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GELLÉRT ERNŐ MARTON, A Dissertation in Preparation – Structure, Methodology, Approach and Content. The Peace Treaty of Szőny (1627) and Its Subsequent Territorial Negotiations (1628–1629) in Light of Péter Koháry’s Correspondence	3
ÁRPÁD BOTOND GYÖRGY, Witch Trials in Seventeenth-Century Târgu Mureş	27
DIANA URSOI, Outcasts or Scapegoats? A Portrait of the Victims of Witchcraft Trials in Early Modern Transylvania	43
CSABA HORVÁTH, The Captains of the Habsburg 11th Székely Border Guard Hussar Regiment	57
ORSOLYA SZILÁGYI, What’s the Use of a Manuscript? Uncovering Relevant Information from András Lugosi Fodor’s Unpublished Book	67
GYÖNGYVÉR FOTH, Friedrich Balthes- An Attempt to Reconstruct the Oeuvre of a Transylvanian Saxon Artist	87
SILVIA FĂGĂRĂŞAN, What Did They See? Looking at Art in a Medical Setting: Brâncuşi’s Écorché at the Faculty of Medicine in Cluj	111
JÉRÉMY FLOUTIER, Laws of Education and the Minorities of Transylvania between 1867 and 1990: some considerations	141
ANA-MARIA UNGUREANU-ILINCA, The Communal Elections from 1930: Case studies – Slimnic and Presaca Communes, Sibiu County	159
MARK ORTON, The Game of the Italians: Football and Dual Identity in Argentina 1910-1935	189

A Dissertation in Preparation – Structure, Methodology, Approach and Content
*The Peace Treaty of Szőny (1627) and Its Subsequent Territorial Negotiations (1628–1629) in Light of Péter Koháry’s Correspondence**

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Abstract: The goal of this paper is to provide an outline of the author’s dissertation in progress in terms of its structure, methodology, approach, and content. This article aims to present the author’s work on this topic so far, so it focuses on the Peace Treaty of Szőny with an emphasis on its subsequent territorial negotiations in light of Péter Koháry’s correspondence. The paper also contains an overview of Habsburg–Ottoman peace treaties, besides a summary of the afore-mentioned peace process. In this article, one can find a survey of the already collected sources (both published and unpublished). The data from these sources was entered into a database which allowed for the quantitative analysis of these exchanges of letters. The aim of the second part is to present a guide for the documents

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in Hungarian supplemented with examples. The examples are designed to demonstrate how the sources could be published in accordance with the rules of the guide.

Keywords: Péter Koháry; Peace Treaty of Szőny (1627); territorial negotiations at Szécsény and Buda (1628–1629); Habsburg–Ottoman diplomatic affairs; quantitative analysis of a collection of an exchange of letters; guideline for publishing sources in Hungarian

Rezumat: Scopul acestei lucrări este să ofere un tur ghidat prin teza de doctorat a autorului în termenii structurii acesteia, a metodei folosite, a abordării și a conținutului. Articolul își propune să prezinte rezultatele cercetării autorului asupra tratatului de pace de la Szőny, punând accentul asupra negocierilor teritoriale subsecvente, în lumina corespondenței lui Péter Koháry. Articolul conține o trecere în revistă a relațiilor Habsburgo–Otomane și a tratatelor de pace, pe lângă un sumar al negocierilor deja menționate. În acest articol putem găsi un sumar al documentelor deja colectate, atât editate cât și inedite. Datele din aceste documente au fost integrate într-o bază de date care a permis o analiză cantitativă a acestui schimb de scrisori. Scopul celei de a doua părți a studiului este să ofere un ghid pentru documentele în maghiară și să-l illustreze prin exemple. Exemplele sunt alese pentru a demonstra cum ar putea fi publicate aceste surse, în conformitate cu regulile stabilite în acest ghid.

Cuvinte cheie: Péter Koháry; tratatul de pace de la Szőny (1627); negocierile teritoriale de la Szécsény și Buda (1628–1629); relații diplomatice Habsburgo–Otomane; analiza cantitativă a unei colecții de scrisori; ghid pentru publicarea unor documente în limba maghiară

Inquiry into Habsburg–Ottoman diplomatic history is not a novel trend in historical research. Investigation of Habsburg–Ottoman diplomatic history as well as research on the topic of peace treaties of the early modern period has flourished in recent decades in Hungary and elsewhere.¹

¹ See more (non-exhaustive collection):

Zsuzsanna Cziráki, '„Mein gueter, väterlicher Maister” – Wissenstransfer unter kaiserlichen Gesandten an der Hohen Pforte in der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts', *Chronica*, 19 (2019): 42–83; Krisztina Juhász, '„...gyümölcsé pedig semmi nem volt”. Esterházy Miklós véleménye 1642. február 28-án a szőnyi béke(tervezet) pontjairól' [“...and its fruit was nothing”. Miklós Esterházy's Opinion about the Points of the Peace Treaty of Szőny on 28 February 1642], *Levél-tári Közlemények*, 89 (2020): 353–366; Papp Sándor, 'A pozsareváci békekötés és a magyarok' [The Treaty of Passarowitz and the Hungarians], *Aetas*, 33/4 (2018): 5–19; Szabados János, 'Habsburg–Ottoman Communication in the Mid-17th Century – The Death of Imperial Courier Johann Dietz. A Case Study', *Osmanli Arastirmalari*, 54/2 (2019): 119–140; Hajnalka Tóth, 'Mennyit ér egy magyar lovas hadnagy? Egy rabkiváltás története diplomáciatörténeti

From the late Middle Ages till the eighteenth century, several peace treaties were made between the Kingdom of Hungary (later Habsburg Empire) and the Ottoman Empire which could be divided into five major categories in a chronological order,² which are worth mentioning.

kontextusban a 17. század közepéről [How much is a Hungarian Cavalry Captain Worth? Prisoner Ransoming and International Diplomacy in the Mid-17th Century], *Századok*, 152/2 (2018): 247–284; Hajnalka Tóth, 'The circumstances and documents of the Peace of Vasvár', *Archivum Ottomanicum*, 34 (2017): 243–256; Zsuzsanna Nagy: *Bethlen Gábor külpolitikája és a francia diplomácia a harmincéves háborúban (1619–1629)* [Gábor Bethlen's Foreign Politics and French Diplomacy in the Thirty Years War (1619–1629)]. PhD Dissertation, Manuscript, Doctoral School of History, Pázmány Péter Catholic University. Budapest, 2020; Gábor Kármán, 'Zülfikár aga portai főtolmács' [Grand Dragoman Zülfikar Aga], *Aetas*, 31/3 (2016): 54–76; Gábor Kármán, 'Gábor Bethlen's Diplomats at the Protestant Courts of Europe', *Hungarian Historical Review*, 2/4 (2013): 790–823; Arno Strohmeyer, 'Trendek és perspektívák a kora újkori diplomáciatörténetben. A konstantinápolyi Habsburg diplomaták esete' [Trends and Perspectives in Early Modern Diplomatic History. The Case of Habsburg Diplomats in Constantinople], *Történelmi Szemle*, 59/2 (2017): 177–198; Frank Castiglione – Ethan L. Menchinger – Veysel Şimşek (eds), *Ottoman War and Peace. Studies in Honor of Virginia H. Aksan* (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2019); Colin Heywood – Ivan Parvev (eds), *The Treaties of Carlowitz (1699). Antecedents, Course and Consequences* (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2020); Gábor Kármán – Kees Tszelszky (eds), *Bethlen Gábor és Európa* [Gábor Bethlen and Europe] (Budapest: ELTE BTK – Transylvania Emlékeiért Tudományos Egyesület, 2013); Gábor Kármán – Lovro Kunčević (eds), *The European Tributary States of the Ottoman Empire in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2020); Gábor Kármán (ed), *Tributaries and Peripheries of the Ottoman Empire* (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2020); Gábor Kármán, *A Seventeenth-Century Odyssey in East Central Europe. The Life of Jakab Harsányi Nagy* (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2016); Articles of the following volume: Zsuzsanna J. Újváry (eds), *Oszmán–magyar viszony a 16–18. században. Tanulmányok a Magyar Királyság és az Oszmán Birodalom népeinek – magyarok, törökök, rácok, tatárok, zsidók, görögök és egyéb népek – hétköznapjairól; Egyén és közösség viszonya* [Ottoman–Hungarian Relations in the 16th–18th Centuries. Studies on the Everyday Life of the Peoples of the Ottoman Empire – Hungarians, Turks, Rascians, Tartars, Jews, Greeks and Other Peoples; the Relationship of Individual and Community] (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, Az Apostoli Szentszék Könyvkiadója, 2020). Especially: Gergely Brandl – János Szabados, 'A megbízás terhe. Johann Ludwig von Kuefstein báró konstantinápolyi nagykövetségének előkészítése 1628-tól' [The Burden of a Mandate. The Preparation of the Embassy of Baron Johann Ludwig von Kuefstein to Constantinople in 1628], pp. 149–170; Krisztina Juhász, 'A második szőnyi béke margójára. Adalékok az 1642. évi szőnyi békekötés történetéhez' [Additional Data to the History of the Peace Treaty of Szőny in 1642], pp. 171–188; Gellért Ernő Marton, '„Szőnyből tudatjuk...”. Három magyar diplomata – Rimay János, Tassy Gáspár és Tholdalagi Mihály – követnaplójának összehasonlító elemzése az 1627. évi szőnyi békekötés kapcsán' [“We Inform You from Szőny”. Three Hungarian Diplomats. A Comparative Analysis of the Emissary Diaries of János Rimay, Gáspár Tassy and Mihály Tholdalagi in the Context of the 1627 Peace Treaty of Szőny], pp. 135–148.

(See further literature in the footnotes below.)

² See more: Sándor Papp, 'Az Oszmán Birodalom, a Magyar Királyság és a Habsburg Monarchia kapcsolattörténete a békekötések tükrében (Vázlat és adatbázis)' [The History of

Sigismund of Luxemburg (r. 1387–1437) was the first Hungarian king who had to face the Ottoman conquest, so the first period starts from his reign, more precisely from the beginning of the fifteenth century, till 1519. The second one is from 1528, when John Szapolyai (King John I or Szapolyai János) became the vassal of the Ottoman Empire, till 1540 when John Sigismund Szapolyai (King John II or Szapolyai János Zsigmond) was acknowledged as king by Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent. The third one is until the outbreak of the so-called Long Turkish War (1591/1593).³ The fourth category means the period from the Peace Treaty of Zsitvatorok (1606) until the Peace Treaty of Várad (1664). As a matter of fact, the fifth category includes the Peace of Várad as its starting point and this period lasts until the Peace Treaty of Sistova (1791).⁴

As it was mentioned above, from a methodological and chronological point of view, the period between 1606 until 1664 (here it is worth emphasising that the Peace of Vasvár is not part of this category, meaning the fourth category. The Peace of Zsitvatorok (1606) made it possible that the further negotiations would be in a Hungarian venue. This peace treaty was a turning point because with this peace a relatively peaceful period began between the Habsburg and the Ottoman Empire.⁵ Moreover, after 1606, the two emperors recognised each other as equal parties.⁶ Therefore, after the Peace Treaty of Zsitvatorok, the subsequent treaties (except the Peace of Vienna in 1615/16) of this period were negotiated on the common border zone of the Habsburg and the Ottoman Empire,⁷ close to

the Relations of the Ottoman Empire, the Hungarian Kingdom, and the Habsburg Monarchy in the Light of the Peace Treaties (draft and database)], *Aetas*, 33/4 (2018): 86–99.

³ The Long Turkish War or the Fifteen Years' War, from 1591/1593 to 1606.

⁴ See more: Papp, 'Az Oszmán Birodalom', pp. 86–99.

⁵ As Géza Pálffy wrote: "In 1606 another long period of peace, or more precisely an era of 'skirmishes' or *Kleinkrieg* on the borders, begun. This period lasted for more than half century in the Hungarian theatre of war." Géza Pálffy, "The Origins and Development of the Border Defence System Against the Ottoman Empire in Hungary (Up to the Early Eighteenth Century)", in Géza Dávid – Pál Fodor (eds), *Ottomans, Hungarians, and Habsburgs in Central Europe. The Military Confines in the Era of Ottoman Conquest*, especially: p. 56. Concerning this topic, see more: Mahmut Halef Cervioğlu, 'Ottoman Foreign Policy During the Thirty Years War', *Turcica*, 49 (2018): 195–235, especially: pp. 195–196; Gábor Ágoston, 'Defending and Administering the Frontier. The Case of Ottoman Hungary', in Christine Woodhead (ed), *The Ottoman World* (London – New York: Routledge, 2011), pp. 220–236, especially: p. 233.

⁶ Gergely Brandl et al., 'Kommunikáció és híráramlás. A Habsburg-oldal tárgyalási stratégiája az 1627. évi szőnyi békekötés során' [Communication and Information Flow. The Negotiation Strategy of the Habsburg Party during the 1627 Peace Treaty of Szőny], *Aetas*, 33/4 (2018), pp. 108–124, especially: p. 110.

⁷ Concerning the Habsburg–Ottoman common frontier and questions in connection with it, see the following non-exhaustive collection: William O'Reilly, 'Border, Buffer and Bulwark.

Esztergom and Komárom (1606, 1618, 1625, 1627, 1641/42).⁸ For the negotiations during this time period, the Palatine of Hungary and the local Ottoman dignitaries (including the Pasha of Buda as the head of the affairs of the Ottoman ruled part of the country) were responsible. The negotiations took place mostly in Hungarian and in Turkish; the transcriptions were made in Hungarian, in Ottoman-Turkish and in Latin, as one can see it in the case of the Peace Treaty of Szőny (1627) as well.⁹ The Peace Treaty of Szőny is crucial because it became a pattern for the further treaties between the Ottomans and the Habsburgs.¹⁰

Before examining the peace process of Szőny, it is worth looking at the first half of the seventeenth century from the point of view of the question of war and peace concerning the Habsburg and the Ottoman

The Historiography of the Military Frontier, 1521–1881', in Steven G. Ellis – Raingard Eißer (eds), *Frontiers and the Writing of History, 1500–1800* (Hanover: Wehrhahn Verlag, 2006), pp. 229–244; Géza Pálffy, 'The Border Defense System in Hungary in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', in László Veszprémy – Béla K. Király (ed), *A Millennium of Hungarian Military History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), pp. 111–135; Ferenc Szakály, *Magyar adóztatás a török hódoltságban* [Hungarian Taxation in Ottoman Hungary] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1981), especially: A hódoltság XVI–XVII. századi határváltozásainak vázlata [The Draft of 16th–17th-century border changes of the Ottoman Ruled Hungary], pp. 30–43; Antal Molnár, *Magyar hódoltság, horvát hódoltság. Magyar és horvát katolikus egyházi intézmények az oszmán uralom alatt* [Ottoman Hungary – Ottoman Croatia. Hungarian and Croatian Catholic Ecclesiastical Institutions Under Ottoman Rule] (Budapest: Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont Történettudományi Intézet, 2019) (See further literature in the footnotes.)

⁸ Papp, 'Az Oszmán Birodalom', p. 91.

⁹ Papp, 'Az Oszmán Birodalom', p. 91. An example for the treaties on these languages, see: Antal Gévay, *Az 1627-dik évi szeptember 13-dikán költ szőnyi békekötés cikkelyei, deákül, magyarul és törökül* [The Articles of the Peace Treaty of Szőny, originated on September 13, 1627, in Latin, Hungarian and Turkish], (Wien: 1837)

¹⁰ Papp, 'Az Oszmán Birodalom', pp. 91–92. Concerning the Peace Treaty of Szőny (1627) and the further parts of the process, see more: Gergely Brandl et al., 'Válogatott források az 1627. évi szőnyi békeszerződés történetéhez' [Selected Sources to the History of the 1627 Peace Treaty of Szőny], *Lymbus. Magyarástudományi Forrásközlemények*, 15 (2017): 151–203; Brandl et al., 'Kommunikáció és híráramlás'; Gergely Brandl et al., 'Kommunikation und Nachrichtenaustausch – Verhandlungsstrategie der habsburgischen Seite bei der Friedensverhandlung von Szőny 1627', *Chronica*, 19 (2019): 113–140; Mahmut Halef Cervioğlu, 'The Peace Treaties of Gyarmat (1625) and Szőny (1627)', *Ege ve Balkan Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 3/2 (2016): 67–86; Cervioğlu, 'Ottoman Foreign Policy', especially: pp. 214–215; Brandl – Szabados, 'A megbízás terhe'; Marton, '„Szőnyből tudatjuk...“', József Stessel, 'Adatok az 1628. évi szécsényi alkudozás történetéhez I–II' [Data to the History of the Negotiations of Szécsény in 1628, I–II], *Magyar Történelmi Tár*, 3 (1902), pp. 430–452, pp. 481–510; Gellért Ernő Marton, 'On the Question of the Negotiations Between the Habsburgs and the Ottomans at Szécsény and Buda (1628) through Palatine Miklós Esterházy's letter to the head of the Hungarian negotiators', *Rocznik Przemyski*, 55, *Historia*, 22/1 (2019): 79–91, especially: pp. 80–81; Gellért Ernő Marton, 'Péter Koháry's Life and Correspondence – Outline for a Greater Synthesis', *Rocznik Przemyski*, 56, *Historia*, 25/1 (2020): 25–36.

Empire. The Habsburg Empire was engaged in the western theatre of war because of the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648).¹¹ The Ottomans had intermittent problems with the Safavids in the first half of the century on the eastern frontiers of their empire.¹² In the mid-1620s, on the Ottoman–Safavid frontier in 1624, Shah Abbas the Great (r. 1588–1629) captured Baghdad, and then his troops forced the Ottoman army to retreat when they marched to liberate it.¹³

For these reasons, the two empires' common interest was to avoid the two-front war, namely, as Arno Strohmeyer wrote, "conflict with third powers".¹⁴ In addition to this, Strohmeyer underlined that "[t]he most important tool of conflict management was diplomacy". Therefore, unsurprisingly, dozens of peace treaties and ceasefire agreements were signed during the centuries between the Habsburg (formerly the Kingdom of Hungary) and the Ottoman Empire.¹⁵

After outlining the context, it is worth examining the peace process of Szőny. It could be divided into three parts, starting on December 18, 1626 with the declaration of a 3-month-long armistice which was renewed in March, 1627. The first period included the appointment of the delegations, the basis of the negotiations and the ceremonial procedures.¹⁶ The second part of the negotiations began in mid-June, 1627, when the delegations arrived in Szőny. This period ended on September 13, when the treaty was signed and attested by the negotiators (the conclusion of some questions was postponed, e.g., the question of the villages on (and near) the borderland; or the duration of the peace).

¹¹ Concerning the engagement of the Habsburg Empire, see: Brandl et al., 'Kommunikáció és híráramlás', p. 110.

¹² "[T]he intermittent wars against the Safavids between 1603 and 1639 kept the Ottomans busy on their eastern front." Cervioğlu, 'Ottoman Foreign Policy', p. 195.

¹³ Brandl et al., 'Kommunikáció és híráramlás', pp. 110–111. Concerning the Safavids, see more: Hans Robert Römer, 'The Safavid Period', in Peter Jackson – Laurence Lockhart (eds), *The Cambridge History of Iran* (7 vols, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006 reprint), vol. 6, 'The Timurid and Safavid Period', pp. 189–350, especially: pp. 266–268.

¹⁴ Arno Strohmeyer, 'The Theatrical Performance of Peace. Entries of Habsburg Grand Embassies in Constantinople (17th–19th Centuries)', in Marinós Sariyannis (ed), *New Trends in Ottoman Studies. Papers Presented at the 20th CIÉPO Symposium Rethymno, 27 June – 1 July 2012*. (Rethymno: University of Crete, Department of History and Archaeology, 2014). pp. 486–494, especially: p. 486.

¹⁵ For an exhaustive list of the peace treaties between them, see: Papp, 'Az Oszmán Birodalom', pp. 86–99. In addition to this question, see: Strohmeyer, 'The Theatrical Performance of Peace', p. 486; Cervioğlu, 'Ottoman Foreign Policy'.

¹⁶ Concerning the ceremonial procedures, see more: Marton, '„Szőnyből tudatjuk...“', p. 141. Furthermore, here it is worth mentioning Krisztina Juhász's new, promising investigation on the topic of the ceremonial procedure of the Habsburg–Ottoman peace treaties of the 17th century.

Finally, the third part ended on December 8, 1629, which involved, besides the process of the ratification, the territorial negotiations, hence the question of the villages on the common frontier of the two empires. By the end of 1627, the delegations of the territorial negotiations had been appointed and at the beginning of 1628 the negotiations started. One of the questions worth mentioning was where the negotiations would be. The parties spent months until they could agree on this question.

In the case of the territorial negotiations at Szécsény, Péter Koháry was appointed as the head of the Hungarian delegation. It is worth mentioning that at the time of the peace talks, one can find Baron Péter Koháry among the negotiators. He was added to the commissioners upon the Hungarian Palatine's proposal, after the death of a commissioner, Mózes Cziráky.¹⁷ It should be noted that the negotiations at Szécsény ended fruitlessly. The question of the villages on the borderland was solved after Muharrem, the Bey of Szolnok, and Gáspár Tassy, Palatine Miklós Esterházy's secretary had concluded an agreement in Buda on April 6, 1629.

The author's aim in his dissertation in progress, as it has been pointed out above, is to present an overview of the peace process of Szőny, with a focus on the territorial negotiations (i.e. the question of the villages on (and near) their common frontier) at Szécsény and Buda through Péter Koháry's correspondence. However, a question arises, who Péter Koháry was. Several data can be found concerning his life and activity. So, if one examines his life, it can be easily recognised that his career and role were not limited only to these episodes. He was in his early 40s when he fought on the battlefields of the Long Turkish War.¹⁸ Baron Koháry was among the royal commissioners at the time of the Peace Treaty of Vienna made between the rebel Hungarians, led by István Bocskai, and the Habsburgs (1606). A couple of years later, in 1611 he was appointed as the vice-captain of Érsekújvár (present day Nové Zámky, in Slovakia) and vice-general of the border-fortress zone of the Cisdanubian district and mining region.¹⁹ He was in office until his death in 1632.²⁰

¹⁷ Brandl et al., 'Kommunikáció és híráramlás', p. 120.

¹⁸ One could find him on the battlefields at Fülek (present day Fil'akovo (Sk)) in 1593, at Esztergom in 1595, at Mezőkeresztes in 1596 as well as at Győr in 1598.

¹⁹ In Hungarian: Dunáninnyi kerületi és bányavidéki végvidéki főkapitány-helyettes. In Latin: supremus vicecapitaneus/vicegeneralis partium regni Hungariae Cisdanubianarum et confiniorum antemontanorum supremus vicecapitaneus. Géza Pálffy, 'Kerületi és végvidéki főkapitányok és főkapitány-helyettesek Magyarországon a 16–17. században' [Borderfortress-captain-generals, District-captain-generals and Vice-captain-generals on the

The monographic elaboration of the vice-captain's life and correspondence has not been carried out so far. As it has been mentioned above, several data can be found in the historical literature about him, but unfortunately, not only nineteenth-century publications, but also twenty-first-century works contain some inaccurate and incorrect information concerning him and his life. So, in the author's dissertation in progress, a separate chapter will be dedicated to summarising Péter Koháry's life and activity.²¹

In the following, it is worth presenting the research into Koháry's exchange of letters. No comprehensive collection of his correspondence has been published thus far, only a few parts of it are available and the only systematic collection which focuses on Péter Koháry was published in 1911.²² Additionally, another source collection is worth mentioning, namely József Stessel's work on the topic of the negotiations at Szécsény.²³ In his work he published letters written by Koháry during the territorial negotiations, but it did not include the Palatine Miklós Esterházy's responses to him. It should be noted that, according to Stessel, one can find the aforementioned part of the sources in the Koháry-Coburg family's archive.²⁴ In 2020, 14 letters were published, which were addressed to Péter Koháry by the Esterházy's and another one in 2019. These letters contain the abovementioned responses of the Palatine.²⁵ Inside the framework of a project 20 further documents from the Koháry-Coburg Archive will be

Hungarian Frontier of the Habsburg Empire in the 16th and 17th Centuries], *Történelmi Szemle*, 39/2 (1997): 271.

²⁰ Pálffy, 'Kerületi és végvidéki főkapitányok', p. 272.

²¹ More about his life and activity, see: Marton, 'Péter Koháry's Life', pp. 25–36.

²² András Komáromy, 'Koháry Péter érsekújvári kapitány levelei Thurzó György nádorhoz 1611–1616' [Letters of Péter Koháry, the Captain of Érsekújvár to Palatine György Thurzó 1611–1616], *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények*, 12 (1911): 77–109. (It contains 30 letters.)

²³ Stessel, 'Adatok az 1628. évi', pp. 430–452, pp. 481–510.

²⁴ They can be found in original: Štátny Archív v Banskej Bystrici (ŠA BB) [State Archive in Banská Bystrica]. Koháry–Coburgovské archívy, Rodový archív Koháry–Coburgov, Časť I, Listiny, korešpondencia a rôzne písomnosti [Koháry–Coburg Family's Archive, Class I, Diplomas, correspondence, and various documents] box nr. 40575., No. 861–913. Briefe an Peter Koháry 1616–1632; Also, they can be found in microfilm: Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára (MNL OL) [National Archives of Hungary], X 1045 (Koháry család [Koháry Family]), microfilm Nr. 40575, Nr. C 1228, Nr. C 1229.

²⁵ Gellért Ernő Marton, '„Az mint Isten tudunk adja, oltalmazzuk vérünkkel is szegény hazánknak bástyáját...” Magyar nyelvű Esterházy-levelek a Koháry-Coburg család levéltárából [“As God grants us strength, we are defending our poor motherland's bastion with our blood...” Esterházy-letters in Hungarian from the Koháry-Coburg Family's Archive]', *Aetas*, 35/3 (2020): pp. 126–150. In 13 cases the sender is Miklós Esterházy, in one case it is Pál Esterházy. Marton, 'On the Question of', pp. 85–87.

published.²⁶ In addition to source collections mentioned previously, one can find several additional letters concerning Péter Koháry in different source publications.²⁷

The most of Péter Koháry's correspondence, as it has been pointed out above, is unpublished. Over 200 letters have been assembled, most of them by the author of this article. The letters cover the years from 1610 to 1632 and in the case of Koháry's widow, Borbála Balassa of Gyarmath, a few letters have been collected from the period 1632–1637 until her death.²⁸ The unpublished letters which have been mustered can be found in Hungarian²⁹ and foreign³⁰ archives.

All the data of these sources were entered into a database which could help the quantitative analysis of these exchanges of letters. The quantitative analysis also illuminates two things.³¹ On the one hand, the

²⁶ Title of the project in English: Diplomatic sources concerning the Ottoman contacts of the Kingdom of Hungary (16th–17th centuries); principal investigator: Gábor Kármán. All of these letters are sent by Mürteza, the Pasha of Buda, 18 of them are addressed to Péter Koháry, in two cases the addressee is Pál Esterházy, the captain of Nógrád. The transcription and the elaboration of these documents have been made by the author of this article.

²⁷ E.g., with regard to Cardinal Péter Pázmány, Palatine Miklós Esterházy, and the Peace Treaty of Szőny (1627). Ferenc Hanuy, *Pázmány Péter bibornok, esztergomi érsek, Magyarország prímása összegyűjtött levelei* [Collected Letters of Cardinal Péter Pázmány, the Archbishop of Esztergom, Primate of Hungary] (2 vols, Budapest, 1911), vol. 2 (1629–1637), p. 213 (Nr. 684), p. 232 (Nr. 702); Tibor Martí, 'Pázmány Péter bíboros, esztergomi érsek nemzetközi és hazai kapcsolatrendszeréhez: három kiadatlan Pázmány-levél' [Details to the Hungarian and International Network of Relations of Cardinal Péter Pázmány, the Archbishop of Esztergom: Pázmány's Three Unpublished Letters], in Alinka Ajkay – Rita. Bajáki (eds), *Pázmány nyomában. Tanulmányok Hargittay Emil tiszteletére* [Following Pázmány. Studies in Honor of Emil Hargittay] (Vác, 2013), pp. 315–322, especially: pp. 318–320 (Nr. 2); Ferencz Salamon – László Szalay, *Galánthai Gróf Eszterházy Miklós. Magyarország nádora [Miklós Eszterházy Count of Galántha. The Palatine of Hungary]* (3 vols, Pest, 1863–1870), vol. 3 (1627–1629) (Pest, 1870). pp. 378–384, pp. 391–393, pp. 466–468; Pál Jászay, 'A' szőnyi béke. 1627' [The Peace Treaty of Szőny. 1627], *Tudománytár, Értekezések* 4 (1838): pp. 195–197; Brandl et al., 'Válogatott források', pp. 165–168, pp. 174–176, p. 189.

²⁸ ÖStA HHStA, Fa. Pálffy, Kt. 11., A. I., Lad V., Fasc. 1–4; Fasc. 3., Fr. 8, 78, 81, 83, 84.

²⁹ Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, Egyetemi Könyvtár és Kézirattár [Eötvös Loránd University, University Library and Archives] (ELTE EKK); MNL OL [National Archives of Hungary].

³⁰ Österreichisches Staatsarchiv [Austrian State Archives] (ÖStA) Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv (HHStA); ÖStA Kriegsarchiv (KA); Štátny Archív v Banskej Bystrici [State Archive in Banská Bystrica] (ŠA BB)

³¹ Here, it is worth emphasising that these numbers represent the first partial results based on the already assembled letters which had been collected from the even now available ones. These numbers show that on the basis of the great number of unpublished sources the research of this topic would be productive, on the one hand, because of the collection and publication of new diplomatic history sources, and on the other hand, because with the help

aim of the author in the long run is to collect and publish Péter Koháry's whole correspondence. On the other hand, in the short run, the author intends to collect and publish his exchange of letters concerning the peace process of Szőny in 1627, also paying attention to the territorial negotiations in 1628–1629. At this moment, the database³² contains 287 records from the period of 1610–1632. In 139 cases (89 of them are unpublished letters and 6 of them are letter references) Péter Koháry is the sender and in 148 cases he is the addressee (130 of them are unpublished letters and 4 of them are letter references).³³ With the help of this database, one can examine his relationship with the dignitaries of the two parties. The quantitative analysis can inform us about the network of relations and the intensive periods as well as the gaps in the collection of the sources.³⁴ However, it is only the qualitative analysis that can show us what the most important points and problems were during the negotiations. Besides, it can shed light on the quality of the dignitaries' relationship. In several cases, the documents contain information about them. For instance, in document Nr. 1, the following sentence can be found. "*Isten engedelmeiből holnapi napon vadászni megyek, az mi vadat fogunk, nagyságodnak részt teszek belőle!*" This points to the fact that over the simple official relationship, an informal one can be assumed between them. Another note can be taken based on the note of Graeme Murdock concerning the forms of address. It is worth emphasising that they are mostly stylised and conventional, but these formal parts convey further pieces of information while analysing the participants' (personal) relations.

As the author's dissertation will contain a chapter on source publishing, here it seems useful to show examples how the sources will be elaborated. Therefore, the following part consists of a guideline (the rules of the modernisation of the texts), two elaborated documents³⁵ and the examples for the items which can be found in the appendix.

of them one can better understand the peace process and the role and importance of each participant. See more: Marton, 'Péter Koháry's Life', pp. 31–34.

³² The database reflects the status of the research as of June 22, 2020.

³³ Concerning the time period of the negotiations, 133 records can be found in the database regarding Koháry (90 records from the period from mid-June, 1627, to April, 1629, further 38 items from May to December, 1629, and 4 from the first half of 1627). See more: Marton, 'Péter Koháry's Life', pp. 31–32.

³⁴ Concerning this question, see more: Marton, 'Péter Koháry's Life', pp. 32–33.

³⁵ Both of them discuss the taxation of the villages on the two empire's common borderland. The taxation of the villages on the two empires' common borderland as well as the question of the "open border" are mentioned among the most interesting questions of this period. Concerning the second one, see: István Czigány, 'A „nyitott határ” – egy hadtörténelmi paradoxon hatása. Néhány gondolat a Magyar Királyság 16–17. századi oszmánellenes

Rules of modernisation

Because these texts date back to the first third of the seventeenth century, a couple of remarks should be made as regards the guidelines of the source publication. There is not any consensus-based guideline for source publications in Hungarian related to the sixteenth-eighteenth centuries.³⁶ In this case, the author has chosen the guideline and style sheet of the Research Group of the Ottoman Age.³⁷

It is worth discussing these rules briefly. The texts in Hungarian are not letter-perfect transcriptions. In every case, these texts are partially modernised versions in order to offer an easier understanding. During the centuries, the Hungarian language (the orthography and the spelling rules in particular) changed a lot. Therefore, these texts contain font errors, spelling, grammatical (in some cases because of the crudeness of the grammatical rules) and punctuation mistakes. What is more, there are some letters which are now missing from the Hungarian alphabet. All these circumstances necessitate the modernisation of the texts. What does the afore-mentioned partial modernization mean? This is an alphabetic, narrow phonetic transcription (e. g. the double vowel “*eö*” > “*ö*”³⁸), which pays attention to the linguistic and dialectological characteristics. (Here it should be noted that this source publication will not be designed as a

védelmi rendszerének sajátosságairól [An “Open Border” – the Impact of a Military History Paradox. A Few Remarks on the Characteristics of the Defence System of the Kingdom of Hungary against the Ottomans in the 16th–17th Century], *Aetas*, 33/4 (2018): 73–85.

³⁶ Delineate the guidelines: Borbála Bak, ‘A XVI–XVIII. századi magyar nyelvű források kiadásának kérdései. Ajánlás a magyar nyelvű források közreadásához’ [The Issues of the Publication of 16th–18th-century Sources in Hungarian. Recommendations for the Publishing of Sources in Hungarian], *Fons*, 7/1 (2000): pp. 91–137; For the guidelines of the most recent, extensive volume on missilis sources in Hungarian, see: Péter Tusor (ed and pub), “*Írom kegyelmednek, mint igaz magyar igaz magyarnak...*” Lippay György veszprémi és egeri püspök, esztergomi érsek levelei magyar arisztokratákhoz, nemesekhez, 1635–1655, [“I hereon write to Thee, Your Lordship, as a true Hungarian to another true one... The Letters of György Lippay, the Bishop of Veszprém and Eger, the Archbishop of Esztergom to Hungarian Aristocrats and Nobles, 1635–1655] (Budapest: Gondolat, 2015). Working out the rules was also facilitated by: László Glück: *Mürteza pasa magyar nyelvű levelezésének kiadására vonatkozó javasolt szabályok* [Suggested Guidelines for the Publication of the Hungarian Correspondence of Pasha Mürteza] (working title; unpublished manuscript); Sándor Papp, *A Sárkőzyek. Egy magyar származású francia államszéferfi családjának története a 18. század végéig* [The Sárkőzys. The Family History of a French Statesman of Hungarian Origin Until the End of the 18th Century] (Szeged: Universitas Szeged Kiadó, 2012), p. 81.

³⁷ MTA–SZTE (Hungarian Academy of Sciences – University of Szeged) Research Group of the Ottoman Age. Together with his colleagues, Hajnalka Tóth and Krisztina Juhász, the author of this article is currently working on the publication of the Research Group’s Guidelines of Hungarian source publication. This article will be published soon.

³⁸ (letter-perfect transcription) teoreok > (with the correct spelling) teőreök > (the form used today) török ‘Turkish’.

philological or linguistic publication, the main aim of the chapter on the source publication is to present the sources of the discussed topic, hopefully facilitating further research on this period.)

Special characters are modernised (e. g. “*w*” or “*y*”), except in the case of names, as mentioned below. On the one hand, these characters are not available in the written Hungarian language; on the other hand, they could be replaced (e. g. they could be written and pronounced in the following ways: “*w*” → ‘*v*’ / ‘*u*’; “*w*” → ‘*ü*’; “*y*” → ‘*i*’ ‘*y*’ (‘*j*’). Let us see two examples: “*teorökwl irt*” → *törökül írt* ‘*written in Turkish*’; “*ualamelyket*” → *valamelyiket* ‘*either [of them]*’).

Based on the “*teorökwl irt*” → *törökül írt* example, it should be noted that scribes regularly fail to draw a distinction between the short and long counterparts of the Hungarian vowels.³⁹ Therefore, in the case of the short and long counterparts, the transcriptions follow the Hungarian spelling rules, but these do not affect the archaic and dialectal characteristics of the texts. Thus, “*vigezes*” will be “*vígezés*” (but not *végezés*), the suffixes (“-*rul*” / “-*rül*” will be “-*rúl*” / “-*rül*” (not “-*ról*” / “-*röl*”).

Modernisation affects “*cz*”, “*ch*”, “*ts*” character (consonant) pairs. These should be modernised after pronunciation, so “*czaszar*” will be “*császár*”, “*chalard*” will be “*csalárd*” as well as the so-called “silent h”, so “*megh*” will be “*meg*”, “*jrh*” will be “*ír*”. The slips of the pen in the case of voiced and voiceless consonant pairs (e. g. b-p, g-k, etc.) will not be corrected, except if the literal mistake alters the meaning (e. g. *bor* ‘*wine*’ > *por* ‘*powder*’). In the texts, one can find the word “*bég*” ‘*bey*’ in the following form: “*bék*”. If the letter-writer uses it consistently, it will be in the same form in the modernised transcription. The same way will be followed if the mistake can be traced back to dialectal characteristics, like “*karácson*” ‘*Christmas*’ will not be “*karácsony*” or “*kapitán*” ‘*captain*’ will not be “*kapitány*”. But in connection with the double consonants, like -*tt*- in “*hattalmas*” > “*hatalmas*” ‘*mighty*’, -*ss*- in “*passa*” > “*pasa*” ‘*pasha*’, but in spite of this, “*hatta*” will not be transformed to “*hagya*” ‘*let / left*’ according to preserving the “feeling” of the texts.

In connection with the proper names (personal names and places as well) the original, written form is adhered to and a footnote is added with the presently used form (e. g. Es[t]erhazj – Esterházy; Eztergam – Esztergom (H); Posonj – Pozsony, present day: Bratislava (Sk)). The same method is applied in the case of adjectives derived from proper names.

³⁹ In the Hungarian language, there are 14 vowels, which means 7 short-long counterparts (a-á; e-é; i-í; o-ó; ö-ő; u-ú; ü-ű)

The initials of proper names are written with upper case letters. The name of feasts (e. g. húsvét ‘Easter’ or pünkösdhétfő ‘Whit Monday’) following the Hungarian spelling rules are written with lower case initials. It should be noted that capital initials are used not only for proper names but also in the case of the initial of the first word of sentences.

As for the foreign language expressions (at this time these are mostly Latin words), the original form with spelling mistakes is retained and the correct form and meaning are added in a footnote (e. g. “inclusákkal” inclusum (Lat.) – ‘annex’).⁴⁰ In addition to this, the translation of the Latin form of addresses regarding their formulary character is dispensed with.

As for the punctuation currently used, spelling rules are applied by simultaneously aligning them with the meaning of the text. Wherever it is possible, the original punctuation is retained (e. g. round brackets ()). Round brackets are used only where the original document contained that, furthermore, usage of dashes (-...-) is avoided in this publication (in the latter case commas are used).⁴¹ Also, the officially used present alphabet is administered. It should be noted that the modernised punctuation serves the better understanding. The original hyphenation is disregarded, too, because of the easier reading and understanding.

In the case of the additions (e. g. marking the pages of the original document [1r], indicating an unreadable part or that a document is damaged [--], to separate a text [I] the abstract’s points which follow these points), the square brackets ([/]) are used.

All of the abbreviations are unfolded (“m. p.” → “manu propria”; “kegtek” → “kegyelmetek” – ‘Your Excellencies’; “tudvá[n]” → “tudván” – ‘knowingly’) without remarks because this is not a philological work and from the point of view of the understanding it is rather irrelevant. It should be noted that the Latin abbreviations are unfolded with the usage of square brackets, but the Hungarian ones (included the so-called nasal abbreviations) are unfolded without remarks, as one can find above.

⁴⁰ The meanings of the words and/or the expressions are written mostly based on the following works. Henrik Finály, *A latin nyelv szótára* [Dictionary of the Latin Language] (Budapest: Franklin Társulat

Magyar Irod. Intézet és Könyvnyomda, 1884, reprinted: 2002, 2005); Béla Kovács (ed): *Syllabus latino-hungaricus* (Eger: Heves Megyei Levéltár 1990); László Makkai (ed, int, and notes), *Bethlen Gábor krónikásai* [The Chroniclers of Gábor Bethlen] (Budapest: Gondolat Kiadó, 1980), especially: *Idegen szavak jegyzéke* [The Catalogue of Foreign Words], pp. 271–277; László Makkai, *Bethlen Gábor emlékezete* [The Memory of Gábor Bethlen] (Budapest: Magyar Helikon, 1980), especially: *Idegen és magyarázatra szoruló szavak jegyzéke* [Dictionary of Foreign and Explainable Words], pp. 307–315; Antal Bartal, *A magyarországi latinság szótára* [Dictionary of Latin in Hungary] (Budapest: Históriaantik Könyvesház, 1901).

⁴¹ Glück, ‘Mürteza pasa’.

The page breaks of the original documents, as it has been mentioned above, are indicated (e. g. [1r] or [p. 1]), but the catchwords are not. If the text is not continuing on the next page with the same word, this is indicated in a footnote, included the catchword.

Concerning the question of the translation of the sources from Hungarian to English, a note has to be taken. The documents will not be translated, but abstracts in English are added to the transcriptions. It should be noted that a full English translation could be found only in one case in the dissertation, in the following publication it is not necessary. That sample serves as an example to show another possibility for source publication.⁴² It helps the understanding, so that is a modern translation which shows the content of the Hungarian original; however, it is not simply a long summary, as it follows the form and the structure of the letter. In this case, the Latin expressions, except for the formal parts of the text, and the Latin form of addresses were translated into English as well because of the small differences between the correct Latin form and the English one (e. g. in *originali* - '*in the original*'). In the case of the names, the currently used forms are applied. In connection with the punctuation, the present standard spelling rules are used in compliance with the meaning of the text.

The notes (including the philological ones) can be found in footnotes. All the footnotes are entered into the text with Arabic numerals which are continued from text to text. These notes will be as short as possible. In the case of personal names and places, notes will contain their currently used form. The meaning of Latin language expressions will be given in notes, as it has been referred to above. If it is necessary, further footnotes will be added (e. g. events, terms, etc.).

An appendix will be added to the dissertation which will contain a name catalogue with notes about people who could be found in the texts. A glossary of the places with their currently used names in Hungarian and a note about where they could be found at present are included, if it is necessary, with their current, officially used name. Furthermore, a glossary of the Latin expressions which were used in these texts is also added.

In every case, the heading of the documents will contain the following elements (1) who wrote to whom; (2) place and date of issuing; (3) about originality (original, copy, etc.); (4) special added information if it is relevant (e. g. in the case of a mentionable scribe, *Habib Agha's handwriting*); where the original and the copies (if it is relevant) could be found; (5) data of edition if relevant.

⁴² For the sample to English translation, see: Marton, 'On the Question of', pp. 88-90.

In each case, the heading will be followed by an abstract in English. It is worth pointing out that in the case of the already-published documents only the abstracts will be published in the dissertation. If a document had already been published but was found wanting, a transcription of its text will be published from the original manuscript or the copy of the document. This summary will be ordered by points. Those will be marked in the original text (e. g. [I]). The points follow the content of the texts. The points aim to help the orientation of the reader because most of the texts contain various topics.

After the abstract, the outside of the document will be published, followed by the contemporary note(s) (if relevant). Here it should be noted that this source publication will dispense with the transcription of the nineteenth-century archivists' notes.

This source publication will be divided into two parts basically, (1) unpublished documents; (2) abstract of the already published ones.⁴³ Within the two main parts, the letters will be selected by the correspondents (e. g. Exchange of letters between Pasha Mürteza and Péter Koháry; Exchange of letters between Miklós Esterházy and Péter Koháry). Within the framework of these subchapters the documents will follow a chronological order, with letters without a date at the end.

⁴³ In the case of the already published documents, it is worth noting that those abstracts will not be divided by abstract points.

[Nr. 1]

(Tatar) Ibrahim Bey of Esztergom to Péter Koháry

Esztergom, December 31, 1627

ŠA BB Kohary-Coburgovské archívy. Rodový archív Koháry-Coburgov. Č. I. No. 12140

MNL OL X 1045 (Koháry family) microfilm No. C1228, No. 12140

Original document

Abstract

[I] *On account of the lack of paying taxes, the Bey of Esztergom files a complaint. He writes that he is demanded to pay in the tax, but the villages do not comply with paying in either the emperor's or the sipahi's taxes. He expresses that he is at a loss on how to proceed and he points out that they adhere to the Peace Treaty of Szőny, namely that they do not coerce the peasants. For this reason, they are responsible for them not turning in the taxes. [II] He lists the villages that did not pay in their taxes. [III] He also adds that he sent some of his men to the villages. [IV] Ibrahim Bey reminds Koháry of the obligation of the peasants by the treaty to pay their legally levied taxes; he asks Koháry to take care of that. [V] In the postscript Ibrahim says that there are villages that claim they duly turned in their taxes, but the Turkish side states the opposite. He spells out his request that the judges of the villages should appear in person to clarify the issue. [VI] He emphasises that the inhabitants of Újbars failed to pay their taxes (400 forints); what is more, he also adds that he has remitted 100 forints from the sum of the annual tax, so their complaints are discreditable. [VII] He goes hunting the next day, and he will send part of the game to Koháry too.*

[Outside:] Az tekéntetes és nagyságos úrnak, Koharÿ Péternek⁴⁴, az felséges római császárnak az Dunán⁴⁵ túl való végházainak és Ersek Wÿvarnak⁴⁶ vice generalis capitányának, énnekem jóakaró, úr szomszéd barátomnak adassék.

Wÿvar⁴⁷

[p. 1] Én, Tattar Ibrahim Bék⁴⁸, az hatalmas és győzhetetlen török császárnak fő szandzsákbékje és Eztergomnak⁴⁹ fő helytartója etc. Minden hozzám illendő tisztességbeli barátságos köszönetemnek ajánlásának utána Istentől nagyságodnak jó egészséget kívánok.

⁴⁴ Koháry Péter.

⁴⁵ Duna. The River Danube.

⁴⁶ Érsekújvár, present day Nové Zámky (Sk).

⁴⁷ Újvár, i.e. Érsekújvár.

⁴⁸ (Tatar) Ibrahim Bey of Esztergom.

⁴⁹ Esztergom (H).

Tekéntetes és nagyságos úr szomszéd barátom! [I] Noha nagyságodnak úri fejét ez dolog miatt nemcsak egészen fájlaltam és mostan is fájlalnom kell, nagyságod megbocsásson, ha az kéntelenség volna nem cselekedtetne, nem cselekedném. De látja Isten, az miatt egy nap énnekem nyugodalmam nincsen. Az egész sereg éjjel-nappal fizetéseket és búzájokat én túllem kívánják, az faluk pedig nem jönnek, nem hozzák az császár búzáját, az mely faluiba jön, egy pálcával [?]⁵⁰ jön, sem császár búzáját nem hozza, sem iszpajájának oda adózó summáját, adóját nem hozzák. Én nem tudom, mik eképpen kell ennek legjobb módjával eleit találnom, mivel az szőni végezésben⁵¹ az vagyon, hogy egy jobbágyin is sem fogjunk, sem szidjunk, sem vonjunk, mi is ahhoz tartván magunkat, azzal mind az jobbágyságot rosszá, szófogadatlaná töttük, így sem császár summája, adója, búzája, iszpaják adóit be nem k[ú]dik, bíznak az végezéshez, mit akármennyit írunk, izenjük, parancsról nekünk semmit sem gondolnak. Mindeneket Fulek⁵² mellől bocsátnak, és hogy nagyságod inkább elküdjé, itten mindenik falut nevezet szerint felírtam az mely császár búzáját, adóját, summáját be nem hozná. [II] Verebelj⁵³, Levai⁵⁴, [--]⁵⁵ tartomániban, az mint itten regisztromban⁵⁶ töttem, úgy mint Szebedinj⁵⁷, Thely⁵⁸ [?], Fedemös⁵⁹, Bankeszeö⁶⁰, Kiskeszeö⁶¹, Varad⁶², Egihaz Szegh⁶³, Nagy Szegh⁶⁴, Malom Szegh⁶⁵, Andra⁶⁶, Felseö[-], Also Szeöleös⁶⁷ Felseö[-], Also Chiornok⁶⁸,

⁵⁰ Uncertain reading.

⁵¹ The Peace Treaty of Szőny (1627).

⁵² Füle, present day Filakovo (Sk).

⁵³ Verebely, present day Vráble (Sk).

⁵⁴ Léva, present day Levice (Sk).

⁵⁵ Illegible word.

⁵⁶ Registrum (Lat.) – ‘record, list’.

⁵⁷ Crossed out by the scribe in the manuscript. Szebedin, later Szebedény (in Slovakian: Sebedín), the formerly independent settlement is part of the municipality of Sebedín-Bečov (in Hungarian: Szebedénybecsó) (Sk).

⁵⁸ Uncertain reading. It could be Tild (present day in Slovakian: Telince) (Sk).

⁵⁹ Fedemes, later Ipolyfödemes, present day Ipeľské Úľany (Sk).

⁶⁰ Bánkeszi, present day Bánov (Sk).

⁶¹ Kiskeszi, present day Malé Kosihy (Sk).

⁶² Várad, i.e. Kisvárad (in Slovakian: Malý Varad), the formerly independent settlement is part of the city of Šurany (in Hungarian: Nagysurány) (Sk).

⁶³ Egyházzszeg, later became part of Egyháznagyszeg (in Slovakian: Kostolný Sek), the formerly independent settlement is part of the city of Šurany (in Hungarian: Nagysurány) (Sk).

⁶⁴ Nagyszeg, later became part of Egyháznagyszeg (in Slovakian: Kostolný Sek), the formerly independent settlement is part of the city of Šurany (in Hungarian: Nagysurány) (Sk).

⁶⁵ Nyitramalomszeg, present day Lipová (Sk).

⁶⁶ Uncertain reading. It could be Ondrohó (in Slovakian: Ondrochov), the formerly independent settlement is part of the municipality of Lipová (in Hungarian: Nyitramalomszeg) (Sk). A settlement name can be found in the text of the Agreement of Újbars (1618). On the list of the villages, it was written after “Malomszegh” and before “Felseö Zeöleös”, as in this letter. Österreichisches Staatsarchiv (ÖStA), Kriegsarchiv, Hofkriegsrat Akten (HKR) 1617–1619.

Ezdeöke⁶⁹, Giarak⁷⁰ S. Mýhalj [Ur]⁷¹, Martin falu⁷², Vaik⁷³, Diczke⁷⁴, Aniala⁷⁵, Lule⁷⁶, Lehotka⁷⁷, Giarmat⁷⁸, Mohi⁷⁹, O Bars [?]⁸⁰, Toth keszeö⁸¹, Nagy Sary⁸², Taina⁸³, Nevid⁸⁴ Veres Var⁸⁵, Nagy Vezekenj⁸⁶ Kis Vezekenj⁸⁷ Rosnicza⁸⁸, Nemczénj⁸⁹, Kis[-] és Nagy Valkoczi⁹⁰, Chiarad⁹¹, Kisfalu⁹²,

fol. 9r–19v., especially fol. 10v–11r. The Agreement of Komárom contains the same order, but with the following note: “Ondroch. Malom Szeg melleth.” MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 26a, pp. 220–224., especially: p. 221.

⁶⁷ Felsőszőlős (in Slovakian: Horný Vinodol), Alsószőlős (in Slovakian: Dolný Vinodol), the formerly independent settlements are parts of the municipality of Vinodol (in Hungarian: Nyitraszőlős) (Sk).

⁶⁸ Felső- és Alsócsomok, present day Čemík (in Hungarian: Csomok) (Sk).

⁶⁹ Özdöge, present day Mojzesovo (Sk).

⁷⁰ Gyarak, present day Kmeťovo (Sk).

⁷¹ Szentmihály, present day Liptovský Michal (Sk).

⁷² Martonfalva, later Nemesmartonfalva, present day Martinová (in Hungarian Martonfalva) (Sk). The annex of the Agreement of Komárom contains these settlements in the same order. In that document can be found “Marton falua”. MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 26a, pp. 220–224., especially: p. 222.

⁷³ Vajk (in Slovakian: Vajka nad Žitavou), the formerly independent settlement is part of the municipality of Lúčnica nad Žitavou (in Hungarian: Vajkmártonfalva) (Sk).

⁷⁴ Dicske, later Nemesdicske (in Slovakian: Dyčka), the formerly independent settlement is part of the city of Vráble (in Hungarian: Verebély) (Sk).

⁷⁵ Anyala (in Slovakian: Aňala), the formerly independent settlement is part of the municipality of Nesvady (in Hungarian: Naszvad) (Sk).

⁷⁶ Crossed out by the scribe in the manuscript. Uncertain reading. It could be Lüle, present day Lula (Sk).

⁷⁷ Lehotka (later Lehota-Gyarmath), The formerly independent settlement present day is part of the municipality of Žitavce (in Hungarian: Zsitvagyarmat) (Sk).

⁷⁸ Gyarmat (later Lehota-Gyarmath), The formerly independent settlement present day is part of the municipality of Žitavce (in Hungarian: Zsitvagyarmat) (Sk).

⁷⁹ Mohi (in Slovakian: Mochovce), the formerly independent settlement is part of the municipality of Kalná nad Hrodóm (in Hungarian: Kálna) (Sk).

⁸⁰ Crossed out by the scribe in the manuscript. Uncertain reading. It could be Óbars, present day Starý Tekov (Sk).

⁸¹ Tótkesző, present day Hronské Kosihy (in Hungarian: Garamkeszi) (Sk).

⁸² Nagysáró (in Slovakian: Veľké Šarovce), the formerly independent settlement is part of the municipality of Šarovce (in Hungarian: Sáró) (Sk).

⁸³ Tajna (in Slovakian: Tajná), the formerly independent settlement is part of the municipality of Tajná (in Hungarian: Tajnasári) (Sk).

⁸⁴ Néved or Nived, present day Nevidzany (Sk).

⁸⁵ Veresvár, later Barsvörösvár, present day Červený Hrádok (Sk).

⁸⁶ Nagyvezekény, present day Veľké Vozokany (Sk).

⁸⁷ Kisvezekény, present day Malé Vozokany (Sk).

⁸⁸ There is not clear about which settlement could be. The Agreement of Komárom (1618) contains this settlement's name as “Roznicza”. (MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 26a, pp. 220–224., especially: p. 223.), the Agreement of Újbars (1618) contains “Rokosnica”. (ÖStA, Kriegsarchiv, HKR Akten 1617-1619. fol. 8r–20v., especially fol. 10r. Based on the settlements which were recorded before and after (Vezekény, Nemcsény), this settlement might be close to them. In Samu Borovszky's work “Roznicza” can be found as which is belonged to “Szent-Benedek” (i.e. Garamszentbenedek, present day Hronský Beňadik (Sk)). Samu Borovszky (ed. in ch.), *Magyarország vármegyéi és városai* [The Counties and the Cities of Hungary] (25 vols, Budapest: Országos Monografia Társaság, 1896–1914), Bars vármegye

Szent Peter⁹³, Kovaczi⁹⁴, Nemethj⁹⁵, S. Kereszt⁹⁶, Kelczenj⁹⁷, Almás⁹⁸, Badinka⁹⁹, Peszer¹⁰⁰, Lehotka¹⁰¹. Sőt, ezen kívül tegnapi napon Leva¹⁰², Nograd¹⁰³, Dregelj¹⁰⁴ tartományban 25 falu ugyanaz, melyek be nem jüttenek, melyekre [p. 2] [III] kéntelenségibül tegnap öt gyalogot küldtem, hogy beküldjék, melyek sem veréssel, sem szidással nem cselekedik, hanem szép szóval, sőt, lovasokat sem küldtem, hanem gyalogokat, hogy annál inkább bizonyosak legyenek benne mindenek, hogy gonoszságban nem járnak, de faluról falura, kocsival császár dolgában, az mely penig az jobbágyságról legrosszabb, Diczke¹⁰⁵, Also[-], Felseő Chiornok¹⁰⁶, innen magam jószágom, nagyságotat hívassa eleiben, ez egész esztendőben szemek fényét sem láttam sem bírójoknak, sem adóikat nem láttam. Azért nagyságod ezeket hívassa be és mindeneknek jól végire menjen, mi ennek utána, ha valakit behozni summát, adót kiküldetek és minékünk azban vétünkünk nincsen, mivel az búzát be nem

[Bars County], p. 349. At this moment there are no more available, much more punctual data to this question.

⁸⁹ Nemcsény, present day Nemčiňany (Sk).

⁹⁰ Kisvalkóc (in Slovakian: Závada), the formerly independent settlement is part of the municipality of Valkovce (in Hungarian: Valkóc) (Sk).

⁹¹ Csarad, present day Čaradice (Sk).

⁹² Kisfalud, later Barskisfalud, present day Vieska nad Žitavou (Sk).

⁹³ Szentpéter, later Komáromszentpéter, present day Svätý Peter (Sk).

⁹⁴ Kovácsi, later Garamkovácsi, present day Kozárovce (Sk).

⁹⁵ Crossed out by the scribe in the manuscript. Németi, later Garamnémeti, present day Tekovské Nemce (Sk).

⁹⁶ Crossed out by the scribe in the manuscript. Szentkereszt, later Garamszentkereszt, present day Žiar nad Hronom (Sk).

⁹⁷ Kelcsény, present day Hronské Kľačany (in Hungarian: Garamkelecsény) (Sk).

⁹⁸ Almás. Alsóalmás (in Slovakian: Dolné Jabloňovce) and/or Felsőalmás (in Slovakian: Horné Jabloňovce), the formerly independent settlements are parts of the municipality of Jabloňovce (in Hungarian: Hontalmás) (Sk). The Agreement of Komárom contains Alsóalmás and Felsőalmás as well. MNL OL, P 108, Rep. 71, Fasc. 26a, pp. 220–224., especially: p. 223.

⁹⁹ Crossed out by the scribe in the manuscript. Badinka (Badin). Ferencz Salamon, *Két Magyar diplomata a tizenhetedik századból* [Two Hungarian Diplomats from the Seventeenth Century] (Pest: Ráth Mór, 1867), p. 280. It could be Felsőbágyon (in Slovakian: Horný Badín), Algyóbágyon (in Slovakian: Dolný Badín). These settlements are close to Levice (in Hungarian: Léva). But it could be Badín (in Hungarian: Erdőbádony), close to Zvolen. All of the mentioned settlements are situated in present-day Slovakia.

¹⁰⁰ Peszér (in Slovakian: Psiare), the formerly independent settlement is part of the municipality of Hronský Beňadik (in Hungarian: Garamszentbenedek) (Sk).

¹⁰¹ Crossed out by the scribe in the manuscript. Uncertain reading. It could be Lehotka. Later Abaszállás, present day Lehotka (Sk).

¹⁰² Léva, present day Levice (Sk).

¹⁰³ Nógrád (H).

¹⁰⁴ Drégely, the formerly independent settlement is part of the municipality of Drégelypalánk (H).

¹⁰⁵ Dicske, later Nemesdicske (in Slovakian: Dyčka) (Sk). See more: footnote 74.

¹⁰⁶ Alsó- és Felsőcsornok, present day Černík (in Hungarian: Csornok) (Sk).

hozzák. [IV] Az szöni végezés¹⁰⁷ penig az, hogy az mely jobbágy [az] mivel tartozik, behozzák, se[m] verjük, sem szidjuk, sem fogjuk, mi is ahhoz tartjuk magunkat, de az adóssal az adósságát mindenét megkívánják, meg is kérjük azért nagyságodat. Nagyságodnak erre gondja leszen, sem mi reánk, sem nagyságodnak panasza nem leszen. Ezzel Istennek ajánljuk nagyságodat!

Datum Eztergom¹⁰⁸, 1627. ultima die [Dece]mbris

Választ várok nagyságodtúl!

Nagyságodnak úr barátja,

Idem qui supra

P[ost]s[criptum]

[V] Ezek az faluk között némelyek vadnak, az kik azt mondják, megadták, az császár deákja mondja, nem adták, azért kívánom, hogy előmben jüjjön minden falu bírása, szemtől szemben szóljanak. Leszen, ki hozza, ki nem hozza. [VI] Wý barsiak¹⁰⁹ már nagyságodnak az panaszom, hogy summájok az békeknek f[orint] 400 tavaly is semmit nem attanak ez idei ez enim [?] egy pénzeket sem láttam.

