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A HISTORY OF
ROMANIAN
HISTORICAL WRITING

Frederick Kellogg

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PREFACE

The study of history enables us to grasp human experiences in the context of time and place. We all seek to comprehend and appreciate our current, individual place within the larger scope of humanity throughout the ages. Those who write history tell us something about their own eras as well as about earlier events, peoples, and institutions. In their choice of topics and modes of treatment, historians reflect in part a bygone epoch under investigation and in part their own contemporary values, biases, and concerns.

Romanian historical works are worthy of attention because they illuminate the critical role of the Romanian people in Southeastern Europe. I began exploring Romanian historical letters as part of a quest to understand that role. My goal now in addressing Romanian historiography is to assist students in the English-speaking milieu to recognize the richness of the Romanians' heritage and to provide a starting point for their own research into Romanian yesterdays.

We already have accounts of some Romanian historians in Romanian and in other Indo-European languages; but, to date, we have no general survey of Romanian historiography. Romanian historians tend to focus on themes of immediate consequence to their compatriots, especially on those involving political and socioeconomic affairs. Foreign scholars eschew Romanian historiography owing perhaps to inherent difficulties in evaluating the nuances of an alien literature; whatever their reasons, foreign historians concentrate mainly on Romanian politics and diplomacy rather than on Romanian culture and society.

My aim in these pages is to survey landmarks in historical learning from the birth of Romanian writing in early modern times down to the present. Here the reader will encounter outstanding authors in Romania and elsewhere who have delved into the Romanian past. My net is sweeping at the outset when Romanian literary lists are relatively short; but, for the more densely populated rosters of the late modern and contemporary periods, I include only those historians whose undertakings seem notable now for originality or enterprise. I have undoubtedly been overly abrupt in appraising the efforts and achievements of some scholars deserving monographs or at least articles unto themselves. But my purpose

is not to offer a biographical gallery for such would obscure the continuity of occurrences and influences. Nor have I sought to construct a theoretical framework, aside from chronology, to encompass historians of Romania for such would deny the uniqueness or individuality of their writings, replete with changing viewpoints. Moreover, I have not woven historical works into the whole fabric of Romanian intellectual history, that is, into the imaginative literature and scholarly letters devoted to the humanities as well as to the social and natural sciences. Despite these limitations, I have tried to mention those literary treasures which themselves illuminate Romanian accomplishments in many domains over many centuries.

This book springs from my first sojourn in Romania, during 1960-61, when I searched fruitlessly for satisfactory guides to Romanian historiography and for directories of historical research materials. Encouraging my initial essays were the American historians Charles and Barbara Jelavich and Wayne S. Vucinich along with the Romanian scholars Andrei Oțetea, Cornelia Bodea, and Constantin C. Giurescu. The Council for International Exchange of Scholars, American Council of Learned Societies, International Research and Exchanges Board, University of Arizona, Institutul de istorie "N. Iorga," and Universitatea din București supported my inquiries in Romania.

My profound thanks go to Professor Boyd C. Shafer, a friend and colleague, for helpful suggestions on the penultimate version of my text. I am also grateful to Ms. Lisa F. Pederson for drafting the map together with Ms. R. K. Parks and Ms. Brooke Morse for typing and helping proofread the manuscript. Cheering my endeavor in substantive and intangible ways were my late wife Patricia and my daughter Kristine Marie Calvert.

Tucson, Arizona
December 31, 1989

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CHAPTER 1

EARLY HISTORICAL WRITING IN THE ROMANIAN LANDS

Romanians live today where they have for many centuries in a region of Southeastern Europe dominated by the Carpathian Mountains, Danube River, and Black Sea or Pontus. There, Romanians encountered many peoples, some of whom became their current neighbors: Slavs, Magyars or Hungarians, and others. Among the Slavs were Bulgarians and Serbs, followed by Poles and Russians. Also important for the Romanians were Greeks, Turks, and Germans. Cultural contacts with foreigners together with military-political challenges from abroad would one day inspire Romanians to record their activities in Carpatho-Danubio-Pontica.

Historical writings by Romanians are of relatively recent vintage. Other nearby peoples started earlier, as did the Greeks by the fifth century B.C. Later, by the ninth century of the Christian era, Germans and Bulgarians drafted historical portraits and annals; they were succeeded by the Magyars and Czechs in the eleventh century. Subsequently compiling chronicles in the twelfth century were the Poles, Russians, and Serbs, while the Ottoman Turks did so in the fourteenth century. Not until the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries would Romanians write about their past.

We may surmise that Romanians composed historical narratives as a means of asserting their identity vis-à-vis their neighbors. They were deliberate in so doing because their preoccupation with pastoral and agrarian pursuits left them little leisure time and energy for scholarly or literary efforts. They had, moreover, no fixed political and religious structures until the mid-fourteenth century. Romanian monasteries founded in the fifteenth century eventually presented clerics with opportunities, that some of them seized, to describe their fellow countrymen's endeavors and accomplishments. Romanian monks at first copied Old Church Slavic (OCS) versions of Byzantine Greek classics along with South Slavic works in the domains of religion, law, and history. Early Romanian writing seems thereby to be more a reflection of Byzantine letters—revealing through an OCS filter the pervasive influences of the Orthodox Christian ecumenical patriarchate and imperial traditions at Constantinople—than either a spontaneous eruption or a measured unfolding of Romanian culture.

Romanians in early modern times were subject to various foreign and native regimes in the Carpatho-Danubian area of Moldavia, Wallachia, and Transylvania. Hence the reservoir of their historical thinking had several springs. Their scholarship would flow in discrete channels owing to their different circumstances down to the formation and consolidation of the modern Romanian state in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Despite

their lack of a common political heritage, however, many early Romanian historians pointed to the essential unity of the Romanian-speaking people.

* * *

Romanians of Moldavia were remote from the declining Byzantine Empire, dwelling as they did in the northeast segment of Carpatho-Danubio-Pontica. Moldavian Romanians would eventually take advantage of the waning strength of the Mongol khanate of the Golden Horde to carve out an independent state for themselves in 1359. This Orthodox Christian principality faced the already well-established Magyar kingdom of Catholic Hungary to the west across the Carpathians as well as the rising powers of Catholic Poland and Lithuania to the north, while to the south was the Orthodox Romanian principality of Wallachia, with Islamic Turkey of the Ottoman sultans nearby. The Romanians of Moldavia paid tribute to the Turks by 1456 but retained control of their own affairs.

In Moldavia we find the first historical literature by Romanians. They put their experiences into a large context by appending their records to Byzantine works. The earliest known Romanian chronicle, compiled in prose at the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century, was tacked onto an OCS translation of a Byzantine chronicle tracing world happenings from Creation to A.D. 1081 that had been originally written in Greek verse by the Orthodox metropolitan bishop Konstantin Manasses (d. 1187) of Navpaktos. The Romanian contribution, covering 1359 to 1507, came from an anonymous hand, possibly that of a layman at the Bistrița monastery who witnessed Moldavian events during the reign of Prince Ștefan the Great [1457-1504]. This chronicle shares with its predecessor a rather prolix and bombastic style; both are in OCS and both accent the ruler and his genealogy. The Moldavian chronicle, in several versions, is a compendium of Biblical lore and historical myths, including a story about the fabulous foundation in 1359 of Moldavia by Dragoș from the then Hungarian province of Maramureș. Its chief section, focusing on Ștefan's contemporary deeds of derring-do, is more accurate and reliable. The chronicler's purpose seems to have been to instill in his readers a sense of loyalty to the prince coupled with respect for the Orthodox Christian faith. This scribe attributed Ștefan's victory over the Turks in 1475 to the "grace of God and the aid of Jesus Christ," while Ștefan's defeat of the Poles in 1497 stemmed from the "grace of God and the luck of the ruler." Continuing the primary Moldavian chronicle in OCS were three clerics: Macarie (d. 1558) for the years 1504 to 1551, Eftimie for 1541 to 1554, and Azarie for 1551 to 1574. They stressed the prince's heroics and censured anarchistic activities of boyar aristocrats.¹

1. *Cronicile slavo-române din sec. XV-XVI* [The Slavic-Romanian Chronicles of the 15-16 Centuries], publ. by Ion Bogdan, ed. Petre P. Panaiteșcu, *Cronicile Medievale ale României II* (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Române, 1959), pp. 1-23, 74-151; cf. quotations pp. 9, 12.

A Moldavian nobleman, Grigore Ureche (ca. 1590-1647), wrote the first chronicle in Romanian, rather than in OCS; he related Moldavian affairs from 1359 to 1594. Ureche recognized the linguistic connection between Latin and Romanian, concluding that the Romanian-speaking people of Hungary and Moldavia partook of a common heritage. His chronicle contains the first discussion of the Romanians' inherent unity, as expressed in their language, and of their Roman origin. These themes dominate Romanian historiography from Ureche's day to the present. Ureche drew heavily from domestic and foreign—especially Polish—annals, but he was imprecise and haphazard in identifying his sources. If authorities differed, he would give each rendition; yet he was not above suppressing or modifying information so as to place Moldavian doings in a favorable light. Ureche found historical causes in divine providence and in the actions of great men. He glorified Ștefan the Great, for example, as a Christian saint, not for Ștefan's piety—because he was a sinner—but for his courageous leadership of an ongoing holy crusade against the Islamic Turks.²

The most significant Romanian chronicler was Miron Costin (1633-91). Costin extended Ureche's profile of Moldavian events for sixty-six years, from 1595 to 1661. Both Costin and Ureche were boyar-aristocrats; both ignored the peasants; both employed Polish and other records; and both considered that the prince, who had been chosen by God and was ultimately subject to divine law, should govern with the advice and consent of the boyars. In contrast to Ureche, Costin seemingly lacked confidence in his compatriots' military capacity and disparaged those who fought the Turks. Instead of warfare to gain objectives, Costin reckoned on foreign aid, particularly from Poland, that was not however always forthcoming. Costin somewhat perfunctorily narrated the short-lived unification of Wallachia, Transylvania, and Moldavia by the Wallachian prince Mihai the Brave [1593-1601] in 1599-1600, an event later Romanian historians would recognize as restoring the ancient Roman colony of Dacia [A.D. 106-271] and as foreshadowing the modern Romanian state. That Mihai was not himself from Moldavia and the very transience of his achievement, based as it was on Christian bloodshed, may account for Costin's lack of enthusiasm for Mihai.

More vigorously than had Ureche, Costin emphasized the Roman origin of the Romanian people, offering various kinds of evidence—archaeological, epigraphic, folkloric, linguistic, and social—as proof. Costin was the first to suggest that Roman colonists in Dacia—comprising Transylvania, the Banat, and western Wallachia—withdrew to the mountains during early medieval times and later reemerged in the fourteenth century when they moved from Maramureș to Moldavia.

For Costin, there were two types of causes: general and specific. If, in general, God supervised matters on earth as well as throughout the uni-

2. Grigore Ureche, *Letopiseșul Țării Moldovei* [The Annals of Moldavia], ed. Petre P. Panaitescu, 2nd ed. (București: Editura de stat pentru literatură și artă, 1958).

verse, Moldavian disorders stemmed from specific roots such as the insensibility, cruelty, and greed of the prince in addition to a chaotic system of succession to the throne.³

Not every annalist at the turn of the eighteenth century in Moldavia equalled Miron Costin in ability. For one, Nicolae Costin (ca. 1660-1712), Miron's son, composed an erudite but pretentious and digressive world chronicle reaching 1601 based on foreign and native sources. More lucid and useful is Nicolae's eyewitness account of Russo-Turkish relations in Moldavia from 1709 to 1711.⁴ Another chronicle, that by the boyar Ion Neculce (ca. 1672-1745/6), continued Miron Costin's story from 1661 to 1743,⁵ Neculce, whose parents were Greek, wrote in the vernacular Romanian of northern Moldavia and did so with a lively and colorful style. Like Ureche and Miron Costin, Neculce patriotically attributed his countrymen's sufferings to the Islamic Turks and, subsequently, to the Turks' Christian administrative agents in eighteenth century Moldavia, the Phanariot Greeks. But, if Ureche and Miron Costin trusted in Poland, Neculce looked to Russia for help against Turkey. Hence he supported the 1711 alliance between the Moldavian prince Dimitrie Cantemir [1710-11] and the Russian tsar Peter the Great [1682-1725]; when that compact collapsed, following the Turkish victory over the Russo-Moldavian army on the Prut River, Neculce shared Cantemir's fate, namely, exile in Russia. Regarding Moldavian society, Neculce held that peasants were duty-bound to sustain the boyars; and boyars were to serve the prince. The final judgment of temporal affairs was in the hands of God.

Dimitrie Cantemir (1673-1723) was the greatest of early Moldavian authors and one of the greatest ever in Romanian literature. A polymath who contributed in several domains, his most significant and valuable studies were historical. Cantemir wrote the first history of the Ottoman Empire in any language, the first allegory in Romanian, the first historical geography of his country, the first Romanian biography, and the first general history of the Romanians. His original ideas also touched the philosophy of history. In contrast to his boyar predecessors—Ureche, Miron Costin, and Neculce—Cantemir was the son of a reigning prince: Constantin [1685-93], brother of one: Antioh [1695-1700, 1705-07], and was himself ruler of Moldavia [1693, 1710-11]. In a biography of his father,

3. Miron Costin, *Opere* [Works], ed. Petre P. Panaitescu (București: Editura de stat pentru literatură și artă, 1958).

4. Nicolae Costin, *Letopiseșul Țării Moldovei de la zidirea lumii pînă la 1601* [The Annals of Moldavia from Creation to 1601], ed. Ioan Șt. Petre (București: Fundația pentru literatură și artă "Regele Carol II," 1942); see also Nicolae Costin, "Domnia lui Nicolae Alexandru voda . . . De Domnia lui Dumitrașcu vodă Cantemir" [The Reign of Prince Nicolae Alexandru . . . to the Reign of Prince Dimitrie Cantemir], *Cronicele Romaniei sau Letopiseșele Moldaviei și Valahiei* [The Chronicles of Romania or the Annals of Moldavia and Wallachia], ed. Mihail Kogălniceanu, 2nd ed. (București: Imprimeria națională, 1872), II, 70-117.

5. Ion Neculce, *Letopiseșul Țării Moldovei și O samă de cuvinte* [The Annals of Moldavia and a Number of Words], ed. Iorgu Iordan, 2nd ed. (București: Editura de stat pentru literatură și artă, 1959).

Cantemir reckoned that the prince alone could provide a strong, orderly regime; and so he justified his father's execution of Miron Costin who had been accused of treason. His historical allegory in which real persons appeared as animals—boyars as beasts, peasants as bees—was another vehicle for portraying Moldavian politics. The boyars' oppression of peasants, for instance, warranted both popular rebellion and a powerful role for the prince. In a geographical survey, Cantemir depicted with patriotic pride the fertility of the Moldavian terrain and the positive attributes—honesty, bravery, hospitality—of the inhabitants. His most famous manuscript is in Latin, entitled "Incrementa atque decrementa aulae othomanicae" [The Growth and Decline of the Ottoman House]; it remained the standard Ottoman Turkish history for a century after the publication of its English translation in the 1730s. Here Cantemir equated the decline of the Turks with the natural process of aging. Besides that, he expressed his confidence, as had Neculce, that Russia would rescue Christian subjects of the Turks from their vassalage. Cantemir's last and possibly his most influential treatise was in Latin and Romanian, an incomplete chronicle that emphasized the purity, unity, and continuity of the Romanian people.⁶ After colonizing ancient Dacia, as he told it, the Romans exterminated the indigenous Dacians; later barbarian invaders left no trace, for the colonists avoided their passage by withdrawing temporarily to the forests and fields—not to the mountains as Miron Costin had contended. Therefore, modern Romanians were ethnically true Romans, a notion that would become a fundamental tenet of the nationalist school of Romanian historiography.

Cantemir's historical efforts deserve attention as well for his methods and his concepts. He utilized firsthand evidence whenever available, and was the first Romanian historian to cite his sources in footnotes. He asserted, moreover, that the historian's obligations entail more than a mere recounting of bygone deeds; rather, the historian should propound and defend specific theses. Concerning causation, Cantemir considered that, although God was responsible for Creation, humans possessed free will. In an essay on monarchies he distinguished cycles of world history in an evolutionary sequence of birth, transformation, and death.⁷ Cantemir was

6. Dimitrie Cantemir, *Viața lui Constantin Cantemir zis cei Bătrîn, Domnul Moldovei* [The Life of Constantin Cantemir Called the Old, Prince of Moldavia], trans. Radu Albala (București: Editura de stat pentru literatură și artă, 1960); *Istoria ieroglică* [Hieroglyphic History], ed. Virgil Căndea, vol. 4 of *Dimitrie Cantemir: Opere complete* [Dimitrie Cantemir: Complete Works] (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1973); *Descriptio Moldaviae* [Description of Moldavia], vol. 1 of *Operele Principelui Dimitrie Cantemir* [The Works of Prince Dimitrie Cantemir] (București: Tipografia curții, 1872); *The History of the Growth and Decay of the Othman Empire*, trans. N. Tindal (London: James, John, and Paul Knapton, 1734-35), 2 volumes; *Hronicul vechimei a Romano-Moldo-Vlahilor* [Chronicle of the Romano-Moldo-Wallachians in Antiquity], vol. 8 of *Operele Principelui Dimitrie Cantemir* [The Works of Prince Dimitrie Cantemir] (București: Institutul de arte grafice "Carol Göbl," 1901).

7. Ilie Sulea-Firu, "O scrisoare inedită a lui D. Cantemir: Monarchiarum Physica Examinatio" [An Unpublished Text by D. Cantemir: A Structural

the first historian and, for that matter, probably the first philosopher anywhere to develop such a periodic notion; hence his views preceded those to be advanced next by the eminent Italian philosopher Giambattista Vico (1668-1744) and others.

After Cantemir, Moldavian historical narratives were less consequential owing to foreign control of internal politics and an attendant lack of support for writers in Romanian. During the Phanariot era in Moldavia from 1711 to 1822, when the suzerain Ottoman sultans replaced native Romanian princes with Greeks from the Phanar or lighthouse district in Istanbul, annals customarily emphasized the reigning Phanariot Greeks. The most detailed one was that of the Ghica family, continuing Neculce's Romanian-language work from 1695 to 1754. The unnamed author of the Ghica Chronicle related in modern Greek the people's suffering under Turkish hegemony and applauded the diplomatic and domestic policies of the Ghicas.⁸ Here we learn that the prince was duty-bound to consult the boyars about state affairs, but the boyars had no right to oppose the prince. Another anonymous chronicle from 1733 to 1774, composed in Romanian at Istanbul and often attributed to the aristocrat Enache Kogălniceanu (1729-95), effectively portrayed the moral decadence of boyars and princes in Moldavia.⁹ Extant too is a prolix account in classical Greek by a medical doctor Petru Depasta (d. 1770). He told about the life and times of his peripatetic patient Prince Constantin Mavrocordat (1711-69), who governed for the Turks on various occasions in both Moldavia and Wallachia.¹⁰ For Depasta, God was the prime mover, and political events flowed from the rotation of the earth and the succession of seasons. Disloyalty to the Turks was unthinkable, being contrary to divine law. Also writing in Greek was a Greek monk Daniël (Dimitrie) Philippidēs (ca. 1758-1832), who lived for many years in Bessarabia, that is, in the eastern portion of Moldavia between the Prut and Dniester Rivers. Philippidēs drew on Byzantine annals to illuminate Romanian geography and history from the Roman conquest of Dacia to the foundation of Moldavia and Wallachia in the fourteenth century.¹¹ Accepting Cantemir's arguments, Philippidēs recognized the Roman origin of the Romanians in Dacia together with the Romanians'

Consideration of Monarchy], in *Studii și cercetări de bibliologie*, 5 (1963), 267-76; see also Frederick Kellogg, "Dimitrie Cantemir: Historical Scholar and Architect," in *Études d'Historiographie*, ed. Lucian Boia (Bucarest: Université de Bucarest, 1985), pp. 106-08.

8. *Cronica Ghiculeștilor: Istoria Moldovei între anii 1695-1754* [Chronicle of the Ghicas: History of Moldavia between 1695 and 1754], eds. Nestor Camariano and Ariadna Camariano-Cioran, *Croniclele Medievale ale României V* (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1965).

9. [Enachi Kogălniceanu?], "Letopisețul Țerei Moldovei" [The Chronicle of Moldavia], in *Croniclele României*, III, 195-274.

10. *Cronicarii Greci cari au scris despre Români în epoca fanariotă* [Greek Chroniclers Who Wrote about Romanians in the Phanariot Era], ed. Constantin Erbiceanu (București: Tipografia cărților bisericesci, 1888), pp. 295-335.

11. Δανιὴλ Φιλίππιδης, *Ἱστορία τῆς Ρουμανίας* [History of Romania] (Leipzig: Tauchnitz, 1816), I, pt. 1.

constant presence north of the Danube between the Tisza, Dniester, and Black Sea. In addition, he was the first historian to employ in print the term "Romania" for the area previously referred to separately in publications as Moldavia, Wallachia, and Transylvania. Although others, such as Cantemir, had earlier identified the "land of the Romanians" Philippiðēs' use of "Romania" in his book's title helped to focus the thinking of patriotic Romanians on the prospect of politically unifying the several Romanian-speaking regions.

Early historical writers in Moldavia provided much valuable information but they were not free of errors and myths. They would record foreign views and popular traditions sometimes without checking for accuracy or validity. One myth, given different levels of credence by Ureche, Miron Costin, and Cantemir, was about a place-name: Moldavia. According to legend, a Romanian hunter, Dragoș, from Maramureș in 1359 sought a wild ox, soon to be extinct in the area. Along with his companions and his female dog Molda, Dragoș chased an ox into a river where the hunters' arrows killed the animal. Molda followed the ox into the water and drowned; henceforth, the river and the region bore the dog's name. Cantemir eventually discounted this story and proposed, without adducing tangible evidence, that Dacians before the Roman conquest called part of their country "pleasant Dacia" or Moldavia, deriving the word from Molisdava (Latin: Dacia mollis).

As we have seen, historical reporting first occurred in Moldavia at the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century, with the first chronicles in the Romanian language being drafted by the mid-seventeenth century. The authors were monks and especially aristocrats who underscored the role of the prince. They recognized the Romanians' Roman origin and ethnic continuity in Dacia from antiquity onward; and, in so doing, they pointed the way to nationalistic historical prose in the nineteenth century.

* * *

In Wallachia, Romanians also expressed interest in their past by compiling chronicles. They did so later than the Romanians of Moldavia despite the fact that Wallachia was the first part of Carpatho-Danubio-Pontica to become independent. After freeing themselves from the Hungarian kingdom in 1330, Orthodox Romanians of Wallachia still confronted Catholic Magyars to the north across the Carpathian Mountains in Hungary along with Mongols of the Golden Horde to the east and Islamic Turks to the south across the Danube River. Proximity to the waxing Ottoman Empire spelled political turbulence in the new principality that was not conducive to historical writing and presaged Turkish suzerainty—symbolized in the Wallachian Romanians' payment of tribute by 1415.

The place-name "Wallachia," for the Romanian land immediately north of the Danube River, stems from Blach or Vlach in mid-eleventh century Byzantine Greek annals denoting a people once inhabiting the Balkan

Peninsula, especially Thessaly, where they formed Great Wallachia in the mid-thirteenth century. The same root word is also found in OCS chronicles: Voloch in Russian by the early twelfth century, Wołoch in Polish, and Vlah or Vlasi in Serbian. At the outset of the thirteenth century the Catholic pope at Rome addressed in Latin a leader south of the Danube as ruler of the Bulgars and Blachs, while an anonymous Hungarian notary referred likewise in Latin to the Blachs as "Roman shepherds" in the area drained by the Danube and Tisza Rivers, that is, in an eastern portion of present-day Romania.¹²

The first modern historical records for Wallachia north of the Danube come from Transylvania in the fifteenth century. Two anonymous, anecdotal annals tell in German and OCS respectively about the Wallachian prince Vlad Țepeș or Dracula [Vlad the Impaler, 1456-62] who campaigned in Transylvania. The one in German is a contemporary report by a Transylvanian Saxon at Brașov or Sibiu, underscoring Vlad's cruelty toward the author's fellow Saxon Germans. That in OCS is by a Romanian or possibly a Russian at the Hungarian capital of Buda, written after the German narrative and drawing information from it. The OCS version emphasizes Vlad's heroic battles against the Turks (not mentioned in the German rendition), ignores Vlad's anti-Saxon plundering, but castigates him for switching from Orthodox to Roman Catholic Christianity. Both annals delineate Vlad's crude, tyrannical character.¹³

Little more may be added about historical efforts in Wallachia until the seventeenth century. To be sure, an Orthodox monk from Mount Athos, Gavriil (fl. 1517-21 in Wallachia), described in a Greek hagiographic work the organization of the Wallachian Orthodox church. In so doing he further provided a picturesque survey of occurrences at the Wallachian court from 1504 to 1520. More noteworthy were the martial exploits of the Wallachian prince Mihai the Brave at the end of the sixteenth century that challenged foreign dominion, momentarily uniting the Romanian-speaking people of Transylvania, Moldavia, and Wallachia. This feat inspired rhetorical accounts by Greeks—Stavrinos (fl. 1602-23) in Wallachia and Geōrgios Palamēdes (fl. 1607) at Ostrog in Polish Wołyń—who composed Greek

12. See, for example, extracts from Byzantine works by Georgios o Kedrenos [Σύνοψις ἱστοριῶν (Historical Synopsis)] and from Kekaumenos in *Fontes Historiae Daco-Romanae* [Daco-Roman Historical Sources], eds. Alexandru Elian and Nicolae-Șerban Tanașoca (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1975), III, 28 and 144; for the Hungarian chronicle plus variant translations and interpretations, see *Izvoarele Istoriei Românilor: Fontes Historiae Daco-Romanorum*, [Historical Sources of the Romanians: Daco-Romanian Historical Sources], ed. and trans. Gheorghe Popa-Lisseanu (București: Bucovina, 1934), I, 32 and 81, together with *Anonymus Gesta Hungarorum* [Anonymous, Deeds of the Hungarians], trans. Dezső Pais, ed. György Györffy (Budapest: Európa Könyvkiadó, 1975), par. 9 of original ms. and 87.

13. For the German text, see Ioan Bogdan, *Vlad Țepeș și narațiunile germane și rusești asupra lui: Studiu critic* [Vlad Țepeș—German and Russian Accounts about Him: A Critical Study] (București: Editura Librăriei Socecu, 1896), pp. 90-105; for the Slavonic text, see *Cronicle slavo-române*, pp. 200-07.

poems about Mihai's deeds; a monk Matei (ca. 1550-1624) of Myra in Anatolia but living in Wallachia continued these verses from 1602 to 1618.¹⁴ Also depicting part of Mihai's career, from 1592 to 1597, was the first Romanian journal of Wallachian events and perhaps the first one drafted anywhere in Romanian. This chronicle, now lost, by a boyar in Mihai's service, Teodosie Rudeanu (ca. 1555-1621), was translated into Latin, embellished with additional firsthand details, and published at the Austrian Habsburg city of Görlitz in Upper Lusatia by a Silesian diplomat Baldassar Walther.¹⁵ The printed text set forth Mihai's military ventures, including his victories over the Ottoman Turks on both sides of the Danube River. Mihai sparkles in these lines as the savior and father of his country, while the boyars stand in the shade.

A boyar, Stoica Ludescu (ca. 1612-ca. 1695), may have written the first extant Wallachian chronicle in the Romanian language; but the authorship is still uncertain. This is an original tract, despite its reliance on prior reports by Gavriil, Stavrinus, Matei of Myra, and others, that covers the years from 1260 to 1688.¹⁶ After telling about Wallachia's mythical genesis following the separation of Romanians from Romans south of the Danube, the unnamed chronicler related Wallachian struggles against Ottoman Turkey, activities of the princes, and factional strife among the boyars. The author simply recorded happenings without offering interpretations, save for quoting the Bible and the Church Fathers to show God actively rewarding the good and punishing evildoers.

A chronicle by the Stolnic Constantin Cantacuzino (ca. 1640-1716) is more sophisticated in method and content than its Wallachian predecessors and is, in turn, comparable to Moldavian manuscripts by Ureche and Dimitrie Cantemir. Like Cantemir, the Stolnic or High Steward, as Cantacuzino is known in Romanian historiography, was a polyglot and a bibliophile. He gleaned Byzantine political and cultural notions at Istanbul and neo-Aristotelian ones at Padua University. Later he would advise his nephew, the Wallachian prince Constantin Brîncoveanu [1688-1714]. He also assisted in making the first complete translation of the Bible and drew the first map of Wallachia to be published. The Stolnic's major treatise is a complicated and digressive history of Wallachia from the Roman colo-

14. See Demostene Russo, *Studii istorice greco-române: Opera postume* [Greco-Romanian Historical Studies: Posthumous Works], eds. Ariadna Camariano and Nestor Camariano (București: Fundația pentru literatură și artă "Regele Carol II," 1939), I, 19-34, 103-79.

15. Baldassaris Waltheri, "Brevis et vera descriptio rerum ab . . . Ion Michaelae . . ." [Concise and True Description of Affairs from . . . Ion Michaelae . . .], *Tesauru de monumente istorice pentru Romania* [Treasury of Historical Works about Romania], ed. Alexandru Papiu Ilarianu (București: Tipografia nationale, 1862), I, 1-74; Dan Simonescu, "Cronica lui Baltasar Walther" [Baltasar Walther's Chronicle], *Studii și materiale de istorie medie*, 3 (1959), 7-96.

16. *Istoria Țării Românești, 1290-1690: Letopiseșul Cantacuzinesc* [History of Wallachia, 1290-1690: The Cantacuzino Annals], eds. Constant Grecescu and Dan Simonescu, *Cronicile Medievale ale României III* (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Române, 1960).

nization of Dacia to the conquest by Attila the Hun [434-53] in 447.¹⁷ In contrast to Ureche, who spoke of Roman outlaws as the Romanians' forefathers, the Stolnic declared that modern Romanians descended directly from Roman aristocrats. But the Stolnic did not assert, as had Cantemir, the ethnic purity of the Romanians; rather, he suggested that Romans had assimilated the Dacians, thereby forming a Daco-Roman nationality. From Romans, on the one hand, Romanians inherited their polity, law, military institutions, and way of life; on the other hand, the Romanian language came from a Latin-OCS synthesis. The Stolnic critically evaluated Latin and Byzantine Greek historical sources, and was skeptical of stories recounted by credulous annalists. Moreover, he saw the history of the state as being progress, an organic evolution—guided by divine will—through three distinct and successive stages of rise, pause, and decline. This idea paralleled that of Cantemir, and both Romanian historians anticipated Vico's cyclical view of history.

Important in terms of data and time span is a Wallachian chronicle ascribed in part to the boyar and later monk Radu Popescu (ca. 1655-1729). This work is replete with details about Wallachia and surrounding states from 1290 to 1728 drawn from various Latin, Greek, and Turkish histories. Its erudite appearance notwithstanding, this narrative contains a vivid polemical attack on the Cantacuzino party of boyars, denouncing that group's greed, viciousness, and perfidy. The chaotic feuding of rival aristocratic factions justified, for Popescu, the foreign regime of Greek Phanariots then in Wallachia [1716-1822]. While also condemning the Turks for being destructive, venal, "terrible, wild beasts," he believed that the Turks' suzerainty over Wallachia, via their Greek agents, was still required to save the country from the boyars' anarchical proclivities.¹⁸ In contrast to other chroniclers, Popescu told little about the common origin and purity of the Romanian people. He concurred nonetheless with his predecessors in finding the causes of events in God and destiny as well as in political and psychological factors.

Toward the end of the seventeenth century there was a cultural unfolding in Wallachia under the benign aegis of Prince Constantin Brîncoveanu, who was a patron of the arts. Two annals focused on this epoch. To trumpet his accomplishments, Brîncoveanu appointed a learned boyar, Radu Greceanu (ca. 1655-ca. 1725), who had cooperated with the Stolnic in translating the Bible and would next compose the prince's biography. The result was a court history filled with references to Scripture and to writings by Church Fathers that amplified the virtuous prince's "praiseworthy deeds." According to Greceanu, Brîncoveanu's political authority stemmed from his family, from the suzerain Turks, and from

17. Stolnicul Constantin Cantacuzino, *Istoriia Țării Rumânești* [History of Wallachia], eds. Nicolae Cartoian and Dan Simonescu (Craiova: "Scrisul românesc," 1944).

18. Radu Popescu Vornicul, *Istoriile domnilor Țării Românești* [History of the Rulers of Wallachia], ed. Constant Grecescu, *Cronicile Medievale ale României IV* (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Române, 1963), p. 4.

God. To demonstrate Brîncoveanu's legitimacy, Greceanu traced the prince's lineage matrilineally to a Byzantine emperor and patrilineally to the former ruling Basarab family at Craiova in Oltenia, that is, in western Wallachia. As for the Turks, Greceanu considered that these "barbarians" allowed Brîncoveanu to govern Wallachia in return for the latter's prompt execution of the sultan's oppressive orders.¹⁹ But the ultimate fountain of power and reason for being, for Greceanu and for many of his contemporaries, was divine.

A second Brîncoveanu chronicle is by an anonymous hand, sketching Wallachian affairs in their European setting from 1688 to 1717. The author, apparently an aristocrat, argued against a hereditary autocratic dynasty and for an elected leader, who would be limited in prerogatives by the boyars. That leader, together with the boyars, was still to serve faithfully the Ottoman sultan. In addition to miracles, this unnamed scribe also advanced economic factors to explain occurrences, such as attributing the Russo-Moldavian military failure against the Turks in 1711 to an inadequate supply of food.²⁰

Historical letters in Romanian regressed during the Phanariot era in Wallachia from 1716 to 1822, as in Moldavia, owing mainly to the intellectually debilitating presence of a foreign governing hierarchy. Studies in Greek predominated. A Greek cleric Mētrophanēs Grēgoras (ca. 1630-1730), for example, related Wallachian happenings amid the transition from native Romanian to Phanariot Greek rulers, between 1714 and 1716.²¹ Grēgoras criticized native princes for chaotic policies, while generally applauding the beneficence of the Phanariots. More comprehensive in scope than Grēgoras' lines is a Greek chronicle of the years 1215 to 1774, which is especially valuable from 1733 onward, compiled by the boyar Mihai Cantacuzino (1723-ca. 1790) from narratives by his great-granduncle the Stolnic and others.²² As had Dimitrie Cantemir before him, Mihai Cantacuzino participated with a Russian army in the anti-Turkish war of 1768-74 and subsequently emigrated to Russia where he wrote about Wallachia. Like Cantemir had done for Moldavia, Cantacuzino supplied data about Wallachia's geography, society, and economy. In contrast to Cantemir, however, Cantacuzino praised his own relatives and heaped scorn on princes from other families. The Stolnic and Cantemir had previ-

19. Radu Logofătul Greceanu, *Istoria domniei lui Constantin Basarab Brîncoveanu Voievod (1688-1714)* [History of the Reign of Prince Constantin Basarab Brîncoveanu (1688-1714)], ed. Aurora Ilieș, *Cronicle Medievale ale României VIII* (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1970), pp. 52, 190, and 210.

20. *Istoria Țării Românești de la octombrie 1688 pînă la martie 1717* [History of Wallachia from October 1688 to March 1717], ed. Constant Grecescu (București: Editura științifică, 1959), pp. 112 and 122.

21. Μητροφάνης Γρηγοράς, "Ἱστορία συντομος" ["Brief History"] in Russo, *Studii istorice greco-române*, II, 410-61.

22. Μηχαὴλ Καντακουζίνος, *Ἱστορία τῆς Βλαχίας πολιτικὴ καὶ γεωγραφικὴ* [Political and Geographical History of Wallachia] (Βίεννη: Γ. Βενδοῦη, 1806).

ously identified their fellow countrymen as "Romanians"; but it was Mihai Cantacuzino's chronicle, posthumously published at Vienna in 1806, that contained an early printed reference, albeit in Greek, to Romanians [Ρομῶνοι]. A decade later, as we have noted, Daniel Philippides would apply "Romania" to the Carpatho-Danubio-Pontic area.

Other works of the Phanariot period include a survey in Romanian of Wallachian domestic and diplomatic matters from 1764 to 1815 by a monk in Oltenia, Dionisie the Ecleziarh (ca. 1759-1820);²³ a list of Wallachian rulers from 1215 to 1687 and an eyewitness account in Romanian of the Russo-Turkish war of 1768-74 by the boyar Dumitrache the Medelnicer (ca. 1725-96); plus a Wallachian princely register from 1290 to 1834 and chronicle from 1768 to 1810 in Greek by the teacher-priest Naum Rîmniceanu (1764-ca. 1839). Rîmniceanu, in commenting on the Greek national revolution and the Wallachian popular revolt of 1821 led by Tudor Vladimirescu (ca. 1780-1821), condemned both the Greek Phanariot regime and the Romanian rebels in Wallachia. As had the Stolnic, Rîmniceanu nonetheless patriotically stressed Daco-Roman continuity north of the Danube River and did not insist on the Romanians' ethnic and linguistic purity; according to his estimate, the Romanian vocabulary consisted of 40 percent Latin, 20 percent Italian, 20 percent Dacian, 15 percent OCS, and 5 percent diverse foreign words.²⁴ Significant too are Greek-language treatises by a monk Kōnstantinos [Kaisarios] Dapontes (ca. 1714-84) embracing a directory of Greeks residing in Moldavia and Wallachia during the eighteenth century, a chronology of Turkish history from 1648 to 1704 emphasizing Romanian experiences, and a diary recounting the Russo-Austrian war against Turkey of 1736-39 together with the consequent devastation of Oltenia.²⁵ A Greek official and poet in Wallachia, Dionysios Phōteinos (1777-1821), for his part, composed a multivolume history of Dacia, covering primarily Wallachian events from the Roman conquest in A.D. 106 until 1812.²⁶ In this book—based on Byzantine Greek, OCS, and Hungarian annals—Phōteinos told about the Daco-Roman composite in addition to the continuity and Romanization of peoples in the Danubian region during the barbarian invasions. Yet another Greek, Markos P. Zallōnēs (1760-ca. 1822), who was a physician on Tēnos in the Cyclades group of the Aegean Islands, examined the origin and course of Phanariot

23. Dionisie Eclisiarculu, "Chronografulu Tieriei-Rumanesci dela 1764 pana la 1815" [Chronicle of Wallachia from 1764 to 1815], in *Tesauru de monumente istorice pentru Romania*, II, 159-236.

24. Protosinghelui Naum Rîmniceanu, "Despre originea Românilor" [About the Origin of the Romanians] and "Cronicul de la 1768-1810" [Chronicle from 1768 to 1810], in *Cronicarii Greci*, pp. 236-94.

25. Chesarie Daponte, "Cronicul de la 1648-1704" [Chronicle from 1648 to 1704], in *Cronicarii Greci*, pp. 5-63.

26. Διονυσιος Φωτεινος, *Ἱστορία τῆς πάλαι Δακίας, τὰ νῦν Τρανσυλβανίας, Βλαχίας, καὶ Μολδανίας* [History of Ancient Dacia, Present-day Transylvania, Wallachia, and Moldavia] (Wien: I. B. Zweck, 1818-19), 3 volumes.

administration in Moldavia and Wallachia as well as reasons for the collapse of this system.²⁷

In Wallachia, as in Moldavia, historical writing in Romanian began by the seventeenth century; both principalities were subsequently given histories in Greek during the Phanariot era. Boyars, who set down Wallachian affairs, accentuated the place of the prince and of God. But, in contrast to some of their Moldavian counterparts, Wallachian intellectuals did not affirm ethnic purity, considering instead that Romanians were the product of a Daco-Roman fusion.

* * *

Transylvania, across the Carpathian Mountains from the Danubian principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, at first had a relatively modest body of Romanian historiography. From the eleventh to the sixteenth century Transylvania was a section or voivodeship of the Hungarian kingdom; in 1541 Ottoman Turkey conquered this region and held it until 1699, when it fell to Catholic Austria, that is to the Holy Roman Empire ruled by the Habsburg dynasty. Some Transylvanian Saxons, Hungarians, and Székely prepared tracts touching upon their Romanian neighbors that reflected the subordinate social position of illiterate Romanian peasants vis-à-vis the dominant, privileged nationalities represented by the authors. Whereas in Moldavia and Wallachia Romanian boyars fashioned annals glorifying native princes, in Transylvania there were neither Romanian princes nor aristocrats and no secular tradition of Romanian scholarship. By the late eighteenth century the cultural leadership of both Orthodox and Uniate Christian Romanians in Transylvania was, in the main and particularly in the domain of history writing, in the hands of clergymen, chiefly Romanian Uniate priests.

The first known Transylvanian discourse on the Romanians is the *Chronicon Dubnicense* [Dubnik Chronicle], so called for the village of Dubnik in present-day Czechoslovakia where the manuscript was discovered.²⁸ In it an anonymous cleric briefly reported in Latin about Transylvanian affairs from 1474 to 1479, concluding with an account of cooperation by Transylvanian and Moldavian Romanians with Hungarian troops in repulsing an invasion by Turks, aided by Wallachian Romanians, at Cîmpul Pîinii in Transylvania. The first Romanian to mention the Roman ancestry of his compatriots was atypical in being a Catholic prelate who served the Austrian Habsburgs in high church and state offices. This was the imperial councillor Nicolaus Olahus (1493-1568) whose *Hungaria* [Hungary] in Latin described that kingdom from 1479 to 1536, that is until

27. Marcu-Philippe Zallony, *Essai sur les Fanariotes* [Essay about the Phanariots] (Marseille: A. Ricard, 1824).

28. Ioan Lupaș, "'Chronicon Dubnicense' despre Ștefan cel Mare" [The 'Dubnik Chronicle' about Stephen the Great], *Anuarul Institutului de istorie națională* (Cluj), 5 (1928-30), 341-53.

the arrival of the Turks in Hungary.²⁹ Drawing on a prior remark by Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, who became Pope Pius II [1458-64], Olahus assumed Romanians to be descendants of Roman settlers in ancient Dacia. Piccolomini had linguistically tied a customary appellation for Romanians, Vlach or Wallachian, to a mythical Roman general Flaccus, who had supposedly led a campaign against the Dacians. Other eponyms, one may add, are Francus for a Frenchman, Brut for a Briton, and Italus for an Italian. Olahus, whose own family name is the Hungarian word for Wallachian, contended further that the Romanian language in Wallachia, Moldavia, and Transylvania was originally the classical Latin of Roman colonists.

