

---

# TRANSYLVANIAN REVIEW

## /REVUE DE TRANSYLVANIE

---

Vol. XXV  
No. 1  
Spring 2016

---

### Contents/Sommaire

#### • Paradigms

---

La contribution des Transylvains  
à la fondation de l'Académie Roumaine 3  
Ioan-Aurel Pop

L'ASTRA et l'Académie Roumaine 8  
Nicolae Bocşan  
Liana Lăpădatu

Alexandru Lapedatu: Une vie dédiée  
à l'Académie Roumaine 18  
Dorina N. Rusu

Deutsche Persönlichkeiten aus Rumänien,  
Mitglieder der Rumänischen Akademie  
(1882-2014) 33  
Maria-Daniela Stanciu

#### • Tangencies

---

L'abolizionismo nel dibattito dei leader italiani  
e romeni nella prima metà dell'Ottocento 42  
Raluca Tomi

Approaching the Other in the Zipser Community:  
Identity Issues and Methodological Insights  
into Geographical Cross-Cultural Research 55  
Ioana Scridon  
Oana-Ramona Ilovan

The Healing Gurban: On the Traces  
of the Rudari from Southern Romania 74  
Bogdan Neagota  
Ileana Benga

Age Reporting in North West Province,  
South Africa, 1996–2011 95  
Martin E. Palamuleni

#### • Europe

---

Intercultural Mediation 117  
Diana-Ionela Ancheş

**ROMANIAN ACADEMY**  
Chairman:  
Academician **Ionel-Valentin Vlad**

CENTER FOR  
TRANSYLVANIAN STUDIES  
Director:  
Academician **Ioan-Aurel Pop**

On the cover:  
**The Inauguration of the  
Romanian Academic Society,**  
1/13 August 1867  
lithograph by  
HEINRICH TRENK (1818–1892)

• **Book Reviews**

- Teodor Octavian Gheorghiu & Smaranda Maria Bica, *Restituții: orașe la începuturile Evului Mediu românesc* (reviewed by Alexandru Păcurar) 137
- Costin Feneșan, ed., *Regimentul I românesc de graniță (nr. 16) din Transilvania de la înființare până la sfârșitul războaielor napoleoniene (1762–1815)* (reviewed by Florian Dumitru Soporan) 139
- Nicolae Bocșan & Ion Cârja, *Die Rumänische Unierte Kirche am Ersten Vatikanischen Konzil* (reviewed by Mircea-Gheorghe Abrudan) 143
- Rudolf Agstner, ed., *1914. Das etwas andere Lesebuch zum 1. Weltkrieg: Unbekannte Dokumente der österreichisch-ungarischen Diplomatie* (reviewed by Harald Heppner) 148
- Ioan Bolovan, *Primul Război Mondial și realitățile demografice din Transilvania: Familie, moralitate și raporturi de gen* (reviewed by Ela Cosma) 149
- Dan Prisăcaru, *În avanpostul luptei pentru supraviețuire: Apărarea națională a României și frontul secret în vâltoarea anilor 1938–1940* (reviewed by Liana Lăpădatu) 153
- Dumitru Chioaru, *Bilingvismul creator: Studii de literatură comparată despre scriitorii de expresie română și franceză* (reviewed by Rodica Ilie) 155
- Virgil Mihaiu, *Jazografii de împlânzit saxofoniste/ Jazografias para domar a las saxofonistas* (reviewed by Olivia N. Petrescu) 157
- **Contributors** 159

Publication indexed and abstracted in the Thomson Reuters Social Sciences Citation Index® and in Arts & Humanities Citation Index®, and included in EBSCO's and ELSEVIER's products.

ISSN 1221-1249

Printed in Romania by COLOR PRINT  
66, 22 Decembrie 1989 St.,  
Zalău 450031, Romania  
Tel. (0040)260-660598



[www.colorprint.ro](http://www.colorprint.ro)

**Transylvanian Review** continues the tradition of **Revue de Transylvanie**, founded by Silviu Dragomir, which was published in Cluj and then in Sibiu between 1934 and 1944.

**Transylvanian Review** is published quarterly by the **Center for Transylvanian Studies** and the **Romanian Academy**.

**EDITORIAL BOARD**

CESARE ALZATI, Ph.D.

Facoltà di Scienze della Formazione, Istituto di Storia Moderna e Contemporanea, Università Cattolica, Milan, Italy

HORST FASSEL, Ph.D.

Institut für donauschwäbische Geschichte und Landeskunde, Tübingen, Germany

KONRAD GÜNDISCH, Ph.D.

Bundesinstitut für Kultur und Geschichte der Deutschen im östlichen Europa, Oldenburg, Germany

HARALD HEPPNER, Ph.D.

Institut für Geschichte, Graz, Austria

PAUL E. MICHELSON, Ph.D.

Huntington University, Indiana, USA

ALEXANDRU ZUB, Ph.D.

Academician, honorary director of A. D. Xenopol Institute of History, Iași, Romania

**EDITORIAL STAFF**

Ioan-Aurel Pop

Virgil Leon

Nicolae Bocșan

Daniela Mârza

Ioan Bolovan

Alexandru Simon

Raveca Divricean

Florian D. Soporan

Maria Ghitta

Soporan

Rudolf Gräf

George State

**Translated by**

Bogdan Aldea—English

Liana Lăpădatu—French

**Desktop Publishing**

Edith Fogarasi

Cosmina Varga

Correspondence, manuscripts and books should be sent to: **Transylvanian Review, Centrul de Studii Transilvane** (Center for Transylvanian Studies) 12–14 Mihail Kogălniceanu St., Cluj-Napoca 400084, Romania.

All material copyright © 2016 by the Center for Transylvanian Studies and the Romanian Academy. Reproduction or use without written permission is prohibited.

[cst@academia-cj.ro](mailto:cst@academia-cj.ro)

[www.centruldestudiiitransilvane.ro](http://www.centruldestudiiitransilvane.ro)

---

## P A R A D I G M S

# La contribution des Transylvains à la fondation de l'Académie Roumaine

IOAN-AUREL POP

---

*« La nation roumaine sera dorénavant solidaire en son entier et ne se laissera plus désunir et détourner de ce but solidaire, la culture nationale. »*

*(Timotei Cipariu)*

---

**L** APPARITION DES académies remonte à l'antiquité, d'où provient aussi le nom de ces institutions vénérables. Cependant, ses antécédents directs viennent du Moyen Âge et de la Renaissance, lorsqu'on assiste également à la naissance des universités. Les préliminaires de l'Académie Roumaine sont à chercher un peu plus tard, dans l'érudition des Transylvains du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, les fondateurs de l'École Transylvaine. La Société Philosophique de la Nation roumaine dans la Grande Principauté de Transylvanie fut créée en 1795, à une époque où toutes les nations européennes commençaient à fonder de tels établissements. Après des tentatives semblables en Valachie et en Moldavie, l'Association transylvaine pour la littérature roumaine et la culture du peuple roumain (ASTRA) voyait le jour à Sibiu, en 1861. Le véritable antécédent direct de l'Académie Roumaine fut fondé quarante jours avant l'instal-

### **Ioan-Aurel Pop**

Recteur de l'Université Babeş-Bolyai de Cluj-Napoca, académicien, directeur du Centre d'Études Transylvaines de l'Académie Roumaine.

The following studies in the "Paradigms" section are dedicated to the 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Romanian Academy.

lation de Charles I<sup>er</sup>, par un décret de la Lieutenance royale du 1/13 avril 1866, qui prévoyait la formation d'une Société littéraire à Bucarest, avec la « mission spéciale » d'établir l'orthographe, la grammaire et le dictionnaire de la langue roumaine. Les vingt-et-un membres de cette société devaient provenir de toutes les provinces historiques roumaines : quatre de « la Roumanie d'en deçà du Milcov » (la Valachie et l'Olténie), trois de « la Roumanie d'au-delà du Milcov » (la Moldavie), trois de la Transylvanie proprement dite, deux du Banat, deux du Maramureş, trois de la Bessarabie, deux de la Bucovine et deux de « la Macédoine » (des érudits roumains du sud du Danube).<sup>1</sup> La fondation de la Société littéraire, qui avait un caractère national, a généré un grand enthousiasme, surtout en Transylvanie. Iosif Vulcan, le fondateur de la revue *Familia*, notait à cette occasion : « Grandiose sera le jour où les représentants de la nation que le sort avait dissipés en sept pays se ressembleront ; sublime sera la minute où le frère de Pind pourra serrer la main de son frère de Criş. »<sup>2</sup> Parmi les membres nommés dans cette nouvelle institution ne figuraient que des Roumains provenant des provinces aliénées. L'espace transylvain était représenté par Timotei Cipariu, Gavril Munteanu, George Bariţiu (la Transylvanie proprement dite), Iosif Hodoş, Alexandru Roman (le Maramureş), Andrei Mocioni et Vincenţiu Babeş (le Banat). Après la nomination de nouveaux membres provenant de Valachie et de Moldavie et l'établissement d'un cadre de fonctionnement, cette Société littéraire s'est réunie en sa première session en 1867.

Le 31 juillet/12 août 1867, Iosif Hodoş répondait à ceux qui leur avaient souhaité la bienvenue à Bucarest :

*Salut, frères libres de la Roumanie libre ! Nous sommes heureux d'être parmi vous, où la liberté de la parole est garantie. Elle est belle, votre liberté. Nous ne vous l'envions pas, mais nous voulons l'avoir aussi. Nous la voulons, nous l'espérons et nous agissons pour l'obtenir. Nous avons eu le plaisir d'être appelés pour que, unis avec vous, nous puissions établir l'unité de la langue ; l'unité de la langue, nous l'avons, nos frères ; depuis la Tisza jusqu'à la mer Noire, tous les Roumains parlent la même langue ; nous n'avons donc pas à établir l'unité de la langue, mais seulement sa forme, l'unité de la grammaire et du dictionnaire. Une fois cette unité d'expression établie, nous serons unis aussi par nos sentiments et nos pensées. La liberté est le droit de tous ; le Roumain la réclame par le bien, il l'exige au nom du droit et, si on la lui conteste, il la gagnera par des moyens moraux ou matériels, selon les circonstances. Heureux de vous revoir, nos frères !<sup>3</sup>*

Alexandru Roman disait à la même occasion :

*Messieurs nos frères ! [...] La langue de la Rome éternelle, celle dans laquelle les lois étaient autrefois dictées au monde, la langue romaine, belle et harmonieuse, que nous parlons tous, est la même depuis la Tisza jusqu'à la mer Noire ; nous sommes appelés seulement à lui donner une unité de la forme, à la purifier et la laver davantage que l'or, car elle est l'âme de notre nation, elle est le canal par lequel la culture s'écoule dans le corps national, dans le peuple. La langue nous unit, messieurs, mais depuis des siècles déjà elle est le seul lien entre nous ; le moment est arrivé pour nous unir aussi dans nos pensées et nos sentiments.<sup>4</sup>*

On sent la grande joie des Transylvains de pouvoir parler roumain librement en des circonstances et des institutions officielles.

Le 1<sup>er</sup>/13 août 1867, Timotei Cipariu montrait lors de la première session de la Société littéraire : « Messieurs ! Le sentiment national s'est éveillé en tous les Roumains. La nation roumaine est devenue consciente de la position qu'elle devrait occuper parmi les autres nations européennes ; elle fera tous les pas qu'il convient pour occuper cette position avec dignité. La nation roumaine sera dorénavant solidaire en son entier et ne se laissera plus désunir et détourner de ce but solidaire, la culture nationale. »<sup>5</sup> Le chanoine de Blaj continua par parler de la libération de la patrie roumaine, qui avait été accomplie par les grands hommes d'État, et de la libération de la langue roumaine, qui avait commencé par la fondation de la Société littéraire roumaine.

On voit dans cette première entreprise réalisée en 1866-1867 une grande responsabilité et une grande conscience roumaine, bâties sur des siècles de discrimination, d'humiliations et de privations. À la différence des Valaques et des Moldaves, les Transylvains n'avaient jamais bénéficié, depuis le voïvode Gélou, d'un pouvoir politique roumain dans leur pays ni de la possibilité de prendre part à la prise des décisions. C'est ce qui explique leur acharnement et leur conviction que « rien en ce qui nous concerne ne pourra se décider sans nous » (*Nilil de nobis sine nobis*). Les lettrés des siècles précédents, depuis Coresi (à Braşov) et le métropolitain Simion Ştefan (à Alba Iulia) jusqu'à Inochentie Micu (à Blaj), à l'École Transylvaine et à la génération de 1848, avaient œuvré pour éveiller les consciences. Dans les quelques écoles communautaires et religieuses, l'histoire des Roumains commençait par la fondation de Rome, qui nous avait légué à jamais le nom, la langue et la place que nous devrions occuper en Europe. À l'intérieur des églises, les prêtres exhortaient avec précaution les fidèles à n'oublier jamais qu'ils étaient Roumains. En mai 1848, Simion Bărnuţiu avait montré dans la cathédrale de Blaj le véritable credo des Roumains : « L'empereur nous a trompés, la patrie [l'Empire des Habsbourg] nous a emprisonnés et nous nous sommes aperçus que la foi en nous-mêmes et en notre nation roumaine

est la seule capable de nous sauver. » La foi en la nation roumaine était donc salutaire. L'élévation de la nation était possible à travers le combat politique et la culture nationale, et les fondements de la culture étaient la langue et l'histoire. La génération qui avait fondé l'Académie Roumaine était convaincue du rôle fondamental de la culture. Elle devrait être édiflée autour de la langue unitaire, qui existait depuis la nuit des temps et qui devait seulement recevoir une unité de la forme. Toute leur vie durant, ces grands hommes se sont évertués à convaincre les Roumains que la langue a la valeur d'un véritable trésor culturel et, après la mort, ils l'ont fait à travers leurs œuvres. Ils étaient les héritiers des chroniqueurs, de Cantemir (qui avait été découvert à Vienne et à Rome) et de Petru Maior. Ils considéraient les Roumains comme de véritables Romains, et la langue roumaine comme la langue des Romains. Leur pensée opérait par des comparaisons et elle était fondée sur les conséquences de l'évolution historique. Les grands philologues et les historiens du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle sont arrivés à la même conclusion, mais ils l'ont exprimée par d'autres mots, parfois trop enflammés par l'atmosphère de la Grande Union. Sextil Puşcariu notait en 1920 :

*Quelque exagérée que cette direction latiniste puisse paraître, le fait qu'elle ait favorisé la naissance de notre sentiment national et la nationalisation de toutes nos aspirations, de notre culture et de notre langue, est la preuve qu'elle a réussi à toucher la corde sensible de notre âme, notre nature romane. Tout ce qui est roman dans notre sang, tout ce qui nous unit à nos frères de l'Ouest d'Europe avait été étouffé en nous depuis des siècles, nos liens naturels avaient été coupés et attachés à l'Orient qui nous est étranger aussi bien par le sang que par les aspirations. Et maintenant, une fois nos chaînes brisées, qui à force d'ancienneté ne paraissaient plus artificielles, notre élan inné reprend des forces et nous parvenons à aimer et à cultiver notre langue, à en devenir fiers.*

Cette langue romane, adéquate à « notre nature romane », est la langue roumaine ou « le latin danubien » (Iancu Fischer), qui n'est autre que la langue latine, telle qu'elle avait évolué au fil de deux millénaires. C'est à ces générations de fondateurs érudits et de continuateurs de l'Académie Roumaine, qui ont cru à la langue éternelle, à sa valeur de liant et de promotrice des valeurs, que nous devons notre vie spirituelle digne. Pendant presque un siècle, l'Académie a poursuivi avec succès son œuvre normative et créatrice, étendant ses préoccupations à tous les domaines de la culture et recevant des membres de toutes les régions habités par des Roumains.



## Notes

1. Academia Română, *Pagini din istoria Academiei Române (1866-1948). Acte, donații, discursuri, portrete și evocări istorice*, sélection des textes, notes et index général par Dorina N. Rusu, avant-propos par acad. Dan Berindei, Bucarest, 2007, p. 7.
2. Acad. Dan Berindei, *Istoria Academiei Române (1866-2006). 140 de ani de existență*, Bucarest, 2006, p. 54.
3. *Pagini din istoria Academiei Române*, *op. cit.*, p. 11.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*, p. 17.

## Abstract

### The Transylvanian Contribution to the Founding of the Romanian Academy

The article features a synthetic presentation of the contribution brought by the Transylvanians belonging to the Transylvanian Association for Romanian Literature and the Culture of the Romanian People (ASTRA, 1861) to the founding and the activity of the Romanian Literary (later Academic) Society (1866–1867), institutions which helped foster Romanian national unity by means of cultural activities.

## Keywords

ASTRA, the Romanian Literary (Academic) Society, the Romanian Academy

NICOLAE BOÇŞAN  
LIANA LĂPĂDATU

## L'ASTRA et l'Académie Roumaine

---

*« Nous avons commencé  
à libérer notre patrie, nous  
avons commencé à libérer  
notre langue. »  
(Timotei Cipariu)*

---

### **Nicolae Boçşan**

Historien, chercheur au Centre d'Études  
Transylvaines de l'Académie Roumaine.

### **Liana Lăpădatu**

Chercheuse et traductrice au Centre  
d'Études Transylvaines de l'Académie  
Roumaine.

L'ASSOCIATIONNISME SCIENTIFIQUE et culturel chez les Roumains de Banat et de Transylvanie est le fruit des Lumières et de ses idéaux d'élévation qualitative de la nation par la culture et l'éducation. Les Lumières roumaines ont initié le processus d'institutionnalisation des sociétés scientifiques représentatives de la culture ou de la science roumaine qui étaient en train de se cristalliser. Parmi les sociétés fondées par la génération des Lumières, la Société Philosophique de la Nation roumaine dans la Grande Principauté de Transylvanie et la Société pour la Culture de la Langue roumaine ont été les premières à formuler un programme visant à cultiver et unifier la langue roumaine, à en établir l'orthographe, la grammaire, le dictionnaire, à publier des documents historiques et, finalement, à éclairer le peuple par la diffusion de la culture et de la science.

Les circonstances du temps n'ont pas permis à ce moment l'institutionnalisation culturelle nationale. Après plusieurs tentatives de fonder une université, une faculté de sciences juridiques ou une académie<sup>1</sup> durant la période néo-absolutiste (1849-1860), les Roumains ont réussi à l'époque libérale à



coaguler un mouvement destiné à organiser des associations nationales dans les domaines culturel, économique, social et ecclésiastique. Le principe de l'égalité des droits promu par la Maison de Habsbourg, le contexte politique favorable aux Roumains après l'instauration du régime libéral en Autriche, la formation de l'État roumain moderne voisin ont stimulé l'apparition d'associations culturelles de différents types, qui ont assumé l'idée de propager la langue et la culture nationale dans les milieux sociaux les plus divers : parmi les élèves, les étudiants, les femmes, les artisans, le clergé et, plus tard, même parmi les paysans.<sup>2</sup>

L'union des Principautés roumaines en 1859, à la suite de l'élection d'Alexandre Jean Couza comme prince régnant à la fois en Moldavie et en Valachie, y a déclenché une campagne pour la création d'une société littéraire ou d'une académie de sciences, dans laquelle se sont impliquées V. A. Urechia, August Treboniu Laurian et Gh. Sion. En 1860, ce dernier a demandé au gouvernement, dans *Revista Carpaților* (la Revue des Carpates) de fonder une académie de sciences.<sup>3</sup> Le 7 avril 1860, le Conseil des Ministres a décidé de créer la Société académique roumaine, qui devait contribuer à « l'évolution de la littérature, de l'histoire et de la culture nationale ». Bien que le prince régnant Couza ait approuvé la création de cette société, sa mise en œuvre fut reportée à cause des conditions défavorables sur le plan national et international.<sup>4</sup>

Une campagne similaire a commencé en Transylvanie, dans le contexte des débats engagés dans le *Telegraful român* (le Télégraphe roumain) (fondé en 1853 à Sibiu, à l'initiative de l'évêque orthodoxe Andrei Șaguna) sur la langue des publications roumaines. Dans une lettre du 20 mars 1860, Ioan Pușcariu parlait « des bénéfices et des conséquences d'une réunion des hommes de lettres roumains d'Autriche ».<sup>5</sup> À son tour, Ioan Rusu écrivait le 14 avril 1860 que « une association qui s'occupe de la diffusion du savoir des différentes branches de la science ne peut être qu'un désir ardent de tous ceux qui comprennent et connaissent peu de choses sur l'utilité de pareilles associations pour la culture d'une nation ».<sup>6</sup>

L'intellectualité roumaine a embrassé cette idée. Paul Dunca a reçu la mission de rédiger une pétition adressée au gouvernement pour l'organisation d'une assemblée qui devait établir les statuts de la future association.<sup>7</sup> Cette pétition, signée par presque 180 personnalités dont l'archevêque (métropolitain) gréco-catholique Al. Sterca Șuluțiu, l'évêque orthodoxe Andrei Șaguna, Timotei Cipariu, Axente Sever, Iacob Mureșianu, Pavel Vasici, Iacob Bologa, I. Rațiu, N. Popea, Gavril Munteanu, Ioan Popasu, a été remise au gouverneur de la Transylvanie le 10/22 mai 1860. Cette pétition parlait de la création d'une « association pour la littérature et la culture du peuple roumain », destinée à faire des Roumains « les bénéficiaires des lumières et de la culture moderne ».<sup>8</sup> Même s'il n'a pas approuvé explicitement la requête des intellectuels roumains, le gouver-

neur Friedrich Liechtenstein a demandé les statuts de la future société à l'évêque Şaguna, le 12 juillet 1860.<sup>9</sup>

Parallèlement à ces démarches, le Ministère des Cultes et de l'Instruction publique a demandé au gouvernement transylvain de créer une commission composée de philologues roumains pour se prononcer sur l'orthographe roumaine en lettres latines, en y ajoutant un projet qui était déjà élaboré. En septembre 1860, Şaguna recommandait aux membres de cette commission de ne pas accepter le projet du ministère, car c'était la seule voie par laquelle les Roumains pouvaient « prouver aux étrangers que nous avons depuis longtemps déjà notre propre orthographe ». Placée sous la direction de Timotei Cipariu, cette commission était formée de George Bariţiu, Gavril Munteanu, Andrei Mureşanu, Ioan Popasu, Ioan Puşcariu, Ion Codru Drăguşanu, Ioan Fechete Negruţiu, Anton Veştemeanu. Dans la réunion du 6 octobre 1860, la commission a demandé au gouverneur d'approuver « la formation d'une société littéraire chargée non seulement de diffuser la culture dans la langue roumaine mais aussi d'élaborer un dictionnaire étymologique aussi complet que possible ainsi que plusieurs livres scolastiques ».<sup>10</sup>

George Bariţiu, Timotei Cipariu et Ioan Puşcariu ont fait des propositions pour les statuts. Au début de novembre 1860, ces propositions ont été remises à Andrei Şaguna. Se servant aussi du projet rédigé par Ioan Puşcariu, l'évêque a élaboré le statut de l'Association pour la Littérature et la Culture du Peuple roumain et pour le Progrès de l'Industrie et de l'Agriculture.<sup>11</sup> Le 6 décembre 1860, ce projet de statut révisé par Şaguna a été remis au gouvernement transylvain.<sup>12</sup> La Conférence nationale des Roumains, réunie en janvier 1861 à Sibiu, a demandé « la création d'une société littéraire et d'un fonds pour la culture de la langue et l'évolution de la littérature nationale ».<sup>13</sup>

La Chancellerie aulique et le gouvernement transylvain ont approuvé, le 31 janvier 1861, l'organisation d'une assemblée consultative pour la création de l'association culturelle roumaine. L'approbation de cette assemblée a généré une émulation dans les milieux des intellectuels roumains, qui ont cherché à profiter au maximum de ce contexte favorable. Ioan Puşcariu demandait des débats immédiats sur l'organisation de cette société, déclarant que « c'est notre premier organe légal, dans lequel nous pouvons vraiment représenter la nation ».<sup>14</sup> Andrei Şaguna a invité tous les signataires de la pétition rédigé en mai 1860 à participer, le 9/21 mars 1861, à Sibiu, à une réunion qui devait établir les statuts. Y ont participé George Bariţiu, Ioan Puşcariu, Ioan Raţiu, Ioan Alduleanu, Iacob Bologna, Pavel Vasici, Pavel Dunca, Ilie Măcelariu, Axente Sever, Nicolae Popea, Ioan Hannia, Ion Codru Drăguşanu. Les participants ont discuté sur les projets de statut (qui avaient été rédigés par George Bariţiu, Timotei Cipariu et

Ioan Pușcariu) et ont confié la rédaction du texte final à une commission composée principalement de juristes.<sup>15</sup>

Les statuts approuvés ont établi le nom officiel de la société – l'Association transylvaine pour la Littérature roumaine et la Culture du Peuple roumain (ASTRA) – et son objectif : « faire progresser la littérature roumaine et la culture du peuple roumain dans les différents domaines, par l'élaboration et la publication d'œuvres, par des prix et des subsides octroyés aux différentes spécialités des sciences et des arts ».<sup>16</sup> Après l'approbation des statuts par la résolution impériale du 6 septembre 1861, Andrei Șaguna a convoqué « toute l'intelligentsia de notre nation » à Sibiu pour le jour du 23 octobre/4 novembre 1861 à l'assemblée de constitution de l'Association.

Cette assemblée, la première institution des Roumains transylvains légalement reconnue, comme la considérait Ioan Pușcariu, a été une bonne occasion d'exprimer des messages de solidarités nationale et d'émulation autour de la nouvelle institution. Timotei Cipariu affirmait à ce propos : « Un support est aujourd'hui donné à notre nationalité, et nous espérons que de pareils supports seront à l'avenir plus nombreux et plus forts. »<sup>17</sup> Cette prophétie s'est avérée vraie, car d'autres associations ont été fondées presque en même temps : l'Association pour la Culture du Peuple roumain de Maramureș (5 février 1861), la Société pour la Culture et la Littérature roumaine de Bucovine (1862) et l'Association nationale pour la Culture du Peuple roumain d'Arad (1863). La création de ces associations provinciales roumaines était le résultat d'un besoin naturel de coordination et d'unification de l'initiative culturelle roumaine, étant les premières institutions laïques à assumer un rôle de guide de la vie nationale. Elles ont assuré l'unité de l'action culturelle roumaine, ont continué, dans l'ambiance romantique, le programme des Lumières d'élévation qualitative de la nation.

Lors de la deuxième assemblée de constitution de l'ASTRA, du 24 octobre/5 novembre 1861, 212 membres se sont inscrits dans l'association dont neuf membres fondateurs (Al. Sterca Șuluțiu, A. Șaguna, N. Popea, Andrei Mocioni etc.). Parmi les membres actifs, nous mentionnons G. Barițiu, T. Cipariu, Axente Sever, Simion Balint, Zaharia Boiu, Pavel Vasici, Iosif Hodoș, Visarion Roman, Ioan Popasu, Ilie Măcelariu, Atanasie Marienescu. Du point de vue professionnel, 30 % environ provenaient du clergé, les autres étant professeurs, avocats, journalistes, fonctionnaires, marchands, propriétaires et neuf paysans. Le nombre de membres ordinaires a oscillé de 814 en 1861 à 381 en 1864, à 235 en 1875 et à 10 368 en 1914. Non seulement des personnes mais aussi des communes, des instituts de crédit, des communautés ecclésiastiques, des églises et des sociétés à caractère professionnel sont devenus membres de l'ASTRA jusqu'en 1870. La troisième assemblée de constitution a élu les membres hono-

raires de l'Association dont Simion Bărnuțiu, Al. Papiu Ilarian, Aaron Florian, A. Treboniu Laurian, Ioan Maiorescu, Damaschin Bojincă, Aron Pumnul, C. Hurmuzachi, Petrache Poenaru, Atanasie Șandor, Mihail Kogălniceanu, Gh. Sion, Al. Odobescu, Imre Mikó, Eduard Albert Bielz, Joseph Grimm etc. Le même jour, George Barițiu a présenté les 15 propositions qui détaillaient la future activité de l'Association. Andrei Șaguna a été élu président, Timotei Cipariu vice-président et George Barițiu secrétaire. Les présidents suivants de l'ASTRA allaient être Vasile Ladislau Popp, Iacob Bologna, Timotei Cipariu, George Barițiu, Ioan Micu Moldovanu, Al. Mocioni, Al. Sterca-Șuluțiu et Andrei Bârseanu.

L'ASTRA a présenté sa stratégie culturelle lors de la deuxième assemblée générale, qui a eu lieu en juillet 1862 à Brașov, en la présence de 800 personnes. Timotei Cipariu a prononcé à cette occasion un discours manifeste d'unité nationale, programmatique pour la signification et l'action culturelle de l'ASTRA, dans lequel il disait : « Car nous avons tous le même sang, car nous avons entendu nos mères prononcer les mêmes paroles dès notre enfance, car nous sommes tous frères entre nous, même si nous sommes séparés par des montagnes et des vallées et divisés par les états politiques et les confessions, que Dieu nous aide à être unis, à avoir une seule raison, une seule langue, une seule littérature... À ce moment, malgré la séparation politique, sociale et religieuse, l'esprit national et le génie roumain prendront sous leurs ailes tous les fils de Trajan et les tiendront unis par les liens de la paix, de la fraternité et de l'unité nationale. »<sup>18</sup> L'assemblée de Brașov a décidé de la création de trois sections : de Philologie, d'Histoire et de Sciences physico-naturelles. En 1900, le nouveau Règlement de l'Association allait prévoir le fonctionnement de cinq sections : littéraire, historique, scolaire, scientifique et économique.

**L**A FORMATION de la Roumanie moderne et de ses institutions représentatives sur le plan politique, culturel, ecclésiastique et économique a généré une émulation nationale et un sentiment de solidarité avec les Roumains du monde entier. L'opinion publique et les hommes politiques ont affirmé leur intention de soutenir les aspirations politiques ou culturelles des Roumains soumis à une domination étrangère, surtout ceux de Transylvanie, qui étaient menacés par le Compromis austro-hongrois (1867).

Les manifestations pour l'unité nationale, la création des institutions qui étaient un symbole de l'unité roumaine ont accompagné la formation de l'État roumain moderne, exprimant l'intention de celui-ci de représenter les intérêts de tous les Roumains. C'est dans ce contexte que fut fondée la Société littéraire roumaine, qui en 1867 allaient devenir la Société académique roumaine. Le 31 mars 1866, la Lieutenance princière a approuvé le Règlement de la Société

littéraire roumaine, et, le 1<sup>er</sup> avril, elle a émis le décret de fondation de cette société, qui avait pour mission d'établir l'orthographe, la grammaire et le dictionnaire de la langue roumaine. Le Règlement de la Société littéraire prévoyait 21 membres fondateurs, dont trois de Moldavie, quatre de Valachie, trois de Transylvanie, deux de Banat, deux de Maramureș, deux de Bucovine, trois de Bessarabie et deux de Macédoine, élus parmi « ceux qui se distinguent par leurs mérites et par leurs ouvrages littéraires ». Les membres fondateurs de Transylvanie, de Maramureș et de Banat ont été nommés par un décret de la Lieutenance princière émis le 22 avril 1866 : Iosif Hodoș, Alexandru Roman, Timotei Cipariu, Gavril Munteanu, George Barițiu, Andrei Mocioni et Vincențiu Babeș.<sup>19</sup> À ceux-ci vint s'ajouter en été 1867 A. T. Laurian, établi en Roumanie.

La session inaugurale de la Société littéraire a constitué une bonne occasion d'affirmer l'unité nationale par la science et la culture. Si le vœu d'Alexandru Roman était « que l'unité de la langue littéraire conduise, par la voie pacifique, à l'unité nationale », Timotei Cipariu considérait que « nous avons commencé à libérer notre patrie, nous avons commencé à libérer notre langue, nous avons toujours commencé, messieurs, mais nous n'avons rien achevé, il faut continuer et achever ».<sup>20</sup> Le ministre des Affaires étrangères de la Roumanie disait à la même occasion qu'« il n'y a pas de désir plus légitime et plus pardonnable pour les membres d'une nation, quelles que soient les frontières politiques qui les séparent, que celui de cultiver la langue nationale, un trésor qu'aucune puissance humaine ne peut dérober au peuple ».<sup>21</sup>

Le nom officiel de la société a été adopté lors de la même session inaugurale. Elle s'appelait désormais la Société académique roumaine et était organisée en trois sections, identiques à celles constituées par l'Association transylvaine : philologique et littéraire, historique et archéologique et de sciences naturelles.

Les objectifs du programme, qui au début étaient les mêmes dans les deux sociétés – de cultiver la langue et l'histoire –, montrent que, jusqu'à la fondation de la Société académique, l'ASTRA a cherché une direction propre d'activité, oscillant entre la culture savante et la culture de masse. Elle a été jusqu'en 1867 la principale société culturelle et scientifique pour tous les Roumains. Après la fondation de la Société académique, c'est celle-ci qui a assumé le rôle de guide culturel et scientifique, tandis que l'ASTRA a continué, durant les années suivantes, à cultiver la culture de masse par l'intermédiaire de ses filiales locales (87 en 1914). Elle n'a toutefois pas abandonné l'intérêt pour la création savante, qui s'est matérialisé dans la rédaction et la publication de la première encyclopédie roumaine (et du sud-est d'Europe), sous la coordination de C. Diaconovich (trois volumes, 1898-1904), fruit de la collaboration de plus de 200 érudits de toutes les provinces habitées par des Roumains. De plus, le Musée de l'ASTRA sera inauguré en 1905 à Sibiu (il a été construit sans aucune aide de la part de l'État).

Tout le monde avait remarqué à l'époque le parallélisme qui existait entre la Société académique et l'ASTRA. La plupart du programme initial de la Société littéraire était tributaire du modèle institutionnalisé par l'ASTRA en Transylvanie. L'organisation de la société par trois sections identiques, la désignation des membres fondateurs, ordinaires et suppléants parmi les personnalités de la vie scientifique et culturelle de toutes les provinces habitées par des Roumains constituent autant d'arguments en ce sens. Ce parallélisme s'expliquait, en partie, par le rôle important joué par les Transylvains – T. Cipariu, G. Barițiu, A. T. Laurian – dans l'organisation de l'ASTRA et de la Société académique, surtout dans la rédaction des statuts de la Société académique. Par ailleurs, le besoin d'une évolution unitaire de la culture roumaine sur les coordonnées du romantisme se faisait de plus en plus sentir après 1859, ce qui imposait avec nécessité la création d'un forum académique central. Timotei Cipariu et George Barițiu avaient participé à la rédaction des statuts de l'ASTRA et ont joué un rôle important dans la rédaction des statuts de la Société académique. Tous les membres fondateurs transylvains de la Société académique (sept sur vingt-deux) avaient participé à la création de l'ASTRA et avaient été membres de l'Association transylvaine, et tous les membres transylvains de l'Académie Roumaine ont été aussi membres de l'ASTRA.

Les discours programmatiques prononcés dans les réunions d'inauguration des deux sociétés montrent le même parallélisme dans leur stratégie culturelle-scientifique : l'unification de la langue, la grammaire, le dictionnaire, l'orthographe unitaire. En octobre 1861, Timotei Cipariu parlait de la langue roumaine comme d'un trésor « inestimable », « un trésor plus cher que la vie ». <sup>22</sup> George Barițiu considérait que « si la langue d'une nation est à juste titre son âme, l'histoire d'une nation est le moyen admirable par lequel se manifeste sa vie nationale, le diplôme qui confère la légitimité à un peuple en société et parmi les autres peuples ». <sup>23</sup>

Andrei Șaguna a constamment défendu l'idée de « pénétration de la culture au sein du peuple » et a soutenu la nécessité d'instruction des paysans. L'assemblée générale de l'ASTRA, qui s'est tenue à Deva, en 1874, a pris la décision de faire imprimer des livres à l'usage du peuple (165 000 exemplaires jusqu'en 1911), alors que l'assemblée générale de Sighișoara, en 1879, a décidé « que l'activité de l'Association s'adressât davantage au peuple tout entier ». <sup>24</sup> Environ 600 bibliothèques populaires ont été créées jusqu'en 1914.

Les conférences adressées aux paysans ont occupé une place importante parmi les actions culturelles de l'ASTRA. Elles visaient à vulgariser les méthodes modernes dans l'agriculture, à combattre l'alcoolisme, à engager des discussions sur des thèmes d'économie, histoire, métiers, hygiène, superstitions, littérature, enseignement, organisation d'expositions ethnographiques (1862, 1881, 1905).

Une autre direction importante dans l'activité de l'ASTRA a visé l'appui aux écoles roumaines. Andrei Şaguna a été l'un des partisans de l'orientation des Roumains vers les métiers et a soutenu la nécessité d'octroyer des bourses aux jeunes gens qui choisissaient de fréquenter des écoles professionnelles. Les subside accordées entre 1861 et 1911 ont été de 123 000 couronnes.

La publication officielle de l'ASTRA a été la revue *Transilvania* (La Transylvanie), approuvée dans l'assemblée générale de Cluj, en 1867. Elle a commencé à paraître à Braşov dès le mois de janvier 1868, sous la coordination de George Bariţiu, avec 300 abonnés.<sup>25</sup> L'organisation de la bibliothèque a été un autre centre d'intérêt de cette société. Elle a constamment enrichi le fonds des livres aussi bien par des donations et des acquisitions que par des échanges de publications avec la Société académique roumaine, le Ministère des Cultes et de l'Instruction publique, l'Académie des Sciences de Vienne, l'Académie des Sciences de Budapest, la société saxonne de Sibiu, les bibliothèques universitaires de Iaşi et de Tchernivtsi, les bibliothèques de Rome et de Florence. Les collections de livres anciens et de manuscrits ont été créées à la proposition de Timotei Cipariu.<sup>26</sup>

La section philologique-littéraire comptait 15 des 22 membres de la Société académique. Le 11 septembre 1867, elle a désigné une commission composée de T. Cipariu, A. T. Laurian, G. Bariţiu, I. Hodoş, Al. Roman, qui devait établir l'orthographe roumain en lettres latines. Les Transylvains A. T. Laurian et I. C. Massim ont été chargés de publier le *Dictionnaire de la langue roumaine*. La section historique-archéologique a encouragé la recherche des archives en Transylvanie et en Hongrie, a publié des ouvrages d'histoire dans les Annales de la Société, a soutenu des stages de documentation à Berlin, Vienne, Rome et Saint-Pétersbourg. E. Hurmuzaki, Al. Odobescu, N. Densuşianu, N. Iorga, Ioan Bogdan ont commencé la publication des sources documentaires dans la collection Hurmuzaki.

Après 1879, quand la Société académique s'est transformée en l'Académie Roumaine, son programme initial s'est considérablement élargi, en lui conférant le rôle de premier forum scientifique et culturel de tous les Roumains, alors que l'ASTRA a reconsidéré son programme sur les coordonnés de la vulgarisation des valeurs de la science et de la culture roumaine. L'Académie Roumaine s'est largement acquittée de la mission qu'on lui avait confiée, en patronnant la vie culturelle et scientifique de tous les Roumains jusqu'en 1918. Elle a dirigé l'activité culturelle et la recherche scientifique, à contribué à l'unification de la langue et de l'orthographe. L'Académie Roumaine a diffusé les livres roumains et ses publications dans toutes les provinces habitées par des Roumains, a appuyé les institutions culturelles roumaines de Transylvanie et de Banat face aux tentatives des dénationalisation.

L'activité de l'Académie Roumaine a eu un écho particulier dans les écrits et les publications de Transylvanie et de Banat. La revue *Transilvania* a publié

les discours et les communications présentés à l'Académie par les personnalités transylvaines, la revue *Familia* a consacré tous les ans des pages entières à l'activité de l'Académie, à ses initiatives culturelles-scientifiques, aux débats, aux prix accordés ou aux nouveaux membres élus. La plupart des périodiques roumains de Transylvanie et de Banat avaient des rubriques permanentes qui s'intitulaient « La Société académique roumaine », « L'Académie Roumaine », « De l'Académie Roumaine » et qui défendaient l'importance et la valeur de l'institution académique en tant que forum scientifique et culturel unique pour tous les Roumains. L'Académie Roumaine a offert les publications éditées à Bucarest aux sociétés culturelles roumaines des élèves, des étudiants, des écoles, des revues, en enrichissant le réseau des bibliothèques roumaines de toutes les catégories.

L'activité des deux sociétés s'est toujours entrecroisée au fil du temps, par les membres transylvains de l'Académie Roumaine, par la présence des instituteurs de Roumanie aux assemblées générales de l'ASTRA. Si l'Académie Roumaine s'est surtout centrée sur l'activité savante, de création, d'érudition, l'ASTRA s'est donné pour principal but de diffuser la science et la culture au sein du peuple. L'une et l'autre ont œuvré pour le progrès et l'affirmation de la nation roumaine. □

## Notes

1. Ștefan Pascu, *Istoricul Academiei Române. 125 de ani de la înființare*, Bucarest, 1991, p. 27 sq.
2. Nicolae Bocșan, « Transilvania și unirea din 1859. Implicații culturale », *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie* (Cluj-Napoca), XXVII, 1985-1986, p. 489 sq.
3. Pascu, *Istoricul Academiei Române*, op. cit., p. 41.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 42.
5. Mihai Sofronie, *Mitropolitul Andrei Șaguna și Asociațiunea transilvană (Astra)*, Constanța, 2001, p. 58.
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Ibid.*, p. 60.
8. *Actele privitoare la urzirea și înființarea Asociațiunii transilvane pentru literatura română și cultura poporului român*, Sibiu, 1862, p. 3-10.
9. Sofronie, *Mitropolitul Andrei Șaguna*, op. cit., p. 61.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 62.
11. Ștefan Pascu, « Astra și Academia Română », in *Astra. Asociațiunea transilvană pentru literatura română și cultura poporului român. 130 de ani de la înființare*, Sibiu, 1992, p. 19 ; *id.*, « Însemnătatea culturală națională a Astei », *Memoriile secției de științe istorice* (Bucarest), IV<sup>e</sup> série, tome VI, 1981, p. 97-98 ; Sofronie, *Mitropolitul Andrei Șaguna*, op. cit., p. 62-63.
12. *Actele privitoare la urzirea și înființarea Asociațiunii transilvane*, op. cit., p. 15.



13. Sofronie, *Mitropolitul Andrei Șaguna*, p. 63.
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Ibid.*
16. *Actele privitoare la urzirea și înființarea Asociațiunii transilvane*, *op. cit.*, p. 19 sq.
17. Pascu, « Astra și Academia Română », *op. cit.*, p. 20.
18. Sofronie, *Mitropolitul Andrei Șaguna și Asociațiunea transilvană*, *op. cit.*, p. 67-68.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 71-75.
20. Pascu, *Istoricul Academiei Române*, *op. cit.*, p. 74.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 53-54.
22. Sofronie, *Mitropolitul Andrei Șaguna*, *op. cit.*, p. 71-79.
23. Pascu, « Astra și Academia Română », *op. cit.*, p. 20.
24. Mihai Sofronie, *Aspecte ale activității Asociațiunii transilvane (Astra), până la 1918*, Sibiu, 1996, p. 14-15.
25. Mihai Sofronie, « Activitatea editorială a Asociațiunii transilvane până la 1918 », in *ASTRA. 1861-1950. Asociațiunea transilvană pentru literatura română și cultura poporului român. 125 de ani de la înființare*, réd. V. V. Grecu, Sibiu, 1987, p. 288.
26. *Ibid.*

## Abstract

### ASTRA and the Romanian Academy

The paper presents the similarities and parallels between the Transylvanian Association for Romanian Literature and the Culture of the Romanian People (ASTRA), founded in Sibiu in 1861 (at that time in the Habsburg Empire) and the Romanian Literary Society (Bucharest, 1866), which became the Romanian Academic Society (1867), and then the Romanian Academy (1879), all institutional frameworks that fostered national unity through science and culture. The Transylvanian cultural association and its counterpart in Romania were identical when it came to their programs and internal organization (departments), and the Transylvanian members of the Romanian Academy were also members of the ASTRA.

## Keywords

ASTRA, the Romanian Literary (Academic) Society, the Romanian Academy, cultural associations

# Alexandru Lapedatu

## Une vie dédiée à l'Académie Roumaine

DORINA N. RUSU

---

« *Nous passons, l'Académie  
demeure.* »

(*Alexandru Lapedatu*)

---

### Dorina N. Rusu

Membre correspondant de l'Académie Roumaine, auteur, entre autres, des vols.

**Pagini din istoria Academiei Române, 1866-1948** (2007), **Patrimoniul Academiei Române. Donatori și donații 1860-1948** (2008).

L'ACADÉMIE ROUMAINE, le forum scientifique et culturel le plus important du pays, dont on fête cette année le 150<sup>e</sup> anniversaire, a prêté dès le début une attention toute particulière à l'étude de l'histoire, « le diplôme qui légitime un peuple dans le cadre de la société et dans le concert des autres peuples »<sup>1</sup>, comme la définissait le premier académicien historique, George Barițiu. Consciente de l'importance de l'histoire dans la vie de toute nation, l'Académie Roumaine a encouragé les recherches dans les archives et les bibliothèques, la rédaction de collections de documents, d'ouvrages et d'études sur les événements qui avaient marqué le passé du peuple roumain, elle a initié et soutenu les fouilles archéologiques et la publication des principaux ouvrages des ancêtres, afin de pouvoir « rendre entre les mains du peuple et surtout de celles des futures générations l'histoire de notre patrie, de la nation et de l'Église »<sup>2</sup>, comme le même Barițiu l'affirmait en 1870.

Ce programme à la fois vaste et courageux n'aurait pas pu être accompli sans l'activité de spécialistes de l'histoire et de l'archéologie, dont plus de

130 ont été membres de l'Académie Roumaine. Parmi eux, Alexandru Lapedatu (1876-1950), personnalité de marque dans l'historiographie roumaine contemporaine, homme politique et défenseur fervent de la culture roumaine.<sup>3</sup>

Né dans la région de Braşov, où il a d'ailleurs fait l'école primaire, Alexandru Lapedatu a continué ses études à un lycée de Iaşi et ensuite à l'Université de Bucarest, à la Faculté de Lettres et de Philosophie. Il est devenu licencié en histoire et en géographie avec la mention *magna cum laude*. Sous la baguette de ses illustres professeurs Ioan Bogdan, Dimitre Onciul et Nicolae Iorga, il a commencé à déchiffrer les mécanismes sociopolitiques de l'histoire médiévale et moderne roumaine. Après avoir travaillé pour un temps comme professeur suppléant au Lycée Sf. Sava, il a été embauché à la Bibliothèque de l'Académie Roumaine, la Section de Manuscrits. En 1904, il a été élu secrétaire de la Commission des Monuments historiques, en s'affirmant comme un défenseur avisé de la protection du patrimoine culturel roumain. Dans cette qualité, il a eu une contribution importante à la parution du *Buletinul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice* (Bulletin de la Commission des Monuments historiques). En 1919, Alexandru Lapedatu a été nommé professeur titulaire à la Chaire d'Histoire ancienne dans le cadre de l'Université de Cluj, étant en même temps doyen (1921-1922) et vice-doyen (1922-1923) à la Faculté de Lettres et de Philosophie. À Cluj toujours, aux côtés de Ioan Lupuş, il a fait des efforts pour jeter les bases d'un Institut d'Histoire nationale – qui allait voir le jour en 1920 –, pour organiser et enrichir la bibliothèque de cet établissement et pour éditer un annuaire. Dans ses ouvrages scientifiques, qui comptent plus de 450 titres, Alexandru Lapedatu s'est avéré un bon connaisseur de l'histoire nationale, ses analyses sur différents aspects de la vie sociale et politique roumaine, médiévale et moderne, étant toujours fondées sur des sources historiques. En 1921, il a été désigné à coordonner l'activité de la Commission pour l'organisation des archives en Transylvanie et, en 1923, il est devenu directeur général des Archives de l'État. Il a fait partie en même temps de la Commission pour l'organisation des musées en Transylvanie et des commissions qui devaient choisir les nouveaux signes et les enseignes des départements et réviser les noms des localités magyarisées sous l'ancienne administration austro-hongroise.

Alexandru Lapedatu a déployé aussi une intense activité politique. En 1919 il a fait partie des membres de la délégation roumaine aux travaux de la Conférence de Paix de Paris, pour devenir sénateur jusqu'en 1946 et député du Parti National Libérale en 1922. À partir de 1923, il a occupé plusieurs fonctions dans le gouvernement du pays. Dans sa qualité de ministre des Cultes et des Arts (1923-1926, 1927-1928, 1934-1936), il a institué les prix de littérature, a jeté les bases du Théâtre d'Ouest à Oradea, a réorganisé les théâtres à Cluj et à Iaşi, a cherché à ranimer la vie musicale de Iaşi, a initié la fondation de la Commission pour

Pacquisition des œuvres d'art, a soutenu la réorganisation de plusieurs musées du pays, a contribué à la création de l'École des Beaux-Arts à Cluj. Il a été également ministre ad-intérim au Ministère du Travail, de la Coopération et des Assurances sociales (1927) et ministre secrétaire d'État (1933-1934, 1936-1937).

