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BETWEEN THE ICON AND THE SYSTEM. CONSIDERATIONS ON THE WORLD ORDER. A SHORT REVIEW OF SORIN DUMITRESCU'S SHORT STUDY "THE FIGHT BETWEEN THE ICON WITH THE SYSTEM"

Radu Baltasiu[1]

ABSTRACT

The current review is about the field of sociology of the state adding the metaphysical dimension to it: the Icon. There is a tension between the power of the unseen and the power of state as an institution of force. The Icon is the symbolic component of the Iconic Act of Creation. The Icon is imprinted on wood and in everybody as the Face of God, and it is through the martyrs that we remember this. The System, as the ideal type of managing a fallen world, is not per se bad. It becomes so through idolatry.

Keywords: icons, System, freedom, faith, idolatry.

FEW WORDS ON THE WORK

Lupta icoanei cu sistemul – "The fight of the Icon with the System" is a highly condensed theory about the social and political role of the Icon by reporting it to the system, to the function of the state in society. It shows how a highly and well-constructed organization – the state, develop against the people by being against the Primordial imprint. The Primordial imprint is the Icon which is also order.

The work is, first, a reading grid, a new paradigm: it places the tension of the world between the Icon and the System.

Second, it grasps the categorical infrastructure of the argument, laying the groundwork for further discussion.

The study is structured as follows:

– "The Rumor" (*Zvonul*) – the great power of a weak instrument, the power of the spirit of the languages.

– "The System" (*Sistemul*) – an innovative description of the most abstract vehicle of human organization.

– "The Stratelates" (*Stratilații*) – about the most competent servants of the empire who demolished it through their Christian martyrdom.

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– "The Switch" (*Macazul*) – on the Great Switch – the Change. The change produced by the Stratilates saints does not refer to the expansion of Heaven, but to the appearance of another humanity, another type of man.

– "Epilogue" – on the martyrs of the communist prisons – "Do not avenge us".

– "Some typified hagiographic" (*"Tipizate" hagiografice*) – short biographies of the most prominent of the Stratelates martyrs.

THE ICON

The Icon has at least two meanings: the first is about the indication of God, the hypostasis; the second is the order emanating from it.

The first meaning of The Icon. The hypostasis

The Icon is the

"dogmatic face (of a saint, event, royal holiday (...) the icon is simultaneously a (metalinguistic) showing of the face and a (dogmatically theological) definition of the showing of the face"[2].

The Icon is the Prototype of The Face, the Dogmatic Face. It is made of the Name – the inscription of Jesus Christ and of "the drawing". The drawing's resemblance to the Prototype is of much more importance:

"If only the energy of the name is added to the sanctifying power of the painted image, an icon in which only the name remains is no longer justified as an icon"[3].

The Icon as the double power of the Name and of the Dogmatic Face.

The relationship between the two is named as *calling* (*chemare*). There is an order of powers: the calling of the Name by the calling of the Dogmatic Face since the last encompasses the Name. Sorin Dumitrescu denominated this type of calling "the call as invocation" (*chemarea de invocare*)[4].

No matter the iconographer, the Face is almost the same across centuries – a remarkable proof that there is a mystic eye, and we have a mystic communication with God. **The icon master reproduces the way Jesus paints Himself in the Icon. The Icon is a heavenly way of communication between God and man. It is a hypostatical presence:**

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[2] „Fiind *chip dogmatic* (al unui sfânt, eveniment, praznic împărătesc ....) icoana este simultan arătare (metalingvistică) a chipului și *defîniție* (dogmatic teologică) a arătării chipului. Peste tot, și liturgic și ecleziologic și în învățământul bisericesc, rolul icoanei este instrumental, de interpret după chipul și asemănarea omenității Domnului – divino-umană și proniatoarea Cratimă ivită între noi și Dumnezeu.", in Sorin Dumitrescu, *Lupta icoanei cu sistemul [The struggle of the icon with the system],* Anastasia Foundation Publishing, The Official Monitor, 2017, p. 28.

[3] „Dacă puterii sfințitoare a chipului zugrăvit i se adaugă doar energia numelui, o icoană în care rămâne prezent doar numele nu se mai justifică ca icoană", in Sorin Dumitrescu, *Noi și icoana [We and the Icon],* Anastasia Publishing, 2018, p. 57.

[4] *Ibidem*, p. 57.

"(...) in fact, we are dealing with the spiritual reality of a concrete hypostatic presence of the Lord, dwelling in the likeness, visually invoked by His iconic Face. It would be correct to say that the icon *manifests* Christ (...)"[5].

The master iconographer is a human channel, the Icon is the-window-to God-in relation-to-Him, not just a piece of painted wood and not a picture. To mystically communicate, we must provide Christ a full place in our heart:

"By painting the Face of God, the icon painter plastically reproduces the way Christ paints Himself with his hand. (...) those imaginings do not belong to the saint, but to the Lord. The Lord has transcribed them in our terms. (...) Your fumble, iconographer, will be all the less, as Christ, in the moment preceding the iconographic act, will dwell more fully in your heart"[6].
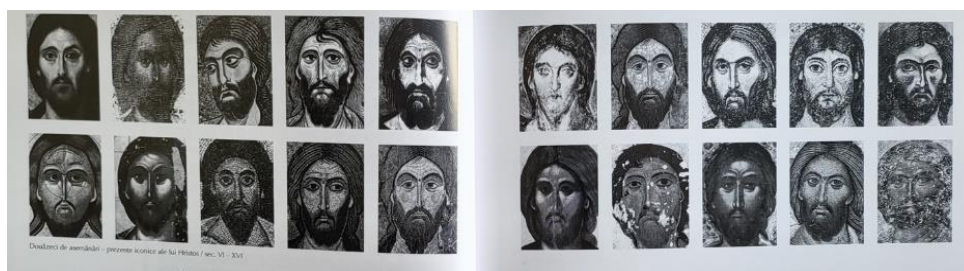

Figure 1. "20 resemblances – iconic presences of Christ" over one thousand years (6th–16th centuries) (Dumitrescu, 2018, pp. 72–73).

The second meaning of The Icon. The first order and the new order

The icon is power-in-being, God's hypostasis-in-acting. It is a sign of the New World Order, of a new man and of a new society. Before being a New World Order, before Christ, the world itself was made as an iconic Fact. The Genesis. In between the beginning of the world as an iconic genesis and Christ lies the sin and the birth of the System. Heaven is the beginning of the world, and its nature is iconic, too. The role of the Icon is to hyphen (*"a încrătima"*) the *here* world with its divine archetype.

"Since the world is the iconic act of its Creation (...) the hidden rule of the First Creation project: *Heaven everywhere!* The expanded heaven meant systematic, paradisiacal iconicity on a planetary scale. Therefore, originally, Heaven was a World within the world, it was the predictable icon of a homogenously anthropocentric world, predilectionally and sovereignly intended for man, having the precise purpose of

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[5] „(...) de fapt, avem de-a face cu realitatea duhovnicească a unei prezențe ipostatice concrete a Domnului, sălășuind în asemănare, invocată vizual de Chipul Său iconic. Corect ar fi să spunem că icoana îl *manifestă* pe Hristos (...)", in *Ibidem*, p. 55.

[6] „Zugrăvind Chipul Domnului, iconarul reproduce plastic modul în care Hristos se zugrăvește pe Sine prin mâna lui. (...) respectivele închipuiri nu-i aparțin sfântului, ci Domnului. Domnul le-a transcris în termenii noștri. (...) Orbecăirea ta, iconarule, va fi cu atât mai redusă, cu cât Hristos, în momentul premergător actului iconografic, va locui mai deplin în inima ta", in *Ibidem*, pp. 66–69.

housing his chosen creature, made by the Creator of the World and Heaven in the image and after His likeness, this time directly bearing the seal of His Face"[7].

THE SYSTEM

The Icon was one of the powerful opponents of the System. But not the only one. The New Power that defeated The System was, and still is, a message of a special type distributed over five dimensions: the Incarnation, Crucifixion, Resurrection, and Ascension, that is the overcoming of death[8]. The message was so commanding for it shelled the System using the soft, but all-pervasive power of the language. And the power of language is the power of the Holy Spirit. Where death is more than the biological and decomposition of the body, death refers to despair – the wandering and death of the soul of a live person, the sins-in-being.

What is the System? The System appeared somewhere after The Fall from Heaven, more precisely when the paradisiac memory began to fade away, when people were becoming increasingly idolaters. It has appeared as a substitute to the primary order that was iconic. A weak substitute, though, made for the sake of power and self-projections or delusions.

> "The system with a big S did not appear immediately after the Fall, but a little later, immediately after the extinction of the Golden Age and the paradisiacal memory, at the moment when entropy replaced the Maker of the World with the world of imaginary and non-iconic idols! The system arose from the 'foam' of the old systemic characteristic, immediately rising into the main solution to the breakdown of the fallen world of man"[9].

Given the idolatrous character of the System, Dumitrescu's theory states that there is one and the same System since Rome till nowadays.

The main features of the System are quite like those of the modern organization or bureaucracy described by Max Weber [10]. Here, we have some of them (Dumitrescu):

1. It is a paradoxical state structure: maximally conservative and maximally adaptive, "ready to fold, without changing"[11].

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[7] „De când lumea este actul iconic al Facerii ei (...) regula ascunsă a proiectului Facerii Dintâi: Raiul peste tot! Raiul extins însemna iconicitate sistematică, paradisiacă la scară planetară. Prin urmare, la origine, Raiul era o Lume în lume, era icoana predictibilă a unei lumi omogen antropocentrice, în mod predilect și suveran destinată omului, având menirea precisă de a-i găzdui făptura aleasă, făcută de Făcătorul Lumii și al Raiului după chipul și după asemănarea Sa, de această dată direct purtătoare a peceții Feței Lui", in Sorin Dumitrescu, *op. cit,* 2017, p. 12.

[8] *Ibidem*, p. 8.

[9] „Sistemul cu S mare n-a apărut imediat după Cădere, ci nițel mai târziu, imediat după stingerea Epocii de Aur și a memoriei paradisiace, în clipa în care entropia a substituit Făcătorului Lumii lumea idolilor închipuiți și neiconici! Sistemul a luat naștere din «spuma» vechii caracteristici sistemice, erijându-se imediat în principală soluție de avarie a lumii căzute a omului", in *Ibidem*, p. 14.

[10] Max Weber, *Economy and Society. An outline of Interpretive Sociology*, University of California Press, 1978, p. 220.

[11] „este o structură statală deliberat construită paradoxal, maxim conservatoare și maxim maleabilă, gata să se plieze, fără să se modifice!", in Sorin Dumitrescu, *op. cit.*, 2017, p. 15.

2. It is built to last literally forever. The system will not bow to anything.
3. The personnel are strictly technocratic, rationalistic not prebendal (as the Ottoman Empire much later).
4. At the core of the system's bureaucracy is the military, "the generals, followed by tribunes, governors, prosecutors, judges, rhetoricians (...)"[12].
5. The highest values of the autocratic and cynic System, besides self-idolatry and idolatry of the ruler are victory, profit, and their fructification, to further enhance the system's stability, its supreme deity: "approached in conceptual terms, the ancient Roman state system, as well as the current ones, are «assemblies, compositions of parts that support each other and whose mutual definition» – a well-known contemporary definition that rhymes perfectly with the ancient one"[13].
6. It is made of autonomous compartments, that is, if forced to leave a certain institutional territory or take some damage, it could restore itself in a short notice.
7. Even if it was rationalistic and technocratic, the System was not laic, the Roman state being at the same time founded on both sacred and militarized structures.

The System survived until nowadays, being plagued by the same tension between its practical philosophy and the general moral commandments[14].

THE BATTLE

Since the System's maturation is inevitably leaning toward idolatry, there was a question of time when it will collide with the Face, the Original Order. And the resurrection of the original time involves the Icon. The Icon is one of the essential aspects of the battle. The icon indicates the point of origin (the Heaven) and, simultaneously, to the model of suffering, the Sacrifice to regain the original freedom.

It is of utmost importance to notice that the Icon was erupting from the very core of the System: the military, exactly, the Stratelates. Highly trained and competent, deeply ingrained in the logic of the System, the Stratelates imploded the very structure they served when it became unbearable idolatrous: when it began imposing the cult of the emperor as the supreme God and denying the private right to keep Christ as the only God. Since increasing parts of the Empire was silently Christianized already, the Roman military included, this turned out to be the de facto detonation of the pagan Roman order.

"Today, it is well known that the much-commented subversive destination of the hypogean catacomb spaces was certainly not intended to hide Christians but, on the

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[12] *Ibidem*, p. 16.
[13] *Ibidem.*
[14] *Ibidem*, p. 17.

contrary, to distinguish their faith as clearly as possible from the swarm of pagan beliefs and imagined deities. However, a harsh conflict existed, which could not be avoided, now when the Roman state, in its desire to 'centralize' the gods of all faiths in a single pagan pantheon 'of wide use' (!) hit the spot, and still strong, by the categorical refusal of the Christians, opposed to the placement of their God in the society of the other gods. Some of them, especially the Christians within the high society, did not hesitate to qualify the gods of the System, and implicitly the deity of Caesar, as idolatrous, imagined entities. From the perspective of the Empire, the iconic resistance of the Christian community was not, however, considered a reproach to the official and idolatrous polytheism, but rather an anti-imperial gesture of lèse-majesté and, implicitly, an attack on the security of the state. Even in such challenging situations, the martyrs and their martyrdoms still failed to disturb the discretionary and imagined power of the Caesars, much less to challenge the imposingly stable structure of the System's institutions"[15].

The situation changed when martyrdom became the norm in the Empire's relation to Christians, especially against those best placed in the logic of the System.

What defeated the system?

First, the iconic character of the battle itself. Not only the battle was fought by Christians with the help of the Icon, but the character of the battle was also imposed by the Icon, by the very Prototypic Image of the Father Jesus Christ. That is, every martyrized Christian became a multiplied image of the Passion. The System multiplied its own enemy.

Sorin Dumitrescu reviews the process:

- First, the generalized rumor of the apparition of an all-out Christian resistance movement at the end of the 2nd century when the horrific reprisals began en-masse.
- Actively antagonizing the bearers of systematic iconicity – the Stratelates:

"The crumbling of this unsurpassable idolatrous and state structure seems to have been worked with weapons totally unknown to the imposing Roman state. The authors of this systemic cataclysm, which definitively ruined the most effective System and the most stable ancient state, and, moreover, whose collapse paved the way for the effectiveness of the systematic iconicity of the Byzantine Bicephaly, are only a handful

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[15] „Astăzi se știe bine că mult comentata destinație subversivă a spațiilor hipogee catacombale nu a avut nicidecum menirea de a ascunde creștini ci, invers, de a le distinge cât mai clar credința de roiul credințelor păgâne și a zeităților închipuite. Totuși un conflict dur a existat, fără a putea fi evitat, în clipa în care statul roman, în dorința de a „centraliza" zeii tuturor credințelor într-un unic panteon păgân „de largă folosință" (!) s-a izbit pe loc, și încă tare de tot, de refuzul categoric al creștinilor, potrivnici plasării Dumnezeului lor în societatea celorlalți zei. Unii dintre aceștia, mai cu seamă creștinii cu situații suspuse, n-au ezitat să califice zeii Sistemului și implicit înzeirea Cezarului, ca fiind entități idolești, închipuite. Din prisma Imperiului, rezistența iconică a comunității creștine n-a fost totuși socotită drept un blam adresat politeismului oficial și idolatru, ci mai curând un gest antiimperial de les majestate și, implicit, un atac la siguranța statului. Chiar și în asemenea situații provocatoare, martirii și martiriile lor n-au reușit totuși să îngrijoreze puterea discreționară și închipuită a Cezarilor și cu atât mai puțin să pună în criză structura impunător stabilă a instituțiilor Sistemului", in *Ibidem*, p. 9.

of Christian martyrs from within, and at the head of the System – exceptional generals, tribunes, and consuls, mostly intimates of the dominion (!?) – scattered at the command and helm of the System, over more than 150 years. Their incredible sacrifice, assisted by a new Power, of iconic origin and completely ignored by contemporaries, is the one that, for the first time in the world, laid Christian foundations for political power. The system was knocked down and ended up in the stocks by the ICON"[16].

- The martyr became a living icon. The process of excruciatingly torture transformed the person into a *view* ("priveliște"), into an exemplary.
- The Empire's most exemplary tool for ordeal – the crucifixion, transformed the obeying and confused masses into Christians-to-be. That is, it produced a bigger lot of future martyrs, and multiplied icons of the Crucifixion of Christ.

"There was a key moment, when the executive power of the System, of the terrible repressive gear of the Roman state, was totally overcome by the increase in the rate of martyrdom to levels impossible to imagine and stop, from mass executions, usually under the charge of the System, to the wave of solitary, group, or even legions of martyrs (!) all practiced joyfully and frantically, as if beheading and giving up life in the extremis from now on had become an ancient fashion!"[17].

- The System stubbornly insists to slowly put to death, to increase the torment of the martyr and to terrify the watching public. Instead of terrifying, the process led to a widespread presence of a new Power that boycott the torment of an impossible-to-comprehend joyful victim, which terrify the executioners. The torment is very often accompanied by miraculous healings. All these lead to widespread Christianization.

"It was not long before their sacrificial 'performance' introduced a veritable scale of martyrdom (...) in secret Christ himself or His angels heal them in a single night of mortal wounds, ordinarily absolutely incurable. The horror of the sufferings endured, and the healings are absolutely inexplicable to any sane person, Christianize en masse! The Authority, the system insists on killing them slowly, through infernal torments and at great length, but all the hagiographies describe the meddling of a Power that boycotts the organized torment of torture. Instead of dying, the young victims endure them calmly, sometimes even jovially (!), totally incomprehensible

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[16] „La surparea acestei structuri idolești și statale de nesurpat pare să se fi lucrat cu arme total necunoscute impunătorului stat roman. Autorii acestui cataclism sistemic, care a ruinat definitiv cel mai eficace Sistem și cel mai stabil stat antic și, în plus, a cărui prăbușire a deschis calea înspre eficacitatea iconicității sistematice a Bicefaliei Bizantine, sunt doar o mână de martiri creștini dinăuntrul și din fruntea Sistemului – generali, tribuni și consuli de excepție, în majoritate intimi ai stăpânirii (!?) – presărați la comanda și cârma Sistemului, de-a lungul a peste 150 de ani. Jertfa lor incredibilă, asistată de o Putere – p. 18 nouă, de sorginte iconică și absolut ignorată de contemporani, este cea care, pentru prima oară în lume a pus baze creștine puterii politice. Sistemul a fost doborât și pus pe butuci de ICOANĂ", in *Ibidem*, pp. 17–18, author's underline.

[17] „A existat un moment – cheie, când puterea executivă a Sistemului, a teribilului angrenaj represiv al statului roman au fost total depășite de creșterea ratei martiriului la cote imposibil de imaginat și de oprit, de la execuțiile în masă, aflate de obicei în sarcina Sistemului, la valul de martirii solitare, de grup sau de-a dreptul de trupe de legiuni (!) toate practicate voios și frenetic, ca și cum decapitarea și renunțarea in extremis la viața de-acum, ar fi devenit o modă antică!", in *Ibidem*, p. 18.

fact, which first amuses the executioners, then terrifies them, until they are forbidden and powerless to make them suffer. (...) For fear of the assembled crowd, the System is forced to behead them urgently"[18].

The Saints of the prisons

The battle of the Icon with the Roman System is a prototype. Another war surged in the 50s in Romania, during the forced communization of the country, when hundreds of thousands of the most prominent elites were imprisoned and beaten and starved to death. The result of the one-sided violent encounter was another mass of martyrs, well-known today as the Saints of the prisons (*sfinții închisorilor*). The issue seems the same: the satanic impregnated System, this time oriented toward "the new-imbecile-diabolic idolization of the State Party"[19].

The paradigm of martyrdom in communist prisons was under the dictum of "don't avenge us" – Mircea Vulcănescu. It has three meanings: warning, forgiveness, and interdiction.

Warning says do not retaliate to the System. The war, to be won, is to stay unseen:

"in man's power is only to defend himself as much as he can, sometimes even to resist [to the System] a little, but in no case to want to fight alone. (...) Only Christ, the Logos incarnate in history, the Only Person who inspires satan with fearful, indescribable fear, far greater and more definitive than death, can win! In this first version, 'Do not avenge us'! sends a warning!"[20].

Forgiveness means not to be like the executioners: Christianity is different from the law of vengeance. And not to forgive means exactly the law of vengeance, not Christianity.

Interdiction is related to the Cain's sign upon the killers. It reads as follows:

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[18] „N-a trecut mult și «performanța» lor jertfelnică a introdus o veritabilă scală a martiriului (...) într-ascuns, Hristos însuși sau îngerii Săi îi vindecă într-o singură noapte de plăgi letale, în mod obișnuit absolut nevindecabile. Grozăvia supliciilor îndurate și tămăduirile absolut inexplicabile oricărei persoane întregi la minte, încreștinează în masă! Autoritatea, Sistemul ține morțiș să-I omoare lent, prin chinuri infernale și cu prisosință îndelungi, însă toate hagiografiile descriu amestecul unei Puteri care boicotează chinul organizat al torturii. în loc să-și dea duhul, tinerele victime le îndură senin, uneori chiar jovial (!), fapt total de neînțeles, care mai întâi asmute călăii, apoi îi înspăimântă, până rămân interziși și neputincioși să-i facă să sufere. (...) De teama mulțimii adunate, Sistemul este forțat să-i decapiteze urgent", in *Ibidem*, p. 29, p. 31.

[19] Sorin Dumitrescu, *op. cit.,* 2017, p. 38.

[20] „În consecință – iată o mostră de înțelepciune paradisiacă – a te răzbuna pe Sistem și pe oamenii lui demonizați care-l servesc și-l fac posibil, devine cel puțin o gafă metafizică! Fiindcă în ce privește desfășurătorul războiului nevăzut, în puterea omului este doar să se apere pe cât poate, uneori chiar să-i reziste nițel, dar în nici un caz să vrea să biruie singur. Pentru el ar fi sinucidere sigură! Victoria o poate doar Hristos, Logosul întrupat în istorie, Singura Persoană care-i inspiră satanei o teamă înfricoșată, de nedescris, mult mai mare și mai definitivă ca moartea! În această primă versiune, «Să nu ne răzbunați!» transmite o *avertizare*!", in *Ibidem*, p. 39.

"let no one kill our executioners, so that they may remain free as long as they live, 'disturbed and fugitives on the earth', creeping fearfully and alone through the world, just like Cain"[21].

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[21] „(...) pe călăii noștri – par să ne fi cerut Sfinții închisorilor – nimeni să nu-i omoare, ca să rămână cât vor trăi liberi, «zbuciumați și fugari pe pământ», strecurându-se înfricoșați și singuri prin lume, întocmai lui Cain", in *Ibidem*, p. 40.

