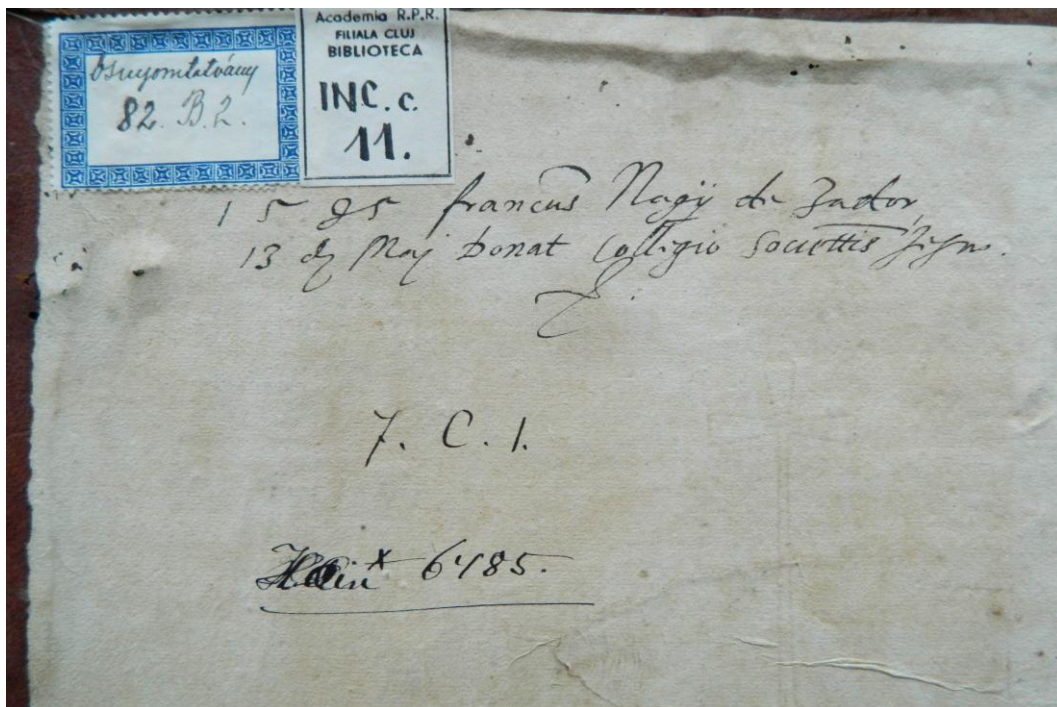


Figure no. 3.

“HOREA – REX DACIAE” – CONSIDERATIONS ON THE NUMISMATIC SYMBOLS OF THE PEASANTS’ UPRISING OF 1784-1785

Abstract: The information about the outbreak and progress of this uprising spread with astounding swiftness for the 18th century. Through oral dissemination, official or personal letters exchanged between the authorities and newspapers, information about the peasants’ uprising, its expansion and the possible scenarios it could lead to spread at a remarkable speed, both inside Transylvania and in Hungary and Austria, reaching also other parts of the European continent with great ease.

Medals – both those that remained in the stage of drafts and those which were minted in 1784-1785 – played an important role in popularizing the leaders of the 1784-85 uprising within the Habsburg Empire and across its borders. Many of these remained in the stage of etchings, drawings or designs, some of them having a remarkable artistic and documentary value.

Keywords: Horea’s Uprising, serfs, nobility, medal, symbols

*

The 1784-1785 uprising led by Horea exerted a tremendous influence even in the counties adjoining the historical province of Transylvania. Its echoes exceeded the area of the Apuseni Mountains, influencing Maramureş and Sătmar, besides other regions. Information on the outbreak and progress of this uprising spread with astounding swiftness for the 18th century. Through oral dissemination, official or personal letters exchanged between the authorities and newspapers, information about the peasants’ uprising, its expansion and the possible scenarios it could lead to spread at a remarkable speed, both inside Transylvania and in Hungary and Austria, reaching also other parts of the European continent with great ease.

In 1784 and 1785 many lines were written about these events. Moreover, the portraits of the three leaders of the uprising were made of bronze or plaster, the results being more or less close to reality. During the first months of the uprising, it was believed that the three leaders were nobles, so artists, whether amateurs or professionals, endeavoured to depict them as handsome as possible. However, after news spread out that they were peasants dressed in *opanaci* and sheepskin coats, their portraits were achieved, in most cases, as caricatures. Still, there some portraits that have been preserved are close to reality.

Fifty portraits were made by foreign artists, in 1874-1785, in Vienna, Erfurt, Regensburg, Königsberg, Strassburg, Nürnberg and Alba Iulia. Renowned engravers and publishers at that time (Iacob Adam, Antonius Predich in Alba Iulia, Mangot, Mayr in Regensburg, Moeglich in Nurenberg, F. C. Rehe in Königsberg,

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Fr. Strober in Vienna and Iohan Martin Will in Augsburg) manifested an interest in the leaders of the uprising.²

Besides the portraits they made, in the very first days of the year 1785, more precisely on 5 and 6 January, there also appeared in the Habsburg Empire a series of medals with name of Horea. On their legend, the leader of the rebellious peasants is also given the title of King of Dacia (*Rex Daciae*).

Two such medals are mentioned in a series of documents from the period of the 1784-1785 uprising. Thus, Gregoriu Daniel from Elisabetopole (present-day Dumbrăveni, Sibiu County), in a letter dated 5 January 1785, addressed to a Roman Catholic priest in Rome, informed the latter that Horea had minted coin (*pecuniam curavit cudi*) and described to him the inscription *Hora bea și hodinește* (*Horea is drinking and resting*). Another letter, this time written by Miklosvári Jozsef, dated 6 January 1785, sent to a certain *Clarissimus Dominu*, gives information about the fact that “Horea minted money,” describing the same medal as in the letter above. Also on 6 January 1785, Kovács Szigmond, Attorney of County Alba, wrote an epistle in Aiud, addressing it to an unknown person, in which he stated the following: “This Horea entitled himself King of Dacia and as for the kind of money he minted, 20 kreutzers and ducats, I’m sending you here their effigy... I’ve drawn the shape of the coins neatly from a ducat and plenty of soldiers here have such money.” The drawing in Figure no. 1 is similar to *Horea is drinking and resting*. On 15 January 1785, Bölöni Adam sent from Zalău a letter to his brother-in-law, containing information about the fact that Horea had minted coin and other money, describing a medal whose legend featured the inscription *Nos pro Caesare*. Mention should also be made of the letter sent by the Vice Comites of Satu Mare, Szuhány Ladislau, who wrote on 16 January 1785 to the Vice Comites of Bereg that “Horia minted money” and described a medal on which it was written *Horia be și hodineste* (*Horea is drinking and resting*).³

The medals minted during the period of Horea’s uprising, but also in the following years, started drawing the attention of collectors and historians in the 19th century. Jankovich Miklós is regarded as the first historian who published in 1821, in the volume *Tudományos Gyűjtemény*, the description of two coins minted in the period of the uprising. The obverse of the first coin depicts a heart pierced by a sword and the text *Nos pro Caesare – Hora be si hodineste – Tara plinge si plateste* (*Nos pro Caesare – Horea is drinking and resting – The country is weeping and paying*). The second coin has no emblem on the obverse, just the text *R. D. Hora*.⁴

The work entitled *Mes loisirs, amusemens numismatiques* by Clément W. de Renesse-Breidbach published at Antwerp in 1836, describes, noting that it is very rare, a medal with the symbols of the uprising of 1784-85. According to the description in the catalogue, the legend is as follows: obv: *hora.be.si.hodinueste* –

² Ioan C. Băcilă, “Portretele lui Horia, Cloșca și Crișan,” in *Transilvania*, no. 1, 1922, p. 16.

³ Nicolae Densusianu, *Revoluția lui Horia în Transilvania și Ungaria 1784-1785 scrisă pe baza documentelor oficiale*, București, Tipografia ”Romanulu”, Carol Göbl, 1884, p. 468.

⁴ Jankovich Miklós, *Tudományos Gyűjtemény*, vol II, Budapest, 1821, pp. 73-86.

cara.blinse.si.bleteste / heart pierced by a dagger. Rev.: triple cross, *r – d – ho – ra / 17 – 84*.⁵

Passing over other authors who, throughout the 19th century, focused on the events and symbols of the uprising of 1784-85, we wish to mention only the fact that the work *Numizmatikai Közlöny* written by the Hungarian numismatist Gohl Ödön was published in 1908. Ödön described five silver medals from the former collection of Count Berchtold from Vienna, as well as two lead medals from the collection of the National Museum of Hungary’s History in Budapest. The author considered that they were all dedicated to Horia and Cloșca, without making any assessments concerning their commemorative, positive or satirical purpose.⁶ In Romanian historiography, a well-documented presentation,⁷ accompanied by new photographic reproductions of medals and badges, appeared in the monograph authored by Octavian Beu: *Răscoala lui Horea, în arta epocii*, published in Bucharest in 1935. Also worth mentioning are the works of I. C. Brăcilă, Nicolae Edroiu, as well as other articles that appeared in brochures, in the press, etc.

According to those who have studied these medals, badges and other insignia referring to the uprising of 1784-85, these artefacts can be divided into four groups:

1. Medals created during the uprising;
2. Medals bearing the insignia of Horea;
3. Medals minted 50 years after the uprising;
4. Medals believed to have an ironical content.

In the second group the best known is the medal that has the text *NOS PRO CAESARE* on the obverse and a conical imperial crown with simple cross at the top, while on the reverse it is written: *HOREA REX DACIAE*, a heart pierced by a dagger being represented centre field; from the heart, pointing up and down, two crosses each with three unequal arms. In the field, one both sides of the cross: *17 – 84*; below, the figure 6. It is made of silver, 900‰, its weight is 15.28 g and it has a diameter of 37 mm.⁸

The medals reproduced by Octavian Beu in his work belong to the fourth group. The obverse of the first medal has in the centre, between the two plait circles, with an anepigraph space between them, a group of seven mountains on top of which sits a cross with three unequal arms. In the field, on both sides of the body of the cross: *R(ex) – D(aciae) / Ho – ria / 17 – 84*. On the reverse can be identified the text *HORIA BE SI HODINYESTE CZARA PLINSE SI PLETE(ște)*, circular, marginal, in the space between the two circles. In the centre, a heart pierced by a

⁵ Clément W. de Renesse-Breidbach, *Mes loisirs, amusemens numismatiques: Medailles et monnaies des ducs de Brabant, Bourgogne, etc. des princes, comtes et seigneurs, hommes illustres, republicues et des villes, pieces obsidionales*, Volume 3, Anvers, 1836, catalogue entry: 998, p. 307.

⁶ Vitalie Umlauf, “Revoluția populară din 1784-1785 condusă de Horia, Cloșca și Crișan, reflectată în medalistică și insignografie,” in *Buletinul Societății numismatice române*, no. 131-133, București, 1983-1985, p. 361.

⁷ Dimitrie A. Sturza, A. Papiu Ilarian and Nicolae Densușianu researched and described the portraits of Horea, Cloșca and Crișan in the 19th century.

⁸ Vitalie Umlauf, *Revoluția populară din 1784-1785...*, p. 362.

curved dagger, from which the triple cross rises. It is made of silver 900‰, weighs 25.7 g and has a diameter of 43 mm.⁹

The second medal with Horea's insignia reproduced by Octavian Beu has the following legend: Obv. 900‰, circular, marginal, between an exterior pearly circle and an interior plait circle. In the centre, seven mountains from which the cross with three unequal arms rises, surmounted by a crown. Rev.: *HORA BE SI HODINESTIE CZARA PLINSE SI PLIETESTE*, between two circles, the insignia of Horea: a heart pierced a dagger overlapped by the cross with three unequal arms, but surmounted by a crown. It is made of lead and has a diameter of 42 mm.¹⁰

A medal made of lead, with the diameter of 42 mm and a weight of 19.63 g, is present in *Huszár Lajos*¹¹ *Éremtár Gyöngyös*, in the section *Medals from Hungary during the period 1526-1800*. This is the medal that on the obverse has a simple embossed cross, with three arms, rising between three hills. Underneath the third arm (*suspendaneum*) of the cross appear *R.-D. / HO-RA/ 17-84. (Rex Daciae Hora, 1784 = Hora, King of Dacia, 1784)*. On the reverse is written the following text: *HORA. BE. SI. HODINVESTIE * CARA. BLINSE. SI. BLETESTE.*, while in the centre is featured a heart pierced by a sword, and from the top of the heart rises the same cross with three arms that we also encounter on the obverse.¹²

At the National Archives of Hungary from Budapest, in the *Károlyi Family Fund*, in the *Acta Motus Valachorum* file, there is preserved the etching of a medal dedicated to Horea (see Fig. No. 1). Legend: Obv.: on the edges, according to the drawing, the coin should have been serrated. Then there are two simple concentric circles and the text *Hora Be si Hodineste / Tara Plentse si Pleteste*. In the centre is depicted a heart pierced by a dagger with a curved handle. From its top rises a triple budding cross. On both sides of its foot are featured two arrowheads coming out of the upper part of the heart. Rev.: The decoration of the edges is identical to that on the obverse. The same triple budding cross is represented in the centre field part, thrust in the ground like a tree with strong roots. The lines drawn at the base of the cross, which also suggest its stability, are seven in number, reminiscent of the seven cities of Transylvania. On either side of the cross, between the second (*patibulus*) and the third arm (*suspendaneum*) is written the text *R. / D. (Rex Daciae)*. Below, underneath the third arm, the inscription reads *HO-RA / 17-84*.

As in the case of the other medals that refer to Horea's uprising, in this sketch the symbols on the obverse also have a Catholic resonance. The heart pierced by the dagger is reminiscent of the cult of the "Sacred Heart", a practice that began among the Roman Catholics in the 17th century. The triple budding cross represents an emblem of the papal jurisdiction, being present most of the times on the occasion of

⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 364.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 364.

¹¹ Huszár Lajos (1906-1987): Hungarian numismatist, author of the work *Die Medaillen- und Plakettenkunst in Ungarn*, published in 1932 and of *Régi Magyar emlékérmek katalógusa 1500-1849* (in 5 volumes).

¹² http://www.huszarlajosermetar.eoldal.hu/cikkek/tortenelmi-ermek-magyarorszagrol-es-europabol/1__tortenelmi-ermek-magyarorszagrol-1526-1800.html

ceremonies and processions. The use of these Catholic symbols can be explained through the fact that those who made the sketches for these medals were more familiar with Roman Catholic than with the Orthodox depictions, the three leaders of the uprising being members of the latter denomination. Thus, even if they were commissioned by the Hungarian nobility or by Horea, the artists used the graphics and the symbolism they were more familiar with.

Compared to the medals or the medal etchings known so far, with reference to Horea’s uprising, the sketch in the Károlyi family fund, the file *Acta Motus Valachorum*, page 326, presents a series of differences:

- The triple cross on both sides of the coin is budding, unlike the other etchings, where the triple cross is simple;
- The two arrowheads that jut out from the heart, on either side of the triple cross, not found in any of the known sketches;
- The dagger that pierces the heart has a straight blade and the handle has one end curved upwards. In the other depictions, the blade of the dagger is either straight or has a curved tip, but the handle is always straight.
- The representation of the triple cross features another important difference. In the medal sketch under consideration here, the cross is represented as a tree that is well anchored into the ground, its roots forming seven mounds in the ground, while in the other drafts the cross stands on top of one of the seven or three mountain peaks.

As regards the text written on this medal sketch, it should be noted that it is similar to that of the other medals or sketches published so far. In his book dedicated to Horea’s uprising, Nicolae Densușeanu argues that the idea of minting these medals belonged to the Hungarian nobility, whose members wished to denigrate Horea in the Emperor’s eyes, accusing him that he had proclaimed himself King of Dacia (R. D.). On the other hand, the fact that “the country is weeping and paying” refers also to the Hungarian nobility, which identified with the country, and to not the rebellious peasants.¹³

Some authors consider that the medals etchings or the medals minted during the first days of the year 1785 had been commissioned by the Hungarian nobility, for propagandistic purposes, to draw the attention of Emperor Joseph II in relation to the danger the peasants’ uprising in Transylvania represented for the integrity of the Empire.

Vitalie Umlauf contends that the meaning of the text on these medals is not at all ironic, but is meant to keep the symbol of Horea alive. This parallelism between “Horia is resting – the country is paying” has either underlying threats or urged for the continuation of the revolt movement. The same author finds it hard to imagine that the nobility, deeply affected by the uprising of 1784-85 and eager to erase from memory the terrors it had gone through during this period, minted symbols and legends in metal, be they ironical for an event they wished had never occurred.¹⁴

¹³ Nicolae Densușianu, *op. cit.*, p. 470.

¹⁴ Vitalie Umlauf, *Revoluția populară din 1784-1785...*, p. 370.

The presence in this fund a medal etching referring to Horea's uprising can also be explained by the fact that the Károlyi family was directly threatened by the influence that the peasants' uprising of 1784-85 had on the serfs on their estate in Satu Mare County.

Due to the severe measures taken by the county authorities, in Satu Mare County there were no overt revolts of the peasantry. However, upon hearing of the peasants' uprising that had gripped the counties in Transylvania and upset by the abusive manner in which they were treated by Count Károlyi Antal's men, the peasants on his domains started, true, tentatively, to voice their grievances. There were a series of complaints, memoranda, secret meetings, delegates that were sent to the higher authorities to draw attention to the peasants' grievances.¹⁵ Such events took place in Ardud, Beltiug, Dobra, Rătești, all located on the estate of Count Károlyi Antal. For this reason, the "Dalton" Division was deployed in the area, entrusted with guarding the region.

From the study of the urbarial documents drawn up for each village in Satu Mare County, the serfs in Ardud had to provide corvée labour 17 days per year with their cattle and 34 with their arms. The census was 1 florin and at Christmas they had to give their master a hen, 12 eggs and 1 fathom of firewood. Cottars had the obligation to perform 12 days of corvée with their arms and the census was 1 florin. Corvée could be redeemed in exchange for 6 florins and 48 kreutzers.¹⁶ The interrogations that the peasants on the estate of Count Károlyi were subjected to after the suppression of the 1784-1785 uprising brought out to light the many abuses that his servants had committed against the peasants and that had prompted the latter to manifest their disgruntlement.¹⁷

Thus, on 11 December 1784, the serfs in Ardud, Beltiug and Dobra addressed a memorandum to Emperor Joseph II, expressing their grievances against the abuses to which they had been subjected. The memorandum was sent to Vienna through their delegate Ladislau Hittner.¹⁸ In the late 1784, there were also other delegates who left for Vienna on behalf of the peasants on the Károlyi estate: a certain Sziszler and Zabolai István. The latter was imprisoned in the county jail from Carei. Documents from the time, kept in the Satu Mare County Tribunal Fund, the Urbarial Acts series, inform us that in 1784 the village of Dobra alone spent 206 florins and 40 kreutzers,¹⁹ this money being used to pay the journeys of the delegates, the lawyers and the witnesses, in their attempt to prove the abuses to which they had been subjected and improve their life conditions.

¹⁵ Bujor Dulgău, *Din răsunetul răscoalei lui Horea...*, p. 220.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 217.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 218-219.

¹⁸ Satu Mare National Archives (hereinafter ANSM), fund *Satu Mare County Tribunal*, series *Urbarial Acts 18th-19th Centuries*, file no. 277, f. 52. The trial of urbarial settlement between Count Anton Károlyi and the residents of Beltiug, debated before the judgment seat of Carei County, and other annexes.

¹⁹ ANSM, fund *Satu Mare County Tribunal*, series *Urbarial Acts 18th-19th Centuries*, file no. 831, f. 74. Check list of documents submitted to the domanial judgment seat held in Beltiug in the Dobra urbarial settlement trial and the documents concerned.

Under the leadership of Andrei Sister and Ioan Zezer, the serfs in Arduș and Belțiuș met several times, discussing the abuses of their masters.

On 23 January 1785, the serfs in Arduș, Belțiuș, Dobra and Rătești addressed to Iohannes Schickmajer a letter showing the abuses committed against them and expressing their dissatisfaction with their work and life conditions.²⁰

Worried about the peasants’ manifestations, the Court of Vienna and the Locumtenency Council ordered the county authorities to confiscate weapons from the peasants. They recommended that this should be done peaceably and with much tact, avoiding thus any form through which they could be challenged to an overt uprising.²¹

The peasants’ rebellion in Satu Mare County is referred to also in documents speaking about the inhabitants of Hurezu, who refused to comply with the patent of appeasing the peasants, claiming that its text did not represent the desire of the emperor, but of the nobility. Moreover, there is a decree dating from 3 February 1785 which ordered the capturing and arrest of a certain Mituts Ladislaus, who had incited the peasants in Arduș, Belțiuș and Dobra to revolt.²²

Also, as the count was, among others,²³ also Comes of Satu Mare County, he became involved in managing the situation in the city of Baia Mare, where the Mint and the Revenue House were located and where the local authorities were panic-stricken at hearing rumours that the rebels were planning to attack the city. Two letters, one from Szentpáli Ladislau, Vice Comes of Middle Solnoc County, and the other from Balog Gergely, substituted Vice Comes of the same county, informed the authorities that the serfs in the counties of Hunedoara, Alba și Zarand had rebelled against the nobility. They also suggested that the rebels intended to enter Satu Mare County to ransack the Revenue House in Baia Mare and the seize arms and munitions which were stored there.²⁴ On 22 November 1784, the two letters were sent to the magistrate of the city of Baia Mare by the Mining Inspector, who had in turn been informed about them by the county authorities.

Another interesting aspect that suggests the fact that the uprising led by Horea and all the rumours that had reached Satu Mare County were regarded with seriousness by Károlyi Antal is that in 1784-1785, after the outbreak of the peasants’ uprising, renovation and construction works at Károlyi Castle in Carei were stopped, and the family archive was moved to Budapest, so as to be sheltered from any danger posed by the rebels.²⁵

²⁰ *Ibidem*, file no. 227, f. 100.

²¹ Bujor Dulgău, *Din răsunetul răscdalei lui Horea...*, p. 221.

²² *Ibidem*, p. 222.

²³ The military and political functions of Count Károlyi Antal: royal chamberlain(1754), captain in the Hussar Regiment (1743), infantry colonel of (1755), Knight’s Cross of the Maria Theresa Order (1759), general (1774), court prosecutor (1760), owner of the infantry regiment founded by Count Bethleen Farkas in 1741, royal advisor (1766), *magister tavernicorum* (1775), director of the school district with the centre in Oradea and Ujgorod (1777-1782), field marshal (1787), Knight the Golden Fleece (1790 to 1791).

²⁴ Bujor Dulgău, “Din răsunetul răscdalei lui Horea în părțile sătmărene,” in *Satu Mare, Studii și comunicări*, VII-VIII, Satu Mare, 1986-1987, p. 219.

²⁵ Szabó Imre, *A Nagykárolyi gróf Károlyi család ezeráves története*, Palárikovo – Tótmegyer, 2013, p. 90.

Thus, it can be concluded that thanks to the political, military and administrative provisions he occupied in Hungary and Transylvania, Károlyi Antal entailed his receiving a series of informative reports on the events of the uprising, but also the echoes it had in the neighbouring counties, especially in Satu Mare County. This may be a plausible explanation for the fact that the Károlyi family fund includes the etching of a medal concerning Horea's personality.

Interestingly, in the legend of the medals the text is written in the Romanian language, with Latin characters, even though Romanians used Cyrillic letters at that time. There are cases in which some words (e.g. *țara*, country) are written down in a similar manner with the phonetics of Hungarian, where “c” is pronounced “ț” [ts] (*cara*).²⁶ We may ask the question why language that was used was Romanian and not German or Hungarian. These two languages were used at the Court of Vienna and by the Transylvanian nobility. The political authorities of the Empire or of the province in which the uprising led by Horea occurred were familiar with these languages. We believe that by using the Romanian language, these minted medals could be attributed to the Romanian rebels more easily, attracting thus the Emperor's stronger involvement in the effort to suppress the uprising.

The appellative *Rex Daciae*, attributed to Horea in these medals, conferred upon him the role of the leader of a national movement, with a much greater impact on the political and administrative authorities of the Habsburg Empire. Thus, the nobility frightened by the peasants' upheaval could present to Emperor Joseph II the danger that Horea and the uprising he led posed to the authorities in an altogether different light.

What is certain is that these medals played an important role in popularizing the leaders of the 1784-85 uprising in the Habsburg Empire and across its borders. Many of these medals remained in the stage of etchings, drawings or designs, some of them having a remarkable artistic and documentary value.

²⁶ See the description in the work of Clément W. de Renesse-Breidbac, *Mes loisirs, amusemens numismatiques...*

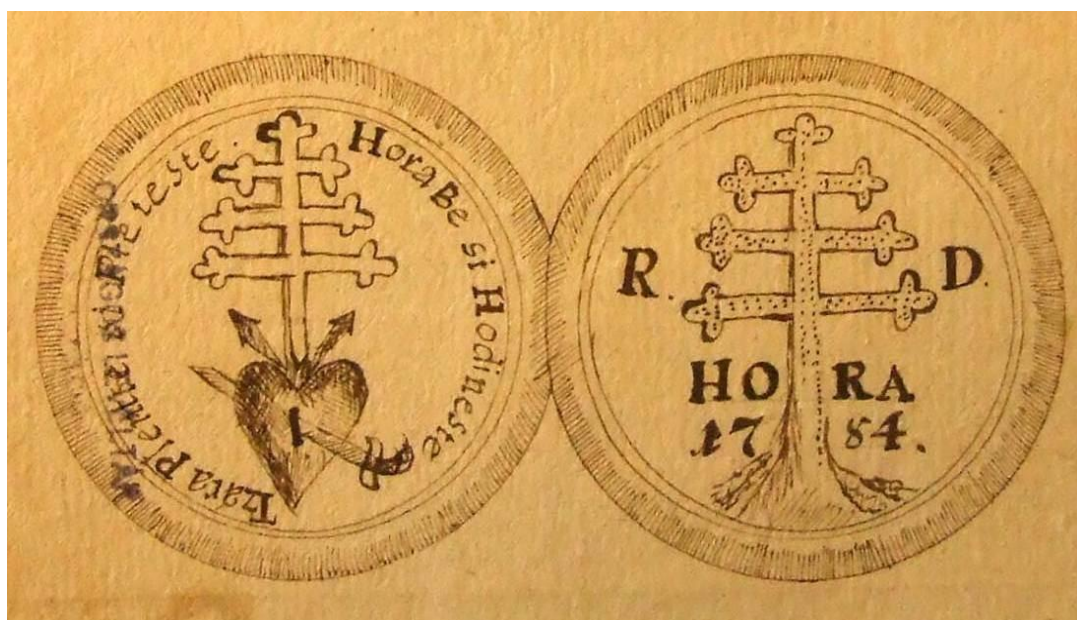


Fig. 1 – Sketch of Horea’s Medal from the Károlyi Family Fund, the National Archives of Hungary, Budapest

THE RECRUITMENT OF SOLDIERS IN THE HABSBURG ARMY IN THE 18TH CENTURY

Abstract: This study embarks on a brief overview of the ways in which the Habsburg Army was recruited and completed in the 18th century and the early 19th century. In addition to the mercenarian system perpetuated from the past, there was a transition toward the voluntary recruitment of paid soldiers from among the Habsburgs' own subjects, in parallel with soldiers from the neighbouring states. During the first decades of the 18th century, the mandatory recruitment of citizens deemed to be undesirable, dangerous and of too little use for the economy of the state was implemented. These two models provided the main sources of soldiers up until the introduction, in the last two decades of the 18th century, of the military conscription system, a system that preceded compulsory military service, which was to be introduced only a century later, in 1866. Special attention is given to the provinces of Hungary and Transylvania, which did not accept the introduction of the conscription system.

Keywords: army, recruitment, the Habsburgs, Transylvania, Maria Theresa, Joseph II.

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The mercenarian tradition

This research is dedicated to the Austrian Army, more precisely the way in which the army was recruited and completed during the period of Austria's maximum eastern and south-eastern expansion, from the expulsion of the Turks from Hungary at the end of the 17th century until after the Napoleonic Wars. Throughout Europe, from the late 17th century until after the mid-18th century, there occurred transformations of the medieval armies - consisting of "feudal contingents, mercenary armies, militias of the cities and the peasants, princely bodyguards, troops that stayed together only for a while"² - into regular, permanent armies, serving as instruments of the state and its policy. Such a process also took place in the Austrian Empire, when, in order to expand its dominance in South-Eastern Europe, the House of Habsburg needed an ever more numerous, unitary and well-trained army.

In the 17th century, mercenarian practices ensured the core structure of armies, especially when it came to numerous troops for waging important wars. Up until the 16th century, Swiss mercenaries were in the highest demand, but from the time of Emperor Maximilian I (1459-1519) on mercenary troops began to be recruited also in the German space. These troops were famous throughout Europe for their effectiveness, but also for the brutalities they committed. During the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648), waged by both sides mostly with mercenaries, the Austrians

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² István Deák, *Mai presus de naționalism. O istorie politică și socială a corpului de ofițeri habsburgici, 1848-1919*, Cluj-Napoca, Academia Romană, Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 2009, p. 41.

recruited huge armies from across Western Europe. Albert von Wallenstein (1583-1634)³ was a typical and brilliant example of a commander of mercenaries; he led the Catholic Emperor's armies against Protestant princes, but was killed at the command of the same Emperor, because he had abused his almost discretionary power in an attempt to enforce his own policy. What defined this mercenarian system was free recruitment, future soldiers receiving a lump sum payment and being employed for a specified period, usually until the end of the campaign. The commander of the mercenaries was entrusted by a prince or another authority to recruit a number of regiments, which meant that this commander became a businessman, for he made recruitments with his money or on the basis of credits. The captains and colonels in his suborder conducted the recruitment process itself, dealing with the equipment and payment of the soldiers. The money paid in advance was recovered from the commander of the army, Wallenstein in this case, and he received it from the emperor. The commanders of regiments and companies were their owners, representing the backbone of the army, and a side effect was the dishonest enrichment of these officers who appropriated a part of the money, reporting higher expenditures. In the 17th century there were also other famous mercenary leaders, such as Duke Bernhard of Saxony-Weimar (1604-1639), who maintained a large private army, fighting with it on the side of various European kings. Wallenstein surpassed them all having several dozen entrepreneurs, owners and commanders of regiments in his suborder. His army comprised, in 1632, 57 infantry regiments and 70 cavalry regiments. Under Wallenstein's command, his troops committed robberies and acts of violence against the civilian population, as mercenaries were accustomed to, even though their leader placed a high value on discipline and strove to enforce it.⁴

The huge costs of the army organized by Wallenstein were covered through the system of the war contributions imposed not only on the enemy or occupied countries, or in the countries on whose territory those wars were waged, but also on the Austrian provinces. Wallenstein perfected the contributions system. Some contemporary historians consider him to have been the greatest war entrepreneur of his time, for he was not only a military commander, but also managed the food and clothing supplies, the payment of the army, and its equipment with weapons and ammunition.⁵

Until Maria Theresa's reign, there were great variations as regards the size of the army, which grew a lot in times of war, but whose regiments were reduced or dissolved entirely in its aftermath. After the Peace of Westphalia, Ferdinand III reduced the number of infantry regiments from sixty-six, in 1637, to only nine. This

³ The historian Jules Michelet wrote about this figure: "Sombre, silent, unapproachable, Wallenstein opened his mouth only to order executions and yet everyone marched under his banners ... He established the reign of soldiers ... Anyone who had iron spurs could be king and did what they wanted." Jules Michelet, *Histoire de France. Vol. 11: Richelieu et la Fronde*, Paris, 1862, p. 5.

⁴ Robert Rebitsch, *Wallenstein. Biografie eines Machtmenschen*, Wien-Köln-Weimar, Böhlau, 2010, pp. 127-130.

⁵ Thomas Winkelbauer, "Nervus rerum Austriacarum. Zur Finanzgeschichte der Habsburgermonarchie um 1700," in *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1620 bis 1740: Leistungen und Grenzen des Absolutismus Paradigmas*, ed. Peter Mat' a, Thomas Winkelbauer, Stuttgart, Franz Steiner, 2006, pp. 196-197.

strong variation was also maintained during the reign of Leopold I (1650-1705)⁶ and even in the age of the great military commander, Eugene of Savoy (1663-1736).⁷

Free recruitment and *ex officio* recruitment

In the 18th century, the army continued to fill its ranks through voluntary recruitment (in German, *Werbung* or *Anwerbung*), on a contract basis, the future soldiers receiving, upon concluding the agreement, an advance payment (*Handgeld*) and then being more or less regularly paid. While during the time of Wallenstein, the soldiers under his command had been recruited from the vast European spaces (Ireland, Scotland and the Catholic Netherlands provided soldiers for the cavalry, Croats were in demand in Hungary, and Italians and Spaniards were hired for the infantry regiments in Italy, etc.),⁸ in the first decades of the 18th century there was a tendency to restrict the area of recruitment to the Austrian space and to the Roman Empire of the German Nation, the Austrian regiments being granted territories of recruitment there.⁹ The tendency became ever more evident in the following decades. Soldiers were recruited voluntarily and paid, but in the 18th century, aside from these features, they no longer had almost anything in common with the mercenary troops of previous centuries: they lacked discipline and terrorized the civilian population during and especially after the end of various campaigns. However, recruitment abroad, especially in the Holy Roman Empire, remained for a long time a way of troop completion, which, although it cost much, had the advantage that it exempted the manpower in agriculture, crafts, industry and mining from military duties. In 1765 it was more rigorously regulated,¹⁰ in the sense that henceforth all the German regiments received recruitment territories in the Holy Roman Empire and there were created institutions that were to organize this recruitment as effectively as possible.¹¹ A series of ordinances issued by the Aulic War Council during the time of Joseph II constantly brought new details concerning the qualities of the officers and non-commissioned officers dispatched, for this purpose, to certain areas of the German space, the preferential advancement of meritorious officers,¹² the maintenance of officers who established good relations with local authorities in their positions,¹³ the equipment of the recruits and money they received in the beginning,¹⁴ the age and the

⁶Alphons von Wrede, *Geschichte der k. und k. Wehrmacht. Die Regimenter, Corps, Branchen und Anstalten von 1618 bis Ende des XIX. Jahrhunderts*, Vienna, 1898, vol. I, p. 34.

⁷*Ibidem*, p. 38.

⁸Gilbert Anger, *Illustrierte Geschichte der k. k. Armee dargestellt in allgemeiner und specieller culturhistorischer Bedeutung von der Begründung und Entwicklung an bis heute*, vol. II, 1887, p. 698.

⁹Anger, *op. cit.*, p. 936.

¹⁰The high resolution of 4 June 1765. See Wrede, *op cit.*, p. 100, note 1.

¹¹Wrede, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 100.

¹²The Ordinances of Prague, 1 March 1779 and 12 April 1782. *Apud* Jakob Heinrich, *Gesetze für die k. k. Armee in Auszug nach alphabetischer Ordnung der Gegenstände*, Vienna and Prague, 1784, p. 335.

¹³The Ordinance of Prague, 20 February 1781. *Ibidem*

¹⁴The Ordinance of the Aulic War Council of 15 September 1779 and the Ordinance of Prague, 10 April 1781. *Ibidem*, p. 337.

height of the recruits,¹⁵ etc. Soldiers were recruited mostly from Prussia, Bavaria, the Palatinate (Kurpfalz), Würzburg, Ansbach, Zweibrücken, Darmstadt, Münster, Trier, Cologne, Liège, Wolfenbüttel, but also from the provinces subjected to the Turks.¹⁶ Even during the wars with Napoleon, recruitments were made outside the Austrian provinces; provisionally discontinued due to the campaigns against the French, the activity of all those 32 recruitment commandos that were active on the territory of the Holy Roman Empire had been resumed in 1802.¹⁷ At the beginning of the 18th century, the custom of borrowing entire regiments or corps from foreign sovereigns was also maintained. In the campaign to Italy, Eugene of Savoy led troops borrowed from the King of Prussia, while for the wars with the Turks, the Austrians borrowed troops from Bavaria. Other troops were requested, in this age, from the Danish, Dutch and English sovereigns, leading historians to assert that in wars led by Eugene, barely one quarter of the soldiers belonged to the Austrian Army, the remaining troops being borrowed.¹⁸ Beginning with the reign of Maria Theresa, recourse was also made to the recruitment of volunteer corps¹⁹ from across the Habsburg Empire or from outside it. Sometimes these volunteers became the nucleus of a future regular regiment. This was the case of the volunteer corps recruited with the permission of Empress Maria Theresa in 1740 by Baron Franz von Trenk from his estate in Croatia and made up largely of former thieves and outlaws pardoned for the purpose of enrolment, a corps that later became the nucleus of the Hungarian Infantry Regiment no. 53.²⁰ From the Romanian space, at the time of the wars waged by Joseph II against the Turks, there were recruited, in 1788-89, volunteers from Transylvania and

¹⁵ The Ordinance of Vienna, 15 September 1779 the one of Prague, 14 February 1783. *Ibidem*, p. 337.

¹⁶ Jakob Heinrich, *Gesetze für die k. k. Armee in Auszug nach alphabetischer Ordnung der Gegenstände*, Vienna and Prague, 1787, p. 626 [i.e. 520]

¹⁷ *Cirkular-Rescript an der Hofkriegsrath, an sämtliche General-Commanden und die dem Hofkriegsrath unterstehene den Hauptämter*, Viena, Degen, 1802, p. 5. The Austrian Army was no exception, all the armies of the time being partly made up of foreigners. Even the regiments of the Prussian Army had Hungarians, Italians, Dutch, Swiss and soldiers from other German states. Similarly, Germans served in other armies: the Netherlands, France, Spain, England. 30,000 German mercenaries fought on the side of the King of England in the US War of Independence. Even the armies led by Napoleon foreigners had a considerable number of foreigners, in the Russian campaign (1812/1813) less than half of his soldiers being French. See Jochen Oltner, "Migration, Krieg und Militär in der Frühen und Späten Neuzeit," in *Krieg, Militär und Migration, in der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Matthias Asche, Berlin-Münster, Lit Verlag, 2008, p. 48.

¹⁸ Anger, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 939.

¹⁹ Soldiers were hired and paid during the conflict; when peace was concluded, that corps was usually dissolved. The corps of volunteers could be made of less valuable members from a military perspective or, if they were good fighters, like those recruited by Trenck in Croatia, if they committed numerous abuses. Trenck's soldiers, Barițiu wrote, "spread fear in the German lands, just like the Turks had previously spread it." See George Barițiu, *Părți alese din istoria Transilvaniei pe două sute de ani în urmă*, second edition, Brașov, Inspectoratul pentru cultură al județului Brașov, 1993, vol. I, p. 370. About the corps of Arnauts recruited in the Principalities, in 1788, a foreign traveller through the Romanian lands stated that it consisted of the worst elements of the Moldovan nation. See *Hacquets neueste physikalisch-politische Reisen in den Jahren 1788-1789 und 90. durch die Dacischen und Sarmatischen oder Nordlichen Karpaten*, part II, Nürnberg, 1791, p. 49.

²⁰ Anton Marx, *Geschichte des 53-ten ungarischen Linien-Infanterie-Regiments*, Viena, 1838, p. 11.

a corps of Arnauts from the Principalities; the latter participated, under the command of Joseph Bedeus von Scharberg, in the Battles of Focșani and Mărtinești.²¹ Among the foreign officers employed in the Austrian Army there was Prince Radu Cantacuzino, son of the Wallachian ruler Ștefan Cantacuzino, who was briefly, in 1736, Commander of the Illyrian Border Guard Regiment, during a campaign in Italy.²²

The tendency of recruitment from the power-holders' own countries became more and more visible over the course of the 18th century. In as early as 1722, captains received an order enjoining them to send a number of soldiers on 9-10 month leave, so that recruitments could be made in the Austrian provinces with money saved in this way.²³ Upon taking the reign, Maria Theresa found a body of officers of very different ethnicities, many from outside her empire. At the soldiers' level, the situation was even more variegated from an ethnic point of view.²⁴ Consequently, Maria Theresa pushed for the recruitments to be made primarily from among her Austrian subjects.

In addition to contract-based recruitment, another way the ranks of the army could be filled during the reign of Leopold I (1658-1705) was through recruitments made by the estates. The central institutions, such as the Aulic War Council and the Aulic Camera, where the required number of new soldiers was centralized at the end of each year, distributed them by province, and the provincial authorities further distributed them by counties (or seats and districts), cities and towns. In the language of the time, this kind of recruitment was called *Aushebung*, *Rekrutierung* or *(Land)rekrutenstellung/ ex officio Stellung* in German and had the advantage that it did not keep the officers in charge of recruitment away from the troops, but it also had the disadvantage that the local authorities seized the opportunity of enrolling as soldiers young men of a more criminal disposition, undesirables, or even men who were unfit for military service. The complaints submitted by the military authorities to the Aulic War Council were apparently in vain, because the custom of sending turbulent or suspect individuals in the army, regarded as a correctional institution, remained in use for a long time.²⁵ In this case it was not a question of the free option of the future soldiers, for they were sent into the army by local authorities because

²¹ Anger, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 1080. Joseph Beddeus von Scharberg was, in 1788, captain in the Second Romanian Border Guard Regiment, when he was advanced to the rank of major and was entrusted with the command of the volunteer corps in the Principalities, with which he distinguished himself in the two battles. The volunteer corps was dissolved in 1790 and he returned to his regiment, advancing to the rank of colonel in 1801, a rank at which he retired. He died in Mediaș in 1806. See Constantin von Wurzbach, *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaisertums Österreich enthaltend die Lebensskizzen der denkwürdigen Personen, welche seit 1750 in den österreichischen Kronländern geboren wurden oder darin gelebt und gewirkt haben*, vol. 1, Viena, 1856, p. 219.

²² See N. Iorga, *Radu Cantacuzino*, în *Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile secțiunii istorice*, Seria III, tom XIII, pp. 9-10.

²³ Anger, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 936.

²⁴ Gustav von Hubka, *Geschichte des k. und k. Infanterie Regiments Graf von Lacy Nr. 22 von seiner Errichtung bis zur Gegenwart*, Zara, Editura regimentului, 1902, p. 60.

²⁵ Anger, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 935.

they had mutilated themselves to avoid military service, because they had fled dodged recruitment, because the authorities considered them useless, indolent or roguish, or because some influential villagers or members of the same family thought they were dangerous and wanted to see them removed from the community. Catching the future soldiers occurred throughout the entire county on the same day, the date being kept secret and being preceded by secret meetings of the local leaders, who had to reach agreement on the candidates that were to be sent to the army. This undertaking was, therefore, one of the riskiest for the local political bodies (especially for the judge and jurors of the village), which exposed themselves thus to the vindictiveness of the candidates or their relatives.²⁶

Those employed with a contract (called *Capitulanten*, from contract, *Capitulation*) were wilfully recruited and received a sum of money in instalments (called *Handgeld*), which varied depending on supply and demand, as well as the man's physical qualities. A committee made up of officers, non-commissioned officers and soldiers travelled to the designated villages or circles, submitted to the local authorities the documents on the basis of which recruitment was permitted, and then, as a rule, a drummer announced the recruitment conditions to the local population.²⁷ The rules of voluntary recruitment were, however, often violated and the banning of illegal recruitments was always on the agenda. An order issued by the Aulic War Council on 30 January 1722 prohibited employment through dishonest means, through ruses and alcohol incentives, and threatened with punishments the infantry officers who walked around girded with a broadsword, as if they were about to recruit soldiers for the dragons and the cuirassiers, as these categories enjoyed great prestige, just like the entire cavalry in general. These threats also concerned those officers who captured craftsmen's apprentices and sold them to the local authorities that were obliged to provide recruits, practising thus illegal human trade.²⁸ Orders of this kind were constantly reissued, proving how easily and frequently they were violated.

In reality, the task was not easy even for those who were in charge of recruitment. In Bavaria, whence several Austrian regiments were recruited, there were many tall peasants, in high demand, whom officers would have liked to hire, but who cost a lot. If promises and money did not persuade them, guile and violence were the means at hand. The complaints of the local authorities in this province from the beginning of the 18th century show that the illegal capturing of recruits was quite frequent. Some communities retaliated violently to such recruitments, leading to the wounding or even killing of those who had taken up soldiers by force.²⁹ As for guile, here recruiters were helped by alcohol and women of loose morals. They lured young

²⁶ This was Johann von Csaplovics and his work *Gemälde von Ungern*, part II, Pesta, C. A. Hartleben, 1829, p. 222-223.

²⁷ Hubka, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-12.

²⁸ Hermann Meynert, *Geschichte der k.k. österreichischen Armee, ihrer Heranbildung und Organisation, sowie ihrer Schicksale, Thaten und Feldzüge, von den frühesten bis auf die jetzige Zeit*, vol. IV: *Geschichte des Kriegswesens und der Heeresverfassung in der österreichischen Monarchie vom Tode des Kaisers Leopold I. bis auf die gegenwärtige Zeit*, Viena, 1854, pp. 12-14.

²⁹ Hubka, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-12.

men to the tavern, where they often established their headquarters, giving them to drink in order to persuade them more easily that life as a soldier was full of adventure. They resorted to the most despicable scams, such as finding a sum of money in the pocket of a young man (or even in the food or in the drinking cup!), the sum being declared then as *Handgeld*, while the man upon whom the money had been found was declared a recruit. Or it sufficed for an unwitting young man to be persuaded to drink in honour of the emperor or the commander of armies for this gesture to be considered the recognition of a commitment. If the man refused to consider himself a future soldier, he was declared a rebel, arrested and maltreated until he succumbed and was enlisted.³⁰ Because young men had become suspicious, more and more sophistication was required for luring them. A legally-trained early 19th-century author described a typical recruitment scene. At an annual fair or at the feast of a church's patron saint, that is exactly where many people gathered, those in charge of recruitment presented themselves and installed a tent in the centre of the village in question. The scenes recounted by him took place in Hungary, where military service for the hussars was, by far, preferred to that in the infantry, so recruiters dressed up in hussar uniforms, the band that accompanied them played, and soldiers performed martial dances that young people enjoyed very much. However, they tried to remain aside, looking from a few steps away, with their hands in their pockets or clasped behind their backs, lest they should be grabbed by hand, for shaking hands with the officers was tantamount to an agreement of military commitment. But the officer or one of his entourage started speaking with the young man he had laid eyes on, convincing him that he was from around the same place (after learning from the naïve young man all the information he needed), which meant that he had gained his trust; he then spoke to the young man then about the hardships of life as a soldier, which he wouldn't recommend to anyone, and advised him to never shake hands with a recruiter, for he would be considered a recruit. But he invited the young man to have a drink before saying goodbye to his new friend - and here the seducer used a convincing tone - for it was all right to do so. The young man had a drink, followed by another and many more, got into a jovial mood and then woke up as a fresh recruit without even realizing what had happened.³¹

³⁰ Anger, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 697.

³¹ Csaplovics, *op. cit.*, pp. 223-224. Things happened like that also on the threshold of the 1848 Revolution, as noted by a French intellectual married to a Hungarian countess. "Sometimes the sound of military music suddenly breaks out in the village. Hussars, dressed in their elegant outfit, perform an animated dance in the square, jutting their spurs. The peasant comes rushing and contemplate this brilliant performance. His eyes watch the dancers; he spies on every shot, on every gesture: the music and the noise of the swords exalt him; just as fascinated outside, he leaves the circle of spectators, hits his spurs and joins the hussars. He admires their uniform. He is given a sword: he catches a *şako* adorned with a flying plume. In his drunkenness, he quickly makes a cross or signs his name at the bottom of a dangerous paper that is shown to him. Will he not have, in turn, some nice weapons, a good horse, and will he not come, in a dazzling outfit, to dance before the women in his village? Alas! The dream does not last long. Having become a soldier in the service of the "German Emperor," he is subject to a discipline he hadn't suspected. If only he had at least the beautiful horse that his imagination had painted! But much of the time he's incorporated in the infantry, and he no longer has any other consolation than to wear his boots and tight pants with gallons that distinguish the Hungarian regiments from the German troops." See Auguste de

Violent recruitments were commonplace also in Prussia in the 18th century, causing people to flee *en masse* across the border.³² Violent recruitments are also documented in Saxony³³ and throughout the Holy Roman Empire,³⁴ as well as in other European spaces.³⁵ What the historian Stefan Kroll says about the Army of Saxony may be valid for all the armies of the time: during years of peace violent recruitments were sporadic, but when there was a sudden need for higher numbers of troops, the complaints of those forcibly recruited were quickly dismissed by the authorities, so the difference between the two forms of recruitment was difficult to make.³⁶

The introduction of the military conscription system

After the almost ceaseless wars with the neighbouring powers from the early years of her reign, Maria Theresa had to think about a more efficient and less costly recruitment system than that of hiring foreign soldiers, following the Prussian model in supplementing the army ranks with recruits from the Austrian provinces. Prussia had gradually introduced, since 1722-1733, a pattern of recruitment that preceded compulsory military service, called the canton system (*Kantonsystem*), based on the principle that every subject was required (with some exceptions) to do military service. The country was divided into territories for completing the regiments, called cantons, each regiment being assigned such a canton, whence they recruited necessary soldiers. Based on this system, the Army of Prussia had grown substantially in a short time, having approx. 190,000 soldiers in around 1790, ranking behind Austria and Russia, but ahead of France, the countries compared to which it was far smaller in terms of surface and number of inhabitants.³⁷

Up until 1770, numerous changes, but on a smaller scale (for Maria Theresa's army was almost incessantly on a footing of war), tended to make the army more uniform in terms of clothing and armament, of organization and training, reducing the rights of the owner of the regiment who hitherto had broad powers (inherited from the age of mercenaries) as regards choosing the regiment's uniform, appointing officers and selling officers' posts, etc. In this way, the army was becoming more and more an army of the emperor. In 1769 regiments received a number, even though they continued to be called after the name of the owner.³⁸

Gérando, *Transilvania și locuitorii săi*, I, translated from the French by Laurențiu Malomfălean and Marius Mitrache, revision and critical apparatus by Ana-Maria Stan, foreword Ioan-Aurel Pop, Cluj-Napoca, Casa Cărții de Știință, 2014, p. 33-34.