Nagyságodnak hírről legyen, én feljebb semmit nem kívánok, még ez idein is f[orint] 100 elengedtem, ha az többet nem hozzák, az mint megveszem, elég az engedelem, hogy ha valami panaszt tennének nagyságodnak, méltatlan panaszolkodnak.

[VII] Isten engedelmitől holnapi napon vadászni megyek, az mi vadat fogunk, nagyságodnak részt tesztek belőle!

[Nr. 2]

Ibrahim Bey of Esztergom to Péter Koháry

Esztergom, April 5, 1628

ŠA BB Kohary-Coburgovské archív. Rodový archív Koháry-Coburgov. Č. I. No. 12141

MNL OL X 1045 (Koháry család) microfilm Nr. C1228, No. 12141

Original document

Abstract

[I] *The Bey of Esztergom informs Koháry that he sent letters to villages in relation to the annual works needed for castle maintenance in which villages were instructed on how many people they had to send to burn lime. He mentions that they called for people only via letter, and that neither cavalrymen nor footmen were sent to the villages. He asks for Koháry's help in ensuring the compliance of those who are the*

¹⁰⁷ The Peace Treaty of Szőny (1627).

¹⁰⁸ Esztergom (H).

¹⁰⁹ Újbarsiakra. Újbars, present day Nový Tekov (Sk).

subjects of the Sultan. [II] He also mentions that he sent a regestum [register] earlier of the villages which are in arrears in their payment of taxes. [III] He writes about Koháry's earlier promise to send outstanding taxes from those villages within two weeks. He is at his wits end as to what to do, because he has not dispatched his men to the villages, but cannot otherwise collect due taxes. [IV] In his letter he lists all those villages which have not yet paid their annual taxes.

[Outside:] Az tekéntetes és nagyságos úrnak, Kohary Pethernek¹¹⁰, szentelt vitéz, az felséges római császárnak familiárisa, Magiar Orszagh¹¹¹ az Dunantul¹¹² való részinek vicegenerálisa és Ersek Wiuarnak¹¹³ vicecapitánya etc. Énnem jóakaró, régi, vitéz, úr szomszéd barátomnak adassék. Wiuar¹¹⁴

[p. 1] Én, Ibrahim bék¹¹⁵, hatalmas és győzhetetlen török császárnak fő szandzsákbéke és Estergomnak¹¹⁶ fő helytartója etc.

Minden hozzám illendő köszönetemnek és szolgálatomnak ajánlásának utána Istentől jó egiszsiges, hosszú életet kívánok nagyságodnak, mint énnem jóakaró, régi úr szomszéd [5] barátomnak.

Tekéntetes és nagyságos, régi, jóakaró, úr vitéz barátom! [I.] Nagyságodnak ezt akarám megjelentenem, hogy az régi szokás és törvény szerint minden esztendőben hatalmas, győzhetetlen császár várának épületire meszet égettünk, ez idén is immáron Isten az üdőt előhozván az mi szandzsátságunkban levő falukra, az szegínsígre leveleket küldtünk, kitűl egy, az ki jobb falu, két gyalogot kívánunk, az melik legnagyobb vár is, három-négy gyalogot. Írtunk, hogy meszet égetni küldjenek, az melyet nagyságodnak azért akarok hírré tenni, hogy én reájok sem lovas, sem gyalogot ki nem küldtem, hanem egyedül levél által hívtam és nagyságod is ne mondja, hogy nagyságtoknak hírt nem töttem. Sőt, kérem is nagyságodat, hogy nagyságod megparancsolja, hogy beírjenek, mivel mostan az jobbágység igen szófogadatlaná lött, parancsolatinknak kevés helyt adnak, ne kellésék lovasokat vagy gyalogot érettök kiküldenünk, mivel hatalmas¹¹⁷ császár vára épületire el kell vinniek, az ki császár jobbágya. Attűl senki magát meg nem vonhatja, császár művinek meg kell lenni. [III] Ez felől is akarok nagyságodnak emlékezni, hogy még ennyi faluk maradtanak el, az mint registrumot elküldtem nagyságodnak, az kik császár

¹¹⁰ Koháry Péter.

¹¹¹ Magyarország, 'Hungary'.

¹¹² Duna, 'river Danube'.

¹¹³ Érsekújvár (Sk).

¹¹⁴ Újvár, i.e. Érsekújvár.

¹¹⁵ (Tatar) Ibrahim Bey of Esztergom.

¹¹⁶ Esztergom (H).

¹¹⁷ Inserted in the manuscript by the same hand: "Hlmas", i.e. hatalmas.

adóját meg nem hozták, azokon kívül, az kik pusztán állnak, az sereg mindennap éntülem kívánja, én pedig mindennap azzal bíztatom őket és olvastatom generalis őnagysága levelit előttek, [III] mely leveliben őnagysága azt írta volt énnekem, nem szükség az falukra kiküldenem, őnagysága két hét alatt mind beküldi. Immár Szent György napja¹¹⁸ is eljött, nem tudom, immár mit kell cselekedni, az falukra is ki nem küldünk, ő magok is be nem jönnek, az vitézek az fizetést minden órában kérik, az császár deákja mostan is fogva vagyon. Nagyságodat kérem, nagyságodnak fejit ne fájlaljam ennyit, immár ne nevedjen meg az ilyen sok bútúl! Nagyságod is énnekem parancsolja minden illendő dologbúl, ím, most kedveskedem nagyságodnak.

Ezzel Istennek ajánlom nagyságodat!

Datum Estergom¹¹⁹, 1628. die 5 Aprilis.

Nagyságodnak régi jóakaró úr szomszéd barátja,

Idem qui supra

[p. 2] [IV] Az faluk ezek, az kik még császár adóját be nem hozták ez esztendőben: Kis Keszeő¹²⁰, Andra¹²¹, Also[-] és Felseő Szeöleős¹²², Malom Szegh¹²³, Nagy Sarj¹²⁴, Rosnicza¹²⁵, Toth Keszeő¹²⁶, Peszer¹²⁷, Kis Varad¹²⁸, Bankeszeő¹²⁹, Kisfalu¹³⁰, Kis Walkoczia¹³¹, Gi[me]s¹³², Poczioual¹³³ [?], Borfű¹³⁴, Kis Thur¹³⁵, Kis Szeömere¹³⁶, Wiszoka¹³⁷, Podlusaný¹³⁸, Mere¹³⁹, Szeögincze¹⁴⁰, Nagýfalu¹⁴¹, Bori¹⁴², Lehotka¹⁴³.

¹¹⁸ I.e. April 24.

¹¹⁹ Esztergom (H).

¹²⁰ Kiskeszi, present day Malé Kosihy (Sk).

¹²¹ Uncertain reading. It could be Ondrohó (in Slovakian: Ondrochov) (Sk). See more: footnote 66.

¹²² Felsőszőlős (in Slovakian: Horný Vinodol), Alsószőlős (in Slovakian: Dolný Vinodol) (Sk). See more: footnote 67.

¹²³ Nyitraalmomszeg, present day Lipová (Sk).

¹²⁴ Nagysáró (in Slovakian: Veľké Šarovce) (Sk). See more: footnote 82.

¹²⁵ Unidentified settlement. See more: footnote 88.

¹²⁶ Tótkesző, present day Hronské Kosihy (in Hungarian: Garamkeszi) (Sk).

¹²⁷ Peszér (in Slovakian: Psiare) (Sk). See more: footnote 100.

¹²⁸ Várad, i.e. Kisvárad (in Slovakian: Malý Varad) (Sk). See more: footnote 62.

¹²⁹ Bánkeszi, present day Bánov (Sk).

¹³⁰ Kisfalud, later Barskifalud, present day Vieska nad Žitavou (Sk).

¹³¹ Kiswalkóc (in Slovakian: Závada) (Sk). See more: footnote 90.

¹³² Uncertain reading. It could be Gímes, present day Jelenec (Sk).

¹³³ Uncertain reading. Unknown settlement name.

¹³⁴ Borfő, present day Brhlovce (Sk).

¹³⁵ Kistúr (in Slovakian: Dolné Turovce), the formerly independent settlement is part of the municipality of Veľké Turovce (in Hungarian: Nagytúr) (Sk).

¹³⁶ Kiszsemere (Szemere), present day Semerovo (in Hungarian: Komáromszemere) (Sk).

¹³⁷ Viszoka, later Magaslak, present day Vysoká (Sk).

¹³⁸ Podlusán, present day Podlužany (Sk).

¹³⁹ Mere (in Slovakian: Merovce), the formerly independent settlement is part of the city of Dudince (in Hungarian: Gyúgy) (Sk).

¹⁴⁰ Szőgyén, present day Svodín (Sk).

Appendix

An example to demonstrate the shape of the entries of the *Name catalogue*

Koháry, Péter (Baron of Csábrág): (1564–1632) held his military and later diplomatic offices from the time of the Long Turkish War (1591/93–1606) to the end of the first third of the seventeenth century (1632). contributed to the peace talks at Szőny (1627) and played a decisive role during the territorial negotiations at Szécsény and Buda (1628–1629). He was in office as the vice-captain of Érsekújvár (present day *Nové Zámky*, in Slovakia) and vice-general of the border-fortress zone of the Cisdanubian district and mining region from 1611 to 1632.

See more concerning his life and activity: Marton, ‘Péter Koháry’s Life’, pp. 25–36.

Instances to show how the *Glossary of the places* will look like

<i>Currently used name in Hungarian</i>	<i>In which state is it located now?</i>	<i>The current, officially used name</i>	<i>In which forms does it appear in the documents?</i>	<i>In which document(s) can it be found?</i>
Dicske	Slovakia	Dyčka; the formerly independent settlement is part of the city of Vráble (in Hungarian: Verebély) (Sk)	Diczke	Nr. 1
Esztergom	Hungary	Esztergom	Estergom Eztergom	Nr. 1; Nr. 2
Fülel	Slovakia	Fíľakovo	Fulek	Nr. 1
Léva	Slovakia	Levice	Leva	Nr. 1
Nyitramalomszeg	Slovakia	Lipová	Malom Szegh	Nr. 1; Nr. 2

¹⁴¹ Nagyfalu, i.e. Nyitranagyfalu, the formerly independent settlement is part of the municipality of Branč (in Hungarian: Berencs) (Sk).

¹⁴² Bori, present day Bory (Sk).

¹⁴³ Lehotka, later Abaszállás, present day Lehotka (Sk).

Example for the *Glossary of the expressions in Latin*

Inclusum (Lat.) – ‘annex’

Registrum (Lat.) – ‘record, list’.

Witch Trials in Seventeenth-Century Târgu Mureș

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Abstract The witch trials from Târgu-Mureș are typical ones and fit together with the other cases from the early modern period. We can identify the same processes and elements as historiography and ethnography had described. On the other hand, these cases are slightly different because these witch trials were less bloody than usually in the seventeenth century. In the Hungarian Kingdom, the zenith of the witch hunts was in the middle of the eighteenth century. Perhaps the intensity of witch hunts in a medium town was smaller. This paper aims to describe and analyse the witch cases from the seventeenth-century Târgu Mureș. These cases are not that remarkable, but we can gain insight into the juridical processes through them.

Keywords: Târgu-Mureș, witch trials, seventeenth-century, protocols

Rezumat: Procesele de vrăjitoare din Târgu-Mureș sunt tipice și se potrivește printre celelalte cazuri din perioada modernă timpurie. Putem identifica aceleași procese și elemente ca cele descrise de istoriografie și etnografie. Pe de altă parte, aceste cazuri sunt puțin diferite, deoarece aceste procese de vrăjitoare sunt mai puțin sângeroase ca de obicei în secolul al 17-lea. În Regatul Ungariei, zenitul vânătorilor de vrăjitoare a fost la mijlocul secolului al 18-lea. Poate că intensitatea vânătorilor de vrăjitoare într-un oraș mediu a fost mai mică. Studiul de față dorește să descrie și să analizeze cazurile de vrăjitorie din secolul al 17-lea din Târgu Mureș. Aceste cazuri nu sunt atât de remarcabile, dar prin ele putem obține o perspectivă asupra proceselor juridice.

Cuvinte-cheie: Târgu Mureș, procese de vrăjitoare, secolul al 17-lea, protocole

One of the greatest and most popular themes of the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries – in some places even of the eighteenth-nineteenth centuries – is witchcraft. Secret meetings, legends, the power of supernatural forces entered the imagination of nearly all members of society, and almost everyone believed in malevolent and evil sorcery. From North America to the Russian taiga, based on the sentences issued by ecclesiastical or secular courts, or simply by the masses, many women, men, and children had died.¹ Many reports arrived from all corners of the Christian world about witch trials in the early modern age.² These reports provide a large scale for interpretation due to the trials' length and the number of witnesses, since the bulky minutes can be examined from many approaches and viewpoints. Through these protocols recorded during the trials, we gain access to the everyday life of the period and insight into people's views on the transcendental.

Firstly, we would like to clarify whom we consider a witch and what was deemed as witchcraft. As we shall see, the simple act of preparing poisons was one of the attributes of witches, even though in that period, many people dabbled in such practices. Here we can also mention those who sometimes threatened to bewitch or curse their neighbours in the heat of the argument. Moreover, midwives who performed abortions or used their experience to cure diseases, employing unintelligible methods to the man of the age, were considered witches. Thus, we believe that every case where the word "witch" appears counts as a witch trial because even if the allegation itself was unfounded, the accusation was so severe that essentially the life of the person who could not clear themselves was in danger. At the same time, unfounded slanders were not without consequences either. A significant fine and contempt awaited those who incriminated someone without grounds.³ Contrary to other towns, the witch trials of Târgu Mureş are not that rich in material, which can, of course, be explained by the low number of sources that survived.

¹ Gábor Klaniczay, 'Boszorkányüldözés Közép és Kelet-Európában' [Witch hunting in Central and Eastern Europe] in Péter Tusor (ed.) *R. Várkonyi Ágnes emlékkönyv születésnek 70. évfordulója alkalmából* [Studies for R. Várkonyi Ágnes 70th birthday] (Budapest: Elte BTK, 1998), pp. 399–416.

² Malcolm Gaskill, 'Witchcraft and evidence in early modern England', *Past and Present*, 198/1 (2008): pp 33–37.

³ László Pakó, 'Boszorkányvadás az anyagi érdek és a bosszúvágy szolgálatában' [Witch accusation in the service of revenge and material interests] in Gábor Klaniczay – Éva Pócs (eds.) *Boszorkányok, varázslók és démonok Közép-Kelet Európában* [Witches, wizards, and demons in Central-East Europe] (Budapest: Balassi, 2014), pp. 160–161.

Witch trials in Western Europe, the Hungarian Kingdom, and the Transylvanian Principality

Ildikó Sz. Kristóf summarised in 2013 the research history of early modern witch trials, its perspectives, and possibilities. Besides describing the tasks awaiting us, she presented, in short, the history of witch hunts from their early modern institutionalisation to their eighteenth-century peak. According to Kristóf, there is a connection between witch hunts and social crises since this is how, in many cases, society tries to solve its tensions after a great affliction.⁴ In her interpretation, we can talk about three types of witchcraft: *maleficium* – the use of malevolent magic; *sortilegium* – the practice of sorcery; and *veneficium* – witchcraft dealing with poisons.⁵ In the trials that occurred in Târgu Mureş, we encounter all three types. Although not unequivocally, in the cases we will present in the following, we shall see that many women made use of sorcery, poisoning, and malevolent magic, or at least they were accused of it.

Considering that this subject is an easily identifiable and essentially universal one, trials have not escaped the attention of researchers and sourcebook publishers either. One of the largest, almost completed source publishing projects in Hungarian historiography is the publication of at least a part of the witch trials that took place in the country, broken down by counties and cities.⁶ Among these were published the trials from Târgu Mureş, too. The volume shows that we cannot talk about a considerable amount of material. It is also important to mention that the book does not deal with the town separately from Maros Seat, and it does not separate the sixteenth–eighteenth-century materials of the town and the seat protocols from each other.⁷

In Transylvania, witch trials occupy an essential role in the research of András Kiss. He devoted an independent volume to the subject, namely the sourcebook entitled *Boszorkányok, kuruzslók, szalmakoszorús paráznák* from 1998.⁸ With minor revisions, the volume was

⁴ Ildikó Sz. Kristóf, 'Boszorkányüldözés a kora újkori Magyarországon: kutatástörténet, eredmények, teendők-2013-ban' [Witch hunting in early modern Hungarian Kingdom: research history, results, new research ways in 2013] in Gábor Klaniczay – Éva Pócs (eds.) *Boszorkányok, varázslók és démonok Közép-Kelet Európában* [Witches, wizards, and demons in Central-East Europe], (Budapest: Balassi, 2014), pp.17–62.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 23.

⁶ *A magyarországi boszorkányság forrásai* [Sources of Witchcraft in Hungarian Kingdom] ed. József Bessenyei et al. (5 vols. Budapest: Balassi, 1997–2016), vol. 1–5.

⁷ *A magyarországi boszorkányság forrásai* [Sources of Witchcraft in Hungarian Kingdom] ed. József Bessenyei et al. (2 vols. Budapest: Balassi, 2000), vol. 2, pp. 117–164.

⁸ András Kiss, *Boszorkányok, kuruzslók, szalmakoszorús paráznák*. [Witches, Wizards and notorious Fornicators] (Bucureşti-Cluj-Napoca: Kriterion, 1998).

published again in 2004.⁹ It is a very varied and exciting sourcebook that places people who broke societal and moral norms at its centre. The introductory study of the volume is particularly important for the present research because, contrary to previous traditional interpretations, it places witchcraft in a different context. In historiography, witchcraft and magic were examined primarily within a religious approach, which is not a negligible viewpoint, but András Kiss draws the reader's attention to another aspect: those accused of witchcraft broke primarily not the norms of the Church but those of society. Often, as we shall see in the case of Târgu-Mureş, witchcraft involved a severe breach of norms, a threat, or a disdainful utterance.¹⁰ As Andrea Fehér aptly puts it in her study regarding eighteenth-century witch trials in Cluj, those dealing with Transylvanian trials will not encounter information about huge Witches' Sabbath gatherings or flying women.¹¹ Although witchcraft is considered a specific female crime in the literature, and indeed we mostly encounter women among the accused, witchcraft was not necessarily the most common charge in lawsuits against women. According to the research mentioned above by Andrea Fehér, only 5% of the proceedings against women in eighteenth-century Cluj relate in some way to the relatively broad concept of witchcraft.¹²

The situation of Cluj is especially interesting, and László Pakó draws attention to the unique aspects of the witch trials in this city. In his research, through the study of the lawyer György Igyártó he suggests that personal differences significantly impacted formulating witchcraft accusations in some situations. His study shows that, in most cases, the women accused of witchcraft were able to defend themselves.¹³

The multiple layers of witch trials were noticed by international literature, too. Two well-known Hungarian experts on the topic, Gábor Klaniczay and Éva Pócs, devoted a series of English-language, collections of essays to the topic, presenting examples, methodologies, and approaches from many parts of Europe, not to mention the description of the time or social space of witchcraft research.¹⁴ From the viewpoint of our research,

⁹ András Kiss, *Boszorkányok, kuruzslók, szalmakoszorús paráznák*. [Witches, Wizards and notorious Fornicators] (Cluj-Napoca: Kriterion, 2004).

¹⁰ *Ibid.* pp.15–17.

¹¹ Andrea Fehér, '„The instrument of the Devil” The Image of the Witch in 18th century Cluj', *Studia Universitatis Babeş-Bolyai Historia*, 64/1 (2019): 123–142.

¹² *Ibid.* p. 125.

¹³ Pakó, 'Boszorkányvadás', pp. 155–170.

¹⁴ Gábor Klaniczay-Éva Pócs (eds), *Demons, Spirit. Witches*, (3 vols. Budapest–New York: Ceu Press, 2008).

the third volume seems to be the most important, since we are not primarily dealing with the content and demonic issue of witch trials but rather with their course.¹⁵

Anyone could be charged with witchcraft, and even the starting point of many witch trials was a defamation case, where an old woman was called a witch for various reasons. There was an example of this in Cluj, where the first data concerning urban witch trials is about a defamation lawsuit.¹⁶ Witch trials are multi-layered and multifaceted; it seems that the presumption of a kind of malicious intent was required to prosecute witchcraft, which was usually related to another crime condemned by the society of the age.¹⁷ Existing literature discusses in great detail the differences between good and evil, bewitching, enchantment, and healing, as well as the consequences suffered by those who confessed. The consequences do not mean only the torture they faced, but how certain images of witches, the acts associated with them, leaked down into popular imagination. Although there was no such thing in popular tradition, the literature of the time, dealing with witch hunts readily made use, for example, of the image of the Witches' Sabbath, also emphasising the role of physical marks on the witches' bodies.¹⁸ Women who were considered healers by folk beliefs and real healing women, as well as people who were considered seers, could easily be charged with witchcraft, in most cases due to a failed healing.¹⁹ However, Cătălina Covaciu takes an entirely different approach in her study, examining the indicators associated with witches from a hermeneutical point of view.²⁰

In the case of Târgu-Mureș, since the protocols are incomplete, we cannot carry out quantitative research. On the other hand, it is challenging

¹⁵ Gábor Klaniczay-Éva Pócs (eds), *Demons, Spirit. Witches. Witchcraft. Mythologies and Persecutions* (3 vols, Budapest–New York: Ceu Press, 2008).

¹⁶ László Pakó- Péter Tóth (eds), *Kolozsvári boszorkányperek 1564–1773* [Witchtrials in Cluj 1564–1743], (Budapest: Ballasi, 2014), p. 49.

¹⁷ Kiss, *Boszorkányok, Paráznák*, pp. 21–23.

¹⁸ Gábor Klaniczay, 'Learned Systems and Popular Narrations of Visions and Bewitchment' in Gábor Klaniczay-Éva Pócs (eds), *Demons, Spirit. Witches. 3. Witchcraft. Mythologies and Persecutions*. (Budapest–New York: Ceu Press, 2008), pp. 50–73.

¹⁹ István Tringli, 'Bűbájos és néző asszonyok levelesítő jegyzékekben' [Magician and fortune-teller women in warrant letters] in István Tringli (ed.) *Tanulmányok a középkori magyar jogszokások és kiváltságok történetéhez*. [Studies about the medieval Hungarian privileges and legal customs] (Budapest: Line Design. 2017), pp. 28–41, especially pp. 30–35.

²⁰ Cătălina Covaciu, 'Adversarii ordinii divine? Portretul acuzatilor în procesele de vrăjitorie clujene' [Enemies of divine orders? Portraits of accused witches from Cluj] in Marius Eppel (ed.), *Magie și familie în Europa în epociile modernă contemporană* [Magic and family in the modern and contemporary Europe] (Cluj-Napoca: Mega, 2016), pp. 13–44.

to define and categorise witch trials because “witch” was a widespread curse word used primarily against old women in cases of verbal abuse. People often called someone a witch to signal their contempt and further humiliate a person. That is, conflicts arose from disputes between women. Western European research dealing with richer sources confirms this observation. In Germany, for example, as in Târgu Mureş, women were overrepresented among the accused. This is because society did not consider old women, especially poor ones, to be fully useful. Moreover, we cannot ignore the fact that the female body changes a lot over the years and that for early modern men, changes above a certain age seemed unnatural.²¹ In the case of witch trials in Germany, the richness of the source material allowed researchers to try quantitative processing. Their figures suggest that the proportion of widows is relatively high, with one-third of the women accused coming from this group. In some cases, this proportion could be around two-thirds in isolated areas.²² Western statistics also highlight that witches belonged primarily to the poorer sections of the population.²³

In some cases, where sources have made it possible, research no longer analyses only the defendants but also the accusers. Thus, we know that witch trials sometimes served a serious political purpose, such as in the 1610s, when Gábor Bethlen regained treasury estates and showcased his political strength through these trials.²⁴ Nevertheless, sometimes, witch trials, even in towns, started from personal conflicts or bribery. The life and career of the *director* from Cluj, György Igyártó, from the end of the sixteenth century, is a good example of this.²⁵ Political discrediting as a purpose can also be presumed in a case from Baia Mare, a trial against Márton Szappanos conducted from 1703 to 1705.²⁶ The height of eighteenth-century Hungarian witch hunts were the witch trials from Szeged. In the case of these trials, we have records of the event’s political motivation and the actions that witnesses had supposedly described.²⁷

²¹ Alisson Rowlands, ‘Witchcraft and Old Women in Early Modern Germany’, *Past and Present*, 171/1 (2001): 50–60.

²² *Ibid.* pp. 62–63.

²³ *Ibid.* pp. 70–71.

²⁴ Nagy, ‘Sok dolgot próbála Bethlen Gábor...’ [Gábor Bethlen tried many things...] (Budapest: Magvető, 1981), pp.139–142.

²⁵ Pakó, *Boszorkányvadás*, pp.155 – 170.

²⁶ Judit Kis-Halasz, ‘The trial of an honest citizen’ in Gábor Klaniczay-Éva Pócs (eds) *Demons, Spirit. Witches. 3. Witchcraft. Mythologies and Persecutions* (Budapest – New York: Ceu Press, 2008), pp. 213–236.

²⁷ *A magyarországi boszorkányság forrásai V.* [Sources of Witchcraft in Hungarian Kingdom V], eds Péter Tóth G et al. *Szegedi boszorkányperek 1726–1744* [Witch Trials in Szeged 1726–1744] (Budapest: Balassi 2016), pp. 15–38.

The issue of legality poses an important difference between Transylvania and Western Europe, and it sheds a different light on the question of seventeenth-century witch hunts, too. In the sixteenth century, together with the Church, secular authorities also joined the hunts; for example, in England, several laws were passed against witches – James I dealt personally with the issue of witches.²⁸ In contrast, we do not know of such provisions in seventeenth-century Transylvania, although, of course, proceedings against witches existed here.²⁹ If not very severely, Transylvanians also acted in the parliament against, for example, fortunetellers and practitioners of other diabolical sciences. Returning to the English example, several textbooks have been published for the judiciary to give those involved in the legislature even more in-depth knowledge of the machinations of witches.³⁰

In seventeenth-century Târgu Mureș, we meet witches primarily in defamation lawsuits. If someone was called a witch, that person could rightly ask the perpetrator to dwell for his deed and pay the “language fine” to the city coffers. However, if someone did not want to pay the fine, they could defend themselves by proving with witnesses that the woman, or less commonly, the man they had insulted, actually meets the broad concept of a witch. Witchcraft as a concept can be interpreted extremely broadly and varies from region to region.³¹ The Hungarian belief in witches was influenced on the one hand by some aspects of Western “literature”, on the other hand by ethnographic elements and folklore, and healing practices and ideas about possibly harmful spirits also played a significant role. Therefore, it could not have been difficult for a seventeenth-century man to find a malevolent person or even a malicious healer, as these kinds of practices were part of everyday life.³²

In addition to popular belief, the second major starting point was textbooks appearing from the fifteenth century on, intended for witch-hunters from both the Protestant and Catholic sides to guide practitioners on distinguishing folk superstition from true devilish works. By the end of a century of development, there is already abundant literature on the various cases of witches and the penalties impossible on them, providing a formal framework for folk beliefs and, in some cases, mass hysteria.³³

²⁸ Gaskill, *Witchcraft and evidence*, pp 41–43.

²⁹ Kiss, *Boszorkányok, paráznák*. pp. 22–28.

³⁰ Gaskill, *Witchcraft and evidence*, pp. 45–47.

³¹ Klaniczay, *Boszorkányüldözés*, pp. 413–416

³² Éva Pócs, ‘Tündér és boszorkány Délkelet és Közép-Európa határán’ [Fairy and Witch in the borders of Southeast and Central Europe], *Ethnographia*, 97/ 2–4 (1986): 177–256.

³³ Gábor Klaniczay, ‘Boszorkányhit, boszorkányvád, boszorkányüldözés a XVI–XVIII. Században’ [Faith in witches, accusation of witchcraft, witch hunting in the 16–18th centuries], *Ethnographia*. 97/2–4 (1986): 257–260.

On the territory of the Kingdom of Hungary, Transylvania, and the occupied lands, we cannot speak of organised witch-hunts in the seventeenth century. The Hungarian theological literature did not pay too much attention to witches either, so we cannot talk about mass, ideologically well-founded lawsuits.³⁴

The so-called wave-like, almost panic-like witch-hunts experienced in many parts of Europe have led to mass executions.³⁵ Of course, we must note that the peak of witch hunts in Hungary and Transylvania happened in the eighteenth century, and its height is represented by the series of witch trials from Szeged.³⁶

In the case of Târgu-Mureş, the current paper cannot and does not wish to engage in theories according to which witch trials are symptoms of a specific crisis, or possibly social processes started from the top. We believe that they show the belief present among the elite and other parts of society that something terrible happening in the world or someone's life is a sign of malicious intent. Furthermore, if a subject had previously threatened someone or was unwilling to perform a cure that had worked on someone else, that meant that he/she engaged in practices that broke societal norms.³⁷ Of course, spells, bewitching, shape-shifting, and other signs present in other lawsuits also appear in Târgu Mureş, but the purpose of the current paper is to present the procedure and the course of lawsuits. As these have already been published, we will not cover all witch trials. In the examples, we mostly meet women; there were more proceedings against them, which provide much more interesting information. Moreover, female witchcraft was often associated with fornication and adultery, but even a more libertine way of life was deemed suspicious during this period.

Witch trials in Târgu-Mureş

In the first decades of the seventeenth century, witchcraft rarely appeared as an indictment in the protocols; even then, we cannot talk about specific indictments of witchcraft but rather about cases of defamation. In most cases, the accused was usually a woman, which essentially corresponds to the proportions examined in the Hungarian literature.³⁸ One of the first such cases of defamation, where records cover the words spoken during the trial in more detail, was discussed on

³⁴ Klaniczay, *Boszorkányüldözés*, pp. 410–411.

³⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 404–407.

³⁶ *Ibid.* p. 405.

³⁷ Klaniczay, *Boszorkányhit*, p. 269.

³⁸ *Ibid.* p. 261.

January 24, 1625, by the council of Târgu Mureș. György Lázár's wife sued Péter Csetne's wife for spreading the rumour that her servant had given birth to a boy in Brașov with her knowledge and that the servant was a witch and together with her mistress was involved in practices, including in the disappearance of the child. The council made the plaintiff swear she did not take part in witchcraft and magic affecting the child. It seems that the council believed the plaintiff's declaration that she had only found the corpse of the boy and did not cause his death. However, the council considered that both György Lázár's wife and Péter Csetne's wife should have reported the case to the officers. The quarrelling women were both fined with 3 forints each. The court also mentioned in the *deliberatum* that it examined the case by hearing witnesses chosen by the two parties.³⁹

Witchcraft appeared in another defamation case at the hearing on September 4, 1629. Mihály Varga got into a nasty fight with the wife of István Takács. Witnesses say the reason for the quarrel was unknown; however, Varga was indeed standing in his yard, and the woman was on the street. The conflict may have been of older origin, as Mihály Varga's wife ran away with the soldier son or relative of István Takács's wife. According to the witnesses, Mihály Varga also accused Takács' wife of complicity; according to him, some kind of witchcraft also played a role in his wife's leaving (the witness did not remember the exact word the man had used). He threatened her that if she dared to put her foot in his house, he would knock out all her teeth. However, no one saw if he had finally paid off his threat.⁴⁰ We are not aware of any further developments in this case.

We encounter a much more nuanced case of witchcraft in the trial against the wife of János Falábú ['wooden legged'] and her daughter, Kata. The case could be better discussed as a fornication trial, but it fits this analysis because it illustrates the connections between witchcraft, fornication, and prostitution. The trial initially started on July 5, 1633, but the event occurred on Easter day. Two unfortunate "clients", Mihály Somosdi

³⁹ Târgu-Mureș, Arhivele Naționale [Romanian National Archives] Fondul no. 9. Arhiva Primăriei Municipiului Târgu-Mureș [Fond no. 9, Archives of municipality Târgu-Mureș], Inventar no 118: Acte administrative și juridice [Inventory no. 118, Administrative and jurisdiction documents] Dosar no. 290. f. 204v-205r.

⁴⁰ Târgu-Mureș, Arhivele Naționale [Romanian National Archives] Fondul no. 9. Arhiva Primăriei Municipiului Târgu-Mureș [Fond no. 9, Archives of municipality Târgu-Mureș], Inventar no 118: Acte administrative și juridice [Inventory no. 118, Administrative and jurisdiction documents] Dosar no. 291. f. 171r-v.

and István Csiszár started to argue in front of János Falábú's tavern. The argument turned into a bloody conflict; István Csiszár cut Mihály Somosdi with a knife. István Csiszár originally wanted to attack János Falábú's son, András Szabó, for some wine deal, but the reason was probably a love affair.⁴¹

The two "cavaliers" soon realised what actually caused the problem, and together they sued Anna Falábú and her daughter Kata with charges of fornication on September 21, 1633. The image of – in today's terms – a socially disadvantaged family of four develops before our eyes. Judging from the father's nickname, which became a family name, he was probably a disabled person who completed the family's income selling wine, but his wife was cheating on him publicly with multiple men, and most probably the place of the affairs was the tavern itself. In a previous study dealing with fornication, we mentioned Beat Kümin, who described the connections between taverns and love affairs; this case was probably no different.⁴² The daughter named Kata lived quite a libertine life – it may be because of psychic trauma, but she was involved with several servants despite her mother forbidding her to do so. From the viewpoint of witchcraft, the essential details are those that the witnesses shared regarding methods of contraception: the alleged charms and spells designed to avoid getting pregnant and how this knowledge passed on from mother to daughter.

We do not know the daughter's age during the trial, but since she was permitted to testify as a witness, we may infer that she was between 15 and 20 years old. According to witnesses, young lads had been urging her during harvest to throw away her headdress (a sign of virginity worn by young girls), and many people overheard them. The mother must have been upset about this since she called her daughter worthy of the pillory. With today's scientific knowledge, it seems pretty grotesque how Kata Falábú spoke about how men fell in love with her and how she could not become pregnant. Orsolya, the wife of János Szarvas, who was probably one of the family's neighbours or an acquaintance, declared that although the father knew about his daughter's behaviour, he could not do anything about her. We know from this testimony that when asked if she was not afraid of getting pregnant, Kata responded that she knew for sure she could not get pregnant. Her love spells included a green frog; if a lad touched it, he instantly fell in love. The wife of András Sárpataki had even overheard the practice through which Kata would stop her unwanted pregnancies. A green frog was to be put in a mug and then in

⁴¹ Ibid. 291. f. 134r-135v

⁴² Beat Kümin, *Drinking Matters. Public Houses and Social Exchange in Early Modern Central Europe* (London – New York: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2007), pp. 70–73.

an anthill; after a while, the mug had to be taken out, filled with wine, brought around the house, and given to the targeted man. In this case, we believe we are dealing with a distorted version of a folk love charm. According to Kata, the wife of Péter Szabó, the daughter bragged that she could not have a child from anyone but did not reveal the reason. People suspected that she touched the lads with a frog and then locked the animal in a mug with a rag.⁴³ Allegedly, she wanted to ensure that she would not get pregnant with this charm.

The trial against Anna, the wife of János Falábú, and her daughter Kata was taken up after this by the town's officers, but only fragments are known to us about the further developments of the process.⁴⁴ We know the decision of the council from October 15, 1633. In the end, the mother's promise came true, the girl was found guilty of fornication, and it was considered that she lost her foetus from natural causes. Thus, the girl was sentenced to the pillory and expulsion from the city. The mentioning of the foetus is interesting because witnesses pointed out that she said she could not get pregnant. It seems the charm remained ineffective. The verdict did not raise the charge of witchcraft. Presumably, the girl was not entirely mentally accountable.⁴⁵

The court case in which testimonies were taken on June 12, 1634, was a defamation case. The wife of Márton Veres sued Pál Szűcs because, at the fair on the occasion of the Corpus Christi, he loudly called her a whore and a witch even though the people present, according to the testimonies, were trying to calm the man down.⁴⁶

A classic witch trial was the one against the wife of György Kállai from May 31, 1639. This trial was not a private prosecution; the officers had started it (the judge and the small council members were called "officers"; they had a right like an attorney to start a process). Based on the testimonies, it seems that it concerned a simpler wise-woman who employed quite morbid methods. She charmed the father of Lórinç

⁴³ Târgu-Mureș, Arhivele Naționale [Romanian National Archives] Fondul no. 9. Arhiva Primăriei Municipiul Târgu-Mureș [Fond no. 9, Archives of municipality Târgu-Mureș], Inventar no 118: Acte administrative și juridice [Inventory no. 118, Administrative and jurisdiction documents] Dosar no. 291. f. 136r-138v.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* 291. f. 141v.

⁴⁵ Târgu-Mureș, Arhivele Naționale [Romanian National Archives] Fondul no. 9. Arhiva Primăriei Municipiul Târgu-Mureș [Fond no. 9, Archives of municipality Târgu-Mureș], Inventar no 118: Acte administrative și juridice [Inventory no. 118, Administrative and jurisdiction documents] Dosar no. 290. f. 42v-43r.

⁴⁶ Târgu-Mureș, Arhivele Naționale [Romanian National Archives] Fondul no. 9. Arhiva Primăriei Municipiul Târgu-Mureș [Fond no. 9, Archives of municipality Târgu-Mureș], Inventar no 118: Acte administrative și juridice [Inventory no. 118, Administrative and jurisdiction documents] Dosar no. 292. f. 19v-20r.

Csizmadia Nagy, making him drink his own excrements, following which the “patient” went crazy and ran away. Csizmadia started searching for his father immediately, but on his way, he saw the woman in animal form several times; when returning home with his father, he saw the woman in the place where he had previously seen the animals. Besides this failed healing, the wife of Gyurka Kállai was also accused of living a sinful life. She provided shelter for several shady lads, and she was seen fornicating with them or being too cheerful in their company. The witnesses mentioned several times that the woman cooked unclean; she put her own excrements in the food, which could be noticed on the fish and the grape soup. They also mentioned that she bound some lads to herself, and if they tried to leave her, these attempts usually had tragic consequences. Barbara, the wife of Máté Nánási, heard it from Máté Prágai that in some cases, the wife of Kállai procured men for other women, too, for example for the wife of István Molnár she got a journeyman tailor. She accused the woman on the grounds of a personal tragedy, too: her son named Gyurkó died three days after he berated the wife of Kállai.⁴⁷

It seems that the wife of Kállai sometimes performed magic for the use of others, too. Anna, the wife of János Farkas, knew many of her practices: how she would take soil from the graves, scattering it around the home of her ill-wishers. This was how she used to escape from the law since she had already been caught before. However, when getting a request, the wife of Kállai would not comply with it, declaring that since she could not do any good for herself, how could she do good for others. At the same time, in at least one case, she scattered soil under the soles of lawmakers, and most witnesses mentioned that the woman fornicated a lot and cheated on her husband.⁴⁸ In this case, the *deliberatum* did not survive.

Witch trials are put in an interesting light by the trial started by Márton Baba Persa and his wife against Erzsébet, the wife of István Görög in January 1642. This is a defamation case; according to the witnesses, the man had berated the woman multiple times for not cooking “clean” and for putting different things in the food. The insinuation revolted the woman. Márton Baba Persa, to save himself, tried to prove that even if the woman was not a witch or a devilish person, at least she cooked unclean. There were many hearing rounds, but even though witnesses saw and heard the quarrels, no one could say that the woman committed anything wrong during cooking.⁴⁹ From the second hearing, it seems that

⁴⁷ Ibid. 292. f. 189r-190r.

⁴⁸ Ibid. 292. f. 190r-192r.

⁴⁹ Ibid. 292. f. 314r-v, 315r-v, 319r.

the accusations were completely ungrounded: this was how witnesses testified on May 13 and October 21, too.⁵⁰ Unfortunately, we do not have the court's decision to see entirely clearly in this matter.

On January 28 of the same year, there was another witch trial before the court from Târgu-Mureș, one against the wife of Márton Nagy. Interestingly, the proceedings were not started by the officers but by Mihály Tolnai. According to testimonies, he complained about the woman on several charges. Primarily he accused her of being a witch, blaming her for his and his wife's illness, but he also charged her with theft and fornication. According to the testimonies, the wife of Márton Nagy was a poor woman, trying to expand her income by selling some wine. She lived in many places as a tenant, but the people she lived at had a good opinion of her. In contrast, those who knew her from before, for example, Erzsébet, the wife of Imre Mészáros, said in their testimonies that, while staying in Zaláu and later in Târgu-Mureș she was a thievish whore. There was also gossip around town that she was up for sexual relations. We do not know the sentence; the accusation of witchcraft was probably just an addition. The denunciator might have also been motivated by a jealous wife, since he and the accused had previously been close, or maybe the man's pride was hurt by rejection.⁵¹

The judiciary, which was going through a transformation process, summoned Anna Márkos on May 28, 1676. Since they were worried that she would run away, she was also arrested. The accusation was represented by Gergely Tarisznya, the town director (attorney of the town; the post was created in 1672). We do not have information about the entire process since the protocols are incomplete, but at least one witness mentioned with certainty that the accused used to heal with herbs, which ultimately proved her to be a witch. The protocol does not offer details, but the woman admitted to the charges, most probably under torture; the records end here.⁵²

The protocols have preserved the complete sentence in the case started by the town's director, István Rozsnyai, against Katalin Sárdi, the wife of János Kőrösi. The decision was taken on October 6, 1682. The *deliberatum* contains the reasons for sentencing the woman to the stake. Although she confessed her crimes (probably out of fear of torture) and

⁵⁰ Ibid. 292. f. 323r-v; 292. 353r-v.

⁵¹ Ibid. 292. f. 319r-320v

⁵² Târgu-Mureș, Arhivele Naționale [Romanian National Archives] Fondul no. 9. Arhiva Primăriei Municipiului Târgu-Mureș [Fond no. 9, Archives of municipality Târgu-Mureș], Inventar no 118: Acte administrative și juridice [Inventory no. 118, Administrative and jurisdiction documents] Dosar no. 293. f. 229v.

many people testified that she was a well-known witch, the council decided to examine the case because of the many gossips and the woman's state of mind. They summarised the grounds for finding her guilty in five points. Firstly, they found under the threshold two pots: one contained a burnt mat, the other a chicken – according to the witnesses, these were pots in which she used to cook. According to the second point, she threatened the wife of Komáromi in the graveyard that she would break her neck, and the woman indeed tumbled several times in the graveyard. However, the council admits that although the injured party was not drunk when the incidents happened, it cannot be excluded that the witnesses might not tell the truth. Thirdly, János Kerekes's daughter had seen in her dream that evil creatures possessed Katalin Sárdi, tortured her, and cut her hair. The next day Katalin Sárdi herself told people at the market about what had happened to her. The fourth point explains that she was found to be devilish and witchy because of a devilish attempt at healing: during the night, at a crossroads, she attempted to heal the son of János Borbély of epilepsy by putting him in a cauldron heated by the fire started from nine spindles. These practices were not according to Christian teaching. The fifth point attributed the unclear acquittal of the wife of Majos and the wife of Pál Szűcs to her practices, too. Because there was no visible demonstration, the court considered the charge of witchcraft to be proven based on these five points.⁵³

The appeal is interesting because, according to the council, witchcraft and viciousness were not considered fully proven, yet the woman's guilt was deemed probable. However, if seven people were to take bail for her and the accused would swear on it, she would be acquitted of the charges.⁵⁴

The case discussed on July 9, 1683, in which Márton Gombási accused Zsuzsa Nyerges, wife of András Szabó, of killing his daughter in 1676 in Sighișoara with various charming methods, shows that the officials of the city were not at all bloodthirsty and proceeded prudently. The city arrested the woman and asked the Sighișoara council to call for testimonies. The council of Sighișoara and the confessions recorded in Târgu Mureș cannot prove the woman used charms and lived a 'witchy' lifestyle or that she had to do with the girl's death. However, because her lifestyle gave way for suspicions – she fornicated, aborted her pregnancies, and seemingly performed abortions, too – and since her person caused unrest among people, the council decided to expel her

⁵³ Ibid. 293. f.312v–313v.

⁵⁴ Ibid. 293. f. 315v.

from the city. On her way out, she was threatened to be beheaded if she were to be found inside the city borders again. This was a common procedure in other Transylvanian and Hungarian cities.⁵⁵

The cases presented above do not represent all the trials connected to witchcraft, but it is evident that different charms and special healing methods were available to everyone. These cases came to the attention of the authorities usually if some herbal healing did not end well or if someone was not pleased with the “service” provided. The accused women appear to have carried out their activities in public for years, yet at one point, the authorities, possibly a citizen as a private prosecutor, prosecuted them. The procedure was as thorough as possible; gathering physical evidence had already become a practice towards the end of the era, but as we can see, that did not mean complete certainty either. The court wanted to make fair decisions, so if there were not enough credible witnesses or the situation was unclear, the verdict was adjourned, the charges were amended or dropped. They only made a sentence when they were sure of their case. However, it should be emphasised that although death sentences were issued, as the above examples show, authorities tried to shed as little blood as possible; thus, they usually gave the accused a chance to escape execution. Although the crime committed by the accused would have required the death penalty, the court usually found that they had not violated the laws so many times and to such extent that the city needed to execute them, even if they had been found guilty on several points.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* 293. f 317r-v; f. 318v

Outcasts or Scapegoats? A Portrait of the Victims of Witchcraft Trials in Early Modern Transylvania

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Abstract: Based on fifteen court records from the national Archives of Sibiu and Braşov, dating to 1692-1785, this paper will examine the main characteristics of the individuals that had been involved in witchcraft trials in early modern Transylvania (seventeenth and eighteenth centuries). Furthermore, this study will try to investigate the social mechanisms that encouraged the community to start seeking a scapegoat in order to provide an explanation for misfortunes that occurred in everyday life. Taking into consideration the fact that regional historiography showed little interest in the social dimension of witchcraft accusations, the present study will attempt to explore the social context for the trials, while contending with the well-known stereotypes about witches.

Key Words: witch, social tension, scapegoat, Transylvania

Rezumat: Fundamentat pe cincisprezece protocoale de judecată identificate în Arhivele Naţionale ale oraşelor Sibiu şi Braşov, articolul de faţă îşi propune să examineze caracteristicile indivizilor care au fost implicaţi în procesele de vrăjitorie din Transilvania modernă timpurie (secolele XVII-XVIII). Mai mult, acest studiu va încerca să examineze mecanismele sociale care au încurajat comunitatea să caute un ţap ispăşitor în vederea explicării evenimentelor nefaste care tulburau liniştea cotidiană. Având în vedere faptul că istoriografia regională nu a prezentat interes pentru dimensiunea socială a acuzaţiilor de vrăjitorie, analiza de faţă îşi propune să exploreze contextul social al proceselor, punând sub semnul întrebării stereotipurile legate de vrăjitoare.

Cuvinte cheie: vrăjitoare, tensiuni sociale, ţap ispăşitor, Transilvania

On October 10th 1699, Georg Schobel and his wife were officially accused of witchcraft by their neighbours, being consequently executed a couple of days later.¹ Blamed for the death of several animals but also for the poor harvest of the year in question, the couple sought to rehabilitate its reputation by filing a defamation lawsuit which turned, unfortunately, against them. This example perfectly illustrates the manner in which most witch trials occurred in early modern Transylvania (slander, followed by the attempt of the victims to clear their name, a sometimes brief trial, sentencing and execution), raising questions concerning not just judicial procedure, but also the profile of the victims involved in these court cases. These questions encourage an investigation regarding the social status of the defendants. The relevance of this approach is further highlighted by existing literature on witchcraft, which, despite its richness has failed to draw a sufficiently complex portrait of the witch.

Although, western historiography has long been interested in portraying the victims of the witchcraft trials, it has ultimately provided a rather stereotypical image of the witch. From the 1920s to the 1980s, scholars have been involved in a debate regarding the relationship between witch-hunting and gender, which polarized them into two different and competing factions – the exponents of gender studies and the anthropologists. On the one hand, feminists like Margaret Murray,² Andrea Dworkin,³ Barbara Ehrenreich, Deidre English,⁴ and Mary Daly⁵ argued that patriarchy and misogyny were the main causes of the witch trials, depicting witchcraft accusations as an expression of a war against women. The first, as well as the second wave of feminism distorted the

¹ Friedrich Teutsch, 'Sächsische Hexenprozesse' *Archiv des Vereins für Siebenburgische Landeskunde*, 39 (1915): 708-803, especially 712-731.

² In *The Witch-Cult in Western Europe* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1921), Margaret Murray argues that witches were members of an ancient religion that preceded Christianity. Moreover, according to her hypothesis, this cult was rooted in a matriarchal agrarian civilization that managed to survive for centuries, only to be systematically destroyed by Inquisition.

³ In *Woman-Hating: A Radical look at sexuality* (New-York: Dutton, 1974), Andrea Dworkin claimed that nine millions women were burned as witches in Europe from Middle Ages to Modern times. The statement was hardly based on any historical evidence and the number mentioned by the author was clearly exaggerated.

⁴ Ehrenreich and English are known in the context of witchcraft studies for their claim that witch-hunting was a systematic attempt to eradicate midwifery, coordinated by male doctors. This hypothesis made the subject of their book, *Witches, Midwives and Nurses* (New-York: Feminist Press, 1973).

⁵ Mary Daly, stated in her book, *Gyn/Ecology – The Metaethics of Radical Feminism* (Boston: Beacon, 1987) that witchcraft accusations focused primarily upon spinsters and widows; in other words, only women who rejected marriage or survived it were considered targets because they did not fit the standards of a patriarchal society.

views towards this subject by popularizing the idea that witchcraft was a gendered assault in which *maleficium* accusations were used in order to oppress women who did not comply with social norms. On the other hand, historians and anthropologists like Hugh Trevor Roper, Erik Midelfort, Alan Macfarlane and Keith Thomas have rejected the feminist perspective on witchcraft trials, based on the results of their own researches. Moreover, Robin Briggs claimed that he did not identify with the feminist theories because they are simply "irrational".⁶

Scholars seemed to have been exclusively focused on women as the main victims of the witch craze, ignoring or overlooking the male individuals that had been prosecuted for witchcraft. However, Alan Macfarlane, Erik Midelfort, William Monter and Eva Labouvie in their studies of witchcraft trials from Essex, Southwestern Germany, Normandy, Switzerland and Austria managed to identify and discuss several examples of men accused of witchcraft, presenting different hypotheses which could explain such rare and unusual cases. Macfarlane stated that men used to be accused of witchcraft only when associated with female suspects,⁷ while Midelfort considered that court trials involving males suspected of *maleficium* only took place in areas where the witch-hunt escalated into a mass panic and the standard stereotype of the female witch was ignored.⁸ William Monter's hypothesis is also particularly interesting, suggesting that men were involved in witchcraft cases only in areas where witchcraft was associated with heresy, such as Normandy.⁹ Eva Labouvie concluded that for the areas she studied, the percentage of men was, indeed, higher than that of women. A significant aspect of her case study was that men seemed to have been accused only for practicing popular magic, deeply rooted in agricultural life, and not for *maleficium*, the harmful magic¹⁰. Although these researches, based on quantitative analysis, tried to prove that the victim of the witch craze wasn't always the stereotypical rebellious and eccentric woman, they

⁶ Robin Briggs, 'Many reasons why': witchcraft and the problem of multiple explanation', in Jonathan Barry- Marianne Hester - Gareth Roberts (eds.) *Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe-Studies in Culture and Belief*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 49-63.

⁷ Alan Macfarlane, *Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England - A Regional and Comparative Study* (Oxfordshire: Routledge, 1970), pp. 127-158.

⁸ Erik Midelfort, *Witch Hunting in Southwestern Germany 1562-1684. The Social and Intellectual Foundation*, (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1972), pp. 180-190.

⁹ William Monter, 'Toads and Eucharist: The Male Witches of Normandy 1564-1660', *French Historical Studies*, 20, nr.4, (1997), 563-565.

¹⁰ Eva Labouvie, 'Männer in Hexenprozeß. Zur Sozialanthropologie eines männlichen Verständnisses von Magie und Hexerei', *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, 16, (1990): 56-78, especially 56-72.

only managed to highlight the fact that men were considered suspects solely in special or unusual circumstances.

In the 1990s, scholars tended to become more and more interested in studying the demonological texts and their manner of depicting the witch. In his seminal work, Stuart Clark discussed the view of the elite towards witchcraft by means of demonological texts written between the fifteenth and eighteenth century. The image he succeeded to conjure was that of a vile woman, capable of horrific acts and willing to sell her soul to the devil. Clark doesn't mention any textual reference to male witches, which may suggest that men were not part of the demonological discourse articulated by the clerical and secular elite.¹¹ Sigrid Brauner also tried to decipher the demonological discourses, examining the infamous *Malleus Maleficarum*, alongside some post-Reformation texts written by Martin Luther, Paul Rebhun and Hans Sachs.¹² Brauner argues that Sprenger and Kramer's treatise presents the first gender specific definition of the witch. In their view, the witch was a woman whose wickedness was rooted in her insatiable sexuality. As for the Lutheran trio – Luther, Rebhun and Sachs – the historian stated that it redefined the image of the witch according to the new moral and social values of Protestantism. Brauner concluded that in all of the four examined examples, the witch was a woman who failed to conform to the social, economic and religious demands of that time.¹³ Another contribution to this subject was made by Lara Apps and Andrew Gow, who argued, based on *Malleus Maleficarum* and other medieval demonological texts, that witchcraft was never sex specific and that witch accusations applied to both men and women.¹⁴ This book critiques historians' hypotheses about the victims of the witch trials by using statistics, challenging the marginalization of male victims by the exponents of gender studies. The main vulnerability of this book is that it tries too much to convince the readers that men were victims of the witch trials in the same proportion as women, adopting a reductionist attitude when analyzing the source material.

The early 2000s manifested a vivid interest in the visual culture associated with witchcraft. Charles Zika's books provided the most significant contribution to the study of visual aspects of witchcraft in

¹¹ Stuart Clark, *Thinking with Demons. The Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp.106-149.

¹² Sigrid Brauner, *Fearless Wives and Frightened Shrews. The Construction of the Witch in Early Modern Germany*, (Massachusetts: Massachusetts University Press, 1995).

¹³ *Ibid*, pp. 1-29; pp. 111-121.

¹⁴ Lara Apps, Andrew Gow, *Male Witches in Early Modern Europe*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), pp. 95-151.

early modern Europe. In *Exorcising our Demons* (2003),¹⁵ a collection of previously published articles, he managed to underline the connections between visual representations of the witch and textual sources of late medieval Europe, while in *The Appearance of Witchcraft* (2007),¹⁶ his second book, he focused primarily on woodcuts and engravings depicting witches. In all of the visual sources analyzed by Zika, the witch is a crone, almost always depicted naked, in the middle of an obscure act, either cannibalistic, or sabbatical.

In contrast to Western literature, Romanian historiography showed little interest in this subject of research. An exception to the rule is Șarolta Solcan's study, which relies on several collections of documents concerning witch trials from early modern Cluj,¹⁷ aiming to draw a portrait of the individuals accused of witchcraft.¹⁸ The research method was, however, flawed because Solcan chose to draw an image of the victims based on several roles associated with women – the daughter, woman, mother and wife. The categories selected by the historian were not particularly helpful, nor relevant when analyzing the source material, because they depict different stages in a woman's life, ignoring the features and the conduct that made a woman vulnerable to the accusation of witchcraft. Consequently, the results of this study were distorted by the poor choice of categories of analysis.

Taking into consideration the absence of research dealing with the social status and the profile of the victims of witch trials in Romanian historiography, along with the resilience of clichés concerning witches and witchcraft in European historiography, the aim of my research is to identify the characteristic features of the persons that were prosecuted for witchcraft in early modern Transylvania, more precisely at the end of the seventeenth and throughout the eighteenth century. Furthermore, this

¹⁵ Charles Zika, *Exorcising our Demons. Magic, Witchcraft and Visual Culture in Early Modern Europe*, (Leiden: Brill, 2003): 608.

¹⁶ Charles Zika, *The Appearance of Witchcraft. Print and Visual Culture in Sixteenth Century Europe*, (Oxfordshire: Routledge, 2007): 320.

¹⁷ *A Magyarországi boszorkányperek oklevéltára* [Documents regarding Witchcraft Trials in Hungary], ed. A. Komáromy (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia 1910); *Magyarországi boszorkány perek* [Witchcraft Trials in Hungary] , vol. II, ed. F. Schram (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiado, 1970); *Magyarországi boszorkány perek*, vol. III, ed. F. Schram (Budapest: 1982); *Magyar boszorkány perek. Kisebb forások* [Witchcraft Trials in Hungary. Selected Sources], vol. I (Budapest: 1989); *A Magyarországi boszorkányság forrásai*, [The Sources of Witchcraft in Hungary], eds. A. Kiss- S. Pál-Antal (vols. 3, Budapest: Akadémiai Kiado, 2002).

¹⁸ Șarolta Solcan, 'Imaginea femeii pe baza documentelor proceselor de vrăjitorie din Transilvania din secolele XVI-XVIII' [The perception of women based on the witchcraft trials from Transylvania between the 16th and the 18th centuries], *Tyragetia*, vol. XII, nr.2, (2018): 45-53, especially 45-50.

study wishes to examine the social mechanisms that encouraged the community to start seeking a scapegoat in order to provide an explanation for the misfortunes that occurred in everyday life.

In order to determine whether any particular trades or crafts were more easily associated with the occult, this paper will consider a number of categories, including the accused's gender, their social and professional status, their marital status, and whether they were valued and respected members of the community or outcasts.

This study is based on fifteen court records from the years 1692–1785 that were identified in the National Archives of Sibiu (Hermannstadt, Nagyszeben) and Braşov (Kronstadt, Brassó). These court documents have been very helpful for this research since they provide for the identification of the victims' gender, age, occupation, and marital and family status. Additionally, the testimony of the witnesses during these trials proved to be highly helpful in explaining the victims' social behavior.

The court records represent an unique source, often difficult to interpret due to inherent ambiguities and formulaic language. The gender of the people prosecuted is mentioned in all of the selected trials, which makes it easy to estimate the percentage of women and men that had been accused of witchcraft, showing that the number of women was, indeed, higher than that of men. As I have previously demonstrated in already published work, six of the fifteen defendants in court cases were men, two of whom were charged along with their wives, and one was charged along with his daughter; twelve of the victims were women.¹⁹ The accused's age had to be deduced from the context and the clues provided by the witness testimony, however, as these records omit to indicate it. Therefore, if the victim's marriage is mentioned, it is reasonable to assume that the victim was an adult. The victim was often either married or a widow or widower. Georg Schobel²⁰ and Simon Schnell²¹ for example, were indeed married, as they were charged along with their wives, while Bieltz (the midwife), Rosa Kannegieserin,²² Dobra Câmpan²³ and Climen²⁴ were widows. As for the other analysed

¹⁹ Diana Ursoi, "Es war einmal eine alte Hexe..." - The Witch: between Stereotype and Historical Reality', in *Philobiblon*, XXVI/2 (2021): 187-196, especially 193-196.

²⁰ Teutsch, 'Sächsische Hexenprozesse', pp. 712-731.

²¹ Teutsch, 'Sächsische Hexenprozesse', pp.755-768.

²² Braşov, Arhivele Naşionale Române, Fund: Primăria Oraşului Braşov, Seria: Acte judecătoreşti. Registre instrumente contemporane de evidenţă, Registru protocol cu evidenţa cazurilor penale (1695-1703), [Braşov, National Archives of Romania, City Hall of Braşov, series: Judicial Acts, Protocol Registry: criminal records], pp. 8-25.

²³ Sibiu, Arhivele Naşionale, Serviciul Judeţean Sibiu Fondul Magistratul oraşului şi scaunului Sibiu. Judicat- Acte juridice neînregistrate [Sibiu, National Archives of Romania, Magistrate's records of the Municipality and District - unregistered acts].

individuals, it has been difficult to determine their marital status, since the archives remain silent from this point of view.