TECHNICAL TYRANNY

Mihail Ungheanu[22]

ABSTRACT

Humanity finds itself at a turning point these days. Due to scientific and technological progress some forces intend to change the way mankind lives. This new way of governing humanity can be called governance and denotes a new kind of running human affairs. It is a technocratic model that tends to reduce human beings to machines and that ignores completely the proper human dimensions of human beings. The rise of management and organization sciences is an example of the fact that human existence is now modelled after the Jacques Ellul called the technical system. The practical result of this development is tyranny.

Keywords: totalitarianism, technique, tyranny, cybernetics, society.

INTRODUCTION

The problem of technique or technology is an essential one for mankind (technique is used in the sense of J. Ellul's le système technicien; usually this expression is rendered as technology in English). As it is man cannot exist, survive, and prosper without it. The fact that mankind is defined by having a world – a being - in-the-world, as Martin Heidegger would express the situation of man –, is possible due the existence of tools and la technique (in the sense used by Jacques Ellul). Technique thus belongs to the conditions of possibility of man, the condition of possibility that man himself produces. Art certainly belongs to these tools man makes.

Technology is thus never neutral because its relation to human nature. Man is defined by the fabrication of new organs that are the tools, as Jean Vioulac so directly affirms. This view is not new. It can be found in the works of Arnold Gehlen or Danny Robert-Dufour or Jacques Ellul. As opposed to the animal, mankind is not confined to a single environment and a set of pre-established behaviors. Also, in opposition to the animal, human beings come into the world in an unfinished state, as if their entire being was left uncompleted.

A human individual is in no way prepared for the environment as an animal. No sharp claws like a big feline or a crocodile, no capacity to fly, no armor like the afore-mentioned big lizard. None of those. So according to the view exposed above, the faculty of fabricating tools kicked in. Not only that man made tools, but man also made himself. Man has no real essence. Those tools, and the experience of working with

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them – writing can be counted among the – do structure and influence our thought and behavior. According to Vioulac and sounding very Marxist, the theoretical models of thought are loaned from the realm of production techniques (thanks can be and is a subcase of the fact that human thought is structured by metaphors, which do have cognitive import and are not replaceable by a definition). According to him, this makes human thought dependent to the practical realm of technique.

THE CLASSICAL RELATION BETWEEN TECHNIQUE AND SOCIETY

In the opinion of Pierre Francastel, in the past century, there is no antinomy between art and technique. This so-called antinomy is just the present-day version of the classical thesis about the gratuity of art. They are nevertheless wrong. They belong somehow together and, thus, opposing art to technique or aesthetics to utility is wrong. Until modernity art and technique have belonged together. The tool was an extension of the hand and bodily activity. Some aspects of bodily activity and manual manipulation of tools disappear when automatized machines are being used. He contends that opposing art and technique is not only a modern point of view. Technical and esthetic values were already differentiated and opposed during the history of mankind but opposing each other is false. Art and beauty are not without purpose. Art and aesthetics have their utility, which has always existed, even when one cannot see them. They have always been bound together.

The opinion that art and technique are opposites is false. Artists and people that see things in this way are wrong. Human desires and necessities still dictate to and technology, affirms the French sociologist in the aftermath of the second world war. In the past the beautiful and the practical belonged to the same phenomenon. In those days there were no products that were only practical and objects that were only destinated to esthetic contemplation. All objects had those two aspects even from the beginning of humanity. The work instrument is made to serve a certain purpose but there was no prescribed form that the instrument had to take to function properly. There was no absolute determination between the purpose of the tool and a particular form thereof. According to historical and ethological research in older cultures, but also in the past ages of the European culture, there are an infinite number of variations for the same kind of tool in different human groups. The pure form of the tool was an abstraction. On each tool can be seen the person or social impression that the artisan had imprinted on it. Art and technique have always belonged together.

What we call art, in the modern sense, meant techne (or the know-how that guides an activity) in ancient Greece, that is technique. Until the advent of modernity, there were no changes in this relationship between art and utility. Medieval architecture can be said to be the product of both aesthetic and spiritual aims and of purposes of technological development. When an artisan did his job and produced an object of his trade, he was not only following rules, but he was also

inventing the method that would allow him to approximate as much as possible the ideal model that guides his doing. Thus, the techniques that are used evolve and change, improve, and so forth. Francastel is asserting in a categoric way that all the arts were born out of the handling of matter and that every action that man imposes on the matter implies two components. A free and creative one and one that is utilitarian. Opposing art and technique is wrong. The technique is a phenomenon that is present in all domains of activity. The techniques man uses command all arts and all activities. A technique is a recipe for doing things, attaining a certain result. In this sense it is ubiquitous and an essential part of almost everything we do.

On the other hand, every technique entails something that belongs to art. There would be a true opposition between art and utility only if the art product would be the product of a completely gratuitous fantasy of a person. This assertion does not acknowledge the sociological role of e art. That holds whether the artisan or the artist produces objects with esthetic values or practical things. From this perspective opposing art and technique permanently is just groundless. But since Francastel's article dates from 1948 and he admitted that one should research if due to the new developments in technology, the relationship between art and technique did not transform.

The relation between art and technique changed. The birth and development of the machine did bring changes with to it. The tool ceases to be the extension of the human hand. It replaces both the hand and sometimes the mind. The machine takes over from the human mind the part pertaining to the adjustments and corrections of an activity, a part that seemed reserved for the art. Art had a sociological function to accomplish and, in his view, if contemporary people find that art produces ugly objects is because they look for their aesthetic values in the past and not in the present. It remains nevertheless true that a lot of products of contemporary are ugly. The misappreciation of modern art and the belief that art and technique are opposed could stem from this fact that people hold to values systems from the past and that they did not acquire a new aesthetic taste.

The relationship between art and technique is affected by the fact that new materials come up, by the fact that new needs arise, and all these give a new direction to the development of technique. Not taking this into account leads also to the view that art and technique are opposed. The French sociologist thought that art still influences technique and that the finality of the technique is imposed upon it from outside its domain. The finality that the mechanical arts acquired, as they dubbed technique in the Middle Ages, depended also on the needs of the client and of the imagination of society and engineers, architects, etc. Thus, even in the middle of the twentieth century, Francastel concluded that nothing changed in the relationship between art and technique. The adaptation of technological development to the life condition of a certain age did not belong to technique alone, but to art. Of course, his work and point of view were not acquainted with the development of cybernetics. The technical object incorporated the Weltanschauung of an era, and its behavior, including both utilitarian and social/aesthetic values. Art creates new languages for

expressing new ideas and feelings, according to the age wherein it takes place, just like technique comes with new innovations. In this sense, they reflect the age they are in and so does politic and the way it is done. The technique seems for him to be something that man and society can master a mere instrument. But is this so? Does technique or technology really support human endeavors and a humane life?

THE ASCENDANCY OF THE MODERN TECHNIQUE

Thinkers such as Leroi-Gourhan or Martin Heidegger saw technique and the tool as an extension of the hand – which was the main instrument of rearranging the world. The first seeds of mechanics are in his view the signs of a mutation of what technique is supposed to be. The technique becomes cunning, ingenious invention. It becomes know-how, a kind of practical and foreseeing knowledge that guides action. From now on the technique becomes a kind of knowledge that inheres the practical work, not a science based upon theoretical principles and reflection. Technique becomes manipulation. Present-day age technique is based on theoretical science, according to him. With the advent of modernity, techniques ceased to be based upon personal experience, an isolated endeavour of few people. Modern technique is based upon notions borrowed from physics and mathematics. It becomes machinique, that is machine-like.

Mathematics applied to physic becomes paramount and the development thereof entails the discovery and use of other materials that wood or iron, for example, steel. This development imposes new requirements on man. Creating and using the new type of tools requires more precision and theoretical reflection. Without precision and new materials, the mechanisms known as machines could not have been built. The technique becomes emancipated from its original source, the hand. The main and proper feature of the machine is to be self-moving and the workers that are bound to it are instrumentalized by being made to execute a single predefined and repeating gesture. The machine does not emancipate man, it bounds man to it, and it cuts man from his own know-how, from the different kinds of knowledge he possessed. Man is robbed of some of his own features that are transferred to the machine. This is visible in the twentieth and twenty-one centuries regarding the development of computers, their networking, etc., and the so-called artificial intelligence. Something else is being transferred to the machine: the decision-making capacity of man. This became way easier with the introduction of the feedback mechanism.

Cybernetics is the discipline that manages to bring together all these features of the new technique, of the technological system in Jacques Ellul's words. The feedback mechanism makes it possible that the machine improves its own activity, that it starts to learn and correct itself. The machine is a logical system, a program, a way of enacting and doing things according to a certain structure. The computer, the cybernetic machine is not made for one purpose only but can be used for many. It is

a kind of universal machine, adaptive to a lot of circumstances. It does not produce proper work. It runs and governs different tasks. That is also the meaning of its Greek name. Cybernetes mean pilot or governor. This discipline and its principles have invaded society and are permeating all the activities of man. Cybernetics has taken a leading role in human society under the guise of the science of organization and f management. The managerial society is its mask. It is based on a type of logic akin to or even identical to the one of the markets.

One of the most comprehensive treatments of the problem of technique can be found in Jacques Ellul's work. He thinks that it represents the most important problem of the life of modern man. The technique is, as J. Ellul so clearly states, is the most important social and spiritual factor in the modern era. The technique is not something reducible to the machine, although the way a completely automated machine works is the ideal of technical usage. Without the birth of the machine there would be no world of the technique. Technical progress had created a kind of inhuman environment wherein man lives. The machine was invented and integrated with a social and spiritual environment that was changed and transformed by it. What really creates the modern world is not capitalism as such, but the development of the technical system. The machine burst into the society of the XIX century, a society that was not prepared for its arrival. The technological system – the standard English translation for Ellul's concept of le systeme technicien – brings about a survey of everything that can be considered practical in all domains of life, of everything that can be integrated into the machine or the mega-machine that society will become. The technique integrates the machine into society thereby producing a change in its makeup. Through technique and the technical mindset society begins to be adapted to the machine; the social realities, behaviors, thinking, etc. began to be ordered, rationalized, and rejected when they didn't adapt to the new ways of being imposed by the technical progress.

The technique is efficient and spreads everywhere its iron law: the iron law of efficiency. The technical system integrates everything it can. The man is adapted to the system and not the other way around. The technique, once extended in all the areas of life, ceases to be an object for man. It becomes her own substance. It begins to absorb him gradually. Equating the technical system with the machine does not match the situation. Man is not simply adapted to the technical system that entails the application of new kinds of laws on human action. The superior know-how that the machine incorporates is now transferred to all the domains that previously were not accessible to it. The development and expansion of the technique were made possible in modernity by the development of science. The technique is commonly seen as the point of application of science to reality. But in some domains, the technique precedes science, for example, in physics. If the technical mean does not exist, then there will be no progress.

Modern science, despite the theoretical subbasement, is subservient to technology. What matters is application and getting results. Science had become a means by which technology goes forward. The technique applied to social life is what is referred nowadays as organization or management "Organization" is a

technique. The technical system is encompassing all domains of life and connects across all of them. And what lies at the core thereof is the search for efficiency, of increasing efficiency. A partial definition of technics is that it represents the practical expression of man's desire to exert rational control over things. The expression of this desire in social life is managerial action. "Organization" is a kind of technique, an aspect of the technical system that engulfs life. Even the modern political organization known as the state is made possible by the development of different types of techniques be it in the administrative domain, in the way armies are built, and so forth. The technique starts to her full development in the nineteenth century, accelerating it in the twentieth. Research is done only from the perspective of the application. The search for increased efficiency is the guide, the main force that drives technical development and expansion. As already said the technique or the technical system had become its own substance, a reality.

The technique had ceased to be a simple go-between man and the world and had become something different. It is no longer a simple collection of means and tools, but an end. In ancient civilizations technical endeavors were limited and applied only on certain occasions. The relationship between these was inverted. Modern civilization depends on technical means completely. Everything depends on technique: transportation, production, economy, personal comfort, etc. In those civilizations and in the past of what is now modern civilization the technical means were under the control of man. They were adapted to him not man to technique. Roman law was practical, build upon a minimal set of principles that needed personal evaluation and judgment when confronted with a situation. The existing means and tools were meant to be used extensively till all their possibilities were exhausted. There was no need to invent new ones (laws in the case of Roman law) every time a new situation or a new need/desire arises. Maximum results using a minimal and limited set of means. The idea was to perfect the existing means at one's disposal.

The same principle was applied in all other domains. Each artisan was trying to perfect his mastery over the technical means. The techniques were stable, they were not revolutionized permanently. The human being was on the first place, not technical development. But this relation was turned upside down Since the nineteenth century, the technique has become an autonomous reality, conditioned only by the search and calculation of efficiency. The research and experiment have ceased to be individual and have become abstract, mathematical, and industrial. Research is done collectively. The researchers are functionaries of the technical system. The state and powerful companies and now involved therein and they define it. The individual takes part in it, but only as an abstraction. In the present-day world the technique is no more limited to strict domains of life or certain geographical areas, since it was bounded to certain ethnic or specialized groups of people. It has invaded all areas of life and all activities of mankind and has produced a limitless multiplication of means; it perfects continuously all the instruments that are already at the disposal of man. The technique has now spread all over the world. It has some

defining features that did not apply to the ancient techniques: automatism, self-growth, universality, autonomy, and inseparability.

Automatism means that the choice that one must take in certain circumstances regarding a problem will be made automatically in the direction of the most efficient technique. The most efficient, the newest, and the most technical way of doing things have to be used. As it develops and spread across the whole human existence, the technical system will eliminate everything that is not technical and will try assimilating the non-technical wherever possible. A technical attitude in politics means that the human factor is going to be the subjected to a series of pressures that should mold it according to technical requirements. Freedom will be cut down. All sources of unpredictability will be shut down. The hazard must be abolished, and a rational regularity must be imposed upon the subject-matter of politics.

Since technique and science require regularity there is another factor that must be eliminated from the realm of politics: man. Human individuals are sources of unpredictability, that is, from the technical point of view, sources of disorder. Technical progress tends to develop in geometrical progression. One invention in a domain may lead to other inventions and new technical innovation in another. The older technique conditions the newer ones. Though the intervention and activities of mankind are still necessary the development of technique is a movement which has as its aim itself. The only purpose of technique is her own growth and spreading. An infinite movement. Wherever she is applied she stay identical to herself. Whatever is touched by it takes technical feature.

The technique is a whole. It does not support or accept moral judgments. Moral is something alien to technique. Technique is a mean to do something and that something can be done only if someone uses the technical mean according to its technicality. The technique has become an environment that mediates between man and world, man and man, and man ant himself. It creates a model for social relationships, too. The technique colonizes man. The manifestations of technique are universal. The technique incorporates a kind of vison of the world, which is exemplified by the people living under the reign of the technical system. People no longer adapt the technique to them; they are adapted so that the technical system can go forward. Cybernetics and management are an expression for the technical system and of the subservience of mankind toward technique.

CONCLUSIONS. MANAGEMENT AND CYBERNETICS

From tool, one arrives at cybernetics and management. What is management? According to Baptiste Rappin management is related to hand but also to home and to the way one used to lead a horse. The English verb "to manage" is a loan from Italian – mannegiare. When met in American English, manager meant something akin to an impresario meaning a person tasked with taking care of someone else's affairs and interests. In English, the word applied to the realm of horse races and

afterward to the domain of sports in general. The Italian verb managgiare corresponds to the French manier – to manipulate, to make use of Both verbs are related to the Latin word for hand manus – hand. From this stems the meaning of mando, of giving a mandate to someone, to delegate a task to someone. The manager was someone that through his skill or deftness catches and then controls a horse. As such management has to do with utilizing, manipulating, and leading something. It means to manipulate or handle something with skill. Someone leads someone else or makes other people do his or her bidding. To this meaning comes another that the word acquired when it arrived in America. "To manage" took the sense of taking care of the home and the activities associated with that, including the education of the children, spending, etc. The noun management has another meaning now. "Management" denotes a set of techniques of efficacity. The works of the hand imply a kind of Promethean relationship with the world. Man becomes the master of the world that remodels it according to his own wishes and needs. Even the Germanic variant of verbs pertaining to hand – handling, to handle, die Behandlung, handeln, die Handlung, Handhabung, entail this connotation. But the transition to the industrial age led to another meaning to the word in the direction of efficiency.

The Industrial Revolution replaced the manual activity of the worker with the machine. Work becomes something mechanical, and the machine becomes the norm. The machine becomes the model a worker must imitate. Features of the human worker are from that point transferred onto the machine. The culmination of this process can be seen in the birth of the computer (an early phase because of the necessity of calculating the flight path of enemy aviation and targeting/opening fire against it) and the rise of cybernetics. It can be said that mankind builds the golem not to be served by it but to serve it. What else is the AI that should run entire smart cities? But another name of the golem should be "organization" before it is applied to the Artificial Intelligence.

What is organization? The organization is the application of the principles of scientific management to the whole of human existence (or of existence as such). The terms that frame the definition of organization are purpose, finality, actions, feedback, information, system, etc. "Organization" is a central term of the science that Norbert Wiener elaborated on during the second world war. That science is cybernetics. Information is opposed to the increasing dis-organization of the universe. Information is organization. Living beings are such systems of organization that have another important feature: feedback loops, the capacity to learn, monitor themselves, and change their behavior. The concept of organization that cybernetics engenders denotes a feedback loop, which means it is a sort of collective completed activity in which the processes of control and evaluation have replaced the process of surveillance in the act of verifying if the behavior of the living being aligns to a certain strategy (in the case of different associations, organizations, etc. if the behavior of the employee's members align with the management plans). This is the modern basis of management theories of today. And is no accident that

Wiener's last book is entitled God and Golem, Inc which retells the story of what happens when a golem goes out of control. The idea of the golem is mentioned by Wiener in the foreword to his groundbreaking work Cybernetics in 1948.

For Wiener, the men of science should be the ones who offer the guarantees for adequate use of technical innovations. Technical inventions are neutral, the effect thereof depends only on the use that someone makes of them. Scientific activities have a messianic meaning. The new discoveries help to maintain organization in nature, therefore blocking the way of the progress of entropy This task is now incumbent on the managerial class. The management and the organizational techniques are thus fulfilling the same task. Blocking entropy in the world. The managerial organization of society has the power to transform the world, and to increase order. Wiener's position is the current position on techniques. Those are seen as neutral, and the effects thereof depend on the usage man make of them. Thus, the managerial techniques are considered to be morally neutral and if one is properly trained that person won't misapply them. This whole conception hinders the possibility to critical exam the "technical system" (Jacques Ellul), thereby producing an inflation of surveillance and controlling devices, and so forth. Also, it produces a collusion between the inflation of the managerial devices and the voluntarist (and utopian, totalitarian, despotic) discourse around sustainable development, social responsibility, governance, and so forth.

Management is the art – techne or the technique – to govern people's inner subjectivity. It works in a subtle and invisible way. It affects the psyche of the people under its rule. It makes uses, leads, and manipulates what one may called human desire, the main motor of human action. The managerial techniques are applied not on the people that are the driving forces behind an enterprise, the people who cane with the purpose and the idea that set up the whole thing, but upon the ones that are doing the execution work. Those people are being estranged from themselves (since they do not have any inkling about the idea/the purpose that is the main motivation behind the existence of the whole enterprise), from their desire to work and the work they must accomplish. The management aims at bridging this gap. Its job consists in accommodating, patching up, repairing. For the managerial technique man is reduced to the cognitive-behavioral dimension of his existence, which I supposed to be governed only by policies based solely on information. The managerial approach does not aim at modifying the way work is done. Instead, its target is to modify the worker and adapt him to the work. The worker must adapted and modified to match the organizational managerial logic. Adaptation is the key-concept here. This managerial view of things and of governing humans entail a removal of essential features of the human being. The process represents the opposite of the process entailed by the work artisans did. There the matter was subdued by the hand, by the worker. Now the worker is subdued and is being worked upon from outside becoming estranged from himself.

It is now obvious that the relationship that existed between art and technique as Pierre Francastel understood it has changed. There is no more room for personal

judgment in confronting new circumstances, no place for negotiations with reality. The technique has engulfed all the areas of human life under the guise of the principles of organization. Politics were once understood as the art of government, be it of state, people, or even one's life. But politics in this sense tend to disappear. Politicians are to be replaced by technicians or technocrats. When organization takes over a new world is being born, an order that alienates mankind. The art of politic modeled after cybernetics and management is no longer true art of politics. It is a technique of governing and according with technical and scientific principles that leave no room for freedom or for humanity.

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A HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE ORIGIN OF THE GYPSY SLAVERY IN ROMANIAN COUNTRIES. CURRENT HYPOTHESES AND RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

George Damian Mocanu[23]

ABSTRACT

The origins of Gypsy slavery in Romanian countries in the medieval period are considered obscure and almost impossible to explain. Over the years, several hypotheses have been put forward to explain this social condition of the Gypsies, apparently unique in Europe. Most of these hypotheses lack a documentary basis and are in fact speculations of circumstantial evidence, being unable to provide a coherent explanation for the Gypsies' enslavement.

Keywords: Gypsies, slavery, slavery in Wallachia and Moldova.

The first documents in Romanian countries that mention Gypsies in the 14th century are now interpreted as attributing to them the status of slaves. An analysis of the terms used to designate ethnicity and the social status associated with it, together with the evolution of these terms over time, could reveal more details about what Gypsy slavery meant in Romanian countries during this period. What is certain is that the Gypsies who arrived north of the Danube in the 14th century found themselves in a state of dependence on the Romanian monarchs. The practical content of this state of dependence or Gypsy slavery is not the subject of this article, but the way in which the historiography devoted to the question tries to offer a plausible explanation for the origins of Gypsy slavery. Unfortunately, the earliest written sources, whether official documents or chronicles, do not offer any explanation for how the Gypsies became slaves. The medieval documents of Wallachia and Moldavia simply note the state of Gypsy slavery as a fact and nothing more.

A first local attempt to establish the origins of the Gypsies can be found in the work "Descriptio Moldaviae", written by the former voivode Dimitrie Cantemir between 1714–1716, almost 400 years after the arrival of the Gypsies in the Romanian lands. Dimitrie Cantemir thus lists the ethnic groups of Moldova:

> "Apart from the Moldavians, whose ancestors came from Maramures, there are also Greeks, Albanians, Serbs, Bulgarians, Cossacks, Russians, Hungarians, Germans, Jews, and Gypsies with many children (...) Gypsies are scattered here and there all over

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Moldova, and you cannot find a landowner who does not own a few of their villages. Where and when did this race come to Moldova? They themselves do not know, nor is there anything about them in our chronicles. All Gypsies, from all lands, have the same language, which is mixed with many Greek words, and probably also Persian. They have no other occupation than smithing and gold panning"[24].