³² Meynert, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-3.

³³ Stefan Kroll, *Soldaten im 18. Jahrhundert zwischen Friedensalltag und Kriegserfahrung. Lebenswelten und Kultur in der kursächsischen Armee 1728-1796*, Paderborn, Schöningh, 2006, pp. 129-132.

³⁴ Ralf Pröve, *Lebenswelten. Militärische Milieus in der Neuzeit. Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, ed. Bernard R. Kroener, Angela Strauß, Berlin, Lit-Verlag, 2010, p. 7.

³⁵ See, for example, the chapter "Du recrutement forcé sous l'Ancien Régime" in Edgard Boutaric's book, *Institutions militaires de la France avant les armées permanentes*, Paris, H. Plon, 1863.

³⁶ Kroll, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

³⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 73.

³⁸ Wrede, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 37-41.

A much more important reform was that related to recruitment. From 1771 to 1881, a new recruitment and troop supplementation system was introduced in the Austrian Army: the system of conscription and recruitment circles (*Conscription- und Werbbezirkssystem*) based on a very thorough census of the population and on the principle of every citizen's obligation to defend his country. However, not only were whole social categories exempted, but also some provinces that had maintained their old constitutions and military laws. Due to the resistance encountered, conscription could be introduced only in the provinces: Bohemia, Moravia, the Austrian part of Silesia, Austria above and beneath the Enns, Steyermark, Carinthia, Craina, Görz County Gradiska, and Galicia and Lodomeria. This system was not accepted by the Kingdom of Lombardo-Venice, Tyrol and Vorarlberg, Hungary and Transylvania, where recruitment and regiment completion continued to be done only through voluntary recruitment (*Werbung*) and through recruitment made by the political authorities (*Rekrutenstellung*), and in case of great need by summoning all those capable of fighting (*Aufgebot*). An exception was the Military Border, where all the fit men were subjected to the obligation of military service through their very status as border guards.

The conscription of the population was a laborious process, put into practice by a bureaucracy that did not leave anything to chance, every situation being taken into account. For the population census, forms were drawn up for each family (*Familienbogen*), recording as much information as possible, especially about the potential soldiers: the name of each member of the family, their age, their qualification, as accurately as possible, their religion, height, health problems, etc. These forms had many entries, and instructions for completing the information in respect of each person were very detailed. It was necessary, for instance, to record whether a young man had parents or not, if he was born of married parents or out of wedlock; if he was not present in the village, his whereabouts and for what purpose; about those who had learned a craft it was important to note down whether or not that was their main source of income. As for the height of the young men, there were three possible sections in which they could be included. Other instructions related to the socio-professional categories and the way in which each person had to be tabulated.³⁹ By centralizing this information, civil and military authorities had a clear record of the recruitable population available to them. To keep this information up to date, the movement of the population was reviewed every year, between the months of February and May. Civil and military servants went from house to house and recorded the changes. Note was taken of the soldiers on leave, the young men who had military obligations, but had become inapt or had moved in the meantime, etc.⁴⁰ In the provinces subject to conscription, the population movement was no longer free, a young man with military obligations being prohibited from moving to a different recruitment constituency than that approved by the authorities; what was even more difficult was moving to another Austrian

³⁹ Heinrich, *Gesetze...*, 1787, pp. 590-591.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 593-596.

province that was not subject to conscription, in this case, that the family needed the approval of the Aulic Chancellery of the province in question.⁴¹

Although rigorously compiled, the lists of those who were recruitable were not long.⁴² Besides the fact that they could redeem themselves by paying a sum of money or finding, also in exchange for money, a substitute, a lot of categories were exempted: nobles, priests, civil servants and their sons, some categories of peasants who owned a particular area of land or were the only sons of elderly parents, mining workers, craftsmen, etc., that is, all the individuals necessary for the major economic activities, in addition to the privileged classes.⁴³ Temporary exemptions existed, too, being generally applied in the case of young men who had not finished their studies yet. Men aged between 17-18 and 40 years were recruited, military service was for life, and only those not subject to conscription could be hired on a contract basis (*Capitulation*) for a certain period, but at the conclusion of the contract, those soldiers were invited to get rehired, better conditions and a sum of money being offered to them upon signing a new contract.⁴⁴

Each regiment had now a fixed circle for military recruitment and troop completion, as well as a permanent garrison location, and in times of peace the regiments were generally deployed in the recruitment territory. These recruitment circles reflect Austria's territorial gains and losses: after the first division of Poland (1772), Austria gained Galicia and Lodomeria, where more and more regiments were recruited, especially after the losses incurred after 1800: the Netherlands, Lombardy, Venice, etc.⁴⁵

At the insistence of Archduke Charles (1771-1847), President of the Aulic War Council and promoter of some vital army reforms in the wake of the defeats suffered before the French, the Patent issued on 4 May 1802 abolished the burdensome military service for life, limiting it to 10-15 years for those subject to conscription.⁴⁶ Under the Patent concerning conscription of 25 October 1804, some improvements were brought to the conscription system, followed by others, after the campaigns of 1805, 1809 and 1813.⁴⁷ Around the 1848 Revolution, military service was reduced to 8 years: in 1845, in the German provinces,⁴⁸ and, in 1847, in Transylvania.⁴⁹ The

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, p. 602.

⁴² Not even all those conscripted were incorporated, but only a part of them. The legislation from the beginning (see *Conscriptions-und Werbbezirkssysteme. Für die kaiserl. königl. Deutschen Erbländer in Friedens-und Kriegszeiten*, Klagenfurt, 1781) does not specify how many of those conscripted were called to arms and according to which criteria. Perhaps they were summoned by date of birth, like in Prussia, and the draw was introduced later. See Denise Geng, *Monarch und Militär. Zum Verhältnis von politischer und militärischer Führung im 19. Jahrhundert. Preußen - Deutschland im Vergleich*, Berlin, LIT Verlag, 2013, p. 59.

⁴³ Wrede, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 101.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 102.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 103.

⁴⁶ Anger, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 1266-1267.

⁴⁷ Franz Joseph Schopf, *Sammlung aller in Conscriptions-, Recrutierungs-und Militär-Entlassungs-Angelegenheiten erlassenen Vorschriften*, Viena, 1833, pp. 4-5.

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 107.

⁴⁹ Bariț, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 766-767.

standardization of the recruitment system at the level of the entire Empire took place only in 1852, when the 8-year military service, plus two years in the reserve, became valid everywhere.⁵⁰

The conscription introduced by Joseph II did not solve the problem of ensuring the necessary troop numbers, because recruitment with money was maintained, especially in the Holy Roman Empire, as was the mandatory recruitment conducted by local authorities. During the period of the wars with the French, recourse was made, again, to the recruitment of volunteer corps, such as the volunteer corps in Galicia organized by Count O'Donnell or the one organized by Archduke Charles in the Austrian provinces of Bohemia and Moravia, in 1800. The military border was considered another rich source of soldiers, especially in the latter part of the wars caused by the French Revolution of 1789.⁵¹

Hungary and Transylvania

Recruitment in the provinces of the Hungarian Crown and in the Principality of Transylvania, where the new recruitment system could not be imposed - despite all the insistence of Joseph II, who sent troops in the Hungarian counties that displayed the strongest resistance⁵² - posed special problems to the Austrian military administration. According to the feudal constitution, the country's defence was the duty of the nobility. Small regular troops existed here, a sort of militia, known as hajduks. In addition to these small units, the nobles had the obligation to take part in the war personally, as long as they could carry weapons (*insurrectio personalis*) and they also had the duty to equip a number of soldiers from among the freemen who had settled on their estates (*Portal-Insurrection* or *Banderien*), their number varying depending on the size of the estates. At the same time, there was a tax for the maintenance of the troops, distributed by villages and boroughs, depending on the number of houses.⁵³

At the beginning of the 18th century, the regular troops in Hungary included only one infantry regiment, organized in 1702, and three hussar regiments, organized in 1688, 1696 and 1702. In the Diet of Pressburg from 1715, it was decided that other regiments should be organized to supplement the regular army,⁵⁴ so much so that at the beginning of the reign of Empress Maria Theresa, only three regular infantry regiments and eight hussar regiments came from the Hungarian provinces.⁵⁵ The number of regiments recruited from Hungary was thus small in relation to the totality of the troops, as in 1728, the Habsburgs had 119 regiments (65 infantry, 17 dragons,

⁵⁰ Jürgen Angelow, *Von Wien nach Königgrätz. Die Sicherheitspolitik des Deutschen Bundes im europäischen Gleichgewicht (1815 - 1866)*, München, Oldenbourg, 1996, p. 67.

⁵¹ Anger, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 1266.

⁵² Ferdinand Ebhardt, *Geschichte des k. k. 33 Infanterie-Regiments*, Weißkirchen-Biserica Albă, 1888, p. 146.

⁵³ Hauptmann Alexich, *Die freiwilligen Aufgebote aus den Ländern der ungarischen Krone im erten schlesischen Krieg*, part I, in: *Mitteilungen des K. und K. Kriegs-Archivs*, vol. IV (1889), Viena, 1889, pp. 117-119.

⁵⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 120, note 2.

⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 120.

26 cuirassiers, 10 hussar regiments, 1 hajduk regiment). Still, this was a theoretical number, for in reality the last wars of Charles VI were lost due to the lack of troops.⁵⁶

The infantry regiment organized in Hungary in 1702 was sent to the battlefield in Italy, where a part of the war of the Spanish Succession was waged (1700-1714), and after 1720, it participated in an expedition to Sicily where it lost many men (in 1723 alone it lost 388 soldiers), but there was no money for new recruitments. In 1726 the regiment was still in Italy in a state that was far from joyful, the soldiers receiving their payment only partially, and the officers not having been paid for several months. At the review in 1726, it was found that many soldiers had died or defected, and in 1728 the documents registered the same situation: irregular payments, a weakening discipline, illnesses and the death of many soldiers caused by the unhealthy climate of the Italian region of Mantua.⁵⁷ The history of this regiment gained better contour during the War of Succession, when it gradually became a Transylvanian regiment. Maria Theresa demanded the Transylvanian Diet in 1741 to organize permanent regiments instead of the old nobiliary insurrection. The Transylvanians undertook to recruit an infantry regiment and a cavalry regiment, to supplement them by voluntary recruitment, but requested that they should be named Transylvanian regiments (*Siebenbürgische Regimenter*). The 2,000 recruits gathered with difficulty formed, eventually, the fourth battalion of the regiment organized in 1702 (now called the Gyulai Regiment, after its owner), which subsequently became the Transylvanian Regiment (*Siebenbürger Regiment*); from 1769 on, it had the number 51.

The empress, constrained to wage war by the King of Prussia's invasion of Silesia in December 1740, was in dire need of more numerous troops, asking the Diets from Hungary and Transylvania for more soldiers. In Hungary, Marshal Count Joahann Pálffy, who was to the liking of Vienna, was appointed commander of all troops in Hungary and was authorized to convince the counties of the need for new recruitments. Much fewer soldiers were recruited eventually (the plans had been for the recruitment of over 21,000 soldiers), because the Austrians saw the Hungarians' arming with suspicion, having the anti-Habsburg revolt of 1703-1711 still fresh in their memory. The claim that these troops should be commanded solely by Hungarian officers and generals made an even more unpleasant impression, the Court attempting to convince the Hungarians to give money instead of soldiers.⁵⁸

In 1743, the Transylvania Estates organized a regiment of hussars.⁵⁹ Barițiu stated that in 1744 the Diet also discussed about the organization of a regiment, but they barely managed to recruit 1,000 soldiers.⁶⁰ From the territory of present-day Transylvania recruitments were made also for the 31st Infantry Regiment, then called the Haller Regiment, after the name of its first owner. In 1741 Baron Samuel Haller

⁵⁶ Anger, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 939.

⁵⁷ Maximilian Maendel, *Geschichte des k. und k. Infanterie-Regiments Nr. 51*, Cluj, 1897-1899, vol. I, pp. 72-78.

⁵⁸ Alexich, *op. cit.*, pp. 122-129.

⁵⁹ Anger, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p.1081. This was the Hussar Regiment that, as of 1769, bore no. 2.

⁶⁰ Barițiu, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 376.

von Hallerstein received the patent for the organization of a regiment at the expense of Estates in Hungary. In addition to many counties in Hungary, the regiment was recruited from the counties of Zarand, Arad, Bihor, Maramureş and Satu Mare.⁶¹ The recruits of this regiment - coming from the vast Pannonian steppe, from the Carpathian Mountains, and many from the dungeons of the counties - were difficult to master, and there was a lack of experienced officers and barracks. One of the battalions of this regiment, sent to Peterwardein, rebelled in the summer of 1742 against the officers, the soldiers shooting a captain and partially destroying their weapons and uniforms.⁶² Hungarian recruits, raised in a spirit of freedom and having a highly developed sense of honour, found military discipline abominable, as it often made use of baton blows, so defections were a common phenomenon in all the regiments organized according to the Diet's decisions from 1741.⁶³

Recruitments were difficult also in Transylvania. In 1745 the officers of the Gyulai Infantry Regiment entrusted with recruitment complained that the local authorities undermined them instead of supporting them.⁶⁴ In 1746 recruitment proceeded very slowly, even though they were conducted in other areas, too, such as Mediaş, Sighişoara, Târgu Mureş.⁶⁵ In 1750 213 soldiers could barely be recruited for this regiment.⁶⁶

The requests for new recruits arrived ever more often in Transylvania too, especially during the wars with France. The Principality of Transylvania contributed with amounts of money, called subsidies, and with new recruits almost annually. In 1809 alone, the Saxon village of Prejmer had to give 50 young men for the organization of a battalion of Jäger,⁶⁷ while in time of peace the village gave only a few recruits. The punishments threatened increasingly those who mutilated themselves, so as to avoid the army, and lately even the relatives of those concerned had been threatened with punishment because they had not prevented those self-mutilations. War loans, voluntary at first and then mandatory, accompanied the recruitments of this period. In 1809, the Transylvanian nobility was last called to defend the country, according to its old right that was much clamoured by its members, who refused customary recruitment. However, the nobles' army and the Jäger battalion recruited by the Saxons reached only the border with Austria, as the Peace of Vienna was concluded in October 1809.⁶⁸

Recruitment envisaged the Romanians ever more frequently, as they were the most numerous population and the military authorities rallied the efforts of the

⁶¹ Karl von Blažkenović, *Chronik des k.k. 31. Linien-Infanterie-Regimentes*, Viena, 1867, p. 5.

⁶² *Ibidem*, p. 6.

⁶³ Ludwig Kirchtaler, *Geschichte des k. u. k. Infanterie-Regimentes Nr. 2 für immerwährende Zeiten Alexander I. Kaiser von Russland*, Viena, 1895, p. 8.

⁶⁴ Maendel, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 181.

⁶⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 190.

⁶⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 203.

⁶⁷ Lorenz Gross, *Auszug aus der Tartlauer Chronik*, în *Chroniken und Tagebücher*, vol. III, Braşov, 1915, p. 88.

⁶⁸ Friedrich Teutsch, *Geschichte der Siebenbürger Sachsen für das sächsische Volk*, vol. II, 1700-1815. *Von den Kuruzzenkriegen bis zur Zeit der Regulationen*, Sibiu, 1907, pp. 416-417.

Romanian clergy in an attempt to attract them as soldiers. The Romanian bishops advised the faithful to embark on a career in arms,⁶⁹ and during the wars with France they sent circular in which it was stated that premature marriage was forbidden for young men who tried to dodge the army and that those were the very individuals who would be taken in the event that recruitments were made.⁷⁰ In the early years of the wars with the French, Romanian officials in Burzenland wrote to the authorities that they could not gather the required number of recruits, as the young men were away with the sheep in Wallachia,⁷¹ or that they had not managed to capture more than one lad at a wedding.⁷² On 22 March 1799, the same officials wrote to the local authorities that the Saxon officials favoured their conationals in the recruitment process and demanded that the number of recruits should be distributed proportionately, not to the Romanians' detriment.⁷³ There was talk, then, of capturing the recruits, showing that the recruiters were forced to resort to violent means. During the war with the Turks, on 10 August 1788, soldiers were recruited in Codlea "in an unusual way," wrote a Saxon chronicler. On Sunday, at the church, after the end of the divine service, the women were taken out and the 25 young men whose names were read aloud were placed under guard as prospective recruits.⁷⁴

The Saxon chronicles from Burzenland mentioned, in 1758, the capturing of recruits by violence, "especially in the Romanians' case," and their reaction, especially as they fled into the forests. The inhabitants of the Saxon villages were seized by uncertainty and intervened with the government, which prohibited fleeing from recruitment and summoned the runaways to return.⁷⁵ In 1760, the capturing of Romanian recruits, at night, was mentioned again. So was the revenge of those who had managed to escape by bribing the recruiters, as was the complaint addressed to the Romanian bishop against this abuse. Similarly, in 1762, Romanian recruits were caught at night but escaped by bribing the officials sent after them.⁷⁶ A similar mention was made by the German publicist Friedrich Wilhelm August Murhard (1778-1853) who, travelling from Sibiu to Bucharest in 1799, was outraged by the barbaric methods with which the Romanians, the nation that was deprived of most rights, were caught for the army. The officials and their men barged into their homes at night, caught them and tied them up like slaves, the author stating that he had seen several convoys of recruits, bound two by two, and if anyone attempted to flee, their hands were tied too. Not once were there bloody clashes or even violent deaths

⁶⁹ *Catalogul documentelor românești din Arhivele Statului de la orașul Stalin*, București, Direcția Arhivelor Statului, 1955, vol. I, p. 480.

⁷⁰ Ilarion Pușcariu, *Documente pentru limbă și istorie*, tome I, Sibiu, 1889, pp. 155-156.

⁷¹ *Catalogul documentelor românești ...*, pp. 539-540.

⁷² *Ibidem*, p. 550.

⁷³ *Ibidem*, p. 582.

⁷⁴ "Auszug aus Annales Czeidinenses (1597-1840)," in *Chroniken und Tagebücher*, vol. II, Brașov, 1909, p. 400.

⁷⁵ Joseph Teutsch, "Nachlese zu den kurzgefassten Jahrgeschichten von Ungarn und Siebenbürgen," in *Chroniken und Tagebücher*, vol. I, Brașov, Zeidner, 1904, p. 474.

⁷⁶ Joseph Teutsch, *Historische Zugabe [1467-1770]*, in *Chroniken und Tagebücher*, vol. I, Brasov, 1904, p. 352.

among the officials, for the Romanians defended themselves with whatever was at hand. Their fate seemed to Murhard to be similar to that of the slaves sold to the Europeans by the Kings of Guinea. Therefore, they fled in large groups to Wallachia or took refuge in the mountains for a few months, whenever they heard that new recruitments would be made. In Europe it was known that English sailors used to be caught by violence, but the author assured us that the barbarism of these illegal means exceeded all limits in Transylvania and in some parts of Hungary.⁷⁷ On one such nocturnal undertaking against some Romanians who had escaped from recruitment, in around 1795, the future Mayor of Sibiu, Martin Hochmeister (the son of the first editor and printer in the city, having the same name), who was just a petty clerk at the time, had the little finger of his right hand crippled forever.⁷⁸ Even Barițiu spoke of the difficulty involved in the recruitment of soldiers in Transylvania, where, after the middle of the 18th century, it was only with great difficulty and with an advance payment of 10 florins that one could gather by voluntary recruitment “one thousand or two of lads from the most wretched population.” Barițiu bemoaned the barbarous method of “capturing [them] with the rope and with the village dogs,” a method that was dropped gradually from 1830 to 1847.⁷⁹

In the Diet of January 1847 there were heated discussions around the proposal to abolish the exemption of the nobility from regular military service, but the nobles, who represented the majority in the Diet, only accepted a reduction of military service to 8 years and other facilities for the soldiers. The nobility also demanded that the recruits from Transylvania should serve only in the Transylvanian regiments.⁸⁰

A standardization of the army in all the Austrian provinces occurred only after the defeats from the wars of 1859 and 1866, which were followed by an era of peace, necessary for more thorough reforms. The expression of this standardization was the introduction of compulsory military service in 1866.

In conclusion, the evolution of recruitment systems in the period examined here was determined by the frequent wars Austria waged in order to become a major power in Europe. The system of recruiting paid soldiers from outside the Austrian provinces became too expensive, so recourse to paid soldiers from among their own subjects was increasingly made. In the mid-18th century, the Austrian Army comprised, broadly speaking, paid soldiers, recruited voluntarily, from both Austrian and the neighbouring territories (the Holy Roman Empire was preferred for the recruitment of soldiers, but not only) and, to a lesser extent, soldiers recruited by force at the suggestion of the local authorities, as these authorities wanted to get rid of

⁷⁷ Friedrich Murhard, “Bruchstücke aus dem Tagebuche einer Reise von Hermannstadt nach Buckarest im Jahr 1799,” in: *Der Genius der neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Altona, 1802, pp. 205-206. Recruitment by violence was frequently encountered in Prussia, but also in the entire space of the Roman-German Empire, where many were armies made recruitments, including the Austrian Army.

⁷⁸ See Adolf von Hochmeister, *Leben und Wirken des Martin Edler von Hochmeister 1767-1837*, Sibiu, 1873, pp. 67-68.

⁷⁹ Barițiu, *op. cit.*, p. 377.

⁸⁰ Friedrich Teutsch, *op. cit.*, vol. III, 1816-1868, *Von den Zeit der Regulationen bis zur Einführung des Dualismus*, Sibiu, 1910, pp. 148-150. See also *Gesetz-Artikel des Siebenbürgischen Landtages vom Jahre 1847*, [1847], pp. 41-42.

subjects deemed to be expendable or undesirable. After Maria Theresa took the throne, what was necessary was a more efficient recruitment system, which could furnish more numerous and cheaper soldiers, in order to cope with the pressure of the wars to which Austria had been challenged by Prussia, and then in the context of the many wars with the French. From 1770 to 1780, conscription was introduced, inspired by a similar Prussian system. Based on the principle of compulsory military service, but accepting the exemption of the privileged social classes and entire provinces (including the Great Principality of Transylvania), the conscription system was applied in parallel with the other models of recruitment. Functioning more or less efficiently, these recruitment systems provided the army, which was permanently on a war footing, with new soldiers for the troops that were diminished by the direct consequences of the war, by diseases and serious epidemics and, last but not least, by massive defections, especially in the first part of the 18th century. The exemption of the privileged classes from military service, but also the way in which the state exerted discretionary powers over some of its citizens, considered to be undesirable, reflected a specific conception of the pre-modern era, overcome gradually only in the late 19th century, when compulsory military service became generalized.

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SOME PAINTINGS FROM THE COLLECTION OF THE BRUKENTHAL NATIONAL MUSEUM OF SIBIU AND THEIR RELATION WITH TWO HABSBURG CORONATION MEDALS

Abstract: In the 18th c., the imperial portrait was an important instrument of propaganda, not only as painting of different dimensions, but also as a medal. Sometimes imperial medals were Mounted in a necklace, the medals were used also as a sign of an official dignity. Among them, of a particular importance are the coronation medals, because they were conferred to the most appreciated high officials, usually just at the occasion of their presence at the coronation ceremony, but maybe also when they came to Vienna to pay homage to their sovereign. Aiming not only to express loyalty towards the Imperial and Royal House in the most obvious way, but also as a sign of the highest favour, they were sometimes depicted in the portraits of the representatives of the Transylvanian elites. To be remembered by their fellow citizens for their loyalty towards the Crown, the heads of the Transylvanian Saxon delegations sent to Vienna to pay homage to the new monarchs used to order portraits d'apparat, whose inscriptions mention these events, as well as the names of the donors.

Keywords: coronation medals, Charles VI, Maria Theresia, Andreas Teutsch, Simon von Baußnern.

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Among the 18th century German, Austrian and Transylvanian portraits from the collection of the Brukenthal National Museum of Sibiu there are some which have a closer connection with the Habsburg medals either of iconographic nature or (more rarely) because such medals were depicted on them. These connections are not hazardous, because of the importance of the medals as propaganda instruments (especially if they were issued for the coronation), but also of their representative function for the provincial officials to whom imperial medals were given. Being a witness of the coronation or taking part to a provincial delegation sent to pay homage to sovereign were memorable events and also occasions to express loyalty, to be envied by the other inhabitants of the province and to be remembered for a long time, if the participant will bring home some impressive souvenirs of this events, like imperial medals or portraits.

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The coronation medal of Emperor Charles VI as King of Hungary and the portrait of Dr. med. Andreas Teutsch, Sheriff of the Transylvanian Saxons, by an anonymous Transylvanian painter from the 18th century.

Dr. med. Andreas Teutsch (1669 – 1730), the son of a goldsmith of the same name from Sighișoara / Schässburg studied Medicine, Law, Theology and Philosophy in Wittenberg (since 1688), Utrecht and Jena (1693). After his return to Transylvania, he became City Physician of Sibiu and Pharmacist, Notary and Mayor of the same city (1704-1711), Royal Judge of the city of Sibiu and Sheriff of the Transylvanian Saxons (1710-1730). He is known as the author of some verses with theological subject, but also as a lover and supporter of the sciences³. The Art Gallery of the Brukenthal National Museum of Sibiu keeps his portrait by an 18th century Transylvanian anonymous painter (oil on canvas, 118,5 x 82,5 cm; inv. 1320), donated by Prof. Dr. Fritz Süßmann, earlier than the nationalization of the museum in 1948. From Andreas Teutsch the History Museum „The Altemberger House”, a section of the Brukenthal National Museum also preserves a sheriff banner dated 1711 (M 5232/10100, **Fig. 4a-b, 5**)⁴. Influenced by the ideas of the Enlightenment, Andreas Teutsch was involved in fighting the belief in sorcery and stopped the trials for sorcery⁵.

The man is rendered in a three quarters portrait, in an interior side of a table. His body is turned slightly to the left and his head to the right, his eyebrows are well drawn, his nose is big, his beard and his moustache are grey. He is wearing a dolman of dark colour, fastened with silver studs on silver ribbons and also silver braids, a dark cassock with red cuffs and silver buttons, fastened with a wide red belt, reminding of that which is worn by Catholic and Orthodox archpriests and bishops. With his slightly bent left hand, the character grasps the tasselled braids of his dolman while his right hand rests on a book which lies on a table covered with a golden cloth, symbolizing both the priestly career and a life according to the biblical precepts (**Fig. 1**). To the left of the composition, on the table cloth, there is a partially legible cursive inscription in black letters: *Psalm CXIX v.24.31* (**Fig. 2a**). The two verses, which summarize a wider excerpt⁶, relate to the importance of the biblical message which accepted by the believer as guide for his life is also a promise of salvation: „Thy testimonies also are my delight and my counsellors. My soul cleaveth unto the dust: quicken thou me according to thy word. I have declared my ways, and thou heardest me: teach me thy statutes. Make me to understand the way of thy precepts: so shall I talk of thy wondrous works. My soul melteth for heaviness: strengthen thou me

³ Johann Seivert, *Die Grafen der Sächsischen Nation, und Hermannstädtischen Königsrichter im Großfürstenthume Siebenbürgen*, in *Ungrisches Magazin* (Preßburg), 23 (1783), 3-4, p. 425-426; cf. Arnold Huttmann, *Medizin im alten Siebenbürgen. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Medizin in Siebenbürgen*, Sibiu, 2000, p. 73.

⁴ Arthur Arz Straussenburg, *Alte Fahne*, in *Mitteilungen aus dem Baron Brukenthalischen Museum* (Hermannstadt) 9-10, 1944, p. 9; Mariana Daneş, Olga Beşliu, *Steaguri din colecția Muzeului de Istorie din Sibiu*, Sibiu, 2007, p. 18sq.; Anca Nițoi, *O cetate asediată. Apărarea Sibiului în perioada medievală și modernă. Arsenalul și camera de arme*, Sibiu, 2013, p. 84sq.

⁵ Seivert, *Die Grafen der Sächsischen Nation*, p. 426; Huttmann, *Medizin im alten Siebenbürgen*, p. 73.

⁶ *Psalms*, 119:24-31.

according unto thy word. Remove from me the way of lying: and grant me thy law graciously. I have chosen the way of truth: thy judgments have I laid before me. I have stuck unto thy testimonies: O Lord, put me not to shame.”

On the wall behind the character, to the left, there is the cipher of Emperor Charles VI (an Earth globe surrounded by clouds, surmounted by the initials C / VI having above them the crown of Emperor Charles V, currently the crown of Spain), on whose ribbon the motto of his reign is inscribed (*Constantia et Fortitudine*, i.e. „Constancy and valour”) (Fig. 2b). To right, there is a wooden icon, on which are depicted, in two oval medallions, the scenes of the Crucifixion (left) and of the Resurrection (right), with inscriptions in Greek, Latin and German: above the medallions, *A. Ω. / CHRISTVS OMNIA / v. 19 Gal II v. 20*, and below them [*v.*] *2 Tim v. 24* (Fig. 2c). Each of the verses of this excerpt corresponds to one of the medallions, and the quotation from the biblical book lies in the middle. Below the icon, is depicted the coat of arms of the rendered character (Fig. 2d), which can be seen also on his sheriff banner (Fig. 5): an oval shield in Gules, topped by an Argent helmet with Or bars, wearing an Or coronet and mantled in Or doubled Azure, respectively in Argent doubled Gules, having as charges an Or star to which is staring an Or lion with forked tail, outgoing from an Or royal crown and strangled by an Azure snake, coiled twice around its neck and which also stares to the star. Around the coat of arms a decorative golden chain is displayed in the shape of a *pelta*. Above the coat of arms, on both sides of a golden star with 6 rays flanked each side by blue wings, as *pars pro toto* for the 10 eagle wings which adorned his helmet on the coat of arms described by Johann Seivert⁷, there is an inscription in golden letters: *Að. MDCCXXV -Aet. L.VI*. Below the coat of arms there is another inscription, also in golden letters: *Ob: Að. MDCCXXX M: Aug. /Aet. LXI*. Both inscriptions refer therefore to the age of the sheriff: he was 56 in 1725 (the one above his coat of arms) and 61, at his death in August 1730 (below his coat of arms), which occurred more precisely on 18th of the month, as mentioned by Johann Seivert⁸. These specifications allow for an approximate dating of the work (1725), the inscription bearing the date of the sheriff’s death being added in 1730. The family of Andreas Teutsch was not known earlier as a noble or at least as an armiger one, so it seems more likely that the barred helmet on his coat of arms should rather be in connection with the knighting of this official, detail also given by J. Seivert, who mentioned that the character enjoyed the favour of the emperor⁹, than to his doctoral degree, because the heraldic use of the barred helmet was restricted by the imperial chancellery of Vienna only to the nobility and to certain doctors in law or theology, while the frog mouth helm (jousting helm) was freely adopted by everyone¹⁰.

The choice of the both excerpts quoted on the icon is not accidental: they refer to the Christian faith, which for Andreas Teutsch was the base of his life, but also to the sense he attributed to his own life in the divine plan of salvation. The first

⁷ Seivert, *Die Grafen der Sächsischen Nation*, p. 427.

⁸ Seivert, *op. cit.*, p. 426.

⁹ Seivert, *op. cit.*, p. 426.

¹⁰ Ottfried Neubecker, *Heraldry: Sources, Symbols and Meaning*, Maidenhead, 1976, p. 148 and 162.

excerpt¹¹ refers to the martyrdom as an assumption of the model of Christ, as a guarantee of the salvation: „For I through the law am dead to the law, that I might live unto God. I am crucified with Christ; nevertheless I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me: and the life I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me, and gave himself for me.” The second excerpt¹² is referring to the conduct which the Christian priest should have towards his neighbours and, more broadly, any Christian official or any Christian, as servant of God: „And the servant of the Lord must not strive; but be gentle unto all men, apt to teach, patient”. The quoted excerpt shows that Andreas Teutsch considered the priestly career he had initially followed to be more important than the medical or official career, which both are actually only different ways of fulfilling the mission of a priest, i.e. of an intermediary between the community to which he also belongs, and God. Under the inscription which quotes these two excerpts from the New Testament, there are the following two texts, each of them corresponding to one of the both medallions: *Wo wir mit / Sterben și So werden wir / Leben*. They affirm the importance of the faith in Jesus Christ and of the assumption of his message for the salvation of the mortals.

The vignette with the imperial cipher with the Earth globe surrounded by clouds is taken from the obverse of a silver medal (diameter 48,8 mm, 3,1 mm thick, weight 44,18 g), of which a copy (of very good condition, with some scratches) exists in the numismatic collection of the Brukenthal National Museum (inv. T 1285/3484), issued on the occasion of the coronation of Emperor Charles VI as King of Hungary (May 22, 1712). Obviously, the medal alludes to his aspiration to imitate Carolus Quintus, even in what concerns the interest in maritime trade and colonial expansion, by conceding in 1722 privileges to a commercial company based in Ostende (*Keizerlijke Oostendse Compagnie*), which had factories in India, on the Coromandel coast, causing thus the dissatisfaction of his British, Dutch and Portuguese allies in the war of the Spanish succession, who asked for the ceasing of its activity (1732), as a provision of the peace treaty of Vienna (1731)¹³, in exchange for the recognition of the Pragmatic Sanction of 1713¹⁴. On the obverse of the medal (**Fig. 3a**) a Globe is depicted, on which one can recognize the Oriental coasts both North and South America, the Northern coast of the Mediterranean Sea (without Italy and Greece) and, separated from it by an exaggerated wide Strait of Gibraltar, Africa (much reduced in size and badly drawn, vaguely resembling the Arabian Peninsula depicting only the northern and north-western coasts of the continent and disconnected of it, as islands, portions of its southern and south-eastern coasts), the islands of Madagascar and Ceylon located too close to each other, the Eastern coast of the Persian Gulf very far from the African coast and continued by the coasts of India (affected by exaggerating the size of the Bay of Bengal), the island of Java and a portion of the Eastern coast of Indochina, continued with a portion of the south-eastern coast of the South China Sea

¹¹ *Galatians*, 2:19-20.

¹² 2 *Timothy*, 24.

¹³ Brigitte Vacha (ed.), *Die Habsburger. Eine europäische Familiengeschichte*, Graz – Wien – Köln, 1992, p. 268.

¹⁴ Edward Crankshaw, *Maria Theresa*, London, 1969, p. 24.

and at the southern extremity, the alleged *Terra Australis Incognita*. The Earth is surrounded by clouds and the imperial motto is inscribed all around, but the order of its fundamental values is reversed, like on the portrait of Sheriff Andreas Teutsch: CONSTANTIA ET FORTITVDINE. Below, the imperial monogram (C) is surrounded by seven crowns, of which only the crown of the Holy Roman Empire and the dynastic crown of Rudolf II, which became later the imperial crown of Austria, can be recognized. The legend NON OCCIDIT VSQVAM CIRCVMFVSO PENDEBAT IN AERE OVID(ii) MET(amorphoses) is, in fact, a fragment of a verse by the Roman poet Publius Ovidius Naso („*non occidit usquam circumfuso pendebat in aere tellus*”)¹⁵. Its meaning, i.e. „it does not fall anywhere, it hangs in the surrounding air” is that the majesty and the power of the emperor is unmatched, it is above everyone and everything, secure, unchallenged, as the Earth floats without falling through the surrounding air, i.e. the cosmic void. On the reverse (**Fig. 3b**) of this medal the emperor is depicted riding to left, crowned and waving his sabre, on „The Coronation Hill” (*Monticulus Regis, Krönungshügel, Koronázási Domb*) from Posenium, i.e. Pozsony / Preßburg / Bratislava, at that time the capital of Hungary (since 1541 till 1784). The legend expresses the idea that the emperor, who is the third named Carolus in the series of the kings of Hungary and of Spain, will be in fact the second (of course, in terms of his historical importance), because his model, Emperor Charles V, was crowned as King of Spain as Carlos I and because the first King of Hungary named Carolus (Károly) was Charles Robert of Anjou (1312-1342), seen as an incarnation of the archetypal model of a knight, although together with Bohemia and Poland he managed to oppose the House of Habsburg, but failed in his attempt to realise a personal union of the kingdoms of Hungary, Croatia and Naples: HVNG(ariae) ET HISP(aniae) REX CAROLE TERTIVS AVDIS HVNG(ariae) ET HISP(aniae) CREDO SECVNDVS ERIS – CORONAT(io) IN REG(no) HVNG(ariae) POSONII 1712 (i.e. „Listen, Charles, you will be the third [King] of Hungary and of Spain – the coronation in the Kingdom of Hungary in Bratislava 1712”). The exergue is also inspired by an excerpt from the same work of the mentioned ancient poet („... *invictumque a vulnere erat ferrumque terebat. / hoc ipse Aeacides, hoc mirabantur Archivi*”)¹⁶, but which is modified, to present the emperor as a descendant of Achilles, the grandson of Aeacus and to express, thus, the idea of keeping the peace and the integrity of the realm by the force of arms, according to his coronation oath: FERRVMQVE TENEBAT HOC / IPSE ÆACIDES / OVID(ii) MET(amorphoses), i.e. „And the Aeacide himself held this iron. The Metamorphoses of Ovidius”.

The presence of the imperial cipher and of the vignette inspired by the obverse of the coronation medal of Emperor Charles VI as King of Hungary on the portrait of Sheriff Andreas Teutsch is obviously an expression of his loyalty to the sovereign, but could have a deeper meaning too. As the inscription (**Fig. 7**) on a portrait of the emperor by an anonymous German painter kept in the collection of the Brukenthal National Museum (oil on canvas, 247 x 155 cm, inv. 1361) shows (**Fig. 6**), the

¹⁵ Ovidius, *Metamorphoses*, I, 12.

¹⁶ Ovidius, *Metamorphoses*, XII, 167-168.

inhabitants of the city of Sibiu and the Transylvanian Saxon nation paid homage to the new King of Hungary and Prince of Transylvania only later, on January 4, 1713, by a delegation led by Johann Hossman von Rothenfels, Mayor of the city of Sibiu (1711-1716), who also commissioned the mentioned painting¹⁷. Thus, it is hard to say whether Andreas Teutsch, who already held the position of a Sheriff of the Transylvanian Saxons when Charles VI was crowned as King of Hungary, was personally leading a delegation of his people to witness this event, thus also having the opportunity to receive a coronation medal, as a Transylvanian high dignitary. A similar expression of loyalty to the House of Habsburg, as well of gratitude for the privileges conferred by Emperor Charles VI to the elites of the Transylvanian Saxons can be seen even much later, in the portrait (**Fig. 8**) of the Royal Vice-Steward (*königlicher Vicetruchsess / Vicedapifer*) Samuel von Baußnern (1713-1780), Royal Judge of the city of Sibiu and Sheriff of the Transylvanian Saxons (1768-1774)¹⁸. This portrait (oil on canvas, 91 x 74.5 cm, inv. 1322) by an anonymous Transylvanian artist, dated 1780, also belongs to the collection of the Brukenthal National Museum. The character is rendered during the last year of his life, after his retirement in 1774, receiving as income only 50% of his salary and severely marked by gout, which had been tormenting him for a long time¹⁹. He is wearing a necklace with an oval gold medal (**Fig. 9b**) with the effigy of the emperor and the legend CAR(olus) VI D(ei) G(ratia) ROM(anorum) IMPER(ator), mounted in a silver frame decorated with filigree and jewels, surmounted by the crown of Austria (**Fig. 9a**). However, the necklace with medal was a family heirloom, being maybe the badge of the office of a hereditary Royal Vice-Steward, because it is known that Simon von Baußnern (1677-1742), the father of Samuel von Baußnern, received this necklace (as stated by Johann Seivert) from Chamber Counsellor Dietrich on July 18, 1731, so just a few days after, being already elected Sheriff of the Transylvanian Saxons (as successor of Andreas Teutsch) on August 24, 1731 and confirmed by the king on 11 December 1732, he was installed in his office only on July 10, 1731²⁰. Doubtless, Simon Baußner von Baußnern, the son of the Lutheran Bishop Bartholomäus Baußner (1629-1682)²¹ is also the first holder of a noble title (with the rank of a hereditary knighthood) in his family and became also the hereditary office of a royal vice-steward. Like Andreas Teutsch, the mentioned Bishop Bartholomäus Baußner was a physician himself, according to a model of public career which became traditional for the Transylvanian Saxon elite, including the study of Theology, Medicine and Law

¹⁷ Alexandru Gh. Sonoc (coord.), *Efigii imperiale habsburgice din Sibiu*, Sibiu, 2011, p. 20-22, nr. cat. 5.1, fig. 5.1.

¹⁸ Recently (Alexandru Gh. Sonoc, *Some portraits of physicians and pharmacists in the collection of the Brukenthal National Museum*, in Brukenthal. Acta Musei, 9/2, 2014, p. 414sq.) I stated erroneously that the character rendered in this portrait was Samuel von Baußnern (1713-1780), whose portrait is also kept in the collection of the Brukenthal National Museum (oil on canvas, 91 x 74.5 cm, dated 1780; inv. 1321), as this son of Simon von Baußnern was as well a Royal Judge of the city of Sibiu and Sheriff of the Transylvanian Saxons (1768-1774) and a hereditary Royal Vice-Steward.

¹⁹ Seivert, *op. cit.*, p. 432.

²⁰ Seivert, *op. cit.*, p. 428.

²¹ Seivert, *op. cit.*, p. 428.

and supposing piety, charity and justice, as well as civic responsibility and loyalty to the sovereign. Unlike Simon Baußner von Baußnern, his predecessor Andreas Teutsch seems to have been knighted only in the personal (non-hereditary) nobility, considering the lack of a noble title. Judging from the information provided by his sheriff banner²², this happened most likely on the occasion of his confirmation as Sheriff of the Transylvanian Saxons, on November 26, 1710 (thus by Emperor Joseph I, dead on April 17, 1711, but mentioned on the obverse of the banner) than on the installation in his office, on September 3, 1711 (by Charles VI, whose reign officially began on October 12, 1711). So, in the situation of Andreas Teutsch, the imperial cipher seems to allude most likely to the favours Emperor Charles VI bestowed on him, mentioned also by Johann Seivert²³, than to this change of his social status.

Like his fellows working in Transylvania in the 18th century, the anonymous author of the portrait of Andreas Teutsch proves to be responsive to the trends of the Austrian Baroque portraiture, which emphasizes the decorative details. The stylistic and chromatic analogies of this portrait with another one, also painted in 1725, from the collection of the same museum, *The Woman with Jasmine Flower* (oil on canvas, 93,5 x 71,5 cm, inv. 1318), bought on June 7, 1934 from Julie von Fiedler and actually rendering Anna Czekelius von Rosenfeld born Geisel, justify the conclusion that they are works of the same anonymous artist²⁴.

The coronation medal of Archduchess Maria Theresia of Austria as Queen of Hungary and her coronation portrait by Johann Baptist Canton.

Another painting (**Fig. 10**) from the collection of the Brukenthal National Museum, *Maria Theresia Crowned Queen of Hungary* by Johann Baptist Canton (oil on canvas, 52 x 39 cm; inv. 742; signed and dated left below)²⁵, is related to the coronation of Charles VI's daughter, Archduchess Maria Theresia of Austria, as Queen of Hungary (June 25, 1741), also on the Coronation Hill from Bratislava. For this ceremony, it was used to erect on this hill a small barrow made of earth brought from every country of the kingdom²⁶, including Transylvania too, as a symbol of the sovereign's rule over the whole realm. Left below, in the back, can be seen the Castle from Bratislava (*Bratislavský hrad*), as well as a chain of far mountains, belonging

²² Arz Straussenburg, *Alte Fahne*, p. 9; Daneş, Beşliu, *Steaguri din colecția Muzeului de Istorie din Sibiu*, p. 18-19; Nițoi, *O cetate asediată*, p. 84-85.

²³ Seivert, *op. cit.*, p. 426.

²⁴ Elena Popescu, *Interferențe stilistice europene în pictura transilvăneană*, in: Porumb Marius, Chiriac Aurel (coord.), *Artă românească, artă europeană. Centenar Virgil Vătășianu*. Oradea, 2002, p. 217.

²⁵ * * *, *Die Gemälde- Galerie des freiherrlichen v. Brukenthalischen Museums in Hermannstadt*, Hermannstadt, 1844, p. 146, nr. cat. 424; * * *, *Freiherr Samuel von Brukenthal'sches Museum in Hermannstadt: Führer durch die Gemäldegalerie*, 4th ed., Hermannstadt, 1893, p. 52, nr. cat. 136; M. Csaki, *Baron Brukenthal'sches Museum in Hermannstadt. Führer durch die Gemäldegalerie*, 5th ed., Hermannstadt, 1901, p. 202, nr. cat. 720; M. Csaki, *Baron Brukenthalisches Museum in Hermannstadt. Führer durch die Gemäldegalerie*, 6th ed., Hermannstadt, 1909, p. 224, nr. cat. 742; Valentin Mureșan, *Portrete de Martin Meytens la Muzeul Brukenthal*, in *Revista Muzeelor* 8, 1977, p. 59, fig. 5; Valentin Mureșan, *Portrete ale împărătesei Maria Theresia*, in: Alexandru Gh. Sonoc (coord.), *op. cit.*, p. 112sq., fig. 3; Sonoc (coord.), *op. cit.*, p. 30, nr. cat. 6.9, fig. 6.9-6.9a.

²⁶ Henry Bogdan, *Histoire des Habsbourg. Des origines à nos jours*, Paris, 2005, p. 222.

obviously to the Little Carpathians (*Malé Karpaty*), whose range begins in the territory of this city. The queen (whose characteristic features allow to identify her, even the physiognomy is quite swiftly treated) is rendered in ceremonial dress and red lined mantle, with a red scabbard hanging at her belt, wearing on her head the Holy Crown of King Stephen I the Saint of Hungary, waving the royal sword and riding to left, on a black prancing horse, whose mane and tail are adorned with white and golden ribbons. In this context, it seems very important to remember that, actually, she was crowned as King of Hungary and not as Queen²⁷, although in the official documents, as well as on various coins and medals she is usually mentioned as a queen (*Regina*) and is also remembered as such in the collective mental. This can be explained by the fact that the Hungarian Diet, which recognized in 1723 the Pragmatic Sanction of 1713 in exchange for the reconfirmation of its rights, wanted to express its power and self-conscience, as well as the importance of the Hungarian Kingdom in the Empire²⁸. The statuary rendering of the riding queen on the top of the Coronation Hill, contrasting with the small dimensions of the far castle and of the mountains and with a symbolic morning sky with grey-reddish clouds as background is looking majestically²⁹, but somewhat static³⁰. However, riding with her both legs on the same side of the horse, i.e. the single way which till mid-19th century was seen as appropriate for a noble woman, and as consequence without the possibility of using the stirrups, the queen would be unsure on a prancing horse, having less stability³¹.

According to the handwritten catalogue of the paintings collection of Baron Samuel von Brukenthal (ca. 1800), kept in the Library of the Brukenthal National Museum (ms. 628), the work was bought as made by Martin van Meytens the Younger in co-operation with Christian Hülfgott Brand. However, in the Gallery guide printed in 1844 it was attributed only to Martin van Meytens the Younger. In the Gallery guide from 1893 the painting is mentioned as the work of an unknown painter of the school of Martin van Meytens the Younger. It was attributed again to Martin van Meytens the Younger himself in the Gallery guides published by Michael Csaki in 1901 and 1909, where the painting is mentioned as a small version of the big, almost identical portrait which at that time belonged to the collection of Count Batthyány in Budapest. Actually, the painting by Martin van Meytens the Younger from Budapest (oil on canvas, 45 x 33 cm), now in the Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, inv. 61) renders Maria Theresia facing the onlooker³², not riding to left, on a prancing horse, like in the painting from the collection of the Brukenthal National Museum. Valentin Mureșan, who mentioned the existence of another small version or copy of the work from Budapest in the Schönbrunn Palace in Vienna³³, believed that the

²⁷ Agnes Husslein-Arco, Georg Lechner (ed.), *Martin van Meytens der Jüngere*, Wien, 2014, p. 46.

²⁸ Husslein-Arco, Lechner (ed.), *Martin van Meytens der Jüngere*, p. 49.

²⁹ Mureșan, *Portrete ale împărătesei Maria Theresia*, p. 112.

³⁰ Mureșan, *Portrete de Martin Meytens la Muzeul Brukenthal*, p. 59.

³¹ Mureșan, *Portrete ale împărătesei Maria Theresia*, p. 113.

³² Husslein-Arco, Lechner (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 46-49, cat. nr. 12.

³³ Mureșan, *op. cit.*, p. 112, n. 11.

landscape in the background (which differs in the painting from Budapest) could have been due to Christian Hülfgott Brand. The mentioned researcher believed also that for the horse the author asked for the co-operation of Johann Georg Hamilton (1672-1737), painter of the Court, specialised in depicting the horses, game and dogs, as well as other wild and house animals³⁴. He did not exclude the possibility that the work is a good and true copy of the painting in Budapest nor that Martin van Meytens the Younger painted only the figure and the body of the queen³⁵.

The painting was restored in 1897 and newly in 2011, by Ilie Mitrea, who remarked that the painting was initially even smaller than now and that its dimensions increased by painting a perimetral surface. He communicated to Alexandru Gh. Sonoc that during the cleaning of the rock which lays at the feet of the queen's horse was found the signature of the painter and the date: *Joh(ann) Ba(ptist) Canton F(ecit) / A(nn)º 1741*. (Fig. 11). However, the restoration was not finished yet when the book about the Habsburg portraits from Sibiu³⁶ was published, so only later the year could be correctly read, as 1741 and not 1771, how it was read by Alexandru Gh. Sonoc on a worse quality picture taken during the conservation of the painting³⁷. Considering the quality of the painting and its small dimensions, would be difficult to believe that Christian Hülfgott Brand (1694-1756) and Johann Georg von Hamilton (1672-1737), two quite famous Viennese painters of that age co-operated with a painter documented only through this new discovered signature, in order to realise a copy after a work of Martin van Meytens the Younger (1695-1770), the imperial portraitist. Most likely, the painting from the collection of the Brukenthal National Museum is due only to Johann Baptist Canton. We could assume that Johann Baptist Canton could have been a nephew or even a son of the Viennese battle scenes and landscapes painter Franz Thomas Canton (1671-1734), whose life and work is still less known³⁸. Johann Baptist Canton may have studied and worked at least with his relative, if not later also at the Art Academy of Vienna. In this way he could become acquainted with the works and the style of some important Viennese painters like them whose influence was noticed by Valentin Mureşan. Perhaps Johann Baptist Canton died prematurely, before he could be better known through his works. Until now he is not known from the archival evidences, in difference to another genre and battle scenes painter, Johann Gabriel Canton (1710-1753), who was a son of Franz Thomas Canton and who occasionally collaborated with Martin van Meytens the Younger, Meytens the Younger, making staffages for him³⁹. This co-operation between Johann Gabriel Canton and Martin van Meytens the Younger could be a clue for the possibility that

³⁴ Mureşan, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

³⁵ Mureşan, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

³⁶ Sonoc, *op. cit.*

³⁷ Sonoc, *op. cit.*, p. 30, nr. cat. 6.9, fig. 6.9-6.9a.