The first Transylvanian chronicles in Romanian came from Orthodox clergymen at Braşov. Protopop Vasile (1577-1659) began his short work, the vernacular version of which has been lost, with an historical sketch of St. Nicolai's church at Şchei in Braşov, followed by a list of local events from 1392 to 1633. Continuing Vasile's annals to 1742 was another Braşov protopop or archpriest, Radu Tempea (ca. 1691-1742), who decried the Romanian Orthodox-Catholic church union of 1697-1701 as well as the plague accompanying the great drought and famine of 1718-19. Somebody, apparently a church teacher, Radu Duma (d. ca. 1790), then brought the story down to 1780 with demographic and prosopographical information about Saxons and Romanians of Braşov plus details about the Russo-Turkish war of 1768-74 in Moldavia and Wallachia. Also discussing Braşov, from 1512 to 1785, was Dimitrie Eustatievici (ca. 1730-96), who supervised Transylvanian Orthodox schools and was responsible for the first grammar of the Romanian idiom. Near Sibiu, in addition, the village priest Sava Popovici (d. 1808) of Răşinari drafted an essay about the hoary Roman beginnings and the contemporary nature of Transylvanian Romanians.³⁰

A Serbian political adventurer, Đorđe Branković (1645-1711), who was an aristocrat in the Holy Roman Empire, wrote in Romanian about the Romanians of Carpatho-Danubia in a chronicle of the South Slavs in the Balkan Peninsula from the origin of the world to 1686. His never published effort, composed initially at the court of the Wallachian prince Şerban Cantacuzino [1678-88] during the Austro-Turkish war of 1683-99, pointed

29. Nicolae Olahus, "Hungaria" [Hungary], in *Adaparus ad Historiam Hungariae* [The Opening of Hungarian History], ed. Matthias Bél (Pressburg: J. P. Royer, 1735), I, 1-41.

30. For the writings of the protopop Vasile and Sava Popovici, see Ioan Lupaş, *Cronicari şi istorici români din Transilvania* [Romanian Chroniclers and Historians in Transylvania], 2nd ed. (Craiova: Scrisul românesc, 1941), pp. 16-22 and 85-91; Radu Tempea, *Istoria sfintei biserici a Şcheilor Braşovului* [History of the Holy Church of Those in the Şchei district of Braşov], eds. Octavian Şchiau and Livia Bot (Cluj: Editura pentru literatură, 1969); for Radu Duma, see E. E. Kretzulescu, "Codex Kretzulescus" [The Kretzulescu Manuscript], *Revista pentru istorie, arheologie şi filologie* (Bucureşti), 11 (1910), 21-36 and 12 (1911), 52-57, 83-88; for Dimitrie Eustatievici, see Nicolae Iorga, "Însemnări de cronică ale clericilor din Şcheii Braşovului" [Notes on the Chronicle by Clerics in the Şchei District of Braşov], *Buletinul Comisiei istorice a României*, 12 (1933), 55-99.

to the formation of a Serbo-Bulgarian state, presumably under imperial Habsburg auspices. The Austrian Habsburgs repudiated Branković, however, when he appealed directly to the South Slavs in 1689 to accept his personal guidance in setting up a new country of Illyria, without regard for the empire. He found himself incarcerated for the rest of his life in imperial jails, where he revamped and expanded his chronicle. The revised rendition, this time in Serbo-Croatian, still emphasized Romanian affairs in relating the Roman genesis of the Romanian people in Dacia, the creation of Moldavia by Romanians from Maramureș, and the achievement of Romanian unification by Mihai the Brave. Branković's general thesis is that the oppressed and impoverished Romanians, Serbs, and Bulgarians were eager to rebel against Ottoman Turkish hegemony.³¹

Historical writing about Romanians came also from Hungarians, Székely, and Saxons in the early modern era. In contrast to their more numerous Romanian cohabitants, who were primarily enserfed peasants, the social elite of these Transylvanian peoples enjoyed special prerogatives and duties, the most significant of which was freedom from taxation in return for military service. These three groups, called "nations," agreed to a "fraternal union" in 1437 for mutual aid in case of need following the suppression of an agrarian revolt that had challenged their proprietary interests. Magyars, that is Hungarians, had arrived in Transylvania by the tenth century A.D., presumably accompanied by the Magyar-speaking Székely of Bulgar-Turkish descent. During the period of Ottoman suzerainty, the east Hungarian king, János II Zsigmond Szapolyai [1540-71], confirmed the rights of Székely nobles after a peasant insurrection in 1562. Some Saxon Germans had, for their part, migrated to Transylvania during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; and they received a charter of autonomy from the Hungarian king András II [1205-35] in 1224. Later, the Holy Roman emperor Leopold I [1658-1705] endorsed the privileged position of each aristocratic "nation" in 1691, a status that endured until abrogated after the 1848 revolutions.

In Hungary an Italian immigrant-teacher, Antonio Bonfini (ca. 1427-1503), affirmed the Roman origin of the Romanians; that is, the Wallachians [Valachi], later to be known as Romanians, sprang from a fusion of Roman colonists with Dacians and Getae inhabiting Dacia in antiquity. For all that, Bonfini attributed the success of the anti-Turkish battle at Cîmpul Pîinii in 1479 not to the Vlachs' cooperation but rather to the leadership of the Hungarian king Matthias I Corvinus [1458-90] who was himself a Vlach. A Saxon Lutheran pastor at Cluj, Kaspar Helth [Gáspár Heltai] (1510/20-74), translated portions of Bonfini's account into

31. Nicolae Iorga, "Despre cronica lui Gheorghe Brancovici" [On the Chronicle of Gheorghe Brancovici], *Revista istorică* (Iași), 3 nr. 1-6 (1917), 9-15, 26-118; Silviu Dragomir, "Fragmente din Cronica sîrbească a lui Gheorghe Brancovici" [Fragments of the Serbian Chronicle by Gheorghe Brancovici], *Anuarul Institutului de istorie națională* (Cluj), 2 (1923), 1-70.

Hungarian and carried the story forward from 1495 to 1526.³² This Transylvanian chronicle, the first one in Hungarian, incorporated data about Daco-Roman continuity in bygone Dacia and contemporary affairs in the Danubian principalities. Helth was the first as well to use in print the name Romanians, in Hungarian—*Románusok*, for Transylvanian Vlachs [Oláhok]. Likewise in Hungarian were annals by the Székely author Pál Lisznyai (1630-95) telling about the Romanians' beginnings and subsequent development. Another Székely, the Catholic priest József Benkő (1740-1815), indicated the Latin foundation of the Romanian language as being evidence of the Vlachs' Roman ancestry; he then traced the establishment of the Wallachian and Moldavian principalities to Vlachs emigrating from Transylvania and Maramureş respectively. Benkő recounted, moreover, the 1784 agrarian uprising in Transylvania led by the Romanian peasant Horea (ca. 1730-85).³³ The only early modern Hungarian historian to deal comprehensively with Romanians was a Calvinist minister, Péter Bód (1712-69). His as yet unpublished "*Brevis Valachorum Transylvaniam*" [A Few Words on the Vlachs of Transylvania] reached 1764, describing the Romanians' ethnic roots, their customs, the Orthodox-Catholic church union, and an anti-Uniate revolt in 1759-61.

Transylvanian Saxons, writing chiefly in German, had more to say about the Romanians than their Székely and Hungarian counterparts. This may have been due to difficulties in communicating between the Hungarians and Székely in the Uralic language family on the one hand and the Saxons and Romanians in the Indo-European family on the other. Another reason was the circumstance that Saxon merchants and craftsmen in towns presumably had a higher level of literacy than other groups in rural surroundings. Following Helth, a Saxon scholar at Sibiu, Johann Tröster (d. 1670), argued that Romanians were the offspring of Roman settlers and constituted the oldest and most numerous denizens of what had once been Dacia. Proof of the Romanians' Roman ancestry lay, according to Tröster, in the Romanians' lexicon, dances, and clothing. Lorenz Toppeltinus (1641-70) of Mediaş also accepted the idea of the Roman paternity of Romanians. His Latin text on Transylvania from early times to 1662, published in France when he was twenty-five, influenced the historical efforts of the Moldavian Romanian Miron Costin. For George Soterius (d. 1728), a Lutheran pastor at the village of Criş near Sighişoara, in unpublished chronicles of Transylvania and the Danubian principalities from the fourteenth to the eighteenth century plus other works in Latin, the Dacians

32. Antonio Bonfini, *Rerum Ungaricarum decades quatuor* [Affairs of the Hungarians Over Many Decades], ed. Martin Brenner (Basel: Oporiniana, 1568); Gáspár Heltai, *Chronica az magyaroknac dolgairól* [Chronicle of Hungarians' Affairs] (Cluj: Gáspár Heltai, 1575).

33. Pál Lisznyai, *Magyarok chronicája* [The Hungarians' Chronicle] (Debrecen: Pál Kassai, 1692); József Benkő, *Transsilvania, sive Magnus Transsilvaniae principatus, olim Dacia Mediterranea dictus* [Transylvania: or the Great Principality of Transylvania, Formerly Called Middle Dacia], 2nd ed. (Cluj: Typis Lycei Regii, 1833-34), 2 volumes.

were actually Slavs who intermarried with Roman colonials to form the Romanian nation. Further, two pedagogues—Johann Filstich (1684-1743) of Braşov, whose Latin annals close in 1737, and Martin Felmer (1720-67) of Sibiu—discussed the ongoing presence of Romanians in Dacia. Filstich commented on the mixed Slavic-Roman nature of the Romanians, while Felmer was apparently the first, albeit in German and not in print until 1867, to apply "Romania" [Romanien] to Dacia.³⁴

The most provocative Transylvanian German historians of the era—Sulzer, Eder, and Engel—launched a debate with Romanians about Romanian beginnings. In an unfinished Dacian history, Franz J. Sulzer (d. 1791), a Saxon army officer residing in Wallachia, described Dacia's geography, the origin of the Vlachs, as well as the area's cultural features and socio-political structure.³⁵ In contrast to the views of Tröster and others, Sulzer maintained that all Romans left Dacia in the third century A.D.; those who became known as Romanians later emerged from a Slavic-Roman fusion south of the Danube River in the Balkan Peninsula, where they adopted Orthodox Christianity together with the OCS liturgy. After the arrival of Hungarians and Saxons in Transylvania, Romanians moved northward across the Danube by the thirteenth century. Sulzer's polemical argument won support from the Saxon school superintendent at Sibiu, Josephus C. Eder (1760-1810), who printed the *Supplex Libellus Valachorum* [The Vlachs' Suppliant Petition] (1791) along with a point-by-point rebuttal of this political manifesto of the Transylvanian Romanians.³⁶ As had Sulzer, Eder denied the Romanians' continuity in Dacia and suggested that they were originally a heterogeneous, pastoral people who entered Dacia from the Balkan Peninsula in the thirteenth century. Eder pointed to OCS words in the Romanian vocabulary to justify his contentions. Finally, Johann C. von Engel (1770-1814), who was a Protestant Swabian official from Slovakia in the Transylvanian chancellery, wrote histories of Hungary, the Ukraine, Croatia, and Serbia, in addition to one about Moldavia and

34. Johann Tröster, *Das alt und neue teutsche Dacia* [Old and New German Dacia] (Nürnberg: Johann Krammer, 1666); Laurentius Toppeltinus, *Origines et occasus Transsylvanorum* [Origins and Fall of Transylvania] (Lyon: H. Boissat & G. Remeus, 1667); Johann Filstich, *Tentamen Historiae Vallachicae* [The Course of Wallachian History], ed. Adolf Armbruster (Bucureşti: Editura ştiinţifică şi enciclopedică, 1979); Martin Felmer, "Kurzgefasste historische Nachricht von der wallachischen Völkerschaft" [Brief Historical Report about the Wallachian People], *Archiv des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde* (Sibiu), 7 (1967), 414-28.

35. Franz Joseph Sulzer, *Geschichte des transalpinischen Daciens, das ist: der Walachey, Moldau und Bessarabiens, im Zusammenhange mit der Geschichte des übrigen Daciens als ein Versuch einer allgemeinen dacischen Geschichte* [History of Transalpine Dacia, That Is: Wallachia, Moldavia, and Bessarabia, in Connection with the Rest of Dacia as a Probe toward a General Dacian History] (Wien: R. Gräffer, 1781-82), 3 volumes.

36. I. C. E. [Joseph Karl Eder], "Notis historico-criticis" [Historical-Critical Notes], in *Supplex Libellus Valachorum Transsylvanicae* [The Transylvanian Vlach's Suppliant Petition] (Cluj: Typis Martini Hochmeister, 1791).

Wallachia.³⁷ In the last volume, Engel identified the seed of the Romanian nationality in the Slavic-Roman-Byzantine Greek prisoners of war who had been evacuated by the Bulgarian khan Krum [803-14] north of the Danube to the Tisza River, whence Romanians subsequently moved eastward. Evidence of this Balkan genesis was, for Engel, the existence of Greek terms in the Romanian language.

The Transylvanian School of Romanian historiography—consisting of Micu, Șincai, and Maior—offered the Romanian reply to these theses. Members of the Transylvanian School surpassed the modest probes of earlier Transylvanian Romanian annalists by synthesizing past events in a coherent and purposeful way. Common themes in the disquisitions of each member were the ethnic purity, Latinity, and continuity of Romanians in Dacia.

The Uniate monk Samuil Micu (1745-1806), also known by the Germanic form of his surname: Klein or Clain, was chronologically the first representative of the Transylvanian School. Although few of his works appeared in print during his lifetime, Micu was nonetheless a prolific and far-ranging author who translated part of the Bible into Romanian and compiled a Romanian-Latin dictionary. He showed etymological and grammatical connections between Latin and Romanian, but admitted that modern Romanian had been corrupted by foreign words. In his historical studies, Micu drew heavily on Dimitrie Cantemir's lines in describing the Romanians' Roman beginnings, tracing their history throughout Carpatho-Danubia from the Trojan war (ca. 1280-70 B.C.) to the end of the eighteenth century A.D.³⁸ The Romanians' ethnogenesis was, according to Micu, not diluted by other nationalities since the Dacians had completely vanished after the Roman conquest in A.D. 106; furthermore, the Roman evacuation of Dacia in 271 was merely a military maneuver not involving the Romanian colonists who remained behind. Romanians would subsequently (ca. 889) invite the Hungarians to rule Transylvania; thereafter, Romanians cooperated with the Bulgarian Asenid empire (1187-1280) against the hegemony of the Byzantine Empire in Southeastern Europe. Still later, in Micu's lifetime, Romanians confronted Ottoman Turks in the Danubian

37. Johann Christian von Engel, *Geschichte der Molau und der Wallachey* [History of Moldavia and Wallachia], vol. 4 of *Geschichte des ungarischen Reichs und seiner Nebenländer* [History of the Hungarian Kingdom and its Neighbors] (Halle: J. J. Gebauer, 1804); *Commentatio de expeditionibus Trajani ad Danubium et origine Valachorum* [Dissertation on Trajan's Expedition to the Danube and the Origin of the Vlachs] (Wien: J. Camesina, 1794); at variance with the Saxon historians, Ludwig A. Gebhardi (1735-1802), who was himself from Saxony, referred to Benkő and Toppeltinus in accepting the Vlachs' Roman origin and their ongoing presence in Dacia following the Roman withdrawal in his *Geschichte des Grossfürstenthums Siebenbürgen und der Königreiche Gallizien, Lodomerien und Rothreussen* [History of the Great Principality of Transylvania and the Kingdom of Galicia, Lodomeria and Red Russia] (Pesth: J. Leyrer, 1803), pp. 6-9.

38. Samuil Micu, *Scurtă cunoștință a istorii românilor* [Brief Notice on the History of the Romanians], ed. Cornel Cîmpeanu (București: Editura științifică, 1963).

principalities and struggled to win political equality for themselves in the Habsburg Empire. Conversely, Micu opposed social and religious innovations in Transylvania, especially the proselytizing efforts of Calvinist Hungarians and Lutheran Saxons as well as Horea's agrarian uprising in 1784. He trusted instead the Austrian Habsburgs who, he thought, enjoyed God's grace. But for Micu, it was not so much God as great rulers—Trajan [A.D. 98-117] of Rome, Mihai the Brave, Leopold I of Austria, and others—who were primarily responsible for historical change.

The second member of the Transylvanian School, Gheorghe Șincai (1754-1816), generally agreed with Micu. After earning a doctoral degree in philosophy and theology at the Collegium de Propaganda Fide in Rome, Șincai assisted Micu in Vienna with the latter's Romanian grammar. Șincai gathered archival and published evidence in Rome, Vienna, and Buda about his fellow Romanians. Upon returning to Transylvania, where he supervised Romanian Uniate schools for more than a decade, Șincai drafted encyclopedic annals of the Romanians from A.D. 86 to 1739, with ironic comments, citing his sources and quoting long passages from various accounts by writers who would here and there express contrary views.³⁹ When he sought to put out his magnum opus in 1812, the Hungarian censor at Cluj refused permission for him to do so, recommending instead that the manuscript be burned and the author set in the pillory, presumably because of caustic remarks in the text about Hungarians and about the German historian Engel. Șincai contended, as had Micu, that his countrymen's lineage stemmed directly from noble Roman settlers in Dacia without ethnic intermixing with barbarians, not even with the ancient Dacians. He tendentiously claimed besides that Romanians received Christianity during the Roman epoch in Dacia, that is before the conversion of the Goths and Slavs in the early Middle Ages. While he occasionally criticized papal policies, Șincai favored the union of Catholic and Orthodox Christians down to the making of the Romanian Uniate church. But he lamented the Romanians' lack of equality; Romanians ought to have the same political and religious privileges as had been obtained by other peoples in Transylvania. Șincai moreover denied the sometime Hungarian and Polish dominion in the Danubian principalities. The contemporary name of Wallachia—Ungrovlahia—did not connote for him Hungarian [Ungro] control, but was merely a Byzantine Greek term distinguishing Romanians living north of the Danube from those south of that river. Șincai, like Micu, found causes of human events in individuals and circumstances, not in miracles.

A third representative of the Transylvanian School—Petru Maior (ca. 1756-1821)—was also a Uniate cleric, who studied abroad with Șincai at Rome and Vienna. He eventually became the censor of Romanian books at

39. Georgie Șincai din Șinca, *Hronica românilor și a mai multor neamuri* [Chronicle of the Romanians and of Many Other Peoples] (Iași: Tipografia Româno-Franceză, 1853-54), 3 volumes; Samuele Klein de Szad, *Elementa linguae daco-romanae, sive Valachicae* [Elements of the Daco-Roman Language, or Wallachian], ed. Georgio Gabriele Sinkai (Wien: J. N. de Kurzböck, 1780).

Buda, a post briefly held earlier by Micu and Șincai. Maior's historical tracts are, on the whole, less learned and more polemical than those by Micu and Șincai, whose unpublished works he did not consult. But, more clearly than his predecessors, Maior formulated theses concerning the Romanians' purity and continuity north of the Danube, theses that would be amplified by ensuing generations of Romanian historians. His sketch of Romanian origins in Dacia, which was the first historical treatise in Romanian to appear in print (1812), was not so much a history of the Romanians as a rebuttal to the premises of Sulzer, Eder, and Engel. Here Maior refuted Engel's notion that sedentary Romanian peasants turned into nomadic shepherds; Maior argued that Romanians just withdrew temporarily from the Danubian plains into the Carpathian Mountains where they found refuge during the barbarian invasions. Nor had the Hungarians conquered the Transylvanian Romanians; the two nationalities had simply concurred in recognizing the Romanians' autonomy on one side and the Hungarians' suzerainty on the other. Maior concluded, therefore, that Romanians enjoyed equal rights with other residents of Transylvania until the eighteenth century. In examining the Romanians' church, Maior supported an independent Uniate hierarchy in place of switching to Roman Catholicism that would only further divide Transylvanian Romanians. Another of his efforts was to continue Micu's Romanian-Latin-Hungarian-German dictionary. In it and elsewhere Maior suggested that the modern Romanian language arose from Vulgar rather than from classical Latin; despite the presence of some OCS words, he considered the Romanian of his day to be the purest of all Romance languages.⁴⁰

Two early nineteenth-century Romanian intellectuals—Budai-Deleanu and Monorai—are less well-known than the leaders of the Transylvanian School because their writings are still largely unpublished. An imperial Austrian councillor at the Lwów (Lemberg) tribunal in Galicia, Ion Budai-Deleanu (1760-1820), composed a satirical poem "Țiganiada" [Camp of the Gypsies] about the Wallachian prince Vlad Țepeș pointing out that armed insurrection was the only way to gain freedom from the Turks.⁴¹ In a fragmentary manuscript, based on Romanian and foreign evidence, Budai-Deleanu discussed the genesis of Transylvania's inhabitants and then carried the story forward to 1699. Here he stressed the priority and continuity, if not the ethnic purity, of Romanians who had descended from Roman colonists and indigenous Dacians. In contrast to Maior, Budai-Deleanu thought that the Dacians, whom he surmised to be Slavs, were not

40. Petru Maior, *Istoria pentru inceputul românilor în Dacia* [History of the Beginning of the Romanians in Dacia] (Buda: Tipografie a Universității Ungurești, 1834); *Istoria bisericeii românilor, atât acestor dincoace precum și acelor dincolo de Dunăre* [History of the Romanians' Church, both of Those on This Side as Well as on the Other Side of the Danube] (Buda: Tipografie a Universității din Peșta, 1813); *Lesicon românescu-lătinescu-ungurescu-nemțesc* [Romanian-Latin-Hungarian-German Lexicon] (Buda: Typis . . . Universitatis Hungaricae, 1825).

41. Ion Budai-Deleanu, *Opere* [Works], ed. Florea Fugaru (București: Editura Minerva, 1974-75), 2 volumes.

exterminated; those not assimilated by the Romans fled northward from Dacia and subsequently formed somehow the Polish nationality. He somewhat naively contended that Roman settlers did not evacuate Dacia southward across the Danube together with imperial legions, as Șincai had held, inasmuch as there was not enough room for them in Bulgaria. Disagreeing again with the Transylvanian School, Budai-Deleanu opposed the Orthodox-Catholic union as having a deleterious effect on Romanians. He additionally ascribed the misery of Transylvanian Romanians to oppression by Hungarian aristocrats. A second Romanian scholar, Ioan Monorai (1756-1836), was a Uniate village priest in Cergăul Mare near Alba Iulia, who had studied theology at Lwów University.⁴² Monorai's Dacian chronicle from Roman times to 1817, resting on Catholic and Orthodox sources, described the Romanians' Roman heritage, Mihai the Brave's unification of Romanian lands in 1600, and Horea's tumultuous revolt of 1784—which the author had himself witnessed. Horea won Monorai's applause for having also been a clever and courageous advocate of the Transylvanian Romanians' case at the Habsburg court in Vienna.

Beyond Transylvania, Romanians resided as well in other Austrian regions such as the Banat, Bucovina, and Maramureș. Few historical works came at first from Bucovina after being annexed from northern Moldavia by Austria in 1775, or from the sparsely populated, mountainous area of Maramureș, located between Transylvania and Galicia. This was not the case in the Banat—to the west of Wallachia and Transylvania between the Danube, Tisza, and Mureș Rivers—which Austria acquired from the Ottoman Empire by the Požarevac treaty in 1718. Romanians were the most numerous people in the Banat, followed by many Swabian Germans, Serbs, and Hungarians. But the first historical survey of the Banat, from the Roman epoch to 1776, depicted Romanians in an unfavorable light. This was by a Venetian journalist and naturalist, Francesco Grisellini (1717-83), who had spent three years in that province. According to Grisellini, if the "Walachen" [Vlachs] or Romanians arose from ancient Romans, they had afterward "... degenerated today into deep barbarity—rough and ignorant, full of physical and moral defects."⁴³ Grisellini's data and his bias influenced later historians of the Banat including two Germans: Johann H. Schwicker (1839-1902) and Leonhard Böhm (1833-1924), a Hungarian: Frigyes Pesty (1823-89), and a Romanian: Gheorghe Popovici (1862-1927).⁴⁴

42. Cf. Ion Monorai, "Scurtă cunoștință a lucrurilor Dachiei: Cîteva fragmente" [Brief Notice about the Affairs of Dacia: Several Fragments], ed. Ion Găvănescu, *Academia Română, în Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice* (București), ser. 3 (1938-39) XXI, 433-81.

43. Francesco Grisellini, *Versuch einer politischen und natürlichen Geschichte der temeswarer Banats in Briefen an Standespersonen und Gelehrte* [Probe at a Political and Natural History of the Temesvar Banat in Letters to Prominent Persons and Scholars] (Wein: J. P. Krauss, 1780), I, 213-14.

44. Johann Heinrich Schwicker, *Geschichte des Temeser Banats* [History of the Temesvar Banat] (Zrenjanin: F. P. Bettelheim, 1861); Leonhard Böhm, *Geschichte des Temeser Banats* [History of the Temesvar Banat] (Leipzig: O. Wigand, 1861), 2 volumes; Frigyes Pesty, *A Szörényi bánság és Szörény*

An Orthodox priest, Nicolae Stoica (1751-1833) of Hațeg, wrote the first and evidently unique Romanian chronicle of the Banat, only recently in print.⁴⁵ Among Stoica's authorities were Griselini, Petru Maior, and the Serbian historian Đorđe Branković. Stoica recounted the Banat's past from the origin of the world to 1825, emphasizing the period after 1717 with his own eyewitness account of the Russo-Austrian-Turkish war of 1788-91. The author subscribed to the teachings of the Transylvanian School concerning the Roman conquest and colonization of Dacia. In the modern era, he considered the Romanians' major enemies to be the Turks, who controlled the Banat from 1552 to 1718, and the Swabian Germans, who began occupying the district's most fertile farmlands in the 1720s. Despite sympathy for the peasant, Stoica loyally supported the sovereign. Hence, he criticized the Transylvanian agrarian revolt led in 1514 by György Dózsa (ca. 1474-1514) and practically ignored Horea's uprising in 1784. For Stoica, in contrast to many early Danubian Romanian annalists, natural causes were more important than otherworldly ones in human history.

The first news of Romanians in Transylvania and the Banat appeared, as we have noted, in the fifteenth century, while the first extant Romanian-language narrative turned up in the early eighteenth century. Non-Romanian pens were preponderant in the historical literature of the Habsburg lands partly because of the absence there of native Romanian princes, educated Romanian nobles, and learned Romanian Orthodox priests. Transylvanian Germans, in particular, suggested that Romanians stemmed from a Slavic-Roman fusion south of the Danube River during the early Middle Ages. Romanian Uniate ecclesiastics challenged this view, insisting on the Latin purity and continuity of Romanians north of the Danube from Roman days onward.

* * *

Romanian historiography during the early modern period was indeed varied, with many facts being mixed with some myths. Accounts by Romanians sprouted chiefly by the sixteenth century, OCS being used in the Danubian principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, and Latin in Transylvania; annals in the Romanian language blossomed in profusion by the seventeenth and early eighteenth century in the Carpathian and lower Danubian zones of contemporary Romania. Greek letters subsequently predominated in Moldavia and Wallachia until the early nineteenth century owing to the influence of the Phanariots. The notable chroniclers in the Danubian principalities were aristocrats, whereas they were clerics in

vármegye története [History of the Severin Banat and of Severin District] (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvtár Hivatala, 1877-78), 3 volumes; George Popoviciu, *Istoria Românilor bănățeni* [History of Romanians in the Banat] (Lugoj: Tipografia Poporul Român din Budapesta, 1924).

45. Nicolae Stoica de Hațeg, *Cronica Banatului* [Chronicle of the Banat], ed. Damaschin Mioc, *Cronicle Medievale ale României VII* (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1969).

Transylvania, there being no literate Romanian nobility in the latter region. In each part of Carpatho-Danubia annalists tended to stress the position of the ruler, specifically in military campaigns against the Turks, and to ignore that of the peasant. God loomed large in the historical lines of all areas as the well-spring of human happenings. Information about the distant past was primarily drawn from Byzantine chronicles, while details of later events came from eyewitnesses. An historical debate evolved because Transylvanian German authors, in championing their own privileged status in Austria, denied the ethnic continuity of their Romanian compatriots. Transylvanian Romanians replied by asserting their Latinity, unity, and continuity from the ancient Roman presence in Dacia to their own times.

CHAPTER 2

MODERN ROMANIAN HISTORICAL WRITING

The nature of modern Romanian historiography, in contrast to that of earlier times, is more pragmatic than fanciful. Modern Romanian historians sought to proclaim their compatriots' individuality and ethnic unity as well as to justify their country's political existence. One theme that percolates and diffuses through modern Romanian historical letters concerns the fundamental solidarity of the Romanian-tongued population.

Romanian historians were optimistic nationalists, fully confident that Romanian lands would one day be freed from foreign control and be brought together in a single state. The romantic enthusiasm evinced in their pages is similar to what we find in historical works throughout Europe and elsewhere, especially after the Napoleonic wars. Patriotic historians who come to mind include Nikolai Karamzin in Russia, Joachim Lelewel in Poland, František Palacký in Bohemia, Kōnstantinōs Paparrēgopoulos in Greece, Ahmet Cevdet Paşa in Turkey, Carlo Botta for the Italians, Modesto Lafuente in Spain, Jules Michelet and François Guizot in France, Heinrich von Treitschke in Prussia, and George Bancroft in the United States.

The first task of Romanian historians, from the end of the Phanariot regime in 1822 to the joining of Moldavia and Wallachia in 1859, was to collect and publish primary sources about Romanians in addition to offering syntheses of the Romanian past. From 1859 and the formation of the Danubian Romanian state to the conclusion of World War I—what we call the Golden Age of Romanian historiography—scholars continued to gather documents and, in the main, stressed the unity of the Romanian people. Between the two world wars—the Silver Age—Romanian historians amassed further firsthand historical evidence while also defending and extolling the territorial enlargement of their country brought about by the unification of Transylvania, the Banat, Bucovina, and Bessarabia to the Danubian Romanian kingdom.

* * *

The Early Nineteenth Century

From the 1820s through the 1850s in the Danubian principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, which were still under Ottoman Turkish suzerainty, as well as in Transylvania of Habsburg Austria, a few Romanians endeavored to assemble historical records and to transcend the

anachronistic regional orientation of early modern chronicles by characterizing Romanian history as a coherent whole.

The most distinguished historian of the day in Moldavia and, for that matter, throughout Romanian lands was Mihail Kogălniceanu (1817-91). He was also an accomplished orator, a revolutionary in 1848, a unionist in 1859, and an outstanding statesman in the making of Romanian independence in 1877-78. He had studied briefly in Prussia with such historical scholars as Friedrich Karl von Savigny (1799-1861), who had already shown the survival of Roman law during the Middle Ages, and Leopold von Ranke (1795-1886). Before his twenty-first birthday, Kogălniceanu wrote an unfinished historical survey of Wallachia in which the noble savages of ancient Dacia preferred death to foreign dominion.¹ Although not confusing Romans and Romanians, as did some of his countrymen, he suggested that Romanians descended directly from the Romans and he emphasized their ongoing presence in Dacia. Romanians, according to Kogălniceanu, neither adopted the barbarian customs of transient medieval conquerors nor adhered to the Catholic-Orthodox church union at Florence in 1439; rather, they retained some Roman ways and clung to Orthodox Christianity, employing the Cyrillic alphabet as a defense against Catholic influences. To demonstrate Romanian continuity in the early modern period, Kogălniceanu collected and, for the first time, published Moldavian chronicles. Further, he had definite ideas about the nature and purpose of history. Historical learning, said Kogălniceanu, should inspire national pride and illuminate the path to the future. For him, free will, not the will of God, governed the acts of persons and nations; nonetheless, nations had God-given missions. The Romanians' divinely ordered task had formerly been to protect Christian Europeans from assaults by Islamic Turks; but his generation's destiny lay in a united and prosperous state that would preserve Romanian customs, language, and history. Hence, Kogălniceanu did not tie himself to von Ranke's dictum about history being what actually happened; instead, he viewed history as "the voice of bygone-peoples, an icon of the past," full of implications for the morrow.²

In Wallachia a Transylvanian Romanian, Florian Aaron (1805-87), taught history at Saint Sava college in Bucharest after preparing for his career at the Hungarian university in Pest. If Aaron lacked originality in drawing heavily on the Austrian historian Johann von Engel (1770-1814)

1. Michel de Kogalnitchan, *Histoire de la Valachie, de la Moldavie et des Valaques transdanubiens* [History of Wallachia, Moldavia, and the Transdanubian Vlachs] (Berlin: B. Behr, 1838).

2. *Cuvânt pentru deschiderea cursului de istorie națională în Academia Mihăileană, rostit în 24 noemvrie 1843* [A Word to Open the Course of National History at Michael's Academy, delivered on 24 November 1843] (Iași: Cantora Foaiei sâtești, 1843), rpt. in Mihail Kogălniceanu, *Opere—Scrieri istorice* [Works—Historical Writings], ed. Alexandru Zub (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1976), I, 386; Frederick Kellogg, "The Historical Writings of Mihail Kogălniceanu," in *The 1848 Revolutions in the Romanian Principalities*, ed. Cornelia C. Bodea (New York: Romanian Library, 1975), pp. 1-13.

and others for content, he was the first in Wallachia to champion the Daco-Roman thesis and the first to draft an outline of world history from Adam to his own day. Aaron was, in addition, the first Romanian to mention the usefulness for the historian of auxiliary disciplines such as genealogy, heraldry, numismatics, and epigraphy. History itself was, in his poetic phrase, "a magic mirror of bygone centuries, a true icon of the present, and a valuable key for unlocking somehow the secrets of the future."³ The past was, for Aaron, a fountainhead of patriotism. Believing nations without a history to be lost in surrounding nationalities, he searched native chronicles and foreign histories for evidence about the Romanians' beginnings and about their territory. He contended, furthermore, that a great leader—Mihai the Brave [1593-1601], who had momentarily united Romanian lands in 1600—profoundly stimulated Romanian national consciousness.

Perhaps Aaron's most illustrious student at Saint Sava college was Nicolae Bălcescu (1819-52), who, like his teacher, became entranced with the career of prince Mihai the Brave. In an unfinished biography, Bălcescu eulogized Mihai for bringing his fellow Romanians justice, brotherhood, and temporary unity. Elsewhere he grandly asserted that Romanians constituted "the oldest people in Europe who had steadfastly preserved their nationality and their political existence," protected by the "hand of Providence" from all dangers.⁴ His countrymen needed nonetheless to defend themselves against pan-Slavic and pan-German threats on the one hand and to foster pan-Romanianism on the other so as to achieve a permanently consolidated Romanian state. Primary sources were, for Bălcescu, the fundamental bases for historical writing; consequently, he assisted in editing an historical compendium, *Magazin istoric pentru Dacia* [Historical Magazine of Dacia], which contained Romanian documentary materials such as inscriptions, chronicles, laws, poetry, and private correspondence. He envisioned history itself both practically and philosophically: "History is the first book of a nation," peoples wanting in history being barbarous.⁵ Humans, he said, were not blind tools of fate; although governed ultimately by the divine order of the universe, individuals had been endowed with free will and should choose good over evil. Bălcescu saw positive progress or goodness in the happenings of his own day: that is, the Wallachian revolution of 1821 had, he claimed, been democratic, for

3. Florian Aaron, *Idee repede de istoria Prințipatului Țării Rumânești* [Brief Historical Survey of the Principality of Wallachia] (București: Tipografia lui Eliad, 1835), I, v-vi; *Elemente de istoria lumii* [Elements of World History] (București: Tipografia Colegiului Sf. Sava, 1846).

4. Nicolae Bălcescu, *Privire asupra stării de față, asupra trecutul și viitorului patriei noastre* [A View of the Present, Past, and Future of Our Country], ed. Cornelia Bodea, 2nd ed. (Bălcești pe Topolog: Muzeul memorial "Nicolae Bălcescu," 1971), p. 37.

5. N. Bălcescu and August T. Laurian, *Magazinul istoric pentru Dacia* [1845-48] [The Historical Magazine for Dacia], quoted in N. Bălcescu, *Opere—Scrieri istorice, politice și economice* [Works—Historical, Political, and Economic Writings], ed. Gheorghe Zane (București: Fundația pentru literatură și artă "Regele Carol II," 1940), I pt. 1, 101.

justice; the revolutions of 1848 were social, for brotherhood; and the revolution of the future would be national, for the creation of a unified state.⁶

Another of Aaron's students at Saint Sava college, Constantin Aricescu (1823-86), was responsible for the first local history in modern Romanian letters. It was an undocumented but detailed examination of the author's native town of Cîmpulung, the fourteenth-century capital of Wallachia. Aricescu also composed the first history of the 1821 revolution; here he followed mainly Bălcescu in describing the insurrection as a national and democratic movement in which its leader, Tudor Vladimirescu, had a providential role.⁷ One of Aricescu's professors at Saint Sava was August Treboniu Laurian (1810-81), a philologist-historian with a doctorate from Göttingen University. Laurian cooperated with Bălcescu in editing the *Magazin istoric pentru Dacia* and participated directly in the revolutionary events of 1848, subsequently compiling documents about the Romanian struggle in Transylvania during that crisis. In an historical survey, Laurian emphasized the Romanians' Latin heritage and placed his countrymen at the center of world history, intimately tied to classical Rome and the Byzantine Empire.⁸

In Transylvania, Alexandru Papiu-Ilarian (1827-77), who earned a doctorate of laws at Padua University, traveled extensively abroad where he collected historical material on the Romanians; later, in Wallachia he published critical editions of those sources. At the age of twenty-four, Papiu-Ilarian composed a major history of the Transylvanian Romanians that reached 1848. In this work he agreed with Petru Maior (ca. 1761-1821) on the Romanians' Latin origin; according to both authors, warriors of the Roman emperor Trajan [A.D. 98-117] exterminated indigenous Dacians in the Carpatho-Danubian region. Papiu-Ilarian then explained the enslavement of Romanian peasants as a function of the Hungarian conquest and ensuing oppression. He therefore viewed the Transylvanian risings of 1437, 1514, and 1784 as well as the 1848 revolution in connection with the Romanians' endeavors to be freed of foreign dominion, especially that of Hungary. His concept of history reflects, in part, the ideas of Kogălniceanu and Aaron. For Papiu-Ilarian: "History everywhere, and especially national history, should not be a register of kings and wars, a multitude of names

6. N. Bălcescu, *Istoria Românilor sub Mihai-Vodă Viteazul* [History of the Romanians Led by Prince Michael the Brave] in N. Bălcescu, *Opere* [Works], ed. G. Zane (București: Editura Academiei Populare Române, 1953), II, 9-10; N. Bălcescu, *Opere—Scrieri istorice, politice și economice*, I, pt. 2, 99-108.

7. Constantin D. Aricescu, *Istoria Cămpulungului, prima reședință a României* [History of Cămpulung: Romania's First Capital] (București: E. Om, 1855-56), 2 volumes; *Istoria revoluțiunii române de la 1821* [History of the Romanian Revolution of 1821] Craiova: G. Chițiu & I. Theodorian, 1874), 2 volumes.

8. August T. Laurianu, *Istoria Românilor din timpurile cele mai vechie pînă în zilele noastre* [History of Romanians from Earliest Times to Our Days], 4th ed. (București: C. N. Rădulescu, 1873); *Die Romanen der österreichischen Monarchie* [Romanians in the Austrian Monarchy] (Wien: C. Gerold, 1849-51), 3 volumes.

and dates, a set of deeds, a storehouse of documents . . . but [rather] a philosophical description of happenings together with the causes and consequences of those memorable events of the nation which should serve as a key to the present and perspective regarding the future."⁹

The Romanian church in Transylvania found an influential exponent in Andrei Șaguna (1809-73), who was the Romanian Orthodox metropolitan [1848-73]. Șaguna strove mightily to awaken his fellow countrymen's national consciousness by sponsoring Romanian schools, publications, and a separate clerical hierarchy. To guide young Romanians, he wrote a history of the Orthodox Church in which he located the Romanians' conversion to Christianity in the era of the apostles. Șaguna censured moreover the religious beliefs of Romanian aristocrats who had deserted Orthodoxy in favor of Catholic or Calvinist teachings and who had thereby abdicated their leadership of most Transylvanian Romanians. He then concluded that the preservation of the Romanian national dream was left to Orthodox priests and peasants.¹⁰

During the first half of the nineteenth century there were some efforts, as we have noted, to gather and publish Romanian chronicles as well as to identify unifying strands in the politically divided fabric of Romanian society. Historians in Moldavia and Wallachia focused on such past events as would heighten Romanians' self-awareness, while those in the Habsburg lands still adhered to the tenets of the late eighteenth-century Transylvanian School in emphasizing the Romanians' Latin roots. From these currents came the unfolding of a golden epoch in Romanian historical prose.

* * *

The Golden Age, 1859-1918

The Golden Age of Romanian historiography, from the joining of the Danubian principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia to the union of Transylvania with the Romanian kingdom after World War I, witnessed a rich—golden—outpouring of learned works. Many talented scholars contributed significantly to the secularization and sophistication of Romanian historical literature. This age also saw seminal archaeological studies, many of which supported theories about the Romanians' ancient origins; there was, besides, close attention to primary sources illuminating the Romanians' quest for national unity and independence.

The greatest collection of documents about the Romanians came from Eudoxiu Hurmuzachi (1812-74), who was born in the Austrian crownland

9. Alexandru Papiu Ilarianu, *Istoria Românilor din Dacia Superiore* [History of Romanians in Upper Dacia] (Wien: C. Gerold, 1851), I, preface; *Tesauru de monumente istorice pentru Romania* [Treasury of Romania's Historical Monuments], ed. A. Papiu Ilarianu (București: S. Rassidescu, 1862), I, v.

10. Andrei de Șaguna, *Istoria bisericeii ortodoxe răsăritene universale, dela întemeierea ei, până în zilele noastre* [History of the Ecumenical Eastern Orthodox Church: From Its Foundation to the Present] (Sibiu: Tipografia diecesană, 1860), II, 122-25.

of Bucovina and who was the first Romanian to explore the Habsburg imperial archives at Vienna. With the aid of copyists, Hurmuzachi labored diligently at assembling evidence regarding Moldavia and Wallachia from the thirteenth to the nineteenth century. His corpus, subsequently expanded and unevenly edited by different scholars, appeared posthumously at Bucharest in forty-five large volumes containing over 30,000 items.¹¹ This set is chiefly valuable for following the Danubian principalities' diplomatic and economic relations with Central and East European neighbors from 1198 to 1851. Less erudite and more disorganized than Hurmuzachi's assemblage is that issued by Teodor Codrescu (1819-94), and two series of OCS-Romanian records gathered by Gheorghe Ghibănescu (1864-1936).¹² Although neither of the latter editors at Iași employed critical techniques, both presented much edifying information concerning Moldavian and, to a lesser extent, Wallachian affairs from the twelfth to the mid-nineteenth century.

