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Préserver et partager l'héritage commun: le projet franco-allemand "*Archivum Rhenanum*" (2013-2015)[1]

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Keywords: *Upper Rhine*; *Medieval History*; *Digitization*; *Alsace (France)*; *South-West Germany*; *Archivum Rhenanum*; *Charters*

Actuellement conduit par plusieurs centres d'archives du Rhin supérieur, le projet transfrontalier "*Archivum Rhenanum*" – tel est désormais son nom officiel – a été engagé sur une période courant de janvier 2013 à juin 2015. Cofinancé à hauteur de 156.000 euros par l'Union européenne, par le biais du Fonds européen de développement régional (FEDER), il a été élaboré et approuvé au printemps 2012 sous l'appellation "Réseau transfrontalier de sources historiques numérisées: les archives comme mémoire de l'espace du Rhin supérieur et de sa formation", dans le cadre du programme européen "Interreg IV A Rhin supérieur" (période de programmation 2007-2013, projet B 42)[2].

Pour mener à bien leur initiative, les archivistes rhénans ont suivi l'exemple de leurs collègues allemands, tchèques, autrichiens, slovaques, français et anglais qui, dans leurs régions frontalières respectives, se sont déjà saisis avec succès du dispositif "Interreg", élément de la Politique de cohésion de l'Union au titre de l'objectif "Coopération territoriale européenne", pour diffuser en ligne,

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[1] Le présent article reprend et actualise, à la date du 1er novembre 2013, les contributions des membres du projet parues à ce jour en langue allemande. Par ordre chronologique: J. Kemper, *Archive am Oberrhein werden Digital*, "Speyer. Vierteljahresheft des Verkehrsvereins", 2012 (hiver), p. 45-47 [= http://archives-fr.hypotheses.org/96]; Idem *et alii*, *Das Kulturelle Erbe am Oberrhein gemeinsam bewahren, präsentieren und erforschen*, "Archivar", 2013, 3, p. 323-328 [= http://www.archive.nrw.de/archivar/hefte/2013/ausgabe3/ARCHIVAR_03-13_internet.pdf]; W. Zimmermann, *Archivum Rhenanum: französische und deutsche Archive erschließen das gemeinsame kulturelle Erbe am Oberrhein*, "Archivnachrichten" 47 (2013), p. 31 [= http://www.landesarchiv-bw.de/sixcms/media.php/120/55650/Archivnachrichten_47.pdf]; O. Bentz et J. Kemper, "Archivum Rhenanum": *ein deutsch-französisches Projekt der Archive am Oberrhein 2013-2015*, "Atlanti" 23 (2013), 2, p. 57-61. Toutes les références en ligne ici citées ont été vérifiées à la date du 4 novembre 2013.

[2] Les régions concernées par ce programme sont, côté allemand, les *Bundesländer* de Bade-Wurtemberg et de Rhénanie-Palatinat, et, côté français, l'Alsace, composée des départements du Bas-Rhin et du Haut-Rhin. La Suisse (État non membre de l'Union) est également associée dans le cadre de la "Nouvelle politique régionale suisse". Pour plus d'information, cf. http://www.interreg-rhin-sup.eu/.

sur des plateformes bilingues, des fonds d'archives numérisés d'intérêt transfrontalier[3].

Constat initial: une mémoire "empêchée"

L'intérêt de la mise en ligne des ressources patrimoniales, historiques et archivistiques est bien perçu par le grand public, en particulier en France, où l'engouement pour l'histoire locale et familiale, bénéficiant notamment du maillage du territoire par les quelque cent centres d'archives départementales, a abouti à une offre de documents d'archives numérisés sur Internet très abondante quoique fragmentée[4].

En Alsace, les fonds ainsi mis à disposition séparément par les Archives départementales du Bas-Rhin et du Haut-Rhin[5] voisinent à ce jour avec d'autres sites institutionnels particulièrement intéressants et complémentaires[6]. De l'autre côté du Rhin, en Allemagne, les ressources ne font défaut ni en Rhénanie-Palatinat, ni en Bade-Wurtemberg[7]. La fondation, suisse, des archives de l'ancien évêché de Bâle est également présente en ligne[8]. Ces richesses sont cependant souvent méconnues des voisins frontaliers, en raison notamment de la barrière linguistique. Cette situation est d'autant plus dommageable que, du fait de l'histoire de ces régions riveraines du Rhin supérieur[9], leur héritage est souvent commun. Une reconstitution virtuelle transfrontalière de leur patrimoine

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[3] Cf. les projets "Réseau bavaro-tchèque de sources historiques numérisées" entre le land de Bavière et la République tchèque, ayant abouti à la mise en ligne du portail www.portafontium.eu; "*Memory without Border*" entre l'Autriche et la Slovaquie, dont résulte le portail http://crossborderarchives.eu/; "Arch'expo" entre l'East-Sussex et le département français de la Seine-Maritime (http://archexpo.net/); "Archives en ligne / *Digital heritage*" entre Haute-Normandie et East Anglia (http://www.archivesenligne.fr/).

[4] Cf. la cartographie des archives numérisées accessibles en ligne sur le site du Service interministériel des Archives de France: http://www.archivesdefrance.culture.gouv.fr/ressources/en-ligne/.

[5] Cf. respectivement http://archives.bas-rhin.fr et http://www.archives.cg68.fr.

[6] Alsatiques de la Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire de Strasbourg (www.bnu.fr et www.numistral.fr), lettres et ouvrages de la Bibliothèque humaniste de Sélestat (http://www.ville-selestat.fr/bh/), dossiers patrimoniaux du Service régional de l'inventaire (http://patrimoine.region-alsace.eu/fr/) et du Service des patrimoines de la Direction des affaires culturelles Alsace (http://docpatdrac.hypotheses.org/).

[7] Cf. notamment les sites des *Landesarchive* http://www.lha-rlp.de/ et http://www.landesarchiv-bw.de ainsi que le portail patrimonial http://www.leo-bw.de/. De façon sélective, au titre des archives municipales: http://www.speyer.de/sv_speyer/de/Bildung/Abteilung%20Kulturelles%20Erbe%20-%20Stadtarchiv/.

[8] Cf. www.aaeb.ch/.

[9] Très brièvement du point de vue alsacien: appartenant à l'aire culturelle germanique tout au long du Moyen Âge et de la première Modernité, l'Alsace a été lentement intégrée à l'espace français (1648-1870), réunie à l'Empire allemand (1871-1918), restituée à la France (1919-1940), annexée au III[e] Reich (1940-1945), avant de redevenir française. Sous l'Ancien Régime, très morcelée entre pouvoirs laïcs et ecclésiastiques, elle relevait au spirituel à la fois des évêchés de Metz (Lorraine), Spire (Rhénanie-Palatinat), Strasbourg (qui s'étendait au-delà du Rhin, actuel Bade-Wurtemberg) et Bâle (Suisse).

archivistique apparaît rapidement indispensable à toute personne qui s'y intéresse. Pour réaliser ce souhait souvent exprimé, il fallait convaincre les décisionnaires politiques et administratifs de se lancer dans un projet neuf.

En vue de les intéresser à cette démarche, la situation leur a ainsi été exposée: les nombreux centres d'archives du Rhin supérieur, quelle que soit leur taille, conservent les sources de l'histoire de la région, de ses évolutions économiques, sociales et culturelles, reflétant autant la "grande politique" que les relations familiales et privées de ses habitants. Ce patrimoine représente la "mémoire" et le fondement de toute compréhension historique, présentation ou promotion touristique et culturelle de la région, ainsi que de ses monuments civils ou religieux, de ses sites et lieux historiques. Or, la répartition des centres d'archives des deux côtés du Rhin (et ainsi entre deux voire trois États) a fait que leur exploitation s'arrête très souvent à la frontière actuellement formée par le Rhin, alors que ce fleuve a antérieurement et historiquement été bien davantage un lien, un axe d'échanges et de communication qu'une limite[10]. Cette situation, amplifiée par la barrière linguistique, est particulièrement dommageable pour des sujets, sites ou familles documentés par des fonds éclatés, conservés loin de l'objet qu'ils concernent, fréquemment de l'autre côté des frontières actuelles. Les recherches historiques transfrontalières – et cela vaut également souvent pour les mémoires universitaires et thèses en histoire régionale – restent une exception, et leur réception s'est faite et se fait encore généralement dans des cercles restreints. En somme: la mémoire historique conservée par les centres d'archives allemands, français et suisses du Rhin supérieur est sous-exploitée, et pour ainsi dire "empêchée".

Il est patent – et c'est là tout l'enjeu du projet "*Archivum Rhenanum*" – que les moyens techniques et de communication actuels sont parfaitement adaptés pour remédier à cet état de fait.

Buts et partenaires du projet

L'un des objectifs prioritaires du projet est la numérisation d'un grand nombre de documents ou fonds d'archives d'intérêt transfrontalier, concernant l'histoire du Rhin supérieur. Cette intention implique inévitablement des chantiers préparatoires souvent conséquents, allant de mesures de conservation (nettoyage ou restauration des fonds) à la reprise ou à la constitution des données de description et d'accès. La construction du portail Internet commun, bilingue, qui permettra la mise en ligne de ces documents a déjà commencé. L'intégration des premières données se fera au cours de l'hiver 2013-2014. Si le choix s'est porté sur une solution qui a déjà fait ses preuves, les questions d'import et d'export des données et des images, de publication, de modification, de commentaire (dans une approche collaborative), ou encore l'accessibilité du portail sur le long terme restent à préciser.

Les membres co-financeurs qui ont engagé ces travaux sont les deux centres d'archives départementales alsaciens (Archives départementales du Bas-

[10] Cf. A. Demangeon et L. Febvre, *Le Rhin. Problèmes d'histoire et d'économie*, Paris, 1935.

Rhin, à Strasbourg, et Archives départementales du Haut-Rhin, à Colmar), le *Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg – Generallandesarchiv Karlsruhe*, les Archives municipales de Fribourg-en-Brisgau, porteuses administratives du projet, et les Archives municipales de Spire. Ils représentent à eux cinq les régions impliquées dans le programme européen Interreg Rhin supérieur: l'Alsace, le Palatinat et le pays de Bade.

Le succès d'un tel projet n'est cependant possible que s'il est soutenu par de nombreux "promoteurs" et institutions, implantés localement et constitués un réseau. Plus d'une vingtaine de partenaires non co-financeurs, associations, instituts universitaires et autres institutions régionales prêtent ainsi leur concours à "*Archivum Rhenanum*", à commencer par les Archives de l'évêché de Spire, celles de l'archevêché de Fribourg-en-Brisgau, le *Landesarchiv Speyer*, ou encore les Archives d'État de la ville de Bâle. Divers autres centres d'archives ont manifesté leur intérêt pour une collaboration. Ces partenaires se concentrent essentiellement dans le ressort du programme Interreg Rhin supérieur et ses proches abords, mais un partenaire autrichien, l'*International center for archival research* (ICARUS, Vienne) est également "enrôlé"[11].

Ce réseau est particulièrement important pour assurer la communication autour du projet et permettre à "*Archivum Rhenanum*" de remplir un autre de ses objectifs: recueillir et diffuser auprès de tous les habitants de la région, au-delà des frontières, les informations les plus complètes possible sur l'offre patrimoniale, historique et scientifique intéressant le Rhin supérieur. C'est dans cette perspective, cruciale pour les partenaires du projet mais aussi pour répondre aux exigences de l'Union européenne à l'égard de tous les projets qu'elle soutient, qu'une visibilité sur Internet a été assurée dès avant le lancement officiel du projet.

Depuis novembre 2012 en effet, deux "carnets" ou "blogs", l'un en allemand, l'autre en français[12], ont été ouverts sur la plateforme scientifique "hypotheses.org", fondée sur une solution WordPress, souple et facile d'utilisation. Ces carnets bénéficient ainsi non seulement d'une "communauté d'utilisateurs" sécurisante mais aussi d'une parfaite visibilité auprès de la communauté scientifique internationale (la plateforme est déclinée en anglais, allemand, français et espagnol). Les deux carnets (tenus à jour de façon parallèle afin que lecteurs francophones et germanophones disposent simultanément des mêmes informations), sont interactifs et ouverts aux commentaires, des professionnels comme des simples curieux. Ils décrivent en premier lieu le projet, ses buts et ses partenaires. Ils sont régulièrement mis à jour avec les actualités du projet, mais aussi avec celles des institutions régionales, partenaires ou non, qui concernent le patrimoine ou la recherche historique dans le Rhin supérieur. Bientôt y figureront les informations sur les fonds nouvellement disponibles sur le portail, les progrès de la numérisation ou les

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[11] Une liste complète, et au besoin mise à jour, des partenaires du projet peut être consultée à l'adresse http://archives-fr.hypotheses.org/promoteurs-et-partenaires-du-projet.
[12] Cf. http://archives.hypotheses.org/ et http://archives-fr.hypotheses.org/.

manifestations d'histoire régionale associées. Des communications peuvent également y être publiées – cela a par exemple été le cas des conférences inaugurales prononcées au lancement du projet[13]. En un an, près de 70 annonces ou contributions ont ainsi été publiées, à chaque fois dans les deux langues. Le recours à d'autres médias sociaux vient renforcer la visibilité d'"*Archivum Rhenanum*". Les collaborateurs du projet "twittent" régulièrement[14] et utilisent également une page Facebook dédiée[15] – sans compter le dépôt en ligne de photographies ou présentations du projet accessibles à tous (Slideshare, Prezzi, Pinterest, Wikipedia).

Principaux axes de travail

La période privilégiée est dans un premier temps le Moyen Âge et le début de l'époque moderne. Le Rhin n'était pas alors une frontière, de nombreuses puissances territoriales avaient des possessions des deux côtés du fleuve, et même au nord, dans l'actuel Palatinat. La Réforme a ensuite imprimé une marque durable en Alsace tout comme dans les régions voisines aujourd'hui allemandes. Cette limite chronologique est apparue indispensable pour canaliser le travail et rendre plus lisible le projet. Ces sources du Moyen Âge et de la première Modernité devraient permettre au grand public de comprendre qu'alors les frontières actuelles n'avaient pas de sens, et que celle du Rhin étaient poreuse. Ces sources historiques sont aussi les plus précieuses des Archives. Un élargissement ultérieur à des époques plus récentes, jusqu'aux grands conflits franco-allemands du XIX^{e} et de la première moitié du XX^{e} siècle (Première et Seconde Guerre mondiale) est envisagé. Ce serait du moins une perspective importante et souhaitable pour représenter et rendre accessible dans sa globalité l'histoire de cet espace frontalier, dans tous ses aspects, ses succès comme ses difficultés voire ses refoulements.

Les Archives départementales du Haut-Rhin, à Colmar, numériseront dans le cadre du projet, à compter de 2014, une sélection de la correspondance de la Régence autrichienne d'Ensisheim. Le fonds dont elle est issue, qui couvre une période allant du XIII^{e} siècle à 1638, a une importance toute particulière dans une perspective transfrontalière, dans la mesure où Ensisheim a longtemps été le chef-

[13] Les conférenciers invités étaient Pierre Monnet, directeur de l'Institut français d'histoire en Allemagne, et Gilles Buscot, attaché de coopération universitaire à l'ambassade de France à Heidelberg. Leurs communications respectives sont accessibles en ligne aux adresses http://archives-fr.hypotheses.org/170 et http://archives-fr.hypotheses.org/238.

[14] Les comptes @ARhenanum et @ARhenanum_fr ont à eux deux émis en un an un peu plus de 530 messages, suivis par plusieurs dizaines d'abonnés. Ils permettent aussi et surtout de suivre sans tarder l'actualité d'autres équipes employant ce mode de communication et dont le travail intéresse au moins partiellement le Rhin supérieur du Moyen Âge et de la Réforme: groupes de recherche interdisciplinaires sur l'Église impériale (http://www.germania-sacra.de/ - @bkroege), les ordres religieux et monastères allemands (http://ordensgeschichte.hypotheses.org/ - @HistMonast) ou l'histoire régionale de Bavière, Souabe et Franconie (http://histbav.hypotheses.org/ - @HistBav), Institut historique allemand de Paris (http://www.dhi-paris.fr/fr/home.html - @dhiparis), etc.

[15] Cf. www.facebook.com/ArchivumRhenanum.

lieu des possessions patrimoniales rhénanes des Habsbourg, dites *Vorderösterreich* ou Pays antérieurs d'Autriche – rôle ensuite dévolu à Fribourg-en-Brisgau. Le fonds de la Régence est donc constitué de documents concernant la Haute-Alsace, mais aussi la rive droite du Rhin; c'est une source de premier plan pour l'histoire administrative du Rhin Supérieur.

Les Archives départementales du Bas-Rhin, à Strasbourg, se concentrent sur la numérisation du fonds de la Préfecture impériale de Haguenau (*Landvogtei Hagenau*), réalisée en 2013 à hauteur de 75% (près de 18 500 vues). Il s'agit des archives civiles les plus anciennes qu'elles conservent, et les mieux à même de répondre, pour une large part de l'Alsace (au-delà des frontières actuelles du département), à la problématique de la formation de l'aire du Rhin supérieur, dans la mesure où elles concernent, du Moyen Âge au XVII^e siècle, les liens entre l'Empire et les dix villes de la "Décapole" alsacienne – ainsi que les relations des représentants de l'Empereur avec les villages alentour et les autres pouvoirs régionaux, qu'ils soient seigneuriaux (Habsbourg, Deux-Ponts, Hanau-Lichtenberg, etc.), municipaux (Strasbourg, Offenbourg) ou religieux (évêques de Strasbourg et de Spire, chapitres et abbayes). Le fonds, qui n'était en grande partie plus communicable en salle de lecture en raison de son mauvais état matériel, a demandé préalablement des opérations de restauration. Son inventaire très détaillé, réalisé en français au XIX^e siècle (alors que la plupart des actes sont en allemand) a également été numérisé et sera mis en ligne en même temps que les images des documents originaux. Ce choix d'un fonds complet n'est pas exclusif de l'apport ultérieur d'autres documents numérisés (chartes antérieures à 1250, inventaires et registres des fonds ecclésiastiques concernant l'Ortenau ou le Palatinat par exemple).

Les Archives du land de Bade-Wurtemberg participent au projet par l'intermédiaire des Archives générales de Karlsruhe. Elles prévoient de procéder à la rétroconversion des inventaires des fonds du grand-chapitre de Spire, du chapitre cathédral de Bâle et de l'évêché de Strasbourg qu'elles conservent, mais aussi de numériser une partie des documents correspondants, au nombre approximatif de 15 000 sur les deux prochaines années.

Les Archives de la ville de Fribourg–en-Brisgau, riches de nombreux fonds médiévaux dont environ 22.000 chartes, vont procéder à la rétroconversion des regestes manuscrits des chartes élaborés aux XIX^e et XX^e siècles, et aujourd'hui très difficiles à lire. Il s'agira principalement de reprendre les fonds de chartes relatives à la Régence des Pays antérieurs d'Autriche, et qui concernent donc l'Alsace (environ 1.000 chartes). La numérisation systématique de ces chartes ne pourra être réalisée dans un premier temps en raison de problèmes de restauration et fera l'objet d'une prochaine étape. Par ailleurs, en tant que porteur du projet, les Archives de Fribourg ont en charge les tâches administratives (elles sont l'interlocuteur du Secrétariat technique Commun Interreg à la Région Alsace), la préparation et le suivi du calendrier des réunions de travail à peu près trimestrielles ainsi que des opérations de communication.

Les Archives de la ville de Spire disposent d'un riche fonds clos de l'époque où Spire, alors ville d'Empire, du fait de la tenue des assemblées impériales et de la présence de la cour de justice impériale, était l'un des points centraux du Saint Empire Romain Germanique. L'intérêt de ces sources historiques dépasse ainsi très largement la seule ville de Spire. Le service choisira parmi les fonds qui concernent la période de la ville d'Empire (1 A et 1 B) les sources s'y rapportant, les numérisera et les rendra accessibles par l'intermédiaire du portail. Les registres administratifs et les actes du conseil de la ville datant du Moyen Âge tardif et concernant le commerce régional, l'économie, la politique et les relations extérieures de la ville, par exemple, semblent particulièrement pertinents. On y trouve également des correspondances, souvent méconnues, entre la ville de Spire et la métropole alsacienne de Strasbourg. S'y ajouteront des sources relatives aux assemblées et à la cour de justice impériales, ainsi qu'à la Réforme (en tout environ 1 000 pièces, documents ou manuscrits, environ 10.000 à 15.000 images). Enfin, les Archives de la ville ajouteront au portail le fonds complet de leurs chartes (environ 2.500, dont la plus ancienne date de 1182, ont déjà été numérisées dans le cadre du projet "*Monasterium*"[16]).

Perspectives

Le projet a été présenté en février 2013 à l'occasion de deux manifestations inaugurales, organisées à Colmar et Fribourg-en-Brisgau[17]. Une audience internationale a été recherchée par le biais de communications prononcées à la conférence sur les archives de Radenci (Slovénie, 10-12 avril), lors d'une réunion de travail ICARUS à Dublin (26 juin), ou encore dans le cadre de la 23e conférence de l'Institut international d'archivistique de Trieste et Maribor (IIAS) (22 octobre). Des efforts tout particuliers sont concomitamment déployés pour exposer son intérêt et ses buts au grand public résidant dans la région du Rhin supérieur, concerné au premier chef: conférences à Strasbourg (26 mars) et à Spire notamment, rencontres plus informelles lors d'une Fête de l'amitié franco-allemande sur l'île de Vogelgrun (Breisach/Neuf-Brisach, 17 juin), des journées européennes du patrimoine (Strasbourg, 15 septembre), ou encore du Salon du livre de Colmar (23-24 novembre). Les articles parus dans la presse quotidienne et hebdomadaire régionale[18] montrent d'ailleurs sans

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[16] Cf. http://monasterium.net/pages/fr/page-drsquoaccueil.php.

[17] Cf. ci-dessus la note relative à la publication des interventions des conférenciers invités.

[18] G. Gilcher, «*Rheinische Netzwerke. Digitale Archive am Oberrhein: Das grenzüberschreitende kulturelle Gedächtnis einer Region*, "Die Rheinpfalz", 23 février 2013 [= http://www.rheinpfalz.de/cgi-bin/cms2/cms.pl?cmd=showMsgNew&tpl= rhpMsg_thickbox.html&path=%2Frhp%2Fkultur&id=91-7257193]; W. Rüskampf, *Die gemeinsame Geschichte wird digitalisiert*, "Badische Zeitung", 28 février 2013 [= http:// www.badische-zeitung.de/suedwest-1/die-gemeinsame-geschichte-wird-digitalisiert--69582742.html]; C. Karakurt, *Historische Dokumente bald im Netz verfügbar*, Amtsblatt der Stadt Freiburg.i.Br., 595/2013, 15 mars 2013 [= http://www.freiburg.de/pb/site/Freiburg/get/documents/freiburg/daten/news/amtsblatt/pdf/Amtsblatt%20Ausgabe%20595.pdf], Beate Mehlin, *Europa wächst zusammen durch bi- und trinationale Kooperationsobjekte zusammen*, "Staatsanzeiger Baden-Württemberg" 10 (2013), 15 mars 2013 [= http://archives-fr.hypotheses.org/271]; E. Goetz, *En ligne, les archives n'ont plus de frontières*, en *Dernières nouvelles d'Alsace* (éd. Colmar), 23 février 2013; C. Zimmer, *Archives en ligne et sans*

équivoque que la thématique de cet "héritage rhénan" intéresse l'opinion. Le projet semble donc bien pouvoir trouver une audience au-delà du cercle restreint des archivistes.

"*Archivum Rhenanum*" s'inscrit au demeurant dans un mouvement plus vaste. Le dispositif Interreg Rhin supérieur sur lequel il s'appuie, pour s'en tenir à lui, a en effet favorisé le récent développement de nombreuses initiatives patrimoniales transfrontalières, la plupart toujours en cours: projets B 1 "L'art du Rhin supérieur autour de 1500: étude et diffusion d'un patrimoine commun" (2007-2008); B 22 "Patrimoine Humaniste du Rhin Supérieur" (2011-2013)[19]; B 24 "Le Hartmannswillerkopf: lieu privilégié de rencontres européennes et franco-allemandes" (2010-2012); B 27 "arkeoGIS: Entre Vosges et Forêt-Noire, archéologie et géographies antiques" (2011-2014)[20]; B 34 "Musée des trois pays / réseau trinational pour l'histoire et la culture" (2012-2014) fédérant musées et sociétés d'histoire du Rhin supérieur[21]; B 46 "Mémoires archéologiques de la Grande Guerre" (2013-2015); A 25 "Projections du Rhin supérieur. Mémoire, histoire et identités dans le film utilitaire, 1900-1970" (2012-2015).

"*Archivum Rhenanum*" est conçu de manière ouverte. Il veut représenter, en premier lieu pour les centres d'archives, petits ou grands, mais aussi pour les institutions apparentées, les historiens régionaux et les amateurs d'histoire locale, une invitation à participer au "franchissement de la frontière". Cela peut signifier, du point de vue archivistique, une collaboration au portail et à son contenu – infrastructure établie pour la mise à disposition régionale, partagée, de données et d'images. Indépendamment du contexte rhénan, il sera veillé à rendre possible, outre l'intégration de données de provenances diverses, leur export vers les portails culturels et patrimoniaux des pays respectifs comme vers les portails d'envergure européenne. "*Archivum Rhenanum*" souhaite ainsi former une base solide pour des projets de recherche scientifique transfrontaliers. Mais il veut également être davantage, une plateforme d'informations et d'échanges entre tous les cercles intéressés par l'histoire régionale – un large réseau, autant "numérique" qu'"analogique".

L'avenir dira s'il y parvient. Il reste en conclusion à espérer que ce projet contribue effectivement à approfondir les relations déjà existantes dans de nombreux domaines entre les régions du Rhin supérieur. Comme Gilles Buscot l'exprimait lors de la manifestation de lancement à Fribourg le 26 février 2013:

> "Pour des chercheurs comme moi, le projet de numérisation des archives du Rhin supérieur résonne comme une promesse. Il peut rendre bien plus facile et stimuler des recherches franco-allemandes, comparatives, transfrontalières, et même conduire à de nouvelles collaborations et relations. Nous fêtons cette année le cinquantenaire du traité de l'Élysée, et je trouve

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frontières, en *Dernières nouvelles d'Alsace* (éd. Strasbourg), 29 mars 2013 [= http://archives-fr.hypotheses.org/310].

[19] Cf. http://www.humanisme-du-rhin-superieur.eu/.

[20] Cf. http://arkeogis.org/.

[21] Cf. http://www.dreilaendermuseum.eu/fr/.

beau que ce soit cette année justement que fleurisse un tel projet. Je suis en contact avec des historiens de Strasbourg, de Fribourg et de Bâle, et j'ai souvent eu l'impression que l'on en avait encore trop peu fait, bien que chaque acteur en ait une grande envie. Il y a certes toujours de nouvelles journées EUCOR[22], mais à mon avis, on manque de projets sur le long terme, et aussi de travaux de thèses en cotutelle franco-allemande, et surtout de filières universitaires transfrontalières. La numérisation des archives du Rhin supérieur peu justement conduire à une nouvelle dynamique transfrontalière, et inciter les étudiants aussi bien que les doctorants à adopter de nouvelles perspectives transfrontalières."[23]

Pour suivre les actualités du projet Archivum Rhenanum en ligne:

- en français: http://archives-fr.hypotheses.org/
- en allemand: http://archives.hypotheses.org/

[22] EUCOR: Confédération Européenne des Universités du Rhin Supérieur Cf. http://www.eucor-uni.org/fr/.

[23] "*Für Forscher wie mich klingt also das Projekt der Digitalisierung der oberrheinischen Archivalien vielversprechend. Es kann vergleichende, grenzüberschreitende, deutsch-französische Forschungen viel einfacher machen und beflügeln, ja sogar zu neuen Kooperationen und Netzwerken führen. Wir feiern ja dieses Jahr das 50. Jubiläum des Elyseevertrags und ich finde es schön, dass gerade in diesem Jahr ein solches Projekt aufblüht. Ich habe Kontakt mit Historikern aus Straßburg, Freiburg und Basel und habe oft den Eindruck gehabt, dass sich da noch zu wenig tut, obwohl jeder Akteur große Lust dazu hätte. Es gibt zwar immer wieder EUCOR-Tage [EUCOR = Europäische Konföderation der Oberrheinischen Universitäten], aber meiner Ansicht nach fehlt es an langfristigen Projekten, auch an deutsch-französischen Doktorarbeiten (thèses en cotutelle), an grenzüberschreitenden Studiengängen überhaupt. Die Digitalisierung der oberrheinischen Archivalien kann eben zu einer neuen grenzüberschreitenden Dynamik führen und sowohl Studenten als auch Dozenten zu neuen, vergleichenden Perspektiven animieren.*"

Illustrations:

Fig. 1. Bannière ("*roll-up*") portant les logos des partenaires co-financeurs du projet, celui du programme Interreg IV A Rhin supérieur, ainsi que celui propre au projet, conçu par le graphiste David Fischer. La forme en éventail qui surmonte les caractères symbolise aussi bien des rangées de rayonnages que les pages ouvertes d'un document écrit ; la forme courbe au-dessous ainsi que la mise en couleurs évoquent le Rhin. Ainsi, les deux termes du nom trouvent leur correspondance dans l'image.

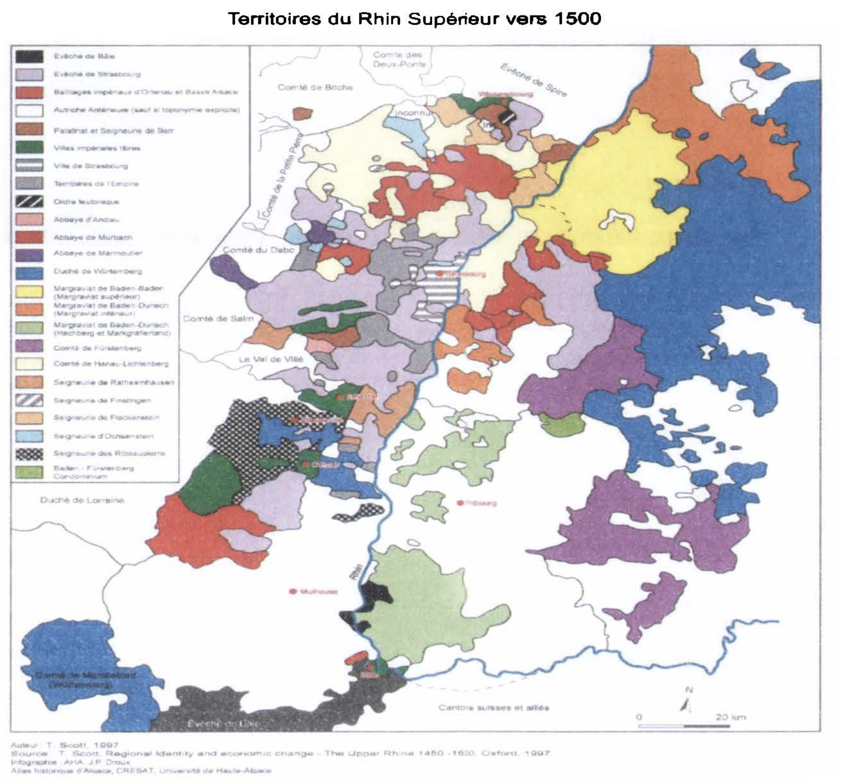

Fig. 2. Carte des territoires du Rhin supérieur vers 1500 (tirée de l'atlas historique d'Alsace, CRESAT, Université de Haute-Alsace: http://www.atlas.historique.alsace.uha.fr/). Pouvoirs ecclésiastiques et laïcs étendent indifféremment leur influence sur les deux rives du fleuve.

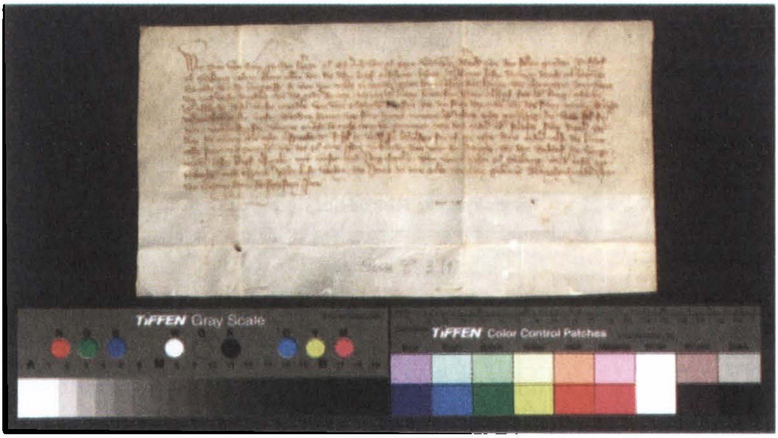

Fig. 3. Convention entre Otton, duc d'Autriche et Berthold, évêque de Strasbourg, de contribuer au rétablissement de la paix, toutes les fois qu'elle serait troublée entre les gens de l'un et l'autre des contractants (mercredi après la semaine de Pentecôte 1330). Archives départementales du Bas-Rhin, Fonds de la Préfecture impériale de Haguenau, cote C 3, 1ère pièce; parchemin, allemand. L'un des documents restaurés et numérisés dans le cadre du projet.

Short Documents, Histories and Archives in the 21st Century

Tiffany Chao & Claudia Serbanuta

Keywords: *Microblog*; *Short Document Collections*; *Archival Challenges*; *Democratization*; *Eastern Europe*

Archives serve as the protector of public memory, providing access to rich histories and heritage. In the technologically enhanced and highly networked environment of the 21st century, the archival practices of preserving paper-based documents must now turn to born-digital materials. A handwritten letter on personal stationery now takes the form of an email. Business transaction records are no longer stored in filing cabinets but in electronic databases. In many ways, born-digital content are contemporary counterparts for analog or physical objects but invoke a different set of processes for preservation. The changing landscape in information exchange not only marks shifts in the types of archival materials and collections that will need long-term care but also adaptations in archival practice to identify and preserve historic memory[1]. These shifts have resulted in the management of hybrid collections where analog, digitized, and born-digital materials co-exist within the archival space. Digitized materials are often linked to an analog object in the archival collection and may function as an electronic representation of the physical collection items such as a photograph or newspaper article.

The spread of digital information not only marks the increased presence of digital formats in the archival collection but also the visibility of archive initiatives. Personal and community-based archiving efforts have become more prominent and inclusive. Such projects include the Center for History and New Media's "September 11 digital archive"[2], which was created to document and preserve public response and personal accounts of the devastating events that impacted the United States. Contributions are digitally submitted and encompass the stories, photographs, images, videos, and audio from individuals across the country and are now preserved at the Library of Congress[3], which is recognized as the national library of the United States and has one of the primere holdings of digital cultural assets in the world. Bringing together the expertise of preservation and archival professionals, collective memories of a community, and the support of an institution such as the national library benefits the long-term preservation and care of these emergent hybrid collections.

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[1] H. R. Tibbo, *On the Nature and Importance of Archiving in the Digital Age*, "Advances in Computers" 57 (2003), p. 1-67.
[2] http://911digitalarchive.org/.
[3] http://www.loc.gov/index.html.

With the constant evolution of the digital landscape, archival practices must keep pace with the new forms of born-digital content emerging in the information space. The advent of social media technologies has fostered the production of "short documents" (text-based entries that are several words in length), which are representative of a number of social, political, and cultural issues impacting a global community. This paper focuses on one such collection of short documents, the PMAN archive, a personal initiative to collect digital content from microblog sources surrounding the 2009 Moldova parliamentary elections. Short documents and the distinctive attributes they embody provide a key component to the formation of the 21st century archival record.

Social media and the emergence of short documents

In this age of networked digital communication, information is created and disseminated at the global scale. Breaking news from one part of the world can instantaneously reach a worldwide audience. Likewise, that same news item may change in a matter of minutes, replaced by updated information or more pressing and current details. Because of this rapid change, digital information is many times considered dynamic and ephemeral, where it may only last for a short period of time before transforming or disappearing[4]. This ubiquity of information communication is in part facilitated by development and widespread distribution of innovative technologies, such as mobile devices and wireless instruments that allow for ease of transmission and contact. In particular, the development of social media applications to complement the Web 2.0 movement have fostered increased sharing, collaboration and social exchange that allow individuals to better interact as part of a virtual community[5]. Applications such as wiki spaces, blogs, and social networking sites were designed with low barriers for use, allowing people with minimal technical skills to access and communicate information.

As such platforms are becoming a constant fixture in the digital information landscape, the information being shared through these social media technologies have potential implications for what archives may need to preserve. Specifically, the output and content from the short phrases that compose microblog posts have exponentially increased and have gained recognition on an international scale. Considered as "short documents", one of the ways they are created is through the web service, Twitter (https://twitter.com/), which was launched in 2006 and has more than 140 millions of active users[6]. As digital entities, these short documents possess a certain amount of automatically imprinted metadata; for Twitter microblog data, the time and date are included as part of the output without manual input[7]. Given the

[4] D. Caron & R. Brown, *The Documentary Moment in the Digital Age: Establishing New Value Propositions for Public Memory*, "Archivaria" 71 (2011), Spring, p. 1-20.

[5] R. Mason, & F. Rennie, *Using Web 2.0 for learning in the community*, "The Internet and higher education" 10 (2007), 3, p. 196-203.

[6] *Twitter turns six*, [Blog post] 2012, March 21 [= http://blog.twitter.com/2012/03/twitter-turns-six.html].

[7] L. S., *What's in a Tweet*, "The Economist", 2012 [= http://www.economist.com/ blogs/dailychart/ 2011/09/digital-verbosity]. [Accessed December 15, 2012.]

short length of these types of documents, they tend to accumulate quickly, especially when actively following an event, issue, or person. One example is the record set in Japan for New Year's Eve where nearly 7,000 messages were posted in one second on Twitter[8].

Microblogs have been adopted for use by the academic and scholarly community, not only as a device to educate and communicate with colleagues but also as an object of study, as seen in such fields as health communication, consumer behavior, and information science[9]. This platform of communication is also widely utilized by national political and social leaders from around the world; during the 2012 United States presidential elections, president Barack Obama received hundreds of thousands of messages per minute through Twitter in response to a post he made. These responses represented the global community from foreign dignitaries to local supporters, all of whom were able to publicly communicate and be recognized in the same information space which may have been more difficult to display through more traditional media channels[10]. In addition to social media content, other examples of microblogs can be seen in text messaging, instant messaging, or digital audio and video.

In contemporary history, Twitter has garnered attention as the platform utilized in the coordination of a number of political protests, collectively known as "Twitter revolutions". Situated in 2009 Moldova, the first of such "revolutions" is the foundation for the development for the PMAN archive, the authors' personal archiving efforts to document first-hand accounts of the events as they were unfolding on Twitter. The attributes observed in these short documents and the information about the events communicated and documented in these messages presents an analytic space for conceptualizing the archival document of the 21st century and their preservation for future use.

Case: PMAN Archive

On April 5, 2009, parliamentary elections took place in the young democratic republic of Moldova. The exit polls showed a majority of votes for the Communist party, which would allow them to once more nominate the new president. A handful of young people decided to start an "I am anti-Communist" flash-mob, a sudden silent assembly to mourn the "no future" situation they believed would ensue with the continuation of Communist governance[11]. The news about the 'silent

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[8] *Celebration New Year with a new Twitter record* [Blog post], 2011, January 6 [= http://blog.twitter.com/2011/01/celebrating-new-year-with-new-tweet.html].

[9] A. Java, X. Song, T. Finin, & B. Tseng, *Why we twitter: understanding microblogging usage and communities*, in *Proceedings of the 9th WebKDD and 1st SNA-KDD 2007 workshop on Web mining and social network analysis*, 2007, p. 56–65; K. L. Costello, & J. Priem, *Archiving scholars' tweets*, in *Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Society of American Archivists Research Forum*, Chicago, IL, 2011.

[10] *Election Night* [Blog post], 2012, November 6 [= http://blog.twitter.com/2012/11/election-night-2012.html].

[11] Unimedia, *Mii de tineri protestează în centrul Chişinăului în acest moment împotriva fraudării alegerilor şi regimului comunist*, 2009, April 6 [= http://unimedia.info/stiri/-10238.html].

protest' were transmitted through online and mobile technologies, including Twitter, blogs, SMS, along with face-to-face discussions. On the evening of April 6, approximately 10,000 people showed up at the protest calling for free elections, pro-European and pro-democratic measures.

In the following day, the number of protesters tripled as they gathered at the National Assembly Square in Chisinau, the capital of Moldova. Violence towards the police forces and vandalism of the Presidential and the Parliament buildings broke out as the protests escalated. Police arrested more than 200 people, yet there was no official broadcast about these arrests on national television and in the succeeding days, three people were reported dead. Moldovan president Vladimir Voronin condemned the violence and called the events "an anti-constitutional coup" organized by the leaders of opposition parties. Further declarations by the government also incriminated Romania as being involved in sustaining the protesters. The social unrest was followed not only by those in Chişinău but also by people from all over the world. Since the Moldovan state television "ignored the protests most of the day"[12], the primary timely sources of information about these events were posted through social media outlets. Twitter was one of the leading platforms through which information about the events was shared and discussed.

The protests resulted in a recount of election votes. No great frauds surfaced and the Communist party remained in power. However, since the elected Parliament failed to nominate the new president, additional elections took place in July 2009. This time, the Communist party won again the majority of seats in the Parliament but it did not get the majority needed to name the president.

Contents of the PMAN archive

The common identifier chosen and used by the digital community to report on the election events through Twitter was "PMAN", which stands for "Piata Marii Adunari Nationale" otherwise recognized as the public square in Chisinau where protesters gathered. This identifier fostered the creation of the PMAN Archive, a personal archiving endeavor that comprises Twitter digital media content surrounding the Parliamentary election events. With over 20,000 posts created in the span of 4 days by approximately 1800 users, these posts represent one of the first instances where a dramatic rise in social media use was seen to report on social unrest. Deemed a "Twitter Revolution"[13], the important role that social media tools had in influencing pro-democratic protests in Moldova was recognize[14]. Subsequent

[12] Nicu Popescu, *An European response to Moldova's «Twitter Revolution»*, "*European Council of Foreign Relations*", 2009, April 7 [= http://ecfr.eu/content/entry/commentary_an_eu_response_to_moldovas_twitter_revolution_popescu/].

[13] Evgeny Morozov, *Moldova's Twitter Revolution*, "Foreign Policy", 2009, April 7 [=http://neteffect.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2009/04/07/moldovas_twitter_revolution] [Accessed December 20, 2010]

[14] M. Forte, *This failed revolution, powered by Twitter: Revising the recurring themes of the Moldova Twitter Revolution, and raising some new doubts* [Blog post], 2010, January 21 [= http://webography.wordpress.com/2010/01/21/this-failed-revolution-powered-by-twitter-revisiting-the-recurring-themes-of-the-moldova-twitter-revolution-and-raising-some-new-doubts/].

"revolutions" were witnessed in the 2009-2010 Iranian elections protest[15] and the 2011 Tunisian revolution[16], further supporting the widespread use of social media devices and the value of content transmitted.

Figure 1. The first message posted on Twitter regarding the use of #pman for the Moldovan parliamentary election protests

Displayed in Figure 1 is the first Twitter message that brought worldwide attention to protests in a small country in Eastern Europe. The message is shown in the Twitter web interface, similar to how the public would be able to view and interact with the content within that social media platform. At the top of the figure is the user's full name or chosen identity ("Vitalie Eşanu"), followed by the user's identification ("@evisoft") for Twitter. This is accompanied by the text or primary content of the short document along with the time and date of when the text was posted for the public. The message reads "morning, I propose we use the #pman tag for messages from the grand national assembly square" (evisoft, 2009). Character symbols (i.e. "@", "#") have specific functions within Twitter; within a message, the hashtag demarcates a keyword or phrase that can serve as an organizational device in searching and retrieving past messages while the at symbol is typically used with a user's identification name to designate that specific individual.

While the original message was posted in 2009, Figure 1 reflects changes to the web interface of Twitter when the message is retrieved and viewed in 2012; such shifts in presentation are all part of the dynamic nature of the digital environment and the challenges involved in long-term preservation. For instance, icons for "reply", "retweet" and "favorite" along with the images for "favorites" were not available at the time of the original post. Such visual cues may assist with future interpretations of short documents but were not explicitly archived as part of the PMAN archive.

<entry>

[15] E. Morozov, *Iran: Downside to the "Twitter Revolution"*, "Dissent" 56 (2009), 4, p. 10-14.
[16] Ethan Zuckerman, *The First Twitter Revolution?*, "Foreign Policy", 2011, Jan. 14 [= http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2011/01/14/the_first_twitter_revolution].

<id>tag:search.twitter.com,2005:1467645316</id>
<published>2009-04-07T04:40:08Z</published>
<link type="text/html" rel="alternate" href="http://twitter.com/evisoft/statuses/1467645316"/>
<title>neata, propun sa utilizam tag-ul #pman pentru mesajele din piata marii adunari nationale</title>
<content type="html">neata, propun sa utilizam tag-ul #pman pentru mesajele din piata marii adunari nationale</content>
<updated>2009-04-07T04:40:08Z</updated>
<link type="image/png" rel="image" href="http://s3.amazonaws.com/twitter_production/profile_images/94732896/twitter_normal.jpg"/>
<author>
<name>evisoft (Vitalie Eşanu)</name>
<uri>http://twitter.com/evisoft</uri>
</author>
</entry>

Figure 2. XML representation of content for Twitter as stored in the PMAN archive.

From Twitter, the content of messages with the marker "#PMAN" were collected and saved as part of the PMAN archive. This resulted in thousands of text-based short documents captured in XML (see Figure 2), which provides structured information for each message; for example, the <author> field of the XML entry identifies the name and user identification of the message author along with a unique URL. The XML format does not necessarily preserve the "look and feel" of the original document as viewed at the time of release through the Twitter web interface (similar to Figure 1) but represents what was possible to collect through personal means. For the PMAN archive, the online commentary discussed through Twitter was automatically collected using a customized programming script. Other options for gathering such microblog information include for-profit and not-for-profit/donation based online services, with many more possible techniques available since 2009[17].

As a functionality of Twitter, the tag "#PMAN" gave the protesters and the public a way to categorize messages about the events in Chişinău (evisoft, 2009). As the protest continued and the number of messages related to the elections on Twitter increased, the use of other hashtags like #Moldova or #Chisinau were also observed in conjunction with the #PMAN tag. However, it seemed that #PMAN related specifically to the protest events whereas messages with only #Moldova or #Chisinau tags appeared to correspond with the geographic region and not necessarily linked with the current protests. To this end, short documents with the #PMAN tag provided

[17] M. Braga, *Liberate your tweets: Archiving without Twitter*, "Ars Technica", 2012, March 30 [= http://arstechnica.com/uncategorized/2012/03/liberate-your-tweets-archiving-without-twitter/].

the basis of the PMAN archive as the hashtag signified the most accurate indicator at the time to locate and group together messages related to the parliamentary protests. This presumes Twitter users that posted short documents with #pman tag during the protest in Chisinau were knowingly contributing to a larger media conversation about these events.

The content of the PMAN archive short documents includes news about the protest in Chişinău and on its media coverage, advice for the protesters on how to effectively fight the police, and the sharing of self-made media products such as photographs and videos covering the events. The variety of topics presented in the archive mapped the specific ways in which participants contributed to the coverage of the events in Chisinau whether on the ground or remotely connected. As a complement to the output of traditional media outlets and historical sources on the parliamentary election events of Moldova, the documented messages, presented through the PMAN archive from the perspective of the participants, can add to understanding the context of events for future analysis and interpretation.

Short documents for the archive

The collection of short documents from the PMAN archive revealed unique functional elements that contribute to the potential value of this information source for scholarly research and beyond. In particular, two key attributes were observed in short documents: multiple layers of information embedded in a single document and the flexible aggregation of documents to examine different perspectives. These interrelated characteristics appear to be distinctive of short documents and are detailed in the following sections.

Complex information objects

Short documents may be distinguished as having a limited number of words but they are complex digital objects with multiple layers of information that provide both content and context information for preservation. As discussed previously, certain character symbols within Twitter denote attributions to other users of the social media application or to keywords or phrases pertaining to a particular topic or issue. While the application of these symbols is particular to Twitter, other aspects of message content can be potentially generalized to digital short documents. This includes the formatting of the text and the use of embedded hyperlinks to connect with external websites, which present different layers of information important to the archiving and preservation of short documents.

Across the thousands of short documents in the PMAN archive, the formatting of message text is a layer of information important to the communication and interpretation of the content posted. The graphical representation of the text is usually a purposive decision made by the user. The message conveyed in one short document, "In the square they shout DOWN WITH COMMUNISM #pman" [18]

[18] Some of the Twitter documents quoted were originally written in Romanian but have been translated into English within in the body of this paper for fluency. These messages are referenced at the end of the papers in their original form.

(anti_impozit, 2009a) appears enhanced given the use of capitalization to emphasize particular words. Textual emphasis is also noted in the use of certain punctuation which may signal the importance of the messages or suggestions, "#pman who can write in english – write in english 'cause many will join!!!!" (bunelul, 2009). In preserving such text, the graphic representation of the content is a vital layer of information to maintain for future users.

The presence of embedded hyperlinks in the content of short document reveals another layer of information unique to this digital entity. The inclusion of hyperlinks makes visible the larger context in which this information source is situated by introducing those bodies of evidence that support the document content. External links from the PMAN archive lead to news sites, personal blogs, photographs, and even videos. Hyperlinks may be included in the message with some contextual information, "Video from anti-communist protests in Chisinau, Moldova – http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=u9676ubIVwc #pman"[19] (Moscovici, 2009). In some cases, the message will contain information about what the hyperlink will lead to or there may be clues in the URL that are suggestive of the external site. More common though is a condensed version of the URL and very little accompanying information in the message, "http://tiny.cc/UdU2H #pman"[20] (danielnylin, 2009); while this message is related to the discussion of parliamentary protests in Moldova (as noted by the "#pman" demarcation), it is not clear in what or where the URL may be in reference to and whether the linked information can be trusted.

The embedded hyperlinked information provided in the short documents played an important role in bringing together disparate information resources related to the protests in Chişinău from the Web. These external sites offered corroboration for those statements made about on-site events and served as an extended digital space for conversation and information exchange (i. e. blogs, forums) given the limitations of social media and the character restrictions on Twitter. Archiving the content of hyperlinks (i .e. external web pages) associated with the short document remains a persistent challenge. As noted, archiving these short documents without encapsulating the content of the pages linked in the documents significantly reduces the possibility of accurately following the dialogue and what information was shared. Moreover, given the ephemerality of the online content, a number of the links are no longer active making it difficult to understand what the original short document was referencing. While the PMAN archive does not have a record of the external sites from hyperlinks, future collections of short documents may want to locate and document where the hyperlinks resolve as part of the archival record.

Individual and aggregate perspectives

The second attribute of short documents is reflected in the volume of viewpoints that can be captured from a single information space. For the PMAN

[19] Moscovici, *Video from anti-communist protests in Chisinau, Moldova*, 2009, April 7 [= http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=u9676ubIVwc #pman] [Twitter post].

[20] This URL links to a news site: http://www.aljazeera.com/news/europe/2009/04/2009481010869454.html.

archive, this attribute is exemplified through the coverage of particular themes and topics that organically emerged over the course of events as well as multi-lingual content creation. The prevalence of a specific topic among the documents shared on Twitter was not dictated by a moderator but progressed from a combination of the real-time events and sharing past experiences and histories.

One topic participants were heavily invested in commenting on was the "revolution". This subject was looked at from a number of perspectives and numerous short documents convey its coverage. Events in Moldova were being referred to as a "revolution" and due to the popular use of Twitter in communicating on-the-ground actions, the term "Twitter revolution" was also attributed[21]. The protests in Moldova were also characterized as an "anti-communist revolution"[22] which reflected the experiences of other Eastern European countries in challenging Communist governance. A number of short documents from the PMAN archive conveyed this familiarity and recognition of past histories.

> "#pman except the velvet revolutions from Prague and Sofia in 1989, the history of revolutions were violent" (junk_box, 2009)
>
> "#pman Voronin threatening to find the organizers of the protest; comparing the protests with 1989 events" (vchiperi, 2009)
>
> "RT: Bucharest 1989: first revolution live on TV. Chisinau 2009: first revolution live online...#PMAN"(ralu_nantu, 2009)
>
> " '89 reloaded: TV stations are blocked, army is ordered to intervine, the Presidency is under attack... #pman" (purple_ro, 2009)
>
> "Moldavians have not learned anything from 1989. If they are not taking the state television, in vain they assault the Presidency #pman" (Petreanu, 2009)

The Romanian anti-communist revolution of 1989 was the most prominent example repeatedly referenced[23]. The shared history of Moldova and Romania and the natural parallel between "the first televised revolution" from 1989 and the first "Twitter Revolution" in 2009 (a connection also made by Romanian television) contributed to the online discussion and brought a historic and personal lens to understanding the events in Chişinău. The context of the 1989 Romanian Revolution inspired conversations that converged on a shared interpretation of the events on the streets of Moldova in 2009. Individual short documents shared advice on how to force the State Television to cover the events and inform the country of the protests (Petreanu, 2009), yet other messages were less supportive of the revolutionary

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[21] E. Morozov, *Moldova's Twitter Revolution* cit.
[22] Moscovici, *Video from anti-communist protests in Chisinau, Moldova* cit.
[23] See above examples from PMAN archive: junk_box, 2009; vchiperi, 2009; ralu_nantu, 2009; purple_ro, 2009; Petreanu, 2009.

movement. On the whole, a theme such as "revolution" could be observed in individual short documents but it is only through mass aggregation of documents that the degree of diverse and multiple perspectives on a theme are realized.

Another aspect of the short document aggregation observed in the PMAN archive is the importance of the credibility of the information posted about the protests for Twitter. If the content of a message seemed questionable, participants would request additional proof (such as images or who the source was); the following documents from the PMAN archive present such an exchange:

> "european parliament transmitted to moldavian authorities to start a dialog with the protesters" #pman (anti_impozit, 2009b)
>
> "#pman @anti_impozit publish also the source" (adyrip1, 2009)
>
> "source is voceabasarabiei #pman" (anti_impozit, 2009c)

To a certain degree, the authority of information collected in the PMAN archive was ensured by the participants contributing to and following the information exchange. The involvement of the participating community offers content creators a sense of control and authority over personal statements but also an opportunity to manage the content contributed by others through responses and comments in the same venue[24]. As seen in the PMAN archive, response and feedback to the veracity of information posted is immediate and made visible to the public. This information confirmation may not be characteristic of all collections of short documents produced but may also provide guidance on the scope of a short document collection and selecting what to collect (i. e. short documents with explicit provenance).

The other aspect of short document collections distinguished in the PMAN archive is the variety in languages used in contributions. Foreign language use can also be considered one of the many layers of information embedded in a short document necessary for preservation. The content of the messages from #PMAN archive was originally communicated in Romanian, English and occasionally Russian. While the majority of documents were in Romanian, the primary language spoken in Moldova, messages in English became increasingly prevalent as interest in the events grew. International media and the global community used English primarily to solicit information about the events while the protesters and supporters used it to inform international audiences about what was taking place; this message in Romanian was the first to explicitly call for participants to provide English translations to engage the greater community "#pman cine poate scri in engleza - scriti in engleza ca se alatura foarte multi!!!!" (bunelul, 2009). While communications in English were used to amplify the news about the events to larger audiences, communications in Romanian conveyed the emotional response and imparted more of the context and interpretations of the protest events.

[24] S. Bailey, *Managing the crowd: rethinking records management for the Web 2.0 world*, London, 2008.

Rather than being a barrier, multiple languages were consistently used in the production of short documents. As a means of fostering participation, Twitter participants would often translate those messages in Romanian into English. For example, @Moscovici offered timely translations of the microblog posts starting on the first day of protests in Chişinău[25]. When the announcement was made of the protesters breaking into the Presidential building, the Romanian message "Protestatarii intră în preşedinţie prin ferestrele sparte de la primul etaj #pman" (valeriu, 2009b) was seamlessly transcribed into English "@valeriu Protesters enter the Presidency building through broken windows #pman #alegeri"(olivine 2009b). Both the Romanian and English-translation messages were then re-posted and spread throughout the community, echoing the importance of foreign language in public communication.

Short documents are created in the global community of social media where local interest events now have international coverage. As witnessed in the PMAN archive, the response of international reporting resulted in short documents contributed in different languages which is a vital aspect to be mindful of in the formation and sustained maintenance of short document digital collections. Even with the presence of a dominant language, accounting for each dialect used in the collection provides a more cohesive presentation of the available information for future reference. This is important not only for discussion themes and topics that emerge from aggregated short documents but also in following how credibility of information posted is established through the communication space.

Conclusions

Characterized by few words or brief phrases, the rapid production and accumulation of digital short documents in the contemporary age of information communication offers a new type of document for archival collections of the 21st century. Short documents not only convey the thoughts, ideas, and opinions of a diverse and international community but also possess great potential for scholarly research in a variety of areas. For the archives, the preservation of these information sources introduces a new scale of sustainability as hybrid and digital collections become more prevalent. The analysis of digital microblog content from the PMAN archive of public reports from Twitter of election events in Moldova revealed distinctive attributes of short documents that contribute to their interpretation and understanding which should be retained for the long-term. These attributes consist of the overall complexity of a single short document, which contains numerous layers of embedded information and the aggregative power of multiple short documents to reveal collective and individual voices.

While short documents may not be a priority for preservation in most archives, it is important to be aware of their role as potential evidence of public

[25] Ellen Barry, *Protests in Moldova explode, with help of Twitter*, "The New York Times", 2009, April 8, A1 [= http://www.nytimes.com/2009/04/08/world/europe/08moldova.html]. [Accessed January 5, 2013.]

memory and the implications on collection planning, documentation, and policies if steps are taken to acquire them. The collection of short documents may stem from interest in specific individuals, events, or time periods. Keywords or hashtags (as seen with the PMAN archive) also serve as identifiers in gathering relevant documents from the vast amount of information transmitted but may be limited depending on their application and actual use within the digital community. The presence of hyperlinked content within the collection of short documents raises several points to consider in a collection plan: with documents including external URLs to various sites across the Web along with multimedia venues, there not only is a potential issue with the long-term persistence and availability of these links but the content posted may also be in violation of intellectual property rights making it difficult to preserve alongside the documented link. Even with viable external sites, decisions must be made regarding the amount of information that should be captured from these extended paths in order to complement the original document.

Providing appropriate documentation for short document collections offers a vital resource in building a contextual foundation for why and how a particular grouping of documents was obtained. The archival record for short documents will need to balance the amount of information that a single message encodes with the overall aggregative collection, which may be a challenge given the hundreds of thousands of documents that may compose a single collection. However, these records have direct implications on how short documents can be accessed and retrieved and the types of resources and services necessary to facilitate their use. As illustrated by the PMAN archive content, the presence of multiple languages necessitates the development of appropriate tools to work with the short documents. Building collaborations with partner institutions and projects provides a first step in cultivating fluency and maintaining infrastructure for born-digital collections as they continue to grow in size and complexity. Institutions such as the Library of Congress in the US or groups like Activist Archivists (http://activist-archivists.org/wp/?page_id=574) provide instruction and training for working with digital products in order for them to be discovered and used by future generations. Personal archiving efforts such as the PMAN archive will benefit greatly for these shared knowledge resources.

Not all short documents may exhibit the same sets of attributes observed in the PMAN archive but the variations in attributes are critical to building a common understanding for a new type of document and enhancing digital archiving practices. The composition of the archival record in the 21st century certainly differs from the record of the 19th century and will be transformed again in future generations. Nonetheless, it is through continual examination of our information landscape that we can further contribute to the advancement and preservation of memory institutions.

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Re-interpreting the Past: Shifting Perspectives from a Commercial Archival Fond in the Bulgarian Historical Archive

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Keywords: *Bulgarian Historical Archive*; *Balkan Commerce*; *Bulgarian Historiography*; *Bulgarian National Revival*; *Nationalism*; *Ottoman Rule*

This article offers a historiographical interpretation of an exceptionally rich personal archive; namely, fond Number 6: "*Tŭrgovska kŭshta* [Commercial Company] 'Khristo P. Tŭpchileshtov'", kept in *Bŭlgarski istoricheski arkhiv* (Bulgarian Historical Archive), *Narodna Biblioteka* (National Library) "Sv. Sv. Kiril i Metodiĭ" in Sofia. The analysis is organized around three issues: the biography of the archive's founder; the acquisition of the archive by the National Library; and the ways the archival material has been interpreted in the Bulgarian historiography. More specifically, I am discussing the ideological motivation behind the arrangement of the documents and their multiple uses in the historical studies during the interwar, socialist, and post-socialist periods. There is a paradoxical situation: the fond Number 6 is not only one of the biggest archival personal collections but also one of the least actually used archives. And yet, one of the most cited in Bulgarian historical research. Accordingly, the fond provides a window into more substantial historiographical issues. I am arguing that the way the fond was catalogued by its first archivist, predetermined the way it was interpreted in the subsequent historiography; namely, within the confines of a national narrative almost ignoring the ample information about the Ottoman, Balkan, and European context.

Khristo Tŭpchileshtov: a Self-made Merchant, Sarraf, and Entrepreneur

The business biography of Khristo Tŭpchileshtov (1808-1875) was quite representative for the merchants from Christian origin in the central part of the Balkans. He started his career as a craftsman – he was an *abacı* like his father, which means that he was engaged in production and trade of wool and cloths of rough woollen material. It is quite significant to mention it here because this was one of the major Balkan industries in the mountain villages of the time. Tŭpchileshtov followed a well-known pattern – he had established a commercial company within the family with his brother: The Tŭpchileshtov Brothers (1822-1851). Gradually, their trade grew up in geographical terms all over the European and Asian regions of the Ottoman Empire. They set up an office in the capital Istanbul (Constantinople, Tsarigrad) in 1838 and became *Avrupa Tuccarları* (European Merchants). Although later the two brothers separated, both continued to live there. Khristo Tŭpchileshtov established one of the biggest Bulgarian trading companies (1851-1895) in Istanbul, whose business life continued for twenty years after his death, run by his three sons. He expanded his trade and became a *sarraf* (banker) and a tax farmer, member of the rich and powerful multi-ethnic entrepreneurial milieu in the capital. His experiences captured a wealth of significant political, social, and economic changes in the Ottoman Balkans. Except from commerce and tax farming, Tŭpchileshtov was engaged in multiple social activities, such as support for Bulgarian education, newspapers and book publications. He also participated in the movement for Bulgarian autocephalous church, and left a huge archive.

The History of Fond Number 6: Tŭrgovska kŭshta "Khristo P. Tŭpchileshtov"

The archival fond number 6 consists of approximately 28,235 various documental units covering the period from the 1830s until the 1890s. According to the Bulgarian Historical Archive's Inventory, the documents comprise commercial correspondence in 26 copybooks in several languages; 58 ledgers and account books from 1848 - 1895, commercial contracts, bills of exchange, price lists, insurance notes, *berats* (imperial patent), and multiple petitions to the Ottoman government by municipalities and town councils, guilds, church boards, and individuals[1]. Most of these materials offer private, non-governmental perspectives on politics, economy, culture, and society through the eyes of social actors who belonged to different networks, with active connections all over Rumelia, Anatolia, Egypt, Russia, Austria, France, Britain, and even the USA.

In 1930, the Bulgarian Ministry of Education bought the archive for 1,300,000 leva from Tŭpchileshtov's younger son who moved to Sofia and became a Secretary to the Ministerial Council. The main argument for its acquisition at such a high price was that it contained documents of "national significance" about the Bulgarian socio-political and cultural history during the period called *Bŭlgarsko Vŭzrazhdane* (Bulgarian Revival, 18^{th}-19^{th} century[2]. The Bulgarian Historical Archive, known earlier as the Archival Section, was one of the first archives founded after the establishment of the Bulgarian Principality. In 1878, the Bulgarian National Library was instituted and almost immediately began accumulating archival collections from the preceding period of Ottoman rule. Thus, the Archival Section acquired the significance of national archive and functioned as such until the establishment of the State Archive in 1951[3].

Recently, in 1998, the Central State Archive obtained a small collection of documents (79 archival units) from heirs of the Tŭpchileshtov family; namely, fond

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[1] Konstantin Mutafov, *Arkhivŭt na Khristo Tŭpchileshtov*, "Bŭlgarska misŭl" 2 (1932), p. 132-139; *Inventaren opis na arkhivite sŭkhraniavani v Bŭlgarski istoricheski arkhiv* (ed. by Kirila Vŭzvŭzova-Karateodorova *et alii*), 1, Sofia, 1963, p. 39-62.

[2] For a recent revision of the conceptualization of the term, see Rumen Daskalov, *Kak se misli Bŭlgarskoto vŭzrazhdane*, Sofia, 2002; Aleksandŭr Vezenkov, *Ochevidno samo na prŭv pogled: 'Bŭlgarskoto vŭzrazhdane' kato otdelna epokha*, in *Balkanskiat XIX vek. Drugi prochiti* (ed. by Diana Mishkova), Sofia, 2006, p. 82-128 (87-89).

[3] http://www.nationallibrary.bg/cgi-bin/e-cms/vis/vis.pl?s=001&p=0122&g= (accessed on 2012, 31 July).

2066k: "Semeen fond Tŭpchileshtovi (1808-1893)"[4]. It consists mostly of correspondence and a few ledgers and has precious documents concerning the younger Tŭpchileshtov brother – Nikola, whose archive has been lost[5]. Although many of the documents have commercial character, the historical information about the founders of the archive pays attention to Khristo Tŭpchileshtov's public contributions and his commercial success is barely mentioned. This is an older pattern that was established when the bigger archival collection at the National Library was bought, an issue that I will discuss in the following paragraphs.

Konstantin Mutafov, the first archivist of the fond number 6 at the Bulgarian Historical Archive, arranged the documents in an order that reflected an ideological approach; more specifically, highlighting the founder's social, political, and national contributions to the Bulgarian National Revival. However, these claims about primacy of the documents of national, cultural, and ecclesiastical significance are not entirely true since the commercial documents prevail. Moreover, merchants constitute a group that transcended ethnic, social, linguistic, confessional, political, cultural, and geographical borders. Such archives offer informal views of an intermediary group employing various modes of communication with state bureaucracy, church, other social groups, and within itself. They have also another advantage of revealing contacts with a considerable number of correspondents. Thus, the archive discloses a much wider picture of traders of medium and smaller status, of their informal way of co-operation and simultaneous belonging to different networks. Along these lines, fond number 6 is a consummate example.

The purchase of the fond number 6 occurred 55 years after the death of its founder[6]. As mentioned previously, the Tŭpchileshtov family left Istanbul and moved back to Sofia in 1895 but sold the archive in 1930. In 1935, a detailed biography of Khristo Tŭpchileshtov was published. The biographer described the content and the number of the copybooks – 26, each of 500 pages, covering the period 1861-1875.[7] This information was corroborated and slightly corrected by a "Report by the Librarian-Archivist [*bibliotekar-urednik*] of the Archival Section K. Mutafov to the Director of the National Library in 1930."[8] Again, there were 26 copybooks listed but the lower chronological limit was pushed 11 years earlier -- 1850. As per the correspondence's content, he asserted that it was predominantly of "public character."[9] This is quite incorrect because the majority of copybooks contains

[4] http://www.archives.government.bg/1 (accessed on 2012, 25 November).

[5] Supposedly, a fire destroyed his archive. Ivan Shishmanov, *Konstantin G. Fotinov, negoviat zhivot i negovata deĭnost*, "Сборникъ за Народни, Умотворения, Наука и Книжнина" 11 (1894), p. 539.

[6] K. Mutafov, *Arkhivŭt na Khristo Tŭpchileshtov* cit., p. 132-139.

[7] Nikola Nachov, *Khristo P. Tŭpchileshtov. Zhivot i negovata obshtestvena deĭnost*, Sofia, 1935, p. 16-19.

[8] Bulgarian Historical Archive [hereafter, BIA-NBKM], f. 35, non-catalogued part, March 1931, p. 6. I am grateful to Keti Mircheva for this information.

[9] K. Mutafov, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

commercial correspondence[10]. A second body of documents consists of letters and petitions (around 12,000) addressed to Khristo Tŭpchileshtov, and a third group encompasses 57 ledgers and other accounting documents. After reading the detailed report by Mutafov, the Library Committee decided to buy the collection for 1,300,000 leva. Due to lack of funds, however, the Ministry of Education postponed the purchase[11]. Another report, written seven years later by Mutafov, included more documents, which suggests that in the meantime the money was found and the archive was bought between 1930 and 1937.

The emphasis in Mutafov's reports, presented to the Library's Director and Library's Committee, about the civic and national significance of the fond number 6 was not quite accurate for the following reasons. First, this is a huge massive of documents written in multiple languages with a variety of handwriting that could not be perused in such a short period. Second, and more importantly, one has to take into account the historical context in the 1930s; especially, within the countries that lost WWI, where nationalist ideologies and movements were on the rise expressing revanchist claims. Mutafov, as an expert who understood the uniqueness of the archive, tried to use this general mindset and overemphasized the patriotic value of the archival materials. Such line of thinking is articulated in an article of his, published in *Bŭlgarska misŭl,* where he wrote that the Tŭpchileshtov's archive represented a "quite valuable and all-encompassing history of the most important period of the Bulgarian national movement in the 19th century."[12] He had given a priority to *mahzars* (petitions) and letters from various Bulgarian municipalities (1856-1867) in order to highlight the ecclesiastical movement for autocephalous church, which included territories that at the time were not part of Bulgaria. In such a manner is organized the fond itself – these documents bear the first call numbers – and are the most often quoted documents in historical works. Mutafov also discussed the historical value of some documents that reinstated the tarnished reputation of some participants in recent events. Yet a close reading of his reports will not reveal anything of Tŭpchileshtov's economic significance or aspects of the socio-economic history during the second and third quarter of the 19th century. It was much later – 1963 -- that one can read about the multiple documents with economic value in the Library's Guide to the Archives. In addition, the number of the documents increased up to 28,235 archival units, comprising around 85,000 pages without counting 19 non-catalogued ledgers[13]. Although this is one of the most often-cited archives in the Bulgarian historical research, it was used not only partly but also partially, a topic to be discussed in the next section.

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[10] I have spent years working with this particular fond and consider that more than 2/3 of its content is commercial. Evguenia Davidova, *The Economic and Social Activity of the Tŭpchileshtov Brothers*, unpublished PhD, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Sofia, 1998.

[11] BIA-NBKM, f. 35, non-catalogued part, *Doklad na bibliotekaria-urednik na Arkhivnia otdel K. Mutafov do Direktora na Narodna biblioteka Sofia za izvŭrshenoto prez 1937 godina*, 1938, 10 January, p. 3.

[12] K. Mutafov, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

[13] *Inventaren opis* cit., p. 39-41.

The Historiographical Peregrinations of Fond Number 6

There is almost not a book that deals with the Bulgarian history of the 19th century that does not mention the name of the Tŭpchileshtov brothers. Below, I am addressing these writings in five thematic groups.