The next Romanian author to look into the history of the Gypsies was Mihail Kogălniceanu, who published a study in 1837 in Paris dedicated to them in the context of the movement for the abolition of slavery. Kogălniceanu notes the state of slavery in which the Gypsies of Wallachia and Moldavia found themselves since their arrival in these territories, without commenting on the origin of slavery. Kogălniceanu is later cited by several authors as the one who put forward the idea that the origin of gypsy slavery was to be found among the Tartars, but the first edition of his work on gypsies does not contain such an idea[25].

The French ethnographer and archivist Paul Bataillard noted in 1850, on the basis of several contemporary accounts, that the Gypsies on the island of Cyprus had an ambiguous status, between slaves and enslaved peasants, being largely sedentarised. The small number of sources and their lack of clarity led Bataillard to avoid a definitive conclusion on the social status of the Gypsies on the island of Cyprus in the 14th–15th centuries. As for the enslavement of the Gypsies in the Romanian countries, Bataillard notes that it is a phenomenon attested in the earliest local documents, without, however, being able to say precisely how the enslavement of the Gypsies north of the Danube occurred. Bataillard, alluding only to a possible comparison between Gypsy slavery in Cyprus and Gypsy slavery in Romanian countries, considered that Romanian historians should be more insistent in clarifying the origin of Gypsy slavery in Romanian countries[26]. Around the same time, the Frenchman Jean Alexandre Vaillant (professor at the College of Saint Sava in Bucharest) published a large work on the Gypsies in Romania in which he noted their Indian origin and the existence of their slavery in Romanian countries since ancient times, but without providing an explanation of the origin of slavery[27].

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[24] „Afară de moldoveni, ai căror strămoși au venit îndărăt din Maramureș, mai locuiesc în Moldova și greci, albanezi, sârbi, bulgari, leși, cazaci, ruși, unguri, nemți, evrei și țiganii cei cu mulți copii (...) Țiganii sunt împrăștiați ici și colo în toată Moldova și nu afli boier care să nu aibă în stăpânirea sa câteva sălașe de-ale lor. De unde și când a venit acest neam în Moldova? Nu știu nici ei înșiși și nici nu se găsește nimic despre dânșii în cronicile noastre. Toți țiganii, din toate ținuturile, au același grai, care este amestecat cu multe cuvinte grecești, și pesemne și persienești. Ei nu au altă îndeletnicire afară de fierărie și zlătărie", in Dimitrie Cantemir, *Descriptio Moldaviae*, Chișinău, Litera International, 2001, pp. 168–169.

[25] Mihail Kogălniceanu, *Esquisse sur l'histoire, les moeurs et la langue des Cigains, connus en France sous le nom de Bohémiens, [Sketch on the history, customs, and language of the Cigans, known in France as Bohemians]*, Paris, 1837, pp. 9–10.

[26] Paul Bataillard, "Nouvelle recherches sur l'apparition et la dispersion des bohémiens en Europe" ["New research on the appearance and dispersion of Gypsies in Europe"], in *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes*, Vol. XI, No.1, 1850, pp. 14–55.

[27] Jean Alexandre Vaillant, *Les Romes. Histoire vraie des vrais Bohemiens [Romas. True story of the real Bohemians]*, Paris, 1857.

Similarly, the Austrian author J. H. Schwicker presented in 1883 the state of slavery of gypsies in Romanian countries without offering an explanation[28].

Even in 1908 Octav Lecca could not offer an explanation of the origin of Gypsy slavery. In an article published in the magazine Viața Românească, Lecca affirmed that the state of gypsy slavery was not found in any other country outside Romania. The article proposes the hypothesis that at the time of their arrival on Romanian territory, Gypsies were already slaves, as attested by the first Romanian documents referring to Gypsies. Lecca considers that the exact date of the Gypsies' enslavement and the circumstances in which it occurred cannot be established[29].

In 1930 the historian Nicolae Iorga published in Paris a study of medieval Romanian law in which he stated directly without offering any argumentation in support of the claim that the Gypsies arrived in Romanian countries already enslaved, having been brought by the Tartars during their invasions in the 13th century[30].

An early study devoted specifically to the problem of Gypsy slavery was written by the French professor Marcel Emerit in 1930[31]. It starts from the assertion that gypsy slavery in Romanian countries was not a continuation of slavery in ancient times, but a different institution. Moreover, such a continuity would not have been politically, legally, and economically possible following the changes brought about by the withdrawal of the Roman Empire's administration north of the Danube. Marcel Emerit argues that war as a source of slaves for Romanian countries in medieval times cannot be an explanation for Gypsy enslavement. He goes on to present medieval documents from Moldavia in which Gypsies appear as slaves alongside Tartars and argues that while Tartars were most likely prisoners of war turned into slaves, Gypsies were enslaved because of their inability to defend themselves.

The hypothesis that the Gypsies were enslaved by the Tartars and brought to this situation in the Romanian countries that took over this institution appears in an article by Toma Bulat, but again without being supported by any argumentation or documentary evidence[32].

The first study of the history of Gypsies in Romanian countries based on a critical approach to a significant base of historical documentary sources appeared in 1939 under the signature of George Potra[33]. The author offers three hypotheses concerning the arrival of Gypsies in the Romanian principalities: 1) they arrived as slaves of the

[28] J. H. Schwicker, *Die Zigeuner in Ungarn unde Siebenburgen [The Gypsies in Hungary and Transylvania]*, Wien, 1883, p. 30.

[29] Octav Lecca, *Asupra originii și istoriei țiganilor [On the origin and history of Gypsies]*, Romanian Life Publishing, 1908, III, pp. 190–191.

[30] Nicolae Iorga, *Anciens documents de droit roumain [Old documents of Romanian law]*, Paris-Bucharest, 1930, pp. 22–23.

[31] Marcel Emerit, "Sur la condition des esclaves dans l'ancienne Roumanie" ["On the condition of slaves in ancient Romania"], in *Revue historique du sud-est europeen,* VII, No. 7–9, (1930), p. 129.

[32] Toma Bulat, *Țiganii din Moldova la 1810 [The Gypsies in Moldova in 1810]*, Archives of Bessarabia, IV, No. 2, Chișinău, 1933.

[33] George Potra, *Contribuțiuni la istoricul țiganilor din România [Contributions to the History of Gypsies in Romania]*, Bucharest, 1939.

Tartars, and when the Tartars were defeated by the Hungarians and Romanians, a good part of the Gypsies who came with them remained in our lands, maintaining their slave status; 2) a part of the Gypsies probably came from south of the Danube because they are documented earlier in the Balkan Peninsula; 3) a part of the Gypsies who arrived in Moldavia, whether they were brought by the Tartars or not, were part of the branch that went to Crimea, and the rest came from Wallachia. Potra's claims are not supported by documentary evidence but presented only as logical speculation. The only explanation offered would be the military incapacity of the Gypsies in the Middle Ages, and thus they were easily turned into slaves.

In 1941 the engineer Panait N. Panaitescu, author of several studies of economic history, published a study in which he tried to explain the emergence of Gypsy slavery in Romanian countries[34] . The author cannot answer the question of whether Gypsies were slaves in their areas of origin (generally described as "Asia"), but he assesses them as a group incapable of self-defence or resistance, so that they were permanently under the dependence of the local power. Panaitescu rejects the idea that Gypsies were racially inferior and thus destined to become slaves, as well as the idea that "laziness" was a characteristic of all Gypsies. The idea put forward by Octav Lecca that Gypsy slavery is a phenomenon unique to Romanian countries in the medieval period which cannot be explained is also unacceptable. In order to explain Gypsy slavery, Panaitescu resorts to a reasoning of economic history: in general terms he describes the development of trade routes between the Byzantine Empire and Central Europe and the prosperity they brought to Romanian countries in the period between the Crusades and the Ottoman conquest of the Black Sea basin – a period whose beginning overlaps with the arrival of gypsies in Romanian countries. Panaitescu argues that the Gypsies economically filled the gap between the noble class and the peasant class in this period of trade development, especially in certain trades such as blacksmithing; their transformation into slaves was carried out by the rulers of the Romanian countries to avoid the departure of the Gypsies, in line with their nomadism in the medieval period.

The sociologist Nicolae Gheorghe took up in 1983 the ideas of Panait N. Panaitescu [35] . Nicolae Gheorghe rejects the theories according to which the enslavement of Gypsies in the medieval period was a consequence of their migration or inferiority. Gypsy slavery was a consequence of the social and power structures of the Romanian Middle Ages, in which Gypsies took the place of artisans and were enslaved in order to prevent their emigration.

In 1986, the historian Alexandru I. Gonța took up and extended the idea of the Tatar origin of Gypsy slavery in Romanian countries[36]. Gonța makes a long and very

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[34] Panait N. Panaitescu, "The Gypsies in Wallachia and Moldavia. A Chapter of Economic History", *Journal of Gypsy Lore Society* (3), 15 (1941), pp. 58–72.

[35] N. Gheorghe, "Origin of Roma Slavery in the Romanian principalities", in *Roma*, 7 (1983), No. 1, pp. 12–27.

[36] Alexandru I. Gonța, *Satul în Moldova medievală. Instituțiile* [*The Village in Medieval Moldova. Institutions*], Bucharest, Scientific and Encyclopedic Publishing, 1986, pp. 314–328.

well documented presentation on the institution of slaves captured in wars in the medieval kingdom of Hungary and in Transylvania, advancing the conclusion that slavery in the Romanian countries of Wallachia and Moldavia would find its origin in this common practice in the region during that period. In support of this thesis, known examples of Tatar slaves in 15th century Moldavia are given, without explaining the difference between Tatar slaves and Gypsy slaves who are often mentioned in the same document. The state of slavery that the Tartars in medieval Moldavia were forced into by the wars is also transferred to the Gypsies. For Wallachia, it should be noted that in the earliest documents the slaves are mentioned as "ațigani", a form close to the Greek word athiganous, which was used to designate gypsies in the Byzantine Empire in the 12th–15th centuries. Gonța also notes that in the collection of Byzantine laws Syntagma compiled by Matthew Blastares in the mid–14th century, witchcraft practitioners were condemned to slavery. Despite the closeness of the institution of Gypsy slavery to the Byzantine area, Gonta concludes that Gypsies in Wallachia also became slaves as a result of wars, although there are no documentary sources to support this.

The practice of enslaving prisoners of war in medieval times is also considered as the origin of Gypsy slavery in Romanian countries by the American linguist Ian Hancock in 1986, who also takes up P.N. Panaitescu's theory about keeping gypsies in bondage to secure the niche of craftsmen in the Middle Ages[37]. The American anthropologist Sam Beck argues in a 1989 article for the same synthesis of the beginnings of gypsy enslavement following wars and the maintenance of long-term enslavement for economic reasons[38].

In 1995 the British historian Angus Fraser pointed out that Wallachia and Moldavia had developed similar methods of enslaving Gypsies and keeping them as a valuable labour force. Fraser recalls that from the earliest mentions of Gypsies in the documents of Romanian countries they were in a state of dependence on the monarch or monasteries, he estimates that this dependence was most likely initially a tributary one, a fiscal matter, whereby the monarch transferred to the monasteries the right to collect certain taxes (in money, products or labour) from the Gypsies, and over time these fiscal obligations were transformed into a property right over the Gypsies themselves. Angus Fraser also echoes P.N. Panaitescu's argument that Gypsies occupied the niche of craftsmen in the economy of Romanian countries in the medieval period, and that the state of bondage was intended to prevent their migration to other countries[39]. David Crowe synthesizes the previous hypotheses without providing a reasoning for them: he supports the thesis that the first Gypsy slaves appeared in the Romanian principalities following confrontations with the Tartars, being taken as slaves from them; the subsequent spread and maintenance of

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[37] Ian Hancock, *The Pariah syndrome. An account of Gypsy slavery and persecution*, Karoma Publishers, 1986, pp. 11–16.

[38] Sam Beck, "The origins of Gypsy slavery in Romania", *Dialectical Anthropology,* 1989, 14, pp. 53–61.

[39] Angus Fraser, *The Gypsies*, Blackwell Publishers, 1995, pp. 57–59.

Gypsy slavery in Romanian countries being economically motivated by the need for work force[40].

Emanuelle Pons also brings together the precedent hypotheses on the origin of the Gypsy slavery in Romania[41]. Noting that the origins of Gypsy slavery are obscure, the author mentions the hypothesis that the gypsies were prisoners of war of the Tartars and followed them to the Danube basin during the Mongol invasions of the 13th century. After they were defeated, the Tartars also became slaves, and the status of the Gypsies would not have changed. The hypothesis of the economic causes of the Gypsies' enslavement is repeated: the economic crisis caused by the Ottoman advance towards Constantinople and the decrease in trade with the Middle East would have led to the need for free labour force, and while most European countries were driving the Gypsies beyond their borders, the two Romanian countries, Moldova, and Wallachia, forbade them to leave their territory and enslaved them. Emmanuelle Pons says of the enslavement period that the Gypsies lost their freedom early, shortly after crossing the Danube.

An original proposal supported by documentary sources on the origin of Gypsy slavery in Romanian countries is made by historian Viorel Achim[42]. He distinguishes between the enslavement resulting from wars (which was subject to a different set of legal provisions and practices) and the enslavement of Gypsies. He places the origins of Gypsy slavery in the Byzantine Empire and the medieval southern Danubian states of Bulgaria and Serbia. Slavery was a legally enshrined reality in the Byzantine world, also taken up in the Balkan states, Achim even providing examples of Gypsy slaves of monasteries in Serbia and Bulgaria in the 14th century – situations virtually identical to the first donations of Gypsy slaves by monarchs of Wallachia and Moldavia to monasteries in these countries. The hypothesis advanced is that the Gypsies had already come as slaves north of the Danube, where they were transferred with this social status as a result of the pressure exerted by the Ottomans on the states of the Byzantine commonwealth.

Viorel Achim's hypothesis is rejected by Bulgarian researchers Elena Marushiakova and Vesselin Popov in an article published in 2009[43]. The authors flatly reject Viorel Achim's theory that Gypsies were enslaved in the Byzantine Empire and the Balkan states and came as slaves to Romanian countries. The authors argue that there are no documents proving the enslavement of Gypsies south of the Danube – although Viorel Achim cites two charters, one from the Serbian Tsar Stefan Dușan in 1348 and another from the Bulgarian Tsar Ivan Șișman in 1378,

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[40] David Crowe, *A history of the gypsies of Eastern Europe and Russia*, New York, 1996, pp. 107–108.

[41] Emanuelle Pons, *Țiganii din România. O minoritate în tranziție* [*Gypsies in Romania. A minority in transition*], Bucharest, Company Publishing, 1999, pp. 11–20.

[42] Viorel Achim, *Țiganii în istoria României* [*Gypsies in the History of Romania*], Encyclopedic Publishing, Bucharest, 1998, pp. 31–34.

[43] Elena Marushiakova and Vesselin Popov, "Gypsy Slavery in Wallachia and Moldova", in *Nationalism Today*, Oxford, Peter Lang, 2009, pp. 89–124.

which attest to the existence of Gypsy slaves in the property of the monasteries of Prizren and Rila. Moreover, the existence of slavery in the Byzantine Empire is rejected without argument, despite legislation and a solid bibliography attesting to this fact. No alternative explanation of the origin of Gypsy slavery in Romanian countries is offered.

In a paper published in 2015[44], Petre Petcuț argues that Gypsies were free people when they came to Romanian countries and were enslaved later, although he admits that there is no documentary evidence to this effect. The influence of the Orthodox Church, which supported the enslavement of Gypsies as long as it benefited from the Gypsy slaves received from the Romanian monarchs, is highlighted, despite the fact that at an ideological level Orthodoxy rejected slavery. Another explanation put forward for the enslavement of the Gypsies is the desire of the monarchs of Wallachia and Moldavia to ensure free work force, while the regions south and east of the Carpathian Mountains had a small population.

The historical debate on Gypsy slavery outlined above only began to include hypotheses about the origin of this social state in the 20th century, after the accumulation of a significant documentary base that allowed for interpretations supported by historical sources. Hypotheses about the origins of Gypsy slavery were initially directed towards a relatively easy explanation: Gypsies would have arrived as slaves in Romanian countries through the Tartars, who would have enslaved them. This hypothesis is used to this day despite two major flaws: first, there are no historical sources to support it, the documents cited refer to Tatar and Gypsy slaves in the property of the Moldavian monarch, but the two categories of slaves are separate. While Tatar slaves disappear from documents after the 16th century, Gypsy slaves remain a constant presence until the 19th century. Another problem with the documentary basis of this hypothesis is that no Tartar slaves appear in documents in Wallachia, only Gypsy slaves – although there were clashes between the Tartars and Wallachia. But beyond the ambiguous documentary basis, the thesis of the Tatar origin of the Gypsy slavery implies a route of Gypsy migration to the Romanian countries north of the Black Sea, or all the linguistic evidence (especially the massive presence of Greek words in the vocabulary of the Gypsy language) points to a southern route of Gypsy migration to the Danube basin via the Byzantine Empire. The enslavement of prisoners of war was a common practice in Eastern Europe in the 12th–15th centuries and even later, but this enslavement was usually limited in time, if the prisoner was unable to ransom himself, he worked for a period of time for the benefit of his captor and was then released. However, Gypsy slavery is different, it is passed down through successive generations and the release of Gypsy slaves is rather an exception, being quite limited in legal terms. A detailed analysis of the prisoners of war slavery system compared to the Gypsy slavery system would

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[44] Petre Petcuț, *Rromii: sclavie și libertate: construirea și emanciparea unei noi categorii etnice și sociale la nord de Dunăre: 1370–1914* [*The Roma: slavery and freedom: the construction and emancipation of a new ethnic and social category north of the Danube: 1370–1914*], Bucharest, 2015.

show that the two systems cannot overlap and that it is therefore difficult to accept that a slave who has reached this state following capture on the battlefield is included in the social status of permanent slaves. In any case, all the arguments of the Tartar origin of Gypsy slavery in Romanian countries are circumstantial and lacking a documentary basis.

The economic argument put forward in 1941 by Panait N. Panaitescu is interesting and offers an explanation that seems plausible at first sight. Unfortunately, here too the evidence is circumstantial and lacks a solid documentary basis. Collections of documents published in the 20th century and archaeological research contradict the hypothesis that Gypsies were enslaved and kept as slaves in Romanian countries to fill the niche of craftsmen. Written and archaeological sources attest to the fact that the monarchs and nobles of Wallachia and Moldavia used Saxon craftsmen in Transylvanian towns to meet their manufacturing needs. Transylvanian craftsmen are attested in Wallachia and Moldavia for activities such as construction (of fortresses, churches, and monasteries – along with craftsmen from the south of Danube), the manufacture of jewellery or objects of worship, or receiving orders for the manufacture of weapons (swords, spears, arrows, bows, shields, etc.), carts, clothing[45]. The Gypsy blacksmiths attested in Brasov in the 16th century had a rather reduced activity compared to the Saxon blacksmiths as they appear in the city's expense registers, and their products were some that did not require a high level of skill (nails, horseshoes, chains), also the number of Gypsy blacksmiths in Brasov was relatively small, in documents appear only 3-4 Gypsy craftsmen in the first half of the 16th century[46]. Other crafts (weaving, button-making, pottery) were practiced by Romanians in the Middle Ages according to archaeological and documentary sources. The substantial documentary base on the Gypsies of Wallachia in the Middle Ages[47] (354 documents covering the 14th–16th centuries) does not mention Gypsies as craftsmen – although there were most probably blacksmiths among them, but likely more to the extent and for the activities documented in Brasov in the same period. Mentions of the trades practiced by Gypsies in Romanian countries are relatively late, dating from the 18th–19th centuries, and attest to blacksmithing, collecting gold from rivers, coopering and the manufacture of small wooden household objects (spoons, pots). We believe that a

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[45] See:
1. Nicolae Iorga, *Scrisori de boieri, scrisori de domni [Noblemen letters, monarchs' letters]*, Vălenii de Munte, 1925;
2. Grigore G. Tocilescu, *Documente istorice slavo-române din Țara Românească și Moldova privitoare la legăturile cu Ardealul* [*Slavo-Romanian historical documents from Wallachia and Moldova concerning the links with Transylvania*], Bucharest, Romanian Book, 1931.
[46] George Damian, "Meserii și ocupații ale țiganilor transilvăneni. Călăii, temnicerii și hingherii orașului Brașov între secolele XVI–XVIII" ["Trades and occupations of the Transylvanian Gypsies. Executioners, jailers, and dog catchers of Brasov between the 16th and 18th centuries"], in *Spectrum. Cercetări sociale despre romi*, Cluj-Napoca, Kriterion, 2011, pp. 41–61.
[47] Petre Petcuț, *Romii din România: documente* [*Roma in Romania: documents*], Cluj-Napoca, 2009.

small number of craftsmen skilled in simple work is not enough to justify the enslavement of a population on economic grounds. This argument has been repeated several times since its launch, but unfortunately it has not been subjected to critical analysis and no new arguments have been put forward to support it.

By far the most interesting hypothesis, and the one that has the greatest potential for explaining the origin of the Gypsy slavery in Romanian countries, is the one put forward by historian Viorel Achim. Slavery was a legal, economic, and social reality in the Byzantine Empire until the disappearance of this empire, a fact that is beyond any doubt[48]. Slavery also existed as a documented institution in the legal and official sources of the southern Balkan states of Serbia[49] and Bulgaria[50]. From a legal point of view in Wallachia and Moldavia, the use of Matthew Blastares' Syntagma[51], a collection of Byzantine laws containing numerous regulations on slavery, is attested since the 15th century – so that at least from a legal point of view the institution of slavery in the Romanian countries during the Middle Ages is of Byzantine origin.

A detailed research of the legal and social situation of the Gypsies south of the Danube in the centuries before their appearance in Romanian countries may be able to elucidate the origins of the slavery. A transfer of the already enslaved Gypsies from the south to the north of the Danube in the context of Ottoman pressure in the 14th century seems to be a logical explanation, which is supported by the documentary sources of the time. The continuity of long-term slavery in the Romanian countries could be explained by the legislative conservatism of Wallachia and Moldavia, which used the Byzantine legislative system (updated several times in the 17th and 18th centuries), which included slavery, until the late 19th century.

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[48] See:

1. Helga Köpstein, *Zur Sklaverei im ausgehenden Byzanz [On slavery in the late Byzantium]*, Berliner Byzantinische Arbeiten, Berlin, 1966;

2. Noel Lenski, "Slavery in the Byzantine Empire", in *The Cambridge World History of Slavery*, Vol. II, Cambridge University Press, 2021, pp. 453–482.

[49] Srdan Sarkic, *The Legal Position of Vlach and Otrok in Medieval Serbia*, Proceedings, Faculty of Law, Novi Sad 3/2010.

[50] See:

1. Vladimir Angelov, "The slaves in everyday life of medieval Bulgaria", in *Bulgaria Mediaevalis*, 11/2020, pp. 333–342;

2. Kremena Markova, "Responsa Nicolai ad consulta bulgarorum and the Information on Slaves and Slavery during the First Bulgarian Empire", in *Bulgaria, the Bulgarians and Europe – Myth, History, Modernity*, 14/2020, pp. 91–109.