³⁸ * * *, *Bryan's Dictionary of Painters and Engravers*, new edition revised and enlarged under the supervision of George C. Williamson, vol. I, London, 1903, p. 245; Ulrich Thieme, *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, vol. V, Leipzig, 1911, p. 527; cf. Mureşan 1979, p. 132sq.; Mureşan 2007, p. 59.

³⁹ * * *, *Bryan's Dictionary*, vol. I, p. 245; Thieme, *Allgemeines Lexikon*, p. 528.

Johann Baptist Canton could have seen the equestrian portrait of Maria Theresia in the workshop of the imperial portraitist or even that he worked in his workshop.

The rendering of Maria Theresia in this painting recalls her coronation medal (**Fig. 13 a-b**), made of silver (diameter 44 mm, 2,4 mm thick, weight 35,13 g). The obverse (**Fig. 13a**), which shows her bust to right, bears the signature of Mathias Donner, a Viennese engraver and medallist, inscribed just below the bust: M(atthäus) DONNER F(ecit). The legend of the obverse says: MARIA THERESIA AUGUSTA. The reverse (**Fig. 13b**) shows the crowned queen, riding to left and waving the royal sword, on the Coronation Hill from Bratislava. In the background are depicted churches from the city and the castle. On the ground, near the back right leg of the horse, there are the ligated initials of the medallist (M. D.). The legend of the reverse is: APOSTOLICI REGNI – HONORIFICENTIA, i.e. „The honour of the Apostolic Kingdom”. In exergue is written: UNCTIO REGIA POSON(ii) / XXV IUN(ii) MDCCXLI, i.e. „The royal anointing in Bratislava, 25th of June, 1741”. One medal of this type (in very good condition, with some scratches) is kept in the numismatic collection of the Brukenthal National Museum (inv. T 1285/3485).

Matthäus Donner (1704-1756) studied with his elder brother, the sculptor Georg Raphael Donner (1693-1741), than at the Art Academy of Vienna (since 1726). In 1729-1731 he accomplished there his studies with the Swedish coin engraver Bengt (Benedikt) Richter (1670-1735), with whom he co-operated in 1731 for the Deserve Medal of the Academy (obverse by Benedikt Richter, reverse by Matthäus Donner, engraving by Jeremias Jacob Sedelmayer), which he received in the same year as 2nd prize for Sculpture. In 1732 the 1st prize for Sculpture was granted to him. After many efforts, being concurred mainly by the engraver Antonio Maria de Gennaro (1679-1744), he became professor at the Academy, Director of the Academy of Engraving (1745) and Senior Coin Engraver at the Coinage of Vienna (1749). In all his works the influence of his brother Georg Raphael Donner is obvious, but the forms are rough and strong, due to his experience as medallist. As teacher of a whole generation of artists, Matthäus Donner contributed the most to the popularity of the art of his brother among different social circles.⁴⁰

Obviously, the portrait by Johann Baptist Canton was ordered to show the loyalty of an unknown subject towards the Queen of Hungary and was bought by Baron Samuel von Brukenthal maybe for the same reason, even he owned also several other portraits of Maria Theresia, dating from different periods of her long life, to which after his collection was inherited by the Lutheran High School of Sibiu were added some new ones, acquired with different occasions, not always well known⁴¹. Among the portraits of Maria Theresia from the Art Galleries of the Brukenthal National Museum there is also a work (oil on canvas, 262 x 171 cm; inv.

⁴⁰ For the biography of Mathäus Donner: Ulrich Thieme, *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, vol. IX, Leipzig, 1913, p. 448; cf. L. Forrer, *Biographical Dictionary of Medallists, Coin-, Gem-, and Seal-Engravers, Mint-Masters, &c. Ancient and Modern with References to Their Works B. C. 500 – A. D. 1900*, vol I, London, 1904, p. 607.

⁴¹ Mureşan, *op. cit.*

1402; signed, located and dated on the backside)⁴² by Veith Balthasar Henning (1707-1762), a less known painter and engraver from Nuremberg⁴³ (Fig. 14). According to its votive inscription (**Fig. 15**), this portrait (the single presently known painting by Veith Balthasar Henning) was ordered and brought to Sibiu in October 1742 by the delegation led by Petrus Binder von Sachsenfels, Royal Secret Counsellor and Senator of Sibiu, sent to Vienna to pay homage to the new Queen of Hungary and hereditary Princess of Transylvania. Maria Theresia, whose royal attributes (the Holy Crown of King Stephen I the Saint of Hungary, the sceptre and the orb) lay on a green pillow, is rendered here in a similar dress, but wearing a medallion in which is mounted a miniature portrait of her beloved husband, Emperor Francis I Stephen. He wears the red ribbon of the Order of the Golden Fleece, which he received when, by marrying Maria Theresia (1736), he became a member of the House of Habsburg, which changed its name in Habsburg-Lorraine after his accession to the crown of the Holy Roman Empire (1745). From a certain point of view, this miniature portrait has also a similar function like the necklaces with imperial medals mounted, which were worn as a sign of closeness to the Emperor, but also as the most obvious sign of the imperial favour and reciprocal loyalty. By its legend as well as by Maria Theresia's image, who is rendered riding, crowned and waving the royal sword, the reverse of her coronation medal alludes also to a quite similar and ambivalent relation, that which according to a traditional folkloric view about the sovereignty is established between the sovereign and her country: the Kingdom of Hungary, which gave her the Holy Royal Crown and should be defend by her sword against all its enemies, is honouring her as its sovereign by the coronation medal issued on this occasion.

Conclusions.

Various items from the collection of the Brukenthal National Museum of Sibiu, Romania prove that in the 18th century the imperial portrait was an important instrument of propaganda, not only as painting of different dimensions, but also as a medal. Sometimes imperial medals were mounted in a necklace and used also a sign of an official dignity, like the sign of a hereditary royal vice-steward, granted by Emperor Charles VI to the family Baußner von Baußnern. Of a particular importance are the coronation medals, because they were given to the most appreciated high officials, usually just at the occasion of their presence at the coronation ceremony, but maybe also when they came to Vienna to pay homage to their sovereign. The portrait of Dr. med. Andreas Teutsch, Sheriff of the Transylvanian Saxons and the coronation portrait of Maria Theresia by Johann Baptist Canton (even when inspired by the work of Martin van Meytens the Younger) are good proves that there are some close relations between these paintings and the coronation medals issued for Charles VI and respectively for his daughter Maria Theresia as sovereigns of Hungary. Aiming to express their loyalty towards the Imperial and Royal House in the most obvious way, the Transylvanian elites made use of the medals issued by Charles VI in their

⁴² Mureşan, *op. cit.*, p. 115sq., fig. 7-8; Sonoc, *op. cit.*, p. 31, nr. cat. 6.13, fig. 6.13-6.13a.

⁴³ Hans Vollmer, *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, vol. XVI, Leipzig, 1923, p. 408.

portraits, as a sign of the high favour they enjoyed from the Emperor. To be remembered by their fellow citizens for their loyalty towards the Crown, the heads of the Transylvanian Saxon delegations sent to Vienna to pay homage to the new monarchs used to order *portraits d'apparat*, whose inscriptions mention these events, as well as the names of the donors.

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Fig. 1.

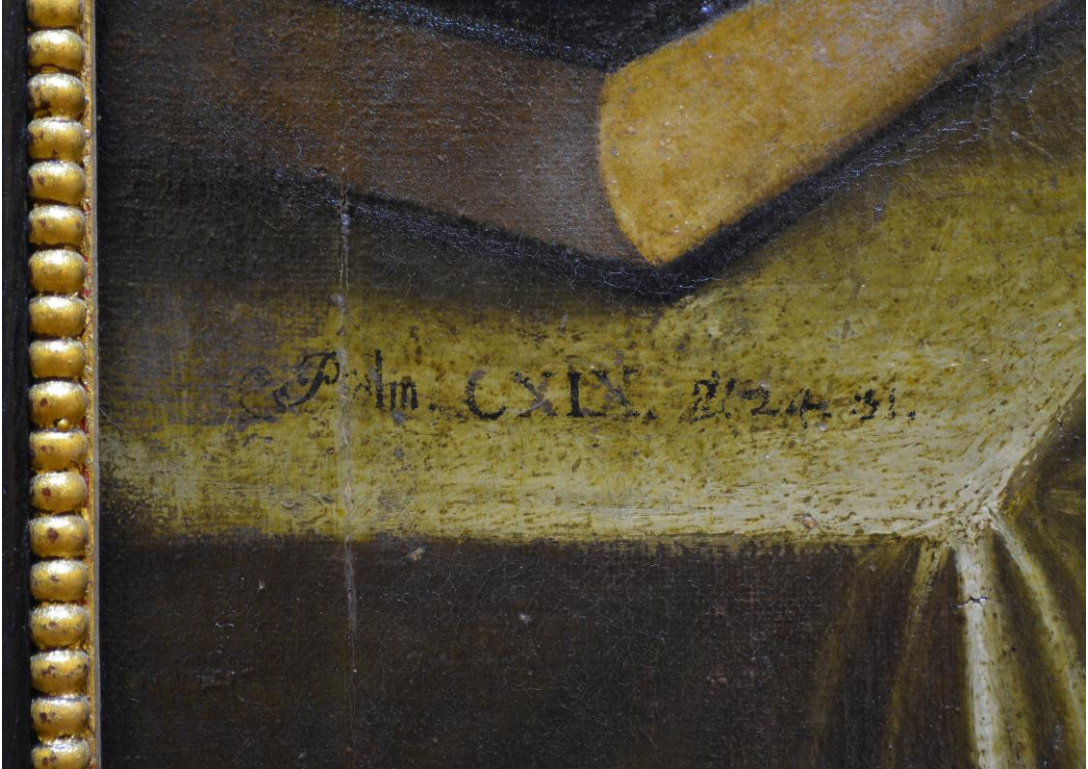


Fig. 2a.

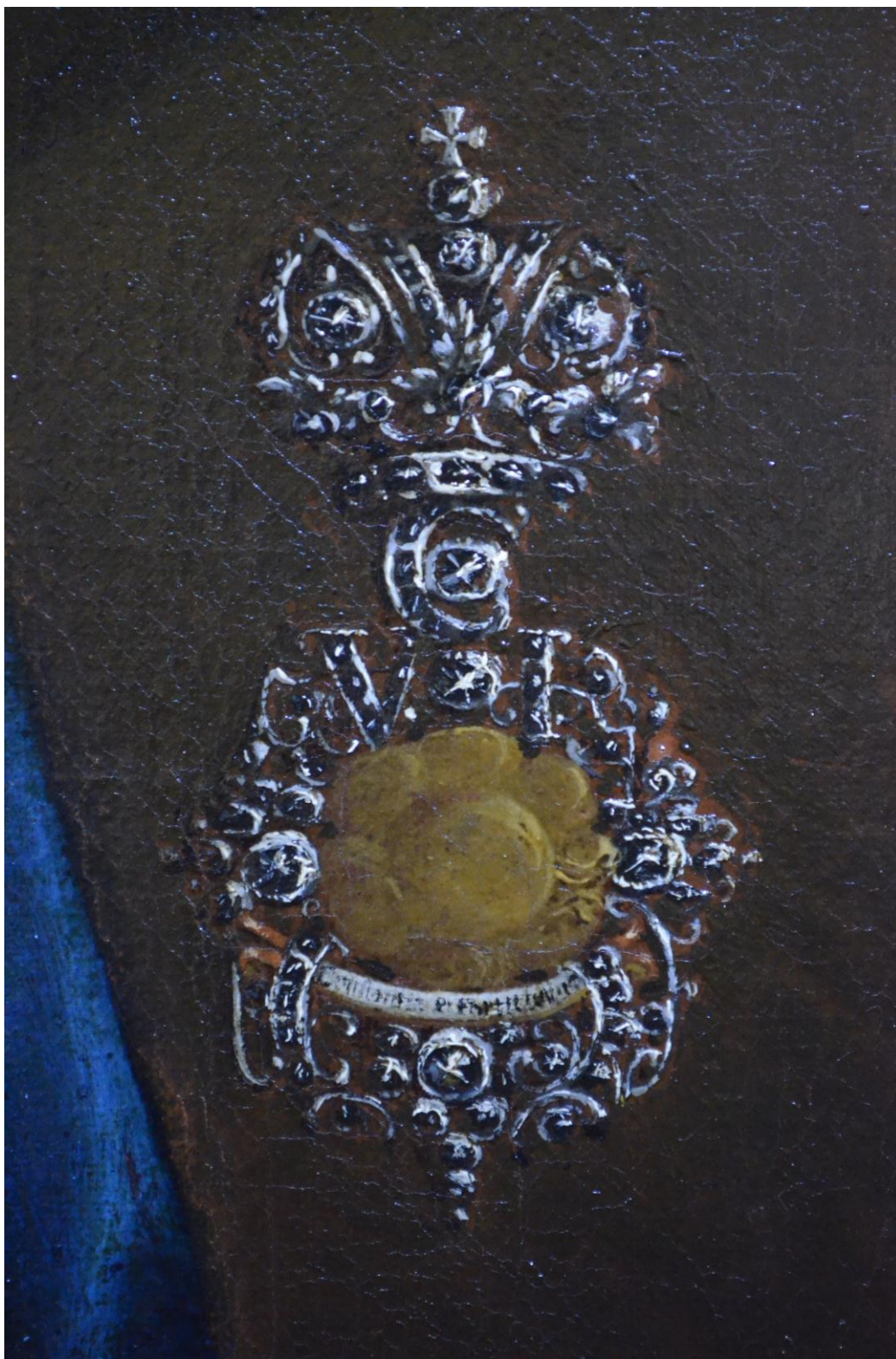


Fig. 2b.

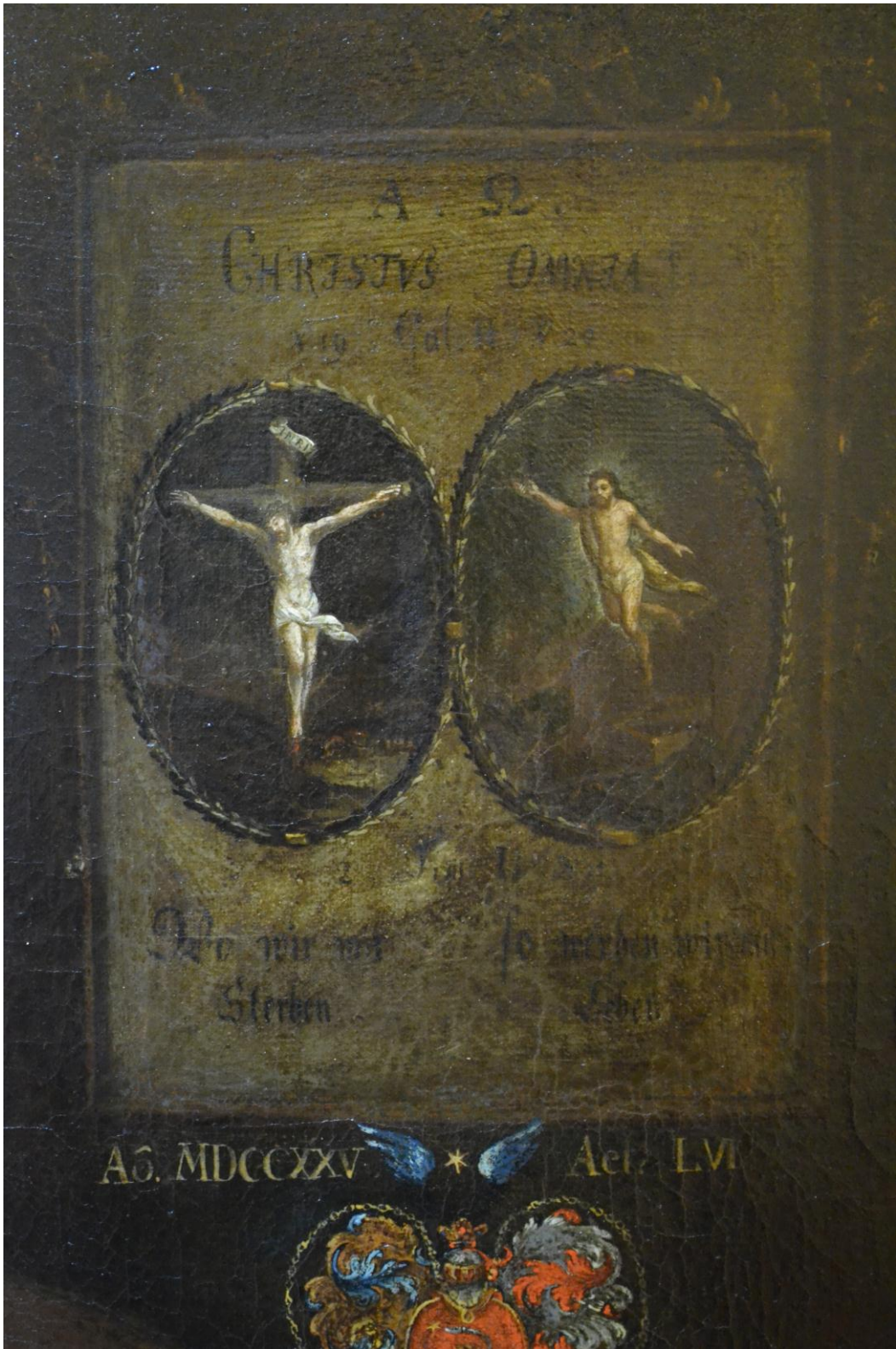


Fig. 2c.



Fig. 2d.



Fig 3a.



Fig. 3b.



Fig. 4a.



Fig. 4b.

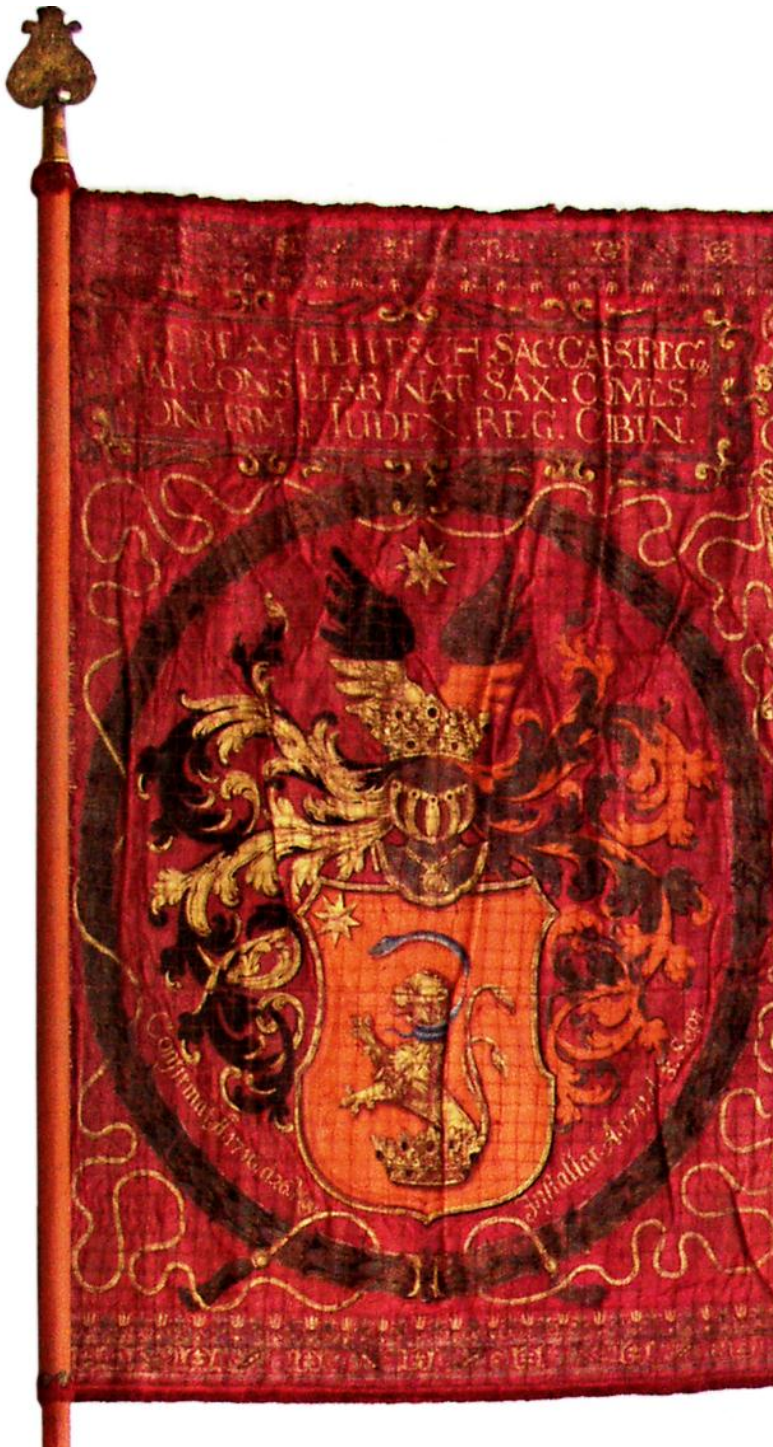


Fig. 5.



Fig. 6



Fig. 7



Fig. 8.



Fig. 9a.



Fig. 9b.



Fig. 10



Fig. 11.



Fig. 12a.



Fig. 12b.



Fig. 13.



Fig. 14.

HISTORIOGRAPHICAL DISPUTES ABOUT THE AROMANIAN PROBLEM (19TH-20TH CENTURIES)

Abstract: The presence of Aromanians in the Balkans has sparked numerous controversies about their autochthonous character or the origins of their spoken idiom. Their identity as a Romance people has been challenged, on countless occasions, by more or less biased researchers. The emergence of the Megali Idea project of the modern Greek State has exerted a considerable impact on the group of Balkan Aromanians, as attempts have been made to integrate them into the Hellenic national grand narrative. Our study aims to inventory and analyse some of the reflections encountered in the Balkan historiographies from the second half of the 19th century until the dawn of the 21st century.

Keywords: Aromanians, ethnogenesis, language, Greece, controversy

*

Far from proposing a definitive elucidation of one of the most intriguing ethnic questions of the Balkans - the origins of the Aromanians -, this study provides an introduction into this issue through an inventory of the main interpretations produced in the Greek, Romanian, Serbian, Bulgarian and Albanian historiographies relating to the subjects of our study.

Today most historians agree that the Romanian people was formed on a territory that stretched both north and south of the Danube, a territory that obviously went far beyond the present-day borders of Romania. From a single common trunk, the branches that subsequently got separated included the Daco-Romanians, forming the so-called North Danubian Romanianness, and the Aromanians, the Megleno-Romanians and the Istro-Romanians, forming South Danubian Romanianness. The three groups constitute, to this day, the testimony of Eastern Romanness in a part of Europe that underwent radical changes over time, which modified almost entirely the Roman legacy in the area. The Romanic element (called *vlah*, meaning Vlach, Wallachian, in the chronicles) registered a continual withdrawal from the path of the successive Slavic-Turanian invasions towards the highland areas, which were less exposed to the adversities of the time, and where this element could be found in the modern era.

Without a thorough political organization, a Church of their own (they were subordinated to the Patriarchate of Constantinople, of Greek rite) and a written culture, the South-Danubian Vlachs probably had, up until the end of the 18th century, a prevalently oral culture. This situation determined the absence of direct testimonies on the image that the Vlachs had about their own identities, most of the information about

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them coming along Greek or South-Slavic channels. Because of this, the image of the Vlachs often appears to be rather subjective, distorted through Byzantine or South-Slavic lenses, as it is well known that the Byzantines made notable efforts for cultural assimilation and unification, as did, perhaps to a lesser extent, various other state entities belonging to the Slavs.² The Romanic population appears in documents under the ethnonym of Vlachs, but the name they had adopted for themselves, since time immemorial, was inherited from Latin: *Romanus*. The most widespread version today is *Aromân*, *Armân*, *Arămăn* (Aromanian), with a specific prosthetic (especially in front of the sounds *r-* and *l-*), with an unstressed *o* closed to *u*, whose syncope is not absolutely mandatory. The Aromanians in the Northern Pindus (especially the *fârșeroți*) still preserve the old form without an *a-* *Rumăn*, *Rămân* (the latter with his de-labialization of *o* after *r*). The groups of Aromanians in the area of Albania designate themselves also as *rrămâni* or Southern Romanians.³ The only South-Danubian Romanians who have adopted the name of Vlachs, imposed by the cohabiting populations, are the Istro-Romanians and the Megleno-Romanians (along the Vardar River) - groups that are incomparably smaller numerically and territorially speaking than the group of Aromanians or *armân*. There are also a series of nicknames given to them by the neighbouring peoples, such as: the Greek *Kuțovlahi*, i.e. *Vlahi șchiopi* (Kutsovlachs, Limping Vlachs – a sobriquet that is difficult to explain),⁴ the Serbian-Croat *Cincari*, *Țânțari*, at the origin of which, as some scholars maintain, there lies the frequent repetition of the sound *ț* [ts] in the Aromanian dialect, while others claim that it comes from *quintanus*, making reference to the Fifth Roman Legion in Macedonia.⁵ Dușan Popovici indicates that at the turn of the 16th and the 17th centuries, *țânțarii* formed the backbone of the fairs and towns in Serbia,⁶ the word *țânțar* designating in Serbian the same thing as the word *econom* (thrifty), while *țânțariti* meant the same thing as *a se tocni* (to bargain).⁷ These *țințari* fall into two distinct groups, *păstori* (shepherds) and *pecealbari* (those who earn their living abroad), especially merchants and craftsmen.⁸ *Gog* is another nickname given by the Muslim Albanians to the Orthodox Aromanians.⁹ The Aromanians in Southern Albania call

² Gh. Zbucea, Stelian Brezianu ed., *Românii de la Sud de Dunăre Documente* (București: Arhivele Naționale ale României, 1997), 7.

³ Victor Lazăr, *Die Südrumänen der Türkei und der angrenzenden Länder* (Bukarest, 1910).

⁴ In *Cronica polonă* of 1684, Miron Costin found the following explanation: “The Greeks call them *cuțovlahi*, that is, Limping Vlachs, because the lame and the sick in the Roman army were left there” [in Macedonia], Miron Costin, *Opere* (București, 1958), 208. Generally, the name given especially by the Greeks has a strong pejorative meaning, since *Koutso-Vlach* also has the connotation of someone who is dirty, uneducated or wild, Birgül Demirtaş Coşkun, *The Vlachs: a forgotten minority in the Balkans* (London, Portland, 2001).

⁵ Achile Lazarou, *L'aroumain et ses rapports avec la grec* (Salonic: Institute for Balkan Studies), 78.

⁶ Malcolm Noel, *A short history of Bosnia* (Macmillan: London, 1994), 72. The author researches the presence of the Vlachs in present-day Bosnia and underlines their crucial role in the spiritual life of the Eastern Church throughout history.

⁷ Dușan Popovici, *O Țințarina* (București: Editura Dorneanu, 1934), 41.

⁸ Popovici, 9.

⁹ Cicerone Poghiric, “Românizarea lingvistică și culturală în Balcani” in Neagu Djuvara, ed. *Aromânii: Istorie, Limbă, Destin* (București: Editura Fundației Culturale-Aromâne, 1996), 15. According to

themselves *fârșeroți*, a denomination with origins that are still unknown (they were either the descendants of the Romans who took part in the battle of Farsala, or the name refers to a settlement inhabited by the Aromanians to this day, called Frășari, situated 36 kilometres north of Premeti). Other names of the Aromanians are those of *copăciari*, a linguistically assimilated group found today in about 45 villages from the Grebena area (Greece) and *vlăhutsi* - for the Vlachs who are converted to Islam.¹⁰ In Albania we also encounter the group of *karaguni* (from the black *sigunea* - an item of clothing) who call themselves, just like the *fârșeroți*, *Remeni-Rmeni*.¹¹ There is also the group of Aromanian *grămoșteni* (with origins in the Grammos Mountains), scattered throughout Macedonia, but also in South-East Bulgaria, known as *cipani* (*tsipunea*- an item of clothing).¹²

The first mention of the Vlachs dates from the year 976, in the Chronicle of the Byzantine Kedrenos, which recounts the death of Prince David, brother of Tsar Samuil, under the blows of some Vlachs. It is possible that these Vlachs guarded and supervised the pathway of Via Egmata: the raid undertaken by David and the rebellious Bulgarians will have forced them to defend it with their weapons. If we admit this hypothesis, it follows that these were Vlachs in the service of Byzantium, who probably lived in that part of Macedonia.¹³ Shortly afterwards, from the writings of the Byzantine General Kekaumenos, we find that in 980 the Byzantine Emperor Basil II gave his reign over the Vlachs in Elláda (this was the Elláda *thema*¹⁴ that comprised Northern Greece, along with Thessaly and Euboea, without Etolia and Acarnania) to Niculiță, whom he appointed strategist (governor) with the residence in Larisa. This gives us an important political and geographical clue about the special position held by the Aromanians in Byzantium.¹⁵

After that date, even though the testimonies about the Vlachs were not numerous, they did proliferate; thus, in 1019, Basil II issued a Charter whereby the Vlachs living inside the territory ruled until recently by Tsar Samuil - *the Vlachs living within the borders of Bulgaria* - were to become ecclesiastically subordinated to the Archdiocese of Ohrida.¹⁶ In 1027, according to the *Annales Barenses*, the Vlachs took part in a military expedition led by Constantine VIII against the Saracens in Sicily.¹⁷ The same Byzantine General Kekaumenos recounts in detail the 1066 revolt of the Vlachs, led by Niculiță the Young, an uprising that broke out because of the excessive fiscality imposed by Constantine X Doukas. The extent of the revolt

Malcolm Noel, *A short history of Kosovo* (Macmillan: London, 1998), 205, gog could be translated as "stone mason."

¹⁰ Asterios Koukoudis, *The Vlachs* (Salonic: Ed. Zitros, 2003), 197-198.

¹¹ Koukoudis, *The Vlachs*, 271.

¹² Koukoudis, *The Vlachs*, 373.

¹³ Petre S. Năsturel, "Vlahii din spațiul bizantin și bulgăresc până la cucerirea otomană," in Neagu Djuvara, ed. *Aromâni*, 54.

¹⁴ Byzantine military province.

¹⁵ George Murnu, *Istoria Românilor din Pind-Vlahia Mare 980-1259 - Studiu istoric după izvoarele bizantine* (București: Editura Europa, 2003), 8-11.

¹⁶ Murnu, *Istoria*, 33-34.

¹⁷ Murnu, *Istoria*, 35.

attributed prevalently to the Vlachs attests both their presence on a vast territory and their high degree of organization.¹⁸ Another information about the Vlachs dates from 1165-1166, when Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela was travelling from Spain towards Jerusalem. Arriving in Lamia, he declared, “this is the beginning of Vlachia, whose inhabitants occupy the mountains, and they bear the name of Vlachs. Nobody can attack them by war, no emperor can subdue them.”¹⁹

The most notable event of the 12th century for Southern Balkan Romanness was, of course, the uprising that broke out in Tarnovo, in 1186, against the Byzantine Empire. It was led by the brothers Peter and Asen, also known as the founders of the Bulgarian Tsarate. Their successor, Ioniță Caloian (1197-1207), received the ecclesiastical sovereignty of the See of Rome, but was recognized as Tsar by Pope Innocent III, being crowned in the Cathedral of Tarnovo on 8 November 1204. The Tsarate reached its maximum expansion under Ivan Asen II (1218-1241), after which it decayed gradually.²⁰ A series of testimonies left by medieval chroniclers attest the existence of some areas with probably compact Aromanian population, since they appear in documents under the name of *Vlahii* (Wallachias). These included Thessaly and a part of Macedonia that received the name of Greater Vlachia (Megali Vlahia), Aetolia (Smaller Vlahia), Epirus (Upper Vlahia), and the Haemus area - White Vlachia.²¹ The chronicle of an anonymous writer dated 1308 speaks of the Vlachs seated between Macedonia, Achaia and Thessaloniki as representing a very large nation. During the same period, the Byzantine historiographer Khalcondillas testified that the Vlachs had once spread from Dacia to the Pindus.²²

In the late 14th century and the early 15th century, the largest part of the Balkan Peninsula came under Ottoman rule, so the self-assertion possibilities of the Christians and, implicitly, of the Aromanians in the political-cultural realms became extremely low. On the other hand, the political installation of the new empire brought about for the Aromanians a much less dramatic situation than we would be tempted to believe today. The English historian Douglas Dakin speaks of a quasi-independent state of the Vlachs in the area of the Pindus Mountains, up to Kastoria, which survived for about 300 years after the Turkish occupation.²³ Following the chronological line of the testimonies recorded about South-Danubian Romanness, we should mention the statement made in 1470 by the Byzantine historian Laonic Chalkokondyles: “just like the people living from Dacia to the Pindus, that which stretches across Thessaly, they are called Vlachs, both they and the others. And I would not be able to explain and say which of them came to whom. [...] And those on Mount Pindus - Vlachs inhabit it - speak the same language with the Dacians and are like the Dacians from Istros.”²⁴

¹⁸ Murnu, *Istoria*, 41.

¹⁹ Hristu Căndroveanu, ed., *Caleidoscop Aromân*, vol. I, (București: Editura Fundației Culturale Aromâne, 1998), 94, the manuscript is housed by the British Museum in London.

²⁰ Petre S. Năsturel, “Vlahii din spațiul bizantin și bulgăresc,” 81.

²¹ Murnu, *Istoria*, 142.

²² Theodor Capidan, *Macedo-românii* (București: Editura Fundației Regale, 1942), 25.

²³ Douglas Dakin, *The Greek Struggle in Macedonia 1897-1913* (Salonic: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1966), 8.

²⁴ Laonic Chalcocondyl, *Historiarum Demonstrationes*, 35 apud. Gh. Zbucea, *Românii*, p. 127.

Sultan Murad II (1422-1452) issued a capitulation relating to the Aromanians, which was then confirmed by subsequent sultans. Its first point specifies: "High justice will be distributed in the country through the person of a *cadi*, under Wallachian law. Wallachians will be able to travel in utmost freedom, throughout the whole empire, exercising any profession they deem to be good."²⁵ These facilities granted to the Aromanians were not fortuitous, because by the 15th-16th centuries the Aromanians had become suppliers of the conquering armies, which had embarked on full expansion and whose maintenance demanded meat, butters and clothing, beasts of burden, etc. Hence the importance of *celnics* - owners of large herds, the tradition propelling them to the positions of leaders of the Aromanian communities. The *celnic* was always the richest among all the shepherds he was in charge of. He was the representative of the *fumiali*, not elected, but *Dei gratia*. He was their judge and the executor of sentences, overseeing all matters, and his decisions were complied with without exception. Several *celnics* in a settlement formed the tribunal of the village and the general staff that settled any disputes in the community.²⁶ *Celnics* played an active role in the accumulation of wealth and in ensuring a relatively thriving economic situation for the Aromanian population in general. Ever since the Middle Ages, *celnics* had formed the noble class in Thessaly, Epirus, Macedonia, holding considerable fortunes as regards both their movable (herds) and their immovable assets (extensive land properties).²⁷

Another institution that was specific to the Aromanians and was closely related to their pastoral way of life was military in nature and was known as captaincy.²⁸ Captaincies were military areas led by a chief of their own, called Captain, whose subordinates were designated through the Latin term of *armatoli*, i.e. armed men. They were required to maintain order and peace in villages and towns, as well as to guard the mountain passes (*dervenele*). In exchange for their services, they were exempt from taxes, yet forced to pay an annual *peshkash* to the Valid Sultana, the Sultan's mother, as a sign of vassalage.²⁹

At the beginning of the 18th century, after the reorganization of the Ottoman military system, some of these *armatoli* lost the privileges previously granted to them, being thus forced to find a new occupation. It appears that the foremost position in their economic and social structures was taken by the so-called *călători* (travellers, *Kielatori*), leaders of caravans and of merchants, as this occupation required, of course, military skills; thus, the transformation of an *armatol* into a *cărăvănar* (caravan master) came as naturally as possible.

²⁵ *Aravantinos, Chronographia tis Ipiru*, 1856, vol. I, 57, apud. Anastasie Hâciu, *Aromânii* (Constanța: Editura Cartea Aromână, 2003), 35.

²⁶ Ioan Caragjani, *Studii istorice asupra românilor din Peninsula Balcanică* (București, 1929), 50.

²⁷ Hâciu, *Aromânii*, 286.

²⁸ Ion Arginteanu, *Istoria Românilor Macedoneni* (București, 1904), 224. In 1537, acknowledging a *de facto* situation, Sultan Suleiman divided Southern Macedonia, Thessaly and Epirus into 15 constituencies, called captaincies, namely 5 in Epirus and Acarnania (Malacaș, Tzumercu, Xeromeru, Lidorichi, Venetic), 5 in Thessaly (Olimp, Agrafa, Casia, Mavrovuni, Patragic) and another 5 in Macedonia (Veria, Serfige, Alasona, Grebena and Milia).

²⁹ Demetrie Abeleanu, *Neamul Aromânesc din Macedonia* (București, 1916), 21.

The Aromanian settlements of Kleisoura (Arom. Clisuri), Șiatista, Linotopi (the valley of the Aliakmon River), Mëcove (Arom. Aminciu), Călarli, Șipisca, Gramoște, Moloviște, Siracu, Samarina, Malacaș and, last but not least, Moscopole, developed in the 16th-18th centuries and became important centres of trade. Aromanians merchants distinguished themselves in international trade by land and at sea, particularly on the eastern coast of the Adriatic, conducting business with the Italian states and especially with the *Serenissima Repubblica*.³⁰

The Aromanian merchants' exports consisted of wool and woollen fabrics (thick cloth, abas, blankets, bedspreads, carpets, *velnițe* - Aromanian shirts), to which were added leather products (maroquin, saffian, cordovan), cotton, tar, coffee, wax, tobacco, honey, oil, etc. Imports comprised mostly fine fabrics: broadcloth, velvet, brocatello, glass objects, paper, books, weapons, metals (lead, copper and bronze alloy, tin), indigo, sugar, Italian tiles, etc.³¹

The situation of the Aromanians in the Balkans during the 17th-19th centuries is largely known to us from the writings of several West Europeans: W. M. Leake, Ami Boue, E. M. Counsinery, Iacob Falmerayer, F. Pouqueville, F. Kanitz, Johann Thunmann, G. Weigand, R. Stuart, etc. They travelled throughout the Ottoman Empire for various purposes and depicted, in their works, all the aspects of the Aromanians' life, taking an interest in their commercial activities, industry, shepherding, customs and, last but not least, language.³² For example, in his work entitled *Voyage dans la Grece*, published in Paris in 1820, Francoise Charles Pouqueville (1770-1838), Consul of France at the Court of Ali Pasha of Ioannina during the reign of Napoleon I, emphasized the commercial activity and the vast distribution of the trade houses established by the Aromanians in Naples, Livorno, Genoa, Sardinia, Venice, Trieste, Ancona, Ragussa, Vienna, etc.³³ The starting point for this intense trade was the Aromanian city of Moscopole, which reach maximum prosperity in the mid-18th century. This city appeared in the documents of the time as *urbs amplissima*, boasting over 12,000 houses, 22 churches and a population of around 50,000 inhabitants. It was probably the second-largest city after Constantinople in the entire Balkan peninsula. For the same period, Pouqueville estimate only 10,000 souls living in Athens, most of them Albanians and Turks.³⁴ Moscopole had several schools, a printing press, an Academy inaugurated in 1750 and an important library. Against the background of the Russo-Turkish (1768-1774) and Russo-Turkish-Austrian wars (1787-1792), Moscopole was sacked twice, in 1761 and in 1769. In 1788 it was plundered and completely destroyed along with the surrounding Aromanian settlements: Șipiska, Bitcuchi, Niculița, Linotopi, Nicea,

³⁰ Matei Cazacu, "Vlahii din Balcanii Occidentali," in Djuvara, *Aromânii*, 97.

³¹ Gh. Zbucea, *O istorie a Românilor din Balcani*, București, Editura Biblioteca Bucureștilor, 1999, p. 31.

³² Evidently, I have used these "sources" in full awareness of their limitations, as they are travelogues and bear the mark of subjectivism or of *a priori* conceptions.

³³ See Papahagi, *Românii din Peninsula Balcanică după călători apuseni din secolul al XIX-lea* (Roșiorii de Vede, 1928), 8.

³⁴ Hâciu, *Aromânii*, 154-155.

Lânca, Grabova and Birina.³⁵ A good portion of the population that was uprooted on account of the barbarousness of the Muslim Albanians, the authors of the city's destruction, settled, over the course of time, in Serbia, Croatia, Hungary, the German states, the Danubian principalities, Austria, Bohemia, Moravia, etc. In their new homelands, the Aromanians, although perceived as Greeks - a primarily religious perception, attributed in fact to all of the Orthodox in the Ottoman Empire - distinguished themselves among the commercial and financial bourgeoisie, foremost among whom were the Aromanian families Sina, Dumba, Tirca, Curti, Tricupa, Kapra von Zsuppa, von Mitta, Zotta, Şaguna, Mocsonyi, Gojdu ori Manno: they established charitable foundations and engaged in the patronage of arts, by way of the old Aromanian custom of *lasământ* (endowment) and thus came to enjoy, in their new homelands, special consideration, often receiving noble titles.³⁶ Analysing their rise in the territories they settled in, the British scholar Ronald Matthews appreciated that these *kutsovalahii* were recognized as the *Jews of the Balkans*.³⁷

Another favourite destination of the Aromanians included the Romanian principalities, their presence north of the Danube being undisputed throughout history. Speaking about the importance of Aromanians, Take Ionescu showed at the end of the 19th century that "Our bourgeoisie was and is chiefly composed of them and it is beyond any dispute that the Aromanian element played a larger role than we might have thought 30-40 years ago, when we mistook them for the Greeks, in the leavening of the modern Romanian society."³⁸

Predictably, Aromanian merchants were, most of the times, assimilated with the Greeks in the business environment, the pro-Hellenic atmosphere in the Western countries providing them, not infrequently, with sympathies and advantages. Culturally, however, for some of the Aromanian intellectuals in the diaspora, Rome and the idea of their Roman origins would become a magnet that would urge them to set up their own national movement. Thus, in Vienna in 1797, twenty years before the undertakings of Gheorghe Lazăr, the work entitled *Noua pedagogie sau Abecedar uşor spre a învăţa pe copiii tineri carte aromânească* [*The New Pedagogy, or A Simple Primer for Teaching the Aromanian Alphabet to Children*] saw the light of print in the printing press of the Aromanian Marcu Puiu. The author was Constantin Ucuta, the Orthodox archpriest from Posen, a Moscopolean by origin. This was a textbook that attempted for the first time to lay down the rules of speaking in the Aromanian dialect. Ucuta introduced, in fact, the term *româno-vlahi* (Romanian-Vlachs) instead of the one in use, Wallachians. After Ucuta, the second advocate of the national movement in the Central European space was Gheorghe C. Roja (1786-1846), a physician working for the University Hospital in Budapest, who published two works in 1808-1809, namely *Cugetări despre românii denumiţi vlahi care locuiesc dincolo de Dunăre* [*Thoughts about the Romanians Who Are Known as Vlachs and Live*

³⁵ Hâciu, *Aromânii*, 164.

³⁶ Max Demeter Peyfuss, *Chestiunea Aromână* (Bucureşti: Editura Enciclopedică, 1994), 16.

³⁷ Ronald Matthews, *Sons of the Eagle Wanderings in Albania* (London: Methuen, 1937), 234.

³⁸ Gh. Zbucea, *O istorie a românilor din Peninsula Balcanică secolele XVIII-XX* (Bucureşti: Ed. Biblioteca Bucureştilor, 1999), 41-42.

across the Danube] - in Greek and German - and *Măiestria ghiovăsirii* (citirii) *românești cu litere latinești care sunt literele românilor cele vechi. Spre polirea a toată ghinta românească ce-i din coace și cei din colo de Dunăre* [The Skill of Reading in Latin Script, Which is the Romanian Script of Old. For the Enlightenment of all the Romanian Nation This Side and across the Danube].

Mihail Boiagi carried out his activity in Vienna during the same period. In 1813 he published *Gramatică aromână sau macedono-valahă* [Aromanian or Macedono-Wallachian Grammar], this being the first scientific grammar written in the dialect of the Aromanians using Latin script. In addition to rich elements of alphabet, morphology and syntax, Boiagi added dialogues, as well as a series of fables and stories, becoming the first known author of literature in the Aromanian dialect.³⁹

The significance of Boiagi's book is naturally revealed if we place it in the context of the scientific pursuits in the domain of linguistics in Southeast Europe during those times. For example, in 1808, B. Kopitar had published a grammar of Slavonic. In 1816, Vuc Karadzic published a grammar of the Serbian language, and much later, in 1835, a grammar of the Bulgarian language was printed.⁴⁰

For the Aromanian intellectuals in the diaspora the Latin origin and the attractiveness of Rome proved strong enough to give rise to a consciousness of their own individuality. Based on this, they were to aspire, in the near future, to forge a modern national consciousness. While in the diaspora Aromanian intellectuals were able to cultivate and assert their identity, in their native lands that were under Ottoman suzerainty and Byzantine influence of Greek rite they had sinuous and sometimes contradictory manifestations of self-identity. For the Aromanian elites in the southern areas of the Balkan Peninsula, their political and cultural ideal was largely related to the revival of Byzantium. This was the case of the Aromanians' generation from the late 18th century and the early 19th century, whose members turned the Greek cause into their own.⁴¹ The great Greek revolution, as V. Berard writes, was begun by the *armatoli* herdsman.⁴² The statement is not at all unfounded, because Aromanians made a significant contribution on both the organizational and the military level.

The signal for battle was given by Riga Fereu (who came from Veleștinul Tesaliei) in Bucharest, by composing the famous poem that is considered even today the Greek people's Marseillaise. He founded Hellenic literary societies with revolutionary goals in Vienna and Trieste, whose members were mostly Aromanians. From the beginning of the battles, there were Aromanian commanders of armies such as Teodor Colocotroni, Generalissimo of the revolutionary armies in Peloponnesus, celebrated in the people's songs as Vlaho Vasileas or Vasileas ton Vlahon (King of the Vlachs), probably because the core of his army consisted of Aromanians. Ianis Colleti had a significant, if not determining contribution to the foundation of the

³⁹ V. Berard, *La Turquie et l'Hellenisme contemporaine* (Paris, 1893), 248, apud. *Caleidoscop aromân*, vol. 2, (București: Editura Fundației Culturale Aromâne, 1999), 329.

⁴⁰ Peyfuss, *Chestiunea aromână*, 26.

⁴¹ Stelian Brezeanu, Constantin Jordan, ed., *Relațiile Româno-Elene* (București: Editura Omonia, 2003), 164.

⁴² Berard, *La Turquie*, 248.

modern Greek State, and so did Odiseu Andruțu Moceană, Commander of the troops in the North of the Peloponnesus, Vlaho Cionga, Caraischachi Commander of the troops in Rumelia. The defence of the city of Missolonghi (later decreed to be the Holy City of Greece) was carried out with the supreme sacrifice of a few hundreds of *armatoli* led by Sturnari, Chițu Geavela, Marcu Bociari, Razu Coțea, Noti Bociari, etc.⁴³ Cesare Cantu highlights the fact that in 1821 “the Greeks managed to turn the war of capitulations in the Pindus into a war of independence for Greece. Thus, the ranks of Aromanian *Armatoli* provided soldiers to the Greek revolution and their captains became the most glorious generals of this war of independence.”⁴⁴

It should be noted that until the 1821 Revolution, the anti-Ottoman fight was led by Aromanian captains across the Southern Balkans. For easily understandable reasons, Greek historiographers falsified their ethnicity, referring to the Aromanians as *blahofonoii ellines* (Greeks who speak Romanian) or *oresibioii ellines*,⁴⁵ a name that was taken over by foreign historians, that of *highland Greek warriors*.⁴⁶

These deeds of arms against the Ottoman occupant could be seen as a religious manifestation, as this contributed substantially to the Aromanians' rapprochement to the Greeks, given that the flag of Christianity was the flag of the Greek Church itself.⁴⁷ The religious character of the struggle for the Holy Cross, with which the Greek Megali Idea was very firmly entwined, resulted in the destruction of many thriving Aromanian settlements in time (Moscopolea, Grămostea, Niculița, etc.). This led to population dislocations, a massive exodus and the leaders' alienation, worsening the schism between the elite and the masses, so harmful for the Aromanians' existence as an ethnicity. On the other hand, the establishment of an independent Greek State led to the consolidation of a secular opponent, all the more dangerous as it had appropriated the aura of Christianity and used a language which, in religious terms, represented an irresistible access gateway. In the euphoria of the common struggle, Greek, the language of the Church, spread also outside the places of worship.⁴⁸ Thus, particularly in this way, many Aromanians began to feel bewildered by their alleged *Hellenic descent*, which would generate in time the phenomenon of Greek-Romanism, steeped in the complex of the renegade.⁴⁹ According to the Greek historian Michalopoulos, the moment the Aromanians adopted Greek was when they became merchants, because this was the lingua franca of the time. The same renowned academic highlights that “One truth that needs to be heard is that the modern Greek elite was composed mainly of Aromanians.” Michalopoulos gives examples, such as Iannis Kolletis (1780-1847) - Prime Minister,

⁴³ Hâciu, *Aromânii*, 555.