The first one encompasses biographical information, and among those works the previously mentioned biography by Nikola Nachov occupies a central position[14]. It belongs to a common hagiographic trend of the biographical genre at the time, which highlighted social, public, and cultural contributions to the Bulgarian nation. There were many contemporaries, still alive at the beginning of the 20th century who venerated the "ideal era" when merchants like "Kh. Tŭpchileshtov, G. Moravenov … competed with the other patriots in manifesting their patriotic deeds."[15] This romanticized version of the recent past was nurtured by the sober reality of the early years of institutional nation building and by a disappointment with the territorial losses from the Balkan and First World Wars.

A second set of works, including memoirs, is focused on the Bulgarian colony in Tsarigrad, and especially its leading position in the Bulgarian demands for autonomous church, education, and political representation[16]. All the writers who analysed the ecclesiastic struggles and the conflict with the Ecumenical Patriarchate include the Tŭpchileshtov brothers in their accounts[17]. In those works, however, the Tŭpchileshtovs are placed in the position of background to other activists. They are mentioned within various groups: Bulgarians in Constantinople, merchants, activists from Kalofer, and members of the ideological "parties" within the ecclesiastical movement. While most research highlights their patriotism many authors also discuss their moderate visions and pragmatism[18].

A third body of research deals with nineteenth-century socio-economic history. It is commonly accepted that the Ottoman Empire was gradually incorporated into the world economy, and its Balkan provinces paved the way[19].

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[14] N. Nachov, *op. cit.*, p. 234.

[15] S. S. Bobchev, *Predi 25 godini obnarodvaneto na pŭrvata mi publitsisticheska rabota*, "Bŭlgarska sbirka" 3 (1896), 3, p. 217.

[16] N. Nachov, *Tsarigrad kato kulturen tsentar na bŭlgarite do 1877 godina*, "Сборник на Българската Академия на Наукитe" 11 (1925), 1, p. 1-206; Evlogi Buzhashki, *Bŭlgarskata obshtina v Tsarigrad i politicheskite techenia v neia (1856-1868)*, "Izvestia na Bŭlgarskoto istorichesko druzhestvo" 37 (1985), p. 29-106; Plamen Bozhinov, *Tsarigradskite bŭlgari mezhdu reformite i revoliutsiata 1857-1877 g.*, Sofia, 2012.

[17] There is an extant literature on this issue. For a recent work, see Vera Boneva, *Bŭlgarskoto tsŭrkovnonatsionalno dvizhenie 1856-1870*, Sofia, 2010, who cites all the relevant research.

[18] For a recent research, see Ilia Todev, *D-r Stoian Chomakov (1819-1893). Zhivot, delo, potomtsi*, 1, Sofia, 2003.

[19] *The Ottoman Empire and the World Economy* (ed. by Huri Islamoğlu), Cambridge, 1987. Whereas early authors emphasized the impulses coming from the West, later scholars presented a more balanced picture of coexisting internal Ottoman economic development. Resat Kasaba, *The Ottoman Empire and the World Economy. The Nineteenth Century*, New York, 1988.

Many scholars from the Balkan successor-states did not participate in the debates about world-economy and processes of Ottoman peripheralization but seem to perceive trade as the main tool for the Balkan economic incorporation. The industrial boom in Western Europe turned the Ottoman provinces into both suppliers of raw materials for Europe and markets for European manufactured goods. Consequently, the Balkan merchants benefited from the change even more than the European traders and enjoyed an "unprecedented prosperity."[20] Researchers also emphasize the absence of Ottoman protectionist policy as reason for economic decline and saw the Bulgarian Revival as a process that had a "commercial" basis, which reflected the scope and size of the expanding trade with Europe than the development of agriculture and industry[21]. There are many works researching the Bulgarian commercial relations with the West, such as France (Khristo Gandev, Virginia Paskaleva) Austria (Virginia Paskaleva), England (Khristo Glushkov), etc., which mention the Tŭpchileshtov's company. More details about commerce and usury, as forms of capital accumulation, contains the monograph by Konstantin Kosev, where Khristo Tŭpchileshtov's business occupies quite a prominent place[22].

There are also works that analyse regional economic development or history of some urban centres. Earlier work in this field presents commerce in a "personal" way as accounts of local families engaged in trade. A classic example is Nikola Nachov's book about Kalofer, which contains 31 detailed prosopographies[23]. Again, the attention they paid was on local and national patriotic deeds than specific economic analysis. The newer research that focuses on local histories usually has a chapter on economy and trade[24].

Finally, a very few works are dedicated to specific commercial houses and merchants, and many of them mention the Tŭpchileshtov's company[25]. A variety of opinions exists about the material power of Bulgarian merchants. Some authors talk about their poverty others hyperbolized their prosperity. Indeed, the archival fond number 6 provides an ample evidence of both: economic affluence and impoverishment. More recent scholarship discusses Khristo Tŭpchileshtov as representative of the Bulgarian business and social elite[26].

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[20] Traian Stoianovich, *The Conquering Balkan Orthodox Merchant*, "Journal of Economic History" 20 (1960), 2 (June), p. 259.

[21] Krŭstio Manchev, *Istoria na balkanskite narodi*, Veliko Tŭrnovo, 1979, p. 44-45.

[22] Konstantin Kosev, *Za kapitalisticheskoto razvitie na bŭlgarskite zemi prez 60-te i 70-te godini na XIX vek*, Sofia, 1968.

[23] N. Nachov, *Kalofer v minaloto*, Sofia, 1990, p. 356-514. A few prominent exceptions were: Mosko Moskov, *Minaloto i bŭdeshteto na V. Tŭrnovo v ikonomichesko otnoshenie*, Veliko Tŭrnovo, 1910; Simeon Tabakov, *Opit za istoria na grad Sliven*, 1-3, Sofia, 1911-1929; Petŭr Tsonchev, *Iz stopanskoto minalo na Gabrovo*, Sofia, 1996; Iurdan Trifonov, *Istoria na grada Pleven do Osvoboditelnata voĭna*, Sofia, 1933.

[24] *Istoria na grad Tolbukhin* (ed. by Evlogi Buzhashki), Sofia, 1968; Simeon Damianov, *Lomskiat kraĭ prez Vŭzrazhdaneto. Ikonomicheski zhivot i politicheski borbi*, Sofia, 1967; Mikhail Grŭncharov, *Pleven i Plevenskiat krai prez Vŭzrazhdaneto*, Sofia, 1989.

[25] Ev. Davidova, *A Centre in the Periphery: Merchants during the Ottoman Period in Modern Bulgarian Historiography*, "Journal of European Economic History" 31 (2002), 3, p. 663-685.

[26] Svetla Ianeva, *Bŭlgari otkupvachi na danŭtsi vŭv fiskalnata sistema na osmanskata imperia.*

Conclusion

In conclusion, one has the impression that a Bulgarian-centric and parochial approach dominates the Bulgarian historiography. As Maria Todorova has mentioned, the provincialism of the Bulgarian historiography was shared by the other Balkan historiographies as well. Moreover, the neglect of the Ottoman Empire is concealed by European parallels, which allow for distancing from the "Asian backwardness."[27] Yet the prevailing view in national historiographies that the Turks (Muslims) avoided trade and were involved mostly in bureaucracy is brought into question by a plethora of documents in fond number 6. Moreover, many primary sources manifest a high level of economic multi-ethnic collaborations. The economic stimuli of the huge Ottoman markets and the cosmopolitan city culture created an amalgam of concurrent support and opposition to nationalist movements and ideologies[28].

There is continuity within the Bulgarian historiography expressed in the narrow way the rich archival materials, preserved in fond number 6 and other archival collections, are interpreted. This approach was established in the interwar period with the acquisition of the fond and its classification, which privileged the patriotic social deeds over the economic massive of information. In the socialist era, when the Marxist historiography paid special attention to class formation and transition from feudalism to capitalism, the economic value of fond number 6 was elevated; in the post-socialist period scholars who work in the field of socio-economic history still use unevenly the fond while it continues to be copiously quoted in research on cultural history. The new element is that some researchers began to leave the parochial confines of the national narrative and place the Bulgarian history within the broader Balkan and Ottoman framework. Fond number 6 is one of those archival collections that encapsulates and to some extent is instrumental to this transition to broader questions and contexts.

Kŭm istoriata na bŭlgarskia delovi i sotsialen elit prez XIX vek, Sofia, 2011.

[27] Maria Todorova, *Bulgarian Historical Writing on the Ottoman Empire*, "New Perspectives on Turkey" 12 (Spring 1995), p. 97-119; Eadem, *The Ottoman Legacy in the Balkans*, in *Imperial Legacy. The Ottoman Imprint on the Balkans and the Middle East* (ed. by L. C. Brown), New York, 1996, p. 45-78.

[28] Ev. Davidova, *Balkan Transitions to Modernity and Nation-States through the Eyes of Three Generations of Merchants (1780s-1890s)*, Leiden-Boston, 2013.

Using Local Archives for a Historical Reevaluation of Socialism. Examples of Bankrupted Factories' Collections and Rehabilitation Processes in Čačak Region (Serbia)

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Keywords: *Local Archives*; *Serbia*; *Labour History*; *Factories*; *Rehabilitation Process*; *Historical Revisionism*

Together with all discontinuities and radical shifts brought about by the demise of the socialist self-management economy and the violent breakup of Yugoslavia, some brand new challenges were put before archival service in its countries-successors as well[*]. The most far-reaching novelty for functioning of these countries' archival institutions was the acquisition of enormous quantities of defunct socialist economic organisations' records (documentation of bankrupted factories, shopping chains, agricultural unions etc), which filled (and sometimes literally overfilled) local archives' repositories. Apart from them being kept for their historical importance, these records also have a practical significance, serving for workers' retirement regulation. On the other hand, the rehabilitation of anticommunist fighters from the Second World War revamped public interest in previously mostly unavailable or scarcely used documentation on war victims and post-war trials, as well as the culture of remembrance. The political context of an overarching post-authoritarian transformation gave these collections a markedly new meaning and multifacetedly affected archival practice in Serbia, redefining the notion of a daily utilised "living" or "current" archive (*živa/tekuća arhiva*) as the main link between record-keeping institutions and everyday needs of the citizenry.

With examples from the Regional Historical Archives of Čačak[1], I will explicate the changing role of local archives in Serbia, coming into effect with the accession of state factories' collections and the introduction of rehabilitation processes. Although these two spheres of archival work may at first seem mutually rather detached (one pertaining to the demise of the socialist economy, another to the revision of the post-1945 historical paradigm), what they have in common is their potential for contributing to a far-reaching historical reevaluation of socialism from

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[*] I would like to extend my sincere gratitude to my colleagues from Čačak Archives (especially Milomirka Adžić, Goran Davidović, Jasminka Knežević and Lela Pavlović), who kindly shared their immense knowledge and experience in archival practice, without which I would not be able to complete this paper.

[1] Regional Historical Archives of the City of Čačak and Municipalities of Gornji Milanovac and Lučani *(Međuopštinski istorijski arhiv za grad Čačak i opštine Gornji Milanovac i Lučani*), founded in Čačak in 1948, is responsible for collecting, depositing and processing archival records of state administration, political, economic and civic organisations from the territory of Serbian municipalities Čačak, Gornji Milanovac and Lučani. See Vitomir Vasilić, *Arhiv u Čačku 1948-2003*, Čačak, 2003, p. 37-53.

the micro-historical perspective. At the same time, these new archival activities reinvigorated public interest in local archival holdings, introducing peculiar new tasks for Serbian archivists. Although examples described and analysed in this article stem from mine and my colleagues' work at the Čačak Archives, practically all these notions can be applied to other Serbian archives (especially those with regional territorial jurisdiction) as well, due to common functional features of all local archives in Serbia. It would also be beneficial if experiences highlighted here would be put into a wider post-socialist context, in order to formulate more efficient ways to boost the local-level labour history research, as well as to reconfigure the position of historiography in the collective processing of the society's authoritarian past.

Research potential of bankrupted economic enterprises' collections

The restructuring of Serbian economy since the early 1990s, defined by a severe hyperinflation, wars, foreign embargo and a proliferation of black market, brought numerous formerly successful socialist economic enterprises (many of which had been praised by communist politicians as "economic giants") to bankruptcy, failed privatisation procedures and pauperisation of workforce. Upon their closing, according to the Serbian Law on Cultural Goods,[2] the vast documentation of these economic bodies comes under the local archival institutions' custody, partially as a historical testimony (to be kept permanently) and partially as operational documentation, standing at the disposal of former workers and state pension funds for regulating welfare affairs (kept for a limited time period). While local archives in Serbia normally undertake the accession of public administration and local state-owned economic enterprises' records only after the expiration of a temporal threshold of 30 years, in case of factories and other production facilities gone bankrupt (*stečaj*), the documents' accession to local archives follows immediately after the Economic Court has initiated a bankruptcy procedure (*stečajni postupak*) for the respective facility. The factory would then surrender all records not directly connected to the ongoing legal procedures to the relevant archive, while the subsequently released documentation (usually pertaining to the bankruptcy process itself) would consecutively be transferred from the Economic Court.

Year	Accessed collections	Quantity (meters)
1993	1	2.00
1995	1	2.10
2002	1	14.00
2003	1	20.90
2004	6	104.60
2005	7	146.85
2006	8	84.60
2007	10	81.10
2008	6	16.05
2009	12	130.40

[2] *Zakon o kulturnim dobrima*, "Službeni glasnik RS", 1994, p. 71.

2010	4	29.65
2011	2	18.90
2012	2	11.90
2013	9	6.20
Total	**70**	**669.25**

Table: Quantity of bankrupted facilities' records, accessed by the Archives of Čačak[3]

The bankrupted factories' collections represent the core of the "living archive" and are the most frequently requested documentation in Serbian local archives. Individual clients, that is, former workers of factories, ask for certified copies of their income cards, insurance registrars and other documents required for regulating their retirement status and health and social welfare benefits. Such requests also come from the Pension and Disability Insurance Fund (*Fond za penzijsko i invalidsko osiguranje*), when it lacks certain insurance-related documents for processing former workers' pension requests. If the Fund's documentation proves incomplete, local archives are the only remaining place where the evidence of workers' pension rights can be collected. Simultaneously, weeding the factories' collections and processing workers' and Fund's requests has become one of the prime daily activities of Serbian archivists, due to an overwhelming number of state-owned factories gone bankrupt during the last two decades. To illustrate the great importance of these collections for local citizens, the Archive of Čačak received 271 requests for completing the retirement documentation in 2009, whereas this number rose to 450 in 2011 and 488 in 2012[4]. A further proliferation of these requests is expected in the following years, when the majority of this workforce generation reaches the legal retirement age.

State-owned factories' documents potentially offer an invaluable source for labour history researchers. The biggest strength of these documentary holdings is their inventorial comprehensiveness and content uniformity in covering all aspects of enterprises' internal structure, production organisation, many features of everyday life and working environment, as well as of social and demographic structure of workforce and its interpersonal dynamics. What makes the utilisation of such collections much easier for researchers is the fact that in most cases, these documents had been classified into serially organised systematised units already prior to the transfer to archives. These categories mostly follow the respective documentation's functional purpose in the factory's life (i. e., founding documentation and legal registration, production projects, judiciary affairs, tax payments, yearly accounts, worker's personal files, income cards, bankruptcy documentation etc). Within these categories, documents were usually sorted in a chronological order (by years, or in case of income cards also by months), or by a name index (this qualifies for workers' files and individual projects and contracts), which represents a vast help in archival arranging and potential research. It must be noted, however, that not every economic

[3] The Accession Book of the Regional Historical Archives of Čačak.

[4] Yearly work reports and Book of clients' requests of the Regional Historical Archives of Čačak.

facility provided satisfactory conditions for storing their documentation. Thus, in some cases, records were accessed in a damaged state (damage having been most often inflicted by mold or rodents), especially when the facility's premises had been abandoned for a longer time period, or the accessed documentation was incomplete due to incompetent office administrators.

Merely a superficial look over bankrupt factories' holdings reveals an enormous potential for using these documents in labour and social history research. Income cards could serve as an irreplaceable source for compiling data concerning the workers' living standard and economic status of different professions (as well as income fluctuations from a diachronic perspective). Workers' personal files can offer a particularly interesting quantitative historical insight, as their serial character makes them a potentially prime source for establishing different types of workforce structures (gender, age, social/educational background, geographical, rural/urban residence, membership in League of Communists, trade unions and various factory bodies) and data series (length of employment, professional mobility within the enterprise, frequency and length of paid/unpaid/maternity/sick leaves, medical records etc).

Certain collections we have personally processed contain some unique exemplary holdings (which can well be present in other collections still to be processed) that could help reconstruct the vivid internal relations within the workforce, as well as the everyday networks of cooperation, conflict and conformism between the different strata of workers in the Yugoslav self-management. For instance, workers' personal files of the Agricultural Community *Bresnica* offer an illuminating insight into the spread of alcoholism among peasants, often resulting in verbal (sometimes even physical) encounters with the administration, as well as in damaging the Community's costly agricultural machinery through traffic accidents and deliberate abuse. The 1980 war plan of the same agricultural facility reveals paranoid preparations for a supposedly imminent foreign invasion, in light of Tito's death. Other enterprises noted diligently in their judiciary documentation on all sorts of disciplinary dealings with workers, such as the seamstresses of the *1. oktobar* textile industry stealing threads and cloths in order to sew their personal dresses, or a worker of *Ishrana* factory earning four months in prison for forging her primary school diploma. On another note, some personal files series, such as that of the aforementioned *1. oktobar* factory, reveal a peculiar and otherwise unknown temporary migratory movement of Albanian textile workers from Kosovo to Čačak, due to the factory's developed business networks in the southern Serbian province. Medical examination records and health cards testify to the frequency of injuries and grim working conditions in more strenuous jobs, whereas project databases and technical documentation offers a detailed overview of the production development, (un)fulfillment of production plans and the geographical extent of cooperation and distribution networks. Another very interesting insight into the Yugoslav self-management's social networking practices can be seen from the minutes of trade union and workers' council meetings. What strikes most in these minutes is the phenomenon of nepotism among workers, as it was not uncommon that whole families were (intentionally) employed by the same company, leading to many paradigmatic situations. These several examples are but a small fraction of potentially very fruitful topics potentially explored through this sort of historical sources.

However, the downside of the collections whose large part is oriented towards pension regulation is their partially ephemeral character. It means that many series within these collections are not classified as archival records (*arhivska građa*; defined as the original or reproduced documentary material created by individuals or organisations, possessing a lasting historical, social or cultural significance), but as documentary materials (*registraturski materijal*; original or reproduced documents created by an organisation during its functioning, having a temporally limited operational function for which they have to be deposited, according to the Law on Cultural Goods). Consequently, documentary materials are deposited only for a limited time period, until their operational function (in this case, regulation of pension benefits) expires. The depository threshold for these materials is established through the "List of Categories of the Documentary Materials with Depository Periods" (*Lista kategorija registraturskog materijala sa rokovima čuvanja*). Such lists are compiled as official documents, and according to the Law on Cultural Goods, they had to be issued by every institution or facility producing documentary materials, These lists are supposed to direct the disposal of unnecessary and outdated records and improve the organisations' administrative functioning (in reality, many economic subjects, both during socialism and afterwards, did not and do not have such lists issued, despite the relevant legislature). Depository periods for certain types of documents (i. e., registration papers, book accounting, public acquisition contracts, VAT accounts etc) are established uniformly through the pertaining laws[5] (meaning that every depository institution has to conform to them). For other categories, only a minimum requirement is prescribed (if at all) by law, whereas record-producing and record-keeping institutions themselves set the depository period or make it permanent. In such cases, the factories create their List of Categories proposal, to be implemented only after the local archive's approval[6]. In practice, however, bankrupted enterprises simply adopt the Lists suggested by the relevant archival institution.

The ephemeral character of many series within these collections presents the biggest problem when it comes to making them available to researchers. Already during the preliminary culling process, archivists are supposed to dispose of many potentially valuable categories of documents (i. e., vacation lists, medical records, non-criminal disciplinary proceedings, workers' personal documents kept in their files, individual employees' professional mobility track records, expired contracts, internal correspondence, certain trade union documents, etc). These series, which at first might seem an unworthy or only temporarily valuable documentary material, might still in future come to represent unique sources of historical knowledge, in

[5] *Zakon o kulturnim dobrima* cit.; *Zakon o računovodstvu i reviziji*, "Službeni glasnik RS", 2006, p. 46; *Zakon o javnim nabavkama*, "Službeni glasnik RS", 2012, p. 124.

[6] *Lista kategorija registraturskog materijala sa rokovima čuvanja. Exemplary Sample,* Regional Historical Archives of Čačak, 2012.

light of the diversification of research topics and methodologies in humanities. Naturally, the biased inclination of historians towards preserving the complete documentary material is virtually impossible to be satisfied, since most local archives in Serbia have severe problems with lack of depository space, and hence have to resort to culling procedure, in accordance with the pertaining List of Categories. In their everyday weeding practice, archivists sometimes attempt to alleviate the depository thresholds by keeping certain categories longer than prescribed by the List, although this is mostly done for practical purposes (in case a client turns up requesting these papers even after the repository limit has expired), rather than out of a genuine item-level appraisal or consideration of future historical research. Thus, valuable sources for social history of the Yugoslav self-management are sometimes lost to potential researchers, despite all efforts to harmonise the Lists with the ever-expanding interests of historical research. Particularly troublesome is the fact that exactly these ephemeral categories usually contain some of the more "insider-perspective" documents, which would be an irreplaceable help for studying the history of Yugoslav socialism "from below".

Apart from their frequent incompleteness, another obstacle for utilising the socialist factories' records is the obligation to secure the protection of personal and confidential data contained within these documents. This pertains especially to personal workers' files, medical records and disciplinary proceedings, whose publication, for apparent reasons, could harm the persons to which these data refer. This problem is only partially and implicitly regulated by the Law on Protection of Personal Data (Article 6), which proscribes that the data "acquired and processed for other purposes can be used exclusively for historical, statistical, or scientific-investigatory purposes, unless they serve for issuing decisions or undertaking measures towards certain individuals."[7] Such formulation practically enables the usage of personal files' data for impersonal statistical data analysis, whereas citation and investigation of individual cases would have to undergo a stricter control, i.e. by omitting all personal, legal and geographical names mentioned in the documents. Such ethical dilemmas are not a new thing in historiography (especially in former socialist countries which opened their secret service archives, the issue of personal data protection and censoring the revealing of individuals' (mostly informants') identities is particularly aching), but certainly complicate the efforts to utilise the socialist enterprises' collections to their full extent. This represents just another dimension of the conflict between the professional needs of historians on the one hand, and on the other hand, the right to privacy of persons being the object of historical studies.

Nevertheless, despite the often unsuitable weeding practice and still unresolved data protection issues, the socialist economic facilities' collections still represent an inimitable source for investigating labour history of socialism from a local perspective. Due to their "premature" acquisition by the archives, the 30-year access threshold is not supposed to apply to bankrupt factories' documents (unless the respective enterprise's executive board issues certain restriction, which is quite a

[7] *Zakon o zaštiti podataka o ličnosti*, "Službeni glasnik RS", 2008, p. 97.

rare occurrence). However, at least from the experience from the Archive in Čačak, not a single researcher has yet shown intent on using data from this rich documentation (although it must be noted that these collections were acquired fairly recently, so they can still be expected to come into spotlight). Existence of such rich social history data collections holds a very promising potential for Serbian historiography, as the local-level social history research has for a long time been neglected, if not considered a practice ground for non-historians, whereas the preferred "grand" state-level historical narratives often lacked the micro-perspective of such small-scaled objects of scrutiny. However, when this interest starts to pick up, local factories' collections will be invaluable in this endeavour. Raising historians' awareness of labour-oriented collections' research possibilities should also become an intrinsic part of the archival interaction with the academic community. In order to additionally preserve the data completeness and accessibility of factories' collections, a better compromise between ever-branching needs of historical research and realistic limitations of archival depository space has to be found, as well as to further regulate and specify personal data protection policies, in a way that will be of most benefit to future researchers and former workers alike.

Between rehabilitation and historical revisionism

In 2004, Serbian parliament issued a Law on Amendments and Annexes to the Law on Rights of Warriors, Military Disabled and Their Families, which ascribed all benefits previously enjoyed only by members of the communist partisan army during the Second World War to members of the Yugoslav Army in Homeland (*Jugoslovenska vojska u otadžbini*, JVuO, colloquially referred to as *četnici*) as well. Article 1 of this amendment recognised everyone who fought in their ranks from 17th April 1941 till 15th May 1945 as JVuO fighters (practically during the whole war), while those who joined them in 1941 (the year when *četnici* and partisans fought together against the Nazis) were also eligible for the newly established "Ravnogorska plaque 1941" (*Ravnogorska spomenica 1941.*), a sort of an equivalent to the plaque of honour *Partizanska spomenica 1941.*, previously awarded to partisan war heroes (Articles 2 and 3). This law also foresaw that such newly recognised members of the National Liberation Struggle would be entitled to the same pension and welfare benefits as those who had enjoyed it before 2004 (Articles 13 and 15)[8].

The Law on Rehabilitation was issued twice after the democratic changes in 2000. The 2006 law defined conditions for rehabilitation of residents of Serbia who had been "deprived of life, freedom or other rights out of political or ideological reasons from 6th April 1941 [emphasis mine: the day of commencement of the Second World War in Yugoslavia] until the day of the Law's enforcement" (Article 1). According to this law, legal requests for rehabilitation were exempted from a temporal statute of limitations (Article 2)[9]. The new Law on Rehabilitation, issued in 2011, foresaw rehabilitation of Serbian residents and citizens alike (including those

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[5] *Zakon o izmenama i dopunama Zakona o pravima boraca, vojnih invalida i članova njihovih porodica*, "Službeni glasnik RS", 2004, p. 137.
[6] *Zakon o rehabilitaciji*, "Službeni glasnik RS", 2006, p. 33.

convicted in other Yugoslav republics) without a *terminus post quem*. Religious and national reasons were added to eligible grounds for persecution (Article 1), whereas a five-year statute of limitations for submitting rehabilitation requests (starting from the Law's issuing date) was also introduced (Article 9)[10]. Rehabilitation processes, apart from their ethical and historical significance, had a direct material implication as well, as an approved rehabilitation request was a prerequisite for claimants to submit restitution requests for property confiscated by the socialist authorities upon the conviction[11].

Officially awarding *četnici* with the same legal status and rights as partisan fighters expectedly led to a vehement public debate, in connection to the ambivalent attitude of the *četnik* movement towards the antifascist guerilla struggle and their collaboration with the Nazis[12]. Not only did this legislation (particularly in regards to the still-ongoing rehabilitation case of general Dragoljub Mihailović, the iconised JVuO commander-in-chief) mobilise a severe opposition by leftist politicians and members of the Union of Organisations of Fighters in the National Liberation Struggle (*Savez udruženja boraca Narodno-oslobodilačkih ratova*, SUBNOR), but it also opened a deep divide amongst Serbian historians. Whereas one camp saw this measure as a long-overdue "national reconciliation" of all Serbs and a welcome discontinuity with the totalitarian past, others perceived it as a pure historical revisionism, aimed at relativising the antifascist legacy of Tito's army and anachronously exonerating Serbian nationalist sentiments of the 1990s. This debate eventually spilled out onto the arena of school textbooks, culture of remembrance and ideological confrontations between various political parties as well[13]. Such a polarising and politicised revision of historical memory was hardly unique to post-

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[7] *Zakon o rehabilitaciji*, "Službeni glasnik RS", 2011, p. 92.

[8] The issue of property restitution in Serbia has not been solved in a satisfactory manner yet, and dealing with citizens' restitution requests represents another important aspect of local archives' activities. However, this problem will not be discussed in this paper.

[9] JVuO undertook a rebellion against German occupation as early as in May 1941, fighting together with partisans until their ideological split in November 1941. Simultaneously focused on sparing ethnic Serbs from open confrontations with Nazis and preventing communists from executing a socialist revolution, many *četnik* units entered into a tacit collaboration with the Nazi regime, whereas some JVuO commanders ordered severe reprisals against Moslem civilians in Bosnia and Sandžak. Still, *četnici* were supported and praised by the Allies all along until the summer of 1944, when the Allied support finally shifted to partisan movement only, due to latter's exquisite results on the warfield, as well as their pan-Yugoslav ideology, rid of the greater Serbian nationalism. See Branko Petranović, *Strategija Draže Mihailovića 1941-1945.*, Belgrade, 2000; see also Mari Žanin Čalić, *Istorija Jugoslavije u 20. veku*, Belgrade, 2013, p. 181-191.

[10] For some examples of this debate see: Todor Kuljić, *Anti-antifašizam*, "Godišnjak za društvenu istoriju" 1-3 (2005), p. 171-184; Gojko Lazarev, *Zakon o rehabilitaciji – dve godine kasnije*, "Hereticus" 2 (2008), p. 71-83; Kosta Nikolić & Bojan B. Dimitrijević, *General Dragoljub Mihailović 1893-1946.*, Belgrade, 2011; Srđan Milošević, *Istorija pred sudom. Interpretacija prošlosti i pravni aspekti u rehabilitaciji kneza Pavla Karađorđevića*, Belgrade, 2013; Dubravka Stojanović, *Ulje na vodi. Ogledi iz istorije sadašnjosti Srbije*, Belgrade, 2010, p. 85-158; Vesna Rakić-Vodinelić, *Rehabilitacija D. Mihailovića kao političko suđenje*, "Peščanik", 2012, 1 April [= http://pescanik.net/2012/04/rehabilitacija-d-mihailovica-kao-politicko-sudenje/] [accessed on 2013, 22 November].

socialist Serbia, yet the legislation endorsing the concept of "two antifascist movements" had a peculiar effect on the role of archival institutions in public life. Just like with the acquisition of bankrupted socialist enterprises' records, the rehabilitation wave gave them a distinctly new role, implicitly involving archivists in wider controversies concerning the reevaluation of Yugoslav past and politicisation of the (post)socialist historiography.

The laws on rights of warriors and on rehabilitation provided the basis for citizens' rehabilitation requests, as well as for acquiring "Liberation Struggle fighter" pension benefits. Claimants in these requests can be persons convicted by the communist regime, their legal descendants, or the court itself. In order to submit a request, certified copies of every available legal proceeding document, court judgment and other relevant documents pertaining to the respective person need to be collected by claimants. As these verdicts were most often ruled by the county courts, it means that citizens need to address relevant local archives to collect these documents, should they not possess them in their family documentation (which is very seldom the case). When the whole documentation stems from the archive, an official certificate, containing all necessary information from available documents, is issued for use in court. If the client needs only to complete his or her documentation, the archive provides him or her with relevant documents' certified copies. Unfortunately, as requests concerning rehabilitation and restitution are filed together in the archival books, it is difficult to establish a precise number of rehabilitation requests per year. However, this number usually approximates 150 a year for the archive in Čačak (to illustrate this, in the first eight months of 2013, 46 certificates were issued, while additional documents were provided for 24 more cases).

In the first years of rehabilitation processes, when citizens or the County Court would request documentation pertaining to a particular case from the Čačak Archive, it was often very difficult to find satisfactory evidence which would prove that the person in question was executed or convicted without an official verdict or contrary to the principles of a lawful state. The reason for that was that the court records from this period were transferred under the archive's custody only in 2012. Until then, main sources had been official lists of victims of war (compiled during the socialist times), camp inmates' registrars, memoirs, secondary literature etc, which often did not offer solid or sufficient evidence. As of January 2013, 148 requests were positively judged by the Čačak County Court, most of them pertaining to convicted *četnik* fighters (even though the aforementioned laws practically applied rehabilitation rights to many other groups oppressed by communists, such as political opponents or peasant smugglers)[14].

Although the task of processing rehabilitation requests has become by and large easier upon acquiring the official court documentation, there have still been some peculiar situations in which court requests clearly defy sound logic and archivists' primary responsibilities. Such were many cases where the court would not only ask for documentary evidence that a certain individual, killed in skirmish with partisans during the war, was convicted without a proper trial, but would also require

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[14] Gvozden Otašević, *Rehabilitovana i prva partizanka*, "Politika", Belgrade, 2013, 16 January.

that the archive as an institution formulates an expert opinion on whether the partisan army was legally entitled to issue a death penalty. Often the court would also ask for an expert opinion on who was the "official power structure" at the moment of the respective murder or trial, and whether the Republic of Serbia is a legal successor of this power structure. Such practice proves to be dubious and illogical on several levels. It is only with great vagueness that random executions during war operations could be considered as "death penalties without a proper trial" and inflicted "for political or ideological reasons," thus making them eligible for rehabilitation procedure. On the other hand, it also puts archives in an uncomfortable position to participate in a very controversial debate concerning the character of the partisan movement and the supposed continuity between the legal system of Kingdom of Yugoslavia (hardly democratic in its own way), military reprisals during the war and the post-revolutionary justice of 1944/45.

When the identification of the power-holder at certain point in time during the war is concerned, different answers can have multifold and far-reaching consequences. In the case of Čačak region, the state structure was the Kingdom of Yugoslavia until the capitulation was signed on 17th April 1941, when the German occupational power was introduced (executed through the quisling state apparatus, led by general Milan Nedić). However, simultaneously with the quisling regime, the Royal Government in Exile operated in London, still officially recognised by the Allies. In autumn 1941, both partisans and JVuO exercised authority for a short while, although according to the 3rd Geneva Convention, they could even be considered as rebellious (illegal) authority (that would, however, imply the annulment of the rehabilitation law and more importantly, the whole era's antifascist legacy). The communist formation of the Yugoslav federation in late 1943 introduced yet another competing power structure. On another hand, if the legal continuity between the quisling wartime government and the contemporary Republic of Serbia is implied (even in the legally unbinding expert opinion of local archivists), heavy consequences of such recognition would have to be taken in account, most importantly the issue of the responsibility for the racially inspired crimes of Nedić's regime. Responsibility of such magnitude definitely lies out of the archivists' professional prerogatives.

In some instances, judges deemed the submitted historical records and previous judicial documentation to be insufficiently comprehensible to be considered a reliable evidence. Hence, they invited historians from our archive to testify as court experts, explain the available archival documents and put them in a historical context, so that the judge could rule if there were grounds for the respective claimants' rehabilitation. To use just one example, the County Court of Čačak invited a historian from the Archives of Čačak to clarify whether the prewar principal of the local high school, Kosta Mihailović, was a member of the Nazi-improvised court operating at the Military-Technical Centre. The invited "expert" concluded upon the available documentation that Mihailović could not be a part of the occupiers' judicial structures, and such evaluation paved the way for the court approving this rehabilitation request.

In summer of 2012, rehabilitation practice took a wholly new and unexpected turn, which has additionally complicated and politicised the whole affair. Namely, since then, several archives in Serbia (according to internal conversations, the archive in Čačak seems to lead in this respect for some reason) started getting rehabilitation requests for persons who were killed during the Second World War as members or supporters of the partisan movement. The perpetrators in these cases were usually *četnici* or fascist forces, but sometimes also undisciplined partisan units. Although these requests were officially submitted by victims' families, it was revealed that they had first been encouraged to such step by local SUBNOR branches which, being an organisation and not an individual claimant, could not legally file rehabilitation requests. From July 2012 till January 2013, 102 such requests were filed on the territory under the jurisdiction of the Higher Court in Čačak. The first person to be rehabilitated was Roksanda Lišančić, murdered in 1943 in the village of Atenica, whom this court declared a "victim of terror and violence by *četnik* forces, for ideological and political reasons"[15] (it has to be noted that the Supreme Court has annulled this rehabilitation in the meantime, thus making the legal justification of such requests even more dubious).

It is interesting to note that in these cases, the public prosecutor's office, acting as a defendant on behalf of Republic of Serbia, failed to justify the claim that the right to rehabilitation belonged only to persons "considered fighters of Liberation Struggle" and not to "Liberation Struggle fighters whom this right had never been questioned." The court, however, decided that the rehabilitation right applies to everyone who was tortured or killed out of political, religious, national or ideological reasons without a judicial or administrative verdict, ignoring the fact that most families of partisan fighters and supporters killed during the war had already been granted many benefits during socialism (our archivists diligently provided historical proof of these benefits, which ranged from financial help, special pensions, preferential ranking in education and job-seeking, registration as the "victim of the fascist terror " to building monuments and memorials). Currently, there are around 140 rehabilitation cases being processed by the Higher Court in Čačak, most of them being partisan fighters or supporters murdered by *četnici*[16]. It is curious that the main source for these requests are "surveys of fallen fighters," compiled precisely by SUBNOR after the war. One can only speculate on the motives behind this new wave of "counter-rehabilitation", yet both public statements of SUBNOR officials and informal suggestions by local politicians hint that it was a sort of an "equalising measure", aimed at putting a halt to the post-1990s revision of history. Such a scenario is definitely plausible, bearing in mind that parties which opposed rehabilitation of JVuO from the outset have now one of the most influential political factions in Serbia.

On another note, a similarly dubious practice has been noticed during some of the processes. As the 2011 Law on Rehabilitation replaced a three-person court chamber from the 2006 Law with a single judge (Article 10), the outcome of the

[11] *Ibidem.*
[12] *Ibidem.*

process now apparently depends largely on the judge's personal views on the rehabilitation phenomenon. Thus, in some cases, the judge would selectively choose the documentation submitted by the archives, including into expert evidence only those documents in favour of (or against, depending on the judge's preference) rehabilitation, simultaneously completely dismissing equally authentic historical records not corresponding to the judge's respective preconception. On another hand, sometimes the plaintiffs themselves, if they were the ones obtaining the documentation from the archive, tended to selectively submit papers to the court, concealing the existence of historical records potentially proving their relatives ineligible for rehabilitation. Such occurrences urged the Archive staff to start specifying in certificates how many pages were submitted for evidentiary, with precise signatures of each page, in order to "urge" judges and plaintiffs to include the available evidence material in full.

The aforementioned examples testify to a completely new role for Serbian archivists, especially historians working in the archives, namely them becoming directly involved in legal processes and influencing final verdicts with their historical judgment. Thus, Serbian archival institutions not only started to provide documentary basis for rehabilitation processes, but also to participate in a peculiarly entwined relationship between historical revisionism, transitional justice and political reconfiguration of Serbia. In light of already mentioned vehement public debates about rehabilitation processes, it is indeed questionable how the practice of "historians in courtrooms" can contribute to a fruitful and scientifically objective reevaluation of the socialist past. This question is especially acute as the available documentation often proves too scarce and vague, so the historian-expert's own opinion on the rehabilitation's (un)justification (potentially biased and based on non-scientific subjective grounds) can greatly influence the court's decisions.

The official aim of rehabilitation laws was to overcome and rectify the authoritarian and undemocratic political legacy of socialism. However, one of the implications of this legislation was also that a monarchist and staunchly nationalist *četnik* movement was, legally speaking, equalised with partisans, thus appeasing the nationalist sentiments present in Serbian political discourse since the 1990s. Such legislative measures, in light of the demise of socialism and Yugoslav federation, had repercussions on wider debates concerning the historical revisionism, as well as on the relativisation of antifascism in the circumstances of revamped right-wing ideologies. However, another important side effect of this process was the reinvigorated public interest in local archives and their holdings. Documents concerning convictions, executions and trials during and after the socialist revolution, previously used mostly for a scarce historical research, suddenly received a totally new kind of attention, namely that of clients trying to reclaim their (or their ancestors') citizen honour and rights (material compensation and potential restitution gains notwithstanding). Processing rehabilitation requests turned into one of the main daily tasks of archivists, who also became involved into historical revisionism debate as invited court experts. The highly politicised nature of these processes can be seen from the most recent wave of "counter-rehabilitations," aimed at annulling the revisionist effects of rehabilitation laws. Yet whatever the outcome of this political interplay might be, the involvement of archives in judicial processes and political debates has certainly affected the archival role in public life, as well as raised public awareness concerning the local historical memory.

Conclusion

Although the two case-studies presented here were based primarily on the experiences from the Regional Archives of Čačak, it can safely be stated that other local archival institutions in Serbia faced very similar challenges and problems in the past two decades. From the amount of citizens' requests, one can see that processing retirement regulation requests and rehabilitation legal cases has become an indispensable part of service for Serbian archivists. At the same time, these activities came to represent a primary way in which local archives participate in public life and get in touch with wider citizenry. Previously mostly perceived as mere depositories of local administrative records, interesting mostly to (often non-professional) historians, regional archives and their repositories quickly became institutions of interest for thousands of citizens, as well as state courts, marking a distinctly new functional feature of Serbian archives, and reemphasising the importance of cultural and anthropological practices of remembrance and oblivion.

Yet, having a large part of socialist industry gone defunct or attempting to change the perception of the Second World War and socialist revolution is in no way applicable solely to Serbian post-socialist transformation, and exactly here lies the chance for a possible comparative analysis. It would be beneficial to see if similar experiences exist in other post-socialist countries, and how the functioning of their archives has evolved after the fall of socialism. Through such comparisons, ideas for a broader-scoped and a more far-sighted way to preserve and process economic enterprises' collections, as well as for encouraging their use in social history research, could be conceived. Concurrently, a transnational analysis of the role of archives in rehabilitation processes and revisionism debates would put Serbian experience into a broader historical context and potentially offer new insights into ways in which historiography and the culture of remembrance, be it on the national or local level, could be better sheltered from open ideologisation and manipulation for paltry political purposes.

Historiographie des Papiers und Wasserzeichen

Mirela Cărăbineanu

Keywords: *Paper*; *Watermark*; *Briquet Thesis*; *Gerhard Piccard*; *Dating with Watermark*; *Romanian Historiography*; *Watermark as a Means of Dating the Print*

Papier ist die wichtigste Unterstützung des universellen Gedächtnisses, eine Tatsache des täglichen Lebens, dass auch in der Zeit der Kommunikation im virtuellen Raum benutzt wird und der Grund für intellektuellen Austausch unserer Zeit bildet. Trotz der Zerbrechlichkeit wiese das Papier ihre Nachhaltigkeit nach und ersetzte allmählich, von seiner Entdeckung im Jahr 105 n. Chr. in China, Tontafeln, Papyrus, Pergament. Das Papier ist eine Schreib und Bildunterlage, was den materiellen Dialog im Laufe der Zeit mit früheren Generationen und natürlich mit künftigen Generationen ermöglichte.

Die Papier und Wasserzeichen Forschung hat in vielen Ländern eine Geschichte so alt wie das Papier selbst. Die Historiographie hatte die Probleme aufgeklärt: die vom Ursprung, die Kunst des handgemachten Papier, die Ausbreitung in aller Welt, das Papierverkaufen, die Materialien aus denen es gemacht wurde, die chemische Zusammensetzung, die Rolle der Wasserzeichen, der Zweck wofür es verwendet wurde. Darüber hinaus wurde das Papier zur Unterstützung des Schreibens, den Drucks und Bilder recherchiert, besonders von den Menschen die interessiert sind zu erhalten, zu verstehen und die Geschichte durch die Dokumente der Vergangenheit zu interpretieren.

Wir sind daran interessiert, von der Entwicklung und Tendenzen aus der Geschichtsschreibung aus anderen Ländern, einschließlich rumänischer Historiographie, Werke, Studien und Artikel, die in Forschung Papier und Wasserzeichen Methoden und neue Wege auferlegt haben und für unsere Arbeit, "Papier und Wasserzeichen in Fürstliche Siebenbürgen" relevant sind.

1. Europäische Geschichtsschreibung

Die ersten Schriften betreffend des Papiers und der Wasserzeichen erschienen in dem achtzehnten Jahrhundert, unter der Form von Wasserzeichen Albums. Französische Historiker des 20. Jahrhunderts betrachten, dass diese Forschung sich nicht auf wissenschaftlichen Daten beruht[1]. Dies war die Phase als die ersten Dokumente Sammlungen veröffentlicht waren. So präsentierte Monfoucon in einer Arbeit aus dem Jahr 1780 eine Sammlung von Wasserzeichen, aber diese wurden nicht durch vergleichende Methoden analysiert, um die Unterschiede zwischen ihnen zu veranschaulichen, und der Autor hatte das Datum auf keinerlei

[1] Henri Alibaux, *Contribution a l'histoire de la papeterie en France*, Paris, 1933, S. 4.

Papier angegeben. Die Bedeutung der Arbeit liegt mehr in der Tatsache, dass diese die erste gedruckte Sammlung von Wasserzeichen war.

Joseph Jerôme La Lande war ein Pionier in der Forschung der Techniken der handwerklichen Papierherstellung durch seine Arbeit, geschrieben auf Antrag der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften von Paris, bezüglich der Kunstproduktion von Papier[2]. Sie wurde in Form eines Handbuchs, wo die Werkzeuge, mit denen das Papier produziert wurde die Tätigkeiten der Arbeitnehmer in einer Papiermühle, die Technologie der Herstellung des Altpapiers, vorgestellt hat, die Arbeit bietet einen Überblick über diese Aspekte. Die Informationen von der Arbeit von La Lande brachten in einer klaren und gut strukturierten Art und Weise, über ein Handwerk, das zuvor nur mündlich von einer Papiermacher Generation zur anderen übertragen wurde. Das Thema wurde Jahrhunderte später von Dard Hunter entwickelt, der Ausgangspunkt war die Landes Arbeit[3].

Seit dem XIX. Jahrhundert gibt es eine neue Richtung in der Geschichte: die Forscher hoben die Rolle des Wasserzeichens für die Datierung der Dokumente auf. So erkannte im Jahre 1804 der deutsche Biologe Gotthelf Fischer von Waldheim die Bedeutung der Wasserzeichen auf graphische Dokumente aus[4]. Er sagte unter anderem, dass "wenn Sie seltene Wasserzeichen sammeln würden, dann werden Sie fähig sein solche Ergebnisse zu erzeugen, aus denen Sie das Alter von Papier oder Manuskripte erfahren könnten, die auf Papier geschrieben wurden und gewisse Art von Wasserzeichnen hat"[5].

Weiter argumentierte Vallet-Virville in einer Studie, die im Jahr 1858 veröffentlicht wurde, die Idee dass durch das Sammeln von Papier Wasserzeichen von den Herstellern in verschiedenen Orten und Zeiten verwendet, würde die Wissenschaft ein nützlichen Instrument der Forschung und Kontrolle gewinnen um Alter, Herkunft und Echtheit von historischen, literarischen oder künstlichen Dokumenten zu erkennen[6].

Eine weitere Etappe in der Geschichteschreibung wurde durch die Veröffentlichung von Alben mit Wasserzeichen auf einer geographischen Fläche von Wissenschaftlern aus Italien, Deutschland, Polen, Rumänien, Russland markiert. Diese Editionen, zusammen mit Studien, hatten keinen quantitativen Wert, sondern einen qualitativen, das die Entwicklung der Papierherstellung in verschiedenen Ländern auf die Analyse der Wasserzeichen als Zeugnismarken zeichnet. Im Jahre

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2 Joseph Jerôme La Lande, *L'Art de faire papier*, in *Descriptions des Arts et Metiers*, Paris, 1761. Die Arbeit wurde nachgedruckt von A. F. Gasparinetti im Jahre 1962.

3 Dard Hunter, *Papermaking. The History and Technique of an Ancient Craft*, New York, 1978.

4 Gotthelf Fischer vin Waldheim, *Beschreibung einiger typographischer Seltenheiten nebst Beiträgen zur Erfindungsgeschichte der Buchdruckerkunst*, Nürnberg, 1804 apud Alois Heidinger, *Le collezioni di filigrane*, in *Testa di bue e sirena. La memoria della carta e delle filigrane dal medioevo al seicento* (coord. Peter Rückert, Hg. Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg, Hauptstaatsarchiv di Stoccarda), Stuttgart, 2007, S. 65.

5 *Ibidem.*

6 A. Vallet-Virville, *Notes pour servir à l'histoire de papier*, "Gazette des Beaux Arts", mai 1858, apud L. Bacâru, *Valoarea documentară a filigranelor cu privire spcială asupra cărților tipărite în secolul al XVI-lea*, "Studii şi cercetări de bibliologie" 7 (1965), 3. S. 274.

1844 erschien in Moskau das Wasserzeichen Album von K.Y. Tromonin[7], der betrachtet wurde als Einer dass zum ersten Mal eine beträchtliche Anzahl von Wasserzeichen aus dem Zeitraum zwischen XIV-XIX Jahrhundert vorstellt. Hier wurden 1.824 Bilder vorgestellt, von denen nur 100 russischen Ursprungs, andere wurden Marken von Papier Mühlen aus Polen und Westeuropa.

Die Franzosen Midoux und Auguste Etienne Matton stellten eine Arbeit über Papier Wasserzeichen in Frankreich, mit 600 Bildern vor[8]. Für Wasserzeichen Systematisierung benutzen sie zum ersten Mal die chronologische Reihenfolge über Jahrhunderte, in einem Bild beschrieben sie die gefundene Wasserzeichen Typen, den Speicherort des Dokuments in dem die Wasserzeichen sich befanden und die Zeit, in der es verwendet wurde[9]. Im ersten Teil des Studies der früheren Papierherstellung in Frankreich wurde vorgestellt, die Arten von Materialien die verwendet wurden, um Papier aus dem vierzehnten Jahrhundert bis aus dem sechzehnten Jahrhundert, die das Papier beschrieben. Midoux und Matton fanden das auf dem untersuchten Material, stammend aus dem XIV und XV Jahrhundert man nicht auf dem gleichen Blatt Papier zwei Wasserzeichen fand, was üblich erschien für das nächste Jahrhundert. Sie hatten sich auch mit der Bedeutung der Marke Wasserzeichen Papier befassen, sie schätzten, dass die Wasserzeichen klare und allgemein anerkannte Anzeichen waren, welche die Qualität und Papierformat zeichneten, so dass für die Papiermacher die eine Marke für ihre Papiere nicht benutzen konnten wurden bestraft von einer Person von der Gemeinschaft oder Papiermacher delegiert wurde[10]. Matton und Midoux betonten die Bedeutung des Wasserzeichens als ein Datierungsmittel des Textes, wenn man bedenkt, in dieser Hinsicht, war es notwendig, um das Wasserzeichen sicheres Verzeichnis fortzusetzen.

Eine besondere Aufmerksamkeit verdient die Arbeit von Nikolai Petrovici Lihačev, ein russischer Wasserzeichner, welcher die Papiermühlen aus Moskau studierte[11]. Veröffentlicht im Jahr 1899, enthält das Album 4258 Kalksteine Papier mit Wasserzeichen aus Westeuropa vor 1700. Seit 1994 wurde die Arbeit zugänglich zu einer größeren Zahl von Historikern, wegen der Veröffentlichung in englischer Sprache, ergänzt mit anderen weiteren Beiträgen des Autors. Lihačev behauptete, dass das Wasserzeichen sehr wichtig ist für die Datierung der paläographischen Quellen, was zeigt, dass eine große Zahl von Dokumenten von verschiedenen Forschern fälschlicherweise datiert wurde. Er definierte das Wasserzeichen als "Abdruck, die die beste Ware gekennzeichnet, ein großer Aufkleber, der gegen

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[7] J. S. Simmons, *Tromonin's watermark album: a facsimile of the Moscow 1844 Edition*, Hilversum, 1965.

[8] Étienne Midoux & Auguste Matton, *Étude sur les filigranes des papiers, employés en France aux XIV et XV siècles*, Paris, 1868.

[9] *Ibidem*, S. 20-31.

[10] *Ibidem*, S. 7.

[11] Nikolai P. Lihačev, *Paleografičeskoe opisanie bumažnyh vodjanyh znakov 1-3*, Sankt Peterburg, 1899, nachgedruckt von John S. G. Simmons, *Tromonin`s watermarks Album. A facsimile of the Moscow. 1844 Edition*, Hilversum, 1965.

Fälschungen verteidigen konnte"[12]. Es war eine individuelle Marke, die Marke der Handwerker die das Papier herstellt hatten. Der Autor wandte sich Fragen in Bezug auf die Entwicklung des Wasserzeichens in Form von einfachen Buchstaben, indem neue Details hinzugefügt wurden. Dieses machte das Studium immer komplizierter. Lihačev stellte die Wasserzeichen in chronologischer Reihenfolge der Dokumente vor. Er machte vollen Gebrauch von Alben der Rumänen B. P. Hasdeu und J. Kemény, druckte fast alle Wasserzeichen der beiden Gelehrten nach und beschrieb und reproduzierte eine ganze Reihe von Wasserzeichen nach rumänischen Handschriften die sich in verschiedenen Bibliotheken in Russland befanden[13]. Lihačev forschte auch sehr viel in Archiven in Moskau und St. Petersburg.

Weiter erschienen neue Richtlinien in der Geschichtsschreibung, zusätzlich mit Wasserzeichen katalogisieren, man begann auch andere Aspekte des Papiers zu erkunden. In diese Richtung meldete sich auch Aurelio Zonghi, der in seinem Album, das Wasserzeichen auf Papier von Fabriano enthält, auch einige Kapitel über die verwendete Technik der Papiermacher aus Fabriano im XIII-XIV Jahrhundert hatte, und auch ihre Innovationen, wie z.B. der Hydraulikhammer, die tierische Gelatine. Sie haben auch die Produktionsform perfektioniert und führten das Wasserzeichen als Zeichen des Papiers ein[14].

In den späten 19. ten Jahrhundert und Anfang des 20. Jahrhundert begann die Filigranologie als wissenschaftliches Disziplin in seinem eigenen Recht zu handeln, erlangte eigene Forschungsmethoden auf, eigene Informationen zu Forschungsthemen bot, indem sie ihre wissenschaftliche Sprache entwickelte.

Eine neue Etape begann mit Charles Moise Briquet, der Mann der die moderne Wasserzeichenwissenschaft gründete, einen großen Teil seiner Forschungsarbeit der Papiergeschichte widmete[15]. Er studierte systematisch und wissenschaftlich Papier und Wasserzeichen, seine Sammlung von Kalkstein enthält 60.000 Stück und befindet sich in der öffentlichen Bibliotek von Genf[16]. Er setze ein monumentales Werk "*Les Filigranes. Dictionnaire historique des Marques de papier*

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[12] *Ibidem*, I, S. LXVII.

[13] Damian P. Bogdan, *Filigranologia ca disciplină științifică*, "Revista Arhivelor" 10 (1967), 2, S. 21.

[14] A. Zonghi, *Le marche principale delle carte fabrianesi dal 1293 al 1599*, Fabriano, 1881, nachgedruckt in Hilversum in 1953, unter der Titel *Zonghi's watermarks*. In dieser Arbeit sind die Forschungen von Aurelio Zonghi: *Le marche principale delle carte fabrianesi* (1881), *Le antiche carte fabrianesi alla esposizione generale di Torino* (1884), von Augusto Zonghi: *I segni della carta la loro origine e la loro importanza* von A. F. Gasparinetii: *Carte, cartiere e cartai fabrianesi* (1938), betreffend der Papierherstellung in Fabriano, die Organisierung der Tätigkeiten in Papiermühlen in Fabriano, die Wichtigkeit der Papiermacher in Verbreitung der Art von Papierherstellung in Europa.

[15] Charles Moïse Briquet, *De la valeur des filigranes de papier comme moyen de déterminer l'age et la provenance de documents non datés*, "Bulletin de l'histoire de la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Genéve", I (1982), 2, S. 192-202, nachgedruckt von de Allen Stevenson *Briquet's Opuscula. The Complete Work of Dr. C.M. Briquet without "Les Filigranes"*, Hilversum, 1955, S. 235-240.

[16] Jean Irigoin, *La datation par le filigranes du papier*, in *Codicologia* (Hg. Albert Gruys), Louvain, 8, 1976, S. 15.

des vers 1282 Erscheinung leurs jusqu'en 1600", zusammen, dass in 1907 veröffentlicht wurde, wo sich ein beeindruckendes Bestand Wasserzeichen befanden, und zwar 16112, stammend aus Archiven aus Italien, Frankreich, Deutschland, Österreich, Belgien und Holland[17]. Im ersten Teil jedes Bandes des *Wörterbuchs*, beschreibt Briquet Wasserzeichen alphabetisch, nach Namen jedes Wasserzeichen. Die wichtigsten Arten von Wasserzeichen sind Menschen, Tiere, Pflanzen, Fabelwesen, Werkzeuge, Geräte, Kleidung, heraldische Symbole, geometrische Formen. Briquet glaubte dass die Wasserzeichen fünf Dinge zeigten: Papier Größe, Qualität, den Namen des Herstellers, der Ort wo sich die Papiermühle befand und das Herstellungsjahr[18]. Jede der reproduzierenden Figur definierte er als Typen, und jeder Typ hatte mehrere Varianten. Briquet hatte sich auf eine bloße Beschreibung von Wasserzeichen nicht beschränkt, aber durch die vergleichende Studie Methode, unterscheidet er zwischen identischen Varianten, gleichartige oder unterschiedliche Versionen und Varianten[19]. Ferner analysierte die Position des Wasserzeichens auf dem Papier. Das Wasserzeichen befindet sich nicht immer an der gleichen Stelle sondern willkürlich und unterschiedlich, in der Regel ist es in der Nähe der Mitte der rechten Hälfte des offenen Blattes und ist senkrecht zu den vertikalen Linien gesetzt. Aber das ist nicht eine allgemeingültige Regel. Traditionell bestimmten die Papiermühlen ob sie die Wasserzeichen horizontal oder in der Mitte des Bogens zu einer offenen Kante oder einer Ecke setzten wollen.

Wasserzeichen-Analyse ist eng mit Methoden der Reproduktion Wasserzeichen verwandt. Die von Briquet verwendete Methode bekam eine klassische Methode, genannt Dekalk, wo die Konturen mit Bleistift gezeichnet werden. Später wurde diese Methode als ungenau betrachtet, da man nicht alle Wasserzeichen nachzeichnen kann. Briquet verwendete auch die Methode des Aufnehmens durch die Transparenz des Papiers, aber für den Anfang des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts war das zu kostspielig und langlebig.

Les Filigranes bleibt ein Nachschlagewerk, das Ergebnis einer titanischen Arbeit von Briquet für die Forschung des Papiers und Wasserzeichen. Und nun, 100 Jahre nach seiner Erscheinung, startet jeweils Forschungsarbeit von Papier und Wasserzeichen mit diesem Werk.

Nach der Veröffentlichung des Wörterbuchs begannen zahlreiche Alben und Studien zu erscheinen wo die Wasserzeichen technisch, regional, topologisch, ästhetisch usw. analysiert wurden.

Die Wasserzeichenwissenschaft als eigenständige Wissenschaft, mit ihren eigenen spezifischen Problemen, wurde durch Karl Theodore Weiss definiert[20]. Nach seinem Tod veröffentlichte sein Sohn Wiso Weiss "die erste manuelle

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[17]Charles Moïse Briquet, *Les filigranes. Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier, des leur aparition vers 1282, jusqu'en 1600*, 4, Paris, 1907, Nachdruck in 1923 und 1968.

[18] *Ibidem*, 1, S. 10.

[19] *Ibidem*, 1, S. 17.

[20] Karl Theodore Weiss, *Deutsche Wapenwasserzeichen*, in *Der Deutsche Herald*, Baden, 1915; *Papiergeschichte und Wasserzeichenkunde. Erreichte Ziele und zu lösende Aufgaben*, "Archiv für Buchgewerbe und Gebrauchsgraphik", 1926, S. 277-308.

Filigranologie"[21], die die erhobene wissenschaftlichen Fragen durch Forschung antwortete. Seit über einem Jahrhundert schuf er eine Sammlung von Wasserzeichen mit 80.000 Original-Stücke und wenige Kopien in einer systematischen und offenen Art und Form, die den Zugang zu mehr als 300.000 Varianten dieser Wasserzeichen vorgestellt. Die Sammlung wurde von Armin Renker in einem Papier in 1932 veröffentlicht beschrieben[22].

Im Gegensatz zu Briquet, Th. K. Weiss wurde eine Bedeutung für beide, Wasserzeichen und Wasserleitungen gegeben, die Lage des Wasserzeichens auf der Oberfläche eines Blattes Papier, Größen von Papierbögen, und die Form der Konstruktion, da er betrachtete sie als überragende, identische Versionen von Wasserzeichenidentifizierung. Er kritisierte Briquet These, berücksichtigend, dass es keine Rolle der Paaren Siebe, mit der man alternativ arbeitete, erkannte[23]. In dieser Hinsicht war K. Th. Weiss ein Pionier, der die Paare von Formen berücksichtigt, auf ihre Analyse konnte man eine sichere Datierung für Schreibpapier, Druckpapier und Graphikpapier machen.

Die Sammlung von K. Th. Weiss hat seinen historischen Wert während der verschiedenen Forschungsprojekte und Forschungsergebnisse gezeigt, aber auch in der Musikwissenschaft, für Studium der nachgelassenen Arbeiten, im Kontext der Kunstgeschichte Projekte und Restaurierung von Kunstwerken[24]. Darüber hinaus wurden die Studien von Wasserzeichen Papier von seinem Sohn Wigo Weiss fortgesetzt[25].

Nach Ch. M. Briquet und K. Th. Weiss, haben die Forscher in der Geschichteschreibung zwei divergierende Ansätze in der Studie von Papier und Wasserzeichen. Die Wasserzeichnen Wissenschaftler gingen auf den Briquet Spuren, sammelten und klassifizieren diese Wasserzeichen, während die Bibliothekaren und Bibliographen, wie K Th Weiss, Verfahren und Nomenklatur für Papier und Wasserzeichen Beschreibung als bibliographische Nachweise formulierten.

Zu den wichtigsten Teil der Typ, die sich der Studie von Papier und Wasserzeichen näherten, sind die bemerkenswerte Werke von Autoren wie Nicolaï Alexandre[26], Armin Renker[27], A. F. Gasparinetti[28], Henri Alibaux[29], die in ihre

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[21] Idem, *Handbuch der Wasserzeichenkunde* (Hg. Wisso Weiss), Lepzig, 1962.

[22] Armin Renker, *Das Buch vom Papier*, Leipzig, 1932.

[23] Józef Dabrowski, *Paper manufacture in Central and Eastern Europe as economic basis of cultural transfer*, in *Buch-und Wissenstransfer in Ostmittel- und Südosteuropa in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Hg. Detfel Haberland), 2007, S. 324.

[24] Frieder Schmidt, *I collezionisti di filigrane e le loro collezioni*, in *La memoria della carta e delle filigrane dal medioevo al seicento* (Hg. Peter Rückert), S. 68.

[25] Wigo Weiss. *Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Wasserzeichen in europäischem Handbüttenpapier*, "Gutenberg-Jahrbuch" 62 (1987), S. 109-124; *Dreiteilige Wasserzeichen*, "Gutenberg-Jahrbuch" 64 (1989), S. 15-29.

[26] Nicolaï Alexandre, *Histoire des moulins à papier du sudouest de la France 1300-1800: Périgord, Anpoumois, Soule, Béarn*, I-II, Bordeaux, 1935; *Le symbolisme chrétien dans les filigranes du papier*, Grenoble, 1936.

[27] Armin Renker, *Reise nach Filigranistan, eine Geschichte um die Wasserzeichen für Kinder von zehn bis achtzig Jahren*, Mainz, 1960.

Forschung die symbolische Bedeutung von Wasserzeichen, ihre Ästhetik, Wasserzeichen Klassifizierung näherten. Edward Heawood in seinem Buch, das in 1925 veröffentlicht wurde, hatte einschließlich der chronologischen Entwicklung der Position des Wasserzeichens auf dem Bogenpapier vorgestellt[30].

In 1935 veröffentlichte W. A. Churchill ein Album mit 578 reproduziere Wasserzeichen auf Papier, hergestellt in Holland, England, Frankreich, im siebzehnten Jahrhundert und achtzehnten Jahrhundert[31] welches die Informationen über die Papiermühleen und Handwerker aus den Länder wo er forschte bereit stellte. Im selben Jahr hatte Emile Joseph Labarre, einer der anerkanntesten Experten aus dem Gebiet, ein Wörterbuch dem Wasserzeichengeschichte, den Wasserzeichnen Namen und Typen gewidmet[32]. Im Jahr 1952, wurde E. J. Labarre in einer verbesserten Version wiederholen und mit einer fetten Bibliographie gefüllt. Er schlägte eine neue Klassifikation von Wasserzeichen vor, die sich von Briquet unterscheidet, er grupierte die Wasserzeichen nach Epochen und Regionen, die gleichen Typs in einer einzigen Kategorie. Labarre würde die Idee, die sich später als falsch demonstrierte, sie können nicht die Papierdatierung nach Kettlinienund Horizontalen machen[33].

Seit 1935 begann die Studie von Papier und Wasserzeichen als eine mit einem Forschunggebiet institutionalisiert. So wurde in Mainz **das Institut der Filigranologie** gebildet, der in seinem Archiv eine Sammlung von 20 000 Wasserzeichen hatte. Seit 1948 wurde das *The Paper Publications Society*[34] in Hilversum in den Niederlanden geschafft, mit Emile Joseph Labarre als Generalherausgeber[35]. Das Unternehmen unterstützte die Veröffentlichung einer Reihe von beeindruckenden Wasserzeichenalben, vereint unter Namen *Monumenta Chartae Papyraceae Historica Illustrantia* und einige Studien über die Geschichte der Papiermühlen aus den verschiedenen Regionen, mit Wasserzeichen Wiedergabe auf diesen Mühlen zugeordnet.

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[28] A. F. Gasparinetti, *Paper, papermarks and paper-mills of Fabriano*, 1938, in *Zongi's watermarks*, Hilversum, 1953.

[29] H. Alibaux, *Le première papeteries français*, Paris, 1926.

[30] Edward Heawood, *The position on the sheet of early watermarks*, "The Library", 4th series, 9, (Juni 1928), 1, S. 38-47.

[31] W. A. Churchill, *Watermarks in paper in Holland, England, France usw., in the XVII and XVIII Centuries and their interconnection*, Amsterdam, 1935.

[32] Emile Joseph Labarre, *Dictionary and Encyclopedia of Paper and Paper-Making, with Equivalents of the Technical Terms in French, German, Dutch, Italian, Spanish and Swedish*, 1935, Nachdruck in The Paper Publications Society, Amsterdam in 1952.

[33] Theo Gerardy, *Die Ursache der sogenannte Kannelierung des handgeschriften Papiers*, in "Papiergeschichte" 20 (1970), S. 38-40.

[34] Eine Geschichte der Gesellschaft wurde von de B. J. van Ginneken-van de Kasteele gemacht, *A history of the Paper Publications Society (Labarre Foundation)*, veröffentlicht im 1983.

[35] Aus dem Jahre 1965, General Editor wurde John S. G. Simmons, der hatte das Album von Tromonin, das in Moskau im Jahr 1844 erschien und das Album des Wasserzeichens von Lihacev im Jahr 1994 übersetzt Im Jahre 1994, als das letzte Arbeit aus der Kollektion zur Papier gewidmet die Gesellschaft funktioniert nicht mehr.

Die Wasserzeichenkunde entwickelte sich mit dem Aufkommen der oben genannten Corpus, der wichtige Arbeiten von Papier und Wasserzeichen umfasste[36]. Einige von ihnen enthalten wertvolle Informationen von der Handfertigung von Papier in Fabriano, die Arbeitsorganisation der Papiermühlen in Fabriano, die Bedeutung der italienischen Papierhandwerkern bei der Verbreitung der Technik der Papierherstellung in Europa[37], an der Wasserzeichenentwicklung[38], Geschäftspraktiken und Führungen. Andere Arbeiten sind wichtig für die Datierung der Dokumente[39]. Im Jahre 1950 wurde das erste Werk der Gesellschaft veröffentlicht, als die größte Sammlung von Wasserzeichen nach Briquet[40]. Das Buch enthält 4078 Wasserzeichen, nach Art von Wasserzeichen indiziert, eine Liste der Werke die zwei oder mehr Wasserzeichen enthalten hatten in alphabetischer Reihenfolge, und eine Liste von Quellen, wo die Wasserzeichen gefunden wurden. Zum ersten Mal wurde eine Referenz gemacht dass Wasserzeichen seht wichtige bibliographische Quellen wären. Diese These wurde von Allan Stevenson, der Mann, dass die Papier Forschung als ein bibliografischer Beweis gründete, unterstützt und entwickelt[41].

Roberto Ridolfi[42], behandelte das gleiche Thema in einer Studie über die Art und Weise wo das Papier und Wasserzeichen bei Inkunabeln Datierung hilft. Er benutzte die Aufnahme von Wasserzeichen, durch die Methode der Papierdurchsichtigkeit , um sie mit größerer Genauigkeit zu vergleichen, weil, mit dem Entkalkt Kopie Methode von Briquet und Aurelio Zonghi verwendet, wäre sinnlos die Betriffe Wasserzeichen identisch und ähnlich. Leider hat er nicht die Technologie die er verwendete erwähnt, um hervorragende Ergebnisse für Wasserzeichenwiedergabe zu erreichen[43]. Basierend auf der Forschung Ridolfi kann man vier Aspekte der Differenzierung zwischen Wasserzeichen die die gleiche Form haben erkennen: a) Wasserzeichen sind identisch, weil die bei Wasserzeichenherstellung verwendete Formen identisch sind, aber jeder kann einige Unterschiede geben b) ein Wasserzeichen mit gleichem Motiv kann verwendet werden in den anderen Formen der Produktion, aber er wird unterschiedlich durch

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[36] Jean Irigoin, *La datation par le filigranes du papier*, "Codicologia" 8 (1976), S. 17.

[37] *Zonghi's watermarks (Aurelio et Augusto Zonghi, A.F. Gasparinetti)*, Hilversum, 1953. In dieser Arbeit sind die Forschungen von Aurelio Zonghi vereint: *Le marche principale delle carte fabrianesi* (1881), *Le antiche carte fabrianesi alla esposizione generale di Torino* (1884) von Augusto Zonghi: *I segni della carta la loro origine e la loro importanz* und von A. F. Gasparinetii: *Carte, cartiere e cartai fabrianesi* (1938) wo 1887 Wasserzeichen nachgedruckt sind.

[38] *The Nostitz Papers, notes on watermarks found in the German imperial archives of the 17th & 18th centuries, and essays showing the evolution of a number of watermarks*, Hilversum,1956. Dieses Buch umfasst ein reiches Bücherverzeichnis des Wasserzeichen, die pnansichte von mehreren gemeinen Wasserzeichen, hier 765 Bilder reproduziertdie meinste auf Mitteleuropa.

[39] G. Eineder, *The ancient Paper-mills of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire and their watermarks*, Hilversum, 1962.

[40] Ed. Heawood, *Watermark mainly of the 17th and 18th Centuries*, Hilversum, 1950.

[41] Paul Needham, *Allan H. Stevenson and the Bibliographical Uses of Paper*, "Studies in Bibliography" 47 (1994), S. 23-64.

[42] Roberto Ridolfi, *Le filigrani dei paleotipi*, Florenz, 1957.

[43] Conor Fahy, *Roberto Ridolfi, Italian Bibliographical Scholar*, "Studies in Bibliography" 51 (1998), S. 36.

deutlichen einigen Details von Design und Größe. c) bei der Herstellung, wenn die Formen getragen sind, werden sie ersetzt, die Marke wird wiederholt, jedoch mit einigen Unterschieden bei der Fixierung, Größe oder Hinzufügen anderen Einzelheiten des Designs, d) auftretenden Verformungen während der Verwendung des Wasserzeichens Herstellungsform, so dass die erzeugten Bilder über die Zeit in einer Weise, die mehr oder weniger sichtbar unterschiedlich sind. Mit anderen Worten, eine Verformung des Wasserzeichens während seines relativ kurzen Lebens präsentiert sich in einer Reihe von aufeinanderfolgenden Zuständen, die den Forschern andere Hinweise bietet, um eine chronologische Folge aufzubauen[44].