[51] Victor Alexandrov, *The Syntagma of Matthew Blastares. The destiny of a Byzantine legal code among the Orthodox Slavs and Romanians 14–17 centuries*, Frankfurt am Main, Löwenklau, 2012.

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NICOLAE ȚIMIRAȘ. THE VOICE OF A DIPLOMAT REGARDING THE ISSUE OF THE AROMANIANS IN ALBANIA

Emanuil Ineoan[52]

ABSTRACT

The present study tries to recover the biography of the diplomat Nicolae Țimiraș. Although he stayed only a few months at the Romanian legation in Albania, Nicolae Țimiraș was responsible for drawing up action strategies of the Romanian state in favor of the Aromanian communities in the area. His name thus remains emblematic for those representatives within the Romanian diplomacy, extremely important for what the orientation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs from Bucharest meant in the matter of Romanians outside the borders.

Keywords: diplomacy, Aromanians, Nicolae Țimiraș, Albania, Italy, 1941.

ARGUMENT

This study aims to present the biography and vision of a representative of the Romanian diplomatic corps, who was forced to carry out his activity in a difficult context, namely that of the period between 1936 and 1947. The fate of Nicolae Țimiraș is, from this point of view, emblematic of the transformations the Romanian state went through during this turbulent decade.

The study of professor Nicolae Șerban Tanașoca, namely "Diplomat Nicolae Țimiraș's Reports about the Aromanians of Albania"[53] sparked the interest in the unfairly ignored figure of this diplomat. The lines below try to complete the biographical profile of the aforementioned diplomat, using a new, original archive source, namely his personal file, located in the Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Bucharest[54].

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[53] Nicolae Șerban Tanașoca, „Rapoartele diplomatului Nicolae Țimiraș despre aromânii din Albania" ["Diplomat Nicolae Țimiraș's Reports about the Aromanians of Albania"], in *Unitate romanică și diversitate balcanică. Contribuții la istoria romanității balcanice [Romanic Unity and Balkan Diversity. Contributions to the History of Balkan Romanianness]*, Nicolae Șerban Tanașoca and Anca Tanașoca, Bucharest, Pro Fundation Publishing, 2004, pp. 255–275.

[54] Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (further A.M.F.A.), Personal fund, Nicolae Țimiraș, Problem 77, Letter T, no. 60.

BIOGRAPHICAL PROFILE

Nicolae Țimiraș was born on July 30th O.S. /August 12th N.S. 1912 in Bucharest. His father, Nicolae, was a lawyer, with literary inclinations[55], and his mother, Letiția, née Creangă, a housewife[56], was the daughter of captain Constantin Creangă, the son of the writer from Humulești[57]. Therefore, on the maternal line, Nicolae Țimiraș was the great-grandson of Ion Creangă.

An extremely important family detail for the concerns of the future diplomat is related to the female descendants from his mother's side. Thus, his grandmother Olga was the daughter of the Aromanian Petru N. Petru from Brăila, and his great-grandmother Elena was "born in Thessaloniki from a Macedonian family from there"[58]. Before he even met the Aromanian Olga, the one who would become his wife, grandfather Constantin Creangă was preoccupied with the Macedonian-Romanian element as a defining element in Romanian trade, circulating a series of projects meant to facilitate as many Aromanian-Romanian contacts as possible[59].

After graduating from the Mircea cel Bătrân High School in Constanța, Nicolae Țimiraș attended the Faculty of Letters and Philosophy in Bucharest, the sociology section, and the Law courses of the same university[60]. With humour and self-irony, Nicolae Țimiraș explained his university options as follows:

> "only laziness when it came to choosing between Law and Letters made me enroll at the same time in these two Faculties and attend them both, graduating them 1930–1933"[61].

In 1934 he graduated the School of Reserve Cavalry Officers in Târgoviște.

After graduating the Faculty of Law, he enrolled in a doctorate in legal studies, but in the meantime, he also practiced law as a lawyer in Bucharest. At the end of 1935, he decided to participate in a competition for the post of legation attaché within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Of the 54 admitted candidates, only 15 passed the written test and were accepted for the oral exam. With an average of 6.75 out of 10, Nicolae Țimiraș was declared admitted by a committee consisting of Nicolae Titulescu, Savel Rădulescu, M. Arion, Ion Christu, Em. Pantazi, and Al. Ottulescu. Thus, on June 8th, 1936, he was appointed attaché to the legation, and on June 24th, 1936, he took the following oath:

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[55] Nicolae Țimiraș's father wrote and translated poems, and in 1933 he received the Academy Award for the publication of a monograph on Ion Creangă. Constantin Mihăescu, "Cuvânt înainte" ["Foreword"], in Nicolae Țimiraș, *Rapsodii de vacanță. Călătorie în America de Sud [Holiday Rhapsodies. Travel to South America]*, Bucharest, Memoria Cultural Foundation, 2002, p. 7.

[56] A.M.F.A., Record 77, 1936, Birth extract Nicolae Țimiraș.

[57] Nicolae Țimiraș, *Anii tinereței* [*Youthful years*], edition published and curated by Ion Manea, Berkeley, 1991, p. 15.

[58] „născută la Salonic dintr-o familie macedoneană de acolo", in *Ibidem*, p. 12.

[59] *Ibidem*, p. 24.

[60] C. Mihăescu, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

[61] „numai lenea de a alege între Drept și Litere m-a făcut să mă înscriu în același timp la aceste două Facultăți și să le urmez pe amândouă terminându-le 1930–1933", in N. Țimiraș, *op. cit.*, p. 184.

"I pledge allegiance to the King, obedience to the Constitution and the laws of the Romanian people. I pledge to keep strictly the secret of the works and duties that will be entrusted to me in the service of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs"[62].

Nicolae Țimiraș presented himself as an excellent speaker of French but mentioned that he had notions of Italian and German and philosophical-literary knowledge [63].

On June 25th, 1938, Nicolae Țimiraș obtained the rank of secretary of Legation 3rd class, having the highest mark in the written test. On March 1st, 1939, he was transferred to the Romanian legation in Budapest, and from October 1st, 1940, to the legation in Rome, thus familiarizing himself with the foreign policy of Romania in two extremely sensitive places. Between May 1st, 1941, and August 15th, 1941, Nicolae Țimiraș was posted to the consulate in Tirana, a position where his sensibilities towards the Aromanian world would be essential. From October 1941, he was sent to the Romanian legation in Rome, as legation secretary 3rd class.

In the internal assessment carried out by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1942, it was stated:

"Mr. Țimiraș is an excellent official with a lot of tact and a lot of political sense. He has many literary skills and frequents intellectual and literary circles, where he presents Romanian culture as well as possible. He fully deserves to be promoted (...)" [64].

Incidentally, from August 1st, 1944, Nicolae Țimiraș was confirmed as secretary of legation 2nd class. From Rome, on December 15th, 1944, he was transferred to the Romanian Legation from the Vatican. On May 9th, 1946, he was promoted to the rank of secretary of legation 1st class. Until 1947 he would have several diplomatic missions at the Holy See. In his personal biography, Nicolae Țimiraș stated that between 1944 and 1945 he was "out of the diplomatic service (underground)" [65], without giving any other explanation about this situation.

On June 14th, 1946, Nicolae Țimiraș announced to the Minister of Foreign Affairs from Bucharest that he had married Paola Silvestri, an Italian citizen[66].

On April 15th, 1947, he was recalled from the Romanian Legation at the Vatican to the Central Administration. A day later, on April 16th, 1947, Nicolae Țimiraș sent a letter from Italy to Bucharest to the vice-president of the Council of Ministers, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Gheorghe Tătărăscu, asking to be given a 6-month leave starting from 15th June reasoning that the wife was a student in the

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[62] „Jur credință Regelui, supunere Constituțiunii și legilor poporului român. Jur de a păstra cu sfințenie secretul lucrărilor și îndatoririlor ce mi se vor încredința în serviciul Ministerului Afacerilor Străine.", in A.M.F.A.

[63] A.M.F.A., Record 77, 1936, Stat de serviciu [State of service].

[64] „Domnul Țimiraș este un excelent funcționar de foarte mult tact și de mult simț politic. Posedă multe aptitudini literare și frecventează mult cercurile intelectuale și literare, unde prezintă cât se poate de bine cultura românească. Merită pe deplin să fie înaintat (…)", in A.M.F.A., Foaie calificativă [Qualification Sheet], 1942.

[65] „în afara serviciului diplomatic (underground)", in N. Țimiraș, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

[66] A.M.F.A., Report 77, 1936.

last year of the Faculty of Medicine in Rome and needed time to prepare her doctoral thesis[67].

The decision of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs no. 58378 of August 31st, 1947, reduced the budget-funded staff to the existing scheme in 1939. In the list of 234 employees of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs whose posts were to be suppressed, the name of Țimiraș is also found, along with Lecca Gheorghe, Petala Vintilă, Crutzescu Radu, Ciuntu Edmond, Stănescu Mihail, Karadja Constantin, etc. On this occasion, the vast operation of purging the Romanian diplomatic corps and the ideological alignment of the staff of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the new political commandments was consummated.

On September 7th, 1947, the Personnel Division of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, through Mihail Lupașcu, Head of Service, notified Nicolae Țimiraș, who was, for a short time, still first secretary of the Legation in Rome, the following:

"I have the honour to inform you that according to the decision of the Ministerial Commission for Economic Recovery and Monetary Stabilization No. 18 of August 12th, 1947, your budget-funded position was suppressed by ministerial decision No. 58378 of August 31st, 1947, on September 1st, 1947." [68].

Along with the position of the first secretary of the legation, the positions of the deputy head of office and the chamberlain at the Legation of Romania in Rome were also eliminated.

On September 25th, 1947, a deciphered telegram notified the Ministry of Foreign Affairs:

"The Secretary of Legation Țimiraș, recalled to headquarters, left Italy for good, expatriating himself to Canada. This news was confirmed to me by the Italian Ambassador and the State Secretariat of the Vatican" [69].

Thus began the exile of the diplomat Nicolae Țimiraș and his destiny as a political refugee. Together with his wife Paola, he leaves for Canada, to Montreal, where they lived for six years, then to the USA, to Berkeley, California. Their two children Maria-Laetitia (1956) and Paolo Francesco (1962)[70] were born in exile. During his stay in Canada, between 1947 and 1953, Nicolae Țimiraș worked as a lawyer at the Lacoste et Lacoste Office[71]. In the USA. he was a professor of Romanian at the US Army Languages School in Monterey (1953–1957), California,

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[67] A.M.F.A, No. 28216, 5th May 1947.

[68] „Am onoarea a vă aduce la cunoștință că potrivit deciziunii Comisiunii Ministeriale pentru redresare economică și stabilizarea monetară No. 18 din 12 august 1947, postul Dv. bugetar a fost suprimat prin deciziunea ministerială No. 58378 din 31 august 1947, pe data de 1 septembrie 1947.", in A.M.F.A., Report 77, 1936.

[69] „Secretar de Legațiune Țimiraș, rechemat în centrală, a părăsit definitiv Italia, expatriindu-se în Canada. Această știre mi-a fost confirmată de Ambasadorul Italiei și Secretariatul de Stat al Vaticanului", in A.M.F.A., Telegramă descifrată de la Legațiunea din Vatican [Deciphered Telegram from the Vatican Legation], No. 98781, September 25, 1947.

[70] C. Mihăescu, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

[71] N. Țimiraș, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

and then a professor of Romance languages at Contra Costa College (1959–1980), San Francisco-Bay Area.

In 1978, Nicolae Țimiraș received his doctorate in Italian literature at the University of California, Berkeley. His wife, Paola, was a professor of anatomy and physiology at the same university[72].

Nicolae Țimiraș represented an involved voice of the Romanian American exile, being the founder and president of the Romanian-American Academy of Arts and Sciences[73].

In 1991, Nicolae Țimiraș visited Romania, the country where he had been proscribed in 1947. He died in 1996.

THE AROMANIAN ISSUE

Although he worked at the Romanian Legation in Tirana for only a few months, between May 1st, 1941, and August 15th, 1941, the diplomatic reports he sent to the country impress with the probity of the analysis and the solutions presented. Far from representing the posture of the passive diplomat, who records with enough detachment the political events around him, limiting himself to an office-based knowledge of the realities, Nicolae Țimiraș tried to convince himself through documentary trips in the territory[74], as a result of which resulted real studies, of the way in which the realities of the new Balkan state are read. Relevant for their high intellectual level, the diplomatic reports signed by Nicolae Țimiraș were included in the appendices of the study elaborated by the consul Emil Oprișan in 1945, *Romanians Abroad*

> "in order to substantiate Romania's foreign policy strategy in the issue of Romanian minority groups outside the country's borders and, more precisely, for defining the attitude on this issue of the Romanian delegation at the future Peace Conference"[75].

Romania's interest in Albania was translated since the founding of this state through Bucharest's interest in the Aromanian communities there. This represented with certainty the keystone of the diplomatic reports sent to the country by Nicolae Țimiraș.

The emeritus professor Nicolae Șerban Tanașoca pointed out in the aforementioned study "The Diplomat Nicolae Țimiraș's Reports about the Aromanians of Albania" three reports signed by Nicolae Țimiraș during the period

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[72] C. Mihăescu, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

[73] *Ibidem*, p. 8.

[74] In July 1941, he made an impressive documentary trip to the Aromanian centres from Albania. This resulted in the diplomatic reports highlighted by Professor N. Ș. Tanașoca in the aforementioned study.

[75] „în vederea fundamentării strategiei de politică externă a României în problema grupurilor minoritare românești din afara hotarelor țării și, mai precis, pentru definirea atitudinii în această problemă a delegației române la viitoarea Conferință de pace", in N. Ș. Tanașoca, *op. cit.*, p. 257.

in which he was active in Tirana. In his personal file located in the Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, however, there is also a report that provides important information about the fate of this community at the turn of 1941.

The report in question is entitled: "The Political and Economic Situation in Albania"[76] and is dated July 1st, 1941, No. 450/P. From the very beginning, Nicolae Țimiraș presents the argument of this synthesis/report:

"The general situation in Albania, which is actually an Italian province, interests us to the extent that it clarifies some military, political and economic aspects of Italy. I therefore aim to clarify what the situation was in Albania when the Italians came and then to examine in what direction and with what result the new masters sought to modify this situation" [77].

The report's information on Albanian economic and political life is organized in a symmetrical manner, before and after "the union with Italy".

The following fragment seems to us relevant for the profile of this diplomat and for the lenses that he applies in his analyses of the Albanian political landscape:

"Discontent among the population is intensifying: among other things, the Italian regime is accused by people with responsibilities, of having exploited excessively the riches of the country, without organizing them; that it constructed military communications in its own interest, not in the interest of the public; that it wasted many millions with the complicity of enterprises under the patronage of Count Ciano; that Italy, instead of setting an example through its officials, sent to the Royal Lieutenancy and to all the ministries untrained and unfair officials. The mentality of these Italian representatives who are accused of receiving orders from Count Ciano over the head of the Royal Lieutenant, is that the Albanians, corruptible and lacking national consciousness, must be governed without any scruples. This mentality has been proven wrong in every way" [78].

One can observe here a distinctive mark of the reports drawn up by Țimiraș, the look of the sociologist who analyses a political, economic, cultural setting from the positions of the one directly interested in offering work strategies, solutions, not just a static, disengaged chronicle.

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[76] „Situația Politică și Economică din Albania". A.M.F.A., Diplomatic Report, July 1, 1941, No. 450/ P. The report is not numbered.

[77] „Situațiunea generală din Albania, care este de fapt o provincie italiană, ne interesează în măsura în care lămurește unele aspecte militare, politice și economice ale Italiei. Îmi propun deci a preciza care era situația în Albania la venirea italienilor și a examina apoi în ce direcție și cu ce rezultat au căutat noii stăpâni să modifice această situațiune.", in A.M.F.A., Diplomatic Report, July 1, 1941, No. 450/ P.

[78] „Nemulțumirile în rândul populației se accentuează: între altele, regimul italian este acuzat de oameni cu răspundere, că a exploatat în mod excesiv bogățiile țării, fără a le organiza; că a construit comunicații militare în interesul său, nu în interesul publicului; că a irosit multe milioane cu complicitatea unor întreprinderi patronate de Contele Ciano; că Italia în loc să dea pildă prin funcționarii săi, a trimis la Locotenența Regală și lângă toate ministerele funcționari nepregătiți și incorecți. Mentalitatea acestor reprezentanți italieni ce sunt acuzați că primesc ordine din partea Contelui Ciano peste capul Locotenentului Regal, este că Albanezii, corruptibili și lipsiți de conștiință națională, trebuiesc guvernați fără niciun menajament. Mentalitatea s-a dovedit eronată din toate punctele de vedere.", in A.M.F.A., Diplomatic Report, July 1, 1941, No. 450/ P.

Here's how Nicolae Țimiraș defines Romania's interest in Albania:

"Among current problems in Albania, Romania, although interested in everything that can determine a political orientation of Italy, is directly concerned with the problem of the Romanian minority and the problem of the Pindus.

a) The problem of the Romanian minority is related to the problem of the future territorial annexations of Albania, since the measures that will be taken towards the minorities will depend on the conditions that will arise after these annexations are carried out"[79].

Reporting on the Aromanian issue seems to be treated in a similar way by the Italians and the Albanians:

"For the time being, as in the past, the Albanian Government does not seem willing to grant the Romanians autonomy and neither other freedom apart from the eight churches and six schools from the Corcea region, under the pretext that Romanians live free, and are not and do not want to be considered a minority. This point of view seems to be shared by the Italian circles, who do not see with much sympathy the development of the Orthodox and, in their opinion, Grecophile traditions of the Romanian element, and who would lean towards the idea of uniting the Orthodox Church with the Papal Church" [80].

The refusal to grant minority rights to the Aromanians in Albania is justified by Tirana through the weak identity awareness of the Aromanians themselves, for whom the few churches and schools granted by the government are enough. On the other hand, Italy sees in this community an inconvenient Greek appendage, through the Orthodox confession:

"Lately, Italian circles show a tendency to minimize the importance of our minority in Pindus, and regarding the regime, they have reservations about granting autonomy to some Orthodox elements on the border of Greece"[81].

For Rome, the idea of uniting the Orthodox Church with the Catholic Church seems to be the most accessible solution regarding this community. It seems that the idea had also gained Aromanian followers, with the diocesan councillor Gogeamani also bringing political arguments in favour of it[82].

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[79] „Dintre problemele de actualitate în Albania, România deși interesată pentru tot ce poate determina o orientare politică a Italiei, este preocupată direct de problema minorității românești și de problema Pindului.a) Problema minorității române este legată de problema viitoarelor anexiuni teritoriale ale Albaniei, întrucât măsurile ce se vor lua față de minorități vor depinde de condițiunile ce se vor naște după efectuarea acestor anexiuni.", in A.M.F.A., Diplomatic Report, July 1, 1941, No. 450/ P.

[80] „Deocamdată, ca și în trecut, Guvernul albanez nu pare dispus să acorde românilor autonomie și nici alte libertăți în afară de cele opt biserici și șase școli din regiunea Corcea, sub pretext că românii trăiesc liberi, nu sunt și nu vor să fie considerați ca minoritate. Acest punct de vedere pare împărtășit și de cercurile italiene, care nu văd cu prea mare simpatie dezvoltarea tradițiilor ortodoxe și, după părerea lor, grecofile, ale elementului românesc, și care ar înclina spre ideea unirii Bisericii Ortodoxe cu Biserica Papală.", in A.M.F.A., Diplomatic Report, July 1, 1941, No. 450/ P.

[81] „În ultimul timp, cercurile italiene manifestă tendința de a se minimaliza importanța minorității noastre din Pind, iar în privința regimului au rezervă față de acordarea de autonomie unor elemente ortodoxe la granița Greciei", in A.M.F.A., Diplomatic Report, July 1, 1941, No. 450/ P.

[82] N. Ș. Tanașoca, *op. cit*., p. 273.

In order to break the ties of the Aromanians with Romania, the Italian authorities refused to issue passports to the young people who wanted to study in schools in Romania, apart from the Orthodox and Mohammedan seminaries, which did not exist in Italy. The measure was of extreme seriousness, all the efforts of the Romanian state to build an Aromanian elite that it could later send to the places of origin thus being cancelled.

The solution delivered in the Țimiraș report is the following:

"To awaken the national consciousness of our minority, we could first proceed to the formation of their spiritual solidarity, using some enthusiastic nationalist elements, but, of course, taking into account the material part, we cannot remain indifferent to the subsidy needs of the priests and teachers from the few Romanian churches and schools today. This is for the beginning"[83].

The Aromanian priests, in the diplomat's view, must be supported in order to transform themselves into vectors of national consciousness. Orthodox confessional alterity in the religious context of the Albanian state must contribute to the formation of a "spiritual solidarity"[84]. This perspective, of the Romanian state, which must strengthen the national consciousness of the Aromanians through the autochthonous Aromanian clerical element, deserves to be remembered as a strategy for working in the territory. At the same time, we note the pragmatism of the diplomat Țimiraș who insists on the need to subsidize the Aromanian priests and teachers in Albania. It's interesting the statement he immediately makes "for the beginning". The addition is able to suggest that the pecuniary support of the Romanian state in the area should not be imagined as essential in the maintenance of a national conscience. Once the movement is started, things would naturally fall into place.

Predictably, Nicolae Țimiraș introduces the Aromanian leader, Alcibiade Diamandi, president of a representative structure, called the Pind Committee and intermediary between the Aromanian communities and the Italian authorities, in his report. Being in negotiations to support the project according to the needs of his community, Diamandi has two options for becoming for the Aromanians:

"the creation of an independent state of all Romanians in the Balkans, or possibly an autonomous state of the Pindus, under the auspices of Italy"[85].

Nicolae Țimiraș does not only have the narrow view of the Aromanian issue, but also the most complex, territorial one:

"The Pindus problem is even more closely related to possible Albanian territorial annexations, since Albania claims the annexation of the Pindus region between the Gulf of Arta, Metzova-Grebena and Florina. Faced with such a complex problem, Italy

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[83] „Pentru deșteptarea conștiinței naționale a minorității noastre s-ar putea proceda întâi la formarea solidarității lor spirituale, folosindu-se câteva elemente naționaliste entuziaste, dar, bineînțeles, luând în considerare și partea materială, nu putem rămâne nepăsători față de nevoile de subvenționare ale preoților și învățătorilor de la cele câteva biserici și școli românești actuale. Aceasta pentru început.", in A.M.F.A., Diplomatic Report, July 1, 1941, No. 450/ P.

[84] „solidarități spirituale".

[85] „crearea unui stat independent al tuturor românilor din Balcani, sau eventual unui stat autonom al Pindului, sub egida Italiei", in A.M.F.A., Diplomatic Report, July 1, 1941, No. 450/ P.

is not yet decided neither on the annexation of the Pindus, nor on the regime that will be given to this region from a religious and educational point of view"[86].