*Ceux qui s'occupent d'histoire ou ne font que la lire savent que l'homme qui a été trois ou quatre fois ministre et qui préside aujourd'hui le Sénat avait été, pour sa génération pondérée et bienséante, un véritable modèle de chercheur honnête, qui communiquait ses résultats sous une forme parfaitement équilibrée, sans chercher l'expression littéraire, elle venait de soi, claire et harmonieuse, comme il arrive chez tous ceux qui sont appelés à faire vivre le passé [...]. C'est, peut-être, grâce à ces études mais aussi à un heureux héritage, que l'historien et professeur d'histoire a apporté dans la vie politique cette mesure, si rare de nos ajours, qui ne l'a jamais mis en conflit avec un adversaire, à qui il n'allait opposer qu'une autre conviction.*  
(Nicolae Iorga)<sup>4</sup>

L'activité scientifique continue d'Alexandru Lapedatu lui a valu l'élection parmi les membres de l'Académie Roumaine. Le 26 mai/8 juin 1910, à seulement 34 ans, il est devenu membre correspondant. Ion Kalinderu exprimait à cette occasion son espoir que « cette récompense méritée de ses ouvrages » serait « une exhortation à travailler avec le même dévouement pour s'assurer une place honorable parmi les chercheurs de valeur de notre passé ».<sup>5</sup>

Dans la séance du 10/23 octobre 1918, Alexandru Lapedatu a été élu à l'unanimité membre actif, à la place de Vasile Mangra qui avait décédé le 1/14 octobre de la même année. Dans la recommandation que Ioan I. Nistor a lue au nom de la Section d'Histoire, il remarquait le lien qui unissait Alexandru Lapedatu à sa Transylvanie natale : « Bien qu'il ait travaillé pendant presque vingt ans parmi nous, Monsieur Lapedatu ne s'est jamais séparé de son pays d'origine. Étant en contact culturel permanent avec les gens de chez lui, il est actuellement là-bas l'un des journalistes les plus appréciés. » Nicolae Iorga soulignait à la même occasion : « Pour la place réservée à un Transylvain, il [Alexandru Lapedatu] se recommande à la fois par son origine d'outre-monts, par la réputation de poète et de conseiller culturel de son père [le poète Ion Lapedatu] et par l'intérêt continu dont il a fait preuve pour la vie séculaire des Roumains de Transylvanie ».<sup>6</sup> En remerciant pour le grand honneur qu'on lui avait fait, d'être élu membre actif de l'Académie Roumaine, Alexandru Lapedatu tenait à assurer ses collègues qu'il ferait tout pour être à la hauteur

*de l'autorité morale et scientifique que ce haut établissement de culture confère à ses membres. Appréciant la vraie mesure de cette autorité, je ferai de mon mieux pour*

*la garder et la mériter, par des ouvrages aussi bons et utiles que possible du champ des mes études historiques et, au besoin et dans la mesure où mes capacités me le permettront, d'autres domaines de la culture nationale. Car le temps qui viendra après cette étape de transformations profondes de presque toutes les formes d'organisation et de manifestation de la vie humaine imposera certainement, du moins à notre génération, une activité assez intense en dehors de nos occupations particulières. Ceci parce que l'Académie Roumaine ne sera plus, comme aujourd'hui, qu'un symbole culturel de notre unité nationale mais aussi une vive et haute expression de cette unité – elle-même une complète et définitive réalité.<sup>7</sup>*

Au fil de plus de trente ans et demi, Alexandru Lapedatu a honoré l'Académie Roumaine par une activité soutenue et variée, comme en témoignent aussi bien les documents de l'institution académique conservés dans les archives ou dans les *Annales*<sup>8</sup> que son propre volume de *Amintiri* (Souvenirs), dans lequel le forum scientifique et culturel de Bucarest occupe tout un chapitre.<sup>9</sup>

Historien par vocation, Alexandru Lapedatu a présenté dans les séances de la Section d'Histoire, comme dans celles plénières, des communications scientifiques intéressantes à la fois par le sujet et la manière de l'aborder et par la nouveauté du matériel documentaire utilisé. Nous en mentionnons quelques-unes : « Mihnea le Méchant et les Hongrois. 1508-1510 » (21 mai 1920) ; « Comment la tradition nationale sur les origines de la Valachie est-elle apparue ? » (21 septembre 1923) ; « Sur les soucis et les difficultés d'un règne. Huit lettres inédites du voïvode Georges Étienne à Jean Kemény » (16 octobre 1931) ; « Le journal du prince Jacob Sobieski, le fils du roi Jean, sur la campagne polonaise en Moldavie en 1686 » (25 novembre 1932) ; « Autour de l'assassinat de Barbu Catargiu. Juin 1862 » (26 mai 1933) ; « Les Juifs dans nos pays il y a cent ans. Selon la relation de deux missionnaires écossais » (22 juin 1934) ; « Un épisode révolutionnaire des combats nationaux des Roumains d'outre-monts il y a un demi-siècle » (23 octobre 1936) ; « De nouveaux témoignages et précisions concernant la fin de Barbu Catargiu. Le 8 juin 1862 » (19 décembre 1938) ; « Un aventurier dans les Principautés roumaines à l'époque de leur union. Georges Bogáthy » (12 mai 1939) ; « Les préliminaires de la chute du voïvode Couza » (2 avril 1943) ; « L'Autriche et le coup d'État du 2/14 mai 1864 » (22 juin 1945). S'y ajoutent les comptes-rendus sur le contenu des plus récentes revues scientifiques, qu'il s'agisse de *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Națională* qu'il éditait à Cluj avec Ioan Lupaș ou d'autres publications telles que *Dacia. Recherches et découvertes archéologiques*, *Ani – Anuar de cultură armeană*, *Revista istorică*, *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*. Poussé par le même désir de vulgariser les parutions les plus récentes du champ de l'historiographie, Alexandru Lapedatu a présenté à plusieurs reprises, dans les séances plénières,

des ouvrages représentatifs du domaine : *La Roumanie dans la guerre mondiale. 1916-1919* de Constantin Kirişescu ; *România în războiul mondial. 1916-1919*, volume rédigé par le Service historique du grand État-major ; *Istoria regimentelor grănicereşti* de Augustin Bunea, ouvrage posthume publié par les soins de Ştefan Manciulea ; *Scrisori inedite ale lui Barbu Catargiu, ianuarie-octombrie 1861* de Victor Slăvescu ; le II<sup>e</sup> volume de *Istoria literaturii vechi* de Nicolae Cartojan ; la version en français du X<sup>e</sup> volume de *Istoria românilor* de Nicolae Iorga, parue par les soins du professeur N. A. Constantinescu avec une préface de Gh. I. Brătianu, volume dont l'importance réside – affirmait Alexandru Lapedatu dans la séance du 2 mars 1945 – dans « la présentation des événements ayant conduit au parachèvement de notre union nationale non seulement sur la base des sources mais surtout sur l'expérience propre de l'auteur, en tant que témoin oculaire de ces événements ».<sup>10</sup>

Le sérieux avec lequel il s'est penché, au fil du temps, sur la découverte et la publication de documents l'a recommandé comme une autorité en la matière. Comme l'Académie Roumaine avait pris la décision de ne pas publier de documents historiques sans qu'ils fussent au préalable vus par des spécialistes de la Section d'Histoire, Alexandru Lapedatu a été chargé de réviser tous les documents roumains qui allaient être publiés.<sup>11</sup> À son tour, il a proposé à l'institution académique la rédaction de plusieurs instruments de travail (les actes diplomatiques et les rapports consulaires liés à la guerre d'indépendance, la bibliographie roumano-hongroise, le catalogue méthodique et scientifique de toute la collection numismatique de l'Académie Roumaine).<sup>12</sup> Tout aussi intéressante a été sa proposition de réalisation, lors de la 200<sup>e</sup> commémoration, en 1923, de la disparition du prince-érudit Démètre Cantemir, d'une monographie en français « de l'illustre et érudit prince de la Moldavie, qui donnerait aux érudits étrangers la possibilité de connaître mieux et de près le patriarche de l'historiographie critique roumaine et qui serait à la fois un hommage de piété et de bien méritée reconnaissance rendu par notre Académie à la mémoire et à l'œuvre de Démètre Cantemir ».<sup>13</sup>

Un moment vraiment significatif pour Alexandru Lapedatu a été son discours de réception à l'Académie Roumaine. L'événement a eu lieu le 2 juin 1923, en séance publique solennelle. Le sujet qu'il avait choisi pour ce moment a été « L'historiographie roumaine transylvaine sur le déroulement de la vie politique du peuple roumain d'au-delà des Carpates » qui, selon sa propre affirmation,

*pourrait intéresser cette distinguée société d'érudits, non autant par la nouveauté des contributions à sa connaissance, contributions que nous n'avons pas cherchées, mais plutôt par mon propre point de vue là-dessus : à savoir que la naissance et le développement de cette historiographie ont été déterminés et dirigés dès le début et*

*jusqu'à la fin par le déroulement même de la vie politique de notre peuple d'au-delà des Carpates – par les combats de la nation roumaine transylvaine pour la restauration de ses anciennes libertés et droits –, par ses efforts, continus et insistants, d'imposer et valoriser ces libertés et droits dans le cadre de l'ancienne monarchie danubienne, par ses besoins de s'organiser au niveau national sur tous les terrains, surtout sur celui politique et culturel.*

Alexandru Lapedatu a continué par analyser l'historiographie transylvaine qui, à son avis, « a un caractère polémique et militant prononcé », ayant dès le début été mise « au service des actions soutenues, alors comme plus tard, pour la revendication de nos anciennes libertés et droits, qui avaient été abolis au fil du temps par nos anciens maîtres, par usurpation et fraude ». Partant de l'expérience des ancêtres, il exprimait sa conviction que l'historiographie transylvaine, « avec les nouvelles forces et les moyens acquis, et continuant une tradition séculaire, pourra se mettre davantage au service de l'idéal actuel – politique et culturel – de la nation ; de représenter ici, au Bas Danube, la culture et la civilisation romaines que pour la première fois depuis la formation de notre peuple dans cette partie du monde nous sommes capables de mettre en place, en état de liberté ». Évidemment, Alexandru Lapedatu liait les futures réalisations de l'historiographie roumaine au premier forum culturel et scientifique du pays, l'Académie Roumaine, qui « depuis plus d'un demi-siècle soutient, avec tous les moyens dont elle dispose – scientifiques, matériels et moraux – et avec toute l'autorité et le prestige acquis par ceux qui avaient œuvré pour en accomplir les buts – les efforts de ceux qui se sont dévoués à la recherche et à l'étude de la terre, du passé et du parler roumains ». <sup>14</sup>

La réponse au discours d'Alexandru Lapedatu de réception à l'Académie Roumaine a été prononcée par Ioan Bianu. Après avoir souligné l'importance du sujet et évoqué certaines personnalités de notre culture nationale, celui-ci a mis en avant le rôle « des enseignants supérieurs et surtout de ceux des régions rattachées », dont Alexandru Lapedatu, « de contribuer, par notre enseignement, par toute notre activité et notre conduite au milieu de jeunes gens pour que l'amour fraternel, la confiance et l'estime réciproque viennent cimenter la grande œuvre parachevée ». Il a tenu aussi à exprimer sa conviction que « l'accroissement de la culture nationale est le premier moyen à pouvoir donner le caractère d'éternité de la nation unie ».

Plus tard, Alexandru Lapedatu sera, à son tour, chargé de répondre à trois discours de réception à l'Académie Roumaine – de Gheorghe Balș<sup>15</sup>, Radu R. Rosetti<sup>16</sup> et Gheorghe I. Brătianu<sup>17</sup> –, autant d'occasions pour souligner quelques-unes des préoccupations de ses collègues et de leur souhaiter la bienvenue dans le premier forum académique du pays. Alexandru Lapedatu a eu,

d'ailleurs, beaucoup d'autres occasions pour rendre hommage à des membres de l'Académie Roumaine. Le 4 décembre 1931, par exemple, lors d'une séance festive organisée pour le 90<sup>e</sup> anniversaire de Mihail C. Sutz et Iacob C. Negruzzi, il a fait une ample et très belle présentation de leur activité<sup>18</sup> ; ou bien, le 29 octobre 1943, il a fait l'éloge de son proche collaborateur à l'Université et à l'Institut de Cluj ainsi qu'à la Section d'Histoire, Ioan Lupaș, dont on n'avait pas fêté le 60<sup>e</sup> anniversaire à cause des événements tragiques survenus en été 1940.<sup>19</sup> Par ailleurs, il a prononcé des paroles appréciatives et émouvantes aux funérailles de ses collègues disparus, dont il a évoqué aussi bien la personnalité que l'activité laborieuse déployée dans le cadre de l'Académie Roumaine.<sup>20</sup>

Le même respect porté aux ancêtres l'a déterminé à initier et soutenir les travaux de construction d'un mausolée à Mircești dédié à Vasile Alecsandri<sup>21</sup>, l'un des membres fondateurs de la Société académique roumaine. Dans sa double qualité de membre de l'Académie Roumaine et de ministre des Cultes et des Arts (30 octobre 1923 – 29 mars 1926), Alexandru Lapedatu a décidé que ce mausolée fût construit sur les frais de son ministère et a demandé à l'architecte Nicolae Ghica-Budești d'en rédiger les plans.<sup>22</sup> « Ils représentaient – comme Alexandru Lapedatu notait dans son journal – une église aux éléments architectoniques spécifiques de l'époque d'Étienne le Grand. »<sup>23</sup> Les travaux ont continué pendant le deuxième mandat d'Alexandru Lapedatu comme ministre des Cultes et des Arts (4 juin 1927 – 10 novembre 1928), quand les ossements du poète et de son épouse ont été exhumés et ré-inhumés, avec ceux des parents d'Alecsandri, dans le cimetière de la nouvelle église-mausolée, sous une grande dalle en marbre. « Tout a été exécuté en mai 1928, conformément aux prescriptions légales, en présence des autorités ecclésiastiques et civiles et des représentants de l'Académie Roumaine. »<sup>24</sup> La cérémonie de consécration du mausolée a eu lieu le 8 juin 1928. Alexandru Lapedatu a précisé à cette occasion que par la construction de ce mausolée on a voulu léguer « aux générations futures un sanctuaire digne de la mémoire et de la gloire du poète, qui reste à travers les âges un lieu de pieux et réconfortant pèlerinage où les successeurs puissent venir rendre l'hommage de leur amour et de leur reconnaissance à Vasile Alecsandri, s'inspirer de ses aspirations idéales et de ses actions grandioses, cueillir des exemples édifiants et impérissables de ses vertus et de son dévouement pour la nation et se laisser pénétrer par sa conviction inébranlable que ce peuple devait parcourir jusqu'au bout la voie – aujourd'hui largement ouverte – de son destin historique ». <sup>25</sup>

**O**UTRE SON activité scientifique, Alexandru Lapedatu s'est avéré un bon administrateur, remplissant à tour de rôle les fonctions de président, vice-président ou secrétaire général de l'Académie Roumaine. Entre 1934 et 1935, il a été vice-président, à côté de Ioan Bianu et Ion Simionescu,



pour que le 31 mai 1935 il fût élu président au bout d'une séance orageuse.<sup>26</sup> Remerciant pour cet honneur, Alexandru Lapedatu a assuré ses collègues qu'il comprenait bien « la mission qu'il devait assumer à la tête de l'Académie Roumaine » à un moment où « elle devait être dirigée par un homme capable de lui consacrer toute son énergie et tout son dévouement », qu'il mettrait au service du haut établissement culturel « tout ce qu'il avait de mieux, pour honorer cette place que vous m'avez confiée et pour être digne de mes illustres prédécesseurs ».<sup>27</sup> Il est resté à la tête de l'Académie Roumaine jusqu'au 3 juin 1938, pour redevenir vice-président jusqu'au 15 mai 1939 et ensuite secrétaire général jusqu'au 7 juin 1948.

Pendant toute cette période de 15 ans où il a été président ou a fait partie des cadres de direction, Alexandru Lapedatu s'est impliqué dans toutes les questions qui ont concerné l'Académie Roumaine et il a réussi à surmonter toute sortes de difficultés. Aussi peut-on parler, à la fin de ses mandats, d'une véritable « période Lapedatu » dans l'histoire de l'institution académique. Significatives en ce sens sont les paroles prononcées par Constantin Rădulescu-Motru au moment il a pris la place d'Alexandru Lapedatu à la tête de l'Académie, le 3 juin 1938 : « J'ai eu rarement l'occasion de voir quelqu'un s'identifier autant avec les intérêts de l'institution qu'il dirige que l'avait fait le professeur Alexandru Lapedatu pendant les trois ans que j'ai passés à côté de lui en tant que vice-président ». Ce n'était donc pas étonnant que le philosophe souhaitait devenir, dans sa qualité de président, « son élève à l'Académie ».<sup>28</sup>

Il est presque impossible d'énumérer dans cette étude la multitude et la diversité des problèmes – depuis des aspects strictement scientifiques à ceux d'ordre administratif, actions qui « d'une année à l'autre, ont absorbé de plus en plus les préoccupations, les soucis et le temps »<sup>29</sup> – que Alexandru Lapedatu a dû résoudre dans sa qualité de président, vice-président ou secrétaire général. Il suffit de les passer rapidement en revue pour se rendre compte que ce qui l'a toujours guidé, ce fut son grand respect pour l'Académie Roumaine, cette véritable « république de l'intellectualité roumaine ».<sup>30</sup> Il a suivi de près la réalisation de l'un des ouvrages fondamentaux pour laquelle la Société académique roumaine avait été créée – *Dicționarul limbii române* (Dictionnaire de la langue roumaine)<sup>31</sup> –, comme il a soutenu toutes les actions liées à la réalisation d'une terminologie scientifique roumaine.<sup>32</sup> Il a été également l'initiateur d'une histoire de l'Académie Roumaine<sup>33</sup> et d'un musée de la culture nationale où, selon ses propres affirmations, « pourraient être exposées aussi nos collections d'impressions [de l'Académie Roumaine], qui montrent l'évolution de la presse, ensuite la richesse de manuscrits, de documents et d'autographes provenant des représentants de la culture roumaine du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle jusqu'à nos jours »<sup>34</sup>, de même qu'une pinacothèque de l'Académie qui « pourrait siéger dans l'ancienne maison Bellu,

où l'on pourrait aussi exposer les estampes offertes par notre collègue George Oprescu », affirmait-il le 15 juin 1945.<sup>35</sup>

Durant toutes les années passées à l'Académie Roumaine, Alexandru Lapedatu a pris grand soin d'honorer les ancêtres et leurs réalisations. Lors du centenaire de la *Gazette de Transylvanie*, il a été l'initiateur d'une « rétrospective de l'évolution du journalisme chez les Roumains et en Transylvanie en particulier » organisée à la Bibliothèque de l'Académie, où avait été exposé aussi « un tableau de tous les journalistes qui avaient été jugés, condamnés et emprisonnés pour leurs écrits en Transylvanie ». <sup>36</sup> Avec les mêmes sentiments de gratitude envers ses prédécesseurs ou, comme il l'avouait, « à la fois jaloux et fiers du patrimoine culturel et national que nos ancêtres nous ont légué et que nous faisons de notre mieux pour accroître et développer, afin qu'il puisse rester pour les futures générations le même instrument de progrès spirituel de la nation »<sup>37</sup>, il a participé à une messe célébrée pour tous ceux qui avaient fait des donations à l'Académie<sup>38</sup>, dont il faisait d'ailleurs partie, compte tenu de ses contributions, au fil du temps, à l'enrichissement des collections de la bibliothèque de l'institution.<sup>39</sup>

Alexandru Lapedatu a défendu en toute circonstance le prestige de l'institution qu'il dirigeait. Tel fut le cas en 1935, lors de la fondation de l'Académie des Sciences de Roumanie. Tout en saluant la création d'une « association pour la promotion et le progrès des sciences dans le pays », à laquelle « nous serions prêts à porter tout soutien moral, scientifique et même matériel », Alexandru Lapedatu considérait toutefois que son nom constituait « un attentat contre un droit légal, une usurpation du patrimoine moral et qu'il portait de graves préjudices à notre institution en raison de la confusion qu'il provoquerait au sein de l'opinion publique du pays et de l'étranger avec l'Académie Roumaine ». <sup>40</sup>Après avoir évoqué « l'exemple édifiant des prédécesseurs, qui avaient ressenti au fil du temps la nécessité de créer des associations afin de promouvoir et faire progresser les sciences dans notre pays et qui, pour les mêmes considérants que les nôtres, n'avaient pas pensé à intituler leurs associations 'académies des sciences' », Alexandru Lapedatu tenait à préciser : « Dans des circonstances comme celles d'aujourd'hui, lorsque, de manière consciente ou inconsciente, on cherche par tous les moyens à détruire ce qui fait autorité et prestige dans notre société trouble et désorientée, c'est le devoir des hommes de bien et de progrès, qui apprécient la valeur morale des traditions dans la vie des nations, que de défendre l'autorité et le prestige toutes les fois qu'ils seraient menacés et notamment lorsqu'il s'agit d'institutions à caractère national, comme l'Académie Roumaine. »<sup>41</sup>

Une qualité particulière d'Alexandru Lapedatu a été le tact dont il avait fait preuve à la fois dans les relations avec ses collègues et dans des situations délicates. Un tel moment a été la proposition de la Section scientifique que le général Ion Antonescu fût élu membre de l'Académie Roumaine. L'opposition

manifestée par certains membres, dont surtout Nicolae Iorga – qui, comme Alexandru Lapedatu l'affirmait dans ses *Amintiri*, tenait Ion Antonescu pour un homme dangereux, en raison de ses relations avec les légionnaires de Corneliu Zelea Codreanu et qui considérait que l'élection du général comme membre actif de l'Académie « serait un défi au roi »<sup>42</sup> – a déterminé Alexandru Lapedatu à adopter une attitude sage. Après l'audience au roi<sup>43</sup> – pratique courante dans de pareils cas, par laquelle le patron et le président d'honneur du premier forum scientifique du pays était informé des intentions d'une section –, Alexandru Lapedatu, dans sa qualité de président de l'Académie Roumaine, a estimé bon de reporter l'élection de nouveaux membres, donc également de Ion Antonescu, pour l'année prochaine, quand toute la procédure devrait être reprise. Il a ainsi réussi, avec tact et élégance, à résoudre une question censée créer une atmosphère tendue entre les membres de l'institution académique.<sup>44</sup>

Il était convaincu de la vérité selon laquelle « nous passons, l'Académie demeure. Notre souci pour elle ne doit donc pas se résumer qu'à des préoccupations d'ordre moral et intellectuel mais aussi matériel », car c'est le seul moyen de « pouvoir maintenir son entière indépendance et sa capacité d'accomplir ses objectifs dans la vie culturelle de la nation, sans aucune ingérence extérieure ».<sup>45</sup> Alexandru Lapedatu a donc en permanence veillé à la situation financière de l'Académie, essentielle pour le bon déroulement des projets de cette institution. En 1931, par exemple, il proposait aux membres réunis en séance plénière de soutenir l'intervention auprès du gouvernement Iorga concernant l'adoption de lois sur l'augmentation des subventions accordées par l'État à l'institution académique, « dans la mesure de nos besoins ».<sup>46</sup> En 1940 il considérait que « en ce qui concerne les moyens matériels, il est impossible de les trouver par voie budgétaire, mais uniquement par voie extrabudgétaire »<sup>47</sup>, l'une des solutions étant les revenus des propriétés de l'Académie Roumaine. Ceci d'autant plus que, à la suite du terrible tremblement de terre survenu pendant la nuit du 9 à 10 novembre 1940, les bâtiments de l'Académie Roumaine et de ses écoles ont été gravement avariés, nécessitant de grosses dépenses pour être consolidés et réparés.<sup>48</sup> Quatre ans après, les bombardements de l'aviation anglo-américaine ont provoqué d'autres dégâts importants aux bâtiments de l'Académie Roumaine. « Tous ces événements – se souvenait Alexandru Lapedatu – ont créé un état de confusion et d'insécurité de nature à entraver voire faire échouer toute action sérieuse d'organisation et d'exploitation systématique et fructueuse de nos biens, au milieu d'une crise économique et financière qui s'accroît d'une année à l'autre, d'un mois à l'autre, d'un jour à l'autre. »<sup>49</sup> Dans ces circonstances, Alexandru Lapedatu a réussi à jeter les bases de la Direction des Biens de l'Académie Roumaine, qui devait « s'occuper de près de l'exploitation systématique et rationnelle, de la conservation et de l'entretien [de ces biens], pour qu'ils

puissent devenir des modèles d'administration pour tous ceux qui s'intéressent aux fondations et aux donations confiées à l'Académie ».<sup>50</sup>

Pour améliorer la situation financière de l'Académie et lui conférer une grande indépendance économique, Alexandru Lapedatu a fait de grands efforts après la guerre pour conserver les propriétés de l'institution académique. Dans la séance du 23 mars 1945, il annonçait que la nouvelle loi agraire « exceptait de l'expropriation les propriétés agricoles de l'Académie Roumaine », une mesure jugée « bienvenue parce qu'elle sauvait matériellement la vie et la mission statutaire de l'Académie ».<sup>51</sup> Ce fut cependant un succès passager, car après la transformation de l'Académie en « institution d'État » sous le nom de « l'Académie de la République Populaire Roumaine », tout le domaine agricole et forestier de l'ancienne Académie est passé « dans la propriété de l'État, sans tenir compte de la disposition des actes de donation et des clauses des différents fonds, ce qui – notait amèrement Alexandru Lapedatu – nous n'aurions jamais pu faire, car l'Académie Roumaine avait été une institution autonome qui tenait à rester comme telle, en respectant et en accomplissant strictement les dispositions des legs et des actes de donation de ses bienfaiteurs ».<sup>52</sup>

En dépit de toutes les difficultés, Alexandru Lapedatu s'est proposé et a réussi à finaliser le projet important et courageux de construction d'un nouveau local destiné aux collections toujours plus riches de la Bibliothèque de l'Académie Roumaine. « Usant de mon influence sur le gouvernement, d'abord comme l'un de ses membres, ensuite comme président du Sénat – consignait-il dans *Amintiri* – j'ai réussi à obtenir les crédits et les moyens nécessaires pour la construction, selon les plans de l'architecte Duiliu Marcu, du nouveau bâtiment, le dotant du mobilier de bibliothèque le plus moderne et le plus complet. »<sup>53</sup> L'inauguration solennelle du nouveau local a eu lieu le 5 juin 1937 en présence du roi Charles II, le patron et le président d'honneur de l'Académie Roumaine<sup>54</sup>, et de ses membres. Dans son discours, Alexandru Lapedatu a rendu hommage à tous ses ancêtres qui, sous une forme ou une autre, avaient soutenu la bibliothèque, « la plus grande de la région sud-est européenne, et les collections qui constituent le trésor inestimable, historique et national, de la nation roumaine ». Présentant le local destiné « à abriter, mettre en ordre et utiliser ces collections riches et inestimables », formé d'une « salle de lecture spacieuse, lumineuse et confortable pour la bibliothèque, et de salles spéciales de lecture pour les manuscrits et les documents, pour les estampes, les cartes, les portraits, pour le cabinet numismatique et pour les coffres-forts que nous tenons à la disposition de ceux qui veulent déposer leurs documents d'importance historique à l'Académie Roumaine », Alexandru Lapedatu se montrait confiant que le nouveau bâtiment était une réalisation qui, « pour d'ici 15 ans au moins, nous épargnerait tout souci en ce

qui concerne la protection des futures collections, qui augmentaient d'une année à l'autre ». Il tenait à rappeler en guise de conclusions que « les réalisations et le rôle de l'Académie Roumaine dans la vie culturelle de la nation constituaient la garantie de la future œuvre de nos successeurs ». <sup>55</sup>

Cette idée a été reprise dans les « Constatations et réflexions » qu'il a présentées dans sa qualité de secrétaire général à la fête organisée pour le 75<sup>e</sup> anniversaire de l'Académie Roumaine. Il a souligné à cette occasion tant la contribution de ce forum suprême « au progrès de la vie culturelle nationale » que l'apport de ceux « qui avaient collaboré, selon les circonstances et les possibilités, au soutien et à l'accomplissement de la mission de notre institution. Les uns avaient créé, par leur personnalité brillante et par la valeur de leur œuvre, l'atmosphère de prestige dont l'Académie a joué et continue à jouer devant la nation, les autres avaient contribué, par leur travail, leur intelligence, leur persévérance et leur dévouement, aux réalisations qui constituent sa dot culturelle [...] Car il arrive rarement qu'une institution publique de notre pays ait pu avoir dans son service des esprits plus cultivés et plus éclairés, des âmes plus nobles et plus dévouées ». En guise de conclusions, il exprimait son espoir que « la nation roumaine pourrait accomplir sa mission historique dans cette partie du monde en dépit de toutes les tentatives de la faire dévier de son parcours. Il en est de même pour la mission de l'Académie Roumaine. Tout ce qui reste, c'est que chacun continue à faire son devoir ». <sup>56</sup>

Et Alexandru Lapedatu l'a fait à merveille. En témoigne Constantin Rădulescu-Motru, qui affirmait : « Par une bonne administration de l'Académie Roumaine, par le tact avec lequel il a présidé nos séances, par l'attitude digne dont il a fait preuve toutes les fois qu'il a représenté l'Académie dans la vie publique, il a acquis une place de premier plan parmi les grandes figures de l'institution académique roumaine. » <sup>57</sup>



## Notes

1. *Analele Societății Academice Române, Desbaterile*, I<sup>e</sup> série, tome III, 1870, Bucarest, 1871, p. 158.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 137.
3. Sur la vie et l'activité d'Alexandru Lapedatu voir I. Crăciun, « Note biografice », in *Bio-bibliografia dlui Alexandru Lapedatu cu ocazia împlinirii vârstei de 60 ani. 1876-1936*, Bucarest, 1936 ; Ioan Opriș, « Prefață » à Al. Lapedatu, *Scrieri alese. Articole, cuvântări, amintiri*, Cluj, 1985, p. 5-47 ; *id.*, « Alexandru Lapedatu și contemporanii săi », *Tibiscum* (Caransebeș), VI (1986), p. 365-411 ; *id.*, « Alexandru Lapedatu

în slujba istoriei naționale », *Tibiscum*, VII (1988), p. 279-308 ; Pompiliu Teodor, « Alexandru Lapedatu – istoric al românilor », *Cele trei Crișuri* (Oradea), nouvelle série, II, 1991, n° 7, p. 1, 3 ; *id.*, « Alexandru Lapedatu, istoric al istoriografiei », in *Istoria ca lectură a lumii. Profesorului Alexandru Zub la împlinirea vârstei de 60 de ani*, Iași, 1994, p. 631-640 ; Ioan Opriș, « Alexandru Lapedatu, președinte al Academiei », *Academica* (Bucarest), année IV, n° 7 (43), mai 1994, p. 10-11 ; *id.*, « Prefață » à Alexandru Lapedatu, *Amintiri*, éd. soignée, notes et commentaires par Ioan Opriș, Cluj-Napoca, 1998, p. 5-26 ; Alexandru Lapedatu, *Scrieri istorice*, éd. acad. Camil Mureșanu et prof. univ. dr. Nicolae Edroiu, Bucarest, 2008.

4. *Neamul românesc* (Bucarest), année XXXI, n° 257, 26 novembre 1936.
5. *Analele Academiei Române. Desbaterile*, II<sup>e</sup> série, tome XXXII, 1909-1910, Bucarest, 1910, p. 258-259.
6. *Ibid.*, tome XXXIX, 1916-1919, Bucarest, 1920, p. 129.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 131.
8. Voir les Archives de l'Académie Roumaine, fonds A-3 et A-4/1910-1948 ; *Analele Academiei Române. Desbaterile*, II<sup>e</sup> série, tomes XXXII-LXVI, 1910-1946, Bucarest, 1911-1947.
9. Lapedatu, *Amintiri*, *op. cit.* (chap. « La Academie », p. 246-269).
10. *Analele Academiei Române. Desbaterile*, II<sup>e</sup> série, tome LXIV, 1943-1945, Bucarest, 1946, p. 188.
11. *Ibid.*, tome XXXIII, 1910-1911, Bucarest, 1912, p. 69.
12. *Ibid.*, tome XLVI, 1925-1926, Bucarest, 1927, p. 225 ; XLVII, 1926-1927, Bucarest, 1928, p. 36 ; LXII, 1941-1942, Bucarest, 1943, p. 115.
13. *Ibid.*, tome XLI, 1920-1921, p. 142.
14. Voir Alexandru Lapedatu, « Istoriografia ardeleană în legătură cu desfășurarea vieții politice a neamului românesc de peste Carpați », discours prononcé dans la séance solennelle du 2 juin 1923 avec la réponse de I. Bianu, Bucarest, 1923.
15. Gheorghe Balș, « Începuturile arhitecturii bisericești din Moldova », discours prononcé dans la séance solennelle du 9 juin 1925 avec la réponse de Alex. Lapedatu, Bucarest, 1925.
16. Gén. Radu Rosetti, « Gânduri despre vitejie în trecutul românesc », discours prononcé dans la séance solennelle du 27 mai 1935 avec la réponse de Al. Lapedatu, Bucarest, 1935.
17. Gh. I. Brătianu, « Nicolae Iorga istoric al românilor », discours prononcé dans la séance publique solennelle du 26 mai 1943 avec la réponse de Alex. Lapedatu, Bucarest, 1943.
18. *Analele Academiei Române. Desbaterile*, II<sup>e</sup> série, tome LII, 1931-1932, Bucarest, 1932, p. 27-42.
19. *Ibid.*, tome LXIV, 1943-1945, p. 39-42.
20. Voir par ex. les paroles qu'il a prononcées à la commémoration de Gheorghe Bogdan-Duică et Gheorghe Balș (*ibid.*, tome LV, 1934-1935, Bucarest, 1936, p. 10-13) ; Ștefan Minovici (*ibid.*, tome LVI, 1935-1936, Bucarest, 1937, p. 22) ; Grigore Crăiniceanu (*ibid.*, tome LVI, 1935-1936, p. 13) ; Ion Borcea (*ibid.*, tome LVII, 1936-1937, Bucarest, 1938, p. 17-18) ; Constantin Hurmuzaki (*ibid.*, tome LVII, 1936-1937, Bucarest, 1938, p. 50-51) ; George Topîrceanu (*ibid.*, tome

- LVII, 1936-1937, p. 61-62) ; Iulian Marțian et Orest Tafrali (*ibid.*, tome LVIII, 1937-1938, Bucarest, 1939, p. 20-23) ; Dimitrie Călugăreanu (*ibid.*, tome LVIII, 1937-1938, p. 32-33) ; Octavian Goga (*ibid.*, tome LVIII, 1937-1938, p. 61-62) ; Nicolae Drăganu (*ibid.*, tome LX, 1939-1940, Bucarest, 1940, p. 46-47) ; Ion Simionescu (*ibid.*, tome LXIV, 1943-1945, p. 61-62).
21. Lors de l'ouverture de la session de l'Académie Roumaine, le 25 mai 1927, Emil Racoviță rappelait que « le mausolée d'Alecsandri à Mircești avait commencé à l'initiative d'Alexandru Lapedatu » (*ibid.*, tome XLVII, 1926-1927, p. 83), et Ioan Bianu montrait dans son rapport annuel que « le devoir de piété et de reconnaissance de toute la nation envers le poète national Vasile Alecsandri d'ériger sur sa tombe de Mircești un mausolée digne de son nom – devoir assumé par l'Académie Roumaine – s'accomplit maintenant grâce à l'attention portée et à l'aide accordée par notre collègue Alexandru Lapedatu, le ministre des Cultes et des Arts » (*ibid.*, tome XLVIII, 1927-1928, Bucarest, 1929, p. 95).
  22. Dans la séance de l'Académie Roumaine du 13 février 1925, Alexandru Lapedatu rappelait « l'ancien et vivant désir de l'Académie Roumaine d'ériger un mausolée-chapelle à Mircești. On a décidé que le Ministère des Cultes et des Arts y participe avec 500 000 à 600 000 de lei » (*ibid.*, tome XLV, 1924-1925, Bucarest, 1925, p. 30-31).
  23. Lapedatu, *Amintiri, op. cit.*, p. 245.
  24. *Ibid.*
  25. *Analele Academiei Române. Desbaterile*, tome XLIX, 1928-1929, Bucarest, 1929, p. 10-11.
  26. *Ibid.*, tome LV, 1934-1935, p. 225.
  27. *Ibid.*
  28. *Ibid.*, tome LVIII, 1937-1938, p. 202.
  29. *Ibid.*, tome LXIII, 1942-1943, Bucarest, 1944, p. 118.
  30. *Ibid.*, tome LVIII, 1937-1938, p. 56. À une autre occasion, Al. Lapedatu a défini l'Académie Roumaine comme « une république des lettres et des sciences » (*ibid.*, p. 34).
  31. *Ibid.*, tome LXI, 1940-1941, Bucarest, 1942, p. 202-203 ; tome LXIII, 1942-1943, p. 171-172 ; tome LXV, 1945-1946, Bucarest, 1947, p. 300.
  32. *Ibid.*, tome LXI, 1940-1941, p. 6.
  33. *Ibid.*, p. 57.
  34. *Ibid.*, tome LXV, 1946-1946, p. 6.
  35. *Ibid.*, p. 7.
  36. *Ibid.*, tome LVIII, 1937-1938, p. 53.
  37. *Ibid.*, tome LVII, 1936-1937, p. 63.
  38. *Ibid.*, p. 170.
  39. Parmi les donations faites par Alexandru Lapedatu nous mentionnons : un dossier contenant des actes officiels concernant l'emprisonnement des prisonniers turcs au monastère de Bistrița, en 1878 ; un parchemin princier d'Élie et Étienne, les fils d'Alexandre le Bon, datant de 1438 ; un fragment de manuscrit grec datant de la fin du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle. (Voir *Analele Academiei Române. Desbaterile*, II<sup>e</sup> série, tome XXXIII, 1910-1911, p. 45 ; tome XL, 1919-1920, Bucarest, 1921, p. 26.)
  40. *Ibid.*, tome LV, 1934-1935, p. 60.

41. *Ibid.*, p. 61-62.
42. Lapedatu, *Amintiri, op. cit.*, p. 255.
43. « Tout ce que je note ici, c'est que Charles II ne nous a pas demandé de ne pas élire Antonescu, il s'est borné à demander si, dans le cas où il s'agirait d'élire aussi un général à l'Académie, n'y avait-il pas d'autres – Prezan, Averescu – qui pouvaient passer avant Antonescu ? » (*ibid.*).
44. *Ibid.*, p. 255-256.
45. *Analele Academiei Române. Desbaterile*, II<sup>e</sup> série, tome LVIII, 1937-1938, p. 67.
46. *Ibid.*, tome LI, 1930-1931, Bucarest, 1932, p. 162.
47. *Ibid.*, tome LXI, 1940-1941, p. 39.
48. Voir en détail *ibid.*, p. 60-62.
49. Lapedatu, *Amintiri, op. cit.*, p. 260.
50. *Analele Academiei Române. Desbaterile*, II<sup>e</sup> série, tome LXIV, 1943-1945, p. 200.
51. *Ibid.*, tome LX, 1939-1940, p. 37.
52. Lapedatu, *Amintiri, op. cit.*, p. 260.
53. *Ibid.*, p. 250.
54. « L'inauguration de la bibliothèque a été faite à la hâte – note Alexandru Lapedatu dans ses *Amintiri* –, car le roi était attendu au palais pour je ne sais pas quelle réception d'étrangers. Il n'empêche que j'ai pu prononcer mon discours d'inauguration dans lequel j'ai montré les phases par lesquelles la Bibliothèque de l'Académie a dû passer avant d'arriver dans ce nouveau, beau et moderne local que l'on visitera à une autre occasion » (*ibid.*, p. 251).
55. *Analele Academiei Române. Desbaterile*, II<sup>e</sup> série, tome LVI, 1936-1937, p. 196-197.
56. Alexandru Lapedatu, « La a 75-a aniversară a Academiei Române. Constatări și reflecții », in *75 de ani de la înființarea Academiei Române. 1866-1941*. Discours prononcés dans la séance festive du 29 mai 1941, Bucarest, 1941, p. 41-42.
57. *Analele Academiei Române. Desbaterile*, II<sup>e</sup> série, tome LVIII, 1937-1938, p. 202.

## Abstract

### Alexandru Lapedatu: A Life Devoted to the Romanian Academy

The paper presents the life and work of Alexandru Lapedatu (1876–1950), Romanian historian and politician, professor at the Faculty of Letters and Philosophy of Cluj University, director general of the State Archives, senator by right, minister, corresponding member of the Romanian Academy (1910), full member after 1918, president, vice-president and general secretary of this institution (1934–1948).

## Keywords

Alexandru Lapedatu, the Romanian Academy, historiography



# Deutsche Persönlichkeiten aus Rumänien, Mitglieder der Rumänischen Akademie (1882-2014)

MARIA-DANIELA  
STANCIU

---

*„Mein aufrichtiger Wunsch  
war stets der, ein guter  
Siebenbürger Sachse zu sein  
und zu bleiben, meinem  
Volk und Land durch meine  
Arbeit zu dienen.“*

*H. Overth*

---

**D**IESES JAHR feiern wir das 150. Jubiläum der Entstehung der Rumänischen Akademie, und dafür wollen wir Plato's Gedanken über eine Akademie erläutern, und dadurch an dem Ursprung dieses hohen, elitären Forum denken, welches „abseits von der Hektik des öffentlichen Lebens im Schatten der Olivenbäume in den Gärten der westlichen Athen, genannt Akademie wo Plato's Worte blühten, weil er dort mit seine Anhänger, über philosophischen Probleme erzählte“, <sup>1</sup> gegründet wurde.

Die Rumänische Akademie, die am 1. April 1866 als eine Rumänische Literarische Gesellschaft gegründet wurde, hatte als Ziel die rumänische Wissenschaft zu bereichern und die Bemühungen der Kulturmenschen/kulturellen Elite zu vergelten und aufzufordern. Weiterhin, teilt uns der rumänische Historiker, Nicolae Iorga mit, dass die Akademie den Zweck hatte, die Kulturschaffenden nebeneinander aufzunehmen, nämlich diejenigen, die durch ihre Arbeit die höchsten Bestrebungen

**Maria-Daniela Stanciu**

Doktorandin an der Babeş-Bolyai-Universität.

des rumänischen Geistes in wertvolle Forschungen der unterschiedliche wissenschaftliche Bereiche anwenden.<sup>2</sup>

Unser Beitrag setzt sich als Ziel deutsche Persönlichkeiten aus Rumänien die als Mitglieder in der Rumänischen Akademie wirkten, hervorzuheben, weil diese, nicht unbedingt als Vertreter der deutschen Gemeinschaften, sondern als Vertreter einer kulturellen Elite in diesem Forum einen wohlverdienten Platz besitzen. Eine Anmerkung muss von Anfang an gemacht werden, nämlich dass wir in unserer Studie nicht nur die Mitglieder die sich als deutsch anerkannt haben, erwähnen werden sondern auch diejenigen die deutsche Vorfahren hatten. So zum Beispiel der Fall von Oscar Alfonso Saligny und Anghel Saligny, Mitglieder der Rumänischen Akademie, die einen deutsch-französischen Ursprung aus dem Elsaß hatten, oder Henri H. Stahl, dessen Eltern aus dem Elsaß und aus der Schweiz nach Rumänien kamen, oder der Nobelpreisträger Stefan Hell, dessen Eltern Banater Schwaben aus Arad waren. Jedoch, unsere statistische Angaben werden nur die Persönlichkeiten beinhalten, die sich als Rumäniendeutsche angesehen haben.

Wir haben uns vorgenommen eine Taxonomie, eine Klassifizierung der Forschungsbereiche in welche die deutsche Mitglieder der Rumänischen Akademie tätig waren, zu schaffen, folglich wollen wir auf folgende Gebiete hinweisen: die Naturwissenschaften, mit den Fachbereichen Physik, Botanik, Chemie, die Geisteswissenschaften und die Musikwissenschaften. Das Bereich Naturwissenschaften ist sehr gut von August Kanitz, Ludovic Iosif Urban Rodescu (Rodewald), Wilhelm Karl W. Knechtel und Hermann Oberth vertreten. Die Geisteswissenschaften sind von den Pfarrern Friedrich Teutsch, Gustav Oswald Kisch und Viktor Roth repräsentiert, aber auch von dem Historiker und Architekten Paul Niedermaier. Der Komponist Wilhelm Georg Berger ist der einzige Vertreter der Forschungen im Bereich Musikwissenschaften.

Der erste deutsche Forscher der in die Rumänische Akademie eingetreten ist, ist der Botaniker AUGUST KANITZ (geb. am August 1843, Lugosch/Lugoj – gest. am 30. Juni/12. Juli 1896, Klausenburg/Cluj), welcher am 22. März 1882 als korrespondierendes Mitglied gewählt wurde. Professor für Botanik an der Universität und Direktor des Botanischen Gartens aus Klausenburg hat er viele rumänische Studenten unterstützt. Er studierte die Flora aus Siebenbürgen, Ungarn und aus den Nachbarregionen. Ein sehr bekanntes Werk von ihm ist die *Plantae Romaniae huiusque cognitae*, welche zwischen 1879 und 1881 veröffentlicht wurde. Er war Herausgeber der Zeitschrift *Magyar Növénytani Lapok*.<sup>3</sup>

In der Zwischenkriegszeit, beziehungsweise 1919 ist der siebenbürgisch-sächsische Bischof und Historiker FRIEDRICH TEUTSCH (geb. am 16. September 1852, Schäßburg/Sighişoara – gest. am 11. Februar 1933 in Hermannstadt/Sibiu) als Ehrenmitglied in die Rumänische Akademie eingetreten.<sup>4</sup> Sohn des Bischofs Georg Daniel Teutsch, besuchte er die Schule aus Schäßburg und Hermannstadt und studierte in Heidelberg, Leipzig und Berlin. Er promovierte in

Heidelberg in Geschichte und Theologie. Er war tätig im Verein für siebenbürgische Landeskunde. Er hat ein riesiges Werk hinterlassen, besonders über die Geschichte, Kultur und Volkskunde der Siebenbürger Sachsen. Wir nennen nur einige Titeln: *Bilder aus der vaterländischen Geschichte* (1895), *Kurze Mitteilungen über die Volksschule der Siebenb. Sachsen* (1896), *Stille Jahre 1805-1830, Die Sachsen im J. 1848* (1896).

Am 10. Juni 1926, ist der Mühlbacher Pfarrer und Historiker VIKTOR ROTH (geb. am 28. April 1894 Mühlbach/Sebeş – gest. am 19. April 1936, Mühlbach) als Ehrenmitglied in die Rumänische Akademie eingetreten. Er besuchte die Oberstufe in Kronstadt/Braşov und studierte an den Universitäten aus Tübingen, Halle, Erlangen und Klausenburg. 1897 promovierte er in Sprachen an der Universität aus Tübingen. Während seiner Lebenszeit war er Lehrer in die Heimatstadt und evangelischer Pfarrer der Gemeinden aus Hermannstadt und Mühlbach. Roth war der erste Historiker der sächsischen Kunst aus Siebenbürgen und veröffentlichte eine Reihe von Bücher in diesem Gebiet: *Geschichte der Deutschen Baukunst in Siebenbürgen* (1905), *Geschichte der Deutschen Plastik in Siebenbürgen* (1906), *Siebenbürgische Altäre* (1916), *Die Deutsche Kunst in Siebenbürgen* (1934) usw.<sup>5</sup>

Die nächste Persönlichkeit die in die Rumänische Akademie eingetreten ist, ist der Geisteswissenschaftler GUSTAV OSWALD KISCH (geb. am 26. März 1889, Bistritz/Bistriţa-Năsăud – gest. am 1. Juni 1938, Klausenburg), der sowohl Pfarrer als auch deutscher Philologe war und als Ehrenmitglied am 25. Mai 1933 gewählt. Er studierte an der Fakultät für Literatur und Philosophie in Klausenburg und führte seine Ausbildung an der Universität Tübingen fort, wo er seine Doktorarbeit verteidigte. Er war Professor für deutsche Sprache und Literatur an Schulen in Bistritz (1891-1911) und an der Universität aus Klausenburg. Er forschte besonders im Bereich der Ortsnamen, welche er in engem Zusammenhang mit dem materiellen und geistigen Leben der Menschen untersuchte: *Nordsiebenbürgisches Namenbuch, Siebenbürgen im Lichte der Sprache. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte der Karpathenländer* (1929, 1934). Er studierte den Einfluss der rumänischen Phonetik auf dem siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Dialekt, vor allem der sächsischen Ortsnamen: *Die Bistritzer Mundart verglichen mit dem modelfränkischen*. Er war auch Mitglied der Schiller-Akademie in Berlin, Mitglied des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde und der Société des Études Linguistiques et Dialectologiques aus Luxemburg.<sup>6</sup>

Der Naturwissenschaftler WILHELM KARL W. KNECHTEL (geb. am 28 September/10. Oktober 1884, Bukarest – gest. am 8. März 1967) war ein Entomologe der die rumänische Schule für agrarische Entomologie gründete. Nachdem er in Stuttgart-Hohenheim studierte, promovierte er 1937 in Wissenschaften. Unter anderen war er auch Universitätsprofessor an der Fakultät für Agrarwissenschaft aus Bukarest und als Belohnung für seine wissenschaftliche Tätigkeit wurde er

1955 Mitglied der Rumänischen Akademie. Er veröffentlichte viele Studien, von denen wir nur ein Teil aufzählen werden: *Epidemiile insectelor* (1894), *Rolul stațiunilor entomologice* (1928), *Phlyctaenoles Strictalis. Un vătămător al tutunului*, (1915), *Oeckologisch-zoogeographische Studium an Coleopteren des rumänischen Faunnegebietes* (1944) usw.

Der Biologe LUDOVIC IOSIF URBAN RUDESCU (RODEWALD) (geb. am 25. Mai 1908 in Czernowitz – gest. am 17. März 1992), wurde am 21. März 1963 als korrespondierendes Mitglied der Rumänischen Akademie gewählt und am 3. Juli 1990 wurde er rehabilitiert. Er studierte in der Bukovina, an der Fakultät für Biologie aus Czernowitz und promovierte als Doktor in Naturwissenschaften, im Fachbereich Biologie und Hydrologie und forschte später in Bukarest an dem Institut für Zellulose und Papier. Seine wissenschaftliche Tätigkeit beinhaltet Studien über Tiergruppen die wichtig in die Microfauna der Benthos und des Planktons waren, aber er hatte wichtige Beiträge auch über die Mineralernährung der Pflanzen, deren Widerstandsfähigkeit bei Hitze oder Kälte und über die Fauna in der Donaudelta.<sup>7</sup>

WILHELM GEORG BERGER (geb. am 4. Dezember 1929, Reps/Rupea – gest. am 8. März 1993, Bukarest), war ein bekannter Komponist und Musikwissenschaftler, welcher am 18. Dezember 1991 in die Rumänische Akademie als korrespondierendes Mitglied eingetreten ist. Nach dem Musikstudium an der Musikschule/Konservator „Ciprian Porumbescu“ aus Bukarest, war er Geiger in der Philharmonischen Staatrorchester „George Enescu“ (1948-1958) und in den Streichquartett des Komponistenvereins (1953-1958). Er veröffentlichte mehrere Studien im Bereich Musikwissenschaften in Zeitschriften: *La Roumaine d'aujourd'hui*, *Muzica*, *Studii de muzicologie*, *Studii și cercetări de istoria artei*, aber auch Einzelbände, besonders Synthesen über die klassische Musik von Barock bis in die Gegenwart: *Muzica simfonică barocă clasică* (1967); *Muzica simfonică romantică 1830-1890* (1972); *Muzica simfonică romantică modernă* (1974), *Muzica modernă contemporană 1930-1950* (1976); *Muzica simfonică contemporană 1950-1970* (1977), Bände über die Ästhetik der Sonate (vom Barock zur klassischen, romantischen, modernen Sonate) aber insbesondere *Teoria generală a sonatei* (1987) Weiterhin, können wir weitere Bücher hinzufügen: *Cvartetul de coarde de la Haydn la Debussy* (1970) und *Cvartetul de coarde de la Reger la Enescu* (1979); *Dimensiuni modale* (1979), *Clasicismul de la Bach la Beethoven* (1990). Als Komponist hat er 11 Symphonien, 2 Konzerte für Violine und Orchester, Streichquartette, Sonaten und Lieder hinterlassen. Er war Mitglied des Komponistenverbandes aus Rumänien, war mit den „George Enescu“ Preis, mit dem „Ciprian Porumbescu“ Preis der Rumänischen Akademie ausgezeichnet usw.<sup>8</sup>

HERMANN JULIUS OBERTH (geb. am 25. Juni 1894, Hermannstadt – gest. am 28. Dezember 1989, Nürnberg, Deutschland) war ein berühmter Physiker, Ma-

thematiker und Erfinder, welcher nach seinem Tode in die Rumänische Akademie, am 31. Januar 1991 aufgenommen wurde. Er besuchte die Bergschule in Schäßburg und seit den Schuljahren zeigte er Interesse im Bereich der Erfindungen, besonders des kosmischen Flugs, da er schon mit 14 ein Raketenprojekt gestellt hat. Er hat die Herstellung eines flüssigen Brennstoffs für die interplanetaren Raketen vorausgesehen und hat eine Drehung mit einem 35 Meter langen Arm gebaut, welche ähnelt mit der von heute von Kosmonauten in Übungen benutzte Technik. 1917 hat er den ersten Raketen-Motor hergestellt, wo er die Mischung Alkohol-Sauerstoff benutzt hat, so dass er 1920 das Projekt der Rakete in mehreren Stufen vorgeschlagen hat. Nach dem Krieg schrieb er sich zuerst bei der Medizinischen Fakultät ein, die er aber verlassen hat, um seine Studienzeit der Physik widmen zu können. Folglich, schrieb er eine Arbeit zum Thema „Racheta spre spațiile interplanetare“ an der Universität aus Klausenburg, welche 1923 in München mit dem Titel *Die Rakete zu den Planetenräumen* veröffentlicht wurde. In dieses Buch beschreibt er die Phasen des Raketenflugs und dessen Effekte auf den menschlichen Organismus; in der Einleitung formulierte er die vier Etappen der Raumfahrt Eroberung, die von Fachspezialisten als „die vier Thesen Oberths“ benannt wurden. Beginnend mit 1938 war er tätig in mehreren Forschungsinstituten aus Wien (1938-1939) und Dresden (1940-1941). Im Jahr 1962 hat er sich in Feucht niedergelassen, wo ein Jahr später die Gesellschaft „Hermann Oberth“ gegründet wurde, welche als Hauptziel die Anwendung der Raumschiffahrt hatte. 1947 schuf er ein Projekt für eine Rakete in drei Stufen für die Eroberung des Weltalls. Bei dem rumänischen Amt für Erfindungs- und Patentwesen hat er 1931 die Erfindung Nr. 26 registriert, die als Oberth Effekt bekannt ist und im gleichen Jahr ist auch die erste Rakete mit flüssigen Brennstoff, die nach seinem Konzept hergestellt war, im Weltall geflogen. Gegen Ende des Jahrhunderts sagte der Gelehrte Hermann Oberth einige Wörter die seine Heimatverbundenheit zeigten: „Mein aufrichtiger Wunsch war stets der, ein guter Siebenbürger Sachse zu sein und zu bleiben, meinem Volk und Land durch meine Arbeit zu dienen. Und wenn ihr, meine lieben Landsleute, heute auf mich ein wenig stolz sein könnt, so ist das für mich die höchste Genugtung. Möge die Raumfahrt dazu beitragen, dass die Menschen dieser Erde sich untereinander besser verstehen und ihr Leben sinnvoller gestalten.“<sup>69</sup>

PAUL HELMUT NIEDERMAIER (geb. am 25. Juli 1937, Hermannstadt) ist Historiker und Architekt und wurde am 6. Juni 2001 als korrespondierendes Mitglied der Rumänischen Akademie gewählt. Er hat Architektur in Bukarest, bei dem „Ion Mincu“ Institut studiert, wo er 1975 promovierte. Er arbeitete als Architekt in Temeswar (1961-1963), Leiter der Sektion für Restaurierung aus dem Brukenthalmuseum aus Hermannstadt (1963-1971), wissenschaftlicher Forscher (beginnend mit 1971) an dem Forschungsinstitut für Geisteswissen-

schaften, Hermannstadt, dessen Direktor er ist. Niedermaier unterrichtete auch an der Fakultät für Geschichte und Denkmalschutz an der Lucian Blaga-Universität aus Hermannstadt und an der Fakultät für Architektur bei der Rumänisch-Deutschen Universität. Er forscht besonders im Bereich Geschichte der Stadtplanung, Städtegeschichte, historische Demographie, Architekturgeschichte: *Geneza oraşului Sighişoara* (1979); *Evoluţia reţelei de oraşe în Transilvania medievală* (1993); *Dinamica evoluţiei oraşului Bistriţa în contextul căilor de comunicaţie* (1994); *Die Konzeption der romanischen Kirchen Siebenbürgens* (1996); *Dinamica construirii castelelor în Transilvania* (1996); *Urbanismul medieval în Transilvania, Banat şi Crişana* (1996); *Das alte Rathaus in Hermannstadt* (1997); *Specificul oraşelor transilvănene în context european* (1998); *Der Wiederaufbau von Timişoara* (2000); *Die Kirche im Selbstverständnis der Siebenbürger Sachsen* (2000); *Atlas istoric al oraşelor din România. Sighişoara* (2001) usw. Er ist mit dem „Mihail Kogălniceanu“ Preis der Rumänischen Akademie (1998) und mit dem „Pro Civitate Austria“ Preis ausgezeichnet worden.<sup>10</sup>

Die aufgezählten Persönlichkeiten, Mitglieder der Rumänischen Akademie, gehören der deutschen Gemeinschaften aus Rumänien, sei es Siebenbürger Sachsen, Bukowinadeutsche oder Deutsche aus dem Banat oder aus der Walachei. Insgesamt haben wir neun Mitglieder identifiziert, die meisten (66,6%) von denen sind in Siebenbürgen geboren, in den Städten des ehemaligen Königsbodens: Hermannstadt (Hermann Oberth, Paul Niedermaier), Bistritz (Gustav Oswald Kisch), Reps (Wilhelm Berger), Schäßburg (Friedrich Teutsch) und Mühlbach (Viktor Roth). Das ist verständlich, wenn wir bedenken dass die Siebenbürger Sachsen 1918 die aus einer kulturellen Sicht die wichtigste deutsche Gemeinschaft aus Großrumänien, mit ungefähr 240.000 Seelen zählte.<sup>11</sup> Nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg, in den Grenzen Großrumäniens lebten ungefähr 800.000 Menschen, das bedeutete dass die Deutschen als ethnisch-nationale Gruppe 4,1% der Gesamtbevölkerung in der Zwischenkriegszeit bildete.<sup>12</sup> Aus dem Banat (August Kanitz), Walachei (Wilhelm Karl Knechtel) und Bukowina (Ludovic Iosif Urban Rudescu/Rodewald) waren je einen Vertreter in die Rumänische Akademie.