⁴⁴ Cesare Cantu, *Histoire universelle*, vol. XIX, (Paris, 1894), 215, apud. Constantin Papanace, *Mică antologie aromânească* (București: Editura Scara, 2001), 23.

⁴⁵ Ion Deboveanu, “Căpitănată și Aromâni,” in *Revista de istorie militară*, no. 2/(1992): 26.

⁴⁶ Charles and Barbara Jelavich, *Formarea statelor naționale 1804-1920* (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Dacia, 1999), 65.

⁴⁷ Tache Papahagi, *Aromânii (curs universitar), litografiat-Grai-Folclor-Etnografie*, București, 1932, p. 28.

⁴⁸ Constantin Papanace, *Geneza și evoluția conștiinței naționale la macedo-români* (București: Editura Brumar, 1995), 217.

⁴⁹ Papanace, *Geneza*, 334.

Michail Tossitza (1787-1856), A. Valaoritis (1824-1879), Spyridon Trikoupis (1788-1873) - statesman, diplomat and historian, his son Harilaos Trikoupis (1832-1896), Prime Minister of Greece, both of them having their origins in Moscopole, etc.⁵⁰

Their massive involvement in public life was to facilitate this process that would later lead to actions of fratricidal struggle amidst the Aromanians who rose against the assimilationist policy adopted by the Government in Athens.

In modern times, the name Aromanians, which made its debut in the scientific world thanks to the research conducted by Gustav Weigand, was generalized to encompass the entire Balkan Romanness. We will focus, in what follows, on the way in which modern historiography has approached the origin and the language of the Aromanians, after this necessary historical overview of the community analysed here.

Along time, several theories have been set forth regarding the origin of the Aromanians: 1. An older theory, dating back to the time of the chroniclers, which claimed that Aromanians came from north of the Danube, whence they had been displaced and moved south of the Danube. 2. The second theory of non-autochthony (Kekaumenos, G. Weigand, Densuşianu, S. Puşcariu, Al. Phillipide, etc.) supports the idea that Aromanians came from the north of the Balkan Peninsula, where there had been a Romanized population until the arrival of the Slavs; this Romance population descended southwards down to the Jirecek line (the demarcation line of Balkan Romanness). The advocates of this theory argue that those who escaped from Slavicization travelled north, south and west, where they gave rise to the Aromanians, the Meglenites and the Histrians; 3. The third theory, proposed by Theodor Capidan and Tache Papahagi, upholds the Aromanians' autochthony. According to this theory, Aromanians are the descendants of the Romance population from the south of the Balkan Peninsula, the area of Macedonia, Epirus and the Pindus Mountains. This theory is supported by Greek researchers of Aromanian origin (Liakos, Lazarou, Katsoughiannis), but according to them the Aromanians are the descendants of Greeks who were Latinized during Roman times.⁵¹ Achile Lazarou published in 1986 his PhD Thesis, entitled *L'Aroumain et les rapports avec le Grec*, under the auspices of the Institute for Balkan Studies in Thessaloniki. His study, though one of the comparative linguistics, fixed some theoretical benchmarks, especially as regards the ethnonym "Aromanian." Thus, according to this author, the major difference between the terms *Romanus-Aromânu-Armânu*⁵² and *Romain-Romios* is that while the former designates a bilingual subject, speaking both Greek and Aromanian, the latter relates only to a Hellenophone. The researcher believes that the key to identifying the originary area of the Aromanians is offered by the Slavic influence: whereas in Greek this influence is very weak, in Romanian it is much more consistent, and in Aromanian it is almost entirely absent. These conclusions disprove any

⁵⁰ Dimitris Michalopoulos, "Aromanians and Tsakonians: similarities and differences" in Ewa Nowicka, ed., *The Politics of Culture, Perspectives of stateless nationalities ethnic groups* (Warsaw: Warsaw University Press, 2012), 65-66.

⁵¹ Dana Jitcov, *Portret identitar aromân* (Bucureşti: Editura Bren, 2006), 103-104.

⁵² N. Andriotis imposed the term Aromanian in the Greek language, Lazarou, *L'aroumain*, 11.

interpretation as to the Aromanians' descent from the areas north of the Danube to the regions of the Pindus. Achile Lazarou reviews in his work all the theories about the origin of the Aromanians in the Greek space, from those that are scientifically verified to the most speculative (according to M. Chysochoos, the word Vlach allegedly comes from *fellah*, which meant a small owners in Egypt!!!). Obviously, since the Greek research is reviewed here, the main theses mentioned above are included in the by now classical panoply of this historiography: in terms of their ethnicity, Aromanians are Greeks, while in terms of their dialect, they are Latinized Greeks.⁵³

From the perspective of the Romanian philologist Theodor Capidan, the Macedo-Romanian dialect has the same structure with Daco-Romanian, having had an identical historical evolution as regards the constituent element. This linguistic unit is detectible also at an analysis of the Latin element in the two dialects, which had undergone the same changes. The issue is demonstrable both practically, by comparing a phrase in Aromanian with its transposition into Daco-Romanian, and scientifically, if we attempt to understand the structure of the Macedo-Romanian dialect.⁵⁴

The Canadian professor of Macedonian extraction Andrew Rossos, when referring to the Romance population south of the Danube, uses both the ethnonym *români* (Romanians) and that of *vlahi* (Vlachs), a symptomatic expression for the entire Macedonian historiography, which does not call into question the existence of this ethnic element in the peninsula and its kinship to the branch of North-Danubian Romanianness. The stakes of this historiography continue to be, even at present, the recognition of the statehood of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and not the denial of the status and existence of a minority of Latin origin in Balkan area.⁵⁵ The famous Serbian historian T. R. Georgevitch believes that the former Roman settlers who remained in Macedonia survive only in Thessaly and in Southern Macedonia (he calls them *tânțari* or Macedo-Romanians), and north of the Danube (Romanians).⁵⁶ The British Henry Brailsford, a member of the International Commission for the investigation of the atrocities committed during two Balkan Wars, deemed that the Vlachs or Wallachians were the descendants of the Roman colonists. Brailsford was of the opinion that they were the most ancient townspeople who had survived to that day (our note, 1904), speaking a Latin-Romanian dialect, but also Greek and Slavonic, which they had learned in church and in school.⁵⁷ The great Russian Byzantinist Dimitri Obolensky also catalogues the ascendancy of the Vlachs and their language as being of Romance origin, this nation being recognized, ever since Byzantine times, after their pastoral way of life, the cheeses and the garments they produced and were

⁵³ Lazarou, *L'aroumain*, 14.

⁵⁴ Theodor Capidan, *Macedo-românii* (București: Litera Internațional, 2000), 160-163.

⁵⁵ Andrew Rossos, *Macedonia and the Macedonians. A History*, (Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University, 2008), *passim*.

⁵⁶ T.R. Georgevitch, *Macedonia* (London, 1918), 12.

⁵⁷ H.N. Brailsford, *Macedonia: its races and their future* (Methuen: London, 1906), 85.

highly appreciated by the population of Constantinople, but also for their resistance to paying taxes and their incurable disobedience to the Byzantine authorities - all of these being elements that complete the Aromanians' group portrait.⁵⁸

The Turkish historiography is probably the one that regards the matter of the Vlachs least impassioned, as a distinct ethnic element within the Orthodox millet in the Balkans. Demirtaş Coşkun, a researcher at the Institute for Eurasian Strategic Studies in Ankara, believes that the Vlachs⁵⁹ in the Balkans have *the same common origin and speak a similar language as the Romanians north of the Danube*.⁶⁰ Coşkun analyses the Byzantine and the Ottoman periods, demonstrating that the Vlachs were a separate ethnic group even in the army from the rest of the Greek and Bulgarian soldiers - a very important argument against the Greek and Bulgarian theses that the Vlachs allegedly have Greek or Bulgarian origins. Both the Byzantine and the Turkish sources (Evliya Çelebi and Kâtip Çelebi) confirm the assertion above.⁶¹

The book of the Bulgarian historian J. Ivanoff, a member of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and a University Professor at Sofia - *La Question Macèdonienne*, published in Paris in 1920, at the time of the Peace Congress - presents a well-documented overview of the Bulgarian stance on the issue of the nationalities in the Balkan area known as Macedonia. Ivanoff admits that the Vlachs are of Thracian-Illyrian descent and that they were Latinized during the Roman domination, implicitly accepting their autochthonous roots in the Balkans. The inventory of ethnonyms under which they are known in the area is as follows: *cuțovalahi, țințari, sârăcaceani*, etc., depending on the name given to them by the cohabiting populations. The name they use for themselves is *aromâni, adică români*⁶² (Aromanians, that is, Romanians), the author suggesting thus their direct filiation with the branch of North-Danubian Romanians. Since the Middle Ages, there were significant numbers of Wallachians in Macedonia, as attested in countless Byzantine sources or on various maps drawn at the Byzantine, Serbian or Bulgarian courts. The author believes that the largest portion of the present-day Wallachian population in Macedonia derives from an 18th-century immigration, as the Wallachians of the past were assimilated by the Bulgarian-Greek population, most of them taking refuge in mountain areas that were more conducive to an unrestrained pastoral lifestyle. The regions where the Wallachians have maintained an unbroken continuity over the course of centuries are Thessaly, Epirus and the Pindus Mountains. During the destructions and the Albanian-Muslim uprisings of the 18th and early 19th centuries, groups of Wallachian population were dislocated and emigrated both to Macedonia and to the far north of the Balkan Peninsula.

⁵⁸ Dimitri Obolensky, *Un Commonwealth medieval: Bizanțul, Europa de Răsărit 500-1453* (București: Corint, 2002), 227.

⁵⁹ Throughout the paper the term Vlachs is used for Aromanians, as it is thought to be the most widespread in scholarship.

⁶⁰ Birgül Demirtaş Coşkun, *The Vlachs a forgotten minority in the Balkans* (London, Portland: Frank Cass, 2001), 2.

⁶¹ Coşkun, *The Vlachs*, 8 and passim.

Greek historiography is by far the most impassioned in terms of the attempts to elucidate the origin of the Aromanians' ethnicity and language, being much more willing to discuss these matters polemically. The most obvious approach in this regard aims to empty the denomination Vlach of its ethnic sense and to present strictly the professional mark underlying it, that of shepherd.⁶³ Informed answers against the truth-value of these theories have been given by reputed scholars, such as Adolf Armbruster, Gh. Brătianu, etc., and, more recently, this issue has been debated extensively in the reception speech to the Romanian Academy by Professor Ioan Aurel Pop. The Cluj-based historian believes that the terms *vlah*, *valah*, *voloh*, *blac*, *olah*, *vlas*, *ilac*, *ulac*, etc. are denominations of one and the same ethnicity, the lexeme Vlach representing an exonym in this context, while *rumân* or *român* is an endonym. The theories that place the Vlachs prior to the Romanians and those that distinguish between the two in ethnic terms represent, according to the opinion of the academician, "biased ideas, with a political subtext but without any scientific basis."⁶⁴

Returning to the Greek historiography, Stilpon Kiriakides explains the origin of the Vlachs as the result of the Greek merchants' and travellers' frequent voyages, during which they acquired the way of life and the customs of the Romans, becoming Latinized. These descendants of the Latinized Greeks are, according to the historiography of the Greek State, "the Helleno-Vlachs the Romanians are claiming."⁶⁵ In a paper delivered in 1939, entitled *What are the Koutsovlachs*, Keramopoulos, President of the Greek Academy, stated very adamantly that "the Vlachs are perhaps the purest of the Hellenes."⁶⁶ His theses were in fact those drawn thirty years before in Athens by M. Chrysochoos, who had firmly established the idea of the Aromanians' originary *Greekness*, a theory that was to acquire the status of unquestionable evidence for many of the Greek historiographers.⁶⁷

Starting from such premises, the use of the Vlach/Aromanian language in Greece was to be considered a sign of backwardness and lack of propriety, the members of the Vlach community being forced to hide their true identity especially in the cities.⁶⁸ Hellenic historiography claims that those *Vlachs are actually Greeks who speak an unusual dialect with a considerable number of words from Greek*. Modern Greek writers call Vlachs *pure Greeks* who adopted the Latin language during military service for the Romans. Demirtaş Coşkun, the analyst cited above, notes that these *irrational theories* have been adopted and assumed by the majority of the Vlachs for reasons of security or out of opportunism. Greece declares itself even

⁶³ Gh. Zbucea, C. Buchet, *Români din afara granițelor țării* (București: Fundația România de mâine, 2008), 122.

⁶⁴ Ioan Aurel Pop, *Semnificația istorică a unor nume: român și România*, reception speech delivered on 29 May 2012. http://www.acad.ro/com2013/pag_com13_0529.htm, accessed on 10.09.2013.

⁶⁵ Kiriakides Stilpon, *The Northern ethnological boundaries of Hellenism* (Salonic, 1955), 17.

⁶⁶ *Ti enai oi Koutsovlahoi*, Athens, 1939 apud C. Papanace, *Pro Balcania și Fermentul Aromân (macedo-român) în Sud-Estul European*, București, Societatea Academică Moscopolitană, 2004, p. 244. This theory is, in fact, supported also by Lazarou, who considers that the Aromanians are Greeks, Lazarou, *L'Aroumain*, 103.

⁶⁷ Nicolae Trifon, *Aromânii, pretutindeni, nicăieri* (Chișinău: Editura Cartier, 2012), 290.

⁶⁸ Trifon, *Aromânii*, 31.

today against independent observers, any studies on the Vlachs' situation, even of the journalistic type, being rigorously obstructed; the authorities resort even to expulsions and prohibitions of the right to enter the country.⁶⁹ For Demirtaş Coşkun, these are but reflexes of a *nationalist chauvinist neurosis* that Greece is responsible for. The Ottoman period is highlighted as the most open in terms of the protection afforded to the Vlachs, since they were granted the right to education in the Romanian language, the best way in which the Vlachs could maintain their identity.⁷⁰

In recent years, however, we have noticed in Greece a reconsideration of the role played by the Aromanians or the Vlachs. One of the works that gave the tone of the new trend belongs to Asterios Koukudis with his *Studies on the Vlachs. The Vlachs: Metropolis and Diaspora*, published at the prestigious Zitros Press in Thessaloniki in 2003, English Edition. The work has more than 500 pages and was printed in outstanding graphic conditions, under the aegis of the Hellenic National Defence Ministry. In 1998, the book was awarded the Prize of the Hellenic Academy for Literature and Art. The study received the approval of the high state authorities, through President Konstantinos Stefanopoulos, and of the ecclesiastical authorities, through His Holiness Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew I, both writing prefaces to the work and thus giving special weight to the volume, which, we might say, encapsulates the official position avowed by both the Greek State and the Church, through the Ecumenical Patriarchate. Whereas other studies insist considerably on the Aromanians' origin and language, this time such data are classed as unimportant, even superfluous. What is acknowledged, however, is the particular importance of the Aromanians in the history of Greece: "For various historical reasons from the mid-period of Turkocracy, the leadership and authority in the central and northern parts of Greece were concentrated in the Pindus Mountains and the surrounding areas, where the descendants of the Romans and Latin-speaking Byzantines had survived. Thus, the Vlachs entered recent history as a class of large herd owners and prosperous merchants, but also as *klefçi* and *armatoli*. From their ranks come the great scholars of the nation and warriors in Thessaly, Epirus and Macedonia, as well as a large number of merchants and industrialists who represented the pillars of the Orthodox communities in the urban centres of the Balkans. The Vlachs cannot be regarded as a mere museum piece, as the remnant of a long extinct pastoral life in the highlands or of an easily manipulable minority of *keen patrons*. *The Vlachs are not a minority dressed in fustanella who speak Vlach. They are, above all, the craftsmen of the cities, scattered everywhere on Greek land, where they had an enormous contribution to our country's construction. The evidence is everywhere, from the impressive buildings of Athens to the schools in the Macedonian boroughs, from Premier Kolletis to the Maecenas of the Hellenic homeland or to heroes from the Wallachian villages who sacrificed themselves during the Macedonian struggle and during the occupation of the Nazi Axis.*"⁷¹

⁶⁹ Trifon, *Aromânii*, 34.

⁷⁰ Trifon, *Aromânii*, 56.

⁷¹ Asterios Koukudis, *Studies on the Vlachs. The Vlachs Metropolis and Diaspora* (Salonic: Zitros, 2003), 15-16.

The Greek President's statements are of particular importance because they confirm from the "adversarial" camp certain realities that are known and reiterated in the universal historiography about the Aromanians, but have often been catalogued as exaggerations on the part of Aromanian authors, marred by a high degree of subjectivity. This is fundamentally contradicted by *historical evidence*, as President Stefanopoulos asserts beyond any doubt. In the second foreword dated 14 September 1999, authored by the Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew I himself, we find, among others, that: "We are glad that you show very clearly in your research that the Vlachs are descended from the Greeks."⁷² The intransigent position expressed by His Holiness does not surprise us, for it is consistent with the perception of most all of the occupants of the ecumenical seat, who have not limited themselves to making allegations without a historical basis, but have acted accordingly, supervising, through their hierarchical authority, actions that targeted the suppression of any non-Hellenic identity dissidences within the Aromanian communities.

A well-nigh singular voice amongst Greek analysts belongs to the linguistic researcher Nikitas Vantsias, who states that Aromanian is one and the same language as Daco-Romanian. The two idioms feature the same peculiarities, standing apart in the context of Romance languages.⁷³ The similarities at the level of the base layer and of the substrate are the main reason why strictly linguistically, the four idioms are considered to be dialects of the same language. The most important differences between the dialects in question appeared with the influence of the languages of the ad-stratum. The difference between Romanian and Aromanian lies in the much larger number of Greek elements in the latter. As Vantsias contends, the myriad words of Greek origin from the fabric of the Aromanian idiom are typical for the category of lexical borrowings. Although they are numerous, few of these have the frequency and importance of some words in the main lexical fund.⁷⁴ His opinion is endorsed by British researchers such as Oxford Wace and Thompsons,⁷⁵ by Professor Peter Mackridge from Oxford and by Eleni Yannakakis, from King's College University.⁷⁶

From the perspective of Mathilde Caragiu Marioțeanu, the thesis that upholds the independent status of the South-Danubian dialects and the necessity to approach them as separate languages⁷⁷ is a political thesis that was imposed by the Soviets with direct reference to Bessarabia. At stake was the dismantlement, the erasure of the *străromân* layer (Ur-Romanian, also called common Romanian) from the history of the Romanian language and the derivation of its four present-day branches from Carpathian-Danubian Latin. For the esteemed philologist, all the

⁷²Koukoudis, *Studies*, 17.

⁷³N. Vantsias, *Fondul principal lexical al aromânei* (București: Semne, 2010), 25-26.

⁷⁴Vantsias, *Fondul lexical*, 31.

⁷⁵A.J.B.Wace, M.S.Thompson, *The Nomads of the Balkans* (London: Methuen, 1914), 2.

⁷⁶Peter Mackridge, Eleni Yannakakis, *Ourselves and Others. The development of a Greek Macedonian Cultural Identity since 1912* (Oxford, New York: Ed. Berg, 1997), 5.

⁷⁷This was the point of view upheld by Alexandru Graur and Ion Coteanu, who spoke about a language of the Aromanians.

historical Romanian dialects have, therefore, a common Romanian denominator and a specific note: Dacian, Hystrian, Macedonian, Meglenian.⁷⁸

The language continues to be viewed as the most powerful agent of unification by all the national and cultural leaders of various propagandas;⁷⁹ hence, the fervour of the experiments that are at stake with regard to linguistic issues. The problem of the Aromanians' origin and language has therefore been confiscated by the various national propagandas developed in the Balkans of the modern age. Linguists have made no exception from scientific faux pas prompted by national motivations. In the absence of a framework of debate anchored exclusively in scientific objectivity, the Aromanians' matter continues to stir heated debates. While for and against theories (dialect or language) are dissected in the philological laboratories, the language is dying in the field, re-editing, somehow, the destiny of Dalmatian, another Romance dialect spoken for the last time in 1898.

⁷⁸ Matilda Caragiu Marioțeanu, *Aromânii și Aromâna în conștiința contemporană* (București: Editura Academiei Române, 2006), 60-61.

⁷⁹ Maria Todorova, *Balcanii și balcanismul* (București: Humanitas, 2000), 276.

**PAGES FROM THE MEMOIRS OF THE ROMANIAN
SOLDIERS IN THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN ARMY
DURING WORLD WAR I.
MIHAI BUT – *LETTER OF REMEMBRANCE (1914-1915)***

Abstract: This study presents the war memoirs of the Romanian soldier Mihai But, who wrote them in a prisoner camp in Siberia. He was drafted in August 1914 in a unit of the 32nd Infantry Regiment, being immediately sent to the first line on the battlefield in Galicia. After three months of fierce battles, he was seriously wounded in the head and the hand by a bombshell, and due to the fact that his unit was engaged in precipitated retreat, the whole lot of wounded soldiers, including Mihai But, was left behind. Russian medical services took over the abandoned wounded and treated them and after recovery, Mihai But was interned in a prisoners' camp. Besides the memoirs themselves, included in his *Book of Remembrance*, his journal contains two popular creations in verse, focusing on the theme of war, which were collected in the camp. The journal evokes the sufferings endured by the soldiers on the frontline in the early months of the war, caused mainly by their long marches, the powerful counterattacks of the enemy, the disruptions of the supply services, the famine endured by the troops and the omnipresence of death in the trenches.

Keywords: World War I, memoirist literature, Romanian soldier, Transylvania, Galicia

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The global dimensions of the conflict that broke out more than a century ago, the four years of suffering and deprivation of all kinds, the omnipresence of death, as well as the numerous human sacrifices singularized World War I in the collective memory as an exceptional event which changed destinies and profoundly marked the consciences of tens of millions of people. Individual memory, as part of collective memory, retained both the memories of the “traumatic type that caused negative emotions” and “poignant” memories, which reflect the actual experience of a positive event.”²

The memoirs that we will present below focus on the war recollections of a Romanian soldier from Transylvania who was drafted in August 1914 in the 32nd Infantry Regiment³ and was immediately sent to the first line of the battlefield in Galicia. Firstly, we can notice an identity between the three instances of

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² *Marele Război în memoria bănăţeană (1914-1919)*, ed., study and notes by Valeriu Leu and Nicolae Bocşan, Cluj-Napoca, Presa Universitară Clujeană, vol. I, 2012, p. 31.

³ See *Budapest volt háziezredének a cs.és kir. 32. gyalogezrednek története (1741-1918)*, (*Istoria fostului Regiment de infanterie nr. 32 din Budapesta*), ed. Sandor Varga (Tinódi), Budapest, 1929. 120,000 soldiers served in this regiment during the war. 8,944 of them were killed.

communication - author, narrator and character - in the person of the soldier Mihai But (1892-1953), the one who, imprisoned in a camp in Siberia, conceived and wrote down his memoirist notes that evoke his participation in the war, with its cortege of sufferings, as well as his imprisonment after three months of fighting against the Russians.

The journal became part of the heritage of the National Museum of Transylvanian History in 2013 and comes from Ms. Sofia But, the granddaughter of the author.⁴ It takes the form of a booklet written in the Romanian language, in black ink and pencil, and bound with two wooden covers having the size of 10x15 cm. On the front and back, the author carved, in 1915, the title - *Szibériából. EMLÉKÖNYV. DAURIA 1914-15 (From Siberia. Book of Remembrance. Dauria, 1914-1915)* and, respectively, the stylized monogram *M.B.* (Figure 1-2). The journal was exhibited for the first time during a temporary exhibition held in the museum, dedicated to the centenary of the outbreak of World War I (Cluj-Napoca, 27 June 2014), being also included in the catalogue of this exhibition.⁵

The journal itself includes, besides a text in prose entitled *Book of Remembrance from the War of 1914* (Fig. 3), two popular creations in verse, collected and edited by the author in the period of his imprisonment in Siberia, entitled *Threnody* and, respectively, *Verse of the War of 1914* (Fig. 4-5). Alongside these, But added, on 20 May 1918, the six stanzas of Eminescu's poem *Why Don't You Come*, heard from his comrade Vasile Barțu (Fig. 6). In fact, he accurately noted the temporal references at the beginning or at the end of the texts he wrote, so much so that on their basis one can reconstruct the events experienced by the author, from the moment of his conscription until hospitalization and imprisonment in the camp.

The most consistent part of the journal is the *Book of Remembrance*. It was written for a month and a half (4 August - 24 September 1915) in the first prisoner camp from the "town of Dauria." On 9 November 1915, when he finished collecting and writing the second text - *Threnody*, he was already in the second camp at Bics, the Romanian prisoners' transfer occurring on 12 October 1915. At the end of this year he also collected *Verse of War*, noting at the beginning of the text the date and location of its transcription in the journal: "Siberia, 30 March 1916."

The analysis of the first two texts reveals that they narrate almost identical events and happenings, lived at the same time in Galicia, both by the soldier Mihai But and by the anonymous author of the *Threnody (Doina)* collected by him after almost a year in the camp in Siberia. What distinguishes them, however, refers to the circumstances of those two authors' capture and imprisonment by the Russians. In the case of the soldier Mihai But, his being taken as a prisoner of war is related to his serious injuries in the head and hand by a Russian bombshell, followed by his

⁴ We must bring thanks to Mrs. Sofia But for the information she has provided us with and for the sensitive, heartfelt evocation of her grandfather, occasioned by the vernissage of the temporary exhibition *Remembering the Great War 1914-2014* (National Museum of Transylvanian History, Cluj-Napoca, 27 June 2014).

⁵ Ovidiu Muntean, Melinda Mitu, *Rememorând Marele Război 1914-2014*, Cluj-Napoca, Editura Mega, 2014, pp. 37-38.

internment in a makeshift campaign hospital and, then, by his and other injured fellow soldiers' abandonment in the hands of the Russians, in the wake of a precipitated retreat. On the other hand, the author describes in verse the voluntary surrender of a large unit, led by its commander, as a result their being surrounded by the Tsarist troops. In any case, the two met in the camp, after a journey made in adverse conditions, on the edge of survival. Mihai But's notes in the *Book* evoke briefly the events he experienced after being taken prisoner. The group of wounded soldiers he was in was taken by the Russian medical services and, in a terribly frosty weather, was transported with the carts to the station and, from there, by train to hospitals in Kiev and other cities. Due to the serious wounds to his head and hand, he needed a long hospitalization before he could recover. He mentioned that during the period from 25 November 1914 to 10 March 1915 he had been transferred across "3 cities, i.e. in 6 hospitals."

Conditions were no better for the other prisoners. Their physical and moral state is captured in the lyrics of *Threnody*, showing that, immediately after their surrender, the soldiers were "surrounded by our deadly enemies," then they were disarmed and forced to march in extremely harsh conditions toward the train station, from where they were transported by train to Siberia. Starving, bereft of any hope that they would ever see their families again and haunted by suicide thoughts, they seemed completely bewildered, especially after their forced separation from officers who had commanded them into battle before.

Thus, for the soldier Mihai But and for his comrades, internment in the camp represented the end of the dramatic events which began in the summer of 1914, with the "heavy order" of enrolment issued to his contingent, on the grounds that "there's a great war/ Against another country's emperor." In 1914, But was 22 years old. As he was born in the village Peceiu (today a village belonging to the commune Bănișor, Sălaj County), he was forced to leave for the training centre in Zalău. The lyrics of the *Threnody* evoke here the ritual of the soldier's separation from the village community, his relatives, family, parents, wife and children, whom he asks to forgive him for any inconvenience, convinced that he is going "to death." He asks especially his wife, who was given to him through "just marriage," to write him a "card" now and then, and, in particular, to pray so that he can escape death. His very departure from the village on a Sunday, during the religious service in church, has this meaning of an invocation of divine aid. Moreover, aware that death among foreigners is a terrible death and that here one cannot abide by the usual burial ceremonial, the soldier calls upon his mother to wail for him upon his leaving the parental home: "Mother, dear mother/Since you birthed a man/Cry out your heart again/That you're left without a son/For perhaps I won't return/To my dear beloved place." The memoirist literature of World War I records this disturbing moment through texts such as that authored by Octavian C. Tăsluanu, who mentions in his journal on the Galician front the scenes of grief and sorrow from the platforms of the stations where the soldiers embarked.⁶

⁶ Octavian C. Tăsluanu, *Trei luni pe câmpul de războiu: ziarul unui ofițer roman din armata austro-ungară care a luat parte cu glotașii din Ardeal la luptele din Galiția*, București, 1915, p. 15, p. 46.

The next stage represents the soldier's alienation from the village community and the family, this idealized space, charged with a strong affective bond, once the man travels all the way until his encounter with the front line. After two weeks of training at Zalău, where they are equipped and armed, the recruits are embarked on the train and sent directly to the front line, following a predetermined itinerary. Thus, the train travels through the localities of Santău, Carei and Ungvár⁷ and stops somewhere *en route* to Lemberg,⁸ where the troops are disembarked because "the Russian soldiers are barring the train from advancing."

In the stations where the train stops, the soldiers are greeted with presents, food, drink, music, dance and good cheer, but also with mobilizing exhortations, sorely needed for the morale of the troops. At Ujhorod station, the message delivered by the authorities is straightforward and every soldier must understand that he is going to battle to defend his country: "And at the train station came/A director, honest man/And all of us he preached/Lest we should get enraged/For our country we'd defend/For it we would fight in battle/ Get it back and never brattle."

All of this disappeared with the first meeting of the young recruits with the brutalized space of the front and especially when they can see some wagons filled with wounded returning from the front line: "But we got a broken heart/When off the train we'd quickly start/To get a little bite to eat/But the train that came surprised 'em/With a thousand injured men/There were nearly a thousand/Wounded from the battle shouting."

The notes in the *Book* make no reference to the route of the train all the way to the front line. The memories the soldier Mihai But begin with the time of disembarkment in the village of Ungvár and focus, at first, on the marches and fights in which he participated, on the lack of food and the omnipresence of death in the trenches. Marching and crossing with difficulty "a water like the Someș," his comrades received the baptism of fire shortly arriving on the front line. The sheer magnitude of the Russian bombardment made a strong impression upon him and he recorded it several times in his text: "the Russians hit, with their cannons and their firing machines, so hard the town we were in that we thought everyone was going to perish and that we would perish, too." After meeting with the first signs of death, fear is constant, the author also recounting the dramatic moment of the death of a soldier who is next to him in the shelter: in an instant, he "left this world," being hit in the head by a bullet while he was lighting his pipe. From the first line, his memory retains and describes the battle in the trenches and individual shelters - "*sfarlenie*" - giving some information about the peculiarities of such confrontations. The author himself was wounded, the first time, in the head just as he was digging an individual shelter, which is why he went to the "place for binding" and then to the hospital. Here he would stay one week and he remembered that during his convalescence "37 lads were wounded in that fight and 15 died that week I was in hospital." He further referred to the extent of human losses after another battle,

⁷ Present-day Ujhorod, a town in the west of Ukraine, on the border with Hungary.

⁸ Present-day Lvov, a town in the west of Ukraine.

stating that after the unit was regrouped on defensive positions and the roll was called, “out of 247 lads we were only 17 left with the captain.”

To complete these cruel realities of the war, seen and lived in the first line, Mihai But remembered the moaning of the wounded and dying soldiers. Because of the intensity of the fire, “fallen lads” could not be helped in time by the medical services of the army and, during the night, as there was a cease fire, the soldiers who regrouped themselves stumbled against the inert bodies of their comrades, whose destinies had been crushed by the war in the Galician trenches: “We went back, but in the dark, as we walked, we stumbled across the dead like you stumble, in summer, at reaping time, across the bundles of wheat if they remain untied overnight and a man walks among her. Most of them were whining, because they were injured and could no longer walk, and the nurses had not been able to come to them and bandage them, because as soon as one stood up he was shot.” In fact, the image of the dying injured soldier is also found in the lines of *Threnody*, in which the anonymous author describes the sufferings of those during such dramatic moments as follows: “In the village I saw fallen/ Husky men tied up like bundles/Wailing cries of sheer pain/Praying to others but in vain/Either to bandage their wound/Or to bury them in the ground.” In the face of such unimaginable horrors of the war, the soldier unceasingly prayed to God to help him overcome his fear and thanked Him repeatedly for “saving his life from death” and healing his terrible wounds.

The disruption of the supply services in the Austro-Hungarian army led to the lack of what was necessary for daily living, food in particular, for the soldiers on the frontline. The dwindling of their daily rations, the lack of bread and the ceaseless hunger endured by the troops is always mentioned in the notes. The author recalls the extreme solutions the commanders resorted to, by sending the soldiers to villages deserted by the civilians to fetch whatever they could find for eating. His memory also retained the desolate spectacle of a village abandoned by the inhabitants, where the soldiers nonetheless found something to eat: “Then we stabbed a few hogs and caught some geese and ducks and took with us apples and plums to where we were located in the camp. We prepared the pigs and the geese and boiled the meat and ate it without bread and salt, ‘cause we didn’t have even salt with us.” We should also mention, in this context, the picturesque episode that occurred after he left the hospital, when he was trying to find the unit he came from. In a bombed village, he met another Romanian soldier, who persuaded him to go together and buy a pig and to prepare it for the officers’ mess. This was probably one of the few occasions in which he did not suffer from hunger because, he said, after they’d bought a pig for 40 kroner, the butcher and his aides “made sausages and, as fit, he made a pork goulash for us, so good, as fit, and we fed ourselves well.”

After other misadventures, Mihai But managed with difficulty to get back to his company, probably situated in the area of Wadowice in Southern Poland, and then, for two weeks, his unit was sent to guard a bridge. Although at night they had to endure the cold, the author assures us that living was much better as “the campaign kitchens were with us and they regularly boiled for us and we did get some bread, for they brought us with the carts.”

In the fall of 1914, the rapid advance of the Tsarist troops in Galicia and the conquest of the town of Lemberg led to the piercing of the front, the siege of the Austrian fortress of Przemysl and the precipitated withdrawal of the Austro-Hungarian troops along the line of the Carpathian Mountains. The desperate situation of the troops was noticed by the author, who wrote in the journal that the unit he was enrolled in - the 32nd Infantry Regiment - was in a permanent retreat from the face of the enemy. Basically, after the brief episode of calm when his platoon protected an important bridge that ensured the crossing of supplies for the troops, the whole corps was called back to the regiment and sent to the front line because, the author said, "our folk couldn't stave off the enemies."

It was during this general retreat, in a terrible frost, that the final battle involving the soldier Mihai But was waged. Due to the fact that the ground was frozen, he could not dig "trenches" and his little mound made of earth only could not provide him better protection in the face of the Russian artillery missiles. In the middle of the fight, a bombshell splinter hit him in the head causing a deep, potentially lethal wound, as he noted at the end of the *Book* written ten months later, in the prison camp in Siberia: "After I shot hundreds of bullets for two hours, then a piece of garnet iron from the Russians hit me in the head and I was dead for an hour and a half. Immediately two lads rushed and bound my head, but I never knew when they bound me, for I was dizzy from the terrible shot that had hit me. In about an hour and a half, I woke up and went to the place for binding of our doctors. I heard them say that I wouldn't live longer than two days, I'd been so damaged inside my head. But blessed be the Heavenly Father that I was healed and am alive to this day!"

His memories shows us a file from the chronicle of the Great War and evoke the somewhat similar destiny of hundreds of thousands of Transylvanians who were involved in the conflict, from day one, because of their political and administrative status of subordination towards Austro-Hungary, a situation in which all the political-military decisions taken by the central government in Budapest and by Emperor Franz Joseph had to be respected.

The manuscript we are reconstructing for the first time contains interesting and truthful information about the sufferings and struggles on the Galician front, seen through the eyes of a simple soldier who had a basic training but who nevertheless knew how to write. In general, memoirs about the war contain a series of texts that describe the events in the lives of different personalities in terms of social position, education or military hierarchy. In this respect, it should be noted that the uniqueness of the text presented below is ensured both by the social status of the author - a peasant with four years of primary school, his lower position in the military hierarchy (a mere soldier) and, above all, the fact that he spent the four months of fighting in Galicia entirely on the front line, being then severely wounded and taken prisoner.

Mihai But was a winner. He survived the war, the terrible injuries he suffered, the cold and imprisonment in Siberia, and after eight years he returned home. Two of his fellow villagers who died in the camps in Siberia did not have the same destiny. The war marked him deeply and left physical and spiritual traces in him, but he managed to found a family in the village of Peceiu, Sălaj County, where he lived for three more decades after returning from Siberia.

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Buth Mihalyi, Dauria, 1915, August 4, Sziberijában

Book of Remembrance

From the war of 1914, written in Asia, in the town of Dauria, on August 4, 1915

In the month of August 1914, on the 18th in the evening, we got on the train and on the 20th we got off in Galicia in a town called Ungvár, where we set off in the afternoon and walked through about 3 villages. We filled our rifles with bullets and then we knew that this was no joke and that we were heading for the fire. Then we arrived, about 10 hours later, in a village where we slept and on the 21st they gave us a shot, i.e. they grafted almost all of us, and we stayed in that village until 23 August in the morning. On the 23rd we set out for the enemy. From the 23rd to the 28th we went, day and night, until we met the enemy. On August 28, i.e. on the day of the Holy Virgin, in the afternoon, we arrived in a town, where we were told that we would be getting bread for lunch but we got no bread at all that day.

It was while we were making a pyramid with the rifles and taking off our shoes that our feet were rotten from sweat and swollen for walking so much, and our regiments were positioned on the crown of the road. All of a sudden, we heard from a forest near the town that the Russians were shooting their cannons and their firing machines so hard in the town we were in that we thought everyone was going to perish and that we would perish, too. We immediately received orders to make *sfarlenie*⁹ at them and shoot them. Because we were all barefoot, we could barely put on our boots without the socks, because all of us were washing our feet, and instead of getting something to eat to appease our hunger, we got the most terrible fire.

Through that town flowed a water like the Someş and across the water there was a bridge, but we could not wait to cross that bridge, all at once, and most of the troops passed through the water and went out of the town and made *sfarlenie* at them. But walking through the water in a rush, we couldn't pass the shoelaces through the boots and almost all of us who went through the water dropped the boots off our feet while stepping over some obstacle. We kept on walking barefoot for a while, luckily for us we were the reserve, for there were other troops ahead of us, and we had enough time to put on our boots and arrange our equipment. At around 6 o'clock, we received order to go to *sfarlenie*, the left wing, to strengthen *sfarlenie* 'cause very many had fallen. When we left there and we got up to our feet, the Russians shot at us, bullets and shells whistled around us from all sides, and as we were running, our men kept falling all the time, 'cause the Russians were all hidden in pits and we couldn't see them.

On the day of the Holy Virgin, in the evening, we arrived in a forest and we

⁹ A battle waged along a line formed by trenches and individual sheltering spots.

went deep into a ravine and from there we fired until we were no longer able to see how to fire. The firing ceased on their side too, and then we walked about three kilometres back and we went to sleep hungry that day, 'cause we hadn't had anything to eat. On August 29, we stayed at the barracks where we had settled in the camp and on the next day, others went in our place and we waited for the carts with bread to come, 'cause we could no longer bear the hunger, but nothing came.

If our officers saw that nothing came for us, as we were camped near a village, they let us go into the village to bring some pigs, birds, whatever we could find, to slay them and boil and eat them. As soon as we got the order, we immediately went to the village to find something, but we found nothing in that village, not even a scrap of bread, 'cause the Russians had been there before and eaten all that was to eat there.

The village was deserted of people. The poor civilians had left the village with their women and children, for fear of the soldiers. The pigs were released from the coops, the cattle, those that hadn't been eaten by the Russians were in the gardens, the calves mooed hungrily on the lanes, and our hearts ached for them. Then we stabbed a few hogs and caught some geese and ducks and took with us apples and plums to where we were located in the camp. We prepared the pigs and the geese and boiled the meat and ate it without bread and salt, 'cause we didn't have even salt with us.

Then we got order to go to *sfarlenie* to release the others from there on the battlefield and we kept walking up to the middle of the night until we ended up in a forest and we remained there until dawn.

At dawn, we came out of the woods, we went over some heath and made *sfarlenie* and headed for the enemy 'cause our officers had looked through the spyglass and seen where the enemy had positioned themselves. They were few near a village, but most of them had climbed up into the attics and the Russians had got two machine guns up in the church tower. When the sun rose, we took our positions in *sfarlenie* on a pasture. But the good Lord took me into a pit 'cause there was such firing that day, from the moment the sun rose until dusk, that we could neither go back, nor ahead, nor dig any pit, and whoever raised his head from the ground, his life was taken away immediately. My poor neighbour, who was next to me lighting his pipe, he got a bullet through his head and he could only say once: Ouch! and he left this world for good.

And from sunrise to sunset I couldn't raise my head and the sun burned me there all day and then when help came, i.e. when the reserve came back, the poor lads were felled like trees. And after it got dark, we left that place after the firing ceased. We went back, but in the dark, as we walked, we stumbled across the dead like you stumble, in summer, at reaping time, across the bundles of wheat if they remain untied overnight and a man walks among her. Most of them were whining, because they were injured and could no longer walk, and the nurses had not been able to come to them and bandage them, because as soon as one stood up he was shot. And I, on that day, at any second, all I did was to await death. But may the Almighty God be praised that I escaped from death and am still alive today!

Then they put on a battalion of shooters to fire at them, i.e. those who are hunters in civilian life, as they say in Hungarian *egy vadász zászlóalj*. After the firing

ceased, they called us to the roll, and those who were in *sfarlenie* to the left side, with all the officers, withdrew into the woods and ran back. And when they ordered us to pull our ranks together, out of 247 lads we were only 17 left with the captain. In the dark we could not gather other regiments, because they'd surrounded us and we were dispersed and hidden everyone, we no longer could pull our ranks together, like when the crow screams at its babies and the mother hen barely collects them from among the weeds.

And from there we beat them back and the Russians withdrew in the village until morning. We kept walking for a week and a half and still didn't meet them, and then we got order to come back from Russia, 'cause we were in Russia and the Russians had retired in the Carpathians, behind our backs, to get away from us. But if we retired from the slopes we heard that they remained in the Carpathians. Because we were few and had no cannons, for our cannons had been taken away, we could hardly get rid of them, but they didn't catch us there. Sit was in such a place that we could go out, walking on our hands and retreating on a mountain and getting rid of them through a dense forest.

Then for two weeks we kept walking back to the Hungarian country and, in October, there were some rains that could almost kill us. We got to a forest and stayed there. We dug deep pits and trenches and if we entered them they couldn't see us. There we had some help and, from the nearby villages, we fetched all sorts of tools and the big saw, we dismantled a few houses and barns and we fetched the planks and doors of the houses and we prepared for enemies. For two weeks we worked in the woods and we made trenched in the ground and stables for the horses. We also built roads from one company to another and for two weeks it wasn't bad for us there 'cause the kitchens were with us and regularly boiled for us. But when we put everything in order and prepared for the winter, 'cause they'd told us that we would be there in the winter, too, within two weeks, seeing that the Russians didn't come to us, we left that place. And we walked for a week, day and night, and we faced them again, but we, the 32nd Infantry Regiment, stayed at a shelter for backup. When noon came, we put our rifles in a pyramid behind the shelter, and from the afternoon until the evening, bullets kept flying over our heads, they even fell up to 200 steps away from us, but our gunners were there near us and often fired the cannons at the Russians. The Russians fired their cannons at us, but their shots were too short and couldn't reach us. So we stayed there at night but the Russians fired so hard at us at night that we thought none of us would keep alive.

At around ten in the evening, when fire was most intense, they took us to help out the Germans there in *sfarlenie* outside the town, but bullets so flew among us. As we were walking through the town, the bullets came from the rifles so hard that tiles were breaking on the house roofs and windows were breaking too and the poor lads kept falling under the rain of bullets. But it was also kind of cloudy and there was a deep water that we could not cross on a mere improvised bridge. Our captain went ahead with ten lad. We, in the dark, missed him because we were walking through a dark forest and we couldn't see each other. Our captain went through the Germans' *sfarlenie* and thought that some of must have been ahead and went right down into

the Russians' *sfarlenie*. And he and seven lads were caught by the Russians. Three lads escaped from there in the dark and came back to us and told us what had happened with our captain and where he was. But one came back shot in one leg but the bullet had hit only the flesh and did not ruin his bone. And on the same day he went to the hospital. And then the lieutenant was left as commander of the company. And if the fire it ceased, he gathered is together and we left back to that shelter.

On another day, we went from there to a house in the village and we dug pits in the barn for we could not rest because of the bullets that came crashing through the wall. We could only sleep in the pits, both day and night, and we stayed there for two weeks. In the two weeks we stayed there we saw no piece of bread. Only at midnight did the fire cease and the kitchens came to us, once every 24 hours, soup without bread. And the day when the Russians no longer fired so hard, we went to the village and boiled a pot of potatoes, but we still didn't starve too much then. There were also days when we didn't get anything, only the cabbages we found in the field, we took the leaves off it and roasted the cabbage, and we also found turnips and unboiled beans and we lived on those. And if we found carrots, they were as good as bread. And I met Petre Mitru in Galicia once.

From that village we, the honveds went to a big water like the Tisa, I stayed there for two weeks. There, I worked all night, I was making trenches and holes in which we slept. And there was a lot of rain in the month of October and it was very difficult 'cause we were all soaked to the bone. But may the good Lord be praised because when I was at *sfarlenie* I was in good health, no disease came upon me, may the good Lord be praised that at least I didn't get sick but fared much better.

When I was at that big water, a car came flying in the sky, that is to say *repülogép*, up there that we barely saw it but it could see us as we were seated there. But we fired at it but we could not take it down. When it was about five hours after noon, the Russians started firing so loud that the sergeant major's hole where he was sitting crumbled. I went to him to take the rod for removing the cartridge tube from the rifle, 'cause I'd fired so hard that the latch couldn't pull the tubes out of the shotgun. There was such firing and the earth shattered, like that, with shrapnel and the shells at us, that we thought we would all perish.

But we were about two hundred steps away from the water, and every night we had to go to stand guard there, 'cause the Russians were across the water, we on this side, and we kept watch lest they should come at us during the night. But that evening I went with two fellows to stand guard. And on the banks of that big water fall we had deep holes, as big as I was, and they could no longer shoot us there. When I went into the post, going through the willows, the Russians shot at me from across the water and because of the moon they could see me well. And even when I flung myself into the pit, they shot at us and as I jumped into the pit, a bullet came through the strap of the rifle but didn't hit me.

And then, in the middle of the night, we got orders to go to *sfarlenie* and from there we went back to another place and, at lunchtime, we reached a village where we stayed in a garden and got food. Then we walked into a beautiful town where we arrived at about eleven in the evening and we slept there until morning. But when we

got into town, we passed through mud up to our knees, just like mortar, and there we rested for a day. The next day, in the evening, we left there and when it was getting dark, we crossed a big water and arrived in another place at one hour after midnight. When we left the town, each of us was carrying a sheaf of straw on our backs and a plank that was two metres long to make holes in the ground so that the Russians wouldn't be able to shoot us.

And if we got there, we immediately started to dig a deep ditch so that we could walk next to one another. When the trench was ready and we put straw in it, there comes the sergeant major to us and says that it's not fine and that we need to dig deeper. I was with one Lupan Petre from Giumelcis¹⁰ and we immediately got up and took the straw out and started digging. With the backpack on my back, I raised my head a little to straighten up and the Russians started firing. As I raised my head, the bullets kept coming. I say to the other man that we had better bow our heads lest we should we get something over it. So we bent down and did more work, I threw earth three more times out of the ditch, and I immediately felt my head roaring and on my neck on the left the blood was gushing from my head, but it only hurt a little. Then I said to my comrade, *Petre, I'm ready! Come and bind my head so that I can go to the hospital.* But as I was working a bullet came at me from a rifle and also passed through the spare boots on my back and went out through the can. [a page missing from the text].

The doctor said I should go 'cause he had not seen how I had got hurt. And 37 lads were wounded in that fight and 15 died that week I was in hospital. One week after I left the hospital, back to *sfarlenie*, but I could not during the day, for it was a Sunday, but the Russians kept firing as if it was the end of the world.

And again, walking across town, I came across a Romanian from our regiment and started chatting with him. And he told me that he had permission from the officers to buy a pig, cut it, boil it and take it cooked to the officers and that I should be his companion 'cause he didn't like it on his own, and that we'd eat well after it's boiled. So I did. We went through town, got a pig for 40 kroner and for 3 kroner we had a butcher slaughter it and for 4 kroner some women boiled it. And he made sausages and, as fit, he made a pork goulash for us, so good, as fit, and we fed ourselves well. Then we went to *sfarlenie* if it was dark but I couldn't find the battalion. And I met 2 of my companions from the battalion and again we went into town and went to sleep in a deserted house until morning and then we went away from there.

When we left there, in the morning, we were late 'cause we'd bought something for lunch. And when we wanted to go to *sfarlenie* we could not even go up to *sfarlenie* 'cause it was far from the town and the bullets were coming like rain and we were about to perish. We returned in town by noon and we even heard that our unit had left there. I went and I asked at the headquarters, and I said where I came from, out of hospital, and what had happened to me and that I wanted to go to *sfarlenie* and didn't know where the regiment was 'cause I couldn't find it there. I

¹⁰ Present-day Plopiș, Sălaj County.

immediately got word where our comrades were and which villages I should pass through. The other comrades waited for me on a road because they'd lost from their regiment for about two weeks. And they feared they would be shot because they had fled from *sfarlenie*, from the fire, and had kept hiding. If I came with news to them, they immediately left with me. But on the road, where wherever we went through that town, we came across Russians with guns and thought the whole town would perish. And as we 3 fellows were walking, there comes a bombshell and immediately everything collapsed and we thought it would kill us too. We were sitting then under a stone fence and five Russians handling a cannon went past. They got scared and ran back into town but I went ahead until I caught up with the company even as the sun was setting.

I caught up with the company in a village called Bodovițe.¹¹ I immediately went to my platoon and they were sitting on the roadside to rest for they were weary. I went to the commander, that is the sergeant major, 'cause he was the commander. I went and told him that I had come out of hospital, and although I had bandages around my head, now it didn't hurt me at all. After that I presented myself before the lieutenant, who was surprised how quickly I'd healed from the head wound. From there we actually went, but not far away, and we lined up by a water and we dug pits and then went to sleep. That day we walked about 200 steps away and we dug other pits in another place, by a water, so that the Russians couldn't pass by there, where we stayed for two weeks.