Often, the trials' protocols mention the victims' economic and professional status. The fifteen court cases selected for this study appeared to show that the victims were not poor, nor on the edge of poverty: Bieltz²⁵ was a midwife, Rosa Kannegieserin²⁶ was a laundress, Georg Berner²⁷ was a cooper, Peter Vosch²⁸ a doctor, while Georg Schobel²⁹ and his wife ran an inn. Bieltz's case perfectly illustrates how the occupation of the accused was a source of disagreement and envy among the members of the community which determined conflicts between the victims and their neighbours, as she was suspected of murdering several newborns, causing the towering rage of the community. Midwifery wasn't a profession that was respected at the time; on the contrary, women who chose to make a career from it were frequently rejected by the community since they were connected to the image of blood and filth. Prior to Maria Theresa's reign, the legal status of the midwife was also ambiguous; it wasn't until the *Generale Normativum de re Sanitas* was approved in 1770 that this status was clarified and made subject to professional standards. This decree mandated that before being granted a practice license, doctors, surgeons, pharmacists, and midwives would have their credentials thoroughly evaluated.³⁰

The Schobels had also carved out a life from a line of work that was typically looked down upon. In popular culture, the inn served as a hub for conversation, rumors, and gossip and was frequently associated with immorality and promiscuity. In his investigation of the reputation of innkeepers in eighteenth-century Germany, Michael Frank claimed that theologians and doctors of the modern age were responsible for the spread of a bad perception of people who ran taverns or inns. From their perspective, the innkeeper was the Devil's agent, attempting to manipulate the locals into spending their money on booze.³¹

²⁴ Daniel Nekesch-Schuler, 'Chronik', in *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Brassó*, Vol. IV, (Brassó, 1903): 225.

²⁵ Carl Göllner, *Hexenprozesse in Siebenbürgen* (Cluj, Dacia, 1971), pp. 126-135.

²⁶ Braşov, Arhivele Naţionale Române, [Braşov, National Archives of Romania], IV. D, No. 2, pp. 8-25.

²⁷ Sibiu, Arhivele Naţionale, [National Archives of Romania, Sibiu] unregistered acts.

²⁸ Ioan Albu, 'Procesul vrăjitoarelor din Chirpăr' [The Chirpăr Witchcraft Trials], *Sargetia*, XXVII.1 (1997/1998): 633-648; preluat din Biblioteca Muzeului Brukenthal, fondul 830.1 [The court protocol is archived in the Brukenthal Museum's Library, deposit 830.1].

²⁹ Teutsch, 'Sächsische Hexenprozesse', pp. 712-731.

³⁰ Sandor Szekely, 'On the preparation of the Hungarian Health Act of 1876', *Communicationes De Historia Artis Medicinae*, (Budapest, 1,1973), p.59.

³¹ *Ibid.*

Rosa Kannegiesserin, who was struggling to make ends meet, was working as a laundress, a job that was denigrated in the neighborhood because it was associated with arduous labor, filth, and occasionally prostitution. Laundresses often had to sell their bodies to survive while living in poverty, which damaged their reputation.³²

These materials draw attention to the intriguing fact that all of the vocations mentioned fall somewhere between service and craft (midwife, cooper, laundress, innkeeper, physician). These individuals either carried out their activities in settings that were viewed as promiscuous (such as inns and taverns) or in the privacy of their clients' homes (the midwife, the cooper). They did not create anything concrete, such as a pair of shoes, a coat, or a hat, that could be judged for its obvious merits or lack thereof. The customer's whims and moods dictated how the midwife, laundress, innkeeper, or doctor carried out their duties. Because of this, whenever something happened that disturbed the quiet of the community, they were the regular suspects.

We can therefore conclude that both men and women, of diverse vocations and of various, primarily mature ages, were victims of witchcraft trials. Additionally, they appear to have been accepted rather than shunned by the community as they provided helpful services to their neighbours, including delivering their children, healing their bodies, washing their clothes, mending their barrels, and offering them drinks. They appeared to have led absolutely ordinary, banal lives while married or widowed in the majority of the cases, leaving one to question why they had been picked out for these claims. What made them stand out from the rest of the community to the point of being suspected of witchcraft?

In order to answer this question, the testimonies of the witnesses prove to be the perfect sources because they describe the behaviour, the attitude, the language used by the suspects and last but not least, the relationship the victims had with their neighbours.

The testimonies of the witnesses suggest growing dislike and animosity within the community towards individuals who broke the rules and disregarded social norms. For example, the midwife from Sibiu, Bieltz was considered to be both vulgar and ill-mannered since she had always started quarrels with her neighbours. Georg Schobel found himself in the middle of a conflict when a soldier from the Imperial Army stated that his wife was disrespectful since she wouldn't serve him properly. Events escalated quickly, as Schobel was also suspected of poisoning as well as

³² Carole Rawcliffe, 'A marginal occupation? The Medieval Laundress and her work', in *Gender and History*, 21/1 (2009): 147-169, especially 163.

injuring his neighbour's animals. Catharina Henning³³ was suspected of stealing goods from her neighbours, compromising her reputation, even though evidence was not to be found. Peter Vosch, the physician of Chirpăr, was suspected of jeopardizing patients' health and ended up accused of witchcraft alongside his daughter who apparently owned "suspicious" books that once belonged to her mother, who was also suspected of being a witch, many years before the occurrence of these events. Therefore, the social tensions that characterized these communities may have resulted in interpersonal conflicts between neighbours, who started to accuse each other of horrific acts, such as infanticide, homicide, poisoning and theft. The study of these types of conflicts revealed that there were several features that weighed heavily when the accusation of witchcraft was formulated, such as: the attitude of the suspect, his/her language, criminal history, as well as family history. Neighbours had petty complaints against each other, and some individuals were generally disliked due to their cantankerous nature. However, even petty quarrels could escalate against a background ridden by social and political tensions. As we have already seen, most victims were members of the community, who lived a simple and normal life; it was their behaviour, their language and their attitude towards their neighbours that made them stand out.

A careful examination of the court records suggests that testimonies reflected some of the social and political tensions prevalent at that time. At the end of the seventeenth century and the first decades of the eighteenth-century Transylvania was undergoing major political changes as it became part of the Habsburg Empire. The new political authority was problematic especially for the Saxons because it encouraged a centralized system of governance which was directly prejudicing the economic, social and political status of the Saxon community. Although theoretically *Diploma Leopoldinum*, the legal document of the new administration, warranted the traditional system and liberties of the Three Nations and Four "received" Religions, in practice, the Monarchy attempted to weaken the medieval tradition. Sever Oancea, in his study regarding eighteenth-century Bistrița, stated that the Habsburgs had tried to dismantle the former political tradition by two means: firstly, by developing a legislation that would facilitate the access of Catholics to key political and administrative positions; and secondly, by intervening in the process of free elections.³⁴

³³ Sibiu, Arhivele Naționale ale României, Procesele verbale ale judicaturii, Fondul Judicaturii, Serviciul Judicaturii [Sibiu, National Archives of Romania, court records of the judge], p. 33, 33v-57v.

³⁴ Sever Oancea, 'Absolutism without Counter-Reformation? The Catholicisation of Public Town Offices in Bistrița in the Eighteenth Century', *Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai Historia*, vol. 1, (2013): 71-93, especially 71-93.

By adopting this attitude, the Monarchy took over the reins of local politics and disrupted the former Saxon urban elite, by promoting a clientele devoted to the Empire's interests. István Németh, in his socio-historical analysis regarding Sopron, identified a similar situation: as soon as the Habsburg authority was established, individuals who aspired to succeed to urban public offices were conditioned by conversion to Catholicism.³⁵ Therefore, the Saxons of Transylvania, Lutherans par excellence, were in a rather peculiar situation determined by the depreciation of their religious and political status.

The political and confessional purposes of the Habsburg Monarchy were intertwined; on the one hand, they aimed to control access to the town offices, on the other hand, the authorities endorsed a campaign of conversion to Catholicism by accommodating exponents of the Jesuit, Piarist and Franciscan orders in the Saxon towns.³⁶ The Habsburg's strategy was a top-down conversion, in the belief that if they succeeded in converting the elites, the people would follow suit. Lutherans' attitude towards this attempt was skeptical, although some individuals, such as Johann Drauth, citizen of Braşov, out of political opportunism, proved willing to compromise.³⁷ Retrospectively, the Habsburg's policy of conversion was not a success, because it failed to achieve mass conversions to Catholicism, as well as to establish a powerful and educated Catholic elite.³⁸

The monarchy's interference in the administrative and religious matters of the Saxons was also expressed through the reorganization of the public urban space. For example, in Sibiu, the Evangelical Parochial Church had been eclipsed by the construction of several structures belonging to the Catholic administration.³⁹ The decision of hiding symbols of

³⁵ István Németh, 'Venerable Senators or Municipal Bureaucrats? The beginning of the transformation of the Estate of Burghers at the Turn of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', *Hungarian Historical Review*, 1-2, (2012): 49-78.

³⁶ Angelika Schaser, *Reformele iozefine în Transilvania și urmările lor în viața socială. Importanța Edictului de concivilitate pentru orașul Sibiu* [Josephine Reforms in Transylvania and their consequences in social life. The importance of the Edict of Concivility for the city of Sibiu], (Sibiu: Hora, 2000,) pp.1-16

³⁷ Johann Drauth's case was documented by Sever Oancea in his study 'Eyle und Errette deine Seel. Convertirea braşoveanului Johann Drauth la catolicism în anul 1713'[The conversion of Johann Drauth from Braşov to Catholicism in 1713] in Marius Oanță (ed.) *Studii de Istorie Ecclesiastică* [Studies of Ecclesiastical History], (Craiova: Sintech, 2018), pp. 59-77. According to Oancea, Drauth sympathized with the Catholic cause even before his conversion in 1713. However, it is implied that the conversion was a consequence of the Jesuits' pressure, not of his own conviction.

³⁸ There were only 93 Catholic clerks in the Saxon chairs and districts in the 1773, the rest of 707 were Lutherans, in Sever Oancea, 'Absolutism without Counter-Reformation?', p. 93.

³⁹ I would like to thank Maria Crăciun for this suggestion.

the traditional elite in the public area was not uncommon; Catholic churches were elevated in the center of Evangelical towns, while Lutheran places of worship were condemned to expropriation.⁴⁰

Transylvania's economy was also diminished since the Empire decided to raise the taxes and to control the imports and exports of the Principality. Moreover, the military and financial affairs of the country were subordinated to the central authority, a situation that practically depreciated Transylvania's status.⁴¹

The Saxons had been opposed to the new authority from the beginning, since the Empire's policy encouraged religious intolerance and loss of the Saxon community's former political status.⁴² Not surprisingly, in 1688 the citizens of Braşov started a riot against the presence of an administration which seemed to act against the values of the traditional political and judicial culture, as it tried to hand over the city to the Imperials before the Treaty of Sibiu was signed.⁴³ Unfortunately for the citizens of Braşov, the riot had bloody consequences for its leaders who were executed on September 19th 1689 in the town's square. Moreover, only a couple of months earlier, on April 21st 1689, a great part of the inner structure of the Evangelical church of the city was destroyed in a fire allegedly set by the Habsburg army, an action perceived as a revenge for the town's resistance.⁴⁴ In order to dismantle the opposition that grew stronger, the Habsburgs sought to make use of the ethnic and religious

⁴⁰ Paul Phillippi, 'Ecclesia Theutonicorum Ultrasilvanorum', in *Altera*, 1, (1995): 125-151, especially 145-146.

⁴¹ Schaser, *Reformele ioezefine*...p. 35.

⁴² Opinions in historiography on the attitude of the Saxons towards the new administration are divided: Judit Pál stated that generally, setting aside the Braşov riot, the German community of Transylvania had a pro-Habsburg orientation, in Judit Pál, 'Integrarea Transilvaniei în Imperiul Habsburgic la sfârşitul secolului al XVII-lea' [The Integration of Transylvania in the Habsburg Empire at the end of the Seventeenth Century], in F. Bréda, V. Trifesco, L. Ignat-Coman, G. Altarozzi (ed.) *Austrian Influences and Regional Identities in Transylvania*, (Bratislava: AB-ART, 2012), pp. 18-26; Angelika Schaser, on the other hand, affirmed that initially, the new administration was embraced by the Saxons, because they shared the same German origin; it was only later when they became opposed to the new system, as a result of the Monarchy's decision to make the policy of centralization more visible, in Schaser, *Reformele ioezefine*, p. 33; last but not least, Sever Oancea claimed that the Saxons had always been concerned over their political and confessional status, once Transylvania became part of the Empire, in Oancea, 'Absolutism without Counter-Reformation' pp. 72-94.

⁴³ Edit Szegedi, 'Răscoala de la Braşov din 1688 - între absenţa şi prezenţa administraţiei' [The Braşov riot of 1688- between the presence and the absence of administration], in F. Bréda, V. Trifesco, L. Ignat-Coman, G. Altarozzi (ed.) *Austrian Influences and Regional Identities in Transylvania*, (Bratislava: AB-ART, 2012), pp. 10-18.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

plurality which characterized Transylvania and started to rule under the aegis *divide et impera*, encouraging and amplifying conflicts between Saxons and Hungarians especially.⁴⁵

Consequently, the new imperial administration determined a major shift of the political culture; the Saxon cities were no longer able to self-administrate or to preserve their individual character, since they became part of a greater mechanism, the Empire. Moreover, the first decades of the eighteenth century turned out to be extremely challenging from an epidemiological point of view as well;⁴⁶ in Sibiu, the plague affected the community on a large scale taking 405 lives only in 1710, according to the records of the Evangelical church.⁴⁷ Many citizens of Sibiu sought to escape from the danger of the plague and left town in order to settle in a remote area, which determined a significant demographic decline in town. Georg Franz Kreybich, an artisan from Bohemia who transited Transylvania at that time, noted in his journal that on August 8th 1710 the plague made its first victim in the town of Sibiu and in a single night it spread quickly, taking fifteen lives. The very next day, the Imperial General, Jean Louis de Bussy-Rabutin ordered the healthy members of the community to leave town in order to save themselves.⁴⁸ The emergence, as well as the rapid spreading of the plague occurred when the Saxon towns and hinterlands were overcrowded due to the quartering of the Imperial soldiers.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ Magyari András, 'Ocuparea militară a Transilvaniei la sfârșitul secolului al XVII-lea' [The Military Occupation of Transylvania at the end of the 17th Century], in Ioan Aurel Pop, Thomas Năgler, Magyari András (ed.) *Istoria Transilvaniei* [The History of Transylvania], (Cluj-Napoca: Academia Română, Centrul de Studii Transilvane; Editura Episcopiei, Devei și Hunedoarei, 2016), vol. 2, pp. 349-350.

⁴⁶ The plague epidemic of the eighteenth century was not, however, the first to be faced by the Saxon community. It seems that the Saxons were the only group in Transylvania to have written specific sermons regarding the plague, the earliest examples dating from the sixteenth century. The authors of these sermons were two contemporary Lutheran priests, Damasus Dürr and Christianus Schesaeus, who believed that the epidemic was a divine punishment for the sinful behaviour of the Saxons, in Sabina Ganea, *Reception of the Plague in Transylvania. Official Discourses from the 16th -17th Centuries*, Master of Arts, Manuscript, Department of Medieval Studies, Central European University, Budapest, 2016, chap. 3.2.

⁴⁷ Paul Cernovodeanu, Paul Binder, *Cavalerii Apocalispului* [The Horsemen of the Apocalypse], (București: Xilex, 1993), p. 132.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 132-133.

⁴⁹ General Commissary Antonio Caraffa insisted on placing numerous imperial troops in the entire territory of Transylvania to protect the area from external threats, but also to better control the internal affairs. The defense system was mostly coagulated around towns as Sibiu, Brașov, Bistrița, Cluj, Chioar et caetera, in Magyari, 'Ocuparea militară a Transilvaniei', p. 350.

One may say that for the rural population, from which most of the examples of this study come from, it was the economic and the social change determined by the settlement of the imperial troops in and around Saxon towns that disturbed its life, causing tensions and anxiety, rather than the political developments which impacted on the functioning of the Saxon towns.

The animosity between the soldiers of the Imperial Army and the locals is suggested in the court records as well. Five of the court protocols selected for this study depict conflicts between soldiers and members of the local community, resulting in accusations of witchcraft. Johann Aegermont, lieutenant in Jung Printz Hannover's cuirasser's regiment, accused Georg Schobel and his wife of witchcraft based on their refusal to serve him wine in their inn. The record states that Schobel's wife had also insulted the lieutenant and his fellows several times, using words and threats that made soldiers believe that the woman had wicked powers.⁵⁰ Lieutenant Georg Roth accused Simon Schnell's wife of witchcraft, implying that the woman could turn into different animals.⁵¹ In Bielz's court record, a witness stated that a soldier complained that the midwife wanted to poison him by offering him bewitched food.⁵² Georg Herberth was also accused of witchcraft by an Imperial soldier, who believed that the suspect intended to kill his horse by using magic tricks.⁵³ Lastly, Catharina Henning was accused of witchcraft by Georg Rußbaumer, imperial soldier, since she was caught stealing goods from him. In his statement, Rußbaumer said he believed that the suspect was intending to bewitch his goods in order to harm him.⁵⁴ The soldiers of the Habsburg Empire might have been well aware of the opposition of the Saxon community towards Imperial administration, since they manifested such a suspicious and cynical attitude in connection with local individuals. As for the local individuals, they might have feared and marginalized the exponents of the Imperial Army, since the new authority disrupted the harmony of their everyday life.

The conflicts described in these documents seem to conform to a recurrent pattern. Misunderstandings and outright disagreements can occur either between a member of the community and a stranger/ an outsider, or between two members of the same community, in other

⁵⁰ Teutsch, 'Sächsische Hexenprozesse', pp. 712-731.

⁵¹ Ibid. pp.750-755.

⁵² Göllner, *Hexenprozesse in Siebenbürgen*, pp. 126-170.

⁵³ Teutsch, 'Sächsische Hexenprozesse', pp. 175-180.

⁵⁴ Sibiu, Arhivle Naționale ale României [Sibiu, National Archives of Romania], vol. 33, p. 33v-57v.

words, between a local and a soldier, or between two neighbours. One can assume that the accusation of witchcraft was preceded by a series of conflicting verbal interactions that involved insults and curses, followed by the death of several community members, as well as other events that disturbed the peace of the small community. The neighbours displayed the tendency to blame the suspect, once identified, for past disturbing incidents in order to support the accusation of witchcraft, in other words, they adopted what Reiner Walz calls, a *passive interpretation of events*.⁵⁵ Consequently, the individuals accused of witchcraft already had a bad reputation, a fact which proves that, for the early modern society, honour and reputation were extremely valuable.

This research highlighted that the modern witch was not always the typical crone, who lived on the margins of society, both feared and pitied by her neighbours. The court protocols revealed that individuals who ended up being accused of witchcraft were both male and female, who managed to earn a living and to be part of the community. It was their behaviour, attitude and vulgar language that made them stand out. These features, related to the unfavorable events that occurred at that time in Transylvania, turned these individuals into the perfect scapegoats.

⁵⁵ Reiner Walz, 'Schimpfede, Weiber, Frauen in lippischen. Beleidigungsprozesse des 17 Jahrhunderts', in Heide Wunder, Christine Vanja (ed.), *Menscher, Frauenzimmer. Frauen in der ländlichen Gesellschaft, 1500-1800*, (Göttingen, 1996), p. 180.

The Captains of the Habsburg 11th Székely Border Guard Hussar Regiment

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Abstract: The following paper aims to present a prosopographical research about the captains of the Habsburg 11th Székely Border Guard Hussar regiment who served between the Congress of Vienna (1815) and the 1848 revolutions.

Keywords: captains, Habsburg, Székely, Border Guard, service

Rezumat: Lucrarea de față își propune prezentarea unei cercetări prosopografice referitoare la căpitanii Husarilor secui din regimentul de graniță al armatei Habsburgilor care a servit între Congresul de la Viena (1815) și revoluția de la 1848.

Cuvinte cheie: căpitani, Habsburg, Secui, Grăniceri, serviciu militar

Introduction

The topic of my PhD thesis is the prosopographical research of the entire officers' corp of the 11th Székely Border Guard Hussar regiment from its establishment (1762-1764) until the outbreak of the Spring of Nations (1848). In this paper I have a double aim: firstly I am going to shed light on the living conditions of the captains of the Habsburg army between the end of the Napoleonic wars (1815) and the outbreak of the 1848 revolutionary wave and, secondly, I am going to present some of the partial results of the above-mentioned doctoral research, namely the data concerning the captains of the 11th Hussar regiment in the period between 1815 and 1848. I chose them because the situation of the middle-ranking officers in the pre-1850s Habsburg army was intriguing and it deserves to be analyzed.

The archive sources that I used for this topic are found at the Staff Documents (*Personalunterlagen*) record group of the War Archive (*Kreigsarchiv*) department of the Austrian National Archives (*Österreichisches Staatsarchiv*).

The 11th Border Guard Hussar regiment and its captains

The 11th Border Guard Hussar regiment was established between 1762-1764 by the Grand Duchess of Transylvania, Maria Theresia as part of the Transylvanian Military Border (*Siebenbürgischer Militärgrenze*), which, initially, consisted of six units: two Székely and two Romanian infantry regiments, respectively one Székely and one Romanian¹ cavalry regiment.

Although, nominally, it was a border guard military unit of the Habsburg army, the 11th Hussars were also involved in actions against both internal uprisings (the Transylvanian peasants' revolt of 1784, clashes with unruly peasants during the first phase of the 1848 revolution) and external enemies (War of the Bavarian Succession, the last Austro-Ottoman War, the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars). During the revolution of 1848-1849, the majority of the unit fought against the Habsburg army while two squadrons led by major Paolo Suini continued to serve under the imperial-royal standard. The regiment was reorganized in 1852 as a regular unit.

The personnel of a Habsburg cavalry regiment comprised four groups: the staff officers (*Regiments Staab*, colonel, lieutenant colonel, major, respectively the military chaplain, the military judge, the regiment's doctor, surgeons and other auxiliary personnel), the main officers (*Oberoffizieren*, first and second captain, first and second lieutenant, *Fähnrich*), cadets (those aspiring to be officers) and those in the enlisted ranks (the sergeant, the corporal, the vice corporal, *Gefreiter*, the common hussar).

The cavalry captain (*Rittmeister*, literally 'master of riding') was a middle-ranking officer who was on the upper end of the main officers' corps. The captain was in command of the cavalry squadron², an important subunit of the regiment.

The army of the Austrian Empire and the living standards of its officers (1815-1848)

The Austrian Empire did not wage traditional wars in the period between 1815 and 1848, but it had an active interventionist agenda in the spirit of the Holy Alliance. This came in the form of the military

¹ The Wallachian Border Guard Dragoon regiment was dissolved in 1770-1771, after less ten years of existence. This unit went largely unnoticed by many Hungarian and some Romanian scholars, although exceptions are found in both groups. Liviu Maior, *Români în armata habsburgică. Soldați și ofițeri uitați* [Romanians in the Habsburg army. Forgotten soldiers and officers] (București: Editura Enciclopedică, 2004), p. 53.; István Nagy-Luttenberger, *A császári-királyi hadsereg. 1765-1815. Szervezettörténet és létszámviszonyok* [The imperial-royal army. 1765-1815. History of the organization and strength] (Pápa: Gróf Esterházy Károly Múzeum, 2013), pp. 169.

² Nagy-Luttenberger, *A császári-királyi hadsereg*. pp. 44.

interventions of 1821, respectively of 1831 in the Apennine peninsula, respectively the military incursion in Kraków in 1846 that ended with the annexation of the town. There were also other minor military engagements. The Monarchy also experienced domestic revolts, the most significant being the cholera uprising of 1831 in Upper Hungary (modern-day Slovakia) which was crushed by the army.

Despite being the main pillar on which the power of the House of Habsburg-Lorraine rested, the imperial-royal army and its officers' corps experienced a number of shortages in this time period. This was mostly due to the Empire's post-Napoleonic financial problems. The series of wars deeply affected the economy, inflation was at a considerably high rate and the Empire had to devalue its inflated money twice in half a decade (1811 and 1816) in order to stabilize the currency.

The army officers' wages were at an all-time low. A good example is the case of the Fähnrich who, in 1748, received a monthly payment of 16 florins and seven decades later he was paid a mere 19 florins.³ Around 1815, the officers' wages (unless they served abroad) were paid in highly inflated bills. The officers didn't get their entire payment because they had to pay certain deductions like the monthly fee to support the regiments' library, the music band and, if they wanted to get married, the marriage deposit, the payment of their personal expenses (tobacco, furniture, daily meals, leisure activities) and they even had to bail out their subordinates of their debts.

Besides these, the housing conditions in the barracks were deplorable. A number of barracks specifically designed to house officers were built during the second half of the eighteenth century, but these were not welcoming, especially because the furniture was regarded as the officers' personal belongings and, as such, it was taken away by the former inhabitant of the room once he was transferred.

A third hardship came from the fact that the career advancement was visibly slowed down because of the relative peacetime. This goes double for the Székely Hussar regiment because, during the above-mentioned period, this particular military unit was not mobilized at all and it didn't take part in any of the military engagements of the Empire. The latter fact also prompted some members of the military to leave the army and to search for civil careers (*Quittirung*).

³ István Deák, 'A zsoldtalanságtól a nyomorúságos zsoldig' [From no payment to a miserable payment], in Tibor Hajdu (ed.), *A magyar katonatiszt (1848-1945)* [The Hungarian army officer] (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézet, 1989), pp. 21-22.

The captains of the 11th Székely Border Guard Hussar regiment

Between 1815 and 1848, the number of captains that served as Székely hussars and retired/left with this rank is 86.

In terms of birthplace, 33 captains were born in the Székely seats, 10 came from the counties of the Great Principality of Transylvania, another 10 were born the Kingdom of Hungary, 5 originated from in the Czech lands, 4 were born in the Saxon lands. One person came from the Hereditary Lands (the Viennese Wächtler), Galicia (Jorkasch), Holy Roman Empire (Wolkarth), Prussia (Szydłowsky), Northern Italy (Suini). The birthplace of 18 captains is unknown and, in the case of one person (Belodvich), the place of birth is uncertain (either Nagymihály or Kraków).⁴

Regarding their marital status in this period, the vast majority of the 86 captains was unmarried (46) during the service time, twenty have an unknown marital status, nineteen captains were married and one person was a widower. Out of the married officers, a total number of fifteen had children while the rest (four) were childless.

One of the most interesting topics is the initial rank of the captains. Twenty-nine started their service with an enlisted rank: twenty-five were privates, two future captains were Fouriers (privates with administrative tasks) and other two persons started out as corporals. Twenty-nine captains entered the army with cadet ranks. According to military historian István Nagy-Luttenberger, the cadet ranks were an important officer training institution in the Habsburg army.⁵ seven persons started out as main officers (five Fähnrichs and two second lieutenants). Out of the Fähnrichs, three (Bíró, Imecs, Wächtler) graduated from the Wiener Neustadt Military Academy. The initial rank of the remaining twentyone persons is unknown.

Thirty-nine captains retired during the above-mentioned years - three of them (Czintula, Pünkösti, Tamás) had enrolled in the Honvéd army or the Hungarian National Guard and participated in the fights of the revolution of 1848-1849, one of them (András Tamás) was even executed in modern-day Someșeni/Szamosfalva (now part of Cluj-Napoca) on October 18, 1849 with László Sándor,⁶ ten participated as active military personnel in the Honvéd army of 1848-1849, fifteen

⁴ Vienna, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Personalunterlagen, Conduitenlisten, Kavallerieregimenter, no. 593.

⁵ Nagy-Luttenberger, *A császári-királyi hadsereg*. p. 44.

⁶ György Gaal, *Tört kövön és porladó keresztben. Pusztuló múlt és fájó jelen a Házsongárdi temetőben* [On broken stones and purverulent crosses. Decaying past and aching present in the Házsongárd cemetery] (Kolozsvár: Stúdium Könyvkiadó, 2010), pp. 139-140.

captains died during their service time, seven officers were transferred to other units, three captains remained in the Habsburg army during the 1848 revolution, one captain left the regiment during the 1848 revolution and returned after the revolution (Count Károly Dessewffy de Csernek et Tarkó) and another captain quit the army in 1837 (Baron Mihály Splényi de Miháld).⁷ Furthermore, in the case of nine captains, it is unknown what happened with them after their service in the Hussar regiment.

Among the eighty-six captains, there are two future generals: Baron János Jósika de Braniştea/Branyicska (1813-1885), respectively Baron Paolo Suini della Pieve d'Albigolna (1807-1873). Both of them reached the rank of major general (*Generalmajor*) and both retired as honorary field marshal lieutenants (*Feldmarshalleutnant*).⁸

It also has to be noted that, in terms of origins, the eighty-six captains are a very heterogenous category: among them, one can find a member of the princely dynasty of Lichtenstein (Friedrich), respectively of the Count Kaunitz-Rietberg (Eduard) family, of the Hungarian (Baron Splényi de Miháld) and Transylvanian (Baron Jósika de Braniştea/Branyicska) aristocracy, of the smaller Hungarian (Szveteney de Dolný Ohaj/Nagyóhaj) and Transylvanian Saxon nobility (Dillmann) and also people of a far more humble origin, like those coming from Székely border guard families and one person (Toma Tokan) from a Romanian family.

Conclusions

The research about the eighty-eight captains who were active in the 11th Székely Border Guard Hussar regiment between 1815 and 1848 has similar characteristics to the officers of other Habsburg army units: the captain's corp was a plurilingual and pluricultural community in which the majority of the *Rittmeisters* are unmarried and started out as cadets. Furthermore, the research regarding the captains shows some interesting partial results: a little more than 25% of them started their career at an enlisted rank, the vast majority of them beginning as privates.

⁷ Gustav Amon von Treuenfest, *Geschichte des k. k. 11. Huszaren-Regiments Herzog Alexander v. Württemberg. 1762 bis 1850 Székler Grenz-Huszaren* (Wien: Verlag des Regiments, 1878), pp. 324.

⁸ Antonio Schmidt-Brentano, (<http://www.historie.hranet.cz/heraldika/pdf/schmidt-brentano2007.pdf>), accessed on September 3rd, 2021.

Gustav Amon von Treuenfest, *Geschichte des k. k. 11. Huszaren-Regiments Herzog Alexander v. Württemberg. 1762 bis 1850 Székler Grenz-Huszaren* (Wien: Verlag des Regiments, 1878)

István Deák, 'A zsoldtalanságtól a nyomorúságos zsoldig' [From no payment to a miserable payment], in Tibor Hajdu (eds), „*A magyar katonatiszt*” (1848-1945) [“The Hungarian army officer”] (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézet, 1989), pp. 21-40.

György Gaal, *Tört kövön és porladó keresztén. Pusztuló múlt és fájó jelen a Házsongárdi temetőben* [On broken stones and purverulent crosses. Decaying past and aching present in the Házsongárd cemetery] (Kolozsvár: Stúdium Könyvkiadó, 2010)

Liviu Maior: *Români în armata habsburgică. Soldați și ofițeri uitați* [Romanians in the Habsburg army. Forgotten soldiers and officers] (București: Editura Enciclopedică, 2004)

István Nagy-Luttenberger: *A császári-királyi hadsereg. 1765-1815. Szervezettörténet és létszámviszonyok* [The imperial-royal army. 1765-1815. History of the organization and strength] (Pápa: Gróf Esterházy Károly Múzeum, 2013)

Vienna, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Personalunterlagen, Conduitenlisten, Kavallerieregimenter, no. 593.

Captain's name	Year of service in the 11th Hussar regiment
Bakó, Sámuel	1787-1831
Baumgartner, Joseph	1831-1848
Beldovich, Anton	1831-1838
Bellay de Felsőbella et Nyitraszeg, László	1816-1826
Betzmann, Alexander	1818-1843
Birra, Lázár	1842-1848?
Bíró József	1826-1840
Bors, Ferenc	before 1804-1830
Botár, Károly	1834-1849
Czetz, János	before 1803-1829
Czintula de Nemesmilitics, Antal	1828-1842
Császár, Sámuel	1809-1834
Cserey de Nagyajta, Lajos	1825-1844
Csulak, Dávid	1831-1849
Deák, József	1791/1792-1831
Dessewffy de Csernek et Tarkó, Károly	1836-1848, 1849-1850
Count Deym und Stritzetz, Friedrich	1829-1834
Dillmann von Dillmont, Friedrich	1821-1840
Domokos, Sándor	1826-1846
Dorschner von Dornimthal, Friedrich	1824-1842
Duhek, Ferdinand	1847
Eberle, Joachim	1799-1805, 1807-1816
Eölbey de Kiseölbö, Antal	1819-1832
Farkas, Jakab	1789-1820
Fejér, János sr.	before 1806-1833
Fejér, János jr.	1826-1849
Ferenczi, Antal	before 1814-1835
Frimont, Peter von	1826
Frenkó, András	before 1806-1834
Forró, Elek	1838-1848
Gayer von Atwasser, Maximilian	1831-1843
Imecs, Elek	1838-1841
Jekey, Ferenc	1835-1841
Jorkasch, August	1838-1839, 1841-1843
Jósika de Braniştea/Branyicska, János	1843-1848
Józsa, Efraim	before 1814-1838

Józsa, Sámuel	1831-1848
Count Kaunitz-Rietberg, Eduard	1834-1835
Konth, Joseph	1817-1833
Kovachevich, Joseph	1833-1842
Kövér, István	1811-1844
Count Kunn, Sámuel	1804-1823
Laurin, Karl	1809-1827
László de Ikafalva, György	1822-1842
Lestyán, János	1773-1775, 1778-1824
Lestyán, Dénes	1823-1840
Prince Lichtenstein, Friedrich	February-April 1831
Litsken, Lajos	1829-1848
Marcant von Blakenswert, Franz	1827-1850/1851
Maurer, László	before 1804-1818
Márk, István	1824-?
Medveczky, Árpád	1846-1848?
Mihály, János	1825-1837
Móritz de Sfântu Gheorghe/ Sepsiszentgyörgy, Dénes	1835-1844
Nagy, Elek sr.	1789/1790-1831
Nagy, Elek jr.	1814-1849
Nagy de Bátorszív, Ferenc	1831-1844
Oláh, Zsigmond	1809-1816
Papp, Mátyás	1810-1826
Popp, Caspar	1800-1812, 1813-1817
Popa, Gheorghe	1813-1843
Pütkösti, Pál	1833-1847
Raikovits, Karl	1808-1817
Rácz, Demeter	1809-1822
Rácz, Sámuel	1820-1833
Rebholtz, Johann	1820-1826
Sándor, András	1822-1837
Somogyi, János	1812-1814?
Baron Mihály Splényi de Miháld	1826-1837
Suini, Paolo	1833-1853
Baron Mihály Splényi de Miháld, Lajos	1833/1835-1840
Szabó, József	before 1810-1824
Szentkereszty, Zsigmond	1834-1848/1849

Szidlovszky, Stanisław	1830-1838
Tamás, András	1801-1839
Tokan, Toma	before 1810-1831
Udvarnoký de Kisjóka, Imre	1816-1835
Varga, Vince	1834
Vitályos, Antal	1813-1849
Voloncs, Antal	1822-1835
Wächtler, Ludwig	1827-1837
Wégh, József	1820-1847
Weér de Köröstarcsa, György	1833-1849
Wernhardt, Sigmund	1844-1854
Wolkarth, Emanuel	1818-1833
Zitta, Joseph	1808-1834

What's the Use of a Manuscript? Uncovering Relevant Information from András Lugosi Fodor's Unpublished Book¹

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Abstract: András Lugosi Fodor was the medical superintendent of Hunyad (Ro: Hunedoara) County in the first half of the nineteenth century, with a keen interest in Dacian and Roman sites in the region. Some of his most significant contributions to archaeology are a series of unpublished manuscripts. These contain information about his visits to sites, but most importantly, they also present the collections of antiquities belonging to the Transylvanian nobility. Fodor not only provided detailed descriptions about these items, but also drawings. The locations of most of these items are unknown today, making Fodor's manuscript more important. This paper will try to reconstruct the collection of Roman finds owned by noble families from Hunyad County, based on Fodor's manuscript.

Keywords: research history, antiquarianism, nineteenth century archaeology, manuscripts, Transylvania, Roman Dacia

Rezumat: András Lugosi Fodor a fost superintendentul medical al comitatului Hunedoara (Hunyad) în prima jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea, cu un interes viu pentru siturile dacice și romane din această regiune. Unele dintre contribuțiile sale semnificative în domeniul arheologiei sunt o serie de manuscrise rămase nepublicate. Acestea conțin informații despre vizitele lui la aceste situri, dar și mai important, ele prezintă colecțiile de antichități care au aparținut nobilimii transilvănene. Fodor a oferit descrieri detaliate ale acestor obiecte alături de desene ale acestora. Localizarea acestor obiecte este necunoscută azi, făcând ca manuscrisele lui Fodor să fie și mai

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importante. Această prezentare va încerca să reconstituie colecția de descoperiri romane aflată în posesiunea unor familii nobile din comitatul Hunedoarei, ba baza manuscriselor lui Fodor.

Cuvinte cheie: istoria cercetării, anticarianism, arheologia secolului al XIX-lea, manuscrise, Transilvania, Dacia Romană.

“Transylvania is a rich, but unknown museum.”² László Kőváry’s book about the antiquities of Transylvania begins with this sentence. We can’t help but agree with him, even after so many years spent with the identification and research of ancient sites. However, Kőváry wasn’t the first person to realize the importance of documenting archaeological heritage. He was only a member of a bigger wave that had representatives in Transylvania and Europe. Of course, this paper is too short to present the whole phenomenon adequately, thus it will focus on the contribution of a lesser-known representative: András Lugosi Fodor.

András Lugosi Fodor was born in 1780/1781³, and was the medical superintendent of Hunyad (Ro: Hunedoara) County for several years, during which time he also made numerous trips across the countryside. While his main area of expertise lay in medicine, much like his contemporaries, he passionately collected and studied Dacian and Roman antiquities. He even managed to publish a few newspaper articles and a book⁴ presenting some of his discoveries. Even so, probably his most important work, the one that would have presented the archaeological sites of Transylvania, remained unpublished. It was partially due to Fodor’s lack of funding⁵, but also because of criticism⁶ he received from his peers.

² László Kőváry, *Erdély régiségei és történelmi emlékei* [Transylvanian antiquities and historical monuments] (Cluj-Napoca: Horizont, 2013), p. 13.

³ In a letter to János Kemény, he mentions that he is 70 years old in March of 1851, and 73 in April of 1853. (See: Sándor Ferenczi, ‘Lugosi dr. Fodor András Levelei’ [The letters of András Lugosi Fodor], *A Hunyadmegyei Történelmi és Régészeti Társulat Évkönyve* 22 (Budapest: Hunyadmegyei Történelmi és Régészeti Társulat, 1914), pp. 18–59, 58–59).

⁴ András Fodor, *Gyűjteménye némely marosnémeti és veczeli határon kiásott római sír- és emlékköveknek* [A collection of some Roman funerary and memorial stones found at Marosnémeti and Veczel] (Cluj-Napoca: Ref. Kollégium, 1844); András Fodor, *A váraljai hegytetőn álló rom régisége* [The antiquity of the ruin from the hilltop at Subcetate], *Múlt és Jelen* 47 (1845); András Fodor, *Utazás nemes Hunyadvármegyében régiségek kinyomozása végett* [Travels in Hunedoara County in order to investigate antiquities], *Hon és Külföld*, 87–91 (1847).

⁵ Fodor complains about the high publishing costs to József Kemény on several occasions. (see: Ferenczi, ‘Lugosi dr. Fodor’, pp. 50–57.)

The more well-known title of this series of manuscripts is *Panoráma*. As of now, there are eight bound volumes of his manuscript in the collection of the “Lucian Blaga” Central University Library from Cluj-Napoca. There are five written volumes and three that have the drawings connected to the texts from the previous five. The first five are essentially different versions of the same text, some paragraphs being heavily edited and/or crossed out completely. Volumes I and II were the manuscripts that were written exclusively by Fodor, while volumes IV and V seem to be their German version. There's also another edition, volume III, which is actually a print-ready version of a proposed book he would co-author with Lajos Brúz. Volumes VI to VIII contain the drawings of several finds referenced in the texts.⁷ The numbering of the pages is often crossed out and rewritten, but even so, there are instances when the image numberings referenced in the manuscript do not match.

Unfortunately, we do not know the exact time he started to work on the manuscript, however, by 1844 he was at a stage where he thought it was time to ask for someone's opinion about his progress thus far. This person was none other than József Kemény, who was a renowned historian in Transylvania at that time. Thanks to their partially preserved correspondence, the circumstances of the manuscript's creation can be reconstructed.⁸ The manuscript Fodor sent to Kemény is presumably vol. I, this theory is supported by the fact that when he talks about Nopcsa László, he refers to him as count⁹ (*comes*).¹⁰ This same, albeit slightly modified, passage from vol. II refers to Nopcsa as ex-sheriff of Hunyad County, meaning that at least this part of the manuscript was written after 1848.¹¹ Fodor also mentions in vol. II, that the manor from Zám was destroyed during the revolution of 1848.¹² Thus, it's plausible that the

⁶ László Kőváry for instance. (see: László Kőváry, 'Irodalmi csatározás' [Literary battle], *Hetilap* 7 (1854): 114.

⁷ It should be mentioned that only the sketches were made by Fodor, the higher quality drawings were made by different artists he commissioned to do so. (see: Ferenczi, 'Lugosi dr. Fodor', p. 21.)

⁸ Unfortunately, only Fodor's letters were recovered, and were compiled and published by Sándor Ferenczi.

⁹ Nopcsa was the count (*comes*) of Hunyad county for 15 years, until he renounces his title during the Gathering of Balázsfalva in 1848. (see: 'Br. Nopcsa László', *Ellenzék* 14/11 (1884).

¹⁰ Fodor András, *lugosi, kéziratái és rajzai. XIX. sz.* [The manuscripts and drawings of Lugosi Fodor András, XIXth c.], (8 vols, “Lucian Blaga” Central University Library of Cluj-Napoca, Ms 754) vol. 1, p. 30.

¹¹ *Ibid.* vol. 2, p. 23/2.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 47/2

second manuscript he sent to Kemény for review in 1851 is actually vol. II, which is a more refined version of the first volume.¹³

We know that Kemény somewhat supported Fodor's plan of publishing his work however, only by providing his review for it.¹⁴ There are several instances when Fodor asks indirectly for Kemény's financial support or high society connections to help him with raising funds for publishing.¹⁵ Kemény's reluctance to do so proves that even though he had shown his support in his letters, he wasn't keen on doing so publicly. This is somewhat understandable, since the manuscript oftentimes lacked a coherent narrative, as Fodor was sometimes distracted by medieval finds and locations, while talking about Dacian or Roman sites.

Sometime after his last known letter to Kemény in the spring of 1853, Fodor met Brúz Lajos, a fellow historian from Hunyad County. They decided to publish several volumes that would present the natural and antique wonders of Transylvania, titled *Erdély régiségei és természeti ritkaságai*. This would combine the works of Fodor and Brúz, a version which was preserved in the form of a manuscript (vol. III), and was published posthumously in the *Hunyadmegyei Történelmi és Régészeti Társulat's* journal.¹⁶ Seemingly, 1854 would have been the publication year for their combined work. Countless statements towards the press were released about an estimated date and number of volumes. *Új Magyar Múzeum* mentions in its 'coming soon' segment that Fodor and Brúz were planning to publish a 3–4 tomes long book called *Erdély régiségei és természeti ritkaságai*.¹⁷ Brúz also announced their intent in an article published in *Pesti Napló* the same year.¹⁸

Köváry László wrote a reply to the announcement not long after, publishing it in *Hetilap*, a newspaper based in Kolozsvár (Ro: Cluj-Napoca).¹⁹ In this, he stated that he already published a similar book, making Fodor's and Brúz's tome redundant. He also proclaimed that the envisioned length of their work was too short and the topic they wished to cover was far too vast for only 3–4 volumes. Neither Fodor, nor Brúz reacted publicly to this article, and seemingly they continued with preparations. However, a few months later Brúz, under the alias Kenyérvizy, stated in a

¹³ Ferenczi, 'Lugosi dr. Fodor', p. 58.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 55.

¹⁵ Ibid., pp. 48–51.

¹⁶ András Fodor – Lajos Brúz, 'Erdély ritkaságai és természeti nevezetességei' [The rarities and natural sights of Transylvania], *A Hunyadmegyei Történelmi és Régészeti Társulat Évkönyve* 15 (1905).

¹⁷ 'A Múzeum Tárcája' [Museum Feuilleton], *Új Magyar Múzeum* 1 (1854), p. 302.

¹⁸ Ferenczi, 'Lugosi dr. Fodor', p. 20.

¹⁹ Köváry, 'Irodalmi csatározás', p. 114.

short article that they would not be able to proceed with publication because Fodor sent his manuscripts to Vienna.²⁰

But can the publishing of this manuscript be considered unnecessary, given Kóváry's already printed work? Upon closer inspection, despite their common theme, they had a quite different structure and content. While Kóváry did write about several Dacian and Roman archaeological sites, his main focus was mostly on medieval or modern castles and churches, or other important buildings from Transylvania. On the other hand, folktales were heavily featured in the Fodor-Brúz version, often even more prominently than the historical data about a certain location. Even so, they made an effort to include relevant information about ancient sites as well. Thus, Kóváry's opinion about *Erdély régiségei és természeti ritkaságai* was far too severe, given the fact that it would have a different approach to content and structure than his own work, even if the two had a similar title. After Brúz reported that Fodor's manuscript was sent to Vienna, they seemingly stopped releasing any more information about it.

Despite the fact that Fodor's manuscript was never published, it is an important source about the state of Dacian and Roman archaeological sites in the nineteenth century. They detailed features that were completely or partially destroyed by the end of the century, not to mention those archaeological finds located in private collections that went missing since that time. Thus, Fodor's descriptions can help us with the reconstruction of several collections.

It was quite fashionable for the wealthier or more educated members of society to collect finds from Antiquity. Whether these objects were found on or near their estates (like in the case of most nobles from Transylvania) or sought out on purpose by antiquarians of the time (like Fodor), these people took great care managing their collections. Hunyad County was home to several important archaeological sites; it is understandable that a considerable number of high society members collected ancient artefacts. The Roman finds displayed at baron Nopcsa László's estates from Alsó-Farkadin (Ro: Fărcădin) and Zám (Ro: Zam) and count Gyulay Lajos' estate from Marosnémeti (Ro: Mintia) were probably the most well-known in the region. Several other noble families from the county also collected finds, such as the Várady family at Déva (Ro: Deva) and Kéménd (Ro: Chimindia), the Kendeffy family at Boldogfalva (Ro: Sântămăria-Orlea), the Pogány family at Poklisa (Ro: Păclișa), the Jósika family at Branyicska (Ro: Brănișca), the Csulay family at Nagyosztró (Ro:

²⁰ *Pesti Napló* 127 (1854), p. 1.

Ostrov) and the Barcsay's at Alpestes (Ro: Peștișu Mare). Numerous antiquarians had the opportunity to visit these estates and document the archaeological finds, thus helping with the reconstruction of these collections.

Unfortunately, many objects went missing or were destroyed after the Revolution of 1848–1849, or due to the fact that the descendants of the collector decided to split or sell the items. Due to the fragility of private collections, Kőváry states that only a national museum or other national institute could truly help in their preservation.²¹ However, the public had to wait several years before that became true. The following paragraphs will present some of the bigger collections from Hunyad County that were documented by Fodor.

Lajos Gyulay's collection of inscriptions from Marosnémeti was quite famous in its time. Mommsen stated to Géza Kuun that he saw the largest collection of Roman inscriptions in Transylvania at the Gyulay estate.²² This isn't surprising when we consider the fact that *Micia* (Hu: Veczel, Ro: Vețel) was only a couple of kilometres away from the estate, and the peasants often brought the inscriptions and other finds to the Gyulay family. It is worth mentioning that the estate's garden was already full with Roman inscriptions at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Fodor probably visited the Gyulay estate from Marosnémeti sometime around 1844, since the booklet he published about the Roman inscriptions and architectural fragments from there is from the same year. The garden was full of Roman stone finds, some published by Fodor in *Gyűjteménye némely marosnémeti és veczeli határon kiásott római sír- és emlékköveknek* (A collection of some Roman funerary and memorial stones found at Marosnémeti and Veczel). However, there are only a handful of objects that were included in his manuscript. Although Fodor stated in his publication that he only included those objects that were noteworthy, there were still some artifacts worth mentioning in his manuscript.

The finds from the Gyulay estate are mainly inscriptions and parts of funerary and votive monuments, there are also some smaller objects like a fibula and a dice.²³ According to Fodor, there were a total of sixteen inscriptions in the estate's garden. One of the more remarkable pieces is the funerary monument of a soldier from a unit stationed at *Micia*, with

²¹ László Kőváry, *Erdélyország statistikája* [The Statistics of Transylvania] (Cluj-Napoca: Tilsch János tulajdona, 1847), p. 14.

²² Géza Kuun, 'Társulatunk előzményei és előjelei' [The Precursors of our Association], *A Hunyadmegyei Történelmi és Régészeti Társulat Évkönyve*, 10 (1899): 110.

²³ Fodor András, *lugosi*, vol. 1, p. 37; vol. 2, p. 42/2; vol. 6, p. 59.

the deceased depicted on horseback.²⁴ Another notable find is a fragmentary marble relief, depicting the tauroctony, with only Mithras' hands, the bull's head and the torso of Cautopates visible.²⁵ It is worth mentioning, that this relief was not published in Fodor's book about the Gyulay collection.

A surprisingly large number of inscriptions survived till this day from the collection. At least seven inscriptions²⁶ and part of a funerary monument²⁷ became part of the Museum of Dacian and Roman Civilization's (hereafter MDRC) collection.

Another collection which was known by many for its large number of inscriptions and sculptures was that of László Nopcsa. According to contemporary writers, these were brought here mainly from *Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa*. Nopcsa was known as someone who was interested in antiques, hence the reason why he was also invited to an expedition led by Fodor, but declined, stating that he would plan and fund one of his own in the future.²⁸

Gábor Téglás writes that the Nopcsa estate from Alsó-Farkadin had several Roman inscriptions and sculptures embedded into the portico's side in front of the main façade.²⁹ (Fig. 1) Vol. VI of the Fodor manuscript has a drawing of the manor and the supposed inscriptions, although the image of the manor here is slightly different from what Téglás' description states. (Fig. 2) Moreover, certain discrepancies can be observed in Fodor's text as well. First of all, although on the manor's drawing, the embedded inscriptions can be seen on the southern façade of the building, in the text, Fodor talks about the eastern façade.³⁰ Since later texts by other authors do not mention that there were any other façades with inscriptions on them, it's certainly plausible that it was only

²⁴ *Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae*, eds. Dionisie M. Pippidi, Ioan I. Russu (9 vols., Bucharest, 1975–1999), vol. 3/3, p. 171; András Fodor, *Gyűjteménye némely marosnémeti és veczei határon kiásott római sír- és emlékköveknek* [A collection of some Roman funerary and memorial stones found at Marosnémeti and Veczel] (Cluj-Napoca: Ref. Kollégium, 1844), fig. IX; *Fodor András, lugosi*, vol. 2, p. 41/2.

²⁵ *Fodor András, lugosi*, vol. 1, p. 37, vol. 2, p. 42/2, vol. 6, p. 59.

²⁶ *Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae*, vol. 3/3, pp. 66–67, 99–100, 108–111, 116–117, 127–128, 158–160.

²⁷ Lucia Teșosu Marinescu, *Funerary Monuments in Dacia Superior and Dacia Porolissensis*, (Oxford: BAR Publishing, 1982), p. 159.

²⁸ Ferenczi, 'Lugosi dr. Fodor', pp. 43–44.

²⁹ Gábor Téglás, 'Hunyadmegeye' [Hunyad County], in Mór Jókai et al (eds.), *Az Osztrák–Magyar Monarchia Irásban és Képből, Magyarország VII. kötete* [The Austro-Hungarian Empire in Writing and Picture, Hungary's VIIth Volume] (Budapest: Magyar Királyi Allamnyomda, 1901), p. 564.

³⁰ *Fodor András, lugosi*, vol. 1, p. 30.

an error on Fodor's part. In Téglás' report about the manor we also learn that two stone lions framed the row of inscriptions in front of the building, however there are no signs of these on the drawing in Fodor's manuscript.³¹ Considering the fact that Téglás' text is written at a later date, perhaps these changes weren't made in Fodor's time. A description from a different author states that there were a total of thirteen inscriptions and seven headless statues in front of the manor.³²

There are accounts from other authors about artifacts that Fodor didn't cover. Sándor Farkas describes griffon- and chimera-like creatures, but also a lamb flanked by two lions in 1837.³³ Whether these were already missing by the time Fodor visited or were left out on purpose by him is a mystery.³⁴ Despite the fact that the manor is in really good condition even today, the string of inscriptions in front of the building was removed almost a century ago. The illustration in Fodor's manuscript seems to be the only surviving contemporary depiction of the previous place of the inscriptions from Farkadin,³⁵ although certain postcards from before 1945 still show the embedded monuments in front of the manor. Fodor's writing about the Roman finds housed at the manor from Farkadin was partially published in the *Hunyadmegyei Történelmi és Régészeti Társulat's* journal, as part of his collaboration with Lajos Brúz. However, it seems that this version intended to include only a fragment of the antiques detailed in the manuscripts written exclusively by Fodor.

Fodor presents a total of twelve inscriptions that were taken to Farkadin; most of these were presumably originally from *Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa*. Interestingly enough, all twelve of the inscriptions shown in the manuscript can be accounted for today, all of them being in the MDRC's collection.³⁶ Another group that should be mentioned are the sculptures that were kept at the Nopcsa estate. The six statues, except for the funerary lion, are all fragmentary and only two of them can be accounted for today. The headless marble statue of a Roman soldier that

³¹ Although, he does mention a funerary lion while talking about the sculptures at the estate, it could be plausible that the lion was later moved to the place Téglás talks about.

³² Kuun, "Társulatunk előzményei", p. 117.

³³ Sándor Farkas, 'Egy utas sétája Fel-Gyógyról Vulkánig' [The Journey of a Traveler from Geoagiú de Sus to Vulcan], *Nemzeti Társalkodó*, 4 (1837): 56.

³⁴ Sándor Farkas for example chose to ignore describing all but one of the inscriptions from Farkadin, stating that the others „didn't stimulate” him enough. But there are several examples of Fodor doing the same, and only compiling a selected few of the items present.

³⁵ To the best of the author's knowledge.

³⁶ *Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae*, vol. 3/2, pp. 94–95, 110–111, 114–115, 124–125, 268–269, 313–317, 324–325, 333–335, 365–366, 371–372; vol. 3/3, pp. 231–234.

Fodor also mentions in his manuscript was already in the estate's garden in 1837.³⁷ Both this statue and that of a woman in *La Grande Ercolanese* style are now part of the MDRC's collection.³⁸

Considering the fact that even the built-in inscriptions and statues were removed from the estate at some point in time, the Nopcsa family's collection from Farkadin can be considered well preserved. Only a handful of the items listed by Fodor are missing, and even those are well-documented.

The Zám estate was bought by the county's then count (*comes*), László Nopcsa in the first half of the nineteenth century. Several Roman inscriptions and statues were displayed at the manor he built there. Some of them were embedded into the wall surrounding the estate, as seen on the drawings from Fodor's manuscript. (Fig. 3) The manor was later destroyed by revolutionaries in 1848.³⁹ Some of the artifacts were moved to Farkadin and the estate was auctioned off due to Nopcsa's bankruptcy.⁴⁰ Fodor states that most of the finds came from *Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa* and describes several items.⁴¹ Five out of the almost dozen inscriptions from Zám can now be found in the collection of the MDRC.⁴²

Not all of the sculptures housed at Zám came from *Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa*, the marble head of a child was found at Marosportus (Ro: Partoș), which was a Roman *colonia* near Gyulafehérvár (Ro: Alba Iulia) in the Roman period.⁴³ Besides the brief description, it is not mentioned how the object came into Nopcsa's possession. Unfortunately, the sculpture's current location is unknown. The more representative pieces from here are the two Jupiter Verospi sculptures that, according to the drawings in the manuscript were also embedded into the estate's wall. (Fig. 4) Fodor initially believed that they represented Roman magistrates.⁴⁴ Both sculptures are headless and very fragmentary. Only one of these is still preserved, it's now part of the MDRC's collection.⁴⁵

³⁷ Farkas, 'Egy utas sétája', p. 56.

³⁸ Dorin Alicu et al. (eds), *Figured Monuments from Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa* (Oxford: BAR Publishing, 1979), pp. 127, 137; Alexandru Diaconescu, 'Male and Female Funerary Statues from Roman Dacia', *Acta Musei Napocensis*, 47–48/1 (2012): 181, 190.

³⁹ Ignác Xantus, 'Maros-Illye és környékének nemes családjai' [The Noble Families of Ilia and its Region], *A Hunyadmegyei Történelmi és Régészeti Társaság Évkönyve*, 12 (1901):144.

⁴⁰ 'Árverési Hirdetmény' [Auction Notice], *Budapesti Közlöny*, 173 (1876): 5099.

⁴¹ Fodor András, *lugosi*, vol. 2, p. 47/2.

⁴² *Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae*, vol. 3/2, pp. 46–47, 105–106, 130–131, 248–249; vol. 3/5-2, p. 460.

⁴³ Fodor András, *lugosi*, vol. 2, p. 48/2.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ Alicu et al., *Figured Monuments*, p. 79.

Another notable group of artifacts from this collection are several funerary monument fragments that Fodor presented in his manuscript. One of the more interesting ones is a tombstone, now in the MDRC's collection, that has three worked faces, the main one bearing the portraits of a husband and wife with their two children.⁴⁶ On the two other sides, a man, respectively a horseman was represented. Another interesting item is an *aedicule* fragment, which has the relief of a woman holding a vessel in her right hand on one side, and a horseman on the other side. This aedicule is also in the MDRC's collection.⁴⁷

János Jósika was also a well-known collector of ancient artifacts. *Micia* was on the opposite bank of the river Maros (Ro: Mureş) where the Jósika estate from Branyicska was situated. The garden surrounding the manor was full of inscriptions and statues from the ancient site. According to the well-known writer and poet, Ferenc Kazinczy, the larger stone fragments were brought over to the manor, while the smaller ones were used as construction material for the modern-day road.⁴⁸ Of course this wasn't an isolated case, since many of the nearby estates had finds from *Micia*.

Fodor's manuscript presents a number of items from the Jósika collection, stating that the estate's garden had several sculptures and inscriptions in it. He mentions the torso of a statue made of sandstone, depicting a toga-wearing man holding a scroll in his raised left hand. The second statue he describes is also a torso of a half-naked person with shoulder length curly hair. Fodor states that going by its bust size, it should be the statue of a woman, but according to the drawing, it rather seems to be a male god, probably Jupiter.⁴⁹ (Fig. 5) The third statue is made of marble and depicts a man's torso wearing a toga. According to specialists, it bears the style of late-Severan sculpture.⁵⁰ (Fig. 5) This is the only sculpture from the Jósika collection that survived and now it can be found at the MDRC.⁵¹ The collection also had two funerary lion statues made of red granite, of which Fodor thought that they were dedicated to Mars, and also a sandstone sculpture depicting two lions lying down back-to-back, with the head of a humanoid figure above them. The locations of only two inscriptions presented by Fodor are known today.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 173–174.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

⁴⁸ Ferenc Kazinczy, 'Erdélyi levelek' [Letters from Transylvania], *Felső Magyar Országai Művészetek*, 7/3 (1831): 693.

⁴⁹ Fodor András, *lugosi*, vol. 6, p. 3.

⁵⁰ Diaconescu, 'Male and Female Funerary', p. 141.

⁵¹ Alicu et al., *Figured Monuments*, p. 140.

One of them can be seen at the MDRC and another one at the National Museum of Transylvanian History.⁵²

The Pogány family also had an impressive collection of Roman finds at Poklisa. Fodor states that near the road west to the village, remnants of a building's walls and some inscriptions and statues were recovered.⁵³ The building he's talking about is probably the *villa rustica* which was in fact discovered at the northern perimeter of the village.⁵⁴

However, the items that could be found at István Pogány's manor were brought here mainly from *Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa*. Fodor lists several statues: one of a headless soldier made of marble, the statue of a male from sandstone and the marble statue of a matron. (Fig. 6) Out of all the statues that could be found in the collections presented in this paper, the sculpture depicting a matron might be one of the most representative. The *Le Grande Ercolanese* style statue is completely intact, although with the head, cracked around the neck, looking slightly smaller than the torso; it is possible that it was broken off at some point. There were also theories about the head belonging to a completely different statue however; this was later considered to be unlikely.⁵⁵ The *stola* wearing matron had a hairstyle similar to that of Julia Domna, covered with a *palla*. The soldier's and the matron's statue can now be found in the MDRC's collection.⁵⁶ Fodor also talks about the fragmentary base of probably two separate inscriptions, presumably both found near the village. On the same page of the illustrations book, there's also a funerary lion, presumably belonging to the Pogány collection, but unaccounted for both in the manuscript and today.