Wie erwartet, konnten wir bemerken, dass die meisten deutsche Wissenschaftler (37,5%) nach 1990 in die Rumänische Akademie eingetreten sind, als dieses hohe Forum einen neuen Statut erhalten hat.<sup>13</sup> In der Zwischenkriegszeit sind 25% deutsche Persönlichkeiten in die Akademie gewählt worden, wobei der gleiche Prozentsatz auch in den fünfziger und sechziger Jahren zu treffen ist. Zwischen der Gründung der Akademie und 1918 gab es einen einzigen deutschen Wissenschaftler als Mitglied, nämlich August Kanitz (seit 1882 korrespondierendes Mitglied). Mehr als die Hälfte der deutschen Mitglieder der Rumänischen Akademie studierten und promovierten ins Ausland, besonders

im deutschsprachigen Raum, sei es Erlangen, Tübingen, Wien, Dresden, Berlin, Leipzig oder Halle. Doch die wissenschaftliche Tätigkeit haben sie in Rumänien durchgeführt, in Klausenburg, Bukarest, Temeswar, Hermannstadt oder Bistritz.

**WEITERHIN**, WERDEN wir die Persönlichkeiten erwähnen, die sich nicht unbedingt als Deutsch angesehen haben, sondern deutsche Vorfahren hatten. Beispiele dafür sind die Brüder Alfons Oscar und Anghel Saligny, deren Vater Alfred Rudolf von Saligny einen deutsch-französischen Ursprung aus dem Elsaß hatte und welcher im 19. Jahrhundert auf dem Ruf Ioan Ghica's in der Moldau gekommen ist um Französisch in Focşani zu unterrichten.<sup>14</sup>

ALFONS OSCAR SALIGNY (geb. am 3. April 1863, Focşani – gest. am 4. Mai 1903) war ein bekannter Chemiker und wurde am 3. April 1902 in die Rumänische Akademie als korrespondierendes Mitglied eingenommen. Er besuchte die Französisch-Deutsche Schule und studierte an der Fakultät für Wissenschaften aus Charlottenburg, wo er 1875 in Chemie promovierte. Er arbeitete in Bukarest, im Labor der Zivilkrankenhäusern aber auch im Staatsmünzamt. Weiterhin war er auch Leiter des Labors für Allgemeine und Technologische Chemie und gründete in Bukarest der erste Labor für Versuche auf Baumaterialien. Er veröffentlichte wissenschaftliche Studien in *Anuarul Muzeului de Zoologie și Paleontologie*, *Anuarul Școlii Superioare de Poduri și Șosele*, *Buletinul Societății Politehnice al Societății de Științe* usw.<sup>15</sup>

Sein Bruder, der bekannte Ingenieur ANGHEL SALIGNY (geb. am 19. April 1854, Șerbănești, Galați – gest. am 17. Juni 1925, Bukarest) war am 31. März 1892 als korrespondierendes Mitglied und am 7. April 1897 als Vollmitglied der Rumänischen Akademie gewählt worden. Er war auch Vizepräsident (26. März 1901 – 23. März 1904) und Präsident (18. April 1907 – 25. Mai 1910) der Rumänischen Akademie. Der Ingenieur, Minister und Lehrer Anghel Saligny gilt als der Vater der modernen Technik des Bauwesens im Bereich der Brücken aus einer Metallstruktur, einer der Gründer des rumänischen Bauwesens. Er hat die ersten Brücken (Auto- und Eisenbahnlinien) zwischen Adjud-Târgu-Ocna projektiert und gebaut. Seine wichtigste Leistung ist die Brücke über die Donau von Cernavodă, welche am 14. September 1895 eröffnet wurde.<sup>16</sup> Gheorghe Țițeica sagte eine Rede bei seinem Tode 1925, wo er Saligny folgendermaßen beschrieben hat: „Charakterisiert von zahlreichen Qualitäten, hatte er nicht nur die notwendige technische Wissenschaft für den Bau von großen und mutigen Anlagen sondern er hatte auch den Verständnis für die wirtschaftlichen Bedürfnissen des Landes, und eine außerordentliche Arbeitswille.“<sup>17</sup>

HENRI H. STAHL (geb. 1901 in Bukarest – gest. am 9. September 1991 in Bukarest) war Soziologe, Anthropologe, Sozialhistoriker und wurde 1974 korrespon-

dierendes Mitglied, beziehungsweise am 22. Januar 1990 Vollmitglied der Rumänischen Akademie. Seine Eltern kamen aus dem Elsaß und aus der Schweiz. Sein Werk beinhaltet Bücher und Studien im Bereich der empirischen Wissenschaften aber auch der rumänischen Volkskunde: *Tehnica monografiei sociologice* (1934), *Sociologia satului devălmaș românesc* (1946), *Contribuții la studiul satelor devălmașe românești* (drei Bände zwischen 1950-1965 veröffentlicht), *Amintiri și gânduri din vechea școală a monografiilor sociologice* (1981), *Eseuri critice. Despre cultura populară românească* (1983), *Dimitrie Gusti. Studii critice* (1986).<sup>18</sup>

2014 wurde der Nobelpreisträger STEFAN HELL als Ehrenmitglied in die Rumänische Akademie gewählt. Geboren in Arad am 23. Dezember 1962 ist er ein deutscher Staatsbürger dessen Eltern Banater Schwaben sind. Bis 1978, als seine Familie ausgezogen ist, besuchte er die Grundschule und ein Jahr an der Nikolaus-Lenau Schule aus Temeswar. Abitur machte er 1981 in Ludwigshafen und studierte später Physik an der Ruprecht-Karls-Universität aus Heidelberg (1981-1987), wo er 1990 promovierte. Sein Forschungsschwerpunkt ist optische Mikroskopie jenseits der Anneschen Beugungsgrenze. Seit 2002 ist er wissenschaftliches Mitglied der Max-Planck-Gesellschaft, Vorstandsmitglied des Laser Laboratorium aus Göttingen (seit 2003), Mitglied des European Neuroscience Institute aus Göttingen (seit 2003), Sekretär der International Society on Optics Within Life Sciences (2005) und Mitglied der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen (seit 2007).<sup>19</sup> Zusammen mit Eric Betzig und William Moerner bekam er den Nobelpreis für Chemie 2014 für die Entwicklung superauflösender Fluoreszenzmikroskopie.

Die ernannten Persönlichkeiten sind Rumäniendeutsche, Mitglieder der Rumänischen Akademie, die einen wissenschaftlichen, kulturellen Beitrag der Gesellschaft gebracht haben. Entweder ob sie sich als Deutsch angesehen haben, oder nur deutsche Vorfahren hatten, die wissenschaftlichen Leistungen die sie gebracht haben sind wichtig für die Entwicklung der Gesellschaft so wie wir sie heute kennen.

Wir wollen mit den Wörtern aus der Empfangsrede des Geisteswissenschaftler Ovid Densușianu schlussfolgern, der die Ziele der Rumänischen Akademie feststellte, und meinte dass „die Seele einer Einrichtung aus deren Vorbereitungen für die Zukunft aber auch aus der intellektuellen Erbe der Mitglieder“ besteht.<sup>20</sup>

□

## Anmerkungen

1. Ștefan Pascu, *Istoricul Academiei Române. 125 ani de la înființare*, Bukarest, Ed. Academiei Române, 1991, S. 20.



2. Ebd., S. 127.
3. Membrii Academiei Române. Dicționar, Dritte, neubearbeitete und ergänzte Auflage, mit einem Vorwort von Eugen Simion, Bukarest, Ed. Enciclopedică/Ed. Academiei Române, 2003, S. 440.
4. Pascu, *Istoricul Academiei Române*, S. 249.
5. Membrii Academiei Române, S. 732. Siehe auch *Enciclopedia istoriografiei românești* (Hg. Ștefan Ștefănescu), Bukarest, Ed. Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1978.
6. Membrii Academiei Române, S. 445.
7. Ebd., S. 734.
8. Ebd., S. 105. Siehe auch Viorel Cosma, *Muzicieni români. Compozitori și muzicologi*. Lexicon, Bukarest, Ed. Muzicală, 1970.
9. Aus dem biographischen Film hergestellt von seinem Biographen Hans Barth; Hans Barth, Hermann Oberth. Vater der Raumfahrt, Mühlbach, Ed. Sfântul Ierarh Nicolae, 2011, p. 8.
10. Membrii Academiei Române, S. 591.
11. Vasile Ciobanu, *Contribuții la cunoașterea istoriei sașilor transilvăneni 1918-1944*, Hermannstadt, Hora, 2001, S. 17.
12. Florian Kühner-Wielach, *Siebenbürgen ohne Siebenbürger? Zentralstaatliche Integration und politischer Regionalismus nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg*, Oldenbourg, De Gruyter Verlag, 2014, S. 66.
13. Pascu, *Istoricul Academiei Române*.
14. Constantin Georgeta, Anghel Saligny, *Drobeta-Turnu-Severin*, Ștef, 2011, S. 5.
15. Membrii Academiei Române, S. 742.
16. Ebd., S. 743. Siehe auch Constantin Georgeta, Anghel Saligny.
17. Pascu, *Istoricul Academiei Române*, S. 262.
18. Membrii Academiei Române, S. 782.
19. [http://www.dfg.de/download/pdf/geofoerderte\\_projekte/preistraeger/gwl-preis/2008/hell\\_cv.pdf](http://www.dfg.de/download/pdf/geofoerderte_projekte/preistraeger/gwl-preis/2008/hell_cv.pdf), 20.02.2016, 13:30.
20. Pascu, *Istoricul Academiei Române*, S. 232.

### Abstract

German Personalities from Romania,  
Members of the Romanian Academy (1882–2014)

The paper features short presentations of personalities such as botanist August Kanitz, bishop and historian Friedrich Teutsch, historian Viktor Roth, philologist Gustav Oswald Kisch, entomologist Wilhelm Karl W. Knechtel, composer and musicologist Wilhelm Georg Berger, scientist Hermann Oberth, historian and architect Paul Niedermaier, etc.

### Keywords

German scholars, the Romanian Academy, biographies

## L'abolizionismo nel dibattito dei leader italiani e romeni nella prima metà dell'Ottocento

RALUCA TOMI

---

*“La schiavitù è la più brutta  
macchia che disonora la  
nostra Patria in questi tempi  
di progresso... E' arrivato  
quindi il tempo che anche  
noi, i romeni, rompiano la  
triste catena della schiavitù.”*

*V. Olusany*

---

### Raluca Tomi

Ricercatrice presso L'Istituto di Storia Nicolae Iorga di Bucarest. Campi di ricerca: risorgimento italo-romeno; le minoranze etniche nello spazio romeno nell'Ottocento; viaggiatori stranieri nello spazio romeno; storia istituzionale della ricerca storica in Romania.

“**N**OI RITENIAMO che sono per se stesse evidenti queste verità: che tutti gli uomini sono creati eguali; che essi sono dal Creatore dotati di certi inalienabili diritti, che tra questi diritti sono la Vita, la Libertà, e il perseguimento della Felicità”, si menzionava nella Dichiarazione di indipendenza degli Stati Uniti d'America, mentre nella francese Dichiarazione dei diritti dell'uomo e del cittadino (26 agosto 1789) si affermava che “Tutti gli uomini sono eguali per natura e davanti alla legge”. A quell'epoca la libertà, l'uguaglianza, la fraternità, il diritto alla felicità erano principi di cui potevano godere soltanto gli uomini liberi. Venivano esclusi gli schiavi di tutto il mondo: delle colonie francesi, britanniche, spagnole, olandesi, dell'America, dell'Asia, dell'Africa, ma anche gli schiavi dello spazio romeno. La liberazione degli

Articolo pubblicato nel progetto di ricerca: “The abolitionist movement in the context of civil and political emancipation in modern Romania”, cod: PN-II-ID-PCE-2011-3-0655, direttore del progetto dr. Viorel Achim.

schiavi fu un processo lungo, per cui negli studi specialistici il termine di abolizionismo – relativo a una legislazione con applicazione immediata – tende ad essere sostituito da quello di smantellamento del sistema schiavistico, che riguarda la lunga durata del processo. Quando parlano della schiavitù e del sistema schiavistico, gli specialisti tendono ad allargare l'area geografica dei fenomeni e ad analizzarli anche in paradigmi diversi da quelli consueti.<sup>1</sup>

Verso la fine del Settecento e agli inizi dell'Ottocento il movimento abolizionista occidentale e americano si concentrò su due grandi problemi: la proibizione del commercio di africani e la liberazione degli schiavi. Gli sforzi delle associazioni culturali e politiche si concretizzarono agli inizi dell'Ottocento, quando gradualmente gli stati vietarono il commercio di schiavi: nel 1803 la Danimarca, nel 1805 la Russia<sup>2</sup>, nel 1807 gli USA e la Gran Bretagna, mentre nel 1815, durante i cento giorni, Napoleone lo abolì anche in Francia, un provvedimento confermato anche da Ludovico XVIII nel 1817.<sup>3</sup> I poteri europei firmarono dichiarazioni comuni contro il commercio di schiavi, come quella del 1815 tra la Francia, la Gran Bretagna, l'Austria, la Prussia, la Russia, la Svezia, la Spagna, il Portogallo; firmarono trattati bilaterali e stabilirono punizioni dure contro coloro che praticavano questo tipo di commercio. Le iniziative governative furono stimulate dalla *Lettera apostolica* del Papa Gregorio XVI del dicembre 1839, che proibiva il commercio di schiavi.<sup>4</sup> Nel bacino mediterraneo gli schiavi furono una delle merci predilette del commercio tra gli stati marittimi sia musulmani che cristiani nel Medio Evo e agli inizi dell'epoca moderna. Va notata anche nello spazio musulmano la tendenza a proibire il commercio di schiavi. Nel 1841, il bey di Tunisi prese misure legali in questo senso<sup>5</sup> e il commercio di schiavi africani, del Caucaso, l'esportazione degli schiavi in Libia, Creta ed Epiro furono proibiti gradualmente dai sultani ottomani del periodo del Tanzimat.<sup>6</sup>

La proibizione della schiavitù si fece diversamente da uno stato all'altro secondo l'importanza economica dell'istituzione o secondo il contesto politico: rivoluzioni in Francia (1794, 1848), guerre di liberazione nazionale negli stati dell'America Latina, riforme parlamentari nella Gran Bretagna (1833), un forte movimento abolizionista che culminò con la Guerra di Secessione negli USA (1861-1865). Nel mondo musulmano il bey tunisino Ahmed, figlio di una schiava della Sardegna, abolì la schiavitù due anni prima della Francia, nel 1846.<sup>7</sup>

Nel mio articolo cercherò di indagare il coinvolgimento dei leader italiani nel movimento abolizionista europeo, la loro conoscenza delle realtà sociali dei Principati romeni, dove c'era un'istituzione specifica della schiavitù, la cosiddetta *robie* in romeno, e di rispondere alla domanda quali fossero le caratteristiche del movimento abolizionista dello spazio romeno. Va notato che la mia ricerca è agli inizi e che le ulteriori indagini negli archivi e nelle biblioteche italiane arricchiranno le mie future conclusioni.

**G**LI STATI medievali italiani si coinvolsero nel commercio di schiavi. I genovesi e i veneziani dominarono il commercio di schiavi nel Mar Nero e nel Mar Egeo, mentre i siciliani accanto agli aragonesi, ai provenzali e ai catalani fecero commercio con le regioni del Nord Africa. Accanto allo schiavo nero, proveniente dalle scorrerie intraprese lungo la costa africana, c'era lo schiavo bianco, prigioniero di guerra, rapito dai pirati sulle coste italiche, spagnole, balcaniche o ricevuto dai sultani come tributo da parte delle popolazioni conquistate. Va ricordata anche l'esistenza degli schiavi musulmani o delle schiave circasse o africane nelle città portuali del Mediterraneo occidentale. Conosciamo la posizione della Chiesa Cattolica, essa stessa proprietaria di schiavi, dalla letteratura di specialità. Se per quanto riguarda la schiavitù nera gli argomenti biblici ne rinforzavano la fede nella superiorità dell'uomo bianco, conquistatore, civilizzatore, la sua posizione nei confronti della schiavitù bianca fu ben diversa. Ci furono ordini religiosi che si impegnarono a riscattare gli schiavi cristiani prigionieri di guerra, tra i quali i più noti furono i frati trinitari e i frati mercedari. Le ricerche eseguite negli Archivi Vaticani dimostrano che il riscatto degli schiavi era la meta di alcune istituzioni laiche e religiose, tra queste l'Opera Pia di Riscatto, fondata a Roma nel 1581 dal Papa Gregorio XIII. Nell'abolizione del commercio di schiavi agli inizi dell'Ottocento furono coinvolti puntualmente anche gli stati italiani. Nel 1816 la spedizione navale britannica diretta dal ammiraglio lord Exmouth, che riuscì a liberare un importante numero di schiavi cristiani delle coste nord-africane, agì anche in nome del Regno della Sardegna e del Regno delle Due Sicilie.<sup>8</sup>

Nel Settecento si formava nella percezione europea una nuova immagine dello schiavo nero. Le relazioni di viaggio (*Histoire générale de voyages*, tradotta in inglese dall'abate Antoine François Prévost), la letteratura di finzione (il romanzo della scrittrice inglese Aphra Behn, *Ornooko or the Royale Slave*, 1754), gli scritti dei missionari cattolici, le opere firmate da ex schiavi creavano la figura del "buon selvaggio" in opposizione con l'europeo avaro, corrotto, disumano.<sup>9</sup> Si combattevano così quelle teorie che spiegavano l'apparizione delle razze umane attraverso le influenze dell'ambiente, gerarchizzandole secondo l'aspetto fisico, il quale avrebbe messo la propria impronta anche sui tratti morali. Senz'altro gli scritti degli illuministi ebbero un ruolo importante nella definizione delle idee abolizionistiche. Le affermazioni del barone Montesquieu – "La schiavitù non è buona di per sé, non è utile né per il padrone, né per lo schiavo"<sup>10</sup> –, di Rousseau, che scriveva che la schiavitù non è innata all'uomo<sup>11</sup>, del marchese di Condorcet, che rivolgeva agli africani le seguenti parole: "Anche se il colore della mia pelle è diverso dal vostro, vi ho sempre considerati i miei fratelli"<sup>12</sup>, oppure le analisi di Adam Smith<sup>13</sup>, che smontavano il mito dell'importanza economica

della schiavitù, influirono sul pensiero della generazione dei politici e degli intellettuali che si coinvolsero nel movimento abolizionista.

Alla fine del Settecento e nella prima metà dell'Ottocento apparvero nella Gran Bretagna, in Francia, negli USA delle società che si proponevano di imporre una legislazione antischiavista. Per lo spazio britannico è da ricordare la costituzione nel 1787 della London Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade e nel 1823 della Anti-Slavery Society, che dopo numerose campagne di sensibilizzazione della pubblica opinione riuscirono ad imporre nel 1833 la *Abolition Bill*, attraverso la quale si legiferava l'emancipazione graduale degli schiavi delle colonie britanniche.<sup>14</sup> Dalla Gran Bretagna partirono iniziative di costituzione di un'organizzazione mondiale che coordinasse l'intero movimento abolizionista. L'esperienza dei legami tra gli abolizionisti britannici e quelli americani o francesi della fine del Settecento si concretizzò nella costituzione nel 1837 della British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. Per l'iniziativa di questa società furono organizzate due convenzioni mondiali antischiaviste nel 1840 e nel 1843<sup>15</sup>. Negli Stati Uniti le idee abolizioniste apparse in seno alle sette protestanti si cristallizzarono alla fine del Settecento, quando alcuni stati introdussero nelle loro costituzioni la liberazione degli schiavi. Dopo il 1815 il problema della schiavitù nell'America del Nord fu al centro di un ampio dibattito pubblico, in cui presero forma più correnti: il mantenimento dello stato delle cose, l'emancipazione graduale e la corrente radicale dell'emancipazione immediata. A dinamizzare il movimento abolizionista americano fu William Lloyd Garrison, che nel 1831 fondò a Boston la pubblicazione "Liberator". Garrison ebbe rapporti intensi con il movimento abolizionista europeo e iniziò nel 1833, l'anno in cui nel Parlamento britannico fu votata l'abolizione graduale della schiavitù nelle colonie, la American Anti-Slavery Society, a Filadelfia.<sup>16</sup> In Francia l'emancipazione degli schiavi fu dibattuta a partire dalla Grande Rivoluzione della fine del Settecento, ma la legislazione conobbe un percorso tortuoso. L'idea dell'emancipazione graduale degli schiavi delle colonie francesi fu sostenuta dai membri della Società Amis des Noirs (1788), mentre una prima abolizione della schiavitù fu legiferata nel 1794 sotto la pressione delle ribellioni degli schiavi di San Domingo. L'istituzione fu introdotta di nuovo nel 1802, ma le idee abolizioniste sopravvissero grazie all'attività dell'abate Henri Grégoire, agli incontri organizzati da Germaine de Staël, alla fondazione della Société de la morale chrétienne, nel 1821 o della Société française pour l'abolition de l'esclavage, nel 1834.<sup>17</sup> Un'iniziativa francese di costituzione di un'organizzazione mondiale che prendesse in considerazione anche il problema della schiavitù fu la fondazione nel 1842 dell'Institut de l'Afrique. Negli atti di fondazione si ritrovano anche le firme di italiani come Antonio Mastropaolo, ministro segretario di stato del Regno delle Due

Sicilie, Francesco di Paolo, arcivescovo di Messina, Carlo Amati, consigliere a Milano, Bambrini, direttore della Banca di Genova, il vescovo di San-Minato, il vescovo cardinale di Benevent, che aveva pagato il suo contributo per la vita, il monsignore Dom Brutti, ciambellano del Papa Gregorio XVI, il marchese di Guadagni di Firenze, Emanuele Pes di Villamarina. Questi si ritrovano accanto a re e presidenti europei, africani, americani: il re della Svezia e della Norvegia, il re della Grecia, il presidente del Messico, il principe della Valacchia, Gheorghe Bibescu, il presidente cileno, una serie di nobili francesi e finalmente aristocratici romeni come il principe Nicolae Suțu (che era anche uno dei presidenti), Constantin Conaky ecc.<sup>18</sup>

I leader italiani costretti ad esiliarsi dopo il 1815 vennero in contatto con le cerchie liberali europee nelle quali si discuteva l'emancipazione degli schiavi. Così, la casa di Londra del lord Henry Holland, sostenitore della libertà della stampa e dell'emancipazione degli schiavi fu frequentata da Ugo Foscolo, Antonio Panizzi, Santorre di Santarosa.<sup>19</sup> Nello stesso periodo su "Il Conciliatore" di Milano veniva pubblicato un ritratto del lord Henry Brougham, una personalità rinomata per il suo atteggiamento risoluto contro il commercio di schiavi. Gradualmente gli emigranti politici italiani si inserirono nelle reti intellettuali liberali e democratiche dell'Europa, dove parteciparono a dibattiti sul ruolo delle nazioni nella futura configurazione del continente o sull'opportunità dell'instaurazione dei principi democratici nel governo degli stati.<sup>20</sup>

Una figura emblematica dell'esilio rivoluzionario, Giuseppe Mazzini, il cui principale scopo era la costituzione di una repubblica indipendente, unitaria e democratica italiana, partecipò alle appassionate dispute intellettuali sul concetto di democrazia.<sup>21</sup> Sin dal 1829, nello studio *D'una letteratura europea*, Mazzini notava che la civiltà si estende uniformemente, portando come esempio eloquente la proibizione del commercio di schiavi nella maggior parte degli stati: "ed ora l'empio mercato è abolito, e l'esecrazione dei popoli persegue i trafficanti di sangue".<sup>22</sup> Mazzini cominciava il suo esilio britannico nel momento in cui la schiavitù era stata abolita nelle colonie imperiali, ma l'eco del movimento antischiavista era forte e sull'altra riva dell'Atlantico gli abolizionisti americani intensificavano la loro attività, mantenendo contatti stretti con quelli inglesi. Egli stesso desiderava creare nuove filiali della Giovane Italia nello spazio americano e aveva legami con i rivoluzionari italiani emigrati a New York e Boston (Felice Foresti, Giuseppe Avvezano, Giovanni Albinola ecc.).<sup>23</sup> Nel 1846 apparivano su "People's Journal" degli articoli firmati da Mazzini intitolati *Thoughts upon Democracy*, da cui risulta la sua concezione sulla democrazia. "Noi cerchiamo le vie del paradiso in terra", afferma Mazzini per dimostrare il carattere divino della democrazia tanto per origine, quanto per finalità.<sup>24</sup> E proseguiva: "Noi protestiamo, quindi, contro ogni disuguaglianza, contro ogni oppressione

dovunque siano praticate: perché noi non consideriamo nessuno come straniero, noi distinguiamo solamente il giusto dall'ingiusto, gli amici dai nemici della legge di Dio." La conclusione logica era che gli uomini non possono essere uguali di fronte a Dio e disuguali tra di loro.<sup>25</sup> Forse non a caso nello stesso anno veniva pubblicata su "Liberty Bell" di Boston la breve, ma commovente *Prayer to God for the Planters by an Exile*, tradotta in italiano su "Italia del Popolo", nel 1854. Era una protesta contro i padroni di schiavi, che avevano sostituito l'uomo con lo schiavo e la fede in Dio con l'idolatria nei confronti della canna da zucchero. Avevano calpestato il principio della fratellanza universale, "noi non siamo fratelli, siamo padroni e schiavi", avevano negato la divinità degli ultimi. Lo smembramento delle famiglie attraverso la disumana vendita degli schiavi, un argomento decisivo della letteratura abolizionista, compariva anche nell'articolo di Mazzini, quasi cinque anni prima del romanzo *Uncle's Tom Cabin*. Egli ricordava il grido di dolore di tutti coloro che soffrivano e lottavano in Europa per la libertà, contro gli oppressori che soggiogavano le nazioni. Era una preghiera "di tutti coloro che, come me, soffrono per la tua santa causa, per la tua santa libertà, per la liberazione dei popoli e dell'anima umana".<sup>26</sup>

Anche se le sue preoccupazioni erano rivolte verso la creazione di un'Italia unita, indipendente, repubblicana, che avrebbe fatto parte di un'Europa delle nazioni libere, i dibattiti intorno al problema della schiavitù non gli erano indifferenti. L'apparizione del romanzo di Harriet Beecher Stowe, che segnò le coscienze dei lettori, intensificò le campagne abolizioniste. Nel 1853, la scrittrice americana era accolta trionfalmente a Londra e nello stesso anno venivano pubblicati ampi capitoli del romanzo anche sulla rivista milanese "Il Crepuscolo".<sup>27</sup> Nel 1854 Mazzini scriveva al reverendo Beard, il presidente del comitato antischiavista del nord dell'Inghilterra, riprendendo l'idea del legame tra il movimento abolizionista e la lotta per l'emancipazione nazionale d'Europa. Secondo lui, la libertà era il dono di cui dovevano godere tutte le razze, tutte le nazioni. Era accanto agli abolizionisti, ma non dimenticava che accanto ai milioni di schiavi neri c'erano milioni di schiavi bianchi che soffrivano e lottavano in Italia, Polonia, Ungheria, in tutta l'Europa.<sup>28</sup> I suoi contatti con Margaret Fuller, che era venuta in Europa nel 1846 accompagnata dai coniugi Spring, filantropi e fautori della causa abolizionista, con William Lloyd Garrison, Gerrit Smith, Mancure Daniel Conway, rappresentanti della corrente radicale dell'abolizionismo americano, contribuirono alla sua familiarizzazione con il movimento antischiavista.<sup>29</sup> Ammirava John Brown, che condusse l'attacco di Harper's Ferry, che nel 1849 visitò l'Inghilterra, la Francia, il Belgio, dove entrò in contatto con i fautori della teoria della guerra nazionale scatenata da piccoli gruppi armati, un'idea applicata da Mazzini stesso.<sup>30</sup>

"Credo che, nei nostri tempi, vi siano tre cose contro le quali un uomo dovrebbe protestare prima di morire, se desidera di morire in pace con la sua co-

scienza: schiavitù, pena capitale e lo stato attuale piccino o ipocrita del problema religioso”, scriveva Mazzini a William Malleson nel 1864.<sup>31</sup> La guerra civile americana scatenò nuove reazioni da parte del leader genovese. Dichiarava il suo sostegno nei confronti della Società per l’emancipazione degli schiavi neri fondata a Londra e nella corrispondenza con gli abolizionisti americani esprimeva le sue opinioni sulla democrazia americana, alla quale rimproverava la tolleranza nei confronti della schiavitù, la tendenza a dare troppa importanza ai diritti individuali a scapito dei doveri che ogni cittadino aveva nei confronti della nazione. L’abolizione della schiavitù consolidò la posizione dell’America, trasformandola nella nazione volta a guidare tutti i repubblicani. “L’America potrebbe avere la parte più brillante e benefica nel mondo”, scriveva a Matilda Riggs nel 1865.<sup>32</sup> L’idea è ripresa nella lettera a Conway nello stesso anno. La grandezza dell’America non poteva essere compiuta se non attraverso la concessione di diritti politici agli ex schiavi. L’abolizione della schiavitù, l’unica macchia nera della democrazia americana, consolidò il regime repubblicano: “i numerosi e sempre crescenti elementi repubblicani d’Europa hanno scoperto in voi il loro rappresentante. Voi siete divenuti una nazione-guida”.<sup>33</sup>

**L**ESISTENZA DELLA schiavitù nei Principati romeni era nota nello spazio italiano grazie alle informazioni sulla stampa, ai rapporti consolari delle città portuali danubiane di Galați e Brăila, alle relazioni di viaggio o ai contatti diretti tra i leader. Nel 1835, sulla “Gazzetta piemontese” venivano ricordati i rom ricercatori d’oro e nello studio dedicato allo sviluppo dei Principati della Valacchia e della Moldavia (1838), Bartolomeo Geymet, viceconsole a Galați, scriveva che la maggior parte dei rom erano gli schiavi degli aristocratici e dello stato e ne notava la propensione verso i mestieri.<sup>34</sup> I rapporti consolari informavano tra gli anni 1855-1856 sui decreti di liberazione degli schiavi degli aristocratici, l’ultima tappa dell’emancipazione. Lorenzo Valerio<sup>35</sup>, Domenico Zanelli<sup>36</sup>, Marco Antonio Canini<sup>37</sup>, viaggiatori stranieri per i Principati, entrarono in contatto con una realtà sociale specifica a questi spazi: la schiavitù dei rom.

Il movimento abolizionista dei principati si manifestava timidamente nei decenni tre e quattro dell’Ottocento, attraverso i discorsi del teologo e studioso Eufrosin Poteca, i progetti utopici di Teodor Diamant, le poesie e gli articoli di Cezar Bolliac e soprattutto l’opera di Kogălniceanu, *Esquisse sur l’histoire, les mœurs et la langue des Cigans*, che fu pubblicata nel 1837.<sup>38</sup> Le prime manifestazioni abolizioniste erano dichiarazioni generose, progetti utopici o studi scientifici che non offrivano soluzioni concrete al problema dei rom. Essi ebbero comunque impatto sull’élite culturale romena. In questo senso Costache Negruzzi, dopo che ebbe letto l’opuscolo di Kogălniceanu, scriveva: “Questa lettura pian pianino mi condusse a idee filantropiche; pensavo alla schiavitù



di migliaia di persone e progettavo di parlare in assemblea a loro favore.”<sup>39</sup> Prima della rivoluzione del 1848 si distinguono nel movimento abolizionista dei Principati due tendenze, che si ritrovano anche nell’abolizionismo europeo o americano: l’emancipazione graduale degli schiavi e l’idea radicale della loro liberazione immediata. Una parte degli aristocratici illuminati, come Costache Conachi o Nicolae Suțu, erano fautori dell’emancipazione graduale. Il primo ammetteva nel suo testamento che una parte della sua ricchezza la doveva “alle mani operose che sempre furono e sono dei contadini moldavi o degli schiavi zingari”, gli chiedeva perdono per i mali che gli aveva fatto soffrire, ma la loro liberazione gli sembrava inopportuna, perché la società non era preparata per accoglierli.<sup>40</sup> Altri aristocratici ebbero l’iniziativa di educare gli schiavi perché il momento della liberazione li trovasse capaci di condurre una vita indipendente. Il movimento abolizionista si intensificò a partire dagli anni 1843-1844. Una spiegazione sarebbe l’approvazione da parte dell’Assemblea Nazionale della Valacchia (nel 1843 e nel 1847) e di quella della Moldavia (nel 1844) delle leggi di liberazione dei rom dello stato e dei monasteri. In questo modo prendeva forma la corrente della liberazione immediata degli schiavi degli aristocratici sotto l’influenza dell’abolizionismo britannico, ma soprattutto francese. Gli studenti romeni di Parigi entrarono in contatto con Jules Michelet, Alphonse Lamartine, Edgar Quinet, Ledru Rollin, i firmatari delle petizioni degli anni 1845-1847, in cui si sollecitava l’immediata liberazione degli schiavi delle colonie francesi. Tra gli fautori di questa corrente radical si annoverò anche N. N. Rucăreanu, studente a Parigi nel 1844, nonché membro di una loggia massonica, il quale nei suoi articoli apparsi su “Gazeta de Transilvania” (Brașov) meditava sulla liberazione degli schiavi. Era uno sforzo singolare all’epoca di trovare soluzioni all’assimilazione degli schiavi liberati delle comunità romene. Secondo lui gli aristocratici dovevano provvedere alla costruzione di case per gli schiavi liberati, cosicché non vivessero in tende o tuguri, mentre i liberati venivano minacciati che avrebbero ricevuto delle multe salate se avessero usato la loro lingua. Lo stesso valeva anche per chi “oserà chiamare zingari i liberati o userà altri epiteti disonoranti”, lo scopo della legge essendo quello di “cancellare l’antico odio”. L’autore notava con acutezza uno degli aspetti che scomodano tuttora i dibattiti sull’integrazione dei rom nella società: l’opportunità della loro assimilazione versus il mantenimento delle tradizioni, della loro organizzazione sociale. Altre soluzioni di integrazione proposte erano: che i figli degli emancipati andassero a scuola all’età di sette anni; che i proprietari provvedessero all’esercitazione dei mestieri da parte dei rom; che fossero tollerati i matrimoni misti; che godessero di tutti i diritti civili. L’idea di “civilizzare” gli ex schiavi attraverso l’educazione veniva messa in discussione con patetismo: “Perché è cattivo lo zingaro?... Nessuno ha mai badato al suo stato morale. Chi si sia dato da fare perché abbia

accesso a un po' di educazione, senza lasciarlo vivere come un animale? Chi gli abbia insegnato il potere della santa religione? Chi gli abbia mostrato la differenza tra virtù e crimine? Chi gli abbia mai imposto i suoi doveri nella società o almeno gliene avrà parlato? Di chi è la colpa? E' solo nostra, dei suoi padroni." In conclusione delle sue considerazioni sul destino degli schiavi all'interno della futura società, Rucăreanu confessava la sua professione di fede: "la mia idea fanatica" è che "lo schiavo deve emanciparsi".<sup>41</sup>

L'abolizione della schiavitù nelle colonie francesi durante la rivoluzione del 1848 stimolò l'attività dei leader valacchi, che inclusero nel loro programma l'emancipazione degli schiavi rom. Nella *Proclamazione di Islaz* si scriveva che "il popolo romeno abbandona l'infamia e la vergogna di mantenere la schiavitù e dichiara la libertà degli zingari dei privati".<sup>42</sup> Il 26 giugno il governo provvisorio di Bucarest proclamava la liberazione degli schiavi: "l'epoca della schiavitù è passata e gli zingari oggi sono i nostri fratelli".<sup>43</sup> Abrogata subito dopo la repressione della rivoluzione, la liberazione degli schiavi diventava un desiderio dei leader emigrati, che si integrarono rapidamente in quella magica "cerchia d'amici" che sognava a un'Europa delle nazionalità libere, democratiche e affratellate. Negli anni in cui si faceva una forte propaganda proromena, l'emancipazione dei rom dimostrava all'Europa che il desiderio di modernizzazione manifestato attraverso le memorie e le dichiarazioni pubbliche dei leader romeni emigrati era reale. In questo contesto, si capisce il fervore delle persone che appoggiarono le idee di emancipazione degli schiavi negli anni che precedettero le leggi di emancipazione dei rom degli aristocratici. Se prima della rivoluzione l'influenza dell'abolizionismo francese era immensa grazie soprattutto ai contatti diretti tra i leader, dopo il 1848 l'abolizionismo americano segnò il movimento simile dei Principati. Nicolae Bălcescu, C. A. Rosetti, Dimitrie Brătianu, Ion Brătianu, i fratelli Golescu si coinvolsero negli anni 1849-1852 nell'organizzazione di una nuova rivoluzione europea, espressero i loro punti di vista sull'organizzazione istituzionale dei Principati, partecipando al dibattito degli ex leader rivoluzionari sul concetto di democrazia. La loro attività sulle pagine dei giornali romeni apparsi a Parigi e Bruxelles testimonia questo interesse. I. C. Brătianu in un articolo pubblicato sulla "Republica română" (Parigi) del novembre 1851 elogia la libertà che "è la felicità, la moralità e la sublimità dell'uomo" e afferma come Kogălniceanu che la schiavitù mutila le anime: "Siccome la schiavitù priva l'uomo della libertà e dei mezzi di perfezionamento, lo vediamo rincretinare, decadere al livello delle bestie, persino l'anima gli si modifica, non è più uomo." Le stesse idee sono presenti anche in *Reforma morală*, un articolo pubblicato nel giugno del 1851 su "Junimea Română" (Parigi), dove si mostrava che a differenza dei paesi civili, nei Principati "i figli restano a casa in compagnia degli schiavi", per cui il loro senso della libertà è perverso.<sup>44</sup> A Londra, mettendo insieme a Mazzini le basi

del Comitato Centrale Democratico Europeo, Dimitrie Brătianu ne conosceva di sicuro i contatti con gli abolizionisti americani. Bălcescu scriveva sull'esortazione di Vasile Alecsandri per il numero del 1852, rimasto non diffuso della "România literară", il dramma *Răzvan-Vodă*. In conclusione dell'articolo, infatti una rielaborazione di una parte di *România supt Mihai voevod Viteazu*, Bălcescu confessava per l'ultima volta il suo credo sociale: "Nato zingaro, da una stirpe condannata da secoli alla schiavitù, egli fu in quei tempi più patriota dei più autentici moldavi... La sua vita dimostrò che agli occhi della Provvidenza non ci sono popoli o ceti condannati, né popoli o ceti eletti, che essa regala indistintamente i suoi favori a tutti, senza badare alla nazione e al ceto."<sup>45</sup> Nei Principati si intensificavano tra gli anni 1853-1856 gli sforzi degli abolizionisti. Mihail Kogălniceanu, Vasile Alecsandri, Alexandru Papadopol Calimah, G. Sion, Alecu Russo insistevano nei loro scritti apparsi sulla stampa del tempo sulla necessità di adottare alcune leggi che avrebbero sottratto i Principati all'influenza dei poteri orientali e li avrebbero collocati accanto ai popoli civili d'Europa. La lettera dei fratelli Alecsandri nella quale rinunciavano ai loro schiavi, un avvenimento accaduto prima del decreto di liberazione, fu pubblicata integralmente su "Zimbrul" (Iași). Con eloquenza Vasile Alecsandri invocava i sentimenti umanitari dei moldavi: "La schiavitù è la più brutta macchia che disonora la nostra Patria in questi tempi di progresso... E' arrivato quindi il tempo che anche noi, i romeni, rompiano la triste catena della schiavitù."<sup>46</sup> A suo turno Giorgio Sion in *Cauza sclavilor* opinava che soltanto attraverso riforme intelligenti si potesse assicurare il progresso del paese, perché "il tempo delle rivoluzioni è passato". Il governo era responsabile nei confronti della pubblica opinione per trovare le soluzioni adatte per la felicità degli abitanti, i quali dovevano capire che il tempo della schiavitù era passato: "Dobbiamo imparare a pagare stipendi e ad occuparci da soli delle faccende domestiche. Sta scritto che dobbiamo vivere con il sudore del nostro volto. Vivere del sudore degli altri è contro i comandamenti divini."<sup>47</sup> La liberazione degli schiavi suscitava nuovi problemi economici e sociali, che furono previsti dagli abolizionisti: l'integrazione degli ex schiavi attraverso l'educazione, il risarcimento dei proprietari ecc. Le leggi di emancipazione dei Principati furono sancite il 10/22 dicembre 1855 in Moldavia e il 8/20 febbraio 1856; così si compì la prima riforma sociale dei Principati.

La proibizione del commercio di schiavi e la loro emancipazione sono concetti che penetrarono nel linguaggio politico alla fine del Settecento e la loro applicazione fu un processo di lunga durata. Nello spazio italiano e in quello romeno i leader si concentrarono sulla realizzazione dei programmi nazionali, ma nei Principati, a differenza degli stati italiani, la schiavitù era una realtà economica, sociale, la cui eliminazione testimoniò il desiderio di modernizzazione della classe politica romena.



## Note

1. Oruno D. Lara, Iñez Fischer Blanches, *Abolition ou destruction du système esclavagiste?*, in *Les abolition de l'esclavage: 1793, 1794, 1848 de L. F. Sonthonaux à V. Schoelcher*, Actes du colloque internationale tenu à l'Université de Paris VIII, les 3, 4, 5 février 1994, Presses Universitaire de Vincennes, Vincennes 1995, p. 32.
2. Liubov Kurtynova-D'Herlugnan, *The Tsar's Abolitionists: The Slave Trade in the Caucasus and its Supression*, Brill, Leiden-Boston 2010, p. XXI.
3. David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution (1770–1823)*, Oxford University Press, New York-Oxford 1999, p. 33; Nelly Schmidt, *L'abolition de l'esclavage, cinq siècles de combats (XVI-XX siècle)*, Fayard, Paris 2005, pp. 118-120.
4. Lawrence C. Jennings, *French anti-slavery movement for the abolition of slavery in France (1802–1848)*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2000, p. 129.
5. William Gervase Clarence-Smith, *Islam and the Abolition of Slavery*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2006, p. 100.
6. Ehud R. Toledano, *As if Silent and Absent: Bond of Enslavement in the Islamic Middle-East*, Yale University Press, New Haven-London 2007, p. 112; id., *Late Ottoman Concept of Slavery (1830–1880)*, [http://www.artsrn.ualberta.ca/amcdouga/MEAS200/readings\\_topic2\\_2006/toledano\\_ottoman\\_slavery.pdf](http://www.artsrn.ualberta.ca/amcdouga/MEAS200/readings_topic2_2006/toledano_ottoman_slavery.pdf), p. 485.
7. Clarence-Smith, *Islam and the Abolition of Slavery*, p. 101.
8. Salvatore Bono, *La schiavitù nel mediterraneo moderno: Storia di una storia*, “Cahiers de la Méditerranée”, 65/2002, posto online nel 15 ottobre 2004, consultato nel 29 aprile 2013, <http://sdlm.revues.org/28>.
9. Sul quest'argomento vedi: Carminella Biondi, *Ces esclaves sont des hommes. Lotta abolizionista e letteratura negrofila nella Francia des Settecento*, Editrice Libreria Golaridica, Pisa 1979; David Turley, *The Culture of English Antislavery 1780–1860*, Routledge, London-New York 1991; Debbie Lee, *Slavery and the Romantic Imagination*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia 2002; Arthur Riss, *Race, Slavery and Liberalism in Nineteenth-Century American Litterature*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2006; Jean Ehrard, *Lumières et Esclavage. L'esclavage colonial et l'opinion publique en France au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, André Versaille éditeur, Bruxelles 2008; Julie Husband, *Antislavery discourse and nineteenth century American litterature*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York 2010 ecc.
10. Ehrard, *Lumières et Esclavage*, pp. 145-152.
11. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Contractul social*, Ed. Științifică, Bucarest 1967, pp. 90-91.
12. Ehrard, *Lumières et Esclavage*, p. 192.
13. Marie-Cécile Révauger, *The Abolition of Slavery: The British Debate (1787–1840)*, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris 2008, p. 97.
14. *Ivi*, p. 112.
15. Turley, *The Culture of English Antislavery*, pp. 202-203; Jennings, *French-antislavery movement*, pp. 56-75.
16. Schmidt, *L'abolition de l'esclavage*, pp. 269-271.

17. Jennings, *French anti-slavery movement*, pp. 3-7.
18. *Institut d'Afrique. Société internationale fondée pour l'abolition de la traite et de l'esclavage*, Paris 1859.
19. Maurizio Isabella, *Risorgimento in Exile: Italian Émigrés and the Liberal International in the Post-Napoleonic Era*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2009, p. 9.
20. *Ivi*, pp. 24-29.
21. Sul questo argomento vedi Salvo Mastellone (a cura di), Giuseppe Mazzini, *Pensieri sulla democrazia in Europa*, Feltrinelli, Milano 1997, pp. 7-17.
22. Giuseppe Mazzini, *D'una letteratura europea*, in *Scritti editi ed inediti, Letteratura*, vol. I, Cooperativa Tipografico Editrice Paolo Galeati, Imola 1906, p. 178.
23. Joseph Rossi, *The image of America in Mazzini's writings*, University of Wisconsin Press, Madison-Wisconsin 1954, p. 25.
24. Mazzini, *Pensieri sulla democrazia in Europa*, p. 83.
25. *Ivi*, p. 84.
26. Giuseppe Mazzini, *Scritti editi ed inediti*, vol. XIX, *Letteratura*, vol. V, Cooperativa Tipografico Editrice Paolo Galeati, Imola 1919, pp. 287-293.
27. "Crepuscolo" (Milano), 23 gennaio 1853, 30 gennaio 1853, 13 febbraio 1853.
28. Rossi, *The image of America in Mazzini's writings*, p. 127.
29. *Ivi*, pp. 47-49.
30. Raimondo Luraghi, *Storia della Guerra Civile Americana*, ed. III, BUR Rizolli, Milano 2010, pp. 132-135.
31. Giuseppe Mazzini, *Scritti editi ed inediti*, vol. LXXVIII, *Epistolario*, vol. 47, Cooperativa Tipografico Editrice Paolo Galeati, Imola 1938, pp. 9-10.
32. Giuseppe Mazzini, *Scritti editi ed inediti*, vol. LXXX, *Epistolario*, vol. 49, Cooperativa Tipografico Editrice Paolo Galeati, Imola 1939, pp. 122-125.
33. Giuseppe Mazzini, "Intorno alla questione dei negri in America", in *Scritti editi ed inediti*, vol. LXXXIII, *Politica*, vol. 27, Cooperativa Tipografico Editrice Paolo Galeati, Imola 1940, pp. 163-167; vedi anche Tiziano Bonazzi, Carlo Galli (a cura di), *La guerra civile americana vista dall'Europa*, Il Mulino, Bologna 2004, pp. 200-201.
34. Bartolomeo Geymet, *Aperçu sur les Principautés de Moldavie et de Valachie*, nel Daniela Bușă (a cura di), *Călători străini despre țările române în secolul al XIX-lea*, n.s., vol. III, Ed. Academiei Române, Bucarest 2006, pp. 734, 741.
35. *Ivi*, p. 339.
36. Daniela Bușă (a cura di), *Călători străini despre țările române*, n. s., vol. IV, Ed. Academiei Române, Bucarest 2007, 53.
37. Daniela Bușă (a cura di), *Călători străini despre țările române*, n.s., vol. VII, Ed. Academiei Române, Bucarest 2012, pp. 42-44.
38. Viorel Achim, *Țiganii în istoria României*, Ed. Enciclopedică, Bucarest 1998; Venera Achim, *Desfășurarea sclaviei în cele două Americi și în Principatele române în secolul al XIX-lea. O paralelă*, in Maria Mureșan (a cura di), *Europa și Noi. Studii de istoria economiei*, Ed. Academiei de Studii Economice, Bucarest 2005, pp. 369-392; Sorina Radu, *Problematika eliberării țiganilor în contextul revoluției de la 1848*, "Symposia. Caiete de etnologie și antropologie" (Craiova), 2002, no. 1, pp. 269-282; Raluca

- Tomi, *Aboliționismul românesc la 1848. Influențe, trăsături*, “Revista istorică” (Bucarest), n.s., 20, 1-2 (2009), pp. 47-61.
39. C. Negruzzi, *Pentru ce țiganii nu sunt români*, in *Păcatele tinereților*, Ed. Minerva, Bucarest 1982, p. 269.
40. Gheorghe Ungureanu, Dumitru Ivănescu, Virginia Isac (a cura di), *Documente*, vol. I, Ed. Minerva, Bucarest 1973, p. 26.
41. N. N. Rucăreanu, *Asupra emancipației robilor în România*, “Gazeta de Transilvania” (Brașov), 30 ottobre 1844; *ivi*, 2 novembre 1844. Un’analisi sul testo di Rucăreanu in Viorel Achim, *Romanian Abolitionists on the Future of the Emancipated Gypsies*, in “Transylvanian Review”, XIX, supplement no. 40 (2010), pp. 31-33.
42. Cornelia Bodea (a cura di), *1848 la români. O istorie în date și mărturii*, vol. I, Ed. Științifică și Enciclopedică, Bucarest 1982, pp. 536-537.
43. *Proclamația no. 118 a Guvernului provizoriu al Țării Românești*, il 26 giugno 1848, in *Anul revoluționar 1848 în Principatele Române. Acte și documente*, vol. II, Carol Göbl, Bucarest 1902, pp. 105-106.
44. *Vezi Reforma morală*, “Junimea Română” (Parigi), giugno 1851, 9, in Biblioteca dell’Accademia Romana (BAR), archivio personale Ion Ghica, Atti V 1-117.
45. Nicolae Bălcescu, *Răzvan-Vodă*, in *Opere*, vol. II, *Scriseri istorice, politice și economice 1848-1852*, Ed. Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, Bucarest 1982, p. 124.
46. “Zimbrul” (Iași), luglio 1855.
47. “Zimbrul”, 2 dicembre 1855.

## Abstract

### Abolitionism in the Debates of Italian and Romanian Leaders in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century

The abolitionist movement intensified in the late eighteenth century and in the first half of the nineteenth century, when some countries abolished the slave trade and slavery. In Britain, slavery was abolished by reforms, after a strong petition movement, in France during the Revolution in 1794 and 1848, in the United States during the War of Secession, in the Romanian Principalities after several reforms in the years 1843–1855. The slave trade was abolished in the Russian Empire and was also limited in the Ottoman Empire. The main goal of this article is to present the involvement of Italian and Romanian leaders in the abolitionist debate. This involvement is proved by their presence in the abolitionist societies, like L’Institut de l’Afrique, by their contacts, during the revolutionary exile, with American, British and French leaders and by their writings. This article integrates Italian and Romanian leaders in the European abolitionist network in the first half of the nineteenth century.

## Keywords

abolitionism, slavery, Italian leaders, abolitionist network, emancipation of the Gypsies

IOANA SCRIDON  
OANA-RAMONA  
ILOVAN

# Approaching the Other in the Zipser Community Identity Issues and Methodological Insights into Geographical Cross- Cultural Research

---

*“How can somebody like you,  
from outside our culture,  
understand what tradition  
and customs mean for us,  
which are the relationships  
with the others, which were  
our feelings during key  
moments in our history?”*

---

## **Ioana Scridon**

Scientific contributor of Bukowina Institute,  
University of Augsburg.

## **Oana-Ramona Ilovan**

Lecturer at the Faculty of Geography,  
Department of Regional Geography  
and Territorial Planning, Babeş-Bolyai  
University, Cluj-Napoca.

## **Introduction**

**O**UR STUDY may be included in the field of Qualitative and Cultural Geography. We used the research conducted and completed by one of the authors of this paper (the first author) and we asked certain questions to help us discuss the methodology of her Ph.D. thesis, seeking to present the challenges of qualitative and cross-cultural research in the field of Geography. Because the Ph.D. research was completed successfully, its methodology could be considered a good path to follow, especially for the same investigated community. This was reason enough to reflect on it and to present it thoroughly, considering the scientific endeavor translated into this paper an example for geographers who also want to approach similar topics.