From there we went two weeks later, at about midnight, and walked for two days and three nights without bread and we were starving on the road. Then we arrived in a village where we got food, i.e. some stew, but no bread. Then we went to a big water, a lake where there was a boat that carried us. We kept watch over a bridge our men had built so that the supplies could reach the troops. It was good for us there for two weeks, because the campaign kitchens were with us and they regularly boiled for us and we did get some bread, for they brought us with the carts. The only thing that was bad was that there was a big cold and we were chilled at night when we stood guard.

Two weeks later we received order to go back to the regiment, 'cause our comrades couldn't stave off the enemies and we left around midnight and walked for two nights and a day until we found the regiment. We arrived at the regiment when the sun was setting but we couldn't go to them 'cause there was such firing that we thought everyone would perish. We waited in a ravine till it was a darker and the firing ceased. Then we left from there to them but as we reached the line of fire, they went back 'cause the Russians were killing them all. Then we met up with them and we went back and we walked all night. When dawn came, we arrived in a shelter and stayed there until around noon.

Then we could not dig because the ground was frozen deeper than 30 cm and it was freezing cold all day and we didn't have where to dig. So there was a ploughing near us and with the blankets on we started carrying frozen earth and we each made a

¹¹ Probably Wadowice, a village in the south of Poland.

little mound of earth over our heads as that the Russians wouldn't see us. When it was full day we were ready with them and started shooting at the Russians, and they at us, until around nine.

Then at nine in the morning I was hungry, so I started eating a tin and bread, lying down but I didn't get to open the tin. After I shot hundreds of bullets for two hours, then a piece of garnet iron from the Russians hit me in the head and I was dead for an hour and a half. Immediately two lads rushed and bound my head, but I never knew when they bound me, for I was dizzy from the terrible shot that had hit me. In about an hour and a half, I woke up and went to the place for binding of our doctors. I heard them say that I wouldn't live longer than two days, I'd been so damaged inside my head. But blessed be the Heavenly Father that I was healed and am alive to this day!

And then our comrades walked back 'cause the Russians were killing them. And then, on that day, November 25th, as our comrades retreated, the village doctors also retreated and left us, the injured, with the Russians. And then the Russians came in the morning. And as they came across us there, they immediately organized 37 carts and put us in them and took us to the train station in Russia.

From there, from the binding place to the station we travelled for 3 days and 3 nights and it was such freezing cold that we thought we'd be freezing in the carts, because there was a cold wind blowing, and as I got my head out from under the blanket I felt like my cheek was about to crack. And after 3 days we arrived at the station and they put us on the train. And 3 Russian doctors came with us 'cause we travelled for 7 days and 8 nights until we arrived in a town by the name of Kiev. There, at the station, they came for us and took us to the hospital. And I was in hospital from November until March 10th, in 3 cities, i.e. in 6 hospitals at that time. And, on March 10th, I got out of hospital, healed, and I went to Siberia and have been here to this day, i.e. September 24th, 1915.

Threnody

Collected by Mihai Buth in Siberia, the town of Bics, 1915, 9 November

Rolling leaf of apple green
 Truest friends than I have seen
 You stay here and listen to me
 What I tell you true will be
 Hard it is to live with strangers
 And amidst all sort of dangers
 In that year that's a changer
 Nineteen hundred and fourteen
 Many things I'd done and seen.
 In the month of August even
 The glass filled with all the
 grieving.
 A harsh order came upon us
 From the emperor's court much
 fuss
 At the taverns in the village
 We'd no longer do some tillage
 All of us who'd been recruited
 No exemptions attributed.
 The order was shouted much
 Day and night, and such and such
 That we'd leave all for the station
 We'd be fighting for the nation
 That there's a great war
 Against another country's em-
 peror.
 And a heavy order came
 Women should be left, no claim,
 Men were crying for their sons
 Wives for their husbands gone.
 When I left my dear home
 Kissing the wife, before I'd roam
 I did say this, loud and clear:
 - My dear wife, my wife, my
 dear
 You were given unto me
 Through just matrimony
 I am going now to war
 God be with those I adore!
 For that evil hour has come
 I will go and leave you numb.
 When I left my house's gate
 My heart burst, with all the weight
 Seeing my wife weeping by

And the tears in my mother's eye
 As she saw her dear son
 Getting all his baggage done
 And now leaving for the war
 Could return perhaps no more.
 I immediately took
 Bag on back, no hands I shook.
 I was heading for Zalău
 It was Sunday, holy woe
 And the popes were now in
 church.
 When for war my home I left
 Farewell I said, bereft
 From the people in the village
 From my kin, from all the tillage
 Knowing I was meeting death.
 And I did pray for forgiveness
 To all folks, with real swiftness.
 Maybe while I was alive
 I did some people deprive:
 - Dear all, brothers and kin
 Pray forgive me for my sin
 For I didn't mean to hurt you
 Even though I bid adieu.
 May God hold you in His palm,
 I must head for no big calm.
 'Cause the carts are surely waiting
 To take soldiers to their unmaking
 I am now going to battle
 May God protect you from all the
 rattle.
 I do pray, my dear beloved,
 Write me postcards when it's time
 To appease my heart's sad
 chimes.
 Farewell, my dear wife
 Will I see you in this life?
 Maybe not tomorrow dear
 Maybe that time ne'er comes near
 But do ask the dear Lord
 To protect me from the sword.
 In Zalău when I arrived
 New clothes for me they
 contrived

Here we're staying for two weeks
Teaching us fighting techniques.
- Mother, dear mother
Since you birthed a man
Cry out your heart again
That you're left without a son
For perhaps I won't return
To my dear beloved place.
Didn't stay long in Zalău
Got some bullets, not for show
A stone I carried on my back
Until news took us aback
That those who had gone there
first
Fewer were, war be accursed
To Galicia in the south
Battling enemy all around.
Wednesday in the afternoon
The lieutenant ordered soon
That on Friday, 4 o'clock
We should leave, not run amock
Heading for Baie, in the end,
Our homeland to defend.
Wednesday in the evening
He kicked us out from the
meeting
Then he dressed us to the nines
Took us out, the city's fine.
There the gentlemen did come
Cigarettes they gave us some
And with flowers they adorned us.
When the clock struck one
o'clock
I was proud as a peacock
Went on foot up to the station
Bitter hearts, and no elation.
I put my head to the ground
Went to the station crying out
When I got into the car
Sighs kept coming from my heart.
The train left the station weary
Sighs press on my chest, my
dearie,
I keep thinking of my country
Will I come back on days sundry?
When we left in the train car
People, good at heart they are
Food and drink they gave to us

Money wouldn't spoil their trust.
In Santău the train did stop
All of us got off, chop-chop,
Those who wanted could dance
too
Music playing, really true.
Music and the demoiselles,
Like the bluish flower bells
Beautiful Romanian lassies
Reddish apples up their brassies.
We didn't stop until Carei
Then took it right, perhaps astray,
To Galicia we went.
Then in Ungvar we'd descend
There again they waited for us
Many noblemen, saddless
And the city's music band
And we danced the gentle dances
Followed by some Transylvanians.
And at the train station came
A director, honest man
And all of us he preached
Lest we should get enraged
For our country we'd defend
For it we would fight in battle
Get it back and never brattle.
And from there again we left
All the way to Lemberg, west.
On the way the news that reached
us
Close to Lemberg waiting for us
Were the soldiers of the Russians
Holding up the train acrushin'.
So we turned back and again
To battle we went, most certain.
But we got a broken heart
When off the train we'd quickly
start
To get a little bite to eat
But the train that came surprised
'em
With a thousand injured men
There were nearly a thousand
Wounded from the battle
shouting.
Then we all gathered together
Those who're coming from the
station

And there we got some rest
 Until dawn our souls blessed.
 When the sun arisen was
 We quickly packed our things
 because
 We had to leave now in a hurry
 Towards a forest we should scurry
 And there we sat all day long
 Awaiting for our turn to come.
 And we could hear how the
 cannons
 Destroyed the hills and us did
 madden.
 There was a little country road
 Through a forest, at a crossroad,
 And everyone was travelling by it
 On horseback in the brightest
 outfit
 But they brought brave men
 who'd fallen
 Shot and mangled, quite
 crestfallen.
 When we were about to rest
 I saw a car high up the crest
 And it was a flying machine
 After which I shot at it
 But it soared up very high
 No one got it hereby.
 We did wait a little longer
 Until the enemies learned of our
 stronger
 Comrades already at the station
 With carts and with ammunition
 And because we could hear
 nothing
 As the cannons kept rumbling
 They fired near the station
 And the round shook, devastation,
 For the troop left retreating.
 But returned so quickly back
 With a burden on their neck
 And in another place set camp.
 The cannon was very far away
 Five times it fired away
 Nothing hitting, what dismay.
 And then stopped what it was
 doing
 For the dark began us wooing.

And after we sat us down
 The troop we guarded, all around.
 But around one o'clock
 The cannons fired all amock
 Then the rifles started firing
 Turning the hills into a jarring
 Scene, and all houses were
 burning
 On all sides, no way assuaging
 Burning bright like torchlights do.
 Queasy but the night did pass
 Morning came, alas, alas
 Then all of us met together
 Facing south, we searched the
 weather
 Found a place to shoot the foe.
 When the sun came up again
 To the woods we went, fast lane,
 And we got something to eat
 Warm soup, indeed, a treat.
 After sipping through the broth
 Harsh orders bestowed their wrath
 We should be ready to march
 To the north, and make no arch,
 For there's little rabble there
 And to win they cannot dare
 Fighting back the Russians' army.
 Quickly did we set afoot
 Nowhere did we waste our time
 An emergency arrival
 At a specified survival
 Place where we sat down
 Got no dinner, we did frown
 Outside we had trouble sleeping
 Famished, tired and weeping.
 But a river flowed out there
 And we drank its waters clear.
 After that we got some rest
 Until dawn came back abreast.
 ...
 - We, Romanians, have strong
 blood
 To push our enemies into the
 mud!
 If these words were not outspoken
 We would stand in line unbroken
 Into groups undivided emotion.
 And then we did leave that place

Heading for a village base
That was hit by all the cannons
Burning now like fires of demons.
When we reached close to the
village
We all crept on our bellies
And we were as cold as ice
Fearing for our very lives.
'Cause they fired at us with
cannons
Shaking all the earth ablazin'.
They we got back to our feet
Passing barely through the village.
In the village I saw fallen
Husky men tied up like bundles
Wailing cries of sheer pain
Praying to others but in vain
Either to bandage their wound
Or to bury them in the ground.
So we left the village all
Stopping by a hilly wall
Quickly digging a few trenches
Making those our earthen
benches.
And we scurried all around
Digging for food in the ground
As for three entire days
We'd had no food to heal our
ways
Cause the carts with bread had
vanished
So to eat we hadn't managed.
We rushed and rushed through the
woods
Looking for some pears or goods
Pears, the wildest there can be
Seemed to us so sugary.
And a little while later
Came to us the carts with fodder
And they gave us broth to sup
But no bread could cheer us up.
Since we'd had another meal
We started marching in a reel
Heading for the enemy
In the fields quite steadily
Many of us waded through waters
Soaking wet, like real otters.
From there we escaped again

But ran into fires of hell
For we took the path that goes
Through a forest full of firs
In which many a man was dying
And cruel battles they were
fighting.
That whole place was now ablaze
Firing for three whole days
In the forest to the right
Our cannons fired their might
Hitting strongly our foe
Dealing the world a mighty blow.
So if we went in the forest
Waiting for our turn to come
Until darkness fell upon us
And we ran with all our hearts
To the fire that departs.
For a long time we refrained
Until the signal he us gave
And we flew all in a hurry
From our trenches, full of worries
So we started running all
Where he'd ordered us to sprawl.
The captain led us full of brawn
Yelling to the lads, hold on,
Turn around and back again
To the place they'd left in vain
And shoot our rifles with relish
Or else all of us would perish.
All of us returned as ordered
To our enemies disordered
And we all fought rough and raw
And at one point yelled: hurrah!
The enemies turned around
Hearing all the roaring sound.
And the lads bowed to the swords
Slashing short their lives untold
And they all wailed with pain
As if the world was going to
wane.
To the forest we returned
Seeing how many had burned.
Now the darkness was upon us
How many had died in pain thus?
But they gathered us together
See who was alive and where.
After counting our numbers

The captain said, as he did wonder:
 - My beloved, dear soldiers
 You're valiant men, with brawny shoulders,
 And you have struggled to defeat them
 You shed your blood but never succumbed.
 And now I wish to tell you truly
 That they've surrounded us quite cruelly
 Our gunners have, alas, just fled
 Leaving behind the cannons dead
 And now we have no other choice
 But put our rifles down, no noise.
 And then we went, in a great hurry,
 To a forest edge, in all a flurry,
 Where we could see that there had gathered
 Soldiers from other realms,
 battered.
 So there the lieutenant came
 Ordering the bugler to proclaim
 And tell us all to surrender
 With firearms we cannot venture.
 And after the bugler called
 For two hours we stalled
 Until the Russians came
 And all of our weapons claimed.
 When we laid down our arms
 We were steeped in floods of tears
 Soaking wet our uniforms
 Seeing ourselves surrounded
 by our deadly enemies.
 Then they took us all away
 To that village, where we'd stay
 From the village we'd come from
 The one that burned down to the ground.
 And when there we arrived
 From the officers divided,
 They were left, indeed, behind
 But we had to walk aligned.
 The whole day long we marched
 ahead

Sighing from our hearts with dread
 And occasionally chanting:
 - Oh, woe me, I didn't know
 When bullets I had to sow
 If only I'd known my fate
 Death would have been my blind date
 And I'd never have come here.
 When the border I did cross
 My heart burst with all the loss
 And around I turned my gaze
 To my country, eyes ablaze
 And began to chant like this:
 - My dear, beloved homeland,
 Should I live to tread your ground
 At least when the spring returns.
 If I die, let me die swiftly
 Not live in this dire world,
 A world dark and very filthy,
 Roaming its trails with hunger in
 my soul.
 Then, again, we started walking,
 Aching souls and hearts all
 throbbing,
 Hurting feet, barely advancing,
 And burdened with heavy sighing.
 We were all haggard and meek
 Hunger making the world bleak,
 And where cabbages we saw,
 Hastily, we ate it raw,
 Cabbage leaves were all we ate
 Garlic, bitter on our plate,
 Seemed to us as sweet as honey.
 When a village we approached
 And a woman crossed our path
 Hundreds of us rushed to meet
 Her, asking for some bread to eat.
 Much harm would befall our
 nation
 By the time we reached the
 station.
 On the fifth day, in the evening,
 When we all were at the station
 We all climbed into the train cars
 Far away we travelled thus.
 We were fed only one meal
 On the train, hunger to seal,

But the train was rushing near
The northern deserts of Siberia.
From the borderline we went
Thirty days on the train we spent
Until Daurie we reached.
Daurie, the city bleary,
Off the train we got there, weary,
In the barracks we were kept
Of our destinies bereft.
There we stayed for eight whole
months

Until on October twelfth
The order came, all at once,
For Romanians to depart,
So from Daurie we left.
For ten days we walked and
walked
All the way to Bics, and there
Our bleak destiny we would
share.

*

The Verse of War 1914
Siberia, 1916, March 30

Let me tell you about a gory battle that was waged on the battlefield with the
Russians' army.

We were bound to strife
And to give our life
Let me read it swiftly
For Romanians neatly
To begin to ponder
These smooth battle verses
Of those who surrendered
On cliffs steep and tattered
The battle of rabbles,
People should not dabble
But try to understand
By reading this book
From beginning to end,
Keeping still in mind
This terrible battle, unkind.

Greenish leaf torn into twine
From the year eighty-nine
Greenish leaf and flower line
How many lads of that time
Older, younger, short and tall,
Stout and might, waiting for the
battle call,
Greenish leaf, vine curlicue,
We were for the battle due,
To the northern lands so dreary
Where we started fighting, weary.

Mother, if only you'd seen me
My shirt torn by bayonets
My heart rendered into shreds
My heart frozen, petrified
As on that hill I would hide.
Greenish leaf and dandelion
Bugles blowing on and on
Heeding us to battle forward
Hearts ablaze, burning like pyres
Greenish leaf, dry wood and mire,
When they all began to fire
Of the five thousand and one,
One hundred were left alive
Few of us would now survive.
Greenish leaf torn into shreds
I weep for the children's fate
Cause they're left without their
fathers,
Crying at home with their mothers,
Not remembering their parents
And their sweet and loving
mothers
No longer allowed to see
Their beloved husbands who
Are now lying in their coffins
Under proud, silk-woven flags
Far away from their homeland.

Flowers bending with the wind
 Alas, my heart is now weeping.
 ...
 Greenish flower, by the manger
 Just before Holy Elijah
 All the young and handsome lads
 To battle are driven in herds
 In Galicia, in the mounts,
 In unknown places they're bound
 Playing hide and seek, so dire,
 Until the Russians do fire.
 Russians – never-sleeping snakes
 Hiding in bushes and braes
 And they catch you unawares
 To slay you if you don't beware.
 The night is long and I can't sleep
 I toss and turn, and then I weep,
 Like fish do in a still water
 Like men do in a country foreign.
 Far away, among the strangers,
 Tears flood and I'm in danger
 Flooding mind and soul and heart
 From my loved ones I'm ripped
 apart
 And with foreign folk I dine
 And I feast with them on brine
 Always with my home in mind
 Sighs so deep, fate so unkind.
 Dear Lord, let peace prevail,
 Let me see my mom who wails
 For I left her all alone
 In my country I'd like to roam.
 And I pity my dear mother
 Old, alone, she cannot bother
 To keep house, and now she's
 crying
 But I was taken in the army

Mihai But, the year 1915, D 7
 Siberia, the town of Bics

1918, May, 20

Broke her heart and crushed her
 soul.
 With her my wife I abandoned
 With a small child to defend.
 All of them I left behind
 Going to war, fate so unkind,
 And I left mother at home
 Wailing tears of grief, alone,
 Let tears in your eyes not throng
 Will you see me before long?
 Listen to me, mother sweet,
 Rifles make a deafening tweet
 Making trees rumble around
 Shaking even the frozen ground
 Bullets came like million rain
 drops
 Thrashing handsome lads like
 crops
 But don't weep, my mother dear,
 For my fate, I'm still alive,
 You can weep if you do hear
 That I'm buried in the ground,
 You can only weep then, thinking
 How your son the worms is
 feeding.
 But do pray, mother, sweet breath,
 For your son, threatened with death
 And never a moment spare
 But look for his grave, aware
 Where my tomb lies and my bones
 For there you'll see my cross
 Flowers all around in bloom
 Growing to define my doom.
 So do cry and weep and wail
 For your son, to no avail,
 For your son so much beloved
 Robbed of life by the enemy bullet.

Why Don't You Come¹

[Mihai Eminescu]

See the swallows quit the eaves
And fall the yellow walnut leaves,
The vines with autumn frost are numb,
Why don't you come, why don't you come?

Oh, come into my arms' embrace
That I may gaze upon your face,
And lay my head in grateful rest
Against your breast, against your breast!

Do you remember when we strayed
The meadows and the secret glade,
I kissed you midst flowering thyme
How many a time, how many a time?

Some women on the earth there are
Whose eyes shine as the evening star,
But be their charm no matter what,
Like you they're not, like you they're not!

For you shine in my soul always
More softly than the starlight blaze,
More splendid than the risen sun,
Beloved one, beloved one!

But it is late in autumn now,
The leaves have fallen from the bough,
The fields are bare, the birds are dumb...
Why don't you come, why don't you come?

Evening,
Barțu Vasile - Brăișor²

¹ This is Corneliu M. Popescu's translation of Eminescu's poem into English. See <https://y112.wordpress.com/2014/01/20/de-ce-nu-vii-why-dont-you-come-mihai-eminescu/> accessed 20 July 2016. Translator's note.

² Today a village belonging to the commune Sâncraiu, Cluj county.

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ANNEX I

Buth Mihalyi, Dauria, 1915, 4 august , Sziberijában

Carte de aducere-aminte din războiul din anul 1914

scrisă în Asia, în orașul Dauria în 4 august 1915

În luna lui august 1914, în 18 sara, ne-am pus pe mașină¹ și în 20 ne-am scoborât în Galiția într-un oraș cu numele Ungvár², de unde am plecat după-amiază și am mers vreo 3 sate. Ne-am umplut puștile cu gloanțe și atunci am știut că nu-i glumă, fără întradevăr merem la foc. Atunci am sosit cam pe la 10 ore într-un sat unde ne-am culcat și în 21 ne-o pus vărsat³, adică ne-o altoit mai pe toți, și în satul acela am rămas până în 23 august dimineața. În 23 am plecat spre pizmași. Din 23 și până în 28 ne-am dus, zi și noapte, până ne-am întâlnit cu pizmașii. În 28 august, adică în ziua de Sântă Marie, după amiază am ajuns într-un oraș, acolo ne-o spus că vom căpăta de-amiază și pită dar în ziua aceea nu am fost căpătat deloc.

Era pe când făceam puștile piramidă și ne descălțam, că picioarele ne erau mai putrede de sudori și umflate de atâta drum, iar regimentele noastre erau așezate pe dunga drumului. Numai decît auzim dintr-o pădure din apropierea orașului că așe dau rușii cu tunurile și cu mașinainghever⁴ în orașul unde eram noi de gândeam că toată lumea piere și noi asemenea pierim toți. De loc⁵, am căpătat poruncă să facem sfarlenie⁶ către ei să-i pușcăm. Fiindcă eram toți desculți, abia am putut să ne tragem bocancii fără de obiele, fiindcă toți ne spălam picioarele, și în loc să căpătam ceva de gustare să ne alinăm foamea căpătăm focul cel crâncen.

¹ Aici cu sensul de tren militar.

² Azi Ujhorod, oraș în vestul Ucrainei la granița cu Ungaria.

³ Vaccin.

⁴ Mitralieră (din germ. Machinegewehr).

⁵ În text cu sensul de: imediat, de îndată, numai decît.

⁶ Luptă desfășurată pe o linie formată din tranșee și adăposturi individuale.

Prin orașul acela era o apă ca Someșu și peste apă un pod, dar nu am putut toți să așteptăm să trecem toți pe podul acela, fără cele mai multe trupe au trecut prin apă și am ieșit afară din oraș și am făcut sfarlenie către ei. Dar, trecând prin apă cu degrabă, nu am putut să ne tragem ceaplauăle⁷ prin bocanci și mai la toți care am trecut prin apă ni-o picat bocancii din picioare trecând peste ceva ogaș⁸. Încă câtva loc am mers desculți, că noroc pe noi că am rămas de rezervă, că erau alte trupe înaintea noastră, și am avut atâta vreme de ne-am încălțat și ne-am tocmit ristungu⁹. Cam către 6 ceasuri am căpătat poruncă să mergem la sfarlenie, la aripa stângă, să întărim sfarlenia că o fost picat foarte mulți. Când am mers de acolo și ne-am sculat în picioare așa o pușcat rușii după noi, că numai fluiera gloanțele și granatele¹⁰ din toate părțile și cum fugeam pe tot minutul picau din noi, că rușii erau toți în gropi ascunși încât noi nu puteam nici să-i vedem.

În ziua de Sântămărie, sara, am ajuns într-o pădure și ne-am băgat într-o râpă afundă și de acolo am pușcat până s-o făcut noapte și n-am mai putut să vedem să pușcăm. S-o încetat focul și de la ei, apoi am mers ca trei kilometri înapoi și ne-am culcat flămânzi că în ziua ceea nu am mâncat nimic. În 29 august am rămas la barăci unde ne-am fost așezat în lagăr și, în cealaltă zi, s-o dus alții în locul nostru și noi am așteptat să ne vie carele cu pită, că nu mai puteam face nimic de flămânzi ce eram, dar nu ne-o vinit nimic.

Dacă o văzut ofițirii noștri că nu ne mai vine să căpătăm nimic, cum eram așezați lângă un sat, ne-o slobozit să merem în satul acela să aducem porci, galițe¹¹, orice am afla, să tăiem și să fierbem să mâncăm. Cum am căpătat porunca, de loc ne-am și dus în sat să aflăm ceva, dar n-am aflat în satul acela baremi o coajă de pită, fiindcă o fost rușii mai înainte și o mâncat ei tot ce o fost de mâncare acolo.

Satul era pustiu de oameni, s-o fost dus din sat bieții țivili cu femeii și copiii cu tot de frica cătanelor. Porcii erau slobozii din cotețe la drum, vitele, câte o mai fost nemâncate de ruși, erau prin grădini, vițeei răgeau de foame pe uliță că te durea inima de ei. Apoi am înjunghiat câțiva porci și am prins găște și rațe și ne-am dus cu noi mere și prune acolo unde eram așezați în lagăr. Porcii și găștele i-am pregătit și am fiert carnea și am mâncat fără de pită și nesărată că nu am avut nici sare la noi.

Apoi, în loc de ojină¹², am căpătat poruncă să merem în sfarlenie să-i slobozim pe ceilalți de acolo de pe câmpul de luptă și am tot mers până la miez de noapte până am ajuns într-o pădure și acolo am rămas până când o ieșit zorile.

În zori, am ieșit afară din pădure, ne-am dus peste niște ogoare și am făcut sfarlenie și am plecat către pizmași că ofițirii noștri s-au uitat cu ocheanul că unde s-au așezat pizmașii. Erau puțini lângă un sat, dar cei mai mulți erau suiți în podul

⁷ Șireturi din piele.

⁸ Denivelare, brazdă.

⁹ Echipament (din germ. Rüstung).

¹⁰ Aici cu sensul de proiectil de artilerie, obuz.

¹¹ Păsări de curte.

¹² Pauză de mâncare după amiază.

caselor și în turnul bisericii au suit rușii 2 mașiniînghever. Când răsărea soarele, ne-am așezat în sfarlenie pe un rât¹³ de pășune. Dar bunul Dumnezeu m-o dus într-o gropiță că în așe foc am fost în ziua cea, de din ce a răsărit soarele și până a asfințit n-am putut să merem nici înainte nici înapoi, nici ceva groapă să săpăm, iar care cum își ridica capu de la pământ de loc îi era gata viața. Bietul vecinul meu, care era lângă mine aprinzându-și pipa, căpătă un glonț prin cap de nu mai zisă numa o dată: - *Ioi!* – și trecu de pe astă lume.

Și de când o răsărit soarele până ce o asfințit nu mi-am mai putut să-mi ridic capul și tăta ziua acolo m-o ars soarele și apoi când o vinit agiutor, adică răzărva dinapoi, așe picau bieții feciori. Și după ce s-o întunecat am plecat de acolo după ce a încetat focul. Am plecat înapoi, dar pe întuneric cum merem așe ne împiedecam de morți cum te împiedeci vara pe timpul secerii printre snopii de grâu dacă rămân peste noapte nestrânși și o mere omul printre ei. Cei mai mulți se văietau, că erau răniți de nu se mai puteau să se ducă iar sanitarii încă nu au putut să vină la ei să-i lege, fiindcă care cum se scula de loc era pușcat. Și eu, în ace zi, în tăt perțul¹⁴ mi-așteptam moartea. Dar fie atotputernicul Dumnezeu lăudat că mi-o scăpat viața de moarte și trăiesc până în ziua de azi !

Apoi o băgat pe ei un batalion de pușcași, adică care sunt vânători în civile cum se spune în ungurește egy vadász zászlóalj. După ce o încetat focul ne-o făcut adunarea, iar care cătane o fost în sfarlenie la partea stângă, cu ofițiri cu tot s-au retras în pădure și au fugit înapoi. Și când ne-o comandat să ne strângem laolaltă, din 247 de feciori numai 17 am fost rămas cu căpitanul. Pe întuneric nu ne puteam să ne adunăm alte regimente, fiindcă ne-am fost învăluit și eram împrăștiați și ascunși toți, de nu ne mai puteam să ne strângem, ca atunci când să țipă cioara între pui și abia îi strânge cloșca de prin buruieni.

Și de acolo i-am bătut înapoi și s-au retras rușii până dimineață în sat. Am tot mers o săptămână și jumătate și tot nu i-am întâlnit, apoi am căpătat poruncă să vinim înapoi din Rusia, că eram băgați în Rusia și rușii s-o fost tras pe la Carpați, pe dinapoia noastră, să ne poată pierde. Dar dacă noi ne-am retras de pe pante ce am auzit că au rămas la Carpați. Noi fiindcă eram puțini și tunuri nu aveam, că tunurile noastre erau duse, abia am scăpat de ei că nu ne-o prins acolo. Pe așe loc am putut ieși, că tot în mânuri¹⁵ ne-am tras pe un munte și am scăpat de ei printre niște smidă¹⁶ deasă.

Apoi două săptămâni am tot mers înapoi către țara ungurească și, în luna octombrie, erau niște ploi de mai să ne omoare. Am ajuns într-o pădure și acolo ne-am așezat, ne-am făcut gropi și șanțuri afunde încât dacă ne băgam în ele nu ne mai puteam vedea. Acolo am avut ceva ajutor și, din satele din apropiere, am adus tot felul de scule, firezu mare, am stricat câteva case și șuri și am adus din sat scânduri și ușile de pe la case și ne-am pregătit de pizmași. Două săptămâni am lucrat în

¹³ Câmp necosit, fâneată.

¹⁴ În orice secundă.

¹⁵ Mâini.

¹⁶ Desiș format din pădure tânără.

pădure și am făcut cancelarie în pământ și grajduri de cai. Am făcut și drumuri de la o companie la alta și acolo două săptămâni nu ni-o fost rău fiindcă erau cohe cu noi și ne fierbeau regulat. Dar pe când am pus tăte cele în rând și ne-am pregătit de iarnă, că acolo ne-o spus că vom fi și la iarnă, numaidecât, la două săptămâni, dacă vedem că rușii nu vin la noi am plecat de acolo și am tot mers o săptămână, zi și noapte, și iar am dat față cu ei, dar noi, 32 ezred¹⁷, am rămas de rezervă la un temeiu¹⁸. Cum am sosit către amiază ne-am pus puștile piramidă la spatele temeiului și, de după amiază și până sara, tot peste capul nostru o trecut gloanțele, de cădeau și până la 200 de pași de noi numai fiindcă tunarii noștri erau acole aproape de noi și adesea pușcau cu tunurile către ruși. Rușii dădeau cu a lor tunuri după ai noștri, dar le era prea scurtă pușcătura că nu ajungea până la ai noștri. Așe dară noi tot acolo am rămas și noaptea dar noaptea așe o pușcat rușii către noi de gândeam că nu mai rămânem nici unu.

Cam cătră zece ceasuri sara, când era mai mare focul, ne duce să ajutăm la ai neamțului acolo la sfarlenie afară din oraș, dar așe umbla gloanțele printre noi. Cum meream prin oraș așe vineau gloanțele din pușcă că țiglele, ciripurile¹⁹ așe se spărgeau de pe case și ferestrele se spărgeau și bieții feciori numai picau sub ploaia de gloanțe. Dar era și cam noros și era o apă afundă de nu am putut să o trecem numai pe o punte. Și căpitanu s-o dus înainte cu zece feciori. Noi, pe întuneric, ne-am pierdut de el fiindcă am mers printr-o pădure și era întuneric de nu ne vedeam unu pe altu. Căpitanu nostru s-o dus prin sfarlenia neamțului și s-o gândit că mai sunt de ai noștri mai înainte și s-o dus chiar până în sfarlenia rușilor. Și, pe el și pe șapte feciori l-au prins rușii. Trei feciori au scăpat de acolo pe întuneric și au venit înapoi la noi și ne-o spus ce s-o întâmplat cu căpitanu nostru și că unde o rămas. Dar unu o venit pușcat într-un picior dar numai prin carne l-o lovit, osul nu i l-o stricat. Și în aceea zi s-a dus la ispitaiu²⁰ și apoi o rămas hadnagy²¹, comandant de companie. Și dacă s-o încetat focu ne-o strâns hadnagy laolaltă și am plecat înapoi la temeiu acela.

În altă zi, am mers de acolo în sat la o casă și ne-am făcut gropi în ocol că în șură nu ne puteam culca de gloanțe că așe vineau de spărgeau peretele. Numai în gropi ne culcam, și zi și noapte, și acolo am stat două săptămâni. În cele două săptămâni cu ochii n-am mai văzut pită nici unu. Numai pe la miezul nopții să mai găta focul și veneau cohe²² la noi de mâncam o dată la 24 de ceasuri levese²³ fără pită. Și ziua, când nu mai pușcau așe tare rușii, meream în sat de ne mai fierbeam o oală de cartofi, dar încă atunci nu am răbdat tare multă foame. O fost și așe zile că nu căpătam nimic, numai cum găseam pe câmp curechiu²⁴, țipam frunzele de pe el

¹⁷ Regimentul de infanterie nr. 32

¹⁸ Aici cu sensul de adăpost militar improvizat.

¹⁹ Țigle.

²⁰ Spital de campanie.

²¹ Locotenent.

²² Bucătării de campanie.

²³ Supă.

²⁴ Varză.

și coceam curechiu și napi și bob nefiert și cu de acele trăiam. Iar dacă aflam morcovi aceia erau ca pita de buni. Și cu Petre Mitru m-am întâlnit în Galiția o dată.

Din satul acela ne-am luat noi, honvezii, la o apă mare cumu-i Tisa, acolo eu am fost două săptămâni. Acolo, eu cât era noapte tot lucram, făceam șanț și gropi în care ne culcam. Și erau ploii foarte multe și în luna lui octombrie de tare cu greu petreceam fiindcă eram toți uzi până-i lume. Dar fie bunul Dumnezeu lăudat fiindcă cât am fost la sfarlenie am fost tot sănătos, nu mi s-a întâmplat ceva beteșug²⁵, fie bunul Dumnezeu lăudat că baremi dacă nu am fost beteag am petrecut mai bine.

Când eram la apa ace mare, vine o mașină ce zboară în cer, adică repülőgép, acolo sus cât abia îl vedeam și ne vede așa cum suntem așezați acolo. Dar noi am pușcat după el dar nu l-am putut să-l doborâm. Când era cam pe la cinci ore după amiază s-o apucat rușii de pușcat așa că s-o înhâit²⁶ groapa strajemeșterului²⁷ în care era. Eu m-am fost dus la el ca să-mi deie vergeaua ace de scos patronu²⁸ din pușcă, că așa am dat foc de nu putea feslușu²⁹ să tragă patroanele afară din pușcă. Așa foc era de și pământul se cutremura, așa da cu șrapnelu și cu granatu către noi că am gândit că dară cu toții pierim.

Dar, de apă eram cam până la două sute de pași, dar în toată noaptea trebuia să merem să ținem slujbă³⁰ acolo, că rușii erau dincolo de apă, noi dincoace, și îi pândeam ca nu cumva noaptea să vie la noi. Dar chiar eu în sara ace m-am dus cu doi inși să ținem slujbă. Iar pe țărmurile apei acele mari aveam gropi afunde cât eram eu de mare, de nu ne mai puteam să ne puște acolo. Când m-am dus în slujbă, mergând prin răchite, m-o luat sama rușii de dincolo de apă, și de lună se vedea. Și, chiar când m-am ținut în groapă, o pușcat în noi și, cum am sărit în groapă, o vinit un glonț prin cureaua de la pușcă dar pe mine nu m-o lovit.

Și apoi, la miez de noapte, am căpătat poruncă să merem la sfarlenie și de acolo am mers înapoi în alt loc și, pe la amiază, am ajuns într-un sat unde am stat într-o grădină și am căpătat mâncare. Apoi am intrat într-un oraș frumos unde am ajuns cam pe la unsprezece ceasuri sara și ne-am culcat acolo până dimineața. Dar când am ajuns în oraș am trecut așa prin mare tină³¹ până la genunchi, așa ca maltaru³², și acolo ne-am hodinit o zi. În cealaltă zi, sara, am plecat de acolo și pe când se întuneca am trecut o apă mare și am sosit la un ceas după miezul nopții în alt loc. Când am mers din oraș, feștecă ne-am dus un snop de paie în spate și o scândură de doi metri de lungă să ne facem iar gropi în pământ să nu ne poată pușca rușii.

Și dacă am ajuns acolo, de loc ne-am apucat să facem șanț afund ca să putem umbla unu lângă altul. Pe când era gata șanțul de săpat și puneam paietele în el vine

²⁵ Boală.

²⁶ Surpat.

²⁷ Plutonier.

²⁸ Tubul cartușului.

²⁹ Închizătorul armei.

³⁰ Aici cu sensul de sentinelă.

³¹ Noroi.

³² Mortar.

strajameșteru la noi și zice că ne e bine, că trebuie să-l săpăm mai afund. Eram cu unu Lupan Petre din Giumelcis³³ și, de loc, ne sculăm și țipăm paiete afară și săpăm. Cu borneul³⁴ în spate, eu îmi ridic capul un pic să mă îndrept și rușii s-o fost apucat de pușcat. Cum îmi ridicam capu gloanțele vineau mai mereu. Zic către celălalt că ar fi bine ne plecăm capul să nu căpătăm ceva peste el. Iar ne aplecam și mai lucram, mai țip de trei ori pământ afară din șanț, și de loc numai simt că îmi vâjâie capul și pe grumaz de-a stânga ciorăie³⁵ sângele din cap, dar numai un pic mă cam durea. Atunci zic către ortacul meu: - *Petre, io îs gata ! Vină și mă leagă la cap că mă duc în corhaz*³⁶. Dar cum lucram eu o mi-o venit un glonț din pușcă și mi-o trecut și prin bocancii cei de rezervă din spate și o ieșit prin șaică³⁷. [o filă lipsă].

Doctoru o zis să mă duc că el nu m-o fost văzut cum am fost rănit. Și 37 de feciori în sfarlenia ace o fost răniți și 15 o murit o săptămână până am fost eu în ispitaiu. La o săptămână am plecat din ispitaiu iar la sfarlenie, dar ziua nu am putut, adică într-o duminică, că așe pușcau rușii de gândeam că pierde toată lumea.

Și mergând eu prin oraș, iacă întâlnesc un român de la reghementu nostru și mă dau în vorbă cu el. Și îmi spune că el are îngăduință de la tisturi³⁸ să cumpere un porc, să-l taie, să-l fiarbă și să-l ducă la ofițiri gata și eu să fiu de tovarăș că nu-i place nici lui singur, și ne-om hrăni bine după ce s-o fierbe. Așe am și făcut. Ne-am dus prin oraș, am luat un porc cu 40 de koroane și pentru 3 koroane l-o tăiat un mesaros³⁹ și, pentru 4 koroane, l-o fiert niște femei. Și o făcut cârnați și, cum se cade, și nouă ne-o făcut un guiaș de porc așe bun cum se cuvine și ne-am hrănit bine. Apoi ne-am dus la sfarlenie dacă s-o întunecat dar nu mi-am aflat batalionu. Și mi-am mai întâlnit 2 tovarăși de la al meu batalion și iar am mers în oraș de ne-am culcat într-o casă pustie până dimineață, apoi am mers de acolo.

Pe când am mers noi de acolo și, dimineața, până ne-am cumpărat ceva de prânz am întârziat. Și pe când am voit să ne ducem la sfarlenie nu am putut mere chiar până la sfarlenie că era departe de oraș și gloanțele veneau ca și picurii de ploaie încât era să pierim. Ne-am înturnat către amiază în oraș și chiar am auzit că al nostru hadoszttag⁴⁰ s-o dus de acolo. Am mers și am întrebat la hadoszttag parancsanoksag⁴¹, și am spus că de unde vin din ispitaiu și ce mi s-a întâmplat și că aș voi să mă duc la sfarlenie și nu știu unde mi s-a dus reghementul și nu-l găsesc acolo. De loc, am căpătat scrisoare unde sunt ai noștri și prin care sate să trec ca să-i găsesc. Ceilalți tovarăși m-au așteptat într-un drum pentru că ei s-o fost pierdut de reghementul lor cam de două săptămâni. Și se temeau că i-o pușca pentru că ei o fost fugit din sfarlenie, din foc, și au șezut tot ascunși. Dacă am venit cu veste la ei,

³³ Azi localitatea Plopiș, jud. Sălaj.

³⁴ Raniță.

³⁵ Curge.

³⁶ Spital.

³⁷ Cratiță. Aici cu sensul de gamelă.

³⁸ Ofițeri.

³⁹ Măcelar.

⁴⁰ Unitate militară.

⁴¹ Comandament.

de loc au și plecat cu mine. Dar pe drum, pe unde meream prin orașul acela, așe dădeau muscalii cu tunurile de gândeam că piere tot orașul. Și chiar cum meream noi 3 inși iacă vine un glonț din tun, și de loc s-au prăbușit toate și credeam că ne va omorî și pe noi. Noi ședeam atunci sub un gard de piatră și iar o trecut cinci ruși ce mânau tunul. Ei s-o speriat și o fugit înapoi în oraș dar eu m-am dus mai departe până ce am ajuns chiar pe când asfințea soarele.

Am ajuns compania într-un sat ce se numește Bodovițe⁴². De loc m-am dus la tugul⁴³ meu și chiar atunci erau așezați pe marginea drumului să se hodinească că erau osteniți. M-am dus la tug-comandant, adică la strajemeșter, că el îmi era comandant. Mă duc și îi spun că am venit din ispitaie și deși la cap încă eram legat baremi acum nu mă doare deloc. După aceea m-am dus la oberleitan⁴⁴, care m-a întrebat că iute m-am și vindecat la cap. De acolo am și plecat, dar nu departe, și ne-am înșirat lângă o apă și ne-am săpat gropi apoi ne-am culcat. În acea zi am plecat de acolo cam la 200 de pași și ne-am făcut alte gropi în alt loc pe lângă marginea unei ape ca să nu poată trece rușii la noi și acolo am stat două săptămâni.

De acolo am plecat la două săptămâni cam pe la miezul nopții și am mers două zile și trei nopți fără pită și mai picam de flămânzi pe drum. Apoi am sosit într-un sat unde am căpătat mâncare, adică fiertură, dar pită nici atunci. Apoi am mers la o apă așe mare, un lac unde apoi umbra vaporu pe apă de ne purta. Noi am ținut slujbă la un pod ce o fost făcut de podarii noștri peste ea ca să poată purta cele de lipsă pentru katanoság⁴⁵. Acolo ne-o fost bine două săptămâni cât am stat, fiindcă cohele erau cu noi și ne fierbeau regulat și pită încă căpătam că ne aduceau cu carele. Numai de ace era rău că era un ger mare și ne era foarte frig noaptea a ține slujbă.

La două săptămâni am căpătat poruncă să merem la reghement, că nu biruiam ai noștri cu pizmașii și am plecat pe la miezul nopții de acolo și am mers două nopți și o zi până am aflat reghementul. La reghement am sosit când apunea soarele dar n-am putut să merem la ei că așe foc era de gândeam că toată lumea piere. Am așteptat într-o râpă până s-o mai întunecat și o încetat focul. Apoi am plecat de acolo la ei dar, când soseam la linia focului, ei o fost plecat îndărăpt că îi prăpădeau de tot rușii. Apoi cum ne-am întâlnit cu ei am plecat și noi înapoi și am mers toată noaptea. Pe când ieșeau zorile am sosit într-un temei și am rămas acolo până cătră amiază.

Apoi nu am putut să săpăm că pământul era înghețat mai afund de un șuc⁴⁶ și era toată ziua ger și nu am avut loc. Așe dară era o arătură aproape de noi și cu țolurile de acoperit ne-am apucat să purtăm glii înghețate și fiecare am făcut un pic de holm⁴⁷ de pământ peste cap ca să nu ne ieie așe iute sama rușii. Pe când era ziua

⁴² Probabil Wadowice, localitate în sudul Poloniei.

⁴³ Pluton.

⁴⁴ Locotenent-major.

⁴⁵ Trupă militară.

⁴⁶ Măsură de lungime echivalând cu 33 cm.

⁴⁷ Movilă.

bună am fost gata cu ele și ne-am apucat de pușcat către ruși, și ei către noi, până pe la nouă ceasuri.

Atunci, dimineața, pe la nouă ceasuri, eram flămând și m-am apucat să prânzesc o conservă cu pită așe culcat, dar nu mi-am mai spart conserva. După ce am fost pușcat două ore sute de gloanțe, atunci m-o lovit peste cap un dărăb⁴⁸ de fier din granat de la ruși de am fost murit un ceas și jumătate. De loc au sărit doi feciori și m-au legat la cap, dar eu nu am mai știut atunci când m-o legat că am fost amețit de la lovitura cea crâncenă ce am căpătat. Cam peste un ceas și jumătate m-am mai trezit și m-au dus la locul de legat doctorii noștri. I-am auzit vorbind că eu nu o să mai trăiesc mai mult de două zile, așe am fost de rău strâcat la cap dinăuntru. Dar fie Tatăl cel ceresc lăudat că m-am vindecat și trăiesc până în ziua de azi!

Și apoi o mers îndărăpt și ai noștri că-i omoreau rușii. Și apoi, în ziua ace, în 25 noiembrie, cum o pornit îndărăpt ai noștri, noaptea s-o dus și doctorii din satul acela și pe noi, pe răniți, ne-o lăsat la ruși. Și apoi dimineața o vinit rușii. Și cum o dat de noi acolo, de loc au rânduie 37 de cocii⁴⁹ și ne-o pus pe cocii și ne-o dus la stație⁵⁰ în Rusia.

De acolo, din locul de legat, până la stație am mers 3 zile și 3 nopți și era un ger mare de gândeam că înghețăm în car fiindcă era și un vânt rece de cum îmi scoteam capul de sub țol gândeam că-mi crapă obrazul. Și la 3 zile am ajuns la stație și ne-o pus pe mașină. Și o vinit 3 doctori ruși cu noi că am mers 7 zile și 8 nopți până am ajuns într-un oraș cu numele Chiev. Acolo, la stație, o venit după noi și ne-o dus în ispitaiu. Și am fost în ispitaiu din noiembrie până în mărțișor 10-le, în 3 orașe adică în 6 ispitaiuri am fost în acea vreme. Și în 10 mărțișor am ieșit vindecat din ispitaiu și am plecat la Siberia și până astăzi sunt aici, adică 24 septembrie 1915.

⁴⁸ Bucată.

⁴⁹ Căruțe.

⁵⁰ Gară.

*

Doină de jale

Culeasă de Mihai Buth în Siberia, orașul Bics, anul 1915, noiembrie , 9-le

Frunză verde măr rotat
 Iubiți frați adevărați
 Stați cu toți și m-ascultați
 Să vă spun adevărat
 Traiul greu înstrăinat
 Care l-am tras negreșit
 În acel an numit
 Nouă sute paisprezece
 Multe am mai avut a petrece.
 În luna lui august chiar
 S-o început acest pahar.
 O vinit poruncă aspră
 De la curtea împărătească
 La biraiile din sat
 Să fim gata de plecat
 Toți care am cătănit
 Și n-am căpătat hapsit¹.
 Porunca a fost dată afară
 De la amiază până-n sară
 Ca toți să plecăm la gară
 Toți la gară negreșit
 Care unde-o cătănit
 Că este bătaie mare
 Cu împărat din altă țară.
 Și-a venit poruncă grea
 Să lăsăm femeile.
 Oameni-și plângeau feciorii
 Nevestele, soțiorii.
 Când de-acasă am plecat
 Nevasta mi-am sărutat
 Și din gură am cuvântat:
 Scumpa mea, dragă soție
 Care mi-ai fost dată mie
 Prin dreapta căsătorie
 Eu mă duc în cătănie
 Dumnezeu cu voi să fie
 Că o vint acela ceas
 C-am să merg și să vă las.

Când din casă am ieșit
 Inima mi s-o rănit
 Văzând nevasta plângând
 Si mama mea lăcrimând
 Văzând fiul ei drag
 Gătindu-și straița degrab
 Și să plece la razboi
 Poate n-o vini-napoi.
 Eu îndată mi-am luat
 Straița în spate, ș-am plecat.
 O luai către Zalău
 Într-o sfântă duminică
 Până-s popii-n beserică.
 Când de-acasă am plecat
 Ziua bună ne-am luat
 De la oamenii din sat
 De la neamuri, de la toate
 Știind că mă duc la moarte.
 Și m-am rugat de iertare
 De la mic până la mare.
 Poate cât eu am trăit
 La cineva am greșit:
 Dragii mei, neamuri și frați
 Rogu-vă să mă iertați
 De cumva v-am supărat
 Și oarece eu v-am stricat.
 Rămâneți cu Dumnezeu
 Eu mă duc în drumul meu.
 Că m-așteaptă carele
 Care duc cătanele
 Eu mă duc la bătlie
 Dumnezeu cu voi să fie.
 Eu te rog iubita mea
 Scrie-mi câte-o cărticea
 Ca să-mi stămpăr inima.
 Rămas bun, nevasta mea
 Nu știu când ne-om mai vedea
 N-o fi mâne, nici în cealaltă
 N-o fi poate niciodată
 Dar roagă pe Dumnezeu
 Să-l scape pe soțul tău.