Zu diesem Thema von Verständnis der Vielfalt Wasserzeichen führte auch Allen Stevenson, welcher nach genauen Forschungen eine sehr reiche Studie mit vielem historiographischen Verweise bezüglich der Papier Herstellung und Wasserzeichen entwickelte[45]. Er definierte in einer differenzierteren Weise, im Vergleich mit R. Ridolfi, den Begriff „*Zwillinge Wasserzeichen*" und bekämpfte die These von Ch. M. Briquet, welcher glaubte, dass die einzige Bedingung, die zwei Varianten erfüllen zu haben um identisch zu sein war, dass sich die beide miteinander perfekt überlappen[46]". Die dokumentarischen und materiellen Nachweise zeigen, dass die Herstellungsformen in den Paaren gemacht und benutzt wurden, zumindest im frühen siebzehnten Jahrhundert[47]". Das bedeutete, dass auch die Wasserzeichen identisch gemeint waren, aber Stevenson wiest darauf hin, dass es mindestens 10 Unterschiede zwischen den beiden Grupen von Formen der Produktion gibt, weil sie noch nicht standardisiert wurden. Allen H. Stevenson war derjenige, der der wissenschaftlichen Welt neue Nutzungen von Wasserzeichenbenutzung als bibliographischen Quellen in seine Studie *Paper as Bibliographical Evidence* vorgelegt hat[48].

Das Problem der identischen Wasserzeichen wurde dann von Theo Gerardy wiederaufgenommen[49]. Er schätzte das Wasserzeichen als *"Zwillinge"*, beziehungsweise identisch sind, nur wenn sie auf die gleiche Weise hergestellt wurde und ihre Analyse wurden die Grundlage für zuverlässige Informationenerzeugung über Papierherstellung Zeitpunkt.

Curt F. Blücher beschäftigte sich auch mit der Frage der Datierung der Dokumenten und Drücke auf Wasserzeichenbasis, lenkte die Aufmerksamkeit der Forscher auf ungenauen Datierung ausschließlich auf Wasserzeichen, die das Datum der Herstellung des Papiers bieten, aber nicht unbedingt den Zeitpunkt, zu dem es das Papier benutzt wurde[50]. Es kam etwas gegen zu Briquet Theorie, die sagte das über das der Zeitraum der Benutzung einer Form maximal auf 2-3 Jahre erweitert,

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[44] Roberto Ridolfi, *Adenda*, Seite 19, 22 apud Conor Fahy, *Adenda*, S. 41.
[45] Allen H Stevenson, *Watermarks are Twins*, "Studies in Bibliography" 4 (1951-1952), S. 57-91.
[46] Alexandru Mareş, *Filigranele hârtiei intrebuinţate in Ţările Române in secolul al XVI-lea*, Bukarest, 1987, S. XVII.
[47] *Ibidem*, S. 58.
[48] A. H. Stevenson, *Paper as Bibliographical Evidence*, "Library" 17 (1962), S. 197-212.
[49] Theo Gerardy, *Problem der Wasserzeichenforschung*, "Papiergeschichte" 9 (1959), S. 66-73.
[50] Curt F. Blucher, *Watermarks and the dates of fifteenth-Century books*, "Studies in Bibliography" 9 (1957), S. 217-224.

wenn sie optimal verwendet wurde, in normalen Herstellungsbedingungen[51]. Er behauptete, dass *"es gibt natürlich zwei Elemente der Unsicherheit bei der Verwendung von Wasserzeichen für Datierung, niemand ist ganz sicher, wie lange jede Form der Herstellung verwendet werden könnte, zum Beispiel, wie lange es möglich war, die gleiche Wasserzeichen zu tun, und zweitens ist es nicht klar, wie schnell waren die Methoden des Vertriebs oder ob es als wichtig oder wünschenswert in jenen Tagen geschätzt wurde"*. Er nahm die Theorie von Alfred Schulte, nämlich dass ein Paar von Formen verwendet werden könnten um eine Million Blatt Papier herzustellen, bevor sie ungeeignet für Benutzung zu werden[52].

Weil es bereits eine Tradition der historischen Forschung des Papiers gab, wurde die Wasserzeichenkunde als Hilfswissenschaft der Geschichte von dem serbischen Wissenschaftler Vladimir Mošin definiert[53], welcher die Bedeutung von Wasserzeichen für viele spezielle Wissenschaften der Geschichte zeigte, bestimmte die Terminologie und betonte die Bedeutung der Unterschieden zwischen Wasserzeichen für die Datierung. Seine Arbeit kam im Voraus zu derjenigen von den deutschen Wissenschaftlern Karl Theodore Weiss, 1962 veröffentlicht, als das erste Buch für das Filigranologie in der Geschichtsschreibung angesehen wurde[54].
Neue Forschungen wurden zu diesem Zeitpunkt in der Lage, original getreue Methoden zu verwenden um Wasserzeichen zu reproduzieren. Eine wesentliche Erfindung, die die Forschung des Papiers und der Wasserzeichen unterstützt, war das Wasserzeichen Wiedergabeverfahren mit der Hilfe den Röntgenaufnahmen, die stellten den Papier Historikern ein System bereit, das es erlaubt die Wasserzeichen zu extrahierten aus dem großem Papierformat, das für künstlerische Zwecke verwendet wird, oder diejenigen, die nicht im Licht gesehen werden konnte. Dieses System wurde von dem russischen Spezialisten D.P. Erastov entwickelt. Er präsentierte und veröffentlichte das Wasserzeichen durch Beta Schreibwesen[55]. Die Methode wurde erfolgreich angewendet, das Bild reproduziert die genaue Papier Struktur, das Wasserzeichen, die Wasserleitungen, Nähen punkte die Mängel oder ungewöhnlichen Eigenschaften des Papiers. Dieses System wurde in Leningrad in der Restaurierung und Konservierung im Labor verwendeten Texte und wurde an der dritten internationalen Tagung der Papier Historiker seit 1961 vorgestellt[56]. Neulich wurden besondere Bilder durch diese Röntgen-Strahlen Methode erlangt und von Ariane de La Chapelle, in einer Studie von 1999 präsentiert[57].

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[51] A. Stevenson, *Briquet's Opuscula. The Complete Work of Dr. C.M. Briquet without "Les Filigranes"*, Hilversum, 1955, S. XIX.

[52] Alfred Schulte, *Papiermühlen and Wasserzeichenforschung*, "Gutenberg-Jahrsebuch", 1934, S. 9-27.

[53] Vladimir Mošin, *Filigranologija kao pomočna hisorjika nauka*, Zagreb, 1954, nachgedruckt *Die Evidentierung und Datierung der Wasserzeichen*,"Papiergeschichte" 5 (1955), S. 49-57.

[54] K. Th. Weiss, *Handbuch* cit.

[55] D. P. Erastov, *Beta radiografičeskij metod vosproizvedenija filigranej s documentov*, in *Novye metody restravracij i konservacij dokumentov i knig*, Moskau, 1960, S. 139-148.

[56] A. H. Stevenson, *Beta-radiography and Paper Research*, in *International Congress of Paper Historians-Communications*, 7 (1967), S. 159-168.

[57] Ariane de La Chapele, *La betâradiographie et l'étudedes papiers: beaucoup plus qu'un belle image*, "Gazette du livre médiéval" 34 (1999), S. 13-24.

Die Wissenschaft begann zu bereichern auch durch Studien aus dem Mittel- und Osteuropa. Die wichtige Monographie führte A. A. Geraklitov für den russischen Wasserzeichen des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts durch und seine Arbeit enthaltet 1500 Bilder[58]. In der russischen Historiographie aus den 60 Jahren zeichnete sich die Forschung von Vsevolod Nikolaev[59] bezüglich des Wasserzeichens des türkischen mittelalterlichen Papiers aus den Archiven und Bibliotheken aus Bulgarien aus. M.V. Kukuškina widmete eine Studie zu den Wasserzeichen der russischen Fabriken des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts, mit 109 Nachbildungen[60]..

Der erste Historiker der einen Monographie der ehemaligen Papiermühlen aus der Königreich Ungarn für den Zeitraum 1530-1900 veröffentlicht hat ist István Bogdán[61]. Seine Arbeit enthält reichhaltige Informationen über Papier Produktionstechnik, die Art der Produktionsform und Wasserzeichen, aber auch Aspekte der chemischen Zusammensetzung des Papiers. Er fand, dass das erste schriftliche Dokument auf italienischem Papier der aus Mitteleuropa stammte, in 1310 in Pozsony, heute Bratislava, Slovacia geschrieben wurde[62]. Bogdán's Arbeit ist ein wichtiges Nachschlagewerk für die Herstellung von Papier in Siebenbürgen und ist auch ein Ausgangspunkt für die Erforschung von William Decker in der Geschichte der Papiermühlen aus Slovakia[63]. Das Thema von Bogdán wurde von Lajos Nandor Varga fortgesetzt, der auch die Bilder mit Wasserzeichen der Papiermühlen aus den XIV-XIX Jahrhundert umfasst[64].

Das Interesse der Forscher zog auch nach weniger hervorgehobene Aspekte, wie der soziale Status von Papiermacher. Der deutsche Wasserzeichenforscher Armin Renker stellt in einer einzigartigen Studie, aufgrund der Art der Papiermacher Organisation, ihre Gewohnheiten und ihre Position in der deutschen Gesellschaft aus dem XVI, XVII und XVIII Jahrhundert vor[65]. Er veröffentlichte ein Buch für Kinder in einer attraktiven Form, mit Wasserzeichen aus verschiedenen Ländern[66].

Seit den 60er Jahren des 20. Jahrhunderts beginnen die Wasserzeichen untersucht zu werden und auf die Arten aufgelistet zu werden, praktisch wurde die

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[58] A. A. Gearklitov, *Filigrani XVII veka na Bumage rukopisnyh i pečatnyh dokumentov russogo prishožnija*, Moskau, 1963.

[59] Vsevolod Nikolaev, *Vodnite znaci v hartiite na srednevekovite dokumenti ot bălgarakite kinigohranilišta (Vodne snaci na otomanskata imperija, I)*, Sofia, 1954.

[60] M. V. Kukuškina, *Filigrani na bumage russih fabric XVIII-načala XXV.*, "Istoričeskij očerk I obzor fondov rukopisnogo otdela Biblioteki Akademij Nauk", Moskau, 1958, apud D. P. Bogdan, *op. cit.*, S. 24.

[61] István Bogdán, *A magyarországi papéripar története (1530-1900)*, Budapest, 1963. Die Arbeit Bogdán wurde vorausgangen von Album des Wasserzeichens aus dem Papier hergestellt in Papiermühlen in Össtern-Ungarn veröffentlicht von de Georg Eineder, im Jahre 1960 mit Hilfe The Paper Publication. Siehe Fussnote 31.

[62] *Ibidem*, S. 53.

[63] Wiliam Decker, *Dejinny ručnej výroby papiera na Slovensku*, Martin, 1982.

[64] Lajos N. Varga, *Víjegzek*, 2, Budapest, 1995.

[65] Armin Renker, *Some Curious Customs of Old-Time Papermaking in Germany*, "The Paper Maker" 30 (1961), 1, S. 3-10.

[66] Idem, *Die Reise nach Filigranisten. Eine Geschichte um die Wasserzeichen für Kinder von 10-80 Jahren*, Mainz, 1957.

Methode aus dem Anfang des XX Jahrhunderts von Bofarull y Sans verwendet. Er war ein Pionier mit den Arbeiten *La heráldica en la filigrana del papel*, im Jahre 1901 veröffentlicht, nachgedruckt in *The Paper Publications Society* in 1956[67], und *Los animals en las marcas del papel* im Jahr 1910 veröffentlicht, in Hilversum in 1959 nachgedruckt[68]. Es hebt V. Mosin und M. Grozdonovič-Pajic, die eine Studie über die Entwicklung Osterlamm Wasserzeichen Art veröffentlichten[69].

Gerhard Piccard, Archivar und Historiker, ist der wichtigste Vertreter der deutschen Geschichtsschreibung, bekannt für seine gründlichen Forschungen über Wasserzeichen, die Bedeutung Wasserzeichenkunde als Hilfswissenschaft der Geschichte gezeichnet. Er wurde international bekannt durch die Veröffentlichung von 17 Bänden, erschienen zwischen 1961 und 1997, gewidmet den Wasserzeichen-Typen: Anker, Waage, Schlüssel, Krone, Horn, Buchstaben P, Ochsenkopf, Turm, usw.[70] In der Einführung der Bände, erklärt Piccard diese Wasserzeichen und gibt Auskunft über den historischen Kontext, in dem sie gemacht wurden. Es werden 4540 Arten von Wasserzeichen und 44497 individuelle Marken präsentiert[71]. Sie stammen aus den Sammlungen der Handschriften aus 85 Bibliotheken und Archiven vor allem aus Südeuropa aber auch aus der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Frankreich, Österreich, Schweiz, Italien, den Niederlanden und Belgien. Der Berichtszeitraum ist der XIV-XVII Jahrhundert.

Ein weiterer Aspekt der Geschichtsschreibung von Papier und Wasserzeichen ist die Verbreitung der Technik der Papierherstellung in ganz Europa. Anna Basanoff, im Jahr 1965 zum ersten Mal in der Geschichteschreibung folgte die Papier Route aus dem frühen Mittelalter bis in die späten achtzehnten Jahrhundert[72]. Sie schaffte es, einen Überblick zu geben, durch die Analysierung der geographischen, wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Kontexten, politische Maßnahmen, die alle an summiert die Einführung Papierherstellung in manchen Orte Europas führten. Sie präsentiert in chronologischer Reihenfolge, die Daten des Beginns von Papiermühlen für jedes Land in Westeuropa und reproduzierte die eindrucksvollsten Wasserzeichen.

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67 *Heraldic Watermarks*, Hilversum, 1956.

68 *Animals in Watermarks*, Hilversum, 1959.

69 V. Mošin & M. Grozdonovič-Pajič, *L'Agneau pascal*, Belgrad, 1966.

70 G Piccard, *Die Ochsenkopf-Wasserzeichen*, Stuttgart, 1966; *Die Turm-Wasserzeichen*, Stuttgart, 1970; *Wasserzeichen Buchstabe P*, Stuttgart, 1977; *Die-Kronen Wasserzeichen*, Stuttgart, 1977; *Wasserzeichen Anker*, Stuttgart, 1978; *Wasserzeichen Waage*, Stuttgart, 1978; *Wasserzeichen Schüssel*, Stuttgart, 1979; *Wasserzeichen Horn*, Stuttgart, 1979; *Wasserzeichen Werkzeug und Waffen*, Stuttgart, 1980; *Wasserzeichen Werkzeug und Waffen*, Stuttgart, 1980; *Wasserzeichen Fabeltiere*, Stuttgart, 1980; *Wasserzeichen Kreuz*, Stuttgart, 1981; *Wasserzeichen Blatt. Blume. Baum*, Stuttgart, 1982; *Wasserzeichen Lilie*, Stuttgart, 1983; *Wasserzeichen Frucht*, Stuttgart, 1983; *Wasserzeichen Hirsch*, Stuttgart, 1987; *Wasserzeichen Raubtierre*, Stuttgart, 1987; *Wasserzeichen Vierfüssler*, Stuttgart, 1987.

71 Gerhard Piccard bracte die grosste Sammlungen von Wasserzeichen, die im Hauptstaatsarchiv von Stockholm befindet hin, mit ungefähr 92 000 Marken. Die Sammlung ist im Internet unter die Adresse http://www.piccard-online.de.

72 Anne Basanoff, *Itinerario della carta dall'oriente all'occidente e sua diffusione in Europa*, Mailand, 1965.

Jean Irigoin, als Ergebnis seiner Forschungen am Institut für Texte Forschung in Paris, widmete eine Studie für die Datierung mit Wasserzeichenhilfe durchgeführt[73]. Das ist eine Zusammenfassung, die alle Aspekte der Entdeckung Papier und deren Einführung in Europa, vertieft die Themen im Bereich der Papiertechnik, beschreibt die Formen der Produktion, einschließlich Wasserzeichen, Form und Größe des Papier Blatts, verschiedene Wasserzeichen Zuchtmethoden und Methodik für ihre Identifizierung. Irigoin machte auch eine chronologische Übersicht der wichtigsten Repositorien von Wasserzeichen die früher erschien.

Aus den 80ger Jahren vermehrten sich auch die Forschungen, dass technische Entwicklungen manuelle Papierherstellung, Papier Rohstoff-zusammensetzung konzentriert.

Der technische Aspekt verbindet mit dem handgeschöpften Papier in Europa wurden in einer Studie im Jahr 1981 veröffentlicht von Piccard Gehard vorgestellt[74]. Es ist interessant das Fazit der Studie, nämlich dass in der europäischen Papierindustrie es keinen wesentlichen Veränderungen seit fast 400 Jahren gab und wird Techniken und Technologien in Papierherstellung in Fabriano verwendet respektiert. Diese wurden dann nach Europa in den letzten Jahrzehnten der XIV-ten Jh. ausgebreitet.

In der gleichen Richtung, für die Interessenten in das Studium der Papierherstellung Instrumente, ist eine gut argumentierte Arbeit, die von Edo G. Loeber, mit vielen technischen Details. Hier präsentiert man Einzelheiten über die Herstellung und Werkzeuge Benutzung für die Fertigung des Papiers in Europa, die Hervorhebung ihrer Bedeutung in der Erzielung eines guten qualitativen Papiers[75]. Wichtige Informationen über die Größe, Qualität und Materialien die verwendet werden, für die Form Fertigung findet man auch in der Studie von Simon Barcham Green[76]. Die Leser profitieren auch von einem Glossar.

Castagnari Giancarlo, ein italienischer Forscher, bemerkt sich durch viele Werken die zum Papier und Wasserzeichen gewidmet hatte. Unter dem Titel *Die Ära des Zeichens in der Geschichte von Papier* veröffentlichte der italienischen Wasserzeichenforscher eine Reihe von Arbeiten über die Papierherstellung in Italien. In der ersten Reihe vereinte Werke dem Wasserzeichen zugeignet vom späten XIX. Jahrhundert und frühen XX. Jahrhundert von Aurelio Zonghi und Augusto Zonghi. In der gleichen Serie gehörte auch die Monographie der Miliani Papiermühle von Fabriano[77]. Der Castagnari definierte das Wasserzeichen als europäische Erfindung, durch die Menschen aus Fabriano, die den Beginn der *Ära in der Geschichte bis zur*

[73] J. Irigoin, *op. cit.*, S. 9-36.

[74] Gerhard Piccard, *Cartiere e gualchiere*, in *Produtività e tecnologie nei secoli XII-XVII*, Florenz, 1981, S. 223-226.

[75] Edo G. Loeber, *Paper Mould and Mould Maker*, Amsterdam, 1982.

[76] Simon Barcham Green, *Papermaking moulds*, "Hand papermaking", Summer 1994, S. 23-28. Barcham Green & Company Limited besitzt eine der interessanteste Sammlung der europäischer Papierherstellung.

[77] Giancarlo Castagnari, *L'Opera dei Fratelli Zonghi L'Era del Segno nella Storia della Carta, Band 1*, Fabriano, 2003, und Idem, *Cartiere Miliani-Fabriano. L'Era del Segno nella Storia della Carta, Band 2*, Fabriano, 2007.

Markierung definiert[78]. Es kümmerte sich auch um die Zusammenführung in einem Band allen Handlungen der internationalen Tagung die im Fabriano in 1993 stattfand, um die Verwendung von Papier mit Wasserzeichen aus dem XIII bis XX. Jahrhundert[79].

Eine gut dokumentierte Arbeit, das einen Überblick der allen Studien die in Europa veröffentlicht wurden, empfohlen für die Interessenten in der Entwicklung von Papier Studien wurde von Peter F. Tschudin als Geschichtsbuch der Papier[80]. Die Arbeit umfasst Kapitel über die Geschichte des Papiers, als historische Disziplin überspannt, das Papier als Träger des Schreibens, die Forschungsmethodik des Papiers, Aspekte der spezifischen technischen Probleme der Forschungsarbeit, über die Alterung des Papiers und deren Restaurierung, die Zusammenfassungen der historischen Forschungen bis zur Gegenwart. In der Anlage wurden die Standardisierung Projekte von der *International Association of Paper Historians (IPH)*[81] vorgestellt, der Sammlung von Dokumenten, mit oder ohne Wasserzeichen und ein illustrierten Katalog mit verschiedenen Wasserzeichen Typen entwickelt.

Eine Synthese, bezüglich zu der Papierherstellung in Zentral-und Osteuropa, die die Informationen zu diesem Teil Europas westlichen Geschichtsschreibung verbindet, wurde von Józef Dabrowski im Jahr 2008 veröffentlicht. Hier werden die Themen behandelt wie die Kunst der Papierherstellung im Laufe der Jahrhunderte, einige Aspekte der Geschichte der Verwendung von Papier, eine Beschreibung der Entwicklung der Papierherstellung in den Ländern Zentral-und Osteuropa, Fragen des Status und wie die Papiermacher organisiert wurden.

Der Autor zeigt, dass dieser Teil von Europa mit Papier aus Italien, dann aus Frankreich, Deutschland und Preußen geliefert wurde. Die späteren Anfänge der Papierherstellung in der Region sind direkt im Zusammenhang mit der politischen Instabilität, aber auch aufgrund der Tatsache, dass es einen Markt gab mit Papier aus dem Westen gut versorgt. "Das manuell hergestellte Papier begann, so wie Dabrowski schreibt- in den gesagten Regionen Europas gegen Ende des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts, in einigen Orten sogar noch später. Damals wurde der Papier Markt in Europa gut entwickelt und beherrscht durch qualitativ hochwertige Produkte und zu erschwinglichen Preisen besonders in jenen Ländern, in denen Papiermühlen früher entwickelt wurden. Dies war ein Hindernis, dass Papier Handwerker in Zentral-und Osteuropa zu überwinden hatten und versuchten, einen Papier von guter Qualität zu einem niedrigen Preis, um mit ausländischen Papierenzu konkurrieren zu produzieren"[82].

Die deutschen Papierhandwerker wurden diejenigen, als Meister in Papiermühleen in Zentral-und Osteuropa angebracht wurden, weil sie mit der

[78] *Ibidem*, S. 225.
[79] Idem, *Produzione e uso delle carte filigranate in Europa. XIII-XX. Jahrhundert*, Fabriano, 1997.
[80] Peter. F. Tschudin, *Grundzüge der Papiergeschichte*, Stuttgart, 2002.
[81] *International standard for the registration of papers with or without watermarks* [= http:// www.paperhistory.org/standard.htm].
[82] Józef Dabrowski, *Adenda*, S. 107.

Technik vertraut waren und große Erfahrung in eigener Produktion hatten. Dann wurden polnischen Papierhandwerker gebracht[83].

Dabrowski abdeckt dass Rumänien auch Bibliographische Quellen wie István Bogdán, Lajos Nandor Varga, Alexandru Mareş benutzt, mit Bezug auf Papiermühlen aus Siebenbürgen, die Arbeit der Aurel Drâmboiu, für Moldau und Alexandru Mareş für Walachei[84].

Die Forschungen im Bezug zu anderen Nachdrücken von Wasserzeichen Methoden setzte man in den 90er Jahren des letzten Jahrhundert fort. Conor Fahy, italienischer Wasserzeichenforscher setzte das Scannen erfolgreich ein, um Wasserzeichen zu reproduzieren[85]. Mit den neuen Technologien der Informationsverarbeitung, wurde das Scannen als eine neue Methode benutzt, weil die Bilder dadurch viel besser wurden. Das Verfahren wurde zunächst um Palimpsest Handschriften zu lesen benutzt, die Tintenschichten die in unterschiedlichen Zeiten geschrieben wurden, entfernte man elektronisch auf dem Computer-Bildschirm. Die Methode wurde zur Konferenz von Roanoke aus dem Jahr 1996 von Daniela Moschini vorgestellt[86]. Das Scannen ermöglicht eine Datenbankerzielung und das Vergleichen des Wasserzeichens mit hoher Genauigkeit, sonst unmöglich in anderen Medien. Es ist sehr wahrscheinlich dass diese Methode die Zukunft der Wasserzeichenstudie ist.

Mit einem Computerprogramm entwickelte Andrey P. Bogdanov ein System, das zum Wasserzeichen und Wasserleitungen forschen benutzt wird[87], und Vlad Atanasiu erfand das System AD 751, ein Messinstrument mit hoher statistischer Möglichkeiten, sowohl quantitative und auch qualitative Analysen millimetergenau die Spuren die von der Formherstellung in Papierdichte hinterlassen und dadurch nützliche Informationen erhalten zu können für Datierung, Lokalisierung und Klassifizierung der Dokumenten[88].

Die ausländische Geschichtsschreibung kommt daher mit vielen Informationen was die zeitliche Entwicklung der Papierherstellung bezieht, aber auch der Aspekten des Wasserzeichens Wichtigkeit für Datierung des Manuskriptes, den Drucken, Gravuren und sogar einigen musikalischen Werken.

[83] So wie der Fall von polnischen Joannes Hokermann, Papiermacher an der Papiermühle von Kronstadt, im Jahr 1546.

[84] J. Dabrowski, *op. cit.*, S. 94-101.

[85] Conor Fahy, *La carta dell'esemplare Veronese del Furioso. 1532*, "La Bibliofilia", 100 (1998), S. 283-300.

[86] Daniela Moschini, *La Marca d'Acqua: A System for the Digital Recording of Watermarks*, in *Puzzles in Paper. Concepts in Historical Watermarks*, 1996, S. 187-192.

[87] J. Dabrowski, *op. cit.*,S. 25.

[88] Vlad Atanasiu, *Assessing paper origin and quality through large-scale laid lines density measurements*, in *Paper as a Medium of Cultural heritage. Archeology and Conservation 26th Congress*" (Hg. Rosella Graziaplena & Mark Liversey), Rom, 2004, S. 172-184.

2. Die rumänische Historiographie

Wenn wir die Geschichtsschreibung analysieren schätzen wir dass es zwei unterschiedliche Perioden vorhanden sind, die erste wird von relativ sporadische Interesse des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts und der ersten Hälfte des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts markiert und die zweite als eine neue Phase nach 1960 und bis Ende 1980 markierte registrierte eine Umkehr der Forschung dieser Problematik. In der rumänischen Geschichtsschreibung setzen sich zwei Richtungen in der Bewältigung der Herausforderungen des Studiums von Papier und Wasserzeichen durch, die erste war in Verbindung mit Papierherstellung und Wasserzeichen Verzeichnis, und die zweite hatte als Schwerpunkt die Forschung des Wasserzeichen als Mittel zur Datierung des Textes.

In der ersten Kategorie sind die Verzeichnisse von Wasserzeichen durch Josephus Kemény[89] und Fr. W Stenner gemacht[90], beide blieben im Manuskript.

J. Kemény, Sammler von Dokumenten aus Siebenbürgen begann im Jahr 1835 die systematische Reproduktion von Wasserzeichen der Dokumente aus dem siebenbürgischen Archiv vom Zeitraum zwischen den XIV-XVIII. Jahrhundert. Im Jahr 1845 hat er drei Alben mit 800 Wasserzeichenreproduktionen, durch Dekalk Verfahren abgeschlossen.

J. Kemény, als Pionier der Forschung dieses Problems in Siebenbürgen, definiert aber nicht ein klares Kriterium für die Klassifizierung von Wasserzeichen, die erscheinen in chronologischer Reihenfolge der Unterlagen, aus denen sie extrahiert wurden. Bei der Einführung des ersten Bandes brachte er Erklärungen über das Ort, wo es Wasserzeichen auf dem Papier stand, wie folgt: a) ein Wasserzeichen auf dem rechten oder auf der linken Ecke des Blattes, b) ein Wasserzeichen auf der rechten Seite, der andere auf der linken Seite, c) ein Wasserzeichen auf jeder Seite des Blattes, und ein anderer in der Unterseite einer der Hálfte des Papiers, d) ein Wasserzeichen in der Mitte einer der Seite des Blattes, und ein anderes an der Unterseite der anderen Blattes. Kemény machte Beobachtungen über die Arten von reproduzierten Wasserzeichen und über die Nummer von jedem aber machten keinen Unterschied zwischen mehreren Varianten des gleichen Typs Wasserzeichen. Er hat gerade das Wasserzeichen ohne andere Elemente der Web-Unterstützung nachgedruckt, die in der Tiefe des Blattes gedruckt wurden, ohne die Auszeichnung, dass sie in natürliche Große kopiert wurden[91]. Der Autor zeigte keinerlei Hinweis von dem Platz wo das Papier, in dem die reproduzierten Wasserzeichen sich befanden hergestellt wurde, aber er machte eine Überprüfung der einzelnen Dokumente.

Wenn wir die Wasserzeichen aus Kemény Verzeichnis analysieren, können wir behaupten, dass sie Marken von Papiermühlen aus Italien, Polen, Österreich, Deutschland, Siebenbürgen, Moldau und Wallachei sind.

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[89] Josephus Kemény, *Signa interna chartarum saeculo XIV, XV, XVI, XVII et XVIII in Transilvania olim obviarum, tom I-III.* Das Manuskript wird an der Bibliotek der Rumänischer Akademie in Klausenburg aufbewährt.

[90] Fr. W. Stenner, *Sammlung von Wasserzeichekopien*, Die Arbeit wird an Kreissarchiv Kronnstadt aufbewährt, apud Al. Mareş, *Adenda*, S. XII.

[91] J. Kemény, *Adenda, Band I*, S. 2.

Mit alle den Unzulänglichkeiten ist der Ansatz von Kemény besonders wichtig für die Geschichtsschreibung, da in der Mitte des XIX. Jahrhundert das Wasserzeichen als Wissenschaft beschrieben wurde. Deshalb denken wir, dass die Veröffentlichung dieser Arbeit sich lohnt, die zeitgenössisch mit Repertoires von Etienne Midoux und Auguste Matton, in Frankreich oder K.Y. Tromonin in Russland gemacht, der letzte im siebten Jahrzehnten des letzten Jahrhundert nachgedruckt.

Seit dem späten XIX. Jahrhundert stammen die erste Forschungs-Monographien über Papiermühlen aus Siebenbürgen, die von George Barit und Ion Barcianu gemacht wurden[92].

Die zweite Richtung der Forschung von Wasserzeichen, als ein Mittel zur Datierung, wurden Versuchungen in diesem Zeitraum hingewiesen, vor allem unter Philologen. I.G. Sbiera, O. Densusianu, I.A. Candrea, die die Wasserzeichen benutzten für die Datierung des sogenannten *„rotacizanten Texten“* und N. Drăganu hatte auch diese Methode benutzt um das Alter des alten Texten aus dem XVII Jahrhundert zu bestimmen[93].

Wir finden Wasserzeichen in den Dokumenten Editionen und alte Texte und Dokumente reproduziert von B.P. Haşdeu[94], Gr. C. Tocilescu[95], N. Iorga[96], N. Drăganu, Al. Rosetti. Diese Studien tragen in einem viel geringeren Ausmaß bei, für das Wissen des Papier Wasserzeichen in den rumänischen Länder im XV-XVIII Jahrhundert. Al. Mareş behauptete den Dekalk nach Wasserzeichen, die in anderen Länder veröffentlicht wurden als, “sind oft ungenau oder reproduziert an einer verminderten Skala, was ihren Einsatz, als Referenzmaterial für die Datierung Texte verhindert”[97].

Mit der Studie von Nicolae Iorga, aus dem Jahr 1923, über die Existenz der Papiermühlen in Cozia im XVII. Jahrhundert, während der Herrschaft von Matei Basarab, setzte man die Forschungen der Papiermühlen fort[98]. Dieses Thema der Papiers Geschichte in Rumänien stellten auch G Ioaniţiu. und N. Costache vor[99].

Im Jahr 1940 veröffentlichte der Archivar Mihai Popescu eine Studie über die Papierherstellung in Siebenbürgen, wo 22 Wasserzeichen reproduziert wurden (von denen acht durch die Mitteln der Fotografie durch Transparenz wiedergegeben) aus dem Zeitraum zwischen XVI-XIX. Jahrhundert[100]. Popescu ist der Erste der diese Methode der Wasserzeichenreproduktionen verwendet[101].

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[92] D. P. Bogdan, *Adenda*, S. 27.
[93] Al. Mareş, *Adenda*, S. XI.
[94] Bogdan Petriceicu Haşdeu, *Cuvente den bătrâni*, Bukarest, I, 1878; II, 1879.
[95] Grigore C. Tocilescu, *Documente inedite privitoare la istoria românilor*, “Revista pentru istorie, arheologie şi filologie” 1 (1883), S. 187.
[96] Nicolae Iorga, *Documente româneşti din arhivele Bistriţei*, 2, Bukarest, 1899-1890.
[97] Al. Mareş, *Adenda*.
[98] N. Iorga, *O fabrică de hârtie lângă Cozia*, “Arhivele Olteniei” 2 (1923), S. 345-346.
[99] G. Ioaniţiu & N. Costache, *Industria hârtiei din România*, Bukarest, 1934.
[100] Mihai Popescu, *Fabrici de hârtie în Transilvania*, “Artă şi tehnică grafică” 13 (1940), S. 51-56.
[101] D. P. Bogdan, *Adenda*, S. 26.

Nach 1960 gab es eine Evolution in der Forschung des Papiers und Wasserzeichen, es gab mehr und mehr Studien zur frühen Papierherstellung in verschiedenen Regionen des Landes.

Der Historiker Jakó Zsigmond veröffentlichte im Jahr 1961 eine gründliche Untersuchung der Papiermühle aus Klausenburg von Kaspar Helth gegründet[102]. Der gleiche Historiker veröffentlichte im Jahr 1962 eine kurze Geschichte der Papiermühlen aus Siebenbürgen für den Zeitraum XVI-XVII. Jahrhundert[103]. Dies wurde durch den Autor als "*der erste Teil einer größeren Studie, die die Siedlung auf festem Boden beitragen sollen, im Sinne einer kritischen Forschung des Papiers Forschung aus unserem Land überprüft*[104]". Er stellte auch die Geschichte der Mühlen und deren Wasserzeichen, die Papier Herstellung, Rohstoffversorgung, Papier Qualität und der Preis mit dem das Papier verkauft wurde.

Im Jahr 1964 setzte Jakó Zsigmond die Studie vom Jahr 1962 fort. Er stellte die Mühlen aus dem Zeitraum 1712-1848 vor, und kopierte 62 Wasserzeichen[105]. Im Jahr 1968 wurden Versionen von Wasserzeichen des Papiers hergestellt in Siebenbürgen in XVI. Jahrhundert veröffentlicht. Al. Mares behauptete, dass "*die 77 identifizierten von S. Jakó Wasserzeichen und stellt noch mehr von der tatsächlichen Anzahl der vorhandenen Papier Varianten aus der Region im XVI. Jahrhundert dar*[106]."

Der Historiker Zsigmond Jakó ist der Autor der ersten Bücherkunde der Papier Geschichte Rumäniens. In der Einführung unterstreicht er die Notwendigkeit des Ausarbeitens des Repertoires um die Datierung von Dokumenten zu erleichtern. Was die Reproduktion des Wasserzeichen betrifft erachtete er als notwendig einige Informationen: Datum und Nummer der Wasserzeichen, die Methode der Nachzeichen im Vergleich mit den Tendenzen von aller Forschungs-Entwicklung in anderen Ländern verwendet. Die Studien von der Bücherkunde gewinnt auch eine kritische Vorstellung[107].

Aurel Dâmboiu widmete, ein gut dokumentiertes Buch der Geschichte des Papiers, mit dem Titel *Von Stein zu Papier*, in dem die Wasserzeichen von Papiermühlen und Fabriken aus Rumänien aus dem Zeitraum zwischen XVI-XIX Jahrhundert reproduziert wurden[108]. J. Dabrowski, in seiner Arbeit über

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[102] Zsigmond Jakó, *Heltai Gáspár papirmalma*, "Magyar Könyvszemle" 78 (1961), S. 290-295.

[103] Idem, *Az Erdély Papirmalmok Feudalizmuskori Történetének Vázlata (XVI-XVII. Század)*, "Studia Universitatis Babeş-Bolyai. Series Historia", 1962, 2, S. 59-81. Durch die Method der Aufnahme durch Durchsichtigkeit wurden 17 Marken von Kronnstädter Mühlen nachgedruckt Braşov (1545-1611), Cluj (1563-1603), Tălmaciu (1573-1599), Lancrăm (1637-1651), Gurghiu (1655/1656-1695/1696) und Aiud (1699-1702).

[104] *Ibidem*, S. 79.

[105] Idem, *Az Erdély Papírmalmok Feudalizmuskori Történetének Vázlata*, II (1712-1848), "Studia Universitatis Babeş-Bolyai. Series Historia" 1 (1964), S. 55-92.

[106] Al. Mareş, *Adenda*, S. XII.

[107] Zs. Jakó, *A romániai papírtöéirodalom és e kutások útja a jövöben*, "Magyar Könyvszemle" 10 (1966), 3, S. 135-139.

[108] Aurel Dâmboiu, *De la piatră la hârtie*, Bukarest, 1964.

Papierherstellung in Zentral-und Osteuropa nutzt es als Quelle, wenn er die Anfänge der Papier Herstellung in Moldawien und Wallachei vorstellt[109].

In seiner Arbeit die im Jahr 1965 veröffentlicht wurde, unterstreicht Livia Bacâru die Bedeutung des Wasserzeichens als Mittel zur Datierung der Drucke[110]. Sie betonte die Bedeutung der Wasserzeichenkunde in Gebieten, wo das Papier eine wichtige Rolle spielte. "In Paläographie, Archivierung, diplomatische Buchwesens, Bücherkunde dient oft das Wasserzeichen für die Datierung der Manuskripte, gedruckte Dokumente und undatierte Drucke. Für die Geschichte der Wirtschaft ist es wichtig, dass es die Handelsbeziehungen in die Vergangenheit zeigt. Die Ethnographie entziffert im Wasserzeichen die Kostüme, Gegenstände und Werkzeuge von Vergangenheit. Die Kunstgeschichte kann die Entwicklung des künstlerischen Sinn der Menschen in alter Zeit folgen. Die Justiz beantwortet die Frage nach der Authentizität von Dokumenten oder unsichere Akten"[111]. In der Studie werden 54 Wasserzeichen aus der rumänischen Drucke aus dem XVI. Jahrhundert reproduziert, beschreibt sie und identifiziert sie anhand Ch. M. Briquet Wörterbuch unter Verwendung eines Forschung Instruments das auch international trifft. Livia Bacâru setzte die Forschung fort, sie erweiterte auf den Druck des XVII. Jahrhundert, in einer Studie, in der 66 reproduzierte Wasserzeichen aus den gedruckten Büchern in Câmpulung[112].

Weitere Forschung, den siebenbürgischen Papiermühlen gewidmet, wurden von Gernot Nussbächer entwickelt. Sie werden durch den Reichtum und die Genauigkeit der Interpretation von Informationen unterscheidet, die auch die entsprechenden Beta Röntgenaufnahmen, entsprechend des Wasserzeichentypen von Papier hergestellt, in Kronstadt, Klausenburg, Hermannstadt, Langendorf produziert[113].

In Rumänien waren eine Forschung Mannschaft aus Kronstadt, bestehend aus Ingenieur G. Blücher, T. Coliban, Dr. A. Hüttmann, der Archivar G. Nussbächer und der Arzt I. Grödi in der Lage, das Verfahren von Erastov zu benutzen und zu verbessern[114].

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[109] J. Dabrowski, *Adenda*, S. 100-101.

[110] Livia Bacâru, *Valoarea documentară a filigranelor cu privire specială asupra cărților*, "Studii și cercetări de documentare și bibliografie" 7 (1965), S. 273-298.

[111] *Ibidem*, S. 273.

[112] Eadem, *Filigranele cărților tipărite la Câmpulung în secolul al XVII-lea*, "Studia bibliologica" 3 (1969), S. 273-298.

[113] Gernot Nussbächer, *Moara de hârtie din Sibiu în secolul al XVI-lea*, "Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie Cluj-Napoca" 22 (1979), S. 279-286; Idem, *Moara de hârtie din Brașov în secol ul al XVI-lea*, "Cumidava" 12 (1979-1980), 1, S. 53-70; Idem, *Date privind istoricul morii de hârtie din Lancrăm*, "Apulum" 15 (1977), S. 681-691.

[114] G. Blücher, T. Coliban, A. Huttmann, G. Nüssbächer, I. Grödi, *O nouă metodă pentru reproducerea filigranelor și posibilitățile ei de aplicare*; G. Blücher, *Arta albă și izotopii radioactivi*, "Magazin Istoric" 1 (1967), 2, S. 59-60, apud D. P. Bogdan, *Adenda*, S. 37.

Ein Inkunabel Forschungsansatz des Wasserzeichens hat G. Blücher, der eine Studie über die Möglichkeit der Datierung durch Wasserzeichen der schriftlichen Texte, die in Kronstadt veröffentlicht wurden[115].

Damian P. Bogdan hat die erste Studie von Theorie und Forschung Papier Wasserzeichen veröffentlicht, mit dem Titel *Wasserzeichenkunde als wissenschaftliche Disziplin*, im Jahr 1967, etwa zur gleichen Zeit mit ähnlichen Studien von serbischen Forscher Vladimir Mosin und deutschen Forscher Karl Theodore Weiß durchgeführt[116]. Die Studie ist im Hinblick auf die Informationen, die sie sehr gut dokumentieren. Bogdan teilte die Studie in mehrere Kapitel auf, wo die Wasserzeichenkunde als eine spezielle wissenschaftliche Disziplin definierte, insbesondere forschte er die Anfänge und Entwicklung, Methoden zu Wasserzeichen Reproduzierung und methodische und Anleitung.

Das erste Verzeichnis der verwendeten Wasserzeichens auf Papier im XVI. Jahrhundert in Rumänien dass die Forschung die zwischen 1967-1976 durchgeführt wurden, in den Archiven von Kronstadt, Bukarest, Klausenburg, Schlossberg, Craiova, Iasi, Sfântu Gheorghe, Hermannstadt, auch in Rumänischen Akademie Bibliothek und ihre Niederlassung in Klausenburg, in Universitätsbibliothek von Klausenburg beschäftigt, wurde von Alexandru Mareş im Jahre 1987 veröffentlicht, mit dem Titel *Wasserzeichen in der rumänischen Papier im sechzehnten Jahrhundert*. In diesem Verzeichnis wurden 1750 Versionen von Wasserzeichen aus Papier hergestellten im Ausland und in Siebenbürgen kopiert.

Das Entwickeln des Repertoires wurde durch praktische Notwendigkeit diktiert, um die Datierung der Texte und Drucke zu ermöglichen und ist ein nützliches Werkzeug für Forscher, welche die antike Handschriften und Drucke aus dem XVI. Jahrhundert aus den Archiven und Bibliotheken von Rumänien studieren. Basierend auf seiner Erfahrung behauptet der Autor die unbestreitbare Überlegenheit der Methode der Datierung der Wasserzeichen, die allein zu zuverlässigen Ergebnissen führt.

Im ersten Teil der Arbeit, stellt Al. Mareş derzeitigen Stand der Forschung in Rumänien vor, er skizziert eine kurze Geschichte der Papiermühlen aus Kronstat, Klausenburg und Hermannstadt und präsentiert auch ihre Marke Evolution, analysiert die Aspekte der Bewegung des Papiers, Zeitaufwand und die Möglichkeiten der Datierung durch Wasserzeichen.

Ein Hinweis auf die Dekalk Methode der Reproduktion benutzt vom Autor zeigt, dass diese nicht eine genaue Methode der Wasserzeichen Reproduktion ist, so muss es einige Vorbehalte in Datierung der Dokumente ausschließlich auf Wasserzeichen der Mareş in seinem Album aufgenommen hat.

Die wenigen Studien, die nach Mares erschienen, fallen in der Regel im Einklang der Wasserzeichen Deskription aus dem Papier gedruckten einen bestimmten archivalischen Bestand. Hier befand sich auch die Studie von Gernot Nussbächer "*Evangheliarul slavon*" von Kirchensänger Lorinţ aus dem Jahr 1957

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[115] G. Blücher, *Posibilitatea de datare cu ajutorul filigranelor. Un model matematic*, "Revista bibliotecilor" 22 (1969), 10, S. 618-623.
[116] D. P. Bogdan, *Adenda*, S. 3-40.

welches das letzte Buch gedruckt in Weissenburg im XVI. Jahrhundert ist[117]. Stützend auf der Analyse des Wasserzeichens fand der Autor, dass das verwendete Papier für das Drucken in Hermannstadt und Kronstadt hergestellt wurde.

Ein anhaltendes Besorgnis der Forschung Papier und Wasserzeichen hatte Sofia Ştirban im Labor der Restaurierung des National Museumaus Weissenburg. Nach der Restaurierung im Labor vorgenommen als "*es wäre nicht ohne Interesse zu versuchen, wo dies möglich war, die verwendete Wasserzeichen zu identifizieren um eine interdisziplinäre Analyse der Qualität von Papier zu machen*". So veröffentlichte sie im Jahr 1999 das Wasserzeichen auf dem Papier in Belgrad im XVII. Jahrhundert gedruckt, die aus dem Museum Sammlung alter Bücher und aus anderen weltlichen und religiöse Sammlungen aus dem Land stammen[118].

Sofia Ştirban widmete mehrere Studien des Papiers und Wasserzeichens aus verschiedenen Drucken aus dem XVII-XVIII. Jahrhundert[119], sie bringt auch wichtige Informationen über die Papierherstellung Technik aus dem XV-XVII. Jahrhundert, die Qualität der Rohstoffe, Papier Alkalinität usw[120]. Der Nachteil dieser Arbeiten ist, dass die Bilder von Wasserzeichen aus dem Papier hergestellt im XVII. Jahrhundert nicht ausgedrückt sind.

In einer einzigartigen Studie in Geschichtsschreibung schlagen Sofia Ştirban, Ioan Ileană und Remus Joldeş, eine neue Methode für die automatische Identifikation von Wasserzeichen des alten Papiers mit neuronalen Netzwerken[121]. Es werden die Elemente der Form Fertigung und Nutzbarkeit des Wasserzeichens als Marke der Hersteller für Texten und Anwendung des geschaffen Systems vorgestellt, um die Identifizierung von Varianten ein Wasserzeichen, wie sie stärker spürbar sind die Veränderungen aufgrund der Herstellungsform als Folge der Nutzung zu erleichtern, man setzte auch den Zeitraum der Benutzung eines Wasserzeichensstyp fort.

Im Jahr 2004 veröffentlichte Emilian Comeanu eine Studie über Papier und Wasserzeichen der Papiermühle aus Kronstadt. Es ist eine Herbeibringung in der Gegenwart der Wichtigkeit der Stadt Kronstadt als Zentrum der Produktionherstelle des Papiers in Siebenbürgen, aber brachte keine neuen Informationen zu früheren Forschungen von Gebhard Blücher, Gernot Nussbächer und Alexander Mareş vorgenommen.

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[117] G. Nussbächer, *Filigranele tipăriturilor de la Alba Iulia, din secolul al XVI-lea*, "Apulum" 24 (1987), S. 219-228.

[118] Sofia Ştirban, *Din istoria hârtiei şi filigranului: tipografia Românească a Bălgradului (sec. XVII)*, Alba Iulia, 1999.

[119] Eadem, *Câteva precizări de datare, localizare şi atribuire a unui codice transilvănean din secolul al XVIII-lea obţinute prin metode de laborator*, "Apulum" 26 (1989), S. 627-635.

[120] Eadem, *Restaurarea a două manuscrise medievale aparţinând secolului al XVI-lea şi identificarea mărcilor de hârtie utilizată la redactare*, "Apulum" 31 (1994), S. 535-545; Sofia Ştirban & Maria Popa, *Studiu comparativ privind proprietăţile unor tipuri de hârtie produsă manual*, "Apulum" 36 (1999), S. 631-635.

[121] S. Ştirban & Ioan Ileană & Remus Joldeş, *Metode şi tehnici de identificare a filigranului din hârtia veche*, "Annales Universitatis Apulensis. Series Historica" 6 (2002), 1, S. 275-281.

Auf dieser Basis können wir sagen, dass in der rumänischen Wasserzeichenkunde gut bestimmte Aspekte von Papier und Wasserzeichen im XVI. Jahrhundert in Rumänien definiert sind, aber weitere Forschungen erforderlich sind, besonders für den XV, XVII und XVIII Jahrhundert, was in der Publikation die Repertoires von Wasserzeichen konkretisiert. Um die gesamte Geschichte des Papiers zu kennen sind Studien für der Anfang des Papiers, dessen Benutzung in der Verwaltung, der Verkehr des Papiers, die Form in dem Papiermacher aus Moldavien und Walachei und ihr Status, die Handel des Papiers usw nötig.

Die Studie von Adrian Pohrib, die im Jahr 2011 erschien, handelt auf der Forschungsbasis in rumänischen Archiven, die Dokumente von dem Zeitraum 1621-1632, bezüglich des Wasserzeichen aus Walachei und bringt neue Informationen über eine Papiermühle die sich in Râmnicu Vâlcea befand. Er behandelte die Ortherstellung des Papiers das im XVII. Jahrhundert im Verkehr wurde, bemerkte dass ausschließlich das Italienische Papier überwiegend war, nur 10 Dokumente wurden auf einheimischen Papier geschrieben. Er präsentiert eine kurze Geschichte der gefundenen Wasserzeichen[122].

Schlussfolgerungen

Durch eine vergleichende Analyse zwischen westlicher Geschichtsschreibung und rumänische Geschichtsschreibung, können wir sagen, dass die Forschung von Papier und Wasserzeichen eine Menge nachzuholen hat. Rumänien ging durch eine Phase, wo die Wissenschaft geplant war und die Verbindungen mit der großen Familie von Historikern des Papiers begrenzt waren, nur wenige Werke des rumänischen Wasserzeichenforschers wurden ins Ausland bekannt. Alexandru Mareş machte einen wichtigen Schritt in der rumänischen Wasserzeichenforschung, durch den Druck des Wasserzeichens aus dem Papier hergestellt in XVI. Jahrhundert, aber es war nicht genug, um die Papierforschung zu stimulieren. Die meisten Studien haben sich selbst auf Papier oder Wasserzeichen Sammlungen konzentriert, ihren sicheren Verzeichnis, aber sie wurden zur Behebung der Probleme der Kodikologie oder aus der Bücherkunde der geschriebenen oder gedruckten Texte benutzt.

In Europa wird die Forschung durch die Organisation von Debatten verkörpert, was Fachzeitschriften und Herausgabe der Bände von Studien gewidmetem Papier bedeutet. In den letzten Jahrzehnten erschienen viele Publikationen von Verbänden der Historiker des Papiers und des Museum des Papiers, welches das Wachstum von Forschungsinteressen favorisierten. Zum Beispiel, das Museum für Papier und Wasserzeichen aus Fabriano[123], das Museum für Papier und Wasserzeichen aus Österreich[124], Kulturzentrum für Papier Marius A. Peraudeau aus Frankreich, usw.

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[122] Adrian Pohrib, *Provenienţa hârtiei utilizate în Ţara Românească în perioada 1621-1632. Informaţii inedite referitoare la perioada în care au funcţionat morile de hârtie de la Râmnicu Vâlcea şi Călimăneşti*, "Acta Bacoviensia" 6 (2011), S. 379-398.

[123] http://www.museodellacarta.com/

[124] http://papiermuseum.freyerweb.at/

Ein besonderer Platz in der neuen Ansätze und Forschungen besetzt ist das europäische Projekt zu digitalisieren Sammlungen Wasserzeichen mit dem Namen " Bernstein – Das Gedächnis des Papiers". Dieses Projekt wird im Rahmen eContentplus, ein Mehrjahresprogramm der Gemeinschaft zu digitalen Informationen in Europa besser zugänglich, nutzbar und ausgenützt machen[125]. So werden mehrere Wasserzeichen in Bilder aus gedruckten Verzeichnissen gesammelt und sind online verfügbar.

Innerhalb des Projekts "Bernstein" sollen vorwiegend Institutionen die als wichtiges Ziel Sammlung und Präsentation Wasserzeichen digitaler zusammenarbeiten, die auch digitale Zuständigkeit haben.

Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien hat Aktivitäten wie Projektmanagement, Nachbearbeitung digitaler Bilder, Forschung der Manuskripte und Implementierung einer Datenbank: Wasserzeichen des Mittelalters (WZMA)[126].

• Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg, Stuttgart. Seine Tätigkeit: Erstellung einer Datenbank: Wasserzeichen Datenbank des niederländischen Universität Institut für Kunstgeschichte (Piccard-Online)[127], gleichzeitig bestimmt Nomenklatur und Klassifikation Wasserzeichen.

• Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique – Laboratoire de mediévistique occidentale, Paris. Das Fachgebiet des Forschungszentrums beschäftigt sich mit den quantitativen Aspekte der Geschichte von Papier und die erste gedruckten Bücher.

• Deutsche Nationalbibliothek in Leipzig. beschäftigt sich mit der Internationaler Literatur der Papier Geschichte.

• Niederländische Universität, Institut für Kunstgeschichte in Florenz. Das Forschungsthema des Instituts ist das Papier in der Kunstgeschichte (NIKI)[128].

• Delft University of Technology, Delft. Die Hauptaktivitäten betreffen Forschung zur künstlichen Intelligenz für die digitale Bilderfassung Restaurierung.

• Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Den Haag hat die Tätigkeit der Erstellung einer Datenbank: Watermarks in Incunabula printed in the Low Countries[129] (Wilco) und die Forschung der Inkunabeln in den Niederlanden.

• Institut für Informationssysteme und Computermedien, Graz. Das Institut verwaltet die Integration von Web-Surfing, das Verwalten der kognitiven und digitale Bibliothek Systeme.

• University of Liverpool. Die wichtigste Aktivitäten im Rahmen des Programms sind: Forschung Texte, Verteilung von Suchfunktionen, Bestimmung Terminologie, Suche nach Ressourcen.

Das Projekt sieht den bedeutendsten Sammlungen von Wasserzeichen von Gerhard Piccard und Charles-Moses Briquet gemacht[130]. Die 17 Arten von Wasserzeichen Repertoires von G. Piccard und das Repertoire von Ch.-M. Briquet

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[125] Im dem Program *e*Content*plus* das in September 2006 begann werden 9 Institutionen aus Österreich, Frankreich, Grossbritanien, Deutschland, Italien und Holland eingeschlossen.

[126] http://www.ksbm.oeaw.ac.at/wz/wzma.php.

[127] http://www.wm-portal.net/niki/index.php.

[128] http://www.wm-portal.net/niki/index.php.

[129] http://watermark.kb.nl/

[130] www.piccard-online.de, www.ksbm.oeaw.ac.at.

wurden durch die Kommission der Paläographie und Kodikologie der mittelalterlichen Handschriften von Akademie der Wissenschaften Österreich gescannt[131].

Weitere Online-Datenbanken Wasserzeichen sind: A Digital Katalog der Wasserzeichen und Typ der gebrachten Verzierung von William Stansby in den Druck des Arbeiten von Benjamin Jonson[132]. *The Watermark Archive Initiative*[133] *Imaging and Watermarks of Rare and fragile Books, Stamps*[134], die ungarische Digitale Wasserzeichen Databank (DHWD)[135].

Für diese Datenbanken werden bevorstehenden Forschungsinstrumente entwickelt um den Zugang zu einer großen Anzahl von Wasserzeichen zu erleichtern werden zu Historikern, Kunsthistorikern, Forschern der Handschriften und gedruckte Bücher, Restauratoren und Konservatoren der Kulturerbe und sogar Papierindustrie richten.

Wir hoffen, dass in der Zukunft Rumänien für diese Forschungsprojekte beitretet, weil in rumänischer Bibliotheken und Archiven eine reiche Menge Material für Studie sich befindet, das nicht aus einem filigranologisches Standpunkt geschätzt wird.

Übersetzung ins Deutsche von Livia Ardelean

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[131] Kommission für Schrift-und des Buchwesen Mittelalters.
[132] http://www2.iath.virginia.edu/gants/
[133] http://www.watermarkarchive.org/watermarkinitiative/
[134] http://www.earlybook.info/
[135] http://www.mapavit.extra.hu/DHWD.htm.

The Valachi *in the Relations between the Hungarian Kingdom and the Ottoman Empire in the Early 1490s*

Alexandru Simon

Keywords: *Wladislaw II Jagiello*; *Hungary*; *Ottoman Empire*; *Venice*; *Vlachs*

According to the data at hand, after the fall of Constantinople, the first attempt to include Walachia (i. e., usually named *Walachia Maior / Valachia Alta*) and Moldavia (i. e., often referred to as *Walachia Minor / Valachia Bassa*) in an Ottoman-Hungarian peace treaty was made only in late 1466. The formula was provided by Venice. Just three years after the start of the war between her and the Porte, she was eager to reach an arrangement with Mehmed II. In order to avoid further political and military, problems, the settlement had to include her unstable ally, Matthias Corvinus.

> [According to Venice's 'proposed draft'] *recomandati nominandi in sufferentiis nomine Serenissime Regis Hungarie sunt isti, videlicet: Dominus Scanderbegus, Ragusini, Filii Ducis Stefani* [Stephen Košarca]; *Uterque Vajvoda utriusque Valachie* [Walachia and Moldavia] *et alii siqui sunt qui nunc tam de iure quam de facto pertinent ad Coronam* [i. e., of Hungary] (Venice, October 25, 1466).

Venice's attempt failed. Matthias and Mehmed II had their own designs. Moreover, Walachia's and Moldavia's presence in the treaty was not so much the result of Venice's desire to convince Matthias to accept the settlement, but a consequences of the arrangements (broken in 1467) concluded by the king of Hungary with the rulers of the two Walachias in view of the regional anti-Ottoman expedition(s) prepared for the next year[1].

Until 1484, the idea to include both Walachias as Buda's protégés (*recommandati*) in an Ottoman-Hungarian treaty (that would have sealed the Ottoman-Hungarian *condominium* north of the Lower Danube) was apparently abandoned. The

[1] Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Venice [hereafter, ASVe], *Senato Secreti* [hereafter, S. S.], *Deliberazioni*, reg. 23, *1466-1468*, c. 12^r (25^{th} of October, 1466; edited in *Magyar diplomacziai emlékek. Mátyás király korából 1458-1490* (ed. by Iván Nagy & Albert B. Nagy) (= *Monumenta Hungariae Historica*, IV, 1-4), II, [*1466-1480*], Budapest, 1876, no. 23, p. 41). In spite of Francisc Pall's note on the importance of this source (in his *Les relations entre la Hongrie et Skanderbeg*, "Revue Historique du Sud-Est Européen" 19 (1933), 4-6, p. 135-139), the matter has been neglected. For crusader and Walachian context in the late 1460s, see also Al. Simon, *Brancho's Son and the Walachians a Milanese Perspective on the Battle of Ba-ia' (I)*, "Historical Yearbook" 7 (2009), p. 187-200. For Ottoman-Wa-lachian relations after 1453: Mihail Guboglu, *Le tribut payé par les Principautés Roumains à la Porte jusqu'au début du XVI^e siècle d'après les sources turques*, "Revue des Études Islamiques" 37 (1969), 1, p. 41-80 (in this context, see, in particular, p. 68-79). The matter requires further documented analysis.

crusader consequences of the year 1467 (the Hungarian rebellion supported by the Porte and Moldavia, which virtually sealed Skanderbeg's Ottoman downfall), the events and the negotiations of the 1470s hardly favored such an idea. In (1483-)1484, the attempt to include the Walachias, namely Moldavia (and the harbors under her control), in an Ottoman-Hungarian truce led to one of the greatest anti-Ottoman disasters occurred after 1453 (the Moldavian triumph of Bayezid II that saved his throne). From the end of 1488 (after the Ottoman-Moldavian peace of 1486) until Matthias' death in spring 1490, however, the inclusion of the Walachias seems to have worked. In spite of later attempts, the potential inclusion re-became possible only in 1503 and only in the formula desired by Bayezid (nonetheless still hostile to this idea)[2].

I. Wladislaw II Jagiello's Peace Terms of 1492

One these attempts to include the Walachians (the probably most important attempt was made at the end of 1497, after the 'Polish crusade' in Moldavia), pertaining to the time span bordered by Matthias' death and the *General Peace* of Buda in 1503 (which conventionally marks the acceptance of the Ottoman Empire as Christendom's political partner), is particularly intriguing. The previously unknown attempt apparently did not even involve the two Walachias, but only certain Walachians. At least, this was the message sent from Venice to Milan in the autumn of 1492, after yet another series of months in which contradictory news on Ottoman-Hungarian arrangements and confrontations had repeatedly collided.

> *Se diche anchora chel debe essere seguita la pace o tregua per 4 anni tra el Serenissimo/ Re d'Ungaria* [Wladislaw II Jagiello] *et <el> Turco* [Bayezid II], *alcuni dicendo che questa cosa de differiva de firmarse/ tanto tempo perche el Re d'Ungaria voleva se li includesse entro el Serenissimo Re/ di Napoli* [Ferdinand of Ara-gon] *et Signori Ragusei, et certi Valachi. Et el Signor Turco non voleva quello sij/ seguito, et con quali capitoli. Per quanto posso intendere, questa Signoria non li ha/ anchora per chiaro* (Venice, October 23, 1492; report sent by *Taddeus, vicecamerarius*).

Obviously (and rather naturally) the attempted Hungarian-Ottoman settlement failed. With or without the *Valachi*, its fate would have probably been the same. A more lasting arrangement was concluded only in mid 1495. As far as it is

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[2] In general: Budapest, Magyar Országos Levéltár [Hungarian National Archives], (Q section) *Diplomatikai Levéltár* [Diplomatic Archive], [no.] 39328 (4th of November 1503; the Ottoman confirmation of the peace treaty); Vienna, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, *Urkundenabteilung, Algemeine Urkundenreihe. 1503* (20th of August 1503; the Hungarian version of the treaty; edited, for instance, in *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor* (ed. by Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki), II-1: *1451-1575* (ed. by Nicolae Densuşianu), Bucharest, 1890, no. 24, p. 20-23); Mihai Maxim, *Stephen the Great and the Sublime Porte: New Turkish Documents*, "Transylvanian Review" 14 (2005), 1, p. 19-23; Al. Simon, *The Contested Sultan: The Backgrounds of Bayezid II's Moldavian Campaign of 1484*, "Eurasian Studies: Journal for Balkan, Eastern Mediterranean, Anatolian, Middle Eastern, Iranian and Central Asian Studies" 7 (2009), p. 119-142 (see also Idem, *The Costs and Benefits of Anti-Ottoman Warfare: The Case of Moldavia (1475-1477)*, "Revue Roumaine d'Histoire" 48 (2009), 1-2, p. 37-53).

known, the arrangement, viewed by the Hungarian elite, as a great relief, did not include any Walachians or the Walachias[3].

At any rate, the recipient of the information from Venice, the ducal authorities of Milan, were familiar with Venice's 'Walachian (namely Moldavian) affairs', in particular since the 1470s. It is hard to believe that an experienced diplomatic system (probably the only one to match, as network and structure, the Venetian system) could have viewed/ labeled the rulers of Moldavia and Walachia as certain Walachians. Furthermore, only a week before the message in question was sent to Venice, Milan had been informed that Venice was about to finance Stephen III of Moldavia, once again her *captain*. Frightened by the expulsion of her bailo from Istanbul and the increasingly aggressive policy of the challenged Bayezid II, Venice was ready to react, not so much in view of a war, but in order to calm down the sultan. As for Vlad IV of Walachia, at least since 1489-1490, since Vlad had agreed to aid the Bosnian favorites of the republic and of Emperor Frederick III he was no stranger to the peninsula[4].

In effect, it seems that King Wladislaw II Jagiello of Hungary deemed it necessary to include these Walachians, and not Stephen III or Vlad IV, in his projected treaty with Bayezid II. This would be the message con-tained by the news that reached Milan and that had left apparently even the Venetians wonders. Yet, because of the peculiar mention, certain Walachians, which could not have 'lasted' in this formula in a report written in an environment well informed on the political life north of the Danube, the message seems to be more the result of a real royal intention,

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[3] In these matters: Milan, Archivio di Stato di Milano [hereafter, ASM], Archivio Ducale Sfozesco/ Archivio Visconteo Sforzesco [hereafter, A.D.S.], *Potenze Estere, Venezia*, cart. 379, *1492*, fasc. 10, *Ottobre*, nn (23rd of October 1492; the report containing the quoted fragment); Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Codici Italiani, classa VII, *Storia ecclesiastica e civile veneziana*, VII-999 [= 8002], f. 40 (59)v-41 (60)v (25th of July 1495; report on the recently concluded Ottoman-Hungarian truce); Budapest, Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem Könyvtár, *Codices, Kaprinai*, A, LI, no. 47, p. 108-120 [late 1497-early 1498; Wladislaw II's instructions for his envoys sent to Istanbul after his borther's, John Albert of Poland, failure to subdue Moldavia, was edited by I[ovan]. Šišić, *Rukovet spomenika o hercegu Ivanisu Korvinu i o borbama Hrvata s Turcima (1473-1496)*, "Starine" 38 (1937), no. 200, p. 102-109]; Lajos de Thallóczy, *Frammenti relativi alla storia dei paesi situati all' Adria* (offprint "Archeografo Triestino", 3rd series, 7 (1913), 1, p. 55; [Domenico Malipiero], *Annali veneti dall'anno 1457 al 1500 del Senatore Domenico Malipiero ordinati e abbreviati dal senatore Francesco Longo* [= "Archivio Storico Italiano" 7 (1843), p. 142-145 (ed. by Agostino Sagredo), p. 142-145.

[4] For instance: *Codice Aragonese o sia lettere regie, ordinamenti ed altri atti governativi de' sovrani aragonesi in Napoli riguardanti l'amministrazione interna del reame e le relazioni all'estero* (ed. by Francesco Thrinchera), II-1: [*1491-1493*], Naples, 1868, no. 147, p. 129; *Monumenta Historica Slavorum Meridionalum vicinorumque populorum e tabularis et bibliothecis italicis derompta* (ed. by Viaceslav Makusev), I-2: *Genua, Mantua, Mediolanum, Panormus et Taurinum*, Belgrade, 1882, no. 18, p. 50; no. 15, p. 137 (17th of October 1492; the original document on Stephen III as Venice's captain can be found in ASM, A.D.S., *Potenze Estere, Venezia*, cart. 379, fasc. 10, nn); Ştefan Ştefănescu, *Eléments nobiliaires balkaniques établis en Valachie à la fin du XVe siècle*, "Revue Roumaine d'Histoire" 4 (1965), 5, p. 891-896 [894-895]; Al. Simon, *Anti-Ottoman Warfare and Crusader Propaganda in 1474: New Evidences from the Archives of Milan*, "Revue Roumaine d'Histoire" 46 (2007), 1-4, p. 25-39.

than the product of a confuse information. The absence of the Walachias and the presence of Ragusa, another traditional protégé of Buda (a status consequently contested by the Porte) on 'Wladislaw II's list' enables two (divergent) explanations; either the Walachians were viewed as ab ovo involved in an Ottoman-Hungarian treaty (less likely) or their inclusion in such a treaty was, form the very beginning, out of the question because of the categorical opposition of the High Porte (more probable)[5].

II. Vlachs and Walachians along the Royal-Imperial Border

After Stephen III had recently prevented an Ottoman-Tartar attack on Hungary from the east and after Wladislaw II had confirmed Matthias Corvinus' donation by which Stephen III became one of Hungary's great landowners, the king had no reason to willingly leave the Moldavian ruler out of the treaty. On the other hand, by his demands to include Naples and Ragusa and the *Valachi* in treaty, the king obviously pushed the envelope in his relation to Bayezid II. The potential reasons for the king's 'excessive demands' were at least threefold. He needed Naples' good-will to be freed for good from his controversial marriage to Beatrice, Matthias' widow and the daughter of Ferdinand of Aragon. Mamluk Egypt once again pressured Bayezid. A war between the Porte and Venice was furthermore, by no means, out of the question. The threat posed by Djem, Bayezid's brother and rival, had not vanished. In the Balkans, in particu-lar in the areas of Montenegro and Albania, the number of rebellious anti-Ottoman centers continued to rise (with Venice's growing support)[6].

Under these circumstances, the *Valachi* have to be searched south of the Lower Danube. To what extent, Wladislaw II, far from being just a weak king,

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[5] E. g. Momčilo Spremić, *I tributi veneziani nel Levante nel XV secolo*, "Studi Veneziani" 13 (1971), p. 221-252 (in this case p. 247-248); Ferenc Szakály, *Phases of Turko-Hungarian Warfare before the Battle of Mohács. 1365-1526*, "Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae" 33 (1979), p. 65-112 [97-99, 101-102]; Naghi Pienaru, *Confruntare şi diplomaţie la Dunăre. Tratatele de pace otomano-ungare încheiate de Bayezid II şi Matia Corvin*, "Revista Istorică", new series, 14 (2003), 3-4, p. 175-194 [175-181]. For the eastern and south-eastern quality of Milanese information, see in this context: Oliver Jens Schmitt, *Skanderbegs letzte Jahre. West-östliches Wechselspiel von Diplomatie und Krieg im Zeitalter der osmanischen Eroberung Albanies (1464-1468)*, "Südost-Forschungen: internationale Zeitschrift für Geschichte, Kultur und Landeskunde Südost-europas" 64-65 (2004-2005), p. 56-123 (especially p. 60-62).

[6] ASVe, S. S., *Deliberazioni*, reg. 34, *1489-1493*, c. 118^{r-v} (4th of April 1492); Vladimir Lamansky, *Secrets d'État de Venise. Documents, extraits, notices et études servant a éclaircir les rapports de la Seigneurie avec les Grecs, les Slaves et la Porte Ottomane*, Sankt Petersburg, 1884, nos. VII [11-12], p. 246-249; Louis Thuasne, *Djem Sultan, fils de Mahommed II, frère de Bayezid II (1459-1495) d'après les documents originaux en grand partie inédites. Études sur la question d'Orient à la fin du XVe siècle*, Paris, 1890, p. 219-224; Kenneth M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204-1571)* [= *Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society*, CXIV, CXXVII, CLXI, CLXII], II, *The Fifteenth Century*, Philadelphia, 1978, p. 422-425; Michael J. Mc Gann, *A Call to Arms: Michael Marullus to Charles VIII*, "Byzantinische Forschungen" 16 (1991), p. 351-360; Al. Simon, *Antonio Bonfini's* Valachorum regulus: *Matthias Corvinus, Transylvania and Stephen the Great*, in *Between Worlds*, I, *Stephen the Great, Matthias Corvinus and their Time* [= *Mélanges d'Histoire Générale*, new series, I, 1] (ed. by László Koszta, Ovidiu Mureşan & Al. Simon), Cluj-Napoca, 2007, p. 207-224 (in particular 208-211).

actually planned to take them into his protection, or was only pressuring the Porte through them (thus risking to compromise the talks), is hard to determine. Maybe, the king wanted more in fact. Otherwise, his claim would have been ridiculous and futile from the start. Regardless of interpretation, his claim opens a largely neglected chapter: that of the Balkan Vlachs, related by language and (namely Byzantine, Bulgarian, Hungarian and then Ottoman) history to the Walachians north of the Danube. Several facts draw the borders of this chapter: the stand of these Vlachs during the (West) Balkan campaigns of the two Hunyadis, the Latin connection between the Danubian branches of these descendants of the Romans (as already noted by the Milanese apparatus in reference to the events of 1467), the massive colonization of the Vlachs by Mehmed II for the defense of Smederevo, in the vicinity of Belgrade (1475-1476)[7].