Therefore, the present article explores aspects of the research methodology in the context of ethnic diversity and of the history of the Zipser community, a German-speaking ethnic group.

We underline that the aim of this study is not to present the research results of the Ph.D. thesis about the Zipser community, so we offered only general information about them in order to create the context for discussing both *identity issues* and *research methodology*. Thus, focusing on their case study, this paper seeks to investigate diverse ways of approaching geographical cross-cultural research respondents, and especially the Other in the Zipser community.

The respondents are Zipsers and their presence is a relatively small, regional one in Europe, with representatives in Romania (Maramureș, Bukovina, and Banat), in Ukraine (Transcarpathia) and in Germany (near big industrial cities such as Ingolstadt, Nuremberg, Oldenburg, and Singen), with negative demographic increase and high rates of ageing.

To sum up, the aim of this study is to present the researchers' experience in geographical cross-cultural research and to offer suggestions about planning field research under similar circumstances, but especially for the Zipser community.

## Theoretical Substantiation

**I**N THE field of geographical cross-cultural studies, scientists widely discuss the challenges of cross-cultural research,<sup>1</sup> underlining that the context is essential, no matter what interpretation paradigm the authors choose. For instance, in the 1970s, some geographers were very critical about approaching Geography as a positivist science. It meant that Geography would consider people completely rational and that “objective” scientific methods had to be used and were used to study these people’s behavior. The reaction to this appeared under the name of “the qualitative turn,” also known as “the qualitative revolution,” when geographers in the field of Human Geography stood up in favor of the subjective, complex, irrational and sometimes contradictory human behavior. They also gave arguments about the necessity of creating, developing and using research methods that allowed for the study of people’s emotions, values and intentions in order to understand their behavior. Moreover, through the study of the meanings these people gave to their actions and space, researchers were able to reveal their multiple subjectivities.<sup>2</sup>

*The main qualitative methods* are the semi-structured interview, the focus group, the participatory observation, the interpretation of visual imagery, the participatory research projects, the journals, and the cross-cultural research.<sup>3</sup> They do not result in a discovery of the “truth,” but are a way to partially unveil people’s reasons for acting in a certain way.<sup>4</sup> That is why qualitative methods



are especially useful for studying cultural identity. N. Clifford, S. French and G. Valentine<sup>5</sup> place these methods under the title of *intensive research*, also calling them *intensive methods*, focused on case studies.

At present, most geographers<sup>6</sup> admit that quantitative and qualitative methods are different ontological and epistemological approaches to knowledge and information. They are complementary as they can offer solutions to complex problems, because they start from different assumptions, so they ask and answer different questions, in different ways.

*Cross-cultural research* supposes a very rigorous methodological system including qualitative methods that could be used while researchers are both sensitive and reflexive in their relationship with the members of the researched community. It requires observing rules that researchers learn through exercise, while another culture reveals itself to them.

Fiona Smith<sup>7</sup> defines cross-cultural research as the process of researching another culture, using another language. That requires researchers to study the culture of a community at a long distance or even nearby, but they have to travel in the field for their research. The same author<sup>8</sup> considers cross-cultural research complex because researchers have to develop a perceptiveness that could ease their work and because of the diversity of topics for study: cultural similarities and differences, unequal power relations (and thus the need to leave out ethnocentrism), the ethics of field research, co-operating with people from another culture (including participatory research), the care for presenting or representing research results (to avoid issues of unequal power relationships and stereotypes), the dynamics of cultures, hybrid cultures, language differences and issues, the researchers' role and impact, etc.

To understand how regions are culturally constructed and to reflect on our case study, we researched a diverse literature and we focused on studies in Cultural Geography. In the research context of Qualitative Geography and of Cultural Geography, we studied the diverse strategies that geographers usually employed to gather or to generate data, to represent and to interpret the geographical information about *identity*, *ethnic memory* (the sense of loss that is haunting people's fragmented remembrance of their past as individuals and as a community, narratives of multicultural living and spaces of belonging and familiarity<sup>9</sup>) and *landscape*. In this context, we focused on their methodology, while reflecting on the one used to research the Zipsers.

There is much recent research connected to the key concepts of our case study and to our methodological insights into geographical cross-cultural research, on issues like: "the process of (re)remembering and the importance of thinking in more depth about the presentness of the past";<sup>10</sup> "the significance

of different sites and spaces—and their memories—on ways of interpreting and making sense of the world in the present: ‘Storying (past) lives and (past) places in such a way brings to the fore the narrative quality of memory, opening up alternative ways of thinking about how memories are produced and (re)told’;<sup>11</sup> exploring spatial memory and attachment, reading a place and understanding what it means to its inhabitants (i.e. people are not “thrown” into places, they make them, transforming them into their home place).<sup>12</sup>

Within the researched literature, we drew upon *a conceptual framework* including: *the concept of landscape*—“as the expressive-poetics of spacing in a way that makes possible a dynamic relationality between representations and practices both situated and mobile”;<sup>13</sup> *landscape* as hosting physical points of reference to the Past making landscapes spatially bounded scenes that communicate in a visual way;<sup>14</sup> *heritage*, as physically symbolized landscape;<sup>15</sup> the histories of the landscape where landscapes are “visualized dimensions of space, produced in accordance with specific ideologies and material priorities”;<sup>16</sup> the interdependence of practice and representation in *the production of landscape* as in “the discourses and practices of belonging that establish and maintain discursive and material boundaries”<sup>17</sup> that lead to a culturally specific space; *the (re)writing/(re)signifying of space*;<sup>18</sup> the role of *representations* in influencing spatial practice; *the local scale* as “a geographical, sociological and psychological space that is limited to face-to-face experiences, but is the manifestation of constantly changing relations of interdependence between social, political, economic and cultural processes operating on scales smaller and larger than the local”;<sup>19</sup> *the changing meaning of places and redefining rural spaces* involving multiple actors and multiple variables, ranging from agriculture to tourism, forestry, nature conservation, landscape and heritage<sup>20</sup>—and *the concept of identity*—how identity was developed while Othering and Self-referencing;<sup>21</sup> identity and alterity;<sup>22</sup> discourses of cultural identity; the discursive mobilization of identity; ethnic solidarities and conflicts;<sup>23</sup> how one regional identity interacts with national identity, suggesting that relationships are “more complex than either simply changing scale or a hierarchical set of affiliations” (e.g. national belonging and local identification simultaneously);<sup>24</sup> local and regional identities;<sup>25</sup> “how national scale and local institutions work to create *senses of identity*” mobilizing “space and time through a particular configuration of history and tradition”;<sup>26</sup> geographical arguments and historical, economic, religious, and linguistic ones as major identity markers.<sup>27</sup>

## Material and Method

**A**S IMPORTANT as the topic of research is *how* we research. In geographical cross-cultural research, objective, impersonal, “cold” methods are not appropriate; they do not render quality results because they do not support the interaction between researchers and participants.<sup>28</sup> Thus, for qualitative information research circumstances are as important as in the case of quantitative methods.

We investigated how geographers can research the process of public memory including historical narratives, local memories and cultural productions that explain past and present cultural traits and we started this research from a conversation between the two authors of this paper about methodology and thus we produced this reflection text of Cultural Geography.<sup>29</sup>

Drawing upon *archival and interview research*, the Ph.D. thesis “The Ethnic Group of Romanian Zipsers: Historical Study on Representation Changes of the Identity Space in Vișeu de Sus, Maramureș” drawn up between 2009 and 2012 by Ioana Scridon, asked questions about the Zipser community (she researched this group from a geographical, historical, and cultural perspective during its evolution). She visited Zipser ethnic groups in Romania, Ukraine, and in Germany. *The research material* included individual narratives and oral history (based on discussions about individual lived experiences).

In most case studies on ethnic groups, the respondents answering researchers’ questions are old people. In the case of the Zipsers in Vișeu, the community is a rather old one, and the topic of our research demanded that the respondents be old, as the questions were about traditional culture, old Zipser occupations or about the old Zipser idiom (a few Zipsers speak it, especially the elderly).

We mention that the respondents’ names were public in some cases because they wished it or because they agreed to our proposal as our last question in the interview referred precisely to this. One may say that this transparent modality of research was encouraged by their openness and our mentioning their names is also a form of rewarding them (with their acceptance) for their effort.

The methodology at the basis of our research included both quantitative and qualitative methods characteristic to our field of research, where a crucial method was the interview. The expected results of our research were not only the quantitative ones, in the form of collecting information, but also observing and analyzing certain respondents’ reactions, the reasons behind their answers, explaining the interviewed persons’ relationship to the discussed subject. We wrote this paper independently from the text of the completed Ph.D. thesis, as a reflection on our experience, on the approached methods, and on our research

results. We did our research in the field in August and November 2010, as well as from April to July 2011.

We did our field research in Romania, Ukraine, and in Germany. In Ukraine, a person who spoke both Romanian and Ukrainian accompanied us in order to interpret our discussions. There were also some cases when respondents spoke the literary German language. In Ukraine, our field work took 19 days during which we conducted interviews with Zipser ethnics and we also went to places where we read that such ethnics lived. In the latter case, we mainly discussed with Roman Catholic priests or with some people in those communities who clarified certain issues or gave us information useful for our research (e.g. on persons who knew more about our research subject, which were the settlements where they heard that those Zipser ethnics existed). For the field research in Romania, we interviewed people without anyone else accompanying us. In Vișeu de Sus, we spent about 50 days during which we conducted interviews and we participated in religious holidays and other important events in the life of the community. We also took photos and wrote descriptions. In order to follow the group also in its continuity, respectively those immigrated to Germany, we interviewed those persons in Singern, Ingolstadt and in Nuremberg, from May to July 2011, supported by a research scholarship offered by the Institute of the Danube Swabian community from Tübingen.

In 2013–2014, to write this paper, we reflected on the challenges of cross-cultural research in the Zipser community and in general.

## Results and Discussions

**T**HE REALITY in the field or getting into direct contact with the ethnic group determined a shift in our strategy of collecting data. Initially, we administered structured questionnaires with closed questions and these did not answer our personal exigencies and they were not appropriate to the subject of our research. The data we needed were in certain cases qualitative rather than quantitative. It was less important how many questionnaires we administered, significant being their contents and the problems respondents had in their community. We had semi-structured interviews, with open questions out of which, most of the times, secondary questions appeared, spontaneously, depending on the received answers and on the respondents.

Having had no previous contact with this ethnic group until the moment we started our research, in 2009, and coming from another culture, defined by the Orthodox religion, by the Romanian language, and being a Romanian ethnic,

the first problem we had was our credibility and the Zipsers' openness to an *Ausländer*. Theoretical studies<sup>30</sup> present a certain methodological approach for issues related to *the researcher's identity*, focused on respondents' psychological and motivational issues when offering information related to their group identity. The culture we were born in and in which we developed socially could create barriers when relating to persons from another culture. Thus, a trap appears and, getting out from one culture, we practically do not enter another one, even if there are major different coordinates determined by language, religion, ethnicity, because our mentality will remain always anchored in the mother culture. This perspective makes the situation more complicated because looking through the culture of an individual or, extrapolating, through that of a community, as with a prison, the circle is delimited by the transmitted way of thinking, the characteristic customs and traditions, the dialect, etc.<sup>31</sup> So, one of the premises of our research methodology was to find *a breach that could open these barriers* imposed by different cultures that were about to get into contact, the one of the Zipsers and the one of the Romanians.

The Zipsers speak a German dialect bearing the name of their ethnic group. Other languages they often use to communicate within their group are Hungarian, Romanian, and Ukrainian. Their living environment is mainly rural, except for Germany. Their religion is Roman-Catholic, with a powerful role for group cohesion and for maintaining their material and spiritual culture over decades. The name of these people is related to the Zips region, in Slovakia, near the Tatra Mountains, where, beginning with the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the first organized groups of forestry workers migrated to the Eastern Carpathian space.

In Romania, the most representative community is in Vișeu de Sus/Oberwischau, where group identity has been expressed, for several centuries, by their grouping in a quarter bearing their name and which was first planned to be an isolated self-administered quarter. The Austrian architect Ernst Plaud drew the plans of this quarter in 1809, and according to these plans authorities distributed Zipser colonists in the settlement of Vișeu de Sus.<sup>32</sup>

From a historical and sociological perspective, living together (*miteinander*) or near the Other (*nebeneinander*) produced significant changes in peoples' relationship to the Other. If in the period between World War I and World War II the proportion of Zipsers in the settlement of Vișeu de Sus was 50%, at the time of our research they represented 3.5% of the total population.<sup>33</sup> So, the geography of the people in Vișeu de Sus became a marker of local social relations and the construction of ethnic identity was done depending on the Other as a result of social transformation and of fragmentation triggered by political events.

Integration in a group from another culture represents the first step that can lead to reaching the aim of any research. The relationships within any social

groups, especially in the case of minorities (we take into account the ethnic ones), are built on *trust*, *understanding* and *communication*.<sup>34</sup> Out of these, as an *Ausländer* researcher, the first problem is related to *trust*. Most of the interviewed persons were old and that was why their openness was problematic most of the times because they were fearful of persons who tried to deceive them. The forms of perceiving the strangers/the unknown persons were different, and that was obvious especially because we conducted the research on this case study not only in Romania, but also in Ukraine. In the Ukrainian Maramureș, in the settlement of Rahău (Rachiv, Paxiv) there was a community similar in terms of space organization and other features, of Zipsers who later on emigrated to the basin of the Vișeu River, bringing their contribution to the consolidation of the community in Romania.

*Testing the field* was one of the most important steps in order to continue our research and this happened when the researcher introduced herself:

*Question (Q): My name is Ioana Scridon and I am here to conduct research about your ethnic group. Do you agree to spend some of your time answering some of my questions?*

Their answers were very surprising and based on their earlier experience with other persons. Earlier there had been researchers doing studies on topics such as ethnography and language in this community and they came from the Romanian university centers of Bucharest and Iași, as well as from Austria:

*Answer (A): Who sent you?*

*A: What do you need this information for? We all have very good relations. I have nothing to tell you!*

*A: There have been plenty of persons like you here and we've seen nothing published about us...*

The last answer above was the result of the fact that former researchers had promised respondents the written results of their research and these probably never reached them. These materials are in the library of the German Forum in Vișeu de Sus or at the town library, but because of the respondents' low interest and age (old people), they did not look for information in libraries and newspapers. They expected that researchers would give them those published results personally.

Nevertheless, this type of answers was many times a result of their experience from the communist period when many were afraid to talk freely:

*Q: What do you know to have happened in the place named Dosul Tăului, in 1944? [On 13 October 1944, in the above-mentioned place, 10 Romanian ethnics were executed and the main suspects were Zipsers who had followed orders as members of the Hungarian military police.]*

*A: I know plenty, but I don't know if I should tell you because maybe tomorrow somebody comes to me and asks me "Why did you say that?" (\*\*\*, 82 years old)*

If in the part of Maramureș south of the Tisza, the interviewed persons were more open to discussion when we declared the aim of our visit, especially when we mentioned the name of the persons who had recommended them to us (most of the time, these were persons who had a good reputation within the respective community, such as the priest or a teacher), in Ukraine, in the Maramureș north of the Tisza, their trust depended directly on the physical presence of a very trusted person in their community. In the majority of cases, the person who opened most doors was the priest in the respective settlement. Under these circumstances, when a person they knew introduced us and enabled our start, people's openness was bigger and discussions were relaxed.

Nevertheless, in most of the cases, the Zipsers were open to and interested in discussions without us mentioning our recommendations, and we obtained the valuable information by determining respondents to show their superiority in relation to us, the interviewers. The fact that somebody is interested in their culture, and especially if the interviewer shows that she has more information than the respondents, that is the moment when *competition* appears, the respondents' memory starts to work and it opens their appetite to show that they know their past and/or that they are interested in revealing new things about the history of the community and on the approached subject, such as: the tense relationships during certain periods, for instance during the communist one, or personal examples on the subject of ethnic relations.

Another difficulty that we needed to cope with was related to *understanding, to free discussion, to the respondent's informed consent* about the message he or she wanted to send, about the initially presented purpose—research—for which the offered information would be processed and used. Any question we ask should have a concrete and direct introduction, or it should stem from a previous question. If the questions are direct and do not have a logical succession, we run the risk that respondents do not use their memory and give short, indifferent answers of little value. Moreover, the best length of an interview is two hours at most. Respondents no longer focus after two hours.

To easily obtain information from the community members, an important step was to get closer to their group in the first months of research (August–

September 2009) by taking part in various events that were significant for their community, such as secular and religious traditional holidays in August (*Heimattreffen*—bringing together Zipsers from all over Romania and not only), in September (*Droben im Wassertal*—celebrating the Zipsers working in wood exploitation in the Vaser Valley), in October (*Oktoberfest* and the the feast of the patron of the church), in December (going to church on Christmas day—*Herodesspiel*—and on New Year’s Day), as well as showing interest for the ethnic group and then for the German Forum that represented this community. Showing interest was possible by asking people about small “curiosities”:

*(Referring to the holiday Droben im Wassertal)*

*Q: I come from another region of Romania and I find your customs very interesting and new. What does this religious holiday mean for you? Is it a simple meeting or does it have something more special? [The new elements for someone who does not belong to their ethnic group are especially the traditional customs such as the Biblical theatre ViŃlaim, the carnival during the FărŃag, etc.]*

*A: For us, this holiday is not a simple meeting, we go back thinking of our ancestors who were renowned log drivers and workers in the woods. The fact that we are now in the Vaser Valley in the chapel raised to pay our respect to them means that we did not forget who we were. (Walter J., 54 years old)*

Traditions, similarly to traditional knowledge, can be viewed as cultural knowledge and practices which are essential to people’s adaptation to their social and biophysical environment. The only thing that could be in favor of their being open to discussions was our interest in their culture. Later on, after becoming familiar with their ways, we managed to focus their attention on the discussed subject using introductions related to their history or to details of their holidays.

For communication and research and especially for interviews, Fiona Smith<sup>35</sup> proposes a series of rules that could maintain respondents’ interest at a high level. She proposes that researchers should manifest an interest in the details of their culture, listening to them, observing and establishing a relationship between researcher and respondents. By stressing that respondents are different and by no means inferior, researchers should provide feedback, they should ask questions that show interest for a certain peculiarity and ask for reflection.

Another way could have been through the German Forum, but their interest was rather low especially as there was no clear statistical data for the members of this ethnic group (their number, their occupational structure, age and genre structure, their presence within the settlement and in Romania), who declared they were Hungarian or German because there was no mention of the Zipsers’ group in the census questionnaires.



Their reactions to our questions or to the approached issues were very different, because some answered trenchantly that they did not want to discuss the matter, that they did not trust us, reminding us that they had already met such researchers who only wasted their time. Others were initially worried that somebody could intrude in their ethnic group and disturb their peace researching their past and especially the way they perceived their past at the individual level. In the first case, of a categorical refusal, there was one person out of the 52 interviewed. Some of these apologized that they had too small a vocabulary in Romanian and that they were not aware of certain aspects. These situations appeared during thematic discussions about the characteristic occupations of these Zipsers, related to log driving or to organizing their work in forestry. A good example could be the word naming the installation for stopping the water (akin to a dam), named *bromadka* in the local German dialect. Thus, after explanations and drawing sketches, we needed an interpreter that knew the word in the German idiom and in Romanian too.

*Researchers' expectations* during fieldwork, in general those of sociologists and of ethnologists, are quite diverse and for a novice are really only ideas. If initially the zeal is to find what is new in any interview, this impression may disappear from the beginning.

The cultural differences, the ones represented by respondents' German, Roman-Catholic background and the researchers' Romanian, Orthodox background raised certain barriers in communication. During scientific research upon culture, the major problems concern the respondents' openness to questions. The main restrictions are imposed by the way in which the Romanian and the other minorities in the area (Hungarians, Ukrainians, Poles, etc.) perceived the ethnic group of the Zipsers. Taking into account two of the minorities in Romania, the German and the Hungarian ones, one can notice major differences in the way the Romanian majority relates to the German and to the Hungarian minorities. After Romania became a democratic state, the forms of representation and exteriorization of patriotic feelings changed in both cases. The Hungarians started to bring strong arguments supporting their past and the importance of their presence on the Romanian territory, while the Germans, including the Zipsers, chose to leave for Germany and complete their identity and belonging there.

The post-socialist period determined that Germans, although they emigrated and left their material belongings to the Romanians, were considered a model for organizing life, and the Romanians' interest for the German spatial identity grew as time passed. These two examples shaped opinions within the framework of the relationships between Romanians and Germans and this was an explanation for the significant openness with which the Germans answered diverse

requests on interesting topics such as their history, culture, and civilization as related to another culture.

As researchers anchored in the Romanian culture, defined by elements like language, religion and ethnic affiliation, faced with a German speaking ethnic group, and conducting an in-depth study on cultural (spiritual) and material identity, this is one of the first problems we had:

*A: How can somebody like you, from outside our culture, understand what tradition and customs mean for us, which are the relationships with the others, which were our feelings during key moments in our history? (Georg F., 62 years old, Vișeu de Sus) [The respondent's refined discourse is supported by his university studies and by his status within this ethnic group.]*

This point determined a shift of orientation and the necessity to approach this problem from an interdisciplinary perspective, not only from a historical and geographical point of view, but also from a sociological one. In this context, the researchers' experience may be revealed if they do not have moments of inspiration in order to answer in such a way that they "save the situation":

*The necessity of such a study focused on facts from history is great, especially because most of the previous researchers came from within your group.*

*Language* did not pose any problem in obtaining information. In most of the cases we used Romanian, and for the research in Ukraine we used German. But the dialect posed problems. Most of the Zipsers spoke a dialect of German and they did not speak literary German very well or at all. Thus, Romanian was the common ground for understanding. Still, some of the problems we coped with were related to transcribing words used in the fields of forestry or gastronomy that had different forms in Romanian, Hungarian, and in German. During certain interviews, where the discussion focused on obtaining more technical data, as in the case of the previously mentioned case of *bromadka*, a local interpreter was necessary. In most cases, the interpreter was a member of the family, a younger person, who could explain terms using many details and thus could render as clearly as possible what the respondent had narrated and explained.

In Germany, most of these ethnics, although they called themselves Zipsers and their homeland was the Zips region—formerly Austrian, Hungarian, Czechoslovakian, Polish and at present Slovak—during discussions made references to Vișeu de Sus. Most of them left for Germany through the very well-known program of *trade in Germans* (a German-Romanian program for the repatriation of the German ethnics from the territory of Romania for a fee es-

established previously according to their qualification. For each person that the Romanian state let go, it received between 4,000 and 10,000 German marks). Thus, their openness for interviews was very high especially because their homeland was the *Tipserai Quarter* in Vișeu de Sus and the ethnologist Ilk considered, after repeated investigations, that they were *Vișoveni* (from Vișeu) Zipsers. The meetings we had with the Zipsers in Germany refreshed their memories about their past in Romania, introducing the respondents easily in the discussions related to interethnic relationships in Romania or to mutual assistance relationships within Germany.

In addition, *the researchers' personality* is very important for the success of a case study, the way in which researchers can catch respondents' attention before and during discussions. The relationships that researchers have to build with the group that they want to research should be based on openness, trust, interest, and tolerance.<sup>36</sup> The way in which we ask questions, their flow, the way we lead discussions, our gestures, our behavior, our sociability as researchers, all these could confer credibility from the start or, in certain cases, can lead to more time for respondents to trust us during discussions, to be open and relaxed when sharing information.

Similarly, it depended on researchers, on the way they were seen by the community and it depended on the researchers' skills to lead discussions in the direction intended for their research. In some situations, our questions provoked some unexpected reactions from respondents, either the fear to continue discussing the subject, because of repulsion felt towards a certain person, or revolt and pain manifested through crying, talking louder, their refusal to continue or stubbornness to continue only on a subject discussed at a certain moment. Reports such as the following are relevant for the issues mentioned above:

*A: You said I should speak, now let me speak. (Maria K., 87 years old, Vișeu de Sus)*

*A: Memories still hurt me. (interview with Baila Rosenberg<sup>37</sup>)*

*A: I can still see them as if it were happening right now, how they begged for mercy [in the case of the Jews' deportation]. (Maria K., 87 years old, Vișeu de Sus)*

The moment in which the researcher chooses to be part of the interview, he or she, without being able to manage spontaneously diverse situations, becomes a factor triggering the personal memory and he or she becomes a member of the respective community.<sup>38</sup> That is why researchers' training, both professional and emotional, is very important. Most of the time, interviews meant a heavy emotional burden, as they included open declarations of certain repressions of a regretted past. These were extremely exacting for both participants and researcher and that was why we split those interviews into several sessions. An interview

lasted no more than two hours. During discussions with old persons and during those on the subject of deportations after World War II, because of their emotional burden, respondents wished the interview stopped. Or the atmosphere was so full of emotions that we had to interrupt the interview:

*A: It's very difficult for me to tell you about my youth. I was deported when I was 17, two weeks after I got married. They did not take my husband, but they took me although I was only 17. I arrived in Siberia being young... (Maria K., 87 years old, Vișeu de Sus.)*

*A: I had a difficult life in Siberia. I worked in the chromium-nickel factory. I saw how people were dying... and it is very hard, dying. Five of our family were taken to Siberia and I was the only one to come back [then the respondent started to cry]. (Johann W., 94 years old, Hust, Ukraine)*

Because members of the community had not disclosed certain information until our conversation, their openness was bigger in telling us than in the case when a member of the community itself would have conducted the research. The *researcher's neutrality* represented an advantage, but we still had to observe a certain rule:

*A: What I tell you now remains between us, I do not wish someone to write somewhere what I said. (\*\*\*, 67 years old)*

*The final presentation* is one of the most important and difficult tasks. After approximately two years of research (2009–2011) and of direct contact with the community, many interested persons waited for us to publish the results, both Zipsers and Romanians. As part of their individual memories and histories, there were certain moments when the trap of subjectivity appeared, especially in the final stage of analyzing and structuring the information. As the field researcher's (Ioana Scridon) wish was to describe diverse situations as neutrally as possible, after she read the text again and third parties read it (her Ph.D. adviser and a member of her family, with university studies in philology), she reached the conclusion that although she had resisted getting involved into the problems of the community during her research, her thinking started to function differently when writing her conclusions. Despite making comparisons and connections to other scientific fields, verifying the historical accuracy of certain dates and events and avoiding the pitfall of various histories that would open your imagination, and despite indirect involvement (due to respondents and conversations with them), interpreting answers was difficult in terms of observing scientific and historical objectivity. These asked for repeated re-readings and changes to the initial text.

Most of the time, after gaining the subjects' trust, some of them narrated different real events placing them in a bad light, they took a position regarding the Germans' role in history, they recognized the Holocaust, they revolted against it, against deportations, and against the processes of assimilation initiated by the Hungarians. New research completed the history and characteristic features of the Zipsers in Romania.<sup>39</sup> Studies on the German minority in Romania treated very superficially these subjects but they still represented local historical truths different from the official discourse on history. Thus, our considerable responsibility was to clarify the controversial or "high-pressure" situations of this ethnic group, in a public manner and with a language permissive enough so that certain things were said without leaving any place for interpretation. The necessity to take a stand is part of the *researcher's ethics*.

In this case study, we clearly showed that for geographical cross-cultural research the method was as significant as the result, and thus the need for paying attention to the circumstances, to the researcher-respondent interaction, to their personal traits, etc., because all these impact the type and especially the quality of the obtained information.

## Conclusions and Recommendations

**T**HIS PAPER is a methodological reflection on research field experience in a case study concerning the Zipsers' identity. Based on qualitative interviews with members of this minority living in three countries (Romania, Ukraine und Germany) the paper stresses both the importance of the researcher doing cross-cultural research and the respondents' role.

No matter how open people consider an ethnic group to be, because it is different in culture, language, religion, traditions and customs from the researchers', their access to the respective group is rather limited. The relations with the Other are doubted on both sides. Researchers get closer to the ethnic group step by step, giving plenty of time for such a relationship. Testing the field is one of the main access doors in investigating the Other.

The next stage, if testing the field is unsuccessful, is finding a trustful person in the community, someone honorable and respected by the ethnic group, who will make the necessary introductions so that the chances to obtain the needed information are higher. Very often, it is not enough that researchers have theoretical information about how one should conduct an interview or how to get into contact with another culture in order to research it. Researchers have to resonate with the ethnic group and they have to find the little gate that leads to persons whose support guarantees success.

At the same time, the way in which the community perceives the researchers is crucial. Essential is the way in which they introduce themselves to the community, their attitude, the way in which they start or intervene in a discussion, how they lead the discussion, etc. Researchers' adaptability, flexibility, and spontaneity in new situations are compulsory features. The traps that any conversation may have, either on taboo subjects or by losing focus on the topic, could determine respondents to lose their interest. The main disadvantage was that we did not speak the local dialect, which would have facilitated our access to the community.

The final presentation must be impartial, clearly formulated and mainly supported by respondents' answers and quotations. Certain situations may contradict facts and then it is advisable to introduce examples in order to support the correctness of the formulated hypotheses.

Therefore, we conclude that we accomplished the aim of our research, that of presenting an example of good practice in geographical cross-cultural research with a focus on the way in which we convinced people to take part in the research, because of their reservations in regard to outsiders and of cultural and linguistic barriers. Thus, in order to obtain the necessary information, the field researcher had to contact the persons she already knew in the community and those helped her select and contact participants, also facilitating the researcher-respondent interaction. This situation underlined the strong ties among community members and the nature of their relationships. In addition, employing qualitative methods favors case studies where there is a need for mediation between researchers' opinion and that of the studied community, reducing the risk of research blocks. Moreover, context, trust and knowledge about the topic influenced the selection of participants. Context means the cultural elements, values and needs of both researcher and community, resulting in a mutual relationship between them, creating trust and the best conditions for dialogue. Similar studies<sup>40</sup> confirmed this conclusion.

Although cross-cultural research is difficult to approach and implement, in the end we had enough proof that researchers who want to pursue it should develop certain competences such as flexibility, making them easily adaptable, and negotiation. Therefore, we recommend that researchers interact as much as possible with the members of the community they research and gain an understanding of the characteristic features of the space and of the culture in focus.

In this theoretical and methodological context, we offered suggestions about planning field research under similar circumstances, but especially for the Zipser community.



## Notes

1. Phyllis Eide and Carol Allen, "Recruiting Transcultural Qualitative Research Participants: A Conceptual Model," *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 4, 2 (2005): 44–56; Steffanie Scott, Fiona Miller, and Kate Lloyd, "Doing Fieldwork in Development Geography: Research Culture and Research Spaces in Vietnam," *Geographical Research* 44, 1 (2006): 28–40; Oana-Ramona Ilovan and Izabela-Amalia Mihalca, "Utilizarea metodelor calitative de cercetare în Geografia Regională," *Geographia Napocensis* 8, 1 (2014): 19–36.
2. Oana-Ramona Ilovan and Izabela-Amalia Mihalca, "Utilizarea metodelor calitative în cercetarea geografică regională: sondajul de opinie și focus grupul," in *National Conference Volume of the Romanian Geographical Society, 2013, 10<sup>th</sup> edition, Geography—Science of the Earth*, ed. Constantin Vert (Timișoara: Eurobit, 2013), 848.
3. Ilovan and Mihalca, "Utilizarea metodelor calitative în cercetarea geografică regională."
4. Robyn Longhurst, "Semi-structured Interviews and Focus Groups," in *Key Methods in Geography*, eds. Nicholas Clifford, Shaun French, and Gill Valentine, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (London: Sage, 2012), 112.
5. Andrew Sayer 1992, figure 13, 243, apud Nicholas Clifford, Shaun French, and Gill Valentine, "Getting Started in Geographical Research: How This Book Can Help," in Clifford, French, and Valentine, 11.
6. Clive Seale, Giampietro Gobo, Jaber Gubrium, and David Silverman, *Qualitative Research Practice* (London: Sage, 2004); Martin Bauer and George Gaskell, *Qualitative Researching with Text, Image and Sound* (London: Sage, 2000); Uwe Flick, *An Introduction to Qualitative Research* (London: Sage, 2009); Megan Cope, "A History of Qualitative Research in Geography," in *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Geography*, eds. Dydia DeLyser, Steve Herbert, Stuart Aitken, Mike Crang, and Linda McDowell (London: Sage, 2010), 24–45; Dydia Delyser, Stuart Aitken, Steve Herbert, Mike Crang and Linda McDowell, "Introduction: Engaging Qualitative Geography," in DeLyser et al., 1–18; Sarah Elwood, "Mixed Methods: Thinking, Doing, and Asking in Multiple Ways," in DeLyser et al., 94–114; Linda McDowell, "Interviewing: Fear and Liking in the Field," in DeLyser et al., 156–171.
7. Fiona Smith, "Working in Different Cultures," in Clifford, French, and Valentine, 157.
8. *Ibid.*, 157, 169.
9. Amy Mills, "Boundaries of the Nation in the Space of the Urban: Landscape and Social Memory in Istanbul," *Cultural Geographies* 13, 3 (2006): 367–394.
10. Cheryl McGeachan, "(Re)remembering and Narrating the Childhood City of R. D. Laing," *Cultural Geographies* 20, 3 (2013): 269.
11. *Ibid.*
12. Ghazi-Walid Falah, "Growing up in Rural Galilee, Palestine: Memories of Childhood Geographies," *Cultural Geographies* 20, 3 (2013): 299–318.
13. David Crouch, "Flirting with Space: Thinking Landscape Relationally," *Cultural Geographies* 17, 1 (2010): 5.
14. Mills, 367.

15. Charlotte Fridolfsson and Ingemar Elander, "Faith and Place: Constructing Muslim Identity in a Secular Lutheran Society," *Cultural Geographies* 20, 3 (2013): 319–337.
16. Björn Sletto, "Producing Space(s), Representing Landscapes: Maps and Resource Conflicts in Trinidad," *Cultural Geographies* 9, 4 (2002): 389.
17. Mills, 367.
18. Laura Šakaja and Jelena Stanić, "Other(ing), Self(Portraying), Negotiating: the Spatial Codification of Values in Zagreb's City-text," *Cultural Geographies* 18, 4 (2011): 495–516.
19. Louise Appleton, "Distillations of Something Larger: the Local Scale and American National Identity," *Cultural Geographies* 9, 4 (2002): 421.
20. Eileen O'Rourke, "Changing Identities, Changing Landscapes: Human-Land Relations in Transition in the Aspre, Roussillon," *Cultural Geographies* 6, 1 (1999): 29.
21. Šakaja and Stanić, 495.
22. Mihaela Mehedinți, "Identifying the Other: Transylvanian Ethnicities in the First Half of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century as Viewed by Foreign Travellers," *Transylvanian Review* 22, Supplement No. 3 (2013): 249–259.
23. Florian Dumitru Soporan, "Mission and Identity: Foreign Queens, Founding Dynasties and their Subjects in Central and Eastern Europe," *Transylvanian Review* 23, 3 (2014): 108–119.
24. Mike Crang, "Nation, Region and Homeland: History and Tradition in Dalarna, Sweden," *Cultural Geographies* 6, 4 (1999): 447.
25. Sorin Mitu, "Local Identities from Transylvania in the Modern Epoch," *Transylvanian Review* 22, Supplement No. 3 (2013): 237–248.
26. Crang, 447.
27. Luminița Ignat-Coman, "Identity Geographies of Transylvanian Romanians in the Dualist Period," *Transylvanian Review* 22, Supplement No. 3 (2013): 260–268.
28. Eide and Allen, 44.
29. David Matless and Mike Pearson, "A Regional Conversation," *Cultural Geographies* 19, 1 (2012): 123–129.
30. Scott, Miller, and Lloyd, "Doing Fieldwork in Development;" Smith, "Working in Different Cultures."
31. Ahmad Raza, *Is Culture a Large Prison for Individuals?* (2013).  
[https://www.researchgate.net/post/Is\\_culture\\_a\\_large\\_prison\\_for\\_individuals](https://www.researchgate.net/post/Is_culture_a_large_prison_for_individuals) (12 March 2013).
32. Anton-Joseph Ilk, *Die mythische Erzählwelt des Wassertales* (Linz: Adalbert Stifter Institut des Landes Oberösterreich, 2011); Ioana Scridon, "Neighbourhood Relationships between German Ethnic Groups from Romania. Case Study: the Zipsers from Vișeu de Sus, Maramureș County," *Journal of Settlements and Spatial Planning* 3, 1 (2012): 51–56; Gertraude Schmitzberger, *Die Entstehung des Waldwesens im Wassertal* (Nuremberg: Haus der Heimat, 2014).
33. Marian Nicolae Tomi, *Maramureșul istoric în date* (Cluj-Napoca: Grinta, 2005).
34. Stuart Hall, *Cultural Identity and Diaspora* (2012).  
[http://www.unipa.it/~michele.cometa/hall\\_cultural\\_identity.pdf](http://www.unipa.it/~michele.cometa/hall_cultural_identity.pdf) (22 February 2012).



35. Smith, "Working in Different Cultures," 158, quoting also David B. Weaver, 1998.
36. Józef Grabarek, "Deutsche Sprachinseln im Raum der rumänischen Sprache," *Studien zur sprachlichen Kommunikation* (2010): 260–271.
37. Claus Stephani, *A fost un șteț în Carpați* (Bucharest: Hasefer, 2005).
38. Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002).
39. Anton-Joseph Ilk and Johann Traxler, *Geschichte des deutschen Schulwesens von Oberwischau* (Nuremberg: Verlag Haus der Heimat, 2009); Ilk; Schmitzberger.
40. Eide and Allen.

### **Abstract**

#### **Approaching the Other in the Zipser Community: Identity Issues and Methodological Insights into Geographical Cross-Cultural Research**

The present paper explores aspects of identity and research methodology in the context of ethnic diversity and of the history of the Zipser community, a German-speaking ethnic group. The aim of our paper was that of presenting the Zipser community in the framework of an example of good practice for geographical cross-cultural research, with a focus on the way in which we convinced respondents to take part in it. Using this case study, we clearly showed that for geographical cross-cultural research the method is as significant as the result, hence the need to pay attention to circumstances, to the researcher-respondent interaction, to their personal traits, etc., as all these impact the type and especially the quality of the obtained information. Although geographical cross-cultural research is difficult to approach and implement, in the end we had enough proof that researchers that want to conduct it should develop certain competences. To sum up, the main feature of geographical cross-cultural research is the central place of the researchers' experience and the respondents' interpretation or vision, which result in many advantages among which the most significant one is the exchange of qualitative information. In addition, we offered suggestions about planning field research under similar circumstances, but especially for the Zipser community.

### **Keywords**

methodology, identity, alterity, Zipsers, qualitative approach

BOGDAN NEAGOTA  
ILEANA BENGA

# The Healing Gurban On the Traces of the Rudari from Southern Romania

---

*“I just found myself in this condition, just like that, from the Saintly Ones. God only knows how. I may have stepped on something ... I know not; God only knows.”*

---

## **Bogdan Neagota**

Lecturer at the Department of Classical Languages and Literatures, Faculty of Letters, Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca.

## **Ileana Benga**

Researcher at the Folklore Archive Institute of the Romanian Academy, Cluj-Napoca.

## 1. The Rudari and their Disputed Origin

**T**HE RUDARI are a pan-Balkan Romanian-speaking population consisting of mainly rural communities that are dispersed over a large territory: southern Romania (Muntenia and Oltenia), Bulgaria, northern Greece, Serbia (in the south-Danube area), Albania. The Bayash (Băieşi/Băiaşi < Ro. *baie* = mine), isomorphic from an ethnic perspective, are spread especially throughout the former provinces of the Habsburg Empire: southern Transylvania, eastern Hungary, northern and eastern Croatia, Bosnia, Serbia (Vojvodina), Slovakia (east and south), Ukraine (Transcarpathia). In Moldavia, the Rudari are mentioned under the names of Albieri and Lingurari. The language they speak is Romanian—with personalized dialectal versions, explaining the dissipation and the relative isolation of their life, and the absence of a unitary ethnic consciousness.

Having said that, one must add that same is true for every oral society/human community in history, without

the explicit self-awareness which only those drawing the map of the known world would display. Written evidence is highly problematic when it is to be rendered in a diachronic *lingua franca*; but all the more are the traces left in the history by people with no conscience of a posterity. To document their passage through history, their trajectories and their cultural luggage, the objects of their cultural trade and the resulting modified identity-markers, requires one to dig as cautiously and as finely as archaeologists do: in this sense, our work as ethno-anthropologists doubled by historians of religions (masters or apprentices) is rightfully called cultural archaeology.

A considerable part of the Romanian ethno-anthropological investigations on the Rudari had been confined, for decades, to the historicist questioning concerning this population's ethnogenesis. The ideological intentionality of the research was obvious back then, just as it is now. During the socialist era, one would not write about the Rudari, just as one would not write about the Gypsies, in the context created by the national-communism of the '70-'80s. Later, in the post-socialist times, the research concerning the Rudari has been absorbed, due to political and financial reasons,<sup>1</sup> by the Rromani studies that are becoming hegemonic in the context of the unilateral development, with ideological intent, of ethnicity anthropology in Central and Eastern Europe.<sup>2</sup>

The historians' older or newer predominant questions are the following: where do the Rudari come from (their historic/historical origin), which is their ethnic origin/which are their ethnic components, which were the possible migration routes of the Rudar/Băieș communities<sup>3</sup> etc.? Given the lack of historical documents that would reflect the previous studies of this population and its itinerating routes, and within the context of the exclusive inquiry into oral memory (which cannot overcome the limitations of a recent diachrony of approximately three or four generations),<sup>4</sup> this kind of recurring question presents the risk of trapping the investigation into a metaphysical kind of search for the origin of the Rudari. In this situation, approaching the oral documents and using a regressive method become *sine qua non* conditions of the research, in the direction of a functional methodology that is both historical and anthropological with literary-theoretical (the issue of fictionalization/mythification) and psychological ingredients (the issue of memory). Thus, it is possible to reconstruct a recent history of the Rudar communities by scanning the long-term memory of the elder ones (the life story-type interviews), and the archaeology of the middle-term diachrony by adequately reading the oral narrative traditions, bearing in mind, of course, the fictionalization processes that converted the experienced history into an exemplary story/modal story.<sup>5</sup> Etiological legends play a fundamental role in the periodical (re)generation of the community identity, by investing the mythical memory as a historical memory:<sup>6</sup> in the Rudar legends of Vâlcea County,

a series of socio-professional (woodworking), daily life (living in huts, *bordeie*, that are isolated in forest and meadow areas) and ceremonial (the Gurban) aspects are converted into mythical etiologies with identity value: the Dacian origin of the Rudari (after the Roman conquest marginalized Dacians retreated into the forests where they survived as woodworkers and shepherds) and their Biblical roots (the forefather/ancestor of the Rudari is Abraham whose founding sacrifice is continued in the Gurban; Noah whose descendants retreated into the forests; St. Joseph, Jesus' adoptive father, himself a carpenter).

From the classic monograph written by Ion Chelcea (1944), still representing the main anthropological and sociological reference point, to Ion Calotă's study written during the '70s (published in 1995), the Romanian research on the Rudari failed systematically when faced with the challenge of systematic field researches followed by case studies.

The theories on the ethnic origin of the Rudari and Băieși are, under these circumstances, polarized: some state their Gypsy origin (the Rudari and Băieși are regarded socio-professional groups within the larger category of the Gypsy/Rroma),<sup>7</sup> while other theories support either their non-Gypsy origin (Khazar, Dacian, Romanian or unknown),<sup>8</sup> or their mixed ethnic character (Romanian-Gypsy).<sup>9</sup>

Within the south-Slavic area, the Rudari/Băieși selectively declare their ethnic identity, preferring to assume the Slavic majority's nationality<sup>10</sup> or the Vlach/Romanian nationality<sup>11</sup> precisely in order to avoid the Rroma label that they perceive as a stigma. Moreover, the imagological stereotypes of the Romanians from the south of Romania and those of the southern Slavs (Bulgarians, Serbs, Bosnians, Croats) who consider the Rudari to be Romanian Gypsies, do not encourage at all systematic researches that would take into consideration both the synchrony (the present situation of the Rudar communities that are involved in the phenomenon of external economic migration), and the diachrony (reconstructing the previous stages of the Rudar societies and of the main migration directions within the context of "wood transhumance").<sup>12</sup>

The contemporary research concerning the Rudari/Băieși is, with few exceptions, belated and relatively superficial, and the ideological stance of the Rroma elites in nowadays Romania, whether cultural or political, exerts a certain pressure and control over the scientific research on the Rudari.<sup>13</sup> On the other hand, certain researchers, activists of the Rroma national construction,<sup>14</sup> such as Gheorghe Sarău or Delia Grigore, claim the necessity of "re-Rromanizing" the Rudari, by means of teaching them the Rromani language.<sup>15</sup> Yet, we believe, this Rromization of the Rudari in the context of the construction of the Rroma national ideology should take into account the identity option of the Rudari themselves, independently of the theories of certain researchers and free from political pressure.

When defining the ethnic identity of the Rudari, whose ingredients are specific to ethnographic societies, one should use adequate explanatory categories and a dynamic perspective on the sense of ethnic belonging of the individual/individuals: ethnicity is a protean, imagined cultural reality, a historical by-product undergoing an endless dialectic process of reformulating its identity, and not a finite and unchangeable essence.<sup>16</sup> Ethnicity exists because of its bearers' existence—persons sharing a language, a history, a body of cultural practices, and having a common, repeatedly shared memory of these elements. The assimilation of the Rudar/Băieș cultural studies into the broader category of Rroma/Rromani studies leads to political and ideological manipulation of the identity components that are valued as preservers of the Rroma cultural authenticity, where the main role is played by the Rromani language:<sup>17</sup> this is where the necessity of the linguistic Rromanization of the Rudari stems from. The idea of generating a cross-border Rroma nation, by means of integrating the phenotypic, cultural and linguistic diversity of Rroma and para-Rroma communities in Europe in a unified identity formula, is not only a historically outdated fact, but a scientifically debatable enterprise. Finally, being Rroma represents, first of all, a claim and, sometimes, a label.<sup>18</sup> Being Rudar/Băieș means assuming a half-breed-type identity status,<sup>19</sup> between two ethnically different corpuses (Rroma and Romanian), between already and not yet. An adequate ethnographical description requires us to redefine the epistemic boundaries of the anthropology of ethnicity itself<sup>20</sup> and, finally, the acceptance by the researchers of the Romanian/Vlach linguistic identity assumed by their Rudar interlocutors.<sup>21</sup>

Concerning the traditional occupational structures of the Rudari/Băieși, two levels are to be considered: *băieșia* (mining)/*aurăritul* (panning for gold in river valleys) and *rudăritul* (woodworking, especially in soft wood).<sup>22</sup>

In this context, in an ethnographical study published in the early '90s, Silvia Puia Iosipescu launches the hypothesis of an overlap, because of the confusion made by researchers, between Rudari (mushroom and wild berry pickers and woodworkers), Băieși (who looked for gold in mines, *băii*, and auriferous rivers) and *Țiganiii căldărari* (metal craftsmen working on their landlords' estates).<sup>23</sup> This confusion stems from the absence of systematic interdisciplinary research (historical, linguistic, sociological, ethnographic, folkloric). The author asks herself to what extent the Rudar and Băieș groups maintained their "ethnic purity," by virtue of the endogamy practiced inside isolated communities, or whether they interacted through marriages with the Gypsy groups, because of their similar marginal social-economic status.<sup>24</sup>

Drawing on his dialectological research of the early '60s, Ion Calotă considers that the varied ethnographic-linguistic stratification of the Rudar communities is the consequence of their migration from the Western Carpathians, in suc-

cessive waves, sometimes at considerable chronological intervals (between the 16<sup>th</sup> and the 18<sup>th</sup> centuries) and following distinctive routes. They used to live in the auriferous regions of the Western Carpathians, having a servile status (that of Gypsy slaves, *Țigani robi*), and worked as gold miners or panners, next to the Romanian miners from the region (the so-called *Băieși moți*), “from whom they learnt both the goldmining craft and the Romanian language, the way it was spoken back then in this part of the country.”<sup>25</sup> The depletion of the gold deposits and of the auriferous sand in the rivers obliged the Rudari to abandon their traditional profession and make a living from woodworking, working especially in soft wood (willow and poplar), found mostly in meadows.<sup>26</sup> The memory of the old goldmining occupation was only maintained in the Băieși and Rudari ethnonyms now covering a new reality, socially and economically different.<sup>27</sup>

After leaving southwestern Transylvania, the Rudari went down the river valleys, to Wallachia (Muntenia), later reaching the Danube. Living next to Romanians in these areas led to the dialectal mix of the Rudari language, influenced by idioms from the regions of Muntenia and Oltenia. Some of the Rudari continued the migration, crossing the Danube into Bulgaria and Serbia, where they either settled or came back to Wallachia: “A considerable part of the Rudari, Albieri and Rotari crossed the Danube into Bulgaria. They split into three groups: a part continued west, reaching Yugoslavia (Caravlahs, some of which preserved the Albieri occupation, being called there Coritari by the Serbians, and who could not continue calling themselves Rudari, since in Serbian the Slavic term *rudā* preserved its old meaning, that of mine, and thus Rudari means miners), another group settled in Bulgaria, and the third group, the largest one, came back to Oltenia and Muntenia after a while.”<sup>28</sup>

Ion Chelcea, the author of some systematic research on Rudari and Băieși during the 1930s, considered *rudăritul* to be the fundamental motivation of the cross-border social-economic dynamics of the traditional Rudar groups, a situation leading to a true “wood transhumance.”<sup>29</sup> Under these circumstances, the Rudari arrived from Bulgaria were called Turcani or Vlăhuți, depending on the region they had lived in (Bulgaria or northern Greece).<sup>30</sup>

Ion Calotă completes Chelcea’s socio-anthropological considerations with linguistic arguments: the Rudari Albieri and Rotari, when returning to the Romanian Plain, brought lexical acquisitions that were mainly Bulgarian<sup>31</sup> and Turkish (the name *Turșitu*, frequent within the Albieri community)<sup>32</sup> and the Gurban tradition (the Rudar phonetical version of the Turkish *Kurban*), which became an identity marker of the *Turcani* Rudari whose predecessors came back from the south-Danube migration.<sup>33</sup>

## 2. The Rudar Gurban: Identity and Ritual Status of the Custom

**T**HE GURBAN is a magical-religious ceremonial complex found with the south-Carpathian Rudar communities (Mehedinți, Dolj, Olt, Teleorman, Giurgiu, Gorj, Vâlcea and Argeș)<sup>34</sup> and the south-Danube ones (the Bulgarian and Serbian Timok and the Morava Valley),<sup>35</sup> where wood-working is the traditional handicraft: Albieri/Rotari (wheelwrights) and, sometimes, Corfari (basket-weavers). Within the cross-border communities of Băieși (miners) from Transylvania and with the Lingurari (spoon-makers) from Moldavia/Bukovina who did not participate in the Balkan migration that brought them into contact with Muslims, this ritual does not exist. Therefore, the Băieși from Croatia and Hungary, of Transylvanian descent, do not know the Gurban. In Serbia, north of the Danube, the ritual is scarcely attested: in Grebenac, Vojvodina, it is celebrated during a certain feast (Ascension, Whitsun or St. Peter's), for the recovery of sick children.<sup>36</sup> South of the Danube, the ritual is attested more often, during the Old St. George (celebrated in 6 May), but with de-ritualized local versions—*praznik*, *gurban*, *gropan*.<sup>37</sup> In the mining community of Urovica (Timok), during the 2000s, the Gurban for Health (*praznik da nujdă*: feast for the need) still used to be held on St. George's Day, for the recovery of the children sickened by the *Șoimane*.<sup>38</sup>

Analogically, the north-Danube Gypsies, those self-defining with this ethnonym, do not know the Gurban. This is another reason why we have chosen to describe the case study of a relevant field research we conducted in 2012, in Bistreț (Dolj County), a community with a history of massive Rudar external migration, where a single destitute Rudar family celebrated the Gurban for Health for the woman in the house. Their elder daughter, recently married to a Costorar Gypsy (copper painter) from a nearby village, had left with her husband for seasonal work in Greece. The parents of her husband were invited to participate in that Gurban. During the interview we took while the ritual was unfolding, they shared their amazement, albeit somewhat feigned, with the ritual casuistry of the Gurban, confessing that, in their community, “among the Gypsies, this ritual does not exist.”<sup>39</sup> We gathered similar statements from other field investigations conducted in Rudar communities from Olt and Vâlcea.

On the other hand, descendants of the Gypsy slaves from the “One Wood” Monastery of Frâncești (Vâlcea), the ones that had built the village of Dezrobiți, Romanian-speaking only, have a group of Călușari renowned all over Oltenia, but do not know the Gurban. Their traditional occupation, nowadays vanished, was brickmaking. The Căluș nowadays appears in various Romanian-speaking communities of Oltenia (Romanians, Rudari, Gypsies), functioning as a trans-

ethnic ceremonial marker. Yet, the Gurban represents the exclusive identity marker of the Rudar communities.