More convenient to consult than the disjointed efforts of Codrescu and Ghibănescu are documentary collections organized by specific topics, such as: Oltenia under Austrian rule, accumulated by the historian Constantin Giurescu (1875-1918); the 1848 revolutions in the Danubian principalities, by an anonymous hand; the peasantry from the mid-seventeenth century to the eve of the 1907 agrarian revolt, amassed in two series by Dimitrie C. Sturdza-Scheianu (1839-1920) and Radu Rosetti (1853-1926); the later Crusades from 1340 to 1543 as well as Romanian experiences in early modern times, compiled in archives at home and abroad by the historian Nicolae Iorga (1871-1940); and the formation of the Romanian state in the nineteenth century, put together by a statesman-scholar Dimitrie A. Sturdza (1833-1914). Sturdza was also responsible for useful data bearing on Danubian navigation and on the reign of the prince and afterward king of Romania, Carol I [1866-1914] of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen. In addition, Carol's notes and reflections, which are a key to understanding Romania's diplomacy from 1866 to 1881, went to press in Germany.¹³ In Transylvania,

11. *Documente privitoare la istoria Românilor* [Documents Regarding the Romanian's History], collected by Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki et al (București: Socecu, 1876-1946), 22 volumes in 37 and 2 supplements in 9 volumes; this set continued in *Documente privind istoria României: Colecția Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki* [Documents Regarding the History of Romania: The Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki Collection], new ser. (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Române, 1962-74), 4 volumes.

12. *Uricariul* [Collection of Old Documents], ed. Teodor Codrescu (Iași: Tipografia Buciumului Roman, 1852-95), 25 volumes in 26; *Surete și izvoade* [Copies and Texts], ed. Gheorghe Ghibănescu (Iași: Dacia, 1906-33), 25 volumes; *Ispisoace și zapise* [Charters and Deeds], ed. G. Ghibănescu (Iași: Dacia, 1906-33), 6 volumes in 13.

13. *Material pentru istoria Olteniei supt Austriaci* [Material on the History of Oltenia under the Austrians], eds. Constantin Giurescu and Constantin C. Giurescu (București: 1913-47), 4 volumes; *Anul 1848 în Principatele Române: Acte și documente* [The Year 1848 in the Romanian Principalities: Acts and Documents] (București: Carol Göbl, 1902-10), 6 volumes; *Acte și legiuri privitoare la chestia țărănească* [Acts and Laws Regarding the Peasant Question], eds.

a journalist-historian Teodor V. Păcățian (1852-1941) mustered testimony about the Transylvanian Romanians' struggle for equality with other nationalities in Habsburg Hungary from 1848 to 1910.¹⁴ But Păcățian ignored archival materials; and he provided only Romanian translations, not the original words of his foreign-tongued witnesses.

Interest in archaeology bloomed in the Golden Age as Romanians plumbed deeply their yesterdays. The father of Romanian archaeology is Alexandru Odobescu (1834-95). Although not himself engaging in excavations, this armchair archaeologist at Bucharest University inspired others to dig for historical clues. For Odobescu, archaeology encompassed the institutions and industries together with the beliefs and usages of by-gone peoples; therefore, he would examine social practices and oral traditions besides the usual plastic and graphic remains. In his most important archaeological work, Odobescu described a fourth-century A.D. treasure discovered at the Wallachian village of Pietroasa that he ascertained to have a mixed, but primarily Visigothic origin.¹⁵ His most famous follower, Grigore G. Tocilescu (1850-1909), studied in France and Austria before writing a doctoral dissertation at Prague on pre-Roman Dacia's geography, ethnology, language, and customs. Tocilescu later established the first Romanian scholarly journal devoted chiefly to archaeology, and he investigated the Tropaeum Traiani, a triumphal monument that the Romans erected by A.D. 109 in the Pontic region, that is, in the Dobrogea. Tocilescu considered that historical knowledge was essential in understanding his

Dimitrie C. Sturdza-Scheianu and Radu Rosetti in two series (București: Socec, 1907-08), 12 volumes; *Notes et extraits pour servir à l'histoire des Croisades au XV^e siècle* [Notes and Extracts Regarding the History of the Crusades in the Fifteenth Century], ed. Nicolae Iorga (Paris: E. Leroux, 1899-1916), 6 volumes; *Acte și fragmente cu privire la istoria Românilor* [Acts and Fragments Regarding the History of the Romanians], ed. N. Iorga (București: Imprimeria Statului, 1895-97), 3 volumes; *Studii și documente cu privire la istoria Românilor* [Studies and Documents about the History of the Romanians], ed. N. Iorga (București: I. V. Socec, 1901-16), 31 volumes; *Acte și documente relative la istoria renascerei României* [Acts and Documents Regarding the History of Romania's Revival], eds. Dimitrie A. Sturdza et al (București: Carol Göbl, 1889-1909), 10 volumes in 11; *Charles I^{er}, Roi de Roumanie: Chronique, actes, documents* [Charles I, King of Romania: Chronicle, Acts, Documents], ed. D. A. Sturdza (Bucarest: Charles Göbl, 1899-1904), 2 volumes; *Recueil de documents relatifs à la liberté de navigation de Danube* [Collection of Documents about Freedom of Navigation on the Danube], ed. D. A. Sturdza (Berlin: Puttkammer & Mühlbrecht, 1904); *Aus dem Leben König Karls von Rumänien: Aufzeichnungen eines Augenzeugen* [From the Life of King Carol of Romania: Notes of an Eyewitness] (Stuttgart: I. G. Cotta, 1894-1900), 4 volumes.

14. *Cartea de Aur sau Luptele politice-naționale ale Românilor de sub coroana ungară* [The Book of Gold, or the Political-National Struggle of Romanians in the Hungarian Kingdom], ed. Teodor Păcățian (Sibiu: I. Marschall, 1902-15), 8 volumes.

15. Alexandru Odobescu, *Tezaurul de la Pietroasa* [The Treasure of Pietroasa], ed. Mircea Babeș, vol. 4 of Odobescu's *Opere* [Works] (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1976).

own day; or, as he put it to high school pupils, "... history is nothing else than the explanation and appreciation of the past in light of the present."¹⁶

Much Romanian historical effort centered on national origins. One energetic, erudite, and imaginative individual to explore Romanian beginnings was Romania's first prominent Slavist, Bogdan P. Hasdeu (1838-1907) from Bessarabia, who had studied at Khar'kov University in the Russian Ukraine and later directed the archives in Bucharest. With linguistic data, Hasdeu contended that the Romanian nationality formed on both sides of the Danube River from a fusion of Slavs, Thracians, Dacians, and Romans; but Daco-Romans first appeared in Oltenia and the Banat. In sketching Romania's evolution in his own time, he glorified the state and equated "Romanism" with humanity, liberty, and truth. Hasdeu also provided his countrymen with standards for editing Slavic documents: by scrupulously transcribing original versions, by translating them into Romanian, and by appending critical commentaries. He then employed contemporary internal sources and foreign archival materials in a romantic and presentist biography of the Moldavian prince Ion the Terrible [1572-74]. The mere collection of information did not suffice for Hasdeu; rather, the historian should artistically reconstruct and interpret the evidence and so go well beyond von Ranke's limits as to what had in fact happened. History itself, in Hasdeu's eyes, is a progressive, cyclical epic of a people's birth, growth, development, decline, death, and then rebirth—all guided by Providence.¹⁷ Hasdeu possessed a powerful ego and tried, perhaps, to do too much; anyhow, he failed to complete his projected encyclopedic history of the Romanians.

The architects of Romanian historiography in the Golden Age were primarily university professors—such as Urechia, Xenopol, Onciul, Bogdan, and Iorga. The first chronologically but weakest historically, Vasile A. Urechia (1834-1901) at Bucharest, was more of a compiler than an historical analyst. He wrote about Romanian schools from 1800 to 1864 and planned a general survey of the Romanians from 1504 to 1848, but lived to finish only the portion from 1774 to 1822. Although unable to deci-

16. Grigore Tocilescu, *Manual de istoria Românilor pentru sclele secundare de ambe-sexe* [Textbook of Romanian History for Coeducational Secondary Schools], 2nd ed. (Bucureti: C. Ispasescu & G. Bratanescu, 1900), p. viii; *Revista pentru istorie, arheologie i filologie* [Review of History, Archaeology, and Philology] (1882-1909); *Dacia nainte de romani* [Dacia before the Romans] (Bucureti: Tipografia Academiei Romne, 1880); *Das Monument von Adam Klissi* [The Monument of Adamclisi (Trajan's Monument)] (Wien: A. Hlder, 1895).

17. Bogdan Petriceicu Hasdeu, *Scrieri literare, morale i politice* [Literary, Moral, and Political Writings], ed. Mircea Eliade (Bucureti: Fundaia pentru literatur i art "Regele Carol II," 1937), I, 1xii-1xiii; *Arhiva istoric a Romniei* [Romania's Historical Archive] (Bucureti: Imprimeria Statului, 1865-67), 3 volumes; *Ionu-vod cellu Cumplitu* [Prince on the Terrible] (Bucureti: Imprimeria Ministeriului de Resbel, 1865), p. ix; *Scrieri istorice* [Historical Writings], ed. Aurelian Sacerdoeanu (Bucureti: Albatros, 1973), I, 74-75; *Istoria critic a Romniloru* [Critical History of the Romanians] (Bucureti: A. Manescu, 1874), II pt. 1, 10.

pher ancient Greek and Latin inscriptions, Urechia asserted that Romanian history started with the legendary Romulus and Remus and that his compatriots descended directly from the Romans; Romanians participated moreover in both the Byzantine and Romano-Bulgarian empires, the Wallachian body politic stemming from the latter empire at the end of the thirteenth century. The pillars of Romanian culture, according to Urechia, were the Roman cradle of the population, modern schools, and external influences—in particular an enlightening Polish influence in Moldavia and a less beneficial Bulgarian one in Wallachia.¹⁸

One of the great Romanian historians was Alexandru D. Xenopol (1847-1920). He was the first of his countrymen to weave Romanian yesterdays into a grand design; he was the first to develop, after Dimitrie Cantemir (1673-1723), and to see published his ideas on the philosophy of history. While earning two doctoral degrees at German universities, Xenopol encountered the lectures of von Ranke and the historian of ancient Rome, Theodor Mommsen (1817-1903), as well as French and English historical classics.¹⁹ He subsequently practiced law briefly in Moldavia before beginning to teach and write history at Iași University. In a multivolume history of the Romanians in Carpatho-Danubia, Xenopol posited the Romanians' past in that of surrounding peoples. He divided that past into four parts: antiquity from 513 B.C. to A.D. 1290, when the Romanian nationality was formed; the medieval or Slavic epoch from 1290 to 1633; the modern or Greek era from 1633 to 1821; and the contemporary or Romanian period from 1822 to 1859.²⁰

For Xenopol, geographic conditions determined the course of Romanian history. The Carpathian range physically separated the Romanian people; hence, their destiny was to be disunited and subject to foreign influences, a Latin island in a Slavic sea. Xenopol then carefully identified Slavic influences on the Romanians' customs, church, and language. Although not subscribing to a theory of ethnic purity, such as had been espoused by the Transylvanian School, he accepted the notion of the Romanians' descent from the Romans. In doing so, he challenged the thesis of a German scholar, Robert Rösler (1840-81), who had used linguistic data to show that the Romans completely abandoned Dacia in A.D. 271 and that the Roma-

18. Vasile A. Urechia, *Istoria Românilor: Cursu făcute la Facultatea de Litere din București, după documente inedite* [History of the Romanians: A Course Offered at the Faculty of Letters in Bucharest Based on Unpublished Documents], ser. 1, 1774-1786 (București: Carol Göbl, 1891), I, 4; *Istoria Românilor: Biografii românești pentru clasa III primare și școlile sâțesti* [History of the Romanians: Romanian Biographies for the Third Grade and for Village Schools] (Iași: Tipografia Buciumului Romane, 1873), pp. 6-32; *Istoria școlilor de la 1800-1864* [History of Schools from 1800-1864] (București: Imprimeria Statului, 1892), I, 1-3.

19. Alexandru D. Xenopol, "Istoria ideilor mele" [History of my Ideas], in *Studii și documente literare* [Studies and Literary Documents], ed. Ilie E. Torouțiu (București: Bucovina, 1933), IV, 380-85.

20. A. D. Xenopol, *Istoria Românilor din Dacia Traiană* [History of Romanians in Trajan's Dacia], ed. Ion Vladescu, 3rd ed. (București: Editura Cartea Românească, 1925), I, 9-12.

nians, who originated south of the Danube, moved northward into the Carpatho-Danubian region by the thirteenth century—that is, after the arrival of the Hungarians and Saxons in Transylvania and Hungary. Xenopol, in turn, contended that the Roman evacuation of Dacia had not been total, but was merely a partial and short-term withdrawal into the mountains by some Romanian shepherds during the barbarian invasions; other Romanians, mostly peasants, remained in their natal homes.²¹ But Xenopol did not consult primary sources. His exclusive reliance on published rather than archival evidence and his unfamiliarity with OCS records weakened his discussion of medieval and early modern times. Moreover, he tended to emphasize Moldo-Wallachian affairs over those of Transylvania. He was nonetheless a master synthesizer who fashioned a unified and highly literate account of the Romanians' historical path.

Xenopol had definite ideas about history's purpose and nature. Like many of his predecessors and contemporaries, he considered historical study to be helpful in comprehending both past and present as well as in anticipating the future. From this study, he believed it possible to predict such occurrences as the eventual disappearance of the Habsburg and Ottoman empires. Historical research, for Xenopol, was however not scientific inasmuch as events do not recur; neither inductive nor deductive logic, but only inference was useful in establishing historical truths. Doubting the validity even of his own findings, Xenopol sought a philosophical foundation for historical inquiries. He denied the existence of historical laws, but thought that every historical fact arose from a prior cause. Instead of axioms, there were historical series emanating from constant factors of race and environment in addition to auxiliary forces such as chance, great individuals, and the intellectual milieu. These constant factors and changing forces interacted, and thereby provided the perceptive historian an opportunity to arrange past happenings into political, economic, and cultural series.²² Xenopol then applied this serial concept to a biography of the prince of the United Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, Alexandru Ion Cuza [1859-66], and to a history of Romanian political parties.²³

Xenopol supported the candidature of a Bucovinian historian, Dimitre Onciul (1856-1923), who successfully competed with Hasdeu for a professorial chair at Bucharest University. Less philosophically reflective than

21. A. D. Xenopol, *Une énigme historique: Les Roumains au moyen âge* [An Historical Enigma: Romanians in the Middle Ages] (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1885).

22. A. D. Xenopol, "Lección de deschidere a cursului de istoria românilor de la Universitatea de Iași" [The Opening Lecture of the Course on the History of the Romanians at Iași University], *Convorbiri literare* [Literary Conversations], XVII No. 8 (1883), 300-06; "Istoria ideilor mele," in *Studii și documente literare*, IV, 406; *La théorie de l'histoire* [The Theory of History], 2nd ed. (Paris: E. Leroux, 1908).

23. A. D. Xenopol, *Domnia lui Cuza Vodă* [The Reign of Prince Cuza] (Iași: P. Iliescu, 1903), 2 volumes; *Istoria partidelor politice în România* [History of Political Parties in Romania] (București: A. Baer, 1910), 2 volumes; the French historian Pierre Chaunu (b. 1923) subsequently employed the serial concept, with numerical data, to ascertain economic and demographic patterns.

Xenopol, Onciul devoted himself almost exclusively to examining the sources of early Romanian history. He employed place-names besides documents in refuting Rösler's thesis about the Roman evacuation of Dacia and in showing that the emergence of Romania was greatly influenced by the "historical development of the Balkan Peninsula."²⁴ Onciul proposed a theory of "admigration," or migration to someplace in particular, according to which all Romans did not leave Dacia and, by the seventh century, Romanized inhabitants of Bulgaria gradually returned to Dacia; therefore, the Romanian folk and language formed on both sides of the Danube. He constructed moreover an elaborate chronological outline based somewhat on the generational schema of his doctoral mentor at Vienna University, the medievalist Ottokar Lorenz (1832-1904).

In doing so, Onciul marshaled human thought and deeds into groups of three generations and then into epochs of roughly three centuries. Thereby Romanian ancient history [168 B.C.-A.D. 1247] consisted of the Roman conquest and colonization of Southeastern Europe together with the subsequent Romanization of indigenous peoples (to A.D. 271), the barbarian invasions (271-679) when the Romanian tongue evolved, the dominance of the first Bulgarian empire (679-1018), and finally from Hungarian control (1000) through the second Bulgarian empire (1187-1280). The Middle Ages [1247-1600] were characterized at the outset by the organization of the first Romanian states and later by Turkish ascendancy. The modern era [1600-1866] fell into three parts; that is, the rule by native princes (1600-1711/16), by Greek Phanariots (1711/16-1821), and again by native princes (1821-66). The contemporary period [1866-1918] encompassed the reigns of foreign kings and the completion of political unity after World War I.²⁵ History's determining elements, Onciul assumed, included geographical location, ethnic milieu, courage and wisdom, and the acts of outstanding individuals. His historical method entailed empirical observations, from experience and research, that served to verify evidence and so to transform subjective ideas into objective learning. For Onciul, the nation was the most important topic of historical investigation because, as he maintained, cultural and ethnic ties transcended the state, foreshadowing national unification. He asserted furthermore that ". . . only from knowledge of the truth about the past may we truly understand the present and anticipate the future; and from truth alone is born a true love of country and nation!"²⁶ Hence Onciul, like Xenopol, viewed history as a progressive, evolutionary flux, pointing to the morrow, as well as a discipline having the practical function of inculcating patriotism.

24. Dimitre Onciul, *Originile Principatelor Române* [The Origins of the Romanian Principalities] (București: Elzevir, 1899), p. vi.

25. E.g., D. Onciul, "Fazele dezvoltării istorice a poporului și statului român" [Phases in the Historical Development of the Romanian People and State], in Dimitre Onciul, *Scieri istorice* [Historical Writings], ed. Aurelian Sacerdoțeanu (București: Editura științifică, 1968), II, 299-325.

26. D. Onciul, *Studii de istorie* [Studies of History], ed. Aurelian Sacerdoțeanu (București: Editura Albatros, 1971), pp. 183, 190-91, 227-31.

One of Xenopol's star students, Ioan Bogdan (1864-1919), was not an historian but an admirable Slavacist who contributed significantly to Romanian historical lore. Bogdan also studied Slavic tongues, palaeography, and diplomatics in Austria and Russia. Subsequently he became professor of Slavic philology at Bucharest University where he critically edited chronicles and documents, some of which he had personally copied in archives abroad. As had Hasdeu, Bogdan emphasized the Slavic legacy in Romanian society and culture—especially in language, letters, customs, beliefs, institutions, and law. He suggested that the Romanian nationality itself was the product of a Romano-Slavic fusion occurring between the sixth and tenth centuries. Bogdan was, besides, the first to describe comprehensively the achievements and needs of Romanian historiography. Among his desiderata were sociocultural treatises exploring the origins and structure of Romanian villages and towns, the economic conditions of various classes, landownership, local government, art, and literature; also wanting were further collections of foreign and domestic annals.²⁷ It was indeed essential for the historian to have accurate versions of historical records; but Bogdan realistically cautioned that, in contrast to works of art, "absolute perfection is never attainable in works of scholarship" owing to ever-missing links in the chain of bygone events.²⁸

The most prolific of Romanian historians, and perhaps of any historian anywhere, is Nicolae Iorga. At the age of six he was reading Kogălniceanu's compilation of chronicles. Iorga later studied with Xenopol at Iași University; upon graduating at eighteen, he journeyed to Paris to work with the noted medievalists Gabriel Monod (1844-1912) and Charles Langlois (1863-1929), to Berlin, and finally to Leipzig where he completed a doctoral dissertation with an imaginative historian of German culture Karl Lamprecht (1856-1915). While abroad he also gathered historical sources about his homeland that would one day appear in print. Returning to Romania at the age of twenty-three, he joined Urechia, Onciul, and Bogdan at Bucharest University as a professor of world history. Iorga cast his net widely. Before 1918 and afterward, he established and participated in scholarly organizations, such as the Institut de studii sud-est europene [Institute of Southeast European Studies] (1914) as well as a publishing house and summer school at Vălenii-de-Munte (1908); and he edited journals.²⁹ Iorga served, moreover, in parliament (1907-40) and co-founded

27. Ioan Bogdan, *Însemnătatea studiilor slave pentru români* [The Significance of Slavic Studies for the Romanians] (București: Socec, 1894), pp. 14-19, 23, 27-28, 39-40; "Istoriografia română și problemele ei actuală" [Romanian Historiography and its Current Problems], *Academia Română, Discursuri de recepțiune* [Inaugural Addresses], XXVI (1905), 21.

28. *Documentele lui Ștefan cel Mare* [The Documents of Stephen the Great], ed. Ioan Bogdan (București: Socec, 1913), I, xvii.

29. E.g., *Academia Română, Bulletin de la Section Historique* [Bulletin of the Historical Section] (1912-39); *Bulletin de l'Institut pour l'étude de l'Europe sud-orientale* [Bulletin of the Institute for the Study of Southeastern Europe] (1914-24), continued as *Revue historique du sud-est européen* [Historical Review of Southeast Europe] (1924-40); *Revista istorică* [Historical Review] (1918-40).

the national-democrat party in 1910. His writings comprise a multitude of books and brochures—1,359 titles in 165,656 pages—including compendia of primary historical records, plus roughly 25,000 articles. Some critics claim that Iorga wrote more than he read, and truly many of his volumes contain numerous errors and superficial, confused discussions that reflect undue haste in composition. But no historian of Romania can today ignore his efforts, some of which have enduring value.

People far and near, in most of their experiences, aroused Iorga's interest. Global history for him was not a congeries of national histories, but was interrelated cultural and political currents that ebbed and flowed in every direction. Iorga believed the history of his own country could be understood only in terms of its international setting; therefore, in addition to examining Romanian history alone, he treated Byzantium, the Ottoman Empire, and even humanity itself.³⁰

In contrast to his contemporaries, Iorga has Romanian history beginning not with the Roman conquest of Dacia but with the advent of the first people, the Thraco-Illyrians, in the Carpatho-Danubian region; he then recounts the Italo-Roman penetration of Dacia. Barbarians later destroyed Dacia, which lay outside the defensive perimeter of the Byzantine Empire. The inhabitants of this area retained nonetheless their identity; their culture, if not their language, remained Romano-Byzantine. They persevered, Iorga explains, owing to their territorial and ethnic unity, their cooperation with invaders, and their instinct to survive. He finds evidence for this thesis of Roman continuity in traditional rural activities that, incidentally, he tends to idealize.³¹ Iorga thereby implicitly refutes Bogdan's contention about the Slavs' formative influence upon the Romanians. In describing the historical period, that is the epoch of written records, Iorga emphasizes the patriarchal character of early Romanian society and the role of free peasants; but he gives scant heed to serfdom and feudalism, and slights laborers and the class struggle in the modern era. Throughout, a strong patriotic spirit permeates his lines.

Iorga, as had Xenopol, contemplated the nature of history. In his first lecture at Bucharest University, Iorga offered a sweeping definition: "History is the systematic explanation, without extraneous aims, of all kinds of facts, methodically acquired, in which human activity is manifest, re-

30. E.g., Nicolae Iorga, *Istoria Românilor* [History of the Romanians] (București: Datina Românească, 1936-39), 10 volumes in 11; *Histoire de la vie byzantine* [History of Byzantine Life] (Bucarest: Datina Românească, 1934), 3 volumes; *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches nach den Quellen dargestellt* [History of the Ottoman Empire According to the Sources], *Geschichte der europäischen Staaten*, nr. 37 (Gotha: F. A. Perthes, 1908-13), 5 volumes.

31. N. Iorga, *Essai de synthèse de l'histoire de l'humanité* [An Attempt to Synthesize the History of Humanity] (Paris: J. Gamber, 1926), I, ix; *Geschichte des rumänischen Volkes in Rahmen seiner Staatsbildungen* [History of the Romanian People in the Context of Building their State] (Gotha: F. A. Perthes, 1905), I, vi-viii.

ardless of place or time."³² Hence, every form of human testimony is pertinent for the historian. He recognized nevertheless history's limits: "History does not give recipes for real life."³³ Nor is history an exact or scientific subject to which laws may be applied; rather, it comprehends complex, unique, non-recurring events. Historical truth, Iorga surmised, would emanate from a critical analysis of primary sources. At the end of his career, however, he remarked: "I wish I had more poetic talent in order to get closer to the truth."³⁴ Thus, history could not rest only on sources, for they were often silent; the historian must indeed guess about the silence and interpret it artistically on the basis of his own understanding of life so as to evoke in readers an awareness of the past in its totality. The historian must, moreover, suggest causes for human events. Iorga employed multiple causal factors, emphasizing the milieu in his concept of "historiology." If history itself, according to Iorga, consists of everything in the past, "historiology" involves only what is characteristic or typical. Assuming an organic unity of public affairs, he rejected history's fragmentation into economic, social, and cultural aspects; historiography, on the other hand, embraced the unfolding of individual experiences—strivings, conflicts, tragedies—in an integrated, unified whole. The constituent elements of historiography were similitudes, parallels, and historical repetitions. Although events do not repeat themselves, there is a recurrence of permanent features such as geography or environment, ethnic groups, and ideas in their social context. For example, the idea of a universal state recurs in Hellenistic Greece, imperial Rome, and Byzantium, as well as in the Arabian and Ottoman empires. Iorga commenced applying his historiographical notion to a history of mankind, a work unfinished at his death.

In Transylvania, the outstanding historian was George Barițiu (1812-93), who like Iorga was an influential editor of journals. In 1848 he was a political activist, but later founded the "passivist" Romanian national party. Barițiu's most significant historical endeavor deals with Transylvania under Habsburg hegemony from 1683 to 1883, with stress on the causes and consequences of the 1848 revolution. Appended to his volumes are documents which complement for Transylvania the ones Dimitrie A. Sturdza assembled for Moldavia and Wallachia. Barițiu's approach to history is biographical and pedagogical. For him, "Historia est vitae magistra" [History is life's teacher]. So, the historian's duty is to do more than merely list "dry facts"; one should also provide opinions about bygone deeds.³⁵ As a

32. N. Iorga, *Despre concepția actuală a istoriei și geneza ei* [Concerning the Current Conception of History and its Genesis] (București: C. Sfetea, 1894), p. 5.

33. N. Iorga, *Chestiunea Rinului* [The Rhine River Question] (Vălenii de Munte: Neamul Românesc, 1912), quoted by Aurelian Sacerdoțeanu, "Introducere" [Introduction], in N. Iorga, *Scriseri istorice* [Historical Writings], ed. Barbu Theodorescu (București: Editura Albatros, 1971), I, 13.

34. N. Iorga, *Materiale pentru o istoriologie umană* [Materials for a Human Historiology], ed. Liliana N. Iorga (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1968), p. 5.

35. George Barițiu, *Părți alese din istoria Transilvaniei* [Selected Parts of the History of Transylvania] (Sibiu: W. Kraftt, 1889), I, vi-vii, ix.

result of this attitude, plus a reciting of his own experiences, Barițiu's historical account is at least in part a primary record, a firsthand chronicle by a leading participant in many of the happenings described therein.

Two historians in the Habsburg Empire mentioned above in connection with documentary collections—Hurmuzachi in Bucovina and Păcățian in the Banat—merit further notice. Eudoxiu Hurmuzachi wrote a fragmentary, posthumously published history of the Romanians based on original sources that he had himself gathered. This work focuses on the diplomatic setting of Carpatho-Danubia in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; it also embraces a valuable account of the formation and course of the Transylvanian Uniate church. In contrast to the tenets of the Transylvanian School, Hurmuzachi contended that the Romans fully evacuated Dacia in A.D. 271; much later, in the ninth century, Romanians began wandering back into the Carpatho-Danubian area. Hurmuzachi found the opening of Romanian history itself in the Vlachs' involvement in the second Bulgarian empire [1187-1396].³⁶ A more theoretical turn came from Teodor Păcățian. In evaluating Transylvanian historiography, Păcățian suggested that historical manuscripts cannot be understood from their words alone, but from the spirit in which they were written; indeed, what authors intended to say is as important as what they actually said. From this viewpoint, Păcățian posited his notions about historical dogma and method. Accordingly, Romanians have two dogmas about themselves: they are the first descendants of Trajan's Romans, and they were the first Christians in Dacia, with a church hierarchy established before the reign of Mihai the Brave. These principles were not casual, personal thoughts; rather, they stemmed from a long process in which one scholar compiled evidence, a second arranged it, a third verified it, and a fourth interpreted it. The resulting stories thereby became unimpeachable, being accepted and believed; that is, they were then historical dogmas.³⁷

The Golden Age also witnessed an increased specialization of interests. In order to appreciate more fully their varied past, some Romanian historians explored such topics as their countrymen's religion, their Greek inheritance, and their social classes. By doing so, they undoubtedly helped to intensify feelings of national consciousness.

Religious themes engrossed the attention of Melchisedec and Bunea. Melchisedec [Mihai Ștefănescu] (1833-92) studied theology at Kiev and later became the bishop of Roman [1879-92]. He sought to illuminate Romanian history and that of Christianity as well by probing local events. In his books on the Moldavian bishoprics of Huși and Roman, Melchisedec called for a broad historical view; what had been written heretofore by

36. Eudoxiu von Hurmuzaki, *Fragmente zur Geschichte der Rumänen* [Fragments of the History of the Romanians] (București: Soccec, 1878), I, 185-86, 249-50.

37. Teodor V. Păcățian, *Istoriografi vechi, istoriografi noi: Studiu critic în chestia vechi mitropolii ortodoxe române* [Old and New Historiography: Critical Study of the Old Question about the Romanian Orthodox Metropolitan Bishops] (Sibiu: Tiparul Tipografiei arhidieceșane, 1904), pp. 4-5.

others had been primarily political and only incidentally economic, social, and cultural in orientation. He also recommended that fresh evidence be unearthed—as he himself had done—in state, church, and private archives. Melchisedec's own treatises are, however, marred by a lack of care in dating, a digressive style, a tendency to moralize, and intolerance. For instance: in his monograph on the Lipoveni [Филипповцы] or priestless Old Believers, some of whom had fled Russia to the Danubian principalities in the eighteenth century, Melchisedec advised that these schismatic Orthodox Christians should not be permitted to preach their beliefs or to own property in Romania owing to their heretical convictions, deviant behavior, and unwillingness to assimilate with Romanians.³⁸

The most prominent clerical historian in Transylvania after Șaguna was Augustin Bunea (1857-1909), who earned a doctorate at Rome and later directed the Uniate seminary at Blaj. In a clear and sober dissertation on the Uniate careers of two Transylvanian Romanian bishops, Bunea contended that the "... history of the Transylvanian Romanians is mainly that of the church" inasmuch as the church was the Romanians' sole significant institution in the Habsburg lands.³⁹ As had Melchisedec, Bunea relied greatly on original sources that, in his case, he had discovered in Austrian archives. Moreover, he criticized Păcățian's documentary collection for containing faulty translations of already published texts. Bunea afterward drifted away from heavy dependence upon firsthand materials in posthumously appearing discussions of Romanian origins and Transylvanian-Wallachian relations. In the latter work, he indicated a broadening compass in his projected examination of the "cultural unity of all Romanians."⁴⁰

Patriotic pride induced many Romanian historians to emphasize their Latin heritage and to neglect Greek influences. Unpleasant memories of the Phanariot Greek regimes in Moldavia and Wallachia undoubtedly lingered with Romanians during the Golden Age. A few scholars, such as Erbiceanu and Russo, concentrated nonetheless on the Greek legacy, perhaps to counterpoise Slavic contributions to the Romanians' historical evolution. The founder of modern Greek studies in Romania, Constantin Erbiceanu (1838-1913), studied theology in Athens; he subsequently taught canon law in Bucharest and participated in editing the chief religious journal *Biserica*

38. Episcopul Melchisedek, *Lipovenismulu adică schismaticii seu rascolnicii și ereticii rusesci* [Lipovenism, That Is, the Schismatics or Russian Raskolniks and Heretics] (București: C. N. Rădulescu, 1871), pp. 515-23; *Chronica Hușilor și a Episcopiei cu asemenea numire* [Chronicle of the People of Huși and the Huși Bishopric] (București: C. A. Rosetti, 1869), pp. vi-vii.

39. Augustin Bunea, *Episcopii Petru Paul Aron și Dionisiu Novacovici, sau istoria românilor Transilvăneni de la 1751 până la 1764* [Bishops Petru Paul Aron and Dionisiu Novacovici, or the History of the Transylvanian Romanians from 1751 to 1764] (Blaj: Tipografia Seminarului arhidieceșane gr.-cat., 1900), pp. iii-iv.

40. A. Bunea, "Stăpînii Țerii Oltului" [Rulers of Oltenia], *Academia Română, Discursuri de recepțiune*, 34 (1910), 1; cf. *Încercare de istoria Românilor până la 1382* [Essay on the History of the Romanians Down to 1382] (București: Socec, 1912).

ortodoxă română [The Romanian Orthodox Church]. Erbiceanu identified the Greek roots of Romanian commercial and ecclesiastical practices as well as of statutes and architecture. His most important undertaking was a compilation of Greek chronicles, together with Romanian renditions, referring to Moldavia and Wallachia in the Phanariot era. In an introductory essay thereto, he stressed the role of Greeks in Dacia before, during, and after the Roman conquest. Greeks had, according to Erbiceanu, accompanied the Romans into and out of Dacia; centuries later, Greeks were also with the Vlachs or Romanians returning from the Balkan Peninsula to Carpatho-Danubia, where they all encountered other Romanians who had escaped the barbarian invasions in the foothills and mountains north of the Danube.⁴¹

One of Romania's first and most accomplished Byzantologists, Demostene Russo (1869-1938), attended schools in Constantinople and Athens before lecturing at Bucharest University. Russo urged Romanians to appreciate the importance of the Greek language and Byzantine civilization in their country. If Romanians had borrowed from Slavic culture, that culture itself was almost entirely Greek in origin. The Greek tongue had gradually replaced OCS in Romanian chapels and classrooms, prior even to the Phanariot period, thereby breaking the "bondage of Slavism."⁴² Thus, Russo argued, the superstitious education of the Slavs, based on the breviary and hymnal, gave way to the more worldly, classical tenets of Homer, Sophocles, and Plato. Russo also prepared a guide for editing manuscripts—the first such work in Romanian letters—complete with suggestions on how to determine provenance and authenticity. Worthy of note too is Ioan C. Filitti (1879-1945), who earned a doctorate of laws in Paris and who composed a diplomatic history of the Phanariots in Moldavia and Wallachia that showed the Phanariots' positive role in defending those principalities' autonomy vis-à-vis Turkey, Austria, and Russia. He then examined Moldavia and Wallachia in the post-Phanariot epoch down to 1848.⁴³

Several Romanian scholars delved into social history toward the end of the Golden Age. Although their contemporaries continued to be preoccupied with justifying the creation of the modern Romanian state, these historians underlined the significance of the most numerous element in society—the peasantry—as the backbone of the economy and the fountainhead of the Romanian nationality. These pioneers of Romanian societal

41. *Cronicarii Grecii carii au scris despre Români în epoca fanariotă* [Greek Chroniclers who Wrote about Romanians in the Phanariot Epoch], ed. Constantin Erbiceanu (București: Tipografia Cărilor bisericesci, 1888), pp. ix-xiii.

42. "Elenismul în România" [Hellenism in Romania], in Demostene Russo, *Studii istorice greco-române* [Greco-Romanian Historical Studies], eds. Ariadna and Nestor Camariano (București: Fundația pentru literatură și artă "Regele Carol II," 1939), II, 538.

43. Ioan C. Filitti, *Rôle diplomatique des Phanariotes de 1700 à 1821* [The Diplomatic Role of the Phanariots from 1700 to 1821] (Paris: Larose, 1901).

history were Radu Rosetti, Constantin Giurescu, and Constantin Dobrogeanu-Gherea.

Radu Rosetti (1853-1926), a Moldavian landlord who studied at Toulouse and served as an archivist in the Romanian ministry of foreign affairs, investigated the peasantry, Jews, and Moldavian censorship. Contrary to the prevailing Daco-Roman thesis in Romanian letters, he contended that the Romanian people formed south of the Danube River; Romanized Slavs in the Balkan Peninsula, seeking relief from Byzantine tax collectors, later crossed the Danube and established the Moldavian and Wallachian principalities. In discussing societal issues, Rosetti set the Romanians' ruling elite in the following chronological categories: native nobility—from the fourteenth to the early seventeenth century; aristocracy—to the Phanariot period; oligarchy—to 1858; and plutocracy—after 1858.⁴⁴ Rosetti sympathized with the peasants and tended to idealize them. He observed that Romanian peasants had once been free; but their land was violently usurped by boyars after the birth of the state, and they were eventually enserfed. Agrarian problems persisted despite the emancipation of 1864, which he criticized for its disregard of the historical and economic causes of the peasants' plight. Rosetti reckoned furthermore that the peasantry constituted the heart and soul of the army; and, because external enemies threatened Romania, a strong and loyal soldiery was indispensable for national survival. But these peasant-soldiers were hungry and filthy; hence, according to Rosetti, Romanian political leaders on the eve of the 1907 uprising had the alternative of fashioning substantial social reforms or of being confronted by a social revolution.⁴⁵

Less of an alarmist than Rosetti, but genuinely concerned about social questions, was Constantin Giurescu. Giurescu attended Onciul's seminar, explored the archives in Vienna, and subsequently taught at Bucharest University. He meticulously and critically verified dates and ascertained authorship and authenticity in his valuable editions of documents and early Romanian chronicles. In contrast to Rosetti's societal findings, Giurescu argued rather tenuously that the boyars had proprietary rights to lands in whatever area that antedated the claims of free peasant communes. He also refuted Bălcescu's assumption about the enserfment of peasants by the Wallachian prince Mihai the Brave in 1595; Giurescu hypothesized instead that there were dependent peasants or serfs prior to the foundation of the Danubian principalities.⁴⁶

44. Radu Rosetti, *Despre originea și transformările clasei stăpânitoare din Moldova* [On the Origin and Transformations of the Ruling Class in Moldavia] (București: C. Göbl, 1906), pp. 1-3, 68.

45. R. Rosetti, *Pentru ce s-au răsculat țărani* [Why Did the Peasants Revolt] (București: Socec, 1907), pp. 628-29; cf. *Pământul, săteni și stăpâni în Moldova* [The Land, Villagers, and Proprietors in Moldavia] (București: Socec, 1907), volume one.

46. Constantin Giurescu, *Studii de istorie socială* [Studies of Social History], ed. Constantin C. Giurescu, 2nd ed. (București: Universul, 1943).

The first one to popularize the ideas of Karl Marx (1818-83) and Friedrich Engels (1820-95) in Romania was the Ukrainian-born Constantin Dobrogeanu-Gherea (1855-1920), who moved from Russia at the age of nineteen to Iași and then Bucharest where he became a literary critic. Dobrogeanu-Gherea wrote no historical narratives; but he composed an epochal tome in 1910 on neoserfdom—about the negative consequences of the 1864 agrarian reform—and an essay on the nature of history. In the latter work, he discounts religious and idealist causes; the sole reason for historical happenings is the economy, specifically the mode of production and the division of goods necessary for human life. Accordingly, Dobrogeanu-Gherea contended, social classes arose from the making and distributing of commodities; then ensued the class struggle that provided history with its content.⁴⁷ In harmony with other Marxist adherents, but contrary to Rosetti, Dobrogeanu-Gherea neither noted the revolutionary potential of the peasantry nor did he anticipate a peasant-proletarian alliance.

Feelings of pride attending the union of the Danubian principalities in 1859 and the achievement of Romania's independence in 1878 animated the prose of Romanian historians on both sides of the Carpathians. Historians in the Golden Age abandoned the divinely inspired vision of early modern chroniclers and so continued a secular emphasis already evident in the first half of the nineteenth century. Documentary collections and archaeological excavations signaled the origin, unity, and continuity of the Romanian people throughout Carpatho-Danubia. Elaborate historical syntheses by highly articulate but sometimes overly imaginative scholars illustrated patriotic thoughts and deeds; monographic accounts of social classes and institutions also helped Romanians to appreciate fully their national character and distinctiveness. Such literature constituted a springboard for a surge of historical letters in the following Silver Age.

* * *

The Silver Age, 1918-44

Characteristic of the period between the two great wars of the twentieth century was a growing interest on the part of Romanians in their past. This concern stemmed from increased educational opportunities in public schools and libraries, and a conscious desire of many Romanians to explain the creation of a united Romania. The realization of the venerable dream of national unification—joining the former Russian province of Bessarabia and the erstwhile Austro-Hungarian lands of Transylvania, the Banat, and Bucovina to the Moldo-Wallachian kingdom of Romania—turned Romanians to the past in order to understand the present. Numerous historical

47. Constantin Dobrogeanu-Gherea, "Conceptia materialistă a istoriei" [The Materialist Concept of History], in C. Dobrogeanu-Gherea, *Opere complete* [Complete Works], eds. Ion Popescu-Puțuri et al (București: Editura politică, 1977), III, 9-33; *Neoiobăgia* [Neoserfdom], vol. 4 of C. Dobrogeanu-Gherea, *Opere complete*.

views and findings from the Golden Age now enjoyed a large audience in what we call the Silver Age, silver circulating more widely than gold. The publication of primary sources also received ongoing attention during the Silver Age; moreover, fresh historical syntheses flowed in abundance from the pens of historians in each quarter of the expanded state.

In the Silver Age, as before, the accent was on documents. The massive tomes of the Hurmuzachi collection still came forth. Recently won territories then gained special notice. For Transylvania, the librarian-archivist Endre Veress (1868-1953) provided a wealth of evidence on Hungarian-Romanian relations for the years 1527 to 1690,⁴⁸ while the eminent church historian Silviu Dragomir (1888-1962) supplied records of the Transylvanian Romanians' revolution of 1848-49.⁴⁹ As for Bucovina, the archivist at Cernăuți, Teodor Bălan (1885-1972), amassed first-hand materials on that late Austrian crownland from 1507 to 1833.⁵⁰ In Bessarabia, L. T. Boga (b. 1886) assembled testimony in seventeen pamphlets regarding that former Russian province from 1420 to 1860.⁵¹ The incessant debate over Romanian origins prompted Gheorghe Popa-Lisseanu (1866-1945) to bring out foreign chronicles containing data about the Romanians from the Roman evacuation of Dacia to the foundation of the Danubian principalities, together with Romanian translations, critical commentaries, and explanatory footnotes.⁵² Mihai Costăchescu (1884-1953) added Moldavian witnesses from 1374 to 1527, complementing Ioan Bogdan's sources for Prince Ștefan the Great [1457-1504].⁵³ For the early nineteenth-century, Ioan C. Filitti continued his pre-World War I activities by gathering some entries regarding Moldavia and Wallachia during the epoch of nineteenth-century constitutional charters, the Organic Regulations.⁵⁴

Of considerable value also are compilations of private papers, such as the correspondence of the aristocratic Golescu family mustered by the legal historian George Fotino (1896-1969) and the speeches along with the per-

48. *Documente privitoare la istoria Ardealului, Moldovei și Țării Românești* [Documents regarding the History of Transylvania, Moldavia, and Wallachia], ed. Endre Veress (București: Imprimeria națională, 1929-39), 11 volumes; *Fontes rerum Transylvanicarum* [Sources for Transylvanian Affairs], ed. E. Veress (Budapest: Typis Societatis Athenaeum Typographicae, 1911-21), 5 volumes.