We thus turn to the context of 1491-1492. Bayezid II (re-)attempted to win (by treason) the disputed city of Belgrade. After 1483 (yet apparently 'less' in 1491-1492), the Hungarian captains of Belgrade had generally been members of the Ciula family, Walachians from Transylvania. Hence, given also the Vlach militaries in the Ottoman vicinity of the city, one has to ask whether or not the *Valachi* protected by Wladislaw were to remain in the empire (where they still enjoyed a non-neglectable autonomy) or had to be settled within the realm's borders. It is a rather unpleasant question due to modern Romanian-Hungarian disputes over the 'northern route' of the Vlachs, after the (Walachian-) Bulgarian Tsarate rejected Rome for good in the 1230s. At any rate, Matthias (whose designated king of Bosnia, Nicholas Ujlaki, had also taken on the title of king of Vlachia) had been very concerned with the fate of Bosnian Vlachs, such as those abducted by *Turks* in 1487 His unwanted heir, Wladislaw, usually tried to live up to Matthias' standards, perhaps in Vlach matters too[8].

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[7] In general: Silviu Dragomir, *Vlahii din nordul Peninsulei Balcanice în evul mediu*, Bucharest, 1959, p. 76-85; Nicoară Beldiceanu, *Les Valaques de Bosnie à la fin du XV^e siècle et leurs institutions*, "Turcica. Revue d'études turques: peuples, langues, culture, états" 7 (1975), p. 122-134; Olga Zirojević, *The Ottoman Military Organization in Yugoslav Countries in the 15^th and 16^th Centuries*, in *Ottoman Rule in Middle Europe and Balkan in the 16^th and 17^th Centuries. Papers presented at the 9^th Joint Conference of the Czechoslovak-Yugoslav Historical Committee* (ed. by Jaroslav Cesar), Prague, 1978, p. 176-188; Ioan Drăgan, *Un căpitan român pe frontul antiotoman: Ladislau Ficior de Ciula (?-1492)*, "Acta Musei Napocensis" 22-23 (1985-1986), p. 261-266; Al. Simon, *Brancho's Son and the Walachians*, I-II [forthcoming] (with the edition of the source, yet another report from Venice, in ASM, A.D.S., *Potenze Estere, Venezia*, cart. 354, 1468, fasc. 2, *Febbrario*, nn, 18^th of February 1468).

[8] E. g., for the Vlachs and Matthias Borislav Grgin, *Der Kroatische Klein-und Mitlerer Adel während der Herrschaft des Königs Matthias I. Corvinus (1458-1490)*, "East Central Europe. Eine wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift" 29 (2002), 1-2, p. 223-234 (in particular p. 230-232). For Matthias in defense of the Vlachs, see also Bayezid's letter to him (January 1487), in Ivan Biliarsky, *Une page des relations magyaro-ottomanes vers la fin du XV^e siècle*, "Turcica" 32 (2000), p. 291-305 (299-301). See also *Actes du Congres International des Études Balkaniques*, 1, 1966, 3, p. 559), Halil Inalcik's (unanswered) question in relation to the (unpublished) lecture of Nedim Filipović, *Au sujet des problèmes démographiques en Bosnie et Herzégovine pendant la seconde moitié du XV^e siècle* (in return, see his *A Contribution to the Problem of Islamization in the Balkan und ther Ottoman Rule*, in Idem, *Ottoman Rule in Middle Europe*, p. 305-358).

Szamosközy vs. Michael the Brave and the Wrath of Şincai*

Andrei Pogăciaş

Keywords: *Michael the Brave*; *Szamosközy*; *Şincai*; *Malus Dacus*; *Epitaph*

History should be a science of constructive and objective debate, eventually put to the service of the masses, with the aim of throwing a light on the past and learning from events that have occurred. The famous Latin principle that history should be written "*sine ira et studio*"[1] – without anger and subjectivity, has always been theoretical, as scholars, who are also people, cannot detach themselves emotionally from the events they study. It is neither awkward, nor rare, to find many history books or articles written in the last years that have as sole aim to attack another's work or even person. From mild language to hysterical gestures, especially at thematic talk-shows on TV, the confrontation rages on. We could think it is a sign of our times, of the globalization of science, rapid circulation of knowledge, and politics with a scientific background.

It is not.

While looking for information on the military life of the Wallachian Voivode Michael the Brave, we have come across a few notes from various historians, regarding the awful epitaph written for the Voivode by a contemporary Transylvanian chronicler of Hungarian origins.

Never published, only mentioned with disgust by Romanian authors – because, indeed, it is foul – the epitaph was rather hard to find, and the translation from Latin is quite interesting[2]. Without the slightest aim to stir any kind of nationalistic controversies, the study would have stopped here, being in the end a simple curious detail of written sources. But, as we shall see in the following pages, the epitaph did not remain unanswered, in the same manner, by none other than the well-known Transylvanian historian of Romanian origins, Gheorghe Şincai[3]. The quarrel of two Transylvanian historians, almost two centuries apart, comes to life here...

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* Special thanks go to Professor Vasile Rus of "Babeş-Bolyai" University of Cluj-Napoca, for the precious help in translating a few passages from Latin.

[1] Tacitus, in his introduction to the Annals, writes that he will present the facts *sine ira et studio.*

[2] The only Romanian source for the part of the text available in Romanian is the work that was used for this study: Ioachim Crăciun, *Cronicarul Szamosközy şi însemnările lui privitoare la români*, Cluj, 1928.

[3] Gheorghe Şincai, 1754-1816, Romanian scholar from Transylvania. He studied in Transylvania, then in Vienna and Rome. His activities included history, philology, poetry, literature. As director pf the Greek Catholic schools in Transylvania, he tried to educate the masses and spread the Romanian culture. One of his most important works is *The Chronicle of the Romanians.*

The Events

In 1599, the army of Michael the Brave entered Transylvania and defeated the army of Cardinal Andrew Bathory, the ruler of the country. Although he tried to pacify the region and reach an agreement with the local nobility and the Austrians at the same time, Michael was soon faced with an uprising and war. There were hard times for Transylvania, as the events shattered its political and social balance, the effects being felt for many years after.

There were also difficult days for a few of the former employees of Cardinal Bathory, who had to take refuge in the Saxon cities, like Hermannstadt/Sibiu, for example. In a German city with no particular love for 'aliens', life must have been hard for Szamosközy and others. The news of the slaughter of Michael was thus felt with great relief and joy, as the chronicler also writes. So happy were they, and so much fear must the Voivode inspire them, that only now did they dare mock him.

Who was Szamosközy?

Istvan/Stephen Szamosközy was born around the year 1565, probably in the town of Cluj. He lost both his parents at a very early age, but was very lucky to be taken in by the family of Ladislaus Sombory, a Transylvanian nobleman. He was raised here together with Sombory's son, and got the same high education.

He joined the son of his protector to the University of Heidelberg, between 1587 and 1590, and, after 1591, to the University of Padua, until 1594. During this time, he also did research at the Library in Florence, and had a book published. In 1593, his book, *Analecta Lapidum Vetustorum Et Nonnullarum in Dacia Antiquitatum*, 1593 was published in Padua, and was reedited in 1598 in Frankfurt.

After 1594 he returned to Cluj; from 1599 to 1604 – during the Wallachian intervention and the wars that followed –, he had to take refuge in Sibiu, Alba Iulia, and then Cluj again. It was a hard time for the chronicler, who had been used to a life of privileges and must have lived in sheer poverty and misery during these years. This period also influenced him dearly in his writings, especially regarding his feelings about the Wallachian Voivode Michael the Brave, and the Romanians in general.

The newly elected ruler of Transylvania, Stephen Bocskay[4], appointed him custodian of the Chapter of Alba Iulia, then chief archivist and official chronicler of the Principality. Though his will, Bocskay also left 2,000 gold pieces for the printing of Szamosközy's Chronicle. Sigismund Rakoczi[5], the new Prince of Transylvania, gave him a house in Alba Iulia in 1608 and an estate at Galda de Sus.

It is believed that Szamosközy died in Alba Iulia, on the 29th of March 1612.

His Works

His first work was the one mentioned above, a book regarding archeological finds of Transylvania, i. e. Roman lapidaria bearing inscriptions. From his other works, only fragments were preserved until today, in both Hungarian and Latin. It is

[4] Stephen Bocskay, 1557-1606, reigned 1605-1606.
[5] Reigned from 1607 to 1608.

believed that he also wrote *De Originibus Hungaricis*, a history of the early history of the Hungarians. Although lost, the work was cited by two other Transylvanian historians, L. Toppeltin[6] and D. Zwittinger[7]. Nothing else is known about this work. Among his other works are a Hungarian-Latin dictionary and political epigrams and verses, many written in a very rough and trivial style.

His sources are very varied – he took his information from other chronicles, documents from public and private archives and libraries, and from eye witnesses – diplomats, authorities, soldiers, etc – of the events he describes. His style and work method is thus a modern one, with almost no link to the old medieval way of writing historical events. Also, the supernatural element is not present in an overwhelming amount, such as the scholars of the Middle Ages used to do. He tried to get correct information, and extract the historical truth from his sources, and thus give an accurate account of events. For this, and also for his preoccupations in various fields of history – archeology, military history – he is regarded as the first modern Hungarian historian.

Unfortunately, no full version of his Chronicle was found, only fragments in Latin and Hungarian. There are three versions in Latin and very many short notes in Hungarian. After his death, his papers were scattered in various public and private libraries, possibly some lost forever.

The text

The text presents the events in a very objective way. Actually, Szamosközy appears in some of his writings as a supporter of Michael the Brave, as he even calls him "The Romanian Hannibal". He also mentions that "Voivode Michael did not like the obsequiousness, drunkenness, and the grudge of the Hungarians." Very useful are also the information he gives about the types of troops in the Wallachian army, and their numbers, as well as tactics employed. The chronicler has a real appetite for presenting battles and executions, as we will further see. He usually only makes limited comments, as in the following text: "Even Sinan-Pasha, when he was running across the bridge and many were crowding around him, fell off the bridge in the swamp, from where the Janissaries took him out. Bad omen also for the next battle of Sinan-Pasha!"

Other bad omens, mentioned by the chronicler in the old tradition of the medieval writings, are those regarding Cardinal Andrew Bathory, as he was going to war against Michael the Brave and the Wallachians: "When the Cardinal came down the stairs of the palace in Fehérvár, to mount his horse, one of his spurs broke. The flag, raised in front of his tent, in the camp, fell down"; at the beginning of the battle of Şelimbăr, which the Cardinal lost to the Wallachians, "the tip of the golden flag of the Cardinal broke by itself, and fell down; bad omen."

He must have been present at the famous entering of Michael the Brave in Alba Iulia, as he describes the event and the persons with great detail.

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[6] Laurentius Toppeltinus, Transylvanian historian, 1641-1670.
[7] David Zwittinger, Hungarian historian and philologist, 1675-1743.

Also, much information has to be regarded as coming from the inner circle of the most important participants to the events, such as when mentioning that one of the reasons why general Basta and Michael were not getting along was that both "were very ambitious, they hated each other *ad invicem*".

The Killing of Michael the Brave

He described the killing of Michael the Brave with as many details as possible, and gave no less than five versions of his execution in the camp of Turda, including the Romanian version! With sheer pleasure, he wrote that on that fateful morning, 300 Walloons headed for the tent of the Voivode. Then...

> "One of the captains, by the name of Bori, after entering the tent together with a few others, grabbed Michael saying «You are taken [prisoner]»; Michael said «No», and with this he put his hand on the sword, to take it out. A Walloon aiming with his gun fired it and hit him in his left hand, with which he tried to take out his sword, because Michael the Voivode was left-handed. Another Walloon pierced his chest with the sword, a third Walloon shot him in the back and so, after collapsing, they cut his head with his own sword. [They are looting the tent, and then] ... they dragged his body out of the tent and he lied three days, naked, at the margin of the road. They put the head, together with the beard, on the carcass of a horse, which had died there at the same time, and so the head stood there for a long time. The Germans cut big pieces of skin from the Voivode's body, flaying his back, ribs, shoulders, and *pro praeclaro scilicet gestae rei monumento* they kept them as keepsakes. Finally, as disgusting as he was, a few Serbs buried him in a small pit, so the dogs wouldn't eat him."

The Epitaph

"And in order to bring him too – us, who were living in misery in Sibiu – a token of our appreciation, we wrote for him this epitaph[8]:

«*Hic iacet ille ferus, latro merus et Nero verus,*
Cacus[9], *atrox Dacus, scelerum lacus, ille Valachus!*
Hac qui transibis, bis terque cacabis et ibis.»"

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[8] Another example of mock epitaph, written in the 18th century, belongs to the Wallachian chronicler and politician Ienăchiţă Văcărescu, and is dedicated to Kara Mustafa, the former Ottoman Grand Vizier, the unlucky besieger of Vienna in 1683:

"And it seems to me that this epigram would deserve to be on his grave:
Black was your name, black was your work,
Because you have destroyed so many countries, uselessly and for nothing.
Eratostrate has taught you how to leave a memory for yourself,
And you shall have it as great as his, without the immortality."

(On the side of the document, an explanation regarding Eratostrate – "The one who destroyed the temple of Diana in Ephesus, one of the seven wonders of the world."), Ienăchiţă Văcărescu, *Istoria otomanicească*, Bucharest, 2001, p. 67.

[9] Cacus, in Latin mythology, was a son of Vulcan, a monster who was spitting fire through his mouth and was eating humans, and who was eventually killed by Hercules on the Aventine.

In his biography of Vasile Lucaciu[10], Tiron Albani[11] also mentions this epitaph. Allegedly, it was told by Ioan Raţiu in a session of the Parliament in Budapest, probably in 1905 or 1906. Albani gives a slightly different version than the original and that of Şincai, although he must have taken it from the *Chronicle* of Şincai:

"*Hic jacet ille ferus, latro merus et Nero Verus*
Atque Malus Dacus, scelerum lacus, ille Valachus;
Hic qui transibis, terque cacabis et ibis."

He also gives the information – which is a pure invention – that the epitaph was actually written and put on Michael's grave by the Hungarians. The translation he gives for the epitaph is also purely poetical and barely resembles the original.

The translation of the original epitaph:

"*Here lies that savage, true brigand and real Nero*
Cacus, heinous Dacian, sack of catastrophies, that Wallachian;
You who are passing by(his grave), defecate two-three times and go."

The last version of the killing of the Voivodw, the fifth, is the Romanian version:

As the Walloons came to his tent, "O Michael Voivod came out to greet [the Walloon commander] and, wishing to treat the Walloon captain, invited him to enter the tent himself the first. As the captain categorically refused to enter the tent the first, Michael Voivod went in front. And when he entered the tent, he [the captain] stabbed him from behind with a sharp iron lance, so that the tip of the lance came out through the front by a palm's distance. Another Walloon shot him at once, and they cut off his head."

In the Latin material, Michael the Brave is called "O the most foul of the tyrants", and the Wallachians/Romanians are presented in the most negative and vulgar way possible – they are lazy and dirty; they are thieves and outlaws; even their leaders are not any better: "O the stinking Wallachian emissaries". His most dear wish is, as expressed in the pages of his work, "O that the entire people of the Wallachians be wiped out completely."

It is obvious that the chronicler changed his opinions over the duration of time, which is also reflected in the fragments which are available today, and that in the final version of his work, Szamosközy would have opted for the considerations in the Latin material, at least the ones regarding the Romanians.

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[10] Tiron Albani, *Leul dela Şişeşti*, Oradea, 1936, p. 174.

[11] Tiron Albani (1887-1976) was a journalist at various socialist newspapers. His biographies of Lucaciu, Avram Iancu and others combine fact and fiction.

The Wrath of Şincai

Almost 200 years after Szamosközy wrote his disgusting epitaph, Gheorghe Şincai found the manuscript in the archives in Alba Iulia, unsigned, read it, and felt the need to answer the deceased *Anonymus*, as he called the author. In his work, *The Chronicle of the Romanians*, published in 1811, his outrage bursts and adopts the same trivial formula as the Transylvanian chronicler of Hungarian origins two centuries before:

> "*Ast ego respondens indigno nomine dico:*
> *Quisquis is es, taceas et meliora sape;*
> *Nam fuit hic heros, qualem non protulit aetas,*
> *Nec feret; huic flores florida spargat humus.*
> *Tu qui ferre virum non vis, Anonyme! linge*
> *Merdam ejus, tibi quae semper in ore fuit.*
> *Sic etenim disces, quae sint dignissima scriptu,*
> *Et quid dicendum, quaeque tacenda tibi,*
> because to the historian it is not allowed to write anything else, than only the events, as they were..."[12]

In translation...

> "But me, answering to one who is not worth even a name, I tell him:
> Whoever you are, shut up and learn better things:
> That this one was a hero like no other was created in that century,
> And has none; to this one, the blossomed land should lay flowers,
> You, who cannot stand this man, Anonymous! Lick
> His excrements, which have always been in your mouth.
> Because only this way will you learn what is worth writing,
> What you have to say and what you have to be silent about."

No further comment can be added to a quarrel of two historians, separated by ethnicity, aspirations, loyalties, and 200 years!

[12] Gheorghe Şincai, *Cronica românilor*, Bucharest, 1978, p. 19.

Die deutsche Bevölkerung aus Klausenburg und Umgebung in archivalischen Quellen

Livia Ardelean

Keywords: *German Population*; *Cluj*; *German Colonists*; *Privileges*; *Kaspar Helth*; *Franz Davidis*; *Georg Hofgreff*; *the City Church*; *German Guilds*; *Protestant Church*; *Nationality of the Saxons*; *Church from Cluj*; *Karl Kurt Klein*; *German School*

Die Stadt Klausenburg (Cluj-Napoca), die fast in der Mitte Rumäniens liegt, wurde über Jahrhunderte eine der wichtigsten Städte Siebenbürgens und Ungarns. Auch "Schatzstadt" genannt, ist Klausenburgs Geschichte weder richtig, noch vollständig bekannt, trotz einer sachfachlichen Monographie aus dem XIX. Jahrhundert[1]. Eines der wichtigsten Themen, welches noch zu erforschen ist, betrifft die Bevölkerungsschichten und ihre Nationalität geknüpft. Die ersten mittelalterlichen Bewohner der Stadt waren die Deutschen und die Ungarn, die von ungarischen Königen mit alten Privilegien als Kolonisten und Bewohner ausgezeichnet wurden. Es ist nicht einfach zu unterschieden, was genau unter diesen Begriffen, Bewohner und Kolonisten, zu verstehen ist, aber es ist klar, dass die ersten Privilegien der Stadt im Zusammenhang mit den beiden Nationen stehen, welche die Stadt im Mittelalter bewohnten, und zwar die Deutschen und die Ungarn. Die Ersteren interessieren uns insbesonders, aber auch die Letzteren kommen immer wieder in Frage, weil die beiden Nationen entlang der Jahrhunderte im engen Kontakt miteinander standen. Es ist bekannt, dass sogleich Dees (Dej, wo König Stefan V. den *hospites* Vorrechte schenkte), Seck (Sic), Thorda (Turda), Sächsisch Reen (Reghin), Säschsisch Fenes (Floreşti) usw., im 13 Jh. die Stadt von deutschen Siedlern an beiden Ufern des Flusses Klein-Somesch (Someşul Mic), als zweitgrösste Stadt des Königsreichs erbaut wurde. Die beiden Ständenationen erhielten viele Vorrechte vom ungarischen Hof, die zu einem reichlichen Leben in Klausenburg führten und fortan als Grundlage ihrer Rechtsansprüche dienen sollten. Sie wurden von eigenen Richtern (*Judex et Juratores*) beurteilt und, weil die Stadt von Sachsen gegründet und verwaltet wurde, benutzte diese Stadt in Gerichtssachen als Apellationshof den 100 Kilometer entfernte Gerichtshof der Stadt Bistritz, und später jenen der Stadt Hermannstadt[2].

Es ist ebenfalls bekannt, dass der Kern der Altstadt in jenem Stadtteil liegt, der als Deutschenviertel mehrere Jahrhunderte lang angesehen wurde, und von dort breitete sich die Stadt aus. In den nationalen (ungarischen und deutschen)

[1] Elek Jákab, *Kolozsvár története*, 1-3, Budapest, 1870-1888.
[2] Kreisarchiv Klausenburg, Bestand Archiv der Stadt Klausenburg, Privilegien (*Primăria oraşului Cluj, Privilegii*), Magistrat der Stadt Bistritz (*Primăria oraşului Bistriţa, seria I*).

Historiographien hat es, besonders im XIX. und XX. Jh., zahlreiche heftige Diskussionen gegeben, welche die Rolle der einen oder der anderen Nation übertrieben haben. Wenn man die Unterlagen des Klausenburger Stadtarchivs untersucht, wird es besonders klar, dass die Deutschen und Ungarn eine Stadt bauten, wo das Leben sehr interessant und wohlhabend war. Das Alltagsleben der Deutschen war scheinbar besser entwickelt. Die deutsche Kultur überschritt die politischen Grenzen des Reiches, während sie überall in Siebenbürgen verbreitet und bedeutend war. Die bauliche Schöpfung, die für die Deutschen im Mittelalter typisch war, erreichte in Klausenburg ihren Höhepunkt in der großen und prachtvollen Sankt Michael Kirche.

Das im Jahre 1375 von den deutschen Klausenburger Brüdern, Georg und Marten, in Bronze gegossene Reiterstandbild des heiligen Georg, das sich auf dem Haadschin im Prag befindet, gehört zu den wichtigsten und großartigsten Werken des deutschen Mittelalters[3]. In Klausenburg wurde später, in Erinnerung der deutschen Brüder, eine Kopie gegossen, aber all zu wenige Leute, weder Einheimische, noch Touristen, wissen leider etwas über die deutsche Nationalität oder über das Leben der berühmten Künstler.

Andererseits ist die Architektur der Stadt, besonders jene der Bürger Häuser, einer Besprechung wert. Die deutsche Auswanderung nach Siebenbürgen wurde als eine reine Verpflanzung deutscher Kultur nach Südosten betrachtet, wobei die deutschen Auswanderer den Urtypus der bauerlichen Behausung nach Siebenbürgen mit sich brachten, der schon um das Jahr 1000 seine feststehende und erkennbare Form erhalten hat. Mann baute ähnliche Häuser, nur waren sie größer; statt Einraumhäuser hatten sie 3 Zimmer. Sie standen mit der Giebelseite gerichtet, und in ihrer Zusammenfügung formten sie lange Strassenzüge, die den Lageplan des fränkischen Dorfes folgten. Ursprünglich war dieses fränkische Bauernhaus, auch in den Städten, das Wohnhaus des Bürgers, des Handwerkes und des Patriziers. Typisch für Bürgerhäuser waren die großen Keller, wo der Wein abgelagert wurde, denn die deutschen und die ungarischen Bewohner Klausenburgs beschäftigten sich auch mit Herstellung und Handel des Weines[4]. Viele Unterlagen beweisen, dass die deutschen Stadtbewohner solche Häuser in der Mitte der Stadt besaßen. Kaspar Helth hatte seine (die erste) Typografie im Zentrum der Stadt inne, in unmittelbarer Nähe der großen Kirche, im Haus Schleunig, wo er selbst gewohnt hatte. Im deutschen Teil der Stadt bauten die Sachsen die erste Stadtkirche. Man kennt auch den Platz wo das Haus Hertel stand, wo die Eltern von David Francisc wohnten. In jenem Stadtteil, wo heute sich die lutherische Kirche befindet, stand im Mittelalter das Haus "Quarta", wo die Getreide der Priester aufgenommen wurden. Das Haus Wolpfard, das in der humanistischen Bauart errichtet wurde, war im Mittelalter das berühmteste Haus in Klausenburg. Später wurde es vom bekannten deutschen Richter Linczeg[5] gekauft und benutzt. Insgesamt waren die Klausenburger Sachsen, dank ihrer

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[3] Viktor Roth, *Deutsche Kunst in Siebenbürgen*, Manuskript im Kreisarchiv Klausenburg, Bestand Karl Kurt Klein.
[4] *Ibidem.*
[5] Abbild 4.

wirtschaftlichen Tätigkeiten, meistens reiche Bürger, welche oft Häuser und Grundbesitz in der Stadt und deren Umgebung kauften. Der Ankauf von Häusern diente auch als Geldeinlage, indem die bezahlte Steuer proportional mit dem Besitz und abhängig von Vieh und Schweinherden war.[6] Giovanandrea Gromo, Cosimo Medicis Befehlshaber, der in 1565 die Stadt besuchte, beschrieb sie als eine große und reiche Stadt, mit einer alten befestigten Stadtmauer, mit Bastionen und Türmen, sowie mit steinernen Häusern. Die Stadt hatte 3 verschiedene Vororte, die von Sachsen, Ungarn und Rumänen bewohnt waren[7].

Nach der großen Feuerbrunst von 1795, die die alten, aus Holz gebauten Häuser zerstörte, folgten die Vernichtung der Stadtmauern im XIX. Jh. und die Steigerung des Anteils und der Bedeutung der ungarischen Bevölkerung. Deshalb wurden leider die deutschen Häuser abgerissen oder umgebaut, so dass die Spuren dieser Gebäude überhaupt nicht mehr zu sehen sind. Der größte Teil der Stadtmauer wurde von der sächsischen Bevölkerung der Stadt aufgebaut. Aber mit der wachsenden Bedeutung der Städte, deren Handelsverbindungen sich, vor allen Dingen, an die deutschen Reichsstädte, an die Mittelpunkte des mittelalterlichen Gewerbslebens im Westen und an Böhmen knüpften, drangen auch Baumotive der profanen Gotik, der Renaissanse, des Barock und der folgenden Stilarten im Land ein, welche hier ihre großartigen Verkörperungen fanden, besonders im Bánffy Palais in Klausenburg. Die zweite Welle der deutschen Kolonisten, die im XVIII. Jh. von den Habsburgern, mit der Absicht die mittelalterlichen Privilegien der Zünfte zu brechen, in der Stadt angesiedelt wurden, spielte zunächst eine große Rolle in der Kultur und Bauarhitektur der Stadt.

Der reiche und berühmte Polstermeister Johann Tauffer[8] wurde vom Gubernator Georg Bánffy von Hermannstadt nach Klausenburg einberufen, und in der Stadt eingebürgert. Der Sachse baute ein besonderes Haus, wo er die Kulturgesellschaft der Stadt einzuladen pflegte. Sein Haus ist auch heutzutage ein Kulturtreffen Kaffehaus, das "Tauffer Haus". Das Haus Mausch-Hintz ist ein altes und sehr bekanntes Haus, mit alten baulichen Elementen aus der Renaissance, besonders im Erdgeschoss, im Hof und Keller. Hier wurde um 1700 die erste Apotheke in Klausenburg eröffnet, die in der Mitte des XVIII. Jh. von Tobias Mausch, der Verwalter der evangelischen Kirche, betrieben wurde. Im XIX. Jh. kaufte die Familie Hintz das Haus ab, und betrieb weiter die beste Apotheke in der Stadt.

Eine der größten sächsischen Persönlichkeiten Klausenburgs, nämlich Kaspar Helth, welcher nach seinem ungarisierten Namen, Gáspar Heltai, besser bekannt ist, hat die erste Stadttypographie mit Papiermühle besitzt. Er war auch als Schriftsteller, Übersetzer und Wirtschaftswissenschaftler tätig. Im Dezember 1548 hatten Helth und der Magistrat der Stadt Klausenburg den Vorschlag der Bistritzer,

[6] Samuel Goldenberg, *Supplying of Transylvanian towns in the 16th and 17th centuries and the price policy of municipal administrative authorities*, "Revue Roumaine des Sciences Sociales. Série des Sciences Économiques" 22 (1978), 2, S. 231-239.
[7] Idem, *Clujul în sec. XVI*, [Bukarest], 1958, S. 39.
[8] Abbild 5.

dass der Priester Helth nach Bistritz umzieht, abgelehnt[9]. Die Stadt Klausenburg versprach dem renommierten Humanist und seinen neuen, modernen Werken eine bessere Unterstützung[10]. Im Jahre 1550 errichtete der erste Drucker aus Klausenburg, Georg Hoffgreff, der in Kronstadt und Nürnberg seine Ausbildung erhalten hatte, die erste Druckerei der Stadt, wo er mit Hilfe und Unterstützung von Georg Martinuzzi die Textausgabe der Feuerprobeprotokolle Grosswardeins aus den XIII. Jh. veröffentlichte. Kurz danach verbündete sich Hoffgreff mit Kaspar Helth, dem damaligen deutschen lutherischen Stadtpfarrer von Klausenburg, um zusammen die lutherische Reformation in Klausenburg zu unterstützen[11]. Später (in 1557) lud die Stadt Kronstadt den Helth als ersten Priester ein, aber er lehnte auch diesen Vorschlag ab und blieb weiter in Klausenburg, wo er eine große Rolle, sowohl in der Politik, als auch in der Kultur, Religion und Wirtschaft spielte. Kaspar Helth blieb über Jahrhunderte als der berühmteste Deutsche aus Klausenburg bekannt. Im XVI. Jh. gab es viele Ärtzte (chyrurgus), Schreiber (litteratus), Apotheker (apoticarius) usw. aus den Reihen der Sachsen oder der Fremde aus Europa (Ioan Balk, Toma Iordanus)[12].

Was die wirtschaftliche Lage der sächsischen Bevölkerung aus Klausenburg betrifft, muss man einige Dinge ganz vom Anfang an erklären. Schon nach der Kolonisation der Sachsenbevölkerung in XIII. Jh., besonders nach der Ausziehung der Militärverwaltung nach Lita, blieb die Stadt nur ein landwirtschaftlicher Ort, wo die Sachsen große Besitzer waren[13]. Auf der anderen Seite ist es bekannt, dass die Deutschen als äußerst fleißige, genaue und gute Handwerker von den anderen Nationen angesehen wurden, und schon im XIII. Jh. waren sie teilweise Handwerker, obwohl die meisten sich noch mit Landwirtschaft im XIV. Jh. beschäftigten[14]. Durch die Handelsprivilegien vom 30. Juli 1377 und vom Jahre 1404, erhielten die *"Gäste und Händler"* aus Klausenburg das Recht landwirtschafliche Produkte (Korn, Vieh, Wein, Fisch, Talg, Heu, Holz) in die benachbarten Orte und nach Ungarn, Poland, Möhren usw.[15] auszuführen. Durch Handelsbeziehungen wurden einige deutsche Kaufleute aus Klausenburg, wie Sebastian Munich, Martin Luther, Stephan Wolphard und Stephan Razman, reich[16]. Viele fremde Reiser, einschließlich ungarischer oder rumänischer Sippe, bestätigten die guten Eigenschaften des deutschen Volksstammes. Selbst in Klausenburg erkannte die ungarische Geschichtsschreibung, dass nicht nur die deutschen Männer, sondern auch die deutschen Frauen besonders fleißig, hartnäckig waren und dadurch reich wurden. Die

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[9] Abbild 2.

[10] Kreissarchiv Klausenburg, Bestand *Primăria orașului Bistrița, seria* I/1548.

[11] Gedeon Borsa, *Die Konfesionalliesierung im Spiegel der siebenbürgischen Druckorte und Buchdrucker*, in *Konfessionsbildung und Konfessionskultur in Siebenbürgen in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Hg. Ulrich A. Volker Leppin), [Stuttgart], 2005, S. 79.

[12] S. Goldenberg, *op. cit.*, S. 50.

[13] G. S. Ardeleanu, *Orașul Cluj, important centru meșteșugăresc în secolul al XVI-lea*, I, Bukarest, 1954, S. 722.

[14] *Ibidem*, S. 723-725.

[15] *Ibidem*, S. 725; S. Goldenberg, *op. cit.*

[16] *Ibidem*, S. 420.

Privilegien aus den Jahren 1316 und 1379 gewährten den sächsischen Handwerkern mehrere Rechte, obwohl sie eine gemischte Schicht bildeten und auch viel Landwirtschaft trieben. Es gibt Historiker, die die Sachsen als die ersten Handwerker des XIV. Jh. betrachten[17]. Sie trieben Handwerk und Weinbau, aber wurden auch in deutsche Zünfte (der Schneider, Kothurner, Schuster) oder gemischte Zünfte (der Riemer, Seiler, Büchsenmacher, Glasbläser, Weber, Tischler, Schlosser, Sattler) usw. eingeschrieben. Die Sammlung "Zünfte" im Klausenburger Bezirkarchivs bewahrt die Akten mehrerer Zünfte. Darunter befinden sich jene der Klausenburger Goldzunft des XVI. Jahrhunderts, welche sich im Konflikt mit der Hermannstädter Goldzunft befand (1574-1575). Bis spät in das XIX. Jahrhundert hinein waren die Zünfte aus Klausenburg waren im Allgemeinen gemischt, bestehend aus deutschen und ungarischen Mitgliedern, mit einigen Ausnahmen jedoch:

- die Schneiderzünfte, deren es zwei gab: die Schneiderzunft der Magyaren und die der Deutschen. In der Sammlung der deutschen Schneider aus dem Zeitraum zwischen dem XVI. und dem XIX. Jahrhundert, bewahrt man nicht nur die Zunftregister, Rechnungen, Ordnungen und Regelungen, sondern auch die Kirchenmatrikel, besonders die Taufauszüge etlichen deutschen Bewohners. Weitere Fragen betreffen kaiserliche Bestellungen; Konflikte mit den klausenbürgischen Händlern für die Ladenverkäufe; Konflikte mit privaten Schneiderinnen; Auseinandersetzungen mit den aus anderen deutschen Städten umgezogenen Schneidern; die für den Unterhalt des Krankenhauses Karolina notwendigen Geldsummen; die Akten der verschiedenen Vereine; die Unterstützungt des klausenbürgischen Museums seitens der Deutschen usw[18].

- die Goldschmiedezunft, die Verdichterzunft, die Schmiedezunft, die Fassbinderzunft, deren Privilegien und Statute schon im XV Jh. zuerst in deutscher Sprache niedergeschrieben wurden, was die Nationalität der Meister und Gesellen anzeigt[19]. Im XVI. Jh. fungierte in Klausenburg eine Brüderschaft der Gesellen der Goldschmieder, die ein eigenes Statut besass[20]. Man muss bemerken, dass viele Gesellen der Klausenburger Meister in Siebenbürgen geboren waren und der Sächsischen Universität gehörten[21].

Die reichen Kaufleute aus Klausenburg verkauften ihre eigenen Produkte und Wein auf den in einer Entfernung von 20-30 Km abzuhaltenden Wochenmärkten. Sie waren besonders in den siebenbürgischen Städten tätig, da der Fernhandel keine so wichtige Rolle, wie in Kronstadt oder Hermannstadt, spielte, obwohl es viele Familienverbindungen auch mit den dortigen Kaufleuten gab. Einige Beispiele zeigen die Familie Agatha aus Hermannstadt, die ein Haus in Klausenburg kaufte, oder die aus Nürnberg stammende Patrizierfamilie Stromer, die aus Hermannstadt nach Klausenburg umzog. Am Anfang des XVI. Jh. wurde ein

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[17] G. S. Ardeleanu, *op. cit.*, S. 728.
[18] Kreissarchiv Klausenburg, Bestand Sammlung *Bresle* (Zünfte).
[19] Addenda.
[20] Addenda, Zunft der Goldschmieder, 1/1537.
[21] G. S. Ardeleanu, *op. cit.*, S. 736.

bestimmter Johannes Stromer sogar als Königsrichter ausgewählt[22]. Für diesen Kleinhandel erhielten die Klausenburger mehrere Zollbefreiungen, auch gegen den Willen der betroffenen Adligen. Andererseits aber kämpften die Klausenburger gegen die Ansprüche des Grosswardeiner Kapitels, durch ständiges Eintreten für die Sicherung der Zollfreiheit auf dem Handelsweg nach Grosswardein.

Ein kleiner Teil der deutschen Kaufleute betrieben Handelsbeziehungen auch mit Poland, der Walachei oder Moldau. Die Weinberge, die eine große Rolle besonders im Mittelalter spielten, lagen in der unmittelbaren Umgebung der Stadt, in Säschsisch Fenes (Floreşti), dessen Einwohner am Anfang Deutsche waren, aber mit der Zeit assimiliert und magyarisiert wurden.

In der Stadt verlief das soziale und nationale Leben nicht immer reibungslos, besonders nach 1437, als die Einwohner am großen Aufstand teilnahmen. Zu den Gegensätzen zwischen den Unter- und Oberschichten der Stadt, zwischen Kaufleute und Handwerker, Krämer und Fernhändler, Schuldner und Gläubige, besonders aber jene zwischen dem Adel und den reichen Patrizier, die Grundstücke verpfändeten und manchmal auch verloren, gesellte sich der Konflikt zwischen den ungarischen und den deutschen Bürgern aus Klausenburg. Die Kämpfe zwischen Zünfte verpflechteten sich mit dem Machtstreben der ungarischen Bevölkerung, da anfänglich fast die ganze politische, religiöse und wirtschaftliche Führung den Sachsen gehört hatte. Was die Anzahl der sächsischen Bevölkerung betrifft, stimmen die Informationen nicht immer miteinander. E. Molnár schätzt, dass es im XV. Jh. in Klausenburg 550 Magyaren und 2000 Sachsen gab. G.S. Ardeleanu meint hingegen, dass die Ungarn viel zahlreicher waren, und ebenfalls 2000 Seelen, gleich den Sachsen, zählten[23]. Im XV.-XVI. Jh. gab es 13 deutsche und 9 ungarische unter den 28 Geschlechtern, die eine größere Rolle in der Stadt spielten, ihr Vermögen durch Handel, Gewerbe, Weinbau und Kreditwesen geschafft hatten und ihr Besitz aus Immobilien (Häuser, Grundstücke, Weingärten, Fischteiche, Mühlen) bestand. Aus 140 stadtführende Familien, waren 32 von ungarischer Nationalität (22,5%) und 21 von deutscher Nationalität (14,2%). In Klausenburg, genau wie in Wien oder Ofen, war der Zugang zum Patriziat nicht geschlossen, und die Regierung der Stadt war kaum bestimmten Geschlechtern allein zugestanden; stattdessen, gab es einige Familien (wie die Bulkeser, Mün, Sarctor-Zabo u.a.), die über mehrere Generationen hindurch zu den Obrigkeiten zählten. Aus dem XVI. Jh. wurden die Ämter von einzelnen Personen für sich selbst beansprucht[24]. Aus dem wirtschaftlichen Gesichtspunkt war der Kaspar Helth ein sehr reicher und innovativer Sachse, der eine Bierbrauerei, eine Kapelle, eine Papiermühle und eine Typografie besaß, die ihm schönes Geld brachten. Insgesamt beeinflusste er positiv die Modernisierung der Stadt. Außerdem hatten die Sachsen die Stadtbadeanstalt eingeführt.

Das größte Problem, dass die Geschichte der sächsischen Bevölkerung aus Klausenburg aufhebt, ist das Problem der Nationalität. Auf einer Seite sind die

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[22] Konrad G. Gündisch, *Die Führungsschicht von Klausenburg (1438-1526)*, in Idem, *Forschungen über Siebenbürgen und seine Nachbarn*, München, 1987.
[23] G. S. Ardeleanu, *op. cit.*, S. 729-730.
[24] *Ibidem.*

Sachsen dadurch bekannt, dass sie die anderen Nationen auf dem Königsboden nicht aufnehmen wollten, aber auf der anderen Seite sehe man sich das Beispiel Klausenburgs an. Nach vielen sozialen und nationalen Unruhen, wurde im Jahr 1458, durch König Mathia, die Gleichberechtigung der Magyaren und Sachsen bei der Stadtführung genehmigt[25]. Von diesem Zeitpunkt an, bis spät gegen Mitte des XVII. Jh., war folgendes Prinzip in Kraft: wenn der Königsrichter ein Deutscher war, dann war der Stadtrichter ein Ungar, während die Hälfte der Hundertmannschaft Deutsche waren. In der Stadt wurden die Steuerabgaben vom sächsischen und ungarischen Steuersammler, im Namen der beiden Nationen, getrennt gesammelt. Man muss hier bemerken, dass in Klausenburg diese Nationen aus ethnischer und politischer Sicht nicht genau gleich waren, da die Ungaren viele Deutschen im Assimilationsprozess aufnahmen, und binnen 1-2 Generationen wurden diese Deutschen magyarisiert. Das war überhaupt möglich wegen der geographischen Lage Klausenburgs, welches vom Sachsenland getrennt war. Noch interessanter scheint uns die Art und Weise wie Konfession und Kirche einer Nation zu ihrer Identitätsverlierung beitrugen. Der Prozess begann in der Mitte des XVI. Jh., gleichzeitig mit der kirchlichen Reformation, als die bekanntesten Sachsen aus Klausenburg die Reformation in die Stadt einbrachten. Ein Teil der klausenbürgischen Sachsen hatten Honterus' Ideen aus Kronstadt eingeführt. Aus diesem Grund wurden sie als Verräter von der ungarischen Gesichtsschreibung angezeigt: Georg Hofgreff, der im Jahr 1545 in Kronstadt studierte, und zusammen mit Kaspar Helth die erste Typografie in Klausenburg gegründet hatte; Franz Davidis (ungarisch Dávid Ferencz), einer der Gränder der Bewegung des Antitrinitarismus; oder Kaspar Helth selbst (Gáspár Heltai)[26], der in Wittenberg studierte.

Mehrere Jahrzehnte hindurch etablierte sich Klausenburg als eine innovative und reformierte Stadt, denn die Religion der Stadt wurde nicht nur von den einheimischen Sachsen, sondern auch durch italienische Einwanderer aus Polen eingeführt. Nach der Reformation wurde Klausenburg protestantisch, aber in einer radikalen Form. In der Sankt Michael Kirche wurden im Jahr 1546 beide Nationen gleich berechtigt. Die reformierte antitrinitarische Kirche wurde von Ungarn angenommen, während die Sachsen eher konservatorisch gestimmt waren. Sehr interessant war die Haltung von Helth und Davidis, jene Sachsen welche ungarisch sprachen und schrieben, aber sich dennoch Sachsen fühlten. Davidis, geboren unter dem Namen Franz Hertel[27], führte mit seinen eigenen Sachsen einen Kampf für die protestantische Religion, und wurde als Bischof der ungarischen Kirche betrachtet. In der unitarischen Kirche aus Klausenburg gibt es noch heute einen Stein, zur Erinnerung von Davidis, der im Jahre 1568 eine anregende Predikt gehalten hatte, die der Grund zur Übertretung der Klausenburger Bürger zum neuen unitarischen Glauben bot. Trotz dieser Politik scheint es, dass Davidis, genauso wie Helth, sich selbst Deutsche fühlte, und beide haben entlang des konfessionellen Streites den

[25] Edit Szegedi, *Identități premoderne în Transilvania*, Klausenburg, 2002.
[26] Addenda, S. 29.
[27] Krista Zach, *Politische Ursachen und Motive der Konfessionalisierung in Siebenbürgen*, in *Konfessionsbildung und Konfessionskultur in Siebenbürgen* cit.

Deutschen geholfen. Das XVII. Jahrhundert war schwer für die lutherische Kirche, die als eine Innovierung betrachtet wurde. In diesem Zeitraum hatten die Klausenburger Sachsen eine polnische Orientierung, wobei viele Sachsen, so wie Mathias Raw oder Valentin Radecius dieser Orientierung folgten. Im Jahr 1622 führte man die deutsche Sprache in der unitarischen Kirche ein, und die Stadt wandelte sich in unitarisch zwischen 1570-1655 um. Wegen den zahlreichen Bewegungen und Zwistigkeiten seitens der Reformierten, musste man die Vorrechte dieser Kirche verteidigen. Aber die magyarische reformierte Kirche erhielt, besonders in diesem Jahrhundert, eine große Hilfe von den ungarischen Fürsten, die die Ungarn in die Verwaltung der Stadt miteinbezogen hatten, als im Jahr 1641 der erste ungarische Stadtrichter gewählt wurde. Nach 1632, nach dem Tod des Valentin Radecius, wurde der Bischof ausschließlich aus den Reihen der ungarischen Nation gewählt, nämlich unter dem Vorwand, dass die ungarische Sprache ein Muss für die kanonische Visitation war. Die Stadtkirche des Sankt Michael wurde den Reformierten, dann den Katoliken geschenkt, und blieb bis heute eine katholische Kirche.

Von diesem Zeitpunkt an, vertiefte sich der Prozess der Assimilierung durch Sprache, obwohl Helth, Davidis, Linczig ihre Werke schon früher in Ungarisch verfasst hatten[28]. Im XVIII. Jh. blieb die deutsche Nation aus Klausenburg sehr klein und schwach. Die Magyariesirung der Stadt war keine direkte Folge der unierten Bewegung Gegenreformation, sondern sie begleitete den Prozess der Konfessionalisierung in Klausenburg und auf dem Königsboden, der die Beziehungen zwischen den Sachsen beider geographischen Einheiten geprägt hatte. Die Klausenburger Sachsen trennten sich von der großen sächsischen Volksmasse, vergaßen ihre eigene Sprache, schrieben ungarisch, aber sie behielten ihre besondere Identität. Mit der Zeit erwarb die evangelische Kirche augsburgischer Bekenntnisses auch ungarische Priester aus Szecel (Săcele), neben Kronstadt, die zu Leibeigenen der klausenburgischen Sachsen wurden. Diese Lage ist noch heutzutage zu bemerken, denn obwohl auf der Kirchentafel auch deutsche Anzeigen stehen, ist die Sprache der Kirche ungarisch. Im XVIII. Jh. wurde diese evangelische *Ecclesie* von Klausenburg eine Filiale der Hermannstädter und nach 1918 als selbständige Kirche erkannt.

Was die Schule betrifft, errichtete die deutsche Bevölkerung sehr früh ihre eigenen Schulen. Aus dem Jahr 1409 kennen wir den Namen des Stadtlehrers, "*Caspar notarius et rector scholarum*". Der berühmte Franz Hertel, gekannt als Franciscus oder Franz Davidis, wurde im Jahre 1553 Rektor der Klausenburger Schule[29]. Dann im Jahre 1577 war Adam Braun Lehrer der Stadt, woher er den Bistritzern schrieb und sie fragte, ob er keine Stelle in ihrer Stadt erhalten könnte, da er früher Lehrer in Kronstadt gewesen war, später zurückgekommen sei und nun

[28] Kreissarchiv Klausenburg, Bestand *Primăria orașului Cluj*, *Socotelile orașului* (Stadtrechnungen)
[29] G. Borsa, *Die Reformation in Klausenburg*, in *Konfessionsbildung und Konfessionskultur in Siebenbürgen* cit., S. 79.

wollte er unbedingt dort arbeiten, wo es mehrere deutschen Kinder gab[30]. Auf der anderen Seite wurde die Ausbildung an ausländische Universitäten, die sogenannte "*Pelegrinatio academica*", ein organischer Teil der ungarischen protestantischen Schulung in Ungarn im XVI-XVIII. Jh.. Der Wanderlehrling Deak lernte zuerst in heimatliche Volksschulen, studierte nachher an ausländische Universitäten (in Paris, Padua, Ferrara, Bologna, Wien, während des Humanismus und der Reformationszeit in Wittenberg, Heidelberg, England, in den Niederlanden und Schweiz). Die Lutheraner studierten in Göttingen, Tübingen, Leipzig, Jena[31] und im XVIII. Jh. in Cambridge, Oxford, Basel, Bern, Genf, Zürich, Halle, Göttingen. Als die Wanderlehrlinge heimkehrten, wirkten sie als Lehrer, Beamte, Pfarrer. Diese Schüler bildeten Jahrhunderte lang die Verbindung zwischen West- und Osteuropa.

Das XVIII. Jh. war besonders schwer für die deutsche Bevölkerung der Stadt. Der fürstlichen Assimilationspolitik folgte die habsburgische Politik, die von der sächsischen Bevölkerung nicht gut angesehen war. Die merkantilische Wirtschaftspolitik schuf die alten Privilegien ab, die Zünfte wurden geschwächt. Noch schlimmer war die neue Ansiedlungspolitik, die im Jahre 1723 durch das Impopulationsgesetz eingeleitet wurde.

Die Migrationsbeziehungen zwischen dem Königsreich Ungarn und dem Heiligen Römischen Reich deutscher Nation waren aufgrund dieses Gesetzes möglich. Dadurch wurden die Deutschen zur wanderlustigsten Nation Europas. In Klausenburg wurden in der zweiten Welle der Kolonisation, die sogenannte Intelligenzwelle, Exulanten, Gelehrten, Studenten, Kaufleute, Handwerker neu angesiedelt. Die neuen Ansiedler wurden zum Teil auch katholisch. Diese Welle vergrößerte die deutsche Nation aus Klausenburg, die sich nun besser organisieren, nationale Schulen unterhalten und ein deutsches Leben in der Stadt entwickeln konnte. Die lutherische Kirche unterhielt die größte Anzahl von Grundschulen im Vergleich mit ihrem Anteil an der Bevölkerung Siebenbürgens[32]. Die deutschen Zünfte wurden als sehr ernst betrachtet, und um ihre Identität zu bewahren konnte kein ungarischer Meister oder Geselle dort eintreten. Die Habsburger glaubten, dass die Abschaffung der Privilegien den Deutschen helfen würde. Deshalb traten die Deutschen allmählich aus dem Burgerstande aus und, besonders nach 1784, nach der Einführung der deutschen Sprache als offizielle Verwaltungssprache, findet man sie in den Reihen der Hochbeamten.

Diese Politik erregte die heftige Opposition der ungarischen Seite, viele Ungarn drückten sich gegen deutsche Kolonisierung aus[33]. Hinzukamen die Ermahnungen des Kanzlers Graf Esterházi an die Ungarn, insbesonders die Deutschen aus Ungarn zu magyariesieren. In diesem Jahrhundert merkt man die Tendenz der neuen Kolonisten zur Kooperation mit den alten Klausenburger

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[30] Kreissarchiv Klausenburg, Bestand *Primăria orașului Bistrița*, Serie I, 4158/1577.

[31] Richard Hörcsik, *Die kurze Geschichte der protestantischen Peregrination in Ungarn in 16-18 Jh.*, in *The first Millenium of Hungary in Europe* (Hg. Klára Papp & János Barta), Debrecen, 2002.

[32] Zoltán Pálfy, *Ethnoconfessional Patterns of the Choise of Study Path*, in *Cultural Dimensions of Elite Formation in Transylvania 1770-1950* (Hg. Victor Karady & Borbála Zsuzsanna Török), Klausenburg, 2008, S. 38.

[33] Johann Weidlein, *Imaginea germanului în literatura maghiară*, Klausenburg, 2002.

Deutschen, aber auch viele Gegensätze zwischen der alten und der neuen deutschen Bevölkerung, da die Beziehungen nicht immer reibungslos waren. Besonders die ungarischen Dichter und Schriftsteller, aber auch die ganze gebildete ungarische Intellektualität äußerten sich gegen diese Kolonisationspolitik; sie verbreiteten sogar die Idee, dass die neuen Kolonisten, die dort aufkamen wo es ihnen gut ging, für die Armut der Bauern usw. schuldig seien. Es ist höchst interessant, dass nur die sächsischen Bürger und Intelligenz so schlecht angesehen wurden; im Gegenteil wurden die deutschen Bauern, welche von den Städten, und insbesonders von Klausenburg weit entfernt lebten, als äusserst fleißige und wohlhabende Leute beschrieben. Die ersten geometrischen Ausmessungen wurden sogar boykottiert und nach dem Tod Jozef II. wurden alle Mappen und Bogen zerstört. Nach Klausenburg kamen neue, reiche deutsche Familien: Tauffer, Mausch, Hinz, Topler, besonders mit dem Einwanderungspatent vom 17. September 1781, als man eine Qualitätssiedlung deutscher Handwerker und Bauern aus Preussisch-Polen erwog. Diese Familien haben der Stadtwirtschaft einen neuen Aufschwung, gegen das Zunftmonopol, gegeben. Sie wurden auch für die lutherische Kirche sehr wichtig. Durch ihre soziale Stellung, als Ingenieure, Doktoren, Apotheker, Kaufmänner, Universitäts- und Gymnasialsprofessoren, versicherten sie dieser Kirche eine finanzielle Stabilität.

Die deutsche Gemeinde hat vermittles etlicher kleinen Stiftungen überlebt, die von Privatpersonen gegründet und unterhalten wurden, wie: Fabricius Baron von Gladis, Baumgarten Johann, Stiftung für die Schule, für die Confirmanden, Beihilfe für die Witwen und Waisen der Pfarrer und Lehrer, für Armenunterstützung, für Grabenpflege. Mit der Hilfe der Gemeinde wurde im Zeitraum 1816-1829 das Gotteshaus aufgebaut, weil früher, nach der Vertreibung aus der Stadtkirche, die Deutschen den Gottesdienst in der Stadtwohnung abgehalten haben. Die ersten Glocken hatten keinen schönen Klang, deshalb wurden die Lutheraner in der Stadt gehänselt. Im Ersten und im Zweiten Weltkrieg fielen leider die Kirchenglocken zum Opfer. Die Kirchengemeinde war aus mehreren Beamten, wie Stadtpfarrer, Pfarrer, Kurator, Kassier, Haus- und Friedhofsverwalter, Rechtsanwalt der Kirchengemeinde, Friedhofaufseher, Küster, 6 Mächte in dem Lehrkörper gebildet. Die Kirche besaß mehrere Immobilien in Klausenburg, einen Schulgarten, einen Pfarrgarten und Friedhof, Häuser der Kirchengemeinde, die Kirche, so wie die Akeszmann Stiftung. Das Geld für die Unterstützung der Kirche kam aus den Kirchentaxen, Congruen, Einkommen der Häuser, Zinsen auf Wertpapieren, Opferkasten, aus dem Schulgeld, Staatsbeitrag, städtischen Beitrag, Erhaltungsbeitrag der Kirchengemeinde. Die Kirche führte Jahresrechnungen durch.

Im XIX. Jh., als in ganz Europa und besonders in Ungarn eine intensive nationalistische Strömung ausbrach, wurde das Klausenburger Deutschtum stark gefährdet. Durch Assimilierung der Juden und Deutschen und durch die neuen ungarischen Kolonisten, vermehrte sich die Anzahl der Ungarn in Klausenburg. Das Deutschtum wurde nur im unmittelbaren Kreis der Kirche und der konfessionellen Schule aufbewahrt. Durch Heiraten zwischen Klausenburger Deutschen und Deutschen aus dem Königsboden, was in den Kirchmatrikeln zu bemerken ist, sowie durch Einwanderung und Umsiedlung einzelner Deutschen aus dem Reich, besonders nach der Eröffnung der Klausenburger „Franz Josef" Universität im Jahre 1872, konnte die deutsche Lebensweise, Sprache und Kultur in der Stadt beibehalten werden. Auf der anderen Seite, der Druck seitens des Staates hinsichtlich der Magyarisierung der Deutschen und der anderen Nationen, beziehungsweise durch die massive Umsiedlung in die Städte verschiedener Nationalitäten, die später assimiliert wurden, wuchs beträchtlich die Zahl derjenigen, die sich als Ungarn erklärten.

Ein wichtiger Faktor der Entnationalisierung war die Religion, die geringe Zahl der Geistlichen und Grundschulen.

Am Ende dieses Jahrhunderts blieben die Deutschen die einzige Nationalität die eine konservatorische Linie folgte und keine Unruhen gegen diese Magyariesierungspolitik gestiftet hatte, und, obwohl in Klausenburg die Rumänen die große Bewegung des *Memorandum* anfingen, traten ihnen die Sachsen aber nicht bei.

Mehrere Jahrhunderte hatten die beiden Zweige der evangelischen Kirche des Augsburgischen und Helvetischen Bekenntnisses die Kirche zusammen verwaltet und gepflegt. Die Priester schrieben die Matrikeln und Unterlagen zweisprachlich, das Vermögen der Kirche war gemeinsam.

Da die evangelische Kirche die Matrikeln aus den Jahren 1860-1946 bewahrte, beziehungsweise die Tauf- (1870-1907), Trauungs- (1870-1941), Verstorbenen-Matrikeln (1870-1941), wurden diese gemischt für die ungarische und deutsche Bevölkerung geschrieben. Hier kann man am besten die Magyarisierung eines Teils der Deutschen, durch Religion und Ehevertrage, bemerken. Die Kirche Augustinischen Bekenntnisses (Pfarre A. C. A., ECCL Klausenburg) bewahrt 4 Matrikeln aus den Jahren 1756-1895; die letzte (1885-1895) schrieb man ungarisch, die Namen wurden magyarisiert. Es handelt sich um die letzte Gruppe von Deutschen, die von den Habsburgern im XVIII. Jh. als Händler und Handwerker nach Klausenburg, mit der Pflicht den Zunftmonopol zu brechen, gebracht wurden. Dieser Kolonisierungswelle gehört die bekannte Familie Tauffer an. Ein Teil dieser Deutschen wurde evangelisch, ein anderer Teil wurde katholisch, so dass die katholischen Matrikeln auch deutsche Bevölkerung enthalten, besonders die die aus Österreich gekommen war.

Sehr interessant ist die Tatsache, dass von den zwei Priestern war einer immer ein Deutscher; manchmal war auch der zweite Deutscher dem Namen nach, aber das war der Priester der helvetischen Ungaren (Greifenstein István, 1883). Nur im Zeitraum zwischen 1885-1895 wurden alle Matrikeln in ungarischer Sprache geschrieben. In den Matrikeln tauchen typisch deutsche Namen auf, wie: Bindner, Wagner, Schuller, Müller, Wendler, Böhm, Hintz, Linczeg, Teutsch, Sontag, Veber. Göbbel, Klein, Hiemisch, Zatller, Schuster, Hantz, Reimer, Schubert, Schaller, Kremer, Stark, Steiger, Trausch, Heltai, Straucz, Kronner, Reschner, Zimmermann, Wermesch, Klaster, Fleischmidt, Wolf, Hantz, Renner, Klösz, Svab, Hartner, Kont, Vencel usw..

Im XX. Jahrhundert, besonders nach 1918, als Klausenburg zu Rumänien kam, änderte sich die Lage der Sachsen ein bissschen. Nun gab es keinen Entnationalisierungsdruck von Seiten des Staates, die Sachsen hatten gute persönliche Beziehungen mit den Vertretern der Rumänen und erhielten das Versprechen der Gleichberechtigung aller Nationen Siebenbürgens. Nicht immer war die Lage einfach, besonders nach 1921, als die rumänische Regierung mehrere moderne Reformen anfing, die als Sachsenfeindlich betrachtet wurden. Einst hatten die Sachsen Monopol besonders bei der Ausführung und Absatz mehrerer Produkte gehabt, und plötzlich wurden die aus der Walachei oder aus der Moldau gebrachten Produkte viel billiger. Die Sachsen haben ihre traditionellen Märkte verloren und, gleich den anderen Nationalitäten aus Siebenbürgen, wanderten sie nach Nord- und Südamerika, nach Deutschland usw. aus, wobei nur 40% von ihnen zurückgekehrten. Nach der Agrarreform aus dem Jahr 1924, verschlimmerte sich die wirtschaftliche Lage der Sachsen noch mehr. Trotzdem nutzten die Sachsen diese Reformen aus. In den Städten hatten sie die Produktion der Zünfte mit der kapitalistischen Produktion gewechselt, da sie während der Kriegsjahre sogar Kriegsproduktion lieferten. In Klausenburg hatten sie die Schuhfabrik Renner aufgebaut, die später als Clujana bekannt wurde. Sie besaßen in Klausenburg eine wirtschaftliche Organisation[34] (vergleichbar mit jener aus Timişoara).

Zwischen 1925-1938 funktionierten in Klausenburg etliche deutsche Fabriken, die sich mit der Textilindustrie, Lebensmittelherstellung, Chemie, Papierherstellung und Druckerei beschäftigten, wobei es im Jahre 1925 13 Fabriken mit 464 Arbeitern gab. 1930 sinkte ihre Anzahl zu 10 Fabriken mit 413 Arbeitern herab. In 1933 und 1938 war ihre Anzahl noch kleiner, es gab nur noch 7 Fabriken, mit 254, beziehungsweise 472 Arbeitern[35]. Der Handel blieb die wichtigste Tätigkeit der Deutschen aus Klausenburg. Von 2500 Deutschen trieben ein Prozent von 9,1% Handel. Zum Vergleich, war in Hermannstadt das Prozent nur ein bisschen grösser: 12,6%. Man kann im Zeitraum 1931-1938 eine Steigerung der neuerschienenen deutschen Handelsfirmen bemerken. Ein Prozent von 5,3% wurden im Kreditwesen tätig[36].

In den Jahren 1939-1944 kannte die sächsische Industrie ein besonderes Wachstum. Der in Eperies geborene Prof. Dr. Pater fungierte aus dem Jahr 1895 an der Landwirtschaftlichen Akademie in Klausenburg. Als Rektor dieser Akademie und Privatdozent der Botanik Hochschule an der Universität, war er Vertreter der Wissenschaft über die Heilkräuter, organisierte das landwirtschaftliche Leben Siebenbürgens und baute die Klausenburger Forschungsstation für den Staatsbereich auf[37].

Nach der Vereinigung von 1918 erhielten die Sachsen, aufgrund der Verfassung, ein Vertreter im rumänischen Parlament.

Der Zeitraum 1929-1938 verlief ziemlich schwierig, wegen der Wirtschaftskrise und wegen der Entwicklung einer Erneuerungsbewegung, die als eine Nazipartei fungierte, die sich mit der Unzufriedenheit gegen die Minderheitenpolitik der rumänischen nährte[38]. Die Teilnahme einiger Deutschen an der deutschen Armee, die Einsatztafel, dem Sicherheitsdienst, der deutschen Jugend,

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[34] Vasile Ciobanu, *Contribuţii la cunoaşterea istoriei saşilor transilvăneni 1918-1944*, Sibiu, 2001.
[35] Paul Şeulean, *Comunitatea germană din Cluj, Sibiu, Timişoara în perioada interbelică (1918-1938). Abordare comparativă*, Zusammenfassung der Doktorarbeit, Klausenburg, 2011.
[36] Ebenda.
[37] Kreissarchiv Klausenburg, Bestand Karl Kurt Klein, nr. 38.
[38] V. Ciobanu, *op. cit.*, S. 176.

die Benutzung der deutschen Minderheit (durch Nazi), die Deportation in das Reich, das Euinreihen in das Waffen-SS und in die deutsche Wehrmacht tragen nach dem Krieg zu der Meinung, dass alle Deutschen zu den Nazi gehörten, was als Begründung ihrer Deportierung nach Siberien und der Enteignung ihres Vermögens diente.

Nach dem Wiener Schiedsspruch aus dem Jahre 1940 arbeitete die Kirchengemeinde aus Klausenburg unter neuen Bedienungen. Der Kurator Karl Kurt Klein war der Mann, der die Teilung der Kirche zwischen Deutschen und Ungaren förderte. Am 22. Dezember 1940 wurde die Spaltung bestimmt. Im Jahr 1941, in der Sitzung der evangelischen Gemeindevertretung A.B., wurden mit der Beglaubigung des Verhandlungsberichts je 2 Personen von deutscher und ungarischer Seite genannt, die diese Teilung der Kirchengemeinde in eine selbstständige deutsche und ungarische durchzuführen sollten. Es wurde beschlossen, dass Kirche und Friedhof gemeinsam zu benutzen waren, der Pfarrergrund und das Vermögen der Kirchengemeinde aber wurden in zwei gleichwertige Teile zerlegt. Das Schulgebäude sollte ebenfalls gemeinsam benutzt werden, jedoch sollten künftighin beide Kirchgemeinden über eigene Schulräume verfügen. Das Pfarrhaus wurde, auf Kosten beider Gemeinden, in zwei Pfarrerwohnungen umgebaut. Die Räume im ersten Stock des Schulgebäudes wurden links und rechts vom Treppenaufgang den beiden Kirchengemeinden zur Benutzung überlassen.

Das Vermögen (in Immobilien und Geld) wurde aufgeteilt. Diese Spaltung war erforderlich, weil die ungarische Gruppe sich dem Theissdistrikt der Ungarländischen allgemeinen evangelischen Kirche A. B angliedern wollte. Die Papiere der Teilung wurden zwar Entlassungsdokument aus den Verbänden des deutschen Genaraldekanats. Was die Archiven betraf, sollten in diesem Gebiet neue Regelungen antreten, vom Zeitpunkt der Teilung der Kirchengemeinde beginnend legte jede Kirchengemeinde eigene selbstständige Matrikeln an, indem die bisherigen Matrikeln, wie auch das Archiv der letzten 5 Jahren, wurden in der Sakristei aufbewahrt. Sie waren weiterhin den beiden Pfarrern zugänglich. Der Vorsitzende jeder Gemeinde wurde für die Sicherheit und Konservierung der Matrikeln verantwortlich gemacht.

Die gebliebene deutsche Gruppe hatte auch im Folgenden viele Schwierigkeiten. Nach der Trennung wuchs der Druck der staatlichen Schulbehörden, das eigene Buch erlassen und die Bücher von Generaldekanatschulen Veröffentlichten verboten. Karl Kurt Klein beabsichtete die Erlaubnis für die Benutzung der alten Schulbücher, so wie eine Genehmigung für die Bürgerschule und für die Beibehaltung der ungarischen Kinder in der Volkschule zu erhalten, aber am 30. April 1942 gab man den ungarischen Schülern den Auftrag, binnen 8 Tagen die Schule zu wechseln. Am 24. April kam eine Kommission vom Budapester Unterrichtministerium, um die Kinder mit ungarischen Namen aus der Schule hinauszutreiben, obwohl diese eigentlich Deutsche mit ungarischen Namen waren und zu Hause sächsisch als Muttersprache sprachen. So fiel die Anzahl der Schüler drastisch ab, von 201 Schülern im September 1941 waren am 30. April 1942 nur 123 zurückgeblieben, und die Gemeinde sah sich gezwungen, neue Lösungen zur Wartung der Schule zu finden. Man hatte vor, die rumänischen Kinder aufzunehmen oder die deutschen Schüler aus Sathmar zu gewinnen, aber dafür brauchte man ein Schülerheim, und das war unmöglich in einer so kurzen Zeit aufzubauen. Im September 1942 besuchten nur 89 deutsche Kinder die Volkschule und 60 Kinder die Bürgerschule. Die Gemeinde verlor viel Geld aus der staatlichen Hilfe (denn für 100 Schüler bezahlte der Staat das Lohn für 3 Lehrer, sonst nur für 2) und auch aus den höheren Taxen, die von ungarischen Kinder bezahlt wurden, Kinder die auch viel seltener Schulgeldnachlass genossen.

Die deutsche Volkshilfe spielte eine große Rolle in der Schulunterhaltung in Klausenburg. Jahrhunderte hindurch wurde die deutsche Schule von der evangelischen Kirche betreut und erhalten. In Klausenburg, eine Gegend mit gemischter Bevölkerung, bestand die Gefahr der überwiegend konfessionellen Interessen zum Nachteil der völkischen. Dieser Tatbestand führte zur Gefährdung des deutschen Charakters der deutschen Schule, die nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg neuerdings gekräftigt, aber durch die Trennung der deutschen von der ungarischen evangelischen Kirchengemeinde endgültig sichergestellt wurden. Die evangelische Schule wurde zu einer deutschen Schule, aber daraus erwuchs den nicht evangelischen Volksgenossen Klausenburgs die Pflicht zur Erhaltung der Schule beizutragen. Im Zeitraum 1919-1920 hatte die evangelische Schule A.B. aus Klausenburg 176 deutsche Schüler, deren Anzahl zu blos 56 Schülern in den Jahren 1929-1930 sank; darunter gab es 13 ungarische Kinder und 2 Juden[39]. Im Jahr 1941 wurden sie zur Entrichtung eines Schulbeitrages (weniger als ein Fünftel, im Vergleich mit jenem der evangelischen Deutschen) herangezogen. Die Zehntmänner der deutschen Volkshilfe hoben an jedem ersten Sonntag des Monats das Geld auf.

Das Deutschtum hatte hier auch ein deutsches Theater, genau wie die ungarische Bevölkerung[40].

Was die Universitätsausbildung betrifft, zog die im Jahre 1872 gegründete Klausenburger Universität viele junge Leute aus dem Reich in der Stadt an. Im Jahr 1910, waren an dieser Universität 3,5% der gesamten Studierenden deutscher Abstammung[41]. Nach 1918 gab es an der rumänischen Universität aus Klausenburg ein Lehrstuhl für die deutsche Literatur, besetzt von Gustav Kisch (der in Tübingen, Leipzig, Budapest, Berlin, Zürich studiert hatte) und Karl Kurt Klein.

Nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg komplizierte sich das Leben der Deutschen aus Klausenburg. Einerseits kam das Weglaufen mit der deutschen Armee, dann die Vertreibung nach Russland, die Nationalisierung der Güter und nicht zuletzt das Verkaufen der Deutschen von Ceauşescu. Die konfessionelle Schule in der Stadt wurde geschlossen, das Vermögen beschlagnahmt. Später, in den 70er Jahren, wurde für das in Klausenburg gebliebene Deutsche ein deutsches Staatsgymnasium eröffnet.

In der Nähe der Stadt Klausenburg, besonders nach Mitte des XVIII. Jh., hatten die Habsburger spezialisierte Leute für Abbau und Verkaufen von Silber und Gold kolonisiert. In 1941 gab es in Abrud 80 Deutsche, von einem Arzt geführt, aber

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[39] P. Şeulean, *Ebenda.*

[40] John Neubauer, *Conflicts und Cooperation between the Rumanian, Hungarian and Saxon Literary Elites, 1850-1945*, in *Cultural Dimensions of Elite Formation* cit., S. 159-186.