The ceremonial has two active versions that are structurally isomorphic, but remain profoundly different functionally, although they can be celebrated on the same date (old-style St. George and Ascension) and, sometimes, within the same perimeter: the ritual version, *Gurbanul de sănătate* (the Healing Gurban/Gurban for Health) and the de-ritualized version, *Gurbanul de drag* (the Love/Affection Gurban). The goal of this iatrical sacrificial ritual, having exceptionally small local and regional variability, is the healing of the ones struck by the Gurban/crippled by the Sainly Ones (*Sfintele*, i.e. the Fairies). The Gurban consists of a narrative-ritual complex with a sophisticated casuistry that is finally reduced to the sacrificial meal (of lamb or fish) offered to the Sainly Ones (ritual level) by those having disturbed them, one way or another, by unwillingly stepping on the Meal of the Sainly Ones (the old narrative level) or by committing other involuntary errors (participating in the Gurban without observing cleanliness rules, stepping on old Gurban hearths or in Gurban pits, etc.).

The *Gurban* is a ritual with at least two cultural strata: “the ecstatic experiences” circumscribing a “folkloric daemonic complex” (*Sfintele, Șoimanele, Ielele*), attested in the Romanian rural world until recently, and the Kurban ritual, from the Islamic Turkish-speaking cultural area (*Kurban Bayram*), “that has nevertheless changed its divine recipient from Allah to the Sainly Ones (both pathogenic and iatrical daemons).<sup>40</sup> The Gurban for Health (sacrificing the lamb and the fish for the recovery of somebody’s state of health affected by the Sainly Ones), expressing the religious creativity of the Rudari, is “the result of a permutation in the heterogeneous cultural forms and practices, by a personal syntax and semantics.”<sup>41</sup> In historical reading, the Gurban is the concrete proof of the south-Danube migration of the Romanian-speaking Rudari and of their cohabitation with the Balkan Muslims.

The Gurban represents a magical-religious system structured on a few sets of rules that help the ritual “dramaturgy”<sup>42</sup> function well and distribute the roles of each actant, patient or witness. The sick of the Gurban represent the nodes of this ceremonial network, those who must scrupulously follow the rites and respect the preliminary rules: general cleaning of the house and courtyard; body cleaning and sexual abstinence for up to six weeks prior to the celebration and a couple of weeks afterwards; moral purity—it is prohibited to revile or to act maliciously; abstinence and asceticism; bodily and clothing cleanliness. A particular status is that of the ceremonial personnel having a precise function within the Gurban syntax: the priests (those orating the lamb), the priestesses (those orating the fish and the small loaves of bread), the church singers (*dieci*, those who answer the oration/prayer) and, of course, the sacrificial technicians (the



sacrifiers, those slaughtering the lamb and cutting the meat). Finally, the participants in the Gurban, without being main actants, are an integral part of a sine qua non ceremonial distribution. They also have to obey the adjacent rules that constitute the Gurban therapeutic system: bodily cleanliness and sexual abstinence, between one and four weeks; in the ‘modal’ variant of the ritual, any commensal must actively partake of three Gurban meals during the same festive day, while the clothes worn during the Gurban have to be changed and washed at home afterwards.

There’s also a strict distribution of the ritual roles, based on gender, transgressable only in case the male figure is missing. The men cut the wood for the fire, dig the Gurban pit (*groapa Gurbanului*), prepare the spit for roasting/a pole used also in the treatment of the sacrificial meat, and the supporting structure made of wooden legs for the spit; they sacrifice the lamb and eviscerate it, flay it, sew the belly back, with the totality of the internal organs, well washed, boiled and chopped (in the case of roasted lamb) or slice it with a knife (in the case of boiled lamb); prepare the fire, orate the lamb, break its skull and give part of its tongue and brain to the patient of the Gurban, carve the roasted lamb into pieces and share the pieces with the commensals at the sacrificial feast; they then cover the Gurban pit with earth, stick the spit for roasting and its supporting structure made of wooden legs into the ground of the covered pit, if they do not toss them into a flowing water. The women pray (*se roagă*) by the tree (pear tree or wild apple tree) or by the willow; orate (*urează*) the small meals (*mescioarele*), where available; prepare the fire, prepare the small loaves of bread (*pâinici*), clean the bowels of the lamb in water which is then carefully disposed of, either in a river or in the Gurban pit itself, the bowels being then boiled together with the rest of the internal organs of the lamb; boil the entrails, that is, all the internal organs of the lamb, cleaned and chopped (locally called *bureți*, sponges); prepare the fish for the small meals or directly for the Gurban (where fish is involved), prepare the ritual polenta (*mămăliga*); prepare the Gurban table, filling it with beech twigs and leaves, for cleaning the hands and for separating the kneeling commensals from the profane ground; dispose of the remains of the ritual dinner into the pit, then wash the clay or wooden pots and the tables themselves carefully over the Gurban pit, so that no elements of the accomplished ritual remain above ground.

Most of the details of this extremely minute ritual casuistry are analyzable due to the presence of the researcher as a witness to Gurbans (the so-called “participating observation”), for at least two or three years. It is impossible to minutely identify the individuality of each Gurban within a community, during the same festive day, especially when their number is high (ten to fifteen hearths), and where new patients appear every year. The interviews, essential for accessing

the deep cognitive structures, circumscribe more the Gurban stories (the narrative level of the stories about contacting or being struck by the disease, and about the healing) and only offer general, more or less schematic descriptions of the ceremonial syntax. The ethno-anthropological reconstruction of the Gurban ceremonial system and the historical-religious reconstruction of its recessive structures involve both the synchronic and the diachronic dimensions, demanding a great deal from the researcher, both extensively and intensively, due to a complex cognitive polyphony. The need to understand the field of the Gurban forces the ethnographers to transgress the limits of their discipline, and to continuously rebuild their own epistemic position.

### 3. A Morphological Description. The Gurban at Bistreț, Dolj, Romania, 25 May 2012, Ascension Day

**O**UR TEAM, led by author Bogdan Neagota, set out to fill some of the many white spots on the Rudar Gurban map in the counties of Olt, Vâlcea, Dolj and Giurgiu in Romania, on a yearly basis between 2011 and 2014—on the two ritual occasions: St. George’s Day according to the old-style calendar (6 May) and Ascension Thursday (ten days prior to Whitsunday). We opted for participant observation in the Gurban festivities, a difficult task so far fully accomplished, year after year. The historian of religions expertise highlighted for the ethnographer the complexities to be dealt with when comprehensively documenting such exemplary a custom as the Gurban.

We henceforth use for reference the Neagota scale of morphological episodes to be woven in the ritual syntax of the Gurban, trustful that its modal scheme<sup>43</sup> helps both the successive endeavors of ethnographic description, as well as the identification of the probable links with related customs and bodies of belief. The scale, derived from the field, is made of nine mandatory episodes which allow us to identify the living Gurban in the nowadays field research: 1. the symptoms; 2. the diagnosis; 3. the pact with the Sainly Ones (*Sfintele*): promising the sacrifice; 4. the Small Meals (in the case of the wheelwright and basket-weaver Gypsies); 5. the place chosen for the Gurbans; 6. the sacrificial structure of the Gurbanic rite; 7. the lamb’s oration/prayer/unbiding; 8. the Gurban Agape/the sacrificial dinner; 9. music and dance. From the original encompassing definitions given to each, we retain here the categorial units and aim to demonstrate that the Gurban at Bistreț, Dolj, which we researched and recorded in 2012, follows the lore.

As to why we chose this Gurban variant out of the corpus we compiled from our field researches, the answer is threefold: first, it was a courtyard Gurban made solely in a village presumably full of such courtyard Gurbans, nowadays devastated by economic migration to the West; as a courtyard Gurban, fully jointly researched, it was our first, initiating experience; second, it represents the Ascension Day variant, presumably more flexible with regard to the modal tradition-bound coercion (of St. George's, interestingly celebrated according to the old, Julian style for the Gurban, and according to the new, Gregorian style for the Gypsy Easter);<sup>44</sup> and third, the distribution of performers in this Bistreț case, the A. family, allows for emic perspectives claiming interesting and vocal differentiations between Rudar and Gypsy,<sup>45</sup> as well as customs and rituals associated to Gurban lore and the rituality of yore, as compared to now. It thus means we abide by the self-imposed anthropological commandment of giving ever more space and weight to the say of the bespoken,<sup>46</sup> with the true conviction that their statements will document the processes that we, anthropologists, have witnessed, far beyond our actually keeping pace with them.

1. *The Symptoms.* They are recurrently recollected during the performance of the ritual in Bistreț. All recollections are forced or fostered by the interview. The local audience—comprising the parents of the son-in-law (Gypsy), the brother-in-law (formerly Neo-Protestant), G. A., 34, with wife M. A., 25, and the many small children of them all—reinforces what seems to be the common recollections of serious afflictions at the dermatological level. The sick person is a woman, A. A., 34, mother of six, two of whom—girls—are faraway, married, working abroad (Spain and Greece). She misses them to tears. The father of the family is Z. A., 39, performing here all hieratical duties: the slaughter and flaying of the lamb, the fire, roasting, organizing the meal and uttering the oration. He himself is a carrier of the ritual, as a former (and unfortunately relapsing, it seems) victim of the Gurban affliction (also at the level of the skin, actually, but a more dangerous condition, a skin tumor), but also as an attentive observer of the ritual since the times when his own father would perform it. This is the source of his ritual authority, he claims, and no one opposes the stated claim; on the contrary, his brother confirms it with his own recollections on the Gurbans of yore, that is, from about two decades ago. Both men come from a numerous family, worked as shepherds in their childhood, and recall the Rudar Gurban from when it used to be performed out of the village, in a pristine meadow, closest to the 'original' Gurban.

The sick woman is the landlady of the house, and, while preparing all instruments for the correct performance of the ritual and while carefully observing that every gesture and every item is handled according to the strict ritual requirements of the occasions (further detailed in subchapter 6), she must also

keep a matron's hawk eye on the household: this is the clear difference between the courtyard Gurban and the glade Gurban, where a woman's duties, albeit sick (that is, the central figure of the ritual), are less stringent and stressful—a fact which no doubt makes us researchers consider the glade version to be the more 'traditionally' genuine; yet, for research purposes, access to such a courtyard variant sheds light on important additional ordinary life events, otherwise ascribed less relevance during ethnographic documentation.

This is her fourth year of doing the Gurban; all four took place in the same courtyard, but the prior three on different hearths—the hearth apparently needing to be new each time—and closer to the entrance to her property: that is, the ritual pit dug in virgin earth has been each time under a wax cherry tree (one of the two in their courtyard). Out of poverty, additionally burdened by the collapse of their house earlier that year, during the January frost (preceded with one day by the death of their horse—essential help for the household: a series of misfortunes connected, in their discourse, to the compulsion of performing the promised Gurban), she confesses to having considered to do without the costly sacrifice of the lamb; immediately after, however, her skin began burning again (the expression she uses is: “I was roasted like this lamb on the spit, everywhere: there on the shins, on the hands, on the face, on the head, in the ears . . . everywhere”) so she had no choice but to “set her mind again on the lamb,” the known Gurban formula, which brought immediate relief, just as in the case of every other successful Gurban story we heard during our researches.

The story told to us is further dramatized by how, the prior evening, the shepherd with whom the family—the sick woman and her husband—had made the deal of buying the lamb, refused to make the sale, given their poverty, unwilling to have to wait for the pay; for them all, and in the story they retell for us, it is a true miracle that another lamb merchant is found at the last minute, agreeing to receive the due payment from the somewhat richer brother of the husband. That is, the Gurban for that year, the fourth in the promised succession of the sick person, had twice been jeopardized, once by her own reluctance and need to save every penny for the five small children at home (an obstacle punished with the relapse of her disease), and second, by the lack of a sacrificial object. At the moment of the interview, both obstacles had been overcome.

2. *The Diagnosis.* The disease began to trouble her six years beforehand. Asked how she knew to resort to the Gurban ritual, she points at the firm tradition she had grown up with, as part of a community where every elder was, one way or another, associated with the ritual performance. Then she invokes the oneiric anamnesis, telling of a dream of a green grass-covered table, with hot polenta, where they would all eat roasted meat. Deciphering the dream is entrusted to the husband—whom we shall see as a main character in every stage of the Gur-

ban ritual. In conformity with the ritual requirements, “setting the mind on the Gurban” immediately resulted in relief from the painful skin condition. At a later point, while washing the entrails of the sacrificed lamb, she indicates that it had been an elder from her childhood village—Ghidici—to have identified the potential Gurban disease for her, futilely taken her to the doctor, more for a confirmation of his guesses, then went to summon her mother to “set her mind on the Gurban” and wait for the expected solution, which came without delay. We may add that this detail—how she is her mother’s child once more when afflicted, even though a mother herself—can shed light on how the diagnosis, the anamnesis and the ritual prescriptions have not migrated to Bistreț, the village of the courtyard Gurbans, together with the custom, its respective authority being still supposedly derived from the original kernel of the disseminated ritual: the parental village of Ghidici, home to glade Gurbans.

When we asked her how she thinks she might have contracted the disease in the first place, she indicates: “I just found myself in this condition, just like that, from the Saintly Ones. God only knows how. I may have stepped on something ... I know not; God only knows.” The rather faint echo of the ancient prohibition, regarding the Saintly Ones as impersonated eudaemonic agents, combines with a rather firm belief in the Gurban etiology of her disease and, therefore, in the tradition-fostered solution. We may also compare the two tales, of the patient and of her husband, who explain that their family had had Gurbans since 2006, for six years in a row, the first three for himself and then for his wife, years defined by recurrent dreams of grassy meadows with tables laid upon them, he officiating the ritual but at one point beginning to hand the head of the lamb to his wife—meaning it was her turn to undergo the ritual of the Gurban.

3. and 4. *The Pact with the Saintly Ones, the Promise of the Sacrifice and the “Small Meals.”* The supplementary divinatory ritual of the “small meals” is absent in our case study. Questions deliberately asked in this respect revealed nothing. Still, the interview revealed that old Gurbans would have also used fish and poultry, besides lambs (plus the peculiar information, going all the way to the present day, of the sacrifice of a black kid goat in the case of epilepsy, commonly called children’s disease/*boala copiilor* in the rural milieu, even when referring to adults). Or fish is the object of sacrifice for the “small meals.” Also, if the ethnographic material does not feature this element, it does however feature the “prayer in the wheat”: a field of new wheat, rather tall and full-bodied by this time of the year. When enacting it, our patient reversed the episodes in the ceremonial syntax, thus indicating the true significance that the active bearers of the complex Gurban tradition give to this episode of prayer. The text she utters, while kneeling and gently sobbing, featuring long blank verses about her various misfortunes, is rather spontaneous, in contrast to the fixed-formula of the ora-

tion by the lamb.<sup>47</sup> She indulges in maintaining this episode within the ritual of the Gurban day, while all other chores can be momentarily suspended, and while the lamb (entrails—cleaned, chopped and boiled—within) is roasting on the fire. The pact with the Saintly Ones only comes back in the scenario at the end of the preparations, when the oration of the lamb is uttered; and of course, after each of the ritual acts has been fulfilled (throwing away in the pit the remains of the dinner, then carefully covering the pit).

5. and 6. *The Place and the Sacrificial Structure of the Gurban Rite*. We have discussed the places of the pit, the hearth and the Gurban dinner table. It is worth adding that in every such ritual spot and setting for the ritual activity, the area designed for the ritual purpose is strictly determined and observed. Thus, the slaughter must be confined to the pit, so does the flaying of the animal, and the disposal of the fur; the washing of the entrails is tedious yet minute, water—in the respective household—is used with parsimony; the head and body of the sacrificial victim are carefully taken care of, since their integrity is crucial to the ritual consumption by the patient of the Gurban; others are prevented from manipulating or eating the precious meal before her, and the children are taught at every step the Gurban dos and don'ts; the precious meat, polenta and ritual bread can only be eaten at the laid table, while the washing of the hands, marking the end of the serving, can only take place over the pit, and the hands are dried solely on willow (and poplar, but the latter only narratively) leaves. In other words, if anyone needed to 'apply the anthropology' of the material passage in Van Gennep's *Rites of Passage*, the Gurban and its settings are the place to do it!

The toolkit, however, differs from the archaic version we witnessed *exempli gratia* in Roșiile, Vâlcea County, with eight pits and hearths set up for St. George's Day, 6 May 2014: there, the pit would be dug with the bare hands, assisted only by a wooden pole; the only knife would be the slaughter instrument, the only other ingredient—salt, and the only handkerchief, the beech leaves. Here in Bistreț the tools are a bit less strict, as the footage shows, yet frugality abides in the essentials. Moreover, interestingly enough, for such a poor household, the leftovers of the ritual dinner are immediately confined to the pit, but the good parts not yet eaten are carefully put up in the guardian wax tree, over the (still) open pit, in a plastic dish, wherefrom they may be consumed before nightfall; by nightfall everything must be buried deep, and the last liminary realm, in Van Gennep's terms, of the reintegration into a new state, locked from the outside.

7. 8. and 9. *The Oration, the Dinner, and the Feast*. By the time the table was laid, the lamb torn apart, the respective parts laid on the table within reach of everyone, the entrails—considered a delicacy—distributed across the table and

polenta and bread brought in, rain started to fall, which somewhat impeded the oration, creating a small dispute between the husband-Gurban priest and his brother over the exact word sequence. Yet, the verbal ritual captured in the footage shows extreme observance of all ritual commandments over the Gurban dinner. The text, repeated thrice, goes like this: “You, Saintly Ones, Merciful Ones, Lady Ones, Come, sweet as honey and sweet as power; Remember A., Remove from her body all pain, from the head, from the feet, from the teeth, from everywhere, All evil and all difficulty, From her tent,<sup>48</sup> from her body, from her mind; God, for she only has power once a year, which is for you, God, to lend to her; You, Saintly Ones, remember A. my wife, For she is wishing and orating to you every year, with a fat ram, with a wine barrel: And what the Old Man wished and orated, may it be fulfilled! Amen.” After which everybody, big or small, starts eating, all with their hands, washing afterwards with water over the sacrificial pit and drying their hands only on the willow leaves hanging from the branches set for the occasion on the wax cherry tree.

The consumption itself gives rise to the most salient local dimension of the ritual cleanliness compulsion: as the meal advances, more and more stories and details come to outline the crucial importance, in connection with the ritual purity on which the Rudari are genuinely and profoundly depending, of the absolute requirement of sexual abstinence, translating, in the ritual syntax, in the mandatory absence of any sexual feature in the ritual actors. Obliterating sexuality seems the only way to successfully get in touch with the Saintly Ones, be they persons or powers.

It must also be said that patient A. does not start with the brains or the tongue of the lamb, as patients would in Olt and Vâlcea; she waits, later in the meal, for her husband to break the skull of the lamb, which he manages to do only with the help of an axe. Then she eats first, after which everybody partakes of the brains, eyes, and tongue—vividly marking a fully-fledged sacrifice.

Loud Gypsy music was played all day, turned down only during the oration of the lamb; few moments of dancing emerged, in the Gypsy style; we have reasons to believe they waited for us to be gone in order to start the party component of the Gurban celebration day.

#### 4. Conclusions

**F**OR THE anthropologist, there is no conclusion to a research, even a field research, other than the farewell to one’s hosts and/or performers of a custom; this brief outline of the Rudar Gurban, although available on a more elaborate scale,<sup>49</sup> serves the goal of raising the correct questions and indi-

cates to the scientific community the paths our researches have outlined towards a correct understanding of the presence of the Rudari and their cultural creativity. Our concrete contribution to the issue resides in applying the historical-religious method to the cultural archaeological investigation.

We conclude these notes with a series of interrogative observations, to be dealt with at a later stage. Read in parallel with other ecstatic experiences—the Fall unto the Saintly Ones (*căderea în Sfinte*), the Taking from the Căluș (*luatul din căluș*), the Fall of the Rusalii (*căderea Rusaliilor*), with transparent initiating structures<sup>50</sup>—, the Gurban displays such archaic structures also in its recessive elements: certain disenchantresses tell about the initiation conducted by the Saintly Ones in a state of dream. We ask ourselves whether or not some of the women that had been sick from the Gurban could become iatromancers,<sup>51</sup> just as some former patients, chosen by the Saintly Ones in a state of dream, could become Gurban priestesses or priests.

The quasi-religious value of the disease from the Gurban is obvious due to its eudaimonic source. The trance and the ecstatic visions are rare, but the oneiric symptoms abound: the patient dreams of the pathogenic daemons—the three Saintly Ones (*Sfinte*), the old Saintly Woman (*Sfânta cea bătrână*), the Old Man (*Moșu*)—or the remedy (the Gurban lamb/fish). There are no strong intervals and weak intervals for becoming sick from the Gurban, unlike in the Whitsunday (the ones taken from the Căluș, the Falling Women in Timok, the Rusalii) and the magical-necromantic ecstatic complexes (women fallen unto the Saintly Ones),<sup>52</sup> circumscribed by certain festive intervals.

Finally, the endurance of the magical-religious performers: the Gurban Priestesses, the Gurban Priest/Foreman, the *Dieci* presiding over the Gurban rituality, plead for treating this iatric-sacrificial complex as a coherent magical-religious system, underpinned by a genuine theology (that of the Saintly Ones), by the personal experiences of eu-daemonic sacredness (in a state of dream and in the losses) and by an entire sacrificial therapeutic technology. Thus, next to the Căluș and to the Falling Women, the Gurban can be considered one of the most complex and best preserved expressions of archaic folkloric religiosity.

□

## Notes

1. The ideological motivations belong particularly to the Rroma national construction (sometimes with Ottocentesque nationalist overtones), and the financial ones derive



- from the generous financing of the socio-anthropological researches on Rroma and of the policies for the integration of this population.
2. Symptomatically, the Rudari/Băieși file in South-Eastern Europe presents a striking parallel with a situation in the far west of the continent: the nomadic Communities of Irish Travelers (*Lucht Siúil*), also called Pavee, Tinkers or Gypsies (by extending the ethnonym “Gypsy” to all nomadic communities, beyond their particular ethnicity), are a cross-border population (found in Ireland, Great Britain and the United States) with linguistic (*shelta/gammon* language), cultural (oral and ceremonial narrative system) and socio-economic (nomadism and cattle breeding) peculiarities that has undergone, just as in the case of other itinerant groups, a deprecating imagology marginalizing and discriminating them. For the identity file of the Travelers, see Ciara Bhreatnach and Aoife Bhreatnach, eds., *Portraying Irish Travellers: Histories and Representations* (Bristol: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2006); Aoife Bhreatnach, “Confusing origins and histories: the case of Irish Travellers,” *Irish Journal of Anthropology* 10 (2007): 30–35; Jennifer Hough, *DNA study: Travellers a distinct ethnicity* (2011). Accessed 25.11.2014. <http://www.irisheaminer.com/ireland/dna-study-travellers-a-distinct-ethnicity-156324.html>.
  3. Transylvania → Banat → Serbia → Bosnia → Croatia, Transylvania → Hungary, Transylvania → Slovakia, Transylvania → Moldavia, Transylvania → Wallachia → Bulgaria → Serbia → Albania → Greece etc.
  4. After that, the autofictional trends of the historical memory accelerate, and this one, following the laws of the imaginary, becomes a fictional/mythical memory: the historical events are converted in paradigmatic situations, and the historical characters transformed into archetypal heroes. On this topic, see Mircea Eliade, *Comentarii la Legenda Meșterului Manole* (Bucharest: Humanitas, 2004 [1943]), 22–25.
  5. On the fictionalization of (auto)biographical structures see Toma Pavel, *Lumi ficționale* (Bucharest: Minerva, 1992 [1989]), 125–132; cf. Bogdan Neagota, “Cultural Transmission and Mechanisms of Fictionalisation and Mythification in Oral Narratives,” *Journal of Ethnography and Folklore* (Bucharest) 1–2 (2013): 63–88. Ileana Benga, “Tales we tell are tales we dwell: The tale between belief-tale and fairy tale,” *Journal of Ethnography and Folklore* 1–2 (2013): 89–100.
  6. For the analysis of the mythical-fictional mechanisms of producing identity with the Rudari from the south-Slavic area, see Annemarie Sorescu-Marinković, “«Nous venons des Carpates, des Carpates indiennes, de Russie»: Gérer une identité traumatisée—le cas des Bayaches de Serbie,” in *Mémoire et histoire en Europe centrale et orientale*, eds. Daniel Baric, Jacques Le Rider, and Drago Roksandic (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2010), 217–226; id., “Imagining the Past, Creating Identity: the Case of the Bayash,” *Glasnik etnografskog Instituta SANU* (Belgrade) 59 (2011): 45–59.
  7. Those who consider them as Gypsies/Rroma start from social-economic and anthropological arguments: the isolation of the traditional communities, autoidentification (in some cases), heteroidentification (in many cases), typical social and family structures, social exclusion, the status of slaves (until the 19<sup>th</sup> century), the occurrence of the Rroma anthropological type.

8. The theory of the Romanian origin of the Rudari/Băieși is supported by the following arguments: autoidentification, the Romanian language and the folkloric traditions, the absence of the traditional occupations and of the Gypsy social-cultural and juridical structures, the rare occurrence of the Roma anthropological type.
9. An intermediate position, which takes into account both ethnic autoidentification of the Rudari and the cultural, anthropological, social-economic arguments, asserts the composite, mixed character (Romanian and Gypsy one) of the Rudar communities.
10. Biljana Sikimić, “Băieși în contextul sud slav,” *Piramida* (Novi Sad), I/2 (2011): 3–122; Annemarie Sorescu-Marinković, “«Noi iștem rumâni și nu ni-i žao»: Băieșii din Mehovine,” *Piramida* 2 (2011): 10–25.
11. The Romanians from Timok are called Vlachs by the Serbian authorities and the Romanians from Vojvodina and Central Serbia are called Romanians. For the Vlach/Romanian identity assumed by the Rudari/Băieși see Dorin Lozovanu, “Populația românească din Peninsula Balcanică: Studiu uman-geografic,” Ph.D. thesis, Abstract, Al. I. Cuza University (Iași, 2008), 23–32, 43.
12. Ion Chelcea, *Rudarii: Contribuție la o “enigmă” etnografică* (Bucharest: Casa Școalelor, 1944), 56.
13. In this context, it is symptomatic that often the Roma councilors within rural local councils (from Romanian counties such as Argeș, Mehedinți etc.) advise/coerce the pauper Rudari to declare themselves to be Roma, telling them that, otherwise, they will no longer be eligible for the minimum social aid granted by the city council. The blackmail works, and some of the Rudari from southern Romania, marked by poverty, have come to assume the Roma identity compulsorily.
14. The epistemic ingredients of this national ideology are heterogeneous: a late Romantic nationalism (in which Gypsy folklore holds a fundamental component, and historiography is rewritten from a partisan perspective), protochronism, political correctness (reaching the ideological ostracism of the *invenient* thesis), a self-victimization tendency (the Roma as victims of History and of the discriminatory majority population), overlooking the inconvenient socio-economic and mentality characteristics (crime, mendicity, the extreme stratification of the Roma population—a minority enriched illegally and a majority that lives below the limits of what we call poverty).
15. For example, in Argeș County, in some communities of poor rural Rudari, a course of Rromani language for the Rudari pupils has officially been introduced, without any concrete consequences.
16. “Il fatto che le etnie risultino essere delle ‘realtà immaginate’ piuttosto che delle ‘realtà reali’ non impedisce che l’identità ethnica sia percepita, da coloro che vi si riconoscono, come un dato assolutamente ‘concreto.’” Ugo Fabietti, *L’identità ethnica: Storia e critica di un concetto equivoco* (Rome: Carocci Editore, 2013 [1995]), 177; cf. Philippe Poutignat and Jocelyne Streiff-Fenart, *Théories de l’ethnité* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1995).
17. Fabietti, 57–65.
18. Marcel Courthiade, “Les Rroms dans le contexte des peuples européens sans territoire compact,” *Bulletin de l’Association des Anciens Élèves de l’INALCO*, Oct. 2004.

19. Cf. Jean-Loup Amselle, *Logiques métisses* (Paris: Payot), 1999.
20. See Ugo Fabietti, *La costruzione dei confini in antropologia: Pratiche e rappresentazioni* (2004). Accessed 21.11.2014.  
[http://www.sissco.it/download/pubblicazioni/confini\\_fabietti.pdf](http://www.sissco.it/download/pubblicazioni/confini_fabietti.pdf).
21. First of all, we refer to the anthropological-linguistic studies produced by two researchers from the Institute for Balkan Studies in Belgrade, Biljana Sikimić and Annemarie Sorescu-Marinković. For the linguistic identity construction of the Rudari/Băieși, see Sikimić, “Băieși în contextul sud slav”; id., “How to be Roma and speak Romanian in Serbia.” Paper at SACR 2011, Bucharest. Accessed 23.11.2014. <http://wikibit.net/video/OPDFdIVokyo>; id., “Elemente românești în cultura tradițională a băieșilor din Grebenaț,” *Anuar 2011* (Zrenjanin: Institutul de Cultură al Românilor din Voivodina, 2012): 97–112; A. Sorescu-Marinković, “Comunități românofone din Serbia: Identitate lingvistică sau ceva mai mult?,” in *Români majoritari/Români minoritari: interferențe și coabitări lingvistice, literare și etnologice* (Iași: Academia Română, Institutul de Filologie Română A. Philippide, 2007), 863–876; id., “The Bayash in Croatia: Romanian vernaculars in Baranja and Medjimurje,” in *The Romance Balkans*, eds. B. Sikimić and T. Ašić (Belgrade: Balkanološki institut, 2008), 173–225; id., “Strategies for creating an explanatory Bayash dictionary in Serbia,” *Revue Roumaine de Linguistique* (Bucharest) 56 (2011): 17–34.
22. “The term *rudă*, source of the derivative *rudar*, today a lexical archaism, meant at the beginning a ‘metal mine’ . . . The three terms, *rudari*, *băieși* and especially *aurari*, reflect their old occupation as workers in gold mines, a profession which was abandoned later, after their emigration to the region of Oltenia, and gradually replaced with a new one, in woodworking, as *albiери*, *rotari* or *corfari*.” Ion Calotă, “Elemente sud-dunărene în graiul rudarilor din Oltenia,” *Dacoromania* (Cluj-Napoca) 2 (1996–1997): 47.
23. Silvia Puia Iosipescu, “Considerații privind studiul etnografic al populației din România (cu privire specială la rudari),” *Revista de etnografie și folclor* (Bucharest) 37 (1992): 302–303.
24. During some field research made in four rural communities of Rudari from Vâlcea (2011–2014), we noticed the low occurrence of mixed marriages between Rudari and Rroma. There is a similar situation in the Balkan Rudar communities (Lozovanu, 22).
25. Calotă, “Elemente sud-dunărene,” 47.
26. Constantin Șerban, “Contribuții la istoria meșteșugarilor din Țara Românească—țigani rudari în sec. XVII–XVIII,” *Revista de istorie* (Bucharest) 12 (1959): 131–147.
27. This is the case of the Rudari from Alexandria and Roșiorii de Vede, who stopped panning for gold in the sand of the Olt river (*aurăria*) and turned to making bricks (*cănmăidăria*), and it is also the case of the Sub-Carpathian Rudari, the Corfari (< Germ. *Korf*: basket plaited wicker), also called Băieși, because of their mining ascendancy. See Ion Calotă, *Rudarii din Oltenia: Studiu de dialectologie și de geografie lingvistică românească* (Craiova: Sibila, 1995 [1974]).
28. Calotă, “Elemente sud-dunărene,” 47–48.

29. Chelcea, *Rudarii: Contribuție*, 56.
30. I. Chelcea, “Rudarii de pe valea Dunării (între cursul inferior al Oltului și Mostiștei),” in *Comunicările Centrului din Craiova al Academiei*, ethnographic ser., 3 (Craiova, 1969), 11 (apud Calotă, “Elemente sud-dunărene,” 49).
31. Calotă, “Elemente sud-dunărene,” 48–49.
32. *Ibid.*, 49.
33. “The Gurban is the ethnographic element through which the Rudari Albieri and the Rudari Rotari differentiate both from all other categories of Gypsies—including the other category of Rudari, the Corfari—and especially from the Romanians” (*ibid.*). During our field researches in 2011–2014, we met the Gurban also in a Vâlcea community of Rudari Corfari (neighboring a large community of Rudari Rotari), attested in the region in the interwar period. Here, the elders talked to us about the Gurbans from the ’30s.
34. See C. S. Nicolăescu-Plopșor, “Gurbanele,” *Arhivele Olteniei* (Craiova) 1 (1922): 35–40. Ion Chelcea, “Les rudari de Muscel: Etude ethnographique,” *Extraits des Archives* 16/1–4 (1943): 3–52; Calotă, *Rudarii din Oltenia*.
35. Biljana Sikimić and Petko Hristov, eds, *Kurban in the Balkans* (Belgrade: Institute for Balkan Studies, 2007), 137–151, 153–180.
36. A. Sorescu-Marinkovic, “The gurban displaced: Bayash guest workers in Paris,” in *Kurban in the Balkans*, 140.
37. *Ibid.*, 140–141.
38. *Ibid.*, 142.
39. I. Benga, B. Neagota, “Note de teren asupra Gurbanului din Bistreț (Dolj), 2012” (Cluj-Napoca: Orma Ethnological Archive). As for the issue of the exogamic marriage Rudar-Gypsy, in this very case, where both families of parents of the married couple were present, one making and the other one actively taking part in the Gurban, the young couple itself being absent, let us quote the phrase of the uncle of the Rudar bride, always taking part in the same Gurban: “Nowadays, if the children like one another, you have no choice but become family/cuscru/‘allied’ with whom you never intended to.”
40. B. Neagota, “Căzătoare, necromante, vrăjitoare: Experiențe și tehnici arhaice ale extazului în regiunea Dunării de Mijloc,” *Orma: Journal of Ethnological and Historical-Religious Studies* (Cluj-Napoca) 17 (2012): 70.
41. *Ibid.*
42. I. Benga, “Dramaturgia aniversară—nod articular în transmiterea tradițională,” in *Călușul—emblemă identitară și factor de cunoaștere și armonizare cu alte culturi*, ed. Narcisa Țriucă (Bucharest: Ed. Universității), 49–65.
43. B. Neagota, “Patologie magică și ritualitate iatrică în complexul ‘Gurbanului’ rudăresc: Morfologie și istorie,” in *Cultura populară la români: Context istoric și specific cultural*, eds. Cornel Bălosu and Nicolae Mihai (Cluj-Napoca–Craiova: Presa Universitară Clujeană/Ed. Universitaria), 245–251.
44. Information from Turnu-Măgurele, February 2015; this needs to be statistically developed in subsequent analyses, since it may shed important light on diverging temporalities for Rudari, on the one hand, and Gypsies, on the other. A potential

chronology should bear in the mind the late date(s) of switching to the Gregorian-style calendar in Eastern Europe.

45. For example, the Gypsy family of the parents of the son-in-law of our Rudar host family in Bistreț, at some point, tell in detail of the ritual they perform at their Easter, i.e. St. George, in keeping with the new Gregorian style (we fathom), which also is about the sacrifice of a lamb for the well-being of their children, every year until their marriage; the latter is equaled to the absolute, successful outcome of their own Gypsy ritual of St. George. The yearly lamb sacrifice done by these Gypsies on the said occasion can also be done only for one year, or for a few years in succession, depending on the initial promise made presumably to the divine authority (the Saintly Ones, when invoked, meaning here any Godly entourage), when “setting their mind” on the health of their children. This kind of making a sacrificial gesture, on whatever scale, in the absence of a direct affliction to be cured by the modal tradition-transmitted solution—as with the the *Căluș* and the *Gurban*—can only send us to the value attached by ethnographic Romanian societies to the alms given for living people (*pomana de viu*), which is precisely a form of sacrifice, culturally shaped for a very long time, meant for the well-being of young children—or, respectively, for the appropriate afterlife of the elders doing it.
46. I. Benga, “Bonfires for not just any dead: alms for the aborted children: Remembrance rites at *Sâmedru* and feminine coping to the rigors of tradition in rural *Argeș*, Romania,” *Ethnologia Balkanica* 15 (2011): 200.
47. ‘Next of kin’ of this distinction is the differentiation between the fixed-form ceremonial songs of the funereal repertory (*cântecul bradului*, *cântecul zorilor*) and the more spontaneous ones uttered by mourners (*bocet*), which allow a flow of deep emotion by means of a fluent combination between motifs passed down by tradition and motifs and images specific to the respective death circumstances (place, condition, family members left behind etc.). See Ileana Benga, Oana Benga, “Il valore terapeutico del rito funebre,” in *La ricerca antropologica in Romania: Prospettive storiche ed etnografiche*, eds. Cristina Papa, Giovanni Pizza, and Filippo M. Zerilli (Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 2003), 161–182.
48. Sic! This mention of a tent for a house is unique in all the *Gurban* formulas we have recorded. If we met it somewhere else as well, we could speculate further on the nomadic inheritance in the Rudari’s way of life. Here it could be just an influence from the mass of Gypsy population present around the town of Bechet.
49. See Neagota, “Patologie magică și ritualitate iatrică,” 237–289.
50. For the ecstatic witches and the patients of the *Căluș* see B. Neagota, “Căzătoare, necromante, vrăjitoare,” 77–85; I. Benga and B. Neagota, “Căluș and Călușari: Ceremonial Syntax and Narrative Morphology in the Grammar of the Romanian Căluș,” *Archaeus: Études d’histoire des religions/Studies in the History of Religions* (Bucharest) 14 (2010): 197–227.
51. Neagota, “Patologie magică și ritualitate iatrică,” 263–265.
52. Neagota, “Căzătoare, necromante, vrăjitoare,” 51–96.

### **Abstract**

#### The Healing Gurban: On the Traces of the Rudari from Southern Romania

The paper is an introduction to the complexities of the Rudar issues, which continue to be debated, after about a century of scientific work, in thematic clusters such as: historiography, linguistics, ethnicity, economy, and, intermingled with those, religion. Starting from field researches on the *Healing Gurban*, firmly a Rudar trademark, our team endeavors to approach by means of *cultural archaeology* their own emic cluster-categories, render them visible within excerpts of field material, and comprehensible for the idiom of the scientific *oicumene*.

### **Keywords**

Rudari, Băieși (Bayash), identity, wood transhumance, Gurban, sacrifice, lamb, the Saintly Ones

MARTIN E.  
PALAMULENI

# Age Reporting in North West Province, South Africa, 1996–2011

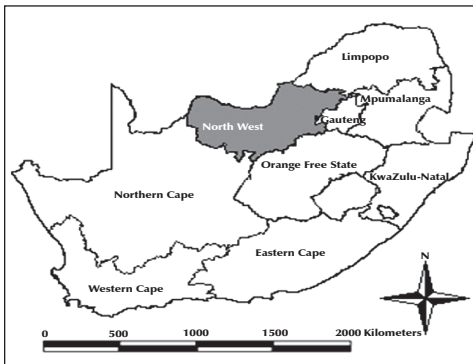


FIG. 1. MAP OF SOUTH AFRICA  
SHOWING NORTH WEST PROVINCE

## Introduction

**A**GE IS one of the most important variables in demographic analysis. It is both affected by and a determinant of fertility, mortality, migration and socio-economic variables. On the one hand, age determines entry into marriage, voting, the labor force and education. In the South African context only those aged 7 years are supposed to enroll in grade one, no children below the age of 18 is supposed to work. On the other hand, high fertility or low infant mortality implies more people below the age of 15 whereas for various reasons high levels of literacy lead to good knowledge and reporting of age statistics.

As a result of this two-way relationship, age not only forms the basis of classification for most demographic variables but also its familiarity is essential for successful social and economic planning. To underline the importance of age, the United Nations (1980) strongly recommends that LDC should include a question on age in

### **Martin E. Palamuleni**

Population Training and Research Unit,  
North-West University, Republic of South  
Africa.

their censuses and demographic surveys; and Shryock and Siegel (1976) argue that no census is worth the name if it excludes a question on age.

Unfortunately, for various reasons, studies on age statistics from the statistically underdeveloped countries have revealed enormous distortions (Bailey and Makannah 1996; Caldwell 1966; Blacker 1969; Van de Walle 1966; Caldwell and Igun 1971; Nagi et al. 1973; Ewbank 1981; Byerlee and Terera 1981). Such studies on the nature and patterns of reported age statistics have attracted the attention of social commentators (Berkowitz 2012) and researchers from various countries around the globe (Ntozi 1978; Mukherjee and Mukhopadhyay 1988; Udjo 1996); Palamuleni 1996; Simelane 2002; Unisa et al. 2009). It has been found out that people tend to round off to the nearest age and some ages like those ending in 0 and 5 are preferred whereas others like 1 and 9 are avoided. The causes of these distortions are many and include people's ignorance of their true age, the instructions given to enumerators, the method used to collect age statistics and various other social, cultural and even political reasons.

There is also a tendency to under-state or over-state one's age in order to suit certain social and biological expectations. In this respect young children below the age of five, found playing with their peers at the time of the enumeration, may be reported as belonging to age group 5–9, and females in age group 10–14 who have passed puberty (menarche) may be recorded in age group 15–19 especially if it is further observed that they are married and are mothers. Likewise women above the age of 40 who are still rearing (nursing) their own children may be assigned a younger age group. Then, for prestige purposes, perhaps arising from the desire to be granted a senior citizenship status which in some cases exempts them from paying tax, there is a tendency especially among the males to exaggerate their age.

Awareness of these distortions and inaccuracies in reported age statistics have preoccupied demographers so much that the evaluation and adjustment of age statistics has become an integral part of demographic analysis. The main purpose of this study is to determine the nature and patterns of age misreporting in North West Province of South Africa.

There are three reasons for undertaking this study. First, the desire to isolate genuine distortions caused by famine and natural disasters from age misstatements. Second, since it is hoped that the characteristics of the reported age distributions will at a later stage be used to estimate levels, trends and differentials in fertility, mortality and migration, the examination of age data was felt to be of paramount importance as a means of providing an in-built mechanism of assessing the plausibility of the derived demographic estimates. In particular, to determine the probable effect of the age-sex distortions on the reported levels of



fertility, mortality and mortality. Third, it is further anticipated that age errors may provide clues to other weaknesses in the data.

## Background Information

**T**HE REPUBLIC of South Africa is divided into nine provinces, namely, Eastern Cape, Free State, Gauteng, KwaZulu-Natal, Limpopo, Mpumalanga, Northern Cape, North West and Western Cape. North West Province of South Africa is bordered by the provinces of Gauteng, Limpopo (formerly Northern) Province, the Northern Cape and the Free State, and the Republic of Botswana (Fig. 1).

North West is the sixth largest province covering a total area of 116,320 km<sup>2</sup> (approximately 9.5% of South Africa). The total population in the province increased from 3.3 million in 1996 to 3.6 million in 2001 and it is currently estimated at 3.7 million. The provincial population represents 8% of the national total and about 65% of the population in the province lives in rural areas. The province is divided into four district municipalities as follows: Bophirima, Bojanala, Southern and Central; five cross-border districts and 21 local municipalities. The available census data indicate that the largest percentage of the population in the province live in Bojanala (36%) followed by Central (23%), Southern (18%) and Bophirima (13%). The more populated industrial centers include Rustenburg, Brits and Ga-Rankuwa in the eastern region of the province. Mafikeng is the provincial capital and was the administrative center of the Bophuthatswana homeland (from 1978 to 1994). It was also the governing center of the British Bechuanaland Protectorate prior to 1960. Other major towns in the province include Potchefstroom, Klerksdorp, Lichtenburg, Ventersdorp and Vryburg.

The provincial gross geographic product (GGP) is R 3 964 per person against the national average of R 6 498 and mining forms the backbone of the provincial economy, contributing 42% to the GGP and 39% to the employment. The mining sector is dominated by large platinum mines and smelters in the Rustenburg area, as well as the gold mines of the Orkney and Klerksdorp areas. Agriculture is the second-most important sector, with 13% of the GGP and 18% of employment. Maize and sunflowers are the most important crops grown, while cattle and game farming are also well-established. Tourism is widely considered to have a major growth potential as the province is located adjacent to areas of Gauteng and Botswana.

## Materials and Methods

### Data Sources

**T**HE STUDY will make use of the 1996, 2001 and 2011 South African Population Censuses and the 2007 Community Survey (Statistics South Africa 1998, 2003, 2012). The 1996 Census was the first census to be conducted in democratic South Africa (Statistics South Africa, 1998). This was followed by another census in 2001. However logistical challenges led to the postponement of the third census to 2011.

### Data Analysis

**I**N TERMS of methods of analysis, the study will employ the most widely used measures of quality of reported statistics, namely Whipple's and Myers Indices and United Nations (UN) Joint Age-Sex Score (also known as UN Accuracy Index). These have been widely used in the analysis of the reported age statistics in developing countries (Palamuleni 1996; Poston et al. 2000; Mba 2003, 2004; Bekele 2006; Dahiru and Dikko 2013; Yazdanparast et al. 2012).

Whipple's Index is a summary measure that gives the extent of age heaping as a result of preference for ages with terminal digits 0 and 5. The index is obtained by calculating the percentage of the total reported on ages ending with 0 and 5 in the 23 to 62 age range divided by one fifth of the total population in the same age range. The index assumes any value between 0 and 500, with a value of 100 indicating no preference and a value of 500 signifying that ages of all people were reported only on ages with terminal digits 0 and 5.

Other researchers have developed "Whipple-type" indices that measure the degree of heaping on other terminal digits. For instance Poston and his students introduced a "Whipple-type" index to measure the degree of heaping on age 3 for the ages between ages 23 and 53 (Poston et al. 2000) whereas Talib et al. (2007) developed indices for each terminal digit and extended the age range from 20 to 79 years. Spoorenberg (2007, 2009) has shown that the original Whipple's index is a fair and reliable measure of the quality of age reporting only when attractions on 0 and 5 digits are significant. Unfortunately, to date, the modified Whipple indices have not gained much publicity and are not widely used. As such the analysis presented in this paper make use of the original Whipple's formulae.

Another index for appraising the quality of single year age data was developed by Myers. Unlike Whipple's Index which looks at preference for ages with end digits 0 and 5, the Myers Index examines the preference (or avoidance) of report-

ing ages ending with each of the ten digits 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9. The index is secured by first calculating the weighted population reported on ages ending with each of the ten digits and then expressing the blended population on each digit as a percentage of the total population, in the absence of any irregularities in the reporting of ages, the sum of the blended population on each digit is expected to be equal to 10 percent of the total blended population. A percentage in excess of 10 percent indicates preference of ages ending with such digit and vice versa.

The quality of reported age-sex distribution in five-year age groups is evaluated using the United Nations Age-Sex Accuracy Index (also known as United Nations Age-Sex Score). This index is calculated as three times the Average Sex Ratio Score plus the Age Ratio Score for males plus the Age Ratio Score for females. Age ratio for any age group is the population in the age group divided by the average of the populations in the preceding and succeeding age groups multiplied by 100 (United Nations 1952; Arriaga et al. 1994). Shryock and Siegel (1976) note “barring extreme fluctuations in past births, deaths or migration, the three age groups should form a nearly linear series. Age ratios should . . . approximate 100.0 even though actual historical variations in these factors would produce deviations from 100.0 in the age’s ratio for most ages. For each sex, an Age Ratio Score is calculated by summing the differences of each age ratio from 100, without taking into account the sign and the mean of these differences is what is known as Average Age Ratio Score.”

The UN has provided two standards for explaining these scores. The United Nations (1952) suggested that if the joint score is less than 20 then the distribution is accurate, if the score lies between 20 and 40 then the distribution is inaccurate, otherwise for scores above 40 the age distribution is highly inaccurate. The United Nations (1955) further recommended that the age ratio of 2.6 for males and 2.4 for females and the sex ratio score of 1.5 implying a joint score of 9.5 should be accepted as a minimum standard.

Lastly the reported age-sex distributions were compared with model stable populations that were found to be consistent with other demographic parameters obtained from the population censuses. The stable populations are assumed to be error free and any deviations are attributed to errors in the reported statistics.

In the absence of age misreporting or age heaping, in the absence of international emigration and immigration, in the absence of war, major epidemics or famine induced mortality, the age distribution of a country’s population is a non increasing function of that age. This is true irrespective of the country’s level of development. However the decrease in the age distribution among developing countries is higher than in the developed countries.

Although indices such as Whipple’s and Myers’ indices or United Nations joint scores are commonly used in assessing the accuracy of reported age-sex

statistics distributions these measures are just summary indices and do not reveal very much. As such researchers have often argued that detailed information regarding the distortions in the age-sex distributions may be obtained by plotting the age-sex distributions (Cleveland n.d.; Moultrie et al. 2013; Fajardo-González et al. 2014). In line with this observation, graphs have extensively been used to illustrate the extent of age errors in the study population.

## Results

**F**IGURE 2 depicts the age-sex distributions of the population of North West Province in South Africa. The reported age-sex statistics in the province, like elsewhere in the country, are fraught with certain anomalies that are not easily explained and have been a source of contention amongst researchers working with South African data (Berkowitz 2012). Some of these anomalies are also shown in figure 2. For instance Figure 1 indicates that the population in age group 0–4 in both 1996 and 2011 censuses is more or less the same. Moreover the population in age group 0–4 is bigger than the population in age group 5–9 in 2011. This may suggest that fertility in South Africa may have increased in the recent past, a suggestion that is not only improbable but also is not supported by the available data. In the subsequent paragraphs some of the commonly used indices that measures the extent of age misreporting are used to study the quality of age-sex statistics in North West Province of South Africa.

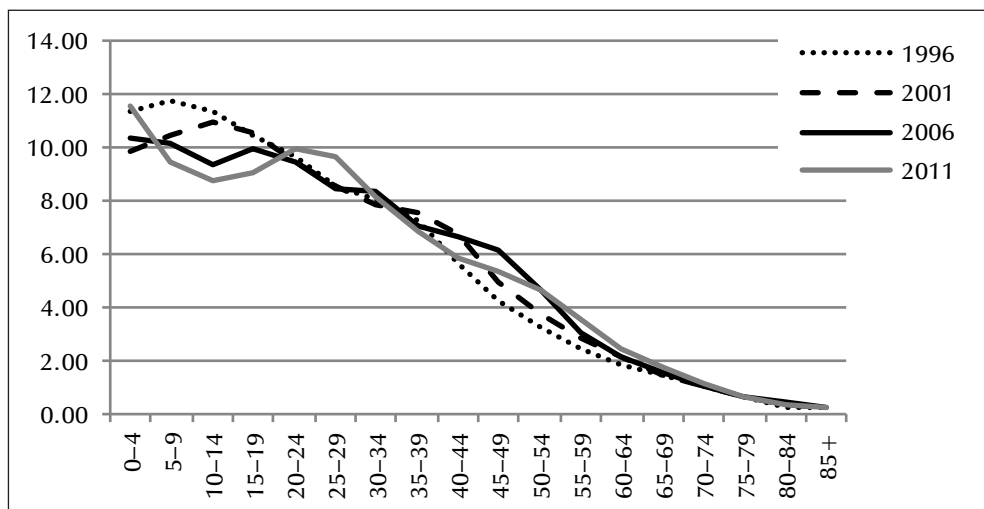


FIG. 2. POPULATION DISTRIBUTION BY AGE GROUP FOR NORTH WEST 1996, 2001, 2006 AND 2011

## Whipple's Index

**T**ABLE 1 presents Whipple's indices for males, females and both sexes for North West Province for the 1996, 2001 and 2011 Population Censuses and 2007 Community Survey. In general, the results indicate that there was less pronounced age heaping of the population on ages ending with digits 0 and 5. Whipple's index was 97 for both sexes, 97.4 for males and 96.6 for females indicating that preference of ages ending in digits 0 and 5 was slightly more common among male respondents than female respondents. Similar values for 2001 census are 95.2, 95. and 95.3, respectively. Comparisons of Whipple's indices for 1996 and 2001 censuses indicate improvement of the reported age statistics. In terms of racial groups, Whipple's Index was highest among the Asians, closely followed by Whites, then Colored and lowest amongst Africans.

The United Nations (1990) notes that if the values of Whipple's index are less than 105 then the age distribution data are deemed to be highly accurate; if the values are between 105 and 109.9, they are "fairly accurate"; if between 110 and 124.9, "approximate"; if between 125 and 174.9, "rough" and if 175 or more, "very rough" (United Nations 1990, 18–19). This means that the reported age distributions in North West Province as measured by Whipple's index can be regarded as "highly accurate."

The United Nations further states that "although Whipple's Index measures only the effects of preferences for ages ending in 0 and 5, it can be assumed that such digit preference is usually connected with other sources of inaccuracy in age statements and the indexes can be accepted as a fair measure of the general reliability of the age distributions" (United Nations 1990, 20).