According to Fodor's admission, Ádám Várady⁵⁷ was a lover of Roman antiques, and the owner of a considerable collection at Déva and at the family's estate from Kéménd. However, he wasn't the first person in his family to do so, his father, Ignác was also an avid collector of Roman finds and these objects were later inherited by his son.⁵⁸ According to contemporary sources, Várady and Fodor knew each other

⁵² *Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae*, vol. 3/3, pp. 68–69, 101–102.

⁵³ Fodor András, *Iugosi*, vol. 1, p. 39.

⁵⁴ Sabin A. Luca (ed.), *Repertoriul arheologic al județului Hunedoara* [The Archaeological Repertory of Hunedoara County] (Alba Iulia: Altip, 2005), p. 118.

⁵⁵ Diaconescu, 'Male and Female Funerary', p. 190

⁵⁶ Alicu et al., *Figured Monuments*, pp. 127, 136.

⁵⁷ Fodor consistently uses the "Váradi" form in his writing, but the "Várady" variant is also frequently used by others and is the one used in this paper as well.

⁵⁸ Iván Nagy, *Magyarország Családai* [The Families of Hungary] (13 vols, Budapest: Kiadja Báthmór, 1857–1868), vol. 12, p. 52.

personally and presumably had a friendly relationship.⁵⁹ This also explains the reason why there are so many pieces of his collection included into Fodor's manuscript. Várady made drawings and photographs of his silver items, which were sent to the *Magyar Orvosok és Természetvizsgálók Társasága's* annual gathering at Marosvásárhely (Ro: Târgu-Mureş) in 1865.⁶⁰ After his death, several items from his collection were brought abroad and their location is unknown even to this day.⁶¹ However, the reports and drawings about them, provided by Fodor and his contemporaries, help us with retaining some amount of information about these objects.

The Roman sites from which he had finds were mainly discovered at *Micia* and *Ad Aquae*. Just like in the case of the previous collections, most of these items were found by workers tending to their fields. The collection consisted mainly of worked stone items (inscriptions, funerary monument fragments and architectural elements), but there were also small finds, like ceramic lamps, roof tiles, rings or beads.

Probably one of the most significant group of items comes from an andesite sarcophagus found near Veczel in 1840.⁶² (Fig. 7) It was so heavy, that a total of twenty oxen were needed to pull the sleigh with which they transported the sarcophagus to Déva.⁶³ The sarcophagus was completely intact, having the remains of the deceased, Caius Valerius Ursus, and other items inside of it. In Dacia's case, this find is really rare, taking into consideration that it wasn't fragmentary and the name and age of the deceased person was inscribed onto it.⁶⁴ The items that were found inside the sarcophagus were: an iron ring with an oval carnelian in the middle, depicting Victoria, a decorated armor made out of brass, an iron spearhead, an arrowhead and a silver shin guard.⁶⁵ (Fig. 7-10) While taking into consideration the drawings Fodor provides for the items, one can admit that some of them look rather peculiar.⁶⁶

⁵⁹ Gábor Téglás, 'A Hunyadmegyei Régészeti Társulat' [The Archaeological Society from Hunedoara County], *Archaeológiai Értesítő*, 19/1 (1899): 92.

⁶⁰ József Szabó, *A Magyar Orvosok és Természetvizsgálók X. Naggyűlésének Munkálatai* [The Preparations for the Society of Hungarian Physicians and Nature Explorers' 10th Gathering] (Budapest, 1865), p. 82.

⁶¹ Kuun, 'Társulatunk előzményei', p. 109.

⁶² Interestingly enough, the date mentioned by Fodor is completely different from the one that appears in Neigebaur's work about Dacia. Here the date is 1842. (Fodor András, *Iugosi*, vol. 1, p. 23/2; Fodor András, *Iugosi*, vol. 2, p. 17; J. F. Neigebaur, *Dacien* (Braşov, 1851), p. 60.

⁶³ Kőváry, *Erdély régiségei*, p. 58.

⁶⁴ *Incriptiones Daciae Romanae*, vol. 3/3, pp. 185-187.

⁶⁵ Fodor András, *Iugosi*, vol. 2, pp. 17-18

⁶⁶ I would like to thank my colleagues, Szilamér-Péter Pánczél, Katalin Sidó and Koppány-Bulcsú Ötvös for helping me with the identification of these objects.

The illustration of the arrowhead he mentions doesn't really resemble one; the description Fodor gives about its measurements makes it plausible that it was rather a spearhead socket.

The armor fragment from the collection was probably made out of bronze and not purely of brass; this would also explain the reason why Neigebauer mentioned something about a bronze harness.⁶⁷ Going by Fodor's description, the armor was at least partially gilded, which made the person who found it believe that it was actually made out of solid gold and broke that part off.⁶⁸ Based on analogies, we can presume that this fragment was the lower part of a muscle cuirass (*lorica anatomica*). The fragment has a slightly curved line in relief at the top and a semi-circular part with the lion's head in a relief at the bottom. This line seems to be similar to the one that some armors have around the hip, while the part with the lion head seems to be one of the many decorative lappets, or *pteryges*, that were lined up at the bottom of the cuirass. These lappets usually had the heads of lions and other creatures alternating on them.⁶⁹ However, it should be noted, that these observations are based on a nineteenth century drawing and the armor represented on Roman sculptures.

The item Fodor defined as a shin guard has a different shape to what something of this type might have. Based on the drawing, it is very unlikely that it was really a shin guard. What it might actually be is a cheek-piece belonging to a Roman helmet.⁷⁰

While according to descriptions from the nineteenth century, the fragment was made out of pure silver, it is more probable that it was only silvered. Once again, it should be clarified that these presumptions are based only on a drawing and Roman helmet analogies.

It is worth mentioning, that throughout the years, the different authors who wrote about the items inside the sarcophagus sometimes reported contradicting information about them. First of all, Mommsen writes about two rings with gems; however, all the other contemporary authors mention only one.⁷¹ Also, there are mentions about some ceramic

⁶⁷ Neigebauer, *Dacien*, p. 60.

⁶⁸ Fodor András, *Iugosi*, vol. 1, p. 25/2, Fodor András, *Iugosi*, vol. 2, p. 18.

⁶⁹ Christie's. 1998, "A Roman Marble Figure of an Emperor in Armor" (<https://www.christies.com/en/lot/lot-1403428>), accessed on 27 January, 2021; John Pollini, 'The Bronze Statue of Germanicus from Ameria' *American Journal of Archaeology*, 121/3 (2017): 430.

⁷⁰ Evgeniia Gencheva (ed.), *The everyday life of the Roman legionary on the lower Danube* (Ruse: National Archaeological Institute with Museum Ruse, 2012), pp. 21–22.

⁷¹ *Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae*, vol. 3/3, p. 186; Neigebauer, *Dacien*, p. 60.

vessels, particularly an urn⁷² in which the remains of Caius Valerius Ursus were stored, yet neither Fodor, nor Neigebaur mention them. But what we cannot dispute is the fact that the sarcophagus itself and the items from it could be considered an exceptional find, and it is really regrettable that all of them went missing.

With the lack of any historical museum in Transylvania before 1859,⁷³ the only way that could somewhat guarantee the safety of archaeological finds were those who started to collect antiques. Due to the fact that the estates of several nobles were in the vicinity of important Roman sites, they soon amassed a considerable number of artifacts. However, none of them took interest in properly documenting where they were found and what they looked like. The turmoil of time caused several elements of these collections to go missing. It is due to *dilettanti* antiquarians like Fodor, Ackner, Neigebaur and Orbán that we have any information at all about these items. Without their notes, our knowledge about several archaeological sites would be even more fragmentary. For instance, we wouldn't know about Caius Valerius Ursus' sarcophagus and the fairly unusual items it contained. But through their contribution we also had the chance to learn about the different sculptures and monuments that adorned the Roman sites of Dacia. Beyond the archaeological data, Fodor's notes also give information about what some of the nineteenth century manors looked like, with Roman monuments incorporated into their walls. It seems that only he provides a drawing of the manors with the Roman inscriptions and funerary monuments built into the estate's elements. These drawings are important sources, considering the fact that the buildings look different today than they did two centuries ago.

These all underline the importance of antiquarians like Fodor, who despite the fact of being an amateur, still managed to write and partially publish relevant information about archaeological sites and finds.

⁷² *Incriptiones Daciae Romanae*, vol. 3/3, p. 186.

⁷³ The Transylvanian Museum Society, founded in 1859, had the collection and conservation of antiques as one of its main purposes.



Fig. 1 Postcard depicting the Nopcsa estate from Farkadin, with the Roman inscriptions at the front. Source: Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár [National Széchényi Library], Plakát és Kisnyomtatványtár [Collection of Posters and Small Prints], F25.

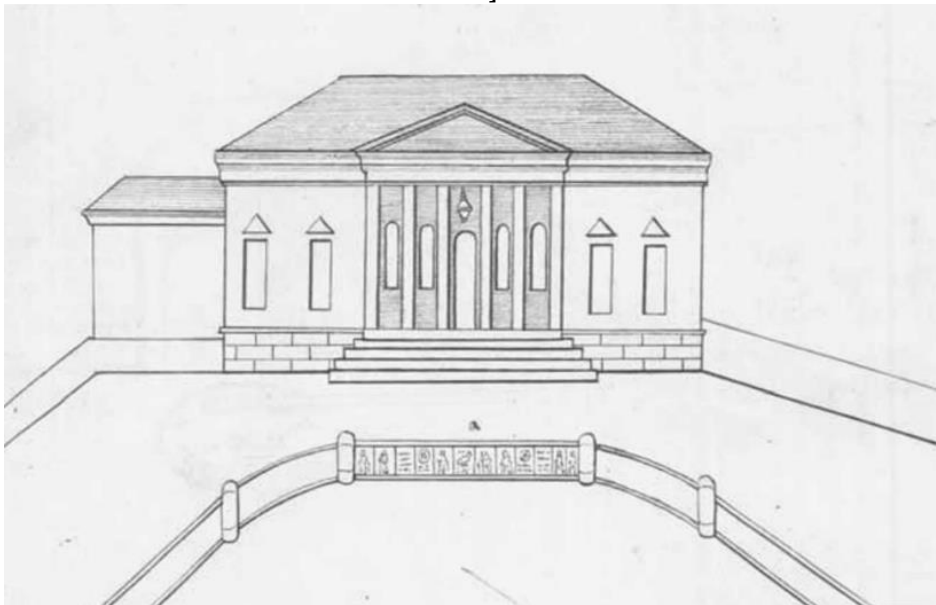


Fig. 2 The Nopcsa estate from Farkadin, with the Roman inscriptions at the front. Source: *Fodor András, lugosi*, vol. 6, p. 43.

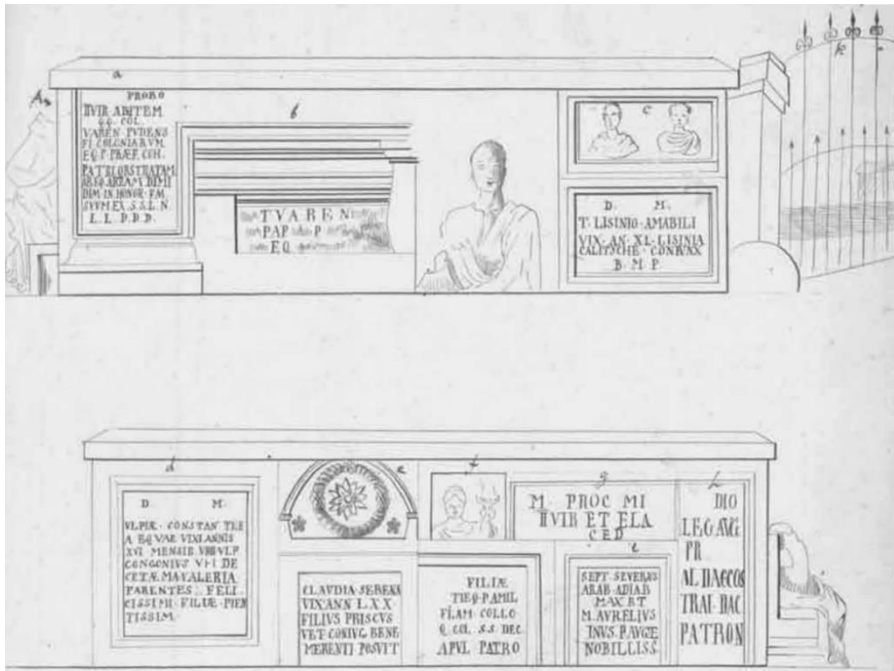


Fig. 3 The wall surrounding the Nopcsa estate from Zám. Source: *Fodor András, Iugosi*, vol. 6, p. 67.



Fig. 4 The two Jupiter sculptures from Zám. Source: *Fodor András, Iugosi*, vol. 6, p. 71.

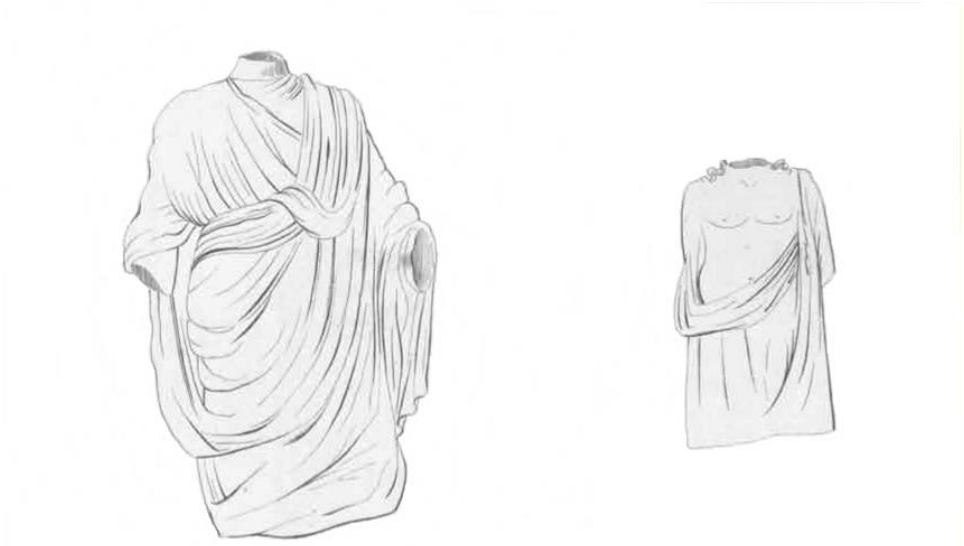


Fig. 5 The torso of a man and the headless statue of Jupiter from Branyicska. Source: *Fodor András, lugosi*, vol. 6, p. 3.

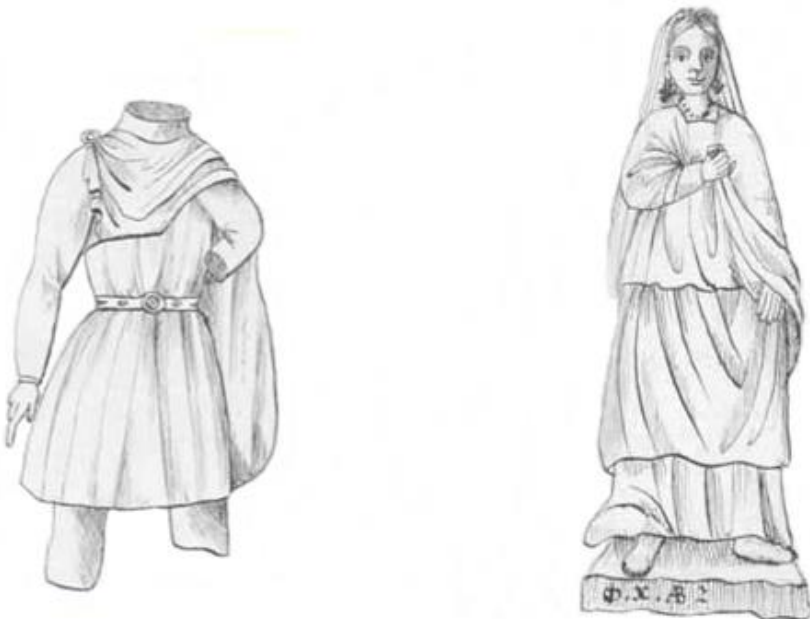


Fig. 6 The headless statue of a soldier and the almost completely intact statue of a matron from Poklisa. Source: *Fodor András, lugosi*, vol. 6, p. 62.

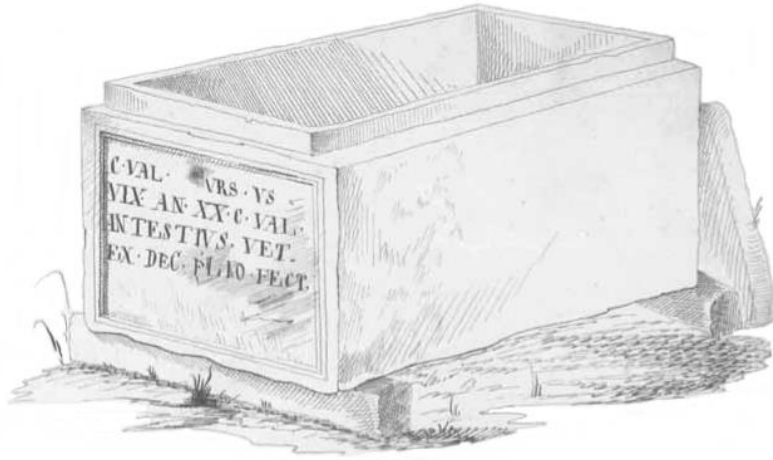


Fig. 7 The almost completely intact andesite sarcophagus of Caius Valerius Ursus. Source: *Fodor András, lugosi*, vol. 6, p. 20



Fig. 8 A spear, ring and spear-socket from the sarcophagus of Caius Valerius Ursus. Source: *Fodor András, lugosi*, vol. 6, p. 33

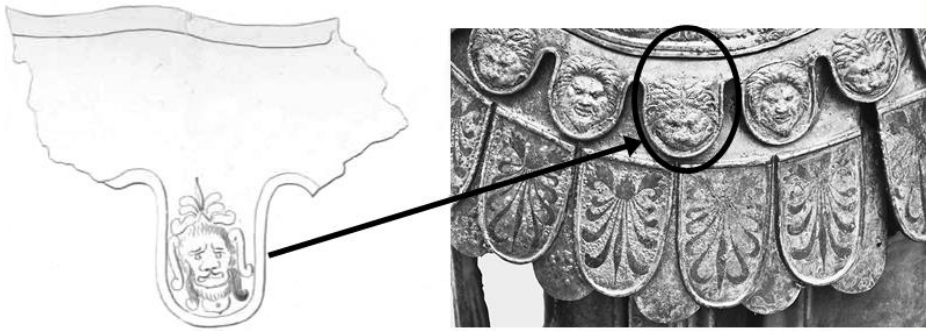


Fig. 9 The muscle cuirass fragment from the sarcophagus of Caius Valerius Ursus (left), and a detail from Germanicus' bronze statue from Ameria (right). Source: *Fodor András, lugosi*, vol. 6, p. 33, Pollini, 'The Bronze Statue of Germanicus', p. 431.



Fig. 10 Helmet fragment from the sarcophagus of Caius Valerius Ursus (left) and helmet cheek-piece fragment exhibited at the Ruse Regional Museum of History. Source: *Fodor András, lugosi*, vol. 6, p. 33; Gencheva (ed.), *The everyday life*, p. 22.

Friedrich Balthes - Attempt to Reconstruct the Oeuvre of a Transylvanian Saxon Artist

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Abstract: Friedrich Balthes was a young master of the national architectural style of the Transylvanian Saxons. Being a victim of the First World War (he died at the age of only 32, on the Serbian front, in 1914), he was almost completely forgotten during the century. Only the architectural monuments created at the beginning of the 20th century, of a remarkable modernity, are left behind by Balthes. These works are part of the German architectural movement, which was the forerunner of modern and also traditionalist architecture of the 20s of last century. Balthes designed many buildings in the national style of the Transylvanian Saxons: a style brought from Germany, and adapted to the Transylvanian cultural landscape. He was a multi-talented personality, also writing various studies and essays on the architectural art, on the cityscape, the culture of housing, interior art, folk art, the maintenance of rural art, the color in architecture and the decoration of the streets with plants, about the old frescoes of the evangelical church in Cisnădie and on many other subjects. As a self-confident Transylvanian Saxon intellectual, Balthes published his articles with the purpose to educate his nation for the new cultural ideas of his time. The following study aims to present a sketch of the multidisciplinary legacy of this remarkable artist, by showing some examples of his work. One of Balthes' many architectural creations we presented herewith the evangelical school and parish house in Bruuiu (built between 1912 and 1914), which is a good example of the architect's idea of a new style, which overcomes art nouveau. It was a Transylvanian Saxon national architecture, very modern for that period. It was a harmonious combination of the Transylvanian Saxon vernacular motives, with elements inspired by the German Reformarchitektur, promoted by architect and architecture theorist Hermann Muthesius.

Keywords: Art History, Architecture History, Transylvanian Saxons, Reform 1900–1914, History 1900–1914

Rezumat: Friedrich Balthes (1882–1914) a fost un tânăr maestru al stilului arhitectural național al sașilor transilvăneni. Fiind o victimă a Primului Război Mondial (a căzut pe frontul sârb, în Decembrie 1914, la vârsta de numai 32) a fost aproape complet uitat pe parcursul secolului XX. Doar monumentele arhitecturale create de artist, caracterizate de o remarcabilă modernitate, în contextul arhitectural de la începutul secolului 20 au rămas în urmă. Aceste lucrări fac parte din mișcarea arhitecturală germană, care a fost precursorul arhitecturii moderne, dar și al curentului tradiționalist a anilor '20 ai secolului trecut. În scurta perioadă a activității sale Balthes a proiectat numeroase clădiri în stilul național al sașilor transilvăneni: un stil adus din Germania și adaptat peisajului cultural transilvănean. A fost o personalitate multi-talentată, publicând diverse studii și eseuri despre arta arhitecturală, despre peisajul urban, cultura locuințelor, arta interioară, precum și despre arta populară, întreținerea artei rurale, culoarea în arhitectură și decorarea străzilor cu plante, iar despre vechile fresce a bisericii evanghelice din Cisnădie și pe multe alte subiecte. Fiind un intelectual săsesc transilvănean, Balthes și-a publicat articolele cu scopul de a-și educa națiunea pentru noile idei culturale ale timpului său. Următorul studiu își propune să prezinte o schiță a moștenirii multidisciplinare a acestui artist remarcabil, prezentând doar câteva exemple ale operei sale. Dintre numeroasele creații arhitecturale ale lui Balthes am ales aici prezentarea complexului școlii evanghelice și a casei învățătorului din Bruuiu (construit între 1912 și 1914), care este un bun exemplu pentru ideea lui Balthes de a crea un nou stil, care a depășit art nouveau-ul. Este vorba despre o arhitectură națională săsească transilvăneană, foarte modernă pentru acea perioadă. Un stil caracterizat prin îmbinarea armonioasă a motivelor vernaculare săsești transilvănene, cu elemente inspirate de mișcarea reformei arhitecturale germane, promovat de arhitectul și teoreticianul Hermann Muthesius.

Cuvinte cheie: istoria artei, istoria arhitecturii, sașii din Transilvania, reforma arhitecturală 1900–1914, istorie 1900–1914

„God made me an artist and put the urge in my heart to think about everything I create about whether it is beautiful“.¹

This is the ars poetica of Fritz Balthes, a forgotten architect from Sighișoara. The creed of an artist who only lived 32 years; he fell as a soldier in the first world war in December 1914. Despite his short career, he had a large number of plans put into action. These works from the first few

¹ Ortsgruppe Schäßburg des Sebastian-Hann-Vereines (ed.), *Friedrich Balthes. Auswahl aus seinen Schriften*, (Schäßburg: Buchdruckerei Friedr. J. Horeth, 1918), p. 16.

decades of the 20th century are still masterpieces of the Saxon national style.

His full name was Friedrich Albert Balthes, he was born in Sighișoara on June 20, 1882. He completed his high school studies at the "G. D. Deutsch" Lutheran Grammar School², then studied architecture at three German universities between 1900 and 1905:³ The Technical University of Berlin (1900–1902)⁴, the Technical University of Karlsruhe (1903–1905),⁵ and also enrolled at the Technical University of Munich (March 1902).⁶

Considering the vast number of his finished architectural works in a very short period, brings one to the conclusion that Balthes was one of the most successful Transylvanian Saxon artists of the generation of German artists who sought to bring architecture permeated by the Homeland Art Movement (Heimatstil) into effect: "We recognize that our old art was folk art - we want folk art again - home art."⁷

Therefore, earlier literature considered Balthes to be an artist of the modern architecture of the Transylvanian Saxon Heimatstil, which aimed to represent the culture of the Transylvanian Saxons by forming a harmonious unity with the built heritage of the Transylvanian landscape. Art historian Timo Hagen is the first to list Balthes' works in the so-called reform architecture (Reformarchitektur).⁸

This term, known in German and Swiss architectural history, was first applied by art historian Norbert Huse to Art Nouveau contemporary artists, whose search for a modern, national formal language became their main artistic goal around 1900, and who strongly rejected the classical „Style architecture“, and subordinated their works to the principles of homeland and function.⁹

² Actual name of the institution: „Joseph Haltrich“ Theoretic High School

³ Herbert Letz, 'Ein herausragender Schäßburger Architekt:Friedrich Balthes', *Schäßburger Nachrichten*, 17/9, (2002): 21.

⁴ László Szögi, *Magyarországi diákok németországi egyetemeken és főiskolákon 1789–1919* [Hungarian Students at Universities and Colleges in Germany 1789–1919] (Budapest: Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem Levéltára 2001), p. 509.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p.545.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 589.

⁷ *Friedrich Balthes. Auswahl aus seinen Schriften*, pp. 18–19.

⁸ Timo Hagen, 'Gedächtniskirchlein - Grab gefallener Helden - völkisches Mahnzeichen. Das Studentendenkmal in Marienburg. Ein Entwurf siebenbürgisch-sächsischer Identität am Vorabend des Ersten Weltkriegs.' in Bernhard Heigl - Thomas Şindilariu (eds.), *Kronstadt und das Burzenland. Beiträge von Studium Transylvanicum zur Geschichte und Kultur Siebenbürgens* (Heidelberg - Braşov: Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskde, 2011), pp. 139–179.

⁹ Sigrid Hofer, *Reformarchitektur 1900-1918: Deutsche Baukünstler auf der Suche nach dem Nationalen Stil*. (Stuttgart: Axel Menges, 2005), pp. 22–23.

This movement emerged at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, having the main objective to reform architecture. Its artists operated with great enthusiasm in the German states and embraced almost all areas of architecture. There are many similarities in this style to both historicism and the beginnings of classical modernity. Since the early 2000s, art history increasingly considered this movement as an independent chapter in the history of architecture and not a transitional phenomenon between historicism and modern, as previous literature simplified it. It had a concrete architectural program, which, although controversial, saw the modernity of the future as well-founded in the study of tradition.¹⁰

This art movement for the development of a modern, national language can be considered a pan-European phenomenon, as well as its contemporary Art Nouveau. Nevertheless, the German terms *Heimatstil*, *Heimatschutzbewegung* and *Reformarchitektur* have no equivalents in other European languages. It is remarkable, that almost everywhere in Europe and in the United States of America of that time there were tendencies to create a regional, national architectural style. For example, the English term of the National Romanticism describes this movement in Finland and Northern Europe. In France and Spain, the so-called Regionalism¹¹ and the Neo-Romanian¹² style in Romania can be related to these tendencies. Very similar trends can be observed in the Transylvanian activities of the Hungarian Ede Toroczkai Wigand¹³ and Károly Kós and the group of young architects, called *Fiatalok* (The Young Ones).¹⁴ Friedrich Achleitner observed in a 1997 published work on architecture theory that there probably was no movement for a regional national architecture in the eastern parts of the Habsburg monarchy with the scope and ideological explosiveness, with a cultural-political charge like the *Heimatschutz*-movement of the German states, and added that if

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

¹¹ Eric Storm: 'Die Ideologie des Regionalismus in Architekturzeitschriften Deutschlands, Frankreichs und Spaniens 1900-1925', in Kai Krauskopf - Hans-Georg Lippert - Kerstin Zschke (eds) *Neue Tradition. Vorbilder, Mechanismen und Ideen* (Dresden: Thelem, 2012), pp. 133-151.

¹² *Prezentare generală: Căutările naționale - arhitectura neoromânească* [General Presentation: The National Searches - Neo-Romanian Architecture]. (<http://www.archi-web.com/uar/333.htm>) accessed on 29 March, 2021.

¹³ Katalin Keserü, *Toroczkai Wigand Ede* (Budapest: Honlap Kiadó, 2007), pp. 18-21.

¹⁴ Beáta Fabó -Anthony Gall, *Napkeletről jöttem nagy palotás rakott városba kerültem: Kós Károly Világa (1907-1914)* [I came from the East to the great palace-stacked city: The World of Károly Kós, 1907-1914] (Budapest: Budapest Főváros Levéltára, 2013), pp. 46-53.

it existed, then it did so only among the German population.¹⁵ Achleitner's observation thoroughly describes the situation in Transylvania. The terms Heimatschutz, Heimatkunst only exist in the vocabulary of the German ethnical group of this region.

The German Reform movement, with its ideology of the interaction of form and function was actually the forerunner of the German Werkbund, founded in 1907. Therefore, it is no coincidence that among the Werkbund's founding members counted a significant number of artists who were active members of the Reform-organization Deutsche Bund Heimatschutz (DBH), founded in 1904, with the focus on the preservation of cultural-historical, regional traditions as well as the historical elements in landscape and architecture. Among leading architects of the DBH were counted: Hermann Muthesius, Theodor Fischer, Fritz Schumacher, Paul Bonatz, as well as Peter Behrens, Henry van de Velde, Josef Maria Olbrich and many others.¹⁶

The same year the DBH was founded, among the Transylvanian Saxons, an Association called Sebastian-Hann-Verein für Heimische Kunstbestrebungen¹⁷ was established. This Association seems to be a Transylvanian German version of the Deutsche Bund Heimatschutz. Its activities bear witness to the formation of such a home-art movement (the so-called Heimatsitlbewegung). It was founded in Sibiu (its leading figure was the painter Arthur Coulin) and its main purpose was to protect and develop Transylvanian Saxon culture, especially fine arts, by organizing exhibitions of modern and Saxon folk art, various conferences, by publishing various studies and essays of folk-educating nature, and by initiating and conducting the preservation of various Saxon monuments.¹⁸ The existence of this well-organized movement among the Transylvanian Saxons, strengthens Achleitner's observation regarding the idea, that the model of the German Heimatstil/Heimatschutz was adapted in the Eastern part of the Habsburg monarchy by the German-speaking population of Transylvania.

¹⁵ Friedrich Achleitner, *Region, ein Konstrukt? Regionalismus, eine Pleite?* (Basel - Boston - Berlin: Birkhäuser, 1997), pp. 7-16.

¹⁶ Hofer, *Reformarchitektur*, pp. 22-23.

¹⁷ Sebastian Hann Association for Homeland Art Endeavors.

¹⁸ Carl Engber - Trude Schullerus, 'Der Sebastian-Hann-Verein und seine Sektion Heimatkunst', *Forschungen zur Volks- und Landeskunde*, 24/1 (1981): 98-109.

Austria was indisputably one of the most important centers of the European art nouveau and its architectural revolution. But it was also the only region of the multinational Habsburg Empire, that hardly had any kind of national architecture. In contrast to Austria, practically every nation of the Empire placed the issue of creating its own national style at the centre of their architecture.¹⁹ Even if the Transylvanian Saxons were German-Speaking, they considered themselves a separate nation, being much more connected to the German Empire rather than Austria. Their architects studied mostly in the German “Kaiserreich” and were embossed by the ideologies and architectural theories of the region.²⁰ The need for a national style, that should represent the culture of the Transylvanian Saxons is to be explained by the situation of this German-speaking ethnical group, which was confronted with various factors that were understood as threats for their economic, social and cultural existence. These threats were, for example, the emigration of their population to America, the decreasing population compared to the stronger growing Romanian population in Transylvania and the Magyarization policy of the Hungarian state.²¹

Of course, not only the Saxons had developed endeavors for a national architecture in Transylvania. The Transylvanian Romanian master builder Gheorghe Dușoiu and Ioan Leucă, from Brașov, were followers of the Neo-Romanian style, initiated by the end of the nineteenth century from the architect Ion Mincu in the Kingdom of Romania, as a specific Romanian form of Historicism, that made reference to the architecture from Wallachia at the time of Constantin Brâncoveanu (1688-1714), which combined the regional forms with elements of the late Renaissance, Baroque and also oriental architecture. Only a few buildings realized before 1914 in this Romanian national style are known in Transylvania (like the boarding school of the Andrei Șaguna High School in Brașov, built in 1910-1911 and the Romanian Orthodox Church Seminary in Sibiu, built in 1913-1914, both buildings realized by Dușoiu and Leucă). The Neo-Romanian style became widespread in Transylvania only after World War I.²² Considering these circumstances and the fact that these

¹⁹ Dániel Veress, in Nari Shelekpayev – Francois-Olivier Dorais – Daria Dyakonova (eds.), *Empires, Nations and Private Lives. Essays on the Social and Cultural History of the Great War* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2016), pp. 1-39, especially pp. 27-28.

²⁰ Hermann Fabini, ‘Architektur’, in Karl Göllner (ed.), *Die siebenbürger Sachsen in den Jahren 1848 – 1918* (Köln-Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 1988), pp. 409-428, especially p. 426.

²¹ Timo Hagen, ‘Gedächtniskirchlein’, pp. 159-161.

²² Timo Hagen, ‘Architektur als Spiegel ethnischer Koexistenz? Sächsische und rumänische Bauten in Hermannstadt und ihre europäischen Vorbilder’, *Zeitschrift für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, 32/103 H. 2 (2009): 149-161, especially 155-156.

Transylvanian-Romanian builders were searching for role models as national representation in the Romanian Kingdom, outside Transylvania, brings one to the conclusion that they hardly had architectural interactions with the Saxons, and much less with the Hungarian architects of the region.

By comparing the tendencies of the national architectures of the German and Hungarian artists of the Transylvanian region, it is to be observed, that the ideas of architecture theory - functionalism and organic architecture- had their common roots in the English Arts and Crafts movement. The visible difference between these styles was in the formal languages, which aimed to give them the particular national aspect: while the Hungarians with Kós, Toroczkai and The Young Ones found inspiration in Finnish and Hungarian vernacular architecture of the Transylvanian landscape,²³ Balthes's buildings were much more characterized by a combination of influences of the reform architects from the German Empire and the Saxon vernacular and historical regional forms from Transylvania. If there are a few similarities between the Hungarian architects and Balthes' Saxon national architectural forming, these can be a result of the coexistence and cultural exchange between these ethnical groups during many centuries in Transylvania and did not necessarily mean a cooperation between the architects.

That the Transylvanian Saxon architects did not know the buildings of the Hungarian artists is out of the question; after all, they all lived in the former Hungarian Kingdom. The Architect Albert Schuller from Braşov started his studies at the Higher Trade School in the Hungarian Capital,²⁴ and Balthes also had the occasion to study the new buildings in Budapest. Balthes must have learned the new Hungarian architectural aspirations at the latest at the time after he projected the Evangelical High School in Mediaş, when the local evangelical presbytery sent him, together with a delegation, on a journey to Budapest. The goal of this trip from August 1911, was to learn about the most modern interior equipment, furniture of the recently built schools in the capital, in order to collect ideas for the interior design of the new High School building in Mediaş.²⁵ Still, it is to be underlined, that the shape language of Balthes doesn't really show any influences of the Hungarian architecture. As we will show in this study, Balthes, but also Albert Schuller had a clear orientation to the modern architectural developments in the German Empire.

²³ Beáta Fabó -Anthony Gall, *Kós Károly Világa (1907-1914)*, pp. 24-53.

²⁴ Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften (ed.), *Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon 1815-1950'*, 15 vols, (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1957-2018), vol. 11, pp. 323-324.

²⁵ S.n., 'Der Gymnasialbau', *Mediascher Wochenblatt*, 19/955 (August 19th, 1911): 1-2.

Whether there was a contemporary artist Balthes` at all, who created buildings in this regional-national style, is still hardly researched. At the present state, it is to be observed, that Balthes was one of the initiators of this modern national architectural style among the Transylvanian German-speaking nation. Architect and architecture historian Hermann Fabini wrote in 1988 a short history about architecture by the Transylvanian Saxons between 1848 and 1918, in which he also mentioned Balthes as a representative figure of this new direction, which was influenced by the Heimatschutzbewegung and the Werkbund (the style had at that time no institutionalized designation). Fabini also mentioned Albert Schuller in Braşov and Ludwig Orend in Sibiu as architects of this generation, who also practiced this new, functional architecture.²⁶ Although Albert Schuller was well known among the locals in Braşov as the architect of the representative Hotel "Krone", his works had hardly been researched by art historians. Albert Schuller projected in 1909 the Hotel "Krone" in Braşov, which was considered to be the most modern and functionally designed hotel at the time, but it was still characterized by the formal language of the Jugendstil from Munich (where A. Schuller studied architecture).²⁷ Schuller's building did not carry the vernacular elements, that were so obvious on the Hotel „Goldener Stern" in Sighişoara, projected one year later by Balthes. Therefore, this vernacular, regional architectural style with national character practiced by Balthes seems to be unique, considering the current state of research.

Balthes and Schuller must have known each other. A competition between the architects for the projecting of a new building for the evangelical elementary school in Mediaş, by the beginning of the year 1914 proves this theory. An expert opinion of the construction projects, kept in the Evangelical Archives in Sibiu, evaluated both plans and recommended the adaptation of Balthes' project for the new school building.²⁸ Whether both architects had other interactions or could have influenced each other is still a question that needs further investigation.

From the local perspective, Balthes really was the architect, who brought this new ideology from Germany and rendered it acceptable and applied by the architects and engineers in his home town, Sighişoara. Balthes was a self-confident personality, and knew very well, that he was

²⁶ Hermann Fabini, 'Architektur' pp. 426–428.

²⁷ Anca Maria Zamfir, 'Hotel "Krone". Reflexe Jugendstil la Braşov', [Hotel "Krone". Jugendstil reflexes in Braşov] *Cumidava*, XXV (2002): 370–445, especially 372.

²⁸ Sibiu, Arhiva Centrală a Bisericii Evanghelice C.A. din România [Zentralarchiv der Evangelischen Kirche A.B. in Rumänien], I. N., 'Gutachten über die Entwürfe zum Neubeu der ev. Volksschule A.B. von Fr. Balthes (B) und Schuller und Goldschmidt (Sch. G.)'

a kind of teacher to the master builder of his home town. He wrote on June 1st 1913 in his diary:

„When I saw the pretty houses that master builder Leonhardt was building at the city garden in the winter, a sorrowful envy and a deep sadness rose up in me and I said to myself: One learns everything from you. How soon, and you are superfluous. Today I passed by again and when I saw the houses, it cheered in me: You will be superfluous here, they have learned what is needed“. (Original text in German language: „Als ich im Winter die hübschen Häuser sah, die Baumeister Leonhardt bei der Stadtgärtnerei baut, da stieg ein kummergrauer Neid und eine tiefe Traurigkeit in mir auf und ich sagte mir: Man lernt dir alles ab. Wie bald, und du bist überflüssig. Heute ging ich wieder vorbei und als ich die Häuser sah, da jubelte es in mir: Du wirst hier überflüssig, man hat gelernt, was Not tut“).²⁹

The ideas of the Reform-movement can be recognized also in Balthes' architecture theory and are reflected in the functional buildings he had projected and adapted to the regional landscape of his homeland. To sum up, his style is characterized by a simplified, modern historicism of the Transylvanian Saxon regional forms in a combination with the decorative language of Art Nouveau.

Two of Friedrich Balthes' most notable works are the buildings of the Hotel Steaua (Star Hotel, former name: Hotel "Goldener Stern") in Sighișoara (fig. 1) and the Stefan-Ludwig-Roth High School in Mediaș. Both monumental buildings perfectly integrate into the architectural landscape and are characterized by a well-thought-out functionality: a very modern way of architectural projecting,³⁰ also a Leitmotif of the Reform and of the Werkbund artists.

Among his many buildings count the community houses of Dealu Frumos and Șomartin (Sibiu county), the Evangelical-Saxon schools in Bruuiu (fig. 6), Gherdeal, Veseud (Sibiu county) and Cincșor (Brașov county) - fig. 2 - as the kindergarten in Agnita (Sibiu county) and several residential buildings, such as: the Eugen Schotsch house in Sighișoara and the Haner, Ambrosi, Dr. Fabini and Karres private houses (fig. 3) in Mediaș, as well as the parish house in Netuș (fig. 4) and the house of the paper mill owner Fritz Schiel from Brașov, in Bușteni (Prahova county). The former savings bank in Mediaș can also be classified as one of the

²⁹ Friedrich Balthes, *Tagebuch 1908 - 1914*, Manuscript, Photocopy in the Central Archives of the Evangelical Church in Romania, Sibiu, sheet nr. 16 (numbering not from the author).

³⁰ Herbert Letz, *Ein herausragender Schäßburger Architekt: Friedrich Balthes*, p. 20.

buildings projected by Balthes (fig.5).³¹ One of the rare and outstanding examples of the national identity and cult of remembrance of Transylvanian Saxons is the "Monument to the Students of Feldioara" carried out under the plans of Balthes.³²

The next short introduction of Balthes' **evangelical school and parish house in Bruuiu** aims to exemplify his architectural style.

According to the official mandate of April 4, 1912, the Presbytery in Bruuiu commissioned Balthes to build the new school, prepare the plans for the conversion of the old school into a teacher's apartment, and conduct the construction management.³³

The plans for the new school and the teachers house were finalized by Balthes before May 1912. The architect counted the fee for the architectural management work at 1,830 crowns, of which he was awarded with 963 crowns for the designing.³⁴

The manuscript documenting the construction conditions of the new school and the teacher's apartment was dated June 1, 1912.³⁵ The contractor of Balthes' plans were the master builder Gustav Zimmermann from Sibiu and Georg Schuster from Bruuiu.³⁶

By the fall of the year 1914, the new school building was still not ready to be used. After the second inspection on 2 October 1914, the master builder Franz Letz, who worked in Balthes' workshop, sent some plans for certain window blinds to Bruuiu.³⁷ At that date, Fritz Balthes was already fighting on the Serbian frontline of the I. World War.

From Balthes' plans for the construction of the school and teacher's house two design proposals still exist. They are kept in the Evangelical Archives in Sibiu.³⁸ Both of them show the western entrance frontage.

³¹ Spar- und Vorschußverein in Mediasch 'Bauvergebung', *Mediascher Wochenblatt*. XVIII/878, (February 26th 1910).

³² Herbert Letz, *Ein herausragender Schäßburger Architekt: Friedrich Balthes*, p. 20.

³³ Sibiu, Arhiva Centrală a Bisericii Evanghelice C.A. din România [Zentralarchiv der Evangelischen Kirche A.B. in Rumänien], Dokumente Braller/Bruuiu, 400/259, f. 217/135.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid.

The second version of the plan (fig. 8) arranged the school's classrooms not next to each other, but on top of each other. This version „separated” the storied wing of the school from the teacher's apartment, located in the lower, north wing, much more effective in mass management. While in the first plan (fig. 7) the west wing and the entrance are covered by a common gable roof, in the second plan the entrance block is separated from the school and the teacher's house. The teacher's house is covered by a hip roof, and the school is crowned by a half-hip roof with a small bell tower, which also emphasizes the school function of the wing.

From the two plans, the second version with a few minor changes was implemented.

The schoolyard can be accessed from the west through a stone-framed gate. Inspired by Saxon village architecture, the gate and stone-walled fence are among the characteristic elements of the Transylvanian Saxon national style of Balthes.

The exterior design of this building complex in Bruuiu could be inspired by a building, illustrated in Hermann Muthesius's book "Landhaus und Garten" (fig. 9). The massing of the school based on Balthes' plans can be related to Richard Riemerschmid's two-family house plan with the portico connecting the two buildings.³⁹ A small stair railing in the school's staircase, with a squat column holding two semicircular arcades (fig. 10), could have been inspired by the Smoking Room in the house of Paul Korff (fig. 11), a reform architect working in Laage near Rostock (Also published by Muthesius in "Landhaus und Garten").⁴⁰

Hopefully, this short presentation of a building of Balthes could help us create a picture of the national, but also very modern architectural style of our artist, combining the Transylvanian Saxon vernacular motives, with elements inspired by the German Reformarchitektur, promoted by architect and architecture theorist Hermann Muthesius.

Fritz Balthes, however, was not just an architect. Posterity considers him a multifaceted, determined character, a person endowed with extraordinary will- and creative power. All of these qualities and art perceptions can be tracked in many of his articles, lectures and theoretical writings. His treatises on the architectural art, on the cityscape, the culture of housing, interior art, drawing education, dressing, folk art, the maintenance of rural art, the relationship between the environment,

³⁹ Hermann Muthesius, *Landhaus und Garten* (München: Verlagsanstalt F. Bruckmann A.G.,1907), p.12.

⁴⁰ Ibid, p. 87.

nature and art, the color in architecture and the decoration of the streets with plants, about the founding of the Transylvanian Association Sebastian – Hann, about the old frescoes of Cisnădie (Ger. Heltau) and on many other subjects testify his versatility. He was also a very talented graphic artist, lithograph, architectural theorist and architectural restorer.

He was also actively involved in the undertakings of the Sebastian-Hann Association, which supported the propagation of Saxon culture and art and can be considered as the organized forum of this reform movement in Transylvania. With the Association, Balthes organized an exhibition in 1909, entitled "Ausstellung für heimische Bauweise" (Exhibition for Domestic Architecture) and wrote several treatises in the journal "Die Karpathen".⁴¹

This journal actually was the platform, where the Transylvanian Saxon artists of the time propagated their ideas regarding the new, modern style. One of Balthes' most significant studies, regarding housing culture, was published in Die Karpathen's number 3 from the year 1909. Here we learn about the young architect's conception on housing architecture, which was very close to the theories of movements from the time around 1900 in Germany. The architect emphasizes the meaning of housing culture, according to which man and apartment would represent an ancient interaction. He exemplifies this with the development of housing architecture in Transylvania: as the three-bedroom Saxon farmhouse (Vorderstube – Haus – Hinterstube, i.e., Front room – house – back room) emerged from the one-room farmhouse, behind which in time the farm buildings, under a separate slush, were built. One of the most important theories of Balthes, is the principle of organic architecture. According to this, Balthes emphasizes in his study entitled „Über Wohnungskultur“ [About housing culture] the organic, natural relationship between housing and the environment, quoting his words: "Man creates his housing just like the snail his house, the bird his nest, according to the rules of nature". At the same time, the interaction between man and his housing (socially and culturally approached), can be summed up into Balthes' next sentence: "Show me how you live and I will tell you who you are".⁴²

According to the architect, like the combination of rooms in an apartment, the streets and squares of the ideal city should also form an integral unit. Just as the furniture in the room fits into the surroundings and atmosphere, the buildings of the streets and squares must reflect the

⁴¹ Herbert Letz, *Ein herausragender Schäßburger Architekt: Friedrich Balthes*, p. 18.

⁴² Friedrich Balthes, 'Über Wohnungskultur', *Die Karpathen: Halbmonatsschrift für Kultur und Leben*, 1/III. (1909): 14–19.

spirit and taste of the environment.⁴³ These ideas of perceiving architecture as an organic unit, as a three-dimensional complete art work, have their origin in the 1889 published work of Camillo Sitte: „City Planning According to Artistic Principles“, which also had a great impact on the German reform movement.⁴⁴

Balthes played a leading role in the restoration work of the Evangelical Church of Cisnădie in the early twentieth century. A short study from him, regarding the frescoes revealed at that time, was published in the 1908/1909 journal of the Sebastian Hann Association.⁴⁵ The artist started his treatise with the exclamation "Peccavi!" and admitted that he let the Romanesque frescoes that were revealed during the restoration, be whitewashed again. Balthes regretted seeing the damaged works of art, which had not been spared by time, and thought they should be covered up, for it would no longer be possible to give them back their old glow. After all this, the architect was forced to admit that the colorless paint had a completely lifeless and cold effect compared to the original old frescoes.

The study also includes a floor plan and a schematic perspective of the choir drawn up by Balthes as a drawing showing the frescoes. After the description of the scenes of Salvation History, which once adorned the choir, at the end of his study, Balthes offered the church community the re-decoration of the walls as a compensation for the loss of the old work of art. In his opinion, with this act "the history of art would suffer a loss, but art and life would win". This short study also provides an insight into the 1908 monument protection activity, documenting the contemporary state of the Cisnădie frescoes with visual evidence.

It is known, that Balthes also worked for the restoration of the church in Sebeș; and he also published an article in 1912, in „Die Karpathen“,⁴⁶ presenting his plans and proposal for the removal of the old meat stalls, which closed the west side of the market square behind the church choir (fig. 12 and 13). The architect argued in favor of keeping the row of arcades that closed off the market square, and restoring it. Balthes explained, that the preservation of the arcade row, which was built to be used as meat market, is thus justified historically. In other

⁴³ Friedrich Balthes. *Auswahl aus seinen Schriften*, pp. 20–22.

⁴⁴ Bernd Evers (ed.), *Architekturtheorie - Von der Renaissance bis zur Gegenwart: 89 Beiträge zu 117 Traktaten* (Köln: Taschen, 2003), pp. 660–662.

⁴⁵ Fritz Balthes, 'Alte Wandmalereien in der Kirche zu Heltau' *Sebastian-Hann-Verein für heimische Kunstbestrebungen, Bericht über das Jahr 1908/1909*, (Sibiu, n.d.): 3-4.

⁴⁶ Fritz Balthes, 'Zur Freilegung der Mühlbacher Kirche' *Die Karpathen: Halbmonatsschrift für Kultur und Leben*, 5/ XVII (1912): 488–494.

words: "Looking at the church in Sebeş with its surroundings makes it easy to see how the whole complex was created historically, how a certain situation gradually developed with the growth of the city and its traffic and wealth, and finally the architects in the spirit of their time with a clear understanding of the nature of the things themselves have given their artistic form to the practical purpose." As the layout of the city center suggested an old trading place, this picture should have been conserved with the arcade building, which strengthened this idea of a market place.

Besides the historical role, the low, horizontally positioned building mass behind the church choir underlined the powerful effect of the high, monumental church building. Quoting Balthes' words: "Every great impression in architecture is based on opposites".

Another argument from our architect was that the building with the row of arcades was like a wall that closed off the market square. He wrote: "The market square of Sebeş is a beautiful example of a square that still seems closed despite its size. The quiet rows of houses on three sides help to achieve this effect. On the fourth side it would have the effect of falling apart if the calm baseline of the arcade building didn't hold it together. The removal of the corridors would be artistically a disaster for the square. "

Whether it was the effect of this article or not, is hard to reconstruct. Nevertheless, the building with the arcades is still standing today, being a part of the complex of the monumental evangelical church of Sebeş.

Balthes' drawings and lithographic works – postcards – also revealed him as a very good graphic artist. This fact was underlined by Dr. Hermann Fabini, in a study commemorating Friedrich Balthes. Hermann Fabini's father worked in Balthes' workshop and recalled with admiration how easily and beautifully the master drew.⁴⁷

From the years of his studies, sketchbooks have been preserved, which also confirm his talent. They showed that Balthes was deeply connected with the artistic Avant-garde before the 1st World War. He made his study drawings after living models and after nature (fig.14). His style, line handling was clearly in Art Nouveau. His sketches and self-portraits reveal not only searching curiosity, but also his self-confidence.⁴⁸

The postcards made by the artist were also remarkable. According to Konrad Klein, Balthes made these lithographs in his personal press

⁴⁷ Hermann Fabini, 'Vertreter der Neubesinnung. Zu Erinnerung an den Schässburger Architekten Fritz Balthes' *Neuer Weg*, 36/ 9 (1985): 1.

⁴⁸ Hellmut Fabini, '„Die Construction des Inneren“ – Zu künstlerischen Äußerungen in Skizzenheften der Architekten Friedrich Balthes' *Schäßburger Nachrichten*, 42/21 (2014): 49 –50.

office. He distributed them with the intention to present and propagate the Saxon national style and the Art Nouveau in Transylvania, as well as to show his own plans for new buildings⁴⁹ – like the postcard with his design for a community inn of Dealu Frumos (fig. 15).⁵⁰

The present study aimed to make a short review of the overall work of Friedrich Balthes, outlining the fact that he should be rediscovered not only as a very talented Transylvanian Saxon architect of his time, but also as a remarkable graphic artist, architectural theorist and restorer.

⁴⁹ Konrad Klein, 'Siebenbürgische Kunst- und Künstlerkarten: Zur Geschichte künstlerischer Ansichtskarten im deutschen Umfeld Siebenbürgens', *Zeitschrift für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, 2/20 (1997): 159–161.

⁵⁰ Konrad Klein, *Grüße aus dem Bärenland: Siebenbürgen in alten Ansichtskarten*. (München: Verlag Südostdeutsches Kulturwerk, 1998), p. 118.

Annex: Illustrations



Figure 1 Hotel Steaua, Sighişoara (Picture taken by the author, 2010)

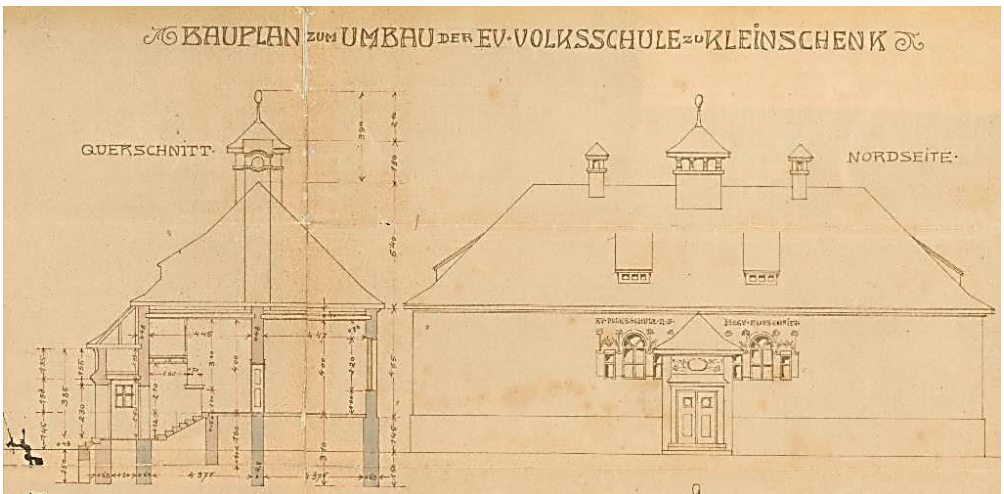


Figure 2 The Ev. School in Cincşor (Plan drawings from Balthes - Archive of the Evangelical Church in Sibiu)



Figure 3 The Karres-house in the periodical: "Ostland" from July 1919.



Figure 4 The parish house in Netuș (Picture taken by the author, 2016)



Figure 5 The former savings bank in Mediaș (Picture taken by the author, 2010)



Figure 6 Western front of the school in Bruiu
(Picture taken by the author, 2016)



Figure 7 Fritz Balthes, Proposed plan for the school and teacher's apartment building in Bruiu - Ground-level construction (Digitized example from the Evangelical Archives in Sibiu)



Figure 8 Fritz Balthes, Proposed plans for the school and teacher's apartment building - storied version (Digitized examples from the Evangelical Archives in Sibiu)



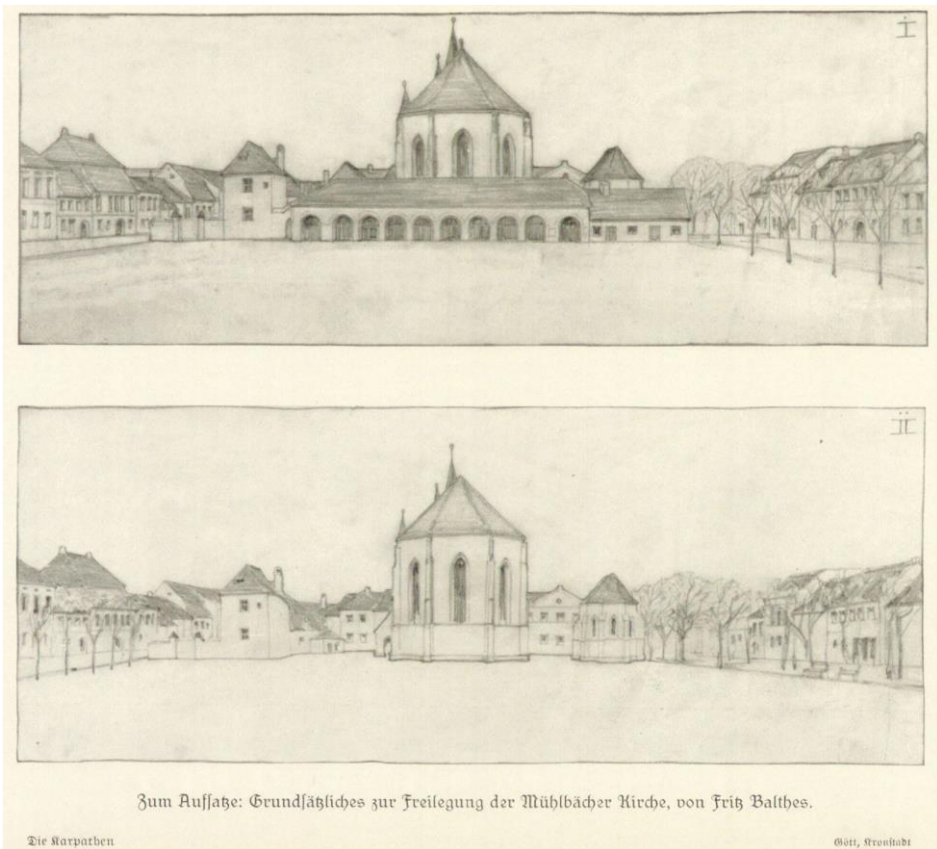
Figure 9 Richard Riemerschmid: Two-family house (Illustration in: Hermann Muthesius, *Landhaus und Garten*, Munich, 1907.)



Figure 10 Evangelical School in Bruiau, detail of the staircase, picture taken by the author, 2016.



Figure 11 Smoking room in Paul Korffs - House Korff, Laage, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Germany (Illustration in: Hermann Muthesius, *Landhaus und Garten* Munich 1907.)



Zum Aufsatz: Grundsätzliches zur Freilegung der Mühlbacher Kirche, von Fritz Balthes.