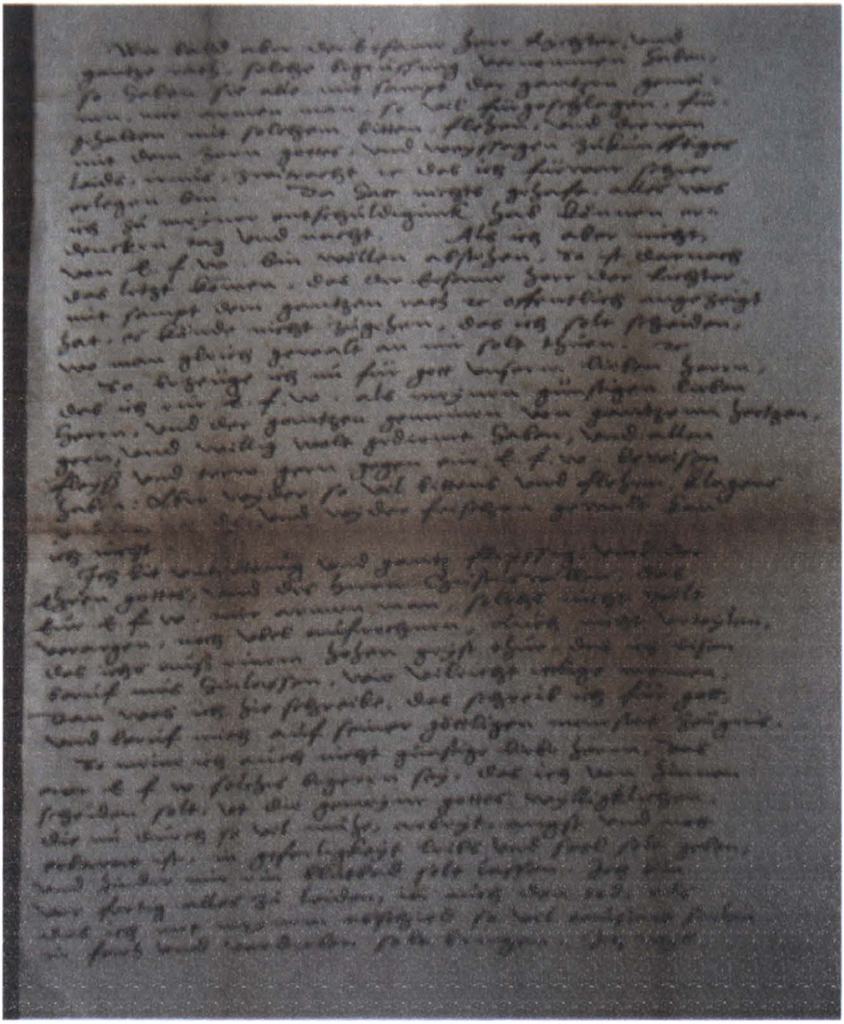
[41] Z. Pálfy, *Ethnoconfessional Patterns* cit., S. 42.

inzwischen haben sie ihre deutsche Sprache verloren und wurden meistens magyarisiert oder rumänisiert. Zum ersten Mal wollten sie ein Haus vermieten, um ihren Kindern Deutsch beizubringen. Die Rumänen aus der Umgebung waren unzufrieden, weil die Sachsen von Requisitionen befreit wurden, die deutsche Firmen in vielen Bereichen Monopol hatten, die Sachsen selbst ein von Rumänen getrenntes Leben führten, uns sich die Sachsen gegen das Universitätsumziehen nach Hermannstadt aussprachen. Die Deutschen wurden angeklagt, dass sie die Missbräuche der ungarischen Soldaten, besonders im Herbst des Jahrs 1940, nicht zu besänftigten versucht hatten. Nach dem Krieg, wurde die Deutsche Volkspartei aus Abrud am 7. Oktober 1944 abgeschafft, ihr Archiv konfisziert und der Polizei geliefert. Die Führer der Deutschen folgten der deutschen Armee[42].

Abb.1.
1458, Privilegium, das die Gleichberechtigung in der Stadtführung für die nächsten Jahrhunderte bestimmte

[42] Kreissarchiv Klausenburg, Bestand *Inspectoratul de Poliție* (Polizeiinspektorat), nr. 15.

Bestand *Primăria orașului Cluj*, Serie Privilegien, Nr. 167



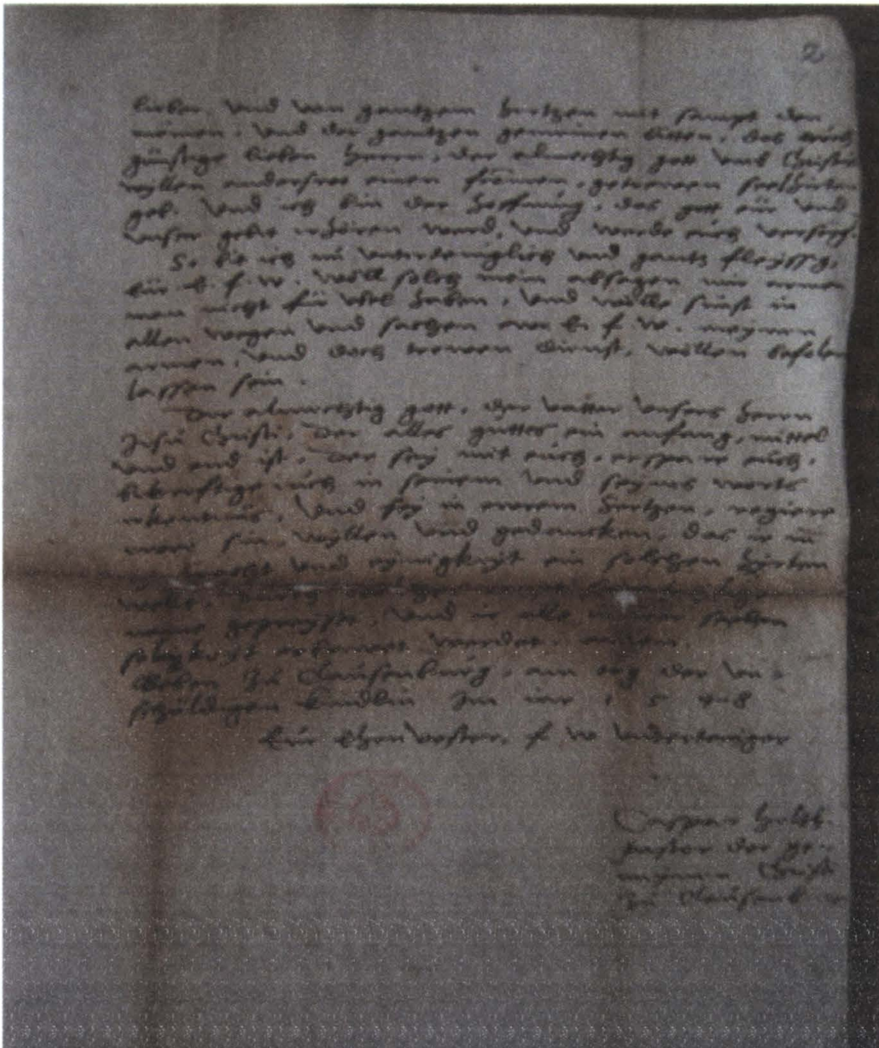
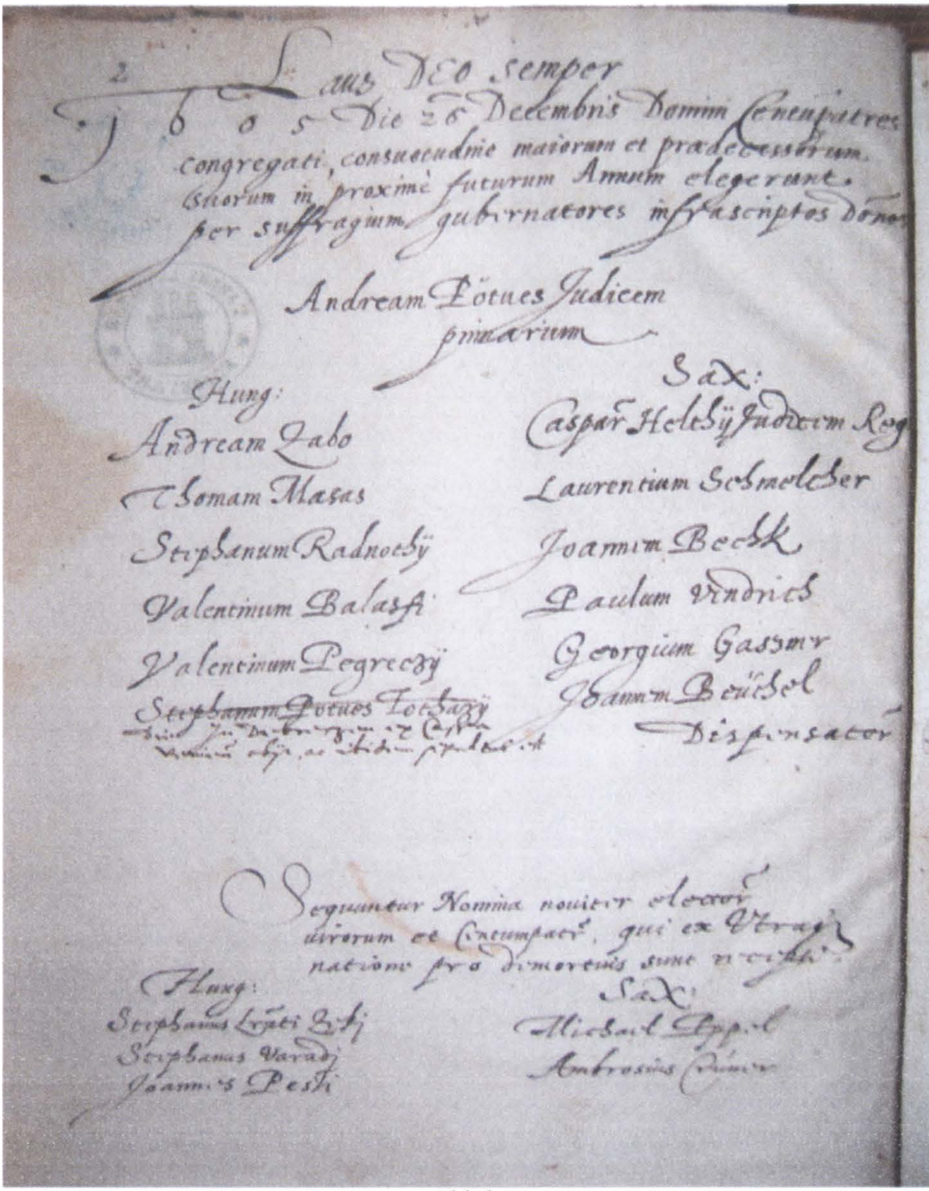


Abb. 2.
1548, Klausenburg, Kaspar Helth, Pfarrer von Klausenburg, bedankt sich für die Einladung der Bistritzer nach Bistritz umzuziehen, aber er wurde von der Gemeinde Klausenburgs gebeten, in dieser Stadt zu bleiben
Bestand *Primăria orașului Bistrița*, Serie I, Nr. 1754


Laus DEO semper
1605 Die 26 Decembris Domini Centumpatres congregati, consuetudine maiorum et praedecessorum suorum in proxime futurum Annum elegerunt per suffragium gubernatores infrascriptos domi[illegible]

Andream Pötnes Iudicem primarium

Hung:
Andream Zabo
Thomam Masas
Stephanum Radnotj
Valentinum Balassi
Valentinum Pegreczj
~~Stephanum Pötnes Totházy~~
[illegible]

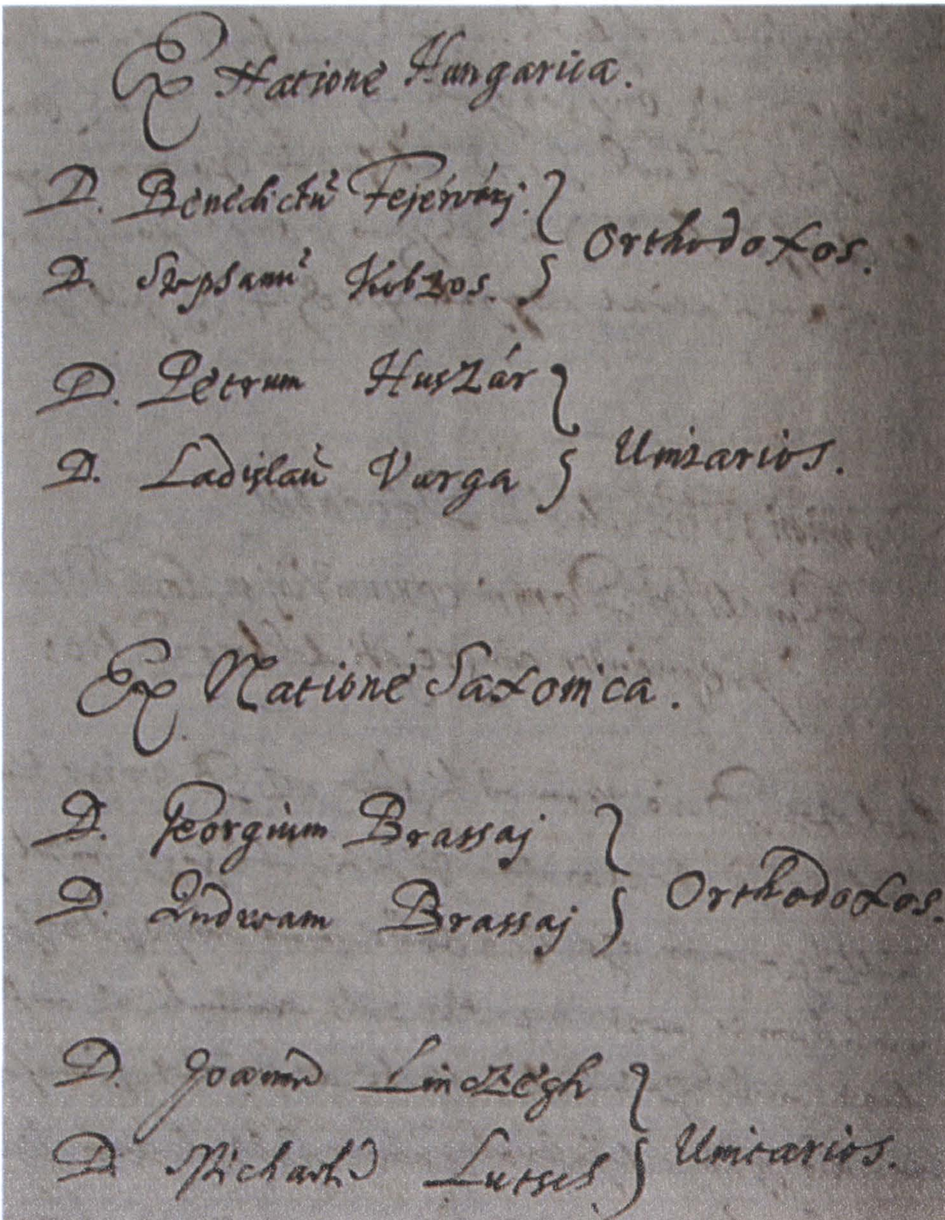
Sax:
Caspar Heltzij Iudicem Reg[illegible]
Laurentium Schmelczer
Joannem Beckk
Paulum Vendrich
Georgium Gassner
Joannem Beuchel
Dispensator

Sequuntur Nomina noviter electorum virorum et Centumpatr., qui ex utraque natione pro demortuis sunt [illegible]

Hung:
Stephanus [illegible]
Stephanus Varadj
Joannes Pesti

Sax:
Michael [illegible]
Ambrosius [illegible]

Abb.3.
Fragment aus dem Rechnungsregister der Stadt Klausenburg, aus dem Jahre 1605
Bestand *Primăria orașului Cluj, Socotelile orașului/1605*



Ex Natione Hungarica.

D. Benedictum Fejervary } Orthodoxos.
D. Stephanum Kobzos }

D. Petrum Huszár } Unitarios.
D. Ladislaum Varga }

Ex Natione Saxonica.

D. Georgium Brassaj } Orthodoxos.
D. Andream Brassaj }

D. Joannem Linczegh } Unitarios.
D. Michaelem Lutses }

Abb.4.
Fragment aus dem Rechnungsregister der Stadt Klausenburg, aus dem Jahre 1660, wo der Name des berühmten und sagenhaften Johann Linczig zu sehen ist
Bestand *Primăria orașului Cluj, Socotelile orașului/1660*

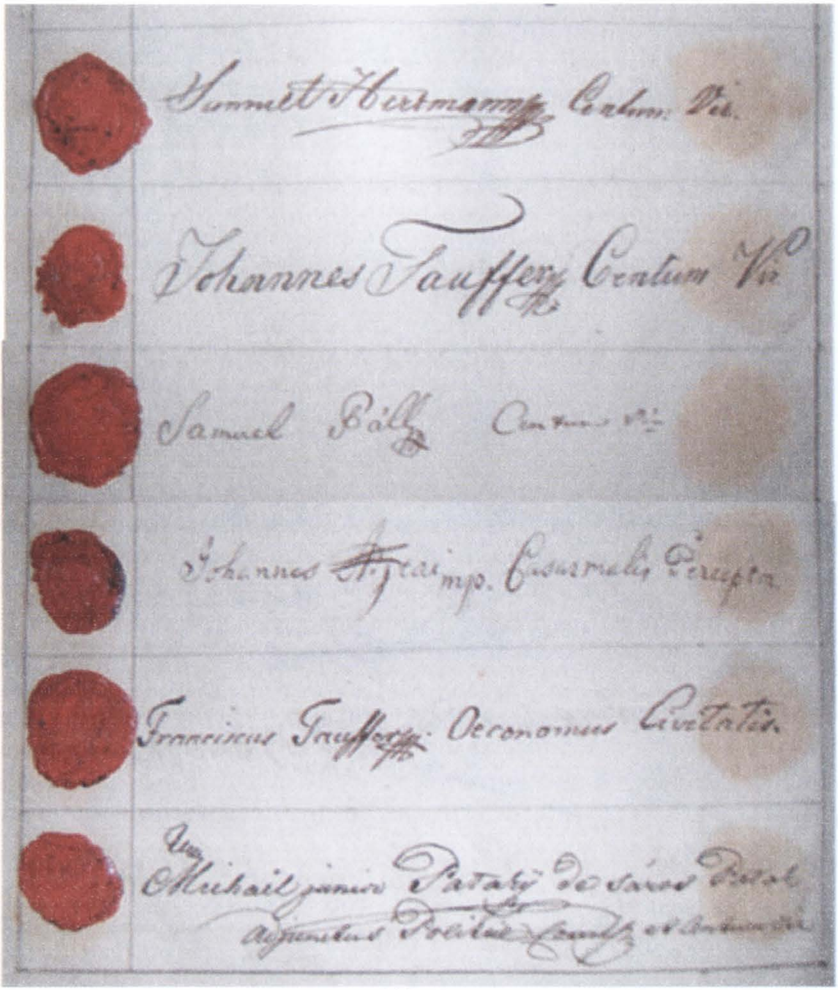


Abb. 5.
Fragment aus dem Register der Magistrats der Stadt Klausenburg, wo die Familie Tauffer aufgezeichnet ist, die zur zweiten Welle der deutschen Kolonisation in Klausenburg (XVIII. Jh.) gehörte, und bereits in der Beamtenschaft der Stadt fungierte
Kreisabteilung des Nationalarchivs in Klausenburg, Bestand *Primăria orașului Cluj,* 1827

Transylvanian Students in the Faculty of Medicine Nagyszombat, Buda and Pest (1770-1848)

Katalin Simon

Keywords: *Peregrination*; *Transylvania*; *Faculty of Medicine*; *Nagyszombat*; *Buda*; *Pest*; *Medicine*; *Surgery*

I. Brief overview of the history of the Faculty of Medicine in Hungary (1769-1848)

In the first half of the 18th century, the number of doctors of Medicine and barber-surgeons was very little. Doctors studied in foreign universities or in private medical schools, which were mostly in the Northern parts of Hungary. These were schools of volunteer doctors or doctor-dynasties[1]. Surgeons were trained in guilds or in the army. First attempts by the state to regulate the conditions in Hungary were made in the middle of the century. The milestone of this process was the edict, *Generale Normativum in Re Sanitatis* (*Sanitätshauptnormativ*) in 1770. It was valid in the entire Habsburg Empire, and it concerned every part of the field of public health[2]. In the same year, 1770 opened the Faculty of Medicine in Nagyszombat (now Trnava, Slovakia), which was moved to Buda in 1777 (in the same year, when the educational edict, *Ratio Educationis* was published), and finally to Pest in 1784[3]. The conditions in Nagyszombat were not perfect. The building of the faculty was finished in 1772, but clinical education and practice in dissection was impossible

[1] Katalin Kapronczay, *Orvosi művelődés és egészségügyi kultúra a XVII. századi Magyarországon*, Budapest, 2007, p. 62-71.

[2] According to this edict and another one in 1773, each province of the Habsburg Empire had to establish an institution for education of surgeons and midwives. From 1773, these provincial lycea gave certificates, which were valid only in their province, unlike the qualifications of the universities. Franciscus-Xaverio Linzbauer, *Codex Sanitario-Medicinalis Hungariae. Tomus II.* Buda, 1852, p. 535-571 (541) and Evelyn Kulhanek, *Wundärzte, ein verdrängter Beruf. Zur Sozialgeschichte des Sanitätspersonals im Tirol des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Innsbruck, 1996, p. 95.

[3] In the same time, 1769, Károly Eszterházy, bishop of Eger gave permission to Ferenc Markhot to open a medical school in Eger. They wanted to develope the institution into university there, but their plan failed after three years, due to the new Faculty of Medicine in Nagyszombat. The university had to move from Buda to Pest by reason of the Hungarian government took their place in the castle. Tibor Győry nádudvari, *Az orvostudományi kar története 1770-1935. A Királyi Magyar Pázmány Péter Tudományegyetem Története III.*, Budapest, 1936, p. 185; György Gortvay, *Az újabbkori magyar orvosi művelődés és egészségügy története*, Budapest, 1953, p. 74; K. Kapronczay, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

there[4]. According to the *Generale Normativum*, every practising doctor or surgeon had to get a certificate from the Faculty[5]. The education of surgeons began in 1774[6].

In the era of Emperor Joseph II many positive effects allowed the development of the Faculties. Between 1782 and 1784 the Emperor downgraded almost every University into lycea, but the Faculty in Pest with Vienna, Prague and Lemberg remained intact[7]. The translocation and the new seat of the University was an apt choice, as Pest and Buda were among the most progressive cities in Hungary. The certificates of Pest were equally accepted in the entire Habsburg Empire from 1793[8].

Joseph II also reformed the educational system in 1786. From that session – until the death of the emperor – students of medicine and surgery studied together for four years. He divided surgery into superior and inferior surgery. The latter one was taught via independent courses in the faculties, where people could get a certificate as *Civil- und Landwundarzt*. This kind of certificate was introduced in the University of Pest in 1816. From that time, three kind of surgical diplomas were extradited: doctor of surgery, master of surgery and civil surgeon[9]. When a new order of education came into force in 1806, studies of medicine were raised again for five years. Studies of surgery were similarly raised in 1816 for three years (actually, the courses were held in two classes in Pest, where students repeated the second class)[10].

The Faculty of Pest also had some modern institutions: the department of Veterinary, the department of state medicine (*politia medica*, since 1793, it was earlier, than the same institution in Vienna, which was founded in 1807 and the same one in Prague, since 1805). Ophthalmology was taught in Pest from session 1803/4, it had a common department with Obstetrics until 1817/8. In comparison, lectures on ophthalmology were held in Prague since 1778, but the first department of

[4] Gy. Gortvay, *op. cit.*, p. 76; László Molnár, *Rectores Medici. Nagyszombat – Budapest*, Budapest, 2005, p. 11; K. Kapronczay, *op. cit.*, p. 74-75.

[5] *Semmelweis University Archives* [hereafter, SUA], Books of Promotions [hereafter, 1/f], 2, p. 397-569.

[6] Since 1761, surgeons had to do an exam of anatomy for their master title in the guilds in Hungary. András Daday, *Sebészsérelmek a XVIII. században*, "Orvostörténeti Közlemények" 18 (1960), p. 168-174; Hans-Heinz Eulner, *Die Entwicklung der medizinischen Spezialfächer an den Universitäten des deutschen Sprachgebietes. Studien zur Medizingeschichte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts Band IV.*, Stuttgart, 1970, p. 296-299 and 306; Michael Sachs, *Geschichte der operativen Chirurgie. Vom Handwerk zur Wissenschaft. Die Entwicklung der Chirurgie im deutschen Sprachraum vom 16. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert. Band 4.*, Heidelberg, 2003, p. 3-4.

[7] Walter Zirker, *Ärzte und Wundärzte in Voralberg von 1814 bis 1914*, Vienna, 1996, p. 29; Ev. Kulhanek, *op. cit.*, p. 43-49; M. Sachs, *op. cit.*, p. 90 and 119.

[8] T. Győry, *op. cit.*, p. 142-144 and 195-196.

[9] F.-X. Linzbauer, III, I, p. 259-261 (no 985).

[10] The order of education was changed in 1813, 1819 and 1833. T. Győry, *op. cit.*, p. 241; Imre Bolányi & Imre Palatkás, *Táblázatok a Budapesti Orvostudományi Egyetem történetének fontosabb adatairól*, "Orvostörténeti Közlemények" 20 (1961), p. 427. For sophister surgeons the faculty had an independent third class between 1817/8 and 1820/1. In the next two sessions they had a 'repeater' (*repetens*) class. After that, tha faculty did not start a class for them, they were simply among sophister surgeons. For more details about the education of surgeons, see: Katalin Simon, *Sebészet és sebészek Magyarországon (1686-1848)*, Budapest, 2013, p. 65-147.

ophthalmology in the world was founded in Vienna, only five years before the same department in Pest was instituted[11].

In the first half of the 19th century, the Faculty of Pest became more popular for peregrinants. At the time of the Napoleonic wars, it was more secure than Vienna, and after that, due to the Carlsbad decrees of 1819, the visitation of other universities inside the Habsburg Empire became more relevant. In this time, most provinces of the Empire had still only medical schools. Padua and Pavia were mostly important for the Italians and for those citizens, who lived in the southern parts of the Empire, while Kraków with its University was annected to the Habsburg Empire only in 1846[12].

Lessons were held in Latin from the establishment of the faculty. During the reign of Joseph II, German was introduced, but after his death, the original system was introduced again. Lessons of surgery were held in Latin (*ordinary* course), German and Hungarian [repeater (*correpetens*) course] from session 1804/5. Thanks to the growing popularity of the vernacular courses, Latin lessons were dissolved in 1808/9[13]. According to the act II of 1844, use of Hungarian language became obligatory in the Faculty, too. The disposition caused difficulties, especially among students of medicine. Finishing their studies became almost impossible for peregrinants, not to mention, that Hungarian medical terminology was newly created in that time[14]. Midwives studied in vernacular languages – in Hungarian or German – in the faculty since it was founded, later, from 1815 'Slavic' courses were introduced[15].

II.1. Students and graduated persons in Nagyszombat and Buda

For analysing the the students and graduates of the Faculty of Medicine, we have two essential archival resources: a) the so-called books of Promotions about the graduated persons and b) the *Protocolla Classificationum*, which show the notes of the immatriculated students (including fall- and spring semesters until session

[11] In 1793 a new order of education was introduced in the faculty. T. Győry, *op. cit.*, p. 203, 220-224; Walther Koerting. *Die Deutsche Universtät in Prag. Die letzten hundert Jahre ihrer Medizinischen Fakultät. Schriftenreihe der Bayerischen Landeärztekammer Band 11.*, Bonn, 1968, p. 156, 226-227, 255.

[12] In 1840/1 Pest was the fifth largest university in the Habsburg Empire (following Vienna, Prague, Padua, and Pavia). If we analyse the number of students of surgery by archival sources, we can say, Pest followed directly Vienna and Prague. Felicitas Seebacher, *"Primum humanitas, alterum scientia". Die Wiener Medizinische Schule im Spannungsfeld von Wissenschaft und Politik*, Klagenfurt, 2000, p. 87 and M. Sachs, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

[13] T. Győry, *op. cit.*, p. 243, 265.

[14] We have to admit that lectures on anatomy, theoretical and practical medicine for surgeons, surgery, obstetrics, veterinary and forensic medicine and extraordinary courses were already held in Hungarian. Chemistry stayed Latin for a while. So, they had to translate the lectures on *encyclopaedia*, mineralogy, geology, zoology, botany and *politia medica*. The list of lectures are in "Orvos-Sebészi Évkönyvek", I, II, 8 (August, 1844), p. 99; T. Győry, *op. cit.*, p. 413–415.

[15] F.-X. Linzbauer, III, II, p. 471-472 (no 1982).

1825/6)[16]. The first one contains data from the foundation of the Faculty, so since session 1770/1, on the contrary, the earliest extant book of Classifications is from 1787/8. For this reason, we can use practicably only the books of Promotions to analyse the period of Nagyszombat and Buda, and the first years of Pest. Although we have a list of names in the book *Protocolla sessionum Facultatis Medicae*[17], but it does not contain any other data about the students.

Session	Students of Medicine	Students of Surgery	Students of Pharmacy
1772-1773	8		
1773-1774	4		
1774-1775	15		
1775-1776	7		7
1776-1777	9		4
1777-1778	12		7
1778-1779	13		2
1779-1780	6		8
1780-1781	1		2
1781-1782	25	5	2
1782-1783	16		4
1783-1784	31	2	27

Table 1. Students in the Faculty of Medicine in Nagyszombat and Buda (based on SUA, 1/a, 1)

Before particularly analysing the data, we should mention that these resources contain the place of birth of the students, and not their residency, although these two were not necessarily the same (especially in case of surgeons, who usually left their place of birth, according to the guild's 'wandering years', or due to their work in the army).

As we can see, during the first decades of the Faculty, only a few students came here. Qualification of doctors of Medicine was not an attractive opportunity, thanks to difficulties about the new educational system and the disadvantegous and isolated location of the city (it is situated near the western frontier of Hungary, close to the popular University of Vienna). Although the Faculty later moved to the center of Hungary, Buda, it did not become more popular among Transylvanian peregrinants. One reason for this, that since 1775 the expensive medical education was also available in Transylvania (although they were more pre-studies, as the institution – *Institutum Medico-Chirurgicum* – was not University, but lyceum)[18]. Another explanation of this phenomenon, that the mostly Protestant Transylvanian peregrinants did not prefer the University, which remained strictly Catholic after the

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[16] SUA, *Libri classificationum Facultatis Medicae in Regia Universitate Pestinensi* [hereafter, 1/d] and 1/f.

[17] SUA, *Protocolla sessionum Facultatis Medicae* [hereafter, 1/a], 1.

[18] About the lyceum see János Maizner, *A kolozsvári orvos-sebészi tanintézet történeti vázlata 1775-1872*, Kolozsvár, 1890.

dissolution of the Jesuit Order in 1773 too, and, in contrary to this, the peregrinants had strong, traditional connections with other famous Protestant European universities, where they possibly could go with special sholarships. Therefore among 83 doctors of Medicine, who graduated in Nagyszombat and Buda, only three persons were born in Transylvania. The question is, why did they choose Buda, as all three were Protestants, and came from the south-eastern part of Transylvania. Two persons' latter course of life is unknown: one, Martinus Lupini surely, the other, Andreas Wolff was probably Saxon. The third one, Sámuel Benkő became one of the greatest doctors of Medicine in Hungary by the beginning of the 19th Century[19]. He was born in Kisbacon (*Băţanii Mici*)[20] in 1743, and as a Calvinist peregrinant, he studied in German and Netherlandish universities (the book of Promotions mentions just Utrecht by Nagyszombat and Buda). He became doctor of Philosophy in 1775 in Leiden, and doctor of medicine in Buda, 11 December 1778. After the graduation, he did not moved back to Transylvania, but shortly settled down in Miskolc, catholicized, and became chief physician (*Physicus ordinarius*) of Borsod county in 1783 until his retirement in 1824. He died here one year later, in 1825[21].

Nagyszombat			Buda		
Session	**Doctor of medicine**	**Among them Transylvanian**	**Scholar year**	**Doctor of medicine**	**Among them Transylvanian**
1770-1771			1777-1778	10	1
1771-1772	3		1778-1779	2	2
1772-1773	4		1779-1780	5	
1773-1774	5		1780-1781	1	
1774-1775	2		1781-1782	7	
1775-1776	12		1782-1783	8	
1776-1777	13		1783-1784	11	
Summa	**39**	--	**Summa**	**44**	**3**

Table 2. Doctors of Medicine in Nagyszombat and Buda
(based on SUA, 1/f, 1, kötet 1-13. p. and Endre Hőgyes, *Emlékkönyv a budapesti Egyetem Orvosi Karának multjáról és jelenéről*, Budapest, 1896, p. 130)

Comparing the number of graduating doctors of Medicine and masters of Surgery, we can say, that much more surgeons got their degree in Nagyszombat and Buda, than doctors, although their number did not exceed a couple of dozen per year. 129 diplomas of Surgery were extradited in Nagyszombat and 205 in Buda. This number is a consequence of the edict *Generale Normativum*: according to that, the permission of every surgeon's further practice depended on the acquisition of the degree. Both the Faculty, the Royal Council (*Consilium Locumtenentiale Regium*)

[19] Wolff and Lupini were Lutheran, the latter was called Transylvanian Saxon in the sources (*saxo transylvanus*). SUA, 1/f, 1. p. 6 and 8 (no 35, 47-48).
[20] The sources use generally the Hungarian or the Latin name of the settlements. Therefore we used the Hungarian version of them, putting in parenthesis their Romanian name.
[21] Gy. Gortvay, *op. cit.*, p. 19, 71, 171-172, 214.

and the counties, free royal cities tried to help their surgeons to get this certificate: the latter contributed to the travel expenses (another 'form' of support was, if they did not mention in their regular annual reports their surgeons' education or qualification)[22]. The Faculty could release the examination fee[23]. Thanks to this edict, the Faculty operated more as an organization, which gave certificates for the Hungarian medical personnel, and less as an educational institution. Thanks to this, similarly to the doctors, there were only few Transylvanians among the surgeons: in Nagyszombat three, in Pest five. The issue is more complex, if we analyse, how much of them belonged actually to Transylvania. In case of masters of Surgery, in the book of Promotions were notated, where and when were the surgeons trained and by which master were they employed. Checking these data makes clear, that among these eight surgeons two definitely pertained to Hungary: Thomas Mihálcs, who was born in Szeklerland, had worked in Tata until 1767 (where was a so-called *filiale* of the guild of surgeons of Pest). Károly Mócsy, who was born in Marosvásárhely (Târgu Mureş), was granted in the guild of Győr in 1770, and after this, he became master of Surgery in Nagyszombat, in 1776. Both were Catholics[24].

Mócsy chose to stay in the Faculty after graduation: he was allowed to teach obstetrics in 1784 as *correpetitor*, therethrough he was the first of this kind of private teacher. He was citizen of Buda since 1779 and he was mentioned as 'first-class surgeon' of Buda in the conscription of 1785[25]. So, he finally settled down in Hungary.

The Calvinist István Nagy came to Buda to get a certificate of Surgery in 1784, one year before the foundation of the lyceum in Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca). He was Hungarian, born in Marosvásárhely (Târgu Mureş), and probably moved back to his homeland after the graduation[26]. The other four Transylvanians were Lutheran Saxons, all of them came from Nagyszeben (Sibiu), where they were born and trained as journeymen in the local guild[27]. Due to the strong Catholic dominance in the Faculty, the number of Transylvanian students was not too much. We can clearly see this, if we analyse the religion of all the surgeons in these decades: among the Catholic ones there were only 22 Lutheran, 17 Calvinist and 4 Jewish surgeons. That was the other reason why the Faculty of Nagyszombat and Buda was not so popular for Transylvanian peregrinants, who were mostly Calvinist Hungarians and Lutheran Saxons.

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[22] Elder surgeons were absolved of the examination, in case they were not able to cover the expenses of the travel and the exam. Until 1774 the Council allowed chief physicians to examine surgeons. K. Simon, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

[23] One case is known in Nagyszombat and three in Buda. SUA, 1/f, 2, p. 414, 423, 440 (no 126, 199-200, 329).

[24] In the book of Promotions his name is written as *Mocsi*, but he is well-known as *Mócsy*. SUA, 1/f, 2, p. 408-409 (no 89, 121).

[25] Budapest City Archives, *Matricula Civium Budensium* (IV.1002.u), 1, fol. 85v; National Archives of Hungary [hereafter, NAH], *Consilium Locumtenentiale Regium, Departmentum Sanitatis* (C 66) 1785, Fons 1, no 79. (Buda royal free city to the Council, 11 Februar, 1785), T. Győry, 1936, p. 147-148. and I. Bolányi & I. Palatkás, *op. cit.*, p. 423.

[26] SUA, 1/f, 2, p. 408 (no 74).

[27] SUA, 1/f, 2, p. 418-419, 423-424, 433 (nos 156, 162, 206, 215, 275).

Nagyszombat			Buda		
Session	**Master of Surgery**	**Among them Transylvanian**	**Session**	**Master of Surgery**	**Among them Transylvanian**
1770-1771	7		1777-1778	26	1
1771-1772	10		1778-1779	23	1
1772-1773	18		1779-1780	31	1
1773-1774	19		1780-1781	20	1
1774-1775	32	1	1781-1782	21	
1775-1776	24	1	1782-1783	17	
1776-1777	19	1	1783-1784	67	1
Summa	**129**	**3**	**Summa**	**205**	**5**

Table 3. Graduated masters of Surgery in Nagyszombat and Buda
(Based on SUA, 1/f, 2, p. 397-441)

II.2. In Pest from the beginning until the end of Napoleonic wars

Thanks to the moving of the University to Pest, the reforms of Joseph II and last, but not least, the Napoleonic wars, the Faculty became more popular among foreign students and internationally well-known. Due to this, number and composition of students and graduating people also changed. The books of Classifications clearly show, how the number of students of medicine started to increase gradually from the end of the 18th Century: in session 1787-1788 34 persons attended the course of medicine, ten years later their number reached 50, in 1803-1804 65 persons matriculated, and by the end of the Napoleonic wars (1815-1816) already 73 students studied medicine in Pest[28]. Even so, we can find among them only a few from Transylvania, on the average, one or two persons came to Pest per year. Their number increased slowly by the end of the Napoleonic wars, so in 1813-1814 three Transylvanian students matriculated as freshmen of medicine in Pest. In spite of this, the number of graduating Transylvanian peregrinants was higher: in these three decades 23 of them became doctor of medicine and two doctor of surgery. As *Table 3* shows, most of them got their certificate at the end of Joseph II's reign, after 1793-1794 they showed less interest to get their diploma here. The reason of their major attendance until 1793 is, that during the era of Joseph II Pest was one of the few universities, which were not downgraded into lyceum. Most of the graduating doctors studied elsewhere previously.

Among the graduating Transylvanians were 6 Catholic Hungarians, of whom two were Szeklers and one was born in Szamosfalva (Someşeni); 11 Calvinist Hungarians, mostly from larger Transylvanian cities, so two were born in Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca) and two in Marosvásárhely (Târgu Mureş), one in Fogaras (Făgăraş), Szászváros (Orăştie), Nagyszeben (Sibiu). Beside them 6 Lutheran Saxons came to Pest, also from larger cities: two from Nagyszeben (Sibiu), two from Brassó (Braşov) and one from Segesvár (Sighişoara), one from Medgyes (Mediaş). A Unitarian

[28] Based on SUA, 1/d, 1-4.

Hungarian also matriculated in Pest, Ferenc Szikszay was born in Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca), he studied medicine in the Lyceum there, and afterwards he studied medicine and superior surgery (*'chirurgia altior'*) in Pest and finally became doctor of medicine and surgery in 1807[29]. The Calvinist András Fodor lugosi, who was born in Szászváros (Orăştie), was a classmate of Szikszay, he also studied superior surgery in Pest[30]. There are no data about his pre-studies, he is not mentioned neither among the doctors of medicine in Pest, nor in the database of German institutions, nor among students in Vienna (although it is unlikely, that he went to Vienna, in view of his Calvinist religion), and it seems he did not have pre-studies in Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca)[31]. However, he should have got a certificate somewhere, because he went back later to his homeland, and became ordinary physician of county Doboka before 1817, and after that, chief physician of county Hunyad (he fulfilled this position until his death). He published an obstetrical coursebook in Pest, 1817 (*Szülést segítő tudomány és mesterség*). In the title of this book, ha calls himself *doctor* and *obstetrical aidant.* According to this, he possibly earned only degree as doctor of surgery and master of obstetrics[32]. He also did an exam as veterinarian, as he is mentioned in a list at the end of session 1807-1808[33].

Many Transylvanian students were outstanding, talented persons of this era. For Example the Roman Catholic Ferenc Nyulas [b. 1758, Köszvényes-Remete

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[29] The educational system of superior surgery was immature that time, because after the death of Joseph II, instead of the five-year common studies of becoming doctors of medicine and surgery, the course of medicine was decreased into four-year studies. Becoming doctors of surgery – which meant only one or two persons in practice – studied together with the medical. This system shortly disappeared, the Faculty gave the title 'doctor of surgery' after a special exam, and not by separate qualification. Due to this, Szikszay was not an 'ordinary' student: he studied surgery among freshmen and sophomores of medicine in 1803-1804, in next year, he was among sophisters, and after two years, he studied also with freshmen and seniors. Previously he was among sophomores of medicine in Kolozsvár, 1802-1803. SUA, 1/d, 2. p. 238-241, 254-257, 277-278, 297-298, 316-317, 322-323, 336-337, 342-343, 404; Júlia Varga, *A Kolozsvári Királyi Líceum Hallgatósága 1784-1848. Felsőoktatástörténeti Kiadványok, Új sorozat 1. Szerk.: Szögi László*, Budapest, 2000, p. 92 (no 743), K. Simon, *op. cit.*, p. 86-87.

[30] Fodor was freshman in 1804-1805, next year he attended simultaneously courses of Medicine, of first and second scholar year. Finally, he became doctor of surgery in 1809. SUA, 1/d, 2, p. 273-274, 293-294, 316-317, 336-337, 364-365, 386-387, 524; 1/f, 1, 77 (no 365).

[31] László Szögi, *Magyarországi diákok a Habsburg Birodalom egyetemein I. 1790-1850. Magyarországi diákok egyetemjárása az újkorban 1*, Budapest-Szeged, 1994; J. Varga, *op. cit.*; Attila Tar, *Magyarországi diákok németországi egyetemeken és főiskolákon 1694-1789*, Budapest, 2004.

[32] Among masters of obstetrics, who were examined in Pest, there is a person with the same name (András Fodor), who earned his degree in 1793, but these two are not the same: this one was born in Érsekújvár (Nové Zámky), and became previously master of surgery in 1783. The Transylvanian one was engaged in balneology, epidemiology and mineralogy. He died in 1859, according to his obituary, he was former regional physician. SUA, 1/f, 2, p. 451 (no 436); *ibidem*, 2, p. 295 (no 247); http://www.orvostortenet.hu/tankonyvek/tk-05/pdf_Szallasi/vegyes_123.pdf [accessed on November 18, 2013), http://www.rakovszky.net/D1_DisplRemImg/Rako_DRI_ShowRemoteImages.shtml?$LSG_F17@0500 (F17:508, Fodor, András) [accessed on November 18, 2013].

[33] SUA, 1/d, 2, p. 459.

(Eremitu)-d. 1808, Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca)], a descendant of an eminent Szekler family, who studied medicine in Vienna, but interestingly, instead he would had stayed there, he came to Pest to get his diploma in 1787. Thereafter he went back to Transylvania, and was medical practitioner in Szamosújvár (Gherla), later in Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca). He promoted Jenner's smallpox vaccine, and was designated for chief physician of Transylvania from 1806 until his death[34].

Sámuel Pataky (Pataki) Sárospataki had a similar course of life as Nyulas. He was born in Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca), 1765. He studied in Göttingen and Vienna[35], and later finished his studies in Pest, where he became doctor of medicine 11 February 1794[36]. He was born into an illustrious doctor-dynasty, his father and grandfather (with the same name) were also doctors of medicine. His father taught him. He learned the method of smallpox vaccine in Vienna, and successfully promoted and used it in his homeland. He worked as chief physician of Transylvania from 1812 until his death in 1824[37].

The Calvinist Mihály Incze (Intze) [b. 1787, Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca)-d. 1836, Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia)] also played an important role in Transylvania. He got his certificate as doctor of medicine in Pest, 1787, and therefore educated physiology, pathology and medicine in the Lyceum of Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca)[38].

Of course, on the other hand, there were less dedicated persons in the Faculty, too. Most of them dismissed their studies and chose themselves another profession, but some of them came back after a few-years pause, and finished their studies in Pest. An interesting example for this is the life of the Calvinist Márton Soós [b. around 1766, Marosvásárhely (Târgu Mureş) – d. ?). As a student of medicine, he became interested in acting and theatre in 1791, and temporarily gave up his studies for acting (he also wrote some drama in this period). After a few years, he changed his mind, he got his diploma as doctor of medicine in Pest, 1794, moved to Dés (Dej), and became chief physician of county Belső-Szolnok[39].

Session	Doctor of medicine		Doctor of surgery		Master of Surgery	
	Transylvanian	*All*	Transylvanian	*All*	Transylvanian	*All*
1787-1788	4	*15*			2	*36*
1788-1789	3	*19*				*16*
1789-1790		*10*			1	*44*
1790-1791	2	*7*		*(1)*	2	*46*
1791-1792	2	*10*			2	*52*
1792-1793		*5*		*1*	3	*19*
1793-1794	3	*12*				*41*
1794-1795		*6*		*3*	3	*45*

[34] SUA, 1/f, 1, p. 17 (no 102).
[35] He matriculated to Göttingen in 1787. A. Tar, *op. cit.*, p. 118. (no 720).
[36] SUA, 1/f, 1, p. 32 (no 174).
[37] Gy. Gortvay, *op. cit.*, p. 72.
[38] SUA, 1/f, 1, p. 15 (no 91); J. Maizner, *op. cit.*, p. 61.
[39] SUA, 1/f, 1, p. 34 (no 182); http://mek.oszk.hu/03600/03630/html/index.htm (Soos, Márton széki) [accessed on November 21, 2013].

1795-1796		*7*		*1*	2	*51*
1796-1797		*16*			2	*50*
1797-1798		*3*			1	*57*
1798-1799	1	*18*			1	*41*
1799-1800		*12*			2	*37*
1800-1801	1	*8*				*25*
1801-1802		*21*			6	*90*
1802-1803		*11*			4	*46*
1803-1804	2	*19*			2	*44*
1804-1805		*12*	(1)[40]	*(2)*	1	*34*
1805-1806		*15*		*(1)*		*30*
1806-1807	1	*8*	(1)	*(3)*		*48*
1807-1808		*14*		*(1)*	4	*37*
1808-1809	1	*9*		*(4)*	1	*35*
1810-1811		*9*		*(1)*	2	*30*
1811-1812	1	*11*		*1*	1	*30*
1813-1814	2	*5*			2	*6*
Summa	**23**	***282***	**2**	***19***	**44**	***990***

Table 4. Graduating Transylvanians in the Faculty of Medicine, Pest until the end of Napoleonic wars (1783/4-1815/6)
(based on SUA, 1/f, 1; *Ibidem*, 1/d, 2 and E. Hőgyes, *op. cit.*, p. 130-131)[41]

Surgery was less popular than medicine among Transylvanian peregrinants. In the 1790s and 1800s only one or two Transylvanian students matriculated in Pest to study surgery per year. After session 1808-1809, due to the introduction of vernacular courses, people showed more interest in surgery: in this year, among 54 freshmen four were born in Transylvania. After one year pause until the end of Napoleonic wars, there were few Transylvanian students every year. The reason of

[40] It is not listed in the book of Hőgyes, but SUA, 1/d, 2, p. 270 mentions Jakab Frankenburg, who became professor of obstetrics a few years later in Pest. However, the book of Classifications listed him in the end of session 1803-1804 and next year, too. It is interesting, because in the book, at the statistical figures of year 1804-1805 they suggest that no one graduated as doctor of surgery in the previous year. *Ibidem* p. 311-315. We should notice, that sometimes the data in the books of Classifications (they made a list and a statistical table at the end of the sessions) and of Promotions are not concordant. Only a few person earned the title 'doctor of surgery' in these decades, and all of them had a special, successful life thereafter – probably thanks to their high-level expertise. By Frankenburg we should mention Ignác Stáhly and János Weleczky: they were inaugurated as doctors of surgery in 1804 and 1811 and later both of them became professors in the Faculty of Pest. SUA, 1/d, 3, p. 320; *Ibidem*, 1/f, 1, p. 60 (no 305), p. 85 (no 388).

[41] The table contains only those sessions, when were graduating Transylvanian in Pest. The numbers in parenthesis are based on the archival sources, and not consent with the data of Hőgyes. As the books of Classifications does not contain these lists for every session, it is not possible to compare all data.

their absence in 1809 is that probably some of them gone with Ferenc Eckstein to the battlefield at Győr against Napoleon[42].

In spite of the low number of students of surgery, there are many other Transylvanians among graduated surgeons, because there were other methods of getting a diploma that time: a) they could study and make their exams in the same place, b) after pre-studies in guilds or in other universities, they could get their certificate in the Faculty of Pest and c) pre-studies in another university, and taking only their last exam in Pest. According to this, among 44 examinated Transylvanian surgeons were 12, who took pre-studies in guilds: five were journeymen in Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca), and two in Hungary[43]. Eight peregrinants were in guilds and also took pre-studies in the university. They did not study in the ordinary course, but took private lessons and surgical practice in the military hospital – not accidentally, due to relations of military medicine of the Hungarian insurrections of the Napoleonic wars. The practice of students of the faculty in the military hospital was most popular between 1796 and 1798.

Only four case is known, where Transylvanian peregrinants took pre-studies in other universities (or lycea): two of them matriculated in Vienna, and two in Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca) antecedently. At the turn of the 18th and 19th century, before the formation of the title 'privat-docent', it was widespread to accomodate *correpetitors* (or as the first privat-docents appeared, the correpetitors disappeared). At the beginning of the 19th century, this form of private teaching ensured the cost of living for some students, until they got their diploma. In these decades, four Transylvanian "private correpetitors" are known[44].

Analyzing their denomination (if it is known, because the sources does not always mention it), we can say, that almost half of the Transylvanian masters of surgery were Calvinist (18 persons) and Catholic (15 persons). Beside them, ten Lutheran came to Pest. This marks the tendency, that there was a part of Protestants, who gave up their former, traditional path of peregrination and recognized the significance of the Faculty of Pest. According to their place of birth, it is clearly seen, that they also came from major Transylvanian cities to Pest in these decades, too:

[42] From among the graduated surgeons and students of superior surgery, Eckstein took 16 persons to the battlefield. Their inferior personnel was composed of 61 'inferior surgeons' (*inferiores chirurgi*) and 23 students of surgery. As a matter of course, members of the latter group had to go to the front line, many of them died there. Eckstein replaced them with seven inferior surgeons and two trainee. Franciscus Eckstein, *Relatio officiosa generalis de nosocomiis pro nobili insurgente militia hungarica anno 1809 erectis et administratis*, Buda, 1810, p. 23-25.

[43] József Eperjesi was born in Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia) in a Calvinist family. He was journeyman in Szeged until 1789 and became master of surgery in Pest, 1797. The Catholic József Mátéfi was born in Segesvár (Sighişoara), and was journeyman in Nagyvárad (Oradea) until 1782, and did his final exams for the certificate from the Faculty of Pest in 1790. Pre-studies in guilds not necessarily meant less knowledge, among the Transylvanian peregrinants were only two, who got mediocre qualification (one of them was the above mentioned Mátéfi), the others were eminent at their final exam. SUA 1/f, 3, p. 485 (no 674) and p. 539 (no 954).

[44] With the following remark by their name: "*privatim correpetiit*". Correpetitors were from Transylvania: Pál Székely (master of surgery in 1800), János Herczinger (1801), Péter Koszorus (1802) and Sámuel Várady (1802). SUA, 1/f, 3, p. 561, 573, 577, 579 (no 1099, 1153, 1190, 1197).

from Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca) 7 persons, from Nagyszeben (Sibiu) 6, from Torda (Turda) 5, Marosvásárhely (Târgu Mureş) 3 and from Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia) 2 persons.

Despite of all, the interest toward the Faculty of Pest was modest. From 1787-1788 until the end of Napoleonic wars, only six Transylvanian peregrinants studied here from the beginning, in the two-year course of surgery, and also got their certificate here.

Not every Transylvanian students went home after they earned their degree. Some of them stayed in Pest and took their chance here. Among them should be mentioned Sebestyén Rumbach. He was born in 1761 in Nagybánya (Baia Mare). He studied surgery both in guild and university: he was journeyman at István Kiss, a master of surgery in Buda until 1778. After pre-studies of philosophy he matriculated in the Faculty of Medicine, where he was student of medicine and surgery in the same time. It turned out during these years, that he was quite talented and sedulous. He was assistant in the military hospital at first, then by the *prosector* of anatomy. He took his final exams with excellent results, and became master of surgery and obstetrics in 1786[45]. After that, he became ordinary physicus of city Pest, and founded the first medical bath there. He was a member of the Faculty of Medicine both in Pest and Vienna. His operant life ended January 16, 1844 in Vienna[46].

II.3. Peregrinants in the Faculty until the revolution in 1848

After the Napoleonic wars, Europe radically changed, peregrination became uneasy, moreover, impossible for a while outside the Habsburg Empire. However, paradoxically thanks to this, the Faculty of Medicine of Pest got more popular inside the empire this time. Medical professions also became more beloved. But the standard of the education and the capability in Pest was modest, if we compare it to the 'great old' universities of the empire (Vienna, Prague, or Padua and Pavia, which were also part of it at this time). In the so-called Hungarian 'age of Reforms' the connection between Hungary and Transylvania livened, there were many questions, which made the contemporary colleagues think about together: creating the Hungarian medical terminology, reformation of medical education (including the conlifct between doctors of medicine and masters of surgery), reorganization of health-care system (claim of districts according to the number of patients and not to civil parish), plan of labour organization etc. In the 1830s and 1840s many scientific associations were founded, where both Hungarian and Transylvanian colleagues took part, for Example Association of Hungarian Doctors of Medicine and 'Nature-searchers'[47] (*Magyar Orvosok és Természetvizsgálók Társasága,* since 1841) and Scientific Association (*Természettudományi Társulat,* it was also founded in 1841).

[45] The qualification of his final exam for the title 'master of Surgery': *cum laude eminentiae.* SUA, 1/f, 2, p. 281 (no 35); *Ibidem*, 3, p. 449 (no 419).

[46] His necrology in: "Orvosi Tár", 3, 5, no 5 (January 28, 1844) p. 80, and his obituary: http://www.rakovszky.net/D1_DisplRemImg/Rako_DRI_ShowRemoteImages.shtml?$LSG_R19@0405 (R19:423, Rumbach, Sebestyén) [accessed on November 19, 2013].

[47] Their name was inspired by the German precedent: *Gesellschaft Deutscher Naturforscher und Ärzte* (which was founded in 1822).

The first Hungarian medical journal, *Orvosi Tár* was founded in 1831 and refounded in 1838, where Transylvanian doctors of medicine and surgeons also had a chance to publish their researches.

These lively and intense connections had an impact on medical education, too. Thanks to this, the Faculty of Pest became an important institution of the Habsburg Empire, which is clearly visible, if we analyze the constantly increasing number of students[48]. In session 1824-1825, the number of students of medicine reached 100 (in this year 105 person studied medicine in Pest). It reached its peak in session 1833-1834, when roundly 400 student of medicine matriculated in the Faculty[49]. From session 1838-1839, due to the renewed peregrination outside the Habsburg Empire, to the debates about the future of medical education, and to the fact, that it became evident, that they have less and less opportunity, to coast after they earned their degree, the number of students started to decrease. We have the last archival source before the revolution of 1848 from session 1846-1847. In this year, only 219 students matriculated to study medicine in Pest. The same tendencies can be seen at Transylvanian peregrinants, only with lower numbers. From the beginning of the 19th century, averagely two or four Transylvanian students of Medicine were in Pest per year. From session 1828-1829 their number reached 7, and between session 1831-1832 and 1839-1840 it was between 10 and 16 (16 Transylvanian students matriculated in 1837-1838). In the 1840s, their number decreased and was between 3 and 7 per year.

Before the revolution in 1848, 20 Transylvanian students got their certificate as doctors of medicine in Pest (or more exactly, 19 students, because one of them was doctor of medicine and surgery, too)[50]. Most of them were Catholic (14 Roman- and 1 Greek Catholic). Protestants obviously tried to evade Pest: only 3 Lutherans and 1 Calvinist became doctor of medicine here that time. Regarding their regional distribution, it is evident, that they furthermore came from the same major cities to Pest, so, for Example Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca) and Szamosújvár (Gherla) (4-4 persons), Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia) and Medgyes (Mediaş) (2-2 peregrinants) and Szászváros (Orăştie) (one student).

Having a look at the life of these doctors we can find those important personalities, who served the health care of Transylvania, while some of them deployed their talent in Hungary or Pest.

János Meskó was born in Szamosújvár (Gherla) in 1805. After his studies in Pest, he stayed in Hungary. On the other hand, he also had strong connections to the Hungarian capital by his family. He became doctor of medicine in Pest, 1830. He was designated for ordinary chief physician of county Csanád in 1835, and he stayed here until his death. Due to his self-abnegation in work, he received the title royal

48 Based on SUA, 1/d, 4-47 and *Protocolla susceptionis juventutis - scholasticae in Facultate Medica Regiae Universitatis Pestinensis* [hereafter, 1/e], 2-12.

49 It should be noticed, that the matriculation of course did not always meant the perfection of the studies, people often gave up their studies, especially in lower classes, so in session 1831-1832 156 persons matriculated as freshman, but 35 of them dismissed the Faculty (and one did not do his exams, another one died). SUA, 1/d, 20, p. 2-37.

50 Based on *Ibidem*, 1/f, 1, p. 101-410 (nos 468-1401).

counsellor in 1878. Seven years later he and his family became noble with the first-name *'csanádi'*[51]. His closest family-members and relatives were also dedicated doctors, his daughter's, Malvin's husband was the founder of the first orthopaedic institution in Pest, Sámuel Batizfalvy[52].

One of the most talented students was Frigyes Eckstein. He was born in Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca) in 1803. However, he did not have strong connections to Transylvania, his father, Ferenc was professor of the Faculty of Medicine in Pest (assistant professor of surgery and obstetrics from 1799, professor of practical surgery since 1803). Frigyes stayed in Pest after his father's early death in 1812, he studied medicine here between 1820-1821 and 1824-1825, became adjunct from 1825 in the hospital of the Faculty, and got his diploma as doctor of medicine in 1826[53]. He dedicated his life to brisken the public medical discourse in Hungary: he took part in the journal "Orvosi Tár" and worked for the association *Magyar Orvosok és Természetvizsgálók*. He was a 'science-loving' member of *Természettudományi Társulat* since 1842 and an active member of the Royal Medical Association of Budapest from its beginning. He was the secretary general of this association between 1837 and 1838, and its chairman between 1839 and 1841. He took part in many sessions of the association and also held many lectures[54].

Although János Theophil Fabini [b. 1791, Medgyes (Mediaş)-d. 1847, Pest], the famous Hungarian oculist did not studied in Pest, he and his brother, Frigyes [1788, Medgyes (Mediaş)-d. 1864, Giurgiu] had strong connections to the Faculty. Their father was a Lutheran priest, but János Theophil became the head of a multi-generational doctor-dynasty, whose members had close ties to Transylvania, and also to Budapest. János Theophil studied medicine in Vienna between 1811-1812 and 1815-1816, became doctor of medicine in 1816 there, and after his graduation he worked in the *Allgemeines Krankenhaus* as intern and oculist. He went back to his homeland for a while, but he was already in Pest from June 1817, where he was promoted to professor of ophthalmology in the Faculty of Medicine, and two years later to chief oculist of Hungary[55]. He was dean of the Faculty of Medicine in 1838-

[51] He was promoted as doctor on May 10, 1830. In his diploma of nobility in 1885 it was emphasized his fourty-years sedulous work and his merits in the foundation of the hospital of the county in Makó. He died in Makó, on January 10, 1891. SUA, I/f, 1, p. 151 (no 569), http://mek.oszk.hu/03600/03630/html/index.htm (Meskó János csanádi) [accessed on November 21, 2013]; NAH, *Libri Regii* (K 19), 68, p. 464 (991/1878, February 3, 1878) and p. 667-669 (177/1885, February 12, 1885), http://www.rakovszky.net/D1_DisplRemImg/Rako_DRI_ShowRemoteImages.shtml?$LSG_M21@0488 (M21:488, Meskó, János) [accessed on November 21, 2013].

[52] Malvin Meskó, the daughter of János Meskó and the wife of Sámuel Batizfalvy died in 1920 in Budapest. http://www.rakovszky.net/D1_DisplRemImg/Rako_DRI_ShowRemoteImages.shtml?$LSG_B20@0568 (B20:567, Batizfalvy, Sámuelné) [accessed on November, 21, 2013].

[53] January 10, 1826. SUA, I/f, 1, p. 124 (no 505).

[54] K. Simon, *A Budapesti Királyi Orvosegyesület a kezdetektől a forradalomig*, "Tanulmányok Budapest Múltjából" 38 (2013), p. 148.

[55] Ophthalmology was taught in Pest since 1818. Students of medicine had to study ophthalmology in their last session, becoming masters of surgery could choose it freely. Terms of getting a diploma

1839, and rector of the University in session 1845-1846. He lived an active scientific life, he also had international relations accross Europe. Ferdinand V awarded him with nobility in 1840[56]. A promising career ended with his early death[57]. His brother, Frigyes chose the classical path of peregrination of Transylvanian Protestants. He studied medicine in the famous Protestant University, Tübingen, and he earned his diploma as doctor of medicine there. For the authorization of his practice inside the Habsburg Empire, he also matriculated in the Faculty of Medicine, Pest – where his brother was already professor by this time –, and he was promoted as doctor of medicine in 1822 here, too[58]. Like his brother, he also specialized himself on ophthalmology, but did not stay in Hungary. He moved back to Transylvania, where he was a practicant in his hometown at first, and became physician of district Beszterce (Bistrița), and finally, chief oculist of Transylvania between 1823 and 1835. After that, he had private practice for a short time, later undertook an office as quarantine-doctor in Romania. Due to family reasons (his daughter married to a local pharmacist), he stayed there until the end of his life, he deceased in Giurgiu, in 1864[59].

Bogdán Korbuly (b. around 1816-d. 1870) had strong ties to Transylvania. He was born in Szamosújvár (Gherla) in a Roman Catholic family, and practically, he was far away from his homeland only during his studies. He studied medicine in Pest and became doctor of medicine in 1840, also there[60] After his promotion, he moved back to Transylvania, and served as chief physician of county Alsó-Fehér. He practiced here, in Nagyenyed (Aiud), until his early death[61].

As we have seen in the Example of the Fabini-brothers, specialization in medicine became even more significant. By this time, surgery was not alone anymore as special medical knowledge, other special fields of medication also became independent. Some doctors of medicine, so the Transylvanians, were interested in these new specialities. As the Fabini-brothers were specialized in ophthalmology, so did other doctors search other new fields for their interest. For Example, Demeter Radulovics chose physiotherapy as issue of his thesis[62].

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as master of ophthalmology was listening two semesters of it and making a successful cataract-operation. Lessons were held in Latin or in vernacular language. Simon, 2013, p. 94-95.

[56] Gortvay, 1953, p. 191-192, Szögi, 1990, p. 78. (Nr. 987), Molnár, 2005, p. 62-63, NAH, Libri Regii (A 57) Vol. 66, p. 841-844. (1466/1840, 23 January, 1840).

[57] He had stroke in 1847. http://www.rakovszky.net/D1_DisplRemImg/Rako_DRI_ShowRemoteImages.shtml?$LSG_F01@0647 (F01:649, Fabiny, Teofil János) [accessed on November 21, 2013].

[58] He was promoted as doctor of medicine in Pest, 15 January 1822. SUA 1/f Vol. 1, p. 108 (Nr. 468).

[59] http://mek.oszk.hu/03600/03630/html/ (Fabini, Frigyes) [accessed on November 21, 2013].

[60] He was graduated as doctor of medicine, 2 April, 1840. SUA 1/f Vol. 1 p. 309 (Nr. 1035).

[61] http://www.rakovszky.net/D1_DisplRemImg/Rako_DRI_ShowRemoteImages.shtml?$LSG_K41@0129 (K41:137, Korbuly Bogdán) [accessed on November 21, 2013].

[62] Radulovics [Greek Catholic, b. around 1816, Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia)-d. ?] became doctor of medicine in 14 March 1842. The title of his dissertation was *Dissertatio inauguralis medica, qua febris in genere de gymnastica medico, physiologico et dialectico respectu*, Pest, 1842. SUA, 1/f, 1, p. 333 (no 1114).

Summarizing the data, it seems, the Faculty of Medicine in Pest did not became much more popular for Transylvanian students in the first half of the 19th century, their presence is modest in the Faculty in the studies of medicine. Although scientific relations between Hungarian and Transylvanian doctors from the 1820s got stronger, it did not influenced too much the number of students of medicine. Looking at personal lives of the peregrinants, this issue seems more complex. Though a small number of Transylvanians studied and graduated here as doctors of medicine, but after their studies were finished, they readily stayed in Hungary, respectively in Pest[63]. In case of surgeons, what was the difference?

There were many factors, which promoted the popularity of courses of surgery, which were held in vernacular language (Hungarian or German). Their certificate (master of surgery or civil surgeon) guaranteed them almost the same rights as doctors of medicine had, and education of surgeons also took less time. After the Carlasbad decrees in 1819, peregrination inside the Habsburg Empire became more relevant. The Faculty of Medicine in Pest was mainly important for peregrinants from Bohemia, Moravia and Galicia, who arrived here en masse from the 1820s. Many families – especially craftsmens' – started to reckon medicine as a device, which ensures them social recovery. Considering time and price of the studies, surgery seemed the easiest way to get a medical certificate. According to this, total number of students of surgery often was higher, than of medicine per year, not to mention the number of extradited diplomas. When the Faculty was most popular, in the early 1830s, so, in session 1831-1832 the difference between number of students of surgery and of medicine was 71, in the next session 76 (in 1831-1832 448 persons studied surgery and 377 medicine, in 1832-1833 494 and 418)[64].

Due to the new order of courses in 1833, and offense against surgeons, number of students of surgery started to decrease. In session 1846-1847 there were 219 students of medicine, and only 127 becoming surgeons in the Faculty.[65] According to this, number of Transylvanian surgeons also fluctuated, but, in contract with the doctors, they found surgery more interesting: from 1829-1830 the average number of Transylvanian peregrinants in the courses of surgery was averagely 10 persons per year. Based on the books of Classifications and the Matricula, between session 1815-1816 and 1846-1847 109 students matriculated from Transylvania in Pest. Most of them attended the Hungarian courses (80 persons)[66]. 25 peregrinants came here to finish their studies in Pest, and 44 Transylvanians studied surgery in this faculty from the beginning.

[63] The multitude of settling surgeons and doctors in Pest did not ease their living and subsistence, which caused debate among contemporary colleagues. Particularly see: K. Simon, *Sebészet és sebészek Magyarországon* cit., p. 231-240.

[64] The greatest difference (126) was in session 1823-1824. In that year 221 people matriculated to the courses of surgery, and only 95 to medicine. SUA, 1/e, 1.

[65] Based on SUA, 1/e, 12.

[66] A reason for the small increase of number of Transylvanians in 1844-1845 and the next session (11 and 16 persons) was the introduction of Hungarian national language in the education. SUA, 1/e, 12.

We have to admit that almost quarter of them (32) gave up the course and probably finished it in another place. Three of them died during their studies. Only four peregrinants did pre-studies in the lyceum of Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca), and interestingly, not all of them got his certificte here. József Bak (Bakk) from Nagyenyed (Aiud) studied two years in Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca) from 1834/5, he matriculated in Pest as Hungarian sophomore in 1837-1838, but finally, became civil surgeon in Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca), in 1840-1841[67]. Similarly, Károly Péterfy was also sophomore in Pest in 1837, he started the courses of surgery in Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca), and also moved back there for his qualification[68]. Antal Lengyel studied in the lyceum from 1827-1828, too, and five years later matriculated in Pest as sophomore in the Hungarian course of surgery[69]. Wolfgang Lukáts studied with him in the same time in Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca) and Pest, he was sophomore in Pest in 1832-1833 and the next session, and became master of surgery in Hungary in 1835[70]. We should mention as an interesting fact, the six Transylvanian peregrinants chose to study surgery after pharmaceutical pre-studies[71].

Almost half of the students were Calvinist (42) and Catholic (36, including one Greek Catholic)[72]. There were 28 Lutherans (most of them were Saxons, so not surprisingly 23 of them chose the German course of surgery), 2 Israelites and 1 Unitarian[73]. So the former proportion changed, the Catholic predominance moderated. This proportion reflects better the denominational relations of Transylvania, and also refers, that the Catholic character of the University effaced in the first half of the 19th century, and thanks to this, the University became more popular for Protestants, too.

We have little information about the family background of these peregrinants. The profession of the father was mentioned only in that case, if he was still alive that time and the student was not grown up. But 45 peregrinants were already independent adults (*sui juris*) in the time of their studies, 15 persons' mother was widow, 7 had tutor, 3 were completely orphans. Eight students' fathers were generally identified as 'craftsmen', and beside them were 5 coopers, 2 taylors, 1

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[67] SUA, 1/d, 32, p. 95-96 and *Ibidem*, 1/e, 6, p. 95-96; J. Maizner, *op. cit.*, p. 76; J. Varga, *op. cit.*, p. 201 (no 3478).

[68] He was freshman in 1833, started newly two years in 1835, and finally turned back to Kolozsvár in session 1839-1840 and got his certificate as civil surgeon in the same year. SUA, 1/d, 32, p. 162-163; *Ibidem*, 1/e, 6, p. 99-100; J. Maizner, *op. cit.*, p. 76; J. Varga, *op. cit.*, p. 200 (no 3441) and 211 (no 3709).

[69] SUA, 1/d, 22; J. Varga, *op. cit.*, p. 167 (no 2651). We have no data wheter he had finished his studies or not.

[70] In Júlia Varga's book he was mentioned as sophomore in Kolozsvár, but the matricula of Pest says, that he was only freshman there. SUA, 1/d, 22 and 25; *Ibidem*, 1/e, 3; *Ibidem*, 1/f, 3, p. 10 (no 1762) and J. Varga, *op. cit.*, p. 168 (no 2658).

[71] Actually, it was a common practice.

[72] György Teflán served at the army previously, he matriculated to the Hungarian course in 1844, where he studied three years.

[73] Nagy Moyses was born as nobleman in Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca), probably Hungarian. He attended the Hungarian course between session 1825-1826 and 1827-1828. He was graduated as civil surgeon and obstetrician in 1828. SUA, 1/f, 2, p. 788 (no 303).

weaver, 1 bootmaker, 1 hatter. Eight students had officer or white-collar worker father. Two fathers were merchants, and only six students followed their fathers' profession as surgeons (tutors of two peregrinants were also surgeons). One student came from a pharmaceutist's family. According to their social rank (if it was mentioned in the sources), we can say, that five peregrinants had civil-, and three had noble background. Six of them was originally peasant. So, most of them originated from craftman-families. By their place of birth, most of them came here from major Transylvanian cities, for example from Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca, 20 persons), Marosvásárhely (Târgu Mureş, 15), Nagyszeben (Sibiu, 7), Beszterce (Bistriţa, 4), Brassó (Braşov, 12), Medgyes (Mediaş, 4), Nagyenyed (Aiud, 3), Fogaras (Făgăraş, 3), Erzsébetváros (Dumbrăveni, 3) and Szászváros (Orăştie, 3).