49. *Studii și documente privitoare la revoluția românilor din Transilvania în anii 1848-49* [Studies and Documents Regarding the Revolution of the Transylvanian Romanians in 1848-49], ed. Silviu Dragomir (Sibiu: Cartea Românească, 1944-46), 4 volumes.

50. *Documente bucovinene* [Documents of Bucovina], ed. Teodor Bălan (Cernăuți: Glasul Bucovinei, 1933-42), 6 volumes.

51. *Documente basarabene* [Documents of Bessarabia], ed. L. T. Boga (Chișinău: Tipografia centralei cooperativelor de producție et codsum, 1928-34), 17 volumes.

52. *Izvoarele istoriei românilor: Fontes historiae Daco-Romanorum* [Historical Sources of the Romanians: Daco-Romanian Historical Sources], ed. Gheorghe Popa-Lisseanu (București: Bucovina, 1934-39), 15 volumes.

53. *Documentele Moldovenesti* . . . [Moldavian Documents . . .], ed. Mihai Costăchescu (Iași: Viața Românească, 1931-43), 6 volumes.

54. *Documente din vremea Regulamentului Organic* [Documents from the Period of the Organic Regulation], ed. Ioan C. Filitti (București: N. Stroilă, 1935).

sonal letters of the architect of modern Romania Ion C. Brătianu (1821-91) edited in two multivolume sets by Constantin C. Giurescu (1901-77) and others.⁵⁵ Useful for understanding Romanian opinions in World War I are notes by the pro-German statesman Alexandru Marghiloman (1854-1925) from 1897 to 1924 as well as the wartime observations of marshal Alexandru Averescu (1859-1938).⁵⁶

Archaeological inquiries proliferated during the Silver Age, nurtured principally by Romania's greatest antiquarian, Vasile Pârvan (1882-1927). In Germany he pursued advanced studies in archaeology, epigraphy, and numismatics, obtaining a doctorate at Breslau University. After Tocilescu's death, Pârvan returned to Romania, conducted digs at Histria in the Dobrogea, and occupied a chair of ancient history at Bucharest University. There he established a scholarly journal, *Dacia* [1924-47, 1957-present], and wrote two significant books. Pârvan contended in the latter treatises that Roman influence penetrated Dacia long before the arrival of Trajan's legions in A.D. 106 and that the Romanian nationality stemmed from an ethnic fusion of Roman colonists and indigenous peoples known to the Greeks as Getae and to the Romans as Dacians, beginning about 1000 B.C.⁵⁷ He advocated, in addition, an idealist view of history, similar to that of Xenopol and Iorga. For Pârvan, cosmic laws govern the universe and human life on earth. The historian's duty is to transform creatively universal events and human or "spiritual" ones into historical happenings; the historian had to give meaning to the past for, according to Pârvan, there could be no occurrences without historical interpretations. The focus of historical research, then, is on man's "spiritual" events—both individual and collective ones—of all kinds. Such events subsist not in static isolation, but, as he put it, in a constant state of becoming—in a rhythm of tradition and a rhythm of innovation.⁵⁸

Outstanding contributors to the Silver Age of Romanian historical literature were Iorga, Panaitescu, C. C. Giurescu, and Lupaș. Iorga, whose academic achievements have already been described, carried on his prodigiously productive career. He launched new ventures, such as L'École

55. *Din vremea Renasterii națională a Țării Românești: Boierii Golești—Scrisori* [About the Period of the National Revival of Wallachia: The Golești Family of Boyers—Letters], ed. George Fotino (București: Imprimeria națională, 1939), 4 volumes; Ion C. Brătianu, *Acte și cuvântări* [Acts and Speeches] (București: Cartea Românească, 1938-39), 7 volumes in 8; *Din corespondența familiei Ion C. Brătianu* [From the Correspondence of Ion C. Brătianu's Family] (București: Imprimeriile "Independența," 1933-35), 5 volumes.

56. Alexandru Marghiloman, *Note Politice, 1897-1924* [Political Notes, 1897-1924] (București: Eminescu, 1927), 5 volumes; Alexandru Averescu, *Notițe zilnice din război* [Dairy of the War] (București: Cultura națională, 1937), 2 volumes.

57. Vasile Pârvan, *Getica: O protoistorie a Dacei* [Getica: A Protohistory of Dacia] (București: Cultura națională, 1926), p. 724; *Dacia: An Outline of the Early Civilizations of the Carpatho-Danubian Countries* (Cambridge: University Press, 1928), pp. 149-202.

58. V. Pârvan, *Idei și forme istorice: Patru lecții inaugurale* [Historical Ideas and Forms: Four Inaugural Lectures] (București: Cartea Românească, 1920), pp. 47-78, 127-81.

Roumaine en France [The Romanian School in France] at Fontenay-aux-Roses in 1921, and edited the journal of the Romanian historical monuments commission.⁵⁹ Among his major works to appear at this stage were a history of humanity that emphasized European politics, a set on Byzantine culture, and an ample survey of the Romanians from earliest times to his own day. He also left an imprint on the public life of his country as a leader of the Cultural League, rector of Bucharest University, a member and president of Romania's Chamber of Deputies, and prime minister from 1931 to 1932. Iorga would eventually lose his university professorship in murky circumstances, perhaps owing to political pressure from the fascist Iron Guard, and then be assassinated.

Although the magnitude of Iorga's accomplishments surpassed that of his contemporaries, he was not the sole resident in the pantheon of Romanian historians during the Silver Age. A new denizen, Petre P. Panaitescu (1900-67), for his part, continued the tradition of Romanian Slavic studies, initiated by Hasdeu and Bogdan, with solid editions of chronicles and documents as well as insightful monographs. After attending Kraków University, he earned a doctorate at Bucharest University and later became a professor there himself. Panaitescu contended, along with Iorga and Pârvan, that the Romanization of Dacia began before Trajan's conquest and persisted until the seventh century. According to Panaitescu, Slavic invaders of Dacia were Romanized, whereas the indigenous population south of the Danube was Slavicized. He also believed that Romanian civilization in the early modern period derived from a synthesis of inherited customs and foreign influences. The latter included secular and Roman Catholic influences from Poland in the West and Byzantine Orthodox ones from Russia in the East.⁶⁰ In his approach to history, Panaitescu rejected Xenopol's method of seeking to appreciate ancient institutions from their surviving forms; instead, Panaitescu relied exclusively on coeval records and narrative sources. History itself he defined as being past culture, in both its material and intellectual manifestations, in addition to past politics; history is, then, not primarily the deeds of prominent individuals, but the collective activity of society as a whole.⁶¹

59. *Buletinul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice* [Bulletin of the Commission on Historical Monuments] (1915-40), ed. Nicolae Iorga.

60. Petre P. Panaitescu, *Curs de istoria românilor: Influența rusă și polonă asupra vechii culturi românești* [Course of Romanian History: Russian and Polish Influences in Old Romanian Culture], ed. Stelian A. Trofilesco (București: Facultatea de litera și filozofie, [1928]), pp. 3-5, 13, 29, 39; *Introducere la istoria culturii românești* [Introduction to the Study of Romanian Culture] (București: Editura științifică, 1969), pp. 12-18, 353.

61. P. P. Panaitescu, "Istorie și cultură" [History and Culture] (1928), in his *Contribuții la istoria culturii românești* [Contributions to the History of Romanian Culture] (București: Editura Minerva, 1971), pp. 3-12; *Obștea țărănească în Țara Românească și Moldova: Orînduirea feudală* [The Peasant Community in Wallachia and Moldavia: The Feudal System] (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Romîne, 1964), p. 15.

Constantin C. Giurescu (1901-77) was one of the principal historians in the Silver Age. He completed a doctoral dissertation with Onciul, subsequently received a professorial chair at Bucharest University and edited the journal *Revista istorică română* [Romanian Historical Review]. During World War II, Giurescu organized the Institute of National History and served as a minister in the Romanian government. His most significant work in the interwar era told with greater clarity than Iorga's volumes about Romanians on both sides of the Danube from prehistoric times to 1821. Giurescu provided a balanced account of Romanian experiences, embracing social and economic aspects; but political factors were paramount because, as he explained, "... the state is the most perfect means known to man for assuring the free development of a people."⁶² He adduced multiple reasons for historical events and sharply criticized the dependence of others on historical laws or single causes, such as the divine will that had been invoked by the annalists, the economic determinism of Dobrogeanu-Gherea, and the idealist interpretations of Iorga and Pârvan. Rather, Giurescu suggested, the material and the idea or spirit have co-existed for aeons, altering only in intensity. For example, Latinity and ethnic continuity constitute the motor of Romanian history that, like the Danube, constantly flows and gradually changes.⁶³ In contrast to Iorga, who prospected for poetry with his historical pen, Giurescu aimed at ascertaining facts, or historical truths, within their chronological context and at elucidating causal relationships.⁶⁴ The historian has the duty, he said, to judge the past impartially, without passion and prejudice. But, despite his attempts at writing unbiased history, Giurescu emphasized positive circumstances over negative ones. His prose has indeed a patriotic flavor, manifest in his insistence on the Romanians' priority. For instance, Giurescu proudly asserted that Romanians are "one of the oldest people in Europe and the oldest in Southeastern Europe [and] the oldest Christian people in Southeastern Europe," besides being the only people in Eastern Europe to have enjoyed a "political life without interruption, from the foundation of the state to the present."⁶⁵

Giurescu had won a Bucharest University post following the death of its previous occupant, Ioan Ursu (1875-1925), who had himself studied first

62. Constantin C. Giurescu, *Istoria Românilor* [History of the Romanians], 5th ed. (București: Fundația regală pentru literatură și artă, 1946), I, vii.

63. C. C. Giurescu, *Curs de istoria Românilor* [Course of Romanian History] (București: Universitatea din București, 1928), pp. 12-17; cf. C. C. Giurescu and Dinu C. Giurescu, *Istoria Românilor din cele mai vechi timpuri și până astăzi* [History of the Romanians from the Earliest Times to the Present] (București: Editura Albatros, 1971), p. 11.

64. C. C. Giurescu, *În legătură cu "Istoria Românilor": Răspuns recenziei d-lui N. Iorga* [Regarding the "History of the Romanians": A Reply to the Review by Mr. N. Iorga] (București: Imprimeria națională, 1936), p. 7.

65. C. C. Giurescu, *Istoria Românilor din cele mai vechi timpuri până la moartea regele Ferdinand I* [History of the Romanians from Earliest Times to the Death of King Ferdinand I] (București: Cugetarea—Georgescu Delafras, [1943]); cf. *Istoria Românilor* (1946), I, ix.

with Onciul and later earned a doctorate at Berlin University. Ursu described lucidly and patriotically domestic politics in their international setting during the reigns of the Moldavian princes Ștefan the Great and Petru Rareș [1527-38], supplying numerous quotations from contemporary records, proposing various motives, but offering few observations and conclusions of his own.⁶⁶

In Moldavia somewhat less substantial historical contributions issued during the Silver Age than in the preceding period; this was a function of the relative eclipse of Iași, the Moldavian capital, by the national capital of Bucharest and by Cluj in Transylvania after World War I. Nonetheless, several scholars at Iași—Philippide, Brătianu, and Minea—composed noteworthy works at this time. A Iași University philologist, for example, who had been educated in Germany, Alexandru Philippide (1859-1933), discussed the Romanians' ethnic origins. He challenged the conventional thesis of Roman continuity in Dacia and contended that few Romanized people remained in Dacia after the withdrawal of the imperial legions. Later, according to Philippide, these indigenous dwellers, who had themselves encountered a succession of non-Latin nomadic invaders, blended linguistically with other Romanized people who had resided in the Balkan Peninsula and subsequently recrossed the Danube River from the seventh to the thirteenth century, forming thereby the Romanian nationality in what were to become the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia.⁶⁷

Wide-ranging treatises on Eastern Europe came from Gheorghe Brătianu (1898-1953). Brătianu earned doctoral degrees at Cernăuți and Paris. In France, he found inspiration in the cosmopolitan and synthetic tack of Ferdinand Lot (1866-1952) and Charles Diehl (1859-1944) before returning to Moldavia where he taught at Iași University. Among Brătianu's publications are useful accounts of Genoese and Venetian trade in Southeastern Europe, a history of the Black Sea, and essays on Romanian diplomatic affairs. Concerning Romanian beginnings, he adopted implicitly Philippide's postulate and so pointed to a Balkan genesis; later, in the tenth century, Romanians would move into Carpatho-Danubia.⁶⁸ Brătianu detected, moreover, an intimate connection between history and geography, and coined a word—geohistory—to identify it. While geopolitics embraces geographical influences upon current international politics, geohistory is history explained by geography; that is, it is geopolitics in historical perspective. From the standpoint of geohistory, Brătianu assumed that Romania's geographical position and extent, along

66. Ioan Ursu, *Ștefan cel Mare: Domn al Moldovei dela 12 aprilie 1457 până la 2 iulie 1504* [Stephen the Great: Prince of Moldavia from 12 April 1457 to 2 July 1504], Biblioteca istorică No. 2 (București: Institutul de arte grafice "Antonescu," 1925); *Die auswärtige Politik des Peter Rareș, Fürst von Moldau (1527-1538)* [The Foreign Policy of Peter Rareș, Prince of Moldavia (1527-1538)] (Wien: C. Konegen, 1908).

67. Alexandru Philippide, *Originea Românilor* [The Origin of the Romanians] (Iași: Viata Românească, 1923), I, 853-56.

68. Gheorghe I. Brătianu, *Une énigme et un miracle historique: Le peuple roumain* [An Enigma and an Historical Miracle: The Romanian People] (București: Imprimeria națională, 1937), pp. 123-24.

with its wealth and population, had endowed his country with a mission of leadership in Southeastern Europe.⁶⁹

Brătianu roundly criticized one of his colleagues at Iași University, a philosopher educated in Germany who wrote about the past, Ștefan Zeletin (1882-1934). Like Panaitescu at Bucharest, Zeletin stressed collective over individual happenings and an historical materialism that Brătianu deemed to be more in the domain of philosophy than history. Zeletin concentrated on socioeconomic factors; but he was not a doctrinaire Marxist, for he recognized the positive or constructive role of the middle class. History was in motion, according to Zeletin, and this could be seen in the contemporary transformation of an agrarian into a capitalist society. Within the capitalist phase was a transition from commerce to industry; finally, in his phrase, the "... development of national capitalism will create the basis [of] ... Romanian socialism."⁷⁰

The historian who replaced Xenopol at Iași University, Ilie Minea (1881-1943), received a doctorate at Budapest. Minea drafted erudite but fuzzy biographies of the princes Vlad Dracul [1436-42, 1443-47] of Wallachia and Dimitrie Cantemir [1710-11] of Moldavia, in addition to editing meticulously the chief Moldavian historical journal of the inter-war era, *Cercetări istorice* [Historical Researches] (1925-43/47).⁷¹

In the newly acquired territories of Bessarabia, Bucovina, and Transylvania, historical writing in the Silver Age was more uneven in quality than in the rest of the Romanian kingdom. The effective isolation of Romanians in Bessarabia from intellectual currents in Danubian Romania and the relatively underdeveloped socioeconomic status of that once Russian province (1812-1918) inhibited the emergence of historical letters there. Several attempts to describe Romanian experiences in Bessarabia appeared nonetheless following World War I. An amateur historian, Petre Cazacu (b. 1871), who had been trained as a physician at Bucharest, depicted Bessarabia in the Russian period and after.⁷² Ștefan Ciobanu (1883-1950), who had attended Kiev University, told about the Moldavian prince Dimitrie Cantemir, surveyed Bessarabian events during the

69. *Geopolitica și Geoistoria: Revistă Română pentru sudetul european* [Geopolitics and Geohistory: Romanian Review for Southeastern Europe], eds. Gheorghe I. Brătianu et al, I, No. 1 (septembrie-octombrie 1941), 3-6.

70. Ștefan Zeletin, *Neoliberalismul: Studii asupra istoriei și politicii burgheziei române* [Neoliberalism: Studies about the History and Politics of the Romanian Bourgeoisie] (București: Editura pagini agrare și sociale, 1927), p. 267; see also his *Burghezia română: Originea și rolul ei istoric* [The Romanian Bourgeoisie: Its Origin and Historical Role] (București: Cultura națională, 1925).

71. Ilie Minea, *Despre Dimitrie Cantemir: Omul, scriitorul, domnitorul* [About Dimitrie Cantemir: The Man, Writer, Prince] (Iași: Viața Românească, 1926); *Vlad Dracul și vremea sa* [Vlad the Devil and his Times] (Iași: Viața Românească, 1928).

72. Petre Cazacu, *Moldova dintre Prut și Nistru, 1812-1918* [Moldavia between the Prut and Dniester Rivers, 1812-1918] (Iași: Viața Românească, 1924); *Zece ani dela unire Moldova dintre Prut și Nistru, 1918-1928* [Ten Years of the Union of Moldavia between the Prut and Dniester Rivers, 1918-1928] (București: Universul, 1928).

nineteenth century, and cooperated in a solid work containing archival records on the uniting of Bessarabia to Romania.⁷³ Finally, Alexandru V. Boldur (b. 1886), after studying and teaching at St. Petersburg, became a professor of Romanian history first at Chişinău and subsequently at Iaşi. He delineated Bessarabia's early society and discussed its role in Russo-Romanian relations.⁷⁴ The primary historical-geographical review in this region was *Arhivele Basarabiei* [The Archives of Bessarabia] (1929-38), established at Chişinău by a church historian Toma G. Bulat (b. 1887).

In the former Austrian crownland of Bucovina, Romanians had benefited somewhat from Habsburg patronage and contributed more profoundly to humanistic learning than was the case in Bessarabia. The outstanding historian at this time in Bucovina was Ion I. Nistor (1876-1962), who had won a doctorate at Vienna and then lectured at Cernăuţi University. Nistor edited Austrian documents about Romanians from 1782 to 1846, together with the principal Bucovinean historical journal *Codrul Cosminului* [The Cosmin Forest] (1924-39). He composed, moreover, patriotic histories dealing with the Romanian national cause in Bucovina as well as methodical volumes regarding Moldavia and Bessarabia with an emphasis on economic and cultural topics.⁷⁵

The richest tradition of Romanian historical lore in the newly annexed lands was in the onetime Habsburg domain of Transylvania. At Cluj, several historians wrote meritorious studies about the Transylvanian Romanians. For one, Alexandru Lapedatu (1876-1954) stressed early Romanian political themes and coedited with Ioan Lupaş a periodical entitled *Anuarul Institutului de istorie naţională* [The Yearbook of the Institute of National History] (1921-45). Another university professor, Silviu Dragomir, who had earned a doctoral degree in theology at Cernăuţi, directed the *Revue de Transylvanie* [The Transylvanian Review] (1934-40) and examined the Transylvanian Romanians' campaign for religious

73. Ştefan Ciobanu, *La Bessarabie: Sa population, son passé, sa culture* [Bessarabia: Its People, Past, Culture] (Bucarest: Imprimerie nationale, 1941); *Cultura românească în Basarabia sub stăpînirea rusă* [Romanian Culture in Bessarabia under Russian Rule] (Chişinău: Asociaţiei uniunea culturală bisericească, 1923); *Unirea Basarabiei: Studii şi documente cu privire la mişcarea naţională din Basarabia în anii 1917-1918* [The Union of Bessarabia: Studies and Documents on the National Movement in Bessarabia during 1917-1918] (Bucureşti: Cartea Românească, 1929).

74. Alexandru V. Boldur, *La Bessarabie et les relations russo-roumaines* [Bessarabia and Russo-Romanian Relations] (Paris: J. Gamber, 1927); *Istoria Basarabiei pînă la secolul al XVII-lea* [History of Bessarabia down to the Seventeenth Century] (Chişinău: Dreptatea, 1937); *Basarabia Românească* [Romanian Bessarabia] (Bucureşti: Carpaţi, 1943).

75. Ion I. Nistor, *Unirea Bucovinei 28 noembrie 1918: Studii şi documente* [The Union of Bucovina 28 November 1918: Studies and Documents] (Bucureşti: Cartea Românească, 1928); *Istoria Basarabiei* [History of Bessarabia], 4th ed. (Cernăuţi: Glasul Bucovinei, 1924).

emancipation.⁷⁶ At the state archives in Cluj, Ștefan Meteș (1887-1977) published monographs and records concerning the Transylvanian economy during the early modern era in addition to a history of the Transylvanian Romanians' church and its tenets down to the Orthodox-Catholic union of 1698.⁷⁷ Exploring medieval Greek influence in the Balkan Peninsula was Nicolae Bănescu (1878-1971), who had taken a doctorate at Munich and then expounded Byzantine history at Cluj University.⁷⁸

Ioan Lupaș (1880-1967) was the most impressive Transylvanian Romanian historian in the Silver Age. His professional career opened with a doctoral dissertation at Budapest University on the Transylvanian Orthodox and Uniate churches in their political setting during the eighteenth century.⁷⁹ Before World War I Lupaș lost his first teaching post at an Orthodox seminary in Sibiu for having patriotically expressed sympathy for the Romanian peasant revolt of 1907; his candid discourse would eventually lead to a brief imprisonment. After World War I, Lupaș lectured on modern Romanian history at Cluj University, where he also compiled some seventeenth-century Transylvanian records and wrote, among other things, a standard account of Horea's agrarian uprising of 1784, a biography of the Orthodox metropolitan Andrei Șaguna, together with a survey of Transylvanian historiography. In essays and monographs he discussed the nature and purpose of history as well as causation and periodization.

Differences in the historical evolution of the several Romanian regions prompted Lupaș to propose discrete periods for Moldavia and Wallachia on the one hand and for Transylvania on the other.⁸⁰ He opposed the "Romanomania" of the Transylvanian School; however, he disagreed with Bogdan's emphasis on Slavic contributions to the Romanians' historical development. Historians should not, Lupaș contended, focus pessimistically on the tragic element in Romanian yesterdays, but rather should "preach an enlivening optimism, awakening and cultivating a feeling of confidence

76. Silviu Dragomir, *Istoria desrobirei religioase a Românilor din Ardeal în sec. XVIII* [History of the Religious Emancipation of Transylvanian Romanians in the Eighteenth Century] (Sibiu: Editura arhidiecezane, 1920-30), 2 volumes.

77. Ștefan Meteș, *Istoria bisericii și a vieții religioase a românilor din Transilvania și Ungaria (până la 1698)* [History of the Church and the Religious Life of the Romanians in Transylvania and Hungary (until 1698)], 2nd ed. (Sibiu: Editura Librăriei arhidiecezane, 1935); *Relațiile comerciale ale Țerii Românești cu Ardealul pînă în veacul al XVIII-lea* [Commerical Relations of Wallachia with Transylvania Down to the Eighteenth Century] (Sighișoara: W. Krafft, 1920).

78. Nicolae Bănescu, *Les duchés byzantins de Paristrion (Paradounavon) et de Bulgarie* [The Byzantine Duchies of Paristrion (Paradounavon) and Bulgaria] (București: Cartea Românească, 1941).

79. Ioan Lupaș, *Az Erdélyi görög-keleti egyház és a vallás-unia a XVIII század folyamán* [The Transylvanian Greek-Eastern Church and the Uniate Faith during the Eighteenth Century] (Budapest: Józef Barcza, 1904); cf. *Istoria unirii Românilor* [History of the Union of Romanians] (București: Fundația Culturală Regală "Principele Carol," 1937).

80. I. Lupaș, *Epocile principale în istoria Românilor* [Principal Epochs in the History of the Romanians], 2nd ed. (Cluj: Ardealul, 1928), pp. 21-140.

in the future of the entire nation and state. . . ."⁸¹ Romanian history itself, according to Lupaş, is the result of the interplay of seven factors: geography, ethnography, religion, language, traditions, law, and national consciousness. For Lupaş, then, the causes of historical events lie in these factors, in combination with God's will.⁸² Notwithstanding his reference to a divine being, Lupaş rejected the notion of a German philosopher of history, Oswald Spengler (1880-1936), about gaining insights about the future on the basis of final causes or destiny; instead, Lupaş recommended a more modest task for the historian, namely, to explain what actually happened à la von Ranke in order thereby to illuminate as fully as possible the past and the present.⁸³

Throughout Romania during the Silver Age there was a bustle of historical activity. Literacy was on the rise, giving more scope and play to historical work than heretofore. The search for archival evidence about the Romanians' remote and recent past continued apace—from the Golden Age onward. In newly won territories and in Danubian Romania after World War I, historical volumes poured forth, many of which were to justify Romania's political unification. They were uneven in quality, but nearly always patriotic in substance and tone.

* * *

Modern historical prose in Romania bubbled forth from the 1820s to the 1940s. In tenor it was almost entirely secular, especially after the creation of the Danubian Romanian state in 1859. The ages of Gold and Silver witnessed a pulsating concern for the unity and continuity of the Romanians from ancient Rome onward, despite the lack of supporting records for the early medieval period. Scholars in all Romanian-speaking areas sedulously endeavored to adduce logical and well-buttressed explanations of their countrymen's traditions. Their eloquent writing transmitted the nation's heritage to an ever widening circle of readers. And the patriotic spirit embodied in their treatises would inspire and be reflected in the efforts of the next generation of Romanian historians.

81. I. Lupaş, *Cronicari şi istorici români din Transilvania* [Romanian Chroniclers and Historians in Transylvania], 2nd ed. (Craiova: Scrisul Românesc, 1941), p. xxxviii; cf. *Istoria Românilor* [History of the Romanians], 5th ed. (Bucureşti: Socec, 1930), p. 4.

82. I. Lupaş, "Factorii istorice al vieţii naţională româneşti" [Historical Factors of the Romanian National Life] (1919), in his *Studii, conferinţe şi comunicări istorice* [Historical Studies, Conferences, and Communications] (Bucureşti: Casa şcoalelor, 1928), I, 13-33; *Epocile*, pp. 139-40.

83. I. Lupaş, "Sursul şi scopul istoriei" [The Source and Scope of History] (1923), in *Studii*, I, 35-47.

CHAPTER 3

CONTEMPORARY ROMANIAN HISTORICAL WRITING

Intellectual life was transformed in Romania after World War II owing to cataclysmic changes. The downfall of the fascist Iron Guard regime in 1944 and the overthrow of the foreign Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen dynasty in 1947 had profound consequences for Romanian historians. The new socialist government sponsored attempts to reinterpret Romanian history. This was an era of many innovations, so many that we call it the Mercury Age.

The new government sought to justify its existence, in part, by creating a new view of the Romanian past: rejecting earlier historiography and adhering to the historical materialism of Marxist-Leninist ideology. One way of doing so at first was to rid the universities of non-Marxist scholars. Prominent historians of the Silver Age lost their teaching posts in 1948; among them were Alexandru Lapedatu and Ion Lupaș at Cluj as well as Gheorghe Brătianu, Petre P. Panaitescu, Nicolae Bănescu, and Constantin C. Giurescu at Bucharest. Some were incarcerated: Giurescu was in jail from 1947 to 1951, under house arrest from 1952 to 1956, and did not return to teaching at Bucharest University until 1963; Brătianu and Lapedatu died in prison. But too few competent historians were left to carry out effectively the rewriting of Romanian history. By 1953 it was clear to Romanian officials that the government's policy had had a deleterious effect on historical scholarship. Henceforth there was a deliberate effort to rehabilitate, that is, to allow older historians—Giurescu, Panaitescu, Bănescu, Lupaș, and others—to publish some results of their research and to encourage their cooperation with younger historians.¹

Romanian historical works burgeoned after World War II—if not in monographs and syntheses at the outset—especially in an abundance of documentary collections. Some of these endeavors were substantially influenced by examples in neighboring socialist countries, in particular the Soviet Union. Romanian specialists assembled and published primary

1. Information about Constantin C. Giurescu comes from personal conversations with him; cf. Vlad Georgescu, *Politică și istorie: Cazul comuniștilor Români, 1944-1977* [Politics and History: The Case of Romanian Communists, 1944-1977], 2nd ed. (München: Jon Dumitru Verlag, 1983), pp. 12-13 and footnote 3 p. 95; Mihail Roller, "Despre poporul făuritor al istoriei în unele probleme de cercetare din domeniul istoriei României" [About the people—the Makers of History—in Several Research Questions Regarding the History of Romania], in *Studii și referate privind istoria României* [Studies and Reports about the History of Romania] (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Române, 1954), pt. 2, p. 2000.

sources in order to illustrate hitherto unheeded socioeconomic aspects and to establish thereby a basis for historical revision. Other reasons given for this undertaking included the chaotic organization, errors, omissions, and lack of critical commentaries found in some extant editions of records.

Mihail Roller (1908-58), who had studied at Moscow University in the interwar era, was the first to be administratively responsible for gathering historical evidence in the Mercury Age. Roller announced his colleagues' immediate goal: "... we should go to the sources" for data about Romanian society.² In doing so, he supervised three sets containing 12,582 theretofore largely unpublished documents about domestic affairs in Wallachia from 1247 to 1625, Moldavia from 1384 to 1625, and Transylvania from 1075 to 1350.³ Proceeding to the nineteenth century and beyond, Roller also oversaw volumes on the Moldavian uprising of 1848, the war for national independence in 1877-78, the peasant revolts of 1888 and 1907, and the workers' movement from 1872 to 1916.⁴ These compilations are not uniformly comprehensive or fully suitable for scholarly purposes. Those for the several Romanian regions in early times, the editors claim, embrace all relevant internal materials, but only in modern Romanian translation; and at least one of those for a later epoch, owing to the presence of abundant archival papers, includes only the "most edifying" records, thus limiting somewhat its usefulness.⁵

Faulty translations in the Roller collections evoked misgivings among numerous Romanian historians. Therefore, guided by Andrei Oțetea (1894-1977) and others after Roller's death, a new body of documents began to appear in the 1960s that would, as projected, supplement and eventually supplant Roller's efforts for Moldavia to 1711, Wallachia to 1716, and Transylvania to 1437 as well as for relations between these three areas from 1222 to the end of the seventeenth century. This corpus contains verified, original language copies along with modern Romanian renditions and

2. *Răscoala țăranilor din 1907* [The 1907 Peasant Revolt], ed. Mihail Roller (București: Editura de Stat, 1948), I, vii.

3. *Documente privind istoria României* [Documents about the History of Romania], eds. M. Roller et al, *Introducere* [Introduction—2 volumes], ser. A: *Moldova* [Moldavia—11 volumes], ser. B: *Țara Românească* [Wallachia—11 volumes], ser. C: *Transilvania* [Transylvania—6 volumes], *Indicii* [Indexes—2 volumes] (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Române, 1951-60), 32 volumes.

4. *Anul revoluționar 1848 în Moldova* [1848: The Year of Revolution in Moldavia], ed. M. Roller (București: Editura de Stat, 1950); *Documente privind istoria României: Războiul pentru independență* [Documents about the History of Romania: The War for Independence], eds. M. Roller et al (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Române, 1952-55), 9 volumes in 10; *Răscoala țăranilor din 1888* [The Revolt of the Peasants in 1888], ed. M. Roller (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Române, 1950); *Documente din mișcarea muncitorească, 1872-1916* [Documents on the Workers' Movement, 1872-1916], ed. M. Roller, 2nd ed. (București: Editura C.G.M., 1947).

5. *Documente privind istoria României: Introducere*, I, 3, 21, 27; *Răscoala țăranilor din 1907*, III (1949), 5.

a critical apparatus.⁶ Oțetea also steered the assembly of domestic and external sources about Tudor Vladimirescu's rebellion of 1821 and the Moldo-Wallachian union of 1859, in addition to a resumption of the Hurmuzachi series.⁷

Some other primary materials published during recent decades are of general interest. For the ancient period, the antiquarian Dionisie M. Pippidi (b. 1905), the philologist Ion I. Russu (b. 1911), and others gathered inscriptions.⁸ Medieval epigraphs are to be found in works by the archaeologist Emelian Popescu (b. 1928) and historian Alexandru Elian (b. 1910).⁹ Foreign historical narratives about the Romanian lands from the eighth century B.C. to the fourteenth century A.D. are in volumes edited by the archaeologist Gheorghe Ștefan (1899-1980) and Alexandru Elian, while the paleographer Maria Holban (b. 1901) and her associates give Romanian renditions of foreign travelers' observations from 1330 to 1716.¹⁰ Useful too are Romanian versions of Byzantine chronicles provided by the philologist Vasile Grecu (1885-1972), plus Turkish documents from 1455 to 1791 compiled by the historian Mustafa A. Mehmed (b. 1924) and translated extracts of Turkish annals from the mid-fifteenth century to 1820 by the archivist Mihail Guboglu (b. 1911) and M. A. Mehmed.¹¹

6. *Documenta Romaniae Historica* [Documents on the History of Romania], eds. Andrei Oțetea et al, ser. A: *Moldova* [Moldavia], ser. B: *Țara Românească* [Wallachia], ser. C: *Transilvania* [Transylvania], ser. D: *Relații între țările române* [Relations between the Romanian Lands] (București: Editura Academiei Republicii România, 1965-).

7. *Documente privind istoria României: Răscoala din 1821* [Documents about the History of Romania: The Revolt of 1821], eds. A. Oțetea et al (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Române, 1959-62), 5 volumes; *Documente privind unirea principatelor* [Documents about the Union of the Principalities], eds. A. Oțetea et al (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Române, 1961-); *Documente privind istoria României: Colecția Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki (Serie nouă)* [Documents about the History of Romania: The Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki Collection (New Series)], ed. A. Oțetea (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Române, 1962-74), 4 volumes.

8. *Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae* [Inscriptions in Roman Dacia], eds. Dionisie M. Pippidi and Ion I. Russu (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1975-80), 3 volumes.

9. *Inscripțiile grecești și latine din secolele IV-XIII descoperite în România* [Greek and Latin Inscriptions from the Fourth to the Thirteenth Century Discovered in Romania], ed. Emelian Popescu (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1976); *Inscripțiile medievale ale României: Orașul București (1395-1800)* [Medieval Inscriptions in Romania: Bucharest, 1395-1800], ed. Alexandru Elian (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1965).

10. *Izvoare privind istoria României: Fontes Historiae Daco-Romanae* [Sources for the History of Romania: Daco-Roman Historical Sources], eds. Gheorghe Ștefan, Alexandru Elian et al (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Române, 1964-82), 4 volumes (title varies); *Călători străini despre țările române* [Foreign Travel Accounts about the Romanian Lands], eds. Maria Holban et al (București: Editura științifică, 1968-83), 8 volumes.

11. *Scriptores Byzantini* [Byzantine Writings], ed. Vasile Grecu (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Române, 1958-71), 7 volumes; *Cronici turcești privind țările române: Extrase* [Turkish Chronicles about the Romanian

Of central importance are the scholarly editions, noted in chapter 1, of Romanian chronicles from the late thirteenth to the mid-seventeenth century.¹² The unification of Romanian lands—Moldavia, Wallachia, and Transylvania—in 1600 is to be studied in sources selected by the historian Ion Ardeleanu (b. 1933) and others.¹³ Also valuable are the early modern law codes redacted by the former magistrate Andrei Rădulescu (1880-1959) and colleagues, besides the handy compendium of legal excerpts from antiquity to 1848 produced by the historians Vladimir Hanga (b. 1920) and Ștefan Pascu (b. 1914).¹⁴ There is a paucity of data in print about Moldavia and Wallachia in the eighteenth century, that is, in the era of Phanariot Greek rule. To be sure, some records depict the Danubian Romanians' rural life then, accumulated by the historian Vasile Mihordea (b. 1902) and his fellows. For Transylvania, a set by Pascu on Horea's peasant revolt of 1784 and its echoes in narrative accounts is indeed helpful.¹⁵

Rich first-hand evidence is available for the nineteenth century owing to the labors of numerous archivists and historians. Documents concerning the Danubian principalities' agrarian economy between 1776 and 1865 come from the Iași archivist Gheorghe Ungureanu (1907-75) and others; supplemental direct levies are by the museum curator Ion Cojocaru (b. 1915) for Wallachia from 1800 to 1850, by the curator Luchian Deaconu (b. 1939) and associates for Oltenia from 1901 to 1920, as well as by the archivist Tudor Mateescu (b. 1933) for the Dobrogea from 1830 to 1878.¹⁶

Lands: Extracts], eds. Mihail Guboglu and Mustafa Mehmet (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1966-80), 3 volumes; see also, *Documente turcești privind istoria României* [Turkish Documents regarding the History of Romania], ed. M. A. Mehmet (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1976-).

12. *Cronicile medievale ale României* [Medieval Chronicles of Romania] (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Române, 1959-75), 9 volumes.

13. *Mihai Viteazul în conștiința europeană* [Michael the Brave in European Consciousness], eds. Ion Ardeleanu et al (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1982-86), 4 volumes.

14. *Adunarea izvoarelor vechiului drept românesc scris* [Collection of Sources of Old Written Romanian Law], eds. Andrei Rădulescu et al (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Române, 1955-75), 10 volumes; *Crestomație pentru studiul istoriei statului și dreptului R.P.R.* [Collection of Readings for the Study of the State and Law in Romania], eds. Vladimir Hanga and Ștefan Pascu (București: Editura de Stat pentru literatură economică și juridică, 1955-63). 3 volumes.

15. *Documente privind relațiile agrare în veacul al XVIII-lea* [Documents about Agrarian Relations in the Eighteenth Century], eds. Vasile Mihordea et al (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Române, 1961-66), 2 volumes; *Izvoarele răscoalei lui Horea* [Sources on Horea's Revolt], ed. Ștefan Pascu (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1982-).

16. *Documente privitoare la istoria economică a României* [Documents on the Economic History of Romania], eds. Ion Paraschiv, Gheorghe Ungureanu et al (București: Direcția Generală a Arhivelor Statului din R.P.R., 1960), 2 volumes; *Documente privitoare la economia Țării Românești, 1800-1850* [Documents on the Economy of Wallachia, 1800-1850], ed. Ion Cojocaru (București: Editura științifică, 1958), 2 volumes; *Documente privind problema țăranească din Oltenia în primele două decenii ale veacului al XX-lea* [Documents about the Peasant

The development of social consciousness among industrial workers from 1821 to 1921 is to be studied in materials furnished by the political scientist Ion Popescu-Puțuri (b. 1906), the historian Augustin Deac (b. 1928), and aides; also, workers in Oltenia from 1831 to 1921 have a volume dedicated to their activities.¹⁷ Revolutionary currents in 1848 evoked substantial collections for Moldavia by Ungureanu, for Wallachia by the archivist Mihai Regleanu (b. 1906), for Oltenia by the archivist Ileana Petrescu (b. 1928), and for Transylvania by Pascu and others.¹⁸ The insurrection of 1821 may be appreciated in the foreign observations put together by Bucharest archivist Vasile Arimea (b. 1925) and coadjutors, while the 1907 peasant uprising has had its testimony amassed by Popescu-Puțuri and Oțetea.¹⁹ The war for Romanian independence inspired, on that war's centenary, an assembly of records by Ștefan Hurmuzache and assistants; in addition, the historian Dan Berindei (b. 1923) provided military dispatches for the 1877-78 campaign. Subsequent military affairs from 1878 to 1945 may be contemplated in papers mustered by the historian Constantin Căzănișteanu (b.

Problem in Oltenia in the First Two Decades of the Twentieth Century], eds. Luchian Deaconu et al (Craiova: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1967-70), 2 volumes; *Documente privind istoria Dobrogei* [Documents concerning the History of the Dobrogea], ed. Tudor Mateescu (București: Direcția Generală a Arhivelor Statului din R.S.R., 1975).

17. *Documente din istoria mișcării muncitorești din România* [Documents on the History of Workers' Movements in Romania], eds. Ion Popescu-Puțuri et al (București: Editura politică, 1966-75), 6 volumes (title varies); *Documente privind mișcarea muncitorească și socialistă din Oltenia pînă la crearea Partidului Comunist Român* [Documents on the Working Class and Socialist Movement in Oltenia before the Establishment of the Romanian Communist Party], eds. Paul Barbu et al (Craiova: Editura Scrisul Românească, 1981).

18. *Documente privitoare la anul revoluționar 1848 în Moldova* [Documents on the Revolutionary Year of 1848 in Moldavia], ed. Gheorghe Ungureanu (București: Direcția Generală a Arhivelor Statului din R.P.R., 1960); *Documente privind anul revoluționar 1848 în Țara Românească* [Documents on the Revolutionary Year of 1848 in Wallachia], eds. Mihai Regleanu et al (București: Direcția Generală a Arhivelor Statului din R.P.R., 1962-83), 2 volumes; *Documente privind revoluția din 1848 în Oltenia* [Documents on the Revolution of 1848 in Oltenia], ed. Ileana Petrescu (Craiova: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1969); *Revoluția de la 1848-1849 din Transilvania* [The Revolution of 1848-1849 in Transylvania], eds. Ștefan Pascu and Victor Chereșteșiu (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1977-82), 3 volumes (title varies).

19. *Revoluția din 1821 condusă de Tudor Vladimirescu: Documente externe* [The Revolution of 1821 led by Tudor Vladimirescu: Foreign Documents], eds. Vasile Arimia et al (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1980); *Documente privind marea răscoală a țăranilor din 1907* [Documents on the Great Peasant Revolt of 1907], eds. Ion Popescu-Puțuri and Andrei Oțetea (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1977-).