In his report, Țimiras states that the Aromanians themselves "stand up against the idea of being separated from Tessaglia, the only grazing land they use"[87].

It should be noted that the Romanian diplomat uses the term Romanian minority when referring to the Aromanians, being convinced that the Romanian state's actions in the area are justified by a kin-state affiliation.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

Nicolae Țimiraș belongs to the category of those diplomats in the second echelon of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs from Bucharest who, through their professionalism, loyalty, and ability to understand the world they live in, have built long-term strategies, away from the spotlight. After going through the diplomatic reports signed by him, we cannot help but wonder how much the Romanian state lost by the fact that Nicolae Țimiraș spent only a few months at the Romanian Legation in Tirana and how useful his expertise would have been in the post-war period.

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Țimiraș Nicolae, *Anii tinereţei* [*Youthful years*], edition published and curated by Ion Manea, Berkeley, 1991.

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[86] „Problema Pindului este şi mai strâns legată de eventualele anexiuni teritoriale albaneze întrucât Albania, pretinde anexarea regiunii Pindului între golful Arta, Metzova-Grebena şi Florina. În faţa unei probleme atât de complexe, Italia nu este hotărâtă încă nici asupra anexiunii Pindului, nici asupra regimului ce se va acorda acestei regiuni din punct de vedere religios şi şcolar.", in A.M.F.A., Diplomatic Report, July 1, 1941, No. 450/ P.

[87] „se ridică contra ideii de a fi separaţi de Tessaglia, unicul teren de păşune pe care-l folosesc.", in A.M.F.A., Diplomatic Report, July 1, 1941, No. 450/ P.

BOOK REVIEW

"THE SZEKLER PROBLEM" – G. BADEA LĂTUCEANU. BOOK REVIEW

Samira Cîrlig[88]

ABSTRACT

This material is a review of the book entitled The Szekler Problem, written by G. Badea Lătuceanu. The book deals with the question of the origin of the Szeklers and demonstrates that they are not Hungarians. The fact that today they speak Hungarian (with noticeable peculiarities) and have Hungarian names (in fact Hungarianized) is the result of an intense and long process of assimilation. At present, the Hungarian state is demanding autonomy for a so-called "Szeklerland" in which, according to the 2022 census, not a single person has declared themselves to be a Szekler. This book also presents in a synthetic and argued manner how the presence of Romanians in the south-east of Transylvania has been diminished over time by aggressive Hungarianization policies.

Keywords: Szeklers, Romanians, Hungarians, assimilation, autonomy, and Transylvania.

SHORT PRESENTATION OF THE BOOK

The book entitled The Szekler Problem, written under the pseudonym G. Badea Lătuceanu, was published in 2010 by Proema. The introduction to the readers was signed by the President of the Romanian Academy – Academician Ioan Aurel Pop. He underlined the concise and documented way this work was written and underlined the need to approach this issue. The concluding speech belongs to the sociologist and man of culture Ioan Lăcătușu. He highlighted the value of the work in that it demonstrates once again that Transylvania has always been inhabited by Romanians, even in the so-called "Szeklerland". According to him, this work also speaks convincingly about the inconsistency and harmfulness of projects that create an ethnic enclave in the Covasna-Harghita area, but also because such projects are not in the best interest of the Romanians or the Hungarians in this area[89].

In about 100 pages the author manages to present eloquently a series of counterarguments to the obsessive demands of some Hungarian political leaders for territorial autonomy on ethnic criteria of the so-called "Szeklerland". Badea

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[89] Ioan Lăcătușu in the postface of the book G. Badea Lătuceanu, *Problema secuiască [The Szekler Problem]*, Baia Mare, Proema Publishing, 2010, p. 102.

Lătuceanu demonstrated that this area was originally populated by Romanians, and that later, somewhere between the 12th and 13th centuries, the Szeklers came to this area. However, both Romanians and Szeklers were abandoned facing with aggressive Hungarianization policies, resulting today in an artificial "ethnic mass". Despite efforts to increase their own population, the area under study has, according to the census, a significant percentage of non-Hungarians (Romanians and Roma, approx. 40%[90]). For this reason, autonomy based on ethnic criteria is completely unfounded and, above all, unconstitutional.

The work is a veritable source of documentation, bringing together in its pages, to the credit of the author and the joy of those interested, an impressive base of translated documents, especially from Hungarian. Although it is based on a huge amount of documentary work, the book has not had the notoriety that the subject deserves. To our knowledge, it has not been translated into any international language. Moreover, the decision-makers, for whom this work would have been a veritable collection of arguments, have not taken note of it.

Regarding the current state of the problem, it must be said that more than 13 years after the issue was discussed, the situation has aggravated. The demand of Hungarian political leaders for ethnic autonomy has intensified. At the end of 2022, the so-called "Szekler National Council" submitted to the Romanian Prime Minister a letter of over 100 pages in which it obsessively repeated the granting of ethnic autonomy to the so-called "Szeklerland"[91]. We note that this request is launched in the context in which, according to the last census, conducted last year by the National Institute of Statistics, there are no longer any Szeklers in Romania[92]. However, we would also point out that these repeated requests do not receive any significant response from Romanian state representatives.

CONTEXT OF THE BOOK'S PUBLICATION

The book is a response to the increasing victimization of Hungarian political leaders, both nationally and internationally. The last few years have been marked by

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[90] National Institute of Statistics, „Recensământul populației și locuințelor – structura etnică și profesională" ["Census of Population and Housing – ethnic and occupational structure"], 2002, apud *Ibidem*, p. 93.

[91] Mădălina Dinu, „Consiliul Național al Secuilor a cerut autonomie teritorială printr-o scrisoare de 100 de pagini trimisă lui Nicolae Ciucă" ["The National Council of Szeklers asked for territorial autonomy through a 100-page letter sent to Nicolae Ciucă"], December 26, 2022, in *Evenimentul Zilei*, Available at: https://evz.ro/consiliul- national- al- secuilor- au- cerut- autonomie- teritoria la- printr- o- scrisoare- de- 100- de- pagini- trimisa- lui- nicolae- ciuca.html, Accessed on March 8, 2023.

[92] Cezar Amariei, „Deși nu mai există oficial secuii cer Guvernului autonomia Ținutului Secuiesc" ["Although the Szeklers no longer officially exist, they ask the Government for autonomy for Szeklerland"], March 10, 2023, in *Puterea*, Available at: https://www.puterea.ro/desi-nu-mai-exista-oficial-secuii-cer-guvernului-autonomia-tinutului-secuiesc/, Accessed on March 12, 2023.

all kinds of accusations against Romania, such as that the rights of minorities are not respected, even though our country is an example of good practice in this regard, as noted by the relevant institutions.

The paper warns that we are witnessing a flagrant manipulation of historical reality. Not only the Hungarians have no grounds for victimization, but the real victims, including many Romanians, are condemned to oblivion. Here is what the President of the Romanian Academy, Academician Ioan Aurel Pop, says on the subject:

> "All parties should be guaranteed access to truth and justice. And while recently we have heard more and more, including in high European forums, about «victims» of a certain kind, it is imperative that we take the necessary time perspective and see exactly who the victims really were, when and why. And there have been plenty of victims, too many among Romanians! (...) Romania is now part of the European Union and must respect European standards on national minorities. And the highest European authorities say that it is doing so. Let's trust these authorities, who have a comparative overview and not those who are interested in provoking storms"[93].

Beyond this, because of the involvement of Hungarian politicians, confusion has been created regarding the origin of the Szekler ethnic groups, and it is now believed that they are Hungarian only because they speak Hungarian (in fact a Hungarian language with obvious dialectal peculiarities) and because they have Hungarian (Hungarianized) names. Therefore, the inhabitants of "Szeklerland" are Hungarians and the demand for autonomy is justified. Under these circumstances, it is necessary to document the origin of the Szeklers, calling on a few experts in the field, both at the national and international level.

OBJECTIVES AND METHOD OF WORK

An objective of the work under review is to serve as a documentary basis on the destiny of the Romanians and Szeklers to show the good coexistence that existed between the two ethnic groups until the Hungarian state-initiated assimilation policies:

> "Therefore, the initiative to put together, in a small space, some essential historical data about the destiny of the Szeklers and Romanians is welcome and can be very useful for those who want to know. Readers will thus be in a position to know how the Szeklers found the Romanians in their old places in the 'border mountains' when they

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[93] „Se cuvine ca toate părțile implicate să aibă garantat accesul la adevăr și la dreptate. Iar dacă, în anii din urmă, am auzit mai mult, inclusiv la înalte foruri europene, despre «victime» de un anumit fel, trebuie cu necesitate să ne luăm perspectiva de timp necesară și să vedem exact care au fost cu adevărat victimele, când și de ce. Iar victime au fost destule, prea multe și printre români! (...) Romania este acum parte componentă a Uniunii Europene și trebuie să respecte standardele europene în materie de minorități naționale. Iar cele mai înalte autorități europene spun că o face cu prisosință. Să ne încredem în aceste autorități, care au viziunea comparativă de ansamblu și nu în aceia care au interes să stârnească furtuni!", in Ioan Aurel Pop in the preface of G. Badea Lătuceanu, *op. cit.*, pp. 10–11.

arrived in the 11th–13th centuries, how they lived 'mixed' with the Romanians and how they learned 'letters' from the Romanians (as the chronicler Simon of Keza tells us, around 1283), they will learn about the assimilation of the Romanians by name, by religion, by the systematic policy of Hungarianization, etc."[94].

The book also shows readers that the presence of Romanians in southeastern Transylvania has been systematically reduced over the years and highlights the methods by which they were assimilated. The Romanians and the Szeklers cohabited peacefully (both in the Romanian Principalities and later in Modern Romania), traded with each other, worked, and earned money in both the south and east of the Carpathians. In short, the destinies of the Romanians and Szeklers were linked even though there were many over the years who wished to separate them[95]. The article shows us that although we can talk about an assimilation of the Romanians in "Szeklerland" by the Szeklers, this process was peaceful, unlike the Hungarianization which was often violent.

To achieve the objectives listed above, the author has used several scientific works, mostly of Hungarian origin. Thus, by using scientific works, it will be demonstrated that what we find under the name hostile to Romania's interests, the "Szekler Bloc", is rather an abusive name[96], because it does not consider either the Szeklers or the Romanians of this area who were assimilated.

THE ORIGIN OF THE SZEKLERS

Why are the Szeklers different from the Hungarians?

Two of the common arguments in Hungarian discourse regarding the origin of the Szeklers are that they are Hungarians because they speak Hungarian and have Hungarian names (as we have already said – Hungarianized). The fact that they speak Hungarian does not mean that they belong to the Hungarian ethnic group. These issues have arisen because of Hungarianization policies and are the most obvious evidence of these assimilation practices. Numerous testimonies demonstrate to this:

"Although today the Szeklers speak Hungarian (a Hungarian language with obvious dialectal peculiarities), they do not belong to the Hungarian ethnic group. This is also the almost unanimous observation of the old Hungarian chroniclers, as well as of all

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[94] „De aceea, inițiativa de a pune la un loc, pe un spațiu restrâns, câteva date istorice esențiale despre destinul secuilor și al românilor este binevenită și poate să fie foarte utilă pentru cei dornici să știe. Cititorii vor fi în postura de a ști astfel cum i-au găsit secuii, la venirea lor în secolele XI–XIII, pe români în locurile lor vechi, din «munții de margine», cum au trăit «amestecați» cu românii și cum au învățat de la români «literele» (cum ne spune, pe la 1283, cronicarul Simon de Keza), vor afla despre secuizarea românilor prin nume, prin religie, prin politica sistematică de maghiarizare etc.", in *Ibidem*, pp. 8–9.
[95] *Ibidem*, p. 9.
[96] G. Badea Lătuceanu, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

Western travellers through these parts of Transylvania since the beginning of the 16th century"[97].

"Absolutely all those who speak, in chronicles or in correspondence, about Transylvania and its inhabitants, (ex. P. Ransanus, Cosimo Capponi, Alfonso Visconti, Pigafetta, P. Pelardi, Gian Lorenzo d'Anania, G. Poter, G. A. Magini, or the sasul G. Reicherstorfer, as well as the humanists Sebastian Münster and Nicolae Olahus etc. etc.) always make a clear distinction between Hungarians and Szeklers"[98].

"Moreover in chap. 50 of the 'Gesta Hungarorum' (12th–13th century) it says: '(...) an army [of Arpad] led by Usubu meets [on the tributary of the Tisa, Couroug] the Szeklers who belonged to Attila's people and who, hearing of his fame, come forward with gifts and offer their sons as hostages'. It is obvious that, if they belonged to the same ethnic group, the Szeklers would not have had to offer their own children to the Hungarians as hostages, as strangers, to whom they had to win their trust and prove their loyalty"[99].

In fact, on September 16, 1437, during the Revolt of Bobâlna, the "Brotherly Agreement" between the privileged nations of Transylvania (Unio Trium Nationum) was signed in Căpâlna. According to it, there were three privileged nations in Transylvania (the Szeklers being one of them), while the Romanians were considered a "tolerated nation"[100]. It is easy to understand that if the ethnic Hungarians' claims were true, the documents would have recorded this reality. However, the testimonies of the time show a clear separation between Hungarians and Szeklers.

What are their origins?

The origins of the Szeklers are unclear. They say they are "remnants of the old Scythians"[101].

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[97] „Deși astăzi secuii vorbesc ungurește (de fapt o limbă maghiară cu evidente particularități dialectale), *ei nu aparţin etniei maghiare*. Aceasta este şi constatarea aproape unanimă a vechilor cronicari maghiari, precum şi a tuturor călătorilor occidentali prin aceste părţi ale Ardealului, încă de la începutul secolului XVI", in *Ibidem*, p. 13.

[98] „Absolut toţi cei ce vorbesc, în relatări sau în corespondenţă, despre Transilvania şi locuitorii ei, (ex. P. Ransanus, Cosimo Capponi, Alfonso Visconti, Pigafetta, P. Pelardi, Gian Lorenzo d'Anania, G. Poter, G. A. Magini, sau sasul G. Reicherstorfer, ca şi umaniştii Sebastian Münster şi Nicolae Olahus etc. etc.) fac mereu o netă deosebire între unguri şi secui", in *Ibidem*, p. 15.

[99] „De altfel în cap. 50 din «Gesta Hungarorum» (sec. XII–XIII) se spune: «(...) o *armată [a lui Arpad] condusă de Usubu întâlneşte [pe afluentul Tisei, Couroug] pe SECUI ce făceau parte din popoarele lui Attila şi care, auzind de faima lui, îi ies înainte cu daruri şi-şi oferă fiii ca ostateci»*. Este evident că, dacă ar fi aparţinut aceleiaşi etnii, secuii n-ar fi trebuit să ofere ungurilor proprii copii ca ostatici, ca unor străini necunoscuţi, cărora urma să le trezească încredere şi să le dovedească fidelitate", in Anonimus, *Gesta Hungarorum [The actions of the Hungarians]*, cap. 50, sec. XII–XIII, apud *Ibidem*.

[100] Cosmin Ţîntă, „16 septembrie: 585 de ani de la Unio Trium Nationum, înţelegerea prin care românii erau complet eliminaţi din viaţa social-politică a Transilvaniei" ["16 September: 585 years since the Unio Trium Nationum, the agreement by which the Romanians were completely eliminated from the social-political life of Transylvania"], September 16, 2022, in *Active News*, Available at: https://www.activenews.ro/cultura/16-septembrie-585-de-ani-de-la-Unio-Trium-Nationum-intelegerea-prin-care-romanii-erau-complet-eliminati-din-viata-social-politica-a-Transilvaniei-136507, Accessed on March 12, 2023.

[101] G. Badea Lătuceanu, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

"That the Sects are of the Hunnic lineage no one doubts (...) as some who still retain Scythian primitiveness, they differ from the Hungarians in almost all their customs, laws, and way of life, except religion; and they are not even alike in language, when they speak like their ancestors"[102].

However, the history of Transylvania has always made a distinction between the nations that populated it, noting that the Szeklers are not Hungarians. Even the Hungarians recognized this at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919:

"(...) according to the Final Memorandum of the Hungarian Delegation to the Paris Peace Conference of 1919, the Hungarians declared that 'the Szeklers are of Avar origin, a population, which in the Middle Ages concluded a Pact with the Hungarians in Transylvania, each of these nations having full power over the territory they occupied – Unio Trium Nationum'"[103].

Differences between Hungarians and Szeklers *vs*. similarities between Romanians and Szeklers

When they came to the intra-Carpathian circle in the 11th–13th centuries, the Szeklers found the Romanians here, with whom they cohabited peacefully for a long time. Political, social, economic, and other forms of cooperation led to similarities preserved over time.

a) Linguistic

The Szeklers cannot be considered Hungarians simply because they speak Hungarian today:

"(...) to reduce or limit the specificity and character of an ethnic group (exclusively) to language – which seems to have satisfied the Hungarians in their politics in the past – is a generalization which, today is far from being a scientific position"[104].

"The ethnicity, but especially the origin of the ethnic Hungarians, is also manifested in other areas of material culture in which they are clearly different from the ethnic Hungarians"[105].

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[102] „Că secuii sunt de neam hunic nu se îndoiește nimeni (...) ca unii care mai păstrează până acum primitivitatea scitică, se deosebesc de unguri aproape în toate obiceiurile, legile și felul lor de a trăi, afară de religie; și nu se aseamănă nici chiar ca limbă, când vorbesc după chipul strămoșilor", in Anton Verancsici, in *De situ Transilvaniae (...)* reprinted in Budapest in 1944, and in *Monumenta Hungariae Historica, Scriptores*, II, pp. 120–151, apud *Ibidem*, p. 14.

[103] „(...) potrivit Memorandum-ului final al Delegației maghiare la Conferința de Pace de la Paris din 1919, ungurii au declarat că «secuii sunt de origine avară, o populație care în Evul Mediu a încheiat un Pact cu ungurii și sașii în Transilvania, fiecare din aceste națiuni având putere deplină asupra teritoriului pe care îl ocupau – Unio Trium Nationum»", in Ioan Ranca, *Românii din Secuime în antroponimele din conscripții [Romanians from Szeklerland in the anthroponyms of conscriptions]*, Vol. II. The Ciuc, Giurgeu and Cașin Seats, Tg. Mureș, 1997, p. 22.

[104] „(...) a reduce sau a limita specificul și caracterul unei etnii (în mod exclusiv) la limbă – ceea ce pare a-i fi mulțumit încă din trecut pe maghiari în politica lor – constituie o generalizare care astăzi e departe de a mai reprezenta o poziție științifică", in G. Badea Lătuceanu, *op. cit.*, pp. 15–16.

[105] „Etnia, dar mai ales originea secuilor se manifestă și în alte domenii ale culturii materiale prin care se deosebesc în mod evident de etnia maghiară", in *Ibidem*, p. 16.

The fact that today all the Szeklers, as well as almost all the Romanians in this region, speak Hungarian and have Hungarian names (more precisely Hungarianized), has served as a pretext for the Hungarian elite to claim, erroneously, that they are Hungarian. In this sense, the aim of the rulers was to "protect" its cultural specificity from "dangerous foreign (Romanian) influences", although it is known that the official language until the First World War, and then between 1940 and 1944, was Hungarian[106].

b) Architectural

Another proof that the Szeklers are not Hungarians are the architectural details of the houses. Moreover, these details show the common identity background of the Szeklers and Romanians:

"Let's take for example, the elements related to the house of the Szekler. The gate is identical to that one in Maramureş or Oltenia; in this form, it is inexistent among Hungarians"[107].

"The roof of the Szekler's house has four sides (slopes), like the Romanians, and not two, like the Hungarians"[108].

"The tiled floor of the Szekler house is identical to that of the Romanians, the Szeklers calling it csardak, like the Romanians, and not tornac, like the Hungarians"[109].

c) Musical

"Old Szekler music is characterized by the pentatonic scale, which is extremely common in Romanians, but is missing in Hungarians"[110].

"The Hungarian scientist Seprody, studying the collection of songs known as the 'Codex Caioni', observes: 'The special flavour of all Romanian melodies, with which, the Szekler music is so strongly impregnated', and the researcher Fabo states: 'In the development of the Kurutz traditional song, the Romanian participation is considerable (...), that is why it appears to the Hungarian ear as Romanian'. It is obvious, therefore, that the 'secuizated' Romanians continued to use the pentatonic scale which the Szeklers then took over from the Romanians"[111].

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[106] *Ibidem*, pp. 20–21.

[107] „Să luăm ca exemplu elementele legate de **casa secuiului.** Poarta este identică la ei cu cea caracteristică Maramureşului sau Olteniei; în această formă ea este inexistentă la maghiari", in Coriolan Petranu, *Etudes d'histoire de Part Transylvain [Transylvanian Part History Studies]*, Sibiu, 1944, p. 252, apud *Ibidem,* p. 16.

[108] „Acoperişul casei secuiului este în patru ape (pante), ca la români, şi nu în două, ca la unguri şi saşi", in G. Badea Lătuceanu, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

[109] „Cerdacul casei secuieşti este identic cu cel al românilor, secuii numindu-1 *csardak,* ca şi românii, şi nu *tornac,* ca ungurii", in *Ibidem*, p. 18.

[110] „**Muzica secuiască** veche e caracterizată prin gama pentatonică, extrem de frecventă şi la români, ea lipsind la unguri, unde nu e caracteristică", in *Ibidem*, p. 19.

[111] „Savantul maghiar Seprody, studiind colecţia de cântece, cunoscută sub numele de «Codex Caioni» constată: «Savoarea specială pe care o au toate melodiile româneşti de care este impregnată atât de puternic muzica secuiască», iar cercetătorul Fabo afirmă: «în dezvoltarea cântecului popular Kurutz, participarea românească e considerabilă (...), de aceea el apare urechii maghiare ca fiind românesc». Este evident, prin urmare, că românii «secuizaţi» au continuat să folosească gama pentatonică pe care secuii au luat-o apoi de la români", in *Ibidem*.

d) Decorative

"Decorative elements. On carpets, embroidery, crests in wood, as well as on Easter eggs – frequently used by the Szeklers – geometric shapes appear, as in the Romanians and not floral, as in the Hungarians"[112].

e) Denominational: place names

"Slavo-Romanian toponyms are also frequent in this region"[113].

f) Anatomical and biological

"In an age in which DNA is being studied so intensively, the cephalic index cannot be neglected, nor can the biological index, which brings the Szeklers closer to the Romanians than to the Hungarian 'pusta' population"[114].

"All these characteristic elements of material and spiritual culture, present in the life of the Szekler – disregarded by the Hungarian side – when it invokes territorial autonomy, in addition to the language, the customs of the inhabitants of the Szeklerland – prove the existence of a common background with that of the native Romanians, unlike the language spoken today which, imposed by the administration over centuries, has ended up replacing the old language spoken by it, and about which both A. Verancsici and N. Olahus, as well as P. Ransanus, mention"[115].

g) Folklore

The folklore shows us best how similar the Szeklers are to the Romanians because this segment was not subject to the Hungarian administration's policy of Hungarianization. The dramatic poem, called "Vicleim", about the birth of the Saviour, sung in the countryside on Christmas Eve, has a variant preserved in the Szekler tradition, which serves as a proof of the above[116].