The history of the Faculty of Medicine of Pest before 1848 shows, how the small institution grew into an internationally relevant establishment. According to this, more foreign students matriculated there in time. Among Transylvanians it was not popular in the beginning, but after the Napoleonic wars, thanks to several positive circumstances, it became a beloved place. Analyzing the course of life of these students after their graduation, we can say, that wheter they went back to their homeland, or settled down in Hungary, they significantly contributed to the contemporary health care system, and deepened the fellowship between the Hungarian and the Transylvanian healers.

Peek into the Kitchen of the Elites of the Old Kingdom. Bengescu Family*

Cruciţa-Loredana Baciu

Keywords: *Food*; *Aristocracy*; *Royal Family*; *Dances*

Bengescu family was one of the aristocratic families from the Old Kingdom of Romania. Alexandru Bengescu was the grandson of Iordache Golescu, Minister of the Interior during the first half of the 18th century. Zoe Bengescu, born as Rosetti was the daughter of Radu D. Rosetti and Cassia Brăiloiu. By marriage, the family was also akin to Jacob Negruzzi and Titu Maiorescu. Those alliances were established through the marriage between them and Zoe's sisters, Ana and Maria.

Despite the illustrious progeny, the family faced financial difficulties due to the adventures of Alexander Bengescu, always looking for a business that would enable him to increase the family income, each time facing humbling failures. Its status in the good world has been preserved through the efforts of Mrs. Zoe Bengescu, first lady of Queen Elizabeth. She was able to keep up and provide a future according to the status own of his three daughters: Mimi, Ella and Zoe.

In a bid to keep up the appearance, Zoe Bengescu was constraint to provide the natural framework of growth of its daughters and then organize all those social events that label of those times required. The difference between essence and appearance is given by the menu. This was simpler in the family and showy in society.

Based on the published memoirs of her daughter, Zoe Bengescu, who married Jean Cămărăşescu, we intend to make a brief foray in the food's fashion of aristocracy in the first decades of the 20th century, a period of constantly changing and adapting to European food fashion. Also, having in the viewfinder one of the most important families, but who had insufficient financial resources, we intend to look into a possible difference between essence and appearance.

The exploitation of this source is beneficial in two ways; primarily through it, we can rebuild the menu of Bengescu's family and the habits born in its bosom with regard to food, and secondly, through the close links between Bengescu family and the Royal family we can restore, even partially the menu and the ceremonial at the Cotroceni palace or Peleş Castle.

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1. Aristocratic menu in Bengescu family

The Bengescu family, thanks to Mrs. Zoe's efforts to split between her debt to Queen Elizabeth and those to her family, maintain a strict meal's schedule. The main meals were set at fixed hours; except for breakfast which was regularly taken at 10:00 a. m., with various exceptions. The lunch was served at 1:00 p. m. and dinner at 8:30 p. m. Between meals, at 5:00 p. m. a ritual taken from the English world was held: serving tea, liqueur often accompanied by slices of pound cake, sponge cake or small cookies.

As occasional events, Zoe remembered the dance and the picnics that she and her sisters attended and the holiday periods that they spent at Ştorobăneasa or Sinaia, alongside the Royal family.

With regard to the foods of the daily menu, we note, as is natural, and a distinction between the main meals of the day and another difference given by the age of the participants at the table. Zoe remembered a certain differentiation between adults and children, in particular as regards the composition of the breakfast. If her mother was consuming exclusively coffee with milk[1], the girls' breakfast consisted of tea, *pezmeţi*[2], jam and candies[3] or bread with fresh butter, cracknel, sponge cake, fruits and *pezmeţi*[4].

Sometimes, breakfast included more consistent foods as well as black bread with salami and butter[5].

As regards the lunch, the main meal of the day, the most consistent, it was served at 1:00 p. m. and consisted of two or three dishes. The table was open through a warm soup, and then a main course was served, based on meat: beef, chicken with plums or apricots, meat with quince, and so on, and dessert[6].

Dinner was usually served after 8:00 p. m. Although not up to the consistency of the lunch in the evening a hot soup was served, a main dish not so consistent, sometimes replaced with yoghurt and curd, and dessert consisting of fruit or fruit compotes[7].

In Delavrancea family, according to Cella Delavrancea's journal, lunch was much diversified. It sometimes consisted in pickled meatballs and dessert. The regular dessert dish was composed of *halva*, the same *halva* that Bengescu family considered to be an abstinence dessert[8].

Dinner, diversified as well, comprised sometimes of fish or crayfish, considered delicacies and consumed with great pleasure.[9]

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[1] Zoe Cămărăşescu, *Amintiri*, Bucharest, 2006, p. 26.
[2] Pastry made from flour with added yeast, butter, sugar and eggs, cut into various shapes and baked in the oven.
[3] Z. Cămărăşescu, *op. cit.*, p. 252.
[4] *Ibidem*, p. 154.
[5] *Ibidem*, p. 156.
[6] *Ibidem*, p. 25.
[7] *Ibidem*, p. 329.
[8] Cella Delavrancea, *Dintr-un secol de viaţă*, Bucharest, 1987, p. 567.
[9] *Ibidem*, p. 568.

The dessert that Cella, a baby girl at that time mentioned consisted in cocoons with Quince jam, her favorite.

The habit of serving fresh fish for dinner is not foreign for the Royal Court. Queen Mary, in his notes indicated the frequent tasting of fresh or smoke-dried trout tasting or even crabs[10]. Although Queen Mary has had a self-imposed diet in which dinner was missing or was replaced with a soup or a cup of tea, she often violated these restrictions in order to serve these dishes. This fact makes it easily to understand the social status of the food itself.

Also, French fashion with regard to dining advised that the lunches should consist of fish, or farinade[11], a meat dish, mixed salad and an entremets and a stylish dinner should include: two kinds of soup, a fish dish, an entree, side dish and vegetable, with a mixed salad, desserts and cakes[12].

In the French environment the consumption of fish was considered a necessity, but also a mark of social status. In the Romanian environment, mentions of such dish were rare and they were considered to be exits from everyday life.

In Transylvania, for example, in Cluj, we can only talk about the supply of preserved or smoked fish even for the aristocracy. The fresh fish had a price far too high due to its rarity. Thus, fish dishes were served only in the case of feasts and banquets[13].

2. Food as a social fact

Far from satisfying only the desires of the flesh, food, over the millennia, has a symbolic value and a peculiar to the social orientation. Henriette Krupenski-Sturdza said "*Ce trebuie preferat, la o masă, ori cărei mâncări, e un vecin agreabil în dreapta şi o vecină frumoasă şi simpatică în stânga* [What you need, at a table, any food, it's a pleasant neighbor to the right and a nice and likeable in the neighboring left]."[14]

Young Zoe, as any other girl her age, has noted the issues that she has loved in the menu, at the table especially in the festive meal. Her concerns for food faded in time or were changed with others like dresses, parties and so on. At first, she manifested a special interest for the tea because it was a moment dedicated to visits, as well as to cookies. Later, the tea loosed its importance, being outrun by the dance, an important event in the life of young girls. Picnic lunches and organized meals got into her attention only if they had something special.

The tea

For the child, and then the younger Zoe not main meals of the day were the main attraction, but that snack between meals, habit borrowed from English

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[10] Maria Regina României, *Însemnări zilnice*, VI, Bucharest, 2008, p. 240.

[11] Dish based on flour and eggs.

[12] Alain Druard, *Bucătari, experţi gastronomici şi gurmanzi. Bucătăria franceză în secolele al XIX-lea şi al XX-lea*, in *Istoria Gustului* (coord. Freedman H. Paul), Buhcarest, 2008, p. 263-299.

[13] Ecaterina Csapó Emőke, *Viaţa cotidiană a aristocraţiei clujene în a doua jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea*, PhD thesis, Cluj-Napoca, 2012, p. 305-306.

[14] Henrietta Krupenski-Sturdza, *Carte de bucate veselă*, Bucharest, 1926, p. 64.

gastronomy, the tea. Whether breakfast, lunch and dinner were social occasions rarely, only on the occasion of special events and guests involved, tea is by its essence of a social occasion accompanied by a hot drink and a snack. It is not difficult to understand why a custom apparently insignificant, which in terms of food cannot even rise at the importance of breakfast, got into the author's memories as a very special event. For tea, the Bengescu received guests and return visits. One of the most common locations for tea is referred to be Cotroceni palace. There, the guests were served with English tea and goodies. Still, this was not the reason why this place got a so special place in Zoe's heart, but the presence of the Royal family. Between Bengescu girls and the sons and the daughters of the future King Ferdinand were links, despite the difference in rank. The presence of Sovereigns, of Royal-blooded friends and the goodies received from the Palace made the tea there a real welfare.

The first entries about brunch meals at the Palace appear as source of goodies for Mrs. Begescu's daughters. She used to bring them out items that she didn't consume in the previous day at tea: sandwiches, candies, fruits and cakes[15].

Within the family, tea was typically accompanied by tea cake, almond cake or sponge cake[16]. At Cotroceni, the ritual of tea was much more elaborate and more refined. The tea served was of English origin and the goodies – the most various: plum-cake, cookies, sandwiches neatly arranged, with lettuce and tomato slices. On other occasions, the tea was accompanied by Baumkuchen or Capşa, expensive cakes[17]. Whether at home or at the Cotroceni palace tea ritual was relatively similar each time, at Sinaia the things do not get even so.

Zoe remembers a tea at the Peles Castle in the presence of King Charles and the Royal family. The profound impression that this tea tine left her on that occasion there wasn't rooted in aspects such as food, because they were served tea with slices of sponge cake and Streusel Kuchen but in the select company[18].

A tea set for his nonconformity is the one that took place in the cottage at the Peles, Charles' property. There, the group of young people gathered for tea, boiled the water in the pot for polenta and accompanied it with toast or corn baked on coal, depending on your preferences[19].

The habit of having tea in the company of guests has been perpetuated in the interwar period as well. At the Royal Court, Queen Mary used to organize teas parties accompanied by good music and tasty snacks, consisting not only in cookies and sandwiches, but also in buffet and with caviar and cold snacks[20].

Maruca Cantacuzino was also a hostess known for organized teas, accompanied by the Romanian composer George Enescu's music, her husband[21].

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[15] Z. Cămărăşescu, *op. cit.*, p. 14.
[16] *Ibidem*, p. 29.
[17] *Ibidem*, p. 82, 101.
[18] *Ibidem*, p. 147.
[19] *Ibidem*, p. 252.
[20] Maria Regina României, *op. cit.*, I-VII, Bucharest, 2006, *passim*.
[21] *Ibidem*.

Gradually, this kind of meeting has been generalized by becoming the main entertainment for the youngsters, along with dances as other memoirs published over time also proved it[22].

Tellingly for what tea and its ritual meant for those times is the chapter of a handbook for housewives schools published a decade later by Silvia Albu. The author popularizes this type of ritual, overlap it on the field in the afternoon visits[23].

Even the habit to serve with tea and coffee to the guests at any hour they would arrive derived from this custom[24].

The picnic

The 18th century gave birth to a concept of free time which had no connection with sacredness, a spare-time profane characterized by frequent visits, soirees, maintenance of conviviality. The 19th century is the one that gave birth to the concept of leisure, defined as the time that remains available after completing ordinary tasks[25]. For the aristocracy, the spare time concept has never been unknown, especially since they had servants and footmen. Those privileges offered them sufficient time; however, the party rules were always different. Queen Mary, due to his education and love for animals, she used to spend her spare time riding horses, Queen Elizabeth wrote poems, and the young girls often emerging from long walks, especially when they spent summers at Sinaia. They never forgot, into their long wanderings, to take at least some snakes to eat. These exits in nature became a fashionable way to spend spare time. Picnics, as they are called, were sometimes just summing a basket with food, meant to allay hunger caused by the long wanderings, and sometimes represented a true dining taken outdoors.

First of May, spent in nature which revives, but other outputs as well became the perfect occasion of a real treat. Meals taken at the shadow of a tree consisted usually in boiled eggs, fry chicken, salami, cheese, sponge cake, plums and pear[26] or coffee with milk, sponge cake or cake with almonds, boiled eggs, cold chicken, cheese, cake, cherries and wine[27].

When they had in haste only a bite taken, "the basket for the outdoors" included sandwiches, sponge cake and tea[28], bread, meatballs, cheese and coffee[29] or bread with butter, milk, grapes and melons[30].

The interwar literature mentions the perpetuating custom of picnics, not only on their primary purposes, of organized take out for having the table in the middle of the nature but also for the purpose of composing the basket with supplies. Cezar

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[22] Emil Negruţiu, *Memoriile rectorului Negruţiu, De la o agricultură la alta*, in manuscript, p. 40.
[23] Silvia Albu, *Cartea Gospodinei*, Arad, 1940, p. 96-97.
[24] Constantin Doboş, *Coana Lucsiţa*, "Familia", new series, 2 (1927), 5-7, p. 11-17.
[25] Simona Nicoară, *Timp liber, distracţie, joc. Sensibilităţi şi metamorfoze de-a lungul istoriei*, "Caiete de antropologie istorică" 6 (2007), 1-2 (10-11), p. 27.
[26] *Ibidem*, p. 161.
[27] *Ibidem*, p. 132.
[28] *Ibidem*, p. 171.
[29] *Ibidem*, p. 226.
[30] *Ibidem*, p. 327.

Petrescu, in his sketch "*Admiratorii naturii* [The nature's Admirers]" described the menu consisting of boiled eggs, sardines, olives, sausage, fry chicken and cake of a recent enriched family, whose manners he subtle criticized[31].

The dance

The dance, as social event, was the place where young girls made their entrance into society, where they meet with other members of their social class, and where they would choose or be chosen by a future husband. Its importance within the aristocracy is undeniable. For the young girl, this was an occasion for affirmation and socialization, and for her mother, the ideal place to choose a son in law and to instrument a marriage consistent to her rank.

Particulars relating to these events are to be finding especially with regard to the ladies outfit, to the alliances that bind, music and dance. However, Zoe Bengescu remarked the food served as well, although she did not attach great importance to it. The particulars that she did fall especially in the novel register, not the ordinary. It can be noted that the dance, as social event, replaced tea in the concerns of the young girl. If up to his debut in society, Zoe described especially the tea ritual, from then on, the center of her concerns becomes the dance.

Dance was a time for dancing, talking, having fun. The foods' consumption was just a subsequent issue. There, only cold appetizers, cookies, alcohol or soft drinks were served. Cold appetizers consisted of sandwiches[32] and cakes and candies are among the most diverse: meringue, berries, fruit, cookies and butter cookies[33]. The alcohol consumed consisted in Romanian or French wines and champagne. *Oranjada* and punch were meant to tongue cooled dancers without producing undesirable effects of alcohol[34].

Organized tables

Whether it comes to supper, dinner parties or just a lunch, tea or dinner with guests, a meal taken in this framework extends beyond the perimeter of the circumscribed physiological need to nurture and pass the social sphere. Not only this is important regarding the history of food, important is also the difference in menu that applies to such occasions. We can see in it also a difference between essence and appearance, but also the attention that is paid to a table with guests.

A visit for tea

As we described above, the visits to the Palace on the occasion of organized teas because we found a close link between the Palace's ceremonial and one held at Bengescu residence, because Ms. Zoe always brought her uneaten cookies from the previous day tea, therefore, any differences were to be seen.

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[31] Cezar Petrescu, *Admiratorii naturii*, "Familia", new series, 1 (1926), 3, p. 3-4.
[32] Z. Cămărăşescu, *op. cit.*, p. 217.
[33] *Ibidem*, p. 185.
[34] *Ibidem*, p. 217.

In addition to the Palace receptions, Zoe also recalls other receptions in various locations, particularly those which gave her a great pleasure. As a child, she recalls the visits to "*madame Papadopol*" where they were served with "*Ciocolată albită ce zăcuse prin diferite cutii, şerbet uscat pe borcan, pesmeţi cu umplutură* [bleached chocolate, who has been resting for some while in various boxes, *şerbet* dried on the jar, *pezmeţi* with filling]"; at the Poroschia, where they were served with jam, at their God father they got cakes and sandwiches from Capşa and at Maioreşti, where they received goodies with cheese.

Guests at lunch and dinner

On several occasions, Bengescu family has received guests at lunch and dinner, and it was, at its turn invited in similar occasions by their friends and family.

From childhood, Zoe has much appreciated the visits made to various personalities of the time, which they were related to. Among those families are Poienaru, Negruzzi, Maiorescu and Brătianu.

At Poienaru, they were invariably served with macaroni pudding and Turkey with cabbage, along with other goodies which vary depending on the season and resources[35].

Negruzzi family offered steak and plum with walnut or chicken legs[36]; Maiorescu family served its guests with cheese delights[37] and Brătianu family who used, along with fine and varied dishes, to serve small bread which has been adopted by several families from Bucharest[38].

The visits to the "Dairy" were also very dear to the author. She describes that there were fed with rye bread with caraway, butter, salami, cheese Penteleu and buttermilk.

About the ordinary guests of the Bengescu residence, only Mitică Rosetti is remembered for his preference for white meat, especially calf. He fiercely denied any other kind of meat, and if his has't been served with file and a good wine, he would prefer to take a piece of his expensive cheese he bought and consume it[39].

3. Abstinence versus abundance in the Bengescu family

Among the first indications regarding food in the aristocratic family abstinence is mentioned. Through excellence, abstinence means a restraint both from foods of animal origin, and large quantities of food that can make the body heavy and enslave the soul. Bengescu girls were instilled since childhood a cult of the voluntary abstinence to the food or to foodstuff stopped during the periods laid down by the Orthodox Church.

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[35] *Ibidem*, p. 117.
[36] *Ibidem*, p. 118.
[37] *Ibidem*, p. 123.
[38] *Ibidem*, p. 159.
[39] *Ibidem*, p. 126.

During this time, the Bengescu family ate bagels with sesame and tea for breakfast, and cabbage rolls, lentil or chervil soup with vinegar, dried peas and yellow oil with sauerkraut in the barrel at lunch and dinner[40].

In the Holy week the abstinence was respected, but not as foreseen in the canons, but in a simpler manner. They just used to consume no meat in the early days and then, on Wednesday, Thursday and Friday a tea and sesame pretzel. This abstinence ended on Saturday, a day in which they served coffee with milk for breakfast[41].

Another dish was considered to be eminently an abstinence one, the *halva*, specific especially for Christmas and Easter lent period[42].

This period of restrictions, longer or shorter, it ended up with a real treat: the red eggs, buns, raisin and chocolate at Easter[43], to which they added a chicken soup and mulled wine[44].

Christmas, the feast of the family and childhood is not mentioned, therefore we can only speculate that the food on the table at this great feast consisted in the traditional dishes along with sponge cake.

The New Year is usually mentioned as a result of the divination ritual which took place on that day, a habit which had connection with an essential piece of social life of those times, the marriage. Via fortune cookies, young ladies guessed features of the future husband[45].

Moşii was another special celebration for Bengescu girls. That day had "*miros de gogoşi încinse, mititei, bere, alune prăjite şi turtă dulce* [smell of fritters, hot sausages, beer, peanuts and toasted gingerbread.]"

Cella Delavrancea spoke of this feast like a tremendous celebration. King Charles I came every year to open the celebrations and due to his presence, no one would be willing not to come. For Cella, *Moşii* meant fried meat and good wine[46].

Another aspect that is considered necessary to be dealt with is that of the diet. Neither Zoe nor Cella Delavrancea have referred to any imposition diet designed to keep them supple and concern for this issue seems not to have existed.

The 19th century has changed the perspective in terms of the ideal body image. The fatness was being replaced with the supplest. The ideal in food habits represented by the dictum "to eat as much as we can", becomes "to eat as much as we want, without getting fat", which means a lifting of the body to measure the amount of food ingested[47].

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[40] *Ibidem*, p. 24-25.
[41] *Ibidem*, p. 108.
[42] *Ibidem*, p. 206.
[43] *Ibidem*, p. 108.
[44] *Ibidem*, p. 207.
[45] *Ibidem*, p. 84.
[46] C. Delavrancea, *op. cit.*, p. 116.
[47] S. Nicoară, *De la modelul creştin al cumpătării la dieta alimentară modernă. Mari mutaţii ale structurilor gustului şi consumului (sec XVI-XX)*, "Caiete de antropologie istorică" 5 (2006), 1-2, p. 128.

The apparent lack of concern in aristocratic circles about the diet was betrayed by the author's remarks about the stature of those around her and moral characteristics translated through the food mores. Thus, Zoe mentioned in what concerns her sister, Ella, that she is slim. In contrast to this, about Nelly, one of her girlfriends from childhood says that she was a

Gluttonous and that she cannot refrain herself not to consume the goodies received as a gift. Referring to the author's age when he wrote the diary that was the basis of the volume, we understand the fragility and lack of thinking concerning this regard.

4. Suppliers, acquisitions and gifts in times of crisis and welfare

Welfare

Between the abundance of festive meals and holidays specific and the lend moderation, in Bengescu family the limited resources haven't restricted the joys.

Every morning, along with the maid, Ms. Zoe Bengescu tended to make a shopping list for daily purchases, and at a certain period, for major purchases. Among the daily purchases, meat, vegetables for soups and bread were mentioned[48].

On holidays, intrusive traders were selling chickens or lambs[49]. Ms. Zoe avoided this kind of shopping, thus she bought from intrusive sellers curdled milk and croissants for breakfast and sweets from *bragagii*[50]: *braga*, Turkish delight, roasted chestnuts, and many more[51]. Also, if they were traveling on a longer distance, such as the road to Sinaia, one of the companions used to bought them cheesecake or croissants.

In addition to daily and occasional purchases, reserves of the family were aided by the gifts. There is a custom to bring a gift consisting of something sweet from visits abroad and one of the leading candy and cakes to children when they visit. Zoe recalled fondly of Madame Jacobson who came in with a bag of lollipops or with a jar of *şerbet*[52] and of "gramama" who brought them sweets[53]. She also recalls the gifts of Queen consisting of *crème d'orge* and *saugelée* with meat concentrated[54], and by Negruzzi family gifts consisting of canned food and bottles of rum[55].

We also considered necessary to name the greatest pleasure of the author: Velma chocolate and Russian sardines[56].

Cella Delavrancea recalled that those who come to visit were served with cakes. These brought for her and for small Dinu nuts and candies. She recounted the

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[48] Z. Cămărăşescu, *op. cit.*, p. 143.
[49] *Ibidem*, p. 72.
[50] Sweets sellers.
[51] *Ibidem*.
[52] *Ibidem*, p. 146.
[53] *Ibidem*, p. 42.
[54] *Ibidem*, p. 24.
[55] *Ibidem*, p. 93.
[56] *Ibidem*, p. 120.

episode in which peanuts were brought by her grandmother and little Dinu put in jeopardy his existence since trying to swallow them, drowned. In order to forget this episode, Mrs. Delavrancea brought coated candy to the children[57].

Crisis and war

The First World War was a turning point for Romanian aristocracy, just as it was for the entire Romanian society. The resources were depleted, a part of the territory was conquered and the Royal family was forced to retreat to Iaşi. Bengescu family followed the Royal family, and the girls worked as nurses in the hospitals set up for soldiers on the front.

With regard to food during this period, Zoe recalls that shortages were beginning to be felt, but that from Ştorobăneasa were sent a pork, eggs and butter, foods with what they have survived for a while[58]. As for the rest, the daily family menu consisted of black bread, whole grain mixed with cornmeal, but wheat was not even felt. The sugar disappeared from the market, so to sweeten food and cakes, they used to boil beet, and the juice obtained was used as a sweetener. Also, one of the regular dishes in time of war was the white beans[59].

After the war, Zoe recalls very little, especially with regard to food. The only stipulation is that the English "trifle" cake was difficult prepared due to insufficient food resources.

5. Conclusions

The memoirs of the little aristocratic girl depict a world of delight: cakes, chocolate, candies, marshmallows, rich hearty teas, luncheons, dances with champagne, wine, berries and biscuit, the Royal dining with their specific ritual; a world that has been hit by war and deprivation, in general, but not of the same way as the ordinary people. This world never faced famine, only decay.

Even if the financial situation of Bengescu family allowed them a not too ostentatious luxury, Mrs. Zoe Bengescu, made her the best and maintained the appearances for the sake of his girls. The Queen Elizabeth's help also benefit in maintaining the family among its hierarchy, being aware of the problems of its honorable lady's family. The difference between essence and appearance cannot be supported in this case because of the temperance of the hostess, of foreign aid and the support of Mimi, the eldest daughter of Mrs. Bengescu, married and settled at Ştorobăneasa.

Zoe's journal is a special one, focused on the elements of private life. Thanks to this character, in its pages one can find precious information about the old Kingdom elite nutrition. It is part of the women's Memorial, inclined to offer food endorsements. The female memoirs entries are characterized by richness of detail, through increased attention to novel. By contrast, the male were more incline to provide information about quantities, as we could see at Sextil Puşcariu in *Braşovul*

[57] C. Delavrancea, *op. cit.*, p. 572.
[58] *Ibidem*, p. 353.
[59] *Ibidem*, p. 356.

de altă dată[60]. These memoirs analyze the stomach of the city as quantity, and not as dish. Still, *Braşovul de altă dată* is a very important source, but from another perspective.

Zoe mentions are mostly about goodies. This could be a characteristic of her age, but also a way to depict only the high status foodstuff.

[60] Sextil Puşcariu, *Braşovul de altă dată*, Cluj-Napoca, 1977, chapter *Stomacul şi gâtlejul Braşovului*.

Diplomatic Missions of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes/Yugoslavia in the Kingdom of Romania 1918-1941: Documents from the Archives of Yugoslavia in Belgrade

Dejan Zec

Keywords: *The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes/Yugoslavia*; *Kingdom of Romania*; *Diplomatic Relations*; *Diplomatic Mission*; *Consulate*; *Embassy*; *Interwar Period*

Relations up to 1918

The history of diplomatic and political relations between Serbian and Romanian people is rich and dynamic. In the early 19th century, the period of the struggle for national liberation from the Ottoman Empire, Serbs and Romanians shared a similar destiny and were therefore directed to each other. Because of the same political tendencies expressed in the struggle to liberate themselves from the Ottoman dominance, but also because these nations were neighbors, it's no surprise that very serious diplomatic contacts were made in the early phase of both nations' incomplete statehood[1]. The first ever Diplomatic Agency the semi-independent Serbia established was in Bucharest in February 1836, a move that was allowed by the Ottoman government[2]. The documents that ratify the establishment of this Diplomatic Agency state that the most important goal of the mission was to improve trade between the two nations and to control the business operations conducted on the estates owned by Serbian Prince Miloš Obrenović in Wallachia and Moldavia. The Agency conducted consular affairs, provided passports for travelers as well as legal assistance, kept record of Serbian ex-patriots who lived and worked in Romanian lands. Another duty not to be neglected was the collecting of vital intelligence: monitoring the political situation, obtaining delicate information and forwarding it to Prince Miloš[3].

In July 1863 the Serbian Agency in Bucharest was upgraded to the level of formal High representation. Serbian High representative was Kosta Magazinović. At the same time, in July 1863, Romania established a Diplomatic Agency in Belgrade with Theodore Kalimakis as its diplomatic agent[4]. Both nations had a common interest – to deepen and strengthen diplomatic relations, not only for the possible

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[1] Milan Vanku, *Srpsko-jugoslovesko-rumunski odnosi kroz vekove*, Belgrade, 2005, II, p. 1.
[2] Djordje Lopičić, *Pregled konzularnih odnosa Srbije 1804-1918*, "Branič" 1-2 (2007), p. 188.
[3] Idem, *Prvo srpsko diplomatsko predstavništvo, Knjaževsko srpska agencija u Bukureštu 1836. godine*, "*Arhiv za pravne I društvene nauke*" 3 (2000), p. 401-411.
[4] M. Vanku, *Uspostavljanje diplomatskih agencija u Beogradu i Bukureštu 1863. godine*, "*Balcanica*" 5 (1974), p. 297.

political benefits, but also having in mind the emerging economic, commercial and traffic contacts. After the conference in Berlin in 1878 Serbia and Romania obtained complete independence and diplomatic relations were raised to the highest level. Serbian High representation in Bucureşti had been upgraded to Diplomatic Mission in January 1879 and from May the same year Minister Resident Milan A. Petronijević was put in charge of the mission[5].

Political Situation in Inter-War Period

When the First World War ended, the map of Europe had changed dramatically. The Austro-Hungarian Empire and the Ottoman Empire were gone and the victorious Entente powers helped their recently established allies to create a new geo-political reality in Southeast Europe. The newly formed Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes – a country that was built when Serbia united with Slavic parts of the Austro-Hungarian Empire – and the unified Kingdom of Romania were the pillars of safety and the new order in this part of Europe[6]. They were the stronghold against all revisionist forces that were, although defeated in the war, gaining in strength, rapidly becoming dangerous. The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and the Kingdom of Romania, like all other nations in the region, had differences and points of conflict, and the issue most notable in the period after the First World War was the question concerning the Banat region[7]. The impression was that the decision of dividing the region into two parts, the western Yugoslav and the eastern Romanian, which was passed in the Versailles Peace Conference, was not satisfactory for any of the sides. However, representatives of both countries were very much aware that the threats coming from deprived nations (such as Hungary and Bulgaria) were becoming increasingly alarming, in a long term perspective. Soon it became clear that collaboration is necessary in order to maintain peace and security, and most importantly, all the benefits gained in the war. Having this in mind, possibly under some influence from France, Romania, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia formed an alliance in 1920 and 1921 that obligated all sides to provide help and assistance to each other, diplomatic, economic and military, in case of any threat coming from revisionist nations (Italy, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, etc.)[8]. This alliance, called the Little Entente, was not based just on the issues of safety, but also on the foundation of economic exchange and cooperation; it proved to be a formidable obstacle to all revisionism to the Versailles order in the region of Central and Southeast Europe[9]. When the alliance ended prior to the Second World War, it was not the result of disrupted relations among the two countries, but the result of circumstances which launched Nazi Germany as a dominant force in Central and Southeast Europe, at the same time diminishing French influence in the region.

[5] Gligor Popi, *Jugoslovensko-rumunski odnosi 1918-1941*, Vršac, 1984, p. 27.
[6] Ivan Božić, Sima Ćirković, Milorad Ekmečić & Vladimir Dedijer, *Istorija Jugoslavije*, Belgrade, 1972, p. 403-405.
[7] Miloš Savin, *Situacija u Banatu krajem I svetskog rata*, "Istraživanja" 21 (2010), p. 357-365.
[8] M. Vanku, *Mala Antanta* Titovo Užice, 1969.
[9] Idem, *Srpsko-jugoslovesko-rumunski odnosi* cit., V/VI, p. 17-112.

The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and the Kingdom of Romania agreed upon unique and specific points: the marriage between King Aleksandar Karadjordjević and Princess Maria of Romania, the second daughter of King Ferdinand of Romania, which would established a dynastic friendship; the Danube river, as a very important trading and traffic corridor would be to great extent shared by the two countries; another point of agreement was a shared struggle against communist influences spreading from Russia.

King Aleksandar I Karadjordjević and Queen Maria of Yugoslavia

Diplomatic Relations between Romania and Yugoslavia

The ensuing relations within the Little Entente, which matured over time into a strong, friendly and efficient cooperation, was only possible owing to the capability and professionalism of both Yugoslavian and Romanian diplomatic agencies. Regent Aleksandar of Yugoslavia and his advisors thought it was very important to keep the highest possible standard of their homeland's diplomatic missions in Romania. The diplomatic agencies of Yugoslavia functioned on two levels, as it was common in European diplomatic practice: on high political level (the level of diplomatic mission) and on practical level (the level of consulates). The Yugoslav Foreign Ministry law at the time stated that the diplomatic mission abroad had the obligation to: 1) keep and strengthen the relations between two countries and prepare the ground for and participate in all negotiations that would resolve shared questions of interest; 2) inform the authorities of the political situation in the country of residence; 3) protect Yugoslav citizens[10]. In December 1918, after the unification had been proclaimed, the government of The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes issued an order that all diplomatic and consular agencies of the Kingdom of Serbia should from that point on be known as missions and consulates of The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. Initially these occurrences brought about few changes to

[10] *Uredba o organizaciji MID-a, diplomatskih zastupništava i konzulata Kraljevstva SHS u inostranstvu*, "Službene novine Kraljevstva SHS" 1 (1919).

diplomatic missions already at work. Serbian Minister Resident in Bucharest until 1918 was Pavle Marinković, who was very well informed about Romanian occasions. The Yugoslav government regarded him so highly that they had even asked him to participate in the Paris Peace Conference, in case there would be any misunderstandings between The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and Romania over Banat[11]. Pavle Marinković never returned to Bucharest because he was appointed minister in the Stojan Protić government.

Pavle Marinković (1865-1925)

Boško Čolak-Antić (1871-1949)

Ninko Perić (1886-1961)

[11] Andrej Mitrović, *Razgraničenje Jugoslavije sa Mađarskom i Rumunijom 1919-1920: prilog proučavanju jugoslovenske politike na Konferenciji mira u Parizu*, Novi Sad, 1975, p. 55.

During the period up to February 1921 the vacant place of Minister Resident in Bucureşti was given to Djordje Nastasijević, but he was only temporary and acting Minister Resident. After long consideration, the Yugoslav government decided to appoint Boško Čolak-Antić, a confidential friend of the Yugoslav royal family and later Marshall of the Court, as Minister Resident[12]. His main mission was to arrange the marriage between Princess Maria Hohenzollern and King Aleksandar which he carried out to the satisfaction of both sides. Following that success was a long and fairly fruitful service as Minister Resident in Bucureşti. The cooperation between the two countries in the 1920s and first half of the 1930s reached its high, and to the great extent Boško Čolak-Antić was the man responsible for creating such a productive political atmosphere. He retained the position of Yugoslav Minister Resident until March 1935.

After Boško Čolak-Antić, the Yugoslav Ministry of Foreign Affairs had trouble deciding who was going to take such an important place in diplomatic service. Two short-term appointments that followed were those of Ninko Perić and Dragomir Kasidolac[13]. Although they both were capable civil servants, they did not satisfy Prince Regent Paul, who was the most important political figure in Yugoslavia after the assassination of King Aleksandar. Prince Paul was very eager to preserve the Little Entente as the outside political pressure, especially the pressure coming from Italy, was becoming overwhelming for Yugoslavia. He chose Jovan Dučić, politician, diplomat, poet and a former Minister Resident in Rome, to take up duty as Minister Resident in Bucharest[14].

In late 1938 Yugoslavia and Romania promoted their diplomatic agencies to the level of embassy, even though such an action was not in accordance with Yugoslav diplomatic practice. The then current Yugoslav law which regulated the practice in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs did not recognize the institution of embassy. This decision was strictly political and was greatly influenced by the meeting of the Council of Little Entente held on Lake Bled in August 1938. One document that refers to this matter states: "*Pitanje uzdizanja nivoa naše diplomatske misije u Rumuniji na nivo Ambasade je dogovoreno na sastanku, prema željama rumunske strane. Ovaj čin daće našoj misiji veći značaj i prestiž; Stoga će biti u mogućnosti da predstavlja interese naše zemlje sa većim autoritetom* [The question of raising the level of our Diplomatic Mission in Romania to the level of Embassy has been agreed upon at the meeting, in accordance with the wishes of the Romanian side. This action will give our mission greater significance and prestige; it will therefore be able to represent the interests of our country with greater authority]."[15]

[12] Archives of Yugoslavia [hereafter, AJ], *Ministry of foreign affairs* (334), Appointments no 5621, December 9, 1920.
[13] AJ, 334, App. no 912, March 11 1935 and App. no 1339, April 14, 1936.
[14] AJ, 334, App. no 2734, June 12, 1937.
[15] AJ, *Diplomatic mission in Romania – Bucureşti* (395), Inventory, 8.

Jovan Dučić (1871-1943)

However, the good relations were not long-lasting. Romania was increasingly falling under the influence of Germany, which considered the Little Entente an alliance with hostile intentions. Downgrading of the Embassy in March 1941 was the signal that Yugoslavia and Romania were no longer on same terms as before[16]. Only one month after the reestablishment of the Yugoslav Diplomatic Mission in Bucharest, the Axis powers attacked and defeated Yugoslavia[17].

During the first stages of the Second World War, Yugoslavia broke all diplomatic relations with Romania (on April 9, 1941) and decided to accredit the Embassy of the United States of America to take the Yugoslav Diplomatic Mission, it's archives and the care of Yugoslav citizens' interests in Romania into protection. The Diplomatic Mission of Yugoslavia informed general Ion Antonescu of this decision. The above mentioned arrangement worked for a while, until the USA was dragged into the war in December 1941. According to some partial documents, the Swiss Embassy took over the job of protecting Yugoslav interests in Romania from the Americans[18].

Alongside the Yugoslav Diplomatic Mission in București, which had always been a political institution, The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (Yugoslavia) also had consular agencies in Romania, which were instructed to deal with practical issues. In Yugoslav judicial and diplomatic theory, consuls had to fulfill missions of economic and administrative nature, not political ones. They were obliged to represent intellectual, trade and industrial interests of their country and to protect

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[16] AJ, 334, App. no 1225 and 1416, March 19, 1941.
[17] Dušan Lukač, *Rumunija i komadanje Jugoslavije 1941-1942*, Belgrade, 1985-1986, p. 135-144.
[18] AJ, *Diplomatic mission in Romania – București* (395), Inventory, 9.

Yugoslav subjects abroad[19]. The Consulate General of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes operated in Romania in the period between 1918, when the Serbian General Consulate became Yugoslav, and 1929 when the Yugoslav Ministry of Foreign Affairs decided to reorganize the Diplomatic Mission in Bucharest and to delegate the duties of the General Consulate to the Diplomatic Mission, with an excuse of over lapsing jurisdiction and great expenses[20]. However, the consular job was very difficult for the delegates of the Diplomatic Mission to handle and Yugoslav Minister Residents in Bucharest often complained to the Yugoslav Foreign Ministry about their unenviable situation. Most of their complaints were about the sheer volume of work they faced on everyday basis and their inability to cope with it[21].

Besides the Consulate General of The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in Bucureşti, which operated in the period between 1918 and 1929, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes put into operation two more consulates in Romania with the intention of dealing with specific issues. In April 1926 the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes established a consulate in Brăila for the purpose of protecting Yugoslav merchants and sailors who lived and worked there in large numbers. The above mentioned consulate was active until the Foreign Ministry decided to close it down in March 1934, despite protests by merchants and sailors. At some point one more consulate had been established, this one in Timişoara in 1935, only to later be disbanded and then re-established once again in January 1941. In explanation for establishing this consulate, the Secretary for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs wrote: "*Potrebno nam je poslanstvo koje će pokriti zapadnu Rumuniju, kako bi na što bolji način iskoristili sve ekonomske I trgovačke potencijale regije a Temišvar, kao najveći grad, predstavlja očigledan izbor.* [we need an agency that would cover western Romania in order to better exploit all the economic and trade potentials of the area and, Timişoara, the largest city in the region, would be the obvious choice]."[22]

Archival Funds

The entire archival material considering the diplomatic missions of Yugoslavia in Romania is at present held in the Archives of Yugoslavia in Belgrade and is given code number 395. Originally, it was stored in the archives of the Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs of SFRJ. The material is now properly sorted, by year and by structure. The structure of the fund (sorted in accordance with year progression) is as follows: 1) Highly classified archives; 2) Classified archives: Romania, Yugoslav-Romanian relations, International relations, Court, protocol, medals, working material; 3) General archives: General material, Trade, Tourism, Yugoslav institutions in Romania, Publications, Diplomatic agencies in Romania,

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[19] Miloje Milojević, *Naši odnosi sa drugim državama*, Belgrade, 1929, p. 747.
[20] "Službene novine Kraljevine SHS" 138 (1929).
[21] AJ, *Diplomatic mission in Romania – Bucharest*, 395-44-326, General archives, no 3512, March 1, 1939.
[22] AJ, 334, App. no 434, January 26, 1941.

Correspondence with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; 4) Administrative books. Unfortunately many documents were not saved, especially the documents of political significance for the period between 1935 and 1941. When one examines the material that remained and is currently stored in fond of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, it is obvious that a lot of it was destroyed during the Second World War. Even prior to the war, many sensitive documents were destroyed by officers of the Yugoslav diplomatic missions because the information they contained were very valuable to the Axis intelligence services[23]. In general, the fond contains 6.5 running meters of files, 47 folders and 342 descriptive units.

The fond contains various documents, mostly in Serbo-Croatian language, but also in other languages, especially French and Romanian. It touches various subjects and can be very informing and inspirational for someone investigating the history of Yugoslav-Romanian relations or general history of the Balkans and Southeast Europe in the interwar period.

[23] Dragoš Petrović, Predrag Krejić, *Vrednovanje dokumenata diplomatsko – konzularnih fondova Kraljevine Jugoslavije (1918-1945)*, "Arhiv" 1-2 (2003), p. 10-12.

Relations between the Yugoslav and Romanian Communists in the Cold War. The Review of Archival Records

Aleksandar V. Miletić

Keywords: *Romania*; *Yugoslavia*; *League of Communists of Yugoslavia*; *Romanian Communist Party*

The history of the Balkan countries during the Cold War (1945-1991) is a very important segment of the European Cold War historiography on the whole. The relations among the Balkan countries, a comparative history of those same countries, their societies and the Cold War systems give a special dimension to the Balkan history. Some of the central issues are the relations between Romania and Yugoslavia. Romania and Yugoslavia were considered to be two influential Balkan countries. Their relations during the Cold War give rise to many questions of modern European historiography and the historiographies of the single Balkan countries.

The political relations between Romania and Yugoslavia during the Cold War, in the Yugoslav and Serbian historiography alike, represent, almost completely, an unexplored and scientifically unexamined area. These relations mentioned, either generally or superficially, are only mentioned as segments of some other themes which are dealt with in some other papers and monographies – as a part of a broader historical context: within the history of some particular events or some general syntheses of the Yugoslav and Serbian histories.

The period of the existence of the Socialist Yugoslavia lasted from 1945 to 1991[1]. Its existence coincides with the Cold War period. The end of the Cold War, i.e. the end of the American-Soviet rivalry, also meant the end of the Socialist Yugoslavia. The Socialist Yugoslavia, also known as Tito's Yugoslavia, was formed in a specific way and within the boundaries of the Yugoslav partisans' warfare led by the Yugoslav Communist Party whose leader was Josip Broz Tito; the warfare was guerilla-like, liberating and revolutionary[2]. After a short interval of its existence as the Democratic Federative Yugoslavia (until the end of 1945) Tito's communists formally divided the rule with the representatives of Yugoslavia (Yugoslavia as a monarchy). After the elections of 1945, there followed the formation of the

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[1] About Yugoslav history from 1945 to 1991: Branko Petranović, *Istorija Jugoslavije 1918-1988*, 2-3, Belgrade, 1988; Idem & Čedomir Štrbac, *Istorija socijalističke Jugoslavije*, 1-3, Belgrade, 1977; Dennison Rusinow, *The Yugoslav Experiment, 1948-1978*, London, 1977; John R. Lampe, *Yugoslavia as history: twice there was a country*, Cambridge, 1996; Darko Bekić, *Jugoslavija u Hladnom ratu, Odnosi sa velikim silama 1949-1955*, Zagreb, 1988; etc.

[2] More on this topic: Br. Petranović, *Istorija Jugoslavije* cit., 2; Idem, *Srbija u Drugom svetskom ratu 1939-1945*, Belgrade, 1992.

Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia in 1946 – Yugoslavia became a Socialist country and her unquestionable leader became Josip Broz Tito (the leader of the Yugoslav communists and the leader of the revolution)[3]. During the first years after the Second World War Yugoslavia relied on the politics of the USSR and the country and its people were modelled upon the USSR[4]. However, there was a political break-up and conflict with the USSR in 1948 and Yugoslavia found itself in a difficult position[5]. Since the threat of invasion was coming from the Soviet forces, the western countries led by the USA helped Yugoslavia at this crucial moment and supported it politically. But, Yugoslavia tried not to side with the west completely. It led to the creation of the very specific Yugoslav politics of neutrality towards the Eastern and Western blocs alike, and Yugoslavia itself started to build up its own socialist system in order to differentiate itself from the Soviet model[6]. The crisis lasted until the death of Stalin in 1953. Since then the relations between Yugoslavia and the USSR began to improve. Relatively good relations between Yugoslavia and the USSR, though their intensity varied, lasted throughout the rule of Nikita Khrushchev i. e. until 1965. However, Yugoslavia would never again be a part of the Eastern Bloc of the socialist countries i.e. it would never fall under the dominion of the USSR. Yugoslavia built up a special type of the politics of neutrality within the Non-Aligned Movement, which came into being in the mid 1950s and was mostly made up of the ex-colonies of Africa, Latin America and Asia, which themselves did not want to take part in the Cold War politics and the ideological clashes between the USSR and the USA. The most important countries in that association were Yugoslavia, India, Egypt and The Republic of South Africa. Yugoslavia was the only European country[7].

The Socialist Yugoslavia changed its name twice. From 1946 to 1963 it was called The Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia. With the 1963 Constitution it changed its name into The Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia and that name remained until the break-up of the country in 1991. Yugoslavia changed its Constitution once again in 1974 when it grew into a special kind of confederacy. The death of Josip Broz Tito in 1980 meant the onset of the political crisis in Yugoslavia. But, Yugoslavia persisted as an integral country for ten more years. There were some conflicts among its multinational population and they would reach their climax in the late 80s; in fact, they would be the most immediate cause of the break-up of the country. The international changes, the break-up of the USSR, the disappearance of the bloc politics, the Cold War and Socialism in Europe would all affect the process of the disintegration of Yugoslavia as a country.

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[3] Br. Petranović, *Istorija Jugoslavije* cit., 3, p. 29-67.

[4] *Ibidem.*

[5] More about Soviet-Yugoslav conflict: Vladimir Dedijer, *Dokumenti 1948*, Belgrade, 1980; Darko Bekić, *Jugoslavija u Hladnom ratu, Odnosi sa velikim silama 1949-1955*, Zagreb, 1988; Vl. Dedijer, *Izgubljena bitka J. V. Staljina*, Belgrade, 1969; Č. Štrbac, *Svedočanstva o 1948, Fragmenti za istoriju*, Belgrade, 1989; Br. Petranović, *op. cit.*, 3, p. 195-263; etc.

[6] Br. Petranović, *op. cit.*, 3, p. 263-357.

[7] *Ibidem*, p. 357-380.

After the Second World War, under the influence of the USSR, Petru Groza and its left-wing government came to power in Romania. However, in 1947, after the abdication of King Michael I, Romania became a Socialist country called The People's Republic of Romania. The society began to look upon the USSR as a model. Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej was its leader from 1948 to 1965, Secretary General of the Romanian Labour Party. After Stalin's death in 1953, Romania, under the leadership of Dej, began to gain an increasing independence from the USSR. Romania continued its politics of independence under its new leader Nicolae Ceausescu, Secretary General of the Romanian Communist Party from 1965 to 1989. It was the time when a new constitution was established and the country changed its name into The Socialist Republic of Romania. Romania continued to prosper; however, its economics largely depended on its foreign policy. Romania had close partnership with Israel and some western countries, West Germany and the USA. Ceausescu tried to be on friendly terms with both China and the USSR, whereas he encouraged further development of Romania's relations with the West and the USA. Its politics of independence in relation to the USSR manifested itself in Romania's withdrawal from being an active participant in the Warsaw Pact, even though it formally remained its member and opposed the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968. Also, it became a neutral party in the Non-Aligned Movement. Romania itself was visited by the American president Nixon and the Soviet leader Brezhnev. At that time Romania signed a lot of economic treaties with some foreign countries: the USA, the USSR, Israel, East Germany, Egypt, Yugoslavia and Hungary. It joined some world economic organizations, like the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. But, despite the already established political partnership with the West, Ceausescu was building up Romania upon the rigid communist model under the influence of China and North Korea[8].

In the second half of the 70s Romania's foreign debt increased drastically. During the 1980's Ceausescu was paying off the foreign debts and Romania was going through a serious crisis. The crisis of Socialism in the world brought about the crumbling of Ceausescu's regime. His regime was overthrown in 1989 and Ceausescu was killed[9].

On the basis of these short outlines of the histories of Romania and Yugoslavia during the Cold War, it follows that these two Socialist Balkan countries had different historical routes in a number of ways. First of all, the Socialist Yugoslavia and the Socialist Romania were formed in different ways. Yugoslavia was born on the grounds of the revolutionary, anti-fascist and guerilla-like warfare of Yugoslavia's partisans led by the Communist Party. That warfare, or to be more precise a communist revolution, was carried out during the occupation. In that way it was linked with the liberation of the country and the anti-fascism and, then, it was

[8] More about: Ghiţă Ionescu, *Communism in Romania 1944-1962*, London, 1964; Dennis Deletant, *Ceausescu and the Securitate: Coercion and Dissent in Romania 1965-1989*, London, 1998; Vlad Georgescu, *The Romanians: A History*, Columbus, 1991.

[9] More about: Mary Ellen Fischer, *Nicolae Ceausescu: A Study in Political Leadership*, Boulder, 1989.

wisely linked with the interests of the Allied Super Powers. The Yugoslav communists would thus capitalize their warfare and the revolution and use it after its disagreement with the USSR as an argument for the defense of its independence. In Romania the events took a different course. Romania joined the Allied Powers no sooner than 1944 and until 1947 it formally had a civic society. It was only then that Romania, under the influence of the Soviets, became a Socialist country whereas in Yugoslavia the process of building up a Socialist society had been under way for three years[10]. At that time Yugoslavia, unlike Romania, had already reached its acme in its relations with the USSR and it foreshadowed the beginning of Yugoslavia's separation from the Soviets' political dominion. And it was the moment when Romania fell under the paramount influence of the USSR; at the time of the resolution of the Inform biro and the disagreement between the USSR and Yugoslavia it was Romania that strongly supported the USSR[11].

The death of Stalin in 1953 also pointed out to two differing countries. While Romania started to stay aloof from the USSR, Yugoslavia started to warm its way back the confidence of the USSR. In other words, that was the time when Romania started its politics of emancipation and independence from the USSR, while Yugoslavia, which had already become independent, was renewing its good relations with the USSR. Staying aloof from the most immediate influence of the USSR had different effects upon the two countries: for Yugoslavia it meant the politics of complete neutrality in its relations with the Eastern and Western blocs alike (the non-aligned politics) and for Romania it meant gaining independence from the USSR but not the politics of neutrality since Romania was still a member, though not an active participant, of the Warsaw Pact. It could be claimed that these two politics had two different objectives: the Yugoslav politics was aimed at gaining independence from the blocs whereas the Romanian politics was aimed at gaining independence within one of the blocs.

The converging point of the Yugoslav and Romanian politics was their propagation of "their own route into Socialism", i.e. the right of every country to develop in its own way without the influences and patrons from the Super Powers. That right would be one of the important factors for the close relations and partnership between Romania and Yugoslavia[12].

The relations between the two ruling communist parties of Romania and Yugoslavia largely affected the relations between the two countries themselves. In

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[10] Miša Gleni, *Balkan 1804-1999, nacionalizam, rat i velike sile*, Belgrade, 2001, p. 216-222.

[11] *Ibidem*, p. 250-257.

[12] AJ [hereafter, Archives of Yugoslavia], 507/IX, CK SKJ (Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia), KMOV (Commission for International Affairs and Communications), RU (Romania), IX, 107/I-9, *Material on the visit of the Yugoslav state and party delegation to PR Romania*, June 23-26, 1956; AJ, 507/IX, CK SKJ, KMOV, RU, IX, 107/I-27, *Material on the visit of the Yugoslav state and party delegation to PR Romania*, November 20-30, 1963; AJ, 507/IX, CK SKJ, KMOV, RU, IX, 107/I-77, *Material on the visit Josip Broz Tito to PR Romania*, April 18-21, 1966; AJ, 507/IX, CK SKJ, KMOV, RU, IX, 107/I-114, *Material on visit Nicolae Ceausescu to Yugoslavia*, January 3-5, 1968; AJ, 507/IX, CK SKJ, KMOV, RU, IX, 107/I-176, *Material on visit Nicolae Ceausescu to Yugoslavia*, November 3-4, 1970.

Yugoslavia it was the Yugoslav Communist Party which was called the League of Communists of Yugoslavia from 1952 to 1990. In Romania it was the party which changed its name three times: it was called the Communist Party of Romania until 1948, the Romanian Labour Party from 1948 to 1965 and the Romanian Communist Party from 1965 to 1989. Also, the Yugoslav-Romanian relations can be viewed through their party and country leaders, Josip Broz Tito in Yugoslavia and Gheorghe Dej (later Nicolae Ceausescu) in Romania.

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The archives of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia offer the best insight into the relations between the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and the Romanian Communist Party in the period from 1944 to 1989; the archives are situated in the Archives of Yugoslavia in Belgrade. The Archive Department of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (the archive material numbered 507) contains a separate section named the Commission for International Affairs and Communications with the Foreign Parties and Movements and that section houses the documents known as 107-Romania dealing with the relations with that country (Romania). The classification scheme of this special unit (the archive) for Romania consists of three parts: 1) the relations between the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and the Romanian Communist party from 1944 to 1989[13]; 2) the internal politics of Romania and its international relations from 1945 to 1977[14]; 3) a part which houses the documents of various sorts and character[15]. Here is presented the very first part which houses the archive material related to the relations between the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and the Romanian Communist party from 1944 to 1989.

The archive material is classified and ordered chronologically (on the yearly basis). It contains the total of 452 files in which there are documents of various sorts and size. The files are located in eight boxes. The first six boxes containing 318 files for the period up to 1977 is said to be available for research; the archive material from the boxes number 6 and 7 for the period from 1977 to 1989 is not available for researchers at the moment. That is why the following analysis is focused on the available archive material.

The archive material is diverse. It can be divided into nine groups:

1. The ordinary notes and stenographic ones of the official talks, meetings and preparations for those meetings. This group of documents is the most numerous one and it contains the official talks and meetings among the statesmen, party members, politicians, ambassadors, delegates, students' groups, intellectuals and many other official and unofficial delegations.

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[13] AJ, 507/IX, CK SKJ, KMOV, RU, IX, 107/I-1-452.

[14] AJ, 507/IX, CK SKJ, KMOV, RU, IX, 107/II-1-164.

[15] AJ, 507/IX, CK SKJ, KMOV, RU, IX, 107/III-1-25; AJ, 507/IX, CK SKJ, KMOV, RU, IX, 107/III-26-73.

2. Some special materials about the visits and the brief residences. This group of documents the details of both official and unofficial visits, and the details of the brief residences of the statesmen, state officials and party members, delegations etc.

3. Information. This group of documents contains the information of various length and form about the following events: visits, brief residences, official talks, bilateral relations and some other events.

4. Reports. This is a kind of documents containing the facts about various events.

5. Examinations, suggestions and analyses. This kind of documents contains various examinations of certain events and phenomena on different levels and in different situations; these examinations are expert's, political or analytical.

6. Letters and copied-down materials. These documents refer to the individual and group letters as well as the copied-down materials of statesmen, state officials and institutions.

7. Dispatches, greeting cards and telegrams. This is the least numerous group of documents and it contains the documents of lesser importance.

This archive department offers various important information to future researchers of the Yugoslav-Romania relations; the documents are of different provenience. The most informative material is in the first group of documents containing the notes of the official talks (it is placed in 160 files). On the basis of the documents of this kind the politics of the Yugoslav-Romania relations can be viewed almost completely. The official talks of the leaders of the states, delegations, politicians and other officials offer the best picture of the most delineating features of the politics within a span of more than thirty years. The archive department has the documents which contain the information about the intensity of the cooperation between two countries and parties, the method of cooperation, the areas in which the cooperation existed, some conflicting issues, disagreement, divergent or convergent aspirations in the international relations, the attitudes of the statesmen and politicians, the mutual perceptions of the societies, which can be seen in the rich archive material of the brief residences of the delegation of researchers as well as other delegations etc. The archive material of this archive department can help researchers on various topics: the histories of diplomacy, civic histories, economic histories, the history of culture, ideologies, the research of the biographies of statesmen and politicians, etc.

The Party School of Social Sciences "A. A. Jdanov", 1948-1958

Narcis Ronald Popescu

Keywords: *Communism*; *Romanian Communist Party*; *the Party School of Social Sciences "A. A. Jdanov"*; *Political Elites*; *Marxism-Leninism*

The research studies that have targeted the postwar period in Romania, when the countries of Central and Eastern Europe entered successively under the Marxism-Leninism ideology, have avoided the area of communist schools party. So, we can not talk now about complete monographs of the institutes where they were trained communist cadres in the period between 1945 and 1989.

The higher schools of communist parties, political and intellectual institutions also, have been an international prototype of training the communist elite. These schools were reserved for party cadres and intellectuals, acquiring up to a point the tradition of the popular universities founded in the nineteenth century. Regarding the criteria for selection of future students, the social background and seniority in the party were decisive. Also, party political loyalty is an indicator of students progress in the institute, while intellectual criteria (academic performance) were secondary factors[1].

In the current stage of research, we conclude that historical studies have revealed very little of the way the school system and institutional transformation of the communist party in Romania worked.

Therefore, the proposed subject of this scientific study, the Party School of Social Sciences "A. A. Jdanov", has an important and a genuine novelty level, treating thus legally monograph, a part of the true mechanism of sovietization, set in motion in Romania and accelerated after the election results of November 19, 1946, by the Romanian communists.

This paper reconstruct, based on archival research of P.C.R. party documents – the activity of the Party School of Social Sciences "A. A. Jdanov" and the transformations of which the institution suffered during its existence, as a main component of the Romanian school-party system. We also received valuable support, during the drafting work, provided by Mr. Ambassador Constantin Vlad, a graduate of the School "Jdanov".

Thus, our research recompose elements that belonged to an ideological training institute of a new generation of teachers, who lacked experience during the illegality period of Romanian Communist Party, but from who were required as compensation, in addition to the party-loyalty and unconditional commitment to

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[1] Mihai Dinu Gheorghiu & Mihăiță Lupu, *Mobilitatea elitelor în România secolului XX*, Pitești, 2008, p. 217.

Soviet Union, some training and cultural skills. Under these circumstances of social metamorphosis, it was very important to create a recruitment and connection machine to the communist ideology of a contingent of people who will gain the job to keep the party lively and the auspices of the ideological struggle in operation in future[2]. In other words, the emergence of party schools was undoubtedly necessary.

Therefore, tracking the historical moment when the Party School of Social Sciences "A. A. Jdanov" functioned, we find our attention directed towards the first period under the leadership of Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, the period known from Vladimir Tismaneanu as the period of "stalinism unleashed". This period marks its beginning, when PCR came in power; following the example of Russian bolsheviks, the Romanian communists were preoccupied with work that was most important and urgent: replacement of existing society with a new society.

And to manage the process of sovietization was necessary undoubtedly a well-defined organizational and hierarchy structure, required to make feasible the objective of process[3].

Thus, this project aims primarily to analyze the information found in the files of Propaganda and Agitation from the Fund CC of P.C.R. (Section who coordinated school "Jdanov") to reconstruct the institutional history of The Party School of Social Sciences "A. A. Jdanov", and to establish the criteria of recruitment, selection and promotion/exclusion, owned by Propaganda and Agitation department.

Road to sovietization

After taking over political power by the communists, Romania entered the process of sovietization, similar situation with to the other countries from Central and Eastern Europe ascribed in the Soviet sphere of influence. Basically, after three years when was allowed the coexistence with the democratic structures, in the second half of 1947 was triggered the liquidation process of the old regime. In other words, "Soviet leaders and their local subordinates spared no effort to establish one-party systems, based on ideological dogmas arising from the interpretation that Stalin gave to bolshevism."[4]

The subordination of Romania to the Soviet Union manifested not only by agreements or treaties between the two countries, but also by emergence of institutional forms that imitate the Soviet ones: economic companies or associations of friendship as ARLUS.

Another Romanian communists' motivation was the desire to follow with zeal the bolshevik tradition, to successfully eliminate the differences between socialist sector and non-socialist. Being very fierce in the pursuit of this goal, the impact that collectivization had on the Romanian peasantry was very stout, with unfortunate consequences for farmers in Romania[5].

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[2] Vladimir Tismăneanu, *Stalinism pentru eternitate: O istorie politică a comunismului românesc*, Jassy, 2005, p. 148.
[3] Adrian Cioroianu, *Pe umerii lui Marx*, Bucharest, 2007 [second ed.], p. 44-46.
[4] Vl. Tismăneanu, *op. cit.*, p.145.
[5] Stelian Tănase, *Elitele şi societatea. Guvernarea Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej*, Bucharest, 1998, p. 140-143.

Otherwise, another issue of institutionalizing arrangements proposed by "popular democracy" in Central and Eastern Europe after World War Two was to eliminate the former political, economic and intellectual elites from the public life of the new regimes[6].

To replace the old society with a new one, the communists believed that it takes a well-defined organizational and hierarchy structure as well. So, the party Central Committee departments responsible for selection and allocation of staff have taken an important part of the process, to train future party people and their launching activity. Therefore, the establishment of party schools became necessary to ensure the continuity of Soviet cultural import, Romania faced since the second half of 1947.

So, party schools appear shortly before Petru Groza became the head of the first communist government guidance from Romania. At the request of Ana Pauker, on March 21, 1945 is placed, symbolically, the cornerstone of Workers University of Romanian Communist Party (PCR).

Finally, for the process of building a new society to the Soviet model, to be quick and without slippage, the communist authorities in Bucharest needed a better prepared staff to help in the "ideological front struggle". Therefore, more attention will be ensure by the party, in many ways and at different levels, for the formation of new activists, dedicated to the well-proven cases of Party work.

The Party School of Social Sciences "A. A. Jdanov"

In Romania, from the school year of 1949/1950, party-education was reorganized and divided on three levels (after previously, when it was divided into two):

a) basic party-education, b) secondary party-education and c) higher party-education, represented by: five evening universities and seven of Marxism-Leninism evening-schools (courses are going after working hours, participants are not taken out of production), University Ştefan Gheorghiu" and The Party School of Social Sciences "A. A. Jdanov"[7].

The University of the Party "Ştefan Gheorghiu" was established in March 10, 1945, as the Workers University of PCR, and in February 1946 will be converted into a high school party, receiving the name of a former socialist militant from Romania at the beginning of the 20th century, Ştefan Gheorghiu. The institution's main task was the preparation of party personnel responsible for the mass organizations and state apparatus.

In October 1948, the Central School of lecturers "A. A. Jdanov" was established. Situated in a central area of Bucharest[8], School "Jdanov" celebrated the memory of the former Soviet ideologue Andrei Aleksandrovici Jdanov, died on

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[6] M. D. Gheorghiu & M. Lupu, *op. cit.*, p. 234-235.

[7] The report of the results in 1949/1950 school year in the party education is published in Camelia Ivan Duică, *Rezultatele anului şcolar 1949/1950 în învăţământul de partid*, in *Arhivele Securităţii*, 4, Bucharest, p. 683-688.

[8] School "Jdanov" worked in a new building in the University area, where a nuns' high school funcioned before the World War II.

August 31, 1948. This institution offered courses of a duration of six months to prepare school leaders and teachers of the schools party, editors of the party press and the ideological magazines, teachers and lecturers of social science departments of higher schools or scientific institutions lecturers[9].

After the board decided at the end of the first cycle, that the six-month courses is too small, in July 1949, the Politburo of the Party Central Committee decided to transform the Central School of lecturers "A. A. Jdanov" in the Party School of Social Sciences "A. A. Jdanov" lasting two years of courses. The institution was to contain two sections - the propaganda department and the press section. The recruiting of students would be made from among party activists with ideological and cultural training, preferably graduates of schools of the party. The prerogative of the party also, provided that the school will prepare a total of 200 students (100 in each year) and will start the working formula with the academic year 1949-1950[10]. Later, in autumn 1951, it was decided that the time course at School "A. A. Jdanov" to increase from two to three years. Thus, students in first year at that time were to be placed in two sections, one section of two years and one lasting three years, and those from earlier years will be following the initial cycle[11].

As from the school year 1954-1955, period of the study was extended to four years, with the following specialties: history of Soviet Communist Party, P.M.R. (Romanian Communist Party) history, political philosophy and economy.

Finally, a new amendment materialize in 1953, when the leaders of Jdanov decided opening the post-graduate course of study section, whose purpose was to prepare students to obtain the title of "candidate of sciences".

An interesting detail is the fact that the title of "candidate of sciences" was the counterpart of the "doctoral student", a term that was replaced by the communist authorities under the pretext that it supposedly would be bourgeois.

This section functioned in the first year (1953-1954) with 17 candidates in the frequency section and 60 of aspirants in the distance learning section and the duration of the courses was proposed to three years[12]. A new amendment makes that the following year the study period would increase to four years[13], period over which it will return with the CC of P.M.R. decision nr.113/1954 from 17.03.1954, when the period of study is fixed at five years[14]. The post-graduate course of study section had a Scientific Council, whose role was to discuss and submit for approval to CC of P.M.R. dissertation topics, research plans or approve the curriculum and lists references. The only thing that was not in powers of the Council was granting

[9] Decision of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Romanian Working Party regarding the transformation of the "A. A. Jdanov" School of lecturers in a higher scholl of social sciences with term of two years, July 1949, in *Rezoluții și hotărâri ale C.C. al P.M.R.*, I: *1948-1950*, Bucharest, 1952 [second ed.], p. 124.
[10] "România Liberă", July 24, 1949.
[11] ANIC, fond *C.C. al P.C.R. Secția Propagandă și Agitație*, file 58/1951, f. 33.
[12] *Ibidem*, file 27/1954, f. 12-13.
[13] *Ibidem*, file 23/1954, f. 10.
[14] *Ibidem*, file 27/1954, f. 8.

scientific degrees and academic degrees. This responsibility falls under the authority of "Ştefan Gheorghiu".

During the communist regime in Romania, a comparative analyze of conditions for obtaining the status of academy (with the right to grant the academic doctoral degrees) by various institutions in the field show that the origin is also an constrained-opportunity phenomenon (multiplication of management positions due to economic development, so its determined the rearing of members in the party apparatus), as well was the search of prestige[15].

Further, according to the decision of the Politburo of the Central Committee of P.M.R., no.151 from March 31, 1954, The Party School of Social Sciences "A. A. Jdanov" became the Institute of Scientific Cadres Training, having attached also an Institute of Social Sciences[16].

The archival document confirming this change, "*On the transformation of The Party School of Social Sciences «A. A. Jdanov» in Institute of Scientific Cadres Training*" has as signatories Iosif Chişinesvschi and Constantin Pârvulescu and dates from the date of March 31, 1954.

Therefore, document from C.C. of P.M.R. from 26 February 1954, decided that from the academic year 1954-1955, The Party School of Social Sciences "A. A. Jdanov", to stop recruiting students for the first year and move the students from the other years to the homologous sections of the School "Ştefan Gheorghiu", claiming the importance given to the post-graduate course of study section.

Later, a few weeks away, it was decided that in the next school year the post-graduate course of study section will frame 30 of the best graduates of higher institutions of state, plus 10 to 15 party activists with appropriate training, while canceling the provisions of the circular from February 26, 1954 (regarding moving students in homologous sections from "Ştefan Gheorghiu"[17]), so after, the Party School of Social Sciences "A. A. Jdanov" would continue with the years 2 and 3, until the complete cycle, originally imposed.

On the other hand, in 1951, was founded the distance learning department at the Party School of Social Sciences "A. A. Jdanov" which would receive students by the recommendations made from the regional party committees, however, they were able to register at their own initiative, but to have the approval of the regional party committee.

However, the decision of the Central Committee from October 10, 1951 claiming the poor organization of the course, was to unify its with a counterpart course from "Ştefan Gheorghiu", which should have taken place in the building of The Party School of Social Sciences "A. A. Jdanov", with professors from both institutions, while the director of this course was appointed Petre Grosu. Further, from the academic year 1953-1954, these courses unified will be moved permanently to the building of School "Ştefan Gheorghiu" triggering a phenomenon of institutional-swinging of functions between the Party School of Social Sciences "A.

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[15] M. D. Gheorghiu & M. Lupu, *op. cit.*, p. 228.
[16] ANIC, fond *C.C. al P.C.R. Secţia Propagandă şi Agitaţie*, file 27/1954, f. 12.
[17] *Ibidem*, f. 12-13.

A. Jdanov" and "Ştefan Gheorghiu", practically announcing, further development of institutional conduct of the two schools.

This circumstances remained fixed until 1958, when the last generation of students of the Institute of Social Sciences "A. A. Jdanov" graduated, following that the Institute of Social Sciences "A. A. Jdanov" will be absorbed by the Party School "Ştefan Gheorghiu".

Besides, apart from the proper training, institution run teacher training courses for those who generally crossed the public higher education or who come from the party ranks, government or various organizations.

One of the documents relevant for the moment when the Party School of Social Sciences "A. A. Jdanov" had entered an early form of absorption by "Ştefan Gheorghiu", was as follows:

> "*The Directorate affairs C.C. of P.M.R.*
> *In response to the Ministry of Education material submitted by you to consultation we communicate the following: By stopping the courses this year (1956), The Party School of Social Sciences "A.A. Jdanov" not restrict its activity, but rather, by organizing the post-graduate course of study section, the school becomes more developed.*
> *We note also that in addition to the school a number of party courses (lecturers, journalists, etc.) permenantly operates.*
> *Consequently, the school is unable to release the boarding school from Str. Matei Voievod, No. 75*[18]."

Date of this notice is issued July 9, 1956.

Otherwise, in addition to the Party School of Social Sciences "A. A. Jdanov" has functioned courses to prepare the base asset of propaganda and agitation of the county committees since 1951. Another course of propagandists and journalists has been established since 1953, in addition to School of Social Sciences "A.A. Jdanov", recruiting of students being made among regional, district or town propaganda sector committees. The importance granted to the Party School of Social Sciences "A. A. Jdanov" is highlighted by the fact that it was coordinated by the Department of Propaganda and Agitation from C.C. of P.M.R., having as its principal even the architect of the section, Leonte Rautu.

Besides, we can also found in the management of the institute "Jdanov" Grigore Kotovschi occupying the position of director of studies, G. Lupşa (who would become president after 1958), Ştefan Cruceru, both on the post of deputy director and also the teachers of the institute like L. Rachmat (professor of Economics), S. Stirbu, and A. Romen. The seminar leaders were: I. Vesa, V. Oprea, C. Borgeanu (which will become professor of philosophy at the Institute since 1953), G. Stoian, V. Petrus, E. Sugar, E. Dimitriu and Titu Georgescu.

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[18] *Ibidem*, file 23/1956, f. 22.

Other teachers going through "Jdanov" were: T. Bugnariu (Professor of Philosophy), A. Joja (professor of logic, the future Minister of Culture), I. Banu (history of philosophy). And of those who have graduated we could mention Ion Stănescu (future member of CPEx of P.C.R., Minister and Chairman of the State Security Council of the RSR) and Dumitru Popescu (future vice president of the State Committee for Culture and Art and President Council of Socialist Culture and Education)[19].

Other important names from "A. A. Jdanov " were those from the Scientific Council of the post-graduate course of study section: P. Niculescu-Mizil, A. Segorjevschi, F. Arhiptev, B. Zaharescu, Z. Brâncu, L. Tismăneanu, M. Frunză, C. I. Gulian, S. Ştirbu, L. Simardean, T. Graur, V. Văleanu.