TABLE 1. WHIPPLE TYPE INDICES FOR NORTH WEST PROVINCE, SOUTH AFRICA, 1996–2011

		Original			Modified		
		Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both
TOTAL	1996	97.4	96.6	97.0			
	2001	95.1	95.3	95.2	87.6	73.8	80.7
	2007	96.2	92.7	94.5	89.3	86.1	87.7
	2011	96.0	95.5	95.7	80.4	98.4	76.3
African	1996	96.9	96.0	96.4			
	2001	94.5	94.6	94.5	90.6	76.3	83.4
	2007	96.2	92.9	94.6	90.8	93.3	92.0
	2011	95.4	95.0	95.2	79.8	67.9	73.9

*Continued on next page*

Table—*Continued*

		Original			Modified		
		Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both
Colored	1996	99.8	100.1	100.0			
	2001	100.2	101.9	101.1	103.4	93.1	98.2
	2007	78.7	80.7	79.7	138.1	107.5	82.9
	2011	99.0	97.4	98.2	80.2	76.0	76.4
Asian	1996	103.2	103.1	103.2			
	2001	109.3	99.6	105.0	78.6	69.1	68.0
	2007	75.2	105.2	87.0	260.6	210.4	143.0
	2011	105.0	102.0	104.0	64.7	59.6	53.5
White	1996	103.3	103.0	103.1			
	2001	101.6	101.8	101.7	51.0	45.9	46.7
	2007	101.5	93.0	97.2	60.0	59.1	50.0
	2011	100.8	99.9	100.4	53.9	45.2	49.5

## Myers Index

TABLE 2 presents a summary of the Myers indices for males, females and both sexes and by population group for North West Province for the 1996 and 2001 Population Censuses. The preferred and avoided terminal/end digits are also displayed in figures 3 to 6. In terms of the digit preference of each of the terminal digits Table 2 show that there was over-enumeration of ages ending with digits 6, 4, 8 and 0 while ages with terminal digits, 1, 2, 3, 5, 7 and 9 were avoided. This pattern was noticed in both male and female populations in North West Province. In 2001, terminal digits 1, 9 and 8 were over-enumerated whereas the other remaining terminal digits were under-enumerated. The female population also shows over-enumeration at terminal digit 6. The 2007 community survey indicate that the digits 9, 5, 8 and 6 were preferred among the male population whereas the female population saw a preference for 5, 9, 0 and 2.

Overall the indices are close to the expected minimum value of zero suggesting very little digit preference in the population. The Myers index for both sexes declined from 3.92 in 1996 to 3.06 in 2001 and 2.89 in 2007. There are differences by population group and gender. In 1996 Myers indices are highest among the African, followed by the Asians, then Colored and lowest amongst the Whites. The situation is somewhat changed for 2001 in that Myers indices are highest amongst the African, followed by the Colored, then the Asians and lowest amongst the White population. In 2007 the Myers index is highest

among the Asian population, followed by the Colored, then the African and lowest among the White population.

In term of gender, Myers indices for males are higher than similar values for females in 1996 with the exception of the Asian population. In 2001 Myers indices for males are higher than similar values for females for Africans and Whites and the opposite is the case for Coloreds and Asians. Myers indices for males declined from 4.19 in 1996 to 2.96 in 2001, whereas the Myers index for females declined from 3.7 to 3.18. In addition, Myers indices for males for Coloreds and Asians have increased from 3.29 to 4.14 and 2.64 to 4.27 respectively. In general digit preference was more pronounced amongst the male population than the female population in 1996 and the opposite is true in 2001.

TABLE 2. MYERS INDICES FOR NORTH WEST PROVINCE BY RACE, 1996 AND 2001

	1996			2001			2007			2011		
	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both
0	0.21	0.24	0.23	-0.42	-0.55	-0.49	0.18	0.29	0.24	-0.33	0.12	-0.37
1	-0.20	-0.03	-0.11	0.89	0.58	0.74	-0.14	-0.08	-0.11	0.75	1.01	0.67
2	-0.09	0.03	-0.03	-0.22	-0.18	-0.20	-0.24	0.08	-0.08	-0.02	0.25	-0.01
3	-0.33	-0.03	-0.18	-0.06	-0.16	-0.11	0.19	-0.09	0.05	-0.04	0.01	-0.07
4	0.42	0.43	0.42	-0.31	-0.47	-0.39	-0.29	-0.57	-0.43	-0.38	-0.38	-0.38
5	-0.65	-0.79	-0.73	-0.23	-0.17	-0.20	0.41	0.84	0.62	-0.23	-0.32	-0.23
6	1.14	0.87	1.00	-0.02	0.13	0.06	0.05	-0.37	-0.15	-0.06	-0.20	-0.04
7	-0.34	-0.32	-0.33	-0.23	-0.05	-0.14	-0.51	-0.53	-0.52	-0.12	-0.25	-0.06
8	0.32	0.29	0.30	0.07	0.32	0.19	-0.09	-0.22	-0.15	0.08	-0.19	0.13
9	-0.49	-0.69	-0.59	0.52	0.56	0.54	0.43	0.64	0.53	0.34	-0.06	0.36
Me	4.19	3.72	3.92	2.96	3.18	3.06	2.53	3.71	2.89	2.34	2.78	2.31

Just like with Whipple's Index, there are variations by population groups (see Tables 3 to 6). In 1996 the Myers indices for the African population were higher for males than females indicating that the incidence of digit preference was more pronounced among African males than African females. The same is observed among the White population. The opposite is observed among the Colored and Asian populations. In 2001 the scenario presented in the preceding sentence is preserved.

TABLE 3. MYERS INDICES FOR NORTH WEST BY POPULATION GROUP AND SEX FOR NORTH WEST, 1996

	African			Colored			Asian			White		
	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both
0	0.18	0.21	0.20	0.11	0.45	0.29	0.26	0.65	0.45	0.58	0.62	0.60
1	-0.18	0.01	-0.08	-0.23	-0.63	-0.44	-0.23	-1.20	-0.69	-0.50	-0.25	-0.37
2	-0.06	0.07	0.01	-0.55	-0.15	-0.34	0.03	0.36	0.19	-0.28	-0.42	-0.35
3	-0.32	0.00	-0.16	-0.02	-0.01	-0.02	0.06	-0.39	-0.16	-0.51	-0.40	-0.45
4	0.48	0.47	0.48	0.11	0.58	0.35	-0.47	1.15	0.31	-0.23	-0.17	-0.20
5	-0.73	-0.88	-0.81	-0.37	-0.29	-0.33	0.39	-0.44	-0.01	0.20	0.15	0.18
6	1.21	0.92	1.06	0.96	0.51	0.73	0.24	1.33	0.76	0.42	0.30	0.36
7	-0.38	-0.34	-0.36	0.14	0.09	0.12	-0.56	0.35	-0.12	0.16	-0.20	-0.02
8	0.31	0.28	0.30	0.32	0.03	0.17	0.34	-1.19	-0.39	0.49	0.42	0.46
9	-0.50	-0.75	-0.63	-0.48	-0.57	-0.53	-0.07	-0.62	-0.33	-0.34	-0.06	-0.20
	4.36	3.94	4.08	3.29	3.31	3.30	2.64	7.69	3.41	3.71	2.99	3.19

TABLE 4. MYERS INDICES FOR NORTH WEST BY RACE AND SEX, 2001

	African			Colored			Asian			White		
	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both
0	-0.49	-0.66	-0.57	0.54	0.41	0.48	1.40	-0.22	0.65	0.16	0.49	0.33
1	0.97	0.64	0.80	0.72	0.50	0.61	-0.45	0.90	0.17	0.02	-0.01	0.01
2	-0.20	-0.18	-0.19	-0.23	-0.34	-0.29	-0.10	0.10	-0.01	-0.47	-0.13	-0.30
3	-0.04	-0.13	-0.08	-0.47	-0.24	-0.35	-0.74	-0.85	-0.79	-0.20	-0.44	-0.33
4	-0.32	-0.50	-0.41	-0.38	-0.48	-0.43	0.51	-0.54	0.03	-0.17	-0.15	-0.16
5	-0.25	-0.18	-0.22	-0.43	0.22	-0.10	0.02	0.41	0.20	0.08	-0.16	-0.04
6	-0.02	0.11	0.05	-0.02	-0.14	-0.08	-0.33	-0.19	-0.27	-0.03	0.36	0.17
7	-0.25	-0.06	-0.15	-0.55	0.01	-0.27	-0.26	0.05	-0.12	0.06	-0.03	0.01
8	0.05	0.35	0.20	0.27	-0.05	0.11	0.21	-0.14	0.05	0.31	0.08	0.19
9	0.54	0.61	0.58	0.53	0.12	0.32	-0.26	0.49	0.08	0.23	0.00	0.11
	3.12	3.42	3.26	4.14	2.51	3.04	4.27	3.89	2.36	1.72	1.87	1.65

TABLE 5. MYERS INDICES FOR NORTH WEST BY RACE AND SEX, 2007

	African			Colored			Asian			White		
	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both
0	0.20	0.26	0.23	-0.22	1.83	0.83	-0.36	1.85	0.55	0.10	0.30	0.20
1	-0.12	-0.11	-0.11	-0.89	-0.91	-0.90	-1.43	-2.89	-2.02	-0.14	0.56	0.21
2	-0.24	0.12	-0.07	-0.47	1.29	0.43	-1.21	-1.36	-1.27	-0.08	-0.57	-0.33
3	0.14	-0.11	0.02	0.61	0.32	0.46	-3.13	4.35	-0.07	0.91	-0.18	0.36
4	-0.30	-0.70	-0.50	0.05	0.34	0.20	-2.18	3.53	0.16	-0.07	0.45	0.19
5	0.44	0.86	0.65	2.89	0.59	1.72	2.01	-1.21	0.69	-0.48	0.81	0.17
6	0.05	-0.33	-0.14	-0.62	0.75	0.07	2.93	-1.31	1.20	0.05	-0.87	-0.42



	African			Colored			Asian			White		
	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both
7	-0.57	-0.54	-0.55	0.43	-1.31	-0.46	4.32	0.91	2.93	-0.37	-0.39	-0.38
8	-0.16	-0.20	-0.18	0.01	-2.79	-1.41	-0.78	-2.76	-1.59	0.72	0.24	0.48
9	0.57	0.76	0.66	-1.79	-0.11	-0.94	-0.18	-1.12	-0.56	-0.64	-0.35	-0.49
	2.78	3.99	3.10	7.97	10.24	7.41	18.51	21.28	11.04	3.56	4.71	3.22

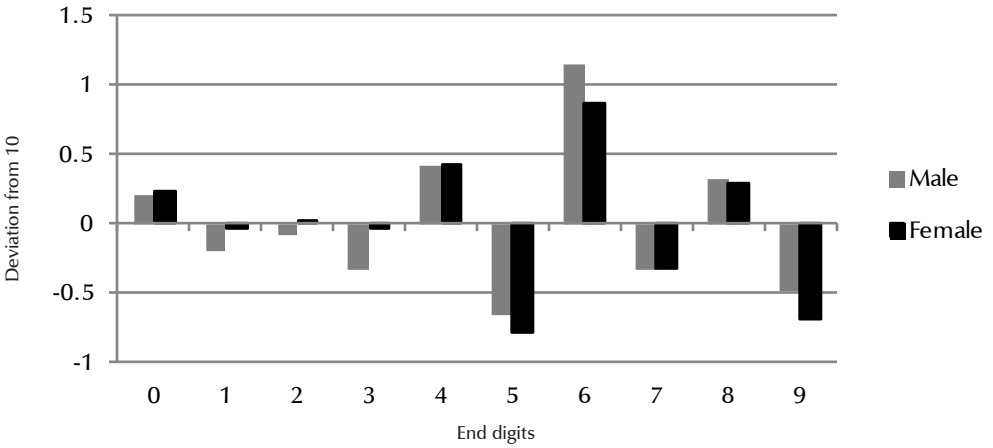


FIG. 3. DEVIATION FROM 10 OF END DIGITS, NORTH WEST, 1996

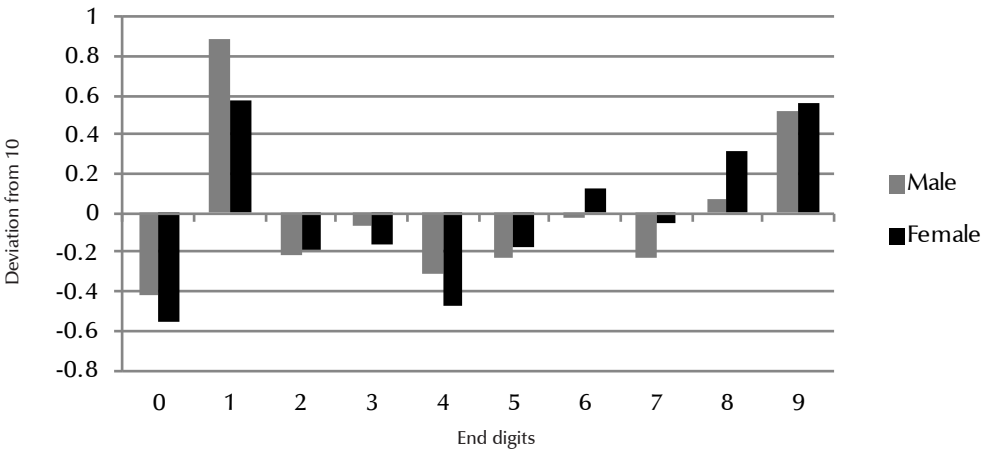


FIG. 4. DEVIATION FROM 10 OF END DIGITS, NORTH WEST, 2001

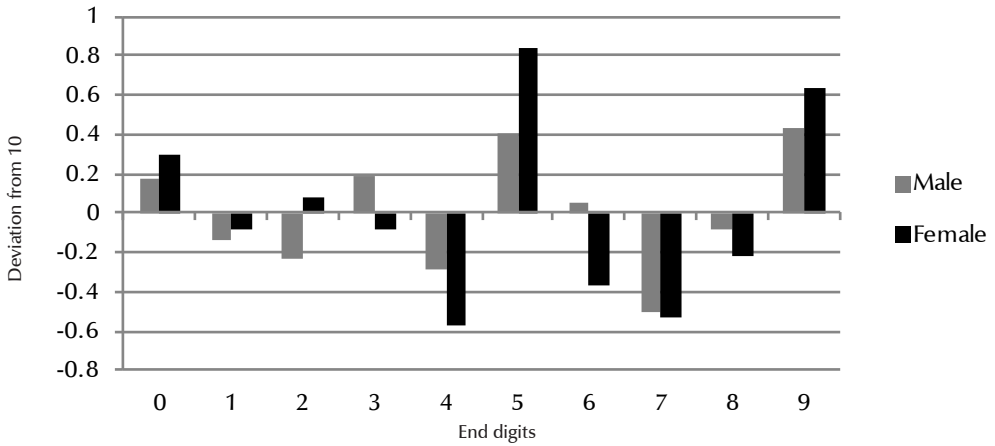


FIG. 5. DEVIATION FROM 10 OF END DIGITS, NORTH WEST, 2007

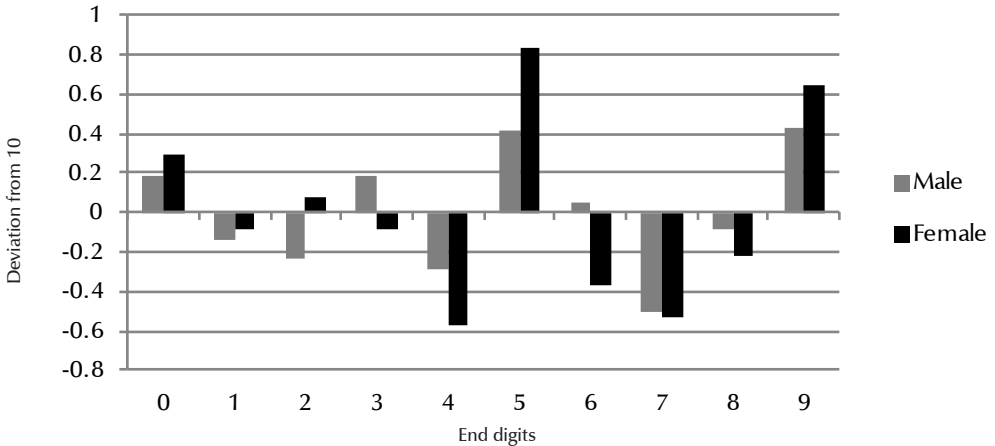


FIG. 6. DEVIATION FROM 10 OF END DIGITS, NORTH WEST, 2011

TABLE 6. MYERS INDICES FOR NORTH WEST BY POPULATION GROUP AND SEX, 2011

	African			Colored			Asian			White		
	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both
0	-0.42	-0.01	-0.46	0.10	0.83	0.17	-0.40	0.23	-0.40	0.59	1.33	0.52
1	0.82	1.02	0.72	0.83	1.03	0.71	0.19	0.86	0.24	0.04	0.88	0.14
2	-0.04	0.23	-0.03	-0.22	0.15	-0.14	0.35	-0.01	0.09	0.21	0.51	0.14
3	-0.02	0.02	-0.05	-0.40	-0.42	-0.47	0.03	-0.97	-0.32	-0.19	0.10	-0.17
4	-0.38	-0.41	-0.40	-0.33	-0.11	-0.21	-0.57	0.53	-0.19	-0.38	-0.17	-0.29
5	-0.25	-0.30	-0.23	-0.21	-0.57	-0.36	1.35	0.56	1.10	-0.24	-0.51	-0.28

	African			Colored			Asian			White		
	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both
6	-0.09	-0.17	-0.04	0.12	-0.54	-0.10	0.27	-0.01	0.28	0.13	-0.41	0.04
7	-0.09	-0.20	-0.03	-0.59	-0.63	-0.47	-0.12	0.07	0.02	-0.21	-0.71	-0.24
8	0.12	-0.15	0.16	0.33	0.06	0.37	-0.54	-0.94	-0.60	-0.27	-0.57	-0.15
9	0.35	-0.03	0.36	0.37	0.20	0.48	-0.54	-0.34	-0.22	0.32	-0.46	0.28
	2.57	2.53	2.49	3.50	4.54	3.48	4.36	4.51	3.48	2.58	5.66	2.24

## United Nations Joint Age-Sex Score

**T**HE UNITED Nations Joint Age-Sex Accuracy Index allows the examination of the sex ratios and age ratios for each sex.

### Sex Ratio Analyses

**T**ABLE 7 and figure 2 presents the age specific sex ratios for North West Province obtained from the 1996 and 2001 censuses and 2007 Community Survey. Variations in sex provide an opportunity for assessing the extent of age misreporting in a population by five-year age groups. Under normal circumstances, it is expected to have a slightly higher number of males at young ages and a consistently greater number of females at older ages since females live longer than males (United Nations 1973). The age-specific sex ratios reveal an excess of females over males in all age groups with exception to age range 25–54. The deficit of females in the age range 25–54 may be attributed to migration of a substantially higher proportion of males in these prime working age groups in search of jobs and other opportunities in life. The 1996 and 2001 census data also show a decreasing trend in the sex ratio with the advancement of age, reaching its lowest level in the oldest age group, 85 years and older (see Fig. 2). The increasing excess of females with the advancement of age is also due to a lower risk of death among females than males with the advancement of age (see Fig. 6), as there is no evidence to show that males more often than females tend to move out of the province in the older age groups. The table, however, indicates some fluctuating sex ratios that can be attributed to errors in age data. The sex ratio for the province increased from 96.8 in 1996 to 98.6 in 2001 and to 101.2 in 2007. The increase in the sex ratio could be due to the interplay of an improvement in male mortality, an increase in female mortality, over-reporting of males, underreporting of females, in-migration of males and out migration of females or a combination of any of these.

TABLE 7. AGE SPECIFIC SEX RATIOS FOR NORTH WEST, SOUTH AFRICA, 1996–2011

Age groups	1996	2001	2007	2011
0–4	98.8	99.4	101.3	103.0
5–9	99.5	100.2	100.6	102.4
10–14	98.2	98.4	93.9	105.9
15–19	96.4	98.3	102.3	104.5
20–24	91.8	100.7	103.6	107.0
25–29	94.6	97.3	104.3	110.3
30–34	101.4	102.7	114.9	115.1
35–39	109.6	107.1	109.8	107.3
40–44	106.6	113.6	110.3	103.6
45–49	106.7	103.2	118.9	104.0
50–54	97.3	103.7	106.2	105.8
55–59	93.0	96.1	96.2	98.3
60–64	77.6	82.9	82.1	90.2
65–69	78.8	72.9	75.0	81.2
70–74	71.6	70.4	64.4	72.6
75–79	65.5	61.9	59.7	61.7
80–84	56.2	55.0	52.1	55.7
85+	48.8	42.7	49.2	46.4

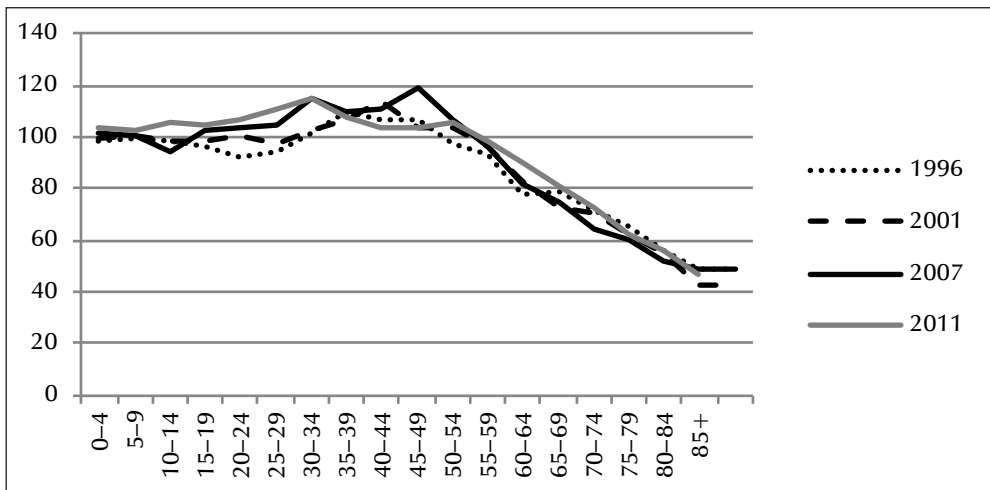


FIG. 7. AGE SPECIFIC SEX RATIOS FOR NORTH WEST, SOUTH AFRICA, 1996–2011

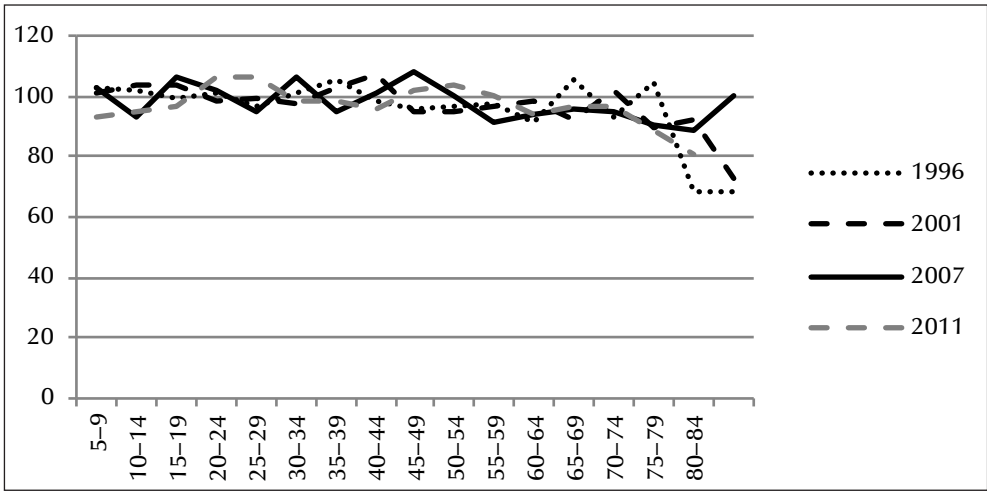


FIG. 8. AGE RATIOS FOR MALES, NORTH WEST, 1996–2011

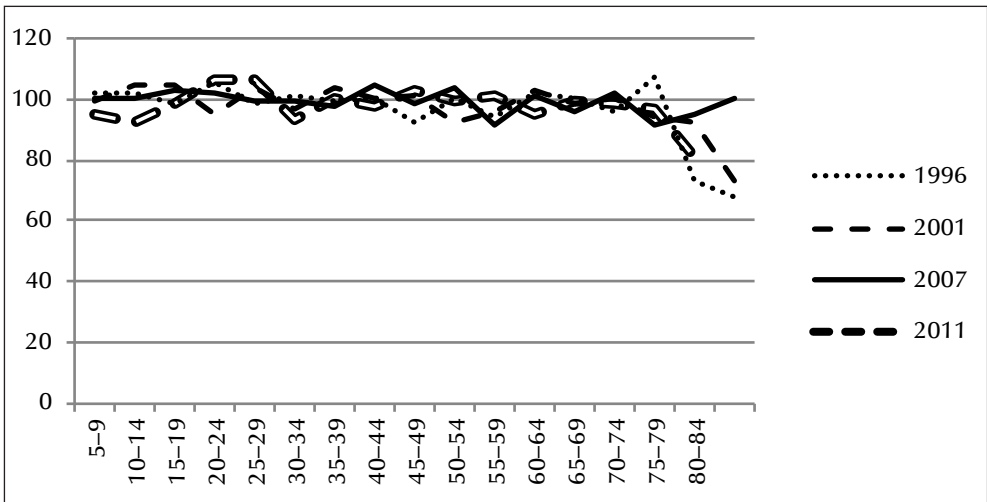


FIG. 9. AGE RATIOS FOR FEMALES, NORTH WEST, 1996–2011

## Age Ratios and Age Accuracy Indexes

**A**GE RATIO is computed in this study as the percentage of the population in a given five-year age group to the average of the preceding and following age groups (Shryock and Siegel 1976). According to the scheme of evaluation 100 is the point of balance; age ratios higher than 100 indicate an

over-enumeration of the particular age group, while an age group is deemed under-enumerated if its age ratio goes below 100. The results presented in Table 6 and illustrated in figures 7 and 8 show that there are distortions in the reported age data of North West Province. In 1996 over-enumeration took place at age groups 5–9, 10–14, 20–24, 30–34, 35–39, 65–69, 75–79 among the male population and age groups 5-9, 10-14, 20-24, 30-34, 75-79 among the female population. In 2001 over-enumeration was observed in age groups 10–14, 15–19, 35–39, 40–44, 70–74 among the male population and age groups 10–14, 15–19, 25–29, 35–39, 40–44, 45–49, 60–64 among the female population. In 2007 the following age groups were over-enumerated: 5–9, 15–19, 20–24, 30–34, 40–44, 45–49, 50–54 in the case of males and 15–19, 20–24, 40–44, 50–54, 60–64, 70–74 in the case of females. In 2011 over-enumeration is observed in age groups 20–24, 25–29, 45–49 and 55–59 in both male and female populations. The male population in 2011 also shows over-enumeration in age group 50–54.

TABLE 8. AGE RATIOS FOR NORTH WEST PROVINCE, SOUTH AFRICA, 1996, 2001 AND 2007

Age group	1996		2001		2006		2011	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
0 – 4								
5 – 9	103.0	102.0	100.7	99.3	103.0	100.0	93.1	94.7
10 – 14	102.4	102.2	104.2	105.1	92.7	100.1	94.7	92.5
15 – 19	99.6	98.4	103.7	105.0	106.5	102.6	97.0	98.8
20 – 24	101.4	105.6	98.3	95.4	102.4	102.1	106.4	106.8
25 – 29	97.0	98.4	99.3	103.7	95.3	99.2	106.5	106.6
30 – 34	101.5	101.0	97.5	96.5	106.7	99.2	98.7	93.6
35 – 39	105.6	99.8	103.3	103.7	94.7	97.3	98.2	100.7
40 – 44	98.5	100.3	107.7	100.1	101.1	104.4	95.7	97.7
45 – 49	95.4	92.1	95.2	101.4	108.4	99.0	102.1	102.7
50 – 54	96.9	100.7	95.1	92.2	100.2	103.9	103.8	99.7
55 – 59	98.0	94.0	96.9	95.8	91.1	91.9	100.0	101.6
60 – 64	91.3	102.5	98.6	103.0	94.3	101.0	93.6	95.2
65 – 69	105.1	100.4	91.9	98.6	95.5	95.9	96.5	99.3
70 – 74	93.3	96.4	101.9	100.0	94.5	102.2	96.3	98.7
75 – 79	104.6	107.2	89.7	94.6	90.4	91.2	88.7	96.7
80 – 84	68.1	72.8	91.9	92.7	88.5	94.9	80.9	81.2
85+								

Table 7 presents the average sex ratio score, the age ratio score for males and females and the UN Joint Age-Sex Score by population group for North West Province for the 1996 and 2001 Population Censuses. In terms of race the UN

Joint Age-Sex Score indicate that the reporting is better for the Whites, followed by Africans, then Colored and lastly Asians. The high score for the Asian population is probably due to the high sex ratio score which is in turn influenced by the dominance of males in the Asian population. The age ratio score is slightly higher for the male populations than female population suggesting that age reporting is less satisfactory for the males than the females. The sex ratio score is three times higher than the suggested “minimum” indicating that available data on sex is also unsatisfactory.

Overall the UN Joint Age-Sex Score in the NW Province was 25 in 1996 declining to 23 in 2001 and increasing to 29.6 in 2007. The UN Joint Age-Sex Score for 2011 is 24.7. According to the UN, this indicates that the reported age distribution in the province could be described as “inaccurate.” The results also indicate that fluctuations in the score and the reporting of age-sex data between 1996 and 2011 have largely remained unchanged. The overall quality however, is better than that found in neighboring countries and is expected for a developing country. The values are significantly lower than what is found in many African populations but are comparable with those from Southern Africa (Bekele 2006; Dahiru and Dikko 2013; Mba 2003, 2004; Yazdanparast et al. 2012). For instance, the UN Joint Age-Sex Score for Malawi in 2008 was 30.9 (Malawi Government 2011) and for Nigeria in 2006 was 50 (Dahiru and Dikko 2013).

TABLE 9. UN JOINT AGE-SEX SCORE FOR NORTH WEST PROVINCE FOR SOUTH AFRICA, 1996, 2001 AND 2007

Province / population group	Year	ASRS	AARSM	AARSf	UN Score
TOTAL	1996	5.11	5.32	4.42	25.05
	2001	5.28	4.19	3.54	23.58
	2007	6.8	5.7	3.0	29.2
	2011	5.0	5.3	4.4	24.7
African	1996	5.35	5.84	4.92	26.83
	2001	5.57	4.17	3.54	24.43
	2007	7.057	5.733	3.326	30.2
	2011	5.2	5.7	4.7	26.1
Coloured	1996	8.00	8.52	5.20	37.72
	2001	4.90	6.85	6.18	27.73
	2007	32.099	42.062	23.096	161.5
		5.7	6.3	4.6	28.0

*Continued on next page*

Table—*Continued*

Province / population group	Year	ASRS	AARSM	AARSf	UN Score
Asian	1996	11.21	5.27	9.90	48.81
	2001	14.12	10.96	7.22	60.54
	2007				
	2011	30.9	15.0	6.4	114.2
White	1996	4.92	5.42	3.82	24.00
	2001	4.77	6.04	5.90	26.26
	2007	12.998	15.177	9.623	63.8
	2011	3.5	4.6	4.6	19.8

These so-called “inaccuracies” in the age and sex data are based on the assumption that “accurate” age data are rectangularly distributed, and that age-specific sex ratios decline over the life cycle in an even manner. Departures from these patterns will result in “inaccurate” data patterns.

Moreover, the UN Joint Age-Sex Score has other limitations as a summary measure of the accuracy of age sex data. Among these are “the failure to take into account the expected decline in the sex ratio with increasing age, and of real irregularities in age distribution due to migration, wars, and epidemics, as well as normal fluctuations births and deaths . . . also, the considerable weight given to the sex ratio component in the formulae. . .” (Shryock and Siegel 1976, 126). Despite these and other limitations, the measure is useful for making rough comparisons and distinctions between and among populations regarding the accuracy in the censuses of reporting age by sex (*ibid.*).

## Discussion

**T**HIS PAPER has explored the quality of the reported age statistics for North West Province in South Africa using data collected in 1996, 2001 and 2011 censuses and 2006 survey. The accuracy of the single-year age distributions was determined by Whipple’s and Myers indices of digit preference. For five year age distributions, the United Nations Joint Age and Sex Score and stable population analyses were used to assess the quality of age data. The analysis was carried out for the total provincial population, and the four population groups.

The results confirm that the quality of the age-sex population distribution in South Africa as a whole and North West Province in particular is better than in most African countries. This is expected given the level of social and economic development in the country. However the reported age-sex statistics are dis-



torted and the nature and pattern of age misreporting are similar to those found in other developing countries.

The reported age structure closely resembles what is expected in a developing country going through fertility transition. The reported age distribution reveals a young age structure and further indicates that the population of North West Province is getting older with the passage of time. The elderly population shows a modest increase overtime. The proportion of the population below age 15 is also on the decrease, whereas the economically active population (population in age range 15–64) appears to be increasing.

The consequences of the above-described population structure on the social and economic development of North West Province are gloomy. At a family or household level, given the high proportion of population below age 15, the age structure suggests that the heads of the family or household have the enormous responsibility to see to it that there is enough food, clothing and shelter for everyone. At the national level the high and increasing dependency burden implies a lot of pressure on the government to make available such social services as schools and health facilities and create employment for the young population. All this indicates that at both levels more effort will be on consumption rather than on investment.

Lastly, the examination of the reported age distribution further revealed the preponderance of females in the population. This was reflected by the low overall sex ratios and low ASSRS, and raises the question “where do our men go?” A number of factors were suggested to account for this anomaly and these included such variables as sex differentials in enumeration, labor migration and high male mortality.

The government of South Africa should pay more attention to improving the vital registration system in the country. This is because the records produced by this system serve two essential purposes. First, the individual records establish a person’s civil status and the facts on which it is based. Proofs of these facts such as age, place of birth or death are essential documents required for many official purposes in the society in which a person lives or has lived. Second, the information collected through the vital registration system provide the basis for the computation of indices of fertility, mortality and migration, among others, showing changes in population size and composition and important features regarding the health of a population. Third, information on the registration records provides an independent database on which census results can be matched and assessed.

## Limitation of the Study

**T**he study was based on demographic data published by Statistics South Africa on its website. This data is available through SUPERWEB software. It was later discovered that the reported age distributions do not include the “not stated” category. Further inquiries revealed that census data that is made available to users, including researchers, have been adjusted in one way or the other. Unfortunately the methods used to adjust the data are not provided.

## Conclusion

**I**T CAN be concluded that the quality of age statistics in South Africa is good and it has improved since the emergence of new political dispensation in the 1990s that culminated in the election of the first democratic government in 1994. □

## References

- Arriaga., E. E. et al. 1994. *Population Analysis with Microcomputers: Presentation of Techniques*. Vol. One, Bureau of the Census, Washington.
- Bailey, M. and T. J. Makannah. 1996. An evaluation of the age and sex data of the Population Censuses of Sierra Leone, 1963–1985. *Genus* 52 (1–2): 191–199.
- Bekele, B. 2006. Analysis on the quality of age and sex data collected in the two population and housing censuses of Ethiopia. *Ethiopian Journal of Science* 29 (2): 123–132.
- Berkowitz, P. 2012. Census 2011: The (incomplete) (probably inaccurate) sum of us. *Daily Maverick*, 31 October 2012.
- Blacker, J. G. C. 1969. Some Unsolved Problems in Data Collection in Africa. *IUSSP International Population Conference London 1969*, 227–285.
- Byerlee, D. and G. Terera. 1981. Factors Affecting Reliability in Age Estimation in Rural West Africa: A Statistical Approach. *Population Studies* 35 (3): 477–90.
- Caldwell, J. C. 1966. A Study of Age Misstatement among Young Children in Ghana. *Demography* 3 (2): 477–490.
- Caldwell, J. C. and A. A. Igun. 1971. An Experiment with Census-type Age Enumeration in Nigeria. *Population Studies* 25 (2): 287–302.
- Cleveland, L. n.d. Cross-Census Assessment of Age-Sex Ratios: An application of newly updated UN assessment guidelines to micro data census samples from the IPUMS International. [www.statistics.gov.hk/wsc/cps103-p11-S.pdf](http://www.statistics.gov.hk/wsc/cps103-p11-S.pdf).

- Dahiru, T. and H. G. Dikko. 2013. Digit preference in Nigerian censuses data of 1991 and 2006. *Epidemiology Biostatistics and Public Health* 10, 2.
- Ewbank, D. C. 1981. *Age Misreporting and Age-Selective Underenumeration: Sources, Patterns, and Consequences for Demographic Analysis*. Committee on Population and Demography, National Academy Press, Washington, D.C.
- Fajardo-González, J., L. Attanasio, and J. T. Ha. 2014. An Assessment of the Age Reporting in the IPUMS-I Microdata. Paper submitted for presentation at the 2014 Annual Meeting of the Population Association of America.
- Malawi Government. 2011. *2008 Malawi Population and Housing Census*. National Statistical Office, Zomba.
- Mba, C. J. 2003. Assessing the reliability of the 1986 and 1996 Lesotho census data. *Journal of Social Development in Africa* 18 (1): 111–126.
- . 2004. Challenges of population census enumeration in Africa: an illustration with the age-sex data of the Gambia. *Research Review*, n.s., 20.1: 9–19.
- Moultrie, T., R. Dorrington, A. Hill, K. Hill, I. Timaeus, and B. Zaba, eds. 2013. *Tools for Demographic Estimation*. IUSSP, Paris.
- Mukherjee, B. N. and B. K. Mukhopadhyay. 1988. A Study of Digit Preference and Quality of age data in Turkish Census. *GENUS* 44 (1/2): 201–227.
- Nagi, M. H. et al. 1973. Digit Preference and Avoidance in the Age Statistics of Some Recent African Censuses: Some Patterns and Correlates. *International Statistical Review* 41 (2): 165–174.
- Ntozi, J. P. M. 1978. Patterns of age and coverage errors in tropical African surveys. *East African Journal of Rural Development* 11 (1 and 2): 116–144.
- Palamuleni, M. E. 1996. Age Mis-reporting in Malawian Censuses and Sample. *Southern African Journal of Demography* 5 (1): 11–17.
- Poston, D. L. et al. 2000. An Analysis of the Quality of the Age and Sex Data of the Republic of Korea and its Provinces, 1970 and 1995. Unpublished mimeograph, Department of Sociology, Texas A&M University.
- Shryock, H. S. and J. S. Siegel. 1976. *Methods and Materials in Demography*. Condensed edition. New York: Academic Press.
- Simelane, S. E. 2002. An overall and demographic description of the South African Population based on the Census 1996. Occasional Paper Series, 2002/1, Statistics South Africa, Pretoria.
- Spoorenberg, T. 2007. Quality of age reporting: Extension and application of the modified Whipple's index. *Population-E* 62 (4): 729–742.
- . 2009. Is the Whipple's index really a fair and reliable measure of the quality of age reporting? An analysis of 234 censuses from 145 countries. Paper presented at the IUSSP Conference, Morocco.
- Statistics South Africa. 1998. The Population of South Africa, Population Census 1996: Age Tables of South Africa and its Provinces. Report No. 1, Pretoria.
- Statistics South Africa. 2003. *Census 2001: How the count was done*. Pretoria. Statistics South Africa.

- Statistics South Africa. 2012. *Census 2011: How the count was done*. Pretoria. Statistics South Africa.
- Talib, Ali M. S., M. S. Hamid, and K. M. Zin. 2007. Age Reporting Behaviour : A Case Study of 1991 and 2000 Population and Housing Censuses, Malaysia. Department of Statistics, Malaysia.
- Udjo, E. O. 1996. An evaluation of the reported age-sex distribution of Botswana in the 1996 Census. *Southern African Journal of Demography* 6 (1): 1–8.
- Unisa, S., L. K. Dwivedi, R. S. Reshmi, and K. Kumar. 2009. Age reporting in Indian Census: An insight. Paper presented at the IUSSP Conference, Morocco.
- United Nations. 1952. Accuracy Test for Census age distributions tabulated in five year and ten year groups. *Population Bulletin of the UN* (New York) 2: 59–79.
- United Nations. 1955. Methods of Appraisal of Quality of Basic Data for Population Estimates. Manuals on Methods of Estimating Population, Manual II. Series A, Population Studies, No. 23, 31–54.
- United Nations. 1973. The Determinants and Consequences of Population Trends: New Sample of Findings on Interaction of Demographic, & Economic and Social Factors. Vol. 1. New York.
- United Nations. 1980. Principles and Recommendations for Population and Housing Census. Statistical Papers. New York.
- United Nations. 1990. *1988 Demographic Yearbook*. United Nations. New York.
- Van de Walle, E. 1966. Some Characteristic Features of Census Age Distributions in Illiterate Populations. *American Journal of Sociology* 71 (5): 549–557.
- Yazdanparast, A., M. A. Pourhoseingholi, and A. Abadi. 2012. Digit preference in Iranian age data. *Italian Journal of Public Health* 9 (1): 64–70.

## Abstract

### Age Reporting in the North West Province, South Africa, 1996–2011

The aim this study is to examine the nature and patterns of the reported age statistics in the North West Province using the 1996, 2001 and 2011 South African population censuses. First, the enumerated age-sex population distributions from the censuses are evaluated using such indices as Whipple's, Myers and United Nations Age-Sex Score to highlight the nature and patterns of age misreporting in the province. Second, essential age-sex features of the population and their implications for development planning are highlighted. The study indicates that the quality of the reported age statistics in North West Province, like in the other provinces in South Africa, is quite good and in contrast to findings from most other Sub-Saharan populations. Furthermore, the reported age statistics show a preference of terminal digits 6, 4, 8, 0 and 2, implying a preference of ages ending in even numbers. Further research should establish the factors responsible for this pattern.

## Keywords

age, census, North West Province, South Africa

DIANA-IONELA ANCHEȘ

## Intercultural Mediation

---

*The central figure of intercultural mediation is represented by the intercultural mediator who, by virtue of his recognized skills and through language, works for the consolidation of the cultural identity of immigrants.*

---

### **Diana-Ionela Ancheș**

Lecturer at the Faculty of Legal Sciences, Department of Public Law, Vasile Goldiș Western University, Arad, Romania.

Author, among others, of the vol. **Medierea în viața social-politică** (Mediation in social and political life) (2011).

### **Introduction**

**T**HE INTEREST for the proposed topic is justified by our preoccupation with the European cultural identity which, for the last few decades, has been constantly expressed through different theoretical formulas directed towards two major topics of reflection: the first refers to finding the components of a spirituality built on elements which confer it specificity, and the second is centered on the identification of the differences that distinguish it from the other cultures, in the intercultural exchange. According to an opinion expressed in the research literature, the European spirit is now different from what it was in the past, given its openness to other cultures, through a continuous effort of understanding them and of communicating with them, in order to assimilate their values, but at the same time, to offer them its own cultural values (Zăpârțan 2008, 335–352).

From the perspective of the European identity, culture represents a way of ensuring the coherence of a society, an essential instrument designed for

the assignation of meanings, an individual and a group factor of development, a complex of social values which are transforming into a complex identity that must be framed, structured and sustained in order to resist the external and internal dangers. In framing, structuring and sustaining this complex identity, a special part is played by negotiation and mediation.

References made to negotiation are essential, keeping in mind the double function of negotiation in its relation to mediation. In our work *Medierea în viața social-politică* (Mediation in social and political life), we have made reference to the fact that negotiation accomplishes the function of *species*, due to the fact that mediation has developed having negotiation as a starting point, but it also has the function of *genus*, because negotiation is an essential stage of the mediation process (Ancheș 2011, 322). Plus, if we make reference to the multitude of works that have approached mediation, we can easily see that mediation is usually defined through the concept of negotiation (Richbell 2008, 18; Phillips 2001, xiv; Stimec 2007, 3; Stoner 2006, 2; Acland 1990, 8). Furthermore, negotiation represents a way of structuring the social relations according to a certain value system. For a balanced society, negotiation represents a way of finding solutions for its development, functioning, and for the preservation of its identity. For a society that “is being altered by internal contradictions,” negotiation is a way of achieving conflict resolution. It is only through dialogue and permanent negotiation that a society can clarify its real identity problems and can find solutions for them (Zăpârțan 2007, 11–14).

According to Stimec, negotiation is “a dialogue centered on a problem that must be solved, which concentrates on concluding a mutual acceptable agreement” (Stimec 2005, 9–11). Reflecting on the multiple definitions that were given to negotiation over time, the author considers that the nucleus of negotiation consists of the interpersonal communication and dialogue relation, because it is only through them that someone can underline the existing differences and the interdependence (Ancheș 2011, 53–54). Referring to the specificity of negotiation, Zăpârțan concludes that there are some important criteria which define it: the dialogue between the parties, established through communication; the existence of a real problem which needs to be solved; and the path to an agreement beneficial and acceptable for all parties (Zăpârțan 2007, 36). Apart from these opinions, Dupont sees negotiation as an interaction of the protagonists, a specific method of social decision (Dupont 1994, 11–13).

Along with the negotiation process, mediation has a very special role in solving identity issues. Generally, mediation is defined, as we showed above, through the concept of negotiation, as being a more structured form of assisted negotiation, a voluntary and flexible process, which takes place in a private con-

text, where the mediator helps the parties to clarify their key problems and to build an understanding agreement (Ancheş 2011).

The individual does not exist outside the manifestations that frame him, and all individuals are attached to a certain cultural context. Hence, the individual manifestation can be interpreted as a symbolic form of the expression of society (Caune 2000, 103–104). International relations imply, through their nature, an exchange of values between communities. In order to achieve any such exchanges, it is necessary to create peaceful relations between states. In their turn, states are built through their external policies, which must be directed towards maintaining peace (Zăpârţan 2001, 47).

Gamman took up the opinion of Edward T. Hall, who said that “Culture is the one which directs the physical organization which, in turn, has a profound effect over the way people see things, behave politically, decide, establish their priorities, organize their lives, and think.” The incorrect understanding of the local and national cultural norms and the complexity of the political, economic and institutional aspects can defeat even the best intentioned efforts of communication. Culture affects the implementation of the public policy in two ways. First, the behavior, the habits and beliefs that people appropriate, as members of a certain society, shape the way in which they perceive the place where they carry out their activity. Second, the decision-making process and the way power is concentrated in the hand of certain individuals, the way in which political leaders react in relation to the ones they govern and civil norms determine the way in which political options are being evaluated. These two effects of culture over public policy are inseparable, but they are not always understood. The connection between culture and the decision-making process must be well understood in order see the reason why the implementation of new policies is so difficult (Gamman 1994, 70–71).

Normative conflicts are not new within history. Throughout history, people have always argued about the norms that govern public and personal life. In the case of the Western civilization, one can only remember the religious wars that took place after the Protestant reforms, which drowned Europe in an “ocean of blood,” and which were mediated over many centuries. Similar conflicts can also be traced to other civilizations. Modernization has brought the globalization of those conflicts. Education and the means of mass communication ensure the rapid spread of normative conflicts, from one part of the world to another, where they reappear in a form which is different from the original one, due to the modification brought by traditions and local problems. If we turn our attention to social order, the most important consequence of modernization is the spread of values and beliefs. The way in which European religious wars were mediated

is interesting because, in those cases where violent and coercive oppression did not solve problems, mediation took the form of territorial hope, through the formula *cuius regio eius religio*—introduced by the Westphalian Peaces. Neither Catholicism, nor Protestantism were declared dominant in a certain territory, and those who did not accept this aspect were presented with the option of emigration. This formula of normative split rarely functions in modern societies. In its place, another formula must be found, a formula that represents institutional separation and diversity (Berger 1998, 352–353).

Nietzsche's analysis on "decadence and nihilism" outlines the problem of cultural violence in modernity, raising the structure of conflict differentiation to a global vision over the history of culture, which is defined as a confrontation between opposite types. Nietzsche's systemic focusing on cultural decadence opens up a new area of investigation placed at the intersection of the anthropological, cultural and political spheres. His work also reveals the reason why any analysis of cultural violence becomes, at least partially, blocked in the system of conflict differences which he very much criticized. As Derrida and Foucault have shown, no one can "make" the history of culture after Nietzsche, if the moments of "difference" that undermine the coherence of history are not looked up or if the re-evaluation of the present is not forced (for a full analysis of Nietzsche's, Derrida's and Foucault's conceptions, see Bogue and Cornis-Pope 1996, 3–4).

Anthropologists have defined culture in various ways. Thus, culture is "an entire complex which includes knowledge, faith, law, moral, habits and any other capacities and customs acquired by the human being, as a member of the society" (Adler 1992, 14–15). Values are profound and are part of the "internal culture" of each person because they are the fruit of the ability to learn of each human being (Lake 2000, 17).

We must also mention David Ausburger who referred to the impact of culture over the attitudes towards conflict and its mediation. According to the author, conflict is not correctly managed by Western individualist cultures. The consequences of this aspect are negative both for the individuals and for the society they live in. According to the traditional collectivist societies from the East and the South, there are two strong forces which unite groups: honor and shame. Within these societies, mediation is considered to be a common necessity. In opposition with these societies, modern Western ones are based on law, on an abstract codification system and on jurisprudence. According to Ausburger, in Western individualist societies there are a number of "conflict myths" which are the reason why people do not desire to resort to mediation, as for example: confession, repentance, restitution, reconciliation and forgiveness. As mediation has much to offer in order to re-establish the "sanity" of people, the author recommends a new perception of conflict and mediation



which would lead to the creation of an entirely new intercultural perspective on conflict and justice (Ausburger 1992; Ancheş 2011, 67–68).

## Clarifying Terminology

**I**N ORDER to pass on to analyzing intercultural mediation, first we need to clarify the new terminology associated with this special topic. In order to do so, we must make reference to the roots of this new terminology. As Mario Ricca observed, recent migration phenomena, the ethnic diversity of the states' populations, the globalization of communication and the alteration of traditions have all lead to the formation of a family of terms and concepts, all with reference to culture: "multiculture, multicultural, multiculturalism, interculture, interculturalism, intercultural, cross-cultural, transcultural, infra-cultural, intra-cultural, intraculturalism." Each of these terms indicates a different relationship to culture, and also different possibilities to interpret it, according to different national, international, supranational, communitarian and interindividual contexts. The author also notes that, in common language, these terms are usually used in an imprecise manner, being often considered as synonymous. Their indiscriminate use depends on the fluidity of their significance and it is not just the "fruit of the ignorance of the specialists in the social sciences." The overlaps in those terms' significance is an effect of the novelty of the phenomena that they designate (Ricca 2008, 7). Due to the fact that the purpose of our research is not the exhaustive analysis of these terms, we are going to concentrate our attention only on the ones which strictly concern our approach.

Before referring to the significances ascribed to the term "intercultural," we consider that it is necessary to make a few references to the senses attributed to another term—"multicultural"—which must not be confused with the first. The resemblances which can be observed between these two terms refer to the fact that both of them have two senses, a descriptive one and a prescriptive one, but also to the fact that both of them refer to "culture."

From the descriptive point of view, the term "multicultural" generally designates the phenomenon of the simultaneous presence, on a certain territory or within a certain communicative circuit, of some individuals who belong to different cultures (Ricca 2008, 8; Cesareo 2002). The expression "multicultural society" indicates the contexts in which social exchanges are characterized by cultural difference. From the prescriptive point of view, the term indicates both multiplicity and difference. In this sense, the difference between cultures is perceived as a value. Cultures are interpreted as relatively distinct universes, united by a special promiscuity (as the territory of a state), which are unable to inte-

grate. From this perspective, the phenomenon of integration has negative connotations because it represents the loss of the cultural identity (Ricca 2008, 8).

The term “multiculturalism” emerged starting from the prescriptive significance of the term “multicultural.” It provides a normative indication for the management of social policies. Hence, the term “multicultural” represents policies oriented towards the valorization and conservation of cultural diversity, with the purpose of minimizing the fusion among native cultural heritages. In other words, “multiculturalism” is the opposite of the mediation of cultural differences. As Di Rosa shows, “multiculturalism” is a process which means inserting the migrants in structures and in the social and political culture, through different procedures and in different domains. This process could cause social instability leading to conflicts that cannot be managed without eliminating the tension caused by the lack of communication and by cultural diversity (Di Rosa 2005, 67).

In order to see the meaning of intercultural mediation, first we must clarify the significance attributed to the term “intercultural.” According to Ricca, in its descriptive sense, the term indicates the inevitability of the relativity of cultural factors of life within social relations. Generally, the relation with *the other* determines a relativity of the intrinsic point of view. The greater the cultural difference, the greater this relativity. In the multicultural society, the presence and the continuity of an individual who has a different culture creates different forms of conditioning which operate even over the representatives of the native culture. This conditioning can spread to some sectors of the cultural life only through interdependence. The relativity of the intrinsic point of view becomes an instrument for the involvement of *the other* within the communicative relations oriented towards the accomplishment of some practical purposes. In turn, the necessity of connecting practical purposes lifts the level of interculturality from communication to cooperation. From the relativity of the intrinsic point of view towards the communicative purposes we move to the mediation of behavioral strategies that have a collaborative purpose. The resulting intercultural mediation is exclusively devoted to the practical objectives specific to its realization. No matter how inevitable it is, in the actual multicultural social contexts, this dimension of interculturality is perceived to be significantly less considered (Ricca 2008, 8–9).

In the prescriptive sense, the term “intercultural” is considered a “project-term” used in order to indicate the creation of an organic code of communication and practical action for the management of the relationships between subjects belonging to different cultures. Defining the contents of this code of communication requires relativity and the mediation of the universes of discourse, of the contexts of meanings generated by different cultures. The media-

tion of the points of view is replaced, for practical purposes, by the attempt to shape a platform of equivalence between meanings, values and purposes which articulate the whole sphere of different cultural knowledge. The prescriptive interculturality does not consist of strategic mediation, meant to reach singular practical objectives, but it coincides with setting the context of meanings. More specifically, the term “intercultural” indicates the formation of a vocabulary for individual communication and action in a multicultural society. Hence, the term “intercultural” expresses a static reality, but also the necessity to trigger an understanding, a translation and a negotiation process through different universes of culture and through their social projection in relation to the needs, interests, values and purposes of the individuals, and the relative manner of projecting them within different relational fields. In respect to the descriptive sense of the term “intercultural,” its prescriptive sense presents a major cognitive or theoretical connotation, in which it conserves, in a more opened horizon, an eminently pragmatic orientation (Ricca 2008, 9–10).