1931) and colleagues.²⁰ Foreign documents illustrating the background and achievement of a united Romanian state, from 1879 to 1918, are in volumes compiled by Ion Ardeleanu and others.²¹

Published primary materials of a general nature on the post-World War I era emphasize political topics. There are, for example, multivolume sets regarding the working-class and the Communist Party between the two world wars.²² Also at hand are internal and foreign records about the revolution of 23 August 1944 covering the years 1929 to 1945, edited by Ion Ardeleanu and others.²³ Useful for contemporary events are the speeches and writings of state leaders such as Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej (1901-65) for the early post-World War II years and Nicolae Ceaușescu (1918-1989) from 1965 onward.²⁴

It was one thing to focus on the sources, but something far different to write history based on them in the Mercury Age. This was a difficult task for one had to adhere closely in doing so to the tenets of Marxism-Leninism. Historians who saw their work in print after World War II underscored, in a rather schematic and dogmatic way, social relations in connection with agriculture, crafts, commerce, and industry besides the class struggle, socialism, and communism. Friendship with the Soviet Union was also a prominent theme. They neglected, however, to reinterpret their country's political, institutional, and cultural history. In 1953 the historian Petre Constantinescu-Iași (1892-1977) specifically criticized, moreover, the lack of attention given by his contemporaries to historical syntheses. Some historians, he asserted, devoted themselves exclusively to gathering docu-

20. *Independența României: Documente* [The Independence of Romania: Documents], eds. Ștefan Hurmuzache et al (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1977-78), 4 volumes in 5; *Războiul pentru independență militară, 1877-1878: Documente militare* [The War for Military Independence, 1877-1878: Military Documents], eds. Dan Berindei et al (București: Editura militară, 1971); *Documente privind istoria militară a poporului român* [Documents on the Military History of the Romanian People], eds. Constantin Căzănișteanu et al (București: Editura militară, 1974-).

21. *1918 la Români: Desăvârșirea unității național-statale a poporului român—Documente externe* [1918 and the Romanians: Achievement of Nation-State Unity by the Romanian People—Foreign Documents], eds. Ion Ardeleanu et al (București: Editura științifică și enciclopedică, 1983-).

22. *Documente din istoria partidului comunist din România* [Documents on the History of the Romanian Communist Party] (București: Editura pentru literatură politică, 1953-57), 4 volumes; *Documente din istoria partidului comunist și a mișcării muncitorești revoluționare din România (mai 1921-august 1924)* [Documents on the History of the Communist Party and the Revolutionary Workers' Movement in Romania (May 1921-August 1924)], eds. Ion Popescu-Puțuri and Augustin Deac (București: Editura politică, 1970).

23. *23 August 1944: Documente* [Documents on 23 August 1944], eds. Ion Ardeleanu et al (București: Editura științifică și enciclopedică, 1984-85), 2 volumes.

24. Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, *Articole și cuvântări* [Articles and Speeches] (București: Editura de stat pentru literatură politică, 1955-62), 4 volumes; Nicolae Ceaușescu, *România pe drumul desăvârșirii construcției socialiste* [Romania on the Road to Achieving Socialist Construction] (București: Editura politică, 1968-), (title varies).

ments or, for fear of making mistakes in explaining events, limited themselves to "factology"—that is, to providing a series of facts that "disputed the existence and action of objective laws of social development, reducing history to chaos and a simple cluster of absurd errors."²⁵

Romanian historians have, nonetheless, endeavored to fashion historical syntheses. Even before Constantinescu-Iași's comments, Mihail Roller and his associates produced textbooks of Romanian history through the ages for use in elementary and secondary schools. Roller, who probably was of Jewish descent, attended a secondary school at Bacău in Moldavia and then Moscow University. As a teenager after World War I he joined the Romanian Communist Party, engaged in revolutionary agitation and so was repeatedly arrested; he published articles on historical and socio-political topics under various aliases. After World War II Roller directed the compilation of many documents, as already noted, and wrote about the Romanian workers and the Romanian Communist Party. In his textbooks and elsewhere he stressed friendship with the Soviet Union and tried to apply Marxist-Leninist theory to the Romanian past. Roller recognized the continuity of the Romanian people who were not, however, pure Romans but the result of an ethnic fusion of Daco-Romans and Slavs. From Bulgarian Slavs, Romanians received Christianity by the ninth century; and from Russian Slavs, Danubian Romanians received independence in the war against Turkey in 1877-78. Such contributions to the Romanians led Roller to denounce the retrocession of the Romanian-speaking province of Bessarabia from the Soviet Union to the Romanian kingdom after World War I, especially in light of Russia's help to Romania during that war. Roller minimized personalities and emphasized the "role of the people in the making of history." He pointed out, for example, that the agrarian revolt of 1907 was not aimed primarily against Jewish leaseholders, but against all leaseholders and especially against boyar landlords who exploited the peasantry; the records of this insurrection revealed, furthermore, "the echo of the people's struggle, the suffering of those who, by their struggle and blood, have made history."²⁶

Roller was also on a team of scholars in the late 1950s—along with Constantin Daicoviciu (1898-1973), Andrei Oțetea, and Petre Constantinescu-Iași—to begin writing a synthesis of Romanian history, originally

25. Petre Constantinescu-Iași, "Raport de activitate pe anul 1953 al secțiunii de științe istorice, filosofice, și economico-juridice a Academiei R.P.R." [Activity Report of the Section of History, Philosophy, and Economic-Legal Sciences of the Romanian Academy for 1953], in *Studii și referate privind istoria României*, pt. 1, 15-16.

26. *Istoria României: Manual unic pentru clasa a VIII-a secundar* [History of Romania: Textbook for the Eighth Grade], eds. Mihail Roller et al (București: Editura de Stat, 1947); *Istoria R.P.R.: Manual pentru învățământul mediu* [History of the R.P.R.: Textbook for Secondary Schools], eds. M. Roller et al (București: Editura de Stat didactică și pedagogică, 1952); Mihail Roller, *Studii și note științifice privind istoria României* [Studies and Scholarly Notes Regarding the History of Romania] (București: Editura de Stat pentru literatură politică, 1956), p. 44.

scheduled in five volumes. Here history is defined, according to Karl Marx, as a science based on laws governing the development of society. History does not, then, consist of isolated incidents or individuals; instead, it is a continuing process of the transformation and succession of socioeconomic forms, in which the determining factor is the mode of production of material goods. Romanian history, in particular, is the story of the exploited masses' struggle against domestic oppressors, such as the bourgeoisie, as well as against hostile foreigners—including the Ottoman Turks, feudal Magyar magnates, and Austrian Habsburgs. This work remains incomplete, with the fourth volume reaching only 1878; but a new multivolume project has been announced. An historian at Bucharest University, Lucian Boia (b. 1944), explains that those involved in the original plan had inappropriately sought to employ Marxism as a dogma in describing Romanian history instead of creatively adapting Marxism to the realities of Romanian society.²⁷ Another consideration in abandoning this synthesis may have been the raising, if ever so slightly, in the third and fourth volumes of the Bessarabian question, which is a bugbear in Soviet-Romanian relations. But the proliferation of historical monographs and printed documents in the Mercury Age was undoubtedly an important motive as well in deciding to redo the whole course of Romanian history in an expanded and enriched edition.

Additional syntheses of Romanian history come from groups of historians led by Miron Constantinescu (1917-74) and Andrei Oțetea respectively, Constantin C. Giurescu and his son Dinu C. Giurescu (b. 1927), as well as from two specialists in contemporary history, Mircea Mușat (b. 1930) and Ion Ardeleanu who unfortunately stop their narrative in 1933. The Constantinescu volume idealistically views the Romanian past—through the prism of historical materialism—as contributing to the "continuous progress of humanity"; the Oțetea one would strengthen, also from the Marxist-Leninist standpoint, "... patriotic consciousness and the spirit of understanding among peoples." The Giurescus would, for their part, give a balanced account of the joys and miseries of Romanians and cohabiting nationalities of the Romanian lands, together with their striving for liberty and social rights; Mușat and Ardeleanu would present disparate opinions so as to clarify controversial problems and thereby to discover historical truth.

Each book depicts Romanian contacts with neighboring peoples. The Giurescus and the Constantinescu volume acknowledge Bulgarian influence in organizing the Christian church north of the Danube River in the ninth century, something discounted in the Oțetea volume and skirted by Mușat-Ardeleanu. Each book refers to the various exchanges of Bessarabia between Russia and Romania; Mușat and Ardeleanu provide the fullest discussion of this matter, contending that Romania's annexation of

27. *Istoria României* [History of Romania], eds. Constantin Daicoviciu et al, 4 vols. (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Române, 1960-64), I, viii-ix; Lucian Boia, "Evoluția științei istorice românești" [Evolution of Romanian Historical Scholarship], *Revista de istorie*, 34, No. 7 (iulie 1981), 1246.

Bessarabia in 1918 crowned a century-long effort for national self-determination in that province. Each volume tells too about the foreign prince Carol's role in commanding a Russo-Romanian army against the Turks at Plevna in the war that resulted in Romanian independence. The Giurescu mention that Jewish veterans of this war received Romanian citizenship, a fact merely alluded to in the Oțetea volume and ignored altogether in the Constantinescu one and in Mușat-Ardeleanu. The Oțetea book and that by Mușat-Ardeleanu, in contrast to the Constantinescu one, recognize a positive aspect of the 1883 secret treaty between Romania and the Triple Alliance in assuring Romania's political position amid tense relations in Southeastern Europe before World War I; the Giurescu go further in saying that this treaty was a consequence of Russia's inconsiderate disregard of Romania in making peace separately with the Ottoman Empire in 1878 and Russia's presumed expansionist aims vis-à-vis European Turkey.²⁸ A Romanian émigré, Vlad Georgescu (b. 1937), on the other hand, features the years before and after World War II and criticizes the regime formerly headed by Nicolae Ceaușescu in a succinct and penetrating version of general Romanian history.²⁹

Successive modes of production prescribed, at first, historical periods for Romanian historians after World War II. But precise periodization constitutes as yet a rather open question, as may be seen in historical surveys of Carpatho-Danubio-Pontica. In textbooks of the 1950s, Romania's history commenced in a primitive communal era, from earliest times to the first century B.C., followed by an ancient slave-owning Daco-Roman epoch that concluded when Roman legions withdrew from Dacia in A.D. 271. A pre-feudal phase, characterized by the migration of peoples throughout Romanian lands, lasted until the twelfth or thirteenth century. The late medieval or feudal period stretched from the establishment of the first Romanian political entities to the insurrections of 1848. Modern capitalist times termi-

28. Miron Constantinescu et al, *Istoria României: Compendiu* [History of Romania: Compendium] (București: Editura didactică și pedagogică, 1969), pp. 5, 96-97, 117, 359, 372; *Istoria poporului român* [History of the Romanian People], ed. Andrei Oțetea (București: Editura științifică, 1970), pp. 6, 109-10, 288-89, 295; see also a revised version of Oțetea's work in translation: *A Concise History of Romania*, ed. Andrew MacKenzie (London: R. Hale, 1985); Constantin C. Giurescu and Dinu C. Giurescu, *Istoria Românilor* [History of the Romanians] (București: Editura Albatros, 1971), pp. 11, 189, 571, 594; cf. Dinu C. Giurescu, *Illustrated History of the Romanian People* (București: Editura Sport-Turism, 1981); Mircea Mușat and Ion Ardeleanu, *De la statul geto-dac la statul român unitar* [From the Geto-Dacian State to the Romanian Unitary State] (București: Editura științifică și enciclopedică, 1983), p. 6; see also Mușat and Ardeleanu, *From Ancient Dacia to Modern Romania*, trans. Andrei Bantaș et al (Bucharest: Editura științifică și enciclopedică, 1985), pp. 74, 316-17, 334, 617-35; Mușat and Ardeleanu, *România după Marea Unire* [Romania Following the Great Unification] (București: Editura științifică și enciclopedică, 1985-88), II, part 1 (1918-33), part 2 (1933-40).

29. Vlad Georgescu, *Istoria românilor de la origini pînă în zilele noastre* [History of the Romanians from Their Origins to Today] (Los Angeles: American-Romanian Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1984).

nated in the coup of 1944 that, in turn, ushered in the former people's democratic or socialist stage.³⁰ By the 1960s, Romanian historians pushed the late medieval era back to the close of the tenth century, that is, after the formation of the Romanian language and nationality but before the appearance of Romanian administrative units.³¹ In order to align Romanian chronology more closely to that of other European countries and likewise to landmarks in Romanian history, the Constantinescu treatise redefined the modern age as running from the uprisings of 1784 in Transylvania and 1821 in Wallachia through World War I.³² Oțetea then argued that the modern epoch extended solely from Tudor Vladimirescu's rebellion in 1821 to the completion of national unity in 1918.³³ This formula is currently accepted by many Romanian scholars.³⁴ The opening of Romania's medieval stage now corresponds roughly to that of the European High Middle Ages, from the foundation of the Holy Roman Empire and the rise of the Kievan Russian state onward; and the modern phase tallies somewhat with the Congress of Vienna following the Napoleonic wars at the outset and the Bolshevik revolution in Russia at the end.

The various regions of Romania have not, by-and-large, been the subject of historical syntheses owing to current goals of bringing together the whole course of Romanian experiences on the one hand and of describing brief periods or restricted topics on the other. The Dobrogea has, however, a collective project devoted to it that reaches 1417, including a section on the medieval Vlach-Bulgarian state and the union of the Dobrogea to Wallachia during the reign of Prince Mircea the Old [1386-1418].³⁵ Less scholarly is a summary of the Dobrogean past down to the 1970s by the director of the Constanța archaeology museum, Adrian Rădulescu (b. 1932), and his colleague, Ion Bitoleanu; these authors sought, with partial success, to demonstrate the ethnocultural unity of Romanians on both sides of the lower Danube River and so to integrate Dobrogean happenings into the

30. *Istoria R.P.R.: Manual pentru învățământul mediu*; Vladimir Hanga, *Istoria statului și dreptului R.P.R.* [History of the State and the Law of the R.P.R.], 3rd ed. (București: Litografia învățământului, 1957), I, 30-34.

31. *Istoria României*, I, ix-x, 577-78; Dumitru Almaș, Gheorghe Georgescu-Buzău, and Aron Petric, *Istoria României: Manual pentru clasa a XI-a* [History of Romania: Textbook for the Eleventh Grade] (București: Editura didactică și pedagogică, 1963), p. 6.

32. *Istoria României: Compendiu*, pp. 6-7, 109, 257-58.

33. *Istoria poporului român*, pp. 5, 221; *Istoria României în date* [Chronological History of Romania], eds. Constantin C. Giurescu et al, 2nd ed. (București: Editura enciclopedică română, 1972); cf. Gheorghe I. Ioniță, "Puncte de vedere privitoare la criteriile și necesitatea unei noi periodizări a istoriei moderne și contemporane a României" [Views about the Criteria and the Necessity of a New Periodization of Romania's Modern and Contemporary History], *Revista de istorie*, 29, No. 3 (martie 1976), 433.

34. The Giurescu and Mușat-Ardeleanu follow the Oțetea schema for modern and contemporary history, but do not delimit ancient and medieval times.

35. *Din istoria Dobrogei* [From the History of the Dobrogea], Bibliotheca Historica Romaniae II, IV, IX (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Române, 1965-71), 3 volumes; the authors are Dionisie M. Pippidi, Dumitru Berciu, Radu Vulpe (b. 1899), Ion Barnea (b. 1913), and Ștefan Ștefănescu.

general course of Romanian history.³⁶ For Transylvania, a team of historians produced a thematic but superficial overview from antiquity to 1918, emphasizing Romanian struggles against exploitation by Hungarian feudal lords, the Ottoman and Habsburg empires, and the later capitalists.³⁷ More significant is an undertaking by the historian Ștefan Pascu on Transylvania from the twelfth to the sixteenth century that focuses on social structure and social relationships. A highly patriotic work stressing Romanian continuity in Transylvania and calling on all ethnic groups there to be loyal to the Romanian government is by General Ilie Ceaușescu (b. 1926), brother of Romania's former President Nicolae Ceaușescu.³⁸

By the mid-1960s, valuable historical monographs began to issue in profusion as a partial consequence of the sometimes flourishing Romanian economy and an inherent desire of Romanian historians to explore further their national heritage. But only a few authors may be mentioned here.

Energetic digs led to substantial studies of Romanian antiquities. A professor at Bucharest University, Dumitru Berciu (b. 1907), for example, describes the Neolithic Era in Carpatho-Danubio-Pontica and then carries the story down to the conclusion of the Iron Age [A.D. 106].³⁹ Berciu collaborated too with a fellow archaeologist, Dionisie M. Pippidi, at Bucharest University in discussing the Dobrogea in ancient times. For his part, Pippidi examines Hellenistic influences on the lower Danube.⁴⁰ A survey of the Dacian past comes from a museum curator at Cluj-Napoca, Hadrian Daicoviciu (b. 1932), son of Constantin Daicoviciu who had also concentrated on Dacia.⁴¹ The Roman conquest and colonization of Oltenia, plus

36. Adrian Rădulescu and Ion Bitoleanu, *Istoria românilor dintre Dunare și Mare: Dobrogea* [History of Romanians between the Danube and the Black Sea: The Dobrogea] (București: Editura științifică și enciclopedică, 1979).

37. *Din istoria Transilvaniei* [From the History of Transylvania] (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Române, 1961), two volumes.

38. Ștefan Pascu, *Voivodatul Transilvaniei* [The Governorship of Transylvania] (Cluj: Editura Dacia, 1971-); cf. what purports to be a translation of Pascu's work: *A History of Transylvania*, trans. D. Robert Ladd (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1982), but which lacks the format of the original and reaches far beyond the original to 1919; Ilie Ceaușescu, *Transilvania: Străvechi pământ românesc* [Transylvania: Ancient Romanian Land] (București: Editura militară, 1984).

39. Dumitru Berciu, *Zorile istoriei în Carpați și la Dunare* [The Dawn of History in the Carpathians and on the Danube] (București: Editura științifică, 1966); *Romania before Burebista* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1967).

40. Dionisie M. Pippidi and D. Berciu, *Din istoria Dobrogei*, volume one; Pippidi, *Contribuții la istoria veche a României* [Contributions to the Ancient History of Romania], 2nd ed. (București: Editura științifică, 1967); *Studii de istorie a religiilor antice* [Historical Studies of Ancient Religions] (București: Editura științifică, 1969).

41. Hadrian Daicoviciu, *Dacia de la Burebista la cucerirea romană* [Dacia from Burebista to the Roman Conquest] (Cluj: Editura Dacia, 1972); see also, Constantin Daicoviciu, *Dacica* [Dacian Studies] (Cluj: Muzeul de Istorie, 1970) for articles published between 1923 and 1968; Nicolae Gostar and V. Lica, *Societatea geto-dacică de la Burebista la Decebal* [Geto-Dacian Society from Burebista to Decebal] (Iasi: Editura Junimea, 1984); Ion H. Crișan, *Burebista and his Time*, trans. Sanda Mihailescu, *Bibliotheca Historica Romaniae: Monographs XX* (București:

subsequent affairs in that region to the fourth century, receives able treatment from a Iași University professor Dumitru Tudor (b. 1908). Tudor analyzes, moreover, socioeconomic conditions, including the role of slaves, in Roman Dacia.⁴² A persistent theme in contemporary historical efforts about ancient times is the continuity of Romanians from the Geto-Dacians, who were a branch of the Thracians—the earliest inhabitants of Southeastern Europe, through the assimilation of Romans by the Dacians to form Daco-Romans, to the making of the Romanian nationality itself in late medieval times.

The historiography of the early medieval epoch is almost a void owing to the paucity of written records by and about the Daco-Romans from the withdrawal of Roman legions from Dacia in A.D. 271 to the Romanians' participation in the second Bulgarian empire (1187-1396).⁴³ The High Middle Ages and the early modern period have, on the other hand, been investigated by well qualified scholars such as Petre Panaitescu and Constantin C. Giurescu, noted above, as well as by David Prodan and Ștefan Pascu, to be considered below.⁴⁴ In addition, Ștefan Ștefănescu (b. 1929), who directs the "N. Iorga" Institute of History in Bucharest, succinctly characterizes Oltenia from ca. 1230 to 1544 and Wallachia from ca. 1310 to 1600.⁴⁵ In extensive inquiries an historian, Valentin A. Georgescu (b. 1908), evaluates the Byzantine sociocultural and legal penetration north of the Danube River.⁴⁶ Romanian intellectual currents are ably delineated by an

Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1978), which is an abridged translation of his *Burebista și epoca sa*, 2nd ed. (București: Editura științifică și enciclopedică, 1977).

42. Dumitru Tudor, *Oltenia romană* [Roman Oltenia], 4th ed. (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1978); *Istoria sclavajului în Dacia romană* [History of Slavery in Roman Dacia], Biblioteca istorică II (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Române, 1957); *Orașe, târguri și sate în Dacia romană* [Towns, Markets, and Villages in Roman Dacia] (București: Editura științifică, 1968).

43. Cf. Ștefan Olteanu, *Societatea românească la cumpănă de milenii (secolele VIII-XI)* [Romanian Society at the Watershed of the Millennium (8th-11th Centuries)] (București: Editura științifică și enciclopedică, 1983); Dan Teodor, *Romanitatea carpato-dunăreană și Bizanțul în secolele V-XI* [The Carpatho-Danubian Roman World and Byzantium from the Fifth to the Eleventh Century] (Iași: Editura Junimea, 1981); Victor Spinei, *Moldova în secolele XI-XIV* (București: Editura științifică și enciclopedică, 1982) and the translation *Moldavia in the 11th-14th Centuries* (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1986).

44. For Panaitescu, see supra p. 45; for Giurescu, see supra p. 46; for Prodan, see infra pp. 68-69; for Pascu, see infra p. 69..

45. Ștefan Ștefănescu, *Bănia în Țara Românească* [The Governorship in Wallachia] (București: Editura științifică, 1965); *Țara Românească de la Basarab I "Întemeietorul" până la Mihai Viteazul* [Wallachia of the Basarab I—the Founder—to the Time of Michael the Brave] (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1970).

46. Valentin A. Georgescu, *Bizanțul și instituțiile românești până la mijlocul secolului al XVIII-lea* [Byzantium and Romanian Institutions Down to the Middle of the Eighteenth Century] (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1980); *Preemțiunea în istoria dreptului românesc: Dreptul de protimis*

historian at Romania's Institute of Southeast European Studies, Alexandru Duțu (b. 1928), in treatises on early modern Romanian humanistic ideas along with educational maxims and component rules in their European context.⁴⁷ Significant besides is the work of Adolf Armbruster (b. 1941) at the Iorga institute in tracing and assessing the concept of the Romanians' Roman origin in European literature from the tenth to the mid-eighteenth century.⁴⁸ Yet another researcher at the Iorga institute, Nicolae Stoicescu (b. 1924), ties together several threads in showing the Romanian peoples' continuity in Carpatho-Danubio-Pontica through the eighteenth century from the standpoints of geography, demography, economics, politics, language, religion, and culture.⁴⁹ In a different vein, an eminent sociologist, Henri H. Stahl (b. 1901), earlier showed the transition from the communal to the capitalist mode of production in Moldavia and Wallachia.⁵⁰ He remarked that serfdom in the West was a step from slavery to freedom for the peasant, and preceded commercial capitalism; but in the Danubian principal-

în Țara Românească și Moldova [Preemption in the History of Romanian Law: The Right of *protimēsis* in Wallachia and Moldavia], Biblioteca istorică XII (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1965); see also, Andrei N. Pippidi, *Tradiția politică bizantină în țările române în secolele XVI-XVIII* [Byzantine Political Traditions in Romanian Lands from the 16th to the 18th Century] (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1983).

47. Alexandru Duțu, *Cărțile de înțelepciune în cultura română* [Books of Wisdom in Romanian Culture], Biblioteca istorică XXXIV (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1972); *Romanian Humanists and European Culture*, Bibliotheca Historica Romaniae: Studies 55 (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1977); *European Intellectual Movements and Modernization of Romanian Culture*, Bibliotheca Historica Romaniae: Studies 64 (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1981); *Sinteză și originalitate în cultura română (1650-1848)* [Synthesis and Originality in Romanian Culture (1650-1848)] (București: Editura enciclopedică română, 1972).

48. Adolf Armbruster, *Romanitatea Românilor: Istoria unei idei* [The Roman Origin of the Romanians: History of an Idea], Biblioteca istorică XXXV (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1972).

49. Nicolae Stoicescu, *Unitatea românilor în evul mediu* [The Unity of Romanians in the Middle Ages], Biblioteca istorică LXI (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1983); *Staful domnesc și marii dregători din Țara Românească și Moldova (sec. XIV-XVII)* [The Prince's Council and Great Officials: Wallachia and Moldavia (from the 14th to the 17th Century)], Biblioteca istorică XVI (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1968); *Continuitatea Românilor: Privire istoriografică, istoricul problemei, dovezile continuității* [Continuity of the Romanians: Historiographical Considerations, History of the Problem, Proofs of Continuity] (București: Editura științifică și enciclopedică, 1980).

50. Henri H. Stahl, *Contribuții la studiul satelor devălmașe românești* [Contributions to the Study of Romanian Communal Villages] (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Române, 1958-65), 3 volumes; see also his *Traditional Romanian Village Communities: The Transition from the Communal to the Capitalist Mode of Production in the Danube Region*, trans. Daniel Chirot and Holly C. Chirot (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980).

ties serfdom signified a loss of freedom, and accompanied the growth of capitalism.

The nineteenth century occupies the attention of remarkably competent and productive historians. Two researchers at the Iorga institute, Berindei and Netea, for instance, explore political issues throughout the century. Dan Berindei has a wide-ranging probe of Romanian diplomacy, focusing on the years from 1821 to 1861. He also portrays the genesis and course of the 1821 Danubian revolt, the 1848 insurrection, and the unification of Moldavia and Wallachia in the late 1850s.⁵¹ Vasile Netea (b. 1912), among other monographs, chronologically continues Berindei's narrative from 1859 to the eventual incorporation of Transylvania by the Romanian kingdom after World War I.⁵² Informative and challenging books on the sources of the 1848 revolution in the Romanian lands come from Cornelia Bodea (b. 1916) at the Iorga institute, emphasizing national aspirations,⁵³ and from professor Gheorghe Platon (b. 1926) at Iași University stressing the socioeconomic milieu.⁵⁴ Military and diplomatic circumstances surrounding the winning of Romanian independence in 1878 attract the attention of another researcher at the Iorga institute, Nichita Adăniloae (b. 1927).⁵⁵ In the area of economic history, a professor of political economics at Iași and later at Bucharest, Gheorghe Zane (1897-1978), reviews the inception of Romanian industry, while a history professor at Bucharest University, Constantin Corbu (b. 1928), examines the role of the peasant.⁵⁶

51. Dan Berindei, *Din începuturile diplomației românești moderne* [From the Outset of Modern Romanian Diplomacy] (București: Editura politică, 1965); *L'année révolutionnaire 1821 dans les Pays roumains* [The Revolutionary Year 1821 in the Romanian Lands], *Bibliotheca Historica Romaniae: Études* 46 (Bucharest: Éditions de l'Académie de la République Socialiste de Roumanie, 1973); *Epoca unirii* [The Period of Unification], *Biblioteca istorică L* (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1979); *1848 în Țările Române* [1848 in the Romanian Lands] (București: Editura științifică și enciclopedică, 1984).

52. Vasile Netea, *Spre unitatea statală a poporului român: Legături politice și culturale între 1859-1918* [Toward the State Unity of the Romanian People: Political and Cultural Relations between 1859 and 1918] (București: Editura științifică și enciclopedică, 1979); cf. George Barițiu: *Viața și activitatea sa* [George Barițiu: His Life and Activities] (București: Editura științifică, 1966).

53. Cornelia Bodea, *Lupta Românilor pentru unitatea națională, 1834-1849* [Struggle of the Romanians for National Unity, 1834-1849] (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1967); *1848 la Români: O istorie în date și mărturii* [1848 and the Romanians: A History in Dates and Data] (București: Editura științifică și enciclopedică, 1982), 2 volumes.

54. Gheorghe Platon, *Geneză revoluției române de la 1848: Introducere în istoria modernă a României* [Genesis of the Romanian Revolution of 1848: Introduction to the Modern History of Romania] (Iași: Editura Jumiene, 1980).

55. Nichita Adăniloae, *Independența națională a României* [The National Independence of Romania], *Biblioteca istorică LXVIII* (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1986).

56. Gheorghe Zane, *L'industrie roumaine au cours de la second moitié du XIX^e siècle* [Romanian Industry during the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century], *Bibliotheca Historica Roumaniae: Études* 43 (3) (Bucharest: Éditions de l'Académie de la République Socialiste de Roumanie, 1973); Constantin Corbu, *Rolul țărănimii*

A few outstanding efforts to depict the contemporary period after 1918 may be cited. A researcher at the Iorga institute, Eliza Campus (b. 1908), ably interprets Romania's interwar diplomacy in volumes on the Little Entente and the Balkan Alliance.⁵⁷ Agrarian and industrial issues are effectively set forth by three historians at the "A. D. Xenopol" Institute of History in Iași: Dumitru Șandru (b. 1934), Ioan Saizu (b. 1931), and Gheorghe Buzatu (b. 1939).⁵⁸ An historian at Bucharest University, Ion Scurtu (b. 1940), for his part, describes political affairs centering on the National Peasant Party.⁵⁹ But so far we have no scholarly works on the post-World War II era owing, in some measure, to the unavailability of manuscript sources for the most recent period and to the reluctance of individual historians to assess critically and publicly the actions of Romanian Communist Party leaders while they were in power.

Several Romanian historians deserve further notice for the breadth and influence of their writings. For one, Constantin C. Giurescu, besides his already mentioned texts, assiduously put out imaginative and solid monographs after World War II on such themes as Romanian fisheries, forests, vineyards, towns, bourgeoisie, politics, science and technology as well as yet another synthesis of Romanian history—in collaboration with his son Dinu—from earliest times to the beginning of the seventeenth century.⁶⁰

The only historian to have made a mark in Romanian letters during the interwar era, who was also then active in the Communist Party, is Petre

în istoria României (sec. XIX) [The Role of Peasants in the History of Romania (19th Century)] (București: Editura științifică și enciclopedică, 1982).

57. Eliza Campus, *Mica înțelegere* [The Little Entente] (București: Editura științifică, 1968); *Înțelegerea balcanică* [The Balkan Pact], Biblioteca istorică XXXVI (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1972); see also, *Din politica externă a României, 1913-1947* [From the Foreign Policy of Romania, 1913-1947] (București: Editura politică, 1980).

58. Dumitru Șandru, *Reforma agrară din 1921 în România* [The Agrarian Reform of 1921 in Romania], Biblioteca istorică XLIII (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1975) and his *Creditul agricol în România, 1918-1944* [Agricultural Credit in Romania, 1918-1944] (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1985); Ioan Saizu, *Politica economică a României între 1922 și 1928* [The Economic Policy of Romania between 1922 and 1928], Biblioteca istorică LVIII (București: Editura Academiei Socialiste România, 1981); Gheorghe Buzatu, *România și trusturile petroliere internaționale până la 1929* [Romania and the International Oil Trusts Down to 1929] (Iași: Editura Junimea, 1981).

59. Ioan Scurtu, *Din viața politică a României (1926-1947)* [From the Political Life of Romania (1926-1947)] (București: Editura științifică și enciclopedică, 1983).

60. Cf. Ch. 2; see, for example, Constantin C. Giurescu, *Istoria pescuitului și a pisciculturii în România* [History of Fishing and Pisciculture in Romania] (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Române, 1964), volume one covers from earliest times to 1896; *Istoria pădurii românești din cele mai vechi timpuri până astăzi* [History of Romanian Forests from Earliest Times to Today] (București: Editura Ceres, 1975); *Istoricul orașului Brăila* [History of Brăila] (București: Editura științifică, 1968); *Viață și opera lui Cuza Vodă* [Life and Work of Prince Cuza] (București: Editura științifică, 1966); *Istoria Românilor* [History of the Romanians] (București: Editura științifică și enciclopedică, 1975-77), 2 volumes.

Constantinescu-Iași. He earned a doctorate in art history at Iași University, where he taught before being incarcerated for political subversion. After World War II he lectured at Bucharest University and served with Roller as an ideological bulldog for his fellow intellectuals. Constantinescu-Iași insisted on the establishment of a militant Marxian historiography, drawing heavily on Soviet scholarship and especially on the concept of historical materialism. In addition to works about art and architecture, he examined Romanian relations with Slavic neighbors. Constantinescu-Iași contends that Russo-Romanian friendship springs from centuries of common experiences; "Slavs," he maintains, "constitute an essential element in the formation of the Romanian people." In contrast to what he calls the relatively retrogressive effects of Western civilization upon Romanians, Russian cultural models somehow inspired native Romanian creations.⁶¹ For Constantinescu-Iași, an understanding of the present helps furthermore in investigating the past, while the study of history stimulates "socialist patriotism . . . [and] pride" in Romanian accomplishments.⁶²

The director of the historical institute in Bucharest for many years was Andrei Oțetea [1947-48, 1956-70]. His doctoral dissertation at the Sorbonne was about the Florentine historian Francesco Guicciardini (1483-1540); later, he completed a general survey of the Renaissance and Reformation. He joined Gheorghe Brătianu (1898-1953) at Iași University, lecturing there for two decades on world history prior to taking a similar post at Bucharest University in 1947. Oțetea then supervised the editing of documentary collections, mentioned above, along with a hitherto unknown manuscript by Karl Marx that censured Russian policies concerning the Romanians.⁶³ Like Constantinescu-Iași, Oțetea embraced Marx's dicta, including the Marxian periodization of history. According to Oțetea, the Romanian populace originated before the Roman conquest of Dacia; during the great barbarian migrations, Romanians did not evacuate Carpatho-Danubia, but retreated primarily to mountain villages; thereafter, returning to the plains, peasants confronted enserfment by boyar landlords who, in their turn, were responsible for founding the Danubian principalities and for triggering agrarian revolts. The 1821 revolution signaled, as already noted, the opening of modern or capitalist times inasmuch as its instigators aimed at abolishing feudalism and overthrowing Turkish dominion. Workers participated in the 1907 uprising, and they would henceforth take a prominent place in Romanian society.⁶⁴ Together with

61. Petre Constantinescu-Iași, *Relațiile culturale româno-ruse din trecut* [Romanian-Russian Relations in the Past] (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Române, 1954), pp. 5-7, 45.

62. P. Constantinescu-Iași, "Valențele educative ale istoriei" [Educative Quality of History], *Studii și articole de istorie*, 17 (1972), 11.

63. Karl Marx, *Însemnări despre români (Manuscrise inedite)* [Notes about the Romanians: Unedited Manuscripts], compiled by Andrei Oțetea and Stanislaw Schwann (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Române, 1964).

64. Andrei Oțetea, "Les problèmes de l'histoire marxiste roumaine" [Problems of Romanian Marxist History], *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire* [Romanian Historical Review], 4, No. 3 (1965), 373-83; cf. "L'état actuel des recherches

the notion of historical determinism in which economic conditions and the class struggle bring about change, there is a patriotic current in Oțetea's writings. He characterizes Romanian history as the people's struggle for survival—for unity, independence, and social emancipation. Also significant for Oțetea is the role of great men who typify the masses' aspirations, such as Prince Mihai the Brave [1593-1601] and Tudor Vladimirescu (ca. 1780-1821), both of whom emerged to guide their compatriots in defending or regaining national rights.⁶⁵

In Transylvania, two historians stand out: David Prodan and Ștefan Pascu. The son of peasants, David Prodan (b. 1902) is an archivist at Cluj-Napoca who studies the Transylvanian Romanians' rural history, comprehending Horea's insurrection in 1784. In somewhat Rankean fashion, he hopes to recreate the past as it actually was from a multitude of events and thereby to grasp its "inner machinery," namely, the material and psychological premises of the 1784 tumult. Prodan shows that Horea's upheaval began in purely Romanian areas and then spread to regions that were ethnically and doctrinally mixed. The rebels were chiefly Orthodox Romanian serfs who attacked in particular Hungarian noble landowners of whatever Christian denomination: Protestants or Catholics.⁶⁶ In another monograph, Prodan synthesizes intellectual patterns and the social structure that jointly generated the political demands addressed to the Habsburg emperor in the *Supplex Libellus Valachorum* [The Vlachs' Suppliant Petition] of 1791: "the most important political document of the Transylvanian Romanians during the eighteenth century."⁶⁷ In order to appreciate fully the backdrop to the dramatic happenings of 1784 and 1791, he has also meticulously described the position of serfs in eastern Hungary during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and edited a set of Transylvanian economic records for the seventeenth century.⁶⁸ Prodan refutes, moreover, a contention of Hungarian historiography that semi-nomadic Romanians arrived in Transylvania after the advent there of the Magyars. Instead, Romanians never

historiques en Roumanie" [The Present State of Historical Research in Romania], *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire*, 9, No. 3 (1970), 371-80.

65. *Istoria poporului român*, pp. 6, 439; A. Oțetea, *Tudor Vladimirescu și revoluția din 1821* [Tudor Vladimirescu and the Revolution of 1821], 2nd ed. (București: Editura științifică, 1971), pp. 506-11.

66. David Prodan, *Răscoala lui Horia în comitatele Cluj și Turda* [Revolt of Horea in the Counties of Cluj and Turda] (București: Imprimeria națională, 1938), pp. 13-15; *Răscoala lui Horea* [Horea's Revolt], 2nd ed. (București: Editura științifică și enciclopedică, 1984), I, 8-9, II, 716-18.

67. D. Prodan, *Supplex Libellus Valachorum* [The Vlach's Suppliant Petition], 2nd ed. (București: Editura științifică, 1967), pp. 9, 443, 449-62.

68. D. Prodan, *Iobăgia în Transilvania în secolul al XVI-lea* [Serfdom in Transylvania in the Sixteenth Century] (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1967-68), 3 volumes; *Iobăgia în Transilvania în secolul al XVII-lea: Supusii* [Serfdom in Transylvania in the Seventeenth Century: Subjects] (București: Editura științifică și enciclopedică, 1986), volume 1; *Urbăriile Țării Făgărașului* [Land Registers of Făgăraș], eds. D. Prodan et al. (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1970-76), 2 volumes for the years 1601-80.

left Transylvania and so had no need, he asserts, to colonize this land in the Middle Ages and in the early modern era; in fact, following the Turkish subjugation of Hungary, some Transylvanian Romanians passed southward into the Ottoman Empire, and not the converse.⁶⁹

As has Prodan, Ștefan Pascu, the former rector of Cluj-Napoca University [1968-76], concentrates on Transylvania in early modern times. The history of Transylvania—which for Pascu includes the Banat, Maramureș, and Crișana (east of the Tisza River and west of the Apuseni Mountains)—is, as he says, "primarily the history of villages and consequently of peasants in those villages."⁷⁰ The major causes of Transylvanian peasant uprisings, according to Pascu, are: 1) political or sporadic—from the princes' contests for power; 2) socioeconomic or permanent—from fiscal duties and labor obligations; and 3) psychological—from the influence of contemporary agrarian revolts elsewhere as well as from religious persecution. Turkish invasions also provoked popular movements in Transylvania. Despite being politically divided in the past, the Romanian people have always, he maintains, been united by their common language plus their mutual traditions and customs. The latter attributes persist because Romanian travelers and trade crisscrossed international boundaries and because Romanians everywhere shared the same goals of social emancipation and political unity.⁷¹ In heeding the tenets of historical materialism, Pascu does not disregard cultural, ecclesiastical, and military affairs. But, for him, Romanian history is predominantly characterized by a struggle for both social and national liberation, from both class and foreign enemies.⁷²

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Historical projects at Romanian institutes and universities were indeed remarkable in the Mercury Age. Recent explorations of archival treasures, mostly within Romania itself, have substantially deepened our understanding and appreciation of the Romanian past, especially in the early and late modern epochs. A Marxist-Leninist orientation was obvious in the documents that Romanian scholars compiled and in the issues they chose

69. D. Prodan, *Teoria imigrației românilor din Principatele Române în Transilvania în veacul al XVIII-lea* [The Theory of Romanian Immigration from the Danubian Principalities to Transylvania in the Eighteenth Century] (Sibiu: Cartea Românească din Cluj, 1944), pp. 13, 123-24, 153, 164-65.

70. Ștefan Pascu, *Răscoala țărănești în Transilvania: Epoca Voevodatului* [The Peasants' Revolt in Transylvania: Period of the Voivodate] (Cluj: Cartea Românească, 1947), pp. 1-2.

71. Ș. Pascu, *Răscoala țărănești în Transilvania*, pp. 132-34; *Voievodatul Transilvaniei* [The Voivodate of Transylvania] (Cluj: Editura Dacia, 1971-), I, 6.

72. Ș. Pascu, *Marea Adunare Națională de la Alba Iulia: Încununarea ideii, a tendințelor și a luptelor de unitate a poporului român* [The Great National Assembly of Alba Iulia: Crowning of the Ideas, Strivings, and Struggles of the Romanian People for Unity] (Cluj: Universitatea Babeș-Bolyai, 1968), p. 5; cf. *Făurirea statului național unitar român* [Creation of the National Unitary Romanian State], (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1983), I, 7.

to study. Monographs and textbooks evinced an abiding regard for socio-economic subjects, with a staunchly patriotic profile. Romanian historians were, by and large, more productive than their predecessors; they were also willing to revise their findings and to pursue particular areas of research owing to the former Romanian government's sponsorship of their efforts. Now, in a new era, they will, no doubt, persevere in discovering additional records illustrative of their manifold heritage and of their relations with nearby peoples, besides writing books and articles that address, with factual data and insight, conventional topics along with cultural themes that have heretofore been somewhat neglected.

CHAPTER 4

FOREIGN VIEWS OF ROMANIAN HISTORY

Significant historical literature about Romania flows not only from the Romanian fountainhead. Historians in territorially contiguous countries—Hungary, the Soviet Union, and Bulgaria—as well as elsewhere in Europe and America also contribute treatises about the Romanians. Several foreign scholars offer interpretations of Romanian history that differ markedly from those of their Romanian counterparts, and so they are worthy of notice. Volumes by foreign historians are, however, relatively superficial or introductory in nature, reflecting the principal interest of their non-Romanian readers—an interest in the mainstream, not the minor brooks, of Romanian yesterdays. Because of the general character of many such contributions, our aim here is to mention only some representative modern and contemporary historical endeavors abroad.