Die Karpaten Gott, Straußhdt

Figure 12 Fritz Balthes: The church with the meat stalls in 1912 (above) and after their demolition (below) In: *Die Karpaten*, 6/10, May 1912

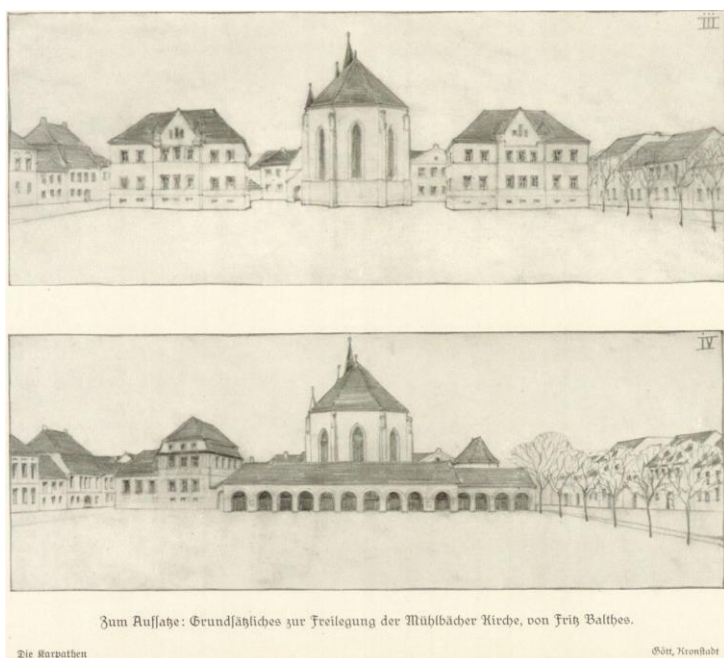


Figure 13 Fritz Balthes: Plan variation for the market place without the meat stalls (above) and with the restored arcade row (below) In: *Die Karpathen*, 6/10, May 1912



Figure 144 Portrait of Emilie Fuchs, Sketch from Balthes, digital copy from the Evangelical Archives in Sibiu

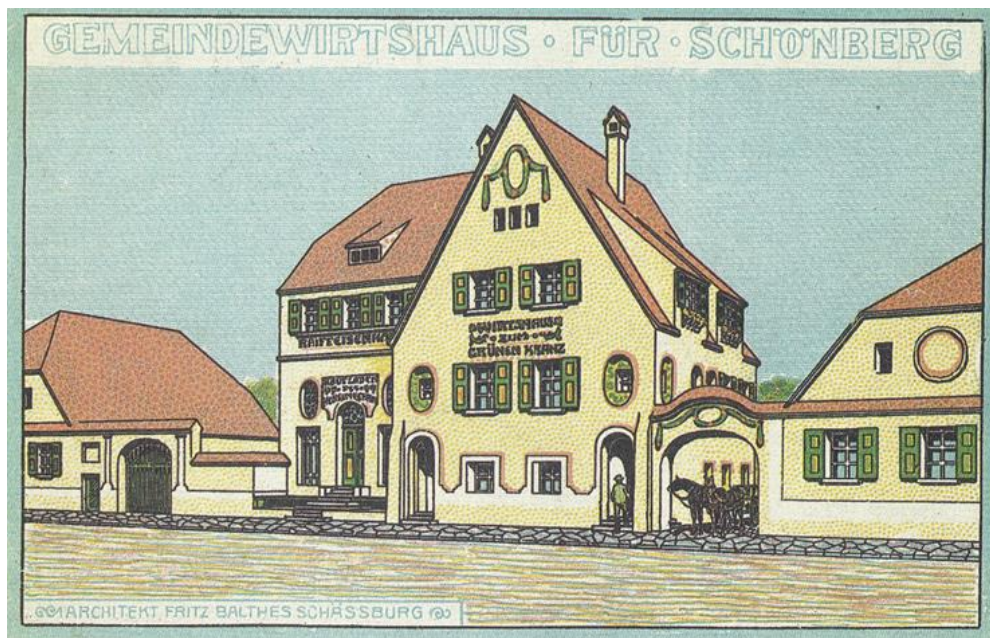


Figure 155 Fritz Balthes, Design for the Community Inn in Dealu Frumos, Chromolithography., 1909. In: Konrad Klein, *Grüße aus dem Bärenland: Siebenbürgen in alten Ansichtskarten*, Munich, 1998, p. 118.

What Did They See? Looking at Art in a Medical Setting: Brâncuși's Écorché at the Faculty of Medicine in Cluj¹

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Abstract: The main question addressed by this paper stems methodologically from the intersection between the history of art and the history of medicine as embodied by the anatomical object: what do professionals in medicine see when looking at a work of art which takes the human body as its subject? In this particular instance, the medical figure is represented by Victor Papilian, appointed in 1919 as Head of the Institute of Anatomy at the Faculty of Medicine in Cluj, while the work of art presented to his students is the Écorché, executed earlier in 1902 by Constantin Brâncuși. The story of the Écorché is punctuated by controversies surrounding the number of its original pieces and copies (in Bucharest, Craiova, Iași and Cluj), directly related to the institutional efforts invested in their acquisition (either by faculties of medicine or academies of art). However, it is generally agreed that this sculpture primarily functions as a didactic prop, no matter its recipient (the medical student or the training artist). By contextualizing Brâncuși's Écorché within the specific field of anatomical knowledge developed at the Cluj Faculty of Medicine in the third decade of the twentieth century, I propose an argument for its hybrid nature, mainly by pointing out the distinct interests corroborated in the creation of this anatomical object with an emphasis on the changes set in motion by the contexts of production and distribution.

Keywords: Faculty of Medicine, Écorché, Constantin Brâncuși, Victor Papilian, anatomy, medical setting, history of art, context of display, medical gaze, didactic prop

¹ This article represents an extended written form of the paper presented at the PhD Candidates' Annual Conference in History, organized by History. Culture. Civilization Doctoral School at Babeș-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, November 2020, online.

Rezumat: Principala întrebare adresată în această lucrare derivă metodologic din intersecția dintre istoria artei și istoria medicinei, așa cum este ea reprezentată de obiectul anatomic: ce văd specialiștii din medicină atunci când privesc o operă de artă ce își ia ca subiect corpul uman? În cazul analizat aici, figura medicală este întruchipată de către Victor Papilian, numit în anul 1919 în funcția de șef al Institutului de Anatomie al Facultății de Medicină din Cluj, în timp ce opera de artă prezentată studenților săi este *Écorché*-ul, executat mai devreme, în anul 1902, de către Constantin Brâncuși. Istoria *Écorché*-ului este punctată de controverse în jurul numărului de piese originale și copii al acestuia (aflăte în București, Craiova, Iași și Cluj), în directă legătură cu eforturile instituționale depuse pentru achiziționarea lor (fie de către facultățile de medicină, fie de către academiile de artă). Cu toate acestea, faptul unanim acceptat este că această sculptură funcționează în primul rând ca necesar didactic, indiferent de destinatarul ei (studentul la medicină sau artistul în formare). Prin contextualizarea *Écorché*-ului lui Brâncuși în domeniul specific al cunoașterii anatomice dezvoltate la Facultatea de Medicină din Cluj în al treilea deceniu al secolului al XX-lea, este propus un argument în favoarea naturii sale hibride, în special prin evidențierea intereselor distincte coroborate în crearea acestui obiect anatomic, cu accent pe schimbările declanșate de contextele sale de producție și distribuție.

Cuvinte-cheie: facultate de medicină, *Écorché*, Constantin Brâncuși, Victor Papilian, anatomie, context medical, istoria artei, privire medicală, necesar didactic

Introduction

The collision between the history of art and the history of medicine has given rise in recent decades to a growing number of studies aiming at deciphering their fascinating, if not sometimes perplexing instances.² This has precipitated a mobilization of textual, material and

² See Jon Agar, Crosbie Smith (eds), *Making Space for Science. Territorial Themes in the Shaping of Knowledge* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1998); Grant Malcolm (ed.), *Multidisciplinary Approaches to Visual Representations and Interpretations* (Amsterdam: Elsevier Academic Press, 2005); Sandra Cavallo - David Gentilcore (eds.), *Spaces, Objects and Identities in Early Modern Italian Medicine* (New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, 2008); Renée van de Vall and Robert Zwijnenberg (ed.), *The Body within: Art, Medicine and Visualization* (Leiden: Brill, 2009); Sarah Ferber, Sally Wilde (ed.), *The Body Divided. Human Beings and Human 'Material' in Modern Medical History* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011); Patricia A. Baker, Han Nijdam, Karine van't Land (ed.), *Medicine and Space. Body, Surroundings and Borders in Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 2012); Sachiko Kusukawa, *Picturing the Book of Nature: Image, Text, and Argument in Sixteenth-Century Human Anatomy and Medical Botany* (Chicago: University of

visual sources, staged not only as historically transformative objects of cross-disciplinary investigation, but also as tools for dismantling convoluted dilemmas: how do we get to know what we see? What do we understand from looking at objects used by doctors, but crafted by skilful artisans or artists? Who authors medical illustrations and to what extent may they do so? How much data can images of irrefutable artistic virtuosity convey about the scientific contexts they stem from? Such questions have nurtured the pivotal works of researchers active in the interdisciplinary field of 'science, technology and medicine'³ and whose primary aim is to shed light on the ideas, instruments and relationships that have developed between artists and doctors in the process of deciphering the natural world. In this methodological perspective, one such enduring meeting gestures towards an anatomical object located in the faculty of medicine in Cluj: Constantin Brâncuși's Écorché from 1902, commissioned by the anatomist Dimitrie Gerota at the Faculty of Medicine in Bucharest, sent in the mid-1930s to Victor Papilian, then head of the Department of Topographic and Comparative Anatomy in Cluj.

The purpose of this study is to provide an answer to a double-folded question: how was the écorché perceived by those who commissioned it and those who made use of it? In situating the analysis within the theoretical background mentioned above, the argument unfolds in the following steps: firstly, narrative details concerning the times when the écorché was produced and distributed are laid out, for the purpose of extracting the main storyline made possible by research so far. Secondly, I examine the notion of agency to highlight the profiling of the people

Chicago Press, 2012); Rina Knoeff, Robert Zwijnenberg (ed.), *The Fate of Anatomical Collections* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015); Domenico Bertoloni Meli, *Visualizing Disease: The Art and History of Pathological Illustrations* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017).

³ See Bruno Latour - Steve Woolgar, *Laboratory Life. The Construction of Scientific Facts* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1986); Lorraine Daston - Michael Otte (eds.), 'Style in science', special issue, *Science in Context* 4/2(1991): 223 - 447; B.T. Moran (ed.), *Patronage and Institutions: Science, Technology, and Medicine at the European Court, 1500 - 1750* (London: Boydell, 1991); John V. Pickstone, 'Ways of Knowing: Towards a Historical Sociology of Science, Technology and Medicine', *The British Journal for the History of Science*, 26/4 (1993): 433 - 458; Paula Findlen, *Possessing Nature. Museums, Collecting and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy* (Oakland: The University of California Press, 1994); Lorraine Daston, Katharine Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature* (New York: Zone Books, 1998); Pamela M. Henson, "'Objects of Curious Research": The History of Science and Technology at the Smithsonian', *Isis*, 90 (1999): S249 - S269; Thomas Glick et al. (eds.), *Medieval Science, Technology and Medicine: An Encyclopedia* (New York, NY and London: Routledge 2005); John V. Pickstone, 'Working Knowledges Before and After circa 1800: Practices and Disciplines in the History of Science, Technology, and Medicine', *Isis*, 98/3 (2007): 489 - 516; Robert Bud et al. (eds.), *Being Modern. The Cultural Impact of Science in the Early Twentieth Century Book* (Oakland: UCL Press, 2018).

involved in the dynamic of distinct outlooks for the *écorché*, with a particular emphasis on the theorization of the artist-anatomist interaction and the rapprochement between their actions and the larger tradition of cultural exchange they were familiar with. Motives and the issue of didacticism pertaining to the creation of the *écorché* entail the development of the third section of analysis: here I explore the medical ideas that contributed to the design of the object, epitomized in the teaching of anatomy, with a focus on Gerota's and Papilian's anatomical views and methods. The study delves into the positioning of the *écorché* as a merely instrumental genre of illuminating a museological impulse inhabiting the anatomist's choice for keeping the object: here I address the *écorché*'s potential to have been conceived more as an exhibit than as a didactic tool by the anatomist, and how, beyond acquiring knowledge about the human body, Papilian's relation with Brâncuși's *écorché* is more revealing of his perception of art and his placement within an expanding culture of collecting art in Cluj, as well as within his own literary work. From this point on, the text explores the effectiveness of objective knowledge activated by the *écorché* by tracing a rapprochement between Brâncuși's object and the visual culture of anatomy. On one hand, this section of my text is meant to highlight the value of the *écorché* in terms of display and function and the impact it had on the teaching of anatomy by way of artistic visualizations in the larger European context. On the other, it supports understanding how such culture prompted not only changing interpretations of the *écorché*, but also its polymorphous representation in the anatomists' quest to conflate boundaries between its artistic and medical investments: to put it briefly, the displacements incurred by the *écorché*'s meaning in relation to the anatomist's perspective. Far from being appropriated in a manner solely oriented towards the pragmatic use in the teaching of anatomy, Brâncuși's *Écorché* mutates from a pedagogical instance of sculpture into a work of art in the possession of Papilian, the anatomist who energetically engaged with the artistic scene of his time. The paper's conclusion argues that Brâncuși's *Écorché* unveils a fundamentally hybrid nature pertaining to the anatomical object, and that it marks a transition from its initial context of production, where it performed more of a didactic role, to the context of reception, where it mobilized the anatomist's interest for early twentieth century modern art.

Defining the *écorché*

The *écorché* is defined as an anatomical illustration or sculpture that represents the body of a living being or a bodily fragment, stripped of its skin and fat tissues, with the purpose of revealing to the onlooker the

internal parts.⁴ Anatomical images can range from high to low fidelity, and manifest varying degrees of realistic depiction. Starting with the Renaissance, one area of artistic anatomy slowly began to be individually conceived as a field of representation mainly focused on the morphology of muscles, veins and joints, and increasingly integrated developing medical perspectives, such as views of the organs within the torso and abdomen. During the Renaissance, artists performed their own dissections and produced wax *écorchés*, figures without skin, but showing off musculature, in a move that had been described as simultaneously referencing the societal interest for corporeal visualizations, as well as establishing the success of their respective makers on the art scene.⁵ The end result of these anatomical images mirroring the medical work of fellow colleagues in the realm of anatomy was to prefigure the merging of pictorial virtuosity with the conquering of what would have been understood as objective knowledge. Another concept brought into discussion within the anatomical representation of the body is that of ‘manikin’, which is a jointed model of the human body, used in the teaching of anatomy starting with the eighteenth century,⁶ based on earlier models used by artists in their pursuit of realistic depiction of bodily movements. The ‘manikin’ is similar to ‘mannequin’ in the sense that it is a human-shaped model used to simulate the human body: however, instead of being used in the realm of clothing, manikins are meant to contribute to the advancement of medical knowledge and assist in the simulation of surgical or clinical scenarios. The purpose around these objects is to provide anatomists, surgeons, clinicians and their students a safe environment to learn and practice their skills, without resorting to the use of a live patient. Both manikins and mannequins act as human simulators, despite their uses being different: the quest for realism is reframed in the history of art as an endless production of artificial men and women: explicit images of anatomically accurate bodies, *écorchés* in the categories of sculpture, drawing or painting become, in their stylized form, an implicit blueprint for looking at the world in an objective manner. Notwithstanding the surface or medium that allow for their configuration, art history’s *écorchés* inaugurate a phantasm of developing objectivity-infused inquiries: the possibility to translate and transcribe tridimensional reality on the surface of the canvas, wall or paper via investigations of the anatomical rendering of

⁴ Monique Kornell, “Ecorché” entry, Grove Art Online (<https://www.oxfordartonline.com/groveart/view/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.001.0001/oao-9781884446054-e-7000024851?rsk=wlwxjs&result=1>), accessed on February 1st, 2021.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ K. F. Russell, ‘Ivory Anatomical Manikins’, *Medical History* 16/2 (1972): 131 - 142.

the body had been linked to the formation and proliferation of fluid encounters between the works of anatomists and the vision of artists.⁷

The history of Brâncuși's Écorché - contexts of production and distribution

Constantin Brâncuși's Écorché does not exist as a single material item.⁸ The bibliography brings forth a number of art historians and medical figures who, on one hand have attempted to establish a precise chronology concerning the number of the écorché's originals and copies, while on the other hand set out to extract the messages conveyed by the entity itself: is it a work of art meant to convert the artist's desire to do an unusual sculpture, is it rather a co-authored piece of an indelibly didactic nature, or is it ultimately an anatomical object designed to look like a work of art, but acting as another tool of instruction in a museum of anatomy?⁹ The trouble with delineating a precise mode of analysis is

⁷ See Glenn Harcourt, 'Andreas Vesalius and the Anatomy of Antique Sculpture', *Representations*, 17 (1987): 28 - 60; Brian P. Kennedy - Davis Coakley (eds.), *The Anatomy Lesson: Art and Medicine*, exhibition catalogue (Dublin: National Gallery of Ireland, 1992); Mimi Cazort et al. (eds.), *The Ingenious Machine of Nature. Four Centuries of Art and Anatomy* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1996); Deanna Petherbridge - Ludmilla Jordanova (eds.), *The Quick and the Dead. Artists and Anatomy*, exhibition catalogue (London: Hayward Gallery & University of California Press, 1997); Elliot Bostwick Davis, "William Rimmer's 'Art Anatomy' and Charles Darwin's Theories of Evolution", *Master Drawings*, 40/4 (2002): 345 - 359; Cynthia Klestinec, 'Civility, Compartment and the Anatomy Theater: Girolamo Fabrici and His Medical Students in Renaissance Padua', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 60/2 (2007): 434 - 463; Raphaël Cuir, *The Development of the Study of Anatomy. From the Renaissance to Cartesianism: da Carpi, Vesalius, Estienne, Bidloo* (Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2009); Domenico Laurenza, 'Art and Anatomy in Renaissance Italy. Images from a Scientific Revolution', *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, 69/3 (2012): 5 - 48; Roberto Lo Presti, 'Anatomy as Epistemology: The Body of Man and the body of Medicine in Vesalius and his Ancient Sources', *Renaissance and Reformation/Renaissance et Réforme*, 33/3 (2010): 27 - 60; Elizabeth Hallam, *Anatomy Museum. Death and the Body Displayed* (London: Reaktion Books, 2016); Andrew Graciano, *Visualizing the Body in Art, Anatomy, and Medicine since 1800: Models and Modeling* (London: Taylor & Francis, 2019).

⁸ For an excellent analysis of the work in terms of copies and originals see: Elena Dumitrescu, *Ecorșeul Brâncuși - Gerota. Istoria unei lucrări realizate la Școala de Belle Arte din București* [Brâncuși-Gerota Écorché. The History of a Work done at the Belle Arte School in Bucharest] (București: Editura UNARTE, 2013).

⁹ See George Oprescu, *Sculptura Românească* [Romanian Sculpture] (București: Meridiane, 1965); Mircia Deac, *Brâncuși* (București: Ed. Meridiane, 1966); V.G. Paleolog, *Tineretea lui Brâncuși* [Brâncuși' Youth] (București: Ed. Tineretului, 1967); Petre Comarnescu, *Brâncuși mit și metamorfoză în sculptura contemporană* [Brâncuși myth and metamorphosis in contemporary sculpture] (București: Meridiane, 1972); Sidney Geist, *Brâncuși - un studiu asupra sculpturii* [Brâncuși- a study of the sculpture] (București: Meridiane, 1973); Petre Oprea, *Incursiuni în sculptura românească sec. XIX-XX* [Incursion into Romanian sculpture] (București: Litera, 1974); Barbu Brezianu, *Brâncuși în România* [Brâncuși in Romania] (București: Editura Academiei RSR, 1976); Gheorghe Ghițescu, *Permanențele artei* [The Permanents of Art]

reflected in the omissions, ambiguities and discontinuities one can detect in this bibliography.¹⁰ Given the shortage of archival sources and the tendency to work out arguments within the framework of their respective disciplines, it becomes apparent where the conditions for the difficulty of deconstructing the significance behind the many versions of Brâncuși's *Écorché* stem from. In the historiographical space of the *Écorché*, its art historical mobilization is based on considerations of genre, artistic formation, the acquisition of stylistic virtuosity, perhaps as a stepping-stone towards future emancipation of form; in a way, the *Écorché* is inadvertently subjected to a silently condescending approach in art history - it symbolically imagines the work of art as one dutifully inscribed in a trajectory that sees it as a catalyst for radical change in the sculptural realm of the twentieth century. Scholars, nevertheless agree that the *Écorché* is a single work of art that materialized between 1901-1902 in several material formats: it was initially made by Brâncuși in plaster and after the extraction of its negatives, the statue was replicated after 1903 in several exemplars made of gypsum (white or coloured).¹¹

Brâncuși started working on the *Écorché* in 1901, while in his final year at the academy of art in Bucharest, benefitting from the support of his professor in artistic anatomy, Dimitrie Gerota, who was also active as professor of topographic anatomy at the Faculty of Medicine. For his *Écorché*, Brâncuși was awarded the bronze medal in the anatomy competition and the *Écorché* was exhibited at the Atheneum¹² in 1903, being met with critical and public success. At the time, the Atheneum's building hosted the school of arts' picture gallery ('Pinacoteca'), exhibitions of contemporary art, as well as the classes of human anatomy, perspective, theory of decorative arts, aesthetics and history of art.¹³ Gerota played a pivotal role in the creation of the work. In order to complete his *Écorché*, Brâncuși not only frequented the anatomy classes in the medical school,

(București: Ed. Meridiane, 1976); Gheorghe Brătescu, *Trecut și viitor în medicină - Studii și note* [Past and Future in Medicine - Studies and Notes] (București: Ed. Medicală, 1981); Gheorghe Ghițescu, *Antropologie artistică* [Artistic anthropology] (București: Ed. Didactică și Pedagogică, 1981); Doina Lemny, Cristian-Robert Velescu, *Brâncuși inedit - însemnări și corespondență românească* [Brâncuși- notes and correspondence] (București: Ed. Humanitas, 2004); Elena Dumitrescu, *Ecorșeul Brâncuși - Gerota. Istoria unei lucrări realizate la Școala de Belle Arte din București* [Brâncuși-Gerota *Écorché*. The History of a Work done at the Belle Arte School in Bucharest] (București: Editura UNARTE, 2013).

¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 13 - 39.

¹¹ Ibid., pp. 57- 69.

¹² Ibid., p. 73.

¹³ Adrian-Silvan Ionescu, *Învățământul artistic românesc 1830 - 1892* [Romanian Artistic Education 1830-1892] (București: Meridiane, 1999), p. 154.

but was allowed to attend the dissection activities carried out by the doctor. Aware of the young artist's potential, Gerota wanted to support Brâncuși in his ambitions to study abroad, hence, after the Atheneum exhibition, he was the one in charge with organizing the execution of several replicas of the *écorché*, to be distributed equally in artistic and medical environments, and for which young Brâncuși was financially compensated. One of these originals was sent by Gerota to Victor Papilian, professor of topographic and comparative anatomy at the Faculty of Medicine in Cluj, sometime in the mid-1930s.¹⁴ For several decades after this offering, information concerning the existence of an original work by Brâncuși simply evaded the literature of the time. It was only by the late 1960s that light was shed upon the existence of a Brâncuși *écorché* in Cluj: during a visit in town, Gheorghe Ghițescu, professor of artistic anatomy at the academy of art in Bucharest, identified the object as an original work by Brâncuși, and consequently informed art historian Barbu Brezianu about its existence.¹⁵ Later on, Cluj anatomist Ioan Albu sent a letter to Brezianu, describing the work in detail; he also later published an article in 'Clujul Medical' where he confirmed the existence of the original work in the department's museum of anatomy. He based his argument not only on Ghițescu's previous identification, but also by recalling the oral testimony of C.C. Velluda (1893 - 1978), a long-time assistant and collaborator of Papilian.¹⁶ Egon Lövith (1923 - 2009), professor at the department of sculpture at the Ion Andreescu Institute of Visual Arts, took charge of the restoration works for the *Écorché*, firstly by detaching negatives, an intervention followed by the execution of several other copies: two of them were given to the Faculty of Medicine, two were kept for the institute of arts in Cluj and the negatives were also preserved, in order to allow for the production of copies for various educational institutions in the country. Brâncuși's *Écorché*'s trajectory eventually included a larger number of copies: two were distributed in the 1980s to the Army's Fine Arts Studio in Bucharest and in Târgu Jiu, and later, in the 1990s, other copies were sent to the High School of Music and Fine Arts in Alba Iulia, the Faculty of Music and Visual Arts at the University of Pecs, 'Corneliu Baba' High School of Art in Bistrița, 'Aurel Popp' High School of Art Satu-Mare and the 'Patriarch Justinian' Faculty of Orthodox Theology at the University of Bucharest.¹⁷

¹⁴ Ion Albu, 'Victor Papilian, 1888 - 1956', in I. Simiti (ed.), *Figuri reprezentative ale medicinei și farmaciei clujene* (Cluj-Napoca: Litografia IMF, 1980), p. 88.

¹⁵ Dumitrescu, *Ecorșeul Brâncuși*, annex 10, no page no.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Dumitrescu, *Ecorșeul Brâncuși*, p. 137.

The interesting detail in this list of events is that, according to C.C. Velluda, Victor Papilian, a former student of Gerota in Bucharest, entered into possession of the *écorché* sometime in 1934 or 1935. The work is included in the museum of anatomy founded by Papilian at the department of anatomy a decade earlier, at a time when things were already changing in a museological sense: the museum of anatomy could not be visited anymore by the general public, and the anatomical objects were meant to be seen only by the professor of anatomy and his students. The *Écorché's* identity as a work of art remains hidden for the public at large, and the *Écorché's* display is bestowed the sole purpose of helping students learn anatomy; besides attending the professor's lectures and applying his methods during the dissection lessons in the designated laboratories, students were supposed to visually grasp the field of anatomy by consulting book illustrations and by looking at the wet and dry specimens in the museum of anatomy.

Investigating agency - the artist and the anatomists

Having so far provided the narrative context for Brâncuși's *Écorché*, I will move next to the issue of agency and succinctly present the main figures responsible for the way the history of the *Écorché* unfolded. Dimitrie Gerota (1867 - 1939) was an anatomist, physician and radiologist. He was born in Craiova, being the son of a priest. In 1886, Gerota enrolled in the Faculty of Medicine at the University of Bucharest, and graduated in 1892. After graduation, he travelled and furthered his studies for four years in France and Germany. After returning to Bucharest, he started practicing medicine and teaching at various institutions. Considered to be the first Romanian radiologist, Gerota researched the anatomy and physiology of the bladder and appendix, and developed a method for injecting lymphatic vessels, known in textbooks as the 'Gerota method'.¹⁸ During his lifetime, his merits were recognized in the way he applied anatomy to surgery, as well as for being the founder of a large emergency-care hospital. Gerota also founded a museum of anatomical-surgical casts. Together with Francisc Rainer (1874 - 1944), he was Victor Papilian's professor of anatomy in Bucharest.¹⁹

¹⁸ <https://medical-dictionary.thefreedictionary.com/Gerota+method>, accessed on February 1st, 2021.

¹⁹ Cristian Bârsu, 'Fighting for Anatomy. Overview regarding two prestigious Romanian anatomists of the 20th century: Victor Papilian and Grigore T. Popa', *Romanian Journal of Morphology and Embryology*, 57/1 (2016): 331 - 337.

Constantin Brâncuși (1876 - 1957) is ubiquitously presented as a key figure in the history of modernist development of the sculptural form in the beginning of the twentieth century. The *Écorché*, without exhibiting literal clues of this emancipatory destiny of the sculptural morphology, nevertheless represented a novelty in the local context, it being the first oeuvre of this kind, originally designed and executed within the institutional framework of a Romanian school of art. Up to Brâncuși's undertaking of the task, no other professor of sculpture at the institute had come up with the idea of making an *écorché* (the existing *écorchés* were plaster casts brought from Paris). As a student in the department of sculpture, learning from and training under the supervision of artists Ion Georghescu (1856 - 1898) and Wladimir C. Hegel (1839 - 1918), Brâncuși makes a rather unconventional choice when he decides to work on an *écorché*: beyond the requirements of treating plaster as a valid medium for an exercise in visibility (revealing the inner structure of the body), the format allowed for the expression of a yearning. Despite his naturalistic appearance, his 'flayed man' might be seen not only as a successful instance of reuniting the natural and the ideal in a single piece of sculpture, but also as a tentative leap in transgressing the boundaries of the Neoclassical school of sculpture he was part of during his study years.

Victor Papilian (1888 - 1956) was an anatomist, writer and active figure on the cultural scene of Cluj in the first decades of the twentieth century. After he graduated from the Conservatory of Music, he pursued studies of medicine in Bucharest between 1907 - 1916, under the supervision of anatomists Francisc Rainer and Dimitrie Gerota.²⁰ In 1915 he was appointed president of the Students' Society of Medicine in Bucharest and in 1919 he was invited to be head of the Department of Anatomy at the Faculty of Medicine in Cluj. While there, he became a member of the Society of Biology and the Society of Anthropology, and he was also appointed dean of the Faculty of Medicine (between 1930-1931, and 1940-1946). In addition to his medical research, Papilian gained notoriety for his many artistic interests: he was director of the Romanian Theatre (1936-1940), director of the Cluj Philharmonic, as well as a member of the Writers' Society of Transylvania. During the Communist regime, he was imprisoned in 1952 for a period of two years. Papilian was a prolific writer of fiction and a passionate collector of art. According to his assistant, C.C. Velluda, Gerota personally sent him Brâncuși's *Écorché*. His art collection included works of contemporary art.²¹

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ioana Vlasiu, 'Colecții și colecționism în Clujul interbelic', *Studii și cercetări de istoria artei, artă plastică*, 8/52 (2018): 29 - 43.

Papilian was good friends with dermatologist Coriolan Tătaru (1889 - 1957) and encouraged him to open a museum of casts; in his turn, Tătaru was also an avid collector of art.²² According to Ioan Albu, during the temporary evacuation of the Faculty of Medicine in 1940, to Sibiu, Papilian took the écorché with him and kept it in his small office, without confessing to anyone the value it had.²³ In the archives of the faculty of medicine there are no indications of an official transfer made from Bucharest to Cluj between 1933 - 1937, but Albu posits that the écorché was a personal donation.²⁴

The relationship between Gerota and Brâncuși

Having briefly described the main figures of the story, the emphasis falls nevertheless on an important question: why was the écorché ultimately commissioned? In order to answer it, I will first examine the relationship between Gerota and Brâncuși. Gerota was both an anatomist and a surgeon. He adhered to the German school of modern anatomy that drew a close link between anatomy and surgery in the advancement of modern medicine.²⁵ His experiences abroad were defining for his career as an anatomist. During his studies in Berlin, he worked for a period of three years as an assistant to the renowned anatomist Heinrich Wilhelm Gottfried von Waldeyer-Hartz (1836 - 1921), who coined the notions of 'chromosome' and 'neuron' as anatomical-morphological concepts. Waldeyer was not only a gifted teacher, but also an excellent microscopist and microscopic researcher. Among his many anatomical and embryological studies, Waldeyer became known for his pioneering research on the development of teeth and hair, and many of the terms he invented are still in use today. He also published the first embryological, anatomical and functional studies about the naso-oro-pharyngeal lymphatic tissue. During his studies in France 1894, Gerota worked as an assistant to Paul-Julien Poirier (1853 - 1907) and Luis Hubert Farabeuf (1841 - 1910): Farabeuf's anatomical practice brought great service to surgery, mixing a topographical view with physiology and his anatomical discoveries and inventions of surgical tools bear nowadays his name ('Farabeuf's triangle of the neck', 'Farabeuf retractors' and 'Farabeuf forceps').²⁶ He wrote an influential 'Précis de manuel opératoire', and was also greatly respected for the beauty of his anatomical drawings, of which

²² Ibid.

²³ Dumitrescu, *Ecorșeul Brâncuși*, annex 10, no page no.

²⁴ Albu, 'Victor Papilian', p. 90.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Konstantinos Laios et al., 'Louis Hubert Farabeuf (1841 - 1910). A pioneer of topographical, clinical and surgical anatomy', *Italian Journal of Anatomy and Embryology*, 123/1 (2018): 46 - 50.

he made use during teaching classes (lost nowadays).²⁷ In a photograph from 1908 taken from his office, Farabeuf is surrounded not only by surgical instruments, but also by a large anatomical picture ('planche murale')²⁸ and a 1926 caricature shows him demonstrating the articulation of the knee on one such 'planche murale'.²⁹

After he returned to Bucharest, Gerota got involved in the organization of a museum of anatomy, being the first anatomist pursuing this museological project at the Faculty of Medicine in Bucharest. His endeavour reinforced the importance played by the practice of developing visual artefacts in the activity of an anatomist at the beginning of the twentieth century. Gerota founded a museum of anatomical-surgical pieces with objects made exclusively by himself, by the method of injecting fragments of dead bodies with coloured wax; his work was considered significant, since for this museum he was awarded the gold medal and the diploma of honour in the 'Science exhibition' organized in Bucharest, in 1903.³⁰ Next to the description of the renal fascia, Gerota's fame as an anatomist is closely linked with the development of the formaldehyde method. In the creation of anatomical specimens, his method consisted in first injecting the formaldehyde, then freezing the corpse, and finally sectioning the corpse: 'one of the most valuable properties of formic adhesive is to fix the organs in their natural situation and to give them a remarkable elasticity'.³¹ The main advantage of this method consists in the possibility of sectioning full corpses into longitudinal and latitudinal sections, so that the anatomist can carefully trace the disease's trajectory and its aftermath in the ill body. This method also allowed Gerota to articulate the description of the renal fascia, later known as 'Gerota's fascia': 'Thanks to this property one can study the anatomy of the whole body... I was able to section whole corpses into transverse or longitudinal slices [...]'.³² In his work, Gerota acts as a specialist who locates, names and describes anatomical regions and markers, by way of intense visualization.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 49.

²⁸ https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:M._Farabeuf,_professeur_d%27anatomie_honoraire,_dans_son_cabinet_%C3%A0_la_fa_CIPB0294.jpg, accessed on February 1st, 2021.

²⁹ <https://www.biusante.parisdescartes.fr/histmed/image?medchanteclx1926x16x0011>, accessed on February 1st, 2021.

³⁰ Dumitrescu, *Ecorșeul Brâncuși*, pp. 40 - 42.

³¹ Laios et al., *Louis Hubert Farabeuf (1841 - 1910)*, p. 49.

³² See Dimitre Gerota, 'Über die Anwendung des Formols in der topographischen Anatomie', *Anatomischer Anzeiger*, 1895, vol. XI.

The preservation of specimens in the history of anatomy is a story intertwined with the museological framework that consolidated the authority of the anatomist not only as a medical figure in charge of mapping objective knowledge within the confines of human corporeality, but also as a curator of an anatomized way of seeing. For example, Dutch medicine by the mid-seventeenth century performed wax-based experiments resembling Egyptian embalming; organs injected with wax could preserve their structure before the decomposition of tissues.³³ Colouring was an important addition, because when combined with red, green or yellow dyes, it affected the perception of the anatomical formation. By late 1770s in Scottish medicine, spirit was used in the creation of soft tissue specimens. In England at the same era, turpentine was applied by anatomist John Sheldon in the process of drying specimens in order to render them transparent, so that he could have a clearer picture of the mercury injections applied to blood vessels. When wax injections became more widely used due to their increased quality, mercury-based technologies were gradually abandoned.³⁴

Gerota was willing to both inspire and encourage young Brâncuși in his work. The anatomist's activity at the school of art in Bucharest - where he was drawing, in front of the students, various schemes and structures of the body - was deemed of utter importance by the head of the school. In a letter sent by G.D. Mirea (1852 - 1934) to the ministry of education, he emphasized the importance of Gerota's class of artistic anatomy in the training of the young artists.³⁵ Books remained a valuable source of instruction too: in his communication with Brâncuși, Gerota is thought to have provided him with two important sources of visual documentation, namely Paul Richer's 'Artistic Anatomy' (1893) containing 110 plates and 300 figures, as well as Franz Liharzik's 1871 volume devoted to the structure of the human body. Paul Richer (1849 - 1933) was a French anatomist, neurologist, historian of medicine, illustrator, sculptor and medallist. He worked as professor of artistic anatomy at the École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts in Paris, was appointed member of the Académie Nationale de Médecine (1898), and significantly, he was also an assistant to Jean-Martin Charcot (1825 - 1893) at the Salpêtrière,

³³ Rina Knoef, 'Dutch Anatomy and Clinical Medicine in 17th-Century Europe', *European History Online* (EGO), published by the Leibniz Institute of European History (IEG), Mainz 2012-06-20, <http://ieg-ego.eu/en/threads/models-and-stereotypes/the-dutch-century/rina-knoeff-dutch-anatomy-and-clinical-medicine-in-17th-century-europe>, accessed on February 1st, 2021.

³⁴ Phyllis Allen, 'Medical Education in 17th Century England', *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 1/1(1946): 115 - 143.

³⁵ Dumitrescu, *Ecorșeul Brâncuși*, annex 6, no page no.

together with whom he conducted research not only on hysteria and epilepsy, but also co-authored studies about the relationship between medicine and art: *Les Démoniaques dans l'art* (1887) and *Les Difformes et les malades dans l'art* (1889). The myology plates in Richer's *Artistic Anatomy* (no. 53 - 55, no. 59 - 62, no. 68 - 71)³⁶ present écorchés detailing the muscles of the torso and the head, paralleling earlier images developed in ancient classical sculpture as well as their neoclassical iterations. A few of these plates render fragments of myological set-ups, explaining in schematic drawings accompanied by textual descriptions the relation between bones and muscles. They also pay close attention to the spatial distribution of each element, without sacrificing at any point a sense of unity, harmony and symmetry hailed by classical theories of aesthetics. Such anatomical illustrations at Brâncuși's disposal promote a picture of idealized beauty far removed from the rather distressing encounters with the human material during dissections at the faculty of medicine. The anatomist carefully arranges these fragments on the surface of the page according to the laws of symmetry and by keeping under tight control the page's margins. Muscles and bones are constricted to the contouring of their general shape, while at other times the anatomist as artist resorts to a juxtaposition of contour less anatomical spaces and carefully demarcated ones through the use of an uninterrupted line. Plate 74 opens the series of 'topographie morphologique' dealing with the exterior surface of the body: the way shading was applied says perhaps less about anatomical content (as simplified as it might have been in a book of artistic anatomy), and more about the technology of seeing anatomy through the draughtsman's eyes. Polished, neat, shaded surfaces of the body echo the practice of drawing after classical sculptures in the education of young artists. Richer, in a line of artist-anatomists, orchestrates a liminal process that characterizes the relationship between medical and artistic anatomy: the conversion of medical knowledge into visual schemes, able to be read and understood on the basis of acquaintance with the cultural heritage of post-Renaissance corporeal art.

Anatomical realms - artistic and medical

After Brâncuși's departure to Paris, Gerota is the one responsible for making the Écorché known in Romania and he will never present the Écorché as his work, despite having co-authored it.³⁷ In order to grasp the meaning of Gerota's decision of commissioning the original copies after

³⁶ <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k205846w.pdf>, accessed on February 1st, 2021.

³⁷ Dumitrescu, *Ecorșeul Brâncuși*, p. 55.

Brâncuși's *Écorché*, we need to look beyond the narrative details of the story. In this sense, the iconography of Gerota's anatomical studio³⁸ is helpful, as it reveals it as an ambiguous and eclectic space, mixing the private and public nature of anatomy. It speaks of the juxtaposition of art and nature, as well as of the representations of their encounter in the shape of wax models and anatomical moulages. A multitude of representations of the human form are brought together, be they of an anatomical, ideal or museological nature. It demonstrates that anatomy relies on a mixture of textures, materials and intentions not only in the teaching spaces and laboratories, but also in the private space of the anatomist's office. The protagonist of the photo is Brâncuși's *Écorché* and there is one important detail to be taken into account: the *écorché* belongs to the 'white' series, that is, the gypsum had not yet undergone the medically-oriented stylized painting in red (for the muscles) and yellow (for the tissues), even if it strikingly models anatomical accuracy. On the left, a human-sized skeleton fulfils the role of displaying the human body devoid of any flesh; stacks of shelves presenting dry and wet specimens fill the back wall; large X-Ray photographs show the newly acquired technology, invented just a few decades earlier by Roentgen and for which the scientist was awarded in 1901 the Nobel prize in Physics; on the right, anatomical moulages in wax after a pregnant woman's body reference not only the interest in anatomical visualization, but also Gerota's earlier investment in gynaecology, having co-authored with O. Schaeffer a book called 'Elements of Gynaecology'. What is striking in this particular photographic instance of the ambiance of an anatomist's office is the clear cohabitation of distinct anatomical realms, artistic and medical, united however by a longing for scientific translation of content: the anatomist positions himself as a curator of experiences in visuality, assigning objectivity to various pictures and artefacts, in a bid to organically contain a corpus of images and imaginings of the human body (conceived as a frail entity prone to incurring disease which then prompts medical assistance). Gerota's office, as captured in the photograph, speaks to the anatomist's predilection for mixing materials, surfaces, and their assigned visualizations. In this sense, the anatomist reveals an identity which is not divorced from the museological impetus inherent in the practice of collecting distinct media in order to make visible the encounters between the body and the anatomical gaze.

During Brâncuși's time at the academy of art in Bucharest, the young artist could consult the collection of imported statues meant to assist in the development of the sculptural form. The first imported

³⁸ After a photo published in Elena Dumitrescu, *Ecorșeul Brâncuși*, p. 46.

statues were those brought in 1864 by Theodor Aman from Paris, representing gypsum casts executed in the Louvre workshop as copies after the following statues: Apollo of Belvedere, Diana, Venus, Antinous, a smaller-sized écorché and ten metopes from the Parthenon.³⁹ In addition to these statues, Brâncuși was also able to consult the anatomical atlas of Dr. Julian Fau, given as a present to the school's library by Petru Verussi in 1868, who received a state scholarship to study in Paris. According to a letter sent to the minister in September 1903 by G.D. Mirea: '[...] we agreed with a moulder to make copies, in double numbers, after: Apollo, Antinous, Ariana, Child with Swan, Diana, Faun with Pipe, The Gladiator, Mercury in repose, Venus of Medici and Venus of Milo, for a sum of 1650 lei – a sum that is higher than the price these models were paid for in Paris. The company in charge with them is Luigi Brida - the first Italian workshop of sculpture, gypsum ornaments and cement'.⁴⁰ By 1903, the school of art's inventory contained a number of eleven statues representing late nineteenth-century copies after canonical statues from Antiquity. The aftermath of Brâncuși winning the bronze medal and the 1903 display of the Écorché at the Atheneum is reflected in a letter sent by the students of the art academy, asking for the commissioning of several copies after the écorché, in order to support the development of the artistic anatomy as well as the correct anatomical understanding of the human body by the artists in training.⁴¹ In the absence of teaching material, it was very difficult for young artists to develop their skills, representation-wise.

I will next explore the details found in a photo of Brâncuși's workshop,⁴² and in which one can notice the sources of inspiration for his own anatomical work. The sources are: a fragment of anatomical moulage in the shape of a leg écorché; a fragment of an arm écorché; a human skeleton; a copy after Houdon's Écorché from the eighteenth century (1767); a copy after the statue of Antinous from the Capitoline Museum in Rome (bought by Theodor Aman in Paris). The posture of Brâncuși's écorché closely mirrors the one of Antinous, which triggers the question of the artist's motives in re-enacting it. Gheorghe Ghițescu argued that the choice for modelling the écorché after Antinous relied upon the artist's preference for an elegance of form, as the androgynous-looking body exhibiting a thinly veiled musculature resonated with a concept of beauty assigned to the rhymed

³⁹ Ionescu, *Învățământul artistic românesc*, p. 154.

⁴⁰ Dumitrescu, *Ecorșeul Brâncuși*, annex 1, no page no.

⁴¹ Ibid. annex 2, no page no.

⁴² https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Constantin_Brâncuși_-_Ecorseu.jpg, accessed on February 1st, 2021.

movement of proportions.⁴³ Charles Bell (1774 - 1842), Scottish anatomist and anatomical artist, wrote a book entitled *Essays on the Anatomy of Expression in Painting* (1806), demonstrating that ancient models often imitated by painters did not accurately reflect anatomical realities. Even if the book combined his interest in art and medicine, the book's audience mainly targeted visual artists. Bell argued in favour of paying greater attention to anatomy in the representational projects of accurate presentation of the body.⁴⁴ A few years earlier, in 1801, Bell had written a book accompanied by illustrations entitled 'Engravings of the Arteries', meant to be used by students of medicine as a foundational text for surgical study and practice. Truthful learning of anatomy could be achieved when detailed descriptions were joined with meticulous drawings; in choosing the type of body most suitable for representation, Bell was in favour of going for a diversity of bodies, and also proposed that the artists ought to represent the most typical anatomical examples. Concerning the copy after Houdon's 'flayed man', it is worth mentioning that his source of inspiration consisted in the figures of anatomy and the anatomical plates of Diderot's *Encyclopédie* (1751 - 1772).⁴⁵ According to Quatremère de Quincy, the *écorché* '[...] had become, in schools, the normal example of human muscular anatomy':⁴⁶ 'Houdon's merit lies in having produced, with a view to future sculptors, a work entirely educational in character, which had been tried before him, but not really carried out', according to Émile Delerot and Arsène Legrelle.⁴⁷ The presence of the copy after Houdon in the workshop where Brâncuși was working on his own *écorché* recalls the presence of this type of statue in the pictorial realm. One such example is an oil painting from the Wellcome Collection in London, entitled 'A man holding an *écorché* statuette'. The statuette is based on an original wax model designed around 1600 in Florence by Ludovico Cigoli, il Cardi, 'La bella anatomia', or 'Lo scorticato', later reproduced in plaster and bronze and becoming very popular. The

⁴³ Ghițescu, *Permanențele artei*, p. 162.

⁴⁴ See Carin Berkowitz, *Charles Bell and the Anatomy of Reform* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015).

⁴⁵ Morwena Joly, 'L'obsession du *dessous* : Diderot et l'image anatomique', *Recherches sur Diderot et l'Encyclopédie*, 1/43 (2008): 57 - 70.

⁴⁶ Quatremère de Quincy, *Recueil de notices historiques lues Dans les séances publiques de L'Académie royale des beaux-arts à l'Institut*, vol. 1 (Paris: Adrien Le Clere, 1834), pp. 393-394; http://archive.wikiwix.com/cache/index2.php?url=https%3A%2F%2Fnumelyo.bm-lyon.fr%2Ff_view%2FBML%3ABML_00GOO0100137001101401854#titre_complet, accessed on February 1st, 2021.

⁴⁷ Émile Delerot - Arsène Legrelle, *Notice sur J.-A. Houdon, de l'Institut (1741-1828)* (Versailles, 1856), <http://archive.wikiwix.com/cache/index2.php?url=https%3A%2F%2Farchive.org%2Fdetails%2Fnoticesurjahoud00legrgoog%2Fpage%2Fn8%2Fmode%2F2up>, accessed on February 1st, 2021.

schools of art in Europe in the nineteenth and early twentieth century produced copies of this original statue for the instruction of their students in the correct rendering of the human body, equally for the painting and sculpture departments. The difference between Houdon's écorché and Cigoli's 'Lo scorticato' is not only one of style, material and era: it is also embedded in the status of the anatomical representation in the artist's imaginary, promoting two distinct understandings of the value of the écorché for the advancement of an objective understanding of corporeality on the part of the artist.

Anatomists in Cluj and their interest for anatomical collections

Moving further in the present analysis, it is the context of dissemination for Brâncuși's Écorché that is worth investigating. I will focus on Papilian and his interests as a collector, as well as on one of his most important literary works. The practice of collection is intimately linked with the status of the anatomist starting from the mid-nineteenth century.⁴⁸ A double thread of interests of the anatomist as collector can be traced, according to the medium of representation: the anatomist as collector of anatomical artefacts and equally, of works of art. The tradition of exhibiting anatomical artefacts in Central Europe had been the object of research in several studies.⁴⁹ The history of anatomy at the Faculty of Medicine in Cluj is punctuated by an encounter with the works of Clemente Susini (1754 - 1814), potentially through two important figures: the first anatomists at Cluj, credited with founding the museums of anatomy at the Faculty of Medicine - Czifra Ferenc (1826 - 1878) and Davida Leo (1852 - 1929). The first's specialty was pathological anatomy, while the latter's was topographic anatomy. Czifra Ferenc was keenly interested in the visual culture of displaying anatomy, and during his study trip, undertaken in 1871, he visited the collections of anatomy that were displayed in Pest and Vienna (currently hosted in the Semmelweis Museum in Budapest and the Josephinum in Vienna).⁵⁰ As a professor of anatomy, twice in 1882 and 1885, Davida Leo travelled abroad at public

⁴⁸ See Rina Knoeff - Robert Zwijnenberg (eds.), *The Fate of Anatomical Collections* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015).

⁴⁹ See Tatjana Buklijas, 'Mapping anatomical collections in nineteenth-century Vienna', in Rina Knoeff - Robert Zwijnenberg (eds.), *The Fate of Anatomical Collections*, pp. 143 - 161; Mélanie van der Hoorn, 'Monsters in Vienna: The pathologisch-anatomisches Bundesmuseum', *Etnofoor*, 11/1 (1998): 77 - 94; Birgit Nemeč, 'Anatomical Modernity in Red Vienna: Textbook for Systematic Anatomy and the Politics of Visual Milieus', *Sudhoffs Archiv*, 99/1 (2015): 44 - 72; Bettina Dietz, 'Making Natural History: Doing the Enlightenment', *Central European History*, 43/1 (2010): 25 - 46.

⁵⁰ See Emil Pasztor, 'Medical Education in Hungary from 1769 to 1971', *Orvostört Kozl.* 53:3-4 (2007): 5-35.

expense to study the furnishing and equipment of autopsy, pathology, and forensic institutes; he visited the medical faculties of Vienna, Prague, Munich, Erlangen, Heidelberg, Würzburg, Tübingen, Giessen, Göttingen, Jena, Leipzig, Halle, Berlin, Strasbourg, Nancy, Zurich, Bern, Basel and Paris.⁵¹ These examples gesture toward the presence of a museological awareness on behalf of the Cluj anatomists, and of a cultural link between this Central European culture of display and the practice of collecting anatomical objects long before Papilian received the *écorché* in the 1930s. By visiting the medical faculty of Vienna, Davida Leo would have certainly been acquainted with the anatomical figure of a flayed man displayed at the Josephinum (a museum open also to the general public since the end of the eighteenth century).

The value of anatomical collections in Europe at the end of the nineteenth century has been read as the securing of a core component in the development of anatomical research.⁵² Specimens of anatomy and pathology resulting from dissections were assembled in exhibition devices which formed the blueprint for the future medical museums. In their turn, these medical museums became one of the gatekeepers of academic credibility for anatomists starting with the mid-nineteenth century: their 'modern' identity set itself apart from the previously inscribed one in the figure of the barber-surgeon precisely through a combination of achievements in discovering and naming anatomical structures (or correcting previous errors) on one hand, and the anatomist's own execution of a collection of specimens with the aid of new methods of preserving bodily structures, on the other. Whilst in eighteenth-century collections, 'curiosities' occupied the majority of the display spaces, at the end of the nineteenth century the realization that it was essential to correlate symptoms with anatomical lesions fruitfully contributed to the theorization of the modern anatomical collection, an indelible marker of the anatomist's expertise. An eager student of anatomy meant a potentially famous future surgeon, ready to cure and save lives, thus the prestige of anatomists as teachers became widely understood as the marker of a modern medical institution.

Teaching was often carried out through the use of visual aids, atlases, drawings made in real time in front of the audience, as well as through the display of dry and wet specimens. From this perspective, it is highly suggestive to examine the plans for the building of the institute of anatomy in Cluj and discover that a large number of rooms were dedicated to the display of normal and pathological specimens of

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² See Findlen, *Possessing Nature*.

anatomy.⁵³ Davida Leo's input in the spatial configuration of the pavilion of anatomy's architecture is marvellously explained in his own words, on the occasion of a publication of an anthology in 1903 of all existing university buildings in Cluj. After the integration of Transylvania into the Kingdom of Romania in 1918 and the institutional establishment of a Romanian-led department of anatomy the year after, the first things to be removed from the building were precisely these early anatomical collections created by the Hungarian anatomists. They were taken to the medical faculty at the University of Szeged, where many of the Hungarian professors transferred their activities. It is for this reason that Victor Papilian, appointed in 1919 as head of the freshly-refashioned department of anatomy, found little in terms of anatomical artefacts and undertook the task of creating new pieces for a new museum of anatomy, a decision which practically involved a high degree of both economic and epistemic investment.⁵⁴ A change however was visible: if during the tenure of Davida Leo, the anatomical museum could be visited by the general public, there is no archival or textual mention that the museum established by Papilian could be seen by regular visitors. In his medical and literary works, Papilian delves into issues concerning the formation and application of the scientific gaze upon objects from the natural world, but there is no mention any longer of the importance of the medical collection from a museological perspective. His identity as maker of anatomical artefacts is overshadowed by his personality, deeply immersed into the cultural scene of his time, especially in its literary and visual arts manifestations.

Papilian - collecting and writing on art

The practice of collecting art is reflected in Papilian's relationship with the art production of the 1920s-1930s. After the First World War and the Union of Transylvania with Romania, the city of Cluj experienced a boom in artistic activities due to the founding of the School of Fine Arts in 1925 and the donation of Virgil Cioflec's important collection of Romanian art to the University, open for public access.⁵⁵ Personalities linked to liberal professions, such as lawyers or doctors, are involved in the emerging prestige of art, because they support art production, in an increasing

⁵³ L.Davida, *L'institut d'Anatomie in Les Facultés de médecine des Universités Royales Hongroises de Budapest et de Kolozsvár, Ouvrage offert à Mm. Les membres de Congrès [XVIe Congrès International de Médecine] par le Ministre Royal Hongrois des Culte set de l'Instruction Publique*, (Budapest, 1909), p. 283.

⁵⁴ Cornel Sigmirean, *Românii și învățământul superior din Transilvania și Ungaria în anii 1900 – 1918 [Romanians and Higher Education in Transylvania and Hungary in 1900-1918]* in Sabin Manoilă, *Istorie și demografie* (Cluj-Napoca: Fundația Culturală Română, 1995), pp. 226 – 256.

⁵⁵ Vlasiu, *Colecții și colecționism în Clujul interbelic*, p.30.

number of exhibitions. The most well-known figures of doctors-collectors in Cluj were those of Coriolan Tătaru, Victor Papilian, Miklos Elekes and Nicolae Mărgineanu. Their interest in modern art had contributed to the change in artistic taste and supported the artistic practice of several young artists, including Catul Bogdan, Sándor Szolnay, Romul Ladea, Nagy István, Anastase Demian, Ion Vlasiu, Jenő Szervatiusz, Nicolae Brana, Tasso Marchini, Eugen Gâscă, and Traian Bilțiu Dăncuș. Having their works bought for private collections, these artists started asserting themselves or they consolidated an already acquired reputation. Papilian's art collection is documented in an important catalogue for one of the most visited exhibitions of visual arts in 1946, and it included works by Elena Popea, Anastase Demian, Eugen Gâscă, Ion Vlasiu, Romul Ladea, Radu Pușcariu.⁵⁶ Papilian's keen interest in the art of his time is marked not only by his activity as collector, by attending cultural Salons, but also by the intriguing collaboration with a local artist. For one of his literary works, Papilian, the anatomist, commissions Catul Bogdan as illustrator for his work of fiction entitled 'Faust's Soul' (1928).

Without being able to reference particular texts devoted to the role of visual art and artists within medical circles, it is nevertheless fruitful to read Papilian's *Immortality's Tormented Ones*. Written between 1941 - 1945 during his refuge in Sibiu, the literary trilogy presents, amongst others, the multifaceted interactions between medical figures and issues pertaining to the sphere of art in pre-WWI Bucharest. The work is rich in vivid depictions of the struggles encountered by young protagonists in their ambitions to reach highly desirable positions on the Bucharest medical scene; it is however more than the narrative matrix that catches one's attention. The trilogy is infused with implications related to the act of seeing, as performed within a medical setting. It shows Papilian's peculiar interest in zooming in on his protagonists' lives as their medical framing is punctuated by issues stemming from the world of art. In this sense, his literary production supports his investment as collector of art, because it uncovers his obvious positioning as a specialist in medicine tackling art-related issues. I will quickly present a few of these aspects, in order to shed light on Papilian's ways of approaching the field of art through his protagonists, as they debate, perform and move in medical circles.

The medical figures whose actions and thoughts are systematically intertwined with the art/medicine collisions are those of Leluț (an ambitious hospital intern who eventually gets the much desired professorship of the histology department at the Faculty of Medicine in Bucharest), Leonin

⁵⁶ Ibid.

(Leluț's opponent, seemingly devoid of career goals, but a gifted young surgeon who is deeply invested in existential questioning of practicing medicine), Magheru (a practitioner of psychoanalysis, who disputes the value of Freudianism, as well as an established figure on the Bucharest medical scene, whom Leonin is very much in awe of), Urlieșu (a well-respected experimental scientist, as well as pathologist, who rejects Magheru's views on almost every level and is much admired by Leluț), Ioana Stamatu (a celebrated poet who is an early adept of Modernism in art) and Eustațiu (a much-revered contemporary painter by almost every character in the book, except for Leluț, who repeatedly finds himself at a loss when dealing with his art). The myriad of scenes involving these characters render visible the vital encounters between the worlds of art and medicine, the way value is transacted and negotiated both in a scientific and artistic sense.

Seeing in connection with the formation of knowledge through using the eye is one of the main features of these encounters. Teaching Leluț the fundamentals of experimental science, Urlieșu reveals to him that many of his peers have no idea how to look at things⁵⁷ because they don't make enough use of their powers of observation, and in particular on those relying on sight required from their medical status. 'Looking at' becomes a recurrent *topos* in the way he elaborates the requirements involved in the development of a scientific eye, and which Leluț is ready to incorporate in his daily activities, thus exasperating his colleagues with his incessant over-watching and recording of their every word or gesture. From this perspective, Urlieșu places the art of painting in the closest vicinity to medical work:⁵⁸ a scientist is primarily called to exercise his vision-dependent function, much as a painter, whose occupation/endeavor develops the power of close inspection. Being a true scientist equals being able to apply to the highest degree the results of an observation-based sensibility. Interestingly, Urlieșu's theory is mirrored by Eustațiu's take on the relationship between the eye and the act of seeing in reaching artistic authenticity: a great artist is called to look at the world around

⁵⁷ Victor Papilian, *Chinuții nemuririi* [vol. I *Marius Leluț*, vol. 2 *Gaby Leonin*, vol. 3 *Manoil*; editor and preface by Titus Bălașa] (Craiova: Scrisul Românesc, 1976) (original in Romanian, my translation): ' [...] not one of them knows how to observe. They have ears, but they won't hear; they have eyes, but they won't see...', vol. I, p. 69; '[...] our professors would be geniuses, if only their intellectual bags would contain this minuscule instrument, the power of observation.', p. 70.

⁵⁸ (original in Romanian, my translation) 'It is the closest form of art to our profession. It develops in us the power of observation which [...] is the primary trait of the man of science.', *Chinuții nemuririi*, p. 286.

him beyond the biological conditioning and get rid of the anatomical teachings, such as *écorchés* after dead bodies. In abandoning the anatomy-infused way of seeing, artists are able to develop truthful forms as ‘symbols’ and ‘movement-thinking’.⁵⁹

Tensions arise when limits are inevitably attached to this celebrated power of the observing eye. Despite his efforts to comprehend the intimate movements behind *Urlieșu*’s face, *Leluț* finds himself struggling: he is able to anatomically read the visual clues, but finds it impossible to endow them with meaning; thus he is left without a real understanding of his protector’s intentions.⁶⁰ As a defender of *Magheru*, who is vying for the same professorship that *Urlieșu* had set his eyes upon, *Eustațiu* centers his criticism on seeing, as a catalyst for discerning value, this time in the realm of medicine, and not in that of art. *Urlieșu*’s ‘entire science values less than one glance of *Magheru*, because *Magheru* is able to look at things, while *Urlieșu* sets a screen of lead between him and the world’.⁶¹ The painter’s virulence is also aimed at anatomy as an institution, which again and again fails to render the young surgeon receptive enough to the true message of painting.⁶²

The novel is rich in passages tackling the topic of looking at modern art, both with positive and negative outcomes. *Tomaziu*, a colleague of *Leluț* and *Leonin*, is a frequent visitor of the ‘*Independența*’ exhibition and is known for his keen interest in acquiring contemporary paintings;⁶³ *Leonin* has in his possession two paintings by *Ștefan Luchian*;⁶⁴ *Magheru* owns drawings by *Auguste Rodin*, a precious gift received from *Rainer*

⁵⁹ (original in Romanian, my translation) ‘A great artist must see with his eyes cleaned even from the curtain of the eyeball. He must look at and absorb the view. He must learn from the beauty of the human body’s shapes, from the transparency of the dream and the depth of the eyes, from the softness of the skin and the elasticity of the tendons, and not from the rigid proportions and the *ecorches*’ copy after dead bodies. The form ought to be symbol and movement - thinking.’, *Chinuții nemuririi*, p. 344.

⁶⁰ (original in Romanian, my translation) ‘In vain he put down the shape of the nose, the dimensions of the lips, the prominence of the cheekbones. On top of the largely pared back shirt’s collar, he was able to see the ribbons of the two sternocleidomastoid muscles, the angles of the thyroid cartilage and the depth of the suprasternal notch. He could see everything and yet something escaped him.’, *Papilian, Chinuții nemuririi.*, p. 68.

⁶¹ *Papilian, Chinuții nemuririi*, p. 343.

⁶² (original in Romanian, my translation) ‘It is anatomy that has turned you all into idiots [...] you should rather look at carpets and flowers all day long. They ought to teach you painting, not anatomy. Ravish your soul with the variety of lines and the subtlety of the colours [...] Search for that trace of mystery in the richness of the stained-glass windows or that of a sunrise...Because a beautiful painting should have a fragment of secrecy able to escape anatomy and geometry.’, *Papilian, Chinuții nemuririi*, p. 344.