Along with Ricca, we also consider that it is useful to point out that this theoretical connotation is also present in the terms “transcultural” and “cross-cultural,” but not in their usage. Either way, the knowledge of other cultural systems presents itself as a main purpose. The use of these terms does not indicate the instant elaboration, through different cultural knowledge, of the interface oriented towards supporting a practice of the relations between individuals and groups, but it emphasizes the comparison between different universes of culture and the discovery of the findings and of the uniformity (symmetry and equivalence) between structures and the manner of their internal organization (Ricca 2008, 10).

## Intercultural Mediation

**R**ECOGNIZING THAT everyone has unique traditions, values, and beliefs that are important to them (ethnic identity, language, religion and formal/informal community, neighborhood, and family connections) helps us see how we are connected with each other. For the members of a multicultural society, the activation of their own cultural identity is very important either in social relations, in a comprehensive manner, or within the relations which are legally regulated. Apart from knowing our own identity, the value system of the social group to which we desire to belong is also important. The adherence of someone to a group or to another predetermined identity can limit the subjects’ liberty, because the adherence has practical consequences on the subjective interests of the individuals and on their legal relevance. The limits imposed on

personal liberty are a threat for the autonomy of the personal identity edification process. A similar danger is represented by the creation of cultural stereotypes and culture reification. In these cases, the problem is represented by the loss of interest for the identification index, because culture is “brought to the level of a caricature” (Ricca 2008, 71–72).

A possible solution to these problems would be the insurance of a certain cultural diversity through different normative previsions. Within this context, the law must allow subjects, in predefined situations, to exercise their own cultural membership, but this type of normative strategy can also generate difficulties. First of all, as Ricca pointed out, there is a problem concerning the relationships between the subjects of different cultures, relationships that must be coordinated by equality and legal parity. Hence, the excess of norms in favor of some subjects can be regarded as unfair. Second, there would be the problem regarding the activation of the prerogative of ensuring equal legal effects in all situations. Normative differentiation on cultural bases must adapt to the inter-subjective relationships through membership in a certain culture (Ricca 2008, 73).

The observation of the cultural landscape gives us the possibility to see many examples of intercultural mediation throughout history. The most frequent example of intercultural mediation is represented by the efforts made for the translation of literary works from one language to another. This example is given in order to show that the translation of any text is not made *ad litteram*, but through the cultural perspective in which the paper was initially written. As it is shown in the research literature, the obsession for the act of mediation and for all that it implies has served as a common ideological function for writers. The structural conditions of the act of “translation,” of “mediation,” and of “correspondence” between texts have their origin in an ideological complex of the “identity” which helped many writers in the act of translation. The laws of translation, of mediation and of correspondence brought about the denaturalization of the identity and territoriality discourse (Spector 2000, 195–196). The term “acculturation” is used in order to show the exchange of cultural values between nations and people, for the improvement of the “universal heritage” (Zăpârțan 2001, 221).

Intercultural mediation is frequently practiced in the problems caused by migration, poverty, social rupture and vulnerability, in which understanding is necessary for existence itself and for the recognition of the individual. According to the research literature, the main categories of migrants are: asylum seekers, working migrants, refugees, workers with temporary working contracts, victims of international people trafficking, permanent immigrants, families who accompany the workers with temporary working contracts, foreign students, detached from development and interior movements (PrevotEAU and Hloschek 2008).

Intercultural mediation is a process through which “persons who come from different linguistic and cultural contexts share, through communication, their own cultural world,” respecting and accepting the original cultural world, “favoring the opening of the spaces of recognition and of socialization with persons who belong to the original ethnic group” (Belpiede 1998, 84). Another definition of intercultural mediation is the one presented by Antonio Chiarenza, who refers, in an explicit way, to more than one field of intervention of the process of intercultural mediation. According to this author, intercultural mediation represents “*the recognition* of the cultural codes of those involved in communicative relationships—migrant patient/provider, providers/migrant groups—in order to overcome barriers and to facilitate self determination; *the facilitation* of exchanges between the various parties—migrant users/service organizations/migrant communities—in order to anticipate possible misunderstandings; *the identification* and *the encouragement* of opportunities for dialectic interaction between people of different socio-cultural backgrounds; and *the support* of the organizational context in the process of making services appropriate for migrant users” (Chiarenza 2011, 2). We can easily see that this is a complex definition because, unlike Belpiede, whose definition can be framed in the category of simple and concise definitions, Chiarenza defines intercultural mediation by using no less than five explicative elements of this collocation: recognition, facilitation, identification, encouragement and support, for each of these elements providing its own definition. Making reference to a pluralist society, to cooperation, reciprocity, coexistence, integration and the micro and macro levels of the society, Berhanu defines intercultural mediation as “a process of promoting a pluralist society in which all members can exercise egalitarian cooperation, reciprocity, coexistence and integration while simultaneously encouraging the diverse communities and/or cultural/ethnic groups comprising the larger system to foster ‘connectedness’ and identification with their primordial groups in an effort to enrich and nurture meaningful life, both at micro and macro societal levels” (Berhanu 2006, 4).

There are many fields where intercultural mediation can intervene. Among those we recall: the receiving centers, the schools, the hospitals, the social services, the courts, the prisons and the orientation centers. One of the most recent ambitions of mediation application concerns the state of conflict which derives from the meeting of different cultures with Western culture. Over the last years, the migrations faced by Western states have put them into the position of adapting, by adopting different instruments appropriate for the diversity brought up by the immigrants. As a result of this effort of classifying cultural elements was created the figure of the intercultural mediator. The intercultural mediator works for the consolidation of the cultural identity of immigrants, for restoring

the historical strength of their roots, of their belonging to a reality which, in many cases, is not the one of the industrialized Western society and does not have the same parameters of reference, the same criteria, values and ideals. The mediator has, as a first instrument, the possibility offered by language. Intercultural mediation is a process characterized by professionalism, which is based on the knowledge of the language of *the other*. Therefore, the intercultural mediator is, first of all, a linguistic interpreter who understands the necessity of favoring knowledge and of using the proper services, with the intention of agreeing on the access to the same living conditions (Tiberio and Cericola 1999, 84–85).

In order to understand the tasks of the mediator it is important to distinguish him from the interpreter. Baraldi and Gavioli have presented the interpreter's cultural task as a dialogue coordinator and interpreter. From this point of view, interpreters may facilitate or inhibit the expression of personal interest and perceptions by the active listening and appreciation of the participants' contributions. Interpreters can thus help in promoting the distribution of active participation, addressing the participants' needs and interests. The authors have noted that the interpretation of dialogue is a type of interaction that is receiving more and more interest in studies on translation and intercultural communication and represents the institutional talk involving speakers of different languages and an interpreter providing translation services. This kind of talk is referred to as "interpreter-mediated interaction" or "interpretation of dialogue" (Baraldi and Gavioli 2007, 155).

In turn, others make a clear difference between the intercultural mediator and the social interpreter. In the opinion expressed by Temmerman and Clijsters, the first has the mission *to facilitate* communication and to solve communication problems by dissolving the causes of linguistic or cultural miscommunication; *to partly interpret*; *to offer emotional support* and *to report* different problems related to racism and discrimination. On the other hand, the mission of the social interpreter is *to transfer* messages as completely and accurately as possible; *not to interfere* with the content of the information; and *to act* on site and through interpreting by telephone (Temmerman and Clijsters 2011). According to Pentini, the intercultural mediator has the following tasks: *interpretation, translation, facilitation, information, orientation, accompanying, promoting the culture* of the migrants, *conflict prevention and management, exchange agent, recognition* and *value* (Pentini 2009).

As we have anticipated above, after being confronted with the migrant flow, many European states have felt the obligation to adopt normative measures for the development and consolidation of intercultural mediation. Within this context, we recall the example given by Italy which has been the objective of the immigrants who, especially in the last two decades, have settled on the Ital-

ian territory. This is the reason why the Italian immigration policy has been in the center of attention. This represented a starting point in the development of intercultural mediation. The need for linguistic and cultural mediation emerged in Italy as a result of the “invasion” of a mass of people of different nationalities, which had to be integrated. As we are going to see, in Italy’s case, integration has a positive sense and does not come in contradiction to intercultural mediation. The role of the intercultural mediator was shaped within this context. The purpose of the Italian strategy of intercultural mediation was to facilitate the integration of the immigrant subjects. This is a process which implied the establishment of the conditions in which the “new citizens” use and have access to services and resources on the Italian territory. Yet, it also implied much more than the recognition of the needs, and of the linguistic, cultural and religious differences of the immigrants. Intercultural mediation and the mediator have been implemented, for the first time, at national level, through Law no. 40/1998, which established the legal framework that stated the principles and the objectives in the field (Di Rosa 2005, 65–66).

The ways of intervention were multiple and ranged from a spontaneous mediation to a formal one. In the first case, the intercultural mediation was made by a member of the original community, in an unprofessional manner. In the second case, it was made by some mediators who represented the structures of the internal organizations, public or private, and their action took different forms. Thus, one can talk about intercultural mediation actions in some particular cases or about institutional actions which were part of the services ensured. The purposes, in this second case, were: the elimination of the cultural obstacles which made difficult the communication within the services and institutions destined to strangers; the quality improvement and the adequacy of services destined to strangers; the promotion of activities for conflict resolution between the ethnic communities and the native ones; and identifying the opportunities of preventing and suppressing conflicts. Thus, all associations made efforts, using the linguistic and cultural mediation, for the recognition of all fundamental rights. Starting from the existent experience, it led to a certain agreement over the functions that the intercultural mediator must have in practice: on the one hand, he must pursue the objective of solving the “dysfunctions” of the services, favoring the access to them and mediating the exclusion situations, and, on the other hand, he must pursue the objective involving the “transformation” and innovation of services, in order to open them to the “new and diverse” solicitations. At the beginning, this form of intervention was dedicated exclusively to the first contact with the immigrants. Today, one must take into consideration at least three different utilizations of intercultural mediation in Italy: intercultural mediation for the newcomers, intercultural mediation for the resident im-

migrants, and intercultural mediation as an activity of social reinsertion for the new generation (Di Rosa 2005, 67–68).

*Intercultural mediation for the newcomers* was developed as a consequence of the need to face the immediate needs, and to facilitate the inter-ethnic communication (De Vita and Berti 2002). The necessity of introducing the person of the mediator was first seen in the domain of social and healthcare services. Here it was first felt the need for someone who could improve the perception of the newcomers on the inadequacy of those services to their necessities. Analyzing the functions of the intercultural mediator, one can distinguish some of his main responsibilities: he must create a link between services and the new users through translation and information; he must try to maintain the mutual respect between services and their users; and he must find new ways of dialogue with the services, so that those services understand their aspirations, needs, and expectations. Within this context, the opinions on the role of the intercultural mediator are divided within the research literature. On one side, there are those who claim that intercultural mediation must be spontaneous and informal, and in this case the mediator accomplishes a voluntary activity. On the other side, there are those who argue that the mediator must have a professional role, and his work must be considered a social one, because it responds to a sum of specific needs. The dominant opinion is that the services of the mediator are complementary to the social services. From this point of view, it is considered that the mediators must be integrated within such services (Di Rosa 2005, 68–70).

*Intercultural mediation for the resident immigrants* refers to the peaceful inclusion of the new cultures in the Italian culture. The objective of this mediation is represented by the interest in conflict prevention by helping residents to express their demands, by translating and de-codifying their demands in legal terms. It is thought that only by adopting this policy the transition towards the recognition of the immigrants' rights can be achieved. Thus, mediation facilitates the integration of immigrants, simplifying the contact with them and with their own culture. Their integration involves the recognition of the needs, of the cultural, linguistic and religious differences of the newcomers. Law no. 40/1998 recognizes the diversity of cultural backgrounds of the immigrants, which is not in opposition with the fundamental values of the Italian society. Intercultural mediation for resident immigrants is characterized by the attempt at creating a network of belonging, in order to ensure interaction in an original way, through the institutions of the state, through communication, or in a less effective way, through political games (Di Rosa 2005, 71–73).

*Intercultural mediation as an activity of social reinsertion for the new generation* makes reference to the fact that the index of analysis of the strangers' integration is represented by the number of their children, who are enrolled in Italian



schools. There is no doubt that mediation represents a fundamental dimension of intercultural education, but it does not necessarily represent the single function of the mediator (Di Rosa 2005, 74–75). Through intercultural mediation within the educational system, the mediator must shape an interactive space, outlining the cultural differences. The intercultural mediator within the educational system must have the following skills: teaching skills—this includes the fact that he must have good knowledge of communication, animation, group coordination, personal identification and management techniques; he must have good knowledge of the Italian language and of the language specific to the ethnic group; he must have the capacity of communicating through relations building; and he must also have competences in conflict prevention and management (80–81).

The intervention of intercultural mediation in the European healthcare system is justified by two essential reasons. First of all, there is the context of international migrations, and second, there is the complexity of the healthcare system. In order to overcome these two obstacles, foreign patients have the following alternatives: they either turn to an interpreter, or to an association specialized in intercultural mediation. Cultural diversity must be taken into consideration in the medical policies, but this is being done differently in the European states. Thus, in Belgium and Sweden there is a national volunteer policy, while in France there are different initiatives of the associative sector. Those differences are justified both from a historical and a political point of view. Regarding the functioning of the associations specialized in intercultural mediation, differences were observed concerning the competences, the practices and the collaboration of mediators with different public services, the means of surveillance and the continuing training, and also the absence of the evaluation of interventions (Bouznah 2008).

The intervention of intercultural mediation in the healthcare system is also justified by the necessity for the medical services to be accessible and understandable for all immigrant patients. Within this context, intercultural mediation is a precious tool of the healthcare system destined for immigrants, but this does not mean that the medical institution can delegate its own responsibility. It is imperative that doctors train alongside intercultural mediators, but also that intercultural mediation “lives in a world of evidence based medicine.” The role of the intercultural mediator within the mediation process in the healthcare system takes the form of helping the understanding by the patient of the theory which justifies the medical intervention, of helping to overcome the impasse of the two discourses, and also of helping to maintain the continuity of the patient’s cultural world. The intervention of the intercultural mediator has some limits concerning: his capacity to convey the logic of the doctors’ intervention—an aspect

which often determines the acceptance by patient of the medical project without offering him first the means to understand the functioning and the logic of the medical service; the doctors' reticence to share with the intercultural mediator the medical file; and the impossibility to question the pertinence of the health-care project—which can bring the risk of ascribing the failure of the therapeutic project to the patients' cultural difference. In order to overcome these limitations, an association has been proposed between the intercultural mediator and the doctor who works in an intercultural environment (Bouznah 2008).

Referring to the intercultural mediator as an interpreter and dialogue coordinator, Baraldi and Gavioli wrote that the doctors' expressions of personal interest or appreciations of the participants' experience might either be directly responded to by the interpreter, or translated for the patients. This leads to different functions of the "dialogic actions" in the intercultural interaction. While support and appreciation are expressed by interlocutors towards each others' actions and experiences, a failure to translate such support and appreciation leads to the creation of a certain distance between doctor and patient. Interpreters' formulations through the translation process promote triadic affective interactions, fulfilling two key functions in the intercultural mediation, that of giving voice to the patients' emotions and that of supporting a patient-centered medical interaction. The analysis of the triadic management of affective expectations suggests that dialogue interpreting can empower the voice of either the patients or of the healthcare providers, thus constructing and enhancing intercultural mediation (Baraldi and Gavioli 2007, 155, 172).

As a consequence of the fact that European societies have become more and more multicultural and multi-denominational, because of their history and their geographic and strategic situation, but also due to their economic and commercial traditions, the five European regions from the Alps–Mediterranean Area (Liguria, Piedmont, Provence Alpes Côte d'Azur, Rhône-Alps and Valle d'Aosta) have been the destination of the migrant flows, especially of the ones which came from the south of the Mediterranean Sea. The historic multiculturalism of these European riparian regions, close to the Mediterranean basin, has endured for a long time in Europe, without any problems related to one's belonging to the regional and national communities of reference. Thus, in a city like Marseille, the population has multiple origins, and the religious landscape comprises Jewish and Christian communities (Catholics, Protestants, Armenians), different Muslim communities from the Maghreb, the Comoros and from Sub-Saharan Africa, but also communities native of Southeast Asia (Buddhists and Hindus). This kind of diversity is considered to be an asset from the point of view of the human resources of the country, region or city. This rises many problems regarding the solutions to the problems created by the cultural diversity, in

spite of the accelerated mutations of our societies, in the context of the current economic crisis which engenders poverty and social exclusion, developing both identity withdrawal and communitarianism, but also the rejection of *the other's* culture, in most cases without any knowledge. The risk that some members of those cultural groups, who are confronted with social and economic difficulties or who have to face the geostrategic tensions, might develop certain reactions has increased. The tendency towards cultural exclusivism is in full development. This aspect is contradictory to the social contract and endangers the principles of coexistence that are the essence of the European societies (Projet 2010–2011, 2–3). The most appropriate example which supports this theory is represented by the attacks in Oslo (Norway), from 22 July 2011, which have been qualified by French and German officials as being “a failure of multiculturalism.”

Within this context, the Alps–Mediterranean Region along with the Euro PACA Region are interested in including among their objectives the guarantee of the unity in cultural and religious diversity, ensuring the benefits of multiculturalism and social peace, but also the consolidation of social cohesion through economic development and through sharing the common values. In 2010 there occurred various exchanges between the PACA and IHEI Regions with the purpose of devising and putting into practice a multiannual action program referring to: actions of training people in the knowledge and practice of interculturalism; advertisement actions; and a Euro-Mediterranean intercultural, economic and social forum. In this direction we also recall: educative actions vis-à-vis the students of primary schools, colleges and high schools, in order to make them sensitive to *the others*; specific training addressed to the state's public agencies, at territorial, hospital level, which, in their work, encounter populations of different cultures, and which, in different situations, must explain to them the existing legal provisions and regulations and must clarify different misunderstandings; training actions for learning the religions and the great principles and values of the main religions which are present in Europe, and also of their history, practice and internal diversity; actions of presenting the secular principles and the rules of coexistence; and also manifestations promoting art as “a link between cultures and people.” Many of these actions have led to the formation of partnerships with cultural associations.

## Conclusions

**I**N THE context of globalization and multiculturalism, European cultural identity is facing different problems related to maintaining its specificity, but at the same time, it must accomplish a successful intercultural exchange,

through an open attitude towards understanding differences, through communication and the assimilation of new values. This complex process can only be accomplished through intercultural mediation which is steadily becoming a mainstream method to solve intercultural disputes and conflicts in Europe. We must agree with the conclusion reached by the research literature that, as a result of globalization and of the growing cultural diversity of the European population, mediations are full of intercultural elements (Stekelenburg 2009).

In the present paper we tried to analyze the main aspects of intercultural mediation, taking into consideration the multitude of works and research papers that concentrate nowadays on different aspects of intercultural mediation. In the introductory part we focused our attention on the importance of culture, negotiation and mediation for the formation of the European identity. With reference to the role of culture in this process, we defined negotiation and mediation as ways of keeping the balance within a society and of solving the identity issues, also presenting the tight relationship that the research literature has found between these two communicational procedures.

As we have already underlined, the research literature has given a lot of attention to intercultural mediation, but of real inspiration for our paper was the work of the Italian author Mario Ricca, *Oltre Babele: Codici per una democrazia interculturale* (Beyond Babel: Codex for an intercultural democracy), because there we found both a new family of terms and concepts that refer to culture (“multiculture, multicultural, multiculturalism, interculture, interculturalism, intercultural, cross-cultural, transcultural, infra-cultural and intracultural”), and the roots of this new terminology which are: the migration phenomena, the ethnic diversity of the states’ populations, the globalization of communication and the altering of traditions. Starting from Ricca’s work we made a short presentation of the double significance of the terms “multicultural” and “intercultural,” of the “multicultural society” and of the term “multiculturalism.”

The third part of our study is focused on intercultural mediation as one of the best solutions used in order to solve the problems raised by Europe’s cultural diversity. Intercultural mediation is frequently present in the efforts made for the translation of literary works from one language to another, but it is also practiced in the problems caused by migration, poverty, social rupture and vulnerability. The definition of intercultural mediation was given from a triple perspective, the one presented by Belpiede who refers to intercultural mediation as a process of communication between people who belong to different cultures; the other belongs to Chiarenza who, from our own point of view, defines intercultural mediation in a more complex way, gathering for this purpose elements like: the fields in which intercultural mediation intervenes and different explanatory

elements; and the third presented by Berhanu who refers to a pluralist society promoted by the process of intercultural mediation, by cooperation, reciprocity, coexistence, and integration at the micro and macro levels of the society.

The central figure of intercultural mediation is represented by the intercultural mediator who, by virtue of his recognized skills and through language, works for the consolidation of the cultural identity of immigrants. Within this context, we considered it important to present the main features which distinguish the intercultural mediator from the social interpreter, but also to clarify that one of the main tasks of the intercultural mediator is represented by the ability to interpret different issues in the process of intercultural mediation.

The multitude of the intervention fields of intercultural mediation determined us to make reference, in a general way, to the normative measures that were taken in some European states for the development and the consolidation of intercultural mediation in the social and in the healthcare systems. For the social system, the example offered by Italy, in the context of approaching the flow of immigrants, was edifying in our approach, as we consider it the starting point in the development of European intercultural mediation. Used initially only for the first contact with the immigrants, the Italian strategy of intercultural mediation presently concentrates on the newcomers, on the resident immigrants, and on the social reinsertion of the new generation. For the intervention of intercultural mediation in the healthcare system, justified both by its complexity and by the immigrant flow, we directed our attention towards the examples offered by Belgium, Sweden and France which, from a political and historical point of view, are very different. Within this context, we directed our analysis towards the reasons that require intercultural mediation in the healthcare system, but also towards the special role of the intercultural mediator in this field.

We concluded our research on intercultural mediation with the solutions proposed in the Project named “Intercultural Mediation and Euro-Mediterranean Exchanges in PACA” for the years 2010–2011, for the European multiculturalism, by the five European regions from the Alps–Mediterranean Area which became aware of the dangers that rise from the unsolved problems related to Europe’s cultural diversity, in the hope that all European countries will participate in the development of such projects and will implement such multiannual action programs with the same, if not with enriched objectives, in order to prevent intercultural conflicts, to promote interculturalism at all levels of the European society, and thus maintain peace in the European intercultural environment.



## References

- Acland, Andrew Floyer. 1990. *A Sudden Outbreak of Common Sense: Managing Conflict through Mediation*. London: Hutchinson.
- Adler, Nancy. 1992. *International Dimensions of Organizational Behavior*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company.
- Ancheș, Diana-Ionela. 2011. *Medierea în viața social-politică*. Bucharest: Ed. Universitară.
- Ausburger, David. 1992. *Conflict Mediation across Cultures: Pathways and Patterns*. Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press.
- Baraldi, Claudio, and Laura Gavioli. 2007. "Dialogue Interpreting as Intercultural Mediation: An Analysis in Healthcare Multicultural Settings." In *Dialogue and Culture*, eds. Marion Grein and Edda Weigand. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Belpiede, Anna. "La mediazione culturale nei Servizi Sociali." *Animazione Sociale* 3 (1998): 84–96.
- Berger, Peter. 1998. "Conclusion: General Observations on Normative Conflicts and Mediation." In *The Limits of Social Cohesion: Conflict and Mediation in Pluralist Societies. A Report of the Bertelsmann Foundation to the Club of Rome*, ed. Peter L. Berger. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press.
- Berhanu, Girma. "Intercultural Mediation, the Institutions of Learning and the Process of Educational 'Integration' and Assimilation: The Case of Ethiopian Jews in Israel." *Educational Research Review* 1(3) (June 2006): 62–79. Accessed 22 July 2011. <http://eric.ed.gov/?id=EJ903179>.
- Bogue, Ronald and Marcel Cornis-Pope. 1996. "Introduction: Paradigms of Conflict and Mediation in Literary and Cultural Imagination." In *Violence and Mediation in Contemporary Culture*, eds. Ronald Bogue and Marcel Cornis-Pope. New York: SUNY Series, the Margins of Literature, State University of New York Press.
- Bouznah, Serge. "La médiation interculturelle à l'hôpital: Les médecins à l'épreuve d'un objet encore mal identifié." IPAOS Culture et Santé. Accessed 22 July 2011. [http://www.inpes.sante.fr/jp/cr/pdf/2008/Session7/06\\_SergeBOUZNAH.pdf](http://www.inpes.sante.fr/jp/cr/pdf/2008/Session7/06_SergeBOUZNAH.pdf).
- Caune, Jean. 2000. *Cultură și comunicare: Convergențe teoretice și locuri de mediere*. Trans. Mădălina Bălășescu. Bucharest: Cartea Românească.
- Cesareo, Vincenzo. 2002. *Società multietniche e multiculturalismi*. Milan: Vita e Pensiero.
- Chiarenza, Antonio. "Intercultural Mediation." Accessed 22 July 2011. [http://www.mfh-eu.net/public/files/conference/mfh\\_paper1\\_5\\_intercultural\\_mediation.pdf](http://www.mfh-eu.net/public/files/conference/mfh_paper1_5_intercultural_mediation.pdf).
- De Vita, Roberto and Fabio Berti. 2002. *Dialogo senza paure: Scuola e servizi sociali in una società multiculturale e multi religiosa*. Milan: FrancoAngeli.
- Di Rosa, Roberta T. 2005. *Mediazione tra culture: Politiche e percorsi di integrazione*. Pisa: Pisa University Press.
- Dupont, Christophe. 1994. *La Négociation: Conduite, théorie, applications*. 4<sup>th</sup> edition. Paris: Dalloz.

- Gamman, John. 1994. *Overcoming Obstacles in Environmental Policymaking: Creating Partnerships through Mediation*. New York: SUNY Series in International Environmental Policy and Theory, State University of New York Press.
- Lake, Ruth. 2000. *L'arte della negoziazione interculturale: Concludere affari senza barriere*. Milan: FrancoAngeli.
- “Médiation interculturelle et échanges euro méditerranéens: Parcours de citoyenneté en PACA.” *Médiation interculturelle et parcours citoyen pour l'Euro Region*. Séminaire benchmarking d'expériences françaises et italiennes. Projet. 2010–2011. Accessed 22 July 2011.  
www.ihei-asso.org.
- Pentini, Anna Aluffi. *Médiation interculturelle en Italie*. Accessed 22 July 2011.  
<http://www.google.ro/#hl=ro&source=hp&q=Anna+Aluffi+Pentini%2C+Mediation+interculturelle>.
- Phillips, Barbara Ashley. 2001. *The Mediation Field Guide: Transcending Litigation and Resolving Conflicts in Your Business or Organization*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Prevoteau du Clary, François, and Sylvia Hloschek. 2008. “Médiation interculturelle dans le champ de la Santé Enjeux, intérêts et problèmes.” Accessed 22 July 2011.  
[http://www.inpes.sante.fr/jp/cr/pdf/2008/Session7/09\\_PREVOTEAU.pdf](http://www.inpes.sante.fr/jp/cr/pdf/2008/Session7/09_PREVOTEAU.pdf).
- Ricca, Mario. 2008. *Oltre Babele: Codici per una democrazia interculturale*. Bari: Dedalo.
- Richbell, David. 2008. *Mediation of Construction Disputes*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Spector, Scott. 2000. *Prague Territories: National Conflict and Cultural Innovation in Franz Kafka's Fin de Siècle*. University of California Press.
- Stekelenburg, Philia. 2009. “Intercultural Mediation, Qualifications and Characteristics of the Intercultural Mediator.” In *Médiation, Master européen en médiation*. Sion, Switzerland: Institut Universitaire Kurt Bosch.
- Stimec, Arnaud. 2005. *La Négociation*. Paris: Dunod.
- . 2007. *La Médiation en entreprise, faciliter le dialogue, gérer les conflits, favoriser la coopération*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. Paris: Dunod.
- Stoner, Katherine. 2006. *Divorce without Court: A Guide to Mediation and Collaborative Divorce*. Berkeley: Nolo.
- Temmerman, Rita and Lottle Clijsters. *Intercultural Mediation and Communication in Hospitals in Brussels*. Erasmushogeschool Brussel: Department of Applied Linguistics. Accessed 22 July 2011.  
<http://www.e-spices.net/res/Presentations/temmermanclijsters.pdf>.
- Tiberio, Antonio and Alberto Cericola. 1999. *Vi dichiaro separati: Separazione, divorzio e mediazione*. Milan: FrancoAngeli.
- Zăpârțan, Liviu-Petru. 2001. *Relațiile internaționale*. Cluj-Napoca: Studia.
- . 2007. *Negocierile în viața social-politică*. Cluj-Napoca: Eikon.
- . 2008. “La Politique culturelle de l'Union Européenne.” In *Tratatul de la Lisabona: UE către reformă instituțională și consens*, eds. S. Gherghina, G. Jiglău, O. Pecican, and F. Pop. Cluj-Napoca: Dacia.

## **Abstract**

### **Intercultural Mediation**

Nowadays a successful intercultural exchange requires the understanding of differences, through communication and assimilation of the new values brought up by the immigrant population in the European states. Intercultural mediation is one of the best methods used for solving the problems raised by Europe's cultural diversity, through negotiation, communication and the acceptance of the other, all of them with the help of the central figure of the intercultural mediator. In the present paper we have presented two of the most important fields of intervention for intercultural mediation, the social and the healthcare systems, through the examples offered by Italy, Belgium, Sweden and France, and some of the best solutions for its functioning, inspired by the Project proposed for the years 2010–2011 by five European regions from the Alps–Mediterranean Area which became aware of the necessity of intercultural mediation for conflict prevention and the preservation of peace in the European intercultural environment.

## **Keywords**

intercultural mediation, negotiation, European cultural identity, intercultural mediator



---

## BOOK REVIEWS

---

**TEODOR OCTAVIAN GHEORGHIU et SMARANDA MARIA BICA**

**Restituții : orașe la începuturile Evului Mediu românesc**

(Restitutions : les villes au début du Moyen Âge roumain)

Avant-propos par ANDREI RĂZVAN VOINEA  
Bucarest, Ed. Fundației Arhitect, 2015

---

**L**E LIVRE ci-présent, œuvre de deux architectes et professeurs à la Faculté d'Architecture de Timișoara, est structuré en deux parties. La première partie, théorique, est formée de deux sous-chapitres : « Considérations générales sur la relation ville-fortification-rempart » et « Chronologie et promoteurs de l'urbanistique médiévale dans l'espace roumain », alors que la seconde comporte des études de cas sur six agglomérations urbaines fortifiées et les conclusions.

L'ouvrage commence par présenter les aspects spécifiques de la relation entre la ville et sa fonction défensive dans l'espace roumain, où l'urbanisme médiéval s'est propagé jusqu'au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle. Cette relation a oscillé dans le temps entre typique – villes pourvues de remparts – et atypique – densités particulières des constructions, réseau urbain, réseaux souterrains de refuge, qui « forment un type spécifique de villes, difficiles à retrouver dans d'autres régions du continent » (p. 20). L'urbanisme médiéval roumain a connu trois grandes étapes historiques, qui se sont matérialisées en plusieurs modèles : l'étape pré-étatique, jusqu'au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle ; l'étape de la genèse,

de la consolidation et de la centralisation des États roumains indépendants, entre le XIV<sup>e</sup> et le XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle ; et l'étape de la dépendance de la Porte ottomane, du XVI<sup>e</sup> au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle. Dans chacune de ces étapes, les auteurs ont identifié les entités politiques qui avaient généré des agglomérations urbaines et qui s'étaient impliquées dans le domaine de l'urbanisme, de même que leur aire d'influence dans l'espace roumain.

Pour la première étape, pré-étatique, on nous présente des agglomérations fondées ou développées durant cette période dans les provinces géographiques-historiques roumaines, qui seront par la suite analysées sous forme d'études de cas : Enisala, au Dobroudja, Cetatea Albă, Orheiul Vechi et Suceava, en Moldavie, Câmpulung, en Valachie. Pour l'étape de fondation et de consolidation des États médiévaux roumains proprement dits et pour l'étape de dépendance de la Sublime Porte, le principal promoteur a été l'institution princière, dont les actions politiques s'étaient matérialisées en l'apparition et le développement d'un réseau de villes. Outre leur fonction commerciale, les villes ont rempli aussi une mission militaire, « comme des nœuds importants du réseau défensif » (p. 26). Simultanément à l'apparition de « nouvelles » villes médiévales, les villes anciennes ont subi des transformations contextuelles, des mutations morphologiques et structurelles. Les plus représentatives pour ces étapes ont été Orheiul Vechi, Cetatea Albă, Suceava, Roman, Soroca (en Moldavie) et Câmpulung-Muscel, Enisala, Giurgiu (en Valachie).

La plupart de l'ouvrage est consacré aux études de cas (p. 34-191) sur les agglomérations urbaines de Cetatea Albă, Enisala, Orheiul Vechi, Suceava, Câmpulung-Muscel, Soroca, Roman et Giurgiu. Elles sont conçues suivant un schéma logique unitaire : le plan de situation ou la présentation des principaux éléments morphométriques et morphologiques du cadre naturel, surtout le relief et le réseau hydrographique ; l'esquisse historique de l'évolution de l'agglomération, avec des plans, des relevés, des reconstitutions, des images anciennes et nouvelles, des cartes anciennes. Pour chacune des agglomérations analysées, les auteurs mettent en évidence son parcours et sa fonction de défense ou urbaine. Ainsi, Enisala (Yeni Sale) « concerne une succession d'habitats, à commencer par 'Viculus Novus' (Satul Nou) romain, que les Slaves appelaient 'Novo selo', les Petchenègues 'Yeni Sale' et les Turcs 'Enisala' » (p. 38). Les auteurs mettent en évidence les étapes d'édification de la citadelle, sa relation avec le lac Razelm, la fortification de la zone habitée de l'est de la citadelle, et ils avancent une série d'hypothèses au sujet de son évolution. Cetatea Albă, l'une des plus anciennes agglomérations urbaines de l'est de l'Europe, a connu deux étapes antiques, grecque et romaine, et plusieurs étapes médiévales et modernes, qui sont présentées à l'aide de plans et d'images. Les auteurs relèvent le rôle que la Moldavie avait joué dans le développement de cette agglomération urbaine fortifiée jusqu'en 1484, quand elle a été occupée par le sultan Bajazet II et rattachée à l'Empire ottoman et, à partir de 1812, à l'Empire tsariste. Orheiul Vechi a eu un parcours très intéressant. Entité urbaine d'origine mongole – « Sehr al-Djedid » –, elle est située à proximité du « canyon » du Răut, sur un fondement urbain au-

tochtone remontant aux XII<sup>e</sup>-XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles. Suceava, « l'une des villes médiévales roumaines les plus recherchées », illustre le mieux les trois étapes d'évolution de ce type de villes, que les auteurs évoquent dans le chapitre théorique. Câmpulung-Muscel est une ville « dont la situation est particulière » dans la constellation urbaine de Valachie. Fondée par « une communauté de colons catholiques de Transylvanie », cette ville a eu « une genèse et une organisation urbaine précoce, des libertés individuelles et collectives pour les habitants, des relations privilégiées avec l'État, une administration autonome solide » (p. 118). Bien que « les antécédents de l'habitat et de la citadelle médiévale de Soroca aient moins préoccupé les historiens spécialisés en l'urbanisation de la Moldavie » (p. 146), les auteurs esquissent les étapes de son évolution urbanistique suivant le typique énoncé dans le chapitre théorique. Située au carrefour des principaux chemins commerciaux européens, cette citadelle avait eu une relation étroite avec la ville (le bourg), en raison justement de sa fonction commerciale importante, que les études d'urbanistique ont mise en évidence. Le bourg médiéval de Roman surprend par la présence de plusieurs éléments urbains : la citadelle et la ville fortifiée, la nouvelle « citadelle » de Gădintî, la cour princière et l'évêché, qui compliquent l'identification des phases d'évolution du complexe urbain. La dernière étude de cas, sur la ville de Giurgiu, fait référence à un ensemble fortifié datant du XI<sup>e</sup> ou du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Bénéficiant d'une position favorable sur la rive gauche du Danube, cette agglomération était un nœud routier important qui reliait la Valachie à Constantinople à travers le Tsarat bulgare. Son étape ottomane avait commencé en 1417, lorsqu'elle avait été transformée en raïa jusqu'en 1829.

Les auteurs soulignent que dans la première étape de l'urbanisation à l'est et au sud des Carpates, les villes avaient été fondées par des entités étatiques extérieures à l'espace roumain, tandis que dans la deuxième étape elles avaient été purement roumaines. Leur évolution a suivi des procédés urbanistiques – locations, fondation, apport de population, organisation structurelle, législation, morphologie parcellaire – provenant des centres urbains européens et passées par le filtre central-européen et balkanique. Après l'entrée des principautés roumaines dans la sphère d'influence ottomane, leur système défensif ainsi que l'administration et toute leur structure ont subi des mutations. Cette nouvelle situation, à laquelle les villes roumaines ont dû s'adapter chacune à sa manière, est visible surtout dans le système défensif, des fortifications, que les militaires russes et autrichiens allaient mettre en évidence au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle par des relevés topographiques.

Cette étude constitue certainement un pas en avant dans l'analyse de la cristallisation urbanistique sur le territoire roumain. Recommandée à la fois aux historiens, aux urbanistes, aux géographes et aux facteurs de décision de l'administration locale, régionale et nationale, elle pourrait s'avérer un instrument utile d'informations et une méthode originale d'approcher le phénomène urbanistique.



ALEXANDRU PĂCURAR

---

**Regimentul I românesc de graniță  
(nr. 16) din Transilvania de la înființare  
până la sfârșitul războaielor  
napoleoniene (1762-1815)**

(Le 1<sup>er</sup> Régiment roumain de gardes-frontières (n° 16) en Transylvanie depuis sa création jusqu'à la fin des guerres napoléoniennes, 1762-1815)

Édition, traduction, étude introductive, notes explicatives et annexes par

COSTIN FENEȘAN

Cluj-Napoca, Academia Română, Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 2015

---

**U**NE DES provocations de l'écrit historique, dans ses efforts de capter l'intérêt des lecteurs pour une connaissance du passé qui soit compatible avec les exigences de l'esprit critique, est de combattre des lieux communs qui identifient ses produits avec un domaine réservé à un cercle d'initiés utilisant une terminologie propre et véhiculant des concepts difficiles à comprendre. C'est dans la sphère des mêmes préjugés que s'inscrivent les plaidoyers pour une lecture de l'histoire affranchie des limitations chronologiques et événementielles. Ils placent sur un plan secondaire les thèmes constituant des sujets de dispute entre l'écrit historique positiviste et le discours politique et identitaire et privilégient une connaissance dominée par des sujets inspirés de l'agenda public contemporain. De pareilles vulnérabilités ont été accentuées par les options pour des directions historiographiques intéressées à se légitimer dans leurs relations avec les sciences exactes, ce qui a favorisé la parution d'ouvrages pourvus d'un appareil critique hypertrophié, destiné à certifier l'érudition de l'auteur plutôt que d'assurer l'accès aux résultats d'une recherche et d'une conclusion personnelles.

C'est pourquoi, la publication de manuscrits récupérés grâce à des recherches dans les archives est l'expression incontestable de la dimension scientifique assumée par l'histoire. Elle est aussi la manifestation de l'érudition qui a besoin d'une connaissance approfondie du temps, des gens et des faits pour être assimilée, ainsi que d'une vision interdisciplinaire fondée sur des données de sociologie culturelle et des corrélations avec des sources écrites similaires.

Le livre ci-présent pourrait constituer une réponse à ces provocations. La démarche de l'éditeur est parfaitement compatible avec les exigences de l'esprit critique et confirme une fois de plus l'importance que l'investigation historique avait attachée au document durant les deux derniers siècles, dans le but de récupérer une source primaire d'information pour les études d'histoire moderne de la Transylvanie. La rigueur de l'éditeur et le souci de faciliter l'assimilation de l'affirmation sont aussi illustrés par l'intervalle chronologique strictement circonscrit et par la publication successive de la traduction en roumain et de l'original en allemand. L'histoire des réalités dans les espaces-frontière constitue une zone de grand intérêt pour l'historiographie, depuis les recherches destinées aux limes romain jusqu'aux titres successoraux des souverains médiévaux ou aux théories qui légitimaient l'État territorial pré-moderne. La modernité, avec sa rhétorique liée à la construction de la nation, a conféré à la frontière des significations identitaires certaines, qui ont été diffusées comme des moyens de renforcer le loyalisme étatique à travers l'éducation publique, et l'actualité consigne le revirement des réflexions associées à la relation entre cette dernière et la civilisation. L'histoire de l'ensemble des États et des nations réunis sous l'autorité de la Maison d'Autriche en vertu d'une

légitimité médiévale mais gouvernés dans l'esprit d'une modernisation octroyée et des réalités militaires et administratives qu'elle avait générées à ses frontières méridionales est une illustration des oscillations que l'enthousiasme pour l'intégration, les expériences réformistes et le processus d'affirmation de l'identité nationale avaient déterminés au niveau de la manière dont ce passé commun a été perçu par les nations impliquées dans le spectre large des relations spécifiques de la proximité. La connaissance des événements de grande importance pour l'histoire d'Europe centrale par l'intermédiaire des Roumains transylvains qui y avaient participé offre les amendements nécessaires aux préconceptions liées à leur rôle périphérique dans l'histoire de la Monarchie des Habsbourg ou à leur position de bénéficiaires des politiques publiques, tout comme les études dédiées à la noblesse roumaine de Transylvanie modifie les convictions qui identifient les Roumains à une nation de serfs. De ce point de vue, l'ouvrage ci-présent continue la tendance de l'écrit historique roumain des dernières années à réévaluer les innovations opérées par le pouvoir en relation avec ses domaines de prédilection, l'Église, l'école et l'appareil militaire.

L'étude introductive présente brièvement l'histoire de ce document. Découvert en 1977 par Gheorghe Duzinchevici, ancien directeur des Archives de l'État de Sibiu (1945-1963), ce manuscrit s'est « égaré » dans les archives de Bucarest, pour être ensuite retrouvé et mis en valeur par l'historien Costin Feneșan. Les notations relatives à l'éventuelle provenance de ce manuscrit sont suivies d'une analyse de l'historiographie de la problématique des régiments transylvains de frontière, qui avaient été valorisés par la publication de la monographie du major Gustav

Ritter Amon von Treuenfest en 1890. Avec la minutie propre au travail dans les archives, l'éditeur cherche à établir les éléments d'identité du document, tel que le nom de l'auteur, qui est connu par l'intermédiaire d'une signature sommaire (Hetz ou Hotz). Le style des notes et la corrélation avec des événements contemporains de l'auteur du manuscrit nous font croire que celui-ci pourrait être un ancien officier, qui n'a pas été retrouvé sur la liste des officiers du régiment d'Orlat. La conservation de quelques fragments du texte sous forme de brouillons, avec quatre graphies différentes, indique, à l'avis de l'éditeur, la contribution collective d'une équipe coordonnée par l'auteur, la période de rédaction étant placée entre 1883 (date de parution du dernier ouvrage cité) et 1890 (année de la publication du livre de von Treuenfest). L'intérêt du Grand État-major de l'armée impériale d'écrire une telle histoire a été transposé au niveau des unités territoriales et assumé par des intellectuels provenant des communautés établies sur les anciens territoires de la frontière militaire. Les sources documentaires utilisées par l'auteur ont été à la fois des ouvrages déjà publiés et des documents conservés aux Archives militaires à Vienne (Kriegsarchiv), dans le fonds du Conseil aulique de Guerre (Hofkriegsrat), dans celui de l'armée de terre (Feldzüge) de même qu'aux archives du 1<sup>er</sup> Régiment roumain de frontière. Ce qui individualise ce manuscrit parmi les publications du domaine, c'est l'intérêt pour des aspects militaires comme l'organisation des petites unités, l'instruction des soldats, la dotation du régiment, ou pour des événements passés sous silence par la monographie de 1890, telle que la participation de ce régiment à l'étouffement de la révolte roumaine en 1784-1785. L'introduction s'achève par

une note sur l'édition, qui comporte une description détaillée du manuscrit de 232 feuilles, avec la présentation des divisions chronologiques et thématiques établies par l'auteur et des brouillons.

La première section du manuscrit couvre l'intervalle chronologique compris entre la date de création du régiment et la Guerre de la Succession de la Bavière (1762-1778). Le récit des événements rappelle la concision des chroniques médiévales et maintient la segmentation chronologique annuelle. Il est parsemé d'observations d'ordre économique, social et patrimonial, telles que l'impact des nouvelles formes d'organisation administrative sur le régime de la propriété foncière roumaine, les frais de fonctionnement du régiment ou le phénomène de la migration des familles établies dans les zones frontalières en Valachie – assez ample pour générer des mesures en faveur des gardes-frontières. La deuxième section concerne surtout la participation de quelques unités du régiment à des opérations militaires pendant la Guerre de la Succession de la Bavière. Outre la description détaillée des offensives, des sièges et des retraits qui faisaient la substance de la guerre au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, l'auteur offre des données sur la conduite des soldats, les mesures destinées à imposer les normes de discipline, les conséquences des réformes de Joseph II sur l'organisation du régiment, la situation matérielle des troupes, l'éducation des habitants.

Les réalités transylvaines reviennent au centre de l'attention de l'auteur dans la troisième section de l'ouvrage, qui est dédiée au comportement du régiment durant la révolte des Roumains, en 1784-1785. Dans des notations concises mais édifiantes, l'auteur se déclare d'accord avec les conclusions de l'historiographie

du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle au moment où il identifie les prémisses de la révolte avec le statut de la nation roumaine et avec les interprétations que les Roumains avaient données à la réorganisation de la Transylvanie. Les segments suivants de l'histoire, qui sont rédigés à la manière d'un journal de front, portent sur la participation du régiment de gardes-frontières à la guerre russo-austro-turque de 1787-1791. Le déroulement des hostilités à proximité de la zone de résidence de l'unité a signifié sa participation effective à des actions offensives et défensives dans les cols des Carpates, en Valachie et sur le bord du Danube. Les conséquences avaient été des plus diverses, depuis les distinctions accordées à des soldats et des cadres du régiment jusqu'à la détérioration des conditions économiques dans les localités frontalières, suivies des tentatives des autorités d'obtenir la démobilisation en vertu de la condition de citoyens libres. Le dernier segment est dédié à la participation des deux régiments roumains de gardes-frontières aux guerres contre la France révolutionnaire dans les années 1793-1799. Il marque le retour à des données d'histoire militaire, sans aucun commentaire d'ordre politique ou national, sous les auspices du patriotisme et du loyalisme dynastique. Même si les unités s'étaient heurtées à des difficultés dans la mobilisation des effectifs, l'efficacité des troupes roumaines dans la défense de la frontière rhénane est prouvée par leur présence dans toutes les opérations offensives de l'année 1793-1794, par le nombre réduit de victimes, par les distinctions accordées à des officiers et, surtout, par la participation des nouvelles bataillons combinés à la défense du pont d'Arcole. Cette épopée militaire s'achève par les défaites subies en 1799, lorsqu'une grande partie

des unités belligérantes est tombée aux mains de l'ennemi. Les gardes-frontières roumains ont toutefois continué à représenter une force, à laquelle les autorités allaient faire appel au moment de la reprise des hostilités, en 1809 et en 1813-1815.

Le texte en allemand est suivi de plusieurs annexes contenant un dictionnaire biographique des généraux et des officiers supérieurs autrichiens, prussiens et français mentionnés dans l'ouvrage, la liste des commandants du 1<sup>er</sup> Régiment roumain de gardes-frontières de Transylvanie (1762-1851), la liste des actions militaires auxquelles avaient participé des unités de ce régiment et des pertes subies, la liste des documents publiés, des cartes et des reproductions de quelques feuilles du manuscrit de Bucarest.

Le manuscrit publié par Costin Feneșan concerne des réalités historiques bien connues et amplement débattues par l'écrivain roumain. Il offre à l'historien une source documentaire de premier ordre et continue des préoccupations éditoriales plus anciennes, génératrices de bénéfices historiographiques.



FLORIAN DUMITRU SOPORAN

**NICOLAE BOCSAN U. ION CĂRJA**

**Die Rumänische Unierte Kirche  
am Ersten Vatikanischen Konzil**

Neue Forschungen zur ostmittel-  
und südosteuropäischen Geschichte,  
Band 4

Herausgegeben von HARALD HEPPNER  
und ULRIKE TISCHLER-HOFER

Peter Lang Internationaler Verlag der  
Wissenschaften, Frankfurt am Main-  
Berlin-Bern-Bruxelles-New York-Oxford-  
Wien 2013

**I**M RUMÄNISCHEN Kulturraum ist die Kirchengeschichte nicht nur bei Historikern, sondern auch bei Theologen sowie verschiedenen gebildeten Menschen immer beliebter geworden. Verurteilt und isoliert vom kommunistischen Regime hat die Kirche und ihre Geschichte nach den 1989 Umbruch einen sichtbaren Aufschwung genommen, sodass auf wissenschaftlicher Ebene in den verschiedenen akademischen Zentren Rumäniens Kirchengeschichte wieder ins Zentrum der Aufmerksamkeit von Historikern rückte. Es wird dadurch eine ältere Forschungstradition, dass insbesondere in der siebenbürgischen akademischen Milieu der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts zu Hause war. Unter diesen Zentren hat sich die Babeş-Bolyai-Universität-Klausenburg (Cluj-Napoca) eine führende Rolle erworben, was durch die zahlreichen wissenschaftlichen Projekte die unter dem Dach des neu eingeweihten Instituts für kirchliche Studien belegbar scheint. Das große Ziel, das vorgelegt wurde, ist die Restitution sowie die Aufarbeitung der Geschichte der historischen Kirchen Siebenbürgens (Orthodoxe, Unierte oder Griechisch-Katholische, Römisch-Katholische, Evangelische, Re-

formierte und Unitarische oder Antitrinitarische). Dieses Projekt war und ist von großer Wichtigkeit und Aktualität für die ganze zeitgenössische Geschichtsschreibung des rumänischen Raumes, wo die sozialistische und atheistische Ideologie die historische Erforschung der Kirchen-, Religions- und der religiösen Kulturgeschichte entweder behinderte, oder es den Historikern und Historikerinnen nur ermöglichte, parteikonform zu forschen, wodurch eine nicht auf Quellen beruhende, sondern auf politischen Interessen fußende und politisierte Geschichte entstanden ist. Aus dieser Perspektive betrachtet, war und ist das Forschungsprojekt der Babeş-Bolyai-Universität aktuell und legitim.

Ein Erstes Blick durch die kirchengeschichtliche Historiografie der Letzten zwanzig Jahren zeigt uns, dass zwischen all dem zuvor erwähnten Kirchen Siebenbürgens am meisten die Vergangenheit der mit Rom Unierten Kirche das Interesse der Forscher aufgeweckt hat. Eine plausible Erklärung an dieser Feststellung findet man, einerseits in der Richtung der älteren Forschungsinteresse dass sich hauptsächlich mit ihrer früheren Vergangenheit befasste, und andererseits in der von der ehemaligen politischen Regime ihr vorgeschriebenen *dammatio memoriae*, das nicht nur ihre gesellschaftliche Präsenz verbot, sondern auch die Forschung ihrer Vergangenheit verhinderte. Es gab also eine große historiografische Lücke, die man ausfüllen wollte, aber, man muss auch öffentlich gestehen, dass bis heutzutage kein Zugangshinderniss im Wege der Forscher zur primären Grandlagen dieser Kirche gibt, da all ihre Archivgut in den verschiedenen Archivbestände der rumänischen Nationalarchive bewahrt werden, was leider im Falle der anderen Kirchen nicht zutrefflich ist.

Die Autoren des vorliegenden Bandes sind zwei renommierte Kirchenhistoriker der Babeş-Bolyai-Universität. Gründer des Instituts für Kirchengeschichte, sowie wissenschaftlicher Mentor von mehrere jüngere Historiker und Historikerinnen, die ihren akademischer Laufbahn in dieser thematischen Richtung beginnt und entwickelt haben, ist Nicolae Boşcan, Altrector der Babeş-Bolyai-Universität, ein auf nicht nur rumänischer Ebene anerkannter Spezialist der Geschichte Siebenbürgens und des Banats. Autor einer Dissertation über Leben und Werk des griechisch-katholischen Metropoliten Ioan Vancea von Buteasa, wie auch von mehreren Bände und Beiträge die Geschichte der Rumänischen Unierten Kirche in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts untersuchen, Ion Cârja, ein ehemaliger Doktorand des Professors Boşcan, hat sich in der rumänischen Geschichtsschreibung der Letzten zehn Jahren als einer der tüchtigsten Archivforscher und, in der Folge, bester Kenner der mit Rom Unierten Kirche der Siebenbürger Rumänen ausgezeichnet.