Therefore, when we talk about Romanians and Szeklers, we notice that there is a common Romanian background in all aspects of life, not just an influence. This explains why: 1. in the battles against the royal troops or those of the prince of Transylvania, the Szeklers fought alongside the Romanian voivods (alongside Michael the Brave, for example) and 2. the fact that in the 19th century, the Szeklers moved to Romania by the tens of thousands with passports[117].

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[112] „**Elementele decorative.** Pe covoare, broderii, crestături în lemn, ca și pe ouăle încondeiate de Paști – folosite frecvent de secui – apar forme geometrice, ca la români și nu florale, ca la unguri", in *Ibidem*.

[113] „De asemenea **toponimele** slavo-romăne sunt frecvente în această regiune", in *Ibidem*, p. 20.

[114] „Într-o epocă în care se studiază atât de intens ADN-ul, nu poate fi neglijat nici **indicele cefalic, ca și cel biologic**, care îi apropie pe secui de români mai mult decât de populația din «pusta» maghiară", in P. Ramneanțu, *Originea etnică a Secuilor din Transilvania*, in *Transilvania Journal* [*Ethnic Origins of the Transylvanian Szeklers*], pp. 45–59, *apud Ibidem*, p. 20.

[115] „Toate aceste elemente caracteristice culturii materiale și spirituale, prezente în viața secuiului – nesocotite de partea maghiară – atunci când invocă autonomie teritorială *pentru a ocroti,* pe lângă limbă, *obiceiurile locuitorilor din Secuime* – dovedesc existența unui fond comun cu cel al autohtonului român, spre deosebire de limba vorbită azi care, impusă de administrație pe parcurs de secole, a sfârșit prin a înlocui vechea limbă vorbită de acesta, și despre care amintește atât A. Verancsici, cât și N. Olahus, precum și P. Ransanus", in G. Badea Lătuceanu, *op. cit.,* p. 20.

[116] *Ibidem*, p. 21.

[117] Adrian Hamzea, *Congresul Secuiesc [The Szekler Congress]*, Milano, Nagrad Publishing, apud *Ibidem,* p. 67.

THE PROCESS OF ASSIMILATION OF THE SZEKLERS AND ROMANIANS

The elites as a destabilizing factor

From a statistical viewpoint, we can talk about an "ethnic epuration" in the case of Romanians and in case of Szeklers as well. The negative influence on inter-ethnic coexistence, however, comes from the Hungarian elite, whose actions continue along the same lines as in 1867: increasing the number of Hungarians at all costs:

> "The common people, called Szeklers from outside, in the south-east of Transylvania, follow their traditional life, learn in schools with the Hungarian teaching language, go to their Roman Catholic or Calvinist churches, are led by Szekler (Hungarian) mayors and councilors, elected by them, speak their language freely, read the press in this language, etc. In the last two decades, the Romanians there have been getting fewer and fewer, and the remaining ones have endured without complaining. They have endured their overwhelming, the reduction in the number of Romanian churches and schools, discrimination in employment, hateful looks, direct or indirect accusations, and insults. But what did careful observers find? That life is generally peaceful and unhindered when it comes to ordinary people, that the rights of Hungarian speakers exist and are respected, that the Hungarian-Second identity is maintained and strengthened, and that forms of autonomy do exist, but that there are periodic 'impulses' from politicians that disturb the waters"[118].

Purpose

Although there is a common background of identity between Romanians and Szeklers, the cause that made the "ethnic metamorphosis" of the Szeklers and Romanians possible is linked to the Hungarian state's policy of assimilation. The Szeklers and some Romanians "became" Hungarians because of the Hungarian state's desire to increase its numbers. At the time of the formation of the nation states because the Hungarians were a minority in the newly established Hungarian nation state, it was decided in 1867 to "correct" this "anomaly"[119].

Relevant statistics

In 1894, the Hungarian statistics showed that there were 9.335.684 non-Hungarians and only 6.403.687 Hungarians in Hungary. This means that Hungarians

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[118] „Oamenii de rând, numiți dinafară secui, din sud-estul Transilvaniei își urmează viața tradițională, învață în școli cu limba de predare maghiară, merg la bisericile lor romano-catolice ori calvine, sunt conduși de primarii și consilierii secui (maghiari), aleși de ei, își vorbesc nestingheriți limba lor, citesc presa în această limbă etc. În ultimele două decenii românii de-acolo s-au tot împuținat, iar cei rămași au răbdat, fără să se plângă prea mult. Au răbdat copleșirea lor, reducerea numărului de biserici și de școli românești, discriminările la angajare, privirile piezișe, acuzele directe sau voalate, jignirile. Ce s-a constatat, însă, de către observatorii atenți? Că viața decurge, în general, lină și nestingherită, atunci când este vorba despre oamenii de rând, că drepturile celor care vorbesc limba maghiară există și sunt respectate, că identitatea ungaro-secuiască se menține și se fortifică și că formele autonomiei există de fapt, dar că intervin periodic «impulsuri» din partea unor politicieni care tulbură apele", in Ioan Aurel Pop in the preface of the book G. Badea Lătuceanu, *op. cit.,* pp. 9–10.
[119] G. Badea Lătuceanu, *op. cit.*, pp. 22–23.

did not exceed 40% of the country's population. However, after the Hungarianization of names and the introduction of the compulsory Hungarian language, the situation changed radically in 1910. Of the 20.886.787 inhabitants of Greater Hungary, Hungarians grew to more than 50% in just 16 years, with a total of 10.818.000 people[120].

The results of assimilation policies were also visible in Romania: in Bistrița, for example, between 1880 and 1910, *i.e.*, in 30 years, the number of ethnic Hungarians increased by 390.2% and in Năsăud by 620.3%. The same phenomenon occurred in Deva, where, in the same period, the number of Hungarians increased by 293.8%, etc.[121].

Instruments of Hungarianization

This "miraculous" increase in the number of ethnic Hungarians was based on several highly effective instruments, of which we list the following:

a) The Law on Equality of the Nationalities

In 1868, the Hungarian state adopted the "Law of Equality of Nationalities" to create an ethnically homogeneous Hungarian nation, in which we find an article stipulating that "In Hungary there is one single, indivisible nation, the Hungarian nation"[122]. The "egalitarian" name of the law is rather ironic in that it normalizes the supremacy of the Hungarian nation at all costs.

b) Central Society for the Hungarianization of the Names

To cement this "reality", the "Central Society for the Hungarianization of the Names" was founded on March 26, 1881, with Simon Telkes, the author of the brochure "How to Hungarianize Patronymics" (surnames), as its president[123]. Below are some significant passages from this brochure published in Budapest in 1898, under the signature of the president of the "Central Society for the Hungarianization of Names".

"Like religious baptism, by which a person becomes a Christian and a member of the Christian community, the Hungarianization of the surname [the baptismal names had been Hungarianized centuries ago] takes on the character of a national baptism"[124].

"He who has a Hungarian name will never be able to deny his Hungarianness or underestimate his duties to his nation and homeland. At the risk of being contradicted by his name, he will never be able to say that he is not a Hungarian"[125].

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[120] *Ibidem*, p. 23.

[121] Z. Paclişan, *Der Ausrottungskampf Ungarns gegen seine nationalen Minderheiten [Hungary's extermination campaign against its national minorities]*, pp. 177–178, *apud Ibidem*, p. 23.

[122] G. Badea Lătuceanu, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

[123] *Ibidem.*

[124] „Asemănător botezului religios, prin care omul devine creştin şi membru al comunităţii creştine, maghiarizarea numelui de familie [cele de botez fuseseră maghiarizate cu secole în urmă], îmbracă caracterul unui botez naţional, realizând admiterea definitivă a maghiarului ce poartă un nume străin, în societatea maghiară, printre adevăraţii fii ai naţiunii", in Simon Telkes, *Cum să maghiarizăm numele de familie [How to Hungarianize surnames],* Budapest,1898, in *Ibidem*, p. 60.

[125] „Cel ce poartă un nume unguresc nu va putea niciodată să renege calitatea sa de ungur, sau să subestimeze datoriile sale către naţiunea şi patria sa. Cu riscul de a fi dezminţit de numele său, el nu va putea spune niciodată că nu este ungur", in *Ibidem*, p. 61.

"The Hungarianization of the name is an oath of patriotic loyalty (...)"[126].

c) EMKE Society

The third extremely effective means, both for the Hungarianization of names and for the introduction of the compulsory Hungarian language all over Hungary, was the EMKE society.

Its intentions are easily identified in the jubilee volume (25th anniversary) of 1892–1893. For the Hungarian state, the Szekler movement was the means of securing its presence in Transylvania, as the following statement shows:

"For the Szeklers, the state and law must take action (...) otherwise we will lose Transylvania"[127].

For the avoidance of doubt, we quote from the letter of 17 February 1891 addressed the Hungarian government by the secretary of this society, Sandor Ioszef:

"We must preserve and encourage the Szeklerland. Let us use it for consolidating cohesion, for the extension of the Hungarian islands and for the progress of assimilation, until the ethnic river of the Hungarian Pusta will unite with that of the Szeklers (...) After the application of these measures in favor of the Szeklers, who must be saved and helped, we can then think of gradually pushing the territory inhabited by the Szeklers toward the west, along the Plain and mountains of Bihor, until we achieve a united and compact ethnic mass (...)"[128].

The results of the "EMEKE" society were extremely satisfying:

"In three years, the EMKE Society has created 160 Hungarian schools in the Romanian regions, which is of great importance for Hungarianization"[129].

"We would like to mention here the problem of the Hungarianization of names. In this regard, we have prepared templates for applications for the Hungarianization of names, as well as procedural instructions"[130].

"'Pharmacist Sandor Nagy from Tg. Mureș has Hungarianized 300 names', and in the children's asylum in the commune of Bârghiș, Târnava Mică County, it is noted:

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[126] „Maghiarizarea numelui este un jurământ de fidelitate patriotică (...)" in *Ibidem*.

[127] „Pentru Secuime trebuie ca statul şi legea să treacă la fapte [...] altfel vom pierde Ardealul", in ***, *Volumul jubiliar al societăţii Emke – 25 de ani [Jubilee volume of the Emke Society – 25 years, 1892–1893]*, p. 70, apud G. Badea Lătuceanu, *op. cit.,* p. 26.

[128] „Trebuie să păstrăm şi să încurajăm Secuimea. Să o folosim pentru întărirea coeziunii, pentru lărgirea insulelor ungureşti şi pentru progresul de asimilare, până când fluviul etnic al pustei maghiare se va uni cu cel din secuime (...) După aplicarea acestor măsuri în favorul Secuimii, care trebuie salvată şi ajutată, ne putem apoi gândi la împingerea treptată spre apus a teritoriului locuit de secui, de-a lungul Câmpiei şi a munţilor Bihorului, până vom realiza o unitară şi compactă masă etnică (...)", in A. Gociman, *România şi revizionismul maghiar [Romania and Hungarian revisionism]*, Bucharest, Universe Publishing, 1934, p. 208, *apud* G. Badea Lătuceanu, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

[129] „Societatea EMKE a creat în trei ani în regiunile româneşti 160 de şcoli maghiare, ceea ce are mare importanţă pentru maghiarizare", in A. Gociman, *op. cit,* p. 207, *apud* G. Badea Lătuceanu, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

[130] „Amintim aici problema maghiarizării numelor. În acest sens am alcătuit modele pentru cererile de maghiarizare a numelor, precum şi instrucţiuni de procedură", in *Ibidem,* p. 209, *apud Ibidem.*

'Compared to 800 Vlach children, there are only 200 Hungarians, the Vlach children speak more correct Hungarian than the Hungarians'"[131].

"A permanent commission for Hungarianization has been set up in Cluj"[132].

"The Hungarian academic youth broke the windows of the local of the 'Iulia' society and the windows of the homes of the Romanian lawyers, Coroianu and Dr. Isacu. They then stopped in front of the house of Prof. Dr. Silaşi and demonstrated in an extraordinarily violent way. The next day, the Hungarian students burned the Romanian gazettes in the market"[133].

d) The Church – the most effective tool for the Hungarianization of both Szeklers and Romanians

At the same time as the Hungarianization of the Szeklers, the Church also began the Hungarianization of the Romanians from Szeklerland. Sabin Opreanu, an excellent connoisseur of the situation of the ethnic groups in Szeklerland, states on this subject that although the people do not care about anything else as much as they care about their religious customs, we are witnessing, almost all over Szeklerland, a transition of the Romanians to the Szekler churches (Catholic and Reformed), thus completing their assimilation. This mass transition of the believers occurred for two reasons, the first one refers to the more and more aggressive pressures they were facing, and the second one must do with the defective way of organizing the Romanian Churches (Orthodox and Greek-Catholic)[134].

The results of the Church's involvement appeared immediately:

1. The Blaj censuses reflect a tragic situation: in the Gheorgheni protopopeat (Szeklerland) in just 12 years about. 5,000 Romanians (from 22,000 in 1911 to 17,000 Greek-Catholic Romanians in 1923) disappeared[135].
2. At that time, there were 138 communes with Romanian Orthodox members, but only 38 had parish priests. The rest of the communes (100 in number) were only filii, *i.e.*, without parish priests. This explains the disappearance of the Romanian ethnic group from the Hungarian censuses[136].
3. Other examples:

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[131] „«Farmacistul Sandor Nagy din Tg. Mureş a maghiarizat 300 de nume», iar în azilul de copii din comuna Bârghiş, jud. Târnava Mică, se constată: «Faţă de 800 copii valahi, sunt numai 200 maghiari, copiii valahi vorbesc mai corect ungureşte decât cei maghiari»", in *Ibidem,* pp. 208–209, *apud Ibidem.*

[132] „S-a înfiinţat şi la Cluj o comisie permanentă pentru maghiarizare", in *Ibidem*, pp. 205–207, *apud Ibidem.*

[133] „Tineretul academic maghiar a spart ferestrele localului societăţii «Iulia» şi ferestrele locuinţelor avocaţilor români, Coroianu şi dr. Isacu. Ea s-a oprit apoi în faţa locuinţei prof. dr. Silaşi şi a demonstrat în mod extraordinar de violent. Ziua următoare, studenţimea maghiară a ars în piaţă gazetele Româneşti", in *Ibidem*, p. 209, *apud Ibidem,* pp. 29–30.

[134] G. Badea Lătuceanu, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

[135] Sabin Opreanu, *Deznaţionalizarea Românilor prin religie [Denationalization of the Romanians by religion]*, Cluj, 1927, *apud Ibidem*, p. 31.

[136] G. Badea Lătuceanu, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

Table 1

Decreases in the Romanian population in the 1927 census compared with the 1900 census[137]

Name of municipality/city	No. of Romanians in the 1900 Hungarian census	No. of Romanians in the 1927 Hungarian census
Lăzăreni	261	2
Curteni	46	0
Bodiul	67	0
Oaia	920	67

HUNGARY'S POLICY OF HUNGARIANIZATION A FTER THE GREAT UNION OF 1918

After 1920, the policy of Hungarianization of the Szeklers and Romanians became even more aggressive. The Hungarian administration would implement this policy exemplary[138].

Methods and concrete actions

The process of assimilation of other ethnic groups by the Hungarians were often violent. For example, in 1935, when doctor F. Basch protested the Hungarianization of surnames, he was prosecuted and sentenced to three months' imprisonment for "speaking out against the ideal of national unity of the country". The Hungarian Court of Appeal upheld the conviction, justifying it: "Hungarianization is a national problem. Whoever opposes fights against the tendencies of the state"[139].

Hungarianization was systematic. Actions affected all spheres of social life:

a) Army: in June 1930, the Minister of the Army, J. Gombos, issued a circular obliging all officers to Hungarianize their names[140].

b) Police: the prefect of the Budapest police issued a similar order[141].

c) So did the Minister of the Interior[142].

d) The fee for applying for Hungarianization was reduced tenfold (from 10 to 1 pengo). The Society for the Hungarianization of Names was set up to support applicants[143].

e) Town halls: the mayor of Nagykoros, Casimir Deszo, ordered that people with foreign names should no longer be welcomed in the town[144].

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[137] *Ibidem.*

[138] *Ibidem,* p. 53.

[139] ***, „În Ungaria, după 1920" ["In Hungary after 1920"], extract from *Gazeta Voluntarilor Cluj*, May 20, 1933, page 2, apud G. Badea Lătuceanu, *op. cit.,* pp. 52–53.

[140] *Ibidem*, p. 53.

[141] *Ibidem.*

[142] *Ibidem.*

[143] *Ibidem.*

[144] *Ibidem.*

f) Educational institutions: the 13 December 1933 issue of the newspaper "Pești Hirlap" reported that the director of the Royal High School in Obuda, Gayda Bela, promised that he would Hungarianize the names of 200 pupils as soon as possible[145].

g) At the end of 1936, the Viennese newspaper "Nation und Staat" revealed a secret order of the Ministry of the Interior by which all state officials had to Hungarianize the names of their grandparents as well, to erase, in this way, any trace of the Hungarianization action[146].

h) The newspaper "Naplo Fish" of March 2, 1932, reports that in 1930, 1454 names were Hungarianized and in 1931 2887 names. In the army, 68 names were Hungarianized in 1930 and 660 in 1931[147]. The newspaper "Pești Hirlap" of 7 March 1934 wrote that the number of Hungarianized people reached 100,000 in that year[148].

i) Between 1920–1930 (in 10 years), the number of Hungarians in Hungary increased by 850,000, while the number of Romanians decreased by more than 7,000, from 23,760 to 16,221[149].

Echoes in the international press about the attitude of Hungarians toward other nations

a) Georges Clemenceau reported in the newspaper "Justice" of May 12, 1894, that education in Romanian schools had to be in Hungarian. He also pointed out that the Romanians were totally deprived of political rights. Of the 417 members of the Hungarian parliament, respecting the proportion, they should have had 75 deputies in Hungary and Transylvania, for 3.5 million inhabitants, and they had none. Freedom of the press was also absolutely illusory. For these reasons he thought that the Hungarians, who said of themselves that they loved freedom, should have recognised the same rights for the other neighbouring nationalities[150].

b) H. Rocheford, the great journalist, wrote in the newspaper "L'Intransigeant" of 13 May 1894 that the Romanians in Transylvania were "oppressed, persecuted and treated like animals by the Hungarians"[151].

c) Lord Fitzmaurice, former Under-Secretary of State at the Foreign Office, wrote in 1890 in the Pall-Mall Gazette that "the Hungarians cultivate a blind and violent policy towards the nationalities under the Hungarian Crown, especially against the Romanians"[152].

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[145] *Ibidem*.
[146] *Ibidem*, pp. 53–54.
[147] *Ibidem*, p. 54.
[148] *Ibidem*.
[149] *Ibidem*.
[150] Pamfil Șeicaru, *La Roumanie dans la grande guerre* [*Romania in the Great War*], Paris, Minard Publishing, 1968, apud G. Badea Lătuceanu, *op. cit.*, p. 55.
[151] *Ibidem*.
[152] *Ibidem*, pp. 55–56.

d) The newspaper "Le Figaro" of 8 May 1894 noted that although the Hungarians fought for freedom and independence, the moment they gained them they became a fierce oppressor of others. In Hungary and Transylvania, there were 3.5 million Romanians who wanted to preserve their national identity by holding on to their language and religion, but the liberalism of Budapest, which was so much talked about relations with Austria, disappeared when it came to the nationalities oppressed by Budapest[153].

e) Lev Tolstoy, speaking of Count Appony, said that although he was known abroad as a pacifist, in his own country, Hungary, he did not even recognize the non-Hungarians as human beings[154].

THE ETHNIC METAMORPHOSIS OF ROMANIANS IN TG. SECUIESC OR WHY THE DEMAND FOR AUTONOMY OF THE SO-CALLED "SZEKLERLAND" IS UNFOUNDED

The Church – the main element of ethnic assimilation

One argument that shows that the demands for autonomy are unfounded concerns how the Romanians in this area have been assimilated. Only four religions were recognized in Transylvania: Roman Catholic, Lutheran, Calvinist, and Unitarian. The Hungarians and the Szeklers were and still are Roman Catholics or Reformed (Calvinist or Unitarian)[155]. The Greek Catholic confession emerged in Transylvania toward the end of the 18th century, when, because of increasing pressure, some of the Orthodox Romanians converted to Catholicism. This was a compromise solution so that they could keep their Orthodox rite but also recognize the sovereignty of the Pope. Therefore, it is clear that this confession was and still is held only by Romanians[156]:

"Greek-Catholic (or Orthodox) 'Hungarians' are Romanians who have been Hungarianized in the meantime but have not left the Greek-Catholic or Orthodox confession"[157].

The Hungarian policy used every instrument at its disposal, no matter how reprehensible, to achieve its goal: increasing its own numbers. The proof of this is the 1910 census, the data from which prove the point[158]:

"In the county of Treiscaune, out of 100 villages, in 32 there are no Romanians, although in 30 localities the same statistics show the existence of Orthodox and Greek-Catholic inhabitants. For example, in Buduș there are 30 Orthodox, no Romanians; in

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[153] *Ibidem*, p. 56.

[154] *Ibidem*.

[155] G. Badea Lătuceanu, *op. cit.,* p. 37.

[156] *Ibidem*, p. 38.

[157] „Singurii «maghiari» greco-catolici (sau ortodocşi) n-au putut proveni numai din rândul românilor care între timp au fost maghiarizați, însă nu părăsiseră confesiunea greco-catolică, sau cea ortodoxă", in *Ibidem.*

[158] *Ibidem*, p. 39.

Aita-Seacă 121 Orthodox, 180 Greek Catholics, no Romanians; in Aita de Mijloc 169 Orthodox, 11 Greek Catholics, only one Romanian; in Gemătul de Sus 32 Orthodox, 12 Greek Catholics, no Romanians; in Bicsad 676 Orthodox, 8 Greek Catholics and only 9 Romanians, etc."[159]

The main instrument that made possible the disappearance of the Romans from Szeklerland was therefore the Church. More precisely, between 1781–1890, Romanian priests disappeared from the statistics of the time, and with them the Romanian faithful.

Going through the 52 minutes of the "Condica of the Orthodox Church of Tg. Săcuiesc 1781–1898" we notice that in the first years we have dozens of Romanian donors and clergy, and the documents are written in Romanian. Ten years later, in 1890, in the penultimate inventory report, we notice two important things: first, the document is written in Hungarian[160]. Second, the document is signed[160] by the Greek Orthodox chaplain Constantin Dimian, who appears as the sole administrator of the parishes of Lower Cernatu, Albiș, Dalnoc, Upper Cernatu, Futașfalu, Hatolyka, Ikafalu, Markosfalu, Martonfalu, Matisfalu, Moaksa, Kanta, and Kezdi Vasarhely. We note therefore that most of the villages inhabited by the Romanians in Szeklerland no longer had any priests around 1890[161].