Hungarian Views

Hungarians in particular have been keenly aware of the Romanians amid whom they have resided for centuries.¹ Before World War I in the Habsburg Empire as well as afterward in Hungary proper and in Romanian Transylvania, Hungarian scholars edited archival sources and wrote histories of regions cohabited by Romanians and Hungarians. Among documentary sets compiled by Hungarians are those on Romanians in Hungary, the Transylvanian Székely community from 1211 to 1776, the Transylvanian Diet from 1540 to 1699, the rise of nationalism in Hungary from 1867 to 1918, and other Transylvanian affairs.² Histories of Transylvania

1. For pre-modern Hungarian writers, see ch. 1.

2. *Documenta historiam Valachorum in Hungaria illustrantia, usque ad annum 1400 p. Christum* [Illuminated Documents on the History of the Vlachs Down to A.D. 1400], eds. Antal Fekete Nagy and László Makkai (Budapest: Sumptibus Instituti Historici Europae Centro-Orientalis in Universitate Scientiarum Budapestensis, 1941); *Székely oklevéltár* [Székely Archives], eds. Károly Szabó and Lajos Szádeczky (Cluj: Magyar Történelmi Társulat Kolozsvári Bizottsága, 1872-1934), 8 volumes; *Erdélyi országgyűlési emlékek* [Records of the Transylvanian Diet], ed. Sándor Szilágyi, *Monumenta Hungariae Historica* [Monuments of Hungarian History], 3rd series (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1875-98), 21 volumes; *Iratok a nemzetiségi kérdés történetéhez Magyarországon a dualizmus korában, 1867-1918* [Documents on the Nationalities Question in Hungarian History During the Age of Dualism, 1867-1918], ed. Gábor Kemény (Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1952-66), 4 volumes to 1906; *Erdélyország történetei tára* [Transylvanian Historical Collection], ed. József Kemény (Cluj: G. Barra, 1837-45), 2 volumes covering the years 1540 to 1613;

come from such Hungarian experts as László Makkai (b. 1914), Sándor Szilágyi (1827-99), László Kőváry (1819-1907), and others.³ For the Transylvanian Székely, there are studies by Károly Szabó (1824-90), Lajos Szádeczky (1859-1936), István Kiss (1881-1957), and others.⁴ Regarding the Banat, Frigyes Pesty gathered local records for the years 1237 to 1578 along with composing an historical survey of that area.⁵

* * *

Hungarian histories generally have a patriotic flavor, much like the Romanian ones, revealing more concern for the pursuits of the Magyars, both Roman Catholics and the Reformed or Calvinists, than for those of Orthodox and Uniate Romanians. But Hungarian accounts of Romanian history itself especially deserve mention for their challenge to traditional Romanian historiography. An eminent linguist, Pál Hunfalvy (1810-91), discussed the Romanian past down to the sixteenth century. In doing so he disputed the Latinist stand of Micu and Xenopol, suggesting instead, as had a German historian Robert Rösler, a Balkan genesis of the Romanians. Hunfalvy contended that those who would later be known as Romanians evacuated Dacia with the Roman legions in A.D. 271; nomadic Romanian shepherds subsequently moved from the Balkan Peninsula to the Carpatho-Danubian region between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries, that is, after the Hungarians' appearance in Central Europe at the opening of the tenth century. He asserts as well that Romanians opposed the Hungarians' civilizing mission and indeed triggered agrarian revolts.⁶ In a

Erdélyi történelmi adatok [Historical Data about Transylvania], ed. Imre Mikó (Cluj: Ev. Ref. Főtanoda betűivel, 1855-62), 4 volumes.

3. László Makkai, *Histoire de Transylvanie* [History of Transylvania] (Paris: Les presses universitaires de France, 1946); Sándor Szilágyi, *Erdélyország története tekintettel művelődésére* [Cultural History of Transylvania] (Budapest: G. Heckenast, 1866), 2 volumes; László Kőváry, *Erdély történelme* [Transylvanian History] (Budapest: M. Rath, 1859-66), 6 volumes; Henrik Marczali, *Erdély története* [Transylvanian History] (Budapest: Káldor, 1935); János Horváth, *Die Geschichte Siebenbürgens* [History of Transylvania] (Budapest: Danubia, 1943); Benedik Jancsó, *Erdély története* [Transylvanian History] (Cluj: Minerva, 1931).

4. Károly Szabó, *A régi székelység: Székely történelmi és jogi tanulmányok* [The Ancient Székely: Székely History and Legal Studies] (Cluj: J. Stein, 1890); Lajos Szádeczky, *A székely nemzet története és alkotmánya* [History and Constitution of the Székely People] (Budapest: Franklin-Társulat, 1927); István Kiss, *A nemes székely nemzet képe* [Views of the Nobility of the Székely Nation] (Debrecen: P. Lehotai, 1939-40), 3 volumes; Domokos Teleki, *A székely határórség története* [History of the Székely Frontier Guards] (Budapest: Franklin-Társulat, 1877); Balász Orbán, *A Székelyföld leírása történelmi, régészeti, természetrajzi s népismei szempontból* [The Székely Land: Description of the Historical, Archaeological, Natural and Ethnic Aspects] (Budapest: M. Rath, 1868-73), 6 volumes.

5. Cf. *supra* p. 21.

6. Pál Hunfalvy, *Az oláhok története* [History of the Vlachs] (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1894), 2 volumes; see also his, *Die Rumänen und ihre Ansprüche* [The Romanians and Their Origin] (Wien: K. Prochaska, 1883).

detailed but largely undocumented and polemical book, Benedikt Jancsó (1854-1930) told again about the Balkan origins of the Romanian people and language. He then explained the Transylvanian Romanians' national aspirations from Horea's insurrection in 1784 to the revolution of 1848-49, and offered a separate treatise on the Danubian Romanians' irredentist movement respecting Transylvania that reaches 1919.⁷ Jancsó's findings have, in part, been superseded by those of Zóltan Tóth (1911-56) at Budapest after World War II. Tóth accepts Rösler's and Hunfalvy's hypothesis concerning the Romanians' arrival in Transylvania. But he utilized some archival evidence in describing Transylvanian Romanians from 1697 to 1848 and in arguing that Romanian peasants and their Hungarian counterparts struggled against the feudal social structure of those times.⁸

A synthesis of Hunfalvy's and Jancsó's work about Romanian history came from László Gáldi (b. 1910) and László Makkai at Budapest University's Institute of East European History. They maintain that, if not all Romanized Dacians left Dacia with the Roman army, the ensuing barbarian invasions undoubtedly erased any trace of them. Proto-Romanians lived henceforth south of the Danube River in present-day eastern Yugoslavia and Bulgaria where they adopted Christianity. Romanian shepherds, they say, eventually wandered north of the Danube in the late twelfth century, long after the Hungarians were in Transylvania. Makkai and Gáldi condemn furthermore the cession of Transylvania to Romania in 1918 as being war booty, contrary to the nationality principle in that about one-third of the Transylvanian population was Hungarian. They portray in addition the retrocession of a portion of Transylvania to Hungary in 1940 as being an award extraordinarily favorable to Romania that still held most of the area seized from Hungary in 1918.⁹

Hungarian historians after World War II busied themselves in re-fashioning their country's past and, in general, they avoided issues that had divided them from their Romanian counterparts. But old views or biases

7. Benedikt Jancsó, *A román nemzetiségi törekvések története és jelenlegi állapota* [History of Romanian National Aspirations and the Present Situation] (Budapest: R. Lampel, 1886-99), 2 volumes; *A román irredentista mozgalmak története* [History of the Romanian Irredentist Movement] (Budapest: Bocskay-Szövetség, 1920).

8. Zóltan I. Tóth, *Az erdélyi román nacionalizmus első százada, 1697-1792* [The First Century of Transylvanian Romanian Nationalism, 1697-1792] (Budapest: Athenaeum, 1946); *Az erdélyi és magyarországi román nemzeti mozgalom, 1790-1848* [The Romanian National Movement in Transylvania and Hungary, 1790-1848] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1959); *Mișcările țărănești din Munții Apuseni pînă la 1848* [Peasant Movements in the Apuseni Mountains Down to 1848] (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Romîne, 1955), originally published in Hungarian: *Parasztmozgalmak az Erdélyi Érchegységben 1848-ig* [The Peasant Movement in the Transylvanian Erzgebirge to 1848] (Budapest: 1951).

9. *Geschichte der Rumänen* [History of the Romanians], eds. László Gáldi and László Makkai, Ostmitteleuropäische Bibliothek No. 36 (Budapest: Sárkány, 1942).

did not die. An historical atlas, for example, placed Vlachs or Romanians south of the Danube River from the ninth to the eleventh century, while Hungarians occupied present-day Romania; not until the twelfth or thirteenth century did Romanians appear in Carpatho-Danubia. Hungarian historians, such as Makkai and the Hungarian minister of culture Béla Köpeczi (b. 1921), suggest that territorial exchanges from early modern times to the twentieth century did not rupture Hungary's ties to Transylvania. They deny the Romanization of Dacia in antiquity and, instead, assert that there is no historical, archaeological, or toponymic evidence of a Romanian presence in Transylvania before the thirteenth century. Romanian shepherds, to be sure, were south of the Carpathian Mountains after the establishment of the first Bulgarian empire in the ninth century; but they still served in the Byzantine army south of the Danube, between Thessaly and the Balkan Mountains, in the eleventh century. Contemporary scholars as well slight the role of Transylvanian Romanians in the revolutions of 1848-49, emphasize Romania's contribution to crushing the Hungarian Soviet Republic in 1919, criticize interwar Romania's national assimilation policy that included teaching the Romanian language in Transylvanian schools, and ignore Romania's military aid in winning Hungarian independence in 1944-45.¹⁰

German Views

In the Habsburg Empire, scholars composing in German also examined that empire's peoples, including the Romanians, as we have noted in chapter 1. These peoples' ongoing strivings for national self-determination jeopardized the Germans' political and cultural dominance in the state and thus generated studies that were partly a function of fundamental curiosity about their cohabitants and partly a counterpoise to the Hungarians' drive to achieve their own administrative autonomy within the empire.

German-writing historians in Austria-Hungary and to a lesser extent in Germany itself during the modern era were concerned as well about the German-speaking populace of Transylvania, Bucovina, and the Banat. In gathering records and in discoursing about these regions, these individuals indirectly conveyed information touching the Romanians.¹¹ Among German documentary collections are those regarding medieval Transylvania from the eleventh to the thirteenth century, the Transylvanian Saxons, Saxon chronicles from 990 to 1699, and the Turkish threat in the sixteenth century.¹² Histories by German authors comprise those about the Transyl-

10. *Történelmi Atlasz* [Historical Atlas], eds. Mária Csatáry, György Györffy et al, 12th ed. (Budapest: Kartográfiai Vállalat, 1971), maps 6c, 7a, 8a, 9a, 10a, 15c, 22a, 22b, 28b, 29b, 30a, 30b, 30c; cf., *A History of Hungary*, ed. Ervin Pamlényi, trans. László Boros et al (Budapest: Corvina, 1973), pp. 263-64, 439-43, 447, 449, 453-58; *Erdély története* [History of Transylvania], ed. Béla Köpecsi, (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1986), I, 5-6, 92-93, 301-02; III, 1350-54, 1362-66, 1416-19, 1726-28, 1745-47.

11. For earlier German historical writings about Carpatho-Danubia, see Ch. 1.

12. *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte Siebenbürgens* [Sourcebook for the History of Transylvania], ed. Georg D. Teutsch, *Fontes rerum Austriacarum* [Sources for

vanian Saxons from antiquity to 1919 by two Evangelical bishops in Transylvania, Georg Teutsch (1817-93) and Friedrich Teutsch (1852-1933) besides others by the Banat historian and sometimes member of the Hungarian legislature Johann H. Schwicker (1839-1902), and by the Bucovinan historian Raimund F. Kaendl (1866-1930). Narratives respecting the Germans in Bucovina came from Kaendl, from an Austrian official in Bucovina Franz A. Wickenhauser (1809-91), and more recently from Hugo Weczerka and Ekkehard Völkl.¹³ For the Schwabian Germans in the Banat there are the already mentioned volumes by Schwicker and Böhm.¹⁴

Early in the nineteenth century a German librarian-historian in Hanover, Ludwig A. Gebhardi (1735-1802), considered that, after the Roman conquest of Dacia, the Dacians became Romans or Vlachs [Walachen]; and, these free people remained in their homeland, not evacuating with the Roman legions in A.D. 271.¹⁵ In contrast, a German historian-geographer at Graz University in Austria, Robert Rösler (1836-74), assumed a Balkan origin of the Romanians. He was the first in the late modern period, following the precedent of eighteenth-century Transylvanian Saxon historians, to raise this issue: a thesis that provoked a storm

Austrian Affairs], vol. 15 (Wien: Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1857); *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der deutschen in Siebenbürgen* [Sourcebook for the History of the Germans in Transylvania], eds. Franz Zimmermann et al (Sibiu: F. Michaelis, 1892-1981), 6 volumes; *Chronicon Fuchsio-Lupino-Oltardinum, sive Annales Hungarici et Transsilvanici* [The Chronicle of Marcus Fuchs—Christianus Lupinus—Johannes Oltard: or Annals of Hungary and Transylvania], ed. Josef F. Trausch (Braşov: J. Gött, 1847-48), 2 parts; *Turcica: Die europäischen Türken drucke des XVI. Jahrhunderts* [Turkica: The Turkish Pressure in Europe during the Sixteenth Century], ed. Carl Göllner (Bucureşti: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Romîne, 1961-68), 2 volumes.

13. Georg D. and Friedrich Teutsch, *Geschichte der Siebenbürger Sachsen für die sächsische Volk* [History of the Transylvanian Saxons for the Saxon People] (Sibiu: W. Krafft, 1899-1926), 4 volumes; Johann H. Schwicker, *Die Deutschen in Ungarn und Siebenbürgen* [The Germans in Hungary and Transylvania] (Wien: K. Prochaska, 1881); Raimund F. Kaendl, *Geschichte der Deutschen in den Karpathenländern* [History of the Germans in the Carpathian Lands] (Gotha: F. A. Perthes, 1907-11), 3 volumes; R. F. Kaendl, *Geschichte der Bukowina von den ältesten Zeiten bis zur Gegenwart* [History of Bucovina from Earliest Times to the Present] (Czernowitz: H. Pardini, 1896-1903), 3 parts; Franz A. Wickenhauser, *Molda, oder Beiträge zur Geschichte der Moldau und Bukowina* [Molda: Contributions to the History of Moldavia and Bucovina] (Czernowitz: Pardini, 1881-91), 5 volumes; Hugo Weczerka, *Das mittelalterliche und frühneuzeitliche Deutschum im Fürstentum Moldau von seinen Anfängen bis zu seinem Untergang (13.-18. Jahrhundert)* [Medieval and Early Modern Germans in the Principality of Moldavia from Their Origins to their Downfall (13th to the 18th Century)] (München: R. Oldenbourg, 1960); Ekkehard Völkl, *Das rumänische Fürstentum Moldau und die Ostslaven im 15. bis 17. Jahrhundert* [The Romanian Principality of Moldavia and the East Slavs from the 15th to the 17th Century] (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1975).

14. See supra p. 21.

15. Ludwig A. Gebhardi, *Geschichte des Grossfürstenthums Siebenbürgen und der Königreiche Gallizien, Lodomerien und Rothreussen* [History of the Great Principality of Transylvania, and the Kingdom of Galicia, Lodomeria, and Red Russia] (Pest: J. Leyrer, 1803), pp. 6-9.

protest from Romanian historians. According to Rösler, the Latin-speaking population of Dacia withdrew from that province along with the Roman army in the third century A.D. The Romanian nationality then formed south of the Danube River; the proof thereof was the presence of Greek and Albanian words in the Romanian vocabulary in addition to the use by state and church of OCS until the seventeenth century. At the beginning of the thirteenth century, Rösler contended, Romanians migrated to Carpatho-Danubia—long after the arrival there of the Magyars and Germans.¹⁶ Other German intellectuals exploring this theme were Julius Jung and Emil Fischer. In contrast to Rösler, Julius Jung (1851-1910), an historian at Prague University, employed place-names to show that Romanians descended directly from the Romanized inhabitants of Dacia who continued to reside in that area as well as south of the Danube after the departure of Roman troops.¹⁷ A medical doctor at Bucharest, Emil Fischer (1855-1921), suggested nevertheless that the Vlachs or Romanians first appeared in the Balkan Peninsula in combination with the Thracians and Slavs from the eighth to the tenth century, then emigrating to Carpatho-Danubia after 1018 owing to Byzantine pressure. As a result of their sojourn in the Balkans, he concluded, contemporary Romanians and their language are half Slavic in character.¹⁸

Karl Marx made no formal contribution to Romanian historical studies, but did examine Romanian happenings. After his expulsion from the Prussian Rhineland following the 1848 revolution, he took refuge in London where he wrote articles for the *New York Tribune* about social movements in Britain, China, Spain, and the Danubian lands before launching the first volume of his *Das Capital* (1867). Marx drew heavily from other writers, like the French historian Éliez Regnault. In doing so, Marx noted the importance of early modern "capitulations" or treaties between the Danubian principalities and Ottoman Turkey that provided for Turkish suzerainty, but not Turkish sovereignty, over Moldavia and Wallachia. In return, the Danubian Romanians were to be protected from foreign enemies and to be given a free hand in conducting their internal affairs; hence, the Turks had no right to cede Bessarabia from Moldavia to Russia in 1812 nor to allow Austria to occupy Moldavia and Wallachia in 1854. He further observed that the Organic Regulations, which had been established by Russia at the insistence of Romanian boyars in 1831, legalized the economic exploitation of free peasants, whereby peasants became serfs. Marx also said that Romanians were ready for a revolution in 1848,

16. Robert Rösler, *Römänische Studien: Untersuchungen zur älteren Geschichte Rumäniens* [Romanian Studies: Inquiries into the Early History of Romania] (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1871).

17. Julius Jung, *Römer und Romanen in den Donauländern: Historisch-ethnographische Studien* [Romans and Romanians in the Danubian Lands: Historical and Ethnographical Studies], 2nd ed. (Innsbruck: Wagner, 1887).

18. Emil Fischer, *Die Herkunft der Rumänen: Eine historisch-linguistisch-ethnographische Studie* [The Origin of the Romanians: An Historical-Linguistic-Ethnographical Study] (Bamberg: Handels-druckerei, 1904).

aiming not so much against the Turks as against Russian influence in the Danubian principalities. But he criticized Romanian revolutionary leaders for lacking discernment, initiative, and courage in 1848, while placing misguided hopes for support in the provisional government of republican France.¹⁹

Investigations of the Transylvanian Romanians' churches embraced both Orthodox and Uniate Christians.²⁰ Other monographs in German have had for their topics the Romanian Orthodox church in early modern times, Habsburg imperial policies vis-à-vis the Transylvanian Romanians in the eighteenth century, nineteenth century Romanian national stirrings in Bucovina, pre-World War I diplomatic affairs, and German-Romanian relations on the eve of World War II.²¹

Turkish Views

Turkish historians, in contrast to their Hungarian and German counterparts, have largely ignored the Romanians, perhaps because the

19. Karl Marx, *Însemnări despre Români (manuscrise inedite)* [Notes about the Romanians (Unedited Manuscripts)], eds. Andrei Oțetea and Stanislaw Schwann (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Române, 1964), pp. 30, 54, 60 ff., 70-81, 83-89.

20. Johann Hintz, *Geschichte des Bisthums der griechisch-nichtunirten Glaubensgenossen in Siebenbürgen: Ein Beitrag zur Kirchengeschichte Siebenbürgens* [History of the Church of the Orthodox Faithful in Transylvania: A Contribution to the Church History of Transylvania] (Sibiu: Verein für siebenbürgische Landeskunde, 1850); Nikolaus Nilles, *Symbolae ad illustrandam historiam ecclesiae orientalis in terris coronae S. Stephani, maximam partem nunc primum ex variis tabulariis Romanis, Austriacis, Hungaricis, Transilvanis, Croaticis* [Contributions with Illustrations on the History of the Orthodox Church in the Lands of the Crown of St. Stephen, in Large Part Now for the First Time from Various Romanian, Austrian, Hungarian, Transylvanian, Croatian Records] (Innsbruck: F. Rauch, 1885), 2 volumes.

21. Krista Zach, *Orthodoxe Kirche und rumänisches Volksbewußtsein im 15. bis 18. Jahrhundert* [The Orthodox Church and the Romanian National Consciousness from the Fifteenth to the Eighteenth Century] (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1977); Mathias Bernath, *Habsburg und die Anfänge der rumänischen Nationsbildung* [The Habsburgs at the Outset of the Formation of the Romanian Nation] (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1972); Erich Prokopowitsch, *Die rumänische Nationalbewegung in der Bukowina und der Dako-Romanismus: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Nationalitätenkampfes in Österreich-Ungarn* [The Romanian National Movement in Bucovina and Daco-Romanism: A Contribution to the History of the Nationality Struggle in Austria-Hungary] (Graz: Böhlau, 1965); Uta Bindreiter, *Die diplomatischen und wirtschaftlichen Beziehungen zwischen Österreich-Ungarn und Rumänien in den Jahren 1875-1888* [Diplomatic and Economic Relations between Austria-Hungary and Romania from 1875 to 1888], Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für neuere Geschichte Österreichs LXIII (Wien: H. Böhlau, 1976); Ernst Ebel, *Rumänien und die Mittelmächte von der russisch-türkischen Krise 1877/78 bis zum Bukarester Frieden vom 10. August 1913* [Romania and the Central Powers from the Russo-Turkish Crisis of 1877-78 to the Bucharest Peace of 10 August 1913] (Berlin: E. Ebering, 1939); Andreas Hillgruber, *Hitler, König Carol und Marschall Antonescu: Die deutsch-rumänischen Beziehungen, 1938-1944* [Hitler, King Carol, and Marshal Antonescu: German-Romanian Relations, 1938-1944] (Wiesbaden: F. Steiner, 1954).

Romanian lands—with the exception of the Dobrogea—contained few Islamic, Turkish-speaking people. When Turkish scholars mention the Romanians, especially in connection with the conquest and defense of Carpatho-Danubia in the early modern era, they emphasize the Romanian military or political role on the periphery of the Ottoman Empire. Turkish writers saw the Romanian princes Mihai the Brave and Dimitrie Cantemir to have been trouble-makers and traitors. A comment by the Turkish polymath Hacı Halife Kâtib Çelebi (1609-58) that the inhabitants of Moldavia in the sixteenth century were Christian Mongols, who had arrived from unspecified eastern regions, undoubtedly raised the eyebrows of his Romanian readers.²² But, save for administrative and military problems posed by Romanians in Transylvania, Wallachia, and Moldavia, Turkish historians tell little about the Romanian past, as is the case in the multivolume history of Turkey by professor İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı (b. 1889) and Enver Ziya Karal. Further underscoring martial aspects is the Turkish general İbrahim Halil Sedes, who describes Romania's war for national independence in 1877-78.²³ A Turkish historical atlas neglects the Romanians until the fourteenth century; instead, it places Hungarians in Carpatho-Danubia by the eighth century, then the Bulgarians in the Banat by the ninth century, the nomadic Pechenegs throughout present day Romania by the eleventh century, followed by the Mongols in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.²⁴

Two Romanian scholars, for their part, assiduously collect Turkish information about their countrymen. Mihail Guboglu (b. 1911) compiles catalogs of Turkish manuscripts deposited in Romanian archives that reach 1829 together with extracts from Turkish chronicles referring to the Romanians from circa 1453 to 1808. Guboglu also provides helpful guides to Turkish palaeography, diplomatics, and chronology.²⁵ His colleague

22. *Cronici turcești privind Țările Române: Extrase* [Turkish Chronicles about the Romanian Lands: Extracts], ed. Mihail Guboglu (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1974), II, 123.

23. İsmail H. Uzunçarşılı and Enver Z. Karal, *Osmanlı tarihi* [Ottoman History], Türk Tarih Kurumu yayınlarından, 13 ser.: Dünya tarihi nr. 16, 3rd. ed. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1970-); this edition covers the years 1288 to 1918 in a projected nine volumes; see, Uzunçarşılı, I, 211-17; İbrahim H. Sedes, *1877-1878 Osmanlı-Rus ve Romen savaşı* [The Turkish-Russian and Romanian War of 1877-1878] (İstanbul: Asherî Matbaa, 1938), volumes 5 and 6 of *1875-1878 Osmanlı ordusu savaşları* [Turkish Military Campaigns of 1875-1878] (İstanbul: 1935-52), 11 volumes.

24. Faik Reşit Unat, *Tarih Atlası* [Historical Atlas], enl. ed. (İstanbul: Kanaat Yayınları, 1987), maps 19, 22, 23, 25, 27, 28, 30.

25. *Catalogul documentelor turcești* [Catalog of Turkish Documents], ed. Mihail Guboglu (București: Direcția Generală a Arhivelor Statului din Republica Populară Română, 1960-65), 2 volumes; *Cronici turcești privind Țările Române: Extrase* [Turkish Chronicles about the Romanian Lands: Extracts], eds. M. Guboglu and Mustafa Mehmet (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1966-80), 3 volumes; M. Guboglu, *Paleografia și diplomatica turco-osmană: Studii și album* [Turkish-Osmanli Palaeography and Diplomatics: A Study and an Album] (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Române, 1958); *Tabele sincronice datele Hegirei și datele erei noastre cu o introducere în cronologia musulmană* [Comparative Tables of the Dates of the

Mustafa Mehmed (b. 1924), in addition, edits Turkish documents from 1455 to 1774.²⁶

Russian Views

The Slavs have long attended their Romanian neighbors, for medieval Slavic migrations in Southeastern Europe brought Romanians and Slavs into direct contact. The Russian Slavs in particular have had a consequential role in lower Danubian affairs from the epoch of Sviatoslav [ca. 945-72] to that of Peter the Great [1682-1725], and onward to the present. Serious historical studies of Romanian lands by Russians, however, began after the southward expansion of imperial Russia in the late eighteenth century and chiefly following the Russian annexation in 1812 of eastern Moldavia, that is, the Romanian-speaking region sometimes called Bessarabia between the Prut and Dniester Rivers that today embraces in part the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic in the Soviet Union.

Some historians in Russia and many of their colleagues in contemporary Moldavia have gathered documents about Romania and in particular about Bessarabia. Their collections of primary sources include OCS chronicles regarding Moldavia in early modern times,²⁷ along with Slavic-Romanian records from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century edited by the Russian philologist Iurii I. Venelin (1802-39) and others.²⁸ A joint effort by Soviet and Romanian scholars, led by Iakim S. Grosul (b. 1912) at Kishinev and Andrei Ofetea at Bucharest, yielded evidence of the peaceful nature of Slavic-Romanian relations from 1408 to 1711.²⁹ Socioeconomic themes in Bessarabia are the focus of testimony between 1812 and 1912 about monastic lands dedicated to Holy Places in the Middle East as well as papers assembled by Moldavian historians spanning the years of Russian control from 1812 to 1917.³⁰ Historians in Moldavia furthermore compiled

Hegira and the Dates of Our Era, with an Introduction to Islamic Chronology] (București: Direcțiunea Arhivelor Statului, 1955).

26. *Documente turcești privind istoria României* [Turkish Documents about the History of Romania], ed. Mustafa Mehmet (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1976).

27. *Славяно-молдавские летописи XV-XVI вв.* [Slavonic-Moldavian Chronicles of the 15th and 16th Centuries], ed. Филипп А. Грекул (Москва: Наука, 1976).

28. Юрий И. Венелин, *Влахо-Болгарския или Дако-Славянския грамоты* [Vlach-Bulgarian or Daco-Slavonic Documents] (Санкт-Петербург: В Типографии Императорской Российской Академии, 1840); *Молдавия в эпоху феодализма: Славяно-молдавские грамоты* [Moldavia in the Epoch of Feudalism: Slavonic-Moldavian Documents], eds. Павел Г. Дмитриев et al (Кишинев: Штиинца, 1961-1978), 2 volumes.

29. *Исторические связи СССР и Румынии в XV—начала XVIII в.: Документы и материалы* [Historical Relations between the USSR and Romania from the 15th to the Opening of the 18th Century: Documents and Materials], eds. Яким С. Гросул, Андре К. Оцетя et al (Москва: Наука, 1965-70), 3 volumes.

30. Митрофан В. Пуришкевич, *О землях, находящихся в Бессарабской губернии, именующихся преклоненными святым местам на Дальнем Востоке* [About Lands in the Province of Bessarabia, Dedicated to the Holy Places in the Far East] (Кишинев: Типография Бессарабского Губернского Правления, 1908-12), 4 parts; the Holy Places referred to in Purishkevich's work are in the Middle East, not in the Far East as the title in Russian indicates; *История Молдавии: Документы и материалы* [History of

materials about the 1917 revolution, besides economic and political matters in the interwar era and after World War II.³¹

A liberal Bulgarian émigré at Odessa, Spiridon N. Palauzov (1818-72), was the first in Russia to summarize the history of the Danubian principalities from their foundation in the early modern period to 1858. Palauzov's discussion of Romanian political events during the first half of the nineteenth century is generally meritorious, being a partial result of his keen interest in liberating peoples subjected to the Turks in Southeastern Europe. Less edifying is an undocumented account by Nikolai P. Boretskii-Bergfeld that, nonetheless, provides some insights for the term from 1806 to 1881.³² No Soviet scholar has as yet composed a panoramic historical synthesis of the Romanians. But a helpful work—that excludes Bessarabia—by Vladlen N. Vinogradov and his associates at the Institute of Slavic and Balkan Studies in Moscow deals with the 1848-1970 epoch. The authors underscore Russian support for the union of the Danubian principalities, the winning of Romanian independence, Russo-Soviet contacts with Romanian revolutionaries, and the freeing of Romania from a fascist regime during World War II.³³

Monographic literature by Soviet specialists flourished after World War II owing to a government policy of fostering amity within the socialist orbit and so sponsoring research about neighboring peoples such as the Romanians. Romanian foreign and military topics attract much Soviet attention.³⁴ There are, for example, volumes about the Romanians' in-

Moldavia: Documents and Materials], eds. Яким С. Гросул et al. (Кишинев: Госиздат Молдавии, 1957-64), 4 volumes.

31. *Борьба за власть Советов в Молдавии (март 1917-март 1918 гг.): Сборник документов и материалов* [Struggle by the Soviets for Power in Moldavia (March 1917-March 1918): Collection of Documents and Materials], eds. Николай В. Березняков et al. (Кишинев: Госиздат Молдавии, 1957); *Социалистическое переустройство сельского хозяйства Молдавской АССР (1920-1937 гг.): Документы и материалы* [Socialist Reconstruction of Agriculture in the Moldavian ASSR (1920-1937): Documents and Materials], eds. Семион Я. Аftenюк et al. (Кишинев: Картя Молдовеняскэ, 1964); *Международная поддержка борьбы трудящихся Бессарабии за воссоединение с Советской Родиной (1918-1940 гг.): Сборник документов и материалов* [International Support for the Workers of Bessarabia for Reunification with Soviet Russia (1918-1940): Collection of Documents and Materials], ed. Яков М. Копанский (Кишинев: Картя Молдовеняскэ, 1970); *Коллективизация крестьянских хозяйств в правобережных районах Молдавской ССР: Сборник документов* [The Collectivization of the Peasant Economy on the Right-Bank Districts of Moldavia SSR: Collection of Documents], ed. Владимир И. Царанов (Кишинев: Картя Молдовеняскэ, 1969).

32. Спиридон Н. Палаузов, *Румынские государства Валахия и Молдавия в историко-политическом отношении* [The Romanian States of Wallachia and Moldavia in Historical-Political Relations] (Санкт-Петербург: Д. Е. Кожанчиков, 1859); Николай П. Борецкий-Бергфельд, *История Румынии* [History of Romania] (Санкт-Петербург: Брокгауз-Ефрон, 1909).

33. *История Румынии* [History of Romania], eds. Владлен Н. Виноградов, Николай И. Лебедев et al. (Москва: Наука, 1971), 2 volumes.

34. See for example: Галина С. Гросул, *Дунайские княжества в политике России, 1774-1806* [The Danubian Principalities in Russian Politics, 1774-1806] (Кишинев: Штиинца, 1975); Владлен Н. Виноградов, *Россия и объединение Румынских княжеств* [Russia and the Independence of the Romanian Principalities] (Москва: Издательство

volvement in Russia's wars from the days of Peter the Great to those of Stalin [1928-53].³⁵ Soviet experts investigate moreover Romanian economic and political matters along with revolutionary movements chiefly in the late modern age.³⁶

Although contemporary Soviet historians do not concentrate on early medieval Romanians, their views of Romanian origins are concisely stated in the *Soviet Historical Encyclopedia*. They say here that some of the Romanized Geto-Dacians remained in Dacia after the Roman evacuation in A.D. 271. This population later assimilated the Slavs, who reached Carpatho-Danubia during the sixth and seventh centuries, giving rise thereby to the Vlachs, that is, the ancestors of the kindred Romanians and Moldavians. In Transylvania proper, however, the Slavs arrived at least two centuries before Vlachs settled there in the ninth century.³⁷

In distinguishing between Romanians and Moldavians, as historians in Russia do, there arose a specific Moldavian-Bessarabian-Carpatho/Dniestrian historiography. The first substantial Moldavian history was by Aleksis Nakko (1832-1915) in Bessarabia, who carried the story from pre-history to 1812. A briefer report with statistical data on the Russian administration in the nineteenth century came from a bureaucrat Pompei N. Batiushkov (1811-92). Both writers stressed Slavic influences on the people

Академии Наук СССР, 1961); Евгений Е. Чертан, *Русско-Румынские отношения в 1859-1863 годах* [Russo-Romanian Relations, 1859-1863] (Кишинев: Картя Молдовеняскэ, 1968); Михаил М. Залышкин, *Внешняя политика Румынии и румыно-русские отношения, 1875-1878* [The Foreign Policy of Romania and Romanian-Russian Relations, 1875-1878] (Москва: Наука, 1974); Алексей С. Агаки, *Русско-Румынские межгосударственные отношения в конце XIX-начале XX в.* [Russo-Romanian Interstate Relations at the end of the Nineteenth and Beginning of the Twentieth Century] (Кишинев: Штиинца, 1976).

35. See for example: Лидия Е. Семенова, *Русско-валахские отношения в конце XVII-начале XVIII в.* [Russian-Wallachian Relations at the End of the Seventeenth and Beginning of the Eighteenth Century] (Москва: Наука, 1969); Владлен Н. Виноградов, *Румыния в годы первой мировой войны* [Romania during the First World War] (Москва: Наука, 1969); Николай И. Лебедев, *Румыния в годы второй мировой войны* [Romania during the Second World War] (Москва: Издательство Института Международных Отношения, 1961).

36. See for example: Владислав Я. Гросул, *Реформы в Дунайских княжествах и Россия (20-30 годы XIX века)* [Reforms in the Danubian Principalities and Russia (1820s-1830s)] (Москва: Наука, 1966); Николай В. Березняков, *Революционное и национально-освободительное движение в Дунайских княжествах в 1848-1849 гг.* [Revolutionary and National-Liberation Movements in the Danubian Principalities in 1848-1849], 2nd ed. (Кишинев: Госиздат Молдавии, 1955); Самсон Ф. Мадиевский, *Политическая система Румынии: последняя треть XIX-начало XX в.* [The Political System of Romania: The Last Third of the Nineteenth to the Beginning of the Twentieth Century] (Москва: Наука, 1980); Владлен Н. Виноградов, *Крестьянское восстание 1907 года в Румынии* [The 1907 Peasant Revolt in Romania] (Москва: Издательство Академии Наук СССР, 1958); Алла А. Язкова, *Румыния накануне второй мировой войны, 1934-1939* [Romania on the Eve of the Second World War, 1934-1939] (Москва, Издательство Академии Наук СССР, 1963).

37. Филипп А. Грекул, "Румыния" [Romania], *Советская Историческая Энциклопедия* [Soviet Historical Encyclopedia], eds. Евгений М. Жуков et al, XII (1969), 260-61; Ф. А. Грекул, "Валахия" [Wallachia], *ibid.*, II (1962), 930-31; Лидия Е. Семенова, "Трансильвания" [Transylvania], *ibid.*, XIV (1973), 367.

of Moldavia.³⁸ After World War II, researchers at the Moldavian Institute of History at Kishinev, including Nikolai A. Mokhov (b. 1904) and Vladimir Tsaranov, maintained that Moldavia was not part of ancient Dacia. The Romanized Geto-Dacians were, however, the distant forebears of contemporary Moldavians; a racial fusion of Romanized groups with Slavs in the Carpathian and Balkan Mountains led gradually to the formation of the Vlachs by the ninth century. By the twelfth century, Vlachs moved to what is now known as Moldavia in the Soviet Union in order to escape the Hungarian conquerors of Transylvania. In contrast to the nomadic ways of Vlach shepherds elsewhere, Moldavian Vlachs raised long-horned cattle and began clearing the forests for pasture and agriculture. Vlachs assimilated indigenous Slavs, who had resided in Moldavia since the sixth century, together with some Turks, in a process that was complete by the fourteenth century. But the modern Moldavian nationality, as opposed to Moldavian ethnicity, did not appear until the advent of capitalism in this area. Economic relations based on production and the exchange of goods united the Moldavian populace, thereby generating the Moldavian nation, especially after Russia won Bessarabia in 1812. The Moldavian literary language as well, which drew from both Russian and Ukrainian, emerged by the end of the nineteenth century.³⁹

Historical monographs about Moldavia emphasize the modern period following the 1812 Russian annexation. A Bessarabian legal expert in Moscow, Lev A. Kasso (1865-1914), offered documented essays on this region from 1809 to 1825.⁴⁰ Today scholars at Kishinev, Iakim S. Grosul and Ilia G. Budak (b. 1916) among others, depict their country's socio-economic evolution during the nineteenth century.⁴¹ Their colleagues, in-

38. Алексис Накко, *История Бессарабии с древнейших времен* [History of Bessarabia from Earliest Times] (Одесса: Ульрих и Шульце, 1873-76), 2 volumes; Помпей Н. Батюшков, *Бессарабия: Историческое описание* [Bessarabia: An Historical Account], ed. Митрофан И. Гродецкий, 3rd ed. (Санкт-Петербург: Общественная Польза, 1892).

39. See separate sections by Эммануил А. Рикман, Иван Г. Хынка, and Николай Ф. Мохов respectively in *История Молдавской ССР* [History of the Moldavian SSR], ed. Лев В. Черепнин, 2nd ed. (Кишинев: Картя Молдовеняскэ, 1965), I, 37-42, 59-61, 79-81; Николай А. Мохов, *Молдавия эпохи феодализма: От древнейших времен до начала 19 в.* [Moldavia in the Period of Feudalism: From Earliest Times to the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century] (Кишинев: Картя Молдовеняскэ, 1964); *История Молдавской ССР: С древнейших времен до наших дней* [History of Moldavia SSR: From Earliest Times to Our Days], eds. Владимир И. Царанов et al (Кишинев: Штиинца, 1982), pp. 27, 38-46, 217-19; see also the Moldavian translation, *История РСФСР Молдовенешты: Дни челе май векэ тымпурь пынэ ми зилеле ноастре* (Кишинэу: Штиинца, 1984), pp. 29, 40-49, 229-32.

40. Лев А. Кассо, *Россия на Дунае и образование Бессарабской области* [Russia on the Danube and the Formation of the Bessarabian District] (Москва: Печатна А. Снегиревой, 1913).

41. Яким С. Гросул, *Крестьяне Бессарабии, 1812-1861* [The Peasants of Bessarabia, 1812-1861] (Кишинев: Госиздат Молдавии, 1956); Илья Г. Будак, *Буржуазные реформы 60-70-х годов XIX века в Бессарабии* [Bourgeois Reforms of the 1860s and 1870s in Bessarabia] (Кишинев: Картя Молдовеняскэ, 1961); Людмила Н. Оганян, *Общественное движение в Бессарабии в первой четверти XIX века* [Social Movement in

cluding M. G. Itkis (1921-67), treat revolutionary movements.⁴² The inter-war era may moreover be examined in the pages of such contributors as Art'om M. Lazarev (b. 1914) who, by and large, justify Russia's acquisition of Bessarabia in 1812 for having freed the inhabitants from Turkish oppression and, in turn, denounce that province's transfer to Romania after World War I for having been violent and illegal.⁴³

South Slavic Views

South Slavic historical accounts of Romanians are, when compared to those by Russians or Soviets in Moldavia, relatively few and rather sketchy. This stems from political and cultural circumstances. The southern Slavs, be they Bulgarians or Serbs, are more engrossed in their own past than in that of non-Slavic neighbors like the Romanians. Although most southern Slavs share an Orthodox Christian tradition with the Romanians, in modern times Bulgarians and Serbs have generally looked for support and inspiration northeastward, to the eastern Slavic Russians, while Romanians have sought intellectual or nationalistic sparks westward—among the French, Italians, and Germans.

The Bulgarians encountered sundry crises together with the Romanians from the Middle Ages onward and so figured more prominently in discussing Romanian historical happenings than the Serbs, who themselves pondered more their linguistic twin, the Catholic Croats, than their fellow Orthodox religionists on the lower Danube River. An eminent Bulgarian scholar at Sofia University, Vasil N. Zlatarski (1866-1935), briefly described the medieval Romanians, known to the Bulgarians as Vlachs. Thessaly in central Greece during the twelfth century was, according to Zlatarski, called Great Wallachia where the Vlachs, of Roman origin, constituted a compactly settled ethnic unit; in addition, elsewhere in the Balkan Peninsula, Vlachs were nomadic cattle breeders and shepherds. Leaders of the second Bulgarian empire [1187-1396] initially courted nearby peoples, including the Vlachs of Moesia Inferior south of the

Movement in Bessarabia in the First Quarter of the Nineteenth Century] (Кишинев: Штиинца, 1974).

42. М. Б. Иткис, *Крестьянское движение в Молдавии в 1917 году и претворение в жизнь Ленинского декрета о земле* [The Peasant Movement in Moldavia in 1917 and the Change in Life by Lenin's Decree on Land] (Кишинев: Карта Молдовеняскэ, 1970); Юрий Г. Иванов, *Революционное движение в Молдавии—с 1895 по февраль 1917 г.* [The Revolutionary Movement in Moldavia from 1895 to February 1917] (Кишинев: Штиинца, 1980).

43. Арт'ом М. Лазарев, *Молдавская Советская Государственность и Бессарабский вопрос* [The Moldavian Soviet State and the Bessarabian Question] (Кишинев: Карта Молдовеняскэ, 1974); Николай Д. Молдован, *Крестьянское движение в Бессарабии в 1929-1933 гг.* [The Peasant Movement in Bessarabia, 1929-1933] (Кишинев: Штиинца, 1979); А. Дольник, *Бессарабия под властью румынских бояр, 1918-1940 гг.* [Bessarabia under the Control of Romanian Boyars, 1918-1940] (Москва: Государственное издательство политической литературы, 1945); cf., *Атлас истории СССР для средней школы* [Historical Atlas of the Soviet Union for Secondary Schools], eds. Т. Н. Бекова et al (Москва: Главное управление геодезии и картографии при совете министров СССР, 1970), III, 7, 11.