Erschienen im Frühling 2013 aus der Feder dieser zwei Spezialisten und in der deutschen Übersetzung des Professors Rudolf Gräf, Vizerektor der Babeş-Bolyai-Universität, schildert der vorliegende Band, in einer wesentlich konzentrierten und gekürzten Variante der 2003 auf rumänisch veröffentlichtes Original, die Teilnahme, Haltung und der Beitrag des rumänischen griechisch-katholischen Episkopats beim ersten Vatikanischen Konzil 1869-1870. Diese Thematik wird im Rahmen einer größeren historischen Klammer diskutiert, und zwar, einerseits, im Lichte der Beziehungen der Unierten Kirche Siebenbürgens zum Heiligen Stuhl, und andererseits, im Laufbahn ihrer organisatorischen Entwicklung im 19. Jahrhundert.

Die Studie beruht primär auf eine neu entdeckte Archivquelle, das „Tagebuch der bedeutendsten Momente und Ereignisse der Reise und Teilnahme an der ökumenischen Synode, die in Rom, im Vatikan am 8. Dezember 1869 einberufen wurde“, des Metropoliten Ioan Vancea, der an diesem Konzil teilgenommen hat, aber es benutzt auch die ältere und neuere rumänische, französische und italienische Historiografie aus dem Feld der Kirchengeschichte sowie eine reiche Sekundärliteratur, wie Presseorgane der Epoche, Schriften der Theologen und Bischöfe und offizielle Publikationen der Unierten Metropole von Blasendorf.

Nach einer kurzen Einleitung, in welcher die historische Entwicklung der Unierten Kirche Siebenbürgens beginnend mit ihrem Anfang im früheren 18. Jahrhundert und schließend mit der letzten Jahrzehnte des 19. Jahrhunderts geschildert wird, wurde das Band in vier Kapiteln strukturiert, die die Situation der Rumänisch Griechisch-Katholischen Kirche vor dem Ersten Vatikanischen Konzil, die Teilnahme ihrer Hierarchen an die Arbeiten des Konzils, das Bild des I Vatikanums in der siebenbürgischen rumänischen Presse und, schließlich, die Folgen des Konzils für die Verfassung und Organisation der Unierten Kirche aufzeichnet. Es folgen gewöhnliche Schlussfolgerungen, ein französisches Résumé, ein Orts- und ein Personenregister.

Im ersten Kapitel werden die wichtigsten Ereignisse der Geschichte der Griechisch-Katholischen Kirche Siebenbürgens nach dem Völkerfrühling bis zur Einberufung des Ersten Vatikanums dargestellt. Die Autoren erläutern die Gründung der unierten Metropolitanprovinz von Făgăraş und Alba Iulia mit dessen neu gerichteten Diözesen Gherla und Lugoj, die zentralen Zielpunkte der pastoralen



Tätigkeit des ersten rumänischen unierten Metropoliten, Alexandru Sterca Țuțuiu (1853-1868), das Scheitern der Organisation einer Provinzialsynode der Metropole, das Ziel und das Programm der im Jahre 1858 stattgefundenen apostolischen Mission in Siebenbürgen, die Agende der Blasendörfersynode aus 1868, und der Widerstand der unierten Klerus gegenüber einer Partizipation der Rumänischen Griechisch-katholischen Kirche an dem Kongress der katholischen Autonomie in Ungarn, eine Reaktion dass trotz ihrer primär kirchlichen Motivationen (Widerstand gegen die Latinisierung und Aufhebung der Autonomie des rumänischen unierten Erzbistums), auch offensichtliche national-politische Gründe verbergt hatte (Ablehnung und Widerstand gegenüber den neu erschaffenen Kompromiss zwischen Wien und Pest, dass als Resultat der österreich-ungarische Dualismus herbrachte, was praktisch die Auflösung des Großfürstentums Siebenbürgen in der ungarischen Reichshälfte bedeutete). Bedeutend wichtig für diese Zeitperiode war der Kampf des Metropoliten Alexandru Sterca Țuțuiu für die Bewahrung der orientalischen ekklesiologischen Identität der Griechisch-Katholischen Kirche Siebenbürgens – eine Eigenständigkeit das durch Ritus, Disziplin und synodale Organisation bestimmt war und im Geiste, der im Glauben unterschriebene Union des Konzils von Florenz und der siebenbürgischen Union von 1700 entsprach – und der starke Widerstand gegen die latinisierenden Tendenzen, Haltungen die als orthodox und antikatholisch von den ungarischen Prälaten bewertet wurden, sodass man in Rom auch an einer taktvollen Entfernung des rumänischen Hierarchen dachte.

Das zweite Kapitel repräsentiert das zentrale Teil des Bandes und beinhaltet

eine detaillierte Erläuterung der bedeutendsten Momente und Ereignisse der Reise und Teilnahme an der ökumenischen Synode des Metropoliten Ioan Vancea, dessen Sekretär Victor Mihály von Apșa, des Bischofs Iosif Papp Szilágyi von Oradea und dessen Kanonikers Ioan Szabó. Von Anfang an wird hervorgehoben, dass die Anwesenheit dieser vier Repräsentanten der Rumänischen Griechisch-Katholischen Kirche beim ersten ökumenischen Konzil der Neuzeit eine ganz besondere Bedeutung hatte, denn es war vermutlich „das wichtigste Ereignis in der Geschichte der Beziehungen zwischen der rumänischen Kirchenprovinz und dem hl. Stuhl“. Die vier rumänischen Geistlichen, und insbesondere die zwei Prälaten, die an 78. Kongregationen teilgenommen haben, haben vor die versammelten Väter die Ekklesiologie, die Eigenart, die Tradition, der Ritus und der kanonische Kodex der orientalischen Kirche, in dem sie hart verankert waren, durch ihre öffentlichen Äußerungen und private Gespräche verteidigt und bekannt gemacht. Es wird festgestellt, dass die theologischen Interventionen der beiden Hierarchen in den großen Debatten über die zentralen Themen der päpstlichen Unfehlbarkeit, der Rolle und Gewalt der Bischöffe in der Kirche sowie der Ekklesiologie hoch geschätzt von den Vätern des Konzils wurden. Die ablehnende Haltung des Metropoliten Vancea gegenüber der Unfehlbarkeit des Papstes hat ihm in Kreis der Minderheit der Konzilsmitglieder gebracht, der sogenannten germanischen Gruppe, die dieses Dogma nicht unterstützten und es verhindern wollten. Der rumänische Metropolitan argumentierte seine Position durch die Dekrete des Konzils von Florenz, die Tradition und Eigenart der orientalischen Kirche, und hob hervor, dass, einerseits die Proklamation dieses

Dogmas den Gegnern der katholischen Kirche eine neue Waffe liefern würde und andererseits den Glauben der Orientalischen Kirche stark erschüttern könnte, was zur Folge ein Hindernis für die Erweiterung der „Heiligen Union“ zwischen den Rumänen in der Zukunft repräsentieren wird. Aus Vanceas Tagebuch wird es klar, dass der Metropolit seine Meinung auch dem Papst Pius IX in einer persönlichen Audienz vom 4. Mai 1870 mitgeteilt hat. Der Bischof von Oradea vertrat aber eine andere Position. Er war der Meinung, dass die Unfehlbarkeit des Papstes von der Orientalischen Kirche anerkannt war, sodass dieses Dogma eine entscheidende Rolle in der Wahrung der Einheit von Kirche und Glauben spielen wird. Auch wenn sie früher vom Konzil weggefahren sind, akzeptierten letztendlich beide Hierarchen alle dessen Dekrete im Laufe der Jahre 1870-1872.

Aus Vanceas Tagebuch kommen auch andere Themen als das strikt konziliare heraus, und zwar seine Beziehungen und Gespräche mit verschiedenen Bischöfe und Kardinäle mit denen er über die Geschichte und Leben der Rumänen und der Unierten Kirche, sowie der Ambition Roms und ihres siebenbürgischen Tochter eine missionarische Strategie aufzubauen die zur Verbreitung der Union zwischen alle Rumänen beitragen sollte.

Die große Schlussfolgerung dieses Kapitels ist, dass durch die Partizipation der rumänischen Delegation an die Tagungen des Ersten Vatikanischen Konzils zwei grundsätzliche Komponenten der Identität der Rumänischen Griechisch-Katholischen Kirche zum Ausdruck gekommen sind: Eine dogmatische Ebene, die sich in der Gemeinschaft mit Rom und die Zugehörigkeit zur katholischen Kirche ausdrückt und, eine liturgisch-kirchen-

rechtliche Ebene, die sich in der Treue zur Tradition, Ritus und Disziplin der orientalischen Kirche wiederfindet.

Im dritten Kapitel wird das Bild des Ersten Vatikanums in fünf („Albina“, „Familia“, „Federațiunea“, „Gazeta de Transilvania“ und „Telegraful Român“) siebenbürgische Presseorgane analysiert. Es wird gezeigt, dass die rumänischen Periodika ein vielfältiges und komplexes Bild des Konzils geboten haben, ein Bild, das teilweise aus der west- und mitteleuropäischen Presse abgeschrieben wurde, aber dass auch durch rumänische Berichte, Analyse und stark polemisierenden Kommentaren gekennzeichnet wurde. Die Autoren erläutern die drei am meisten debattierten Komponenten dieses Bildes: die allgemeine Perspektive über das Konzil, die Unfehlbarkeit des Papstes versus die moderne Welt und die Bedeutung der Teilnahme der Rumänen am Konzil.

Im letzten Kapitel werden die Folgen des Ersten Vatikanischen Konzils für die Verfassung und Organisation der Rumänischen Griechisch-Katholischen Kirche, und zwar die Agende und die Entscheidungen der Provinzialsynode des Jahres 1872 behandelt. Das Projekt einer solchen Synode der ganzen unierten Metropolie war schon in die ersten Jahre der Neoabsolutismus erfasst, jedoch haben die Blasendörfer Prälaten die Genehmigung Roms dafür nicht erhalten. Der Anlass und die Mission dieser Synode repräsentierte die Notwendigkeit eine konstitutionelle und disziplinäre Organisation sowie eine Vereinheitlichung der Praktiken von Kult und Ritus auf der Ebene der ganzen siebenbürgischen unierten Metropolie einzuführen. Erst nach der Erschließung des Ersten Vatikanums kam die Billigung aus der Ewigen Stadt, sodass der Metropolit Vancea die Synode im Frühling des Jahres 1872

einberuf. Die Versammlung tagte zwischen 5. und 14. Mai 1872, wurde in drei Kommissionen verteilt und positionierte sich am Kreuzpunkt zweier Tendenzen: die Erhaltung der eigenen Eigenart der unierten Kirche und die Einreihung in die Ekklesiologie des Ersten Vatikanums. Es wurden zehn Dokumente verabschiedet („Über den Glauben“, „Über die Kirche“, „Über die Synoden“, „Über die kirchliche Benefizien“, „Über die Sakramente“, „Über den Gottesdienst“, „Über das Leben des Klerus“, „Über den Mönchsorden des Hl. Basilius des Großen“, „Über die Erziehung der Jugend“ und „Über die Rechtssprechung der Kirche“), in einer Sammlung gefasst und nach Rom zur Bewilligung gesandt. Die Dekrete wurden zehn Jahre später (1881) in einer sowohl in ihrer Form als auch im Inhalt abgeänderten Variante zurückgeschickt und als Verfassung für die ganze Kirchenprovinz von Alba Iulia und Făgăraș dekretiert.

Die Autoren stellen fest dass die 1872 Provinzialsynode eine im 1853 begonnene Etappe, der konstitutionellen Organisationsprozesses der Rumänischen Unierten Kirche beendete und es kann als eine Suche nach der eigenen Identität, durch Schwankungen in den zentralisierenden und vereinheitlichenden Tendenzen Roms und durch die Aktivitäten sowohl der griechisch-katholischen Hierarchie als auch des Klerus und der Laien, die Individualität, den orientalischen Ritus, die Disziplin und das kanonische Recht der Unierten Kirche zu retten, beschrieben werden. Die Verzögerung der Abhaltung der Synode, der Inhalt, dessen Akten und insbesondere die päpstliche Zensur der Dekretsammlung zeigt, dass der ganze Organisationsprozess der rumänischen Metropolitanprovinz nicht linear ablief, sondern schwankte zwischen zwei Orientierungen:

zwischen einer Kirchenlehre, die erstens der orientalischen Tradition entsprach und ihr zuneigte, und einer anderen, die sich für die assimilierenden und latinisierenden Tendenzen Roms aussprach.

Die deutschsprachige Ausgabe der Arbeit zweier anerkannter rumänischer Historiker, die sich ernsthaft mit der Geschichte der Unierten Kirche Siebenbürgens im 19. Jahrhundert auseinandersetzen, in einer unter der europäischen akademischen Bühne prestigevollen Verlag, ist von großer Bedeutung nicht nur für das Weiterlaufen der kirchengeschichtlichen Geschichtsschreibung im Einzelnen, sondern für die ganze Geschichte der Ökumene und der politischen Mentalitätsgeschichte im östlichen Mitteleuropa im Allgemeinen. Folglich das vor unseren Augen stehenden Beitrag öffnet sich einer viel breiterem Publikum auf, dass ein neuer Blick in der Vergangenheit der Rumänischen Unierten Kirche verschafft und zugleich zu einem besseren Verständnis der heutzutage im Rumänien laufenden kirchlichen und kulturellen Transformationsprozesse für die westeuropäische Leserschaft dienen kann.



MIRCEA-GHEORGHE ABRUDAN

---

**RUDOLF AGSTNER (Hg.)**

**1914. Das etwas andere Lesebuch zum 1. Weltkrieg. Unbekannte Dokumente der österreichisch-ungarischen Diplomatie**

Wien-Berlin: LIT Verlag 2013

**RUDOLF AGSTNER (Hg.)**

**1915/1916. Das etwas andere Lesebuch zum 1. Weltkrieg. Heinrich Wildner: Tagebuch**

Wien-Berlin: LIT Verlag 2014

---

**L**E GRAND nombre de publications et expositions sur l'histoire de la Première Guerre mondiale au temps du centenaire ne doit pas surprendre, étant donné que ce sujet concerne des phénomènes qui ont gardé leur importance jusqu'à nos jours. Le volume énorme de questions scientifiques et politique offre l'occasion d'y réfléchir sur la base de nouvelles sources, à l'aide de nouvelles méthodes, en s'adressant à un public qui n'est plus contemporain des événements. Les ouvrages actuels semblent venir avec une avalanche d'idées et d'informations sur cette époque tourmentée, dont les effets sont saisissables même à présent.

Peu de publications concerne l'Autriche-Hongrie, bien que cette puissance ait joué un rôle assez important dans les relations internationales. La cause doit être cherchée dans le fait, d'une part, qu'elle ait figuré parmi les perdants et, d'autre part, que « la République » ne veut pas être considérée comme « l'héritière » de la Monarchie. Par conséquent, la plupart des publications et expositions autrichiennes sur la Première Guerre mondiale concernent des aspects civils et régionaux, sans discuter les questions essentielles. Parmi les quelques exceptions, nous signalons la parution de deux volumes de documents édités par un

diplomate aux ambitions académiques, qui démontrent l'importance du milieu diplomatique dans l'évolution historique.

Le premier volume (paru en 2013) est constitué d'une collection de documents plus ou moins diplomatiques émanant de différentes institutions du Ministère des Affaires étrangères. Ce sont des textes qui illustrent la réduction de la présence diplomatique des autorités austro-hongroises à l'étranger ainsi que différentes opinions sur la ligne politique et militaire de l'empire. Le second volume est construit autour du journal d'un diplomate et fonctionnaire d'État, qui a eu la chance d'observer de près et de pénétrer dans les coulisses de la guerre. D'autres aspects discutés sont liés à l'entrée de l'Italie et de la Roumanie en guerre et à la mort de l'empereur François Joseph.

En dépit de l'utilité de pareils ouvrages, ces deux volumes ne parviennent pas à atteindre leur but, celui de proposer « une autre manière de lire l'histoire ». L'auteur aurait dû expliquer quelle a été la motivation de cette alternative et définir en quoi consiste la nouveauté du sujet. Une collection de documents et le journal personnel d'un diplomate, sans montrer les règles de sélection et les résultats de cette « autre manière de lire l'histoire », ne sont pas en mesure de satisfaire les lecteurs. Le titre de l'ouvrage suggère quelque chose de sensationnel, sans en préciser le message. Il manque d'une étude critique sur l'historiographie actuelle et n'indique pas quel est le bénéfice réel des deux volumes. De plus, il aurait été souhaitable, étant donné la précision de la rédaction, que les noms slaves soient tout aussi correctement transcrits.

En guise de conclusions, l'ambition de l'auteur diffère du résultat, ce qui est regrettable. Le sujet aurait justifié un peu plus d'attention de sa part.

□

**HARALD HEPPNER**

---

**IOAN BOLOVAN**
**Primul Război Mondial și realitățile demografice din Transilvania.**
**Familie, moralitate și raporturi de gen**

(La Première Guerre mondiale et les réalités démographiques en Transylvanie.

Famille, moralité et rapports de genre)

 Cluj-Napoca, Școala Ardeleană, 2015
 

---

**C**E LIVRE évoque une autre Première Guerre mondiale. C'est la partie noire de la lune, le revers de la médaille, le front de chez soi et, surtout, « la guerre invisible » (Père Arsenie Boca). Raccordé à l'historiographie européenne actuelle, qui est exposée de manière synthétique dans l'« Avant-Propos », Ioan Bolovan ouvre avec les quatre chapitres de ce volume des directions d'approche restées en dehors des sentiers battus de la recherche historique roumaine centrée sur le phénomène de la guerre. L'objet d'étude est constitué par les Roumains passés « sous silence », ceux qui pendant les deux premières années de la guerre (1914-1916) sont restés de l'autre côté, inconnu, de la barricade : les habitants des territoires englobés dans l'Empire austro-hongrois et principalement de la Transylvanie. Selon les propos du professeur Liviu Maior dans sa préface, les choses doivent être corrigées « pour se montrer justes envers les plus d'un million de Roumains enrôlés dans l'armée austro-hongroise ou dans l'armée tsariste », envers les autres nations qui vivaient en Transylvanie, en Bucovine, en Bessarabie, en Serbie (p. 10).

Les deux premières années de la guerre sont présentées, dans le premier chapitre, à travers des « Aspects démographiques généraux », qui révèlent autant de sujets tabou au moment où ils sont associés avec la Transylvanie : les émigrations et les déportations pratiquées dans notre province.

En Europe, les dislocations de populations et l'extermination en masse de grandes collectivités humaines, et même de communautés ethniques et nationales entières, ont fait leurs débuts tragiques avec le déclenchement de la Première Guerre mondiale. L'auteur parle de « l'industrialisation de la guerre » à grande échelle, qui a généré le concept de « guerre totale », menée aussi bien sur « le front chaud » et sur « le front intérieur ». En Transylvanie, qui en 1910 comptait 2,9 millions d'habitants (p. 25), entre le 1<sup>er</sup> août 1914 et le 1<sup>er</sup> novembre 1918, l'armée austro-hongroise a mobilisé presque un million (926 500) d'hommes (p. 18), soit un tiers des habitants de la province. Sur le total des hommes recrutés (p. 23-24), les Roumains représentaient 52,27 % (soit 484 924 soldats), les Hongrois 27,75 % (257 110), les Allemands 9,44 % (87 500) et les autres ethnies 10,52 % (96 666 Juifs, Ruthènes, Slovaques, Arméniens, Roms etc.). Le nombre de ceux qui émigraient de la Transylvanie avait d'ailleurs enregistré une augmentation progressive même avant le déclenchement de la guerre – de 16 458 à 26 536 en 1914 (p. 26), ce que les autorités expliquaient par l'élévation dangereuse du niveau de conscience nationale roumaine parmi ceux qui émigraient surtout vers la Roumanie (p. 30-31). Ce phénomène cesse officiellement en 1915, quand la délivrance de nouveaux passeports est interdite (p. 26). Il n'empêche que l'émigration clandestine par les sentiers de montagne vers la Roumanie continue, un nombre difficile à estimer de jeunes gens réussissant à se soustraire au recrutement. D'autre part, les documents consignent aussi l'attitude opposée, soit l'enthousiasme à l'enrôlement des premiers volontaires roumains, que le sentiment de loyauté envers l'empereur a rappelés en Transyl-

vanie ; il s'agit, selon Sextil Pușcariu, de « 40 000 hommes qui venaient de Roumanie pour entrer sous les armes » (p. 28-29). La Loi LXIII de 1912 du gouvernement de Budapest « Sur les mesures exceptionnelles d'urgence à prendre en cas de guerre » (p. 33-34) préparait le cadre juridique pour l'implémentation de l'état de guerre. En vertu de cette loi, après le 26 juillet 1914, en Transylvanie méridionale et orientale ont été introduites « des mesures de force destinées à intimider et restreindre les droits des nationalités » ; un peu plus tard, « elles ont été appliquées sur tous les champs de bataille » (p. 34). Les tribunaux formés de jurés ont été limités et remplacés par les cours exceptionnelles, qui ont déployé une activité fébrile en Transylvanie. Ainsi, à la frontière avec la Serbie et la Roumanie, les autorités hongroises ont ordonné l'arrestation de quelque dizaines de membres de l'élite roumaine et serbe à Orșova, Mehadia etc., qui furent envoyés à la prison de Szeged en état de détention préventive. Des milliers de civils serbes ont été internés dans la forteresse d'Arad, dont quelque centaines y ont trouvé leur mort à cause du manque de médicaments et de nourriture (p. 36-37). Après l'entrée de l'armée roumaine en Transylvanie dans la nuit du 14/27 à 15/28 août 1916, le sud de la province a été secoué d'affrontements militaires qui ont duré jusqu'à la fin du mois de septembre. Ils ont fait des victimes à la fois parmi les militaires et les civiles, en raison surtout du grand nombre de Hongrois et de Saxons qui y ont cherché refuge – victimes que l'auteur estime bien en dessous de 200 000 hommes, comme le présente, tout en exagérant, l'historiographie hongroise (p. 38). En même temps avec l'entrée de l'armée roumaine en Transylvanie, quelques milliers de Roumains,

notamment des intellectuels et des formateurs d'opinion des zones frontalières, ont été arrêtés et envoyés à Szolnok (p. 39). Entre 400 et 500 personnes ont été internés dans les camps de Taplosülye et Ostffyajszonyfaja. D'autres 2 000 à 3 000 Roumains, parmi lesquels Valeriu Braniște, Ion Clopoșel, Gheorghe Dima, Ioan Lupaș, ont été déportés et internés dans les camps de Cluj, Făgăraș, Ruszt, Sopron et dans 12 à 15 villages des environs de Sopron. Après la retraite de l'armée roumaine, le Ministère hongrois de la Justice a ouvert 257 procès contre des intellectuels, des paysans et des ouvriers roumains accusés d'agitations nationalistes (p. 41). La retraite des troupes roumaines a été accompagnée d'environ 80 000 réfugiés roumains, dont 2 000 officiers en réserve de l'armée austro-hongroise, qui ont préféré s'exiler dans le sud des Carpates, leurs biens étant confisqués par les autorités. D'ailleurs, selon les dires de Teodor V. Păcățian, celles-ci auraient arrêté et interné dans des camps et des prisons au moins 1 734 Roumains des comitats de Sibiu, Făgăraș, Brașov, Târnava Mare, Alba Inferioară, Trei Scaune (p. 44). Isopescu le Grec, député de Bucovine dans le Parlement autrichien, parlait de 6 000 Roumains transylvains internés dans des camps et des prisons, et sollicitait l'aide de la Cour impériale en leur faveur. D'autres auteurs contemporains, tel que Alexandru Ghișa, considèrent que le nombre de Transylvains roumains déportés était de 10 000 personnes (p. 45). S'y ajoute le recrutement forcé des hommes en âge de 42 à 600 ans « pour travailler dans les usines d'armement, dans les mines de charbon ou sur les grands domaines fonciers ». Il paraît qu'environ 10 000 Roumains transylvains se seraient trouvés dans la même situation pendant toute la période de la guerre (p. 45-46).

Le II<sup>e</sup> chapitre s'occupe du « Mouvement naturel de la population de 1914 à 1918 », présentant l'évolution des naissances, des décès et des mariages en Transylvanie dans les années de guerre. Ioan Bolovan conclut, de manière spectaculaire, à la dynamique négative de la population, en raison surtout de la diminution drastique de la natalité et moins de la mortalité due à la guerre. Le déclin de la population urbaine n'a pas été tout aussi significatif que dans le milieu rural, étant donné que l'industrie de guerre était concentrée dans les villes et avait besoin de main d'œuvre, alors que le village était « le principal fournisseur de chair à canon pour le front » (p. 59). La mort, comme phénomène à la fois biologique et social, est caractérisée par proximité et omniprésence, générant douleur et résignation. C'est l'attitude mise en évidence par les paroles du vieillard cité par le même O. Tăslăuanu : « J'ai donné trois fils à l'empereur et je serais content si au moins l'un d'entre eux revenait à la maison » (p. 63). Le déclin des mariages est tout aussi évident, selon l'auteur, ils ne commenceront à augmenter qu'en 1918, principalement pendant les deux derniers mois de l'an (p. 69). Le décalage entre les milieux urbain et rural se maintient également au niveau des mariages, plus nombreux dans les villes – où les hommes étaient en plus grand nombre – que dans les villages. Si, avant 1914, la plupart des femmes se mariaient à l'âge de 20 à 24 ans, suivies par le groupe de filles de 17 à 19 ans, après la guerre c'est le groupe de femmes en âge de 30 à 49 ans qui devient prépondérant, suivi des femmes de 25 à 29 ans (p. 70-72). Selon une autre observation intéressante, avant la mobilisation des jeunes hommes les mariages étaient pro-  
 togames (en premières nocés), tandis que

pendant la guerre les mariages palingames (en deuxièmes ou troisièmes nocés) deviennent de plus en plus fréquents (p. 72).

Le III<sup>e</sup> chapitre, qui s'intitule « Famille et comportement matrimonial en Transylvanie entre 1914 et 1918 », est le plus consistant, ayant également un fort impact émotionnel. La moralité pendant la guerre est analysée par l'opposition de deux coordonnées sensibles : la fidélité conjugale vs. la promiscuité sexuelle des soldats (qu'il s'agisse de combattants en bonne santé ou de blessés traités dans les hôpitaux). Les mémoires (publiés ou restés en manuscrit) deviennent une source de première main dans cette démarche. Ioan Bolovan se sert d'une source qu'il tient à juste titre pour insuffisamment exploitée par l'historiographie roumaine de la Grande Guerre. C'est le dialogue épistolaire entre les combattants du front *chaud* (les soldats des tranchées) et les combattants du front *intérieur*, restés à la maison (p. 97). Comme l'auteur le précise, ces lettres sont presque unitaires du point de vue stylistique, pleines de clichés, étant donné qu'elles devaient passer par le tamis de l'Office de la Censure de Guerre (Kriegsüberwachungsamt). Elles dévoilent l'état d'esprit des soldats et des familles restées à la maison, ainsi que la sensibilité, l'horizon mental et d'attente de ceux pour qui cette correspondance représentait le seul lien possible et le seul espoir. Ce qui surprend, c'est l'élargissement du cadre d'investigation, par l'analyse de catégories comme les parents et les beaux-parents, qui écrivent au fils ou au gendre parti « à la bataille ». Ce que l'auteur appelle « la mémoire des enfants » est à cette occasion mis au tout premier plan et exposée pour la première fois, à notre avis, devant les lecteurs roumains. Une petite-grande « croisade des enfants » a eu lieu

pendant les années de guerre, manifestée par la famine, le manque du père et du nécessaire, et même par l'implication des enfants, que l'État a obligés d'organiser des collectes, de travailler les champs etc., dans le but déclaré de soutenir la guerre (p. 105). Une citation tirée de l'historien David Prodan est significative en ce sens : « Je garde plutôt le souvenir de la famine que de l'étude. Au cours des dernières années [de la guerre], celle-ci a été terrible [...] Les vacances étaient d'habitude plus longues, motivées par le manque de carburant, de vivres. » Au niveau de la famille et des relations de genre, la guerre a provoqué de grandes mutations. Les conclusions du III<sup>e</sup> chapitre concernent la natalité et la nuptialité, en baisse dramatique, les influences néfastes de la guerre sur le mariage et la moralité du couple, la « contamination » de larges segments de population avec des pratiques, attitudes et sentiments impropres à la culture traditionnelle, issues de la mobilité accrue de la population. Ioan Bolovan conclut que « la guerre a accentué pendant les premières années de l'entre-deux-guerres la tendance à la dissolution, mais a fini par fortifier les relations familiales, comme l'indique surtout l'oscillation du taux des divorces dans la première décade de l'entre-deux-guerres » (p. 122). Plus précisément, à cause des bouleversements générés par la guerre, les divorces ont touché à un maximum en 1921, pour baisser constamment dans la décennie suivante, ce qui montre que la société transylvaine est revenue au modèle patriarcal et aux « valeurs de la masculinité », « le rétablissement de la vie du couple signifiant avant tout la restauration de l'autorité absolue de l'homme » (p. 123).

Le IV<sup>e</sup> chapitre, « Église et société : attitudes et actions de charité chez les Rou-

maines de Transylvanie pendant la guerre », évoque l'implication des deux Églises roumaines transylvaines dans le soutien porté aux familles dont les hommes étaient sur le front, par des collectes et des aides financières, par l'exhortation au travail au bénéfice de la communauté. En mars 1915, par exemple, l'Église gréco-catholique a exempté les fidèles du commandement concernant le respect des dimanches et des jours fériés, pour qu'ils puissent suppléer l'absence de main d'œuvre et continuer les travaux agricoles pendant les jours « interdits ». Une circulaire gouvernementale semblable donnée en octobre 1915 a été reprise par les deux Églises (p. 129). D'ailleurs, le métropolitain orthodoxe Ion Meșianu s'est fait remarquer par une attitude extrêmement active et impliquée dans les actions de charité, comme il résulte des exemples offertes par Ioan Bolovan. La fondation d'orphelinats pour les enfants restés sans parents pendant la guerre, initiative appartenant toujours à la Métropole Orthodoxe de Sibiu et embrassée aussi par la Métropole Unie de Blaj, ne s'est concrétisée qu'en octobre 1918 (p. 131, 133). À la fin du chapitre, l'auteur fait une brève analyse du sentiment de dévotion, fondée sur une étude de cas concernant la participation des gréco-catholiques de Făgăraș au saint sacrement de la pénitence en 1916. Contrairement à l'appel lancé par l'Église, le nombre de femmes, d'enfants et de vieux qui se sont confessés et ont reçu l'Eucharistie dans la ville de Făgăraș au cours de la même année révèle une pratique restreinte et un éloignement des normes de l'Église (p. 134-136).

À la fin du livre, au lieu d'une « postface » Ioan Bolovan nous offre une leçon d'éthique historique et de déontologie professionnelle. Il s'agit d'une réaction au livre de Lucian Boia, paru à la maison d'édition



Humanitas en 2014, sous le titre *Primul Război Mondial. Controverse, paradoxuri, reinterpretări* (La Première Guerre mondiale. Controverses, paradoxes, ré-interpretations). La postface de Ioan Bolovan est un texte polémique, que nous tenons pour un modèle de probité et d'honnêteté scientifique, aussi bien par les arguments et les preuves fournies que par le langage élégant, académique qu'il emploie pour démonter les artifices et les ornements dénués de tout fondement historique ainsi que les questions rhétoriques inutiles, voire malintentionnées de l'historiographe de Bucarest. Nous conseillons les lecteurs à parcourir attentivement le volume de Lucian Boia, ensuite le texte de Ioan Bolovan, et de juger par eux-mêmes ! Lucian Boia a sorti un autre best-seller dans un but « purement commercial [...], celui de frapper/choquer les passionnés d'histoire », affirme Ioan Bolovan (p. 150). Il paraît que le commerce et la popularité ne suffisent pas pour expliquer les récurrences répétées de l'ex- et très compétent professeur d'historiographie de l'Université de Bucarest. Les incompétences de l'historien Lucian Boia, au moins en ce qui concerne l'histoire de la Transylvanie, abondent non seulement dans le livre susmentionné, mais dans d'autres aussi, tel que *De ce este România altfel ?* (Pourquoi la Roumanie est-elle différente ?) (2012). À mesure que le nombre de livres publiés par cet écrivain de talent se multiplie, les dérapages deviennent plus dangereuses, le talent plus méphistophélique. *Cui prodest ?*



ELA COSMA

DAN PRISĂCARU

**În avanpostul luptei pentru supraviețuire. Apărarea națională a României și frontul secret în vâltoarea anilor 1938-1940**

(Dans l'avant-poste du combat de survivance. La défense nationale de la Roumanie et le front secret dans le tourment des années 1938-1940)

Bucarest, Ed. Academiei, 2014

**L**ES ÉVÉNEMENTS qui ont marqué la fin de la période de l'entre-deux-guerres continuent à constituer un domaine d'intérêt à la fois pour les spécialistes et pour le grand public passionné d'histoire. L'historiographie européenne, nord-américaine, russe etc. abondent en ouvrages à ce sujet. Il ne faut d'ailleurs pas oublier que bon nombre de documents attendent encore à être découverts ou parviennent à être connus au moment de leur publication, soit sous la forme de volumes de documents, soit comme des ouvrages à titre général ou spécial. C'est dans cette sphère de préoccupations que nous introduit le livre soumis à notre analyse. Structuré en cinq chapitres et plusieurs sous-chapitres, il est le fruit d'un ample travail de documentation dans les archives, sans toutefois pas négliger les documents déjà publiés ou la presse.

L'auteur commence par faire une analyse pertinente des initiatives diplomatiques roumaines entre 1936 et 1940. C'est la période où apparaissent les premiers signes du futur conflit militaire international et où les stipulations prévues dans les traités conclus après la Première Guerre mondiale commencent à être transgressées. Les principales directions de politique étrangère de la Roumanie sont représentées à cette époque par la soi-disant « ligne Titulescu », mais aussi par la

politique promue par Grigore Gafencu, d'implication dans le maintien de l'équilibre politique et diplomatique entre les Grandes Puissances.

Le deuxième chapitre présente la situation de l'armée roumaine et le statut géopolitique du pays dans le contexte des événements des années 1938-1940. L'auteur passe en revue les alliances politiques et militaires conclues par la Roumanie et arrive à la conclusion que les arrangements de sécurité dans l'entre-deux-guerres, y compris les alliances régionales du centre et du sud-est de l'Europe, dans lesquelles la Roumanie avait investi beaucoup d'énergie politique et d'espoirs, se sont évanouis après la dure confrontation avec le révisionnisme en ascension dès les années 1940.

La problématique de « la politique militaire » de la Roumanie entre 1938 et 1940 est traitée dans le troisième chapitre. Le lecteur y découvre le cadre législatif, les mesures destinées à optimiser les structures de l'armée ainsi que des données statistiques et des informations inédites pour les passionnés d'histoire militaire. Dan Prisăcaru fait une analyse détaillée des pressions exercées sur la Roumanie en été 1940 pour la faire accepter les cessions territoriales.

Le volume continue par un sujet moins discuté dans les ouvrages d'histoire : la situation des services de renseignements de la Roumanie. L'auteur offre des détails sur les structures du Ministère de l'Intérieur, du Ministère de la Défense nationale, du Grand État-Major, et il évoque l'intérêt que les Grandes Puissances ont porté à la Roumanie dans le cadre de leur politique d'extension des sphères d'influence. Comme Dan Prisăcaru l'a remarqué au cours de ses recherches, les services de renseignements avaient prêté une attention toute particulière aux rumeurs qui circulaient à l'époque.

La plupart du processus informationnel consistait en des notes d'informations quotidiennes, des bulletins mensuels, des synthèses et des études documentaires censés pouvoir anticiper l'évolution des événements sur le plan national et international. L'auteur avoue n'avoir trouvé dans les archives aucun document qui prouve que les facteurs de décision de Bucarest auraient été prévenus des opérations militaires préconisées, ce qui a eu des conséquences négatives pour la situation générale de la Roumanie en contexte européen.

Le dernier chapitre reprend la problématique des cessions territoriales auxquelles la Roumanie avait été contrainte en juin et en août 1940, soulignant aussi bien les implications des facteurs géostratégiques et militaires que les vulnérabilités de l'État roumain. Dan Prisăcaru est d'avis que les raptus territoriaux de 1940 avaient montré que les institutions de l'État roumain étaient faibles et incapables de réagir aux dangers venus de l'intérieur et de l'extérieur.

Le volume s'achève par des conclusions, des annexes, une liste de la bibliographie utilisée, un index de noms propres, dix pages de reproductions de cartes et de documents du temps.

Nous considérons la démarche de Dan Prisăcaru comme une réussite et comme une lecture à la fois instructive pour les spécialistes et agréable pour le grand public concerné par l'histoire.



LIANA LĂPĂDATU

---

DUMITRU CHIOARU

**Bilingvismul creator: Studii de literatură comparată despre scriitorii de expresie română și franceză**

(Creative bilingualism: Studies of comparative literature on writers of Romanian and French expression)  
Cluj-Napoca: Limes, 2013

---

**G**IVEN THE context of modern and postmodern European culture, the phenomenon of bilingualism is one that does not only legitimate community coexistence, the conviviality of the identities or mentalities of conversing groups, but also a creative, dynamic and pluralist cultural process. This phenomenon represents both the background of a cosmopolitan, democratic European community (in the sense of co-participating in culture, of access to the command of several languages given the dialogically open possibility of living together), and the substance of sensitive individuals and of hybrid, complex imaginaries, which offers the grounds for debates, comparisons, affinities, influences and biunivocal rapports between *major* and *minor* cultures (cf. Lucian Blaga).

The study on creative bilingualism and the need to become aware of and acknowledge the value of bilingual or trilingual creation become the more important, the more small/minor cultures distinguish themselves beyond the confines of a single natural/national language, by the plurality of the expressions which literature, as the art of the word, can bring forth. For example, Jewish writers have a greater appetite for expressing themselves polyvalently, by simultaneously using several languages, although there can be exceptions which confirm the rule, such as Norman Manea.

Starting from the criterion of relevance in the domestic and European cultural field, Dumitru Chioaru's book aims at providing a selective and chronological presentation of the participation in the intercultural and international dialogue of Romanian writers for whom the double manifestation of literary expressiveness is conveyed both in the formula of the natural language and in the culturally assumed language, by their affinity with French or German (the languages which influenced the Romanian cultural profile in the Romantic period, as well as in the modern one).

The Romanian writers' participation in the European literary phenomenon, through the generation of the 1848 Revolution (Vasile Alecsandri, Dimitrie Bolintineanu, writers whom the author of the study analyses, even if they are considered minor nowadays), contributed to the synchronization with the European spirit, taken in the sense of "bourgeois modernity," as defined by Matei Călinescu. The modernization of codes by Alexandru Macedonski was to represent the clear and undeniable integration of our literature in the literary European rhythm and dynamics, which was to be naturally continued by the Romanian avant-garde, by writers who were simultaneously national and international/European.

Most of them have surpassed the boundaries of their own literature, through an assumed exile, which was not perceived as a break up or distancing or even distance from tradition, from a model etc. Rather, their exile has represented a sort of naturalization, a natural attempt of the Romanian culture to uphold European culture, given that, by searching for a cosmopolitan, universal community, this exile has offered a kind of access to the poets' *citadel*, acknowledged in Paris.

Tristan Tzara, Ilarie Voronca, Benjamin Fundoianu (Fondane) are not just some expatriates; on the contrary, they are ex-centric, as they are seeking their centre elsewhere. By writing directly into French, the language of the European avant-garde, they advance a complete, *cosmodern* identity (if Christian Moraru's phrase were retroactively possible), a cosmopolitan, modern identity.

Conversely, for Cioran, Eugène Ionesco the identity issue is more seriously assumed, since they favour *creative bilingualism* as a distancing from roots, as regaining a different identity, as alterity or *alterernity* (cf. George Steiner), through which the natural/national identity is altered, is stylistically but also ontologically replaced with a view to making survival through literature possible.

The careful, relevant and coherently articulated synthesis performed by Dumitru Chioaru reveals an appropriate theoretical background (linguistics, stylistics, poetics, theory of literature, comparative literature provide an interdisciplinary frame appropriate for addressing the core concept). The problematizations are meant to replace Romanian culture on the international scene, even considering these few personalities only, which, in actual fact, should be part of the history of European literature. The systematic exposition of a history of Romanian creative bilingualism is achieved through typologies, pertinent coherences and differences. The three chapters and the theoretical frame make an inventory of the categories and sub-categories with distinct profiles, which allow for common and distinctive elements to be identified in the end. The examples are useful for having an evolutionary and critical perspective on our literature, the

quotations both in Romanian and French ensuring the documentation quality of the study, as well as the contextual relevance.

Even though it only has the dimensions of an essay, Chioaru's book, if extended, could be ranked alongside the specialized studies in the history of literature and the history of ideas with respect to European modernity and its conditions for becoming manifest (V. Nemoianu, M. Călinescu, P. Cornea, O. Paz, H. Meschonnic).

It can be stated that bilingualism of a compensatory nature is an option to complete, to restore the modern subject's divided identity, to heal individual or collective traumas, the expatriated, the exiled or just the ex-centric. When writers seek aesthetic, linguistic, literary solutions, the phenomenon of creative bilingualism no longer exhibits an ordinary form of artistic experiment, but a form of life, *another* life, lived through writing. The personalities of creative bilingualism are more complicated, more complex, can be psycho-analysed, which is not, nevertheless, the core preoccupation of Dumitru Chioaru's book.

The transgression from biography to literature and the other way around cannot be analysed generically, deterministically only, as the experience of the word, of the exploration of a certain world, of the search for a style (e.g. Cioran) needs to be considered at metaphysical and phenomenological level, thus becoming a poetics, a mystic, a modern gnosis, despite a position rationally assumed by the writer considered. And this very interdisciplinary analysis is masterfully conducted by Dumitru Chioaru.

□

RODICA ILIE

**VIRGIL MIHAIU**

**Jazografii de îmblânzit saxofoniste/  
Jazzografías para domar a las saxofonistas**

Traductora CĂTĂLINA ILIESCU

Granada: Editorial El Genio Maligno,  
2015

**L**A PRIMERA edición bilingüe de la Serie “Minor N° 1”, publicada por la Editorial El Genio Maligno de Granada, bajo el atento cuidado del profesor, poeta y traductor Enrique Nogueras, trae a primer plano la poesía viva y vibrante de Virgil Mihaiu. Rumano por nacimiento, pero cosmopolita y políglota por oficio y costumbre, el autor es a la vez filólogo, especialista en música de jazz, ensayista, poeta, docente y personalidad cultural transilvana, cuya voz ha venido marcando en los últimos treinta años una lírica polifónica, vigorosa e insólita. De hecho, hay dos esencias que convergen en su escritura, independientemente de la forma o fondo que le asigna, y éstas son: erudición y música de jazz. Así, siguiendo la misma tonalidad y afición, la profesora Cătălina Iliescu logra transmitir a través de su exquisita traducción el mismo ritmo entrañable y natural, como si los poemas mismos hubieran sido creados para ser traducidos a la lengua cervantina.

En concreto, los temas tan diversos que recorren el volumen forman un mosaico-puzzle ingenioso, juguetón, a veces irónico, otras veces aforístico, aludiendo al oficio mismo del poeta, a la realidad circundante, a los paisajes y personajes urbanos amados, al jazz y a las vivencias pasadas y presentes como motivación existencial y poética. En su mayoría, los textos ya se publicaron en 2001 bajo casi el mismo título (*Jazzo-grafii pentru îmblânzit saxofoniste*), por la Editorial rumana Dacia de Cluj. Tal como

observa el editor Enrique Nogueras, tras más de una década, la edición española trae como novedad un poema inédito que abre el tomo: *El Descanto General (Descântecul General)*, considerándolo un enriquecimiento importante, ya que “provoca un cambio de calado en la estructura misma y la configuración de su armadura compositiva”. Además, al observar la sutil sustitución de la preposición “pentru” del volumen original por “de”, concluye el estudioso español que la poesía de Virgil Mihaiu late con vibraciones múltiples que llevan el nombre de “jazzografías”, término que define las cualidades formales y materiales de una música escrita que, al leerla, se convierte en poesía, es decir *jazz-poetry*, como perla que yace oculta en *La Concha*: “la orquesta se ha descascarado/ y en medio permanece/ la violinista de púrpura/[...]/ sus dedos –/ antenas para captar/ el aura sonora/[...]/ pero el destino/ la encadena/ al nácar de la música.”

Efectivamente, la variedad y la improvisación literario-musical parecen ser los aciertos primarios de su estilo, aunque, en nuestra opinión, su entera voz poética está afincada plenamente en el concepto de la sinestesia, que abarca después todas las esferas imaginarias, conceptuales y verbales. “To be or not tuba/ los labios besan el latón/ y con el beso/ el latón cobra vida/ el besado latón/ se derrite/ en sonido...” es la muestra perfecta de la profunda transposición gráfica de cualquier sentimiento o sensación, lo que determina una lectura viva, fascinante, recitativa; en otras palabras, una aventura increíble incluso para los que no están especialmente familiarizados con la música de jazz o no son muy aficionados a ella. Es más, los ritmos, sonidos y efectos sensoriales están respaldados visualmente por instrumentos de viento,

cuerdas y teclados cuyos soplos firmes y resonancias multiplicadas crean puentes invisibles entre nuestra existencia y el más allá: “Oboe/ madera noble/ voz angelical/ sonido/ que taladra/ los pilares/ del cielo/ la bóveda de la carpa terrestre/ está a punto de caer/ sobre nosotros/ y sólo se sostiene/ por el sonido.”

Entre muchos lugares evocados por el poeta, un espacio intelectual y emocional aparte lo ocupa el espacio ibérico, sobre todo el portugués, que comparte con el yo poético instantáneos fervorosos de urbanismo lusitano, vivencias entre aceras, paseos y cafés, a la vez que luna, océano, granito y arenas se vuelven infinitas contempladas en clave lusitana. En realidad, los lusitanismos desempeñan un doble papel literario, ya que reivindican fuentes universales de hermosura y contemplación inherentes, tanto de inspiración poética como de telón de fondo para rememorar episodios biográficos e interculturales, salpicados con notas de humor y fina ironía. A nuestro juicio, la melancolía del blanco soleado de Lisboa se ha mezclado metafóricamente con la honda creencia patriótica rumana, dando lugar a una expresividad aparte, íntimamente anclada en la fe interior y en la esperanza que existe después del destierro, más allá de cualquier límite impuesto: “Hasta en el paraíso/ El exilio sigue siendo exilio. / En la otra punta de Europa / vela por mí/ el querubín de la guarda, /

el divino embajador. / Los juguetes de la providencia están bocabajo. / El edificio de la embajada/ Refleja el blanco soleado de Lisboa.”

Y, de la misma manera, continuando el recorrido cosmopolita del autor, el volumen incluye también instancias dedicadas a otros sitios cargados de música y radiografías existenciales, como Nueva York, México, Georgia, Praga, Belgrado, Besarabia, Uzdin, haciendo hincapié en trayectorias vitales y recuerdos sinestésicos del poeta. Sin embargo, frente al riesgo de perderse en círculos infinitos y vaciados de sentido, Virgil Mihaiu logra trascender la condición en la que se formó, la de poeta de los años ochenta y, una vez más, se arraiga en la latinidad contemporánea, digna de mostrar su vena identitaria propia, generadora de esperanza y aliento poético refrescante.

Por consiguiente, así como observaba y apuntaba en el Prólogo la traductora Cătălina Iliescu, estamos ante “una estilística inconfundible, obedeciendo a estrategias conservacionistas frente al discurso globalizador: distanciamiento emocional, (auto)ironía, aforística [...] y también sublección sublimada, compasión genuina, frescura formulística, todo ello guiado por el afán de obtener un producto equivalente a la improvisación en el jazz”.

□

OLIVIA N. PETRESCU

---

# CONTRIBUTORS

**MIRCEA-GHEORGHE ABRUDAN, Ph.D.**  
Faculty of History and Philosophy, Babeş-Bolyai  
University  
1 M. Kogălniceanu St., Cluj-Napoca 400084,  
Romania  
e-mail: [mirceapadre@yahoo.com](mailto:mirceapadre@yahoo.com)

**DIANA-IONELA ANCHEŞ, Ph.D.**  
Lecturer at the Faculty of Legal Sciences,  
Department of Public Law, Vasile Goldiş Western  
University  
94 Revoluţiei St., Arad 310025, Romania  
e-mail: [diana\\_anches@yahoo.com](mailto:diana_anches@yahoo.com)

**ILEANA BENGA, Ph.D.**  
Researcher at the Folklore Archive Institute  
of the Romanian Academy  
9 Republicii St., Cluj-Napoca 400015, Romania  
e-mail: [ileanabenga@gmail.com](mailto:ileanabenga@gmail.com)

**NICOLAE BOCŞAN, Ph.D.**  
Senior researcher at the Center for Transylvanian  
Studies of the Romanian Academy  
12–14 M. Kogălniceanu St., Cluj-Napoca 400084,  
Romania  
e-mail: [cst@academia-cj.ro](mailto:cst@academia-cj.ro)

**ELA COSMA, Ph.D.**  
Researcher at George Bariţiu Institute of History  
12–14 M. Kogălniceanu St., Cluj-Napoca 400084,  
Romania  
e-mail: [ela\\_cosma@yahoo.com](mailto:ela_cosma@yahoo.com)

**HARALD HEPPNER, Ph.D.**  
Institut für Geschichte, Karl Franzens University  
3 Mozartgasse St., Graz 8010, Austria  
e-mail: [harald.heppner@uni-graz.at](mailto:harald.heppner@uni-graz.at)

**RODICA ILIE, Ph.D.**  
Director of the Department of Literature and  
Cultural Studies, Faculty of Letters, Transylvania  
University  
25 Eroilor St., Braşov 500030, Romania  
e-mail: [rodicailie@unitbv.ro](mailto:rodicailie@unitbv.ro)

**OANA-RAMONA ILOVAN, Ph.D.**  
Lecturer at the Faculty of Geography, Department  
of Regional Geography and Territorial Planning,  
Babeş-Bolyai University

5–7 Clinicilor St., Cluj-Napoca 400006, Romania  
e-mail: [ilovanoana@yahoo.com](mailto:ilovanoana@yahoo.com)

**LIANA LĂPĂDATU**  
Researcher and translator at the Center for  
Transylvanian Studies of the Romanian Academy  
12–14 M. Kogălniceanu St., Cluj-Napoca 400084,  
Romania  
e-mail: [liana\\_lapadatu@yahoo.fr](mailto:liana_lapadatu@yahoo.fr)

**BOGDAN NEAGOTA, Ph.D.**  
Lecturer at the Department of Classical Languages  
and Literatures, Faculty of Letters, Babeş-Bolyai  
University  
31 Horea St., Cluj-Napoca 400202, Romania  
e-mail: [bogdan.neagota@gmail.com](mailto:bogdan.neagota@gmail.com)

**MARTIN E. PALAMULENI, Ph.D.**  
Population Training and Research Unit,  
North-West University  
Private Bag X2046, Mmabatho 2735,  
Republic of South Africa  
e-mail: [martin.palamuleni@nwu.ac.za](mailto:martin.palamuleni@nwu.ac.za)

**ALEXANDRU PĂCURAR, Ph.D.**  
Associate professor at the Faculty of Geography,  
Babeş-Bolyai University  
5–7 Clinicilor St., Cluj-Napoca 400006, Romania  
e-mail: [sandu@geografie.ubbcluj.ro](mailto:sandu@geografie.ubbcluj.ro)

**OLIVIA N. PETRESCU, Ph.D.**  
Senior lecturer at the Faculty of Letters,  
Babeş-Bolyai University  
31 Horea St., Cluj-Napoca 400202, Romania  
e-mail: [olivia.petrescu@gmail.com](mailto:olivia.petrescu@gmail.com)

**IOAN-AUREL POP, Ph.D.**  
Member of the Romanian Academy, rector of  
Babeş-Bolyai University, director of the Center  
for Transylvanian Studies  
12–14 M. Kogălniceanu St., Cluj-Napoca 400084,  
Romania  
e-mail: [i\\_a\\_pop@yahoo.com](mailto:i_a_pop@yahoo.com)

**DORINA N. RUSU, Ph.D.**  
Correspondent member of the Romanian Academy  
125 Calea Victoriei, Bucharest 010071, Romania  
e-mail: [rusu@acad.ro](mailto:rusu@acad.ro)

**IOANA SCRIDON, Ph.D.**

Scientific contributor of Bukowina Institute,  
University of Augsburg  
Alter Postweg 97A, D-86159, Augsburg, Germany  
e-mail: [scridon.ioana@yahoo.com](mailto:scridon.ioana@yahoo.com)

**FLORIAN DUMITRU SOPORAN, Ph.D.**

Researcher at the Center for Transylvanian Studies  
of the Romanian Academy  
12–14 M. Kogălniceanu St., Cluj-Napoca 400084,  
Romania  
e-mail: [florian.soporan.77@gmail.com](mailto:florian.soporan.77@gmail.com)

**MARIA-DANIELA STANCIU, Ph.D. candidate**

Babeş-Bolyai University  
1 M. Kogălniceanu St., Cluj-Napoca 400084,  
România  
e-mail: [sunshine\\_creatza10@yahoo.com](mailto:sunshine_creatza10@yahoo.com)

**RALUCA TOMI, Ph.D.**

Researcher at Nicolae Iorga Institute of History,  
Romanian Academy  
1 Aviatorilor Blvd., Bucharest 011851, Romania  
e-mail: [ralucatomi2013@gmail.com](mailto:ralucatomi2013@gmail.com)