A final proof of the disappearance of the Romanian ethnic group from Szeklerland and the surrounding localities is a letter from the Romanians of Lower and Upper "Szeklerland", in which they highlighted the problem and asked the Archbishopric of Sibiu for help[162]. The believers who signed this desperate request – asking for a Romanian Orthodox priest - according to the sound of their names, are undoubtedly Hungarians (Romanians with 100% Hungarian names: Matei, Timar, Ciorba, Radu, Bularca, Vancea etc.). According to their religion (Orthodox), they are still Romanians, and according to the "difficult circumstances" they complain about, as well as the fervent wish for an Orthodox priest to be sent to their commune, they are definitely Romanians, although all names of the signatories have a purely Hungarian sound[163].

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[159] „în judeţul Treiscaune, din cele 100 sate, în 32 n-ar fi nici un român, deşi în 30 de localităţi aceeaşi statistică constată existenţa locuitorilor ortodocşi şi greco-catolici. De exemplu, în Buduş există 30 ortodocşi, niciun român; în Aita-Seacă 121 ortodocşi, 180 greco-catolici, niciun român; în Aita de Mijloc 169 ortodocşi, 11 greco-catolici, un singur român; în Gemătul de Sus 32 ortodocşi, 12 greco-catolici, niciun român; în Bicsad 676 ortodocşi, 8 greco-catolici şi doar 9 români etc", in G. Popa-Lisseanu, *Date privitoare la maghiarizarea Românilor [Data on the Hungarianization of Romanians]*, Bucharest, 1937, p. 37, *apud* G. Badea Lătuceanu, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

[160] Maria I. Negreanu, *Românii din Tg. Săcuiesc şi satele învecinate [Romanians in Tg. Săcuiesc and neighbouring villages]*, Bucharest, Official Monitor, 1943, apud G. Badea Lătuceanu, *op. cit.*, pp. 41–42.

[161] *Ibidem*, p. 42.

[162] The signatories are: Mateh Jozsef, Timar Istvan, Kicsi Jozsef Bokor Istvăn, Timar Istvan, Kicsi Janos, Maten Jozsef, Olah Peter Badi, Szantha Gydrgy, Bokor Jozsef, Szabo Gybrgy, Nagy, Olah Peter Gzorba Istvan, Szabo Andras, Raduy Istvan, Vancza Peter, Raduy Mihaly, Szabo Janos, Timar Miklos, Bularka Andras, Bularka Miklos, Bokor Laszlo, Szabo Simon, Raduy Gybrgy, Kicsi Jozsef Alecsiu Popoviciu, in G. Badea Lătuceanu, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

[163] *Ibidem*, p. 44.

The Szekler seats, as units of local government, were abolished by the very people who today demand them

The model of autonomy proposed by the Hungarian leaders for the localities of the so-called "Szeklerland" is invalid, since the Szekler seats as units of local government were abolished in the second part of the 19th century, during the Austro-Hungarian dualism[164].

First the assimilation of the Romanians by the Szeklers, then their Hungarianization

After their settlement in the inner curvature of the Carpathians (in the 12th century), gradually, as equality eroded, and with the increase in Szekler privileges, an intense "process of assimilation" occurred in the south-eastern Transylvanian area, first naturally and peacefully[165]. In contrast to this,

> "the process of Hungarianization was also conducted through violence, coercion, forced transition of the Hungarian-speaking Romanians from ethnically mixed villages to Hungarian-speaking religions, Hungarianization being an approach conceived and implemented by political factors, starting in the first half of the nineteenth century"[166].

The hardest moments for the Romanians in this area:

a) first, during the period of Austro-Hungarian dualism (1867–1918), when denationalization policies were state policy[167]

b) secondly during the period of terror of the Hungarian occupation in 1940–1944[168] and

c) thirdly during the Stalinist experiment of the Hungarian Autonomous Region. The most dramatic changes in the ethnic and confessional configuration of the Romanians in the area occurred after the Vienna Dictat in 1940. Through "arrests, mistreatment, terrorization and expulsions of the population, accompanied by measures of conversion and transition from the Orthodox and Greek-Catholic religions to other Hungarian-speaking confessions, the number of Romanians was then drastically reduced, producing a real 'ethnic purification' of the 'Szeklerland'"[169].

Despite these assimilation policies, the population of the so-called "Szeklerland" is far from compact. Census data from 2002 showed that approx. 40% of the population of Harghita, Covasna, and Mureș counties were Romanian and Roma, *i.e.*, non-Hungarian[170]. This is another reason, as clear and objective as possible, why autonomy based on ethnic criteria is not justified.

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[164] Ioan Lăcătușu in the postface of the book G. Badea Lătuceanu, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

[165] *Ibidem,* p. 87.

[166] *Ibidem,* pp. 87–88.

[167] *Ibidem,* p. 91.

[168] *Ibidem.*

[169] *Ibidem.*

[170] *Ibidem*, p. 93.

ETHNIC AUTONOMY OF SZEKLERLAND – A COMMON THEME IN HUNGARIAN DISCOURSE

Less well known is the fact that Hungarian politicians have in the past wanted to create an ethnic enclave in the centre of Romania. This anti-social, unconstitutional, and anachronistic attempt at ethnic segregation led to the famous 1902 Szekler Congress in Tușnad. The aim of this congress was to put an end to the national "calamity" faced by the Hungarians, namely the massive exodus of the Szeklers to Romania[171].

The Szeklers emigrated en masse in the Kingdom of Romania. Between 1888 and 1890 alone, almost 30,000 passports were issued to the displaced Szeklers in Romania. In this context, Budapest officials, concerned, organized a congress in Băile Tușnad[172]. The minutes and transcripts of the congress were published in a 600-page volume entitled "Szekely Kongresszus", published by Patria in Budapest the same year. Some illustrative passages[173]:

"We are diminishing, we are dying, neither war nor epidemics have caused so much depopulation"[174].

"In 1902, 12,436 young men were evaded from the draft and disappeared"[175].

"Several thousand workers were relocated to Romania"[176].

"Half of the Szekler dogars left for Romania"[177].

"The public on which our prosperity depends must be regained; it is only a stone's throw away (in Romania)"[178].

CONCLUSIONS

Hungarian politics has always wanted to increase the number of its own ethnic group by any means, even by assimilation and confiscation of other ethnicities. This is still happening today, in an age when democracy condemns this process[179]. Their political strategy constantly pursues the same goal: the growth of the Hungarian nation by weakening its neighbors, by assimilating them, so that they can become the unchallenged masters in this part of Europe[180].

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[171] Adrian Hamzea, *op. cit.*, apud G. Badea Lătuceanu, *op. cit.* p. 49.

[172] *Ibidem*.

[173] *Ibidem*, p. 50.

[174] „Ne împuținăm, pierim, nici războiul, nici ciuma n-au provocat atâtea pustiiri", in ***, *Szekely Kongresszus [Szekely Congress]*, Budapest, Patria Publishing, 1902, p. 568, apud Adrian Hamzea, *op. cit.*, in G. Badea Lătuceanu, op. cit.

[175] „În anul 1902 s-au sustras de la încorporări 12.436 tineri, care au dispărut", in *Ibidem*.

[176] „Mai multe mii de meseriași s-au strămutat în Romania", in *Ibidem*.

[177] „Jumătate din dogarii secui au plecat în România", in *Ibidem*.

[178] „Publicul de care depinde înflorirea noastră trebuie recâștigat; el se află la doi pași (în Romania)", in *Ibidem*, p. 51.

[179] G. Badea Lătuceanu, *op. cit.*, pp. 44–45.

[180] *Ibidem*, p. 45.

Even though the census of 2022 did not register any more Szeklers, the Szeklers were and still are the means by which the Hungarians secure their presence in Transylvania. Sensing the danger of their plan being revealed and hoping that they can continue to dissimulate it, they accuse their own victims of bad intentions[181]. The book clearly shows how "ethnic-territorial unity has been fabricated throughout history" in this region. Autonomy is claimed by the architects of the separatist policy precisely so that the ethnic composition of this region can never be changed again. Through these last-ditch efforts, the artisans of ethnic separatism will have ensured that the assimilation of the Romanians is complete and definitive[182].

The Hungarianization of names was the "legal" way to turn both the Romanians and Szeklers into Hungarians forever. This is how the "Hungarian unity" of the Szeklerland was born, and this is also the basis for the "logic" of territorial autonomy based on ethnic criteria in the heart of Romania. All this is happening under the eyes of the representatives of the Romanian state, who are completely ignoring this issue even though it threatens the sovereignty of the state[183].

The book is important because it demonstrates, in the context of discussions on territorial autonomy, that this autonomy is the ultimate betrayal of the Romanian state when it comes to the Romanians of the so-called "Szeklerland" who have been abandoned and Hungarianized over time. Moreover, the identity fracture is severe because after the intense assimilation policy undertaken by the Hungarian state, they have been cleverly manipulated so that not only have they forgotten their origins and the terrors endured by their predecessors, but they have come to believe that they are Hungarians.

This is the reality based on which today's members of the Romanian Parliament are being called upon to adopt, as quickly as possible, the establishment of territorial autonomy, so that the Romanians of the so-called "Szeklerland" will have the "right" to speak Hungarian freely and to finally be able to consider themselves Hungarians in Romania[184].

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[181] *Ibidem*.
[182] *Ibidem*, p. 63.
[183] *Ibidem*, p. 64.
[184] *Ibidem*.

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VASILE STOICA, "THE SORROWS OF ARDEAL". READING NOTES

Rupe Narcis-Claudiu[185]

ABSTRACT

The history of Ardeal (Transylvania) is still today a subject treated by both Romanian and Hungarian historians. Ardeal, one of the three Romanian provinces together with Moldova and Wallachia, has been a place where the history of the region has represented a continuous interaction between three forces: the Romanians, the Hungarians, and the Habsburg Dynasty. The idea is the work of Vasile Stoica (1889–1959), one of the most prominent Romanian diplomats of the interwar period, who died in the communist prison of Jilava. The interdependence of these three forces generated a historical series of sufferings and injustices for the Romanians of Transylvania, which the Romanian diplomat summarised and ordered chronologically in his work "The sorrows of Ardeal". On their side were the Romanians of Moldova and Wallachia by virtue of their acts of solidarity. The Sufferings of the Romanians of Transylvania and the support received from their brothers across the mountains are two of the guiding ideas of the book. Both were the reasons for the entry of the Kingdom of Romania into the First World War. The book was a means used by the Romanian delegation to convince the North American opinion of the rightness of the Romanian cause. The honesty of the author, a Romanian originally from Ardeal, with his ability to synthesise, make "The sorrows of Ardeal" a representative work for the Romanian perspective on the history of this area.

Keywords: Vasile Stoica, Ardeal, Romanian historiography, World War I, Social History.

VASILE STOICA – THE ROMANIAN DIPLOMAT WHO FOUGHT VOLUNTARILY ON THE FRONT

"The Sorrows of Ardeal" is the result of the efforts of the distinguished diplomat Vasile Stoica (1889–1959), a Romanian of Ardelean origin, who graduated from high school in Sibiu and Brasov, and from higher education in Budapest, Paris, and Bucharest. His vast linguistic skills (fluent in 14 languages, including Hungarian) enabled him to keep informed about the problems of the Romanians in Transylvania during the period of Austro-Hungarian dualism (1867–1918), working as editor of the daily "Românul" in Arad, the newspaper of the Romanian National Party[186].

During the First World War, he avoided enlistment in the Austro-Hungarian army and voluntarily joined the Romanian army and was wounded in the battles in 1916. The battle at the front was supplemented by intense diplomatic activity. He drafted King Ferdinand I's proclamations for Romania's entry into the "glorious War

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[186] Gheorghe Buzatu, "Diplomație și propagandă" ["Diplomacy and propaganda"], in Vasile Stoica, *Suferințele din Ardeal [The sorrows of Ardeal]*, Bucharest, Arsenie Boca Publishing, 2016, p. 4.

of National Unity of 1916–1919"[187]. The Government and the Great Romanian Headquarters sent him in 1917 together with Vasile Lucaciu, president of the Cultural League, and the priest Ion Moța[188] in the United States of America to plead for the national cause against the powerful ally.

The diplomat's efforts did not stop at the end of the war. At the personal request of Prime Minister Ion I. C. Brătianu, Vasile Stoica was included in the Romanian delegation sent to Versailles in February 1919, a delegation that obtained the agreement of the great powers for the union of Transylvania, Bukovina, and Bessarabia with the Kingdom of Romania. He continued his diplomatic career, being plenipotentiary minister of Romania in Albania (1930–1932), Bulgaria (1932–1936), and the Baltic States (1937–1939). He was Romania's first ambassador to Turkey (1939–1940) and ambassador to The Hague (1946–1947)[189].

Ana Pauker, the Communist Minister of Foreign Affairs, abruptly ended his diplomatic career in November 1947 to "disaffiliate it from the landed bourgeois elements"[190] despite the assistance it gave to the Romanian Delegation to the Paris Peace Conference (July-October 1946). Imprisoned by the Communists, he dies on 27 July 1959 in Jilava prison.

THE KINGDOM OF ROMANIA IN THE FIRST WORLD WAR – THE BACKGROUND TO THE BOOK'S PUBLICATION

The Romanian diplomat first published his work shortly after the entry of the Kingdom of Romania into the First World War on the side of the Entente. The book was a success as the author confessed: "in a few weeks it was almost completely sold out"[191]. The public impact was so great in Romania that it led Vasile Stoica to publish a new edition for Romanians in the United States on November 1, 1917. Thus, the work became an instrument used by the Romanian delegation sent to the United States of America by the Government in retreat in Iasi (25 November 1916 – 30 November 1918) to achieve the following objectives:

- supporting the Romanian cause before North American opinion[192] and
- recruiting a legion of volunteers from among the more than 150,000 Romanians from Transylvania and Bucovina who emigrated to the "New World" to fight under the American flag on the front in France[193]. The Legion was not sent to the battlefield although it had formed[194].

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[187] *Ibidem,* p. 5.

[188] *Ibidem.*

[189] *Ibidem,* p. 8.

[190] *Ibidem,* pp. 6–7.

[191] *Ibidem*, p. 15.

[192] Gheorghe Buzatu, "Diplomație și propagandă" ["Diplomacy and propaganda"], in *Ibidem*, p. 5.

[193] Robert Stănciugel, *Lumea balcanică în viziunea și activitatea diplomatului Vasile Stoica [The Balkan Region in the Perspective and Work of Vasile Stoica], Bucharest*, Colias Publishing, 2008, p. 38.

[194] Gheorghe Buzatu, *op. cit.*, in *Ibidem*, p. 5.

The future diplomat gave lectures about the Romanians in Transylvania on American soil, published articles in the largest newspapers of the time in the U.S. ("The Washingthon Post" and "The New York Times") and met President Woodrow Wilson along with the Czechoslovak leader Tomáš Masaryk, the Polish leader Ignacy Paderwski and the Croatian leader Hinko Hinkovici, representatives of peoples who shared the same fate as the Romanians within the Austro-Hungarian Empire[195]. Thanks to him, the most significant union of Romanians in the U.S. was formed, representing 182 Romanian organisations and parishes in the U.S. in several states on July 5, 1918[196].

 "The Sorrows of Ardeal" is part of a series of studies on the national problem published by Vasile Stoica during the First World War: "The Habsburgs and Romania, Bucharest", 1915, in collaboration with Ion Rusu Abrudeanu; Bessarabia, Dobrodja, New York, 1919; "The Roumanian Question", Pittsburgh, 1919; "The Roumanian Nation a Sentry of Western Latin Civilization in Eastern Europe", Pittsburgh, 1919[197].

This was the only one of the above works republished after 1989 in Cluj-Napoca in 1994, in Bacău in 2008, and 2014 and at the Arsenie Boca publishing in Bucharest in 2016. The ideas below are based on the notes from the last edition. It is 350 pages long and includes an introduction-study by historian Gheorghe Buzatu, taken over by the Arsenie Boca publishing from the 2008 edition of the book, where it was originally published.

Vasile Stoica addressed the Romanian public during a time of tension and major changes in national history. To strengthen the consciousness of nationhood and national unity, the diplomat adopted in "The Sorrows of Ardeal" a style that combines logical argumentation, the rendering of historical facts, and storytelling. The historical facts took precedence because they "speak quite clearly" about the sufferings of the Romanians, as the Romanian diplomat confesses in the preface. Thus, the book ends with an appendix made up of documents (letters, newspaper articles and more) that describe the injustices endured by Romanians of all social classes during the Austro-Hungarian dualism.

HISTORICAL SERIES OF ROMANIAN SORROWS IN ARDEAL

From the introduction, the author divides the history of Transylvania into seven parts, thus succeeding in chronologically ordering from a Romanian perspective the main moments of Transylvanian history up to the Great Union:
   "I. From the arrival of the Hungarians until 1526, when, following the defeat at Mohaci, Ardeal and its Hungarian parts separated from the rest of Hungary, becoming a principality.

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[195] *Ibidem*.
[196] Robert Stănciugel, *op. cit.,* p. 40.
[197] Gheorghe Buzatu, *op. cit.*, in *Ibidem*, p. 11.

II. 1526–1599, from the founding of the principality to its conquest by Michael the Brave.

III. 1599–1691, from Michael the Brave' murder to the overthrow of the princes and the arrival of Habsburg rule in Transylvania.

IV. 1691–1784, from the arrival of the Habsburgs to Horia's revolution.

V. 1784–1848, from Horia's revolution to the revolution of 1848.

VI. 1848–1867, from the defeat of the revolutionary Hungarians to their reconciliation with the Emperor.

VII. 1867–1914, from our coming under the whip of Hungarian chauvinism to the outbreak of today's huge war"[198].

All the arguments claim that without the intervention of the Kingdom of Romania the Romanians in the Austro-Hungarian Empire would have been denationalized. Why was the presence of the Romanians in Transylvania a problem for the powers interested in the rule of the principality? Vasile Stoica's answer has to do with the geostrategic and geoeconomic position of the principality. Ardeal is a natural stronghold in Eastern Europe, and its dominion offers control over the territory between the "Balkans and the Dniester", including the Danube, a commercial artery facilitating the link between the East and Europe.

> "You do not have to be a soldier to understand how important this state is for the defence of a nation. Nature has made of it a citizenry, destined to protect its own and to rule the plains (...)
>
> The dominion of this corner of south-eastern Europe, which lies between the Balkans and the Dniester, can only be in the hands of those who rule the mighty Carpathian fortress (...)
>
> Because of its favourable situation, Ardeal was destined to be the strongest military shield of an empire"[199].

In the logic of Viennese diplomacy, the majority of Romanians in Transylvania were an impediment to the domination of the region, and Moldavia and Wallachia are two obstacles between the empire and the Black Sea. Vasile Stoica demonstrates,

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[198] „I. De la venirea Ungurilor până la 1526, când în urma înfrângerii de la Mohaci, Ardealul şi părţile lui ungurene se despart de restul Ungariei, transformându-se în principat;

II. 1526–1599, de la întemeierea principatului până la cucerirea lui de către Mihai Vodă Viteazul;

III.1599–1691, de la uciderea lui Mihai Viteazul până la înlăturarea principilor şi sosirea stăpânirii Habsburgilor în Ardeal;

IV. 1691–1784, de la sosirea Habsburgilor până la revoluţia lui Horia;

V. 1784–1848, de la revoluţia lui Horia până la revoluţia din 1848;

VI. 1848–1867, de la înfrângerea Ungurilor revoluţionari până la împăcarea lor cu împăratul;

VII. 1867–1914, de la ajungerea noastră iarăşi sub biciul şovinismului unguresc până la izbucnirea uriaşului război de astăzi.", in Vasile Stoica, *op. cit*, p. 16.

[199] „Nu trebuie să fie cineva militar, ca sa înţeleagă, ce mare însemnătate are acest stat pentru apărarea unui popor. Natura a făcut dintr-însul o cetăţuie, menită să ocrotească pe cei din sânul ei şi să stăpânească şesurile (...)

Stăpânirea acestui colţ din sud-estul Europei, care e cuprins între Balcani şi Nistru nu poate fi decât în mâna celor ce stăpânesc puternica cetate carpatină (...)

În urma situaţiei sale favorabile, Ardealul era menit, să fie cel mai puternic scut militar al unui imperiu.", in *Ibidem*, pp. 20–21.

therefore, that the history of Transylvania is the expression of tensions between the majority Romanians and the powers interested in the domination of this part of the country. His work approaches the character of a text specific to the scientific field of social history because the Romanian diplomat has extracted for the reader the social logic that generated the tension in Transylvania.

"Social history is a form of knowledge and a technique to integrate into society by understanding the social logic of time"[200].

The facts that make up a historical series are produced in accordance with a social logic that, in this case, we will reproduce below, stating the guiding ideas of the work:

1. Romanians were the majority element in Ardeal and received support from the Romanians beyond the mountains.
2. The suffering of the Romanians in Ardeal took various forms, provoked by the Hungarians and the Habsburg Dynasty.
3. The Hungarian elites tried to denationalise the neighbouring peoples of Transylvania, of which the Romanians were the majority.
4. The Hungarians possessed Ardeal to ensure their biological and material survival after the invasions from the West and Balkans were stopped.
5. The Habsburg dynasty united with the Hungarian dynasty to take over Transylvania for economic reasons. It sought to control trade from central Europe to the East, trying to control the Danube and the Black Sea.
6. The Romanians in Transylvania, Wallachia, and Moldavia hampered the interest of the Habsburg Dynasty.
7. The Habsburg dynasty kept control of Transylvania by manipulating, as their interests demanded, the Romanians against the Hungarians and vice versa.

This paper focuses on the first two guiding ideas as they are the most representative of the social logic of suffering in Transylvania.

THE SUFFERING OF THE ROMANIANS IN ARDEAL TOOK VARIOUS FORMS, PROVOKED BY THE HUNGARIANS AND THE HABSBURG DYNASTY

Why did the Romanians suffer in Ardeal? Vasile Stoica offers a simple answer: they were in the majority in a region coveted by both the Hungarians and the Habsburg Dynasty. Both powers understood that they could not rule the Carpathian Fortress if their more organised and powerful brothers lived beyond the mountains.

What form did the suffering of the Romanians in Transylvania take? The first form was the revocation of rights. Under the dynasty of the Arpadian Hungarian kings, the Romanian nobility enjoyed the same privileges and rights as the Saxon

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[200] „Istoria socială este o formă de cunoaştere şi o tehnică de integrare în societate prin înţelegerea logicii sociale a timpului.", in Radu Baltasiu and Ovidiana Bulumac, *Istoria Socială [Social History],* Bucharest, University of Bucharest Publishing, 2017, p. 27.

and Szekler nobility. The Hungarian king Andrei III himself recognised the importance of the Romanian nobility, summoning them to a meeting in 1291 in Alba Iulia alongside the Szeklers and Saxons[201]. The Romanian nobility lost their rights after the accession of the Angevin kings to the throne of Hungary (after 1301). The first Angevin king pledged to the pope to catholicise the Orthodox Romanians, while beginning to withdraw the privileges of the Romanian nobles who kept their faith.