In other thoughts, Party School of Social Sciences "A. A. Jdanov" conducted regular specific experience exchanges to the Soviet bloc and the school had a few teachers coming from the USSR, but after the death of Joseph Stalin, amid resettlement relations with Moscow their number began to decrease[20].

Thus, we conclude that due to resettlement of relations between Romania and the USSR, arising from de-stalinisation process, or dissolution of the Cominform, the party school system from R.P.R. had become more autonomous; This matter between the school "Jdanov" and "Ştefan Gheorghiu" remained until the year of withdrawal of Soviet troops from Romania, 1958, when graduated the last generation of students of the Institute of Social Sciences "A. A. Jdanov". So, Secretariat C.C. of P.M.R. decided in autumn of 1958, to eliminate any overlap, and the Institute of Social Sciences "A. A. Jdanov" to be absorbed by "Ştefan Gheorghiu".

Regarding the educational program proposed to students, the existing information conduct to that it worked in accordance with the party thought. While this research recompose the elements that belonged to an ideological training institute of a new generation of communists, lacking the experience gained during the illegality[21], it is interesting to note, as it was the educational program of the institute for the school year 1948-1949. The table that follows contains a package of materials from the School "A. A. Jdanov", which largely could be found themselves in the schedule of other institutions in the country at that time, and especially since 1950, when the unique education program got a much higher validity:

Course	Lessons	Studies	Papers
History of Romania	12	-	13
Life of the party and party policy issues	29	4	19
History of P.C. (b) U. S.S.R.	22	4	9

[19] Information resulting from a discussion that I personally had with Ambassador Constantin Vlad, graduated of School "Jdanov".
[20] See note 19.
[21] Vl. Tismăneanu, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

Political economy	17	1	9
Dialectical and historical materialism	26	3	8
World politics	12	1	11
Russian language	48	-	-

Beside the actual materials, the doctrinal training of students was supplemented with a series of regular lectures by characters of the communist party at that time, Ana Pauker (propagandistic lesson held at School "Jdanov" on January 17, 1952 titled "Selection, growth and distribution of staff"[22]), Iosif Chişinevschi, etc.

No doubt the defining features of the curriculum aimed at targeting the elements of Soviet study, trying to move students gradually away from any notion that might be related to Western Europe. However, as I mentioned at the start of this study, higher schools of communist parties, both political and intellectual institutions, have been a prototype of international school at training the elite. So, sometimes, the true quality of some of the teachers from "A. A. Jdanov", enabled study of lessons that did not only preserve the ideological line of the party, I am referring here to the authors and thinkers who were not supporters of communist propaganda[23].

And an evidence of this reality remains the future intellectual quality of some graduates, as it was Ambassador Constantin Vlad.

Moreover, the option to establish the communist doctrine can not be questioned in the Party School of Social Sciences "A. A. Jdanov", this is demonstrated very suggestive of a wish made by one of the teachers at Jdanov, Puiu Simion to Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej:

> "*On behalf of Jdanov school students, we wish to comrade Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, first secretary of the P.M.R., our dear leader, many years to support our constitution and lead us to socialism. We undertake our own knowledge of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, to us as our education to become good ideological leaders of communism, to spread the marxist-leninist knowledge among party members. We wish to comrade Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej to lead us to new victories, to socialism*[24]".

In conclusion, we can say that along with "Ştefan Gheorghiu", the two institutions were the most important structures of party education in the first decade of communist rule in Romania (1948-1958).

Conclusions

We started this research in order to reconstruct what it meant the Party School of Social Sciences "A. A. Jdanov" during the stalinist period, taking into

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[22] ANIC, fond *C.C. al P.C.R, Secţia Propagandă şi Agitaţie*, file 32 /1952, f. 1.
[23] See note 19.
[24] ANIC, fond *C.C. al P.C.R. Cancelarie*, file 160/1950, f. 1-2.

account that in cultural life, stalinism meant above all, total subordination of creativity and intellectual function to the ideology of communism.

The Party School of Social Sciences "A. A. Jdanov" was an ideological training institute for a new generation of communist teachers who lacked the experience during the anti-fascist war, but who also was alleged beside the unconditional commitment to the party, some cultural training.

In Romania, the party education appears in 1945, with the Workers University of Romanian Communist Party (PCR). School party system was organized by the communists first in two level. Thus, that higher education could operate in addition to the Central Committee of P.M.R., and the secondary school education in addition to local party organs. School "Ştefan Gheorghiu" was placed under the coordination of the Organizational Department, preparing personnel responsible for the party, mass organizations and state apparatus[25]. Instead, the Party School of Social Sciences "A. A. Jdanov" was coordinated by the Department of Propaganda and Agitation.

But as we demonstrated in this study, we are talking about a system in a permanent process of efficiency and in Romania, since the school year 1949/1950, party education was reorganized and divided on three levels.

Referring to the system of recruitment, as we presented in the body of this study, profile of those who studied in schools of communist party, had to be first, the alleged cause of people loyal to the communist movement.

Therefore, at the beginning of stalinization, because the selection was summary, the disciples reached in the position of such an institute were connected to pillars of the communist phenomenon in a lesser extent. In time, however, the recruitment system has become more rigorous.

For example, in 1948, when the school activated as the Central School of lecturers "A. A. Jdanov", shows a relatively permissive recruitment system for selecting prospective students, compared with subsequent years. From the 47 students, aged between 23 and 40 years, 15 were categorized as workers, 17 were part of the petty bourgeoisie, one had a bourgeois background, and the remaining 15 were peasants[26].

But with the transformation in the Party School of Social Sciences "A. A. Jdanov" in 1949-1950 was implemented a new system of recruitment of students, better organized. Following the 5th judgment plenary of the C.C. of P.M.R. in January 1950, which abolished the staff department, the task selection and distribution of staff in education departments was directly accounted to the sections of C.C. where the institutes belonged[27]. Criteria that the future student had to fit were those to be holding a clean political past, to be an honest man, have developed political sense and be confident and devoted to the cause of the working class.

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[25] *Ibidem*, fond *C.C. al P.C.R. Secţia organelor conducătoare de partid, sindicale şi de U.T.C. (Secţia Organizatorică)*, 1921-1975, p. 1-9.
[26] *Ibidem*, f. 1-3.
[27] *Ibidem*, fond *C.C. al P.C.R. Secţia Propagandă şi Agitaţie*, file 1/1950, f. 9-10.

Interesting is that it was specified that "women must necessarily propose", which comes to strengthen the idea that once the elections of 1946, the females were seen as an increasingly important element in building the communist society[28].

Otherwise, constant changes of personnel occurred in schools, reflecting the fact that they were less a result of well thought out plan, implemented in stages, but rather followed the proper process of stalinization and extending the new model of society on all areas.

Thus, the case of the Party School of Social Sciences "A. A. Jdanov" is suggestive in this regard, while the institution (from its foundation in 1948) saw further changes in those 10 years of existence.

The Party School of Social Sciences "A. A. Jdanov" was closely connected with the Academy of Social Sciences from Moscow, an institutional corresponding, making constantly exchanges of students, while Leonte Răutu signed many of the proposals gender, but also with the Higher Party School "A. A. Jdanov" from Leningrad.

Recruitment at the Party School of Social Sciences "A. A. Jdanov" was done strategically (like the Soviet model), but this process was not followed by coercion of future students, but rather by offering a 'springboard' for the individual's personal career.

It should also be noted that although in many party schools the distance between teachers and students was often reduced (when some students have occupied in the hierarchy of the party superior positions to those of the teachers), report between teachers and students remained at the Party School of Social Sciences "A. A. Jdanov" in a form similar to one from a normal, traditional university[29].

School The Party School of Social Sciences "A. A. Jdanov" has been identified in terms of time with the stalinist period, and its existence can not be dissociated from the evolution of the party, despite its elitist character, because in the end was only one instrument attesting the communist system, contributing to its reproduction.

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[28] *Ibidem.*

[29] See note 19.

Moldavia and Wallachia in Marino Sanudo's Diaries (II: 1501-1508)[1]

Şerban V. Marin

Keywords: *Marino Sanudo*; *Venetian History*; *Stephen the Great*; *Diaries*

48. Various notes and information in February 1501

[1465] [...].

Noto, in questo zorno [febbrajo] capitò in questa terra il bam di Belgrado, ungaro, va a Roma con bella compagnia; [...]. *Etiam* fono mandati a visitar do oratori di Stefano Carabodam vlacho, uno di qual vien qui, l'altro va a Roma *etc*.

[III, 1465]

49. Various notes and information on February 25, 1501

[1466] [...].

A dì 25 fevrer. [...]. [1467] [...].

Veneno do oratori e nontij di Stefano Carabodam, non perhò homeni da conto, acompagnati da li 4 patricij eri li fonno mandati a visitar; et erano mal vestiti; steteno in piedi, e per interpetre parlò. Presentano una letere di credenza, con la mansiom: *Illustrissimo principi, domino Augustino Barbadico, duci Venetiarum, amico nostro carissimo et confidentissimo, data ex arce nostra* ... [lacună în text], la domenega drio la festa di la Nostra Dona. Et comenza cussì: *Stefanus, Dei gratia haeres dominusque terrae, vayvoda*. Scrive mandar questi do, Raynaldo et Antonio, et prega se li mandi uno medico, dotor, sapi varir di doie. Poi lhora disseno, il suo signor vlacho, havia certe doie a le volte, perhò vol uno medico, e li vol dar danari. *Item*, comprar certi panni d'oro, et uno starà qui fermo, l'altro va a Roma. Poi dis= [1468] =se il suo signor esser gaiardo, e sarà contra turchi, si la Signoria si acorderà col re di Hongaria. Il principe li usò bone parole; sono alozati a l'hostaria di San Zorzi.

[...].

[III, 1466-1468]

[1] See "Revista Arhivelor. Archives Review" 87 (2010), 2, p. 158-178.

50. Summary of the reports of the Venetian ambassador in Hungary, Sebastiano Giustiniani on January 24 and 28, 1501

[1478] [...].

Di Hongaria, di sier Sabastian Zustignan, orator, date a Buda, a ді 24 zener [1501], *qual manchavano a zonzer.* [...]. *Item*, sono venuti lì tre oratori di vlachi, zoè do di [1479] Stefano Carabodam di Moldavia, con cavali 70, con presenti al re, et uno dil transilvano; e par siano venuti per saper la voluntà dil re zercha romper al turcho, et la resolution à fato, et hanno auto audientia; non sono stà expediti, sì che questi lo dipende da la regia majestà, quello la farà, lhoro farano. [...]. *Item*, se intende il turcho prepara armata, et fa far alcuna sosta di navilij per il Danubio. [...].

Dil dito, di 28 [marzo]. [...]. Et li dimandò [pe cardinal legato] quello poteva far il regno di Hongaria, con la Transilvania, regno di Boemia, con li duchati Moravia e Slesia; conclude, esso cardinal è ben disposto, e vol far con il re di licentiar li oratori turchi, e vol dar opera che li moscoviti e Prusia si unisca insieme contra tartari acciò il re di Polana possi esser contra turchi; [...].

[III, 1478-1479]

51. Summary of the letter of the Venetian *provveditore* in Zakynthos, Girolamo Pisani on January 31, 1501

[1501] [...].

Dal Zonchio, di sier Hironimo Pixani, provedador di l'armada, date in galia, a dì ultimo zener, vidi una letera, drizata a sier Hironimo Capelo, suo cugnado. [...] [1502] [...]. *Item*, scrive faria titubar el turcho, si el re di Hongaria, Valachia, Boemia, Polana e Rosia li rompesseno guerra; et sa per vero, che li cavalli turcheschi sono magri e molto debilitadi, [...].

[III, 1501-1502]

52. Summary of the letter of the Papal legate, cardinal Pietro in March 1501[2]

[1537] [...].

Dil cardinal Pietro reginense, legato, si have una letera latina e ben ditata [marzo]. Narra il sumario di la tratation, conforta la Signoria a consentir a li capitoli; scusa li nostri oratori, si hanno promesso *etc.*, pechè la cossa era im pericolo. Scrive la potentia de hongari, et che il re di Polana, con il fratello ducha di Lituania e moschoviti, si potrano acordar insieme; et che la Bossina a Servia si arà subito; e benchè il re non voglj prometer di andar in campo, *tamen* li à promesso andar. Nara la potentia di valachi, qualli farano 30 milia cavalli; concluse di potrà haver 100 milia cavali. [...].

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[2] See also C. Esarcu, *Stefanu cellu Mare. Documente descoperite în Archivele Veneției*, Bucharest, 1874, p. 86.

[III, 1537]

53. Summary of the information delivered by the Papal legate in March 1501

[1549] [...].

[marzo] Vene lo episcopo caliense, legato dil papa, venuto per stafeta di Roma, [...]; et à bona voluntà a la expedition general; e comenzò a dir molte vosse; prima, presentato una letera dil cardinal legato di 2, in conformità come quella si have prima; et che il re di Hongaria pol far cavalli 25 milia con Boemia, e li valachi 30 milia; in summa, in tutto, da 100 milia cavalli. Poi esso orator disse, e *primo* di Lituania, dove è stato, e quel ducha è fradello dil re et zenero dil ducha di Moscovia, col qual è in guerra, e voleva far divortio di la moglie, qual è con lui; e per questo mandò soi oratori al papa. E lui legato scrisse al papa disuadendo. *Item*, questi moschoviti, o ver rossi, sono pur christiani; come greci hano certe heresie. Et in Lituania tre parte: una de christiani, et do di heresie, che *male sentivit de fide*. *Item*, tartari, zoè alcuni imperadori, perchè sono 7, danno fastidio a Lituania e Polonia, e alcuni di questi sono in acordo con moscoviti, altri con polani. Questi sono scyti; stanno in campagna; sono da 300 milia homeni, e la anni 6 in qua da' tartari è stà menà via anime 600 milia; et, di zugno e septembrio passato, menono 250 milia anime. Questi tartari vieneno di tramontana 500 mia italiane; et col re di Polana ditti tartari voleva far pace, con questo, el di Polana è ben disposto a la impresa, amico di la Signoria nostra; è giovene. E' tre parte: una il re, il clero, e li nobeli. Et ditto re per tre vie pol far danno a' turchi, ma è lontano; una, per uno diserto va a Caffa, l'altro per li valachi, e quel Stefano Carabodam, qual non vorà exercito grande nel suo paexe; et dito Stefano voleva da ditto re uno paexe diserto, nominato la Podolia, crede il re li consentirà. [...].

[III, 1549]

54. Information from the Roman *curia*

[1589] [...].

[marzo] [...]. Il papa è ben disposto, fa armata, e dà ajuto al re di Hongaria; il christianissimo re di Franza, col legato nostro, fa armata; li serenissimi reali di Spa=
[1590] =gna, *etiam*; et per terra il re di Hongaria farà; sarà il re di Polana e li valachi. [...].

[III, 1589-1590]

55. Summary of the letter delivered by the Venetian envoyees in Navpaktos on December 29, 1501, including a letter of the Ottoman Sultan to the Prince of Moldavia

[1626] [...].

Da Napoli di Romania, di sier Jacomo di Renier e sier Alvise Barbarigo, rectori, di 29 decembrio. [...] [1627]

[...]. *Item*, è capitato de lè uno schiavo, a dì 10 fuzito da' turchi, al qual è stà trovada una letera turcha, qual è questa:

Copia di una lettera, tradutta di turchesco in latim, per la qual consta come el signor turcho rechiedeva certo carazo da un signor vlacho, confederado del re di Hongaria, el quale non li ha volesto mandar ditto carazo, ma ha fato cavar li ochij e tagiar el naso a ditto messo.

Voi, Murataga, tu ha mandado una letera a la mia Porta, come il mio comesso, che ho mandado lì per scuoder el charazo de ducati 500 restò; et el signor carabogdam, optinudo Modon, et tagliando el naso et *etiam* cavò li ochij; et per che rasom non haveti mandado quel homo, che haveti fato cavar li ochij insieme con la letera, ch'è de quel carazo che domandava? Domando, se tu ha sentido dal carabogdar, se l'è vero che'l disse di aspetar do mexi et mezo, per dar dito carazo. Et si l'è vero che havea ditto parole, le mando questa presente letera, che dobiate mandarla al ditto carabogdam a lezerla. Et *etiam* per veder li mei comandamenti.

A la nobiltà de Bogdam salute.

Cum sit, come havemo saputo, che el nostro homo, che havemo per scuoder el charazo, quello haveti pigliato et tagliata el maso et *etiam* chavado li ochij, et in effeto causa al vorave asapper, *quomodo* vala im pace o in guerra, perchè sempre, fino presente, avanti che fusse compì il termine, tu mandavi dito carazo, et nui havemo mandado el nostro comesso per scuoder et tuor ditto carazo; et voi haveti fato taiar el naso et cavar *etiam* li ochij. Ma quello che tu vadi cerchando, presto tu trovarà, a *Deo dante*, perchè nui havevamo fede pura a voi, e che non speravimo de far a questo modo. Ma poi che haveti fati cussì, aspetene, che presto vedereti.

E ti, Maradaga, fè ad ogni modo che darme information et noticia de questa tal casom, donde nassete tal malle, o da Asprocastro o da Clicly; se per caso ha mandato o corieri o ver cursari, che fusse tolto qualcossa de lì, o homeni, o femene, o [1628] animali, o ver che hanno fato altra algum, danne a saper. E, domandado a vuy, carabogdan, per che cason tu ha' mandato el Boldro vayvoda a corer ad Asprocastro o ver Chely a far tal danno a quelli lochi; et *etiam* haveti butà freze brusade, per brusar i diti loci; et credo che, cone le tue freze, tu vol brusar li ditti castelli, o con li tui fuogi; ma a *Deo dante*, presto te segnarò i lui, o corarie, e li tui trati de freze, con fuogi. E che Idio il veda a cadaum, perchè ciò che zercha, presto lo trova.

[...].

[III, 1626-1628]

56. Summary of the letters delivered by the Venetian consul in Chios, Giovanni di Tabbia on June 30, 1501, received on September 29, 1501

[105] [...].

A dì 29 [settembre]. Per letere di Syo, di zugno, date a dì 30, di Zuan di Tabia, consolo nostro. Scrive cussì: [...]. Et è zonto qui, a dì 18, lo ambasador de Syo. Partì da Constantinopoli a dì 12, e dice, à visto a la Porta del signor turco l'ambasador dil re Fedrico e quello di Valachia e di Rodi e di Polana, al qual re di Polana domanda el signor turcho tributo; et per questo dito ambasador non era ancora spazato. [...].

[IV, 105]

57. Summary of letters delivered from Hungary on September 4, 1501

[112] [...].

Di Hongaria, per letere di 4 [settembre]. Si ave, el re era cavalchato et atendeva a far, li episcopi, con li exerciti, venisseno nel campo. Poi si ave letere, di 8, el re esser cavalchado verso Boemia, per recuperar quel regno, lo qual veniva occupado dal re di Valachia con auxilio de' turchi, al qual dava ducati 20 milia de tributo, a ziò lo difendesse e non fusse cazado. Al qual el turcho à mandato gran forze, el bassà e flanbuli in sua defension, per tema dil re di Hongaria, Boemia e Polana, che non li cargi adosso. [...].

[IV, 112]

58. Summary of the debates in the Council of Ten on March 27, 1502

[246] [...].

A dì 27 [marzo]. [...]. Et ben che per il conseio di X, si dice, si ha comenzato a tratar pace, *tamen* il turcho dimanda cosse grande; et il re di Hongaria non fa exercito, ma *solum* alcune corarie, sì che quando perde o quando vadagna è pocho. E il turco dà danari al tartaro, a ziò quella molesti il re di Polana e li vlachi di Valachia, qualli, se non fusseno tartari, se humeriano con hongari. [...].

[IV, 246]

59. Notes and information on March 28, 1502[3]

[248] [...].

A dì 28 marzo. [...].

Item, in questi zorni, hessendo venuto a Venecia uno orator de l'olacho, zoè Stefano Carabodan, fo in coleio, per il principe, fato cavalier et vestito d'oro.

[...].

[IV, 248]

60. Summary of the letter delivered in Milos on July 27, 1502

[310] [...].

Sumario di una letera, data a Millo, a dì 27 luio 1502.

[...]. Ben è vero, ivi era cavali 200 turchi, li qual fonno a le man con nostri. [311] Poi scorendo al Monte Santo, dove è castelli 40, *solum* lhoro è signori, lochi fructiferi di

[3] See also *Ibidem*, p. 87.

ogni bene e christianissimi a favoriti dil Carabodan. Partidi de lì, scoresemo in l'isola di Negroponte [...]. Piero di Bavarin *signatus*.

[IV, 310-311]

61. Summary of the letters delivered by the Venetian ambassador in Hungary, Sebastiano Giustiniani on September 9, 1502, received on September 25, 1502

[320] [...].

A dì 25 [settembre]. Per letere di Hongaria, di sier Sabastian Zustignan, el cavalier, e sier Zuan Badoer, dotor, date a Buda, a dì 9. Scriveno, il re aver letere di Valachia, come el turcho mandava el suo exercito, per via di la Randa [index: Randa (?), 320.], contra el signor Soffi, el qual, a caso, desendendo de Tauris, vene a la via de Trabisonda, e intrato nel paexe di l'otoman.

[...].

[IV, 320]

62. List of the main events of Ottoman history

[324] *Successo di la caxa di othomani, comenzando da Mahumeto, padre di questo Payseta, per* capita *le opperation lhoro e li tempi.*

1450. [...].
[...].
1456. Victoria contra hungari; e poi hungari scazioe turchi, mediante fra' Zuan de Capistrano.
[...].
1459. Smedro, sopra il Danubio, preso per forza a dì 15 april.
[...].
1462. Turchi, andati Uraculi in Valachia, rebatudi.
[...].
1464. Servia, dita Misia *superior*, presa, et preso il re per ingano et truncato.
[...]. [325]
[...].
1474. Urgaria [sic!] scorsizata da' turchi, passati il Danubio.
[...].
1475. Turchi depopulò Mondavia a Valachia, con gran *caede*.
1475. Servia inferior depopulata da' ungari, con gran *caede* di turchi.
[...].
1476. Smedro, su la riva di la Sava, preso da re Mathias.
[...]. [326]
[...].
1484. Moncastro e Licostomo, in Valachia, preso con armada di vele 55 et 150 milia combatenti.
[...].

1486. Exercito di Bayseto in Valachia, roto da Uracula, wayvoda.
[...]. [327]
[...].
1498. Turchi 40 milia occisi, tra anegati et da fredo morti, nel passar il Danubio contra polani.
[...].

[IV, 324-328]

63. Summary of the letters delivered by the Venetian ambassadors in Hungary on October 8, 9 and 11, 1502

[373] [...].

Di Hongaria, di oratori, in zifra, tre lettere, di 8, 9 et 11 [ottobre], *date a Buda.* [...]. *Item*, manda la quietation di ducati 7000 ave, e una letera di nove, dil conte Piero di Transilvana, vayvoda, che à preso una terra dil turco, di là dil Danubio, chiamata Bodon, con strage di turchi *etc.* [...]. *Item*, mostroli una letera, qual mandò la copia di Rodul, vayvoda, data a dì 21 septembrio. Nara il messo tornato dil turco; e la pace è conclusa per anni 7, e si mandi oratori uno a Belgrado, l'altro a Smedro *etc.* [...]; e nota, in letera di Rado, par, il turco sij per far pace con Sophì, e trama matrimonio di suo fiol a una fia di l'imperador di tartari; et fa exercito di 20 milia cavali, capo so fio Alimech, contra hongari.

[...].

[IV, 373]

64. Summary of the letters delivered by the Venetian ambassadors in Hungary on November 20, 1502

[415] [...].

Di Hongaria, di oratori, in zifra, date a Buda, a dì 20 [novembre]. [...]. Pur partì l'orator di Rado, vayvoda, con risposta; e a dì 15 gionse il nontio dil palatino, stato a Constantinopoli, e portò quel medemo: il turcho voler far trieve per anni 7 e più, si'l viverà, perchè vol riposar questo pocho tempo à a viver, e manderia il re uno orator a Belgrado e lui turco à Sendervach; et che il turco voria far pace con li altri Christiani, *excepto* cha con venitiani; e la pace con Sophis non è fata. [...].

[IV, 415]

65. Summary of the letters delivered by the Venetian ambassadors in Hungary on January 5, 1503

[628] [...].

Di Hongaria, de li oratori, date a Buda, a dì 5 zener [1503]. [...]. Et, per la via di Transilvania, è de lì a Constantinopoli mia 230 hongari, *videlicet* 1150 italiani, ma per la via di Andernopoli e più. [...]. [629] [...]. *Item*, a dì primo, zonze li do oratori dil ducha Stefano valacho, venuti per adatar certe deferentie à col re di Polana. [...].

[IV, 628-629]

66. Summary of the letters delivered by the Venetian ambassadors in Hungary on January 16, 1503

[674] [...].

Di Hongaria, di l'oratori nostri, date a Buda, a dì 16 di zener [1503]. [...]; et za sono do messi che dieno venir; et che'l vaivoda transalpino mandato *etc.* [...].

[IV, 674]

67. Copies of the letter delivered by the Prince of Moldavia to the Doge of Venice, written on December 9, 1502, and of the letter of the physician Matteo of Murano, written on December 7, 1502[4]

[734] [...].

Vene uno nontio dil vayvoda di Moldavia, et presentò una letera, la copia di la qual sarà scripta qui [735] soto; *etiam* una altra scrive uno medico andò lì, a la Signoria di nove.

Copia de una letera dil vayvoda de Moldavia a la Signoria nostra.

Stephanus, divina favente gratia, dominus, haeres et vayvoda Moldaviae.

Illustris et excellentissime princeps, domine amiceque noster carissime.

Quum superioribus annis is industriosus Demetrius Purcivii, exibitor, cum oratoribus illustrissimi principis Moscoviae, ad terram nostram Moldaviae applicuisset, de medio vestrarum dominationum nunc eundi, rursus, propter merita sua amplissima, juxta persuasionem excellentissimi domini Mathei Marriani, doctoris medicinae, concivis vestrarum dominationum Venetias transmisimus, ut nobis pharmacia aliquos sive medicinas, juxta consilium domini Mathei, nobis necessarias emere et comparare pecuniis nostris propriis anhelet et debeat. Pro eo affectamus, vestrae illustrissimae et excellentissimae dominationes, causa vestri, eundi Demetrium modo aliquali retinere non velint sed dispositis ibidem vestris mecessariis ipsum integre et salvum sine dilatione ad nos remittere dignentur clementissime. Altissimus vestras illustrissimas dominationes ad vota conservet feliciter.

Ex arce nostra Siuthavia, VIIII°. decembris, anno domini millesimo quingentesimo secundo.

A tergo: Illustri et excellentissimo principi, domino Leonardo Lorandino (*sic*) Dei gratia duci Venetiarum, amico nostro carissimo.

Copia de una letera di uno medico a la Signoria. Nara le cosse di Moldavia, de' tartari e altre cosse di quel paese.

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[4] See also *Ibidem*, p. 88-89 and 90-94.

Serenissime princeps et domine excellentissime, humili commendatione proemissa.

La causa, che per avanti non habi scripto a la sublimità vostra, è stata la infirmità grave ho patito, dal primo zorno de avosto, che zonsi in Muldavia, per tutto octobrio proximo passato, non obstante *tamen* la malatia grande, a dì 22 avosto io fo a la visitation di questo illustrissimo signor duca Stephano, et fia l'oficia di fedel servidor, per parte di la serenità vostra, con quella forma de parole, che se con= [736] =vien a uno tanto signor, quanto è questo. Lo qual ave gratissimo, con demostration e parole molto amicabile, in fra le qual disse: Io non ò voluto mandar a tuor medico in alcuna parte del mondo, salvo da li amici miei, li qual sono certo me amano; e dissemi: *Etiam* io sono circondato da jnimici da ogni banda, e ho auto bataje 36, da poi che son signor de questo paese, de le qual son stato vincitor de 34, e do perse. Ad intelligentia de la serenità vostra io narerò le condition degne de questo illustrissimo signor, del fiolo, de li subditi e del paese, e poi le novità seguite, et quelle che per zornata seguita tra questi signori septentrionali. Quanto a la persona dil prefato signor, l'è homo sapientissimo, degno de molte laude, amato molto da li subditi, per esser clemente e justo, molto vigilante et liberale, prosperoso de la persona per la età sua, se questa infirmità non lo havesse opresso, ma spero in Dio farli gran zovamento. Per quanto poso comprender per le cose principiate, lo fiolo, signor Bogdam vayvoda, inmita le vestigie del signor suo padre, modesto quanto una donzela e valente homo, amico de le virtù e de li homeni vertudiosi, zovene de anni 25 in circa. Li subditi tuti valentomeni, et homeni da fati e non da star so li pimazi, ma a la campagna. Questo illustrissimo signor pol far homeni da fati 60 milia, a cavalo 40 milia, zoè 40 milia [sic!], e pedoni 20 milia. El paese si è frutifero et amenissimo e ben situado, habondante de animali e de tutti fruti, da ojo in fora. I formenti si semena de april e de mazo, archojese de avosto e de septembrio; vini de la sorte de Friol; pascoli perfeti; potria star in questo paese cavali 100 milia e più. De qui a Constantinopoli se va in XV o XX zorni; perhò reverentemente aricordo a la Signoria vostra, che de qui se potria strenzer li fianchi a questo perfido can turco. Et, per quanto me referisse molti homeni degni et merchadanti, che vien da Constantinopoli, li turchi ha gran paura de questo signor e de li christiani, per la via de questo paese. Da novo, la illustrissima signoria de questo signor ha recuperato molti castelli e vilazi de le man de la majestă de re de Polana questo mexe di octobrio proximo passato, li qual *antiquitus* erano stà occupati per quello regno. *Item*, li tartari sono corssi in Lituania e Polonia nel ditto mese, et hano menato via 40 milia anime. *Item*, la guerra aspra pur persevera tra la majestă de re de Polana, el duca de Moscovia, signor de la Rossia; e li suo' ambassadori, per non poter passar, ancora sono in questa terra, et hanno bona compagnia da questo signor *etc*. *Item*, in questi confini e region propinque erano do [737] signori tartari potenti, uno se chiamava imperador de Voga, l'altro imperador de Crin; quello de Voga era amico de la majestă de re di Polana e quello de Crin del duca de Moscovia; et questo perchè el prefato signor duca, tien uno suo fradelo in prexon, acciò no lo cazi de signoria, per esser homo de la sorte, che era el fradelo del turco, *unde* questo imperador de Crin, per far cosa grata al duca de Moscovia, se mosse contra lo imperador de Voga a la improvista ed àlo cazado de signoria. Lo qual con pocha zente se n'è fuzito e andato da un altro tartaro, suo parente, molto possente, lo qual se chiama imperador de Nagal, lo qual è molto distante da questa region. Al resente questo imperador de Crin, lo qual è rimasto victorioso, pol far da otanta in cento milia cavali, ed à maridado uno sua fiola nel fiol del turco, lo qual è signor de Caffa. Per la qual parentela el turco li ha mandato molti presenti e de gran valuta, tra li qual, come referisse uno zudeo, lo qual è venuto de lì, haver visto uno pavion de grandeza incredibile e molto ornato de cose de gran valuta; e dice che pol star soto de le persone da mille in suso; Idio sconfonda el turco e lui, *amen*. Per la qual coligation e parentela questo illustrissimo signor se dubita molto far movesta alcuna contra el turco, perchè subito el tartaro li seria a le spale. La el c'è uno passo per mezo Caffa, se chiama Pericoop, dove diese milia cavali tegneria la posanza del tartaro, che non potria passar in qua a li danni de li christiani. Al presente *serenissime princeps*, non ho altro da novo da significhar a la serenità vostra, ma, mentre starò in queste region, sempre serò vigilante in dar aviso a la serenită vostra de le cose me parà degne de aviso. *Nec plura*. Idio in felice stato per molti anni conservi la serenità vostra, a la qual *iterum humiliter* me ricomando.

Datae Sozaviae in Muldavia, die 7 decembris 1502.

Subscriptio: *Excellentissimae serenitatis vestrae servitor*

MATHEUS MURIANUS

artium et medicinae doctor.

A tergo: *Serenissimo principi et domino excellentissimo, domino Leonardo Lauredano, inclyto duci Venetiarum, domino observantissimo.*

[...].

[IV, 734-737]

68. Summary of the letters delivered by the Venetian ambassadors in Hungary, Sebastiano Giustiniani and Giovanni Badoer on February 15, 1503

[791] [...].

Di Hongaria, de li oratori nostri, sier Sabastian Zustignan, el cavalier, e sier Zuan Badoer, doctor, date a Buda, a dì 15 fevrer. [...] [792] [...].

Di li ditti, di 22. [...]. Item, è zonto lì uno orator dil vayvoda di Transalpino a dor, il turcho è disposto a far le trieve *etc.* con li christiani, et dil zonzer dil nostro secretario a Constantinopoli. E quel Radul, vayvoda, scrive: *non exaudietur orator venetus, donec* non sarà zonto el orator dil re a Constantinopoli. [...].

[IV, 791-792]

69. Copy of the letter delivered by the Venetian physician Matteo di Murano, written on January 5, 1503 and received in March 1503

[805] [...].

Copia di una letera venuta di Moldavia.

Serenissime princeps et domine excellentissime, humili commendatione proemissa. [marzo]

A dì 7 dil passato di quanto alhora mi ocoreva significai a la Signoria vostra, al presente *etiam* mi ocore de dar aviso a quella de quanto se contien ne le presente. La majestă del re de Polonia ne li tempi proximi passati ha mandato al signor turco do imbassarie successive, con molti presenti, per la via de Hungaria, per non se aver fidato mandarli [805] per questa via de Muldavia. Et questo jo intisi da poi che havi scrito a la

Signoria vostra. E da poi *etiam* intisi, *qualiter* le imbasaria del signor turco vegniva in questa terra, deliberai de sotrazer da lui et intender quanto poteva de le cose turchesche. Et atrovandosse qui per transito, con li imbassatori de Rossia, uno mio amicissima, lo qual sa talian, greco e turchesco, e à mojer e fioli a Venetia, lo quale chiama per nome Nicolò Leondari, et ha molti parenti in Constantinopoli e gran maistri, jo missi ordene con lui, che zonto che sarà el dito imbassator, el vadi a visitar, fenzendo dimandar de li parenti, domesticarse con lui, et intender quello el potese, intrando a rasonar de diverse cose, fenzendo *etiam* esser inimicissimo di la Signoria vostra, *tamen* io sono aperto, lui esser servitor fidelissimo de quella *etc.* A dì 28 dil passato el prefato imbasador zonse in questa terra con cavali 80; lo qual per nome se dimanda Sina beì, cosin di Charzeg bassà e de quello, che fo a Venecia in tempo de la perdeda de Modon. A dì 29 dito andò a la visitation de questo signor con gran pompa; erano 40, vestiti de pano d'oro, e li altri tuti di seda, e ben in hordine. Ritornato che'l fo a la stantia, el prefato Nicolò, sequendo l'ordene, *ut supra*, andò a visitarlo, et domesticose con lui, e poi ritornò el zorno sequente, et comenzò dimandar da novo de le cose de guerra, sì da mar come da terra. E diseli per prima, come el suo signor era grandemente molestato in la Natolia da quelli de Perssia [...]. [806] [...]. *Item*, el terzo zorno ditto Nicolò ritornò da lui come amico, e dimandò per qual causa andava in Polonia. Risposeli: Io vado a confirmar li capitoli de la pase tra el mio signor e la majestà del re de Polonia, perchè in questi zorni passati el re à mandato al nostro signor di imbassarie, con molti presenti, et con li capitoli, a dimandar la pase *etc.* La qual cossa, *serenissime princeps*, la rason me persuade dover creder, per esser in guerra la majestà di ditto re con suo suosero, ducha Zuane de Moscovia, et anche per esser inimichato con questo illustrissimo signor, duca Stephano de Moldavia, per averli tolto molti casteli e vile, come per le altre mie significai a la Signoria vostra. Et perchè questo signor duca ha una fiola in Moscovia, et uno nepote, fiol de quella, al qual apartien el duchato de Moscovia e la signoria de Rossia, la majestà de dito re ha dubitado, che questo signor, per esser inimicato con lui, deba favorir quello de Rossia, como parente; per la qual causa ha dubitado, *etiam* che'l se acordasse con el turco a li danni soi *etc. Item*, el dito ambassador disse a Nicolò ancora queste parole: Sapi, che'l nostro signor à fato volentiera pase con questo re per do rason: la prima che'l dubitava molto, che questo signor de Moldavia se dovesse a cordar con lui e molestar da questa parte; la secondo, che vol veder se per la via de questo re potrà far remover da la impresa suo fratello re de Ongaria, et se non lo potrà remover, el farà grande exercito per terra contra de lui, et *omnino* se vol vendicar de li danni recevuti. [...].

[807] *Data in Zozavia Muldaviae, die 5 januarii 1502* [= 1503].

Subscriptio: *Excellentissimae serenitatis vestrae servitor*

MATHEUS MURIANUS,
Artium et medicinae doctor.

A tergo: *Serenissimo principi et domino excellentissimo domino Leonardo Lauredano, inclyto duci Venetiarum, domino observantissimo.*

La qual letera il doxe la leze; non fo leta, ni in colegia, ni pregadi.

[...].

[IV, 804-807]

70. Summary of the letter delivered by the Venetian ambassador in Hungary, Giovanni Badoer, written on March 3, 1503

[830] [...].

Di Hongaria, di sier Zuan Badoer, dotor, orator, di 3 marzo, date a Buda, portate per uno di Focher. [...]. *Item*, è ritornato uno orator dil re di Hongaria, stato dal ducha Stefano, valacho, per acordarlo col re di Polonia. Riporta, la pace dil turcocol re di Polonia è conclusa, et tartari si metevano in hordine per dannizar quel regno di Polonia. [...].

[IV, 830]

71. Summary of the report of the Venetian ambassador in Hungary, Sebastiano Giustiniani in 1503

[858] [...].

Relatione di sier Sabastian Zustignan, el cavalier, venuto orator di Hongaria.

[...].

[860] [...]. *Item*, che sa il turco à desiderio di la pace; e il cardinal ystrigoniense i à ditto: Orator, dì a la toa Signoria atendi a le cosse de Italia, perchè la pace si pol dir conclusa; e li mostrò letere di Rado vayvoda. [...]. *Imo*, il re à pocha ube= [861] =diertia; et à mandato do volte a dir al conte Josa vengi da lui, qual non è venuto. A de jntradaa l'anno ducati 220 milia, in questo modo: de ordinario le minere di salli per ducati 50 nilia, ma non li trà di contanti, ma paga di parte soi debiti vechij, à de la Transilvania ducati 30 milia. *Item*, de .... [lacună] à altri ducati 30 milia; et ducati 16 milia di alcune terre libere, che sono numero 6, *videlicet* Buda, Cologna ... [lacună]. *Item*, le minere di l'oro e arzento li dà: una ducati 14 milia, una 7000, una 18 milia ducati. [...]. Sonon in Hongaria XI episcopadi di gran intrada, li qualli sarano notadi qui soto: Ystrigonia, à ducati 30 milia; Agri, ch'è al fiol dil duca di Ferara, non val ducati 4000, ma è assaissima intra' più; la Saxonia sono merchadanti, la Valachia homeni bellici, la Slevia. La militia di hongari è cavali 6 per homo d'arme et uno caro. E quando [862] vano in exercito et per combater. Si confesano l'uno con l'altro, e uno è lì e predicha, e tutti dicono tre volte Jesus, poi vanno con gran vigoria, come cingiari, in li inimici. Et di natura hongari e jninicissimi de' turchi; et si poria dir, re Mathias non ave mai molti hongari in campo con lu. Questo fu, perchè tolse assa' boemi, e narrò la causa, perchè potesse dominar li baron hongari con ditti medemi. [...]. Hongari dorme su la terra; e re Mathias dominò in virga ferea. [...].

[IV, 858-862]

72. Copy of the treaty of peace between Hungary and Ottoman Empire, concluded on February 22, 1503

[879] *Copia de' capitoli di la pace, tra il serenissimo re di Hongaria e il signor turco, venuti in letere di oratori nostri in Hongaria, date a dì 22 fevrer 1502* [= 1503].

Nos, Wladislaus, Dei gratia rex Hungariae et Bohemiae etc., [...]. [880] [...].

Item, quod ista pax sit pro nobis atque regnis nostris, signanter Hungariae, Bohemiae, Dalmatiae, Croatiae, Slavoniae etc., ac marchionatu Moraviae, et ducatu utriusque Slesie et Lusaciae, nostris regnis Moldaviae et transalpinensi, cum vayvodis ipsorum Karabogdam et Radul ipsorumque filiis et haeredibus. Item, partibus transernensibus et regno Bozuc, cum castro Jayza, et aliis castris, ac partibus ad illud pertinentibus. Item, castris Belgrad sive Nandor, Alba et Zenderu, cum suis pertinentiis et aliis castris nostris finitimis. Praeterea civitate nostra Dalmatiae, Ragusii, cum civitatibus, castris, terris et pertinentiis suis ac universa insula et toto dominio suo aliisque omnibus dominiis et subditis nostris qualecumque appellatis et ubicumque constitutis et existentibus.

[...].

[883] [...].

Item, quod sicuti praemissum est, regna nostra regnis praefatis, videlicet Moldaviae et partes transalpinas, cum vayvodis ipsorum, haeresque et desuccessores eorumdem, penes nos aperte includantur et inclusi sint, et habeantur, et quod alia servitia sive census et solutiones ab eis non exigantur, et nisi quae prius fecerant, similiter dicta civitas nostra Dalmatiae Ragusii sit, ut praemissum est, penes nos inclusa, et quod etiam ab ipsa ac incolis et civibus suis servitia et aliae soluciones non exigantur, nisi ea quae prius fecerunt.

[...].

[IV, 879-884]

73. Summary of the information delivered by the Papal ambassador in Hungary, cardinal Pedro, reported on October 8, 1503

[145] [...].

A dì 8 octubrio, domenega, fo San Marco. Vene in Colegia il cardinal don Petro, *tituli sancti Chiriaci in Thermis*, stato legato in Hongaria, di natione siciliano, *alias* senator di Roma. [...]. Et ditto certe cerimonie, vene in Colegio, et sentato di sora il principe, *publice* disse alcune parole latine di le soe operatione in Hongaria a ben di la cristianità. [...]. 2° disse che il regno di Hongaria è molto necessario a opugnar a' turchi; è bon tenirlo per amico; al qual re il papa li deva ducati 40 milia a l'anno, et lui legato di la cruciata ducati 60 milia oltra quello li à dà la Signoria nostra: che era gran ajuto, ma hongari ha fato pocho col Turco, e che lui legato li aria bastà l'animo l'aver auto la pace col Turcho con mior e più honorevole conditione di quello è stà conclusa. E disse esser stato in Boemia, Moldavia, Transilvana, Prutia etc.; e che hongari è bellici, vanno a combater bestialmente; ma il re senza il consejo general non poteva far la pace. [...].

[V, 145]

74. Summary of the letter delivered by the Prince of Moldavia in August 1503

[150] *Di Stefano Vayvoda.* Fo leto una lettera latina; ma gran barbarie. Per la qual advisava, che altre fiate l'anno passà mandò soi nontj qui a turo uno phisico per la

sua egritudine: qual venuto, maetro Matio Moriani, al qual li dete ducati 400, e zonto de lì si amalò et è morto, *adeo* mai li dete alcun remedio in medicina. Pertanto prega la Signoria li fazi recuperar li ditti danari, poi mandarli uno altro medico, che lui satisferà il tutto etc. Et la lettera è di tal titolo dentro: *Stephanus, Dei gratia, haeres dominusque terrae, vayvoda, amice dilecte.*

Data in oppido nostro Temes, nono chalendas augusti 1503.

[V, 150]

75. Summary of the letter of the Venetian ambassador in Hungary on October 5, 1503

[195] [...].

Di Hongaria, di sier Zuan Badoer dotor, orator nostro, date a Buda a li 5 octubrio. [...]. *Item,* il re li disse esser in acordo li valachi con il re di Polonia, e si vol meter in lui, e aspeta li oratori. [...]. *Item*, è lettere di Rado vayvoda di Transilvania, come a Costantinopoli è il morbo grande e gran carestia e 'l Turcho amalato [...].

[V, 195]

76. Summary of the letter of the Venetian ambassador in Hungary on October 15, 1503

[241] [...].

Di Hongaria, di sier Zuan Badoer dotor orator, date a Buda a dì 1. octubrio. [...]; e che il fiol dil Turco era venuto con zente a Neopoli in Moldavia [la index: Neopoli in Moldavia (probabilmente Nicopoli sul Danubio)]. [...]. *Item*, che li oratori di Stefano Valacho e dil vayvoda di Transilvania venuti lì, erano partiti, non sa la causa. [..].

[V, 241]

77. Summary of the report of the Venetian ambassador in the Ottoman Empire, Andrea Gritti in 1503

[449] [...].

Relatione fata in Pregadi per sier Andrea Gritti ritornato orator dil Signor turcho

[...] [450] [...]. *Item*, come lì a Constantinopoli era uno messo dil re diHongaria; et che era stà tratà la paxe e fati li capitoli tra el re di Hongaria e il Signor turcho per via di Rado et Stefano valachi, *videlicet* questi valachi di pagar il charazo al Signor, senza voler però di esso re. [...].

[V, 449-450]

78. Copy of the letter of the Ottoman Sultan brought by the Venetian ambassador, Andrea Gritti in 1503

[454] [...].

Copia de una lettera dil Signor turcho, portata a la Signoria nostra per Andrea Griti venuto orator de lì

[...]. [455] [...].

A Schander bassà, sanzacho de Bossina

[...].

[464] [...].

Sua excellentia ha de carazo da' ragusei ducati 10 milia; da' sioti, *sive* maonesi, ducati 10 milia; da Stefano vayvoda de Moldavia ducati 4 milia; da Rado transalpin dicto Calciero, ducati 8 milia, quale vien ogni anno ad basar la mano al Signor, e se ne ritorna vestito da sua excellentia. De la intrada pronta, pagate le zente di la Porta, se dice avanzarli ducati 600 milia. [...].

[466] [...].

Potria dir molte cose pertinente a questa materia; et come è temuto el serenissimo re de Hungaria da costoro, et sono stà desiderosi di devenir a la pace *cum* la sua regia celsitudine; et *etiam* circa el serenissimo re di Polonia, tartari et li do vlachi; che per non esser più longo voglio pretermetter, reservandome ad altro tempo el tuto dechiarir a la clarissima magnificentia vostra.

[V, 454-466]

79. Summary of the letter of the Venetian ambassador in Hungary, Giovanni Badoer on November 13, 1503

[...].

Di Hongaria, di sier Zuan Badoer dotor orator nostro, date a Buda a dì 13 novembrio. [...]. *Item,* è zonti do oratori dil valacho, li quali vien a la Signoria con lettere per aver uno medico, e comprar pani di seta. [...].

[V, 473]

80. Summary of the information of the Venetian *podestà* in Chioggia, Alvise Capello, read on December 20, 1503[5]

[...].

[*A dì 20 dezembrio*] Vene sier Alvixe Capello fo podestà a Chioza, e fè lezer una lettera che li scrive il ducha Zuan Corvino, [...]. El qual fo fato venir, e leto la lettera, fo fato sentar apresso el principe et expose era venuto insieme con uno orator dil Valacho, e veria doman a la Signoria. [...].

[5] See also *Ibidem*, p. 95.

[V, 577]

81. Summary of the debates in the Venetian college on December 21, 1503, including the copy of a letter of the Prince of Moldavia to the Doge of Venice and a letter of the King of Hungary to the Doge of Venice[6]

[579] *A dì 21 dezembrio.* In Colegio, fo San Thomà, veneno l'orator dil ducha Zuan Corvino et l'orator dil valacho di Moldavia. E sentati apresso il principe, per via di do interpreti, quel di Moldavia expose la sua imbasata, mandando a saludar la serenità dil principe e la Signoria da parte di ditto valacho et suo fiol; et che per la malatia sua, pregava la Signoria li desse uno medicho, perchè maistro Mathio che vi andò è morto; e lo vol ben pagar e condurlo a so spexe. Poi disse quanto ditto valacho havia fato contra turchi in favor di la christianità et di la Signoria nostra, et più era per far achadendo il biso= [580] =gno. Et presentò tre lettere; una di credenza; l'altra dil re di Hongaria, e la terza di l'orator nostro in Hongaria. El principe li fè risponder lo vedeva volentieri, e si vederia dir al Colegia di medici ne mandesse uno, e che col sangue potendo lo voria varir. Et dimandato dil mal, disse de li piedi e di le man non si poteva mover ni ajutar; dil resto sta ben; zà li fo fato conseglio di medici di Padoa etc.

Copia di una lettera dil valacho di Moldavia a la Signoria nostra

Stephanus Dei gratia haeres dominusque terrae, vayvoda Moldaviae, salutem ac sincerae dilectionis affectum.

Notum facimus vestrae excellentiae, quemadmodum, et vestra excellentia scire poterit, quia moltocies ad vestram excellentiam nostros homines misimus pro medicis. Tempore item elapso, ad vestram excellentiam pro uno medico miseramus, quem quidem medicum eadem vestra excellentia nobis transmisit; sed idem medicus ad nos egrotus pervenit, ita ut nobis nihil proficere potuit, quem in eadem infirmitate diem clausit; idcirco de hoc vestram excellentiam nos multum regratiamus, bonoque nomine ab eadem vestra excellentia accepimus. Quare et nunc misimus ad eamdem nostrum hominem Theodorum nomine cubicularium nostrum, petentem admodum vestram excellentiam ut nobis mittere dignet eadem vestra excellentia unum medicum ad tempus, quousque vestra excellentia voluerit, qui, nostra aegritudine, nos juvare ac sanari posset, in quo nobis eadem vestra excellentia rem pergratissimam exhibebit, quantoque a modo ab eadem vestra excellentia suscipimus. Quem quidam medicum nos peroptime, pacifice ac honorifice tractemus, ac nutriemus; cumque vero repatriare voluerit, eumdem iterum honorifice ac cum pace emittemus, et redire permitti faciemus ad propria. Quicquid vero praedictus homo noster eidem vestrae excellentiae ex parte nostri duxerit declarandum, eidem fidem adhibere dignemini creditivam, quoniam verba nostra sunt.

Data in castro nostro Zuchaniensi [=Suceava?], die dominico ante festam Galli episcopi, videlicet trigesima mensis octobris, anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo tertio.

A tergo: Illustri et excelso domino Leonardo Lauredano Dei gratia duci Venetiarum, amico nobis dilecto.

[581] *Copia di una lettera del re di Hongaria a la signoria nostra*

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[6] See also *Ibidem*, p. 96-98.

Wladislaus Dei gratia rex Hungariae et Bohemiae etc., illustrissimo principi, domino Leonardo Lauredano duci Venetiarum, amico et confaederato nostro charissimo, salutem et felicium successuum incrementa.

Illustrissime princeps. Cum spectabilis et magnificus Stephanus wayvoda terrae Moldaviensis fidelus noster dilectus, longa et diuturna detineatur aegritudine sitque homo ingravescentis aetatis adeo ut vel ipsa vita sit jam sibi odiosa futura, cupiamusque eumdem, pro ea fidei observantia quam erga nos absque aliqua labe re ipsa semper ostendit declaravitque, diutius victurum, ac ejus aegritudinibus mederi, salutique corporis prorsus consulere, quo, ex diuturnitate vitae suae fructu, tantae suae in nos declaratae fidei pro regnorum nostrorum ulteriore stabilimento diutius perfrui possimus, mittit Venetias usque hos homines suos praesentium latores, pro habendo conducendoque quodam perito expertoque phisico, et curationi aegritudinum ejus generis, quibus wayvoda ipse affligitur, apto et idoneo sufficientique, proinde duximus illam Dominationem vestram rogandam velit, pro satisfactione nostri animi, negotium hoc, praemissis ex causis commendatum habere, ac permittere quod aliquis peritus ad ejus expensas et conduci et pedes istinc libere efferre possit, quin potius commendare alicui ex suis, ut suo iussu atque ope sufficiens idoneusque ejus artis phisicus inveniatur, idque ad singularem suam erga nos hactemus ostensam semper benevolentiam, pro jure mutuae confaederationis sciat certe accessurum, et wayvodae ipsi non tam rem necessariam, quam nobis gratissimam facturam. Quam optamus diu felicem ac incolumen ad sua vota valere.

Datum Budae, nona novembris, anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo tertio, regnorum nostrorum Hungariae etc. anno quarto decimo, Bohemiae vero trigesimo quarto.

F. Iaur *secretarius*

A tergo: Illustrissimo principi, domino Leonardo Lauredano duci Venetiarum, amico et confoederato nostro charissimo.

[...].

[V, 579-581]

82. Summary of the letter delivered by the Venetian ambassador in Hungary, Giovanni Badoer on November 15, 1503

[581] [...].

Di sier Zuan Badoer doctor orator nostro, data a Buda, a dì 15 novembrio. Come, hessendo [582] per partir questi oratori dal signor Stephano valacho, el cardinal ystrigoniense lo ha pregato scrivi in sua recomandation, e voleno uno probo medico al signor suo con favor di la Signoria nostra.

[...].

[V, 581-582]

83. Summary of the letter delivered by the Venetian ambassador in Hungary, Giovanni Badoer on November 24, 1503

[587] [...].

Di Hongaria, di sier Zuan Badoer dotor, orator nostro, date a dì 24 novembrio, a Buda. [...]. *Item*, il re ha conzo le diferentie erano col cardinal Ystrigonia, e il vayvoda transalpino [nota 1: leggi *Transilvano*, qui e altrove.] etc.

[V, 587]

84. Summary of the debates in the Venetian college on December 28, 1503[7]

[616] [...].

A dì 28 dezembrio. In Colegio. [...].

Vene li oratori dil ducha Zuan Corvino, et dil [617] vayvoda di Moldavia per causa dil medico, dicendo haver electo domino Zorzi di Piamonte, e aldito a l'incontro el prior dil colegio di medici dicendo questo non lo haver dato loro, e haveano electo domino Hironimo di Cesena, et che questo non val nulla, et che il salario è ducati 500 a l'anno; et che maistro Alexandro veronese vi anderia. Or foli ditto per il principe non tolesseno questo, che non lo cognoscevemo suficiente; e cussì si partino per veder di uno altro.

[...].

[V, 616-617]

85. Summary of the presentation of the messenger of Duke John Corvinus in Venice on January 2, 1504[8]

[638] [...].

A dì 2 zener. [...].

[639] Veneno l'orator dil ducha Zuan Corvino con l'orator dil vayvoda di Moldavia, per causa dil medico. Et par siano restati di tuor domino Hironimo di Cesena, el qual il colegio di medici lo ha ricordato, è zovene. [...].

[V, 628-639]

86. Summary of the letter delivered by the Venetian ambassador in the German Empire, Giovanni Francesco Beneti on December 20, 1503

[739] [...].

Di Zuan Francesco di Beneti, date a Viena, a dì 20 dezembrio. [...]. [740] [...].

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[7] See also *Ibidem*, p. 99.

[8] See also *Ibidem*, p. 100.

Dil ditto, di 7. Come sier Zuan Badoer orator, tolse licentia, dal re, e lo fece cavalier. *Item*, fin do zorni, si aspeta do oratori dil re di Polana, vien per le diferentie hanno con Stefano vayvoda per li lochi di Polana toltoli.

[V, 739-740]

87. Summary of the letter delivered by the Venetian ambassador in Hungary, Giovanni Badoer on December 24, 1503

Di sier Zuan Badoer dotor, orator nostro in Hongaria, date a Buda a dì 24 dezembrio [1503]. [...]. [741]

[...].

Dil ditto, di 7. [...]. Or è venuto lì uno orator di Stefano valacho; si aspeta oratori di Polonia vieneno per li lochi tolti à poloni per ditto valacho. [...].

[V, 740-741]

88. Summary of the letter delivered from Hungary by the Venetian secretary, Giovanni Francesco Beneti on February 8, 1504

[953] [...].

Di Hongaria, di Zuan Francesco Beneti secretario, date a Buda a dì 8 fevrer. [...]. *Item*, li oratori poloni sono partiti e hanno rimesso la differentia ha quel re con Stefano vayvoda in ditto re di Hongaria, el qual manda suo orator *supra loco*, [...].

[V, 953]

89. Summary of the letter delivered from Hungary by the Venetian secretary, Giovanni Francesco Beneti on March 3, 1504

[1052] [...].

Di Hongaria, di Zuan Francesco Benetti secretario nostro, date a Buda a dì 3 marzo, e par replichate, tamen non si have. [...].

[1053] [...]. *Item*, zonseno de lì li oratori dil signor Stephano valacho con el medico tolto in Venetia. Steteno lì zorni 3 alogiati in Peste, e il primo giorno di quaresima si partirno.

[...].

[V, 1052-1053]

90. Summary of the letter delivered by the physician Leonardo di Massari to the Venetian ambassador in Hungary, Giovanni Badoer on July 26, 1504[9]

[49] [...].

Summario di una letera, venuta di Hongaria, data a Buda, a dì 26 luio 1504, scrita per domino Lunardo di Massari, phisicho, a sier Zuan Badoer, dotor et caualier.

Come Stefano, vayvoda de Mondavia, era morto; et quel regno esser stà tutto sotto sopra, per far provision che'l non pervegna in le man dil turcho, et tutti quelli zorni fonno sopra di questo; et erano per far cavalchar le zente versso quelle bande; et za bombarde erano messe in hordine per mandarle. Questo, perchè il re volea, che 'l fiol, qual è in Mondavia, et è il primogenito, fosse signor, et non quello che è a presso el turcho. Et quì era fama, che exercito di 60 milia persone dil turcho veniva per occupar la Mondavia. Et per questo il regno era in grande tribulatione; et za era comesso a' transilvani. et *praecipue* a' siculi, li qualli vano *ad bellum per capita*, che tutti fosse a cavallo et a' confini de Valachia, a zò che possesseno socorer, se turchi [50] volesseno occupar ditta Valachia; et *in praesentiarum* se mandeva zente, *tamen* crede che non sarà bisogno, perchę el fiol, che era in Valachia, è stà creato vayvoda *vivente patre*, et tutti li cridò fidelità. Il modo è questo. Siando esso Stephano impiagado le gambe, et *aliqualiter* reducte, in un momento se comenzò a largar le piage; et come ha inteso, li medici pronosticono esso esser spazato, et li deno el fuogo a la piage. Et per consejo di maistro Hironimo da Cesena, medicho el qual andò questo anno, mandato per la Signoria, et uno zudio, medico de l'imperator di tartari, *statim inter principales barones orta est dissentio* di elezer el novo signor: alcuni voleano el fiol che era a presso di lui; alcuni voleano l'altro era a presso el gran turcho, et *ambae factiones certabant de pari. Tandem* questo vene a le orechie de Stefano vayvoda, el qual era *propinquus morti*, el qual, cossì come in vita et sanità, *ita* in morte monstrò esser et terribile et prudente: *quia, cumintellexit dissentionem, statim fecit se portare in campum*, dove era tutti li soi, et *principes factionis utriusque*, li fè pigliar tutti et li fè morir; *tunc habuit orationem*, che lui cognosse che 'l hę per morir *in brevi*, et che 'l non pol più reger et defenderli; *ita* che lui non voleva altro, *nisi* che lhor elezesseno uno signor, el qual paresse a lhor che fosse più atto a rezerli et defenderli da li inimici, et che esso non proponeva più uno fiol che l'altro. Alhora tutti elexeno el fiol primo genito, che era a presso di lui, quello el qual lui volleva; et *sic* esso *iterum* si fè portar fora, et messe el fiol in sedia sua, et fè zurar tutti fidelità; et *sic ante mortem creavit filium vayvodam*. Poi tornò in lecto et in do zorni *reddidit spiritum*. Et poi morite, lo ambassador dil fiol è zonto ozi qui; et *fertur* che 'l non sia vero de' turchi, et che resterà costui vayvoda, e non serà guerra, che Idio voglia, perchè *si esset aliter*, et che turchi pigliasse quel locho, Polonia et Hongaria saria spazata, et *ex consequenti* tota Italia et christianità. Et era fati oratori per mandar al papa *pro subsidio istius belli*; prima era fato, per mandar presto, el vescovo de Octozaz; et li oratori in Polonia sono partiti, el Nitria *etc.*, *tamen* spero non sarà 0. *Item*, come *post scripta* ha recevuto una letera di maistro Hironimo di Cesena sopra nominato. Li scrive, el fiol è stà electo vayvoda; e cognoscendo lui, e li baroni, non esser stà difeto de li medici, hanno promesso de remandarli tutti *honorifice*. Vero è, che uno barbier di Buda è stà remandato, et el miedego zudio de l'imperator di tartari; ma esso [51] maistro Hironimo dubita non esser retenuto de lì, e lo prega, fazi il re scriva una letera in sua recomandatione, et che

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[9] See also *Ibidem*, p. 101-104.

prega il nostro secretario; e cussì la farà far e manderala per l'ambassador è lì. *Item*, la Boemia era in gran dubio, per la disension che sono, che tra lhoro non fosse guerra, *tamen* si à 'uto letere, che le cosse è acordate; si tien certo, si 'l non seguirà novità in Valachia, che 'l re anderà in Boemia. [...].

[...].

[VI, 49-51]

91. Summary of the letter delivered by the physician Leonardo di Massari to the Venetian ambassador in Hungary, Giovanni Badoer on November 25, 1504

[98] [...].

Et Jo vidi una letera, pur di Hongaria, data a dì 25 [novembre], *a Buda, scrive Lunardo di Masseri, phisico, a Sier Zuan Badoer, stato orator de lì, di questo tenor* videlicet. Si dice, el vayvoda moldavo, fiol dil morto, meteva in hordine un gran exercito, di 40 in 50 milia persone, e verso che parte el voja andar non se intende; et era venuto un messo a posta dil valacho transalpin, a dir questo al re. [...].

[...].

[VI, 98]

92. Summary of the events occurred in the Venetian college on February 3, 1506

[290] [...].

Dil mexe di fevrer 1505.

[...].

A dì 3. La matina veneno in colegio do oratori dil vayvoda di Moldavia, sotto et vicino al re di Hongaria, ch'è gran signor in quelli paexi, et è morto il padre, vechio, nominato Stephano, successe il fiol Bogdam, el qual à tolto per moglie la sorela dil re [291] di Hongaria, et ha mandato questi oratori, et uno altro, qual morì in camino, nominato domino Bernardo, per comprar zoje e panni d'oro e di seda. I quali, mandati a levar di la caxa dove alozavano, a San Lio, da uno Gregorio, per li cai di 40 et savij ai ordeni, venuti in colegio, sentati a presso el principe, presentono do letere di credenza, una dil suo signor, l'altra dil re di Hongaria, in sua recomandatione; et presentono poi do mazi di pelle di zebelini, et do mazi di armelini, e do lovi zivrieni al doxe. Et il titolo di lettera di credenza è questo: *Bogdanus, Dei gratia haeres perpetuus dominusque ac vayvoda regni moldavensis, datae in arce nostra Zuchaniensi, 8 octubrio 1505. Et nomina oratorum sunt: dominus Hieremias, thesaurarius, Bernardus, castelanus, qui obiit, et Georgius Thavernicus.* El principe li charezò, oferendossi in ogni lhoro bisogno; et cussì starano in questa terra alcuni zorni per far ditti servicij.

[...].

[VI, 290-291]

93. Summary of the events occurred on February 19, 1506

[297] [...].

A dì 19 fevrer, fo il zuoba di la caza. [...]. Fo grandissima zente, [...]. Vi fu col principe l'orator di Franza et li do di Moldavia, et il cuxin dil marchexe di Mantoa. [...].

[...].

[VI, 297]

94. Summary of the events occurred on May 21, 1506

[341] [...].

A dì 21 [maggio]. La matina il doxe andò in bucintoro a sposar il mar. [...]. *Etiam* fono a disnar col principe, *videlicet* drio li oratori di Franza e Spagna, l'orator dil re di Tunis, moro, e li do oratori dil valacho *etc.*

[...].

[VI, 341]

95. Summary of the events occurred on June 11, 1506

[350] [...].

A dì 11 [giugno], *fo el zorno dil Corpo di Christo.* [...]. Era il principe con li oratori Franza, Spagna et Hongaria, eri zonto, come dirò poi. *Item*, dil valacho do oratori, et di Ferrara, et alcuni gran maestri pelegrini, [...].

[...].

[VI, 350]

96. Description of the Ottoman Empire

[5] *Serenissimo ac excellentissimo principi et domino, domino Leonardo Lauredano, Dei gratia Venetiarum duci excellentissimo*

[8] [...].

De il suo gran potter de' paesi

Quanto sia granda la amplitudine degli paesi che questo signor domina, principe serenissimo, assai credo che sia notto a la serenità vostra: che gli suoi confini siano quasi incominciando a presso al Friul nostro, et, distendandossi per la via del mare, si congiongino con li termini de la Soria, et da quella, per l'altra volta, con la Persia et Tartaria; et haver tuto il Mar Mazore a suo governo, che volze da III mila miglia; et, da l'altra banda poi, con boemi, polani et tute due le Vlachie (degli qualli re vlachi, l'uno gli rende obedientia et l'altro non); et se ne retorni da capo per i confini de l'Ungaria a presso al Friul predicto.

[VII, 5-24]

97. Summary of an unofficial letter delivered from Rome in July 1507

[119] [...].

Di Roma [luglio]. [...]. [120] [...]. *Item*, dil zonzer di uno orator di Transilvana contra il moldavio, per discordie. [...].

[...].

[VII, 119-120]

98. Summary of the letter delivered by the Venetian secretary in Buda, Vincenzo Guido in July 1507

[...].

Di Hongaria, di Vicenzo Guidoto, secretario. [...]. *Item*, è li oratori di Transilvana, per dimandar al re quello diebano risponder al turco, che li à mandato a dir mandi soi oratori a lui, per cessar le discordie tra il mondavio e transilvano *etc.* [...].

[VII, 120]

99. Summary of the events occurred on August 14, 1507, including the summary of the report of the Venetian secretary in Buda, Vincenzo Guidoto, received on August 6, 1507

[129] [...].

A dì 14 [agosto], *fo la vizilia di Nostra Dona.* [...]. Et è da saper, a hore 16 ½ zonse in colegio letere di Hongaria, di Vicenzo Guidoto, secretario, date a Buda, a dì 6, venute prestis= [130] =sime, e di gran importantia. Scrive, come hessendo col reverendissimo cardinal ystrigoniense quel zorno, il re li mandò a mostrar una letera li scriveva el vayvoda transalpino, di 25 luio. Par li sia zonto uno suo nontio da' Costantinopoli, dice il signor turco esser morto, [...].

[...].

[VII, 129-130]

100. Summary of the letter delivered by the Venetian secretary in Buda, Vincenzo Guidoto in October 1507

[180] [...].

Di Hongaria, di Vicenzo Guidoto, secretario, date a Buda, a dì ... [lacună în text] *octubrio*, *molte letere.* [...]. *Item*, è letere di li vayvoda di Mondovia e moscoviti, che tartari si preparavano contra polani. [...].

[VII, 180]

101. Summary of the letter delivered by the Venetian secretary in Buda in December 1507

[232] [...].

Di Hongaria, date a Buda, dil secretario [dicembre]. [...]. *Item*, il re havia adatà quelle discordie dil mondavo con el transalpino. [...].

[VII, 232]

102. Summary of a letter delivered from Buda on February 7, 1508

[301] [...].

Di Hongaria, di 7 di questo [febbrajo]. [...]. *Item*, che era venuto uno orator dil moldavio a dir, turchi feva amicitio con il tartaro, e saria danno *etc.* [...].

[...].

[VII, 301]

103. Summary of the letters delivered by the Venetian secretary in Buda, Vincenzo Guido on April 24, 25 and 29, 1508

[465] [...].

Di Hongaria, di Vicenzo Guidoto, secretario, di 24, 25 et 29 april. [...]. [466] [...]. *Item*, discordie tra quelli transalpini, zoè il transilvano et il mondavio; e par il turco voi ajutar uno, il re non vol se impazì, e più presto veria a la guerra. [...].

[...].

[VII, 465-466]

104. Summary of the letters delivered from Buda in 1508

[553] [...].

Di Hongaria più letere, numero X, perchè avanti non erano potuto venir, per esser le strade rote, et ne è de vechie et di nove [giugno]. [...]. *Item*, di la morte dil vayvoda transalpino; et era stà fato uno altro, qual *etiam* era amalato, et si dubitava di la soa vita. [...].

[...].

[VII, 553]

105. Summary of the letter delivered by the Venetian secretary in Buda, Vincenzo Guidoto in July 1508

[591] [...].

Di Hongaria, di Vicenzo Guidoto, secretario [luglio]. [...]. *Item*, che quel vayvoda transalpino, che fu fato per il turco, à mandato a dir al re, vol esser bon christiano e aidar la fede; e ben che il turcho l'habi posto a quel stato, *tamen* vol esser amico di soa majestà e di la fede. [...].

[...].

[VII, 591]

106. Summary of the letters delivered by the Venetian secretary in Buda, Vincenzo Guido in August 1508

[613] [...].

Di Hongaria, di Vicenzo Guidoto, secretario, più letere, date a Buda [agosto 1508]. Come il vayvoda transalpino, qual con favor dil turco si à fato, tien turchi a la soa guardia; et il re, dubitando che quella parte non vadi soto il turco, che saria la ruina di Hongaria, à terminà far zente et veder di placar quella parte e redurla come prima, [...].

[...].

[VII, 613]

107. Summary of the letter delivered by the Venetian secretary in Buda, Vincenzo Guido in September 1508

[640] [...].

Di Hongaria, di Vicenzo Guidoto, secretario, più letere, date a Buda [settembre]. [...]. *Item*, che hanno fato dieta per le cosse dil vayvoda transalpino tien col turcho; et vedendo che lui à scrito vol esser bon christian et col regno di Hongaria, hanno terminà, più presto *pacifice* aquietar le cosse, cha con le arme, et tratano questo acordo. [...].

[...].

[VII, 640]

(*to be continued*)

REVIEWS, BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Controlling the Past

Documenting Society and Institutions. Essays in Honor of Helen Willa Samuels **(ed. by Terry Cook), Chicago, Society of American Archivists, 2011, 434 S.**

Die Arbeit an der vorliegenden Festschrift wurde 2004 anlässlich der Verabschiedung von H. W. Samuels in den Ruhestand begonnen. Neunzehn Archivarinnen und Archivare mit langjähriger Berufserfahrung und Helen Willa Samuels selbst kommen mit ihren Sichtweisen und Konzepten zu Wort. Sie widmen sich jeweils aus dem Blickwinkel ihres speziellen Arbeitsgebietes der Frage, wie die Dokumentation moderner Gesellschaften und ihrer Institutionen im 21. Jahrhundert sichergestellt werden kann. Sie reflektieren amerikanische, kanadische und südafrikanische Herangehensweisen an die Bestandsbildung und Bewertung, die sie in Forschung und Lehre oder/und in leitender Position entwickelt und erprobt haben.