¹ Scutire de serviciu militar

În Zalău dac-am intrat
 Tare iute m-o îmbrăcat
 Aici două săptămâni stăm
 Izițir² să învățăm.
 Maică, măicuța mea
 Dacă m-ai făcut fecior
 Plânge-ți inima cu dor
 Că rămâi fără fecior
 Că poate că nu mă întorc
 La al meu iubit loc.
 Mult în Zalău nu am stat
 Până gloanțe-am căpătat
 C-am purtat o chiatră-n spate
 Până ne-a venit o carte
 Cum că s-o împuținat
 Care întâie au plecat
 Jos către Galiție
 Să ție bătălie.
 Miercuri la amiază
 Föhadnagy poruncă o dat
 Că vineri la patru ore
 Să fim gata de plecare
 Cătră Baie³ să plecăm
 Țara să ne-o apărăm.
 Atunci miercuri cătră sară
 Datu-ni-o pe toți afară
 Apoi ne-o gătat frumos
 Și jos din oraș ne-o scos.
 Acolo domnii o venit
 Cu țigări ne-o dăruit
 Și cu flori ne-o împodobit.
 Când o bătut ceasu unu
 Eram gata ca păunu
 Și am plecat jos cătră gară
 Toți cu inima amară.
 Capul l-am pus în pământ
 Mers-am la gară plângând
 Când m-am suit pe mașină
 Suspinaț-am din inimă.
 Ghezul o plecat încet
 Eu suspin amar din piept
 Și gândesc la a mea țară
 Oare mai calc aicea iară?
 Când am plecat pe mașină
 Oamenii, buni la inimă

Mâncări, băuturi ne-o dat
 Și bani iară n-o luat.
 În Santău⁴ ghezul o stat
 Toți de pe ghez jos ne-am dat
 Cine-o vrut o și jucat
 Cu banda⁵ ne-o așteptat.
 Banda și fetițele,
 Ca și viorelele
 Fete faine de român
 Cu mere roșii în sân.
 Până-n Carei nu am stat
 Apoi la dreapta am luat
 Cătră Galiție am plecat.
 Și-apoi în Ungvar jos ne-am dat
 Acolo iar ne-o așteptat
 Multă adunare domnească
 Și banda cea orașească
 Și-am jucat jocuri domnești
 Pe urmă ardelenești.
 Iar la gară o vinit
 Un director, om cinstit
 La toți ne-o predicălit
 Ca să nu ne supărăm
 Că țara ne-o apărăm
 Pentru dânsa ne luptăm
 Ca să ne-o răscumpărăm.
 Și de-acolo ne-am luat
 Cătră Lemberg⁶ am plecat.
 Pe drum ne-a venit o veste
 Aproape de Lemberg sunt
 Cătanele rușilor
 Și țin drumul ghezelui.
 Apoi ne-am întors ș-am mers
 înapoi
 Pe alt drum cătră război.
 Dar ni s-o rupt inima
 Când de pe ghez jos ne-am dat
 Să căpătăm de mâncat.
 Că ghezul o fost sosit
 Cu vreo mie de răniți
 O fost aproape o mie
 Răniții din bătălie.
 Apoi ne-am strâns laolaltă iară
 Cei ce-am vinit de la gară

² Instrucție militară.

³ Localitatea Baia Mare.

⁴ Comună în sud-vestul județului Satu Mare.

⁵ Orchestră muzicală.

⁶ Azi Liov, oraș situat în vestul Ucrainei

Iar acolo ne-am hodinit
 Până zorile o sosit.
 Când soarele o răsărit
 Lucrurile ne-am tocmit
 Și-am plecat iar cu grăbire
 De-a dreptul spre o pădure
 Acolo ne-am așezat
 Și ca de rezervă am stat.
 Auzeam dând cu tunurile
 De răsunau dealurile.
 Era acolo un drum de țară
 Pe un corn de pădure rară
 Pe care nu înceta
 Care cu cai a umbla
 Și-aduceau voinici picăți
 Care erau împușcați.
 Când o fost pe la ojină
 Văzut-am pe sus o mașină
 O mașină de zburat
 După care am pușcat
 Foarte sus s-o fost suit
 Nimeni nu o nimerit.
 Puținel am așteptat
 Pân' la pizmași veste-o dat
 Cum că ai noștri îs la gară
 Cu muniție și cară
 Și noi de loc auzind
 Tunu în văzduh șuiierând
 Așe lângă gară o dat
 De pământu o tremurat
 Că trupa înapoi o plecat.
 Așe iute se înturnară
 Cu tot felul de povară
 Și în alt loc se așezară.
 Tunu o fost foarte departe
 De cinci ori o pușcălit
 Nimica n-o nimerit.
 Și apoi o încetat
 Că era la întunecat.
 După ce ne-am așezat
 Trupa ne-am asigurat.
 Dar când o fost pe la unu
 O început a da cu tunu
 După care cu puștile
 De urlau dealurile
 Și ardeau și casele
 Pe toate laturile
 Precum ard făcliile.

O trecut noaptea cu greață
 Și s-o făcut dimineață
 Apoi toți ne-am întâlnit
 Cu fața spre răsărit
 Loc de pușcat ne-am gătit.
 Când soarele o răsărit
 Iar la pădure-am venit
 Si-am căpătat de gustare
 Supă caldă fiecare.
 Bine zama am sorbit
 Aspră poruncă o vinit
 Să fim gata de pornit
 Spre partea de miazănoapte
 Ca acolo-i lipsă de gloate
 Și nu pot a birui
 Cu armata rușii.
 Cu grăbire ne-am luat
 Nicăieri în loc n-am stat
 La urgență am sosit
 La un loc ce-a fost numit
 Acolo ne-am așezat
 De cină n-am căpătat
 Afară ne-am culcat cu greu
 Flamânzi și osteniți rău.
 Dar curgea acolo un părau
 Și-am băut apă mereu.
 Și apoi ne-am hodinit
 Până zorile o sosit.
 ...
 - Români tari suntem în sânge
 Arme bune avem a învinge !
 Dacă aste a rostit
 În rajtvonal⁷ ne-am tocmit
 În grupe ne-am împărțit.
 Și apoi de loc ne-am luat
 De-a dreptul cătră un sat
 În care tunurile-o dat
 Acum arde înflăcărat.
 Când am ajuns cătră sat
 Toți pe pânțece ne-am dat
 Și eram reci precum îi gheața
 Că ne cam temeam viața.
 Că venea pe noi cu tunu
 De se clătina pământu.
 Apoi de loc ne-am sculat
 Trecut-am cu greu prin sat.

⁷ Linie de start (magh.)

În sat văzut-am picați
 Voinici, ca snopii legați
 Cu vaiet mare se plâneau
 Și de alții se rugau
 Ori să-i lege rănilor
 Ori să-i curme zilele.
 Dacă din sat am ieșit
 Toți sub un deal ne-am tocmi
 Iute sanțuri am săpat
 Si-acolo ne-am așezat.
 Care încotro am dat
 Să ne cătăm de mâncat
 De trei zile fiecare
 N-am căpătat de mâncare
 Că ni s-o fost rătăcită
 Carele, cele cu pită.
 Alergat-am cu grăbire
 După pere prin pădure
 Pere, pădurețe amare
 Ne păreau că-s de zăhar.
 Iar peste puțin timp
 Și cohele ne-o venit
 Și ne-o dat oale cu zamă
 Dar de pită nu-i pomană.
 Dacă iară am mâncat
 În rajtvonal ne-am luat
 Și-am plecat cătră pismaș
 Pe ogoară și imaș
 Mulți prin apă ne-am băgat
 Până-n grumaz ne-am udat.
 De-acolo am scăpat iară
 Dar am dat de foc și pară
 Căci de loc am apucat
 Printr-o pădure de brad
 În care o fost gloată multă
 Și ținea bătaie cruntă.
 Jar a cuprins acel loc
 De trei zile ține foc
 În pădure de-a dreapta
 Tunurile noastre sta
 Dau în pizmași cu putere
 De gândeam că lumea piere.
 Dacă-n pădure am intrat
 Iar de rezervă am stat
 Până ce-o întunecat
 Atunci fugeam fiecare
 Spre focul din depărtare.
 Multă vreme n-am mânat

Până signalul ne-o dat
 Și-am zburat cu grabă mare
 Din șantul lui, fiecare
 Început-am la fugit
 Încotro ne-o poruncit.
 Căpitanu înainte o stat
 Către feciori o strigat
 Să se întoarne înapoi iară
 La locul care-l lăsară
 Și aspru să pușcălim
 Că de loc cu toți pierim.
 Toți înapoi ne-am înturnat
 Și spre pizmași am plecat
 Toți am sărit cu bravură
 Și-am făcut o dată: hura!
 Pizmașii s-o întors înapoi
 Auzind atâta toi⁸.
 Așe picau feciorii
 De-ascuțișul sabiei
 Și se vaitau cu jele
 De gândem că lumea piere.
 La pădure ne-am întors iară
 Dacă-am văzut câți picară.
 Acum era la întunecat
 Nu știam câți o picat.
 Dar ne-au strâns pe toți de față
 Să vadă câți au viață.
 Dacă ne-o anumărat
 Capitanu o cuvântat:
 Dragii mei, iubiți soldați
 Văd că toți ați fost bărbați
 Și v-ați probăluit a învinge
 Pân' la picurii de sânge.
 Acum veți ști cu adevărat
 Cum că ne-o înconjurat
 Tunarii noștri o fugit
 Tunurile-o părăsit
 Acum îi musai să ne dăm
 Puștile jos să punem.
 Apoi am mers cu grăbire
 La o margine de pădure
 Unde erau adunați
 Și din alte părți soldați.
 Alezredes⁹ o vinit
 La gornist o poruncit

⁸ Gălagie, zarvă.

⁹ Locotenent-colonel (magh.)

Să sufle jos, că ne dăm
 Nu putem foc să ținem.
 Iară după ce-o suflat
 Două ore am așteptat
 Până rușii o vinit
 Și de arme ne-o golit.
 Când am pus jos armele
 Ne curau lacrimile
 De ne udao hainele
 Văzându-ne înconjurați
 De dușmani neîmpăcați.
 Apoi de loc ne-au luat
 Dusu-ne-au în acel sat
 Din care am fost vinit
 Și l-am fost lăsat arzând.
 Acolo dacă am sosit
 De tisturi ne-o despărțit.
 Pe ei înapoi i-o lăsat
 Pe noi la drum ne-o luat.
 Toată ziua am mers în rând
 Din inimă suspinând
 Și din gură cuvântând:
 Pagubă că n-am știut
 Până gloanțe am avut
 Că ce am de petrecut
 Căci pe loc moarte-mi făceam
 Și pe-aicea nu veneam.
 Când am trecut granița
 Ruptu-mi-s-o inima
 Înapoi m-am înturnat
 Către țară am cătat
 Și din gură am cuvântat:
 Scumpa mea, iubită țară
 De-oi trăi să te calc iară
 Baremi pe la primăvară.
 De-oi muri, să mor degrabă
 Să nu trăiesc lume neagră
 Lume neagră cu urât
 Drum străin călcând flămând.
 Apoi iară ne-am luat

Năcăjiți și supărați
 Din picioare împleticind
 Și din inimă greu oftând.
 Toți eram jalnici și blânzi
 Și eram foarte flămânzi
 Unde noi curechi vedeam
 La fugă toți ne luam
 Frunze de curechi mâncam
 Usturoiu era ca fierea
 Dulce ne părea ca mierea.
 Când de-un sat ne-apropiam
 Câte o femeie vedeam
 Fugeam la ea câte o sută
 Ceream să ne deie pită.
 Multe rele am suferit
 Pân' la gară am sosit.
 A cincea zi de cu sară
 Ajunsem cu toți la gară
 Pe vagoane toți ne-am dat
 Departe ne-am înstrăinat.
 Iar pe ghez am căpătat
 O dată în zi de mâncat.
 Trenu cu grabă pleca
 Sus, către Siberia.
 Noi din graniță ne-am dus
 Treizeci de zile în sus
 Până-n Daurie ne-am dus.
 În orașul Daurie am stat
 De pe ghez, jos noi ne-am dat
 În cazarmă ne-o băgat
 Acolo ne-am așezat.
 Acolo opt luni am stat
 În octombrie doisprezece
 O vinit poruncă așe
 Noi, românii, să plecăm
 Că din Daurie ne mutăm.
 Zece zile ne-am tot dus
 Până la Bics am ajuns
 În orașul Bics am stat
 Acolo ne-o așezat.

*

Versul războiului din 1914

Siberia, 1916, martie 30

Vă povestesc despre o bătălie sângeroasă care s-a ținut pe câmpul de luptă cu armata rușilor.

Eram supuși a ne lupta
Și viața a ni-o da
Voi citi-o cu degrabă
Tot românul să-nțeleagă
Acum oricine să știe
Vers frumos din bătălie
Care s-a predat pe culme
De amar pe astă lume
Bătălie ca o gloată
S-a știut în lumea toată
Cine n-o ști s-o înțelegă
Să se uite-n cartea întregă
Deci în minte o va ține
O bătălie așe grea.

Frunză verde ruptă-n două
Din anul optzecișinouă
Foaie verde struț de flori
Câți is de atunci feciori
Și mai mari, ba și mai mici
Stau cu toții că-s voinici
Frunzuliță de pe vie
Ș-am plecat la bătălie
În partea de miazănoapte
Acolo am prins a ne bate.
Maică să mă fi văzută
Cum mi-o fost chimeșa cruntă
Ba chiar și inima ruptă
Cu inima înghețată
Cum stam în cel deal de piatră.
Foaie verde ca nalba
La noi trâmbița sufla
A ne duce înainte
Cu inima mai fierbinte.
Frunză verde lemn uscat
Noi când în foc am intrat
Din cincii mii, câți ne-am băgat
Dintre noi o sută ori doi
Ne-am înturnat înapoi.
Foaie verde ruptă-n cincii

Vai de copiii cei mici
Că rămân făr' de părinți.
Rămân micuții pe vatră
Nu mai știu cin' le e tată
După maica lor cea dulce
Că nu se mai poate duce
Lângă soțul ei cel drag
Care acum stă sub steag
Sub steag mândru de mătasă
Poate să nu vie acasă
Florică de cicoare
Vai, inima rău mă doare.

...

Frunză verde de colie
Înainte de Sfânt Ilie
Câți voinici sunt mai frumoși
La bătălie sunt scoși
La Galiția pre munte
Prin locuri necunoscute
Nu trebuie mai bun joc
Fără să ții cu rușii foc.
Rușii - șerpi neadormiți
Șed în tufe-acoperiți
Și de nu iei sama bine
Îți pun capu jos sub tine.
Mare-i noaptea și nu dorm
Tot mă-nvârtesc și mă-ntorn
Ca peștele-n apă lină
Ca omu-n țară străină.
Depărtat între străini
Lacrimile vale vin
Vale vin, vale se varsă
De doru de-ai mei de-acasă.
Cu străinii stau la masă
Și cu ei mă ospățez
Dar gândind la mine acasă
Toată ziua greu oftez.
Pune Doamne pacea-n țară
Să mă-ntorc la mama iară
C-am lasat-o singurea

Părăsită-n țara mea.
Și mi-a fost milă de ea
Bătrână, neputincioasă
Părăsîi pe mama-n casă
Și plecai la cătănie
Lăsând pe mama pustie.
Și am lăsat soția mea
C-o copilă lângă ea.
Toate astea am părăsit
La bătălie am pornit
Și am lăsat pe mama acasă
Plângând cu jale la masă.
Ce plângi maică-n urma mea
Te temi că nu m-ai vedea?
Auzi dragă, maica mea
Așe puștile pocnea
De lemnele tremura
Pământu se scutura
Și veneau plumbii ca stropii

Mihai But, anul 1915, D 7
Siberia, orașul Bics

Voinicii picau ca snopii.
Dar nu plânge, maica mea
Că soarta mea e așe
Plânge când vei auzi
Că eu în mormânt voi fi
Plânge și-ți închipuiește
Fiul tău cum putrezește.
Dar te roagă, maică dulce,
Fiul tău, ce stă sub cruce
Osteneala n-o cruța
Mormântu' a-l căuta.
Unde va fi groapa mea
Pe cruce o vei afla
Că-s flori lângă ea înflorite
De-al mamei dor răsărite.
Plânge și te tânguiește
Fiul tău cum putrezește
Fiul tău cel mult dorit
De plumbul dușman lovit.

1918, Maiu, 20

De ce nu-mi vii

[Mihai Eminescu]

Vezi, rândunelele de duc,
Se scutur frunzele de nuc,
S-așază bruma peste vii –
De ce nu-mi vii, de ce nu-mi vii?

O, vino iar în al meu braț,
Să te privesc cu mult nesaț,
Să razim dulce capul meu
De sânul tău, de sânul tău!

Ți-aduci aminte cum pe-atunci
Când ne primblam prin văi și lunci,
Te ridicam de subsuori
De atâtea ori, de atâtea ori?

În lumea asta sunt femei
Cu ochi ce izvorăsc scânteii...
Dar, oricât ele sunt de sus,
Ca tine nu-s, ca tine nu-s!

Căci tu înseninezi mereu
Viața sufletului meu,
Mai mândră decât orice stea,
Iubita mea, iubita mea!

Târzie toamnă e acum,
Se scutur frunzele pe drum,
Și lanurile sunt pustii...
De ce nu-mi vii, de ce nu-mi vii?

Sara,
Barțu Vasile - Brăișor



Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.

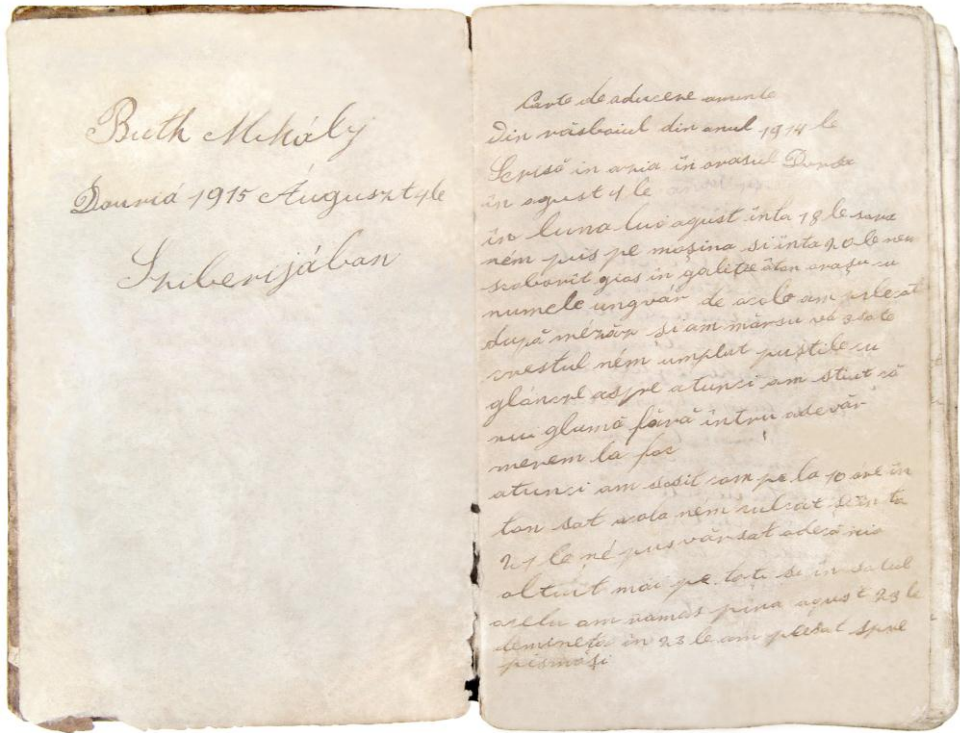


Fig. 3.

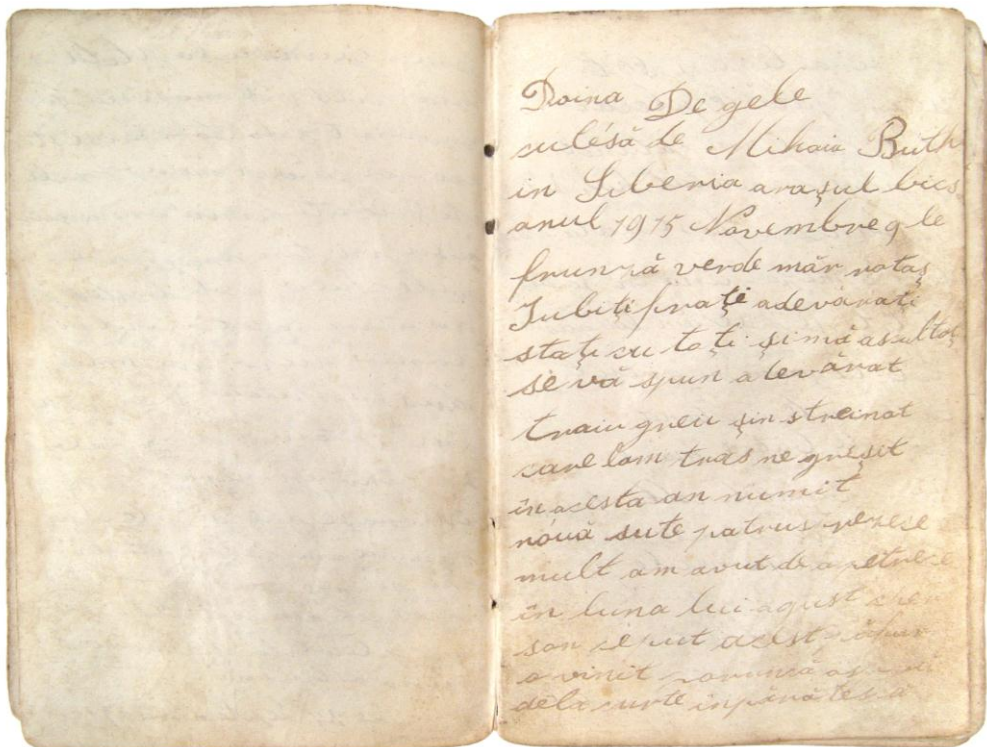


Fig. 4.

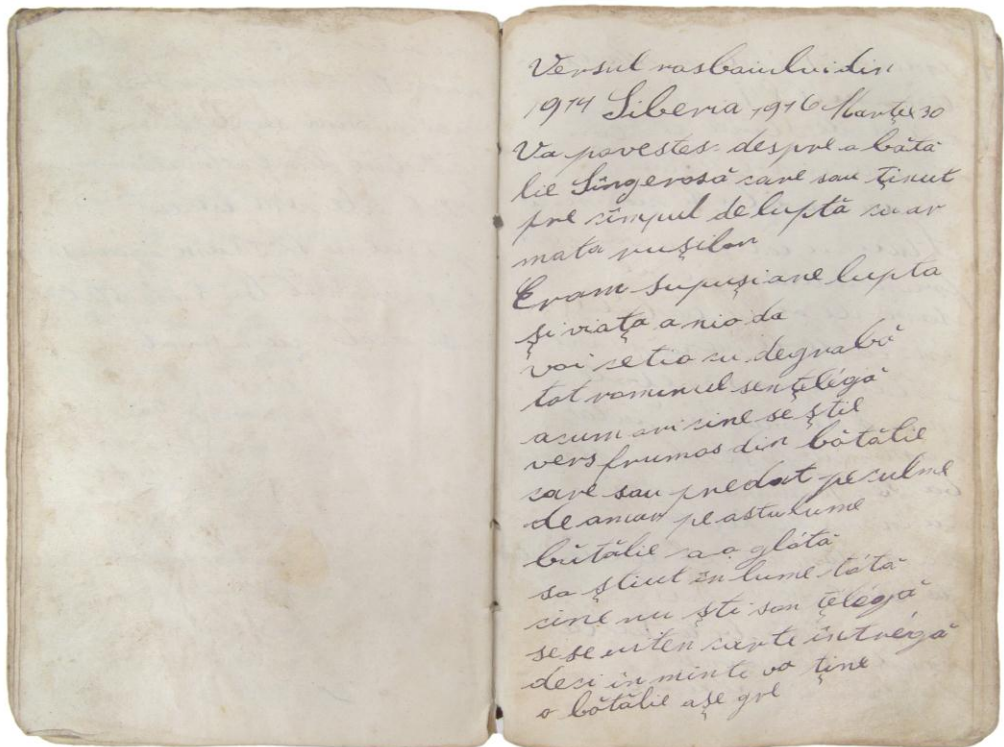


Fig. 5.

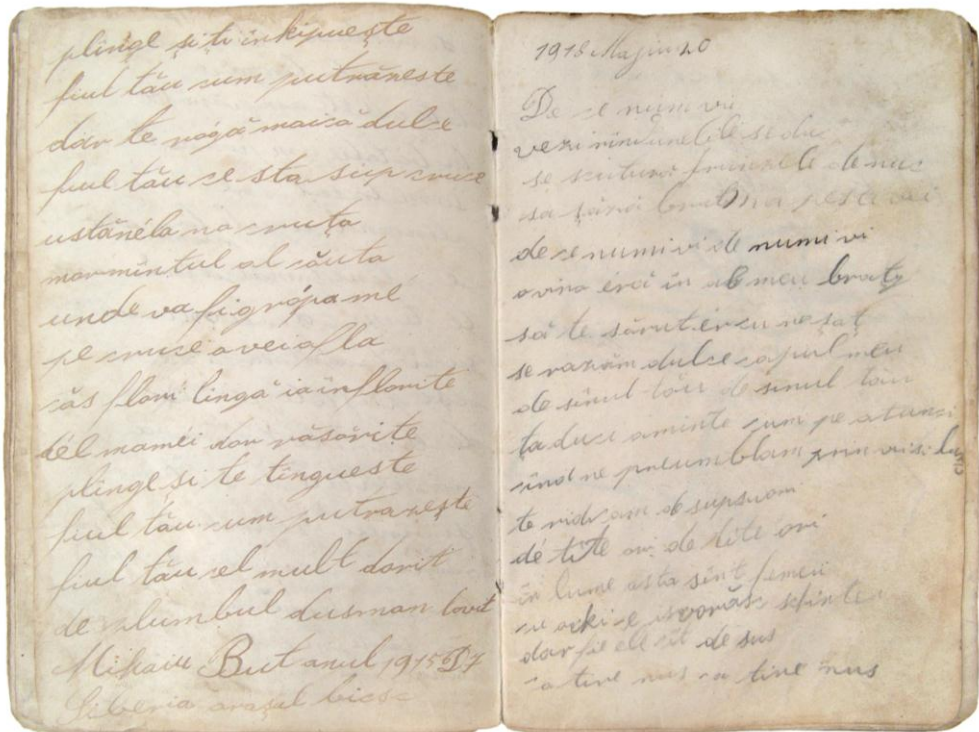


Fig. 6.

IL LUNGO CENTENARIO: LA PRIMA GUERRA MONDIALE

Riassunto: È iniziato nel 2014 e ci terrà compagnia per un altro triennio: il centenario della prima guerra mondiale sarà decisamente lungo e dominerà sul piano storico, senza dubbio, i convegni, le conferenze, le riflessioni e le iniziative pubbliche nell'intero continente.

Le principali case editrici europee sono già all'opera da tempo per accaparrarsi quanto di meglio, o di più recente, sia uscito sul tema, anche se spesso i due concetti non percorrono lo stesso sentiero: classici sull'argomento, epistolari, edizioni critiche, dizionari e traduzioni affollano da diversi mesi gli scaffali delle librerie.

Del resto è noto come la bibliografia sulla Grande guerra sia talmente sconfinata che lo storico britannico Martin Gilbert – autore di 72 libri, biografo ufficiale di Churchill, morto a 78 anni il 3 febbraio 2015 – ha opportunamente sottolineato come «nessun uomo potrebbe leggere nell'arco di una sola vita» tutti i libri sull'argomento².

Perché continuare allora a occuparsi della cosiddetta Grande guerra? Indubbiamente per aggiornare lo stato delle proprie conoscenze e magari anche per rivedere luoghi comuni che hanno scarsa, per non dire alcuna, ragione di essere; ma anche per comprendere quali effettivi scenari provocò negli equilibri mondiali la prima guerra totale della contemporaneità.

Parole chiave: centenario, Grande guerra, storiografia, Italia, concetto

*

Sul piano strettamente storiografico, nell'ultimo quarantennio si è registrata una nuova, fitta stagione di studi sul primo conflitto mondiale che si è espressa attraverso peculiari orizzonti di ricerca: lo studio dei processi di carattere culturale e mentale originati dal conflitto; delle sue conseguenze culturali, sociologiche e psicologiche; dell'influenza esercitata dalla guerra sulla società civile attraverso l'utilizzo di fonti innovative, come quelle mediche e psichiatriche; del trauma generazionale ed esperienziale causato dall'epopea bellica; del tema della violenza, perpetrata in diverse modalità (fra le trincee; con il lavoro forzato e i campi di prigionia, etc.), degli esclusi, con particolare riferimento alla storia di genere e alla vicenda degli stranieri negli eserciti europei, e ancora di coloro che, in nome di ideali pacifisti o simili, al conflitto si opposero. Ma forse più di altri si è affermata la necessità di studiare il fenomeno bellico in una dimensione e con una metodologia interdisciplinare³.

In questa sede intendo, da una parte, sintetizzare i principali indirizzi storiografici comparsi in Italia sul tema della Grande guerra nell'ultimo cinquantennio e, dall'altra, esaminare un pregiudizio a lungo invalso nella storiografia

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² M. Gilbert, *La grande storia della prima guerra mondiale*, Milano, Mondadori 1998, p. 657.

³ M. Bizzocchi, *Nuove prospettive storiografiche sulla Grande guerra: violenze, traumi, esperienze*, in «E-Review», 2, 2014.

internazionale, cioè l'irrelevanza dell'Italia nella Grande guerra o se si preferisce quella del fronte italo-austriaco nell'economia generale del conflitto.

Di recente, è stato ricordato come si annuncino non poche novità sul piano interpretativo riguardanti la guerra che ha fatto crollare la civiltà ottocentesca e dischiuso le porte alla contemporaneità, a partire dalle conoscenze sulla guerra italiana⁴.

In Italia, infatti, la vicenda della prima guerra mondiale ha rappresentato a lungo per gli storici un terreno su cui confrontarsi: e già sul finire del secolo scorso, si ricordava come lo studio di questo fenomeno bellico non solo fosse stato affrontato «con occhi nuovi», ma avesse anche consentito di rivedere e rettificare «l'interpretazione patriottica e mitologizzante» che era rimasta praticamente in auge fino al secondo dopoguerra; pertanto questi lavori innovativi hanno rappresentato un evidente giro di boa storiografico che ha la sua culla negli anni sessanta del Novecento, unitamente a una decisa volontà di approfondimento e di innovazione e all'adozione di schemi e metodologie innovativi⁵.

Un prolifico cantiere

Sono stati quindi gli anni sessanta a farsi promotori in Italia di un sensibile rinnovamento storiografico sul tema della Grande guerra.

Già nel 1969 la *Storia politica della grande guerra* di Piero Melograni aveva conseguito, grazie anche all'utilizzo di un materiale archivistico sconosciuto e della ricca pubblicistica del periodo bellico, apprezzabili risultati storiografici, dimostrando soprattutto l'esistenza di forti contrasti tra autorità politiche e militari, l'importanza della guerra ai fini dell'evoluzione della società italiana, l'estraneità di gran parte della popolazione all'evento bellico.

Mentre l'anno di neutralità italiana è stato attentamente ricostruito dagli studi di Brunello Vigezzi e Alberto Monticone, altre preziose ricerche sono comparse, a partire dagli anni settanta, sui movimenti e i partiti politici italiani di fronte al conflitto, sulla realtà socio-economica e industriale, mentre con gli anni ottanta apparvero preziose ricerche sulla grande industria nel periodo bellico.

Agli inizi degli anni settanta Mario Isnenghi – docente presso le Università di Padova, Torino e Venezia dove ha tenuto fino al pensionamento (2010) la cattedra di Storia contemporanea e il ruolo di direttore del Dipartimento di Studi Storici – iniziò a pubblicare una serie di attente e innovative ricerche che hanno trovato ne *Il mito della Grande guerra* (1° edizione, 1970, ultima 2014) la sua espressione più significativa: rileggendo le riviste vociane, i fogli interventisti, i diari di trincea e la letteratura sul conflitto, Isnenghi ha dato conto dell'atteggiamento tenuto dagli intellettuali italiani (Marinetti, Prezolini, D'Annunzio, Gadda, Serra, Malaparte, Borgese, e altri) verso la guerra, un atteggiamento composito ed eterogeneo che ha segnato la transizione dall'età delle élites a quella delle masse⁶.

⁴ D.L. Caglioti, *Una guerra grande e italiana*, in «Il Mestiere di storico», 1, 2015, pp. 61-63.

⁵ F. Perfetti, *Dal 1915 ad oggi*, in *Lastoriografia italiana degli ultimi vent'anni III. Età contemporanea*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1989, pp. 110.113 e ss.

⁶ Dello storico nato a Venezia nel 1938 vanno menzionati *Il mito della Grande guerra. Da Marinetti a Malaparte*, Laterza, Bari 1970 (libro che ha conosciuto ben sei edizioni fino ai nostri giorni ed è stato

L'aspetto più rilevante del lavoro isnenghiano erano proprio il disinteresse degli intellettuali verso la società italiana, lo scollamento fra le istituzioni liberali e i circuiti intellettuali, il forte discredito nei confronti della classe dirigente e della stessa democrazia. Il fatto poi che Isnenghi avesse prestato una particolare attenzione a due temi, l'identità e la memoria, che poi si sarebbero ritagliati un indubbio protagonismo negli studi storici dei successivi decenni conferma, indirettamente, la grande fortuna di questa opera.

Pur non essendo mancate forzature ideologiche, contributi fondamentali sono venuti dalla storiografia di sinistra, sia da storici militari come Giorgio Rochat⁷, allievo di Piero Pieri, sia dai molteplici studi di Antonio Gibelli, con il suo peculiare modo di fare storia che adotta la prospettiva "dal basso" e inserisce ampiamente nell'analisi e nella narrazione i punti di vista della gente comune – emigranti, soldati, bambini –, utilizzando le testimonianze epistolari, diaristiche e memorialistiche.

Gibelli ha decisamente rinnovato gli studi sul primo conflitto mondiale: l'epistolografia popolare del conflitto, già utilizzata dalla storiografia italiana, è stata da lui impostata nell'ambito della nascente società industriale e delle questioni del mondo moderno; le trasformazioni mentali, sociali e antropologiche a più livelli operate dal conflitto, il compimento dell'intrusione dello Stato nella vita privata di tutti i suoi cittadini, la guerra come prima grande esperienza collettiva per gli italiani, vissuta «come un trauma culturale indelebile»⁸, sembrano costituire le più originali linee di ricerca coltivate dallo storico genovese. Questi – classe 1942, a lungo docente di Storia contemporanea nell'Università di Genova – ha pubblicato, da ultimo, un'opera che racconta le vicende di donne e uomini comuni che, «con nomi e cognomi precisi», hanno visto la propria esistenza cambiata dal conflitto⁹.

Di notevole spessore sono state le ricerche di Giovanna Procacci che ha sottolineato il rapporto «letteralmente ambiguo» tra la Prima guerra mondiale e i compromessi sociali del Novecento e la necessità di allargare la riflessione su un arco temporale relativamente più lungo, una ventina di anni, al cui interno si colloca il trauma del conflitto mondiale: ciò ha permesso alla storica – docente con una lunga carriera accademica conclusasi nel 2010 presso l'Università degli studi di Modena e Reggio Emilia – di spiegare meglio le nuove forme di relazione sperimentate fra autorità e cittadini, il ricorso a linguaggi e modalità di rapporto sociale più antichi, il

ripubblicato nel 2014 dalla casa editrice il Mulino); *La grande guerra*, Giunti, Firenze 1993; i tre volumi da lui curati intitolati *I luoghi della memoria*, Laterza, Roma-Bari, 1996.

⁷ Dello storico nato a Pavia nel 1936 si vedano il classico *L'esercito italiano da Vittorio Veneto a Mussolini*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 2006 (1° edizione, 1967); *L'Italia nella prima guerra mondiale. Problemi di interpretazione e prospettive di ricerca*, Milano, Feltrinelli, 1976; e, con Mario Isnenghi, il recente *La Grande guerra. 1914-1918*, Bologna, il Mulino, 2014.

⁸ A. Gibelli, *La grande guerra degli italiani. Come la Prima guerra mondiale ha unito la nazione*, Milano, BUR Rizzoli, 2013 (1° edizione, 1998), p. 7; ma dello stesso autore, nato a Genova nel 1942, si vedano almeno *L'officina della guerra. La Grande Guerra e le trasformazioni del mondo mentale*, Torino, Bollati-Boringhieri, 1991 e, da ultimo, *La guerra grande. Storie di gente comune*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 2014.

⁹ A. Gibelli, *La guerra grande. Storie di gente comune*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 2014; la citazione è tratta da Caglioti, *Una guerra grande e italiana*, cit., p. 61.

ruolo delle peculiarità nazionali per la storia dei singoli Paesi nonché le eredità e le conseguenze di lungo periodo della guerra¹⁰.

D'altra parte, in uno stesso saggio dedicato alla Grande guerra e pubblicato nella *Storia d'Italia Laterza*, la Procacci aveva precisato la scelta che portò l'Italia a schierarsi a fianco dell'Intesa, scelta che, basandosi su un'analisi errata dei caratteri assunti dal conflitto, implicò forzature che si riverbarono sulla conduzione politica e militare del conflitto e sulla stessa realtà socio-economica; dopo Caporetto si assistette, non senza paradossi, a una svolta positiva, non solo per la trasformazione della guerra da offensiva a difensiva, ma anche per il diverso atteggiamento mostrato dal Comando supremo verso gli aspetti non esclusivamente repressivi del governo della truppa. Tutto ciò però non bastò a rendere popolare il conflitto né a contenere le dirompenti fratture da esso prodotte: l'esperienza bellica produsse così una sorta di «segmentazione corporativa» dei vari gruppi sociali, tutti anelanti dallo Stato interventi in loro favore di fatto inconciliabili gli uni con gli altri, non rideterminò alcuna ricomposizione patriottica e apparve sostanzialmente divisiva, dato che operò una «nazionalizzazione» dei conflitti, che si spostarono dal livello locale a quello statale, con il riacuirsi non solo di «antiche rivalità regionali e comunali», ma pure con la «ripresa» dell'ostilità tra città e campagna; dunque se «nazionalizzazione delle masse» ci fu, fu quella segnata dalla militarizzazione e dalla dicotomia ideologica, in base a un modello costruito «sul rapporto dominio-subordinazione e sulla contrapposizione amici-nemici»¹¹.

La prima guerra mondiale è stata letta e interpretata da Angelo Ventrone, storico dell'Università di Macerata, come origine di due fattori importanti che avrebbero caratterizzato buona parte della storia italiana del Novecento: da una parte, la deriva violenta e totalitaria e l'emergere di una nuova mentalità politica rivoluzionaria e, dall'altra, l'inedito connubio tra guerra e tecnica, una svolta epocale capace di rideterminare, spesso radicalizzandoli, stili di vita e comportamenti collettivi, scelte individuali e concezioni belliche¹².

I temi della ribellione, della diserzione, della disobbedienza (individuale e collettiva), alimentati dal logoramento della severa vita di trincea, e quello, a lungo sottovalutato o dimenticato, delle violenze commesse a danno della popolazione civile, hanno portato Bruna Bianchi, storica dell'Università di Venezia, a coltivare un rilevante sentiero di studio che dal primo conflitto mondiale l'ha condotta fino al secondo¹³. La stessa studiosa si è poi occupata di un altro tema significativo quanto

¹⁰ Da ultimo si veda G. Procacci, *Warfare-welfare. Intervento dello Stato e diritti dei cittadini (1914-1918)*, Roma, Carocci 2013; ma della stessa autrice si vedano almeno *Dalla rassegnazione alla rivolta. Mentalità e comportamenti popolari nella grande guerra*, Roma, Bulzoni, 2000, e *Soldati e prigionieri italiani nella grande guerra. Con una raccolta di lettere inedite*, Torino, Bollati Boringhieri, 2000.

¹¹ Ead., *L'Italia nella Grande Guerra*, in G. Sabbatucci e V. Vidotto, *Storia d'Italia*, 4. *Guerre e fascismo*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1997, pp. 3-99 (88-91 per le citazioni).

¹² A. Ventrone, *La seduzione totalitaria. Guerra, modernità, violenza politica. (1914-1918)*, Roma, Donzelli, 2002; Id., *Grande guerra e Novecento*, Roma, Donzelli, 2015.

¹³ B. Bianchi, *La follia e la fuga*, Roma, Bulzoni, 2001; *Deportazione e memorie femminili 1899-1953*, Milano, Unicopli, 2002; *Crimini di guerra e contro l'umanità. Le violenze ai civili sul fronte orientale (1914-1919)*, Milano, Unicopli, 2012.

sottostimato, quello dei pacifisti che nel periodo della Grande guerra si opposero dapprima alla retorica patriottica e belligerante e poi si impegnarono in prima persona per i temi della pace concordata, del disarmo e dell'arbitrato, gettando un seme fecondo che, pur nel disprezzo generale da parte dell'opinione pubblica, sarebbe fruttificato nei decenni successivi¹⁴.

Va ricordato che il termine *pacifismo* assume significati differenti sulla base delle stagioni politiche e culturali all'interno delle quali si esprime cosicché al suo interno si stagliano realtà maggiormente precise come la nonviolenza, l'antimilitarismo e l'obiezione di coscienza.

Esclusi, perseguitati, dimenticati

Tra le categorie forzatamente coinvolte nel processo bellico e tradizionalmente dimenticate dagli studiosi, vi è quella degli obiettori di coscienza¹⁵.

Non pochi tra i primi obiettori italiani appartenevano ai testimoni di Geova, la comunità cristiana fondata nel 1870 in Pennsylvania dal predicatore Charles Taze Russell; non pochi contrari al conflitto emigrarono all'indomani dell'ingresso dell'Italia in guerra, trovando nella Svizzera protestante, specie a Ginevra e a Zurigo, un asilo sicuro.

Tra i 470.000 processi indetti nel periodo bellico contro casi di diserzione e simili dal servizio militare, alcuni riguardarono gli obiettori.

Prima del messaggio tolstoiano, il primo collante degli obiettori italiani fu l'antimilitarismo, autentica bandiera di partiti e movimenti di sinistra: socialisti, anarchici e repubblicani agitarono vivacemente questo principio in età giolittiana, facendolo passare dalla originaria dimensione spontanea delle a una nettamente più politicizzata. Così l'antimilitarismo divenne emblema-cardine del sovversismo italiano e proprio per questo fu considerato estremamente pericoloso dalla classe dirigente liberale¹⁶.

Remigio Cuminetti è stato il primo obiettore di coscienza processato da un Tribunale militare italiano: il dibattimento si svolse ad Alessandria il 30 agosto 1916.

Classe 1890, piemontese (era nato a Porte di Pinerolo, in provincia di Torino), autodidatta e di fervida devozione religiosa, transitò dal cattolicesimo ai testimoni di Geova e per questo fu cacciato di casa dal padre. Allo scoppio della Grande guerra, il giovane, operaio alle officine meccaniche Riv di Villar Perosa, subito dichiarate ausiliarie di guerra, rifiutò di indossare il bracciale previsto per le aziende militarizzate e quindi anche per la sua, di fatto subordinata gerarchicamente alle autorità militari. Di conseguenza conobbe un estenuante tour di processo, carceri e manicomio. Non prima però di aver risposto al presidente del Tribunale di Alessandria, che gli aveva chiesto come mai si fosse rifiutato di indossare la divisa militare e di difendere la patria, che non si addiceva «a un figlio di Dio» indossare un

¹⁴Ead., *Contro ogni confine. Pacifismo e grande guerra*, Trento, Il Margine, 2015.

¹⁵ Sul tema si veda innanzitutto S. Albesano, *Storia dell'obiezione di coscienza in Italia*, Treviso, Ed. Santi Quaranta, 1993.

¹⁶ Per un primo approccio storico sul tema si veda S. Albesano, *Storia dell'obiezione di coscienza in Italia*, Treviso, Ed. Santi Quaranta, 1993.

vestito che significava «odio e guerra», sottolineando che, costretto a vestire militare nel carcere di Cuneo, si era spogliato tre volte rimanendo in mutande:

La mia coscienza si ribella al pensiero di fare del male al mio prossimo. Offro la mia vita per il bene del mio prossimo, ma mai muoverò un dito per recargli del male, poiché Iddio mi dice mediante il Suo spirito di amare il prossimo e non di odiarlo¹⁷.

Inviato successivamente al fronte come portafariti – incarico che accettò rigettando però le stellette –, Remigio si comportò eroicamente, salvando un ufficiale ferito che non aveva più la forza di rientrare in trincea: fu proprio a lui a offrirsi per quella impresa rischiosa, nel corso della quale venne a sua volta ferito a una gamba; a conflitto concluso, rifiutò la medaglia d'argento al valor militare, propostagli per quella impresa. Tale opposizione originò nuove attenzioni poliziesche, perpetuatisi sotto il fascismo, e un nuovo regime carcerario fino alla morte avvenuta, non ancora cinquantenne, nel 1938¹⁸.

Bersagliati dalla cultura militarista, ma rischiarati dalla lettura di Tolstoj si distinsero, nell'infuocata epopea bellica, due obiettori lombardi e socialisteggianti, il ciabattino Luigi Luè e il suonatore girovago Giovanni Gagliardi.

Luè, che considerava quali propri maestri Tolstoj e Garibaldi, ricevette per il suo antimilitarismo una condanna a due mesi di carcere da parte del Tribunale di Milano addirittura nel 1908: ma ben più grave, soprattutto perché privò la numerosa famiglia Luè del suo sostegno economico, fu quella inflittagli dal Tribunale militare il 22 luglio 1917 che lo condannò a sette anni di reclusione; scontò trenta mesi di carcere poiché intervenne nel 1919 l'amnistia verso i reati comuni e militari.

Gagliardi, scappato di casa in gioventù, si affermò come uno dei primi grandi suonatori di fisarmonica, riscuotendo grande successo in Italia e in Francia, soprattutto nei locali più alla moda di Parigi. Ma allo scoppio della Grande guerra, il trentaduenne musicista smise di suonare in pubblico in segno di lutto e, una volta chiamato alle armi, rifiutò di presentarsi, condannando con una lettera la guerra e qualsiasi altra forma di violenza umana. Conseguentemente affrontò una drammatica sequela di interrogatori, insulti e di periodo detentivi, rischiando pure di finire di fronte al plotone di esecuzione. Sottoposto a rigido regime di internamento nella speranza che cambiasse idea, Gagliardi scrisse, per tutta risposta, l'opuscolo manoscritto *Guerra e coscienza*, composto tra 1915 e 1918, nel quale indicò come soluzione alle guerre il valore della coscienza individuale permeato dall'imperativo categorico «Non uccidere». Benché nel 1920 abbracciasse convintamente la fede cristiana – da ateo divenne cristiano evangelico indipendente, non iscritto ad alcuna Chiesa protestante –, l'etichetta di anarchico gli rimase a lungo addosso e diede luogo a nuovi periodi di internamento.

¹⁷ Riportato in *Il processo del primo obiettore di coscienza in Italia*, in <http://www.triangoloviola.it/> (ultima visualizzazione, 29 novembre 2015).

¹⁸ A. Martellini, *Fiori nei cannoni. Nonviolenza e antimilitarismo nell'Italia del Novecento*, prefazione di G. Fofi, Roma, Donzelli, 2006, pp. 30-31.

Novità sul tema

Anche in Italia l'approccio culturalista si è radicato in questi ultimi anni tra l'ultima generazione di studiosi della Grande guerra alla quale appartiene Marco Mondini, storico dell'Università di Padova. Questi, forte di una lunga stagione di solide ricerche sul tema, ha intrecciato un mix di fonti eterogenee (documentazione archivistica; testi letterari; fonti cinematografiche e fumettistiche; testimonianze artistiche; statistiche ufficiali) per ricostruire la vicenda bellica italiana sulla base delle rappresentazioni, dei discorsi e, soprattutto, del consenso e della capacità di adesione alla guerra da parte della popolazione. Ne è derivato un recente volume avvincente, originale e di grande forza interpretativa¹⁹.

L'opera si suddivide in tre parti: l'attesa della guerra e la mobilitazione totale che precedette l'ingresso del Paese nel conflitto; l'esperienza del fronte, prima raccontata dai combattenti nella diaristica e memorialistica e poi interpretata e riprodotta da giornali, riviste e film; il peso del conflitto sul dopoguerra, dalla monumentalizzazione alla creazione del mito.

Come è stato sottolineato, si tratta di un lavoro robusto nel tessuto archivistico e documentario, che risente proficuamente del rinnovamento apportato dai migliori studi tema e che «osa avventurarsi sulla strada della comparazione, molto più di quanto non sia abitudine della storiografia italiana»²⁰.

Mondini mette in guardia da due pregiudizi invalsi, fatte salve rarissime eccezioni, nella storiografia mondiale sulla Grande guerra, definiti «stravaganti»: l'irrelevanza degli avvenimenti sul fronte austro-italiano e il «suo candido aspetto folkloristico»²¹.

Se non si può che concordare con il primo – sottolineando, peraltro, che dietro questo si svela un atteggiamento pregiudizievole non solo più profondo, ma foriero di altri luoghi comuni –, il secondo porta l'autore a considerare il mito della guerra bianca «*naïf*», capace di «emozionare» ancora il pubblico, considerazione che suscita, come si vedrà più avanti, qualche perplessità.

Mondini sottolinea con coraggio la radicale differenza della guerra italiana rispetto al restante conflitto europeo e mondiale. Tale differenza si fonda sull'anno in meno combattuto, trascorso tra «tentennamenti e trattative» e con il violento-unico scontro tra interventisti e neutralisti; sull'impreparazione con cui venne gestita la prova militare; sul distorto modo in cui essa fu raccontata dalle arti e dalla informazione per mantenere il consenso popolare al conflitto; e, non ultimo, sulla pace mancata, cioè su quel particolare modo di uscire dalla guerra che consistette in un permanente stato di conflittualità, di violenza e di scontro²².

Di recente, Mondini è tornato a sintetizzare la sua visione della Grande guerra come «coacervo di paradossi». Eclatante fu la contraddittorietà tra i fini dichiarati, la sua conduzione e i suoi risultati; presentata come «l'ultima campagna del

¹⁹ M. Mondini, *La guerra italiana. Partire, raccontare, tornare 1914-18*, Bologna, il Mulino, 2014.

²⁰ Caglioti, *Una guerra grande e italiana*, cit., p. 62.

²¹ Mondini, *La guerra italiana*, cit., p. 9.

²² *Ibidem*, pp. 9-10.

Risorgimento», secondo una visione romantica e ideale, la guerra risultò estranea sia alla maggioranza della popolazione sia a quella classe dirigente liberale che, dopo una travagliata transizione – una *crisi al rallentatore* secondo un’azzeccata definizione –, decise infine di entrare nel novero dei belligeranti contro gli ex alleati della Triplice.