> "This was done especially by the nobility: the lords, lords, and other noblemen and freemen, the King and his counsellors, who disposed of the wealth and liberty of the subjects of the country, following the exhortations from Rome, decreed loud and clear, that only that nobleman could keep his privileged situation and his wealth, who would not follow wrong faith, but would receive the true Christian law that the King follows. Thus, the greater part of our boyars received the new law, intermarried with the Hungarian families, alienated themselves from their own kindred, and melted altogether into the mass of the Hungarian nation"[202].

After the Bobalna Uprising (1437–1438), the Romanians became a tolerated nation in the Principality of Transylvania, which began to be ruled by a diet of three privileged nations: the Hungarians, the Saxons, and the Szeklers, who were a underrepresented group in the region. The author draws the reader's attention to the fact that the Romanians, the numerical majority, were considered a tolerated nation by the Transylvanian authorities until 1848[203].

Following the peasant uprising led by Gheorghe Doja (1514), the situation of the Transylvanian Romanians worsens. Ștefan Werboczi drafted a code of laws called "Tripartitum", which gave rights to the secular and ecclesiastical nobility, while the "plebs", mostly Romanians, had no rights. Additionally, the Romanian serfs were under the control of a nobleman with no possibility of leaving his control[204].

The "Approbatae et compilatae constitutions", the code of law used in Ardeal voted in 1576, is part of the series of legal injustices suffered by the Romanians, by which the Romanian nation

> "has no political rights, because it is a tribe with its religion and is admitted to the country only temporarily, until it pleases the prince and the royal states (nobles and town representatives)"[205].

At the same time as the confiscation of rights, an attempt was made to "change the consciousness of the nation"[206] of the Romanians in Transylvania so that the

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[201] Vasile Stoica, *op. cit.*, p. 41.
[202] „A făcut lucrul acesta mai ales nobilimea: voievozii, cnezii și alți boieri și oameni liberi, Regele și sfetnicii săi, care dispuneau de averea și libertatea supușilor țării, în urma îndemnurilor de la Roma, au decretat sus și tare, că numai acel boier își va putea păstra situația sa privilegiată și averile sale, care nu va urma o credință greșită, ci va primi adevărata lege creștinească pe care o urmează regele. Astfel marea parte a boierimii noastre primi legea cea nouă, se încuscri cu familiile ungurești, se înstrăina de neamul său și se topi cu totul în masa neamului unguresc.", in *Ibidem*, p. 44.
[203] *Ibidem*, p. 46.
[204] *Ibidem*, p. 47.
[205] *Ibidem*, p. 55.
[206] *Ibidem*.

identity ties with their brothers across the mountains would be weakened and they would be deprived of their main source of support.

> "They felt that the Romanian nation in Transylvania was in danger. So, they thought of removing the consciousness of a separate nation from this people and to somehow make it merge into the consciousness of the 'Hungarian nation' that made up the state. And until about 1526, until the battle of Mohaci, the road to this ideal was religious conversion to the Catholic religion, and the Hungarian kings never lost the opportunity to bring the Romanian nation and especially its leaders to this Christian law, sometimes by word and sometimes by force"[207].

The change in national consciousness took three forms: the conversion of Orthodox Romanians to Catholicism and Calvinism until the 19th century and denationalisation proper until the Great Union. Both the Hungarians and the Habsburg dynasty worked towards these goals. The former began converting the Romanians to Catholicism and Calvinism. The Habsburg Dynasty continued the process of Catholicisation and allowed the full manifestation of Hungarianisation, which became a state policy, during the dualist period (1867–1918).

> "Trefort's law clearly proved that the purpose of Hungarian occupation is our Hungarianization. Hungarian schools are built in Romanian lands, and all sorts of mischief is done to Romanian schools. Many Hungarian cultural societies are being set up in these lands, with the sole aim of promoting Hungarianisation. Businesses are built, factories are set up in which the entire workforce is made up of Hungarians, and the Romanians, if they are admitted, are only allowed to speak Hungarian. Hungarians are brought from the Hungarian countryside and settled among the Romanian villages on the various estates of the state"[208].

From the end of the 12th century, the Hungarian kings began Catholicizing the Romanians, and the Habsburg Dynasty continued the process from the 17th century, founding the Greek Catholic Church in Transylvania in 1700 after the model of the Croats and Serbs[209]. The Viennese diplomacy succeeded before the Romanians in weakening the cultural ties between Croats and Serbs, two related peoples, by attracting the Croatian people to the Greek Catholic Church. The Hungarians also tried converting the Orthodox Romanians in Transylvania to Calvinism between 1540 and 1691[210].

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[207] „Simţeau că neamul românesc în Ardeal e o primejdie. Deci se gândiră să înlăture conştiinţa de neam separat la acest popor şi să facă oare cumva, ca şi acesta să se contopească în conştiinţa «naţiunii ungare» care alcătuia statul. Şi cam până la 1526, deci până la lupta de la Mohaci, drumul care ducea spre acest ideal era convertirea religioasă la religia catolică, regii ungari nu pierd niciodată prilejul de a aduce, când cu vorba, când cu ciomagul, neamul românesc şi mai ales pe fruntaşii lui la această lege.", in *Ibidem*, pp. 42–43.

[208] „Legea lui Trefort dovedea lămurit, că scopul ocârmuirii ungureşti e maghiarizarea noastră. Se ridică şcoli ungureşti în ţinuturile româneşti, iar şcolilor româneşti li se fac tot felul de mizerii. Se înfiinţează un mare număr de societăţi culturale ungureşti în aceste ţinuturi, cu singurul scop de a promova maghiarizarea. Se fac întreprinderi, se ridică fabrici în care muncitorimea întreagă e alcătuită din Unguri, iar Românii, dacă sunt primiţi, n-au voie să vorbească decât ungureşte. Sunt aduşi Unguri de pe şesul ungar şi sunt aşezaţi printre satele româneşti pe diferitele moşii ale statului.", in *Ibidem*, p. 198.

[209] *Ibidem*, p. 77.

[210] *Ibidem*, p. 53.

The formation of the dualist Austro-Hungarian federation meant that the denationalisation of the peoples on its territory became state policy, targeting the church and school, two pillars of national identity. The peak of the policy of Hungarianisation through schools came after 1907, with the adoption of the "Apponyi law", when it became compulsory to study in Hungarian in schools, and this measure was extended to denominational and communal schools, which, being private, were allowed to teach in Romanian.

> "Teachers are removed from the authority of the church and made «public servants». He asks them to swear to be faithful to the Hungarian homeland and to give their pupils a patriotic Hungarian education, and places them under the control of the administration. Romanian schools can be inspected at any time not only by the school inspectors, but also by the school administrators and the municipal notaries, who, if they are not satisfied with the progress made in the Hungarian language, can order the teacher to be punished, suspended, or even shut down"[211].

MOMENTS OF SOCIAL EMANCIPATION
OF THE TRANSYLVANIAN ROMANIANS

The book portrays the Romanians of Transylvania as tireless fighters for their own emancipation, reinforcing the idea that in tough times they received help from their brothers in Wallachia and Moldova. Vasile Stoica expressed his fear that the Romanians would have been denationalised in two or three generations despite their efforts and sacrifices without the union of Transylvania with the Kingdom of Romania:

> "However optimistic we may be and deny the progress of Hungarianisation, it is nevertheless true, and it threatens us more and more. For the time being, there is no danger of Hungarianisation in the centre of Transylvania or in the regions where Romanians live in compact masses, but on the borders and in Szeklerland, where the ravages of Hungarianism are tearing away a piece of our coastline every moment. But the time will come when even in the centre we shall be so weak that we may be overthrown (...) If it continues like this, in 40 to 50 years, our powers will be weakened, and we will be defeated and mercilessly annihilated"[212].

The Romanian diplomat brings to the readers' attention the most important moments of emancipation that the Romanians in Transylvania have displayed

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[211]„Pe învăţători îi scoate de sub autoritatea bisericii şi îi face «funcţionari publici». Le cere să facă jurământ că vor fi credincioşi patriei maghiare şi că vor da elevilor lor o educaţie patriotică maghiară. îi pune totodată sub controlul administraţiei. Şcolile româneşti pot fi cercetate oricând nu numai de revizorii şcolari, ci şi de administratorii de plasă şi de notarii comunali, care dacă nu sunt mulţumiţi cu progresul făcut în limba maghiară, pot dispune pedepsirea învăţătorului, suspendarea lui sau chiar închiderea şcolii.", in *Ibidem,* p. 233.

[212] „Oricât am fi de optimişti şi-am tăgădui progresele ungurizării, lucrul acesta e totuşi adevărat şi ne ameninţă tot mai năvalnic. Deocamdată nu e în primejdie de ungurizare în centrul Ardealului sau în ţinuturile unde Românii locuiesc în mase compacte, ci la margini şi în Secuime, unde talazurile ungurismului în fiecare clipă rup câte o bucată din litoralul nostru. Dar va veni vremea când şi în centru vom fi aşa de slabi, încât vom putea fi doborâţi (...) Dacă se va continua aşa, în 40–50 de ani puterile noastre sunt sleite, iar noi suntem înfrânţi şi nimiciţi fără milă.", in *Ibidem*, p. 253.

throughout history: the submission of the memorial "Supplex Libellus Valachorum" (1791), the Blaj Assembly (1848), and the Blaj Pronouncement (May 1868), the moment of the "Memorandum" (1892).

After the Austrian authorities suppressed the peasant uprising led by Horia, Cloşca and Crişan (1784), from which it benefited because it stopped for a time the nationalist movement of the Hungarian nobility, the Romanian leaders Iosif Meheş, the United Bishop Ioan Bob and the Orthodox Bishop Gherasim Adamovici submitted to the Habsburg Emperor the document "Repraesentatio totius nationis Valachicae", called in Vienna "Supplex Libellus Valachorum" (1791). The historical arguments and the clarity of the demands transformed the document into the national programme of the Transylvanian Romanians, which was finalised only on 3 May 1848 and presented to the Great Assembly of Blaj on 15 May[213].

The Ruling House in Vienna remained indifferent to the wishes of the Romanians because it was at odds with its interests in the Danube and the Black Sea.

The Ruling House took advantage of the tensions between the nations within its empire and even antagonised them in order gain control over them. In 1784 and 1848, the Romanians were urged to fight against the Hungarian nation, and after 1867, when the Habsburg Empire was weakened and in need of Hungarian forces, it allowed the denationalisation policies of the Budapest Parliament to be implemented.

> "The Habsburgs, however, were thinking above all of achieving their goal; and the goal excuses the means (...) Whenever the Hungarians dare to raise their heads and have fits of independence, thus threatening to cut off the Emperor's free way to the East, the Habsburgs immediately turn on the screws and in the face of Hungarian raise the scarecrow of the Romanian nation. As soon as the Hungarians are satisfied and are once again grumbling at the throne, the Habsburgs turn back, see that this old-organized nation is of greater use to them than the unorganised Romanian nation, and mercilessly sacrifice those who had defeated the Hungarian beggars"[214].

The last great movement for emancipating of the Transylvanian Romanians occurred in 1892, when they drew up and sent to the Austro-Hungarian Emperor Franz Joseph a memorandum "whose painful storey is one of the most brilliant and most uplifting pages in our political history"[215]. The memorandum has such a great significance for the history of the Romanians in Transylvania that Vasile Stoica introduces the entire content of the document in the book. Because they protested the Hungarianisation policies, the signatories of the document (among them

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[213] *Ibidem*, p. 128.

[214] „Habsburgii se gândeau însă înainte de toate la îndeplinirea scopului lor; iar scopul scuza mijloacele (...) De câte ori Ungurii îndrăznesc să-şi ridice capul şi au accese de independenţă, ameninţând astfel să taie împăratului drumul liber spre Orient, Habsburgii îndată pornesc şurubăriile şi în faţa ungurismului ridică sperietoare neamul românesc. Îndată ce Ungurii se astâmpără şi se gudură iarăşi pe lângă tron, Habsburgii se întorc, văd că acest neam cu organizaţie veche e de mai mare folos pentru dânşii decât neorganizatul neam românesc şi jertfesc fără cruţare, pe cei ce înfrânseră cerbicia ungurească", in *Ibidem*, p. 37.

[215] *Ibidem*, p. 199.

Gheorghe Pop de Băsești, Vasile Lucaciu, Ioan Rațiu, Aurel Suciu and others) were arrested by the Hungarian authorities in 1894.

ROMANIANS WERE THE MAJORITY ELEMENT IN ARDEAL AND RECEIVED SUPPORT FROM THE ROMANIANS BEYOND THE MOUNTAINS

Vasile Stoica clarifies for the reader from the beginning of the book that the Romanians in Transylvania are of the same lineage as those in Wallachia and Moldova. This consciousness of nationhood is affirmed in writing by Orest Năsturel in his "Slavonic Anthology" (1643), Varlaam of Iași's "Romanian Book of Teaching" (1643) and in the Romanian Bible of Alba Iulia of 1648[216], and especially by Miron Costin in 1650[217].

Until the development of national ideas, the element of identity that linked the Romanians was the Orthodox Christian religion. The rulers of the Romanian countries over the Carpathian Mountains supported the Orthodox Church of the Romanians in Transylvania, which lacked financial support (after the Romanian boyar stratum was Catholicised) and was not tolerated by the rulers of the region.

> "The ecclesiastical links between Ardeal and the Romanian Principalities were the arteries through which the unitary spirit and national thinking flowed from one side to the other. From the Principalities came to us in Ardeal, the superior priesthood protected by Stephen the Great, by Petru Rares, by Radu of Afumați, by Pătrașcu Vodă, by Mihaiu Viteazul, from the Principalities came the guidance of perseverance in the ancestral customs, also from here the hopes in better times and the exhortations of defence"[218].

The support given by the Romanian voivodships to the Romanian Orthodox Church in Transylvania is most evident during the reign of Constantin Brâncoveanu. The Romanian ruler and the Metropolitan of Wallachia urged Metropolitan Athanasius not to make concessions to pressure from the Catholic Church. Thus, the Orthodox priests of Transylvania voted at the synod of union with the Catholic Church on September 4, 1700, only one point – recognition of the papal primacy of the four imposed by Rome. Thus, the Romanian rulers also extended north of the Carpathians the "Byzantium after Byzantium" policy, which consisted in supporting the symbolic space of Eastern Christianity after the fall of the Byzantine Empire on 29 May 1453[219].

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[216] *Ibidem*, pp. 25–26.
[217] *Ibidem*, p. 27.
[218] „Legăturile bisericești între Ardeal și Principatele Române au fost arterele prin care se scurgea dintr-o parte într-alta duhul unitar și cugetarea națională. Din Principate venea la noi în Ardeal, preoțimea superioară ocrotită de Ștefan cel Mare, de Petru Rareș, de Radu de la Afumați, de Pătrașcu Vodă, de Mihaiu Viteazul, din Principate ne veneau îndrumările de stăruință în datinile străbune, tot de aici nădejdile în vremuri mai bune și îndemnurile de apărare îndărătnică.", in *Ibidem*, p. 24
[219] Radu Baltasiu and Ovidiana Bulumac, *op. cit.,* p. 79.

Vasile Stoica dedicates an entire chapter of the book to Mihai Viteazu, the ruler who united Wallachia, Moldova, and Transylvania for a short time in 1600. The achievement of the Romanian knight remained an ideal for the Transylvanian Romanians, which, according to the author, should have been achieved again after the First World War.

> "Usually when we talk about Michael the Brave, we remember him as the ruler, who at a certain moment in history had the fortune and power to achieve the unity of the three Romanian countries, which has been in our minds ever since"[220].

The establishment of the Fanariot regime in the Principalities (1711 – Wallachia and 1714 – Moldova) meant a severing of the ties between the Romanians across the mountains. After a century, the links between the Romanians of the three principalities were resumed in a context favourable to nationalist movements, created by the French Revolution (1789) and the Napoleonic Wars, which spread national ideals to the eastern part of Europe. After Tudor Vladimirescu's Revolution (1821) ended the Fanariote reign, the intellectuals of the Transylvania took refuge in the Principalities, contributing to the flourishing of Romanian cultural life and strengthening the state formations so that, strengthened, they could resume their support for the Romanians of Transylvania until 1711.

> "They realize that to create and spread a truly Romanian culture, it is necessary to create a model province of culture, a kind of center of the Romanian soul, from where this power can be spread everywhere, even where walls prevent its penetration. They understand that such a cultural nursery can only be created where the Romanian spirit is not hindered in its Romanian manifestation: in the two principalities (...) The Ardelens, who had left the schools of Blaj, Vienna, and Rome, then came one after the other, giving the body of the Principalities a new, Romanian character, corresponding to the requirements of the time, founding the Romanian school in the Romanian Principalities, and educating the future leaders of the nation"[221].

The solidarity of the Romanians in Transylvania with those in Wallachia and Moldavia was observed during the Pașoptist revolution of 1848. The great personalities who brought about the Great Union (1859) were at the side of the Romanians led by Simion Bărnuțiu and Andrei Șaguna in their struggle for emancipation. Alexandru Ioan Cuza himself, the future ruler of the United Principalities, was present at Simion Bărnuțiu's famous speech delivered in Blaj Cathedral before the National Assembly of Blaj on 15 May 1848[222].

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[220] „De obicei când vorbim de Mihai Vodă Viteazul, îl pomenim ca pe domnitorul, care într-o anumită clipă a istoriei a avut norocul și puterea, să realizeze acea unitate o celor trei țări românești, care de atunci încoace e pururea în mintea noastră.", in Vasile Stoica, *op. cit*, p. 57.

[221] „Ei își dau seama, că pentru a crea și răspândi o cultură curat românească e nevoie, să se creeze o provincie model de cultură, un fel de focar al sufletului românesc, de unde această putere să fie răspândită pretutindenea, până și acolo unde zidurile îi opresc pătrunderea. Ei înțeleg, că o astfel de pepinieră culturală nu se poate crea decât acolo, unde spiritul românesc nu e stânjenit în manifestarea sa românească: în cele două Principate (...) Ardelenii ieșiți din școlile Blajului, ale Vienei, ale Romei, vin apoi pe rând, dând organismului din Principate un caracter nou, românesc și corespunzător cerințelor vremii, întemeind școala românească în Principatele Românești și făcând educația viitorilor îndrumători ai neamului.", in *Ibidem,* p. 137.

[222] *Ibidem*, p. 148.

The last great act of solidarity of the Romanians in the Principalities with those in Transylvania before the Great Union was the very entry into the First World War for their liberation from Austro-Hungarian rule on 17 August 1916.

"THE SORROWS OF ARDEAL", RELEVANCE A CENTURY AFTER PUBLICATION

Vasile Stoica managed to summarise the history of Transylvania in about 280 pages, marking, simultaneously, the significant historical moments until the Great Union[223]. Therefore, the work clarifies a subject still debated a century after its publication in the Romanian-Hungarian historiography. The author, a connoisseur of the Hungarian language, has been in contact with both the Romanian and Hungarian versions of the history of Transylvania. His work is not a combination of the two but expresses the Romanian perspective on the history of Transylvania.

Today's readers may be inclined to accuse the Romanian diplomat of subjectivism, of a distortion of the historical truth to support the cause of the Transylvanian Romanians in the face of America, which had the last word at the negotiating table at the end of the First World War.

Vasile Stoica did not attack the forces opposed to the Romanian element in Ardeal, but concentrated on presenting the facts, being convinced that the sufferings of the Romanians "speak the facts clearly enough"[224].

The author confesses in the introduction that he wrote the book to support the Romanian cause, thus assuming his own subjectivity and being closer to the historical fact than a researcher concerned with rendering the past as objectively as possible. Nicolae Iorga points out that there is no absolute objectivity in historical study, the researcher should assume, as Vasile Stoica did, his own subjectivity, *i.e.*, the perspective from which he observes the facts analyse:

> "Objectivism [objectivity] in human works is unachievable. There is only one objectivity, that of lack of personality, but this is regrettable. There must be a single conception, a single personal interpretation, a single form, and there must be such a close link that, as so clever a man as Mr. Focillon said in a letter: things are bound together like rings, you cannot break one of them without destroying the whole continuity"[225].

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[223] I. Hentea, "În loc de prefață" ["Instead of a preface"], in *Ibidem*, p. 23.

[224] Vasile Stoica, *op. cit.*, 2016, p. 17.

[225] „Obiectivismul [obiectivitatea] în lucrările omenești este irealizabil. Nu decât o singură obiectivitate, a lipsei de personalitate, dar aceasta este regretabilă. Trebuie o singură concepție, o singură interpretare personală, o singură formă și trebuie o legătură așa de strânsă încât, cum spunea, într-o scrisoare, un om așa de inteligent cum e dl. Focillon: lucrurile se cer legate ca niște inele, nu poți să rupi unul dintre ele fără să se distrugă toată continuitatea.", in Nicolae Iorga, *Generalități cu privire la studiile istorice [Generalities regarding historical studies]*, Iași, Polirom Publishing, 1999, p. 238, apud Radu Baltasiu and Ovidiana Bulumac, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

"The condition of objectivity is, in fact, overcoming my own subjectivity by maintaining a permanent dialogue with the other subjectivity, which I want to investigate"[226].

To sum up, the Romanians suffered in Transylvania from the beginning of the Hungarian rule until the Great Union. The inclusion of the province in the Habsburg Empire did not improve their situation. Despite countless efforts at emancipation, they understood that without the union of the province with Wallachia and Moldova, as in 1600, they would be denationalised within the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

The first edition of the book was published shortly before the entry of the Kingdom of Romania on the side of the Entente in the War, and only "a few weeks later", as the author confesses, it was sold out, so that in September he was asked for a second edition[227]. He could not answer the request because he fought with the Romanian soldiers "around Sibiu, then (...) on Surul, on Gorganul, at the Coților ridge and at Măgura Racoviții de Argeș with the heroes of the 1st Regiment of the Grăniceri"[228], especially since he was wounded in action. Fortunately, fate smiled on him in 1917, when he published a second edition for Romanians in the USA.

The success in the Kingdom had a counterpart in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Because of this effort and the publication of another work on the same subject in collaboration with Ion Rusu Abrudeanu, the Court Martial in Cluj sentenced the Romanian diplomat to death in absentia[229]. The Romanian diplomat proves that assuming one's own paradigm of analysis of the phenomenon and confessing the truth regardless of the consequences are still necessary today to produce a valuable historical work.

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[226] „Condiția obiectivității este, de fapt, depășirea propriei mele subiectivități prin menținerea permanentă a dialogului cu cealaltă subiectivitate, pe care doresc să o investighez.", in *Ibidem*, p. 50.

[227] *Ibidem*, p. 15.

[228] *Ibidem*.

[229] Robert Stănciugel, *op. cit.*, p. 35