⁶³ *Papilian, Chinuții nemuririi*, p. 19, p. 60.

⁶⁴ *Papilian, Chinuții nemuririi*, p. 61.

Maria Rilke.⁶⁵ Numerous discussions bring forth the argument of Nicolae Grigorescu's lesser status in comparison with modern painters and the need, among the younger generation of artists or any practitioner of art, to leave behind the classical heritage and instead start a 'spiritual movement'.⁶⁶ Eustațiu's modern take on pictorial visibility is compared with the art of Matisse, Bonnard and Cézanne, and praised for having the courage to simplify the form and get rid of the debased academic prescriptions, in attempting to transcribe natural shapes into geometric forms.⁶⁷ Magheru insists on the importance of 'educating the eye' in order to be able to appreciate the morphological reductions contained within the paintings of Eustațiu.⁶⁸ In an effort to flatter the particularly modern sensibility of Lia Caloianu, Leluț appropriates Eustațiu's vocabulary and mocks the status of anatomy in the training of the artistic eye.⁶⁹ Lia's uncle turns out to be a painter who left Paris for Tahiti, and Magheru praises Gauguin's style.⁷⁰ Urlieșu owns a volume with reproductions after Claude Monet and in his turn, frames in a positive light the painter's achievements in refraining from merely 'copying nature'.⁷¹

The conversations on art carried out by medical figures show their inclination to look at medical acts as endowed with an artistic dimension. In this sense, dissection is positioned as a form of art few can really master, and those who are unable to do so are consequently shamed for it. Urlieșu, the pathological anatomist, is able to perform 'elegant'

⁶⁵ Papilian, *Chinuiții nemuririi*, p. 164.

⁶⁶ Papilian, *Chinuiții nemuririi*, p. 152.

⁶⁷ (original in Romanian, my translation) '[...] he dared in our poor little country to make art at the same time with Matisse, Bonnard and Cézanne...Eustațiu entirely pushed away anecdote from painting...He simplified the cumbersome technique of the academic art, framing into quasi geometric planes the utterly varied forms of nature and thus searching to infuse them with the true discipline of the human spirit.', in Papilian, *Chinuiții nemuririi*, p. 410.

⁶⁸ Papilian, *Chinuiții nemuririi* p. 189.

⁶⁹ (original in Romanian, my translation) 'I resent flowers, because I love art too much [...] Someone who likes art is unable to appreciate flowers too...[...] There are painters who render nature in a deformed way, they enlarge proportions, destroy the lines and mock our poor anatomy. Good for them. What kind of importance anatomy has, when we're dealing with beauty, in Papilian, *Chinuiții nemuririi*, p. 235.

⁷⁰ Papilian, *Chinuiții nemuririi*, p. 349.

⁷¹ (original in Romanian, my translation) 'It is only a copy, but look at this subtle chromatism, which only the perfect eye of the man of science is able to detect...[....] Claude Monet had a miraculous vision. His eye was a magnifying glass and a stethoscope. He did not rudely copy nature, as many painters do, but he first contemplated and only afterwards expressed. He proved, before physicists, the reality of the light's undulating movements. His eyes caught the artifice of the perspective...[...]. For Leluț, Claude Monet seemed like a great man of science, possessed by a miraculous power of observation.', Papilian, *Chinuiții nemuririi*, p. 286.

dissections and thus instigate 'choreographic emotions' in the audience.⁷² By attending the autopsies performed by Urlieșu, the young interns gradually become participants in a visual spectacle characterized by a kind of aesthetic beauty. Urlieșu holding a heart in his hand turns into an 'aesthetic painting';⁷³ professor Anghel Drăghiceanu defends the art-like nature of surgical interventions;⁷⁴ Leonin frequently provokes Leluț's envy because of his undisputed talent for carrying out operations for an audience which becomes fully immersed in a spectacle of aesthetic enjoyment. Leluț discovers that such is the emphasis placed on the aesthetic nature of the surgical act, that he is almost driven to the point of exasperation: his agile movements are too 'acrobatic' for being considered artistic,⁷⁵ and everyone around him seems unable to get rid of an artistic vocabulary in the surgical rooms.⁷⁶ Leluț's seemingly exclusive outlet for rejoicing aesthetic emotion is delegated to the space of the laboratory: the orderly nature of the instruments and the various colour combinations created in the test tubes provide him with those rare instances of authentic enjoyment.⁷⁷ Cleaning the instruments feels like a 'thing of art'.⁷⁸ Despite his best efforts at appropriating the language and format of modern art, Leluț repeatedly fails to align his taste with that of his opponent, Leonin, for whom mental cohabitation with the acquisitions of modernity seem natural. Leluț's modest victories in the realm of aesthetics are contained in his end-of-year 'rigid' and 'meticulous' drawings supporting the medical content of his papers, and for those he presents at the Society for Medical Students.⁷⁹

Painting is the primary medium characters in the novel debate about; much less is written about the others - architectural descriptions are intertwined with existential readings of Leluț's reactions in his communication with Magheru and Ioana Stamatu, and they underlie his

⁷² (original in Romanian, my translation) 'Urlieșu seemed to have the gift of bringing life even in the house of death. How much safety, how much elegance! What a wonderful surgeon he could have turned into [...] Now, moving forth and back the big knife, as if ready to sketch a drawing, Urlieșu opened the muscles on the ribs, sectioned the diaphragm and cut open the abdomen. [...] This is too a kind of aesthetics, Blidariu said. Mr. Urlieșu has a line which curves from the forehead, on the face's profile and merges with the line of the body, through his hands, up to the instruments of the autopsy. In their evolution, his hands trigger choreographic emotions.' in Papilian, *Chinuiții nemuririi*, p. 138.

⁷³ Papilian, *Chinuiții nemuririi*, p.139.

⁷⁴ Ibid. p. 361.

⁷⁵ Ibid. p. 201.

⁷⁶ Ibid. p. 223.

⁷⁷ Ibid, p. 175.

⁷⁸ Ibid, p. 417.

⁷⁹ Ibid, p. 473.

profound anxiety in understanding modern art. Without specifically mentioning names of contemporary sculptors, there is one passage in the book that might allow for the supposition that Brâncuși's art is present in Magheru's house and art collection: entering the entrance hall of his house, Leluț is struck by the massive presence of marble and stone and is surprised to notice the existence of a significant number of sculptures '[...] on prismatic bases made of wood. And how strangely they were executed. Stiff, linear, as if cut with an axe'.⁸⁰ Significantly, this is the only passage in the trilogy that succinctly brings forth the changes in the conception of sculpture brought by its recent developments, even if it is one-sided and shown in its fear-inducing effect on the viewer.

The visual culture of anatomy

Having previously tackled the manifestation of a double-folded context surrounding Brâncuși's *Écorché* in connection with the field of anatomy, I will proceed further to detailing the concept and historical realities of a visual culture of anatomy whose impact can be linked equally to Gerota and Papilian, and their respective institutional frameworks. In doing so, the emphasis falls on a more nuanced account of the way anatomists were trained to look, not only at art, but more tellingly, at the very objects they manufactured and included in their collections and museums of anatomy. This branch of visual culture had been for centuries conceived as a fluid platform operating between two poles: one, the pedagogical component of art addressing corporeality and second, the immersion into artistry-based production by a certain branch of medical science (anatomy). This section explores possible models and similar objects for Brâncuși's *Écorché* as fundamentally an anatomical object, and it addresses the following questions: how was the anatomical object displayed in order to reflect its value as an artistic object? How was it used in order to fulfil its role as a didactic item?

The starting point for formulating the proposed answers is that of setting a clear distinction between the media these objects were executed in. Brâncuși's *Écorché* in Cluj is a statue made of gypsum, onto which red and yellow painting was added to highlight the body's muscles and tissues. Colour 'anatomizes' what was traditionally delegated to the environment of neoclassical carving or what was preponderantly the 'Antinous' in Brâncuși's *Écorché*. Colour fixes an anatomical layer and meaning on a surface that, left white (like in the photograph of Gerota's

⁸⁰ Ibid. pp. 163 - 164.

studio in Bucharest) seems infused with an ideologically charged aesthetics, delegated to the sphere of art history. Brâncuși's *Écorché* opposes resistance to interpretation simply by virtue of the medium it is made of. 'Anatomical écorchés' were representations of 'flayed men' executed altogether in a different medium: wax. And wax is a term, in its turn, ideologically charged, this time, by the history of medicine. Wax helped the visualization attempts of the anatomists, because it solved a problem concerning the conservation of bodies which was impossible in the eighteenth century. Wax was chosen as a preferred medium because it was easy to be used for moulding human structures, and it also helped make visible the scientific interest and achievement of the anatomist. When travelling abroad, Davida Leo visited the anatomy collections of Pest and Vienna and had the opportunity to engage with the anatomical objects as they were also staged for artistic and rhetorical purposes. Clemente Susini's (1754 - 1814) pivotal role led to the founding of museums affiliated to medical schools, such as those of Bologna and Florence, suffused with bodies either embalmed or moulded in beeswax.⁸¹ The relationship between the work of Susini with the Central European space is reflected in the collections kept nowadays at the Semmelweis Museum in Budapest and the Josephinum in Vienna. Josephinum's famous collection of wax anatomical and obstetric models is the result of a personal initiative of Joseph II.⁸² Inspired by the wax models he saw in Florence, Joseph II ordered 1,192 models for the newly-founded academy in Vienna. In charge of their production were anatomists Felice Fontana and Clemente Susini. After their arrival in Vienna, the objects were shortly put in a museum set-up and thus understood both as visual aids in the teaching of anatomy, as well as objects triggering collective awe because the general public also had access to them.⁸³

At the end of the nineteenth century, a prominent figure of the Viennese anatomy emerged and whose medical ideas about a 'living anatomy' were much admired by both Gerota and Papilian:⁸⁴ Joseph Hyrtl (1810 - 1894). Hyrtl's approach is a much clearer illustration of the didactic dimension of the anatomical object, and he was also an avid

⁸¹ See Thomas N. Haviland, Lawrence Charles Parish, 'A Brief Account of the Use of Wax Models in the Study of Medicine', *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 25/1 (1970): 52 - 75.

⁸² See Alessandro Riva et al., 'The evolution of anatomical illustration and wax modelling in Italy from the 16th to early 19th centuries', *Journal of Anatomy*, 216 (2010), pp. 209 - 222.

⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ See Crisan Mircioiu et. al, *Omagiu Victor Papilian* (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Medicala a UMF, 1988).

collector of artworks.⁸⁵ Hyrtl emphasized the need for anatomical instruction with a clinical orientation, later an idea powerfully promoted by the anatomists in Cluj (both in the Hungarian and Romanian traditions).⁸⁶ In his view, physiological experiments on animals were cruel and devoid of real use in advancing scientific anatomical knowledge. Though not known for discoveries in the field of anatomy, Hyrtl was considered the most gifted teacher of anatomy in the nineteenth century and he also discovered a method of producing large quantities of anatomical models: by injecting vessels and bone cavities with a stiffening material and then removing the surrounding soft tissue, he executed corrosion preparations admired by many anatomists of the time. Moreover, his famous 'osteological tableaux' include a large-scale recreation of the Laocoön group, which had been interpreted as a successful integration of representational strategies and 'vanitas' iconography in the context of display culture.⁸⁷ Hyrtl's 'anatomical' Laocoön infuses the identity of the medical model with the configuration of an anatomical artwork.

The importance of the medical museum is keenly reflected in these anatomical collections that facilitated the accuracy and acceleration in the process of acquiring knowledge by the students and the way they supported the anatomists' efforts as teachers. By the end of the nineteenth century such collections were open to the public, a fact that had been interpreted also as a bid to alleviate the pain incurred by the knowledge that bodies were dissected in spaces proximate to those dedicated to therapeutics and healing of patients. In short, anatomical museums were open to the general public with the less than subtle undertone that they were beneficial to society. Moreover, they also contributed to the transformation of medical schools into universities, and they were perceived to indicate academic excellence, teaching expertise, and authority. The museum of anatomy was not only a site endowed with pedagogical virtues, but it also signalled the institutional significance of a place engaged in advancing medical knowledge. This feature that linked museology, medicine, anatomy and societal recognition already makes us aware of the investment of power in visualizing medical knowledge through anatomical artefacts, specimens and objects. In this perspective, the *écorché* becomes a vehicle whose formation may stem from the field of art, but which may play a multiplicity of other roles.

⁸⁵ See Alys X. George, 'Anatomy for All: Medical Knowledge on the Fairground in Fin-de-Siècle Vienna', *Central European History* 51 (2018), pp. 535 - 562.

⁸⁶ See N. Olinic - Cristian Bârsu, 'Clujul medical. 1920 - 1999. Date de istorie', *Clujul medical*, 72:3 (1999), pp. 409 - 418.

⁸⁷ George, 'Anatomy for All', pp. 546-547.

Conclusion

The history of Brâncuși's *Écorché* reads like a story, intertwining details of artistic pursuits and particulars of medical set-ups, where the history of the object reclaims a double attention: on one hand, on the art historical context of Brâncuși's body of work, on the other hand, on the scientific context of the medical knowledge of the era in the field of anatomy. The Cluj *Écorché* brings into attention several protagonists and contexts of production and reception. More precisely, the individual genre of the 'flayed man' gave rise not just to a singular object, but to several ones, and its uniqueness is deposited neither in materiality, nor in a referential system. Brâncuși's *Écorché* is born at the crossroads of art and medicine, and their theoretical counterparts, i.e. art history and the history of medicine, found themselves at pains in deciphering its layers of meaning. Where art history assigns meaning to aspects related to artistic biography, genre, style, originality, studio practice and the role played by such specimens in the training of artists, the history of medicine is finding itself in the difficult position of shedding light on the materiality of its artefacts, with instruments that belong to the sphere of humanities, devoid of medical terminology. This paper proposes an argument for the hybrid nature of Brâncuși's *Écorché* at the Faculty of Medicine in Cluj and points out several layers of multifaceted encounters: the anatomist as collector and organizer of the visual display of medical knowledge; Gerota's relationship with Brâncuși positions the former as a supporter of artistic production; an interplay between the visual culture of anatomy, on one hand, and the tradition of organizing a collection for didactic purposes, or museums of anatomy, on the other; the context of production differs from the context of reception, despite the mingling of anatomical and artistic agencies.

The Cluj *écorché's* hybridity is galvanised by the distinct interests corroborated in the creation of the anatomical object. On one hand, it was a way for young Brâncuși to assert his growing artistic prowess and for Gerota, the anatomist, to support the artistic trajectory of an exceptionally gifted student at the department of sculpture. On the other hand, the anatomist's involvement represents a key-identifier in discerning the artistic propensities of the commissioning agent, as well as of his eclectic taste within the anatomical imaginary. Placed within the context of its arrival at the faculty of medicine in Cluj, as a personal gift sent by Gerota to Papilian, the *écorché* highlights the importance of dissection in

anatomical practice: the 'flayed man' signals the anatomist's mission of rendering visible the inner structure of the body, for the higher purpose of bringing new knowledge able to help the living bodies.

Laws of Education and the Minorities of Transylvania between 1867 and 1990: Some Considerations.

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Abstract: Through the laws passed in the educationnal field, this study aims to apprehend the governments' relation with the minorities living in Transylvania from the beginning of the Dualist era until the end of communism in Romania. If Transylvania represents a *fairy land* in both Romanian and Hungarian imaginaries, it was also the center of an intense national competition between Bucharest and Budapest during the last 150 years over the control of the region. Following the rise of national feeling, mother tongue education became one of the most sensitive aspects between the governments and the elite of the nationalities. Considering this fact, this paper attempts to analyze how has evolved the access to mother tongue education from the Dualist period to the regime change in 1989-1990, with the help of the laws enacted as well as the literature data written by the specialists of Hungarian and Romanian educations. Despite the profound differences between the regimes, many parallels exist in this matter. As the study tackles, the reinforcement of the "nation" came at the expense of school access in mother tongue for the minorities.

Keywords: Education access, Nation-building, Nationalism, Transylvania, Hungarian-Romanian relations

Rezumat: Analizând legile promulgate în domeniul educației, studiul își propune să surprindă relația dintre guvern și minoritățile care au trăit în Transilvania de la începuturile Dualismului până la sfârșitul perioadei comuniste în România. În timp ce Transilvania, reprezintă o 'țară fermecată' atât în imaginarul românesc cât și în cel maghiar, aceasta a fost în ultimii 150 de ani și în centrul unei competiții naționale acerbe între București și Budapesta pentru deținerea controlului în regiune. În urma unei creșteri a sentimentului național, educația în limba maternă a devenit unul din aspectele cele mai sensibile în dialogul guvernelor și a elitelor celor două naționalități. Ținând seama

de acest fapt, studiul încearcă să analizeze modul în care a evoluat accesul la educația în limba maternă din perioada Dualismului și până la schimbarea de regim din 1989-1990 cu ajutorul legilor în vigoare, precum și cu cel al literaturii scrise de specialiști din domeniul educației din Ungaria și România. În ciuda diferențelor profunde între regimurile politice, există paralele în acest domeniu. Studiul abordează întărirea națiunii care s-a realizat în detrimentul accesului minorităților la școli în limba maternă.

Cuvinte cheie: acces la educație, construirea națiunii, naționalism, Transilvania, relații româno-maghiare

In both Hungarian and Romanian traditional national narratives, Transylvania (*Ardeal*, *Erdély*, *Siebenbürgen*) represents a very special territory through history. Despite the fact that several linguistic communities inhabit the region at least since the Middle Ages, it's also perceived as a rigorously Hungarian or Romanian land.¹ From the late eighteenth century on, and following the French and English patterns, each elite of Central and Eastern Europe people directed towards the creation of a national, centralized and unified state for the sake of modernization. As Anne-Marie Thiesse wrote « nothing is more international than the creation of national identities », as national construction followed a similar pattern all over Europe with mutual influences.² For the reason that Transylvania was fundamental for both elites, it became the center of an intense national competition between Bucharest and Budapest along the last 150 years for the control of the region, with no less than four major territorial changes between 1918 and 1945.³

On the path towards modernity, general schooling became a central matter in order to enable economic development, but also to educate the masses in the national spirit and unify through language. Indeed, education became one of the main nationalizing institutions and was of crucial importance in transmitting national identity. While in the previous centuries the masses only had very low access to education, modernity brought a gradual change in this matter.⁴ As a matter of fact,

¹ For more information about Transylvania's role in both national consciousness, see: László Kürti, *The Remote Borderland: Transylvania in the Hungarian Imagination* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001), 259p. Lucian Boia, *History and Myth in Romanian Consciousness* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2001), 286 p.

² Anne-Marie Thiesse, *La création des identités nationales*, (Paris: Seuil, 1999), pp. 11-13.

³ Anders Blomqvist, 'Competing Stories about Transylvania's Past - National Stories in an International Context', in Rindzevičiūtė Eglė (eds.), *Re-approaching East Central Europe: Old Region, New Institutions?* (Stockholm: Södertörns högskola, 2006), pp. 265-358.

⁴ Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*, 2nd ed., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 91-97.

language turned into the watchdog of the nation and the peasantry started to embody the national spirit. One illustration of this phenomenon took place in 1844 when Hungarian was appointed as the official language of Hungary instead of Latin. Notwithstanding the improvement, national constructions started to collide, as their claims were antagonistic. In Transylvania, Romanians and Hungarians pursued two similar, but opposite paths. Hence, during the twelve decades covered by this study, the changing minorities paid much attention to schooling in the mother tongue, while the state appeared as a centralizing and assimilationist force.⁵ In the meantime, political instability also strengthened the distrust between the state and the minorities.

For Hungarians, Dualist Hungary (1867-1918) represents an economical and cultural golden age. Besides the economic successes achieved during the half-century lifelong Austro-Hungarian Empire, one of the main political issues concerned the attitude to adopt towards the 'nationalities' (*nemzetiségek*), which formed roughly 50% of the whole population in Transleithania.

As a consequence of the Great War, and formalized by the treaty of Trianon signed on 4th June 1920, Transylvania became then a part of Greater Romania.⁶ As well as Dualist Hungary, one of the main purposes was to modernize the country and to catch up with Western Europe. This "Great Union" (*Marea Unire*) fulfilled Romanian elite's dream of a Romanian national state containing all the Romanians. However, the national minorities also formed about one-third of the total population and remained a possible political threat in Bucharest's eyes.⁷ On the other hand, hitherto Trianon embodies the mournfullest national trauma for Hungarians.

Following king Mihai's abdication in 1947, the Romanian Communist Party (*Partidul Comunist Român* - PCR) seized power.⁸ In similar manner to the other People's democracies, the Soviet model replaced the Western one in the first decade. The communist authorities

⁵ Transylvania is a region inhabited by three main linguistic groups, Romanians, Hungarians and Germans. In 1910, 53.78% were Romanians, 31.1% Hungarians and 10.74% Germans. According to the 1977's census, 69.4% of the population declared themselves as Romanians, 22.6% as Hungarians and 4.6% as Germans. Árpád E. Varga, 'Erdély magyar népessége 1870-1995 között' [The Hungarian Population of Transylvania between 1870 and 1995], *Magyar Kisebbség*, 4/3-4 (1998): 331-407, especially pp. 380-381.

⁶ In this study, the term Transylvania does not only refer to historical Transylvania when invoking the post-WWI territory, but to all the formal Hungarian territories conceded to Romania, which include the Western half of Banat and the so-called *Partium*.

⁷ Gábor Egry, 'Phantom Menaces? Ethnic Categorization, Loyalty and State Security in Interwar Romania', *The Hungarian Historical Review*, 3/3 (2014): pp. 650-682, especially pp. 650-656.

⁸ Renamed into Romanian Workers' Party (*Partidul Muncitoresc Român*) between 1948 and 1965.

considered the national question as solved, thanks to the Leninist paradigm and as such – at least in theory – it disappeared from the political agenda. From the late fifties, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej (1901-1965) started to take a palpable distance with the Soviet Union and laid the foundations of the so-called national communism.⁹ After a few years of transition between 1965 and 1971, when the new leader Nicolae Ceaușescu (1918-1989) seemed to be willing to engage a new course with the minorities, he actually implemented and developed the policies previously launched by his predecessor.¹⁰

Despite the fact that several studies, in both Romania and Hungary, dealt with the mother tongue schooling in Transylvania – to the best of our knowledge – none carried out a comparison of the three periods in this respect.

In such a situation where the state mainly strove to create a national state and looked at the minorities as a threat, the purpose of this study is to compare the laws passed in the educational field throughout the three regimes. Beyond that perspective, the main goal is to analyze the differences in the attitude regarding the minorities living in Transylvania and their access to mother tongue education. In order to possess an exhaustive comprehension of the relation of the state's perception of the minorities, the laws should be put in perspective with actual data about mother tongue schooling between 1867 and 1990.

With the signature of the Austro-Hungarian Compromise (*Ausgleich* – *kiegyezés*) Transylvania was formally attached to the Hungarian administration. József Eötvös (1813-1871), Minister of Religion and Education (*vallás és közoktatásügyi miniszter*) of Hungary between 1867 and 1871, best personifies the initial progressive spirit of the Hungarian political elite in the first years of the Dualist period. Education was the main springboard to reach the long-awaited modernization of the country, as such, one of the main purposes was to expand school enrolment.¹¹ In this regard, the policies first implemented by József Eötvös were a great success as in 1913 about 85% of the 6-12 years generation attended school.¹² However, huge differences existed among

⁹ Irina Gridan 'La Roumanie de Gheorghiu-Dej, satellite récalcitrant de l'URSS: acteurs, vecteurs et enjeux d'une politique extérieure sous influence, 1944-1965', *Bulletin de l'Institut Pierre Renouvin*, 1/39 (2014): pp. 147-154.

¹⁰ Zoltán Csaba Novák, *Aranykorszak? A Ceaușescu-rendszer magyarságpolitikája I. 1965-1974* [Golden Age? The Hungarian Policy of the Ceaușescu System I. 1965-1974] (Miercurea-Ciuc: Pro-Print, 2011), pp. 45-47.

¹¹ Paul Bödy, 'József Eötvös and the Modernization of Hungary 1840-1870', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, 62/2, (1972): 1-134, especially pp. 101-108.

¹² Ignác Romsics, *Magyarország története a XX. században* [History of Hungary in the 20th century] (Budapest: Osiris, 4th ed., 2010), p. 21.

the different confessional and national groups. While Jews, predominantly Hungarian-speaking in Transylvania and Lutherans, mainly German-speaking Saxons, enjoyed the best conditions, the Orthodox, almost exclusively compounded of Romanian speakers, were at the bottom of this ranking.¹³ These gaps are related with the deep socio-economical inequalities, not only between the ethnolinguistic groups, but also according to the religious belonging, which furthermore show a great overlap in this region. As a matter of fact, 30% of Romanians attended or had attended a school in 1868, thereafter this rate increased up to 60% after 1879. In spite of this notable progress, they remained the linguistic group showing the weakest schooling rate in Transylvania. Throughout the Dualist era, Romanians could not catch up with the delay inherited from the previous period.

This feature is very central due to the fact that the Hungarian schooling system was mainly based on denominational schools, where primary schools formed the backbone and secondary mainly remained a reality only for the upper classes. Insofar as Transylvania was a more conservative land, the church had an even stronger foundation in this part of the kingdom.¹⁴ The very central importance of denominational schools for the minorities can be seen through the fact that in 1897 in the whole country, only 1% of state primary schools had a language different than Hungarian.¹⁵

Concerning the attitude towards the minorities, the first measure taken was the nationality law, followed by the law regarding education in the primary schools (*népiskola*), both passed in 1868. If scholars agree on their liberal spirit, in fact, it turned out that the authorities poorly implemented them.¹⁶ As provided by the 58 § of the latter Act « each student can get education in his native language, if this language is one of the languages used in the township », with reference to townships' duty to establish a primary school upon the request of the families, when at least thirty children belonged to a denomination without school in the

¹³ Viktor Karády, Tibor Péter Nagy, *Educational Inequalities and Denominations, 1910: Database for Transylvania* (Budapest: John Wesley, vol. 3, 2012), p. 12.

¹⁴ Joachim von Puttkamer, 'Framework of Modernization: Government Legislation and Regulation on Schooling in Transylvania 1780-1914', in Viktor Karády, Zsuzsanna Borbála Török (eds), *Cultural Dimensions of Elite Formation in Transylvania (1770-1950)* (Cluj-Napoca: Ethnocultural Diversity Resource Center, 2008), pp. 17-18.

¹⁵ Viktor Karády, Tibor Péter Nagy, *Educational Inequalities and Denominations, 1910: Database for Transylvania*, (Budapest: John Wesley, 2006), pp. 79-80.

¹⁶ Gelu Neamțu, *The Hungarian Policy of Magyarization in Transylvania: 1867-1918* (Cluj-Napoca: Center for Transylvanian Studies, 1994), pp. 8-10.

township.¹⁷ As early as 1868, in the civic lower secondary school (*polgári iskola*) and teacher training college (*tanítóképezde*), Hungarian was a compulsory subject alongside the mother tongue. In 1883, with the first law enacted for the secondary schools, Hungarian language and literature appeared among the mandatory subjects. Moreover, the Matura (*érettségi*) had to be taken in Hungarian for this subject.¹⁸

Nevertheless, as previously mentioned, in subsequent years the nationality law became incrementally marginalized by the Hungarian authorities. In the impetus of modernity experienced by Hungary, the acquisition of the Hungarian language appeared to be more and more essential in the eyes of Budapest. Besides promoting economic development, the view was also to strengthen the loyalty of the population toward the Hungarian crown.¹⁹ As early as 1876, a new law increased education inspectors' power, even in the denominational primary schools, where they had to control the local curriculum as well as the textbooks used in the school.²⁰

This series of measures began in 1879, with the law enacted by Ágoston Trefort (1817-1888), Minister of Education and Religion in function between 1872 and 1888. The latter mandated Hungarian language for six hours a week in all primary schools of the country, which represented a real shift in the relationship with nationalities.²¹ Two years later, in 1881, a new Act set with the obligation for teachers working in the country to master Hungarian, on pain of potential dismissal if they weren't eager to learn it within four years. In the meantime, from 1882, new teachers' appointment hinged of their capability to teach in Hungarian.²²

¹⁷ «58. §: Minden növendék anyanyelvén nyerve az oktatást, amennyiben ez a nyelv a községben divatozó nyelvek egyike », 1868. évi XXXVIII. törvénycikk a népiskolai közoktatás tárgyában [Article 58 of the law No. 38/1868 on the Subject of Public Education in Primary Schools].

¹⁸ 7. §: 1883. évi XXX. Törvénycikk a középiskolákról és azok tanárainak képzéséről [Article 7 of the law No. 30/1883 on High Schools and the Qualifications of their Teachers].

¹⁹ One of the best examples of this approach can be found in Imre Sándor's article, a renowned linguist and scholar: Imre Sándor, 'Nemzetiség és nevelés' [Nationality and Education], *Budapesti Szemle*, 4/9 (1875): 42-117.

²⁰ 1876. évi XXVIII. törvénycikk a népiskolai hatóságokról [Act No. 28/1876 about Primary School Authorities].

²¹ Tibor Péter Nagy, 'Nemzetiség és oktatás a dualizmuskori Magyarországon' [Nationality and Education in Dualist Hungary], *Educatio*, 2/2 (1993): 253-269, especially p. 255.

²² 2 §, 3 §: 1879. évi XVIII. Törvénycikk a magyar nyelv tanításáról a népoktatási tanintézetekben [Articles 2,3 of the law No. 28/1879 on the Teaching of the Hungarian Language in Popular Instruction Institutions].

The law concentrating the discontent of the minorities is undoubtedly the one passed in 1907, commonly known as the “Apponyi law”. Albert Apponyi (1846-1933), Minister of Education and Religion between 1906 and 1910, became the apostle of Magyarization and best embodied the change in direction taken by Budapest in this matter. As the Act stated:

« All schools and all teachers, regardless of the nature of the school and whether or not they receive state aid, have a responsibility to develop and strengthen in the souls of children the spirit of belonging to the Hungarian homeland and the sense of belonging to the Hungarian nation».²³

In addition, as provided by the 17th paragraph, any questioning of Hungary’s integrity may lead to sanctions. In the case of schools receiving state aid, the curriculum and textbooks used for geography, history, Hungarian language, arithmetic and civic education could be chosen solely by the state. However – and despite the fears expressed by the elites of the national minorities – this did not mean the teaching of these subjects in Hungarian.²⁴

Moreover, the Minister aimed at promoting Hungarian as the single language used in schools with several language groups. In fact, the law required that:

« If the number of Hungarian native speakers reaches twenty or makes up to 20% of all students enrolled: for them, the Hungarian language must be used as the language of instruction. If at least half of the students enrolled are native Hungarian speakers, the language of instruction is Hungarian, but school administrators can ensure that non-Hungarian-speaking students receive education also in their native language ».²⁵

²³ «17 §: Minden iskola és minden tanító, tekintet nélkül az iskola jellegére és arra, hogy állami segílyt élvez-e vagy sem, a gyermekek lelkében a magyar hazához való ragaszkodás szellemét és a magyar nemzethez való tartozás tudatát [...] tartozik kifejleszteni és megerősíteni », 1907. évi XXVII. törvénycikk a nem állami elemi népiskolák jogviszonyairól és a községi és hitfelekezeti néptanítók járandóságairól [Article No. 27/1907 on the Legal Relations of Non-State Elementary Popular Schools and the Remuneration of Community and Denominational Schools Folk Teachers].

²⁴ Béla Bellér, ‘A nemzetiségi iskolapolitika története Magyarországon 1918-ig’ [The History of School Policy for the Nationalities in Hungary until 1918], *Magyar pedagógia*, 74/1 (1974): 47-65, especially 59-62.

²⁵ «18 §: ha pedig a magyar anyanyelvűek száma a huszat eléri, vagy az összes beirt növendéknek 20%-át teszi: számukra a magyar nyelv, mint tannyelv okvetlenül használandó. Ha pedig a beirt tanulónak legalább fele magyar anyanyelvű, a tanítási nyelv a magyar, de az iskolafentartók gondoskodhatnak arról, hogy a magyarul nem beszélő növendékek anyanyelvükön is részesüljenek oktatásban », 1907. évi XXVII. törvénycikk.

Through this reform, all teachers obtained the status of civil servant, whose salary corresponded to the remuneration scale offered by the Hungarian state. If, at first sight it can be interpreted as a step further toward modernization, this reform had a serious consequence for the national groups. Indeed, if the institution in charge of the establishment could not support its schools, then the state aid was only granted if the staff was able to prove its knowledge of Hungarian, as well as its capacity to teach it. As a continuation, when 20% of the pupils in a school wished to study in Hungarian and the municipality did not have another school, Hungarian automatically became the language of instruction, without the possibility to change it afterwards.²⁶

In the Transylvanian case, if the Lutheran Church had the necessary resources, the Orthodox and Greek-Catholic Churches had to apply for state subsidies and therefore tended a little more towards a state dependency. On the other hand, a year later, in 1908, elementary education became free of charge, which severely hampered the financial autonomy of the churches and made them more and more subordinate to Budapest.²⁷

Data about the situation of mother tongue schooling for Romanians reveals that in 1910, 74.6% of the enrolled Romanians attended a Romanian school in Hungary. Furthermore, five years later this rate decreased to 70.6%, while 99.7% of the Hungarians studied in Hungarian.²⁸ Regardless of this decrease, the number of Romanian educational institutions expanded from 2,569 to 2,901 between 1869 and 1914.²⁹ In the meantime, the Romanian population grew from 2,492,500 to 2,829,389 between 1869 and 1910, showing then a very slight difference between the demographic growth (+13.5%) and the number of Romanian schools (+12.9%).³⁰

The situation of secondary schools (*gimnázium – reáliskola*) shows a significant paradox, as the overwhelming majority of secondary schools in the country taught in Hungarian, although Hungarians made up only about 50% of the population. In 1910, the country had two hundred and

²⁶ 18 §: Ibid.

²⁷ 1 §: 1908. évi XLVI. Törvénycikk az elemi népiskolai oktatás ingyenességéről [Article 1 of the law No. 46/1908 on Free Elementary Education], Ágoston Berecz, *The Politics of Early Language Teaching: Hungarian in the Primary Schools of the late Dual Monarchy* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2013), pp. 125-132.

²⁸ Nagy, 'Nemzetiség és oktatás a dualizmuskori Magyarországon', pp. 259-261.

²⁹ Sándor Bíró. *Kisebbségben és többségben. Románok és magyarok 1867-1940* [In Minority and in Majority. Romanians and Hungarians 1867-1940] (Miercurea-Ciuc: Pro-Print, 2002), pp. 144-149.

³⁰ Varga, 'Erdély magyar népessége 1870-1995 között', pp. 380-381.

thirty-two Hungarian secondary schools, eight German-speaking schools held by the Lutheran Church of the Saxons, five Romanians and one Serbian.³¹ Social rise undoubtedly meant a fast Magyarization as far as the vast majority of secondary schools taught in Hungarian and were perceived as an indispensable tool on the way to a modern state.

As previously mentioned, the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire caused great territorial changes in Central Europe and 102,000 km² previously belonging to the Hungarian crown became henceforth part of the Romanian kingdom. In the aftermath of the peace treaties, and mainly in order to secure these territorial gains, the Romanian government signed the Treaty for the minorities, which established that:

« Roumania will provide in the public educational system in towns and districts in which considerable proportion of Roumanian nationals of other than Roumanian speech are resident adequate facilities for ensuring that in the primary schools the instruction shall be given to the children of such Roumanian nationals through the medium of their own language. This provision shall not prevent the Roumanian Government from making the teaching of the Roumanian language obligatory in the said schools ».³²

As Sorin Mitu pointed out, Romanian rule over Transylvania marked a great upheaval, insofar as the Romanians were hitherto dominated by the Hungarians or the Habsburg.³³ In the educational field, the main issue centered on the deep inequalities in access to education between the different language groups. The rebalancing came at the cost of discriminatory measures against the Hungarian and German minorities and therefore affected their attachment to the Romanian state.³⁴ As such, state schools were Romanianized and many denominational schools had to close due to their lack of financial resources, as well as the zeal of the new Romanian authorities.³⁵

On the other hand, the differences in development existing between the former territories of Hungary and the Old Kingdom of

³¹ Viktor Karády, 'Les inégalités ethniques et confessionnelles dans les performances scolaires des bacheliers en Hongrie 1851-1918', *Histoires et mesures*, 29/1 (2014): 167-194, especially 174.

³² Société des Nations, *Recueil des traités*, vol. 5, n°140, 1921. p. 336-342.

³³ Sorin Mitu, *National Identity of Romanians in Transylvania*, (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2001), pp. 30-34.

³⁴ In order to apprehend the extent of the gap between Romanians and Hungarians on this topic see the two following studies, both written in French for an international audience, but with tangible differences in the scope of mother tongue schooling in Romania: Silviu Dragomir, *La Transylvanie roumaine et ses minorités ethniques* (Bucharest: Imprimerie nationale, 1934), 281 p.; Ferenc Olay, *Un nationalisme exaspéré dans le Sud-est européen* (Budapest: Danubia, 1935), 45 p.

³⁵ Bíró. *Kisebbségben és többségben. Románok és magyarok 1867-1940*, pp. 352-357.

Romania were glaring. Besides the economic disparity, the literacy rate differed conspicuously between the two entities, since in Transylvania in 1930, 67.4% of the population over six years old could read and write, compared to 56.1% in the Old Kingdom and only 38.2% in Bessarabia.³⁶ Before 1918, the duration of compulsory schooling was of four years in Romania, but was increased to seven years in 1924, while the school curriculum was obviously unique and unified throughout the country.

From a legal point of view, the main reform of the primary school system dates from 1924 and defined the educational policy of Greater Romania for the entire period until 1939. The minorities' treatment in the country recalls in more than one respect the measures taken by Budapest before 1918. The law on private education (*lege asupra învățământului particular*) was adopted in 1925 as a complement to the law of 1924, both under the supervision of Constantin Angelescu (1869-1945) Minister of public instruction (*ministrul instrucțiunii publice*) between 1922 and 1928. Despite the fact that, during Dualism, one of the main concerns of the Romanian elite was due to the making of Hungarian as a compulsory subject in all primary schools, the Romanian government implemented the same policy.³⁷

As with the measures taken in Hungary, to be allowed to work, teachers had to take a Romanian language test and to certify their level of knowledge in Romanian history, geography and constitution.³⁸ As a continuation, these three subjects had to be taught in Romanian, since they were considered as "national subjects". Once again, the will to create a stable and strong state was confronted by the centrifugal inclination expressed by the minorities. In this framework, and as Mirela Luminița Murgescu underlined, history's teaching bore a deep political function: educate the people in a patriotic manner to strengthen the roots of the new regime.³⁹

³⁶ Attila Gidó, *School Market and the Educational Institutions in Transylvania, Partium and Banat between 1919 and 1948* (Cluj-Napoca: Institutul Pentru Studiarea Problemelor Minorităților Naționale, 2011), p. 8.

³⁷ See for instance the text of the Memorandum sent in 1892 to Vienna as a protest against the attempts of Magyarization launched by Budapest. About the parallels between the Monarchy and Successor states see: Pieter Judson, 'Where our Commonality is necessary...: Rethinking the End of the Habsburg Monarchy', *Austrian History Yearbook*, 48 (2017), pp. 1-21.

³⁸ Articles 114, 118: *Lege pentru învățământul primar al statului și învățământul normal-primar din 26 Iulie 1924* [Law for the state primary education and normal-primary education of July 26, 1924], ed. Gheorghe Bunescu, *Antologia legilor învățământului din România* (Bucharest: Institutul de științe ale Educației, 2004), p. 200.

³⁹ Mirela Luminița Murgescu, 'L'enseignement de l'histoire dans les écoles roumaines, 1831-1944', *Histoire de l'éducation*, 86 (2000): 115-142, especially 122.

The “novelty” brought about by the 1924 law laid in its discriminative feature in the field of minority schools’ access. Thus, as the act stated, « citizens of Romanian origin who have lost their mother tongue are obliged to educate their children only in public or private schools with Romanian as the language of instruction ». ⁴⁰ Consequently, pupils with a possible Romanian origin, but with a different mother tongue, had to be enrolled in a Romanian-language school. This practice resulted in numerous abuses, which aimed at promoting education in Romanian-language schools, based on family names or families’ genealogical tree. In addition, the Romanian state refused students in a minority school, if they belonged to another national group. This measure particularly affected Transylvania’s Jewry, considered as a distinct ethnic minority for the purpose of weakening the Hungarian element on this disputed territory. Although they were overwhelmingly Magyar-speaking and of Hungarian culture, Jewish children had to be educated in Romanian or in Hebrew. ⁴¹ In this matter the 1925 Act stated as follows:

« 35 §. The language of instruction in private schools, attended by students whose mother tongue is other than the state, will be established by the proponents of the school. However, only students whose mother tongue is the same as the language of instruction of the school will be accepted in these schools. 36 §. In private Jewish schools, the language of instruction is Romanian or Hebrew ». ⁴²

The immediate aftermath of this kind of policy implementation resulted in a wave of school Romanization all around Transylvania. In that respect, formal Hungarian schools were turned into Romanian ones, referring to the necessity to renationalize Romanian fellows. As Irina Livezeanu shows, this action took place even in Szeklerland, a region largely inhabited by Hungarians. ⁴³ Attila Gidó’s research demonstrates

⁴⁰ « Cetățenii de origine română, care și-au pierdut limba maternă sunt datori să-și instruiască copiii numai la școalele publice sau particulare cu limba română de predare », *Lege pentru învățământul primar al statului și învățământul normal-primar din 26 Iulie 1924*, p. 187.

⁴¹ For more information about the situation of the Transylvanian Jewry, refer to Attila Gidó, ‘L’enseignement préscolaire et pré-universitaire juif de Cluj à l’époque de l’entre-deux-guerres’, *Revue de Transylvanie*, 18/2 (2009): pp. 106-123; Zvi Hartman, ‘A Jewish Minority in a Multiethnic Society during a Change of Governments: the Jews of Transylvania in the Interwar Period’, *SHVUT*, 9/25 (2001): 162-182, especially 175-177.

⁴² « 35 §: Limba de predare în școalele particulare, frecventate de elevi ai căror limbă maternă este alta decât a Statului, se va stabili de susținătorii școlii. În aceste școale nu se vor primi însă decât elevi a căror limbă maternă este aceeași cu limba de predare a școlii. 36 §: În școalele particulare evreești limba de predare este limba română sau limba evreească », *Lege asupra învățământului particular din 22 decembrie 1925* [Law on private education of December 22, 1925], ed. Bunescu, *Antologia legilor*, p. 223.

⁴³ Irina Livezeanu, *Cultural Politics in Greater Romania: Regionalism, Nation Building, and Ethnic Struggle, 1918-1930* (London: Cornell University Press, 1995), pp. 138-143.

that denominational school's numbers dropped from 3,223 in 1920 to 1,210 in 1927. As a consequence, in 1920 40.2% of pupils were enrolled in a state school, against 84.1% in 1936. In the meantime, less than 1% of the Romanian children attended a denominational school in Transylvania during the interwar period, which means that such schools were overwhelmingly for the German and Hungarian minorities. Moreover, denominational schools enjoyed a very scarce support from the state, which also tended to crystallize bitterness towards Bucharest.⁴⁴

The 1939 act well illustrates the nationalistic atmosphere all around Europe on the eve of the Second World War. Indeed, from the right to have a mother tongue access to education, the law had evolved to the possibility to benefit from it on the Ministry of Education's good will:

«In all state schools, education and teaching are done in the Romanian language. In localities with a very large minority population and where there are at least 20 school-age children, schools with the language of instruction of the respective minorities or sections attached to Romanian schools may be established, with the approval of the Ministry of National Education. In the minority state schools and sections, the Romanian language, the history and geography of Romania, as well as notions of civic instructions will be taught in Romanian as compulsory educational subjects ».⁴⁵

Signed on 30 August 1940, the Second Vienna award assigned back to Hungary Northern Transylvania. Considered for some as a repair and the triumph of justice after the humiliation of Trianon, others regard it as a national trauma and a genuine *diktat*. If, at first, the Hungarian authorities strove to develop sympathy towards Hungary among Romanians, this attitude did not last long and the previously Romanianized state schools were Hungarianized again and by this the resentment among Romanians increased.⁴⁶ In Southern Transylvania,

⁴⁴ Gidó, *School Market and the Educational Institutions in Transylvania, Partium and Banat between 1919 and 1948*, pp. 28-33.

⁴⁵ « 7. §: în toate școlile de Stat, educația și învățământul se fac în limba română. În localitățile cu populație minoritară foarte numeroasă și unde există un număr de cel puțin 20 de copii în vârstă de școală, se pot înființa școli cu limba de predare a minorităților respective sau secții pe lângă școlile românești, cu aprobarea Ministerului Educației Naționale. În școlile și secțiile minoritare de Stat sunt obligatorii ca obiecte de învățământ limba română, istoria și geografia României, precum și noțiuni de instrucțiuni civice care se vor preda în românește », *Lege pentru organizarea și funcționarea învățământului primar și normal din 27 Mai 1939* [Law for the Organization and Functioning of Primary and Normal Education of May 27, 1939], ed. Bunescu, *Antologia legilor*, p. 277.

⁴⁶ János Szlucska, « *Pünkösdi királyság* »: *az észak-erdélyi oktatásügy története, 1940-1944* [« Pentecostal Kingdom »: History of Education in Northern Transylvania, 1940-1944] (Budapest: Gondolat, 2009), pp. 226-227.

where about 400,000 Hungarians and almost half million Germans remained under Romanian authority, the situation also worsened.⁴⁷ The implemented policy of reciprocity came once again at the expense of minorities living on both sides of the border.⁴⁸ By the end of the war, Romania eventually managed to regain Northern Transylvania with the support of the Soviet Union, thereafter formalized by the Treaty of Paris signed on 10 February 1947.

In the aftermath of the Second World War, Romania inherited a heavy burden when it comes to granting rights to national minorities and especially in the educational field. As soon as the whole of Transylvania came back under Romanian rule, the traditional parties intended to continue the educational policy of the interwar period. Nevertheless, the relationship with national minorities changed considerably with the coming to power of Petru Groza (1884-1958) in March 1945, himself a perfect Hungarian speaker trained in Budapest during Dualism. The latter strove to emphasize respect for the rights of minorities, in particular in order to show the best possible image of Romania to the Great powers, as part of the competition with Hungary for Transylvania.⁴⁹ On the other hand, the purpose was to mark the break with open nationalism from the previous regime. It is however important to stress out that nationalism did not disappear from the stage, as the Lucrețiu Pătrășcanu's example shows. This staunch communist served as the Minister of Justice between August 1944 and February 1948 and delivered two speeches in Cluj in 1945 and 1946. In this instance, he openly criticized the lack of national spirit of the Hungarian community toward Romania as well as their revisionism. Being one of the main hurdles on the path toward power for Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, the latter took the opportunity and arrested him in 1948 basing his charge on Pătrășcanu's nationalism and deviationism.⁵⁰

In the educational field, the eradication of illiteracy rose to a national priority for the authorities, since it still affected about a quarter of the population after the Second World War. The enrollment of 92.1% of

⁴⁷ Varga, 'Erdély magyar népessége 1870-1995 között', p. 349.

⁴⁸ János Kristóf Murádin. 'Minority Politics of Hungary and Romania between 1940 and 1944. The System of Reciprocity and its Consequences', *Acta Univ. Sapientiae, European and Regional Studies*, 16 (2019): 59-74, especially 64-66.

⁴⁹ Cristina Petrescu, 'Who was the First in Transylvania? On the Origins of the Romanian-Hungarian Controversy over Minority Rights', *Studia Politica*, 3/4 (2003): 1119-1148, especially 1124-1125.

⁵⁰ Antonio Faur, 'Considerații cu privire la discursurile rostite la Cluj în iunie 1945 și 1946 de către Lucrețiu Pătrășcanu, ministru de justiție' [Considerations Regarding the Speeches given in Cluj in June 1945 and 1946 by Lucrețiu Pătrășcanu, Minister of Justice], *Analele banatului*, 16 (2008): 333-341.

youth in 1948-1949 witnesses this progress and for the first time in Romanian history, a situation of almost full schooling could be reached.⁵¹

The complete seizure of power by the Romanian Communist Party had as a direct consequence the nationalization of denominational schools in the country. However, since the interwar period, the latter acted as a safeguard for education in minority languages. As such, in 1947, 45% of the Hungarian pupils studied in a denominational primary school and even 75% in the case of the secondary schools.⁵² In a wider perspective, the attitude of the PMR *vis-à-vis* the Catholic Church should be seen in the global context of denigration of the Holy See as an agent of the West and a reactionary force by the various Communist parties.⁵³

From then on, the national orientation was replaced by Marxist internationalism with an unprecedented ideologization of education. In the meantime, the PMR recognized national fact's existence, based on the Soviet pattern and as provided by the 1948 law: « for schools of cohabiting nationalities, their specific character will be taken into account ». ⁵⁴ Besides this recognition, Romanian was a compulsory subject, and the teaching of the so-called "national subjects" remained a highly debated issue.

While the situation of Hungarian-language education proved stable for primary schools, many secondary schools had to close their doors or to be transformed into Romanian-language schools. The notable exception concerns the Hungarian Autonomous Region (*Magyar Autonóm Tartomány – Regiunea Autonomă Maghiară – HAR*), created in 1952, which pretty near corresponded to the limit of the Szeklerland until 1960.⁵⁵ The region comprised about one-third of the Hungarian minority and its Magyar-speaking inhabitants enjoyed full access to Hungarian-language schools. Thus, for the school year 1952-1953, in 80% of the 250 primary schools and 75% of the 12 secondary schools in the region, the language of instruction was Hungarian.⁵⁶ This situation is one great illustration of

⁵¹ Loredana Tănăsie, 'Anul 1948 și învățământul românesc' [The year 1948 and the Romanian Education], *Memorial 1989. Buletin științific și de informare*, 14 (2014): 108-118, especially 109.

⁵² Vincze Gábor, 'A romániai magyar kisebbség oktatásügye 1944 és 1989 között. II. rész. (1948-1965)' [The case of Education for the Hungarian Minority in Romania between 1944 and 1989. Part 2 (1948-1965)], *Magyar Kisebbség*, 3-4 (1997): 375-403, especially 375-377.

⁵³ Philippe Chenaux, *L'ultima eresia: la Chiesa cattolica e il comunismo in Europa da Lenin a Giovanni Paolo II*, (Rome: Carocci, 2011), pp. 159-178.

⁵⁴ « Pentru școlile naționalităților conlocuitoare se va ține seamă de caracterul lor specific », *Decretul nr. 175/1948 pentru reforma învățământului* [Decree no. 175/1948 for Education Reform], *Monitorul Oficial, Partea I nr. 177 din 03 august 1948*.

⁵⁵ For a history of the HAR see: Stefano Bottoni, *Stalin's Legacy in Romania: The Hungarian Autonomous Region, 1952-1960* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2018), 397 p.

⁵⁶ Gábor Vincze, 'A romániai [...] II. rész', pp. 375-403.

the numerous paradoxes existing in Central and Eastern Europe. If the Stalinist represents a period where freedom was largely denied, it is also the time when the Hungarian minority enjoyed the best facilities in terms of access to mother tongue education.

However, this situation did not last long. Instead of destalinization, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej preferred to replace internationalism by a more nationalistic line at the expense of the minorities, while from 1956 onwards, the Hungarian revolution gave him a great pretext.⁵⁷ As early as 1955, the Romanian General Secretary limited access to vocational schools in the language of the minorities, by referring to the need to eradicate Hungarian irredentism from Romania. It is in this regard that, from 1959, the language of instruction of the so-called national subjects became once again Romanian. At the same time and during the same year, Romanian classes increased from two to six hours a week in minority schools.⁵⁸

Ceaușescu's accession to power in 1965 resulted in a major reform, adopted in 1968. As many Romanian education specialists demonstrate, this reform turned out to be primarily the result of a political will, rather than the result of a debate between specialists, even if they participated in its development. The Romanian leader aimed at making the change tangible with his predecessor Gheorghiu-Dej, while polishing his image as a reformer.⁵⁹ This profound revision of the 1948 law also initiated a return to national traditions as well as the ambition of a partial abandonment of the Soviet model, although as Cătălina Mihalache demonstrates, this reform is largely inspired by the measures taken in the other socialist countries.⁶⁰ Concerning the minorities, no major modification can be found as the law still guaranteed the access of mother tongue schooling for the minorities as following:

« In accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, for cohabiting nationalities, education of all grades is also conducted in their own language. The Ministry of Education ensures the training of the

⁵⁷ Stefano Bottoni, 'De la répression politique à la purge ethnique? L'impact de la révolution de 1956 sur le modèle communiste roumain', Dan Cătănuș, Vasile Buga (eds), *Lașărul comunist sub impactul destalinizării 1956* [The communist camp under the impact of de-Stalinization] (Bucharest: Institutul Național pentru Studiul Totalitarismului, 2006), pp. 365-368.

⁵⁸ Katalin Oanță, 'Situația învățământului în limba maghiară sub regimul lui Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej' [The Situation of Education in Hungarian under the Regime of Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej], *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie George Barițiu*, 54 (2015): 223-247, especially 228-230.

⁵⁹ Cristian Vasile, 'Towards a New Law on Education: some Reflections Regarding the Communist Educational Policies under the Ceaușescu Regime', *Revista istorică*, 25/5-6 (2014): 493-502, especially 495-500.

⁶⁰ Cătălina Mihalache, 'Antireformă și reformă în școală, la căderea regimului comunist' [Anti-reform and School Reform at the fall of the Communist Regime], *Romanian Political Science Review*, 8/42 (2008): 849-868, especially 854-857.

teaching staff necessary for education in the languages of the cohabiting nationalities. In the admission competitions provided for in this law, candidates have the right to take the examinations in their mother tongue in the subjects they have studied in this language ».⁶¹

If the first years of the Ceaușescu era showed a certain kind of appeasement between the Party and the minorities, it was due to special circumstances. In the context of the diplomatic clash with the Soviet Union, the Romanian leader could not afford a lack of cohesion in the Romanian society and in this respect, he made a step toward the minorities.⁶² Although the year 1971 is generally seen as the turning point in the stance on the minorities' issue, the 1978 law did not bring any clear policy reversal. The only shade lies on the possibility to teach some subjects in Romanian, which paves the way for a Romanianization of education.

Access to vocational schools in a minority language remained strictly limited, as Gábor Vincze's study illustrates it: in 1974, 6.5% of the pupils studied in Hungarian in primary schools, 5.7% in high schools and barely 1.3% in vocational schools.⁶³ In fact, this issue concentrated the dissatisfaction of the Hungarian minority. On this topic, the 1978 law stated that:

«At vocational schools, foremen's schools, qualification courses and mass agro-zoo technical education, which operate in these localities, the teaching activities can also be carried out in the languages of the cohabiting nationalities. For this purpose, in the educational units, primary, secondary and high school, where the languages of the cohabiting nationalities are taught, the Romanian language is studied, and some subjects, provided in the curriculum, can be taught in Romanian ».⁶⁴

⁶¹ « În conformitate cu prevederile Constituției, pentru naționalitățile conlocuitoare, învățământul de toate gradele se desfășoară și în limba proprie. Ministerul Învățământului asigură pregătirea personalului didactic necesar învățământului în limbile naționalităților conlocuitoare. La concursurile de admitere prevăzute în prezenta lege, candidații au dreptul de a susține probele în limba maternă la disciplinele pe care le-au studiat în această limbă », *Legea nr. 11/1968 privind învățământul în Republica Socialistă România* [Law no. 11/1968 on Education in the Socialist Republic of Romania], ed. Bunescu, *Antologia legilor*, p. 347.

⁶² Novák, *Aranykorszak?*, pp. 45-49.

⁶³ Gábor Vincze, 'A romániai magyar kisebbség oktatásügye 1944 és 1989 között. III. rész. (1965-1989)' [The case of Education for the Hungarian Minority in Romania between 1944 and 1989. Part 3 (1965-1989)], *Magyar Kisebbség*, 3/3-4 (1997): 289-317, especially 295-297.

⁶⁴ « La școlile profesionale, școlile de maiștri, cursurile de calificare și învățământ agrozootehnic de masă, care funcționează în aceste localități, activitățile didactice se pot desfășura și în limbile naționalităților conlocuitoare. În acest scop, în unitățile de învățământ, primar, gimnazial și liceal, cu predarea în limbile naționalităților conlocuitoare, se studiază limba română, iar unele discipline, prevăzute în planul de învățământ, se pot preda în limba

As provided by the act, only some classes could be taught in the language of the minority, to this extent the ambiguity led to large reductions.⁶⁵ Despite the fact that no major change appeared in the legislation, access to mother tongue schooling worsened significantly from the 1970s.

Assimilation had never been put on the official political agenda, although it became a clear objective for the Romanian elite in the frame of its national construction. The nationalist shift experienced by the Romanian power was to be achieved at expense of education in the languages of nationalities and this restriction followed a well-established process. Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning that the Romanian school system suffered from the economic crisis as a whole, not only minorities' schools.⁶⁶

Within the framework of the 'socialist fraternity', the Romanian and Hungarian-speaking establishments were forcibly unified. As a result, Hungarian disappeared as the administrative language of the school, with the added bonus of the removal of symbols in Hungarian from the school environment. Over time, the Hungarian sections were merged into its Romanian counterparts, justified by the need to carry out budget cuts or by staff shortage.

Finally, the second process consisted of opening a class in a minority language only when twenty-five families requested it for a primary school and respectively thirty-six in the case of secondary education. This system mainly penalized minorities scattered in regions with a strong Romanian majority, such as Banat or southwestern Transylvania in the case of the Hungarians.⁶⁷ In regions inhabited mainly by Hungarians, another method was to be used, with the creation of Romanian sections in Hungarian educational facilities without a minimum threshold. In the 1980s, this method made possible to open Romanian-language classes with a few Romanian-speaking students and a majority of Magyar speakers. As a consequence of these policies, access

română », *Legea educației și învățământului nr. 28/1978* [Law on Education and Instruction no. 28/1978], ed. Bunescu, *Antologia legilor*, p. 381.

⁶⁵ Zoltán Csaba Novák, *Holtoágányon. A Ceaușescu-rendszer magyarságpolitikája II. 1974-1989* [On a dead track. The Hungarian Policy of the Ceaușescu System II. 1974-1989] (Miercurea-Ciuc: Pro-Print, 2017), pp. 37-39.

⁶⁶ Constantin Dan Rădulescu, 'Învățământul românesc 1948-1989 - între derivă și recuperare instituțional funcțională' [Romanian Education 1948-1989 - between Drift and Functional Institutional Recovery], *Calitatea vieții*, 17/3-4 (2006): 307-318, especially 315-317.

⁶⁷ Csanád Demeter, 'A székelyföldi oktatás az 1960-1980-as években' [Education in Szeklerland in the 1960s and 1980s], *Prominoritate*, 1 (2012): 93-109, especially 100.

to mother tongue schools for national minorities decreased tangibly. In the last five years of the regime, education in Hungarian decreased by 30% and even affected the so far spared Szeklerland.⁶⁸

From a constitutional monarchy to a post-Stalinist power through a far-right dictatorship, the analysis of three regimes' behavior shows tangible common features in the field of mother tongue schooling, despite the strong differences between them.

In the first years of each period, authorities showed a short-term openness toward the minorities, as the laws and data could certify. The measures taken met the European standards and even exceeded it to several extend, with the will to integrate the minorities on the road toward a modern and prosperous state.

However, throughout the three periods, these policies quickly confronted with the national construction, in which minorities appeared as a major obstacle. Homogenization or at least the attempt to forge the attachment to the state, through the credo one nation, one language appeared as an unavoidable appeal.⁶⁹ All along the three periods, the laws sanctioned the desire to modernize the country and to strengthen the state. The fear of the minorities, as a possible political threat but also a danger in respect of the nation's survival was at stake, while their lack of devotion to the state and actual - or imagined - aspiration to separatism crystallized the tensions. In the meantime, since the second half of the nineteenth century the access to a mother tongue education rose to a priority for the elite of each national group. The restriction to a full access to schools teaching in the languages of the minorities or the implementation of assimilationist policies alienated the minorities and favored disregard.

Such a situation goes beyond the Hungarian and Romanian cases, but the delay observed in the attempt to set up a nation-state was due to the political instability, the belonging to multinational empires and the economic backwardness. Meanwhile, in Western Europe, the opposite phenomenon facilitated the process of homogenization with less turmoil. As a result, in Central and Eastern Europe, these attempts went at the expense of the other national communities and generated deeply antagonistic national projects.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Csanád Demeter, 'A székelyföldi oktatás', pp. 107-109.