Inoltre, la popolazione italiana sostenne in modo asimmetrico il «corale sforzo della nazione», sopportando questo peso in maniera diversa sia in relazione ai militari che ai civili; per la truppa va sottolineato che metà dei caduti dei morti nell’esercito operante del 1915-1918 (260.000 persone) aveva meno di 25 anni, circostanza che dà l’esatta misura dell’enorme sacrificio richiesto alle classi giovanili di leva, un sacrificio addirittura superiore al ben più noto massacro generazionale che si registrò sul fronte occidentale. Un altro livello di paradosso è rappresentato dallo scarto tra la realtà della conduzione e della gestione di un conflitto meccanizzato, industriale e tecnologico e un macro-racconto «impennato sulla rappresentazione di un conflitto romantico e premoderno», alimentato dai giornalisti: maestro di questi ultimi fu il più noto corrispondente di guerra italiano, Luigi Barzini.

Così una realtà bellica inconoscibile, inenarrabile e inaccettabile per motivi di opportunità politica e generale venne intrisa di «stilemi suggestivi e romantici, patriottici e spettacolari, ai confini della seduzione pubblicitaria» e quindi espressa in maniera gradita e conciliabile con l’immagine della guerra come missione patriottica; il vertiginoso aumento della corrispondenza epistolare²³ e l’exploit della dell’informazione non poco dovettero anche agli illustratori – su tutti Achille Beltrame che, chiamato nel 1898 da Luigi Albertini alla «Domenica del Corriere», lavorò intensamente per 40 anni, realizzando 4.662 tavole, pare senza mai andare in vacanza²⁴ – che, autonomi dalla realtà, applicarono i tradizionali codici figurativi, evidenziando il valore del combattente e la magnificenza del gesto coraggioso²⁵.

Sul fatto che la prima guerra mondiale abbia sancito l’avvento della modernità ci sono pochi dubbi: le masse di fanti contadini strappati alla loro routine campestre, venne a contatto con la meccanica e la chimica delle armi moderni, con nuovi alimenti, con l’uso della scrittura, della carta stampata e degli idiomi nazionali, con la riproduzione fotografica degli avvenimenti, con l’ideologia patriottica e anche con sentimenti di umanità e cameratismo, pur nel quadro di un generale inquadramento gerarchico²⁶.

Irrilevanza confutabile

Sfogliando i più recenti libri di storia scritti sulla Grande guerra da autori stranieri, si ravvisano due elementi inconfondibili: il primo è che essi sono costruiti su

²³ Solo in Italia le corrispondenze tra il fronte e il Paese toccarono, fino al 31 dicembre 1918, la cifra incredibile di 3 miliardi e 600 milioni di lettere, rispettivamente 1.509.180.000 dal primo al secondo e 2.137.023.000 viceversa. A. Magnifici, *La censura di trincea. Il regime postale della Grande Guerra*, Chiari, Nordpress, 2008, p. 43.

²⁴ A. Lorenzi, *Beltrame, Achille*, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, Roma, Istituto dell’Enciclopedia Italiana, 1966, vol. 8, pp. 54-55.

²⁵ M. Mondini, *Una guerra paradossale*, in *Trame disperse. Esperienze di viaggio, di conoscenza e di combattimento nel mondo della Grande*, a cura di M. Severini, Venezia, Marsilio, 2015, pp. 19-34.

²⁶ R. Romanelli, *Novecento. Lezioni di storia contemporanea*, Bologna, il Mulino, 2014, p. 11.

una bibliografia esclusivamente anglo-americana, il secondo è che il fronte italo-austriaco e, più in generale, la guerra italiana sono state completamente dimenticate da questi studiosi.

Il pregiudizio è da molto tempo invalso, ma ritrovarlo così confermato a un secolo di distanza dal conflitto che ha cambiato non solo il corso della storia universale ma anche di quella italiana, fa indubbiamente impressione.

Lo ha ribadito, di recente, proprio Mondini, sottolineando come *The Cambridge History of the First World War* (2014), concepita come «manifesto di una storiografia rinnovata e transnazionale», abbia dedicato, nell'arco di tre volumi, appena una trentina di pagine al fronte italiano²⁷.

Su questa stessa linea si erano già posti nel 2011 il libro dello statunitense Lawrence Sondhaus – docente all'Università di Indianapolis e direttore dell'Istituto per gli studi sulla guerra e la diplomazia – pubblicato in Italia da Einaudi nel 2014²⁸ e la ricostruzione del britannico Ian Beckett uscita per i tipi della Yale University Press nel 2012 e pubblicata in Italia nel 2013 sempre dall'editore torinese²⁹.

Delle finalità, dei contenuti e dell'impostazione di queste due opere ho già avuto modo di parlare in un libro di recente uscita³⁰.

La perifericità e l'irrelevanza del fronte italiano nella Grande guerra sono così radicati che Sondhaus ha dedicato su complessive 716 pagine appena una trentina al nostro Paese, mentre un centinaio di pagine post-narrazione sono riservate ad una *Appendice* riportante documenti, punti di vista e approfondimenti, mappe e fotografie; inoltre, tra i 154 testi riportati nella *Bibliografia* non ce n'è uno che non sia stato pubblicato in Inghilterra o negli Stati Uniti.

Dal canto suo, Beckett ha fatto, se vogliamo, anche di peggio non tanto perché nessuno dei suoi prescelti dodici punti di svolta contempera minimamente l'Italia e il fronte in cui venne impegnata, ma perché, forse proprio per rimediare a questo vuoto, l'edizione italiana della sua opera – peraltro complessivamente interessante e narrativamente accattivante, nonostante non pochi cedimenti a certa letterarietà tipicamente anglosassone – termina con una corrieva *Postfazione* di tre raffazzonate pagine con cui si intenderebbe dar conto degli eventi che hanno maggiormente caratterizzato la vicenda storica nostrana tra 1915 e 1918 e che, invece, si risolve in un corvivo paragrafetto storico-diplomatico.

Un altro testo che pare abbia avuto successo nelle librerie italiane è *1914* di Margaret MacMillan che, settuagenaria canadese di Toronto e docente all'Università di Oxford, ha dedicato la sua carriera a studiare principalmente l'imperialismo britannico³¹.

²⁷ Mondini, *La guerra italiana*, cit., p. 9; il capitolo dedicato al fronte italo-austriaco è di N. Labanca, *The Italian Front*, in J. Winter (a cura di), *The Cambridge History of the First World War. I: Global war*, Cambridge-New York, Cambridge University Press, 2014, pp. 266-296.

²⁸ L. Sondhaus, *Prima guerra mondiale. La rivoluzione globale*, Torino, Einaudi, 2014.

²⁹ I.F.W. Beckett, *La prima guerra mondiale. Dodici punti di svolta*, Torino, Einaudi, 2013.

³⁰ M. Severini, *La visione degli storici*, in *Visioni della Grande guerra*, a cura di M. Severini e I. Biagioli, Venezia, Marsilio, 2015, pp. 9-25.

³¹ M. MacMillan, *1914. Come la luce si spense sul mondo di ieri*, Milano, Rizzoli, 2013.

Inserito in una collana diretta da Paolo Mieli, offerto ai lettori del «Corsera» in due volumi nel novembre 2014 e definito nelle pagine culturali del quotidiano milanese di via Solferino «molto interessante»³², il libro della MacMillan ha preso spunto per il sottotitolo da una frase pronunciata da Edward Grey, segretario di Stato inglese per gli Affari esteri, per offrire una voluminosa ricostruzione delle tensioni, delle trasformazioni e delle inquietudini che segnarono la vigilia dello scoppio della Grande guerra.

Lo stesso Mieli ha ripetutamente lodato il libro della MacMillan³³ che invece affastella, a nostro avviso, il peggio dei pregiudizi e dei luoghi comuni sull'Italia di tipica matrice anglosassone.

Partiamo dalla dichiarazione di «invidia impotente» con cui il nostro Paese aveva in precedenza assistito alla «spartizione coloniale del mondo» e che pare fosse all'origine del convincimento, attuato con la guerra di Libia, secondo cui fosse giunto «il momento di allargare il suo piccolo impero oltremare»³⁴. Fin qui nulla di terribilmente sconvolgente (e di nuovo) neanche quando la storica d'oltreoceano definisce i primi tentativi coloniali italiani – tutti risoltisi in uno «spettacolare fallimento» – o quando va giù pesante sul ruolo internazionale del nostro Paese, una «grande potenza soprattutto per convenzione diplomatica», dato che tutti gli indicatori «eccetto quello della povertà» erano tra i più bassi d'Europa³⁵.

Poi, però, la studiosa esagera definendo Giolitti «un liberale di simpatie riformatrici che aveva cercato di modernizzare l'economia, la società e la politica italiana, ma i cui interventi – quasi mai risolutivi – erano spesso giudicati dilettanteschi ed estemporanei dai colleghi e dall'opinione pubblica»³⁶; il re era «un ometto minuto e di gusti difficili» che lasciava «carta bianca ai suoi ministri» in materia di politica estera³⁷; ancora l'Italia era sì una nazione visitata «per il suo clima e le sue mille attrattive» dagli stranieri i quali, dal canto loro, «non perdevano occasione per deriderla»; gli italiani venivano percepiti come un popolo «caloroso, ma confusionario e infantile»; il Regno d'Italia veniva ritenuto su scala mondiale «una grandezza trascurabile», i cui rapporti internazionali «erano condizionati da due fattori: la debolezza del paese e la sua posizione strategica»³⁸.

Passando ai leader politici e militari italiani, essi tendevano «a mostrarsi più nervosi del dovuto e a veder congiure ovunque» e consideravano i nemici del Paese «soggetti irrazionali che avrebbero potuto attaccare in ogni momento anche senza buon motivo»³⁹; tra questi ultimi, il ministro degli Esteri, Antonino di San Giuliano, era un «un personaggio cinico e scaltro» che «attribuiva i suoi molti disturbi

³² A. Carloti, *1914-18, Europa in fiamme. Quando i governi agirono come apprendisti stregoni*, in «Corriere della Sera», 6 ottobre 2014, p. 30.

³³ P. Mieli, *Lo scontro Londra-Berlino incominciò nel Sudafrica*, in «Corriere della Sera», 11 novembre 2013, pp. 26-27.

³⁴ MacMillan, *1914*, cit., p. 518.

³⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 519.

³⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 519-520.

³⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 520.

³⁸ *Ibidem*.

³⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 521.

all'influenza della madre e alla vita troppo morigerata che la donna gli aveva imposto»⁴⁰.

Dei 463 libri e studi che compongono la *Bibliografia* finale, troviamo solo un testo (postumo) di un italiano, il direttore del «Corriere della Sera» Luigi Albertini, morto nel 1941, e di cui viene indicizzata la traduzione inglese de *Le origini della guerra del 1914*, uscito per i tipi dell'editore milanese Bocca tra 1942 e 1943 (*The Origins of the War of 1914*, London 1957).

Se poi sfogliamo l'*Indice dei nomi*, sempre prezioso marchio di storicità, vi troviamo il futurista Giacomo Balla e l'inventore Guglielmo Marconi, l'operaio «disoccupato e anarchico»⁴¹ Luigi Lucheni – nato in realtà a Parigi nel 1873 da una umile bracciante del Parmense che aveva valicato le Alpi per nascondere la paternità (il padre era un grosso proprietario terriero) e affidare poi l'infante a un orfanotrofio – , papa Pio X, il generale Alberto Pollio, Filippo Tommaso Marinetti e Benito Mussolini – definito «giovane radicale» che nel 1912 organizzava «manifestazioni di protesta»⁴² –, ma non il premier Antonio Salandra che nel marzo del 1914 era subentrato a Giolitti nella direzione politica italiana.

Le storie nuove del passato

Come detto, il cantiere degli studi sulla prima guerra mondiale resta aperto ed è assai probabile che, come in tutti i lunghi anniversari, si mescolino iniziative di grande rilevanza ad altre di minor pregio.

Uno dei maggiori storici italiani sul tema, Mario Isnenghi, ha sottolineato più volte il pericolo di un certo provincialismo storiografico, cioè di alimentare una bibliografia microcosmica, periferica, legata al campanile, che in Italia è già foltissima, soprattutto nelle località del Nord-Est in cui il conflitto venne combattuto. Pur non avendo nulla contro la microstoria – che «serve a rendere più leggibile la grande storia» – Isnenghi ha avvertito circa i rischi che quest'ultima diventi «l'ottica prevalente» di questo centenario della Grande guerra, con l'inevitabile conseguenza di portare a pensare la guerra «in termini decentrati e periferici», quando, come si è visto, la storia italiana del periodo bellico ha indubbiamente bisogno di essere meglio conosciuta all'estero⁴³.

Purtuttavia non è meno vero che la microstoria non vive nella penisola un grande momento, tanto più in epoca in cui un po' tutti fanno a gara a presentare qualsiasi iniziativa sotto le insegne dell'internazionalizzazione. Inoltre, il più delle volte la storia locale è affidata a un folto manipolo di storici di complemento, quando non a studiosi di altre discipline o dalla opinabile professionalità, con l'inevitabile conseguenza di un rafforzamento del generale discredito di cui essa gode nell'ambiente accademico insieme a generi – come la biografia politica – che vantano invece una grande tradizione e la cui frequentazione sarebbe particolarmente utile, soprattutto sul versante euristico e metodologico, per le nuove generazioni di studiosi.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 522.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, p. 308.

⁴² *Ibidem*, p. 565.

⁴³ Si veda l'intervista a Isnenghi da parte di Simonetta Fiori, in «Repubblica», 10 marzo 2014.

L'Associazione di Storia Contemporanea ha promosso nell'autunno del 2014 un Convegno internazionale di studi che nell'arco di tre giorni ha inteso trattare l'argomento bellico prediligendo, da una parte, il versante odeporario – e dunque la vicenda dei viaggi, degli spostamenti e dei trasferimenti (a volte forzati a volte liberi; individuali e collettivi; e così via) di uomini e donne tra 1914 e 1918 – e, dall'altra, un approccio multidisciplinare.

Sarebbe autoreferenziale parlare di questa iniziativa che ha visto lo scrivente come curatore degli atti convegnistici, ma pare oltremodo opportuno rimarcare alcune novità emerse da quest'assise, ad incominciare dal territorio regionale, quello marchigiano, che l'ha ospitata e che fu uno dei primi lembi d'Italia a essere interessato dalle azioni di guerra.

Le Marche erano alla vigilia dello scoppio della prima guerra mondiale uno dei più fecondi e vivaci laboratori politici italiani. Il suo capoluogo, Ancona, uno dei principali porti sull'Adriatico, aveva registrato, nel solo 1914, la clamorosa ascesa all'interno del socialismo rivoluzionario di Benito Mussolini, lo scoppio della *Settimana rossa*⁴⁴ – il moto di protesta, ribellione e insurrezione che, con protagonisti il repubblicano intransigente Pietro Nenni (futuro leader socialista) e il leader anarchico Errico Malatesta, era poi dilagato in tutta Italia, portandosi dietro una striscia di sangue (17 morti e un centinaio di feriti), sinistramente presaga di quella ben più rilevante della Grande guerra– nonché una forte avanzata del sindacalismo e del movimento cattolico.

Complessivamente, la compresenza di elementi moderni (la vivacità delle competizioni elettorali; il progressivo radicamento di dinamiche formazioni politiche; la diffusione della stampa; l'affermazione di lotte e istanze precorritrici come la “questione marchigiana”, la sentenza Mortara del 1906⁴⁵, etc.) e di altri di natura tradizionale (il trasformismo e il ministerialismo dei gruppi egemoni; la mancanza di una classe dirigente efficiente e diffusamente radicata nel territorio; il potere particolaristico-clientelare dei notabili; la dimensione campanilistica e municipalistica) rafforzava l'immagine di una regione mediana tra Nord e Sud del paese, anche se nel complesso i secondi sembravano avere maggiore influenza sulla società regionale rispetto ai primi.

⁴⁴ Su questo evento significativo e sulle sue diramazioni sul territorio nazionale si veda ora M. Severini (a cura di), *La Settimana rossa*, Roma, Aracne, 2014.

⁴⁵ Il 25 luglio 1906 una clamorosa quanto inedita sentenza della Corte di appello di Ancona, presieduta dall'insigne giurista Lodovico Mortara (uno dei maggiori processualisti e civilisti italiani ed europei) concesse a dieci maestre precarie marchigiane il diritto di voto politico, primo effettivo caso registrato nell'Europa continentale. Visto che in Italia votava allora poco più dell'8% della popolazione (tutti maschi, ovviamente), le dirompenti conseguenze della *sentenza Mortara* fecero sì che il mondo politico e giuridico mettesse in campo un ostacolo insormontabile per evitare l'accesso delle donne italiane al voto, rappresentato da una successiva “sentenza politica” da parte della Corte di Cassazione, che annullò la sentenza Mortara. Le dieci coraggiose maestre ebbero peraltro dieci mesi di tempo per far valere il diritto conquistato ma per loro sfortuna nel giugno 1906 il leader liberale Giovanni Giolitti aveva formato il suo terzo ministero che sarebbe durato tre anni e mezzo. Sull'intera vicenda sia consentito rinviare a M. Severini, *Dieci donne. Storia delle prime elettrici italiane*, Macerata, Liberilibri 2012 (3^a edizione, 2013).

Proprio Ancona, insieme alla limitrofa Senigallia, furono le prime località a essere bombardate all'alba del 24 maggio 1915 – giorno dell'entrata in guerra dell'Italia – con la conseguenza che la fascia costiera venne sottoposta ad un regime speciale di disciplina e divenne teatro di bombardamenti e incursioni militari: alla sua piena militarizzazione si contrappose lo squallore, l'abbandono e la desolazione dell'intero quadro regionale⁴⁶.

Il conflitto rappresentò un profondo scossone degli equilibri politici e sociali preesistenti: la chiamata alle armi e il conseguente coinvolgimento di migliaia di contadini, popolani e borghesi in una dirompente esperienza collettiva – di fatto la prima per l'intera nazione – coinvolse dei cittadini dal labile senso di appartenenza nazionale nel disegno politico e militare posto in opera dalla classe dirigente italiana; pur contrassegnata da sentimenti di estraneità e di alterità rispetto ai concetti di patria e nazione, la partecipazione al conflitto si rivelò in ogni senso collettiva e presentò, al termine del conflitto, un considerevole tributo di morti.

Ma se questi dati erano stati posti in essere dagli studi dell'ultimo quindicennio⁴⁷, il Convegno ha ricostruito con l'ausilio di preziose documentazioni almeno tre fatti nuovi: la complessità del fronte interno e di una periferia sostanzialmente dimenticata dalle istituzioni statali⁴⁸; l'affondamento a largo della costa marchigiana, nel novembre 1917, di due unità navali e la morte di numerosi marinai, il cui numero sarebbe stato indubbiamente superiore se la gente del posto, e in particolari delle giovani ragazze, non si fossero prodigate nell'opera di soccorso⁴⁹; e soprattutto l'invasione, tra il 5 e il 6 aprile 1918, di una parte del territorio regionale ad opera di 62 temerari incursori austro-ungarici che, sulla base di un piano elaborato dai vertici militari, intendevano far saltare in aria il porto di Ancona, dove erano ormeggiati i temibili Mas (motoscafi anti sommergibile) comandati da Luigi Rizzo, e vendicare così la nota *beffa di Buccari*, del febbraio precedente⁵⁰.

Dopo aver percorso una ventina di chilometri praticamente indisturbati, i 62 incursori imperiali furono arrestati, poco prima di conseguire l'obiettivo, da due eroici finanzieri che, a rischio della vita, riuscirono ad allarmare la Difesa militare territoriale e, quindi, a sventare l'ardito piano.

Questo avvenimento ha confermato quanto nella fase conclusiva del conflitto gli aspetti psicologici avevano ormai acquistato un'incredibile importanza, aspetti ai quali l'assise ha dedicato una particolare attenzione.

⁴⁶ Un recente caso ricostruito è quello di S. Bolotti, *Macerata nella prima guerra mondiale*, Milano, Codex, 2010.

⁴⁷ Assemblea Legislativa delle Marche – Istituto per la storia del Risorgimento italiano/Comitato provinciale di Ancona, *Le Marche e la Grande Guerra (1915-1918)*, a cura di G. Piccinini, Ancona, 2008; L. Gorgolini, *Emozioni di guerra. Le Marche di fronte ai grandi conflitti del Novecento*, Roma, Carocci, 2008; in particolare, per una ricostruzione aggiornata, rinvio al n. 5, 2014 della rivista «Storia delle Marche in età contemporanea».

⁴⁸ Ne ha parlato la relazione di C. Di Sante il cui testo è stato riportato in *Visioni della Grande guerra*, a cura di I. Biagioli e M. Severini, Venezia, Marsilio, 2015, pp. 104-124.

⁴⁹ O. Colombo, *La Marina affonda. Due drammatici episodi*, in *Trame disperse*, cit., pp. 75-88.

⁵⁰ G. Morgese, *All'ultima spiaggia. Incursori imperiali nel medio Adriatico*, in *Trame disperse*, cit., pp. 59-73.

Infatti, una relazione si è concentrata sulla *battaglia più alta della storia* – così è stata definita dagli storici –, l'unico fatto d'arme riportato come una vittoria dai bollettini austro-ungarici nell'ultimo anno di guerra. Si tratta di un importante episodio della cosiddetta *guerra bianca*, l'assurda guerra combattuta tra italiani e imperiali tra le cime alte e inospitali dei ghiacciai alpini – più precisamente nel gruppo montuoso dell'Ortles-Cevedale, in attuale territorio trentino –: la guerra nella quale bufere e slavine decimavano molto più delle pallottole nemiche; la guerra scandita da massicci bombardamenti e assalti di sorpresa, da colpi di mano ritenuti disperati e impossibili dagli esperti militari e da contrattacchi finalizzati alla conquista di qualche metro di neve; la guerra comportante perdite folli e che trovava il proprio habitat nei ghiacciai insidiosi in cui veniva ricavata una dimensione urbana alternativa, costruita tra cunicoli e appostamenti di fortuna, tra sentieri e gallerie scavate nel ghiaccio, con le teleferiche unico mezzo di collegamento con il fondovalle. L'episodio bellico in questione portò le truppe imperiali a riconquistare, il 3 settembre 1918, la punta S. Matteo, a quasi 3.700 metri di altezza, una cima che era stata occupata, con un ardito colpo di mano, dagli italiani nell'agosto precedente⁵¹.

Conquistare o perdere una vetta a quell'altezza, con un incredibile numero di morti e dispersi e per di più nella coda di un conflitto mondiale i cui esiti apparivano ormai segnati, rivestiva, nonostante il rilievo logistico e strategico della cima, un'importanza decisamente psicologica, specie per truppe, come quelle imperiali, che erano giunte snervate al loro quinto anno di guerra.

A sottolineare la rilevanza e l'attualità dell'evento è giunta undici anni fa, nell'agosto 2004, l'improvvisa scoperta proprio in questi ghiacciai del Trentino dei corpi perfettamente mummificati di alcuni *kaiserschützen*, i temibili alpini al servizio degli Asburgo che avevano preso parte a quell'episodio: una scoperta eccezionale, provocata dal disgelo inarrestabile e dal progressivo ritirarsi dei ghiacciai, sia perché gli ultimi corpi insepolti della Grande guerra ritrovati in zona risalivano al 1924, sia perché il cadavere dell'ufficiale italiano che aveva guidato la conquista del S. Matteo, Arnaldo Berni, non è stato mai trovato, a dispetto di un secolo di intense e continue ricerche.

L'essenza della ricerca storica

In conclusione, pare opportuno porsi alcune domande.

Come avrebbero impostato i loro lavori gli storici anglosassoni se avessero letto e utilizzato le ricerche che i loro colleghi italiani hanno dedicato nell'ultimo mezzo secolo al tema della prima guerra mondiale? Il provincialismo storiografico è solo quello tante volte citato degli italiani o ne esiste una versione ancora più radicata, edulcorata e destabilizzante nei grandi paesi occidentali? E ancora, non ha forse ragione uno dei più brillanti contemporaneisti angloamericani dei nostri tempi, Tony Judt, quando afferma che il rischio maggiore che corriamo non consista tanto nel dimenticare il passato, ma «nel citarlo con ignoranza»⁵²? E siamo sicuri di voler

⁵¹ M. Severini, *Arnaldo Berni e la "battaglia più alta della storia"*, in *Trame disperse*, cit., pp. 193-204.

⁵² T. Judt [con Timothy Snyder], *Novecento*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 2012, p. 260.

continuare sulla strada di un'internazionalizzazione forzata e di moda quando all'estero molti studiosi, nonostante tutti i mezzi informatici a disposizione, non fanno neanche lo sforzo di consultare le migliori ricerche e rassegne della nostra storiografia?

Certo, esistono anche eccezioni significative, come quella di John Gooch che, storico britannico nato nel 1945 e professore emerito di storia internazionale all'Università di Leeds, ha trascorso molti anni nella penisola a studiare gli archivi storici e a realizzare narrazioni e interpretazioni persuasive soprattutto di storia militare, tanto che ancora si ricordano come testi fondamentali i suoi *Soldati e borghesi nell'Europa moderna* (1982) ed *Esercito, stato e società in Italia 1870-1915* (1989).

La regola pare, però, decisamente un'altra.

Fare un'esperienza di studio, di ricerca e di formazione all'estero è indubbiamente un'occasione da cogliere al volo, in qualsiasi età, anche se partire quando si è giovani è certamente preferibile. Eppure, con tutti i sogni e gli auspici del caso, non sarebbe poi così sbagliato portarsi dietro, tra i tanti bagagli, quello della ricchezza della storia italiana e delle capacità dei nostri storici che, in alcuni campi, nulla hanno da invidiare ai loro colleghi stranieri.

Proprio Judt, nato a Londra nel 1948 e morto a New York nel 2010, si è detto molto preoccupato dell'insegnamento «progressista» della storia che prevale nelle istituzioni americane, a partire dalla scuola di base: a una storia carica di dati e di informazioni si è sostituita, negli ultimi decenni, «l'intuizione che il passato sia un insieme di menzogne e pregiudizi da correggere» e dunque un insieme di approcci critici «presunti», ma controproducenti, che intenderebbero sostenere i bambini e gli studenti nella formazione di un giudizio personale⁵³. In realtà questi tipi di approcci seminano per lo più confusione e quest'ultima, senza dubbio, «è nemica del sapere».

Quando poi si passa all'università – sempre in riferimento al sistema educativo statunitense –, le cose non vanno meglio perché gli storici soffrono di una doppia insicurezza, l'incertezza della collocazione della propria disciplina in un ambito accademico preciso (è una scienza umanistica o sociale?) e la fascinazione da essi mostrata nei confronti delle teorie, dei modelli, dei quadri di riferimento.

Judt chiarisce che quest'ultima fascinazione per le etichette è interamente basata «sulla mentalità attuale» e del resto è impossibile che il lavoro dello storico sia avulso dalle «contaminazioni» del proprio tempo.

Ma spesso il risultato è composto, in termini scientifici, da «monografie sbertucciate» che iniziano e terminano «con grandi pretese teoriche sulla finalità decostruttiva della ricerca» e risultano ricche di capitoli molto empirici quanto capaci di far sorgere dubbi ai lettori sulle stesse testimonianze «riesumate dall'autore»: si sfornano così libri «poco piacevoli da leggere» che rivelano una «mancanza di fiducia» nelle proprie capacità intellettuali⁵⁴.

Queste affermazioni sono state espresse da uno storico *outsider*, che così si è sempre considerato fino alla morte e che tale è stato ritenuto dalla maggior parte della

⁵³Judt, *Novecento*, cit., pp. 260-261.

⁵⁴*Ibidem*, p. 257.

comunità accademica angloamericana. Va da sé che la scoperta delle sue ricerche e delle sue tesi sia stata in Italia particolarmente recente⁵⁵.

Le dimensioni della conoscenza e della narrazione sono essenziali al sapere storico non meno delle capacità di scrittura dello storico stesso – «Un libro di storia scritto male è un cattivo libro di storia»⁵⁶ –; i modelli e le teorie sono importanti, ma ad essi non va conferito un senso assoluto; nell'analizzare le vicende del processo storico vanno tenute in debita considerazione le culture nazionali, ma senza erigerle a parametro unico o indiscutibile del proprio itinerario di ricerca; l'aggiornamento è un'altra componente vitale del mestiere dello storico, delle sue effettive capacità di ricostruire il passato attraverso la ricerca archivistica e documentaria e di comunicarlo a una platea vasta che, oltre alla comunità scientifica, comprende in primo luogo i lettori.

Siamo partiti dalla confutazione del luogo comune sull'irrelevanza del teatro di guerra italo-austriaco nel più ampio scenario della Grande guerra. È pur vero che a volte si dimentica che disponiamo di testimonianze cruciali e al contempo rilevatrici della realtà opposta rispetto a quanto enunciato dal sopracitato pregiudizio: Gli italiani hanno dimostrato al mondo che cosa sono capaci di fare. Sono le truppe più valorose di tutti gli eserciti alleati.

l'esercito italiano, con le sole proprie forze e senza che le unità franco-britanniche dovessero intervenire, ha ricostituito sul Piave un fronte continuo⁵⁷.

La prima citazione è di Ernest Hemingway che, come noto, si trovò in Italia nel 1918 come autista dell'American Red Cross (la sezione statunitense della Croce Rossa) e la seconda del generale francese Ferdinand Foch, comandante in capo, dall'aprile 1918, degli eserciti alleati sul fronte occidentale.

⁵⁵ S. Luzzatto, *Siamo europei, teniamoci il Welfare, Tony Judt mette in guardia: americanizzarsi è assurdo*, in «Corriere della Sera», 6 dicembre 2007; U. Gentiloni, *Appunti per una biografia intellettuale*, 27 aprile 2012, in www.lostraniero.net; M. Severini (con M. Soldini), *Il Novecento di Tony Judt*, in M. Severini (a cura di), *Lecture storiografiche. I libri di storia che hanno fatto storia*, Fermo, CF Edizioni, 2013, pp. 200-222.

⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 258.

⁵⁷ Riportate in E. Orso, *Diario e Memorie di un combattente della guerra 1915-1918 della classe 1899. Piave 1917-1918*, a cura del Gruppo Alpini di S. Pietro in Gu, Carmignano di Brenta, Munari, 2014, pp. 9-10.

THE IRON GUARD AND A PLOT FOR THE KIDNAPPING OF PRINCE MICHAEL IN ITALY (1934)

Abstract: We shall present herein a unique historical document relating to the possibility of organizing a plot for kidnapping the future King Michael I of Romania in 1934. The authors of the plot, according to information that circulated in London, were representatives of the Iron Guard, an extremist organization from Romania. The kidnapping was to take place in Florence, where Michael was paying a visit to his mother. The future king would have been hidden until his father, King Charles II, was deposed from the throne and Michael became King, his mother Helen becoming Regent.

Keywords: conspiracy, Romania, Italy, King Michael, Florence

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The relations of the Romanian royalty with the Italian Kingdom were constant during the interwar period, being predicated on a system of mutual respect, without any exceptional peculiarities. The fact is that the monarchy of Romania had not contracted matrimonial ties with the Italian royalty, which maintained the relations between the two dynasties at a moderate level.

Still, both during the period of the constitutional monarchy and after the abdication of King Michael, in 1947, a part of the royal family of Romania was indelibly linked to Italy through the residency that Queen Helen,² the mother of Prince Michael, who was to become King of Romania twice, chose near Florence.

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² Princess Helen of Greece and Denmark, the wife of King Charles II of Romania and mother of King Michael I, was born in Athens on 2 May 1896. She was the eldest daughter of King Constantine I of Greece and Queen Sofia of Prussia. Paternally Helen was descended from Tsarina Catherine the Great and maternally - from Queen Victoria of Great Britain. She was related to the Emperor of Germany and to the Kings of Denmark, Norway and Sweden. Helen and Charles met in Lausanne, Switzerland, where they got engaged on 12 January 1921. After that they attended together, in Bucharest, the celebration of the engagement of Princess Elizabeth with George of Greece. On 10 March 1921, in the Orthodox Cathedral in Athens, in the presence of the two royal families and over 80 guests, Charles and Helen were wedded. Shortly afterwards, on 25 October 1921, the heir to King Charles II was born at Foișor; on 10 January 1922, the child was baptized as Michael, after the name of Voivode Michael the Brave, by King Ferdinand and Queen Maria as his main godparents. The relations between the two cooled until reaching a divorce, pronounced on 21 June 1928 by Romania’s High Court of Cassation and Justice, the marriage being dissolved on the grounds of “incompatibility.” The divorce and Charles’s return as King of Romania compelled the queen to choose her residence in Italy. Except for the years 1940-1947, when she resided in Bucharest, in the proximity of King Michael, Queen Helen spent her life primarily at Villa Sparta. During the last years of her life, material constraints forced her to relinquish Villa Sparta, her beloved home, and to move to Lausanne in 1980, where she died at the age of 86, on 28 November 1982.

Known as Villa Sparta, a building located in Fiesole, near the Dominican convent where Beato Angelico had lived, this residence was erected in the 15th century and it passed through the hands of several owners, who were members of the Florentine bourgeoisie or nobility. Refurbished and renovated at the beginning of the 20th century, Villa Sparta was bought by Queen Helen in 1933, but she moved here only at the beginning of 1934, more precisely in the spring, after having had the villa refurbished. The funds for the purchase of the small palace came from the sale of the palace she had owned in Mamaia and of a small farm near Bucharest.

Beyond the leitmotif passion that the great nobility and the high bourgeoisie worldwide have for Tuscany and Florence, there was a particular reason behind Queen Helen's choice: the royal family of Greece preferred an Italian exile, as close to the homeland as possible.

According to the agreements made between King Charles and Queen Helen, after his return to the throne of Romania, the responsibility for the education of Prince Michael belonged to the monarch for the most part of the year, while Queen Helen had only two months a year to enjoy the company of her son.

In this context, of the adolescent Michael's presence at Fiesole, at his mother's home, perhaps in the context of the last touches for the purpose of inaugurating the new residence, the Italian authorities, which had looked favourably upon the Queen establishing her residence there, received a confidential report that was rather alarming.

The police in Florence had been confidentially informed, by a local journalist, a correspondent of Reuter's Press Agency, about a plot that had allegedly been organized in order to kidnap Voivode Michael.

The information, provided by the Questura and then the Prefecture of the city on the Arno River, could have or not a certain degree of verisimilitude. What is certain, however, is that the Italian authorities took it seriously and, through one of the highest officials of the Interior Ministry in Rome, they proceeded to inform the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs so as to be prepared for any possible consequences.

The document in question is preserved at the Archivio Storico-Diplomatico in Farnesina and is accompanied by a reply for the police authorities in Italy. In the note submitted by the Ministry of the Interior, on 17 January 1934, signed, at the order of the Minister, by the Deputy Head of the Italian Police Carmine Senise,³ it is stated that a journalist from Florence, Knight Brogi, who was also a news correspondent for Reuters' Agency, had been informed by London about a possible attempt to kidnap the future King Michael. We may assume that the journalists from Reuter's Agency were fairly well connected with the British political circles to access sensitive

³ Carmine Senise was born in Naples on 28 November 1883 and passed away in Rome on 24 January 1958. He was a policeman by career. In 1932 he was appointed prefect and deputy head of the Italian police. In 1940 he was appointed Head of Police in the Kingdom of Italy, being deposed in April 1943. He actively participated in Mussolini's deposition by the Grand Fascist Council before being appointed Head of Police again by Marshal Badoglio. Captured by an SS commando in September 1943, he was transferred to Germany and interned in various concentration camps. He was released on 2 May 1945.

information relating to Europe's crowned heads. The information that Knight Brogi had confidentially learned was quite hot and plausible: the Iron Guard allegedly planned to organize an attempt at capturing Voivode Michael. The action was expected to take place in Italy, where the voivode was on holiday with his mother. In fact, it was stated, the kidnapping would not be detrimental to the voivode, but favourable to him. The abduction act, ordered by the Iron Guard, would allegedly entail hiding Michael, in anticipation, perhaps, of a political movement in Romania that would lead to deposing King Charles II from the throne. Following the removal of the Romanian monarch, the future King Michael would be installed on the throne, but the state leadership would be enforced through Queen Helen, who had to accept the role of Regent. Since such a scenario risked blowing Romania up, Reuter's obviously alerted its contributor to follow closely the developments in Florence. Probably not necessarily due to his civic spirit, but out of fear of the penalties he could incur from the fascist regime if he had been caught concealing such information, Brogi decided to inform the local police authorities. Panic-stricken, they telegraphed their superiors in Rome to ask for instructions. Although the trail of the documents appears to have been normal, let us not forget that Italy was under an authoritarian regime, true, a moderated repressive regime, but still a dictatorship, and such information had to be quickly catalogued and investigated to ensure its full control over the actions taking place on the Italian territory. Carmine Senise informed the authorities of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that the police had decided to monitor all the movements of the heir to the throne of Romania in order to prevent a possible kidnapping and requested instructions from this ministry so as to distribute another package of instructions to the local prefecture.

The reply of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs came without fail, being dated 18 January 1934, 10 am. According to this document, the police authorities were demanded to order the Prefecture of Florence, within the limits of the legal mandate and the forms authorized by the fascist law, to keep the future King of Romania under surveillance, in order to guarantee his personal safety against any violent attempts.

We do not know who gave the resolution to this issue of attempted abduction, but we should specify that the head of the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs at that time was Benito Mussolini himself.⁴ Thus, it is quite possible that the fascist dictator was informed about the plot. In any case, the undersecretary of state who managed the entire diplomatic apparatus was Fulvio Suvich,⁵ a connoisseur of the Romanian realities.

The natural, necessary and correct question that arises is, therefore: why was an attempt being plotted against Voivode Michael, an attempt that would have a positive dénouement if it had taken place? To answer this question, we need to analyse the Romanian situation at the end of 1933 and the beginning of 1934.

Internally, in the autumn of 1933, King Charles II had decided that it would be

⁴ He cumulated *ad-interim* this ministry from 20 July 1932 to 9 June 1936.

⁵ Born in Trieste on 23 January 1887, he was a partisan of Italian irredentism. He was a deputy in the Italian Parliament, undersecretary of state in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and from 1936 to 1938 he served as ambassador to Washington. He died in Trieste on 5 September 1980.

better to accept a Liberal government, after 4 years of governance by the Peasants' Party, corruption scandals, economic decline and internal political conflicts. The newly appointed Prime Minister was the Liberal Ion Gheorghe Duca. On 14 November 1933, the I. G. Duca Government took the oath before King Charles II. The Duca Cabinet was a provisional solution since the relations between the king and the Liberals were extremely bad. The monarch could not overlook the fact that upon his return to the country in 1930, as Carol Caraiman, later to become King of Romania by dethroning the legitimate king of the country, the minor Michael I of Romania, I. G. Duca and Vintilă Brătianu had made harsh statements against him. Under these circumstances, the political conclusion that was reached was that new elections should be scheduled for 20 December 1933.

Before that, however, an internal political gesture was imperative: namely, the dissolution of the Iron Guard, a requirement imposed on the Liberal Government by France. French politicians feared that the political ascent of the Legionary Movement would lead to an economic rapprochement to Germany, to the detriment of France. Discussed on 7 December, in a Government meeting, this measure was opposed by the vast majority of the ministers. However, Nicolae Titulescu, who had returned to the country in the evening of the same day, insisted on the above-mentioned dissolution, referring to a loan for which he was carrying negotiations with the League of Nations, a loan that was conditional upon the dismantling of the Iron Guard. Under these circumstances, Duca and Titulescu addressed themselves to the king, requesting that he should sign a royal decree for the dissolution of the Iron Guard; this decree was to represent the legal basis of the dissolution. The king flatly refused. Accordingly, on 9 December, through a Journal of the Council of Ministers (the equivalent of a Government Ordinance), with 8 votes for and 7 against (the President of the Council of Ministers voted against), it was decided that the "group of the Archangel Michael, today the Iron Guard, is and shall stay dissolved."

The Government's decision was motivated primarily by the fact that "through its program and through its action this group has lately aimed, on the one hand, to change legal order in the State through revolutionary means, and on the other hand, the enthronement of a social and political regime contrary to the one established both by the Constitution and by the peace treaties!", adding that "this group's means of action are terror and violence."

From a procedural point of view, the decision of dissolving the Iron Guard was a legal fiction, since it had already been dissolved previously, in 1931, together with the Legion of the Archangel Michael, without ever being officially re-established. The name under which the Legionaries participated in elections was the "Corneliu Codreanu Group," the name under which they were enrolled at the Central Electoral Commission. As a result, the document issued by the Government should not have had consequences for the Legionaries. However, the Government decided to scuttle the Legionaries' participation in elections. Thus, it cancelled all the Legionaries' electoral lists, shortly before the elections, lest they should try running on other lists. The police made numerous arrests among the Legionaries, the estimates being that several thousand sympathizers were arrested. Having eliminated from the electoral

race a major opposition group that had counted as the third largest electoral force, the Liberals comfortably won the elections with 51% of the votes.

The situation created profound discontent among the Legionaries, especially since there were rather disquieting rumours in connection with the fate of the leader Corneliu Zelea Codreanu. The idea that was accredited in the intimacy of the far-right circles was the need to punish those who had decided the dissolution of the movement and the arrest of its members. A team assumed the first objective: the elimination of the Liberal leader and Head of the Government, I. Gh. Duca. A commando composed of three Legionaries assassinated Duca on the train station platform in Sinaia, on the evening of 29 December 1933. The consequence was a renewed campaign for the arrest and persecution of the Legionaries and their removal from the public life of Romania.

This was the context of Romanian domestic policy in which the Italian police had received information about the plot envisaging the kidnapping of Michael. As far as the Romanian-Italian relations were concerned, they weren't exactly optimal.⁶ Benito Mussolini had the tendency of increasingly supporting the revisionist policy that advantaged relations with Hungary, to the clear detriment of Italy's political rapports with Romania. Moreover, Mussolinian Italy did not agree with the Francophile policy whose protagonist was Nicolae Titulescu in the Romanian Government. Like the entire fascist diplomatic apparatus, Italian politicians had an aversion towards Titulescu. It was perhaps from this perspective that the Iron Guard representatives thought there were opportunities for action in Italy, which could make it easier to reset the game of power in Bucharest, through the use of some of the Crown representatives. In addition to this, the Italian political regime, consolidate over a period of 12 years, was somehow visibly compatible with the Legionary doctrine, especially as regards nationalism and the symbolism they used, so Italy seemed to be a suitable terrain for an action in force related to Romanian politics.

There is a possibility that this information was merely a rumour set into circulation by London circles close to Titulescu, to stimulate hatred against the Legionaries and the isolation of their supporters in Italy in the context of Duca's assassination. However, we believe that the Italian authorities' reaction went beyond the possibility of a rumour, as they credited the information to be truthful.

⁶ *“Dal punto di vista dei rapporti diplomatici bilaterali non era certo un buon momento visto le divergenze che animavano le diplomazie romena ed italiana. La politica italiana, soprattutto con gli anni trenta, si indirizzò verso un moderato revisionismo che ha allarmato Belgrado (principale bersaglio di quella scelta mussoliniana) e Praga, ma anche Bucarest. In questo contesto tra i governi italiano e romeno fece la sua apparizione qualche tensione. Naturalmente la revisione territoriale di cui i governanti romeni non volevano sentire parlare riguardava i confini con l'Ungheria, paese che stava guadagnando un rapporto privilegiato con l'Italia, già durante il lungo governo di Bethlen come pure con i governi successivi (particolarmente con quello capeggiato dal filofascista Gyula Gömbös). Anche l'opinione pubblica intellettuale in Italia aveva un certo peso e si stava orientando a vantaggio dei magiari”.* Francesco Guida, *Le relazioni politiche tra Romania e Italia in età contemporanea*, in <http://scienze politiche.uniroma3.it/fguida/files/2009/11/Bucarest20091.doc>

Clearly, however, we can conclude that while nothing else happened in 1934, only 6 years later, in 1940, the protagonists of the political framework within which the ephemeral Legionary ideocratic regime developed and manifested were, on the one hand, General Ion Antonescu, in his capacity as Chairman of the Council of Ministers, and on the other hand, King Michael and Queen-Mother Helen, as representatives of the Crown, in other words, the very protagonists envisaged by the rumours concerning the plot for the abduction of Voivode Michael. This is just a historical finding, without a subtext, because we do not have other data to confirm or to refute other hypotheses.

DOCUMENTARY ANNEX ⁷

1.

MINISTERO DELL'INTERNO
Direzione Generale della Pubblica Sicurezza
Divisione Affari Generali e Riservati

N.443/41596

Roma, 17 gennaio 1934 XII

TELEGRAMMA URGENTE A MANO – Riservatissima

On. Ministero Affari Esteri
Aff. Politici Uff. II
Roma

La Prefettura di Firenze telegrafa:

“A Londra corre voce che associazione rumena “Guardie di Ferro” avrebbe ordinato complotto per rapire Voivoda Michele il quale trovasi attualmente a Firenze presso la madre Helen ex Regina Rumania. Voivoda Michele dopo rapimento sarebbe tenuto nascosto fino al momento in cui Re Carol sarebbe deposto e Voivoda Michele sarebbe elevato trono con reggenza madre la quale vuolsi sia conseziante. Agenzia Reuter di Londra a conoscenza tali voci ha ordinato proprio corrispondente di Firenze Cav. Brogi tenersi pronto per rapide informazioni qualora piano dovesse attuarsi. Cav. Brogi in via riservatissima ha dato notizia tale ordine alla locale Questura. Informone codesto On. Ministero assicurando che compatibilmente mezzi a disposizione si attua cauta vigilanza per essere al corrente qualsiasi movimento Voivoda Michele”.

Si prega codesto On.Dicastero di compiacersi far conoscere con cortese urgenza, quali istruzioni eventualmente ritenga sia il caso di impartire alla suddetta Prefettura.

PEL MINISTRO
(Carmine Senise)

⁷ The two documents are preserved in Rome, in Archivio Storico-Diplomatico del Ministero degli Affari Esteri, fund *Affari politici 1931-1945, Romania*, busta n.7 (1934), without page numbers.

2.

Ministero degli Affari Esteri
Ufficio Affari Politici II

TELEGRAMMA IN PARTENZA N. S 23 nn

Indirizzato a: Regio Ministero Dell'Interno; Direzione Generale della Pubblica Sicurezza

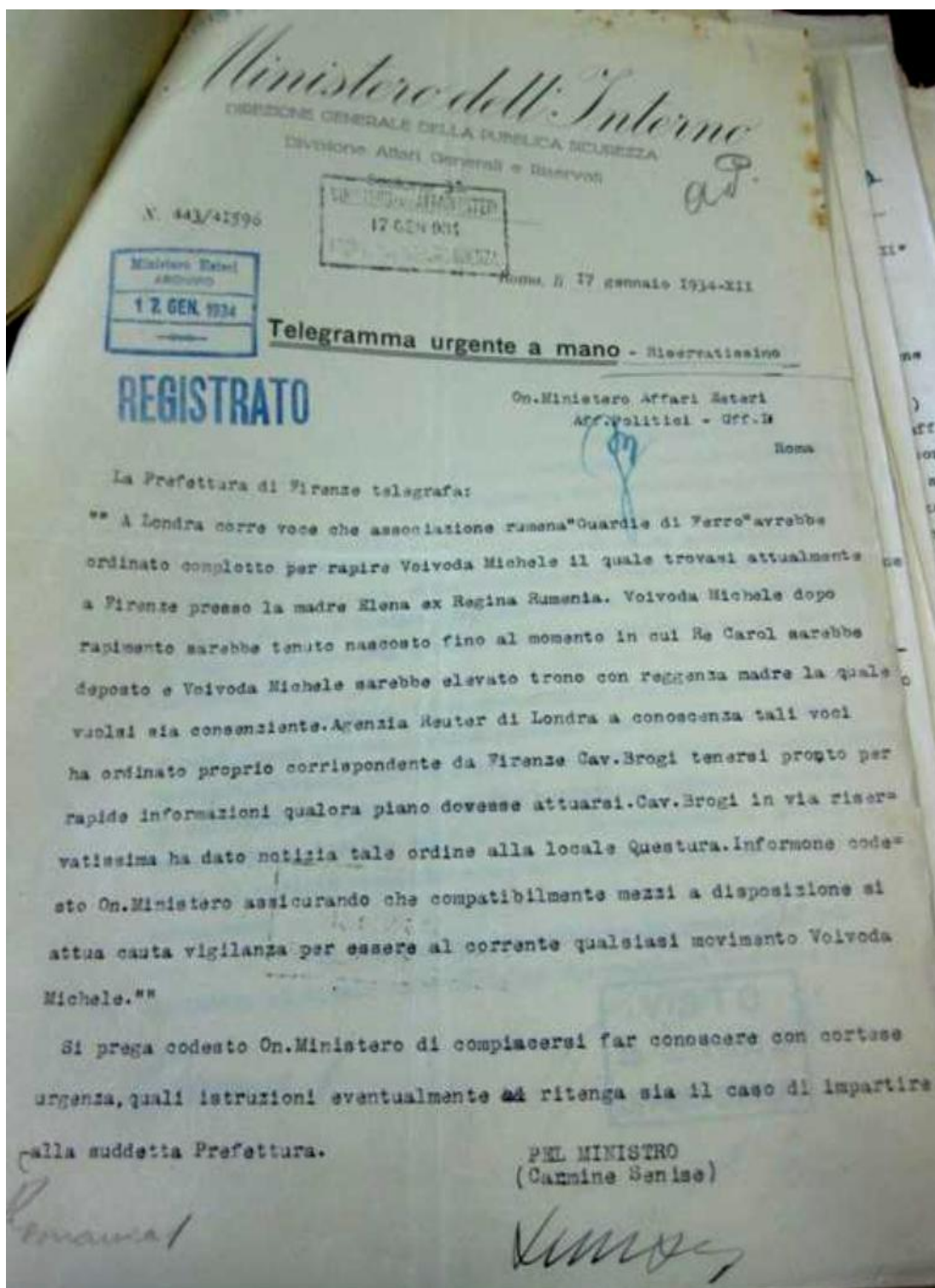
Oggetto: Voci complotto contro Voivoda Michele di Romania

Roma, li 13 Gennaio 1934,

Anno XII, ore 10

Nel ringraziare per le comunicazioni di cui al telegramma urgente a mano n. 443/41596 del 17.c.m., questo Ministero prende atto delle segnalazioni fatte dalla R. Prefettura di Firenze e dei provvedimenti adottati, ravvisando l'opportunità che siano predisposte, naturalmente con le dovute forme, misure di sorveglianza tali che valgano a garantire, nei limiti del possibile, la persona del Voivoda Michele da ogni eventuale tentativo di violenza.