Das Buch besteht aus den zwei Hauptabschnitten "*Documenting Society*" und "*Representing Archives / Being Archival*". Diesen Abschnitten sind zwei spezielle rückblickende Reflexionen nachgestellt.

Im einleitenden Essay beschreibt der Herausgeber Terry Cook den Einfluss der Ideen von Helen Willa Samuels auf die archivische Arbeit im nordamerikanischen Raum und darüber hinaus. Er nimmt Bezug auf ihren Artikel von 1986 "*Who Controls the Past*", mit dem H. W. Samuels den Geist von G. Orwells "*1984*" beschworen hat. Darin leitet sie aus der Orwellschen Beschreibung "*who controls the past, controls the future; who controls the present, controls the past*" die Aufgabe des modernen Archivars ab und fordert ein grundlegendes Umdenken und eine bewusste Ausübung der archivischen Funktion der Bewertung. Die Bewertung wird als die entscheidende archivarische Tätigkeit charakterisiert. Von H. W. Samuels und R. Cox wurde die Bewertung als, erste Verantwortung' (Samuels/Cox *The Archivist's First Responsibility: A Research Agenda to Improve the Identification and Retention of Records of Enduring Value*, "American Archivist" 51, 1988) bezeichnet, von der alles andere abhängt. Diese Aussage wird ausführlich und nachvollziehbar begründet und dargelegt, warum Bewertung ein nie endender Prozess ist. Es wird aufgezeigt, wie sich die Rolle der Archivare in der Gesellschaft verändert hat und dass Helen Willa Samuels durch die Entwicklung von Dokumentationsstrategien und die von ihr geforderte institutionelle Funktionsanalyse ein *key player* in diesem Prozess war. Viele der Autorinnen und Autoren lernten sie im Rahmen ihrer langjährigen Tätigkeit als Archivarin des Massachusetts Institute of Technology (197702004) kennen und/oder haben mit ihr im Rahmen ihrer Mitgliedschaft in der Society of American Archivists (SAA) zusammen gearbeitet und publiziert.

Einen Gesamtblick auf die Thematik der Festschrift bietet Terry Cook im Passus "*Unfolding the Themes oft he Book*", in dem er beschreibt wie die Beiträge zusammenpassen und wie sich daraus die Fragen der modernen Dokumentation ableiten lassen. Die im ersten Hauptabschnitt enthaltenen neun Beiträge beschäftigen sich mit den unterschiedlichen Kontexten, in denen Archivare ihre Bewertungsentscheidungen treffen und somit das dokumentarische Vermächtnis der Vergangenheit für die Zukunft bilden. Sie kontrollieren die Vergangenheit, obwohl sie selbst durch den Archivträger, durch Technologien, kulturelle und politische Verhältnisse determiniert sind. Der Archivar ist durch seinen oder ihren Kontext begrenzt und wird eindringlich ermuntert, seine Bewertungsentscheidungen transparent zu machen. Ausgehend von Samuels Leitmotiv für Archivare: "*ask questions, listen, find that next question ...*" auch und gerade, um ihre Bewertungsentscheidungen fundiert treffen zu können, entwickelt der Autor Tom Nesmith (Kanada) weiterführende Fragestellungen, um Samuels Konzept zu aktualisieren. Er fragt u.a. nach Theorien und Konzepten für die Bewertung und argumentiert, dass Forscher Zugang haben müssen zu den Fragestellungen des Archivars, die den Bestandsbildungs- und Bewertungsentscheidungen zugrunde liegen. So könnten Benutzer und künftige Archivare ein fundiertes Verständnis des Kontextes und zu den Geschichten der Überlieferungen entwickeln.

Der Beitrag von Gregory Sanford (Vermont State Archivist) bekräftigt den Wert der tieferen Kontextualisierung und Befragung. Sanford hat als Berufsanfänger gemeinsam mit Samuels am MIT gearbeitet und den Wert von oral history Projekten für die Erkundung des Kontextes von Überlieferungen untersucht. Der Archivar braucht aktive Partnerschaften, um die Archivalien und ihre Kontexte zu untersuchen und zugänglich zu machen. Die Wahrnehmung des Trägers der Archive verändert sich, sobald ein Service oder eine Dienstleistung angeboten wird, den der Träger selbst, Journalisten oder die Öffentlichkeit abfragen. Mit der Erfüllung bestehender Informationsbedürfnisse wird der Weg für eine Einbeziehung des Archivs in institutionelle Entscheidungen zum Records Management einschließlich der elektronischen Aktenführung bereitet.

Die Fragen der Kontextualisierung werden auch in den Beiträgen von Joan Schwartz und Nancy Barlett bezogen auf die Photographie (Schwartz) bzw. auf Farbe ("*The Complication of Color in an Academic Archive*") betrachtet. Die folgenden drei Beiträge von Richard Cox, Bruce Bruemmer und Robert Horton beschäftigen sich mit modernen Institutionen und ihren speziellen Dokumentationsproblemen. R. Cox reflektiert die Auswirkungen moderner "*record-making*" Technologien (vom Photokopierer bis zum papierlosen Büro mit elektronischer Aktenführung, eMail-Korrespondenz und Internetzugang) und fordert die Weiterentwicklung der Bewertungsinstrumentarien auf der Basis des von Helen Samuels entwickelten Konzeptes. B. Bruemmer beklagt die geringe Beachtung der "*Corporate Archives*", die unter anderen Bedingungen als Behördenarchive geführt werden und an die von ihren vornehmlich internen Benutzern ganz andere Erwartungen gestellt werden. Im Interesse einer möglichst umfassenden Dokumentation der Gesellschaft brauche es die Vielfalt der Archive. Bei allen Unterschieden sei es wichtig, dass diese Archive ihren Platz im Berufsverband SAA behalten und ihn als Forum des Austausches über berufliche Fragen und Strategien nutzen.

Ausgehend von Samuels Grundsatz, dass die wichtigste Rolle der Archivare jene als Analysten, Planer und Vertreter sei, die ein Bewusstsein für dokumentarische Probleme schaffen, fordert Robert Horton die Archivare auf, anpassungsfähig zu sein, Kooperationen und Partnerschaften einzugehen und ihre eigenen Strategien und Konzepte ständig unter den veränderten Bedingungen in Frage stellen. In Bezug auf neue Technologien (digitale Arbeitsumgebungen) empfiehlt er eine Erweiterung der Perspektive, um übergreifende Lösungen entwickeln zu können.

Mit den Herausforderungen des digitalen Zeitalters beschäftigen sich die abschließenden zwei Beiträge des ersten Hauptabschnitts. Rick Barry ("*Keeping Records in Changing Organizations*") leitet aus den Versäumnissen beim Wechsel von analogen zu digitalen Systemen neun detaillierte Vorschläge (S. 209-211) ab, die Archivare und Records Manager in die Lage versetzen sollen, auf die veränderten Bedingungen und Kommunikationssysteme adäquat zu reagieren. Richard Katz und Paul Gandel nähern sich den Herausforderungen aus der Sicht von IT-Spezialisten. Sie vergleichen vier Hauptetappen der Archivwissenschaft (als Archivy 1.0, 2.0, 3.0 und 4.0 benannt) und stellen die Veränderungen und Herausforderungen für die archivarische Tätigkeit gegenüber.

Im zweiten Hauptabschnitt der Festschrift steht der Umgang mit den im Rahmen der Bewertung ausgewählten Unterlagen im Mittelpunkt und es wird reflektiert, wer dokumentiert. Die Autoren untersuchen, wie bei der Masse an Dokumenten und verschiedenartigen Medien eine effiziente Verzeichnung sichergestellt werden kann und wie der Kontext zu erfassen ist. David Bearman und Elizabeth Yakel entwickeln in ihren Beiträgen Alternativen zur traditionellen Archivierung und den bisher benutzten Verfahren der inhaltlichen und formalen Erschließung. Bearmann nutzt Computer für komplexe Analysen von Dokumenten (unter Berücksichtigung der Dokumentenstruktur) und über Datenbanken hinweg. Die Technik bleibt dabei Arbeitsmittel, das dem Archivar stärker wertschöpfende (*value-added*) Recherchen ermöglicht. Yakel ("*Who Represents the Past? Archives, Records, and the Social Web*") wirbt dafür, dass der Archivar im Zeitalter von Web 2.0 seine/ihre Isolation und einseitige Kommunikation mit den Benutzern aufgeben soll zugunsten einer zeitgemäßen *multiple-way conversation* der Interessenten an der Vergangenheit, bei der Archivar zum Partner wird. Die Vision des "*moving from archival authority to shared authority*" (S. 275) beinhaltet die Einladung an die Aktenproduzenten und die Benutzer, den Archivar bei der Beschreibung des Inhaltes zu unterstützen, so dass dieser sich verstärkt der Kontextualisierung zuwenden kann. Damit kann eine grundlegend andere Beziehung zwischen Aktenproduzenten, Archivaren und Benutzern begründet werden. Anknüpfend an H. W. Samuels Modell des „collaborative team of stakeholders working on a documentation strategy" entsteht das neue Paradigma (Terry Cook S. 15) der *representation of archives* in gemeinsamer Verantwortung von "*creators, archivists and users*".

In den folgenden Beiträgen wird dem Naturell der Archivare (und Archivarinnen) nachgegangen. Die Autoren Brien Brothman, Fran Blouin, James O'Toole, Verne Harris und Randall Jimerson setzen sehr verschiedene Akzente der Betrachtung, die hier nicht einzeln besprochen werden können, obgleich ein jeder eine differenzierte Betrachtung verdient hätte. Ausgehend von der Analyse der im Archivwesen ihrer Länder entstandenen Theorien, Konzepte, Strategien und Methoden stellen die Autoren ihre Überlegungen über den Charakter des modernen Archivars und seiner speziellen Perspektive vor. Das schließt die Frage nach der Identität des Archivars in Vergangenheit und Zukunft ein.

Die besondere Bedeutung der von H. W. Samuels und Terry Cook entwickelten Konzepte und Ideen stellt Verne Harris (Südafrika) in seinem Beitrag "*Ethics and the Archive: 'An Incessant Movement of Recontextualisation'*" dar, den er mit vier Grundthesen (S. 345/346) aus ihren Arbeiten einleitet. Harris betont den fortwährenden Einfluss von Samuels und Cook auf die archivische Theorie und Praxis. Anhand konkreter Beispiele (Aktenvernichtungen in der Übergangsphase vom Apartheid System zur Demokratie; Durchsicht des Überlieferungen aus der Gefängniszeit von Nelson Mandela) wird dargestellt, welche Auswirkungen die Machtverhältnisse auf die Archivarbeit haben können. Professional Codexes sind aus seiner Sicht nicht unbedingt dafür geeignet, die drängenden ethischen Fragen in gesellschaftlichen Umbruchsituationen zu beantworten. Hier ist der Archivar mit seinem Verantwortungsbewusstsein und seinen moralischen Werten, seinem Berufsethos, gefragt.

Jimerson nimmt die Schriften von Georg Orwell, auf die Samuels Bezug genommen hat, in den Focus und leitet aus der Betrachtung die Verantwortung und die Herausforderungen für Archivare heute und in der Zukunft ab. Archivare zählen zu den "*Information professionals*" die in Wahrnehmung ihrer beruflichen moralischen Verantwortung dafür Sorge tragen, dass in demokratischen Gesellschaften ein Gleichgewicht hergestellt wird zwischen der Überlieferungen der Machthabenden und derer, die bisher marginalisiert und stimmlos waren. Er fordert: "*Documenting society requires attention both to the leaders and to the common citizens, to voices of power and to victims of oppression.* [...] *Along with librarians, curators, records managers, and others, archivists should commit themselves to the values of public accountability, open government, cultural diversity, and social justice.*" (S. 377/378)

In den einleitenden Worten zu den Reflexionen über ausgewählte Schriften von H. W. Samuels betont die Autorin Elisabeth Kaplan, dass Samuels stets nach der Devise gearbeitet hat, die aus der Archivpraxis und der begleitenden theoretischen Bearbeitung gewonnenen Erkenntnisse mit anderen zu teilen. Sie verfasste Artikel, aber auch Guidelines und Fallstudien, um ihr Wissen weiterzugeben. Aus diesem Fundus wurden Publikationen (teilweise in Ko-Autorschaft mit Kolleginnen und Kollegen) aus den Jahren 1981 bis 2006 ausgewählt, denen eine besondere Bedeutung zugeschrieben werden. Diese wurden thematisch gruppiert, ihre Hauptinhalte zusammengefasst und eine kurze Einführung in den Kontext der Entstehung bzw. den Stand der Fachdiskussion gegeben.

Mit "*Learnings: Weaving It All Together*" als persönliche Reflexion bekommt Helen Willa Samuels in der Form eines Nachwortes die Gelegenheit, Personen, die ihren Lebensweg beeinflusst haben, zu benennen und von der Art ihrer Einflussnahme auf dem Berufsweg von der Musikbibliothekarin zur Universitätsarchivarin (University of Cincinnati 1972-1977; MIT ab 1977) zu berichten. Sehr früh auf diesem Weg wurde sie in die Gemeinschaft des amerikanischen Berufsverbandes SAA aufgenommen. In den Folgejahren war Samuels in verschiedenen Komitees des SAA aktives Mitglied. Mit Unterstützung des SAA konnte H. W. Samuels gemeinsam mit Tim Ericson und Richard Cox von 1987 bis 1990 eine Seminarreihe zu Dokumentationsstrategien anbieten. Kanadische Kollegen luden sie 1989/1990 ein, das Konzept der Dokumentationsstrategien vorzustellen. Ihre Fragen und ihre Kritik spornten Samuels an, ihre Theorien zu vervollkommnen.

Die Lektüre der Festschrift lässt den Leser / die Leserin eintauchen in die fachlichen Diskussionen der zurückliegenden 30 Jahre, vornehmlich im nordamerikanisch geprägten Archivwesen. Aber der Band ist alles andere als eine retrospektive Darstellung! Alle Beiträge zu dem gewählten Oberthema sind prospektiv angelegt. Aus ihnen spricht die hohe Wertschätzung für Helen Willa Samuels und ihre Mitstreiter. Ihr Werk wird als Ausgangspunkt genutzt, um die Archivtheorie weiterzuentwickeln und anwendungsfähige Konzepte für die Praxis bereitzustellen. Die Verfasserin wünscht der Festschrift und den Schriften von H. W. Samuels eine breite Leserschaft.

Christine Gohsmann

Energy Security, Economic Politics, Strategies and Implications **(ed. by Carlos Pascual and Jonathan Elkind), Washington DC, Brookings Institution Press, 2010, 279 p.**

"Interesting" is a term less desirable in book reviews. However, it is the best word to describe this volume, which deals with very actual topics of international politics, geopolitics and environmental sciences. It is set up by two active US diplomats – Carlos Pascual, US Ambassador in Mexico and previously in Ukraine, and Jonathan Elkind, currently principal deputy assistant secretary for policy and international energy at the US Department of Energy. It includes several studies that deal with very contemporary issues of energy politics. Most of the contributors are experts currently working at the Brookings Institution and the combination of their writings offers to the reader not only an enjoyable lecture, but also an interdisciplinary image of the current issue of fossil-based energy.

As structure, the volume is composed by three parts and ten studies. Entitled "Geopolitics", the first part contains four studies that deal with certain issues of geopolitics, the relationship between energy production and supply. The first study, signed by Carlos Pascual and Evie Zambetakis, "The Geopolitics of Energy: from Security to Survival" has a general feature and is also an introductory synthesis, which refers to contemporary key issues of contemporary energy politics on the Great Powers' level from a global perspective. Suzanne Maloney's "Energy Security in the Persian Gulf: Opportunities and Challenges" presents the evolution of the historical context of the Middle East's oil resources having a special focus on changes brought by Khomeini's religious revolution, and its consequences. "The Road Ahead" formulates several suggestions for US foreign policy in the issue of making the supply from this region be more secure using "soft" (diplomatic) tools. Michael O'Hanlon's writing, "How much does the United States Spend Protecting Persian Gulf Oil" comes somehow to complete the previous chapter, but offers much more references to the features of an economic analysis, which operates with a lot of statistical data. A very interesting work is Arica S. Downs's study, "Who's Afraid of China's Oil Companies?", which is based on a previous study of the author's, "The Fact and Fiction of Sino-African Energy Relations", published in "China Security Journal" in 2007. The first statement of this study is that lots of people fear of the competition of Chinese oil companies worldwide, but – according to her opinion – "contrary to conventional wisdom, China's NOCs are not merely puppets of the Chinese party-state" and they are far from being a real danger regarding monopolization of the world's oil resources. Even in many regions like Africa and Central Asia, they take some serious advantage in front of Western corporations. This study is especially well-documented and illustrated by tables, statistics and diagrams.

The second topic of the volume, entitled "Understanding Energy Interdependence" includes three studies written in an interdisciplinary manner. The first of them, "Making Sense of Energy Independence", beside being well illustrated by statistics (for example, the statistics of global forecast of oil consumption), has a major theoretic-philosophic approach. Jonathan Elkind's "Energy Security. Call for a Broader Agenda" is not only a scientific study, but also a policy-making one: it synthesizes the author's ideas regarding how should the energy policy of the Obama government manifest itself, which purposes has to be fixed and what strategies could they be reached through. Similar structure, but different approach has Ann Florini's "Global Governance and Energy", which is also about energy-economy-strategy relations, but in a global approach and having strong environmental aspects.

The part three, "Climate Change", also contains three studies: "Features of Climate-Smart Metropolitan Economies" deals with the equation of urban energy consumption-environmental health; "Understanding the Interaction between Energy, Security and Climate Change Policy" treats in 40 pages the rise of fossil-fuel consumption, its impact over the environment, and the possible future directions of energy security politics. Finally, the study of William Antholis, "Five G's Lessons from World Trade for Governing Global Climate" contains some moderate critical comments of current WTO energy politics.

The book has as its key concept the extremely realistic statement that the vastness of global energy production still comes from fossil fuels, and in the present environment of international relations and environmental politics and strategies, there exists a real need for having a coherent, global energy security. It is remarkable that although most of the authors are committed to the US governmental structures, the style and terminology used is very analytic, distant, objective, rather than a 'patriotic' one. Since it also contains some problem-solving prescriptions – it is true, only on a theoretical level – these could be attempted to be applied. They certainly represent some original, interesting ideas, worthily to be considered and that might contribute to these evolutions in a constructive manner.

Artur Lakatos

***Homeland Security. Threats, Countermeasures, and Privacy Issues* (ed. by Giorgio Franceschetti, Marina Grossi), Boston-London, Artechhouse Publishers, 2011, 254 p.**

This book is practically a collection of studies, based on the works of International Workshop on Homeland Security, held in Italy to the end of September 2009. In the same time, the book is not intended to represents only the simple proceedings of the workshop, but by a unified, updated structure, a complete synthesis of the issue of what homeland security means nowadays.

The book is structured on 13 chapters, each of them having in its composition several subchapters, which are dealing with a concept or a particular case-study on their turn. The first chapter, "The New Vision of the Homeland Security Scenario", represents practically the introduction in the wider problematic, by presenting a brief history of homeland security challenges, illustrated by several case-studies like the Tokyo chemical attack, London bombings by Al-Qaeda, or the Beslan hostage crisis until seemingly banal, but basically very serious threats like Vandal cut of cables or computer worms. The whole chapter is focused upon the idea of scenario, or, according to the use of the authors, the Homeland Security (HS) Scenario. Chapter two, "Homeland Security and National defense in the Twenty-First Century", deals with some even deeper aspects of HS Scenario, applied to post-Cold War realities. Threat- and risk- counterfeiting scenarios are designed to general characteristics of these relations, defined by the authors as "New World", which is based on a thesis according to which after the fall of the Berlin Wall the global political landscape evolved into a new equilibrium, characterized especially by regional balances of powers, a new system in which some are stronger than others, but no one is invulnerable. At the end of the chapter, a case-study of possible implementation of the so-called network-Enabled Capability (NEC) in Italy is presented.

Chapter three, "Homeland Security and Challenges in Information Systems" has the features of a synthesis, by presenting an overview of currently existing information- and communication technologies, with all of their strong and weak points, complexities and vulnerabilities. The two case studies are represented by advantages and vulnerability of internet banking, and by brief presentation of the Parsifal project of the European Union. The next chapter, "Analysis of Emerging Phenomena in Large Complex Systems" represents a managerial-philosophical approach, which has the definition of system as base of the analysis. It deals with theory, applications, and examples of various organizations, heavily illustrated with mathematical calculations and tables and other figures common to statistics.

According to the authors, "the chapter attempts to clarify the emergent aspects of this new Science of complexity, in relation to the large systems operating in the domains of HS and homeland Defense (HD)".

The chapter entitled "Model-Based Design of trustworthy Health Information Systems" represents an incursion into management of sanitary systems, having a particular accent on patient-centered clinical information management and on information flowing inside of the systems specific to healthcare industry. "Urban defense Using Mobile Sensor Platforms: Surveillance, protection and Privacy" deals with the issue of security in urban areas, giving a special importance to the role of video cameras, static or mobile. "Detection and Identification of Dangerous Materials for Airport Security", written by three Italian practicing experts, introduces the reader into the world of airport security measures, which are more complex and more difficult to refer to as it seems to be at first sight, both from the point of view of personnel activity and of technology. "Privacy Versus Security: A Fight that May Turn into an Alliance" deals with the recently debated issue of personal privacy, whose relevance in the HS scenario is increasing, and it is often a concept opposed – in theoretical and practical debates – to the concept of security: for performing a working security, nowadays often privacy has to be violated by authorities. The chapter concludes that privacy is a basic value of our society and shares the same need of protection as security and safety, along the same lines of implementation, and also offers a new model, the so-called archetypal approach, which is aimed to be a new standard of public-private relationship for the sake of social security. The ninth chapter, edited by Stephen B. Wicker, "Privacy-Aware Design for the Monitoring, Control and Protection of Critical Infrastructure", deals with the potential of sensing systems in protecting critical infrastructures, even on the level of a typical household. Chapter 10, "Military Defense, Civil Defense, and Civil Protection Integration in a Multiscenario Crisis Event", signed by Robert Mugavero, approaches the field of international relations, by describing the experience – in which the author was personally involved in – of organizing and managing the security of the G8 Summit 2009, which took place in the city of L'Aquila, Italy. The last chapter, "Repel Borders!" has as subject the Piracy scenario, and the systems of measures to combat it, using as case study the recently designed POMPEIUS antipiracy system. There are no general conclusions at the end: every single chapter, designed to be as an independent unit from the others, has on its own conclusions to the end of it.

By reading this book, one could be impressed by its multidisciplinarity and by the manner in which it attempts to offer a complex image of what the term 'security' means nowadays.

Artur Lakatos

Lybien. Geschichte-Lanschaft-Gesellschaft-Politik **(Hg. Fritz Edlinger, Erwin M. Ruprechtsberger), Vienna, Promedia Druck- und verlagsges, 2009, 241 p.**

For some very obvious political reasons, the attention of International Community, on both media and academic level, has grown in the last years toward the situation in Libya, Arabic country from Northern Africa. This volume is the result of the efforts of several Austrian and other German-speaking scholars, whose main purpose has been to set up a complete synthesis, for all those who are interested in this specific issue, from the very basic knowledge related to the country's general past and geography to several contemporary and very specific issues, like the famous Lockerbie incident, the travel description of the Austrian traveler Ludwig Salvator in 1873 to Libya or the issue of the Tuareg community in Libya. The two coordinators of the volume are both well known specialists in the issue, although their different type of intellectual formation could suggest different ways of approach: Fritz Eblinger, beside his studies in history, German studies and political sciences and his academic work in these fields, is currently the general secretary of "Gesselschaft für Österreichisch-Arabische Beziehungen" from Vienna, while Erwin Ruprechtberger is a well-qualified scholar in archeology and classics. As for the authors of the 13 studies that are enclosed in the volume, the eldest one is Gottfried Tichy, born in 1942, Professor in geology and paleontology, while the youngest one, Eva Bund, born in 1984, was still in the moment of the publishing of this volume an MA student in cultural geography and pedagogy, having her major interests in Arab communities and migration issues. The wide variety of topics and intellectual formation of the authors are giving to this book a real multidisciplinary background.

Signed by one of the editors, Erwin M. Ruprechtsberger himself, the first study deals with the pre-history and history of Libya before its Arab conquest. Having as title "*Libyen- urgeschichte bis frühislamische zeit*", it synthesizes the history of the area from the Paleolithic to the end of the Byzantine domination. The following study, signed by the same author, is dealing with the issue of the Garamant state, a nation mentioned for the first time by Herodotus, probably from Sahara, whose rule ended before the Roman conquest. In his study, "*Geschichte Libyens in islamischer Zeit*", Herbert Eisenstein makes a synthesis of Muslim Libya, focusing upon Cyrenaica and Tripoli, from its Arab conquest to the end of Italian colonial rule in World War II. Rudolf Agtner's work is a classical study in diplomatic history and deals with the activity of Austrian diplomats on Libyan soil between 1726 and 1974. The study gives less importance to presenting the evolution of global politics in the period treated, probably considering that it has to be part of basic culture of every Specialist: it rather focuses on positivist manner on presenting data, using concrete data, lists of names and a lot of information from original documents of Austrian diplomacy. Brigitta Mader's study is an interesting – in a more belletristic definition, "lovely" – piece of work regarding Ludwig Salvator's journey from 1873. The whole study is abundantly illustrated by drawings representing Ludwig Salvator, which makes the whole study to be more pleasant to be read.

The study signed by Maria Steiner, an Austrian expert of theater and film history, is entitled "*Die Beziehung zwischen Bundeskanzler Bruno Kreisky und*

Lybiens Revolutionsführer Muammar al-Gaddafi" and makes an introduction on issues of contemporary Libya, through an Austrian point of view. By using a prosopographic approach, it refers to the friendship between Bruno Kreisky and the Libyan dictator, until the death of Kreisky in 1990 and offers illustrations from Bruno Kreisky Archive. Almut Besold's "*Lybien gezielte Annaherung an den Westen*" is a synthetic analysis of evolution of post-World War II Libyan foreign policy, focusing upon the country's relations with Western powers – the USA and major European –. It also makes a comparison between the approach of the USA's and the European Community's foreign policies towards Libya, with special accent on years of the 21st century. Ines Kohl's study about Tuaregs proposes the marks of inter- and multidisciplinary approach, having strong marks of ethnographic research and methodology, and relying upon the author's socio-anthropological intellectual formation. The last subchapter is dealing also with the possible future of Libyan Tuareg community, having the options to stay in a united Libya or to follow a separatist way: this later one is probably not supported by Arab countries in general but could open new perspectives in the region especially for the emerging power of China, which already has a strong presence and influence all over sub-Saharan Africa. Gottfried Tichy's study is even more interdisciplinary, and analyzes the impact of geographical and geological realities over the life of people from Libya. Konrad Schliephake focuses on Libyan issues related to natural resources, especially to energy- and water supply management, their strong points and weaknesses, and also the possible future challenges that are expecting in these fields' management in Libya on state-level economy. The following two studies are descriptive-analytic ones and deals with larger issues like the analysis of Libyan population and economics, based on data of recent and current statistics. The enclosing chapter is written by a jurist, Yvonne Schmidt, and deals with the impact of the famous Lockerbie incident over international public opinion, which transformed Gadhafi's state into a rogue, terrorist state, image that could not be demolished not even by Gadhafi's efforts following to 2001, September 11 to join the anti-terrorist global coalition.

Generally speaking, one could state that this present volume is a good contribution for understanding the past and contemporary Libyan realities. Result of a comprehensive collective work, set up by efforts combined of specialists from various fields of science, it is a reliable synthesis. It could represent a bibliography for future research activities in this field. The project still can be expanded by its initiators or by others, especially in our days, when the Gadhafi regime collapsed in a bloody civil war, and Libya's future, even if it is not bleak, is still very uncertain.

Artur Lakatos

Mózes Csoma, *Koreai csaták és harcosok az ókortól a modern időkig*, Budapest, Oriental History Project, 2011, 176 p.

As far as we know, this work of the young Hungarian historian and political scientist is unprecedented in the Hungarian contemporary historiography. Its value is raised also by the personal contribution of the author: he studied at the University of Sonsee from Seoul and also participated in a research grant which meant to exam the roots of the present separation of the Korean peninsula into two different states.

The book is the result of an exhaustive work of research, and by its large and various topics, and also by its pleasant (easy to be read) narrative style, and is meant to introduce the European reader into key issues of Korean history and the roots of Korean realities of our days. The bibliography is built up by a list of selective, but various titles, mostly of books available in Hungarian or English, but also a few titles in Korean, various articles published in specific journals (like "Korea Journal", "The Review of Korean Studies", "Seoul Journal of Korean Studies", "Journal of Inner and East Asian Studies", etc.), from general works like Kissinger's *Diplomacy* to books having as subject very specific issues and from very old books – like the one of Bozóky Dezső, published in 1911 at Oradea, to recent works, issued in 2008-2009. An important part of the bibliography is represented by those works that deals first with the history of China. It is easy to understand why, since the Korean civilization and politics during the centuries was in interaction and often influences by the actions of its powerful neighbor.

The book itself is structured into four chapters, each one having on its turn several subchapters, dedicated to important and singular events of Korean history. The events are grouped by chronologic criteria and their narration is usually illustrated by pictures, photos, maps, and other useful visual illustrative material.

The first chapter is entitled "*A koreai félsziget harcai az ókori királyságok idején* [The struggle on Korean Peninsula in time of its Ancient Kingdoms]" presents the history of the peninsula starting from the appearance of the first documented kingdom – the Ko-Csoszon (or generally known by Western historical slang as Kozon or Choson) until 926, the fall of the kingdom of Palhe, caused especially by its own internal disputes, worsened by natural catastrophes (like the eruption of the Pachtu-san volcano) and continuous attacks of the Chinese armies. This chapter's best feature is probably the description and clarification of complex social and diplomatic relations of Korean kingdoms of various ages with the Chinese Empire.

The second chapter is focusing on evolution of the Korean statehood during the Middle Ages and is entitled "*A koreai félsziget harcai a középkori dinasztiák korában* [The struggle of the Korean Peninsula during Medieval Dynasties]". The description of the military aspects is probably even better made than in the case of the first chapter since the author has various tables and statistics related to the Royal Korean armies at his disposal. A very well written episode is the description of the Mongol-Chinese invasions against Japan and their failure (it is since they were launched partly from certain locations in the Korean peninsula); another one is the description of Imdzsin War events that took place between feudal Japan (the first invasion being led by the famous general Tojotomi Hideyoshi) on one side and the

Csoszon kingdom and its powerful senior, the Ming dynasty on the other. The chapter comes to an end by presenting the border treaty between the Chinese Ching Dynasty and Csoszon on 1712, which foreseen the creation of a neutral zone too, around the Pehtuszan mountain. This treaty's imperfections cause even nowadays occasional Chinese-Korean disputes.

Seen from European/Western perspective, the third chapter, entitled "*A Koreai Félsziget harcai az újkorban* [Wars of the Korean Peninsula in the Modern Age]", brings the Korean issue in the environment of Western great powers' policy. By 'jumping' across more than a century period, it begins the presentation with the French-American invasion against the Kanyhva island in 1866, as a result of US economic ambitions and the persecution of Christians in Korea, event that caused – following to several Korean victories in the first phase, among them the sinking of the USS Sherman in 1866 – the intervention of Japan on the Western side, and its victory, which forced the Korean Kingdom to open its ports to Western merchants and the end of the country's isolationist politics. The author also examines the military-diplomatic aspects of Japanese-Chinese war (1893-1895) and Japanese-Russian war (1904-1905) and their consequences on the Korean peninsula. In this chapter the military-diplomatic events of the first half of the 20th century are also included.

The fourth chapter ("*A koreai félsziget harcai a 20 század második felében* [The Struggle in the Korean Peninsula during the Second Half of the Twentieth Century]" represents an incursion in the contemporary Korean political realities. Starting the narration with the Soviet declaration of war against Japan, it approaches very well the issue on which the future division of the Peninsula during the Cold War was based. The description of the Korean War's events could represent basic bibliography for any university course in the history of the Cold War. In a few pages, the author also performs a short, selective but precise analysis of the consequences of nowadays situation of the two Korean states.

The book could be regarded as belonging at the same time to the fields of history of civilizations, military history, or diplomatic history, but it remains first of all a selective introduction in Korean historical issues. By this, it could be recommended to both specialists and amateur readers. Nowadays, although our daily life is not perceived to be affected in a direct manner by the issue of the divided Korea, it is still one of the major current contemporary geopolitical issues. At one side, South Korea is one of the capitalist 'Tiger' economies of the Far East, and with all of its internal weaknesses it is a major pillar of our contemporary global economy, especially in its industrial sector and is also a key element of the Far East's possible economic primacy in the future over all the other regions of the earth. On the other hand, the Communist North Korea is not only a 'rogue state' that is a menace to its Southern cousin, but recently an uninvited member of the Atomic Club, and by its anti-US attitude – developed not only by its own fault – a concrete danger on the security of our contemporary world system. Although the popular support for the totalitarian and abusive leadership of the country is far from being as solid as it is presented to be by the Northern-Korean propaganda, the regime's implosion is not soon to come. In this context, Korean issues are good to be known by any contemporary diplomat or other specialist in the field of international relations.

Artur Lakatos

La decomunisation à la Roumaine: la perspective nord-americaine

***Prezentul trecutului recent. Lustrație și decomunizare în postcomunism* [Le présent du passé récent. Lustration et décommunisation au postcommunisme], volume coordonné par Lavinia Stan, préface de Vladimir Tismaneanu, Bucarest, Éditions Curtea Veche, 2010, 535 pages**

Lavinia Stan est professeur de sciences politiques au Canada, à l'Université St. Francis Xavier, et cette édition de son livre représente une version roumaine de l'ouvrage *Transitional Justice in Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union*, Routledge, 2009.

Antérieurement, l'auteur a publié *Religion and Politics in Post-Communist Romania*, Oxford University Press, 2007 et *Church, State and Democracy in Expanding Europe*, Oxford University Press, 2011 (toutes les deux en collaboration avec son époux, M. Lucian Turcescu), et ultérieurement elle a édité la monumentale *Encyclopedia of Transitional Justice*, Cambridge University Press, 3 volumes, 2013 (en collaboration avec Nadya Nedelsky) et *Transitional Justice in Post-Communist Romania*, Cambridge University Press, 2013. En même temps, l'ouvrage *Post-Communist Transitional Justice: Lessons from 25 Years of Experience* est à paraître à Cambridge University Press (toujours avec Nadya Nedelsky). Pour finir avec la présentation de ce palmarès scientifique impressionnant, nous allons dire que Mme Stan est aussi l'auteur d'un grand nombre d'études et d'articles sur de différents thèmes de sciences politiques.

Le livre propose une comparaison de la situation des anciens pays communistes de l'Europe de l'Est, prenant comme repère les thèmes de la lustration, de l'accès aux dossiers de la police politique et des procès intentés aux responsables de la répression. Modestement appelé "volume coordonné par", le travail représente, dans une grande mesure, le résultat des recherches de Mme Stan qui signe, en dehors de l'Introduction et des Conclusions, quatre des huit études qui le constituent, et qui regardent les cas de la Pologne, de la Hongrie, de l'ancienne Union soviétique et de la Roumanie. Concernant l'Allemagne, nous y retrouvons l'étude de Gary Bruce, sur la République Tchèque et la Slovaque celui écrit par Nadya Nedelsky, sur la Bulgarie par Momcil Metodiev et, enfin, sur la Slovénie par Tamara Kotar.

Il s'agit d'un travail du domaine appelé *transitional justice*, terme anglo-saxon des sciences politiques qui vise la totalité des mesures prises par un État en vue de réparer les violations des droits de l'homme perpétrées par le régime politique antérieur, et qui n'a pas d'équivalent dans l'espace culturel européen. Concernant les régimes communistes, il pourrait être traduit, *grosso modo*, par l'"histoire et la mémoire du communisme", expression qui vise l'ensemble des mesures de décommunisation. Nous serions donc bien d'accord avec Mme Stan quand elle utilise, comme équivalent de l'expression anglaise, les notions "assumer le passe récent", "confrontation avec le passé" ou "politique de la mémoire", tout en rejetant le calque "justice de transition" qui, en roumain, indique un prétendu caractère transitoire du processus lui-même (p. 39).

Nous n'allons pas entrer dans la matière proprement dite du livre – dense, tant du point de vue de la présentation complète des cas, que par la période visée (1989 – la chute des régimes communistes de l'Europe de l'Est et 2007 – l'entrée de la Roumanie et de la Bulgarie en Union européenne) – que pour nous arrêter sur le cas roumain et sur les conclusions tirées par l'auteur à la suite de l'évaluation de tout ce processus.

Comme nous disions plus-haut, le chapitre écrit par Mme Stan s'arrête sur: la gamme répressive de la Securitate, l'épineux problème de la lustration, l'accès aux dossiers de la Securitate et les procès intentés aux officiels communistes. L'étude indique les groupes sociaux intéressés dans la rupture avec le passé totalitaire (les anciens détenus politiques, les propriétaires des biens confisqués par le régime et autres victimes), en contraste avec l'État, accaparé en 1989 par "le deuxième échelon non-reformé du parti communiste" (p. 284), et aussi le clivage entre la génération âgée (qui a connu la démocratie de l'entre-deux guerres et a souffert la répression et les confiscations de la fin des années '40 et du début des années '50 du dernier siècle) et les génération d'après, nées et formées dans le socialisme réel.

La décommunisation en contexte roumain est vue comme l'ensemble des mesures qui visent l'écartement des membres de l'ancienne nomenklatura du procès de décision politique, le dévoilement des agents et des collaborateurs de la Securitate, la condamnation officielle du régime communiste pour ses actions criminelles et la violation systématique des droits de l'homme, la restitution des propriétés confisquées, la réhabilitation des victimes des répressions politiques (en particulier, des anciens détenus politiques) et la condamnation pénale des responsables du Parti et de la Securitate.

Pour illustrer l'analyse, nous allons donner quelques exemples.

La caractérisation, en mars 1997, par le président d'alors Emil Constantinescu, de la lustration comme "périmée", pour le bon et simple motif que la Convention Démocratique avait gagné le pouvoir politique contre les partis nés du Front du salut national, est commentée par l'auteur de cette manière: "Cette position, condamnée vivement par la société civile, a étouffé toute tentative de légiférer la lustration et elle a affecté la popularité de Constantinescu, éloignant de lui exactement les segmentes sociaux qui l'avaient soutenu pendant sa campagne présidentielle." (p. 255)

Concernant le manque d'efficacité du Conseil national pour la recherche des archives de la Securitate (CNSAS), l'auteur indique les facteurs qui l'ont conditionné: les omissions de sa loi de fonctionnement, les opinions irréconciliables et les fluctuations des loyautés politiques des membres du Collège de direction, la faiblesse de la Justice (et même son mépris envers la loi et l'État de droit) et le manque de volonté politique, tant des représentants du pouvoir, que de l'opposition, pour conclure: "Au lieu d'être le moyen de 'confrontation' avec le passe récent, le

Conseil est vite devenu un de ses principaux obstacles." (p. 263) Enfin, sur le même thème: "La manière dont le CNSAS a effectué les vérifications de 2000 et 2004 a gravement compromis son image publique et, en dernière instance, a délégitimé tout l'effort de dévoilement publique de la Securitate." (p. 264) Il est à noter que ces conclusions, qui suivent a une analyse équilibrée, neutre (mais pas froide), se rejoignent aux prises de positions amères des représentants des victimes et des militants anticommunistes.

La conclusion de l'auteur est univoque: "Après presque deux décennies, le pays n'a pas fait de progrès significatif envers la réévaluation du passé communiste, la décommunisation étant ralentie et sabotée." (p. 286) Les explications pour cet état de choses son liés, d'une part, au contexte du communisme roumain et, d'autre part, à la dynamique propre au postcommunisme autochtone. Concernant le premier aspect sont indiqués: les bénéfices associés à la mobilité sociale des couches sociales traditionnellement défavorisées, à cause de leur statut antérieurement inimaginable, et le niveau élevé de ralliement à la politique du régime (à travers le grand nombre de membres du parti et d'indicateurs de la Securitate), à la différence du nombre des victimes et des contestataires. Concernant le deuxième aspect sont indiqués: le nombre réduit des victimes du communisme qui étaient encore en vie en 1990 et la reproduction (et non pas la reconversion) des élites communistes à travers le déplacement des responsabilités (qui étaient aussi leurs responsabilités) vers la personne de Nicolae Ceaucescu.

Enfin, nous allons résumer les conclusions du livre.

Quant à la "sérosité et la promptitude" (p. 485) des mesures de décommunisation, les pays de l'Europe de l'Est et de l'ancienne Union soviétique sont repartis en quatre grands groupes: 1) l'adoption rapide de la lustration, de l'accès aux dossiers des organismes répressives et la poursuite en justice de leurs responsables (l'Allemagne, la République Tchèque et les Pays Baltes); 2) mesures similaires, mais modérées et retardées (la Hongrie et la Pologne); mesures faibles et/ou incomplètes de décommunisation (la Roumanie et la Bulgarie); 4) absence de ces mesures (la Slovaquie, la Slovénie, l'Albanie et les anciens républiques soviétiques).

Voilà la thèse qui explique, selon Mme Stan, ces différences: "Sans considérer que le type de la transition ou la libre circulation et la liberté de la parole soient manqués d'importance, nous avançon l'idée qu'un déterminant plus fort qui fait assumer le passé le représente le pouvoir politique relatif des successeurs des partis communistes et leur opposition." (pp. 496-497) À ce modèle d'analyse on subsume trois variables: 1) la composition, la direction d'action et la force de l'opposition, tant avant qu'après 1989; 2) les méthodes dominantes par lesquelles le régime communiste a soumis la société (répression et/ou cooptation); et 3) la tradition pluraliste du pays avant l'instauration du communisme. En conclusion, l'auteur identifie trois facteurs qui, d'une manière cumulative, donnent sens à la décommunisation et, d'une manière connexe, à l'action d'assumer le passé: 1) l'an où les lois de la lustration et de l'accès aux dossiers secrets ont été adoptés par les Corps législatives; 2) la largeur, l'impact et leurs effets sur les catégories sociales visées; 3) le nombre des dossiers judiciaires qui ont visé l'inculpation des membres de la nomenklatura et de la police politique.

Pour finir ce tableau suggestif et crédible de la réalité postcommuniste, nous allons indiquer une observation de Mme Stan, qui dit que "le passé reste relevant même deux décennies après la chute des régimes communistes" (p. 499), et qui pouvait être instructive pour ceux qui soutiennent l'idée d'une prétendue "illusion de l'anticommunisme" au postcommunisme roumain.

Un dernier mot sur la rédaction: des travaux importants, comme celle-ci, doivent bénéficier d'une attention éditoriale spéciale, tant du point de vue du langage des sciences sociales, que de la langue roumaine. Ainsi, l'utilisation de certains barbarismes, qui viennent des calques anglais et qui étaient à éviter par une rédaction attentive, est irritante. Voilà quelques exemples du premier registre: "comités de *purification*" au lieu de "comités d'*épuration*"; "actions *retributives* excessives" au lieu de "mesures légales *(peines)* excessives"; "Sous la surveillance de la *contre-intelligence*" au lieu de "Sous la surveillance des *Contre-informations*"; "dans le cas des *trans-lieux (transplacements)* de Pologne et de Tchécoslovaquie, la démocratie..." au lieu de "en Pologne et Tchécoslovaquie la démocratie a été *introduite (transposée)...*"; "communisme *patrimonial*" au lieu de "communisme *de clientèle*", terme qui évite, en roumain, les sens (plus étroites) d'"hérité" et d'"héréditaire". Voilà maintenant quelques exemples du deuxième registre: "implémenter" au lieu d'"introduire", "appliquer", "mettre en pratique", en fonction de contexte; "accesser" au lieu d'"accéder"; "rejection" au lieu de "rejet" ou "la première ministre" au lieu de "Mme le premier ministre".

Enfin, nous attendons avec le plus grand intérêt l'édition roumaine de l'ouvrage de Mme Stan sur le même thème qui porte sur la décommunisation jusqu'en 2013, une parution nécessaire pour les sciences sociales de Roumanie.

Mircea Stănescu

"Communisme", nos 99-101/2011

D'abord, il est utile de dire quelques mots sur la revue, étant donné qu'elle est peu connue en Roumanie et, selon nos informations, elle a été une seule fois présentée, à l'occasion du numéro spécial consacre à la Roumanie (91-92/2007).

La revue trimestrielle *Communisme* a été créée en 1982. Jusqu'en 1986, elle a été éditée par les Presses Universitaires de France, puis publiée à L'Âge d'Homme, à l'appui de l'éditeur Vladimir Dimitrievitch. Dès le début et jusqu'en 1995, la revue a été dirigée par Annie Kriegel, puis par Stéphane Courtois, nom bien connu au publique roumain à la suite du *Livre noir du communisme*.

La revue a été créé à l'initiative de Courtois (ancien militant maoïste), qui a groupé autour de lui d'autres militants communistes désengagés après 1971 (l'année de la publication par Soljenitsyne de l'*Archipel du Goulag*), et à l'appui d'Annie Kriegel, elle-même un ancien membre de l'appareil du Parti communiste français, pendant la période 1945-1956. Ainsi se sont réunies deux générations de chercheurs qui ont valorisé leur expérience dans l'étude académique du phénomène communiste. Le résultat a été une revue de grande tenue intellectuelle, l'une des plus importantes au niveau mondial.

Le numéro s'ouvre avec un mot à la mémoire de l'éditeur Vladimir Dimitrievitch qui, au cours de l'année, s'est tué dans un accident de voiture.

Le numéro centenaire de la revue est dédié à la mémoire d'Annie Kriegel, historien et fondatrice de la revue, décédée en 1995, s'intitule *Annie Kriegel et le système communiste mondial* et réunit, en principal, les communications présentées au Colloque international qui a eu lieu en janvier 2010 sous le titre *Le système communiste mondial – du concept kriegelien à la réalité.*

Le concept de "système communiste mondial", forgé par Kriegel dans les années 1982-1984, suppose l'existence de trois sous-systèmes: le sous-système des partis, le sous-système des partis-États et le sous-système des alliances, et l'accès aux archives soviétiques, à partir de 1992, a confirmé pleinement cette analyse.

Après une présentation du concept kriegelien, de la part de Stéphane Courtois – *Annie Kriegel et le concept de système communiste mondial*, les communications se sont axées sur des sujets qu'illustraient un de ces trois sous-systèmes (celui des alliances) : Yves Santamaria – *Le « national-thorézisme » et la « lutte pour la paix »* et Sylvain Boulouque – *Le lieu du syndicalisme dans le système communiste mondial*, ou des thèmes spécifiques liés au sujet: Nikos Marantzidis – *Le système communiste mondial et la guerre civile grecque* et Antonio Elorza – *L'expansion et l'apogée du système communiste mondial, 1945-1979.* Et nous n'avons indiqué qu'une partie de celles-ci.

Étant donné qu'il s'agit du numéro centenaire de la revue, celui-ci contient aussi 130 pages de listes d'auteurs et d'articles publiés pendant les trois décennies de parution régulière, qui représentent 14 000 pages publiées, chiffres impressionnantes en soi.

L'*Introduction* signée par Courtois rend compte des réussites, mais aussi des difficultés de cette activité éditoriale, dès le début, indissolublement lié aux difficultés mentales que les anciens militants rencontraient dans leurs désengagement face à l'adhésion à une idéologie totale et extrême, pour continuer avec l'annulation de la subvention du CNRS, par des raisons idéologiques, après la publication du *Livre noir du communisme* en 1997, et pour finir avec la récente disparition de l'éditeur, fait qui a plongé la revue dans une situation encore plus difficile. Il y a des remarques amères de ce type: "Toutefois, les 'jeunes' d'alors (la génération de Courtois – *n. n.*) semblent arriver de nouveau dans la situation d'il y a trente ans..." (p. 5).

Enfin, vu les difficultés matérielles, il semble que la revue va se métamorphoser dans un annuaire. Toutefois, c'est sûr que la bataille pour une histoire objective et pour une mémoire juste des victimes va continuer et, pour y réussir, elle a besoin d'une tribune. Nous sommes convaincus que la revue *Communisme* – ou son héritier – continuera rester un repère dans ce processus.

Mircea Stănescu

VARIA

La cession de la Bessarabie, de la partie nord de la Bucovine et de la région Hertza, juin 1940, une relecture d'un moment historique controversé

Suite à la première guerre mondiale, la Roumanie avait atteint son maximum territorial, avec la l'union de la Bessarabie le 27 mars 1918, de la Bucovine le 28 novembre et de la Transylvanie le 1er décembre 1918.

Pourtant, la Grande Roumanie a été un sujet difficile à gérer. Vingt ans d'administration roumaine en Bessarabie n'ont pas réussi à gagner la fidélité les minorités. L'Union Soviétique a exercé en permanence une pression politique à ce sujet, organisant des confrontations et des émeutes bolchéviques sur le Dniestr, destinés à mettre en difficulté les négociations avec l'Etat roumain, qui ne devraient pas aboutir à y reconnaître l'appartenance.

La signature du pacte Ribbentrop-Molotov en 1939 a créé les prémisses du démembrement territorial de la Grande Roumanie. Malgré les assurances du premier ministre Tătărescu et du roi Charles IInd, qui avaient visité la Bessarabie en décembre 1939 et janvier 1940, que les frontières du pays auraient été défendues par l'armée, un document secret de l'Etat Majeur Territorial de la région Prut du 31 mai 1940 prouvait que l'armée avait déjà les plans rédigés pour évacuer la région. Cela allait se passer dans quatre semaines !, dans les moments les plus dramatiques de la seconde guerre mondiale, quand la France était à genoux et l'Angleterre sous siège allemand. Consultées à ce sujet, l'Italie et l'Allemagne ont conseillé l'acceptation des demandes soviétiques. La Bessarabie était la première à quitter l'Etat roumain, suite aux ultimatums de 26 juin et de 28 juin 1940. La logique des garanties internationales était déjà désuète, ni les franco-anglais, ni les ententes régionales n'ayant plus d'effet défensif.

Le Roi Charles le IInd a caché son impuissance devant l'avis du Conseil de Couronne du 27 juin, qui lui a recommandé d'accepter des discussions avec les soviétiques. Mais la seconde note ultimatum ne laissait pas de choix, pas de négociation: l'administration roumaine était contrainte à quitter la Bessarabie en quatre jours.

L'exposition met l'accent sur le moment juin 1940, mais essaie de décrire aussi le contexte : les démarches de la diplomatie roumaine en 1939, le pacte soviétique-allemand, le début de la guerre, l'avancement rapide des armées allemandes. Les notes diplomatiques, des articles dans les journaux, des brochures, des cartes, des photos, des pellicules cinématographiques laissent voir le drame de la Grande Roumanie, obligée de céder presque toutes les provinces gagnées en 1918. Les documents mettent aussi en évidence la propagande gouvernementale roumaine, la propagande soviétique, la situation de l'armée roumaine, l'avancement les troupes soviétiques les quatre jours de l'invasion et le drame des milliers de réfugiés et de l'administration roumaine dans territoires abandonnés par un Etat impuissant dans les bras du Grand Frère.

La structure de l'exposition suit une logique chronologique, familiarisant d'abord le visiteur avec les réalités de la Bessarabie et la Bucovine en photos, avec la Bessarabie et la Bucovine dans l'entre-deux guerres, les relations roumano-soviétiques dans la politique extérieure de la Roumanie, l'ultimatum et ses conséquences politiques, la cession territoriale, le refuge et l'administration soviétique, les réactions diplomatiques et les réactions de la société civile.

Les institutions qui ont collaboré avec les Archives Nationales de Roumanie sont les Archives Diplomatiques auprès du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, le Service Historique de l'Armée, l'Archive Nationale de Filmes, Archives Nationales de la République de Moldavie. Le support financier a été assuré par l'Institut d'Investigation des Crimes du Communisme et de la Mémoire de l'Exile Roumain (IICCMER). L'exposition a eu un vernissage à Bucarest et à Kichinev, et suivra un itinéraire dans la République de Moldavie, à Bălţi, à Cahul.

M. S. REGELE IN MIJLOCUL POPULAŢIEI ŞI OSTAŞILOR DIN BASARABIA

TEXTUL CUVÂNTĂREI ROSTITĂ DE SUVERAN LA RECEPŢIA DELA CHIŞINĂU

M. S. Regele, însoţit de Măria Sa Marele Voevod Mihai, a prăznuit Botezul Domnului în Basarabia, printre urmaşii răzeşilor moldoveni.

Cu acest prilej, după sfârşirea sfintei slujbe a apelor, a fost o mare recepţie la comandamentul corpului de armată din Chişinău, la care au ţinut cuvântări: d. rezident regal al ţinutului Nistru, reprezentanţii populaţiei oraşului, Bisericii, armatei şi ai minorităţilor.

Suveranul a rostit apoi următoarea cuvântare:

DOMNILOR,

Cu adâncă bucurie în suflet am găsit nimerit că această serbare a Botezului Domnului să o petrec în mijlocul ostaşilor păzitori ai graniţei noastre răsăritene, — şi în acelaş timp să-Mi prilejuesc putinţa de a veni astăzi în această cetate basarabeană.

Sentimentul pe care îl am totdeauna când păşesc pe această bucată de pământ dintre Prut şi Nistru, este că nu vin într'o ţară realipită României, ci vin într'o ţară care a fost, este şi va fi totdeauna pământ românesc. (Urale prelungite).

Urmele marilor Voevozi, — la Cetatea-Albă, Hotin, Soroca şi câte altele, — sunt pilde vii ale acestui trecut şi sunt chezăşii sigure ale viitorului.

Cetăţile care au fost, acum veacuri, străjuitoare efective ale unei graniţe, în sufletul nostru al tuturor, şi al celor de aci şi al celor din alte părţi ale pământului românesc, trebue să însemne astăzi străjuitoare morale a ceeace este şi va fi veşnic românesc.

Sentimentele cu care am fost primit şi în tre-cut, — dar mai ales astăzi, în aceste clipe de grea cumpănă pentru lumea întreagă, — sunt pentru Mine o încurajare; sunt pentru Mine, pentru toţi conducătorii acestui Neam şi pentru oştirea Mea, un imbold cât se poate de puternic, ca fiecare să-şi facă pe deplin datoria sa (urale prelungite).

Cuvintele pe care Mi le-au adus şi minorităţile din această parte a Ţării M'au mişcat. Sunt extrem de mişcat de a putea auzi, prin glasul lor, că sunt mulţumiţi şi că au gândul, atât de frumos şi de deştept, de a face parte, trup şi suflet, din entitatea românească, păstrându-şi graiul şi credinţa lor.

Acest gând de a forma cu toţii un singur Neam, supus unui singur crez, unei singure dorinţe, unei singure hotărîri, este acela care va putea, contra oricărui duşman şi contra oricărei v[illegible] tregii, să ne întărească mai mult, să ne facă mai uniţi, să ne facă mai puternici.

Acest gând al Unirii tuturor puterilor româneşti, — oricare ar fi obârşia lor, — este un gând care Mă munceşte an de an şi care, pe zi ce trece, am bucuria de a vedea că se împlineşte.

Cântecele vechi ale poeţilor noştri, în cari atât de frumos se spune cum duşmanul nu poate răzbate acolo unde este unire, trebue să fie veşnic în sufletul tuturor Românilor.

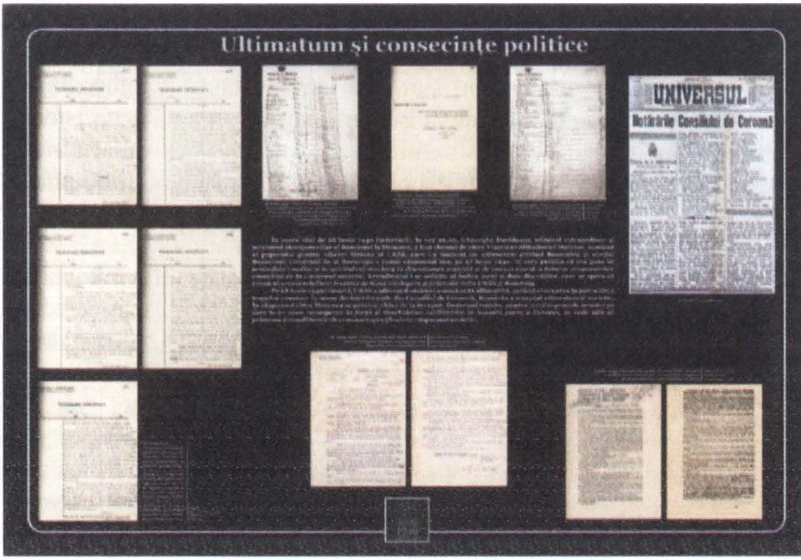
Acestea nu sunt cuvinte, ci trebue să fie fapte; fapte hotărîte ale tuturor celor cari îşi iubesc Patria şi cari vor, în sufletul lor, ca graniţele veşnice ale României să nu fie niciodată cotropite. Căci numai prin unire, — unire în gânduri şi simţiri, cum spune poetul, — numai aşa Ţara va fi veşnică şi hotărît apărată.

Vorbele pe care le-am auzit astăzi aci îmi dau încredere. Sunt sigur că toţi cei cari trăesc în această parte a Ţării, — şi alături de ei Românii din întreaga Ţară, — păstrează în sufletele lor [illegible] această hotărîre a Unirii, această unire în gânduri şi simţiri, care este fapt împlinit, fapt care nu va putea fi niciodată ştirbit de pe faţa pământului românesc şi din sufletele tuturor Românilor. (urale prelungite).

Cu acest gând să ne întărim deci sufletele noastre. Oştirea Mea să se simtă şi ea oţelită, căci niciodată un duşman nu va putea pune piciorul pe ceeace este sfânt şi veşnic românesc. (Urale prelungite, ovaţiuni).

M. S. Regele rostind [illegible] cuvântarea

Citiţi reportajul în pag. III-a



Laura Dumitru

Viaţa urbană în Moldova şi Muntenia, 1830-1916 [The Urban Life in Moldova and Wallachia, 1830-1916] Exhibition

The public is invited to watch an exhibition at the National Archives of Romania proposing a retrospective of the modernization of the Romanian cities at the East and South of the Carpathian Mountains through their alignment to the Western standards. It was about a long standing process with considerable social involvements. The documents selected for this project illustrate the gradual transformation of the urban settlements from the stage of "large villages", as they are described at the end of the 18th century by the foreign travellers that wander through, towards modern European towns. This tendency was more visible around year 1900, when Bucharest and Iaşi could very well be compared with the Western metropolitan centres, from which only an acceptable development difference separated them.

The change in the urban evolution appeared after 1830, once with the implementation of the stipulations of the Organic Rules, which imposed the Western norms of urbanism; actually, the first panel of the exhibition groups some of these stipulations. It was in Wallachia where *Departamentul Trebilor Dinăuntru* [Minister of Interior] was "*însărcinat cu ocârmuirea tuturor municipalităţilor* [in charge with the government of all the municipalities]", meaning the development of the sanitary system, the control over the prices, the repairing and preservation of the main roads, the construction of bridges in order to improve the ways of communication and the encouraging of the commercial activities. The trade of the aboriginal goods was exempted from the custom taxes, so that the products were sold in fairs, cities, "*în* *zile hotărâte ale săptămânii* [in well determined days of the week]". The setting up of primary schools was mentioned in every county residence, while a college and an asylum were opened in Bucharest[1]. It was in Moldavia where the state assisted financially the public schools in the capital and in the other "*oraşe de căpetenie* [leading cities]", a printing house and a public library, a theological seminary. It also allotted funds for the preservation of the roads and bridges, but also "*pentru închisoarea publică şi ţinerea celor închişi* [for the public prison and the maintenance of those kept in them]". The members of the city "*eforii* [ephors]" in Moldavia were yearly renewed through elections and they are not paid for this activity. The city of Iaşi, along with its "*mahalale* [suburbs]", was divided in four "*cvartale* [districts]", under which circumstances all the "*uliţe* [narrow streets]" and public squares would have been macadamized with "*piatră vârtoasă* [strong stones]", while the *Eforia* took actions for the streets' lighting, "*de neapărată trebuinţă şi nevoie într-un oraş bine organizat* [of indispensable mecessity and need in a well organized town]". Among the stipulations in the Organic Rules destined to embellish the capital, one could refer to: the sold of the food exclusively in two particular markets disposed by the authorities, the motion of the hospital in a outlying and of the prison "*la un loc mai cuviincios* [to a more convenient place]", the arrangement of a promenade area downtown and of a public garden in the neighborhood[2].

The second topic approached in the exhibition refers to the extension of **the urban area**. It includes plans, maps and statistics illustrating the city development demographically and territorially. The ancient cities (Bucharest, Iaşi) were systematized, while the new ones (Alexandria, Drobeta-Turnu Severin) were built relying upon modern architectural plans. Some others (Drăgăşani, Călăraşi) emancipated themselves and became free towns. The urbanistic rules were combined with a planned extension and improved the life standard and the external aspect of the urban settlements, although during the whole 19th century the contrast between sumptuous buildings and shabby houses was maintained. The cities were transformed by the rectification of the street structure, since the streets were aligned and the buildings were related to it. New major axes of circulation are mapped out – the Bucharest boulevards – the Haussman pattern of urban systematization is put into practice[3]. The city extension was under control, by being divided in various dimensions, a system put into practice in Galaţi or Constanţa. Emphasizing the intermediary stages of the urban evolution, the maps offer the possibility for those visiting the exhibition to make comparisons between the structure of the cities around year 1850 and the one at the beginning of the 20th century: Bucharest (1852 – Borroczyn Plan, 1895-1899 and 1912), Iaşi (1857, 1896-1897, 1819-1936), Drobeta-Turnu Severin (1836 and 1893). Another dimension of the urban expansion is offered by the conscriptions and census that registered the demographic evolution of the Romanian cities. Among the documents selected by the organizers in this sense, one

[1] *Regulamentul Organic*, Bucharest, 1832, p. 95-105, 193-194.
[2] *Reglementul Organic a Prinţipatului Moldovei*, Iaşi, 1846, p. 18-19, 97, 110-111, 115-117.
[3] http://www.uniunearestauratorilor.com/istoria_arhitecturii_in_romania.doc

could note: the statistic table set up by the Office of civil status in Brăila regarding the motion of the city's population in 1887, the "*Obşteasca catagrafie* [General census]" referring to streets, narrow streets and houses in the city of Râmnic (1858), the surface of the city of Câmpulung Muşcel including the number of population and houses (1911), the census in 1894 of the population in Bucharest set up by the statistic office of mayoralty.

The exhibition at the National Archives continues with the section related to **Architecture and urbanism**, which approaches several architectural referring points of the period. After 1850, the favorable historical context that led to the union of the Romanian Principalities in 1859, to the Constitution in 1866, the independence proclaimed in 1877 and the setting up of the Kingdom in 1881 boosted the economic and cultural life of Romania and hastened the city development. For the Romanian space on the East and South sides of the Carpathian Mountains, the urban modernization was a synonym for Westernization, since the cultural transfer was facilitated by the presence of foreign architects originated especially in France, but also Germany, Austria, and Italy, by the training of the first Romanian architects in the schools abroad and by the setting up in 1891 of the Architectural School in Bucharest, on the pattern of the education practiced at École des Beaux Arts in Paris[4]. The edifices built in this period varied depending on their use. A first category represented in the exhibition is the one referring to the civic buildings: in Bucharest, the Royal Palace and Cotroceni Palace are accomplished by images with Elisabeta Boulevard in that period, guarded by impressive edifices in classical style, by Lipscani Street and Victoria Course; for Iaşi, The Union Square and the stylish Prince Ferdinand Palace are illustrative. Beside them, one could admire city hypostases with a gentle country feature in Ploieşti (Câmpina Course), Galaţi (*Strada Domnească*), Constanţa (Ovidiu Square), Târgu-Jiu (general view), Giurgiu (*Strada Sf. Nicolae*) and Vaslui (*Strada Ştefan cel Mare*). Another category is represented by the religious buildings, some edifices being proposed in the exhibition: the Metropolitan Seat, the church and inn of *Sfântul Gheorghe*, the Greek Church, the Lutheran Church, the Russian Church, the Synagogue, the Armenian Church, and the Cathedral of St. Joseph in Bucharest, the Metropolitan Seat and the Lippovan Church in Iaşi, the Catholic Church in Brăila, and also the church in Curtea de Argeş, bishopric seat and royal residence at the beginning of the last century. Among the military buildings, the organizers of the exhibition have selected the barracks of the infantry and firemen in Călăraşi and the barracks in Copou (Iaşi). A particular position inside of the city architecture is taken by the monuments placed in parks, public gardens or squares, often built by well known artists and provoking a significant visual impact on the pedestrians. The exhibition includes representative pictures in this sense: the statue of Mihai Eminescu in Galaţi (masterpiece of the sculptor Frederic Storck), the statue of Miron Costin in Iaşi and the monument devoted to C. A. Rosetti, built by the Pole by birth sculptor Wladimir C. Hegel, the statue of Pake Protopopescu, built in white marble of Carrara by the sculptor Ion Georgescu.

[4] Ibidem.

Real 'palaces' were built by famous architects for the state institutions and dominate the surrounding space. Among them, the exhibition presents the Ministry of Domains, the Faculty of Medicine in Bucharest and "Al. I. Cuza" University in Iaşi, built by the famous Swiss architect Louis Blanc, the administrative palaces in Focşani, Brăila or Bacău, the Palace of Justice in Bucharest, Sturdza Palace that would become the seat of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "Sf. Spiridon" hospital and church in Iaşi, and also Traian High School in Drobeta-Turnu Severin.

Another section of the exhibition is dedicated to the **works of modernization** that led to the improvement of the lifestyle in the Romanian cities. The documents reflect the building of railway stations (Iaşi, Giurgiu, Bucharest – North Station), harbors (Giurgiu, Constanţa, Galaţi) and bridges (Cernavodă), the developments of the railways and the telephone and telegraph nets, the systematization of the river flows (Dâmboviţa), and also the building of modern hotels ("Bulevard" in Bucharest, "Caraiman" in Sinaia, "Splendid" in Brăila, "Traian" in Iaşi).

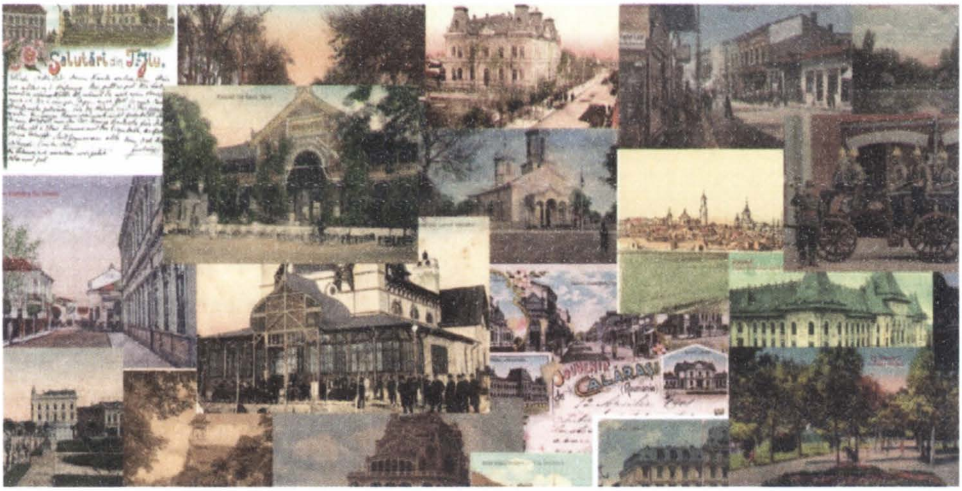
Another feature of the urbanism of the 19th century Romanian Principalities was the opining of the public space, because of the coherent measures taken by the local mayoralties, according to which funds were allotted for the arrangement and preservation of the public gardens and parks, ideal places for the appointments and promenade of the citizens. This tendency is visible both in the big cities – in Bucharest the Cişmigiu garden is set up, while the Copou park remains illustrative for Iaşi – and in the smaller ones. The documents offer to the visitors various states of the Romanian parks, as they were sketched around year 1900; the English Park (Lacul Sărat), the Pavilion in the public Garden (Alexandria), the Music Pavilion in the public Garden (Brăila), the Pavilion of Cozla Park (Piatra-Neamţ) or the public Garden (Slănic-Prahova), the parks in Călimăneşti and in Sinaia are only few examples.

A particular place in the exhibition is taken by the section devoted to the **leisure time**. The new concept associated to the idea of "*loisir*" that is imposed to the end of the 19th century in the Romanian cities supposes a new division of time and new priorities, so that a clear distinction between the leisure and the working time is made. People begin to have a different perception over space, time, inter-human relationship and henceforth the centre of gravity of the urban social life moves from the private to the public space. The coffee houses and restaurants achieve new features by becoming the most preferred places for socialization; among the most famous Bucharest public houses one could note Monte Carlo, *Caru' cu Bere* and *Bufetul de la Şosea*. One could add here the casinos, destined especially to the aristocracy, the exhibition presenting images with the locals in Constanţa, Călăraşi and Lacul Sărat, along with the racecourse in Bucharest, a kind of standard for the *belle époque* period. The documents selected in the exhibition also reflect some of the popular entertainments of the citizens: the acrobatics, football games, displays of fire-works, parades, but also the French movies and the opera performances. For the expanding cultural life, one could refer to the modern buildings of the theatres in Bucharest, Iaşi and *Ateneul Român*, built at the end of the 19th century by relying upon the plans of the Garnier Opera in Paris.

Another topic approached in the exhibition refers to the **social types**. Through images, it exemplified the diversity of the activities that the citizens undertook at the end of the 19^{th} century. Because of the implementation by the mayoralties of the urban rules, the citizens become visible as a distinctive social category, adapted to the new urban realities; at the same time, the areas at the cities' periphery continued to be settled by villagers. The exhibits draw the attention to some of the most known urban activities – the military (police soldiers, firemen, *roşiori*) and the civil servants (magistrates, commercial employees) —, to which one could add the representatives of the aristocrcy (the Royal family, Rosetti, Mavrogheni, and Bibescu families). A particular place is dedicated to the merchants, a different social typology, represented in the exhibition by the milkman, *plăcintar* [pie man], *bragagiu* [seller of millet beer], *sacagiu* [water carrier], *negustorul de cireşe* [cherry merchant], the seller of poultries, the haberdasher of oil, the haberdasher of meat, the gypsy flowergirl, and the costermonger.

The exhibition organized by the National Archives offers to the public aspects of the Romanian urban life presented in photos, plans, maps, documentary movies, acts issued by the authorities and private documents, which reflect the deep changes that the cities and their inhabitants travelled through in the period between 1830 and 1916. The collaborators to this exhibition were the National Museum of History of Romania, the Museum of the Municipality of Bucharest, "Moldova" Museal Complex in Iaşi, "Teohari Georgescu" Museum of the County of Giurgiu, the County Museum of Teleorman, "Regele Ferdinand I" National Military Museum, the National Archive of Films, and the National Archives of the Republic of Moldova.

Opened on January 10, 2012, the exhibition was inserted in the event of the "Night of Museums" (May 19, 2012), being well appreciated by the almost 2,000 visitors.



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