⁶⁹ See for example: Lucian Boia, *Două secole de mitologie națională* [Two Centuries of National Mythology] (Bucharest: Humanitas, 2011), pp. 69-75.

⁷⁰ Jenő Szűcs, *Les trois Europes* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1985), pp. 86-111.

The Communal Elections from 1930: Case studies - Slimnic and Presaca Communes, Sibiu County

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Abstract: The parliamentary elections play a special role in Romanian historiography, but we still need many studies on the local ones. The study aims to focus on how political life occurred in rural areas after the achievement of the administrative unification. Following that newly created context, we intend to capture how the electoral campaign is carried out at the local level. We analyse the changes in the Romanian electoral system, primarily focusing on the local elections in the rural area of Sibiu. From a methodological point of view, we studied the press of the period and archival documentary sources. We have focused on the communal electoral lists, which we analysed with the support of a database. Our approach, based on a quantitative statistic-sociological classification of the candidates, and of the voters from the communal elections in Sibiu County, reveals how involved the peasants were in political affairs. At the same time, this paper elucidates, through archival evidence, how authorities interfered in the mechanisms of the electoral process.

Keywords: communal election, electoral system, candidates, political parties, propaganda, electoral results

Rezumat: Alegerile parlamentare joacă un rol important în istoriografia românească, dar avem încă nevoie de studii asupra celor locale. Studiul își propune să se concentreze asupra modului în care a apărut viața politică în zona rurală, după ce a fost realizată o unificare administrativă. Urmărind contextul nou creat, studiul are intenția să captureze modul în care campania electorală s-a desfășurat la nivel

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local. Studiul analizează schimbările în sistemul electoral românesc, concentrându-se asupra alegerilor locale din zona rurală din proximitatea Sibiului. Din punct de vedere metodologic, am studiat presa epocii și surse de arhivă. Ne-am concentrat asupra listelor electorale comunale, pe care le-am analizat cu ajutorul unei baze de date. Abordarea, bazată pe o clasificare cantitativă, statistică, sociologică a candidaților și a electoratului participant la alegerile comunale din regiunea Sibiu, relevă nivelul de implicare a țărănimii în activitatea politică. În același timp, studiul elucidează, cu ajutorul documentelor de arhivă, modul în care autoritățile au intervenit în mecanismele procesului electoral.

Cuvinte cheie: alegeri comunale, sistem electoral, candidați, partide politice, propagandă, rezultate electorale

Introduction

In Romanian historiography, the political elite played a central role.² Also, the researchers manifested interest in the subject of public administration, being provided examples of Romanian county officials, in Transylvania,³ the Old Kingdom, and Great Romania.⁴ But, unfortunately,

² Many studies have been published on the political elites (local and central) through the research grant 'The Political Elite from Transylvania (1867-1918)', also, an electronic database was created, including the MPs names and political orientation, see Judit Pál, Vlad Popovici, *Elites and Politics in Central and Eastern Europe (1848-1918)*, (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2014); Judit Pál, 'The Survival of the Traditional Elite: The Transylvanian Lord Lieutenant Corps in 1910', *Colloquia. Journal of Central European Studies*, Vol. XIV, (2007) : 78-85; Judit Pál, Vlad Popovici, 'O perspectivă comparativă asupra cercetării elitelor politice din secolele XIX-XX în Ungaria și România' [A comparative perspective over the research on political elites in the 19th and 20th centuries in Hungary and Romania] *Analele Științifice ale Universității "Alexandru Ioan Cuza" din Iași*, Tom LXI, (Iași: Editura Universității "Alexandru Ioan Cuza" din Iași, 2015): 600-604; Judit Pál, 'Elita politică din Transilvania la cumpăna secolelor XIX și XX: comiții supremi' [The political elite from Transylvania between the 19th and the 20th centuries: the supreme committees] in Ioan-Aurel Pop et al (coord.) *Călător prin istorie. Omagiu profesorului Liviu Maior la împlinirea vârstei de 70 de ani* (Cluj-Napoca: Academia Română Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 2010), pp. 495-501; Judit Pál, Vlad Popovici, Andrea Fehér, Ovidiu Emil Iudean (eds.) *Parliamentary Elections in Eastern Hungary and Transylvania (1865-1918)* (Berlin: Peter Lang, 2018) etc.

³ Vlad Popovici, 'Considerații privind funcționarii publici români din Transilvania. Studiu de caz: comitatul Sibiu și scaunele săsești care l-au format (1861-1918)' [Considerations regarding the Romanian public servants from Transylvania. Case study: Sibiu county and the predating Saxon seats], *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie "George Barițiu" din Cluj-Napoca*, LV (2016): 166-176.

⁴ At the same time, the author highlighting the role of the Prefect, see Andrei Florin Sora, *Servir l'État roumain. Le corps préfectoral (1866-1940)* (București: Editura Universității din București, 2011), pp. 37-48; Andrei Florin Sora, 'Les fonctionnaires publics roumains appartenant aux minorités ethniques dans la Grande Roumanie' in Silvia Marton, Anca

studies on civil servants at the local level are still rare,⁵ the aspect related to the knowledge of office workers remained unknown many research would be necessary, especially, in the first half of the twentieth century. The bibliography dedicated to the parliamentary elections during the interwar period is varied and well-known,⁶ very rarely providing references to the situation from the rural areas, on this subject only a few studies have been written. Sorin Radu outlines the atmosphere in which the first communal

Oroveanu, Florin Țurcanu (eds) *L'État en France et en Roumanie aux XIXe et XXe siècles* (New Europe College-Institut d'études avancées, 2011), pp. 178-192; Andrei Florin Sora, 'Être fonctionnaire 'minorité' en Roumanie. Idéologie de la Nation et pratiques d'État (1918-1940)' (New Europe College Ștefan Odobleja Program Yearbook 2009-210), pp. 209-220.

⁵ Some examples for the study of the body of civil servants are based on a quantitative analysis, which illustrates that the number of Romanian officials has remained relatively small. Valer Moga, 'Introducere în cercetarea activității electorale din Transilvania, în noiembrie-decembrie 1918' [Introduction in the research of the electoral activity in Transylvania, in November-December 1918] *Annales Universitatis Apulensis, Series Historica*, 16/1 (Mega, 2012): 262-264. In addition, Vlad Popovici provided some biographical data on Romanian civil servants, see Vlad Popovici, 'Funcționarii din Administrație și Justiție Delegați la Marea Adunare Națională de la Alba Iulia (1 Decembrie 1918)' *Revista de Istorie a Moldovei*, 4 (2018): 74-85; Vlad Popovici, *Studies on the Romanian Political Elite from Transylvania and Hungary* (Cluj-Napoca: Mega, 2012), pp. 18-23. Timea Longaver, Vlad Popovici, 'Considerații privind corpul funcționarilor administrativi județeni din zonele cu populație săsească în perioada 1919-1925' [Considerations Regarding the County Officials in the Saxon Areas between 1919 and 1925] *Studia Universitatis Cibiniensis, Series Historica*, vol. XV (2018): 164-170. Cornel Micu, 'Mayors and Local Elite in the Interwar Period: Case Study - The Bordei Verde Commune, Brăila County', in Sorin Radu and Oliver Jens Schmitt (eds) *Politics and Peasants in Interwar Romania: Perceptions, Mentalities, Propaganda* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017), pp. 113-120.

⁶ See Florin Müller, *Elite parlamentare și dinamica electorală în România* [Parliament Elites and Electoral Dynamics in Romania (1919-1937)] (București: Universitatea din București, 2009), pp. 13-15; Cristian Preda, *Românii Fericiți. vot și Putere de la 1831 până în prezent* [Happy Romanians. Vote and Power from 1831 until Present Days] (Iași: Polirom, 2011), pp. 135-159; Sorin Radu, *Electoratul din România în anii democrației parlamentare (1919-1937)* [Electorate in Romania during Parliamentary Democracy (1919-1937)] (Iași: Institutul European, 2004), pp. 30-36; Sorin Radu, 'Administrația și procesul electoral din România în anii democrației parlamentare 1919-1937' [The administration and the electoral process in Interwar Romanian (1919-1937)] *Annales Universitatis Apulensis, Series Historica*, 8 (2004): 391-397; Marin Pop, *Viața politică în România interbelică (1919-1938). Activitatea Partidului Național și Național-Tărănesc din Ardeal și Banat* [Political Life in Interwar Romania (1919-1938). The Activity of the National Party and of The National Peasants' Party in Transylvania and Banat] (Cluj-Napoca, Zalău: Mega, Porolissum, 2014), p. 469; Vasile Dudaș, 'Alegerile parlamentare din anul 1919 în județul Caraș-Severin' [Parliamentary Elections in Caraș-Severin County, 1919] *Analele Banatului. Arheologie și Istorie*, XIX (2011): 467-470; Sorin Arhire, 'Alegerile parlamentare din anul 1932 în județul Alba' [The Parliamentary Elections from 1932, Alba County] *Annales Universitatis Apulensis. Series Historica*, 6 (Alba-Iulia, 2002): 214-217; Ramona Miron, 'Alegerile parlamentare din anul 1920 în județul Putna' [The Parliamentary Elections from 1920 in the Putna County] *Muzeul Vrancei Cronica Vrancei* (Focșani, 2013): 88-89; Petru Obodariu, 'Alegerile din 1937 în județul Putna' [Elections from 1920 in the Putna County] *Cronica Vrancei II* (Focșani: DMPress, 2001): 241-249, etc.

elections took place in February 1926, highlighting electoral propaganda and political alliances.⁷ Marin Pop dedicated studies to local elections, but the author descriptively presented the electoral aspects, being interested more in the role of the National Party and Peasant Party.⁸

The issues we analyse in this study⁹ start from the following research questions: How was the electoral campaign carried out at the local level? Which factors influenced political life on the village level? How did they react to the messages of political authority? Which political parties received the vote of the peasants? How many candidates were standing for election? What was the profile of a local candidate? The hypothesis is related to the perception of the rural world described as a passive group unable to understand political changes. Stelu Șerban has argued that “politics is a family business,”¹⁰ and in our approach, we will try to find out if this issue is confirmed or not. The approach used in this research consisted of case studies in two communes in Sibiu County. The term “commune” found in archival documents refers to areas formed by a single village according to the published legislative texts (art. 39).¹¹ We have chosen the villages of Slimnic and Presaca because they are representative examples of ethnic and religious diversity.

The study is based on unpublished archival sources, documents that have been preserved containing a series of minutes, and ballots papers used in the electoral elections.¹² Such analysis of documentary

⁷ Sorin Radu, ‘Alegerile comunale și județene din februarie 1926’ [The Communal and County Election in February 1926] *Apulum*, XXXVIII/2 (2001): 207-224.

⁸ ‘Alegerile comunale și județene din anul 1930 în județul Sălaj și o radiografie a orașului Zalău în anii 30’ [Communal and County Election from 1926 in Sălaj County and an radiography of Zalău in the 1930s] C. Silvane (2010) <http://www.caietesilvane.ro/cautare>, accesat în 03.05.2019, ora 11:17; Marin Pop, ‘Alegerile pentru Camera Agricolă a județului Sălaj și înființarea Consiliului Județean (1925-1926)’ [Elections for the Agricultural Chamber of Sălaj County and the establishment of the County Council (1925- 1926)] C. Silvane (2009) <http://www.caietesilvane.ro/cautare>, accesat în 07.05.2019, ora 20:15.

⁹ We mention that similar aspects on communal elections could be found in the following study case: Ana-Maria Ungureanu-Ilinca, ‘Alegeri comunale din anul 1930. Studiu de caz: comuna Ocna Sibiului, Județul Sibiu’ [The Communal Elections from 1930. Case study – Ocna Sibiului Commune, Sibiu County] *Studia Universitatis Cibiniensis, Series Historica*, vol. XVII (2020): 211-235.

¹⁰ Stelu Șerban, ‘Communal Political Cultures in Interwar Romania’, in Sorin Radu and Oliver Jens Schmit (eds) *Politics and Peasants in Interwar Romania: Perceptions, Mentalities, Propaganda* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017), p. 61.

¹¹ ‘Lege pentru organizarea administrațiunii locale’ [Law for the Organisation of Local Administration] *Monitorul Oficial*, No. 170, 3 August 1929, p. 6191.

¹² Serviciul Județean Sibiu al Arhivelor Naționale, Fondul Tribunalul Județului Sibiu. Dosar alegeri [National Archives Service of Sibiu County, Fund of the Sibiu County Court, Election File], (hereafter called SJANS, FTS, DA).

sources allows us to look at the electoral process from another perspective, highlighting some specific elements of electoral mechanisms. We have also researched articles on rural aspects published in official newspapers like *Monitorul Județului Sibiu*, *Cuvântul Liber*, *Foaia Poporului*, *Cuvântul Poporului*. We describe and analyse the administrative information, the candidates, laws, orders, and ordinances signed by the Prefect, focusing more on the local election, in the rural area of Sibiu, in the 1930s.

Electoral rules

Firstly, to be able to observe how the electoral rules were applied, we will make a detailed presentation of the electoral legislation. During the interwar period, the Romanian electoral system has undergone several changes regulated through administrative laws published in 1918,¹³ 1919,¹⁴ 1925.¹⁵ The last one produced a stabilization of the voting system based on unique legislation according to the same criteria at the level of the whole country.¹⁶ In the summer of 1929, a new administrative law was adopted, according to the new law, the village is managed by a Communal Council and a Mayor. In the case of mayors, from communes consisting of a single village, the mayor is elected directly by the electorate, and Communal Council no longer includes unelected members. Generally, preparation for the election fell under the remit of

¹³ The next study detailed how the officials delegated to participate in the Great National Assembly in Alba Iulia were elected by universal suffrage at the local level, see Valer Moga, 'Introducere în cercetarea activității electorale din Transilvania, în noiembrie-decembrie 1918' [Introduction in the research of the electoral activity in Transylvania, in November-December 1918] *Annales Universitatis Apulensis, Series Historica*, 16/1 (2012): 253-260.

¹⁴ By decree was decided that all councils should have been dissolved and until the organization of new elections, based on universal suffrage, the officials would be appointed by the Prefect. Also, an important criterion was knowledge of the official language. 'Decret nr. II despre funcționarea în mod provizoriu a serviciilor publice administrative [Decree no. II on the temporary Assembly of Deputies operation of public administrative services] *Gazeta Oficială*, Sibiu, no. 6, 19 January/1 February 1919, p. 26. Finally, was decreed the organization of elections for communal representatives and town hall according to the norms of law XXII from 1886 and based on the lists of voters for the Assembly of Deputies. Therefore, all representatives will be elected for six years, but half of them being replaced after three years. 'Decret nr. XXII despre alegerea reprezentanțelor comunale și a primăriilor' [Decree no. XXII on the election of communal representations and town halls] *Gazeta Oficială*, Cluj, no. 65, 12 November 1919, p. 1; 'Rectificare' [Rectification] *Gazeta Oficială*, Cluj, no. 67, 19 November 1919, p. 1.

¹⁵ 'Lege pentru unificarea administrative' [Law for Administrative Unification] *Monitorul Oficial*, 14 June 1925, pp. 6850-6893.

¹⁶ For the analysis of the legislative stipulations see Radu, 'Alegerile comunale și județene din februarie 1926' [The Communal and County Election in February 1926], pp. 208-209; Preda, *Românii Fericiți*, p. 142; Ungureanu-Ilinca, 'Alegeri comunale din anul 1930', p. 214.

the local administrative apparatus. Convocation of the electorate was made by the Prefect, it will need at least 30 days before the deadline set for elections in the official gazette of the county.¹⁷ An important role was played by magistrates, who were in charge of distributing the voter cards to all citizens. The voter cards were drawn up by the court based on the final electoral lists. Finally, to increase the number of voters was decided that the distribution of voter cards should be done through the town hall by the local administration.¹⁸ Therefore, magistrates had a decisive role in counting, annulling the ballots, as well, in checking the registers or resolving the appeals.

Members of the councils were elected by the Romanian citizens, by universal, equal, direct, secret, obligatory vote, and with the representation of minorities.¹⁹ Another condition, valid for the voting right and electability, depends on the criterion of local residency, requiring at least one year. The electorate voted on the list in a single round of elections using the stamp with the mention "voted".²⁰ That was a majoritarian system, meaning that if none of the candidates accumulated an absolute majority of the votes (50%+1), a ballotage ("balotaj")²¹ was held the following week. Romanian citizens over the age of twenty-one took part in universal suffrage. For the first time, women received the right to vote, but only in the communal elections, and conditioned by - art. 335 - one of the following provisions: to graduate secondary school, to be officials, widows of war, to have been decorated for activity during the war or to have been part of the management of association with social demands, cultural propaganda, or social assistance.²² However, citizens who did not turn up to vote were liable to be penalized with the amount of 500 lei.²³

The Mayor was elected for five years by the voters, for one to become Mayor they had to be an "honest man".²⁴ At the same time, the cashier was selected by universal suffrage, but he had to graduate at least

¹⁷ 'Lege pentru organizarea administrațiunii locale' [Law for the Organisation of Local Administration] *Monitorul Oficial*, No. 170, 3 August 1929, pp. 6186-6272.

¹⁸ SJSAN, FTS, DA, File 162/1931, f. 277.

¹⁹ Radu, *Electoratul*, p. 37.

²⁰ 'Alegerile comunale și județene' [The Communal and County Election] *Cuvântul Liber*, II/3, 19 January 1930, pp. 1-2.

²¹ In order for the ballot to be held at least two candidates must register. *Cuvântul Liber*, I/3, 15 September 1929, p. 4.

²² Al. Gh. Savu, *Sistemul partidelor politice din România 1919-1940* [The Political System of parties in Romania 1919-1940] (București: Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1976), p. 157.

²³ Preda, *Românii Fericiți*, p. 159.

²⁴ Candidates had to be at least 25 years old. 'Legea comunală cea nouă' [The new communal law] *Cuvântul Liber*, I/10, 3 November 1929, p. 1.

three or four secondary classes. If such a candidate did not exist in the village, in this situation, a person who has finished primary school could be accepted.²⁵ Voting took place on the same day on separate ballots, one for each: council, mayor, cashier, - with different colours - the ballots for the mayors' elections were orange and purple for the cashier.²⁶

Electoral register

First of all, to be able to exercise the right to vote, the citizens had to be registered in the communal electoral registers. In this case, a database was created that contained information from the communal tables. The files provide us data about citizens of the interwar period, information regarding the place, year of birth, profession, or death. The electoral lists were made (by the authorities) using those from the previous elections, but it was necessary to take into account deleting people who have died in the meantime and to add those who have reached the age required to vote. Our approach, based on a quantitative statistic-sociological classification from the communal elections in Sibiu County, revealed how involved the peasants in political affairs were. Documents issued by the communal administration were sent to the Prefect, they were stamped, dated, and signed by the mayor, notary, or magistrates. One copy of the electoral register was published at the door of the town halls, people were notified by beating the drum in the commune.²⁷ Also, the press was constantly appealing to the citizens to register in the electoral lists or to check if they had been registered.²⁸

Although through various addresses, ordinances, the officials were notified on how to note all citizens, in a more detailed analysis, the table shows that administrative officials drew up the electoral registers as they considered, rules being respected only in a small part. An electoral register should have contained references to the names of all citizens, with specific observations on age, occupation, address.²⁹ Unfortunately, the data collected gives little information about the women who appeared on the lists. Sometimes, the president of the polling section marked the presence and absence from polls directly on the electoral registers using the colour red or blue. Occasionally, it was made a nominal list but specified only the name and number of the voter (Fig. 1-2).³⁰ The mayor,

²⁵ 'Alegerile comunale și județene' [The Communal and County Election] *Cuvântul Liber*, II/3, 19 January 1930, p. 1.

²⁶ SJSAN, FTS, DA, File 114/1931.

²⁷ *Cuvântul Liber*, II/3, 19 January 1930, p. 2.

²⁸ *Cuvântul Liber*, I/3, 15 September 1929, p. 5.

²⁹ SJSAN, FTS, DA, File 40/1925, f. 4; SJSAN, FTS, DA, File 76/1930.

³⁰ SJSAN, FTS, DA, File 79/1930.

notary, secretary, or other officials had an essential role in preparing the electoral register, citizens depending on how they performed their duties. However, people who have been omitted from the lists had only ten days to claim their right to vote in Court.³¹

In the following, we have been trying to answer the next questions: Who were the citizens from Slimnic and Presaca villages? What ethnicity, age, and occupation did they have? We mention that the information processed from the electoral register refers only to the active segment of the citizens - who participate in elections - were not included people who have died or didn't go to the polls.³² Usually, in the village, inhabitants were known by the paternal father names and grandfather, respectively. Sometimes to limit the identification to several identical names, we use the house number. We have checked the accuracy of the information in the electoral register whit civil status and nationality registers.³³

From an ethnical standpoint, inhabitants were grouped into three categories, the first group - Romanian ethnics, the second group included minorities, and the third category called "others" was made up of unidentified people. The population was distributed as in the following charts (Chart 1-2). Even if these three categories are purely conventional, they help with the analysis of the differences between these two villages. In Presaca, Romanians constituted the majority of voters (96,38%), minorities (2,72%), and others (0,90%). On the other hand, minorities recorded a higher percentage than Romanians in the elections of Slimnic (minorities - 54,66%, Romanians - 43,88%, others - 1,46%)³⁴.

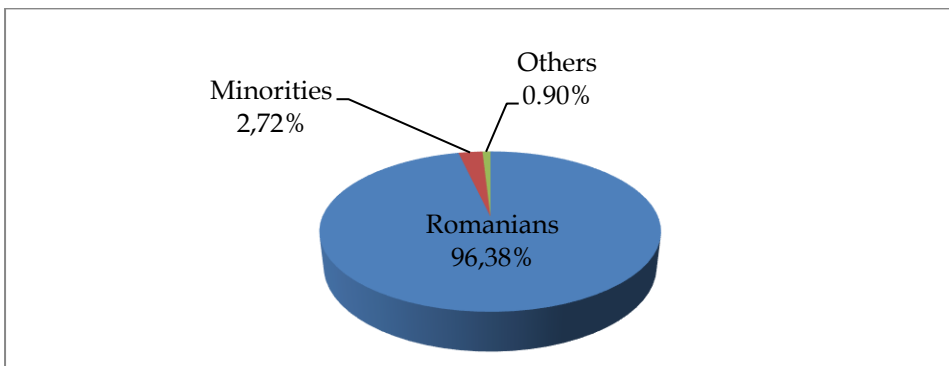


Chart no. 1. Ethnicity of citizens in Presaca.

³¹ SJSAN, FTS, DA, File 161/1931, f. 171.

³² We mention that the data refer exclusively to the elections of 10th-11th February 1930.

³³ Colecția Registre de Stare civilă [Collection Register Civil Status] Slimnic, No. 134.

³⁴ SJSAN, FTS, DA, File 40/1925, f. 4; SJSAN, FTS, DA, File 76/1930.

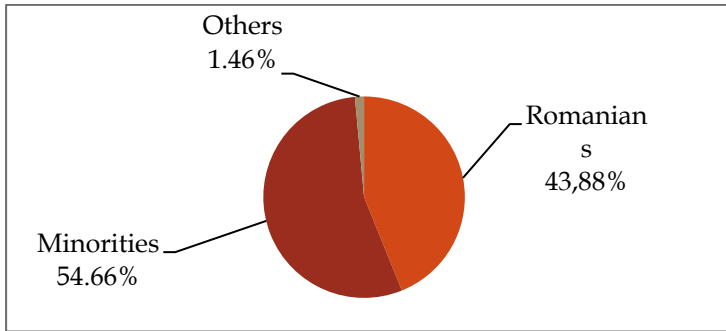


Chart no. 2. Ethnicity of citizens in Slimnic.

As well, the age of the voters was divided into several series, with groups covering about twenty years. Except for the first group (between twenty-one and thirty-nine year-olds) in which we chose to start at the age of twenty-one for political reasons.³⁵ The second group started with voters forty to fifty-nine years old, group three includes people between sixty to seventy-nine, and group four over eighty years old.³⁶ Several examples taken from the research material show that they were a higher representation for the first two age categories in both villages. The evolution of ages can be observed in the below charts (Chart 3-4).³⁷

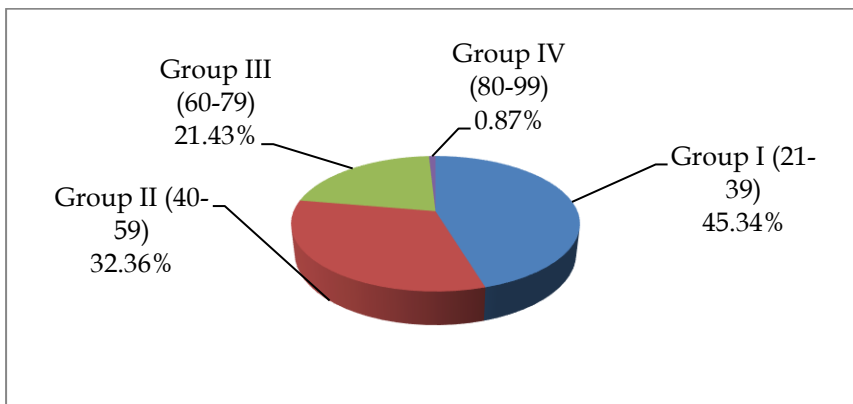


Chart no. 3. The age of the voters in Slimnic.

³⁵ According to the law, the voting age was set to 21 years. *Cuvântul Liber*, II/3, 19 January 1930, p. 1.

³⁶ Slimnic: group I (45,34%), group II (32,36%), group III (21,43%), group IV (0,87%). Presaca: group I (49,77%), group II (28,52%), group III (21,71%), group IV (0,00%).

³⁷ One can easily note that only six persons went to the polls over 80 years old (in Slimnic), and none in Presaca.

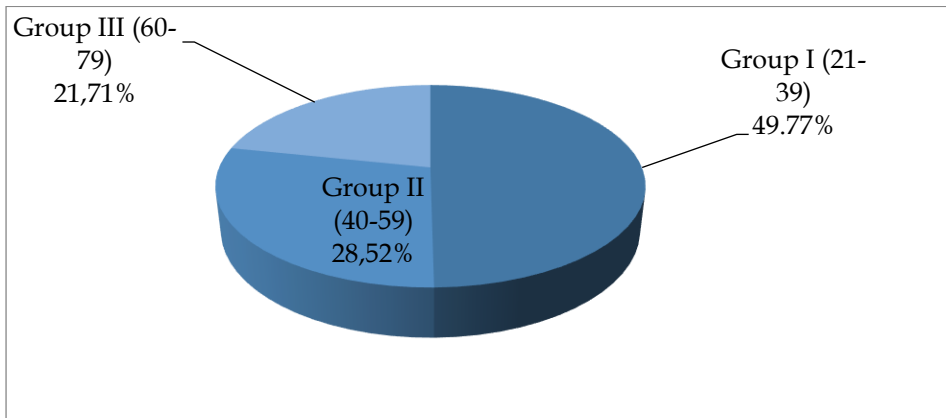


Chart no 4. The age of the voters in Presaca.

In Slimnic, the analysis of the professional structure of the voters reveals that from a total of 686 people, most of them were ploughmen (89,50%), laborers (3,06%), trades (2,40%), etc.³⁸ In Presaca, from a total of 221 people, the large majority of the voters were farmers (94,12%), but we also encountered notables of the village: teachers (0,90%), priests (0,45%), and many others.³⁹ However, the declared profession is most likely subjective, the voters aiming for another occupation when they are obliged to declare it in the electoral registers. We do not know if the professions listed are real. Sometimes, the press and other documents were mentioned the same person with another occupation, for example, "economist"⁴⁰ instead of farmer or ploughmen. The collected data suggest not only men (211) participated in the elections. Also, ten women can be identified in the lists of the voters in Presaca commune. A quantitative analysis of the voters in Slimnic shows us that of 686 voters, only 32 of these were female and 654 male.⁴¹ So, the typical characteristics of the voter were represented by the male sex, age between 21-39 years, belong to the national minorities in Slimnic, on the other hand, in Presaca were Romanian ethnics. In both communes, voters have agricultural occupations, whether they have been categorized as ploughmen or farmers.

³⁸ Shoemaker (1,46%), teacher (0,73%), innkeeper (0,29%), carpenter (0,58%), blacksmith (0,15%), office worker (0,29%), notary (0,15%), priest (0,44%), builder (0,29%), unknown (0,58%).

³⁹ Trader (1,36%), miller (0,45%), notary (0,45%), shoemaker (0,45%), student (0,45%), laborer (0,90%), unknown (0,45%).

⁴⁰ SJSAN, FTS, DA, File 43/1925.

⁴¹ SJSAN, FTS, DA, File 76/1930; 79/1930.

Candidates

A list of candidates should have been submitted at least eight days before the vote. The proposal had to be given in writing and signed by ten citizens with the right to vote.⁴² Candidates could be nominated by parties or by local citizens, depending on the influence exercised in the party at the local level. All candidates were enlisted, but only people at least twenty-five years old could stand as candidates in elections. Also, the law provided that people over 60 years would be replaced.⁴³ Another requirement for all candidates was for them to be able to read and write. Specifically, the law provided that third-degree relatives could not be members of the council at the same time. In spite of the fact that it was forbidden by law, we notice that the junior (Thal Thomas) and senior (Thal Martin) were validated in the council of Slimnic. In Presaca, although they were relatives, the members of the Berea, Bulea families were validated in the council. Also, candidates were not allowed to be officials, innkeepers, or to be entrepreneurs with communal contracts, because they were incompatible with the position.⁴⁴

Mandates were assigned to the candidates on each list, in the order in which they were declared - by the proposers - on the lists. The rest of the candidates from the winning lists became substitutes. If the first councillors were suspended, the substitutes would replace them.⁴⁵ It should also be mentioned, the electoral lists that we were able to identify do not contain data about the political affiliation of candidates. For example, the list of the communal council, from Slimnic on February 11th 1930, included two groups of candidates, under the headings "the first list" and "the second list"⁴⁶ but nothing about the political parties they represented. However, the only information that appears on the ballot was provided with an electoral sign, from where we can see the political affiliation of local elites. For example, the symbol is described as "a circle/ wheel"⁴⁷ for the National Peasant Party, and "vertical line"⁴⁸ represents the specific sign of the National Liberal Party.

⁴² *Cuvântul Liber*, II/3, 19 January 1930, p. 1.

⁴³ *Cuvântul Liber*, I/10, 3 November 1929, p. 2.

⁴⁴ For example, in 1929, the Prefect dissolved the Communal Council of the Slimnic village for the following reasons: cases of incompatibility and embezzlement of the budget. *Cuvântul Liber*, I/7, 13 October 1929.

⁴⁵ SJSAN, FTS, DA, File 45/1926, f. 1.

⁴⁶ SJSAN, FTS, DA, File 79/1930.

⁴⁷ Sorin Radu, 'Semnele electorale ale partidelor politice în perioada interbelică 1919-1937' [The Symbols of the Political Parties in the Interwar Period] *Apulum* XXXIX (2002): 575.

⁴⁸ *Foaia Poporului*, XXXIII/33, 16 August 1925, p. 2. Pop, 'Alegerile pentru Camera Agricolă...' [Elections for the Agricultural Chamber...].

According to the electoral lists, in Slimnic, about 67 candidates participated in the elections throughout the 1930s. If we take into consideration the ethnic diversity, we could say that Romanians constitute a percentage of 70.15%, minorities - 29.85%. Socio-professionally, most candidates have specified that they were ploughmen (78,46%), carpenter, office worker, priest (each category with 1,54 percent), shoemaker, trader (3,08%), teacher (4,62%), unknown (6,15%). Classification according to ages, into four categories, as follows: group I (25-39 years) 31,34%, group II (40-59 years) 53,73%, group III (60-79 years) 8,96%, group IV (unknown) 5,97%, illustrates that six people applied in Slimnic elections, even though they were over the age of 60 years, regulated by electoral law.⁴⁹ We also remark an incompatible candidate, for example, the office worker Poplăcean Ioan 594 (see Table I-II). In Presaca, a quantitative analysis of the candidates reveals that everybody is Romanian. Except for one candidate, most have specified that they were farmers. Depending on age, the percentage remained relatively similar for the first group (26,32%), the second category was higher (68,42%)⁵⁰, while about 5.26% of people were of unknown ages (see Table III-IV). Concluding, we can say that the typology of the candidate corresponds to a Romanian male, between 40-59 years old, with agricultural occupations. Even if in Slimnic, the minorities represented the majority population, however only a small proportion (29.85% of the total number of candidates) belong to the minorities. While minorities had no candidates in Presaca, they represented a small percentage among the inhabitants with the right to vote (2,72%).

⁴⁹ *Monitorul Județului Sibiu*, XI/4, 1 March 1929, pp. 44-45. *Monitorul Județului Sibiu*, XI/12, 15 June 1929, p. 133.

⁵⁰ It is easy to observe, that most of the candidates were between 40-59 years, at the local level members with experience and prestige were preferred.

Propaganda

The Prefect was blamed and constantly charged with doing propaganda for the National Peasants' Party. From the moment of the appointment of an Interim Commission, the citizens started to protest in Slimnic. Even the Saxons, who supported him in the election, disapproved of his actions.⁵¹ The Interim Commission committed several illegalities, including embezzlement of funds, the payment of two notaries, "unavailing"⁵² the elections made with enormous expenses, electoral bills reached the amount of 16.436 lei,⁵³ provided by the commune fund. Furthermore, the Prefect was accused of relying too much on the support of the Greek Catholic priest Păculea - a member of the National Peasant Party - who was considered wanting revenge on the Orthodox through politics, according to the teacher Ioan Tatu⁵⁴ (a member of the National Liberal Party).

First, candidates needed in the electoral campaign professional agents, which would try to mobilize voters in the candidates' favour. For example, at the political assembly of the Liberals, besides the party leaders,⁵⁵ the priest P. Alesie and the teacher I. Tatu also spoke, encouraging the citizens of Slimnic to vote for the liberals.⁵⁶ Nicolae Bratu, from the National Peasant Party, visited the commune of Slimnic, greeted by villagers with fanfare led by teacher N. Nicoară. He gives a speech to the peasants about the causes of the economic crisis and offers some advice, but during the speaking was interrupted repeatedly by liberal supporters I. Tatu, Vicențiu Fântână, and other councillors.⁵⁷

On the one hand, the liberal press was focused on electoral violence made by young people from the National Peasant Party, so-called "hefty" ("voinici").⁵⁸ Violence, from verbal to physical

⁵¹ The worst people have been appointed, but communal elections will show their prestige. *Cuvântul Liber*, I/11, 10 November 1929, p. 2.

⁵² The political information presented in the local press mentions four elections in the commune of Slimnic, in spite must be said that in the archives, we find documents only for three elections. *Cuvântul Liber*, II/29, 20 June 1930, p. 3.

⁵³ For example, a teacher earns 90 lei per day, he can buy a liter of milk, a kilogram of meat, potatoes, onions, and bread. *Cuvântul Liber*, I/17-18, 22 December 1929, p. 7. SJSAN, FTS, DA, File 79/1930.

⁵⁴ Both made propaganda to support his party. 'Scrisoare deschisă dlui Prefect Coriolan Ștefan' [Open letter to Prefect Coriolan Ștefan] *Cuvântul Liber*, I/7, 13 October 1929, p. 3.

⁵⁵ Vicențiu Fântână was the president of the liberal organization from Slimnic commune. *Cuvântul Liber*, I/14, 1 December 1929, p. 3.

⁵⁶ *Cuvântul Liber*, I/10, 3 November 1929, p. 4.

⁵⁷ 'Parlamentarii jud. Sibiu la sate' [MPs in the villages Sibiu County] *Foaia Poporului*, XXXVIII/41, 12 October 1930, p. 2.

⁵⁸ Marin Pop, 'Aspecte privind activitatea Tineretului Național-Țărănesc din Ardeal și Banat. Organizațiile de Chemări și Voinici' (1929)", *Studii și Comunicări XXXI/II* (2015): 100.

aggressiveness was a common thing several citizens were ill-treated, including Nanu from Slimnic.⁵⁹ Moreover, gendarmes arrested innocent people from Slimnic, Cornăţel, Glâmbocă.⁶⁰ The Prefect focused on sabotaging the opposing party. For instance, he planned, just before the elections, investigations against some Liberal representatives - I. Tatu, Luca Nan, and L. Boabeş - from Slimnic.⁶¹ On the other hand, during the election, the peasant press described this aspect differently. According to the Prefect report "no arrests were made, the propaganda was completely free for all,"⁶² it is said that the elections in Sibiu County took place in the most perfect order, allowed all parties to campaign. Protesting against the electoral law, the People's Party⁶³ advised citizens to cancel their vote and not submit lists of candidacies.

Through promises and threats, citizens were manipulated by the Prefect. He argued that citizens who do not vote for the National Peasants' Party will no longer receive any support from the Prefectures.⁶⁴ As well, various amounts of money were given for public interest purposes.⁶⁵ Administrative officials were involved in the election campaign, notaries were called to the Prefecture and receive the order to do anything to win the election. Also, they were asked to report the liberal meetings,⁶⁶ and all untrustworthy notaries were replaced. For example, the notary from Slimnic - Aurel Căpăţână has been moved.⁶⁷ The priest Păculea would have contributed to the removal of the notary, but citizens - of all nationalities - protested.⁶⁸ Also, the notary Căpăţână submitted a factum to the authorities explaining the situation and demanding justice.⁶⁹ Unfortunately, the sources do not mention much information about the propaganda made in Presaca. During the election campaign, the entire village was divided into many groups, which were

Described in the press as strikers. *Cuvântul Poporului*, XII/3, 18 January 1930, p. 2. *Cuvântul Liber*, II/4, 26 January 1930, p. 3.

⁵⁹ *Cuvântul Liber*, II/6, 9 February 1930, p. 3.

⁶⁰ *Cuvântul Liber*, II/9, 2 March 1930, p. 3.

⁶¹ *Cuvântul Liber*, II/7, 16 February 1930, p. 2.

⁶² *Foaia Poporului*, XXXVIII/7, 16 February 1930, p. 1.

⁶³ *Cuvântul Poporului*, XII/3, 18 January 1930, p. 1.

⁶⁴ 'Ilegalităţile Naţional Ţărănişte în judeţul Sibiu' [National Peasant Illegals in Sibiu County] *Cuvântul Liber*, II/15, 13 April 1930, p. 2.

⁶⁵ *Cuvântul Liber*, II/6, 9 February 1930, p. 2.

⁶⁶ 'Cori, trilimanii şi notarii comunali' [Cori, "trilimani" and communal notaries] *Cuvântul Liber*, II/5, 2 February 1930, p. 3.

⁶⁷ *Cuvântul Liber*, II/15, 13 April 1930, p. 4; *Cuvântul Liber*, II/22, 1 June 1930, p. 3.

⁶⁸ 'Ilegalităţile unui Prefect' [The Prefect illegals] *Cuvântul Poporului*, XII/14, 5 April 1930, p. 2.

⁶⁹ *Cuvântul Poporului*, XII/19, 10 May 1930, p. 4.

sympathizers of liberals, but the majority supported the National Peasants' Party.⁷⁰ Therefore, the Prefect was personally involved in the election campaign, actively contributing to the electoral propaganda in favour of the National Peasant Party, using his authority to manipulate the citizens with the help of gendarmes and other officials.⁷¹

Election results

Minutes of the election can be found in the archives, which certifies the composition of the electoral commission, the results, and possible appeals during the electoral process. The number of councillors is variable from one village to another (between eight to sixteen) depending on the demographic size of the village.⁷² Presaca was a smaller village (1000 inhabitants) we have eight counsellors, while in Slimnic (4000 inhabitants) fourteen counsellors. In Presaca, elections were established on 10th February and in Slimnic the next day.⁷³ The final result of the election was decided by a relative majority.⁷⁴ To obtain seats in the council, a list had to receive at least 20% of the total number of votes. No mandate shall be assigned if any lists did not accumulate at least one-fifth of the votes. The seats were distributed proportionately among all lists, depending on the score obtained. In order to illustrate the results, we used the following tables (Table 1-2).

⁷⁰ SJSAN, FTS, DA, File 76/1930.

⁷¹ For more examples on local election propaganda see Ungureanu-Ilinca, 'Alegeri comunale din anul 1930', pp. 221-224.

⁷² 'Lege pentru organizarea administrațiunii locale' [Law for the Organisation of Local Administration] *Monitorul Oficial*, No. 170, 3 August 1929, p. 6191.

⁷³ The election did not all take place on the same day.

⁷⁴ The term refers to the highest number of votes. *Monitorul Județului Sibiu*, XI/1, 10 January 1930, pp. 2-3.

Council		○		
	List no. 1	List no. 2	Canceled	Total
No.	415	239	32	686
Percentage ⁷⁵	60,50%	34,84%	4,66%	
Percent ⁷⁶	63,46%	36,54%	-	
Seat	9	5		

Table no. 1. Council – Slimnic, 11 Feb. 1930. SJSAN, FTS, DA, File 79/1930.

Council	○			
	List no. 1	List no. 2	Canceled	Total
No.	112	108	1	221
Percentage	50,67%	48,86%	0,47%	
Percent	51%	49%	-	
Seat	4	4		

Table no. 2. Council – Presaca, 10 Feb. 1930. SJSAN, FTS, DA, File 76/1930.

Therefore, the number of mandates was divided equally in the commune of Presaca. In Slimnic, the liberal list won first place with nine seats, and the National Peasant Party obtained only five seats in the council.⁷⁷ While to win the position of mayor/cashier, candidates had to register an absolute majority of votes (fifty percent plus one).⁷⁸ If no one receives the majority of votes in the next week, a ballottage will be arranged, as in the Slimnic elections (Table 3,5). Three lists were submitted, but none managed to win the position of mayor or cashier. Simion David won the mayoral elections of Presaca, with only two votes, and the position of cashier was held by Bulea Gligor (Table 4,6).

Mayor	List no. 1	List no. 2	List no. 3	Canceled	Total
No.	186	278	178	44	686
Percentage	27,11%	40,52%	25,95%		
Percent	27%	41%	26%		
Result	ballottage				

Table no. 3. Mayor – Slimnic, 11 Feb. 1930. SJSAN, FTS, DA, File 79/1930.

⁷⁵ Refers to the initial percentage mentioned in the cited source.

⁷⁶ The second time, percentages were calculated without taking into account the lists that did not reach 20% of the votes, respectively canceled votes.

⁷⁷ *Cuvântul Liber*, II/8, 23 February 1930, p. 1.

⁷⁸ Having only one candidate was declared elected "ex officio". *Cuvântul Liber*, II/3, 19 January 1930, p. 2.

Mayor	List no. 1	List no. 2	Canceled	Total
No.	107	109	5	221
Percentage	48,42%	51,58%		
Percent	48%	52%		
Result		<i>Simion David</i>		

Table no. 4. Mayor – Presaca, 10 Feb. 1930. SJSAN, FTS, DA, File 76/1930.

Cashier	List no. 1	List no. 2	List no. 3	Canceled	Total
No.	116	342	164	64	686
Percentage	16,91%	49,85%	23,91%	9,33%	
Result	ballotage				

Table no. 5. Cashier – Slimnic, 11 Feb. 1930. SJSAN, FTS, DA, File 79/1930.

Cashier	List no. 1	List no. 2	Canceled	Total
No.	122	99	0	221
Percentage	55,20%	44,80%		
Percent	55%	45%		
Result	<i>Bulea Gligor</i>			

Table no. 6. Cashier – Presaca, 10 Feb. 1930. SJSAN, FTS, DA, File 76/1930.

Furthermore, we observe that many ballots were canceled. Ballot papers were annulled because the control stamp was improperly applied. For example, ballots for the mayor election from Slimnic. Also, ticket vote without any stamp was canceled (see Fig. 3-4). In the electoral file, only the canceled ballots are annexed, which allows us to observe that many votes were annulled abusively for the National Peasant Party. Moreover, the villagers in Presaca appealed against the election of the mayoralty, and the Perfect recall to vote again on June 15th 1930. Finally, a member of the National Peasant Party won the elections, according to the next table.

Mayor	List no. 1	List no. 2	Canceled	Total
No.	120	86	6	212
Percentage	56,60%	40,57%	2,83%	
Result	<i>Keitea Dionisie</i>			

Table no. 7. Mayor – Presaca, 15 Jun. 1930. SJSAN, FTS, DA, File 76/1930.

The official cause of the invalidation of the elections in the village of Slimnic, from February, was the closing time of polling. Although the lunch break lasted two hours, the polling station was closed at 5 p.m. by the head of the election committee. However, according to the electoral

law, it could have been extended until 10 p.m. If there were voters who did not vote.⁷⁹ Several citizens with the right to vote didn't have time to vote, although they were present in front of the polling station. Finally, the election results were invalidated, and they were to be reorganized on June 15th 1930. The seats in the council were divided between the Hungarian Party⁸⁰ with seven seats, the Liberals four, and the National Peasant Party three (Table 8). Also, Liberals won the position of mayor in Slimnic,⁸¹ Luca Nan was elected (Table 9). None of the candidates obtained an absolute majority in the cashier election (Table 10). So, a ballotage was held on June 22nd 1930, Cuiorean Pavel - the candidate of the National Liberal Party - was elected (Table 11).

Council	×	○			
	List no. 1	List no. 2	List no. 3	Canceled	Total
No.	246	114	163	22	545
Percentage	45,13%	20,31%	29,90%	4,04%	
Percent	47,03%	21,79%	31,16%	---	
Seat	7	3	4		

Table no. 8. Council – Slimnic, 15 Jun. 1930. SJSAN, FTS, DA, File 79/1930.

Mayor	○			
	List no. 1	List no. 2	Canceled	Total
No.	249	274	22	545
Percentage	45,69%	50,28%	4,04%	
Percent	45,69%	54,31%	---	
Result		<i>Luca Nan</i>		

Table no. 9. Mayor – Slimnic, 15 Jun. 1930. SJSAN, FTS, DA, File 79/1930.

Cashier	○			
	List no. 1	List no. 2	Canceled	Total
No.	265	264	16	545
Percentage	48,62%	48,44%	2,94%	
Result	Ballotage			

Table no. 10. Cashier – Slimnic, 15 Jun. 1930. SJSAN, FTS, DA, File 79/1930.

⁷⁹ SJSAN, FTS, DA, File 45/1926, f. 1.

⁸⁰ The minorities - Hungarians and Saxons - ran on a common list, using the sign related to the Hungarian Party. By comparing the results we mention that contradictory information was reported in the press, were generally small differences (1-2 mandates). For example, Liberals: mayor, cashier, and five councilors. Saxons: assistant mayor and seven councilors, and National Peasants' Party two councilors. *Cuvântul Liber*, II/29, 20 July 1930, p. 3.

⁸¹ *Cuvântul Liber*, II/26, 29 June 1930, p. 3.

Cashier	○			
	List no. 1	List no. 2	Canceled	Total
No.	207	331	4	542
Percentage	38,19%	61,07%		
Result		<i>Cuierean Pavel</i>		

Table no. 11. Cashier – Slimnic, 22 Jun. 1930. SJSAN, FTS, DA, File 79/1930.

After the elections, the priest Păculea (a member of the National Peasant Party) was accused of tricking the Saxons and forged signatures for the appeal.⁸² Also, he replaced a few candidates only to win the National Peasant Party. In this context, Luca Nan (candidate of the National Liberal Party) appealed against the decision taken by the County Council - to invalidate the elections in Slimnic. Finally, the results were validated.⁸³

Conclusions

Typical for the interwar elections is the involvement of the administrative apparatus in the electoral process. We must take into account that the number of people with the right to vote depending on how officers prepared the electoral register. For this reason, the Prefect appointed an Interim Commission and resorted to the replacement of the notary from Slimnic. According to the law mayors, notaries, communal councilors can be suspended by the Prefect, were replaced with persons approved by the government. Probably the omission of some citizens from the electoral registers was related to their affinity for opposition parties. However, elections were constantly annulled, and voters were called to vote, even three to four times during the year. Archival documents contain sufficient evidence regarding the manipulation of the results through the fault of the magistrates by canceling valid ballots or closing earlier the polling section.

We could say that the hypothesis supported by Stelu Șerban "politics is a family business"⁸⁴ is confirmed - in both communes - several relatives were part of the local administration, in spite of the fact that it was forbidden by law. The most significant example was the presence of the son and father, from the Thal family, in the communal council of Slimnic. Among the relatives who candidates for a position in the local administration of Slimnic, we notified the families: Crețu, Fântână, Hallmen, Mașca, Popa, Seiwerth, etc. (see Table I-II). Members of the

⁸² "Din Slimnic" [From Slimnic] *Cuvântul Liber*, II/29, 20 July 1930, p. 3.

⁸³ *Cuvântul Liber*, II/38, 16 November 1930, p. 2.

⁸⁴ Șerban, 'Communal Political Cultures...', p. 61.

families Berea and Bulea were part of the council of Presaca, and Mitea, Roman participated in local elections (see Table III-IV).

Even though the vote was compulsory, there is a relatively low turnout in elections, but we must mention that from the total number of voters entered in the final registers, although the authorities removed people who have died, did not decrease their number from the total number of citizens with the right to vote. Also, we must not forget that in the press were reported some problems encountered by peasants in the purchase of voter cards, when they were distributed by administrative officials. In this way, it could be explained the decrease in the number of citizens with the right to vote. On the other hand, communal elections were held three or four times in the villages. Especially, in June people had to take care of agricultural affairs, but we must also admit the phenomenon of passivity among the peasantry regarding politics. Based on collected data, we may conclude that the number of voters decreased (see Graph no. 1). Although we would have expected increasing the number of voters for the ballot, but that didn't happen. A possible cause was the closing time of the polls. In this regard, we noticed an interest of the citizens to vote, manifested by requests addressed to the court or by appeals, claiming their right to vote. In Presaca, according to the table drawn up by the magistrate, only twenty-five people were absent without reason from the elections, they should have been penalized (with 500 lei⁸⁵) for the benefit of the village, but we do not know if such penalties were applied.

In Slimnic, most people voted for the liberals according to the press, minorities voted against the National Peasants' Party. By comparing the two villages, it becomes obvious that the situation was different from one village to another. In Presaca, electoral competition between the National Liberal Party and the National Peasant Party was fierce. However, the National Peasant Party recorded a victory with only a few percent more than the Liberals. At the county level of Sibiu, most mandates were obtained by the National Peasants' Party in the 1930s.

⁸⁵ SJSAN, FTS, DA, File 76/1930.

Annexes:

Nr. crt.	Numele de familie și botez	Vârsta	ocupa iunea	Județ	co- mună	Nr. crt.
✓ 201	Gabor Jacob	397 42	plugar	1	—	213
✓ 202	Genescu Toader	626 63	"	1	—	222
✓ 203	Gabor Saru	593 52	"	1	—	223
✓ 204	Hallmen Mihail	5 45	"	1	—	224
205	Hemberger ^{Martin} Mihail	13 33	"	1	—	225
✓ 206	Hallmen Loan	22 41	"	1	—	226
✓ 207	Hallmen Loan	25 66	maritor	1	—	227
✓ 208	Hallmen Toma	27 53	plugar	1	—	228
✓ 209	Hallmen Mihail	26 59	"	1	—	229
210	Hallmen Martin sen.	68 57	"	1	—	230
211	Hallmen Martin jiu	68 23	"	1	—	231
✓ 212	Hallmen Loan	129 45	"	1	—	232
✓ 213	Hallmen Toma sen.	126 53	"	1	—	233
✓ 214	Hallmen Toma	134 ⁵⁷ 37	"	1	—	234
✓ 215	Hallmen Toma jiu.	136 23	"	1	—	235
✓ 216	Hallmen Martin	138 57	"	1	—	236
✓ 217	Hallmen Mihail	140 47	"	1	—	237
✓ 218	Hallmen Toma	180 47	"	1	—	238
✓ 219	Hallmen Loan	180 27	"	1	—	239
✓ 220	Hallmen Loan	212 40	comercial	?	—	240

Fig. no. 1. Electoral register from Slimnic. SJSAN, FTS, DA, File 43/1925, f. 5.

Registru electoral conform art. 14							Conform Art. 14
NUMELE DE FAMILIE in ordine alfabetică si prenumele alegatorului	Domiciliul	Age	Profesiunea	Alegător la Camera	Alegător la Senat	No. cărți de judecată cu care a fost înscris	Observații
Waldenfeld	721	28	Boboc	Michael		392	
Louventh	730	29	Birch	Michael		52	
Thurle	113	30	Birch	Michael		36	
Gaier	51	31	Fauler	Lauer		688	
Kepcam	675	32	Michael	Waldenfeld		937	
Ioan	309	33	Vintila	Ioan		299	
Ioan	711	34	Trudala	Ioan		347	
Francis	9	35	Gula	Michael		271	
Petru	313	36	Lauer	Kudj		735	
Michael	441	37	Lein	Ioan		702	
Michael	384	38	Lauer	Michael		432	
Martin	398	39	Ariz	Ioan		4	
Alfred	121	40	Sheep	Michael		753	
Ioan	144	41	Klein	Toma		405	
Ioan	460	42	Barton	Lein		675	
Ioan	493	43	Waldenfeld	Michael		905	
Michael	454	44	Stauer			787	
Michael	644	45	Blau	Michael		388	
Michael	834	46	Stanciu	Pard		763	
Michael	936	47	Drăghici	Michael		185	
Michael	26	48	Breiter	Carol		87	
Ioan	130	49	Lauer	Michael		765	
Toma	199	50	Barton	Michael		14	
Lauer	228	51	Oltean	Ioan		551	
Lauer	418	52	Belter	Ioan		463	
Vasile	634	53	Drăghel	Michael		165	
Michael	934	54	Lauer	Ioan		435	

Fig. no. 2. Nominal list from Slimnic. SJSAN, FTS, DA, File 79/1930.

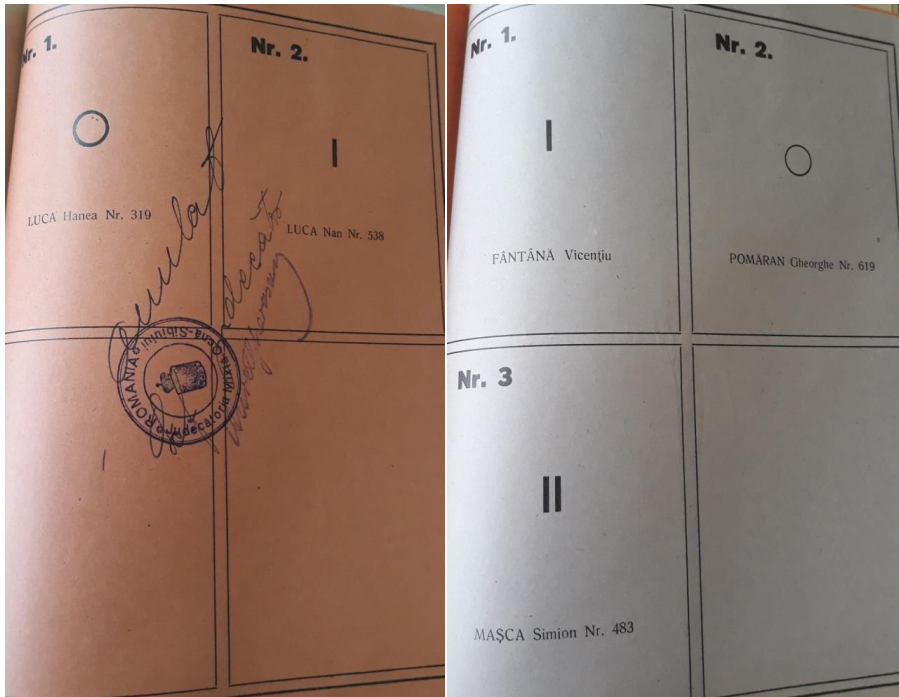


Fig. no. 3-4. The ballot for the mayors' elections from Slimnic, 15 Jun.1930 (the first). And cashier ballot from Slimnic,10 Feb. 1930 (the second). SJSAN, FTS, DA, File 79/1930.

Village	Year	Symbol	Name	Profession	Year of birth	Observations
Slimnic	1930	₁	Luca Nan 538	ploughmen	1887	
	1930	× ₂	Cuierau Paul 119	cashier	1879	
	1930-1932	×	Csallner Alfred 121/273			
	1930-1932	×	Liennerth Mihail sen. 431/283	ploughmen	1874	
	1930-1932	×	Thal Thomas jun. 803/259	ploughmen	1898	
	1930-1932	×	Seiwerth Martin sen. 697/138	ploughmen	1870	
	1930-1932	×	Thal Martin sen.803/259	ploughmen	1903	
	1930-1932	×	Zollner Martin 958/13	ploughmen	1884	
	1930-1932; 1937	×	Weidenfelder Mihail 904/39	ploughmen	1887	
	1930-1932; 1937	○ ₃	Păculea Ariton 603/672	priest	1882	assistant 1931 ⁴
	1930-1932	○	Vintilă Pavel 885/692	ploughmen	1890	
	1930-1932	○	Mordășan Mihăilă 457/96	shoemaker	1892	
	1930-1932		Fântână Ilie 214/667	ploughmen	1871	
	1930-1932		Hanea Nicolae 317/574	ploughmen	1887	
	1930-1932		Mașca Ioan 470/352	ploughmen	1899	
1930-1932		Cioconea Miron 132/514	ploughmen	1903		

¹ National Liberal Party.

² Hungarian Party.

³ National Peasant Party.

⁴ Refers to people who attended elections by political parties.

1937		Fântână Vicențiu 1/667	ploughmen	1896	candidate 1930, 1934, assistant 1932
1937		Mașca Simion 483/479	ploughmen	1887	candidate 1930
1937	×	Seiwerth Mihail 680/77	ploughmen	1887	candidate 1930
1937	×	Low Ioan 429/274	teacher	1891	candidate 1930

Table no. I. The Communal Administration of Slimnic. SJSAN, FTS, DA, File 79/1930; File 43/1925, f. 1-19; File 161/1931, f. 261; File 393/1937, f. 1-27; File 164/1932, f. 2-8; File 227/1933, f. 1-45; File 412/1937, f. 32-33.

Village	Year	Symbol	Name	Profession	Year of birth	Observations
Slimnic	1930	○	Luca Hanea 319	ploughmen	1864	
	1930	○	Pomăran Gheorghe 619	ploughmen	1868	
	1930		Cinezan Pavel 117			
	1930	×	Plattner Ioan 973	ploughmen	1872	
	1930	×	Schieb Toma 706	ploughmen	1880	
	1930	×	Baier Ioan 20	ploughmen	1888	
	1930	×	Meltner Mihail sen. 467	carpenter	1872	
	1930	×	Barth Toma 46	ploughmen	1898	
	1930	×	Hallmenn Ioan 309	teacher	1859	
	1930	○	Crețu Nicolae 139	ploughmen	1890	
	1930	○	Opriș Nicolae 557	ploughmen	1872	

1930	○	Pomăran Simion 579	ploughmen	1893	
1930	○	Rotariu Pavel 655	ploughmen	1885	
1930	○	Costea Ioan 143	ploughmen	1900	
1930	○	Bobeş Nechifor 80	ploughmen	1880	
1930	○	Draghiciu Simion 180	ploughmen	1899	
1930	○	Moldovan Dionisie 503	shoemaker	1878	
1930	○	Nan Zaharie 548	ploughmen	1893	
1930	○	Poplăcean Ioan 594	office worker	1860	
1930	○	Apolzan Ioan 1	ploughmen	1904	
1930		Popa Luca 597	ploughmen	1884	
1930		Popa Ioan 591	ploughmen	1896	
1930		Bobeş Simion 84	ploughmen	1870	
1930		Tatu Ioan 854	ploughmen	1882	
1930		Nan Simion sen. 535	ploughmen	1892	
1930		Encea Miron 192	ploughmen	1878	
1930		Galer Iacob 277	ploughmen	1883	
1930		Bobeş Simion 82	ploughmen	1890	
1930		Măsar Ioan 493	ploughmen	1884	
1930		Tăpălagă Dumitru 342	ploughmen	1898	
1930	×	Părău Ioan 589	ploughmen	1878	
1930		Izdrilă Pavel 524	ploughmen	1876	
1930		Cucea Airon			

1930		Dropeiciu Luca	ploughmen	1900	
1930	×	Negrea Pavel 514	ploughmen	1892	
1930	×	Medeacăsan Mihăilă 457	trader	1884	
1930	×	Neutes Pavel 593			
1930		Tatu Ioan 159	ploughmen	1880	
1930		Hannu Ioan 593	ploughmen	1887	
1930		Hallmen Ioan 620	trader	1885	
1930		Boabeș Simian 691	ploughmen	1890	
1930		Stănilă Ioan 565	ploughmen	1892	
1930		Bărichia Ioan 564	ploughmen	1875	
1930		Soanea Vasile 684	ploughmen	1873	
1930		Crețu Ioan 677	ploughmen	1888	
1930		Stangu Dumitru 698	ploughmen	1899	

Table no. II. Opponents in the Slimnic elections. SJSAN, FTS, DA, File 79/1930; File 43/1925, f. 1-19; File 161/1931, f. 261; File 393/1937, f. 1-27; File 227/1933, f. 1-45.