Illegible signature



A REPORT OF THE ITALIAN LEGATION IN BUCHAREST CONCERNING THE SITUATION OF THE GREEK CATHOLICS IN ROMANIA (4 OCTOBER 1948)

Abstract: This study presents a document of the Italian Minister in Bucharest, which recounts the evolution of the religious situation in Romania, particularly of the Greek-Catholic Church, which was constrained by the communist authorities to convert to Orthodoxy. The document shows the steps that were taken, the statement of reconversion to Orthodoxy that was made in Cluj, on 1 October 1948, after many threats and pressures. At the same time, the Italian diplomat estimated that the pressures would continue to seek the dismantling of the Greek-Catholic Church in Romania, but deplored the fact that he would not be able to oppose this process because the Greek-Catholic clergy in Romania did not have the strength to resist it.

Keywords: Romania, Church, Catholicism, Italy, diplomacy

*

1948 represented a watershed in Romania's history. At the centenary of another historical turning point, 1848, which had a positive significance for the accomplishment of the national desiderata, instead of celebrating the modernization of the Romanian institutions, not only did the events that took place hamper the institutional and cultural development of the nation, but they also partly compromised, for many decades to come, the country's potential for positive evolution, as it would have been guaranteed by a democratic regime.

Of course, in the analyses undertaken by politicians, economists or sociologists, the events that prevail are the nationalization process, the ratification of the first Constitution of the Romanian People's Republic, the onset of the Cold War, etc.

It was only for a narrow category of scholars conducting research on the history of Romania, specializing in the history of Transylvania, that the year 1948 brought about an extremely negative event, whose consequences have not dissipated even to this day: the destruction of the Greek-Catholic Church United with Rome, an event anticipated by the vexations that the Catholic Church of both rites had been subjected for quite some while in Romania, about which people had believed, naively, perhaps, that it could eventually be avoided. This subject has been treated extensively in Transylvanian historiography over the past few decades and that is why we will not insist on it. The subject of this article is linked, however, to this event through a document that was issued by the titular Minister of the

¹ PhD, Associate Professor, Habil., , at the Faculty of History and Philosophy, "Babeș-Bolyai" University, Cluj-Napoca, serbanturcus@yahoo.it.

Italian Legation to Bucharest, Baron Michele Scammacca,² whereby he informed the Italian authorities about the evolution of religious policies in Romania. We must insist that the destiny of the Catholic Church of both rites in Romania was watched closely not only by the Apostolic Nunciature in Bucharest, entrusted, by the Holy See, with monitoring the developments, but also by the Italian Legation in Bucharest. The Legation was involved on at least two levels: the first level consisted in the consular assistance it granted the Italians who served as functional Catholic personnel in Romania (the overwhelming majority of the Italian priests or missionaries had Italian, not Vatican citizenship, as only the staff of the Nunciature had the latter type); the second level entailed providing mutual assistance within the diplomatic and consular corps, the Legation of Italy supporting the Nunciature, whose staff was strictly supervised and monitored by the authorities in Bucharest. In the latter case, the Italian Legation in Bucharest assumed the responsibility to inform the authorities in Rome directly about the fate of the Churches and the ecclesiastical personnel in Romania so that timely measures could be taken, although the situation was rapidly deteriorating.

The document we will present dates from 4 October 1948 and synthetically reflects the events that occurred at the dramatic beginning of the month of October, which meant the beginning of the end for the Romanian Church United with Rome.

The premonitory signals had been strong enough. Under Decree no. 151 of 17 July 1948, the Concordat between Romania and the Holy See was terminated by the communist authorities of Romania, and in August 1948, the Government took over some of the powers that had been the exclusive preserve, up until then, of the Holy See and the Sovereign Pontiff. At the same time, the new Law of Religious Denominations provided for the communist authorities' right to intervene in the ecclesiastical organization. Article 22 stipulated that "for the creation and operation of eparchies (dioceses, superintendences), 750.000 faithful shall have to be calculated on average for each diocese." As it were, the Romanian Church United with Rome could not meet this requirement, since, according to the Census of 1930 (the last in times of peace we can relate to), it had 1,427,391 faithful, any possible natural growth having been counteracted by the consequences of the war, in four dioceses (Oradea, Cluj-Gherla, Maramureş and Lugoj, and the Archdiocese of Alba-Iulia-Făgăraş, plus a vicar bishop in Bucharest).³ On 3 September 1948, a decree that was published in the Official Gazette of Romania stipulated the fact that Bishop Ioan Suci, considered the leader of Romanian anti-communist resistance in the Romanian Church United with

² Baron Michele Scammacca del Murgo e di Agone (Catania, 30 October 1898 – Rome, 2 April 1979). Plenipotentiary Minister at Italy's Legation in Romania. He was the descendant of a noble Sicilian family with roots in Alsace. A career diplomat, he was on assignment in Bucharest between 17 October 1947 and 14 March 1951. His name, as Director of the Italian Foreign Ministry's Protocol Directorate, is linked with the mediation of the conflict (1948-1954) that divided the Italian government and the Romanian government on the matter of the building of Accademia di Romania in Rome.

³ Rounded estimates made in the last decade speak of 1,800,000 believers, 1,900 priests, 2,400 religious buildings, 12% of Romania's population being Greek Catholic.
http://www.procesulcomunismului.com/marturii/fonduri/ioanitoiu/biserici/episcopi_romano_catolici/episcopi_romano_catolici.pdf

Rome and apostolic administrator of the archiepiscopal see in Blaj, had been deposed from office by the Petru Groza Government. The other Greek-Catholic bishops were removed from office on 18 September 1948, with the exception of Vasile Aftenie, the bishop-vicar for Bucharest, and of Iuliu Hossu, Bishop of Cluj, as they were considered to be more concessive, but probably also according to the share of the Greek-Catholic population.

The pressures exerted on the Greek-Catholic clergy became increasingly powerful and led to the organization, on 1 October 1948, of an assembly of the Greek-Catholic clergy. The communist authorities spread the news that the assembly would be chaired by Bishop Iuliu Hossu in Cluj. The latter, however, managed to send a circular letter on 30 September, announcing the excommunication *latae sententiae* of those who would participate in the meeting for conversion to the Romanian Orthodox Church. Under these circumstances, the meeting could not be held at the seat of the Diocese of Cluj-Gherla, but a short distance away, in the gym hall of Barițiu High School. The meeting was attended by a single Greek-Catholic archpriest, Traian Belășcu, Archpriest of Țichindeal, and by 37 secular priests, two of whom refused to sign the proclamation of conversion to the Romanian Orthodox Church. The 36 were received by the Orthodox Bishop Nicolae Colan in the afternoon of 1 October, after which they left for Bucharest, where they were received at the Patriarchal Palace, and subsequently celebrated service at the Church of Sf. Spiridon Nou, presided over by Patriarch Justinian Marina.⁴

The Italian diplomat's report, addressed to Italy's Foreign Minister, started by presenting these aspects: "A press release of the Romanian Orthodox Patriarchate dated 3 October 1948 announced that 38 Greek-Catholic (Uniate) archpriests and priests, as delegates of most Greek Catholics in all the provinces of Transylvania and Banat, gathered in Cluj on 1 October to discuss the appeal addressed to the United Church by the Orthodox Metropolitan of Transylvania, for a return to the bosom of Romanian Orthodoxy."⁵ Scammacca specified that the assembly had decided to return to Orthodoxy and appealed to the rest of the clergy and to the faithful to follow their example.

In the synthetic analysis he offered to the minister in the Italian Cabinet, Scammacca stated that, in fact, this movement of a fraction of the Greek-Catholic clergy was evidently the outcome of a political program imposed by the new communist power, to which the Romanian Orthodox Church had willy-nilly rallied itself. This program had at least two levels: 1. the elimination of religious freedom, which, in this case, affected the Romanians United with Rome, but would certainly expand to the other denominations as well; 2. apostasy towards Roman Catholicism. In the latter case, the Italian diplomat's opinion, which we see reflected throughout the report, evinces a post-Tridentine ecclesiological position, which pays little if any

⁴ The Apostolic Nunciature in Bucharest submitted its protest about this event to the government authorities, through Note Verbale no. 2130 of 2 October 1948. See *România-Vatican. Relații diplomatice*. Volume I, 1920-1950, București, Editura Enciclopedică, 2003 pp. 342-343.

⁵ This was an appeal addressed by Metropolitan Nicolae Bălan in Blaj, on 15 May 1948, during the commemorations of the 100th anniversary of the 1848 Revolution.

attention to the specific ecclesiology of Greek-Catholicism in general and to Romanian Greek-Catholicism in particular.

Among the practices that had engendered the perspective of a return to Orthodoxy, Scammacca specified that "the Romanian Government has put in place a drastic system of coercion in order to ensure the reconversion to Orthodoxy; everyone's signature was extorted, apostasy was imposed through arrests and threats of deportation to Siberia." However, by the time this report was drafted, such pressures had affected only 25% of the Greek-Catholic Romanian clergy – in absolute numbers, these represented about 400 priests. Of course, we should not imagine that everything was accomplished in three days. Certainly, the pressures in favour of apostasy had started much earlier, at the time when the Orthodox Metropolitan Nicolae made the above-mentioned call. According to Scammacca, those 38 signatories who had come to Bucharest to present their pro-Orthodox position to Patriarch Justinian "represented only those 400 priests whose relinquishment of the Union with Rome had been obtained through pressures, but suggests that things are serious and will continue to worsen through the use of coercive methods. Everything appears to indicate that other forced renunciations will follow shortly, that they will be obtained through any means, whether by pressure or physical and moral threats, or through administrative measures that the new law of religious denominations easily permits, in order to destroy the United Church and to incorporate it in the Orthodox Church."

A reference that occurs twice in the text of the Italian Minister from Bucharest: the weaknesses of the Greek-Catholic clergy in Romania. One of the more or less valid accusations that the Orthodox world brought against Greek-Catholicism in Eastern Europe was that although the Orthodox identity was supposed to be maintained at the level of the Greek-Catholic communities, with the exception of the points negotiated and harmonized at the Council of Ferrara-Florence, the Roman Catholic Church had imposed on the Greek Catholics in Eastern Europe, over the course of two centuries, certain elements of liturgical and administrative practice that undermined the dogmatic and disciplinary heritage of Orthodoxy, in the way in which that Orthodoxy or a part thereof that was United with Rome was understood. This gave the Orthodox Churches the opportunity to accuse the phenomenon of religious Union as an obscure and shrewd form of proselytizing and to claim that the Greek Catholics were in fact nothing but some instruments for the slow Catholicizing of those who had belonged to the cultural area of the Orthodox confession. From the other side, of Roman Catholicism, Greek Catholics had always been accused, more or less openly, that they did not take the required and sufficient steps towards ensuring their full belonging to the body of Catholicism and that the hybrid formula of the Greek-Catholic Church was marred by far too many vulnerabilities. The Italian diplomat presented just such a point of view in his report. Probably with a fairly strong religious conduct, which would have been customary for a high figure of the Italian elite, rigorously Roman Catholic in terms of the Church administration and the personnel in the service of the Church (see his sacerdotal celibacy), Baron Scammacca saw with a critical eye the possibility that the Greek-Catholic clergy in

Romania would be able to withstand the pressures of the authorities. As I have already noted, Scammacca made clarifications regarding the specificity of the Greek-Catholic priests not once, but twice in his report. He stated the following: “Although I do not agree with the pressures exerted by the authorities, the Greek-Catholic priests did have not dared to withstand those pressures and threats also because their refusal would have led to harassments of their families (it is well known that nearly all the Greek-Catholic priests are married and have numerous children).” At the end of his report, when he estimated the level of resistance of the Greek-Catholic Church, he suggested that “one cannot count too much on the resistance of the Greek Catholics, and especially on the courage and heroism of the clergy and the faithful. For various reasons – *its origin, which dates back 250 years ago, during the rule of the Habsburg Empire, derived from its collective detachment from the connection with the Romanian Orthodox Church, or because of its poor tradition and poor training, or because of the serious matrimonial error of the secular clergy – the Greek-Catholic community in Romania does not appear to have sufficient cohesion and force to overcome today’s severe crisis*”.

The point of view that Scammacca presented to the Italian authorities was that of a first-hand observer of the local events. The cultural baggage of the Italian Minister to Bucharest did not include knowledge about the ecclesiology of the Churches United with Rome. His point of view, which was that of a moderate Catholic, with average theological knowledge, was, however, diffuse at the level of the Catholic Italian and European intelligentsia. Thus the Greek-Catholic Churches that suffered the direct (Ukraine) or mediated consequences of the Soviet occupation machine (Romania) could not benefit from sufficient understanding at this level of knowledge. For Scammacca, the Romanian Greek-Catholic clergy had a poor tradition and poor training, being also tarnished by the possibility of marriage. These were harsh points of view, unjustified with historical hindsight, but they must be taken into account because they lay at the basis of how West Europeans perceived and understood Greek Catholicism and influenced their willingness to take action for defending it.⁶ Without any other data in this sense, we can venture to state that in terms of the political lobby that Westerners could still make in the defence of Catholicism in the Soviet bloc, it unflinchingly privileged Roman Catholicism and left Greek-Catholicism to pursue its tragic destiny.

We do not know how the document presented here will be received by the official historiography of the Romanian Greek-Catholic Church, but it is living proof that although they watched attentively all the developments affecting the evolution of Catholicism in Romania, the Italian authorities did not prove to have sufficient understanding of the characteristics and traditions of Romanian Greek Catholicism and of its contribution to strengthening the national identity and establishing the national community that took the institutional form of the nation-state.

⁶ For a partial summary statistic (on a diocese) of resistance and non-resistance to the apostasy of faith, see Sergiu Soica, *Eparhia Greco-Catolică de Oradea și Securitatea în anul 1948*, Cluj-Napoca, Editura Mega, 2014, pp. 50-75.

DOCUMENTARY ANNEX⁷

LEGAZIONE D'ITALIA
BUCAREST

TELESPRESSO N. 225/1072

Al Ministero degli Affari Esteri – Affari Politici
Ufficio Santa Sede – Roma
e.p.c.
Ambasciate D'Italia – Ankara – Mosca
Legazioni: Sofia – Budapest – Belgrado

Bucarest, 4 ottobre 1948

Politica religiosa in Romania

Un comunicato della Patriarchia ortodossa romena in data 3 ottobre c.a. ha annunciato che 38 arcipreti e preti greco-cattolici (uniti), quali delegati della maggioranza del clero greco-cattolico di tutte le provincie della Transilvania e del Banato si sono riuniti a Cluj il 1 ottobre per discutere l'appello rivolto alla Chiesa Unita dal Metropolita ortodosso di Transilvania per il ritorno di essa in seno all'ortodossia romena.

Il comunicato aggiunge che la predetta Assemblea ha deciso all'unanimità di ritornare al rito ortodosso, rivolgendo a sua volta un appello in tal senso al clero e ai fedeli. Dopo di che i 38 delegati sono venuti a Bucarest per presentare al Patriarca le loro decisioni.

Con ciò è stato compiuto il primo atto decisivo contro la libertà religiosa degli Uniti per forzarli alla apostasia dal cattolicesimo romano, come era stato chiaramente annunciato nel programma religioso del nuovo regime di questo paese e nei discorsi del nuovo Patriarca romeno Giustiniano fin dal suo avvento alla direzione della Chiesa Ortodossa autocefale di Romania.

Mi consta nel modo più sicuro che il Governo romeno ha messo in opera i mezzi coercitivi più drastici per ottenere l'abiura dei sacerdoti predetti; si estorse la firma ai singoli atti di apostasia mediante l'arresto e le minacce della deportazione in Siberia.

Le adesioni in tal modo ottenute sono più di 400 e rappresentano circa il 25 % dell'intero clero cattolico-unito.

Benchè riluttanti questi sacerdoti non osarono resistere alle pressioni e alle minacce, anche per il fatto che le conseguenze di un loro rifiuto sarebbero ricadute

⁷ The document is preserved in Rome, at the Archivio Storico-Diplomatico del Ministero degli Affari Esteri, fund *Affari Politici 1946-1950, Romania, busta nr. 7 (1948)*, without page numbers.

sulle loro famiglie (è noto che i sacerdoti cattolici del rito greco-unito sono quasi tutti ammogliati e con numerosa prole).

Non è esatto quanto il comunicato afferma che i 38 ecclesiastici convenuti a Bucarest siano muniti della delega della maggioranza del clero unito: essi rappresentano soltanto i 400 preti dei quali si è ottenuto l'abiura nel modo anzidetto, ma ciò non toglie che il fatto per il modo in cui è avvenuto e per il gran numero di sacerdoti che vi sono compresi, è di grande gravità. Tutto lascia prevedere che altre simili forzate apostasie seguiranno fra breve e che ogni mezzo, sia con pressioni e minacce di ordine fisico e morale, sia con gli espedienti amministrativi ai quale la recente legge sull'esercizio dei culti si presta agevolmente, sarà attuato per distruggere la Chiesa Unita ed incorporarla in quella ortodossa.

I vescovi greco-cattolici si riuniranno prossimamente in conferenza per esaminare la grave questione e per cercare di opporre difesa all'azione del Governo, facendo appello al clero e ai fedeli affinché si mantengano uniti nella loro comunità religiosa.

Ma purtroppo non si può fare grande assegnamento su tali sforzi e specialmente sul coraggio e tanto meno sull'eroismo del basso clero e dei fedeli.

La comunità greco-cattolica di Romania sia per la sua origine derivata circa 250 anni addietro sotto l'Impero degli Asburgo da un distacco collettivo di essa dal nesso della Chiesa Ortodossa romena, sia per la scarsa tradizione e preparazione, sia infine per la grave tara del coniugato del clero minore, non ha in se – a quanto pare – sufficiente forza e compattezza per superare la grave crisi presente.

Il Ministro
Scammacca

Restoration

FANS. THE RESTORATION OF AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY FAN MADE OF PAPER AND IVORY SPOKES

Abstract: With a history of over 5,000 years, fans – these frail objects, whether foldable or not – are still used today especially to protect us from heat. They are used particularly by women, being considered not just functional objects, but also fashion accessories.

A painted fan dating from the second half of the 18th century, belonging to the collections of the old Transylvanian Museum, made of paper and featuring an ivory structure, in a poor state of preservation, has been restored and returned to the museum and exhibition heritage.

Keywords: fan, degradation, restoration, conservation, consolidation.

*

Fans have lately become highly stylish accessories, used increasingly more often by women at various cocktails or social events. Originally, they were very useful instruments, meant to cool the air around those who used them, but in time they became a refined and elegant, classic and nonconformist accessory, a genuine piece of jewellery. There is evidence attesting the fact that fans were discovered and first used in Egypt, at the time of the Pharaohs, when they were considered to be sacred, since they were used in various religious rituals. These fans were made of the rarest and most expensive diamonds and jewels. The most frequent were large fans, made of herbs and leaves,² used by the servants to protect their masters from the scorching heat outside.

With a history of over 5,000 years, fans – these frail objects, whether foldable or not – are still used today especially to protect us from heat. They are used particularly by women, being considered not just functional objects, but also fashion accessories. A fan is an accessory used to produce a current of air that is meant to cool off the one using it. Along time, the spikes of fans have been made of bone, wood, bamboo or plastic, bound together with a thin material such as paper, silk, lace or veil and ornamented with various accessories, such as ostrich or peacock feathers, sequins or jewels.

Opinions are divided when it comes to the origins of fans. Archaeological ruins and ancient texts suggest that fans were used in Ancient Greece at least in as early as the 4th century BC, when they were known as “rhipis.” In the beginning, fans could

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²Elena-Andreea Badica, BA dissertation “Evantaiul. Istoria obiectului în durata lungă și reprezentările lui în diverse arte” (Fans. The History of this Artefact in the Long Durée and its Representations in Different Arts), supervisor: Lecturer Cristina Bogdan, PhD; defended in June 2010, World and Comparative Literature Department, Faculty of Letters, University of Bucharest, p. 11.

not be folded: they had a rigid shape and the most ancient testimony of the existence of such an object has been found in Egyptian tombs. Fans were, back then, a symbol of the royalty, specific to certain religious ceremonies.

Moreover, in the tombs of the ancient Pharaohs there have been found fans that slaves used for keeping their masters cool. The Egyptians' fans were made of large palm tree leaves or feathers, to which a long tail was attached. Some fans made of gold trimmed with ostrich plumes have been discovered in the tomb of Tutankhamun, the "child Pharaoh."

The first fans created by the Romans were made of wood. The Chinese used paper and feathers, while the Greeks used nothing but a piece of canvas stretched over a frame.

The oldest Chinese fan that survives to this day dates from the 2nd century BC. It is made of bamboo. For the Chinese, fans were markers of their owners' high social status and wearing them was a privilege. During the Song Dynasty, famous artists were employed to paint fans. The Chinese dance of the fan appeared in the 7th century.

In the 6th century, the Japanese invented the folded fan, called *sensu*. The main sources of inspiration were the wings of a bat that folds its wings.

Between the Japanese and the Chinese, there was a competition in this regard, each of these two peoples considering that they had invented the folding fan. Although the initial goal of fans was as practical as possible, in time women began to use it as an embellishing item of their attire, to greet or even to flirt with their lovers. Once they reached Europe, fans became very modern fashion accessories, but also a symbol of social status. In Japan, fans were part of the traditional costume and the choreography of specific dances.

During the Middle Ages, fans were absent from Europe. The oldest fan of Christian Europe was a ceremonial fan called "flabellum," dating from the 6th century. Hand-held fans were reintroduced in Europe in the 13th and 14th centuries and were brought by the crusaders knights from the Middle East. In the 15th century, Portuguese traders brought fans from China and Japan and these objects become very popular, given the fact that in Spain, Flamenco dancers use fans during their performances.

In Spain, for example, the earliest references to fans were in the "Chronicle" of Pedro IV of Aragon (14th century), which details the custom whereby a noble had to "wear" a fan in the presence of the king. In Italy, it appears that the first form of folding fans appeared around the year 1500; fans thereafter spread tremendously, being accepted as an integral part of social life and fashion. Before long, the two countries came to be the main producers of fans throughout the European West, being dethroned, about two-three decades later, by France.

France took over, adapted, modified, reinvented and maintained various fan shapes, elevating fans to the rank of a fashion and obsession in the 16th-18th centuries (the apogee being reached in the mid-18th century). When the Baroque was flourishing in France, fans began to be adorned thoroughly, being designed with increasingly unconventional shapes and materials. Catherine de Médicis, arriving at

the Court of Versailles in 1553, in order to marry, did not forget to put in her luggage as many fans as possible. She kept the most exquisite for herself and she gave the rest to others as gifts. In fact, she remained known in history as a true lover and collector of fans, which she regarded not only as aesthetic objects, but also as genuine weapons of seduction. Fans played, quite often, the role of well-meaning “ambassadors” with the representatives of the elites. Louis XV offered Marie-Antoinette, Archduchess of Austria, a fan that was studded with jewels, as a gift for her marrying the Dauphin. The Grand Duchess of Russia, Countess of the North, received from Marie-Antoinette, at Versailles, a fan studded with diamonds and a corresponding pair of binoculars, to use them during performances. According to the memoirs of the Marchioness of Créqui, fans had to comply with the rigors of etiquette at the Royal Court. For example, such an unwritten law demanded that the object should not be folded out in front of the queen or the sovereign. Furthermore, a lady from a noble family could not be introduced to the king, queen or the entire court society if not did fulfil some essential conditions: she had to be chaperoned, to wear a dress on top of as wide a crinoline as possible, to wear the most beautiful accessories and expensive jewellery she owned, as well as a fan that was appropriate for the occasion. Those who wanted to really make an impression chose fans with painted scenes or moments of royal life.

In England, the merit of shaping the taste and establishing a preference for fans belonged to Queen Elizabeth I. After her reign, the English – crowned heads or nobles – regarded fans as an essential accessory and adopted and transformed them according to the fashion of the time. Although Great Britain never reached the level of France in terms of the production or consumption of these artefacts, it was among the first countries to set up a guild of fan producers, “The Worshipful Company of Fan Makers,” founded in 1709, which has survived to the present day.

Up until the early 20th century, fans were compulsory accessories in the wardrobe of a lady. The materials they were made of and the precious stone decorations turned them into a symbol of social status, of refinement, and into a symbol of femininity.

In recent years, Europeans have relinquished the use of fans, but Asians continue to wear them – women and men alike – as useful and indispensable accessories. Workshops producing fans can still be found today in Paris, in London, but also in Spain, where particularly traditional Flamenco fans are produced.

The language of fans

This delicate object could become the main ally of women and young girls in sending a secret message to their suitors, lovers or even their spouses. It is assumed that such an encoded language might have been invented in the late 17th century in France, the country which had propelled this accessory fashion throughout Europe. Aside from a few passages in fiction or memoirs, the first definite mention of the existence and widespread dissemination of this non-verbal language dates back to 1787, when William Cock published, in London, “The Original Fanalogy,” a guide which could help women convey a whole sentence through the single movement of a

fan. Thus, a fan kept wide open meant “Wait for me!”; a closed fan, positioned near the right eye, meant “When can I see you?”; spreading out the fan in the right hand – “I love someone else; twisting the fan in the left hand – “We are being spied on.” When ladies slowly moved their fans, it meant that they were married, and when the gesture was performed at a fast pace, it meant that were engaged, etc. Fanatics also invented a second code in the next century, much more complicated and harder to follow than that proposed by Cock, involving the alphabet, divided into five sections, each section corresponding to a movement of the fan. Many other “games” involving a fan generated genuine non-verbal conversations between couples, innocent statements or confessions of love. However, no matter how charming this gestural language might have been for the women and young girls in 18th-century Western society, the publication of William Cock’s volume did nothing but spread this practice, providing also the necessary means for its decipherment, which ultimately rendered this type of communication unusable.

The bisexuality of this artefact

Fans did not remain specifically feminine objects. On the contrary, they also meant a lot for men with a high “status.” This custom passed from Italy into France and then into England, where, from the time of Henry VIII until the early nineteenth century, it was used quite frequently. Louis XV encouraged his subjects never to show in public without a fan, considering it to be one of the essential features of his royal gown. A credible source, which clearly indicates the “bisexuality” of this accessory, was J. Addison, one of the Enlightenment philosophers. He presented the “Academy for training people how to use fans in line with the trends of the Court,” an institution intended for both men and women. On the other hand, the Order of Fans, created in 1744 by Queen Luisa Ulrick of Sweden, for the ladies at her court, accepted male members, too, after a few years. Following the model of these courts, Empress Catherine II of Russia ordered her subjects to begin to dress in a feminine style, making use of all the related “ornaments” (including, of course, a fan).

In addition to the desire to be in step with fashion or to be to the liking of the ladies they courted, men had another compelling reason for using the object in question: the olfactory criterion. It is known that bathing was not a common practice in those days, because it was thought that it could cause very serious, incurable diseases. Therefore, these artefacts were impregnated with a scent of the finest quality. Spreading a pleasant scent around, fans rapidly increased their popularity.

Restoring a paper fan with ivory spokes

This paper refers to the restoration of a fan dating from the second half of the 18th century, from the collections of the old Transylvanian Museum,³ made of paper on an ivory support. The fan has a height of 32.5 cm (30.2 cm from the clamping point), a diameter of 60.5 cm and a maximum perimeter length of 87.5 cm. The fan has spokes of ivory, carved and featuring gold leaf inlays. The paper is painted with

³ Inventory register of the National Museum of Transylvanian History.

Oriental salon scenes on the obverse (**Fig. 1**) and with a battle scene on the reverse (**Fig. 2**). The upper edge of the paper has two rows of ornaments, a black vegetal ornament and a band of gold leaf. The vegetal ornament continues on the side edges of the fan. The fan has 24 spokes and 25 folds.

State of conservation.⁴ At the time when the fan was introduced in the laboratory, before it was restored, the following aspects were identified:

Physical-mechanical degradation: decreased physical and mechanical resistance, functional wear, deposits of impurities and dust; multiple cracks on the folding lines (**Fig. 3**); point-size holes (**Fig. 4**); small size tears (**Fig. 5**); holes (**Fig. 6**); mild layer exfoliations; the paper is fragile and desiccated; lack of stationary support material.

Physical-chemical degradation: chromatic changes of the vegetal ornament (band of gold leaf), aging paper and the weakening of its resistance as a result of the action of light and acidity.

Restoration and conservation operations. Dusting by brushing with a soft brush, mechanical cleaning with gum powder, toning the support with a view to rendering the physical and mechanical resistance of the paper support with 2% carboxymethylcellulose solution, free drying on filter sheets, reinforcing the cracks and tears with Japanese veil and 2% carboxymethylcellulose solution, cleaning the spokes with an apolar solvent (petroleum ether, benzene) (**Fig. 8**).

After restoration (**Fig. 9, 10**) a Plexiglas casing was made for holding the fan in the storage room in an open position. For exhibition, the casing has two racks that can be attached to the basis, also made of Plexiglas. The conservation recommendations are: keeping the artefact under the micro-climactic conditions specified under the law in force⁵ and avoiding folding the fan, for this would lead to additional mechanical damage.

The aim of this paper is not only to present an overview of fans, which have returned today into the attention of women, who are wearing them increasingly more often, since they have once again become almost indispensable modern accessories on a hot summer day, but also to draw an alarm call regarding the storage manner and mishandling of heritage objects, which may lead to worsening the “health condition” of these artefacts.

⁴ M. Mihalcu – *Conservarea obiectelor de artă și a monumentelor istorice*. București, Editura Științifică, 1970.

⁵ Law no. 311/2003, law of museums and public collections.

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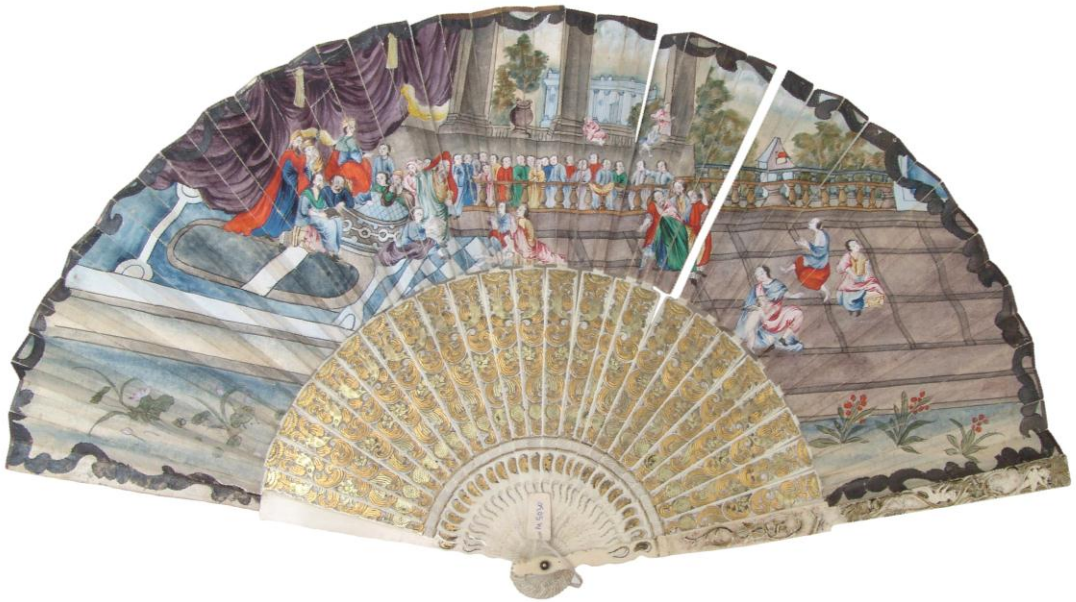


Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.



Fig. 4.



Fig. 5.



Fig. 6.



Fig. 7.



Fig. 8.



Fig. 9.



Fig. 10.

THE RESTORATION OF A CORNER STOVE TILE

Abstract: This paper succinctly presents the manner in which a series of potsherds stored in the warehouses of the National Museum of Transylvanian History from Cluj-Napoca were processed and in which an artifact that belongs to the ensemble of a tile stove undergoing restoration was reconstituted.

Keywords: restoration, tile stove, heritage, stove tiles.

*

The warehouses of the National Museum of Transylvanian History in Cluj-Napoca accommodate numerous important artifacts, some of them still waiting to be valorized. Among them, there is a stove with a canopy made up of tiles decorated with plant and geometric motifs. The original ensemble appears to have contained 56 tiles,² including 20 square tiles and 20 corner tiles arranged on five overlapped registers and a cornice made of 8 tiles with a semicircular profile, on top of which there were placed another 8 ornamental tiles, forming the canopy. The glazed stove with a white background has a blue-coloured relief decoration, the motifs on one tile being reiterated on each side of the stove; the decoration of the corner tiles appears in identical form on all the four edges of the stove, harmoniously combined with the motifs on the other tiles. In this case, the tiles, the decorated ceramic plates covering the stoves are made of a fine, glazed ceramic, with a white background, adorned with fine decorative motifs of cobalt blue, compact and well burnt. The colour palette, with mineral glaze made from pewter and cobalt, and the fine drawing design give a touch of elegance to the ensemble of the stove, with a painstaking decoration by painting.

Created for the utilitarian purposes, in the Germanic space sometime in the 13th century, tile stoves gradually spread throughout Europe, replacing the older heating systems (fire rings, fireplaces), being preferred due to their increased efficiency: tile stoves could heat space for longer periods of time thanks to the heat that was stored and radiated by the ceramic tiles. While the first shapes were more primitive - a clay body with a small number of built-in stove tiles - in time these stoves were to acquire, in addition to their utilitarian, aesthetic values, particularly in the second half of the 14th century, with the advent of tiles with figurative decorations, which used a varied ornamental repertoire. Stove tiles gradually evolved from simple utilitarian objects toward increasingly sophisticated pieces, some stoves becoming genuine works of art

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² Tiles are ceramic plates used in building ovens and stoves.

meant to embellish the home.³ During the 16th century there appeared a kind of stove whose entire surface of the walls was covered with ornaments that were reiterated indefinitely, creating a true textile decoration: the so-called wallpaper tiles, with ornamental motifs taken from Italian fabrics. The 16th century marked the appearance of faience stoves made of clay tiles on a white background with painted ornamental motifs, which replaced the relief decoration.⁴ From a chromatic point of view, especially from the 17th century on, under the influence of Haban ceramics,⁵ the refinement conferred by cobalt blue came to prevail.⁶ During the 18th century, tile production experienced unprecedented development in Transylvania, through the emergence of new local craft centres at Drăușeni, Saschiz, Moșna, Agnita, Huedin, Almașul Mare, Aiud, Turda, Cușmed, Târgu Secuiesc, Mădăraș, Corund, Ghindari etc.⁷

³ Paraschiva Victoria Batariuc, *Cahle din Moldova medievală (Secolele XIV-XVII)*, Suceava, Ed. Istros, 1999, pp. 34-37.

⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 37.

⁵ Habans were believers who were part of the religious grouping of the Anabaptists, which appeared in Zurich, Switzerland. Because of being religiously persecuted, they took refuge in Moravia, Austria, Bohemia and other areas of Eastern Europe. Following the events during the 30-Year War in which the Transylvanian Prince Gabriel Bethlen had also become involved on the side of the Protestant Union, the Haban communities were severely affected, their members being forced to leave the territory of the Moravia and to head for Hungary and Transylvania, some groups also settling in Transylvania in 1621, where their presence was reported sporadically ever since the 16th century. As they benefited from the fame of excellent craftsmen, Prince Gabriel Bethlen granted them economic and religious privileges and settled them on his estate in Vințul de Jos. The groups arrived successively in 1622, 1623, 1629, 1635, 1649, during the reigns of Gabriel Bethlen, George I Rákóczy and George II Rákóczy. The Habans settled at Vințul de Jos, Micești, Gilău, Iernut, Făgăraș, etc. Their name is derived, apparently, from the term *Haushaben*, which referred to the common household of the Habans (Habans were known under several names, such as *Hutterite Anabaptists* - after the name of one of their leaders, Jakob Huter. In documents and sources written in Latin or Hungarian they are mentioned as *fratres moravici*, *anabaptistae*, *morva testvérek*, *újkeresztények*). Followers of radical Reformism, the leading principle of the Habans was to achieve the “Christian ideal” state, to establish social equality, to have shared property over goods. They practised consenting baptism among adults, rejecting infant baptism. Skilled craftsmen, with products manufactured at a high technical level, Anabaptist settlers were weavers, ropemakers, blacksmiths, locksmiths, knifsmiths, furriers, tanners, skimmers, hatters, hatters, coopers, potters, masons, builders, etc. Haban pottery was highly acclaimed in its time, its long-lasting reputation being ensured by its high-quality products. In the second half of the 17th century, Counter-reformation offensive affected the Habans too. Their forced Catholicization began in the second half of the 18th century, under the reign of Maria Theresa, which led either to the emigration of the Habans or to their forced conversion, bringing about the dissolution of the Haban colonies in Transylvania, see Magdalena Bunta, Katona Imre, “Cronica habană de la Cluj,” in *Acta Mvsei Napocensis*, XV, Cluj-Napoca, 1978, pp. 315-330; Magdalena Bunta, “Habani în Transilvania,” in *Acta Mvsei Napocensis*, VII, Cluj, 1970, pp. 201-225; Ligia Fulga, Lia Maria Voicu, *Ceramica de tradiție habană. Istorie, mentalități și relații comerciale în sec. al XVIII-lea*, Brașov, Transilvania Expres, 2013, pp. 19-30; William R. Estep, *The Anabaptist Story: An Introduction to Sixteenth-Century Anabaptism*, Cambridge, William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 1996; Françoise Fischer-Naas, “Les Assemblées anabaptistes-mennonites de la Haute Vallée de la Bruche (1708-1870),” in *Revue d'Alsace*, 137/2011, pp. 461-472.

⁶ Magdalena Bunta, “Faianța habană din Transilvania,” in *Acta Mvsei Napocensis*, VIII, Cluj, 1971, pp. 219-236.

⁷ Nicolae Bucur, “Colecțiile de cahle din muzeele harghitene,” în *Angustia*, 14/2010, Sfântu Gheorghe, Ed. Angustia, pp. 451-466.

The stove captured in a reconstitution process consists of tiles⁸ decorated with a few ornamental motifs that are repeated obsessively, on the basis of a well-established decorative scheme, using mostly plant decorations. We may notice the precise execution of the ornamental ensemble of the stove, the outstanding quality and the elaborate shapes of the decorative repertoire subsumed to an ingenious aesthetic theme, composed for this interior decoration element. The Baroque-inspired format and the color scheme confirm the Haban influence.⁹ The products made by the Haban craftsmen in Vinț are mentioned in documents from the 16th century on, in reference to the quadrangular (or cylindrical) shape of the stove, with a castellated cornice, called frilled (*csipkézett*) in the documents, stoves with white glaze, after the “German way,”¹⁰ with specific floral decorations.¹¹ The most numerous Haban tiles were decorated with geometrical and plant motifs and, characteristically, they used mainly two colours of glaze: pewter white and cobalt blue,¹² both of which are discernible in the present case.

The tiles that make up this stove have a white background with a decoration achieved by painting with cobalt blue pigment, covered in a colourless transparent glaze. The ornaments feature a predominantly vegetal decoration (leaves, flowers, plant stalks), having tulip flowers in the corners of each façade tile and a central flower that starts from a stylized vase and has a stem branched into two, with two chord-like elements symmetrically arranged on the branches, one either side of the stem. The corner tile consists of three unequal sides, a square and a rectangle connected by the concave contact surface. It also illustrates a preference for tiles with geometric and plant ornaments. Having a simple linear border decorated in relief with cobalt-blue plant motifs, the corner tile has the contact surface in the shape of an oblong, deepened hexagon, presenting a geometric decoration with lobe around the edges, a border of full semicircles. The contact side of the corner tile has been treated as a *cavetto* onto which the painted decoration was applied: the four tulip flowers opening in pairs, one towards the other, two on the sides, in the two lateral oblique spaces and two positioned *adossé* in the centre of the space, outlining the shape of an elegant bow, with the tile edges accentuated by the lobed geometric decoration. The field of the tile is clearly organized into two main registers with the aid of a horizontal border that divides the area into two main registers: a higher one, which is white, undecorated, except for the hexagon, and a lower one, charged with the blue ornament, a series of combinations of vegetal motifs and geometrical elements: fragments of circle arcs associated with sinuous plant stalks that trace semicircular spaces circumscribing stylized flowers. The central flower, a tulip in bloom, appears framed by vegetal garlands, a cobweb of arched stalks stylized leaves. A series of

⁸ These tiles have a broad dating range in the inventory registers, suggesting that they were produced in the 18th-19th centuries.

⁹ Long admired, the products of the Haban workshops were imitated by the local workshops, the influence of Haban earthenware being perpetuated until late in history.

¹⁰ Paraschiva Victoria Batariuc, *Cahle...*, p. 44.

¹¹ Magdalena Bunta, *Faianța habană...*, pp. 219-236.

¹² Paraschiva Victoria Batariuc, *Cahle...*, p. 43.

embossed buttons borders the stalk ending on the corners with two small tulip buds with round lobes. From a decorative point of view, the short side of the tile corresponds to the upper register on the broader side: a white, undecorated space, which sets the decoration of the hexagon into relief. The strongly stylized image is added to the chord-like and floral elements that ingeniously charge the other ornamental ceramic tiles comprising the stove. The material used for the tile undergoing the restoration process is clay, white engobe (kaolin) and the technique is classical: kneading, manual moulding and pressing of the clay into the pattern, then slow-drying, engobing, decorating by brush painting, glazing and, finally, oxidizing burning in the oven.

After an attempt to restore the ensemble of the stove (**Fig. 1**) we tried to recover the fragmented tiles. Thus, the ceramic fragments preserved in the warehouses underwent restoration operations. From the dozens of potsherds, 24 fragments were selected in terms of their shape, texture and decoration, these fragments outlining the skeleton of a corner tile (**Fig. 2**). First there was performed a mechanical wet cleaning which removed the deposits of clogged dirt, followed by the free drying of the fragments at room temperature for 70 hours. As the priority was the good conservation of the ceramic fragments, the next step was to immediately reinforce them by impregnation in a diluted solution 1/5 nitro lacquer. The next stage consisted in reconstituting the tile by gluing together the ceramic fragments by means of a transparent, plasticizer-free adhesive, of the white glue type. This step of the restoration process was performed on the basis of the decoration, shape and thickness of the ceramic fragments. The gluing operations took several days, using as support a box filled with fine sand in which the assembled fragments were laid for reinforcing the glued joints (**Fig. 3**).

Restoring the corner tile was carried out using the method of the clay negative, secured by light pressure, over which good-quality plaster was poured from the outside, shaped with the help of a spatula to remake the tile. The next stage of the restoration resided in the chromatic integration of the restored potsherds and in reconstituting the original appearance of the tile. This was accomplished by fine painting with white and, respectively, cobalt blue oil pigments, respecting the original decoration of the tile.

The last operation consisted in the final conservation of the tile: impregnation by brushing with a diluted solution 1/5 nitro lacquer. The dimensions of the tile after restoration are L = 22 cm; l = 22.2 cm; H = 10.2 cm; G = 3.2 cm (**Fig. 4**).

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Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.



Fig. 4.

THE RESTORATION AND CONSERVATION OF A CAMERA

Abstract: Choosing the treatments to be applied to composite museum exhibits must take into account the types of support material and the degree of degradation of each layer, as well as to respect, along with the other well-entrenched principles, the principle of least intervention.

In choosing active substances with antifungal, insecticidal or bactericidal purposes, it is advisable to take into account their degree of toxicity, their remanence in time and their possible side effects. What may be noticed is a return to traditional methods used since time immemorial. “Through millennial empirical practice, the inhabitants of Carpathian settlements, good connoisseurs of the environment, of the vegetation and of the biological calendar, have found depending on the phases of the stars, methods whose effects and purposes they were familiar with, even without knowing the in-depth processes that were taking place or their chemical composition.”²

Keywords: conservation, restoration, bellows, camera (late 19th century), composite material.

*

The movable national cultural heritage encompasses an extremely varied range of objects. Their variety entails awareness of the type and/or types of support materials, the value of the object, the degree of its degradation, the manner of scientific valorization. The process of “returning to life” museum exhibits involves not only thorough documentation and scientific research, but also the correct application of procedures and the selection of the specific optimal treatment, each piece featuring structural peculiarities, influenced by various factors that determine, in time, a particular interaction with the environment.

The object presented here, subject to conservation-restoration process, consists of the component parts of a camera: bellows and wooden frames, in a fragmentary state (**Fig. 11**) Dating: last quarter of the 19th century.

From a structural point of view, the bellows comprise three layers: canvas on the inside, leather on the outside and, between the two layers, a thin cardboard across the entire area.

When evaluating the conservation state through visual analysis, several types of degradation may be identified **Fig. 5, Fig. 6:** mechanical – multiple fractures with non-uniform distribution on the surface, component parts that are detached from the ensemble (sides and strips of canvas completely separated **Fig. 2**), scratches, frays, layer exfoliations **Fig. 4** and also biological degradations – fungal attack, with a uniform distribution across the surface, conglomerate area of white adhesive deposits

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² Ligia Mihaiu, “Rolul plantelor in conservarea traditionala a textilelor si posibilitatile de aplicabilitate muzeistic,” *Revista Muzeelor* 4, 1993, p. 37.

and massive deposits of adhesive and/or partially adhesive dust and dirt being detectible. **Fig. 1, Fig. 3**

Disinfection, as a stage in the process of conservation-restoration, has been achieved through the method of aerosols with an alcoholic 7% thymol solution, in two successive sessions of 48 hours with an airing interval of 24 hours, followed by light mechanical cleaning by brushing off and vacuuming the resulting residual materials.

The restoration of the bellows required, prior to reconstituting the ensemble structure, cleaning and consolidating each layer and each fold, respectively. The fact that the piece undergoing restoration is a composite object was taken into consideration. Theoretically, there existed the possibility of separately cleaning each type of support material - the canvas washed by immersion in 5% hydro-alcoholic solution with surfactants, the cardboard layer mechanically cleaned and the outer layer undergoing a treatment of dry and wet mechanical cleaning, followed by one of humidification and emolition. This option, however, entailed the complete detachment of the three layers because, otherwise, the application of treatments with hydro-alcoholic solutions or hydration treatments posed the risk of new tensions in the layers, thus producing additional mechanical degradations, a differentiated, excessive amount of moisture or, on the contrary, increased dehydration.

In the case examined here, what was noted was the existence of several points and areas where the three layers of the bellows show a high degree of adhesion between them. As a result, respecting the principle of minimum intervention, it was decided that a different treatment should be applied. Dry mechanical cleaning tests were conducted and it was found that by using a soft brush and, in some areas, a cotton cloth (as cotton wool could leave lint behind) good results can be obtained in removing the residual layer. **Fig. 7.** The canvas layer was not threadbare and did not feature tears and frays **Fig. 8)** so it could be cleaned by brushing and vacuuming. Vacuuming was achieved by keeping an optimal distance between the support material and the vacuum cleaner.

After the complete cleaning of all three layers, light hydration was suggested and applied for restoring the ensemble. It was a controlled process of hydration, with the constant verification of the UR, with no direct contact, through aerosols, on a suspended sieve. In the distilled water of the aerosol bath there were added volatile oils of Himalayan cedar (*Cedrus deodara*), lavender (*Lavandula angustifolia*) and thyme (*Thymus vulgaris* L.) in order to achieve a curative and preventive conservation against biological attacks. The choice of the volatile oils as active substances in the conservation process was determined by their proven qualities. Thus, it is well known that thyme oil, which has “no less than 7 chemotypes, among which the most important commercially is the ‘thymol’ chemotype, the quality of thyme oil being higher or lower depending on the concentration of this compound,”³ has a rich chemical composition, thymol amounting for a significant percentage thereof. Thanks to this, it had an important bactericidal and antiseptic effect. In

³ Georges Radoias, Alin Bosilcov, Ioan Bătiu, *Odorante naturale in parfumeria moderna*, Cluj-Napoca, Casa Cărții de Știință, 2005, p. 181.

lavender oil – “more than 300 ingredients have been identified in the species of *Lavandula* over the course of time ... The main components are linalool and linalyl acetate.”⁴ An insecticide that is non-toxic for people and livestock, having also an antimicrobial effect, linalool – used through volatile oils or dried lavender plant – has proved its effectiveness in museum heritage preservation, successfully replacing other synthesis products. Synthesis substances present some risks due to their remanence in time and their side effects on humans. There also exists the possibility that, in time, certain unwanted chemical reactions develop. The experience acquired over the years and through the study of millennial empirical practices evinces an increasingly clear orientation towards a return to the use of plants and plant extracts in the conservation-restoration methodology. There are numerous examples of plants which can be or are already used in conservation-restoration laboratories: lavender, tobacco, irises, walnut trees against insects, soapwort (*Saponaria officinalis*) – “commonly used in wet conservation operations through immersion in the Textile Restoration Laboratory of the National Museum of History.”⁵

In parallel and subsequent to the hydration, the detached canvas layer was fixed back and the folds were gradually restored, starting from the base and, at the same time, in circular fashion, in order to eliminate the tensions in the layers. Prior to the operation of canvas attachment, visual and chemical analyses of the original adhesive composition were made. It was found that this adhesive has a starch component. **Fig. 9.** Carboxymethyl cellulose was used to secure the layers: fine dots thereof were applied in order to avoid overloading the surface with extra adhesive and to maintain a uniform degree of hydration.

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Fig 8 - fabric structure

Fig 9 - starch determination with iodine

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⁴ *Idem*, pp. 272- 273.

⁵ Ioana Lidia Ilea, *Metode de conservare și restaurare a pieselor textile*, Cluj-Napoca, Casa Cartii de Stiinta, 2006, p. 17.



Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.



Fig. 4.



Fig. 5.



Fig. 6.



Fig. 7.



Fig. 8.



Fig. 9.



Fig. 10.



Fig. 11.

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