Danube, but eventually learned not to trust the Vlachs owing to the latter's "treacherous nature." Thus, Zlatarski denies the Vlachs a consequential role in the empire. By the mid-thirteenth century, however, the Vlachs established a semi-independent state under Bulgarian aegis north of the Danube in a region henceforth named Wallachia.⁴⁴ Zlatarski's colleague at Sofia, Petür S. Mutaфchiev (1883-1943), suggested that the pastoral Vlachs were actually Romanized Thracians of northern Greece, some of whom moved to Serbia in the tenth century, then to the Carpathian Mountains, and finally to Romanian Wallachia in the early thirteenth century. In Wallachia, Bulgarian culture profoundly influenced the Romanians' language and institutions. But when the second Bulgarian empire emerged, there were no Vlachs south of the Danube except for some scattered wandering shepherds.⁴⁵ Hence, Mutaфchiev and Zlatarski concur that the Vlachs took no significant part in medieval Bulgaria and thereby affirm the distinctively Bulgarian character of their own early history.

Bulgarians have also gathered records of their fellow countrymen residing in Romania during modern times. A philologist at Sofia University, Stoian M. Romanski (1882-1959), compiled sources concerning Bulgarians in Wallachia for the years 1792 to 1838, while others edited materials about the Bulgarian Literary Society at the Danubian port of Brăila from 1868 to 1876.⁴⁶ Using this and other evidence, a prolific biographer Mikhail P. Arnaudov (1878-1978) composed a monograph bearing on the Bulgarian community at Brăila.⁴⁷

The Dobrogea is likewise a center of Bulgarian attention. Bulgarians consider this ethnically mixed area between the easternmost segment of the Danube River and the Black Sea, which Romania annexed in 1878 while retroceding southern Bessarabian districts to Russia, to be an historically integrated portion of their own homeland. The prospect of a frontier

44. Васил Златарски, *История на Българската държава през средните векове* [History of the Bulgarian State During the Middle Ages], ed. Петър Хр. Петров (София: Издателство Наука и Изкуство, 1970-72), II, 397, 416-19, 427 and III, 97, 371, 373.

45. Петър Мутафчиев, *История на Българския народ* [History of the Bulgarian People], ed. Иван Дуйчев, 2nd ed. (София: Хемус, 1943-44), I, 78-79 and II, 25-26, 36-37; *Bulgares et roumains dans l'histoire des pays danubiens* [Bulgarians and Romanians in the History of the Danubian Lands], trans. T. Kirkov (Sofia: G. Danov, 1932).

46. Стоян Романски, *Българите в Влашко и Молдова: Документи* [Bulgarians in Wallachia and Moldavia: Documents] (София: Държавна печатница, 1930); *Българската емиграция във Влахия след руско-турската война, 1828-1829: Сборник от документи* [Bulgarian Emigrants in Wallachia after the Russo-Turkish War of 1828-1829: Collection of Documents], eds. Константин Велики and Веселин Трайков (София: Издателство на Българската Академия на Науките, 1980); *Документи за историята на Българското Книжовно Дружество в Бранла, 1868-1876* [Documents on the History of the Bulgarian Bookman's Society in Brăila, 1868-1876], eds. Петър Миятев и Георги Димов (София: Издателство на Българската Академия на Науките, 1958).

47. Махаил Арнаудов, *Българското Книжовно Дружество в Бранла, 1869-1876* [The Bulgarian Bookman's Society in Brăila, 1869-1876] (София: Издателство на Българската Академия на Науките, 1966); see also, Николай Жечев, *Бранла и българското културно-национално възраждане* [Brăila and Bulgaria's Cultural-National Revival] (София: Издателство на Българската Академия на Науките, 1970).

adjustment there, before and after World War I, prompted studies of the Dobrogea by a poet, Stilian Chilingirov (1881-1962), an ethnographer, Anastas T. Ishirkov (1868-1937), Mutafchiev, and others.⁴⁸ Following World War II, Bulgarian historians continued to present their country's territorial claims. Velko Tonev, for example, identified the Dobrogea as the "cradle of the Bulgarian state" that definitely belongs to contemporary Bulgaria.⁴⁹

The South Slavs of Yugoslavia—the Serbs, as already noted, the Croatians and Slovenes—have had little to say about the Romanians. A Slovene philologist, Frančišek Miklošič (1813-91), examined Vlach migrations throughout Southeastern Europe and concluded that they originated south of the Danube—not, that is, in ancient Dacia.⁵⁰ For the modern period, a physician and historian, Vladan Dorđević (1844-1930), provided a general account of Romanian diplomatic history, emphasizing Balkan relations during the reign of Romania's first king, Carol I [1866/81-1914].⁵¹ And, discussing cultural ties between Romanians and the South Slavs is a professor at Belgrade University, Radu Flora (b. 1922), who sketches Romanian literary endeavors at Vršac in the Yugoslav section of the Banat.⁵²

48. Стилиян Чилингиров, *Добруджа и нашето възрождане: Културно-исторически издирвания* [The Dobrogea and Our Revival: Cultural-Historical Inquiry] (София: Държавна печатница, 1917); Anastas Ischirkoff, *Les Bulgares en Dobroudja: Aperçu historique et ethnographique* [Bulgarians in the Dobrogea: Historical and Ethnographical Survey] (Berne: Imprimerie Pochon-Jent & Bühler, 1919); Петър Мутафчиев, *Добруджа: Сборник от студии* [The Dobrogea: Collection of Studies], ed. Димитър Крънджалов, vol. 4 of *Съчинения на професор Петър Мутафчиев* [The Works of Professor Petăr Mutafchiev] (София: Книгоиздателство Хемус, 1947), with articles and essays published between 1924 and 1943.

49. Velko Tonev, *Добруджа през възрождането: Културен живот, църковно-национални борби, революционни движения* [The Dobrogea during the Revival: Cultural Life, Religious-National Struggles, Revolutionary Movement] (Варна: Държавно издателство, 1973), pp. 5, 263; Иван Георгиев, *Добруджа в борбата за свобода, 1913-1940: Спомен и бележи за добруджанското революционно движение* [The Dobrogea in the Struggle for Freedom, 1913-1940: Recollections and Notes about the Dobrogean Revolutionary Movement] (София: Българска Комунистическа Партия, 1962); Христо Вакарелски, *Добруджа: Материали към веществената култура на Българите през периода на капитализма* [The Dobrogea: Materials about the Material Culture of Bulgaria during the Period of Capitalism] (София: Издателство на Българската Академия на Науките, 1964); cf., *Атлас по Българска история* [Atlas of Bulgarian History], eds. Димитър Косев et al (София: Издателство на Българската Академия на Науките, 1963), pp. 10-12, 14, 16-19.

50. Franz Miklosisch, *Über die Wanderungen der Rumunen in den dalmatinischen Alpen und den Karpaten* [About the Migrations of Romanians in the Dalmatian Alps and in the Carpathian Mountains], Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Classe Denkschriften, vol. 30 (Wien: 1880).

51. Владан Ђорђевић, *Европа и Румунија* [Europe and Romania], vol. 1 of *Европа и Балкан: Дипломацка историја балканских хришћанских држава* [Europe and the Balkans: Diplomatic History of the Balkan Christian States] (Београд: 1911).

52. Radu Flora, *Istoria literaturii române* [History of Romanian Literature] (Vršac: Editura Libertatea, 1963), II, 288-95; cf., "Rumunsko-Yugoslavenki odnosi" [Romanian-Yugoslav Relations], *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije* [Yugoslav Encyclopedia], VII (1968), 107-18.

West Slavic Views

Historical writings by western Slavs about the Romanians are likewise not voluminous owing to the primary scholarly concerns of Poles and Czechs about tangible and imaginary challenges posed for them by Germans and Russians. Modern Polish studies of the Romanian people open with a synoptic history of the Danubian principalities by an encyclopedia editor, Leon Rogalski (1806-78), based on works by Kogălniceanu, Palauzov, and others. Stanisław Łukasik later surveyed Polish-Romanian cultural contacts in the nineteenth century, while Juliusz Demel at Wrocław University underscored the deeds of Polish emigrants in the Danubian principalities during the 1863-64 revolt in Russian Poland.⁵³ Demel also considered the course of Romanian events from their beginnings to 1947. He suggests that the Poles had a militant role in Moldavia during early modern times, seeking to seize territory and to spread Roman Catholicism.⁵⁴ On the other hand, Zdzisław Spieralski, who treats the Polish involvement in Moldavia from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century, identifies the Poles' dilemma of striving simultaneously to preserve peace and to repel Turkish aggression. Therefore, according to Spieralski, Polish leaders contemplated annexing Moldavia and Wallachia in order to erect a Polish-Romanian barrier against the Turks and thereby to assure the security of the Polish state.⁵⁵ Additional worthy books, which handle Transylvanian historical issues, are by Ludwik Bazylow (b. 1915) at Warsaw University and Danuta Bieńkowska.⁵⁶

Publications by Czechs dealing with the Romanians center on the latter's ethnic origins in the western Carpathian Mountains. An historian at Prague University, Josef L. Pič (1847-1911), stressed the continuity of Romanians in ancient Dacia. He argued that Romanians resided in the Bihor Mountains of western Transylvania until the thirteenth century when they

53. Leon Rogalski, *Dzieje księstw nad-dunajskich, to jest: Multan i Wołoszczyzny* [History of the Danubian Principalities, that is: Moldavia and Wallachia] (Warszawa: S. Orgelbrand, 1861), 2 volumes; Stanisław Łukasik, *Rumunja a Polska w XIX wieku* [Romania and Poland in the Nineteenth Century] (Kraków: Gebethner i Wolff, 1929); Juliusz Demel, *Aleksander Jan Cuza, książę Rumunii* [Alexander Ion Cuza: Prince of Romania] (Wrocław: Zakład narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1977).

54. Juliusz Demel, *Historia Rumunii* [History of Romania] (Wrocław: Zakład narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1970); see also, Mieczysław Jaworowski, *Historia narodu rumuńskiego: Krótki zarys* [History of the Romanian People: Short Outline] (Warszawa: Książka i Wiedza, 1979); for Polish control of Moldavia from 1387 to 1497, see *Atlas historyczny świata* [Atlas of World History], ed. Józef Wolski (Warszawa: Państwowe przedsiębiorstwo wydawnictw kartograficznych, 1974), pp. 41, 59, 63.

55. Zdzisław Spieralski, *Awanturnicy mołdawskie* [Moldavian Disturbances] (Warszawa: Wiedza Powszechna, 1966).

56. Ludwik Bazylow, *Siedmiogród a Polska, 1576-1613* [Transylvania and Poland, 1576-1613] (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1967); Danuta Bieńkowska, *Michał Waleczny* [Michael the Brave] (Katowice: Śląsk, 1974).

moved into surrounding regions.⁵⁷ Another Prague professor, Karel Kadlec (1865-1928), accepted Pič's thesis about Romanian continuity and then described the presence of the Vlachs or Romanians together with their own law in Slovakia and Moravia by the sixteenth century.⁵⁸ A debate nonetheless ensued regarding the Romanians of the Habsburg Empire. On one side, Dumitru Crânjălă denied Romanian influences in Moravia; on the other, Josef Macůrek (b. 1901) at Karlovy Vary University provided a learned discussion of the Vlachs' colonization and subsequent history in Slovakia and Moravia from the fifteenth to the early eighteenth century.⁵⁹ For the modern era, the Slovak scholar Marin Krajčovič (b. 1937) uses archival evidence to illustrate Romanian-Slovak-Serb cooperation in demanding political rights in Austria-Hungary at the end of the nineteenth century.⁶⁰

Greek Views

Greek historians for their part seem to lose interest in the Romanians following the collapse of the Greek Phanariot regimes in Moldavia [1711-1821] and Wallachia [1716-1821].⁶¹ Orthodox cultural traditions shared by Greeks and Romanians have, nevertheless, inspired a few works about Carpatho-Danubia by modern researchers at Athens. For example, in a doctoral dissertation Theodōros Athanasiou explored the effects of Greek schools on piety and politics in the Danubian principalities from the mid-seventeenth to the early nineteenth century. In a second dissertation, Geōrgios Tsioran investigated Romanian religious and financial ties with

57. Josef L. Pič, *Über die Abstammung der Rumänen* [About the Origin of the Romanians] (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1880); *Zur rumänisch-ungarische Streitfrage: Skizzen zur ältesten Geschichte der Rumänen, Ungarn und Slaven* [On the Romanian-Hungarian Controversy: Sketches on the Earliest History of the Romanians, Hungarians, and Slavs] (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1886).

58. Karel Kadlec, *Valaši a valašské právo v zemích slovanských a uherských: S úvodem podávajícím přehled teorie o vzniku rumunského národa* [Vlachs and Wallachian Jurisdiction in the Slavic Lands of Hungary: In the Introduction is a Sketch of the Theory about the Origins of the Romanian People] (Praha: Nákladem České Akademie Císaře Františka Josefa, 1916).

59. Dumitru Crânjălă, *Rumunské vlivy v Karpatech se zvláštním zřetelem k moravskému Valašsku* [Romanian Influence in the Carpathian Mountains with Special Regard to the Moravian Vlachs] (Praha: Orbis, 1938); Josef Macůrek, *Valaši v západních Karpatech v 15.-18. století: K dějinám osídlení a hospodářsko-spoločenského vývoje jižního Těšínska, jihozápadního Polska, severozápadního Slovenska a východní Moravy* [Vlachs in the Western Carpathian Mountains from the Fifteenth to the Eighteenth Century: About the History of the Settlement and the Economic-Social Development of South Teschen, Southwestern Poland, Northwestern Slovakia, and Eastern Moravia] (Ostrava: Krajské Nakladatelství, 1959); see also Macůrek's, *Rumunsko ve své minulosti i přítomnosti* [Romania: Past and Present] (Praha: Orbis, 1930).

60. Milan Krajčovič, *Slovenska politika v strednej Europe, 1890-1901: Spolupráca Slovákov, Rumunov a Srbov* [Slovakian Politics in Central Europe, 1890-1901: Collaboration of Slovaks, Romanians, and Serbs] (Bratislava: Svornost, 1971).

61. See Ch. 1.

the monasteries on Mount Athos during the early and later modern periods.⁶²

Italian Views

Ancient Roman history is a popular theme among Romanians concerned as they are about their ethnic provenance; and some modern Italian historians have reciprocated by attending, more than the Greeks, to the Romanians' past. The first West European to consult Romanian chronicles was apparently a Florentine princely secretary in Wallachia, Antonio M. Del Chiaro (fl. 1697-1718), who briefly described Romanian happenings down to the cession of Oltenia to Austria in 1718.⁶³ Italian elements in Romanian literature are the subject of a more recent monograph by the Paduan philologist Ramiro Ortiz (1879-1948).⁶⁴ Perhaps the most prolific Italian student of Romanian affairs is Mario Ruffino, who examines the Romanians' Roman roots and early modern Italian currents in Wallachia, as well as the Romanians of Transylvania.⁶⁵ A professor at Pisa University, Cesare Alzate, tells about the resistance of Orthodox Romanian peasants in Transylvania to Roman Catholic and Protestant pressure and proselytism in the late sixteenth century along with the opposition of Orthodox Romanians in Moldavia and Wallachia to Islamic teachings.⁶⁶ Other topics addressed by Italian historians are the Moldo-Wallachian union of the 1850s and twentieth century Romanian diplomacy.⁶⁷ Beginning in the 1970s, cer-

62. Θεόδωρος Ἀθανασίου, *Περὶ τῶν ἑλληνικῶν σχολῶν ἐν Ρουμανίᾳ, 1644-1821* [About Greek Schools in Romania, 1644-1821] (Ἀθήναι: Τυπογραφεῖον τῶν ἀδελφῶν Περρῆ, 1898); Γεώργιος Τσιοράν, *Σχέσεις τῶν ρουμανικῶν χωρῶν μετὰ τοῦ Ἀθῶ καὶ δὴ τοῦ μονῶν Κουτλουμουσίου, Λαύρας, Δοχειαρίου καὶ Ἀγίου Παντελεήμονος ἡ τῶν Ρώσων* [Relations of the Romanian Land with Athos and the Monasteries of Koutloumousios, Laura, Docheiarios, and Saint Panteleimonos of the Russians], *Texte und Forschungen zur Byzantinisch-Neugriechischen Philologie* 25 (Ἀθήναι: Verlag der Byzantinisch-Neugriechischen Jahrbücher, 1938).

63. Antonio M. Del Chiaro, *Istoria delle moderne rivoluzioni della Valachia, con la descrizione del paese* [History of the Recent Revolutions in Wallachia, with a Description of the Country] (Venezia: A. Bortoli, 1718).

64. Ramiro Ortiz, *Per la storia della cultural italiana in Rumania* [On the History of Italian Culture in Romania] (Bucurest: C. Sfetea, 1916).

65. Mario Rufini, *Il problema della romanità nella Dacia Traiana: Studio storico-filologico* [The Problem of the Romans in Trajan's Dacia: Historical-Philological Study] (Roma: A. Signorelli, 1941); *La scuola latinista romana (1780-1871): Studio storico-filologico* [The Romanian Latinist School (1780-1871): Historical-Philological Study] (Roma: Signorelli, 1941); *Storia dei Romeni de Transilvania* [History of the Romanians in Transylvania] (Torino: La stampa, 1942); *L'influsso italiano in Valacchia nell'epoca di Costantino-vodă Brâncoveanu, 1688-1714* [Italian Influence in Wallachia during the Reign of Prince Constantin Brâncoveanu, 1688-1714] (München: Societatea Academică Română, 1974).

66. Cesare Alzate, *Terra romana tra oriente e occidente: Chiese ed etnie nel tardo '500* [Romanian Lands between East and West: Church and Ethnicity in the late Sixteenth Century] (Milano: Jaca Book, 1982).

67. Pasquale Buonincontro, *L'Unione dei Principati danubiani nei documenti diplomatici napoletani* [The Union of the Danubian Principalities According to

tain Romanian sources are to be found in Italian translation. For instance, a publisher in Rome, cooperating with the Romanian Communist Party's Institute of Political and Social History in Bucharest, has a documentary set in Italian illustrating the Romanians' pursuit of state independence from antiquity to 1920.⁶⁸ This collection unfortunately contains inadequate archival and bibliographical references.

French Views

Romanians have also had strong ties with the French. Because of France's powerful position in modern Europe and the common Roman genesis of these two peoples, Romanians sought French support in achieving their political aims. Divers prominent Romanian historians studied in France, and some of their prose, notably that of Xenopol and Iorga, appeared originally in French. One Romanian scholar, Pompiliu Eliade (1869-1914), writing in French, assessed French influences upon the developing national consciousness of Romanians from 1746 to 1834.⁶⁹

The first Frenchman to dip into the Romanians' past is, evidently, a radical publicist Jean Louis Carra (1743-93), who dwelt briefly in Moldavia and whose book about that principality rests mainly on one by Cantemir about Turkey. Carra speculates that the ancient Romans encouraged the social "scum" of their empire to colonize Dacia; from these settlers, contemporary Romanians inherited their vices.⁷⁰ Later, various French observers in the Danubian principalities during the nineteenth century offered concise historical accounts. More substantial were studies by the scholar-statesman Élias Regnault (1801-68), the Lombard political commentator J. H. Abdolonyme Ubicini (1818-84) on Romanian origins, and a newspaper

Neapolitan Diplomatic Documents] (Napoli: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1972); see also the following works by Lilio Cialdea: *La politica estera della Romania nel quarantennio prebellico* [The Foreign Policy of Romania in the Forty Years before the War] (Bologna: L. Cappelli, 1933), *La Transilvania: Aspetti diplomatici e politici* [Transylvania: Diplomatic and Political Aspects] (Milano: Istituto per gli studi di politica internazionale, 1939), and *L'intervento romeno nella guerra mondiale (giugno 1914—agosto 1916)* [Romanian Intervention in the World War (June 1914-August 1916)] (Pavia: Industria grafica pavese, 1941).

68. See, *La lotta secolare del popolo romeno per indipendenza, la libertà e l'unità nazionale: Documenti* [The Age-Long Struggle of the Romanian People for Independence, Liberty, and National Unity: Documents] (Roma: Editori Riuniti, 1979-80), 6 volumes.

69. Pompiliu Eliade, *De l'influence française sur l'esprit public en Roumanie—les origines: Étude sur l'état de la société roumaine à l'époque de règnes phanariotes* [On French Influence Upon Public Opinion in Romania—Origins: A Study About the State of Romanian Society during the Period of the Phanariot Princes] (Paris: E. Leroux, 1898); *Histoire de l'esprit public en Roumanie au dix-neuvième siècle* [History of Public Opinion in Romania during the Nineteenth Century] (Paris: Société nouvelle de librairie et d'édition, 1905-14), 2 volumes.

70. Jean L. Carra, *Historie de la Moldavie et de la Valachie: Avec une dissertation sur l'état actuel de ces deux provinces* [History of Moldavia and Wallachia: With a Discussion on the Actual State of Affairs in these Two Provinces], 2nd ed. (Neuchâtel: Société typographique, 1781), pp. 2-3.

publisher residing in Bucharest, Frédéric Damé (1849-1907), on the Moldo-Wallachian area in the nineteenth century.⁷¹ Regnault, on his side, recognized the relative backwardness of Romanian society: the decadence of boyar aristocrats, the ignorance of peasants and priests, and the corruption of foreign merchants in Moldavia and Wallachia. He emphasized the rise of nationalism among Romanians that was fully apparent during the 1848 revolutions. As a result, Romanians might henceforth help in checking Russia's advance toward Constantinople. Regnault argued further that Romanians ought to be free, in an independent country of their own, all of which would entail a restructuring of the Austrian and Russian empires; that is, a large Romanian state would include Moldavia and Wallachia along with Russian Bessarabia and Austrian Transylvania, Bucovina, and the Banat.⁷²

French volumes in the twentieth century treat such topics as Romanian continuity in Moldavia from the Byzantine period to Prince Ștefan the Great [1457-1504] by the educator Emmanuel Beau de Loménie (b. 1896) who lived in Iași before returning to France, Franco-Romanian relations from the sixteenth to the early nineteenth century by the medievalist Germaine M. L. Lebel (b. 1906), the making of the Romanian state by Paul Henry (b. 1896) who directed a French school in Bucharest, the emancipation of Romanian serfs by Marcel Emerit (b. 1899) at Algiers University, and foreign interests in Romanian petroleum before World War II by Philippe Marguerat.⁷³ A synopsis of Romanian history concentrating on the

71. Élias Regnault, *Historie politique et sociale des Principautés danubiennes* [Political and Social History of the Danubian Principalities] (Paris: Paulin et Le Chevalier, 1855); J. H. Abdolonyme Ubicini, *Les origines de l'histoire roumaine* [The Beginnings of Romanian History], ed. Georges Bengesco (Paris: E. Leroux, 1886); Frédéric Damé, *Histoire de la Roumanie contemporaine depuis l'avènement des princes indigènes jusqu'à nos jours, 1822-1900* [History of Contemporary Romania from the Accession of Native Princes down to Our Times, 1822-1900] (Paris: F. Alcan, 1900); see also the essay by Edgar Quinet, *Les Roumains, Allemagne et Italie: Mélanges* [Romanians, Germany, and Italy: Miscellany], vol. 6 of *Œuvres complètes* [Complete Works] (Paris: Pagnerre, 1857).

72. Regnault, pp. 12-13, 58, 79, 263, 269, 280, 322, 346-48, 538-39, 543.

73. Emmanuel Beau de Loménie, *Naissance de la nation roumaine: De Byzance à Étienne-le-Grand de Moldavie* [Birth of the Romanian Nation: From Byzantium to Stephen the Great of Moldavia] (Bucarest: 1937); Germaine Lebel, *La France et les Principautés danubiennes du XVI^e siècle à la chute de Napoléon I^{er}* [France and the Danubian Principalities from the Sixteenth Century to the Fall of Napoleon I] (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1955); Paul Henry, *L'abdication du prince Cuza et l'avènement de la dynastie de Hohenzollern au trône de Roumanie: Documents diplomatiques* [The Abdication of Prince Cuza and the Accession of the Hohenzollern Dynasty in Romania: Diplomatic Documents] (Paris: F. Alcan, 1930); Marcel Emerit, *Les paysans roumains depuis le Traité d'Adrianople jusqu'à la libération des terres (1829-1864): Étude d'histoire sociale* [Romanian Peasants after the Treaty of Adrianople to the Freeing of the Land (1829-1864): A Study in Social History] (Paris: Librairie du Recueil Sirey, 1937); Philippe Marguerat, *Le III^e Reich et la pétrole roumain, 1938-1940: Contribution à l'étude de la pénétration économique Allemande dans les Balkans à la veille et au début de la Seconde guerre mondiale* [The Third Reich

twentieth century is by a French professor Georges Castellan who commits a cardinal sin from the Romanian standpoint by asserting that the Slavs modified the ethnic base of the medieval Daco-Roman regime.⁷⁴

Anglo-American Views

In the English-speaking milieu there were few historical books about Romania published before the twentieth century in Great Britain and none in the United States of America. Britain's remoteness from Southeastern Europe did not, however, keep its travelers from exploring Carpatho-Danubia and from reporting trade prospects there. The first British portrayal of the Danubian principalities was by William Wilkinson, a consular official in Bucharest and Iași from 1814 to 1818 who relied in part on the words of Cantemir.⁷⁵ A thoughtful review of Romania's history and geography came afterward from James Samuelson (b. 1829).⁷⁶

The interwar era, following the completion of national unity, witnessed increasing English and then American interest in Romania. An autobiographical source for the years before and after World War I is by the London-born queen of Romania, Maria [1914-27].⁷⁷ Robert W. Seton-Watson (1879-1951) at the University of London wrote an outstanding synthesis that is still the best general history of Romania by an Englishman or an American. In describing the Romanian past from antiquity to his own day, Seton-Watson accepted the thesis of Romanian continuity in Dacia, but located the seeds of Moldavia and Wallachia in the history of Hungary.⁷⁸ A Harvard University doctoral dissertation by John C. Campbell (b. 1911), who later served at the Council on Foreign Relations, pointed to the influence of French culture in developing Romanian nationalist sentiment on the road to the unification of Moldavia and Wallachia from the 1830s to the 1850s.⁷⁹ Investigating diplomatic issues concerning the shaping of the Danubian Romanian state from the 1850s to the 1860s were an Englishman, William G. East (b. 1902) at the London School of Economics and an American, Thad W. Riker (1880-1952) at the University

1938-1940: Contribution to the Study of German Economic Penetration of the Balkans on the Eve and at the Beginning on the Eve of the Second World War] (Leiden: A. W. Sijthoff, 1977).

74. Georges Castellan, *Histoire de la Roumanie* [History of Romania] (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1984).

75. William Wilkinson, *An Account of the Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, & Brown, 1820).

76. James Samuelson, *Roumania: Past and Present* (London: George Philip & Son, 1882).

77. Marie, *The Story of My Life* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934-35), two volumes.

78. Robert W. Seton-Watson, *A History of the Roumanians: From Roman Times to the Completion of Unity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1934). See especially, R. W. Seton-Watson and the Romanians, 1906-1920, eds. Cornelia Bodea and Hugh Seton-Watson (București: Editura științifică și enciclopedică, 1988), two volumes.

79. John C. Campbell, *French Influence and the Rise of Roumanian Nationalism* (New York: Arno Press, 1971).

of Texas.⁸⁰ American authors Charles V. Clark (1875-1960) at City College of New York and Joseph S. Roucek (b. 1902) at Pennsylvania State University addressed political questions between the two world wars.⁸¹ And, a Romanian emigrant, David Mitrany (1888-1975), at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, New Jersey, carefully evaluated the socio-economic condition of the peasants after World War I.⁸²

Since World War II and in particular since the 1960s, treatises about Romania in English have flourished partly because of bilateral cultural agreements that provide American scholars with opportunities to conduct research in Romania. In Britain, to be sure, professor Eric D. Tappe (b. 1910) collected British documents regarding Romanians in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.⁸³ But American historians are preponderant. Paul MacKendrick (b. 1914) at the University of Wisconsin sketched Romanian antiquity from ca. 3000 B.C. to the seventh century A.D., emphasizing Roman Dacia and the Dobrogea.⁸⁴ More important are the works of Keith Hitchins (b. 1931) at the University of Illinois, the dean of American students of Romanian history. Hitchins focuses on the Transylvanian Romanians from the 1690s to the 1870s in monographs based on research in archives and libraries in Romania and elsewhere. In harmony with historical efforts in Romania today, Hitchins underscores the deeds of enlightened laity and clergy in raising the Transylvanian Romanians' national consciousness.⁸⁵ Less substantial are books on Bessarabia at the time of its annexation by Russia from Moldavia in 1812 and its re-annexation by the Soviet Union from Romania in 1944.⁸⁶ The movement towards national unity finds some interpreters in Gerald J. Bobango (b. 1942) at West

80. William G. East, *The Union of Moldavia and Wallachia, 1859: An Episode in Diplomatic History* (Cambridge: University Press, 1929); Thad W. Riker, *The Making of Roumania: A Study of an International Problem, 1856-1866* (London: Oxford University Press, 1931).

81. Charles U. Clark, *United Roumania* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1932); Joseph S. Roucek, *Contemporary Roumania and her Problems: A Study of Modern Nationalism* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1932).

82. David Mitrany, *The Land and the Peasant in Rumania: The War and Agrarian Reform* (London: H. Mitford, 1930).

83. Eric D. Tappe, ed., *Documents concerning Rumanian History, 1427-1601: Collected from British Archives* (The Hague: Mouton, 1964).

84. Paul MacKendrick, *The Dacian Stones Speak* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975).

85. Keith Hitchins, *The Rumanian National Movement in Transylvania, 1780-1849* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1969); *Orthodoxy and Nationality: Andreiu Şaguna and the Rumanians of Transylvania, 1846-1873* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1977); *The Idea of Nation: The Romanians of Transylvania, 1691-1849* (Bucureşti: Editura ştiinţifică şi enciclopedică, 1985).

86. George F. Jewsbury, *The Russian Annexation of Bessarabia, 1774-1828: A Study of Imperial Expansion* (Boulder: East European Monographs, 1976); Nicholas Dima, *Bessarabia and Bukovina: The Soviet-Romanian Territorial Dispute* (Boulder: East European Monographs, 1982).

Virginia University and Radu R. Florescu (b. 1925) at Boston College.⁸⁷ Henry Roberts (1916-72) at Columbia University and Philip G. Eidelberg (b. 1937) examined twentieth century agrarian problems.⁸⁸ With archival data, Eidelberg concentrated on the 1907 peasant revolt, identifying its origins in the fall of world grain prices in 1875 and in the industrialization of the country. Roberts, for his part, demonstrated that Romanian politics from the 1920s to the 1940s were the result of economic and social factors. A sociologist at the University of Washington, David Chirot (b. 1942) analyzed social change in Wallachia from the early modern period to World War I. In a conceptual approach, resting on publications by H. H. Stahl and others, Chirot showed the emergence of a colonial society to be a function of differing modes of production.⁸⁹ At hand as well are studies on Romanian foreign affairs by Barbara Jelavich (b. 1923) at Indiana University, Richard Frucht at Northwest Missouri State University, Sherman D. Spector (b. 1927) at Russell Sage College, and David B. Funderburk (b. 1944) at Hardin Simmons University and later at Bucharest as the United States ambassador.⁹⁰ Jelavich uses some Russian diplomatic correspondence in clearly describing Russo-Romanian relations in the nineteenth century. Frucht recounts the great European powers' involvement on the Danube River and in Romania during World War I, while Spector deals with Romania at the peace conference after that war. Funderburk tells about British-Romanian ties on the eve of World War II. Recent political

87. Gerald J. Bobango, *The Emergence of the Romanian National State* (Boulder: East European Monographs, 1979); Radu Florescu, *The Struggle against Russia in the Roumanian Principalities, 1821-1854*, Societas Academica Dacoromana, Acta Historica, nr. 2 (München: 1962).

88. Philip G. Eidelberg, *The Great Rumanian Peasant Revolt of 1907: Origins of a Modern Jacquerie* (Leiden: Brill, 1974); Henry L. Roberts, *Rumania: Political Problems of an Agrarian State* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1951).

89. Daniel Chirot, *Social Change in a Peripheral Society: The Creation of a Balkan Colony* (New York: Academic Press, 1976).

90. Barbara Jelavich, *Russia and the Rumanian National Cause, 1858-1859* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1959) and her *Russia and the Formation of the Romanian National State, 1821-1878* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Richard C. Frucht, *Dunarea noastră: Romania, the Great Powers, and the Danube Question, 1914-1921* (Boulder: East European Monographs, 1982); Sherman D. Spector, *Rumania at the Peace Conference: A Study of the Diplomacy of Ioan I. C. Brătianu* (New York: Bookman Associates, 1962); David B. Funderburk, *Politica Marii Britani față de România, 1938-1940: Studiu asupra strategiei economice și politice* [The Policy of Great Britain toward Romania, 1938-1940: A Study of Economic and Political Strategy] (București: Editura științifică și enciclopedică, 1983).

and economic themes are in titles by Stephen Fischer-Galati (b. 1924) at the University of Colorado and by others.⁹¹

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The modern authors mentioned in our survey of historical volumes composed outside Carpatho-Danubia manifest an ample curiosity about the Romanian people and the Romanian past. Historians in Magyar and Slavic lands adjacent to the Romanian state have, understandably, been somewhat more attentive to Romanian happenings than have their congeners in more distant countries. Foreign historians often presume to be more objective than the Romanians are themselves about Romanian affairs, but they also sometimes have geographical and ideological biases. Several foreign experts, for instance, take nationalistic aim on prior and present Romanian possessions: especially so do Hungarians with respect to Transylvania, Russians and Soviets in Moldavia to Bessarabia, and Bulgarians to the Dobrogea. It is nevertheless the intellectual challenge offered by Romanian achievements in early and later epochs, including the Romanians' role in the making of war and peace in Southeastern Europe, that constitutes the major appeal for those outsiders who have devoted themselves to Romanian history.

91. Stephen Fischer-Galati, *Twentieth Century Romania* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970); Ghita Ionescu, *Communism in Rumania, 1944-1962* (London: Oxford University Press, 1964); Kenneth Jowitt, *Revolutionary Breakthroughs and National Development: The Case of Romania, 1944-1965* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971); Robert R. King, *History of the Romanian Communist Party* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1980); John M. Montias, *Economic Development in Communist Rumania* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1967).

CHAPTER 5

RESOURCES AND ORGANIZATION OF ROMANIAN HISTORICAL RESEARCH

Historians today would not think of composing serious historical accounts without consulting primary materials, library collections, learned journals, and reference tools. Early Romanian historical works came, to be sure, in large part from personal experiences and oral traditions. In the modern era of the Gold and Silver ages, Romanian historians paid increasing attention to written sources in sustaining nationalist theses about their country's past. After World War II, in the Mercury Age, there was an ongoing quest for firsthand information so as to bolster Marxist-Leninist and patriotic views. Of immense value for contemporary historians are the Romanian archives and libraries that hold primary data besides books and periodicals. Public and private cultural organizations have likewise provided bearings for historical investigations and sponsored scholarly reviews as well as reference aids such as encyclopedias and bibliographies.

Significant historical studies should flow from archival research. The Romanian state archives, established first at Bucharest in 1831 and at Iași in 1832, contain indeed manuscripts of importance concerning domestic political institutions and socioeconomic conditions. But until the post-World War II epoch, these treasures were not readily accessible owing to the absence of satisfactory in-house or published directories. Now there are printed guides to the Bucharest archives compiled by an archivist, Maria Soveja (b. 1927) and others, to the Iași archives by another archivist, Gheorghe Ungureanu (1907-75), and to various regional and municipal depositories.¹ The Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic, or Bessarabia, too has an introduction to its archives.² The Hungarian archivist Zsolt Trócsányi discusses the records of Transylvanian government agencies

1. *Îndrumător în Arhivele centrale* [Guide to the Central Archives], eds. Maria Soveja et al (București: Direcția Generală a Arhivelor Statului, 1971-74), 1 volume in 2 parts; *Îndrumător în Arhivele Statului din Iași* [Guide to the State Archives in Iași], eds. Gheorghe Ungureanu et al (Iași and București: Direcția Generală a Arhivelor Statului, 1947-70), 4 volumes; *Îndrumător în Arhivele Statului: Municipiul București* [Guide to the State Archives: Bucharest], eds. Virgiliu Tatomir et al (București: Direcția Generală a Arhivele Statului, 1976-84), 2 volumes.

2. *Путеводитель по центральному государственному архиву Молдавской ССР* [Guide to the Central State Archives of the Moldavian SSR], eds. К. К. Галибаренко et al (Кишинев: Наука, 1959), pt. 1; for southern Bessarabia see, *Филиал Одесского областного государственного архива в г. Измаил: Путеводитель* [Branch of the Odessa Regional State Archives in Izmail: Guide] (Київ: Наукова Думка, 1966).

now located in Budapest.³ Substantial catalogs describe Wallachian archival sources from 1369 to 1639, put together by the medievalist Ion-Radu Mircea (b. 1907), Moldavian items from 1387 to 1720 by the paleographer Mihai Regleanu (b. 1905), and Turkish evidence from 1455 to 1913 by the archivist Mihail Guboglu (b. 1911).⁴ Briefer inventories and indices are available for some governmental and cultural groups as well as for Orthodox bishoprics and monasteries. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs archive that stores testimony relating to modern Romanian diplomacy still lacks an adequate register. Extensive and highly useful details about Romania's relations with other states from 1866 to 1944 are also to be found in the Bucharest state archives under the rubric of the "Casa Regală," that is, Romania's former "Royal House" of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen.⁵

Rivaling and to a degree surpassing archival resources in value are the firsthand holdings of Romanian libraries that constitute a rich quarry for probing the country's culture and politics. The outstanding library is in Bucharest at the Romanian Academy, which opened in 1867, receiving donations of official documents and personal correspondence. Especially significant for research there are the papers of statesmen and historians such as Ion Ghica (1817-97), Mihail Kogălniceanu (1817-91), Dimitrie A. Sturdza (1833-1914), and Nicolae Iorga (1871-1940). Most of these materials are now well organized with appropriate repertoires; among synoptic tables of correspondence are those for Kogălniceanu and Ghica.⁶ At hand too are lists of Romanian manuscripts made first by a professor of Romanian literature at Bucharest University, Ioan Bianu (1856-1935) and recently by a librarian at the Romanian Academy, Gabriel Ștrempel (b. 1926).⁷ Greek manuscripts have an index, as do some Slavic ones.⁸ A key to chronicles in manuscript

3. Zsolt Trócsányi, *Erdéli kormányhatósági levéltárak* [Archives of Government Agencies in Transylvania] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1973).

4. *Catalogul documentelor Țării Românești* [Catalog of Wallachian Documents], eds. Ion-Radu Mircea and Maria Soveja (București: Cartea Românească, 1947-81), 4 volumes; *Catalogul documentelor moldovenești din Arhiva Istorică Centrală a Statului* [Catalog of Moldavian Documents in the Central State Historical Archives], eds. Mihail Regleanu et al (București: 1957-75), 5 volumes and 1 supplement; *Catalogul documentelor turcești* [Catalog of Turkish Documents], ed. Mihail Guboglu (București: Direcția Generală a Arhivelor Statului, 1960-65), 2 volumes.

5. For an introduction to the archives, see Frederick Kellogg, "Historical Research Materials in Rumania," *Journal of Central European Affairs*, 23, No. 4 (January 1964), 490-94.

6. *Catalogul corespondenței lui Mihail Kogălniceanu* [Catalog of Mihail Kogălniceanu's Correspondence], ed. Augustin Z. N. Pop (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Române, 1959); *Catalogul corespondenței lui Ion Ghica* [Catalog of Ion Ghica's Correspondence], ed. Nicolae Liu (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Române, 1962).

7. *Catalogul manuscriselor românești: Biblioteca Academiei Române* [Catalog of Romanian Manuscripts: Library of the Romanian Academy], ed. Gabriel Ștrempel (București: Editura științifică și enciclopedică, 1978-83), 2 volumes.

8. *Catalogul manuscriselor grecești* [Catalog of Greek Manuscripts], eds. Constantin Litzica and Nestor Camariano (București: Carol Göbl, 1909-40), 2 volumes; *Manuscrisele slave din Biblioteca Academiei R.P.R.* [Slavonic

manuscript form is by a history professor at Cluj-Napoca University, Ioachim Crăciun (1898-1971) and a medievalist, Aurora Ilieș (b. 1917).⁹ Other libraries, like the Academy branch at Cluj-Napoca and that of the Orthodox patriarchate in Bucharest, also boast sizeable manuscript collections.¹⁰ The Romanian State Library, instituted in 1955 at Bucharest, in particular has an abundant fund of private letters composed by prominent statesmen and literary luminaries during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Essential too for the historian are, of course, books and periodicals. First in importance again is the Academy's library in Bucharest that contains roughly 85 percent of all works about Romania.¹¹ The lack of a current, published inventory of this or, for that matter, of any Romanian library inhibits historical research. But a remarkable annotated bibliography of Romanian books appearing from 1508 to 1830 comes from Ioan Bianu and others, as well as from 1831 to 1918 by Gabriel Ștrempel.¹² This reference tool includes volumes in the Academy's library, plus those elsewhere in Romania and in other lands. A useful directory of Romanian journals from 1790 onward is by the librarian Nerva Hodoș (1869-1913) and colleagues; there is, moreover, an elucidative register of articles in those serials from 1790 to 1858.¹³

In Romanian Moldavia, the Mihail Eminescu Library of the Alexandru Ion Cuza University at Iași is the hub of historical studies. Founded in 1640 and remodeled in the 1860s, this library has modern Russian writings regarding the Romanians that may be found nowhere else in the country. It

Manuscripts in the Library of the Academy of the R.P.R.], ed. Petre P. Panaitescu (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Române, 1959).

9. *Repertoriul manuscriselor de cronici interne sec. XV-XVIII privind istoria României* [Index of Manuscripts of Internal Chronicles regarding Romanian History from the 15th to the 18th Century], *Croniclele Medievale ale României I*, eds. Ioachim Crăciun and Aurora Ilieș (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Române, 1963).

10. "Catalogul manuscriselor din Biblioteca Patriarhiei Române" [Catalog of Manuscripts in the Library of the Romanian Patriarchate], ed. Dumitru Fecioru, *Studii teologice*, 2nd ser., 11-17 (1959-65), passim.

11. Valeriu Moldoveanu, "Activitatea bibliografică a Bibliotecii Academiei" [Bibliographic Activity of the Academy Library], in *Biblioteca Academiei Republicii Socialiste România: Cartea centenarului* [Library of the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania: Centenary Volume], ed. George Baiculescu (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1968), pp. 225-26.

12. *Bibliografia românească veche, 1508-1830* [Old Romanian Bibliography, 1508-1830], eds. Ioan Bianu, Nerva Hodoș, and Dan Simonescu (București: Socec, 1903-44), 4 volumes; *Bibliografia românească modernă (1831-1918)* [Modern Romanian Bibliography, 1831-1918], eds. Gabriel Ștrempel et al (București: Editura științifică și enciclopedică, 1984-).