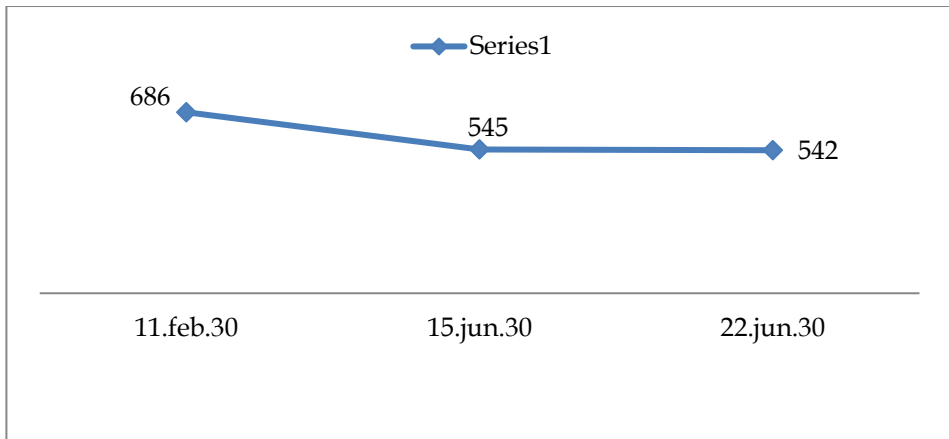
Village	Year	Symbol	Name	Profession	Year of birth	Observations
Presaca	1930		Simian David	farmer	1877	
	1930; 1934-1935; 1937	○	Berea Maftciu 19	farmer	1879	candidate 1934, counselor 1935- 1937
	1930; 1934	○	Bulea Gligor 39	cashier	1882	assistant 1931, candidate 1934
	1930-1932	○	Popa Ioan	farmer	1892	
	1930	○	Ioarză Simion	farmer	1875	

1930-1932; 1934-1937	○	Dragoș Mateiu 124	farmer	1889	candidate 1934, counselor 1935- 1937
1930-1932	○	Berea Nicolae	farmer	1892	
1930-1932; 1934-1937		David Manoil 97	farmer	1886	candidate 1934, counselor 1935- 1937
1930-1932;		Roman Ioan	farmer	1890	
1930-1932; 1934-1935		Bulea George 38	farmer	1890	candidate 1934- 1935
1930-1932		Stoica George	farmer	1895	
1931	○	Mitea Maftai	farmer	1890	candidate 1930

Table no. III. The communal administration of Presaca. SJSAN, FTS, DA, File 40/1925, f. 1-7; File 76/1930; File 161/1931, f. 258; File 380/1937, f. 168-176; File 164/1932, f. 2-8; File 240/1934, f. 1-38; File 242/1935, f. 1-10; File 412/1937, f. 28.

Village	Year	Symbol	Name	Profession	Year of birth	Observations
Presaca	1930	○	Berea Todor	farmer	1887	
	1930	○	Roman Zachiu	farmer	1893	
	1930	○	Mitea Ioan	farmer	1889	
	1930		Mitea Ion I. Nefie	farmer	1899	
	1930		Mitea Ion I. Solon	farmer	1871	
	1930		David Filip	farmer	1887	candidate 1934-1935
	1930		Torean Sevastian			

Table no. IV. Opponents in the Presaca elections. SJSAN, FTS, DA, File 40/1925, f. 1-7; File 76/1930; File 161/1931, f. 258; File 380/1937, f. 168-176; File 240/1934, f. 1-38; File 242/1935, f. 1-10.



Graph no. 1. Evolution of the number of voters in Slimnic.

The Game of the Italians: Football and Dual Identity in Argentina 1910-1935

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Abstract: In 1934 Italy won the football World Cup with four Argentine-born players in their squad. Whilst this reflected Argentine footballing excellence during the era, it was also recognition of the close relationship between Italian and Argentine national identity born from mass immigration from Italy to Argentina at the turn of the twentieth century. Using the case study of football, this paper challenges existing assumptions surrounding national identity construction in Argentina that has largely neglected the role of dual identity amongst immigrant groups, and which has focused instead on assimilation and a discourse of the Argentine ‘melting pot’ in bringing these disparate elements into a national whole. In contrast to a concurrent narrative of nativizing Argentine football from British influence in the 1910s, this paper makes the case that it was the Italo-Argentine community that held influence in the sport, both at a playing and boardroom level over the next two decades. It will demonstrate how football afforded Italo-Argentine community the opportunity to celebrate both their Argentine and Italian identity through the example of Genoa’s 1923 tour to Argentina. Moreover, we examine how the reverse migration of footballers from Argentina to Italy from 1910 further complicated ideas of national identity.

Keywords: Sport; Identity; Argentina; Migration; Ethnicity; Assimilation

Rezumat: În 1934, Italia a câştigat cupa mondială la fotbal cu patru jucători născuți în Argentina în echipă. În timp ce acest fapt reflectă excelența Argentinei în domeniul fotbalului în acel moment, el reprezintă și o recunoaștere a relației strânse dintre identitatea națională argentiniană și italiană apărută în contextual imigrației în masă din Italia în Argentina la începutul secolului XX. Folosind studiul de caz al fotbalului, acest studio dialoghează cu prezumțiile

existente în privința construcției identității naționale în Argentina, care au neglijat în mare măsură rolul identității duale în rândul grupurilor de imigranți și care s-au focalizat în schimb asupra asimilării și a discursului referitor la ‘cazanul de topit’ argentinian și rolul acestuia în a reduce această diversitate de elemente într-un tot național. În contrast cu o narațiune concurentă, referitoare la ‘nativizarea’ fotbalului argentinian sub influență engleză în anii 1910, această lucrare sugerează rolul comunității italo-argentine în consolidarea acestui sport, atât în privința jocului în sine cât și la nivelul decizional, în următoarele două decenii. Lucrarea va demonstra cum fotbalul a oferit comunității italo-argentine oportunitatea de a celebra atât identitatea lor italiană cât și cea argentiniană prin exemplul turului genovez în Argentina din 1923. În plus, studiul va examina cum migrația în revers a fotbaliștilor din Argentina în Italia, începând cu 1910 a complicat și mai mult problema identității naționale.

Cuvinte cheie: sport, identitate, Argentina, migrație, etnie, asimilare

Introduction

As Nancy Struna has noted, sport has long been regarded by academics as a way of illustrating social formation within individual nation states and territories. As such, the understanding of sporting social history can tell us much about how national identities are constructed and evolve over time.¹ John Wilson contends that leisure activity has long since been a medium through which societies have projected nationhood and established national identities. More importantly in the Argentine context where the country was fundamentally shaped by mass immigration, Wilson highlights sport’s capacity ‘to integrate existing conglomerates into national communities’.²

Ranaan Rein’s 2015 historical exploration of *Fútbol, Jews and the Making of Argentina* explicitly recognised the role of dual identities, ignored by other scholars. His study of one specific ethnic group was prompted by a recognition that ‘very little has been written about ethnicity and sports in immigrant societies such as Argentina’. However, by focusing solely on the Jewish community, Rein gives no sense of the contribution of larger and more influential migratory communities, a gap this research fills.³ In the wider historiography of Argentine identity,

¹ Nancy Struna, ‘Social History and Sport’, in Jay Coakley – Eric Dunning (eds), *Handbook of Sports Studies* (London: Sage Publishing, 2007), pp.189–90.

² John Wilson, *Politics and Leisure*, (London: Routledge, 1988), p.149.

³ Ranaan Rein, *Fútbol, Jews, and the Making of Argentina*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2015), p.1.

writers like Samuel Baily, Dorna Zaboli and Fernando Devoto have shown that there is a role for examining dual-identity, in which the children and grandchildren of immigrants did not entirely forego celebrating their ethnic heritage.⁴ Indeed, Devoto observes that 'It is somewhat paradoxical to note that in Argentine historiography unlike that in the United States, scholars have been reluctant to describe the nation as a multi-ethnic society'.⁵

In using the case study of the relationship between the demographically important Italo-Argentine community and football, this paper advances the historical understanding of dual identity in nations shaped by immigration. We explore how football offered a way for the Italian community to exert a greater influence in Argentine society than their absolute numbers would otherwise suggest, investigating the agency of the collective as administrators, players and supporters. Furthermore, by investigating the case study of Genoa's 1923 tour to Argentina, we show how the sport gave the Italo-Argentine community opportunity to express their Italian identity.

Whilst the presence of dual Italo-Argentine identity within Argentine football reflected wider complications surrounding Argentine national identity, the same was true in terms of narratives of Italian national identity. The fluid nature of national identity amongst Italo-Argentines was reflected by the labour migration to Italy of dozens of Argentine footballers from the 1910s to the 1940s and further confused by their incidence in the Italian national team, exemplified by the presence of four Argentine-born players in Italy's 1934 World Cup-winning team. Zachary Bigalke has approached the issue through an in-depth study of the Italo-Argentine involvement in that World Cup victory,⁶ one that has also attracted the interest of Simon Martin due to the links between Italian football and the Fascist state.⁷ Meanwhile, scholarship by Pierre Lanfranchi and Matthew Taylor has focused principally on the migratory

⁴ Samuel L. Baily, *Immigrants in the Lands of Promise: Italians in Buenos Aires and New York City, 1870-1914*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999); Dorna Zaboli, 'Italian Immigration to Argentina 1880-1914: Assimilation or Rejection of Argentine Society', *Glendon Journal of International of International Studies*, Vol.8, No.1-2 (2015): 1-15; Fernando J. Devoto, 'Progress and Politics of the First Italian Elite of Buenos Aires 1852-80', in Donna R. Gabaccia - Fraser M. Ottanelli (eds), *Italian Workers of the World*, (Chicago: University of Illinois Press), 2001.

⁵ Devoto, 'Progress and Politics of the First Italian Elite of Buenos Aires 1852-80', pp.41-2.

⁶ Zachary Bigalke, *"If They Can Die for Italy, They Can Play for Italy!" Immigration, Italo-Argentine Identity, and the 1934 World Cup Team*, MA Thesis, Manuscript, University of Oregon, Eugene, 2017.

⁷ Simon Martin, *Football and Fascism*, (Oxford: Berg, 2004), pp.58-65.

phenomenon that they suggest began in 1925 with Torino's signing of Julio Libonatti, something that aroused 'ambiguities' enabling different interpretations of national identity to be applied in the respective countries.⁸ Much of the existing literature posits that this migratory flow was the result of regulatory changes within Italian football included within the 1926 Carta di Viareggio which banned foreign players, but allowed for the contracting of South American players with Italian heritage.⁹ This paper argues that footballing interactions between the two nations ran much deeper than this and began at an earlier point than otherwise suggested. It investigates these 'ambiguities' more deeply to reach a more comprehensive understanding of the nature and complexity of dual Argentine and Italian identity within Italy.

Football and National Identity Construction in Argentina

To exploit the opportunities afforded by the opening up of the *pampas* for cattle and sheep ranching, and cereal cultivation for the transatlantic export market, Argentina needed labour and lots of it.¹⁰ Influenced by Social Darwinism and Herbert Spencer's theories of racial determinism, Argentine nation-builder, Juan Bautista Alberdi argued that the route to his country's progress lay in 'improving the blood line' of its population, with immigration from Europe perceived as the answer.¹¹ Predicting the impact that mass immigration would have on the shaping of Argentine identity, Alberdi wrote in 1852:

Do not fear, then, the confusion of tongues and races. From Babel, from the chaos, there will emerge, some bright, fine day, the South American nationality. Our soil adopts men, it attracts and assimilates them and makes our land theirs.¹²

State financial assistance was made available for immigrants to cross the Atlantic following the 1876 Avellaneda Law, whilst Argentina's temperate climate was also attractive to them. Argentina's 1869 population of 1.8 million more than quadrupled to 7.8 million by 1914 as foreigners accounted for half of the inhabitants of the capital, Buenos

⁸ Pierre Lanfranchi – Matthew Taylor, *Moving with the Ball*, (Oxford: Berg, 2001), pp.72–81.

⁹ Martin, *Football and Fascism*, pp.58–65.

¹⁰ Edwin Williamson, *The Penguin History of Latin America*, (London: Penguin, 1992), p.283.

¹¹ Juan Bautista Alberdi, 'Immigration as a Means of Progress', in Gabriela Nouzeilles – Graciela Montaldo (eds), *The Argentina Reader*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002), p. 100.

¹² *Ibid*, pp.95–101.

Aires, even allowing for the number of Argentine-born offspring born to earlier immigrants.¹³ Although some immigrants settled in provincial cities such as Rosario, Córdoba and Mendoza, or worked in the countryside, the vast majority remained at their first point of arrival, Buenos Aires, where the greatest demand for labour existed.¹⁴ Better skilled, and endowed with greater literacy than the existing *criollo* inhabitants from the popular classes, these immigrants therefore improved the human capital available in Argentina.¹⁵ Collectively nicknamed *gringos*, foreign immigrants had myriad reasons for going to Argentina. Some went to escape persecution, some to escape poverty and make a new life for themselves, whilst other *golondrinas* ('swallows') migrated back and forth across the Atlantic back to capitalise on the opportunity to earn money during the harvest seasons of both Argentina and Europe.¹⁶ Crucially, each contributed to new understandings of national identity.

Italian immigration was the most numerous in Argentina, accounting for almost half of all foreigners there by 1914 (see Table 1). Early immigration came from the more prosperous, northern regions of Italy such as Liguria, Sardinia, Piedmont and Tuscany, but later arrivals in the late nineteenth century originated principally from the poorer southern regions of Apulia, Calabria, Campania and Sicily. It was Italian entrepreneurs who dominated Argentina's incipient industrialization at the end of the nineteenth century, owning more than half of the country's factories, and becoming key players in the Argentine economy. As with other immigrant groups, the Italian community formed their own mutual aid societies, banks and newspapers, the most prominent of which was *La patria degli Italiani*, published between 1877 and 1930.¹⁷

The impact of mass immigration aroused debates within Argentine intelligentsia about the country's identity as the government wrestled with how best to assimilate these arrivals into a common purpose. Those born on Argentine soil, regardless of parentage, were automatically granted

¹³ Luis Alberto Romero, *A History of Argentina in the Twentieth Century*, (University Park Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania University Press, 2004), pp.10-11; María Sáenz Quesada, *La Argentina: Historia del País y de su Gente* [Argentina, History of the Country and its People], (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, 2012), p.325.

¹⁴ Romero, *A History of Argentina in the Twentieth Century*, p.11.

¹⁵ Colin M. Lewis, *Argentina: A Short History*, (Oxford: Oneworld, 2002), p.102.

¹⁶ Sáenz Quesada, *La Argentina*, p.391; Romero, *A History of Argentina in the Twentieth Century*, p.14; República Argentina, *Tercer censo nacional, levantado el 1° de junio de 1914*, (Buenos Aires: República Argentina, 1916), pp.403-17; Carl Solberg, *Immigration and Nationalism*, (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1970), pp.42-3.

¹⁷ Sáenz Quesada, *La Argentina*, pp.39-4; Colin M. MacLachlan, *Argentina: What Went Wrong*, (Westport: Praeger, 2006), pp.45-6.

citizenship based on *jus soli*. Therefore, the idea of being *criollo* or a native Argentine was being reinterpreted as the result of mass immigration. The conventional and original understanding of the term *criollo*, 'Creole' related to the white Argentine-born descendants of Spanish colonists, dating back to the sixteenth century.¹⁸ State-led attempts at the assimilation of these 'new' *criollos* came with the instruments under its direct control, principally education and the military as they sought to incorporate immigrant populations into a 'hyphen-less' Argentine nation.¹⁹

The introduction of state primary schooling in 1884, which was free, mandatory and secular, meant that the children of immigrants, whether they originated from Italy, Spain or elsewhere were inculcated with Argentine patriotism.²⁰ This was done through *mitrismo*, a historiographical current based on the writings of former president Bartolomé Mitre which created a pantheon of national military and civic leaders in what became known as the 'Official History' of Argentina.²¹ Used in schoolbooks, this civic version of national identity was designed to elicit an emotional response in which the newly arrived immigrant and the *criollo* could unite in a sense of *argentinidad*.²² Meanwhile, the Argentine-born sons of immigrants became liable for a year's military conscription at the age of twenty. It was policy to mix conscripts from different areas of the nation and socio-economic backgrounds in order to accelerate assimilation.²³ Nationalist intellectual Manuel Gálvez even suggested that this road to assimilation would be most quickly achieved in military combat, claiming: 'War would convert the foreigners to Argentines and the cosmopolitan spirit would be destroyed beneath the vast patriotic fervour'.²⁴

Although enabling the assimilation of youngsters, these policies largely passed by large swathes of the adult immigrant population, who in many cases lacked sufficient knowledge of Spanish to absorb it. Despite many immigrants arriving in Argentina with the intention of making a

¹⁸ Michael Goebel, *Argentina's Partisan Past*, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2014), p.43.

¹⁹ Donna R. Gabaccia - Fraser M. Ottanelli (eds), *Italian Workers of the World*, (Chicago, University of Illinois Press, 2001), p.3.

²⁰ Romero, *A History of Argentina in the Twentieth Century*, p.15.

²¹ Goebel, *Argentina's Partisan Past*, pp.29-9.

²² Nicolas Shumway, *The Invention of Argentina*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), p.188.

²³ James Scobie, *Argentina: A City and a Nation*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), pp.190-5; Sáenz Quesada, *La Argentina*, p.423.

²⁴ Manuel Gálvez, *El diario de Gabriel Quiroga: Opiniones sobre la vida argentina* [The Diary of Gabriel Quiroga: Opinions about Argentine life], (Buenos Aires: Arnoldo Moen & Hno., 1910), p.78.

new life for themselves, only 2.25% of the foreign-born population took Argentine citizenship. Two key reasons account for this. Firstly, with citizenship came certain civic responsibilities, including military service. Secondly, their status as foreigners meant immigrants retained the legal protection of the diplomatic missions of their original countries whilst simultaneously enjoying the safeguards of the Argentine Civil Code.²⁵ For many immigrants this was a price worth paying for not having access to direct political participation. This reticence to become citizens created tensions between *criollos* and immigrants, who in the 1900s and 1910s were held to blame by *criollos* for increasing social conflict within Argentina as the introducers of socialism and anarchism, with workers acting collectively in meaningful ways for the first time. By contrast, hard-working *gringos* were equally scornful of what they saw as the idle nature of the *criollos*.²⁶ In 1909, the Italo-Argentine writer Eduardo Maglione argued that immigrants had actually improved Argentina culturally and economically, and that attempts to assimilate them to the 'indolent and ignorant creole mentality' would set back this improvement'.²⁷

As an attempt to square the circle of forming a national citizenry out of these distinct social groupings of *criollos*, immigrants, and the descendants of immigrants, President Roque Sáenz Peña introduced the 1912 electoral reform law bearing his name. The Sáenz Peña Law, including other measures like secret ballots, granted the vote to all men holding Argentine citizenship. As a result, far more immigrants became naturalized, whilst their Argentine-born children felt a greater kinship to the land of their birth than those of their forebears, giving rise to a more civically active and homogenous society.²⁸

Despite the concerns of nationalists, a discernible identity emerged from the cosmopolitanism of Buenos Aires at the most basic level. Immigrants from different backgrounds intermixed with working-class and middle-class *criollos* at a neighbourhood basis to create an organic hybrid civic society rather than disperse into ethnic ghettos, as happened in other countries of high immigration such as the United States. The lack of cultural homogeneity enabled the incorporation of

²⁵ Sáenz Quesada, *La Argentina*, p.325.

²⁶ *Ibid*, pp.446-7.

²⁷ Eduardo F. Maglione, 'Cosmopolitismo y espíritu nacional' [Cosmopolitanism and national spirit], *Renacimiento*, II (November 1909), pp.320-6.

²⁸ Sáenz Quesada, *La Argentina*, pp.446-7; Jorge A. Náállim, *Transformations and Crisis of Liberalism in Argentina*, (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2012), p.27; Romero, *A History of Argentina in the Twentieth Century*, pp.37-8; Matthew B. Karush, *Workers or citizens: democracy and identity in Rosario, Argentina, 1912-1930*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002), p.26.

immigrant customs and words, principally from Italy, such as *chau* (goodbye) and *pibe* (street kid), contributing to a new vernacular known as *lunfardo* and the emergence of new cultural expressions like the tango (which also incorporated Afro-Argentine influences).²⁹ The mutation of Spanish into this local slang became the *de facto* language of the street, and was transformed into the written word with its adoption in popular media outlets such as the magazine *Caras y Caretas* as it competed for sales in a changed cultural market place.³⁰ It was within these rapidly urbanised cosmopolitan *barrios* of Buenos Aires and other Argentine cities, that football became an agent for the establishment of a shared local identity. Football supplemented, and to an extent, supplanted extant national identities, acting as an engine for integration and assimilation as the Genoan, Asturian, *criollo* and Englishman played side by side or stood together on the terraces.³¹

The key to football's broader diffusion across both ethnic and class boundaries was its simplicity. Language was not implicitly a barrier, as this could be overcome with mutually understood gestures and body language, whilst the background noise from the crowd often rendered talking on the pitch redundant. Moreover, as a new cultural phenomenon (to working-class Argentina), participants had no pre-existing notions of how the game should be played, allowing for home-grown idiosyncrasies to evolve, eventually forming a footballing identity that became apparent when transposed against foreign touring teams. Economically, football was a cheap sport, requiring only a ball, goal posts and space to play, enabling participation by the popular classes who were otherwise excluded from elitist sports such as golf, tennis and rowing. Neither was it necessary to be a player to feel part of the collective experience. One could also do so as a spectator, expressing partisanship for those wearing the shirt of their local neighbourhood or co-workers.³²

²⁹ Scobie, *Argentina: A City and a Nation*, pp.190–5.

³⁰ Geraldine Rogers, *Caras y Caretas, Cultura, Política y Espáctulo en los Inicios del Siglo XX Argentina* [Caras y Caretas, Culture, Politics and Spectacle at the Beginning of the 20th Century], (La Plata: EDULP, 2008), pp.230–2.

³¹ Horacio Rosatti, *Cien años de multitud: historia de Boca Juniors, una pasión argentina: I. El period amateur* [One hundred years of multitude: History of Boca Juniors, an Argentine passion], (Buenos Aires, Galerna, 2009), pp.19–21 and pp.59–60; Martín Caparrós, *Boquita* [Little Boca], (Buenos Aires: Booklet, 2012) p.18; Rein, *Fútbol, Jews and the making of Argentina*, pp.45–6.

³² Rosatti, *Cien años de multitud I*, pp.19–21; Tony Mason, *Association Football & English Society 1863–1915*, (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1980), pp.24–31; R. Holt, *Sport and the British*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), pp.153–4.

It was this simplicity that enabled football to take a foothold amongst the popular classes. Whilst Chris Gaffney has suggested that football was able to develop unopposed by other sports, the popularity of pelota – a high-speed racquet game – amongst the Basque community did offer just such a challenge to football at the end of the nineteenth century as matches achieved attendances commensurate with football games.³³ The first pelota court in Argentina was opened in Buenos Aires in 1882 at Plaza Euskara and an 1885 match between two of the era's biggest pelota stars, Pedro Zavaleta and Indalecio Sarasqueta, attracted a crowd of 8,000, much larger than any attending football at this time.³⁴ However, where the two sports diverged was the ability of football to break across ethnic lines, something that pelota was not able to do with such success. The technical nature of pelota, rather like cricket in Argentina, militated against its cultural transfer beyond Basque immigrants. Reputedly, President Julio Roca and Buenos Aires Mayor, Torcuato de Alvear, watched matches in 'puzzlement' at the inauguration of Plaza Euskara.³⁵

The ethnic heterogeneity within neighbourhoods in Argentine cities meant that the tendency to form football clubs along national immigrant lines was far less prevalent than in neighbouring nations like Chile and Brazil. In those two countries, clubs such as Unión Española, Audax Italia and CD Palestino in Chile, and Palestra Italia (later Palmeiras) and Vasco da Gama (founded by Portuguese) in Brazil, were formed by, and represented distinct immigrant groups.³⁶ The lack of ghettoization meant that this process scarcely occurred in Argentina. Amongst clubs of the British community, those that were explicitly ethnically British, such as Old Caledonians and St. Andrew's Athletic Club, had only a limited longevity.³⁷ Clubs formed explicitly along ethnic lines were not established until the 1950s, with the arrival of Sportivo

³³ L. Contreras, *Buenos Aires Fútbol* [Buenos Aires Football], (Buenos Aires: Olmo Ediciones, 2013), p.21; Chris Gaffney, 'Stadiums and society in twenty-first century Buenos Aires', *Soccer and Society*, Volume 10, Issue 2, (2009), pp.160–4; César R. Torres, 'South America', in S. W. Pope – John Nauright (eds), *Routledge Companion to Sports History*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2010), p.557.

³⁴ Ariel Scher et al, *Deporte Nacional*, (Buenos Aires: Emecé, 2010), pp.86–8.

³⁵ Vic Duke – Liz Crolley, 'Fútbol, Politicians and the People: Populism and Politics in Argentina', *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 18:3, (2001): 100; Torres, 'South America', p.557.

³⁶ Brenda Elsey, *Citizens & Sportsmen*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011), pp.138–40; Greg Bocketti, 'Italian Immigrants, Brazilian Football, and the Dilemma of National Identity', *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 40, (2008), pp.275–83.

³⁷ Rosatti, *Cien años de multitud I*, pp.19–21; Caparrós, *Boquita*, p.18; Elsey, *Citizens & Sportsmen*, pp.138–40; Bocketti, 'Italian Immigrants, Brazilian Football, and the Dilemma of National Identity', pp.275–83.

Italiano (1955) and later followed by Deportivo Español (1956) and Deportivo Armenio (1962), by which time the assimilation of immigrants into Argentina was an accomplished fact.³⁸

La Italianización de la Argentina

In 1923 an advertisement for Bariatti and Co furniture appeared in the pages of *La Nación*:

“Genoa Club” Young footballers ... welcome to this great land of Argentina, where the effort and honest labour of OUR BEST have found real success. OUR COMPANY, of Italian origin, is eloquent testimony of Argentine hospitality in its consistent and incomparable progress.³⁹

It reflected a discourse held in the 1910s and 1920s surrounding the assimilation and integration of immigrants into a unified Argentine society, one that continued to vex politicians and intellectuals of various viewpoints. If one group magnified these debates, it was the Italian community, which accounted for almost half of the immigrant population, and who embodied both Argentine and Italian identity.

As well as control of the Argentine economy, the dominant nature of the Italian cultural contribution to the *criollo de razas*, in terms of linguistics, customs and gastronomy led *criollo* nationalists to fear that Argentina was actually being Italianized, rather than the Italian community being Argentinized.⁴⁰ Italo-Argentines were seen as infiltrators, with the writer Ricardo Rojas arguing that they, ‘have become dangerous as the result of their excessive quantity’.⁴¹ It was a theory synthesized in the 1924 book by Néstor Maciel, whose title summed up the apparent threat, *La Italianización de la Argentina*.⁴² As María Sáenz Peña suggests, the nature of Italian immigration, in which the ratio of arrivals was 2:1 in favour of men, meant that marriages with *criolla* women were the norm. This combined with lower rates of marriage within the *criollo* population led intellectuals to predict that by the middle of the twentieth century,

³⁸ Alejandro Molinari – Roberto L. Martínez, *El Fútbol: La conquista popular de una pasión argentina*, (Avellaneda: Editorial de la Cultura Urbana, 2013), pp.147–8.

³⁹ *La Nación*, 20 August 1923, p.7.

⁴⁰ Solberg, *Immigration and Nationalism*, pp.134–41.

⁴¹ Ricardo Rojas, *La restauración nacionalista*, [The Nationalist Restoration] (Buenos Aires: Ministerio de Justicia e Instrucción Pública, 1909), pp.469–71.

⁴² Solberg, *Immigration and Nationalism*, p.19; Rosatti, *Cien años de multitud I*, pp.59–60; MacLachlan, *Argentina What Went Wrong*, pp.46–9.

'Argentina would be an Italo-American republic'.⁴³ It was a feeling exacerbated by the presence of so many Italian-only institutions across Argentina, beginning with the establishment of the Italian Hospital of Buenos Aires in 1858. By 1904 there were 121 Italian societies in the city of Buenos Aires alone, with a combined membership of 100,000. Among the most influential of these were the *Unione e Benevolenza* mutual society which had branches throughout Argentina, in cities like Córdoba, Río Cuarto and Rosario, and the Dante Alighieri Association which sought to preserve Italian culture within the community. In the religious sphere the Salesian order were also influential especially in the provision of education in Italian schools.⁴⁴ These various institutions acted interconnectedly, uniting Italo-Argentines around a common idea of Italian identity.⁴⁵

Just as within the British community in Argentina, the First World War consolidated notions of dual identity within the Italo-Argentine collective. Although not in the same proportions as their British-Criollo counterparts, some 32,000 answered the call to fight for Italy when they joined the War in 1915. Although ultimately the decision to enlist was an individual one, peer group pressure was brought to bear on those called up by the Italian consulate. For example, the *Circulo Italiano* in Buenos Aires expelled any man of fighting age who did not return to Italy and enrol in the armed forces.⁴⁶ Indeed, the Italo-Argentine community celebrated the contribution made and lives lost in support of Italy's wartime effort with the unveiling of plaques within Buenos Aires in 1920.⁴⁷

In the socio-political field, a more militant unionisation in support of workers' rights by socialists and anarchists was often led by Italians, such the anarchist Pedro Gori. As a result, the blame for worker agitation and resulting social strife was laid squarely on the shoulders of these outsiders, leading to the introduction of the 1910 Law of Social Defence, designed to deal with foreign-born political agitators.⁴⁸ This militancy was also seen in football, as players sought to improve their working conditions. A 1931 strike held by members of the *Asociación Mutualista Footballers* was led by several players from the Italian community including, Juan Scurzoni, Bartolucci and Hugo Settis. Denounced as anarchists by the footballing authorities of the *Asociación Amateur Argentino de Football (AAAF)*, these ringleaders were deemed no longer eligible to play for Argentina because of their 'subversive' activity.⁴⁹

⁴³ Sáenz Quesada, *La Argentina*, Buenos Aires, 2009, pp.393-4.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.393-4 and pp.469-70.

⁴⁵ Donna R. Gabaccia, *Italy's Many Diasporas*, (London: Routledge, 2000), pp.121-3.

⁴⁶ Fernando J. Devoto, *Historia de los italianos en la Argentina*, (Buenos Aires: Biblos, 2006), p.319.

⁴⁷ *La Nación*, 23 May 1920, p.6.

⁴⁸ Solberg, *Immigration and Nationalism*, pp.102-12.

⁴⁹ Osvaldo Bayer, *Fútbol Argentino*, (Buenos Aires: Planeta, 2010), p.38.

It was in the entrepreneurial field that Italian immigrant impact on Argentina was most evident. In a more pronounced way than other immigrant groups, such as the Spanish, the Italo-Argentine community were driven to succeed economically – to *Fare l'America*, 'make it in America' – and attain social mobility within Argentine society.⁵⁰ This work ethic combined with a greater level of literacy resulted in Italian immigrants and their families being at the vanguard of an emergent bourgeoisie of entrepreneurial industrialists and shop-keepers, introducing new techniques from Europe and filling the void of incipient industrialists which was not filled by native Argentines.⁵¹ This work ethic enabled these Italo-Argentines to assume the economic dominance in Argentina vacated by the British after the First World War, owning more than half of the country's industrial production.⁵²

Like their fellow entrepreneurs in the USA and other industrializing and increasingly urbanized societies, Italo-Argentine businessmen used the popularity of sports clubs for their own commercial or political ends. The 1912 Sáenz Peña electoral reforms saw an immediate impact in terms of political participation amongst the Italian community. The Socialist victory in the Buenos Aires by-elections of 1913, brought Italian immigrants like Nicolás Repetto and Mario Bravo into the Chamber of Deputies for the first time.⁵³

The Argentine democratic club model in which football clubs were owned by members rather than by shareholders, meant that football acted as an excellent proving ground for incipient political careers, with elected roles within clubs offering a platform for demonstrating fitness for office in a wider setting, as well as building a personal support base amongst club members.⁵⁴ This can be seen in the example of River Plate. After the club's first president Leopoldo Bard completed his mandate in 1908, his seven successors up until 1931 all came from the Italo-Argentine community, using the position as a springboard for political office, as well as utilising their commercial and professional positions to improve

⁵⁰ Robert F. Foerster, *The Italian Emigration of Our Time*, (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1924), p.423.

⁵¹ Lewis, *Argentina: A Short History*, p.102; Baily, *Immigrants in the Land of Promise*, p.93; Solberg, *Immigration and Nationalism*, pp.48–51.

⁵² MacLachlan, *Argentina What Went Wrong*, p.30.

⁵³ Solberg, *Immigration and Nationalism*, p.123; Baily, *Immigrants in the Land of Promise*, p.200.

⁵⁴ Dilwyn Porter, 'Entrepreneurship', in S. W. Pope – John Nauright (eds), *Routledge Companion to Sports History*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2010), pp.197–8; Joel Horowitz, 'Football Clubs and Neighbourhoods in Buenos Aires before 1943: The Role of Political Linkages and Personal Influence', *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 46, (2014): 561; Vic Duke and Liz Crolley, *Football, Nationality and the State*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014), p.103.

the club's facilities and ensure their continued success in club elections.⁵⁵ By the club elections of 1928, 65% of those bidding for office were Italo-Argentines. Among them was Antonio Zolezzi, who after arriving from Genoa as an immigrant, founded a business in the *barrio* of La Boca before becoming two-time president of River. As a Socialist councillor, Zolezzi used his political influence to obtain subsidies from the Buenos Aires metropolitan government for River and their erstwhile neighbours in La Boca, Boca Juniors.⁵⁶

Meanwhile another Genovese, José Bacigaluppi, helped lead the club out of a troubled financial situation, setting them on the course to become the global institution that they are today.⁵⁷ He became president of River in 1921, who had until that point led a nomadic existence since their foundation in the *barrio* of La Boca in 1901. Recognising the need to stabilise the club in one location where it could grow a mass membership, Bacigaluppi told a meeting of the club's management committee, 'River is not a club for a *barrio*, it is for a city.'⁵⁸ Bacigaluppi was symbolic of the aspirational social mobility within the Italian community. Whilst the club's founding members could be found in the main among the working class of La Boca's dockworkers, he managed a business that dealt in the sale of land in the rapidly growing city and was well placed to find a site for a stadium big enough to match his ambitions for the club. Thanks to his contacts, Bacigaluppi was able to secure the rent of a huge site in the exclusive northern *barrio* of Recoleta from the Buenos Aires to Pacific Railway company for five years. From a base of 400 in 1920, the membership grew more than seven-fold to 3,493 in 1922 thanks to the move.⁵⁹

Whilst football clubs were not exclusively Italian in make-up, there is sufficient evidence to show that from the 1910s until the 1930s Italo-Argentine players rose to the top in terms of talent and influence and were widely considered to be the best players in the Argentine game. Using the cover stars of the influential sports magazine *El Gráfico* as a barometer of prominence, we can see the overwhelming presence of Italo-Argentine players. The first player to appear on its cover was Américo Tesorieri on 8 July 1922, and from that point until the end of 1930, of all the players that appeared on the cover of *El Gráfico* more than once, 80%

⁵⁵ Miguel Ángel Bertolotto, *River Plate. Mientras viva tu bandera* [River Plate. Whilst your flag flies], (Buenos Aires: Atlántida, 2016), p.22.

⁵⁶ *Boletín Oficial de River Plate*, Año 1, No.3, January 1929, p.4; Diego Barovero, *Caudillos and protagonista políticos en La Boca del Riachuelo*, (Buenos Aires: Editorial Dunken, 2013), p.39.

⁵⁷ *Boletín Oficial de River Plate*, Año 1, No.3, January 1929, p.4; *Boletín Oficial de River Plate*, Año 2, No.7, May 1929, p.10.

⁵⁸ Carlos Aira, *Héroes de Tiento*, (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Fabro), 2015, p.115.

⁵⁹ *Boletín Oficial de River Plate*, Año 1, No.3, January 1929, p.4; *La Nación*, 6 December 1925.

came from an Italian background, with Raimundo Orsi and Roberto Cherro each appearing on the cover no fewer than five times. Meanwhile their level of influence can also be seen in a 1941 article by the renowned journalist, Félix Frascara. In discussing the nine players who had been the 'architects' of the *rioplatense* style of play up until that time, six of them were Italo-Argentines: Natalio Perinetti, Luis Ravaschino, Bacchi, Roberto Cherro, Chiesa and Cesáreo Onzari.⁶⁰ Another way of assessing the impact of Italo-Argentines on Argentine football is the make-up of the country's national team. After Anglo-Criollo players started to leave the scene, the Italian collective began to assume their influential role, which for much of the 1920s saw Italo-Argentines make up two-thirds of the team as Table 2 shows.

Heavy Italo-Argentine influence could also be seen in the support base of some of Argentina's biggest clubs. Although founded by players from a cross-section of Argentina's immigrants, Vélez Sarsfield's establishment in the Liniers district which was heavily populated by Italo-Argentines, saw that community account for 55% of the club's membership by 1924. Indeed, in 1914 the club changed the colour of its shirt to that of the Italian tricolour in homage to its support base, whilst the Italo-Argentine building magnate, José Amalfitani, president between 1923 and 1925 and from 1941 to 1969, left such an enduring legacy that the club's stadium is now named after him.⁶¹

Another way of assessing ideas of dual identity is to examine relationships between the point of departure and that of arrival for immigrants. The tour of Italian champions Genoa to Argentina in 1923 is instructive in demonstrating how these notions of dual identity were reflected through football in the context of wider relations between the Italo-Argentine community, of which 800,000 still held Italian passports, and the Argentine state.⁶² As previously mentioned, Italian immigration regained momentum after the First World War, with 100,000 arriving in 1923 alone, more than double the number migrating to the United States. This meant that the 1.2 million Italians resident in Argentina was greater than the population of Rome.⁶³

⁶⁰ *El Gráfico*, 24 January 1941, pp.18-20.

⁶¹ Club Atlético Vélez Sársfield, *Memoria y Ejercicio 1924*, (Buenos Aires: C A Vélez Sarsfield, 1925), pp.40-7; Club Atlético Vélez Sársfield, *Memoria y Ejercicio 1931*, (Buenos Aires: C A Vélez Sarsfield), 1932, pp.42-56; Club Atlético Vélez Sársfield, *Memoria y Ejercicio 1934*, (Buenos Aires: C A Vélez Sarsfield, 1935), pp.20-2.

⁶² *La Nación*, 11 August 1923, p.7.

⁶³ *La Nación*, 9 October 1923, p.5.

Genoa was a significant connection given the iconic role played by the Ligurian city as the port of departure for the vast majority of the millions of Italian emigrants to Argentina.⁶⁴ Thousands of Italo-Argentines lined the dockside of Buenos Aires to welcome the Genoa team as they arrived on the *Principessa Mafalda* on 16 August. The make-up of this impromptu welcoming committee crossed class lines as the middle-class Italian merchants and small industrialists rubbed shoulders with the proletariat from the *conventillos* in a unified demonstration of their Italian-ness.⁶⁵ The great interest of the Italo-Argentine community manifested itself in myriad ways, the extent of which was not seen before or after for any touring teams. FIAT, who established its first factory in Argentina that year, made seven of its modern 515 models available to Genoa's entourage to transport themselves around Buenos Aires for the duration of their visit.⁶⁶

For the second of Genoa's three matches a silver trophy was donated for the winners by the Nuevo Banco Italiano, prompting *La Nación* to argue: 'It is fit to assert that the banking institution was an exteriorisation of confraternity between the Italian and Argentine nations'.⁶⁷ The duality of identity was reflected in Genoa's opening match against Zona Norte at the stadium of Sportivo Barracas. In advance of kick-off there was an unscheduled fly-past in honour of the visitors by Italo-Argentine pilots led by Captain Eduardo Oliveiro who served in the Italian air force during the First World War.⁶⁸ Meanwhile, thirty thousand fans speaking Spanish, Italian and the hybrid Italian-inflected Lunfardo dialect, packed the stands displaying both Argentine and Italian flags.⁶⁹ Later tours by Italian clubs, such as that by Torino in 1929 engendered nothing like the same level of affection as that bestowed upon Genoa. Distaste towards the Fascist regime within the Italo-Argentine community, as well as Argentine cultural nationalists, was manifested by the whistling of the Bologna team, intimately linked with the regime when they gave the Fascist salute ahead of one of their 1929 tour matches.⁷⁰

Rimpatriati: Italo-Argentines in Italian Football

The presence of Italo-Argentines in Italian football since the 1910s has largely been overlooked in the existing literature. Moreover, by pre-

⁶⁴ Lanfranchi - Taylor, *Moving with the Ball*, pp.72-81.

⁶⁵ *El Telégrafo de la Tarde*, 16 August 1923; *La Nación*, 22 July 1923, Section 2, p.3.

⁶⁶ Aira, *Héroes de Tiento*, p.138.

⁶⁷ *La Nación*, 22 August 1923, p.8.

⁶⁸ *La Nación*, 20 August 1923, p.6.

⁶⁹ Aira, *Héroes de Tiento*, pp.140-1.

⁷⁰ Martin, *Football and Fascism*, pp.194-7; *La Cancha*, 3 August 1929.

dating the rise to power of Mussolini's Fascist regime, their existence cannot be solely attributed to nationalist policies, and are resonant of the more personal and familial debates surrounding identity on the part of individual Italo-Argentine families. These footballers were the offspring of the 750,000 Italian returnees from Argentine migration between 1871 and 1950. Whilst Bigalke identifies that the return of Italian families reflected more general patterns of transitory transatlantic migration, we go further in explaining their specific contribution to Italian football.⁷¹ The significance of their upbringing in Argentina was that they learned the sport in the *potreros* of Argentina cities like Buenos Aires and Rosario, where football was more developed than in Italy, honing skills that enabled them to flourish in Italian football after returning with their parents to the land of their ancestors.⁷²

The first Italo-Argentine to make an impact was Cesare Lovati. Born in Buenos Aires on Christmas Day 1891, midfielder Lovati made his debut for AC Milan in 1910 before going on to play six times for the Italian national team.⁷³ Another feature of these *rimpatriati* or returnee players, was the incidence of siblings in the same teams. Although a year or two apart in age, they were often selected *en bloc* because they were collectively better than their Italian peers. The four Mosso brothers – Eugenio, Francisco, Julio and Benito – left Mendoza for Turin as teenagers in 1912 to return to their parents' native Piedmont. All played for Torino, with Eugenio representing Italy.⁷⁴ Meanwhile, the three Boglietti brothers – Ernesto, Romulo and Octavio – also migrated to Turin in the early 1910s, aged 14, 13 and 12 respectively. Romulo debuted as a teenager for Juventus in 1913, having already played for Gimnasia y Esgrima de General Paz in his native Córdoba, shortly to be followed into the Juve side by his brothers.⁷⁵ Moreover, we can see the examples of the Badini brothers born and raised in Rosario, who returned as teenagers to their parents' native Bologna, with Angelo and Emilio starting to play for the club in 1913, soon to be followed by their two younger brothers. The integration of the Badinis, Bogliettis, Mossos and others into Italian football were early examples of how players who learned their football in Argentina, offering something different in terms of ability and playing style, alerted Italian clubs to the possibilities offered by Italo-Argentine

⁷¹ Bigalke, "If They Can Die for Italy, They Can Play for Italy!", pp.93–4.

⁷² Salvatore Lo Presto, *Tango bianconero: Dai Fratelli Boglietti a Dybala e Higuaín* [Black and White Tango: From the Boglietti Brothers to Dybala and Higuaín], (Turin: Bradipolibri, 2017), pp.8–9.

⁷³ Fabrizio Melegari (ed.), *Almanacco Illustrato del Calcio 2019*, (Modena: Panini, 2018), p.626.

⁷⁴ Lo Presto, *Tango bianconero*, p.8.

⁷⁵ *Ibid*, pp.8–15.

players. As such, these footballing representatives of dual identity cannot simply be dismissed as the offspring of *golondrinas* who just happened to be born in Argentina. As we can see from Table 3, four of the eleven Italo-Argentines to have worn the *azzurri* of the Italian national team up until 1935 came from this first wave of *rimpatriati*.

The first player to cross the Atlantic for purely economic reasons was Libonatti who joined Torino from Newell's Old Boys in 1925 after being talent spotted by the Italian club's president, Enrico Marone, whilst in Buenos Aires on business as owner of the Cinzano drinks company.⁷⁶ But as has been widely reported in the existing literature, it was nationalist reforms of the Italian game enshrined in the 1926 Carta di Viareggio that led to the real talent drain of Italo-Argentine players to Italy. These signings were an imaginative response on the part of Italian clubs to the Charter, which scaled back the signing of foreign players from powerful neighbouring Danubian countries like Austria, Yugoslavia and Hungary, from two per team in 1926 to none by 1928. The rationale behind this policy being that the Italian league championship should not become an extension of the Austrian and Hungarian leagues, thus aiding the development of young Italian players.⁷⁷ The pretext that the Argentine players were brought back because of their Italian cultural roots was something of an oxymoron; they were in fact repatriated *exactly* because they offered something different to what already was on offer in Italy. Indeed, in another contradiction they became direct replacements for the now excluded Austrians and Hungarians, thus perverting the Charter's original intentions.

This second migratory wave, which included the cream of Argentine footballers such as Raimundo Orsi, Renato Cesarini and Guillermo Stábile occurred as the Fascist regime of Benito Mussolini used football to create a feeling of unity and national sense of purpose that had been undermined by mass emigration from the economically undeveloped country. This had seen an international Italian diaspora of six million people living outside the peninsula by 1914, a sizeable proportion of which lived on the banks of the Río de la Plata. Considered part of the Italian race, these descendants of emigrants, were welcomed 'home' with open arms as being members of a 'Greater Italy', whose extremity went beyond the geographical confines of the Italian peninsula, with citizenship granted on the basis of *jus sanguini*.⁷⁸ It was a refrain

⁷⁶ Lanfranchi – Taylor, *Moving with the Ball*, pp.72–81.

⁷⁷ John Foot, *Calcio*, (London: Harper Perennial, 2007), p.25; Martin, *Football and Fascism*, pp.63–5.

⁷⁸ Lanfranchi – Taylor, *Moving with the Ball*, pp.72–73; Martin, *Football and Fascism*, pp.63–5; Foot, *Calcio*, pp.429–31.

taken up in a 1931 article published in *La Gazzetta dello Sport* and reprinted in its entirety in Argentina by *La Nación*. According to the Italian newspaper:

The repatriated are authentic Italians, and if their denomination as regards citizenship, is that of Italo-Argentines, the blood is clearly Italian even when the right of [South] American citizenship through place of birth has been assigned in addition to the Italian citizenship that they have not lost. And when these elements return to the Fatherland it is not that they reassume Italian citizenship because one does not acquire that which he has not renounced.⁷⁹

What was seen in Italy as an 'inevitable repatriation of Italian citizens', was regarded differently in Argentina. The exodus of Argentina's top players enabled *El Gráfico* to expound a nationalist narrative, in which Italian immigrants were perceived to have been 'improved' by *criollo* ways and went home as 'Super-Italians' and *criollo* footballing missionaries. As the magazine explained when Guillermo Stábile left in 1930 after top-scoring for Argentina at the World Cup:

We must not be egotistical. Orsi, Cesarini, Stábile and those crossing frontiers in search of better horizons, to other countries that need them, must be seen in the same way as Old Spain saw its conquerors leave. They go to conquer other lands. The country is now a little small for us, and a good football lesson given on one of our pitches no longer dazzles anyone. For many years we have perfected the art of dribbling and scoring goals. For that reason, it is necessary to go abroad, the good players that do us proud abroad are working patriotically.⁸⁰

According to Osvaldo Bayer, this was the start of, 'a colonial bleeding that remains even today - and more than ever - is suffered by *criollo* football'.⁸¹ The Italian response was unequivocal. *La Gazzetta dello Sport* argued:

The laments that flourish in the South American periodicals every time a local player takes the steam ship are perfectly understandable from the sporting and sentimental point of

⁷⁹ *La Nación*, 15 March 1931, Section 2, p.6.

⁸⁰ *El Gráfico*, 25 October 1930, p.37.

⁸¹ Bayer, *Fútbol argentino*, p.25.

view, but are radically absurd when they appear in nationalist terms: for Argentines don't leave for Italy; Italians return to Italy ... Without money it is said they would not come ... nobody could blame them if an Italian from [South] America returned to Italy in the same way that nobody would think it strange if a player from the South of Italy would pack his suitcases to play for a club in the North. It is a question of distance and not of principle.⁸²

Italian citizenship had associated civic duties like military service, a serious consideration given Italy's colonial forays into the Horn of Africa in the late 1920s and early 1930s. Italy coach Vittorio Pozzo justified the selection of Italo-Argentines for the national team on this basis, famously claiming, 'If they can die for Italy, they can play for Italy!' and was not a flippant remark given that he himself had fought in the Italian Mountain Infantry during the First World War.⁸³ The first to do so in the Fascist era was Libonatti, adding 17 appearances for the *Azzurri* to the 15 international caps he earned for Argentina. The presence of Italo-Argentines in the blue jersey represented a reversal of the detrimental effect of Italian emigration, as members of the diaspora contributed to the greater national good by playing for Italy. There were dissenting voices though. Italy's coach Augusto Rangone resigned in June 1928 in protest at the fast-tracking of Orsi into the national side.⁸⁴

There was a significant precedent for utilising Italo-Argentine sportsmen to showcase the Fascist regime. Although born in Italy, the swimmer, Enrique Tiraboschi, was raised in Argentina, and reached international prominence in August 1923 when he swam the English Channel in a record time. In an open letter to the Argentine people published in *La Nación*, Italian prime minister, Benito Mussolini wrote:

The wonder achieved by Tiraboschi has shone with new light the name of Italy, having repercussions today throughout the entire world ... Today an Italian unites the glory of his native country to the land that gave him hospitality, Italy sends an enthusiastic greeting to the great Argentine people, that

⁸² *La Nación*, 15 March 1931, Section 2, p.6.

⁸³ Cited in Brian Glanville, *The Story of the World Cup*, (London: Faber and Faber, 2005), p.25; Pierre Lanfranchi, "La Première Guerre Mondiale et le développement du football en Europe: l'exemple italien" in Yvan Gastaut - Stéphane Mourlane, *Le football dans nos sociétés*, (Paris, Autrement, 2006), p.141.

⁸⁴ Lanfranchi - Taylor, *Moving with the Ball*, pp.72-81.

represent so nobly and with such energy the immortal Latin gaze.⁸⁵

Italy's victory at the 1934 World Cup with four Italo-Argentines – Monti, Demaría, Orsi and Guaita – in the squad, highlighted this duality of identity, with *El Gráfico* contradicting the ethnocentric theories of its writers by reporting 'the numerous Italian community from our country have celebrated this triumph with a rejoicing that they have perfect right to'.⁸⁶ For its part *La Nación* reflected the almost interchangeable notions of identity amongst Italo-Argentines in an article entitled, 'Three cheers for Italy':

For us the Italian triumph has two aspects equally full of spontaneous sympathy; that which Italy deserves from us as a nation intertwined with our nationality in permanent character through blood, love and recognition, and the other flowing from the injection made by the inclusion of four Argentine lads that were key to the fight for the trophy.⁸⁷

Had the Argentine team progressed further in the competition than the first round, it would have been interesting to see exactly how these loyalties would have been reconciled, especially in the event of the two nations playing each other directly. Bigalke suggests that lack of contact at international level meant that elite players were not forced into emotional or moral decisions about who to represent internationally, and as such acted in a mercenary way by playing for which country was most beneficial to their financial situation.⁸⁸ However, it can be argued that such judgement calls were more complex for Italo-Argentine footballers. It was a complexity summed up by a later *rimpatriato*, Omar Sivori, 'I am the grandson of an Italian from Chiavari (near Genoa), something which allows me to be Argentine and Italian at the same time'.⁸⁹ The choice of national jersey was an overt way of deciding on national identity, given that in international football players could only represent one country at a given time. Emotional considerations also came into making such decisions. For example, Luis Monti chose the *Azzurri* of Italy after being scapegoated for Argentina's defeat in the 1930 World Cup Final against Uruguay. He had claimed, 'All the Argentinians had made me feel like

⁸⁵ *La Nación*, 21 August 1923, p.1.

⁸⁶ Néstor Saavedra, 'El poeta de la zurda', in Carlos Poggi (ed.), *El Gráfico 90 años*, (Buenos Aires: Atlántida, 2009), pp.56–7.

⁸⁷ *La Nación*, 14 June 1934, p.1.

⁸⁸ Bigalke, "'If They Can Die for Italy, They Can Play for Italy!'", p.77.

⁸⁹ *Mundo Deportivo*, 8 May 1962, p.23.

rubbish, a maggot, branding me a coward and blaming me exclusively for the loss against the Uruguayans'.⁹⁰ However, not every player who migrated to Italian football could be lured into wearing the Italian jersey. Argentina's 1930 World Cup goalscoring hero, Stábile joined Italian club, Genoa shortly afterwards, with *El Gráfico* noting: 'Stábile goes to Italy, not to defend football in the peninsula, but to defend *criollo* football, since he is a *criollo* player'.⁹¹ In Stábile's case, this was not an exaggeration. Alone of the *rimpatriati*, Stábile refused to accept Italian citizenship or selection for the Italian national team, seeing the move to Genoa as purely an economic one, like the old *golondrinas*, to help his young family. After returning to Argentina, Stábile later had a long and successful period as coach of the national team that only ended after the tumultuous defeat to Czechoslovakia at the 1958 World Cup.⁹²

The alacrity with which some of the early *rimpatriati* served their mother country in the First World War in the same way as Italian-born footballers such as national captain, Virgilio Fossatti, ensured their commitment to Italy was not questioned in the same way as later arrivals.⁹³ Francisco Mosso and Ernesto Boglietto both fought in the army, whilst Romulo Boglietto served in the nascent Italian air force.⁹⁴ Pozzo's criteria of selecting players for national team duty on the basis of their willingness to die for Italy, soon looked empty, however, when just four months after making his debut for Italy in May 1935 (see Table 3), Alejandro Scopelli, along with fellow Italo-Argentine players, Guaita and Andrés Stagnaro escaped across the French border to avoid fulfilling their call-up to fight in Abyssinia.⁹⁵ The incident changed the tenor of the relationship between Italo-Argentine footballers and the Italian press, who began to see them as mercenaries with no emotional bond to the land of their ancestors.⁹⁶

Whilst it is commonly argued in the existing literature that the introduction of professionalism in Argentina in 1931 and Italy's military involvement in Abyssinia, and later in the Second World War led to the wholesale return repatriation of Italo-Argentines to Argentina, this was not the case.⁹⁷ A good number stayed until well into the 1940s, and it was

⁹⁰ Cited in Andreas Campomar, *¡Golazo!*, (London: Quercus, 2014), p.145.

⁹¹ *El Gráfico*, 25 October 1930, 37.

⁹² Miguel Ángel Bertolotto and Sergio Danishevsky (eds), *Argentina Mundial. Historia de la Selección*, Buenos Aires, 2002, p.30.

⁹³ Lanfranchi, "La Première Guerre Mondiale et le développement du football en Europe: l'exemple italien", p.141.

⁹⁴ Lo Presto, *Tango bianconero*, pp.8-15.

⁹⁵ Foot, *Calcio*, pp.429-31.

⁹⁶ Cited in Lanfranchi – Taylor, *Moving with the Ball*, pp.72–81.

⁹⁷ Bigalke, "If They Can Die for Italy, They Can Play for Italy!", p.96.

the ruination of Italy's economy by the War that was the most decisive factor in their ultimate return.

Conclusion

By the time Argentina played in the 1930 World Cup it was clear that Argentina was still some way from exhibiting a national identity that was inclusive of all its citizens. Our case studies have shown that amongst the biggest immigrant grouping in Argentina, the Italo-Argentines, dual identity remained an important factor in Argentine society. Although active agents in the Argentine economy and civil society, feelings of *argentinidad* did not preclude simultaneous emotions of Italian-ness. This was highlighted during Genoa's 1923 tour of Argentina when the Italo-Argentine community felt able to celebrate both their Italian heritage and identification with their Argentine homeland. The dominance of Italo-Argentines at all levels of Argentine football from the early 1920s reflected what could be described as an Italianization rather than a *criollización* of Argentine football, mirroring the concerns of Argentine nationalists that Argentina was in danger of becoming an Italian colony.

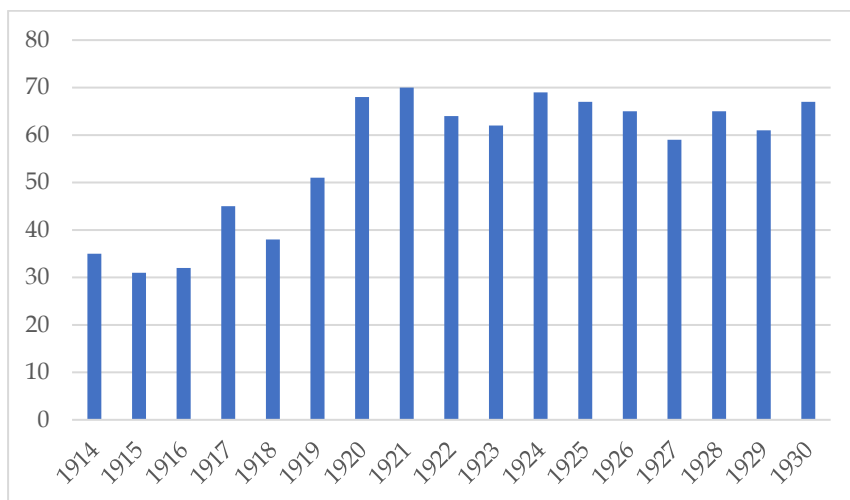
This discourse was further complicated by the reverse migration of the top Italo-Argentine players who were central to Argentine success at the 1928 Olympic Games and 1930 World Cup to Italy in the 1920s and 1930s. Their departure was perceived in the Argentine press in colonial terms. Whilst reaching the finals in the aforementioned competitions reflected Argentine prestige at a world level, the subsequent departure of Argentina's elite players and the presence of Orsi, Guaita, Monti and Demaría in Italy's World Cup win in 1934 World Cup-winning side reflected Argentina's weakness in the global marketplace and subservience to its effective neo-colonial sporting masters.

Table 1: Net Immigration to Argentina 1857-1914 by Nationality

Italians	2,283,882
Spanish	1,472,579
French	214,198
Russians	160,672
Ottomans	136,079
Austro-Hungarians	87,108
Germans	62,006
British	55,055

Source: República Argentina, *Tercer Censo Nacional Levantado el 1° de Junio de 1914*, (Buenos Aires: República Argentina, 1916), p.201.

Table 2: Percentage of Italo-Argentine Players in the Argentine National Team by Year



Source: Calculated from data in Rubén René Macchi (ed.), *Desde 1893 Hasta 1981 Toda la Historia de la Selección Argentina*, (Buenos Aires: GAM ediciones, 1981), pp.4-103.

Table 3: Italo-Argentines in the Italian National Team 1914-1935

Player	Year of Birth	Date of Debut	Italy Caps
Eugenio Mosso	1895	05/04/1914	1
Cesare Lovati	1894	18/01/1920	6
Adolfo Baloncieri	1897	13/05/1920	47
Emilio Badini	1897	31/08/1920	2
Julio Libonatti	1901	28/10/1926	17
Raimundo Orsi	1901	01/12/1929	35
Renato Cesarini	1906	25/01/1931	11
Attilio De María	1909	27/11/1932	13
Luis Monti	1901	27/11/1932	18
Enrique Guaita	1910	11/02/1934	10
Alejandro Scopelli	1908	12/05/1935	1

Source: Fabrizio Melegari (ed.), *Almanacco Illustrato del Calcio 2019*, (Modena: Panini, 2018), pp.611-39.