13. *Publicațiunile periodice românești: ziare, gazete, reviste—descriere bibliografică* [Romanian Periodical Publications: Newspapers, Journals, Reviews—Bibliographic Description], eds. Nerva Hodoș, Alexandru-Sadi Ionescu, George Baiculescu et al (București: Socec & C. Sfetea, 1913-), in progress; *Bibliografia analitică a periodicelor românești* [Analytical Bibliography of Romanian Periodicals], eds. Ioan Lupu et al (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1966-71), 2 volumes in 5 parts.

houses, in addition, numerous Romanian and foreign titles dating from the sixteenth century onward.¹⁴

Notable centers are also in Transylvania. The Academy's branch library in Cluj-Napoca has venerable treatises that are pivotal for investigating this region's manifold religious currents. The Babeş-Bolyai University library, established at Cluj-Napoca in 1872, has likewise a large stock which continues to grow apace because this institution—along with its sister library in Iaşi and that of the Academy in Bucharest—is a national depository for all books printed in Romania. At Sibiu, helpful volumes are in the municipal library, set up in 1861 by ASTRA [The Transylvanian Association for Romanian Literature and Culture of the Romanian People]; and a substantial number of German-language publications is in Sibiu's Bruckenthal Museum, built in 1817. Hungarian works are well represented in the Teleki-Bolyai Library that debuted in two stages during 1557 and 1802 at Tîrgu-Mureş. Rare editions from abroad are furthermore in the Bethlen Library inaugurated at Aiud by 1661, and from Transylvania itself in the Batthyaneum Library at Alba Iulia by 1794.¹⁵

Romanian historians began organizing themselves in the mid-nineteenth century, especially following the advent of the foreign prince Carol I [1866-1914], into societies to discuss and then to publish their works. They did so in the wake of similar activities by historians elsewhere in Europe. The existence, for example, of an historical commission attached in 1847 to the Austrian Academy of Sciences perhaps inspired Romanian historians to form an historical section of their own Academy that they had assisted in founding at Bucharest by 1867. The first fruit of the ensuing section meetings was an historiographical monograph by Alexandru Papiu-Ilarian (1822-77) about the Transylvanian chronicler Gheorghe Şincai (1754-1816), which another Transylvanian scholar Gheorghe Bariţiu (1812-93) publicly evaluated in 1869.¹⁶ The Academy's transactions would soon become, after the winning of independence in 1877-78, a prestigious outlet for studies by Romanian historians.¹⁷

14. *Catalogul cărţii rare şi preţioase* [Catalog of Rare and Precious Books], ed. Martin Bodinger (Iaşi: Biblioteca Centrală Universitară "M. Eminescu," 1974-81), 4 volumes; *Catalogul cărţilor greceşti* [Catalog of Greek Books], ed. Nicos Gaidagis (Iaşi: Biblioteca Centrală Universitară "M. Eminescu," 1974-79), 3 volumes.

15. For Romanian libraries, see Kellogg, "Historical Research Materials in Rumania," pp. 485-490; Irene Pihuljak, *Das rumänische Bibliothekswesen: Eine Skizze seiner Geschichte* [Romanian Librarianship: A Sketch of its History] (Wien: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 1961), pp. 15-35; *Ghidul bibliotecilor din România* [Guide to Libraries in Romania], eds. Valeriu Moldoveanu et al (Bucureşti: Editura enciclopedică română, 1970), *passim*.

16. Alexandru Papiu-Ilarianu, *Vietia operele şi ideele lui Georgiu Sincai din Sinca. . . şi răspunsul de Georgiu Bariţiu* [The Life, Works, and Ideas of George Şincai de Şinca . . . and George Bariţiu's Response], Societatea Academice Romane: *Discursul de receptiune* (Bucureşti: Tipografia naţională, 1869).

17. Academia Română, *Analele* [Annals], three series (1867-1947); *Memoriile Secţiunii istorice* [Transactions of the Historical Section], 2nd ser. (1886/87-1919/20), 17 volumes and 3rd ser. (1922-47), 29 volumes; Académie Roumaine, *Bulletin de la section historique* [Bulletin of the Historical Section], eds. Nicolae

Learned journals, often in association with cultural organizations, also disseminate historical data and ideas. Taking a cue again from West European examples, such as the *Historische Zeitschrift* [Historical Journal] (from 1859) and the *Revue historique* [Historical Review] (from 1876), Romanian historians launched their own synoptic reviews. The first one came in 1882 from the archaeologist Grigore G. Tocilescu (1850-1909), a periodical that by 1902 was the organ of the Society of Romanian History at Bucharest.¹⁸ In Iași, the first Moldavian serial, *Arhiva* [The Archive], stemmed in 1889 from a Scholarly and Literary Society that by 1925 turned into the Society of History and Philology; among its editors was the historian Alexandru D. Xenopol (1847-1920).¹⁹ During the interwar era additional historical journals appeared at Bucharest. One of them, *Revista istorică* [Historical Review], edited by Nicolae Iorga in 1915 and later by Nicolae Bănescu (1878-1971), would by 1937 serve as the voice of Iorga's Institute of World History.²⁰ Iorga's emphasis on political themes eventually provoked a reply from scholars such as Constantin C. Giurescu (1901-77), who instead stressed socioeconomic matters in a review, *Revista istorică română* [Romanian History Review], by 1931 and in an Institute for National History founded at Bucharest in 1941.²¹ After World War II and the transformation of Romanian historical studies in accordance with the Marxist theory of historical materialism, many historical serials and societies disappeared or were restructured. The "N. Iorga" Institute of History in Bucharest by 1948, lodged in Iorga's world history library, and a new periodical, *Revista de istorie* [Review of History], would mature shortly to influence powerfully contemporary Romanian research and writing.²²

Regional historical reviews and societies appeared between the two world wars. In Oltenia, a physician, Charles H. Laugier (1875-1930), and others helped to set up a Friends of Scholarship at Craiova that sponsored

Iorga [1912-39] vols. 1-20 and Nicolae Bănescu [1939-46/47] vols. 21-27, (1912-46/47), 27 volumes; Academia Română, *Studii și cercetări* [Studies and Investigations] (1919-47).

18. Societatea istorice române, *Revista pentru istorie, arheologie și filologie* [Review of History, Archaeology, and Philology], eds. Grigore G. Tocilescu [1882-1909] and Emanuil E. Kretzulescu [1910-14], (1882-1922), 16 volumes.

19. Societatea științifică și literară [1889-1916] and Societatea de istorie și filologie [1921-40], *Arhiva* [Archives], eds. Haymann Tiktin [1889-94], Alexandru D. Xenopol [1894-1903, 1906-16], and Ilie Bărbulescu [1906, 1921-40], (1889-1940), 47 volumes.

20. Institutul de istorie universală, *Revista istorică* [Historical Review], eds. Nicolae Iorga [1915-40] and Nicolae Bănescu [1941-46], (1915-46), 32 volumes.

21. Institutul de istorie națională, *Revista istorică română* [Romanian Historical Review], eds. Constantin C. Giurescu et al, (1931-47), 17 volumes.

22. Institutul de istorie "N. Iorga," *Studii* [Studies] (1948-73); *Revista de istorie* [Review of History] (1974-), eds. Mihail Roller [1948-52], Andrei Oțetea [1956-58, 1964-72], Petre Constantinescu-Iași [1958-64], Vasile Maciu [1972-77], Aron Petric [1977-81], Ion Apostol [1981-83], and Ștefan Ștefănescu [1983-] (1948-); see also, *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire* [Romanian Review of History], eds. Andrei Oțetea [1962-72] and Emil Condurachi [1973-], (1962-).

by 1922 a history magazine.²³ In Moldavia, professional historians led by Ilie Minea (1881-1943), who had succeeded Xenopol at Iași University, established in 1925 an historical journal and later, in 1940, the "A. D. Xenopol" Institute of Romanian History. These were the bases of a remodeled periodical and institute commissioned in 1949, guided first by the historian Valerian Popovici (1908-67) and afterward the archaeologist Mircea Petrescu-Dîmbovița (b. 1915).²⁴ In Transylvania, there was also the Institute of History and Archaeology by 1920 with an organ directed by the Cluj-Napoca University professor Ioan Lupaș (1880-1967). Again, as at Iași, after World War II intellectuals at Cluj-Napoca reorganized their institute with a serial conducted at the outset by the archaeologist Constantin Daicoviciu and subsequently by the historian Ștefan Pascu (b. 1914).²⁵

From 1948 to 1970 the historical institutes at Bucharest, Iași, and Cluj-Napoca were indirectly supervised by the Romanian Academy, from 1970 to 1982 by a newly created Academy of Political and Social Sciences, and from 1982 onward by universities in the respective cities—as had been the case in Iași and Cluj-Napoca before World War II. The quality of these institutes' historical publications has generally been remarkably high of late.

Specialized historical journals with restricted chronological limits have also appeared. Because of the Romanians' strong interest in their national origins and in their current situation, there are several major reviews devoted to ancient as well as to recent epochs. For antiquity, the archaeologist Vasile Pârvan started one at Bucharest in 1924 as an organ at first of the state archaeology museum, which had itself been inaugurated in 1864; a second such serial issued at Iași in 1950 with a philologist Constantin Balmuș (1898-1957) as the first director. By 1956 both periodicals were under the wing of the Institute of Archaeology created in the same year at Bucharest.²⁶ At the other end of the continuum is a contemporary history

23. Prietenii științei, *Arhivele Olteniei* [Archives of Oltenia], eds. Charles H. Laugier [1922-30] and C. D. Fortunescu [1930-43], (1922-43), 22 volumes.

24. Institutul de istorie națională "A. D. Xenopol," *Cercetări istorice* [Historical Investigations], eds. Ilie Minea [1925-43] and Alexandru Boldur [1943-47], (1925-47), 20 volumes; Institutul de istorie și arheologie "A. D. Xenopol," *Anuarul* [Annual], eds. Valerian Popovici [1964-67] and Mircea Petrescu-Dîmbovița [1968-], (1964-).

25. Institutul de istorie națională, *Anuarul* [Annual], eds. Ion Lupaș [1921-45] and Alexandru Lapedatu [1921-38], (1921-45), 10 volumes; Institutul de istorie din Cluj, *Anuarul* [Annual], eds. Constantin Daicoviciu [1958-73] and Ștefan Pascu [1973-], (1958-).

26. Muzeul național de antichități, *Dacia: Recherches et découvertes archéologiques en Roumanie* [Dacia: Archaeological Investigations and Discoveries in Romania], eds. Vasile Pârvan [1924-25], Ion Andrieșescu [1927-32], Vladimir Dumitrescu [1935-40], (1924-47), 12 volumes; Institutul de arheologie, *Dacia: Revue d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne* [Dacia: Review of Archaeology and Ancient History], eds. Constantin Daicoviciu, Emil Condurachi [1957-70], and Dionisie M. Pippidi [1971-], (1957-); and, *Studii și cercetări de istorie veche* [Studies and Investigations in Ancient History], eds. Constantin Balmuș [1950-51], Gheorghe Ștefan [1952-56], Emil Condurachi [1957-70], Dionisie M. Pippidi [1971-72], Sebastian Morintz [1973-], (1950-).

review brought out by researchers at the Institute of Historical and Social-Political Studies, founded in 1951 by the Romanian Communist Party.²⁷

Some learned Romanians assess their nation's role abroad and examine foreign influences upon their countrymen. Nicolae Iorga was one of the first Romanians to recognize the need to do so; hence, he established institutes for investigating Southeastern Europe (1914), Byzantium (1934), and the world (1936). Curiosity and concern about Romanians residing south of the Danube River sparked the formation in 1938 of a Balkan studies society. Interdisciplinary journals focusing on Southeastern Europe came out in Bucharest, edited by Iorga on the one hand and by Victor Papacostea (1900-62) on the other. After World War II, Iorga's organ revived in 1963, being guided at the outset by the historian Mihai Berza (1907-78) and sponsored by a reconstructed Institute for Southeast European Studies.²⁸ Additional scholarly reviews and groups have also blossomed. A Slavic studies association, led by the philologist Alexandru Rosetti (b. 1895) and the historian Petre Constantinescu-Iași, has its own serial. Another journal, directed by the historian Mihai Guboglu, is devoted principally to Turkish-Romanian affairs.²⁹

Historical writings about Romania appear as well in professional publications outside Romanian frontiers. Worthy of notice in the Soviet Union are, of course, the pages of Moldavian journals at Kishinev.³⁰ Significant articles are also in Western periodicals. In France, Romanian émigrés at Paris founded in 1953 a forum for their efforts.³¹ An interdisciplinary annual printed in the Netherlands, edited by the American historian Keith Hitchins (b. 1931), has contributions by Romanian and foreign scholars;³²

27. Institutul de studii istorice și social-politice de pe lângă C. C. al P.C.R., *Anale de istorie* [Annals of History], eds. Nicolae Petrovici [1955-65], Titu Georgescu [1966-71], Gheorghe Matei [1971-76], (1955-).

28. Institut pour l'étude d'Europe sud-orientale, *Bulletin* [Bulletin], eds. Nicolae Iorga et al, (1914-23), 10 volumes; Institutul de studii sud-est europene, *Revue historique du sud-est européen* [Southeast European Historical Review], eds. Nicolae Iorga [1924-40] and Gheorghe Brătianu [1941-46/47], (1924-46/47), 28 volumes; *Revue des études sud-est européennes* [Review of Southeast European Studies], eds. Mihai Berza [1963-78], Alexandru Duțu [1978-], (1963-); Societatea Macedo-Române [1938] and Institutul de studii și cercetări balcanice [1939-45], *Balkanica* [Balkan Studies], ed. Victor Papacostea, (1938-45), 8 volumes.

29. Asociația Slaviștilor din R. S. România, *Romanoslavica* [Roman-Slavic Studies], eds. Emil Petrovici, Alexandru Rosetti, and Petre Constantinescu-Iași (București: 1958-); Societatea de științe istorice și filologie, *Studia et acta orientalia* [Eastern Studies and Proceedings], eds. Vlad Bănățeanu [1957] and Mihail Guboglu [1959-], (București: 1957-).

30. Академия наук СССР, Молдавский филиал, Институт истории, *Ученые записки* [Academic Transactions] (Кишинев: 1948-59), 10 volumes; Академия наук ССР, Молдавская научно-исследовательская база, *Научные записки* [Scholarly Transactions] (Кишинев: 1948-50), 3 volumes; Академия наук Молдавской ССР [Академия де щтинце а РСС Молдовенешть], *Известия* [Бюлетинул]: Серия Общественных наук [Proceedings (Bulletin): Social Sciences Series], (Кишинев: 1951-).

31. Institut Universitaire Roumain Charles I^{er}, *Revue des études Roumaines* [Review of Romanian Studies] (Paris: 1953-).

32. *Rumanian Studies: An International Annual of the Humanities and Social Sciences*, ed. Keith Hitchins (Leiden: Brill, 1970-).

Germany, another yearly serial contains works by historians in Romania.³³ And, in the United States of America, reviews dedicated to the history and social sciences of Eastern Europe publish manuscripts about Carpatho-Danubia by Romanians and others.³⁴

Academic societies and occasionally individuals by themselves edified the general public and concurrently facilitated further historical research by organizing knowledge in reference tools such as encyclopedias, atlases, statistical charts, and bibliographies. The first Romanian encyclopedia anticipated an ethnically united state. For the task, a newspaper publisher Corneliu Diaconovich (1859-1923) in Transylvania supervised 172 associates, including the historians Dimitre Onciul (1856-1923) and Augustin Bunea (1857-1909), representing Romanian-speaking portions of the Habsburg Empire as well as the Romanian kingdom. The declared purpose of this compendium was to "open a new and ample resource for enriching our [Romanian] national culture and strengthening our national consciousness."³⁵ It did so with still useful notes on Romanians throughout Carpatho-Danubia.

In the interwar era scholars sought anew to illustrate the Romanian people's common cultural heritage in order to reinforce the political unity that had been won at the peace table. One such endeavor was by a literary historian Gheorghe Adamescu (1869-1942) in an encyclopedia containing biographical sketches of famous deceased Romanians besides geographical jottings about all parts of the country.³⁶ Bound together with a Romanian language dictionary, the resulting work—similar to the *Petit Larousse*—became a popular reference manual. A more ambitious project was to survey topically Romania's politics, economy, and culture. Directed by the sociologist Dimitrie Gusti (1880-1955), with historians Constantin C. Giurescu and Nicolae Iorga cooperating, a detailed account of contemporary Romania, excluding collateral European affairs, began to appear.³⁷ World War II unfortunately disrupted this undertaking, preventing the completion of the section on Romanian culture. But on the eve of that war there came out a remarkably accurate encyclopedic dictionary compiled by Lucian Predescu. This volume, in which "pulsates only Romanian energy,"

33. *Dacoromania: Jahrbuch für östliche Latinität* [Dacoromania: Annual for Eastern Latinity], ed. Paul Miron (Freiburg-München: 1973-).

34. *Southeastern Europe [L'Europe du Sud-Est]*, eds. Charles Schlacks, Jr., Frederick Kellogg [Romania] et al. (Pittsburgh, Tempe, Irvine, Bakersfield: 1974-); *Austrian History Yearbook*, eds. R. John Rath (Houston: 1965-81), William E. Wright (Minneapolis: 1981-); *East European Quarterly*, ed. Stephen Fischer-Galati (Boulder: 1967-).

35. *Enciclopedia Română* [Romanian Encyclopedia], ed. Corneliu Diaconovich (Sibiu: W. Krafft, 1898-1904), 3 volumes; see preface to volume I.

36. Gheorghe Adamescu, "Dicționar istoric-geografic" [Historical-Geographical Dictionary], *Dicționarul enciclopedic ilustrat "Cartea Românească"* [Cartea Românească's Illustrated Encyclopedic Dictionary], eds. I. Aurel Candrea and G. Adamescu (București: Cartea Românească, 1931).

37. *Enciclopedia României* [Encyclopedia of Romania], eds. Dimitrie Gusti et al. (București: Imprimeria națională, 1938-43), 4 volumes.

embraced Romanian biographies along with data about Romanian geographical locations, periodicals, and major literary works.³⁸

After World War II over 400 Romanians, guided by a philosopher, Athanase Joja (b. 1904) and a philologist, Dimitrie Macrea (b. 1907), developed a universal encyclopedia. Participating on the editorial board were the archaeologist Constantin Daicoviciu and the historian Andrei Oțetea. But it was not so much Romanian history as recent politics, economics, science, and technology that figured prominently here.³⁹ Historical information was also provided in the Moldavian encyclopedia issued at Kishinev in the Soviet Union, the primary editor being at first the historian Iakim S. Grosul.⁴⁰

Several biographical dictionaries deserve to be mentioned. The historian Nicolae Stoicescu (b. 1924) put together an index of Moldo-Wallachian officials from the fourteenth century to 1700.⁴¹ In Romanian Moldavia, researchers at the Institute of Linguistics, Literary History, and Folklore in Iași have a compendium of Romanian writers, translators, literary critics, and folklorists as well as literary journals and societies from the sixteenth century to roughly 1900.⁴² Romanian historians of the past and present are individually delineated in a dictionary compiled by historians led by Ștefan Ștefănescu. In addition to biobibliographical sketches, this work contains annotated lists of academic organizations, published historical sources, periodicals, and bibliographies.⁴³

Atlases are also of high value for historical studies. The first Romanian atlas appeared following World War II, the result of a collective effort directed by the geographer Victor Tufescu (b. 1908); later, the Romanian Academy's Institute of Geography issued a monumental atlas.⁴⁴ A world

38. Lucian Predescu, *Enciclopedia cugetarea: material românesc—oameni și întâmplări* [The Thinking Person's Encyclopedia: Romanian Material—People and Happenings] (București: Cugetarea—Georgescu Delafras, 1940).

39. *Dictionar enciclopedic român* [Romanian Encyclopedic Dictionary], eds. Athanasie Joja et al (București: Editura politică, 1962-66), 4 volumes.

40. *Энциклопедия Советикэ Молдавеникэ* [Encyclopedia of Soviet Moldavia], ed. Яким С. Гросул (Кишинев: Редакция принципалэ а Енциклопедией Советиче Молдовенешть, 1970-81), 8 volumes.

41. Nicolae Stoicescu, *Dictionar al marilor dregători din Țara Românească și Moldova (sec. XIV-XVII)* [Dictionary of High Officials in Wallachia and Moldavia (14th-17th Centuries)] (București: Editura enciclopedică română, 1971).

42. Institutul de lingvistică, istorie literară și folclor al Universității "Al. I. Cuza" Iași, *Dictionarul literaturii române de la origini pînă la 1900* [Dictionary of Romanian Literature from Its Beginnings to 1900] (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1979).

43. *Enciclopedia istoriografiei românești* [Encyclopedia of Romanian Historiography], ed. Ștefan Ștefănescu (București: Editura științifică și enciclopedică, 1978).

44. Victor Tufescu, Vintilă Mihăilescu, Tiberiu Morariu et al, *Atlas geografic: Republica Socialistă România* [Geographical Atlas of the Socialist Republic of Romania] (București: Editura didactică și pedagogică, 1965); Institutul de geografie, *Atlas—Republica Socialistă România* [Atlas of the Socialist Republic of Romania] (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1974-79), 13 sections with 76 maps.

history atlas drafted by a group of historians—including Constantin C. Giurescu and Dumitru Berciu (b. 1907), conducted by Ștefan Pascu—emphasized Romania from the paleolithic period onward.⁴⁵ A more recent atlas by Pascu and others focuses exclusively on Romanian history; but, in contrast to the world history atlas, it does so at the expense of historical accuracy in failing to identify Bulgarian, Hungarian, and Turkish control—at one time or another—over the Carpatho-Danubian region.⁴⁶ A geographical dictionary edited by the Romanian Geographical Society's secretary George I. Lahovary (1838-1901) and the archaeologist Grigore G. Tocilescu holds as well historical and social data about Danubian Romania.⁴⁷ Moreover, the bewildering variety of Romanian-Hungarian-German toponyms in Transylvania becomes intelligible in a register by Coriolan Suciu (1895-1967).⁴⁸

Supplementing information in encyclopedias and atlases are statistics regarding the population and the economy. A statistical bulletin beginning in 1892 and particularly an annual that has come out since 1904 are the chief guides to Romania's agricultural, commercial, and industrial development, together with census figures.⁴⁹

Bibliographies are of course indispensable for historical investigations inasmuch as they identify reference tools and related resources. They are especially useful because Romanian libraries have closed stacks and lack a topical classification system. Outstanding catalogs of Romanian volumes from 1508 to 1918 are due, as noted above, to the endeavors of Ioan Bianu and Gabriel Ștrempel.⁵⁰ But the years before 1952 still remain somewhat of a bibliographical vacuum only partially filled by the Romanian Academy library's accession lists from 1904 to 1919 and beyond.⁵¹ Since 1952-53 national bibliographies record current Romanian books and articles.⁵² Early

45. Ștefan Pascu et al, *Atlas istoric* [Historical Atlas] (București: Editura didactică și pedagogică, 1971).

46. *Atlas pentru istoria României* [Atlas of Romanian History] eds. Ștefan Pascu et al (București: Editura didactică și pedagogică, 1983).

47. Societatea geografică română, *Marele dicționar geografic al României* [Great Geographical Dictionary of Romania], eds. George I. Lahovari, C. I. Brătianu, and Grigore G. Tocilescu (București: J. V. Socecu, 1898-1902), 5 volumes.

48. Coriolan Suciu, *Dicționar istoric al localităților din Transilvania* [Historical Dictionary of Places in Transylvania] (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1967), 2 volumes.

49. Ministerul agriculturii, industriei, comerțului și domeniilor, *Buletin statistic general al României* [General Statistical Bulletin of Romania] (București: Imprimeria Statului, 1892-1939); Institutul central de statistică, *Anuarul statistic al României* [Statistical Annual of Romania] (București: Imprimeria Statului, 1904-).

50. See supra p. 97.

51. *Creșterea colecțiilor* [Growth of the Collections], eds. Ilarie Chendi et al (București: Biblioteca Academiei Române, 1904-19 and irregular to 1941); cf. Barbu Theodorescu, *Istoria bibliografiei române* [History of Romanian Bibliography] (București: Editura enciclopedică română, 1972), pp. 89-91.

52. *Buletinul bibliografic al Camerii Cărții din R.P.R.: Seria Cărții, broșuri, albume, hărți* [Bibliographic Bulletin of the House of Books in the R.P.R.: Series for Books, Brochures, Albums, Maps] (București: Biblioteca Centrală de Stat, 1952-

periodicals from 1790 onward are, as already mentioned, described by Nerva Hodoș.⁵³ A significant bibliography in progress covers Romanian history in the nineteenth century, being edited by Cornelia Bodea (b. 1916) and others at the "N. Iorga" Institute of History in Bucharest.⁵⁴ Another bibliographical set deals with Romanian historical writings from 1944 to the present.⁵⁵ The Hungarian historian Endre Veress (1868-1953) opened a door to inquiries on Hungarian-Romanian cultural relations from 1473 to 1878; and, the Romanian diplomat George Bengescu (1848-1922) provided help on books about Romania printed in France during the nineteenth century.⁵⁶ An inventory prepared in Kishinev libraries presents, moreover, selected historical works published from 1918 to 1968 in the Moldavian SSR.⁵⁷

56), continued by *Bibliografia Republicii Populare Romîne: Cărți, albume, hărți* [Bibliography of the Romanian People's Republic: Books, Albums, Maps] (București: Biblioteca Centrală de Stat, 1957-65) and by *Bibliografia Republicii Socialiste România: Cărți, albume, hărți, note muzicale* [Bibliography of the Socialist Republic of Romania: Books, Albums, Maps, Musical Scores] (București: Biblioteca Centrală de Stat, 1965-); *Buletinul bibliografic al Camerii Cărții din R.P.R.: Seria Articole de ziare și reviste, recenzii* [Bibliographic Bulletin of the House of Books in the R.P.R.: Series for Articles in Newspapers and Journals, Reviews] (București: Biblioteca Centrală de Stat, 1953-56), continued by *Bibliografia periodicelor din Republica Populară Romîne: Articole din publicații periodice și seriale* [Bibliography of Periodicals in the Romanian People's Republic: Articles in Periodical Publications and Serials] (București: Biblioteca Centrală de Stat, 1957-65) and by *Bibliografia periodicelor din Republica Socialistă România: Articole din publicații periodice și seriale* [Bibliography of Periodicals in the Socialist Republic of Romania: Articles in Periodical Publications and Serials] (București: Biblioteca Centrală de Stat, 1965-).

53. See supra p. 97.

54. Institutul de istorie "N. Iorga," *Bibliografia istorică a României: Secolul XIX* [Historical Bibliography of Romania: The Nineteenth Century] (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1972-); this set includes volume one edited by Cornelia Bodea, *Cadrul General: Țara și locuitorii* [General Framework: Land and Inhabitants] (1972) and volume five edited by Vladimir Diculescu, *Biografii* [Biographies] (1974).

55. Institutul de istorie și arheologie Cluj, *Bibliografia istorică a României: Bibliografie selectivă, 1944-* [Historical Bibliography of Romania: Selective Bibliography, 1944-], ed. Ștefan Pascu (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1970-); this set is in progress.

56. *Bibliografia română-ungură: Românii în literatura ungară și Ungurii în literatura română* [Romanian-Hungarian Bibliography: Romanians in Hungarian Literature and Hungarians in Romanian Literature], ed. Andre [Endre] Veress (București: Cartea Românească, 1931-35), 3 volumes; *Bibliographie franco-roumaine depuis le commencement du XIX-e siècle jusqu'à nos jours* [Franco-Romanian Bibliography from the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century to Today], ed. Georges Bengescu, 2nd ed. (Paris: E. Leroux, 1902); see also volume two of *Bibliographie franco-roumaine* [Franco-Romanian Bibliography], eds. Alexandre and Getta-Hélène Rally (Paris: E. Leroux, 1930), 2 volumes.

57. Государственная республиканская библиотека МССР им. Н. К. Крупской и Центральная научная библиотека Академии Наук МССР, *История, археология, этнография Молдавии: Указатель советской литературы, 1918-1968 гг.* [History, Archaeology, Ethnography of Moldavia: Index of Soviet Literature, 1918-1968], eds. Николай А. Мохов et al (Кишинев: Издательство "Карта Молдовеняскэ," 1973).

The means for historical studies have indeed proliferated during the twentieth century, in particular after World War II, as have groups dedicated to examining Romanian bygone days. Thereby, Romanian historians now have rather firm foundations for probing the main passageways together with the myriad nooks and crannies of their past. The potential for historical research is vast and expanding; and it evokes a justifiable pride in the dignity and worth of the historical profession in Romania.

CHAPTER 6

CURRENT NEEDS OF ROMANIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY

The accomplishments of Romanian historians are impressive. Romanian scholars explore archives and libraries at home and abroad, searching for information about their past. They strive to describe their countrymen's historical fortunes in depth and breadth. But much work still remains to be done to refine further their research tools, to illuminate and rediscover both the waves and the ripples of their history.

Documentary collections appearing today in Romania ought to be continued. Additional critical editions of chronicles and inventories of inscriptions, besides full texts of local foreign writings in original languages about Romania, remain desiderata. Particularly needed are source materials regarding Romania's external relations along with its domestic policies, economy, and culture in the modern era.

There is as yet no pivotal survey of the Romanians from earliest times to the present. Romanians have, to be sure, a rich treasury of outstanding national histories by Xenopol, Iorga, and Giurescu. Mircea Mușat (b. 1930) and Ion Ardeleanu (b. 1933) at Bucharest have subsequently cooperated in discussing Carpatho-Danubia from antiquity until World War II, emphasizing the late modern period, while Ștefan Pascu (b. 1914) at Cluj-Napoca has a textbook on the medieval era and Gheorghe Platon (b. 1926) at Iași has one on the modern age.¹ But the only multivolume history of Romania in print after World War II stops at 1878.² So far Romanian historians have been unable to interpret effectively the contemporary or interwar and post-World War II epoch into the broad schema of the Romanian past. This may be due in part to their trouble in accounting for the dictatorial reign of Marshal Ion Antonescu [1940-44] besides explaining the gain after World War I and later loss after World War II of the Romanian-speaking region of Bessarabia to the Soviet Union. Post World War II historiography is especially barren, consisting primarily of speeches by Romanian premiers and decisions at meetings of the Romanian Communist Party.³ The Party seemingly guarded closely historical efforts about the years of its ascen-

1. Mircea Mușat and Ion Ardeleanu, *De la statul geto-dac la statul român unitar* [From the Geto-Dacian State to the United Romanian State] (București: Editura științifică și enciclopedică, 1983); see also their *România după Marea Unire* [Romania Following the Great Unification] (București: Editura științifică și enciclopedică, 1985-88), volume 2, 2 pts. on 1918 to 1940.

2. *Istoria României* [History of Romania] (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Române, 1960-64), 4 volumes.

3. Gheorghe I. Ioniță (b. 1937) at Bucharest University wrote three textbooks in the early 1980s about the Party and working class movements from 1921 to 1981.

dancy after 1944, seeking to assure a positive image for itself as a means of retaining political power. A history of the Party would, moreover, be difficult to compose owing to the past identity of Party and State. Required now is a large-scale history by one or several authors that would utilize recently published testimony together with other data, placing the Romanians' historical adventures in their international and Carpatho-Danubian setting.

Many aspects of the Romanian past deserve more scrutiny. Although there have been useful works of late on some facets of the economy, further consideration should be given to agricultural, commercial, artisanal, industrial, demographic, social, religious, educational, legal, political, and foreign affairs. The tendency of Romanian historians to concentrate mainly on outstanding accomplishments of Romanians and to mention foreigners only in passing or as challenges to Romanian continuity and ethnic unity explains their lack of attention to the role of non-Romanian people in Carpatho-Danubio-Pontica. Still missing are intensive studies of medieval and early modern Slavo-Romanian matters. The political and cultural influences of Turks and Greeks on the Danubian Romanians, and likewise those of Magyars and Germans on the Transylvanian Romanians, have been virtually ignored. In addition to a general history of national minorities in Romanian lands, scholars should tell fully in monographs about the advent of Hungarians in Transylvania and ensuing Romanian-Hungarian relations there from the medieval era onward as well as about the establishment of Ottoman Turkish control over the Danubian principalities in the early modern period along with Romanian-Turkish relations down to the winning of Romanian independence in 1878. Greek political, economic, and religious effects in Moldavia and Wallachia, especially when Greek Phanariot princes administered those regions in the eighteenth century, deserve special attention. To be heeded as well is the situation of Jews in Romanian society and in the foreign economic penetration of the country. The contemporary accent on Romanian continuity in present-day Romania partially accounts for the want of substantial regional histories. Whereas a valuable collaborative history of the Dobrogea is in progress,⁴ other areas—such as Moldavia and Transylvania—merit comparable treatment.

Each social class and major occupation—peasant, worker, clergy, entrepreneur, bureaucrat, intellectual, professional—should have its own volume. In accord with past Marxist-Leninist dictates about the preeminent place of the masses in history, Romanian scholars could not adopt the great man thesis; but now they should provide more biographies of their political, military, diplomatic, religious, and mercantile leaders. Romanian diplomacy from the union of Moldavia and Wallachia through World War II should also be the focus of further probes. A reliable survey of Romanian historiography is still lacking. Needed too are fresh explorations of Romanian intellectual and cultural history which would help deepen understanding of both the uniqueness and similarity of Romanian contributions

4. See *supra* p. 61.

with respect to achievements elsewhere in Southeastern Europe, the rest of Europe, and the world.

Reference tools of several kinds are missing. A handy chronology of Romanian history came from Constantin C. Giurescu and colleagues;⁵ but there is no Romanian historical encyclopedia nor, for that matter, a reliable universal encyclopedia.⁶ A comprehensive biographical dictionary of prominent Romanians, both living and dead, to replace the one by Predescu,⁷ is long overdue. In addition, a geographical dictionary, with historical notes, is required to update and supplement the work covering the Romanian kingdom in the late nineteenth century by Lahovary and associates.⁸

Catalogs are called for. Published national catalogs in Hungary and Poland are more inclusive than those in Romania. In order to control bibliographically Romanian publications so as to carry forward Bianu's pioneering project to 1830 and the one now in progress to 1918,⁹ a national index of books in every major Romanian library is an essential albeit quite an expensive task. Furthermore, researchers await as yet the continuation down to the present of extant lists of periodicals and articles.¹⁰ Wanting too are full inventories of documents in print as well as manuscripts and correspondence in Romanian archives and libraries.

Indeed, much still needs to be done. Given the nature of human inquisitiveness, there will undoubtedly always be many questions to pose and sources to ponder about the Romanian past awaiting imaginative and resourceful historians in Romania and around the globe.

5. *Istoria României în date* [History of Romania in Dates], eds. Constantin C. Giurescu et al., 2nd ed. (București: Editura enciclopedică română, 1972); see also the English translation *Chronological History of Romania*, eds. Constantin C. Giurescu et al., 2nd ed. (Bucharest: Editura enciclopedică română, 1974).

6. According to announcements in 1977 and 1982, an *Enciclopedia României* [Encyclopedia of Romania] (București: Editura științifică și enciclopedică) is forthcoming; but the first of four projected volumes—that are to emphasize Romanian individuals, institutions, geographical terms, and historical happenings—has yet to appear.

7. See supra pp. 102-03.

8. See supra p. 104; cf. *Enciclopedia geografică a României* [Geographical Encyclopedia of Romania], eds. Mircea Măciu, Grigore Posea et al. (București: Editura științifică și enciclopedică, 1982); see the historical section pp. 85-105 by Grigore Posea, Gheorghe Bichir, Nicolae Stoicescu, and Gheorghe Ioniță, pp. 85-105.

9. See supra p. 97.

10. See supra p. 97.

Appendix A

BRIEF CHRONOLOGY OF THE CARPATHO-DANUBIAN REGION

I Prehistory

1,000,000-10,000 B.C. Palaeolithic Age
10,000-6000 B.C. Mesolithic Age
6000-2500 B.C. Neolithic Age
2500/2000-700 B.C. Bronze Age
1200/800 B.C.-present Iron Age

II. Antiquity

16th/13th century B.C.-2nd century A.D. Thracians
657 B.C.-A.D. 248 Greeks of Histria: Dobrogea
6th/4th century-2nd century B.C. Scythians
4th century-2nd century B.C. Celts: Transylvania
6th century B.C.-1st century A.D. Getae
2nd century B.C.-4th century A.D. Dacians
70 B.C.-A.D. 106 Geto-Dacian state of Dacia
A.D. 106-271 Roman province of Dacia

III. Epoch of Migration and Settlement

118-359 Sarmatians
375/6-454 Huns
454-567-675 Gepids
530-present Slavs
559/68-796 Avars
896-present Magyars
10th century-1091 Pechenegs
1067/71-1223/41 Polovtsy [Cumani]
1206-present Saxons [Sași]
1213-present Székely [Secui]
1241-present Mongols [Tătari]
1263-present Găgăuzi

IV. Modern Times

A. Danubian Principalities

1. Wallachia
 - ca. 1310-ca. 1416 independent principality
 - ca. 1416-1859 Turkish suzerainty
 - 1716-1822 Phanariot regime
 - 1718-1739 Oltenia: Austrian control
 - 1826/9-1854/6 Russian protectorate
 - 1854-1856 Austrian occupation
 - 1856-1878 European guarantee
2. Moldavia
 - 1359-1456 independent principality
 - 1456-1859 Turkish suzerainty
 - 1711-1822 Phanariot regime
 - 1826/9-1854/6 Russian protectorate
 - 1854-1856 Austrian occupation
 - 1856-1878 European guarantee
3. United Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia
 - 1859-1866 Turkish suzerainty and European guarantee

B. Romania

- 1866-1877/8 autonomous principality:
 - Turkish suzerainty and European guarantee
- 1866-1947 Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen dynasty
- 1877/8-1881 independent principality
- 1881-1947 kingdom
- 1947-1965 people's republic
- 1965-1989 socialist republic
- 1989-present Romania

V. Regions

A. Transylvania

- 1002/3-1541 voivodeship: Hungary
- 1541-1686/99 principality: Turkey
- 1699-1867 principality: Austria
- 1867-1918 Hungarian province: Austria-Hungary
- 1918/20-present Romanian region

B. Bucovina

1359-1775 Moldavian region
 1775-1918 Austrian region
 1918/9-present Romanian region
 1940-present northern sector: Ukrainian
 Soviet Socialist Republic in the USSR

C. Bessarabia

1359-1812 Moldavian region
 1484-1812 Bugeac: Turkey
 1812-1917 Russian province
 1856-1878 southwestern sector: Romania
 1918/20-1940 Romanian region
 1940-present Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic in the USSR

D. Dobrogea

1417-1878 Turkish pashalik
 1878-present Romanian region
 1913-1940 southern sector [Quadrilateral]: Romania
 1940-present southern sector: Bulgaria

E. Banat

1552-1718 Turkish pashalik
 1718-1918 Austrian region
 1919/20-present eastern sector: Romania
 western sector: Yugoslavia

VI. Neighboring States

A. Greece

682-323 B.C. city state of Athens
 338/23-30 B.C. Hellenistic age
 146 B.C.-A.D. 330 Roman period
 313/325 Christianity
 330-1453 Byzantine Empire
 1204/5-1456/8 Latin duchy of Athens
 1453-1830 Turkish period
 1821-1830/2 autonomous state
 1832-1974 independent kingdom
 1974-present republic

B. Rome

509-31 B.C. republic
31 B.C.-A.D. 476 empire

C. Bulgaria

681-1018 empire I
864 Christianity
1018-1186 Byzantine period
1186-1396 empire II
1396-1908 Turkish period
1878-1908 autonomous principality
1908-1946 empire III
1946-1990 People's Republic of Bulgaria
1990-present Republic of Bulgaria

D. Serbia

ca. 874 Christianity
927/8-1217 principality
1217-1371 kingdom
1371-1389 principality
1389-1878 Turkish period
1812/29-1878 autonomous principality
1833-present contiguous to Wallachia/Romania
1878-1882 independent principality
1882-1945 kingdom
1918-1929 kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes
1929-1945 kingdom of Yugoslavia
1945-present Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia

E. Russia

882-1169 Kiev
988/9 Christianity
1169-1238 Vladimir-Suzdal
1240-1480 Mongol period
1247-1712 Muscovy
1547-1712 tsardom
1613-1917 Romanov dynasty
1712-1918 empire
1791-present contiguous to Moldavia/Romania
1918/22-present Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

F. Hungary

896-1000 Magyar principality of Pannonia

948-ca. 998 Christianity

1000-1541 kingdom

1541-1699 Turkish period

1699-1918 Austrian period

1918-present independent republic

1949-1989 Hungarian People's Republic

1989-present Hungarian Republic

G. Poland

960-1025 principality

966 Christianity

1025-1772/95 kingdom

1366-1793 contiguous to Moldavia

1772/95-1918 partition period: Austria, Prussia, Russia

1918-present independent republic

1918-1939 contiguous to Romania

1944-1989 Polish People's Republic

1989-present Polish Republic

H. Austria

976/996-1156 margravate

1156-1453 duchy

1282-1918 Habsburg dynasty

1453-1804 archduchy

1804-1918 empire

1867-1918 Austria-Hungary

1918-present republic

I. Turkey

1300-1365/1394 emirate

1300-1922 Ottoman [Osmanlı] dynasty

ca. 1365/1394-1922 sultanate

1396-1878/1908 contiguous to Wallachia/Romania

1923-present republic

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Appendix B

MAP OF THE CARPATHO-DANUBIAN REGION

Towns

Cernăuți/Chernovtsy
Tîrgu-Mureș
Cluj-Napoca
Aiud
Mediaș
Alba Iulia
Cîmpul Pîinii
Sibiu
Timișoara/Temesvar
Vršac
Belgrad/Beograd
Craiova
Cîmpulung
Brașov
Vălenii de Munte
Bucharest/București
Pietroasa
Tropaeum Traiani
Brăila
Huși
Chișinău/Kishinev
Iași
Roman
Bistrița monastery

Regions

Maramureș
Crișana
Banat
Transylvania/Ardeal
Oltenia
Wallachia/Muntenia
Dobrogea
Quadrilateral
Bugeac/Budzhak
Bessarabia/Basarabia
Moldavia/Moldova
Bucovina

Rivers

Tisza/Tisa
Someș
Mureș
Timiș
Danube/Dunărea
Cerna
Olt
Prut
Siret
Putna
Milcov
Ceremuș/Cheremash
Dniester/Nistru/Dniestr

Other

Black Sea

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